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THE PRESENTATION OF THEMATIC STRUCTURE IN THE TRANSLATION OF ENGLISH AND ARABIC POLITICAL DISCOURSE

TWO VOLUMES:

VOLUME TWO

BY:

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Table of Arabic Transliteration

Arabic Letters	Transliteration (Normal)	(Names)	Arabic Letters	Transliteration (Normal)	(Names)	Case Markers
ء	ʾ		ض	ḍ		fatḥa= a
ب	b		ط	ṭ		ḍamma= u
ت	t		ظ	ẓ		kasra= i
ث	ṯ	th	ع	ʿ		
ج	j		غ	ġ	gh	Vowels
ح	ḥ		ف	f		ا = ā
خ	x	kh	ق	q		و = ū
د	d		ك	k		ي = ī
ذ	ḏ		ل	l		
ر	r		م	m		
ز	z		ن	n		
س	s		هـ	h		
ش	š	sh	و	w		
ص	ṣ		ي	y		

CHAPTER SIX

Methodology

6.0 Layout of the Chapter

This chapter will consist of six main sections. The first section will be a short description of the nature of the Arabic and the English texts selected for the analysis and the basis on which these texts are selected. This will be followed by section two which will give a brief discussion of text typology from a text linguistic point view, since the texts that are selected for analysis from a thematic perspective (argumentative texts: political essays) constitute one of the five major types of texts that have been discussed by text linguists. Section three will consist of the authors' selected method of segmenting these texts; this involves a brief explanation of how the English as well as the Arabic texts are segmented on the basis of coordination in the grammar of both languages. This will be followed by a short section explaining the technique the author is using in analyzing the thematic structure of the texts selected. Section five will discuss the Hallidayan approach of systemic functional grammar to the analysis of political writing in general with emphasis the political essays; this will also include some discussion of those who adopted Halliday's functional approach in analyzing political writing, followed by a short summary and conclusion of the key points of emphasis of the linguists (critical linguists) who discuss the linguistic aspects of political writing in terms of power and ideology.

6.1 Selection of Data

First of all, I would like to draw to the attention of the reader that the texts selected for this study are not based on any bias or prejudice towards anybody, no matter what his ideological line of thought is or his political views are. The texts are selected on the basis of human truth and for purely academic purposes[1]. For the purpose of thematic analysis of texts, one type of texts is selected: argumentative text-type (political essays) written prior to and post the Gulf War. There will be five English political texts (Appendix A), and their Arabic translations (Appendix B). The

English texts and their translations will be numbered from 1-5 and 1A-5A respectively. There will also be five Arabic texts (Appendix C), and their English translations (Appendix D). The Arabic texts and their English translations will numbered form 6-10 and 6E-10E respectively. For ease of reference to the illustrative examples selected from the corpus, the paragraphs as well as the rhematic clauses (RCs) within each paragraph of both the English and the Arabic source texts are serially numbered, and each illustrative RC will be identified by both the original text and paragraph number put in brackets and separated by a dash. The same thing will be done with the TLTs, except that there will be no numbering of RCs of the TLTs, since there is no one-to-one correspondence between the number of RCs in the SL and the TL texts.

6.1.1 **Description of Texts**

Appendix A, as mentioned above, consists of five English political articles (texts), respectively, written by N. Chomsky, I. Abu-Laghud, M. Kaldor, N. Ascherson, and K. Robins[2]. Appendix-C consists of five political texts. Text 6 is a letter sent by His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq on September 1990[3]. The remaining four political essays are written by two noted Jordanian Academics at the Department of Political Science, University of Jordan, namely, Dr. R. Abdulla and Dr. A. Abdulrahman. The latter has two articles (7 & 9) published (March 1991) in Al-Dostour, a Jordanian daily newspaper, which enjoys a wide readership throughout the Arab world, and R. Abdulla has two articles (8 & 10), published, among a series of political essays written by him, in Al-Rai' (another Jordanian daily newspaper) in November 1991.

The aim of having an equal number of texts in each appendix is to arrive at certain results in support of the hypotheses set forth in the introduction to this thesis (cf. chapter 1) that are based on an equal balance of texts for the purpose of comparing the role of translation in preserving the thematic structure in both languages.

In what follows, there will be a brief discussion of the major text types as outlined and discussed by text linguists. I insist on the term 'brief' on the basis of the fact that the reader of this study would have ample background on the types of texts and the characteristics of each. Nevertheless, some of the major characteristics that are

associated with each text type and the text linguists' basic work in this issue will be mentioned.

6.2 Text Typology

The question of text typology still offers a severe challenge to text linguists with regard to the systemization and classification of samples. The challenge arises from the fact that text typology must deal with actual systems in which selections and decisions have already been made (the semiotic values has already been 'realized' as semantic units, in Halliday's terminology; cf. 3.5.1). de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, p. 35)[4] point out that the text itself has to be viewed as a system, being a set of elements functioning together. Whereas languages is a virtual system: a system of options not yet in use (a striking similarity between text linguistics and systemic linguistics with regard to the definition of system and text), the text is an actual system in which options have been taken from their repertories (the semiotic values or culture for Halliday) and utilized in a particular structure (relationships between and among elements). This utilization is carried out via procedures of actualization.

In an academic seminar held in the University of Biefeld, Germany, attempts have been made to apply or create other methods where traditional linguistic methods failed to meet the special needs of typology of texts[5]. These were followed, in Germany also, by Reiss (1976), who proposes that texts can be categorized according to their field of discourse, with examples like 'journalistic', 'religious', 'poetic' etc[6]. If defined this way, however, text type will be so broad as to have any predicative value, and when attempts are made to narrow this focus of description, it ends up by having as many text types as there are texts.

Another attempt is carried out by J. Schmidt (1977, p. 55), who proposes either one of two approaches. His first approach is start to out with the traditionally defined types (e.g. literary, poetic, scientific, religious, etc.) as observable objects, and try to reconstruct them via a consistent text theory; the second approach is the opposite of the first: to start out with a text theory which sets up theoretical types to be compared with empirical samples. In this respect, de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, p. 183) point out that for a science of texts as a human activity, it seems impossible to dispense with the

traditional text types that people actually use as heuristics in the procedures of production and reception. Thus, they support a typology based upon the categorization of text types on the basis of function, i.e. according to the distributions of texts to human interaction[7].

The problem of text typology is that, however the typology is set up, any real text will display features of more than one type, or as de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, p. 184) put it: "in many texts types, we could find a mixture of descriptive, narrative and argumentative functions" [quoted in full below]. Thus, the assignment of a text to a text type depends on the function of the text in the communication and not merely on the surface format.

To account for this diversity or "multifunctionality" in texts, as Hatim (1990, p. 138)[8] puts it, what is needed is a comprehensive model of context. The most important feature of such a contextual model is that it must bring together the communicative, pragmatic and semiotic values and demonstrate their importance for the development of text and the way communication takes place. Hatim's (1990) need is answered in Werlich (1976 [1983]), among others, who bases a typology of texts on what he calls "dominant contextual focus", where texts:

> distinctively correlate with the contextual factors in a communication situation. They conventionally focus the addressee's attention only on specific factors and circumstances from the whole set of factors. Accordingly, texts can be grouped together and generally classified on the basis of their **dominant contextual focus** (Werlich, 1976 [1982, p. 19) [original emphasis][9].

The usefulness of the notion of dominant contextual focus is that it helps to resolve some of the inherent problems in the multifunctionality of texts, which prompts de Beaugrande and Dressler to claim that the sets of texts and their typology is "**fuzzy**", because, for them, "constellation of functions in varying degrees of 'dominance' can be highly intricate", since a single text can even be shifted to another type via a special means of representation (de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981, p. 186). Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that a text may serve than one function, there will only be one predominant function or rhetorical purpose (ġarad bayāni) (cf. chapter 5 & 6.3.1 below) being served by the text at one time. This is what Werlich, in the above quotation, means by dominant contextual focus. Other rhetorical purposes a text may serve are

subsidiary to the overall function of the text.

Therefore, texts are variable in nature, and their aims may only be viewed in terms of dominance of a given purpose or contextual focus, as de Beaugrande and Dressler put it:

> some traditionally established text types could be defined along functional lines, i.e. according to the contribution of texts to human interaction. We would at least be able to identify some **DOMINANCES**, though without obtaining a strict categorization for every conceivable example . . . . In many texts, we would find a mixture of the descriptive, narrative and argumentative functions (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, p. 184) [original emphasis; my ellipsis].

Thus, what Werlich refers to above as 'contextual factors' or are referred to by Arab rhetoricians (cf. chapter 5) as rhetorical purposes (ʿaġrād bayāniyya) are no more than what de Beaugrande and Dressler referred to as 'text type focus', which stands, according to Hatim (1990, p. 149) for the means whereby a text is defined as a token of a type. This term subsumes also the sets of communicative, pragmatic and semantic procedures which are followed when relating a text to its context. Thus, the basic assumption underlying a typology of texts is that "texts in social communication appear as manifestations of socially recognized text-types" (Schmidt, 1977, p. 54)[10].

On the basis of the dominant contextual factor, Werlich (1976 [1983, pp. 19-21) proposes five dominant contextual foci that can be observed in texts:

1. The focus is on **factual phenomena** (i.e. persons, objects, relations) in **the spatial contexts**. The texts of this group will be referred to as **descriptive texts.**
2. The focus is on **factual and/or conceptual phenomena** in the **temporal context.** Texts of this group will be referred to as **narrative texts.**
3. The focus is on the **de-composition (analysis)** into constituent elements or the **composition (synthesis)** from constituent elements of **concepts** that the communication have. Texts of this group will be referred to as **expository texts.**
4. The focus is on the **relations** between concepts of phenomena that the communicants have. Texts of this group will be referred to as argumentative texts.
5. The focus is on the composition of observable **future behaviour**, with reference to phenomena, in one of the communicants, that is either in the speaker/writer or reader/hearer. Texts of this group will be referred to as **instructive texts.**

These dominant contextual foci point to five basic text types to which all texts can be

assigned, including those in which several foci (rhetorical purposes) are mixed.

In addition to the contextual text factors/foci that texts correlate with, texts appear to correlate, according Werlich (1976 [1983, p. 21]), with innate biological properties of the communicant's mind. In this respect, Werlich (loc. cit.) says:

> . . . texts, conceived of as assignable to **text types** . . . primarily derive their structural distinctions . . . from innate cognitive properties. Accordingly, the five basic text types correlate with **forms and ranges of human cognition**. They reflect the basic cognitive processes of contextual categorization [original emphasis; my ellipsis].

Werlich summarizes these basic cognitive processes as:

1. differentiation and interrelation of **perceptions in space** in the text type of **description**, which, for de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, p. 184), corresponds to the cognitive process 'frames'.
2. differentiation and interrelation of **perception in time** in the text type of **narration**, which, for Beaugrande and Dressler (loc. cit.), corresponds to the cognitive process 'schemas'[11].
3. **Comprehension** of general concepts through differentiation by analysis and/or comprehension of particular concepts through differentiation by subsumptive synthesis in the text type of **exposition**. Although, de Beaugrande and Dressler do not deal with expository texts separately, it can be assumed that the descriptive 'frames' and 'causality' respectively would be the global pattern of cognitive process utilized in conceptual exposition.
4. **Judging**, that is the establishment of relations between and among concepts through the extraction of similarities, contrasts, and transformations from them, is utilized in the text type **argumentation**. This, for de Beaugrande and Dressler, corresponds to the cognitive process 'plans'[12].
5. **Planning** of future behaviour by subdivision or subsumption is utilized in the text type **instruction**. This, for de Beaugrande and Dressler, corresponds to the cognitive process 'scripts'[13].

Whether looked at the way Werlich does, or whether looked at the way de Beaugrande and Dressler do, the fact remains that these cognitive process are firmly embedded in the speaker/writer-object-addressee/reader context of communication situation, and that texts appear to have their final ultimate foundation in how human

cognition operates in acquiring and securing concepts or thoughts on the basis of sensory input. Thus, the importance of these kinds of global patterns has become recognized in the procedural attachment of producing and receiving texts:

> how a topic might be developed (frames), how an event sequence will progress (schemas), how text users or characters in textual worlds will pursue their goals (plans), and how situations are set up so that certain texts can be presented at the opportune moment (scripts). . . . Using global patterns greatly reduces complexity over using local ones, and allows retaining much more material in **active storage** at one given time (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, p. 91) [my ellipsis and emphasis].

In what follows, there will be a brief discussion of each text type, I will only discuss three text types and not five, because, for me, narrative and descriptive texts types are no more than varieties of the conceptual exposition text type, and while the border line, according to de Beaugrande and Dressler, is not neatly drawn between any of the text types (a fuzzy-type line); it is the least clear between descriptive, narrative and expository types.

6.2.1 Argumentative Texts

As mentioned above, argumentative texts have as a contextual focus the evaluation of the relations between concepts. de Beaugrande and Dressler define argumentative texts as:

> those utilized to promote the acceptance or evaluation of certain **beliefs** or **ideas** as true vs. false, or positive vs. negative. Conceptual relations such as **reason, significance, volition, value,** and **opposition** should be frequent. The surface texts will often show cohesive devices for emphasis and insistence, e.g. recurrence, parallelism, and paraphrase (de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981, p. 184) [original emphasis].

Hatim (1990 & elsewhere) subdivides argumentative texts into two types: (1) through-argumentation and (2) counter-argumentation. The former, according to him, can be initiated by a statement of a point of view to be argued through. In this type, however, there is no explicit reference to an opposite view, and this is why he presents the format of the scheme of the argument as: (1) thesis presented to be supported, (2) substantiation of the presented thesis, and finally (3) conclusion. The second type, counter argumentation, can be initiated by a thesis, citing the position of an opponent,

followed by an opposition, a substantiation of the opposition and finally a conclusion usually in favour of the arguer. Hatim (1990) notes that the second type is completely built on one of the later generation of Arab rhetoricians, namely Ibn Quddama in his book *Naqd an-Naṯr (Criticism of Prose)*, where the latter says: "wa xayru l-jadali ma buniyat muqaddimātuhu ᶜalā mā wāfaqa ᶜalyhi l-xaşm", and which is translated by Hatim (1991, p.197), "valid argumentation is that in which the arguer builds his initial premises on what the opponent endorses"[14].

6.2.2 Expository Texts

As illustrated by Werlich (1976 [1983]) above, the contextual focus is either on the decomposition (analysis) into constituent elements of a given concept, or composition (synthesis) from constituent elements. There are, however, as indicated above, two important variants of this kind of conceptual exposition, which are descriptive and narrative, and whereas description and narration are generally easily recognizable, boundaries are, somewhat difficult to establish. What is of importance, here, is the distinction between argumentative and conceptual exposition.

In argumentation, the focus is on what is known as 'situation managing', where the dominant factor is "to guide the situation in a manner favourable to the text producer's goals" (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, p. 163). In exposition, on the other hand, the focus is on providing a detached account, i.e. 'monitoring the situation', where, according to de Beaugrande Dressler (loc. cit.), "the dominant function of the text is to provide a reasonably unmeditated account of the situation model"[15].

In the argumentative text, the 'topic sentence' sets, according to Hatim (1990 & elsewhere) 'the tone' of the text, whereas in exposition, it sets 'the scene' (a reminder of Grimes 1975: cf. 4.2.2), and must be expounded, in comparison with the topic sentence in argumentative texts which must be substantiated. Thus, in distinguishing these two features, the tendency of tone-setters is to display features such as comparison, judgement, and other markers of evaluative texture; whereas the scene setter exposes various aspects of the scene being introduced to be expounded.

Evalutiveness predominates in argumentative texts; it is realized as mentioned earlier, by cohesive devices of emphasis such as recurrence and parallelism. On the

other hand, expository texts employ more basic and less marked syntactic and semantic structures, such as proforms, rather than conceptual names of objects or events present. In comparison with argumentative texts which refer to objects and persons by name, expository texts use a lot of what Halliday and Hasan (1976) call exophoric reference, that does not refer to any prior mention in the text, as well as a lot of personal pronouns ('I', 'we', 'you'), which are exophorically (situationally) used. In addition, expository texts designate other participants in the texts beside the producer and the receiver of the text, for instance, via third personal pronouns or deictics (pointing words like 'this' or 'that'), which are useful for pointing out to the entire situation or set of events. Other features which distinguish argumentation from exposition include the semantics of the verbs (perceiving, feeling, saying etc.), frequency of certain syntactic structures (i.e passivization, nominalization, transitivity), lexical density of themes, modality, etc. (cf. 6.5 below).

6.2.3 **Instructional Texts**

As indicated above, the focus in this type of texts is laid on the formation of future behaviour in order to regulate through instructions the way people act or think. Two sub-types have been identified: instructions with options (advertising, consumer advise, etc.) and instructions without options (contracts, treaties, constitutions, resolutions, decrees, etc.) (Hatim, 1990). But whether with or without option, the focus in this type of texts is directed towards influencing opinions or behaviour and to provoking action or reaction. For example a slogan like "Fly the Royal Jordanian Air Line (RJAL)" arouses interest and acts as an invitation.

Reiss (1976) draws a comparison between argumentative texts and instructional texts with options. He believes that the two types can be treated as operative-type texts. In this respect, Reiss lays down the following principles of operative texts (texts that arouse interest), which text producers have to follow in order to arouse the interest of the reader and succeed in convincing him or her:

1. Comprehensibility (use of short sentences, simple syntax, etc.)
2. Topicality (closeness to life)
3. Memorability (rhetorical repetition, puns, rhymes, slogan, etc.)

4. Suggestivity (manipulation of opinions by exaggeration, value-judgment, implication, etc.)
5. Emotionality (anxieties and fear are played on, threats & flattery; the associations of words are exploited).
6. Language manipulation (propaganda in disguised information through means such as linguistic parallelism which is used to imply factual comparability)
7. Plausibility (appeals to authorities, witnesses, 'experts', etc.)

Despite all these similarities, clearer patterns of logical thinking are more apparent in argumentative texts than in instructional, because, given discoursal as well as generic constraints, logical presentation tends to be part and parcel of the argumentative text format.

One final point is also worthy of mention, namely that, like many other linguistic issues, the question of text typology goes beyond conventional linguistic methods; it emerges with the larger conditions of utilizing texts in human interaction. A text type is a set of "heuristics" for producing, predicting and processing textual occurrences, and hence acts as a prominent determiner of "efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness" (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, p. 11)[16].

Again, joining forces with de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981), among many other text linguists, a text type can hardly provide any absolute border lines between its members and non-members, any more than the notion of 'texts' can do. The conditions of communication are simply too diverse to allow such a rigorous categorization of text typology.

6.3 Segmentation of Texts

From a systemic perspective, Butler (1985, p. 45)[17] points out that, for Halliday, the environment of the system (that of theme, for example) is at least partly paradigmatic, in that the 'entry conditions' for a system may involve the selection of other features from less delicate parts of the system networks (cf. 3.2 & 3.6.2.1). Each system network operates at a particular rank of the unit structure, e.g. the systems of mood and theme both operating on the major independent clause as their entry condition. In this respect, each time a new instance of this rank is met progressing

along the syntagmatic axis, a fresh set of choices are available for the speaker/writer on the paradigmatic axis. These choices or options do not only contrast with each other in a common framework of meaning, they must also have a common grammatical environment. In other words, they must contrast with one another in a common framework provided by the more surface aspect of grammar. For Halliday (1985, p. 62)[18], the significance of such choices, as applied to the systems of theme, emerges when considering the importance of clause (sentence) theme in the overall development of discourse (cf. 3.6.2.6), where the main contribution, according to Halliday, comes from the thematic structure of independent clauses (one main clause plus one or more subordinate clauses). On the basis of this principle, text segmentation in Arabic as well as in English will adopt Halliday's assumption, that is the entry condition to the theme systems will be the major independent clause, or major thematic clauses (clause complex in Halliday's formulation; cf. 6.3.1) and the 'independent sentence' (al-jumla al-kubrā) in Standard Arabic (SA) as will be shown below (cf. 6.3.2).

6.3.1 **Segmenting the English Texts.**

As Quirk and Geenbaum (1972, pp. 253-254)[19] point out, the term coordination is used by some grammarians for both 'syndetic' coordination (equivalent to 'faṣl' in Arabic) when coordinating conjunctions between the clauses or elements within the same clause are present, and for 'asyndetic' coordination (equivalent to 'waṣl' in Arabic) when coordination conjunctions are not present but could be supplied. Both subordination and coordination involve the linking of units (from word complex level to clause complex level, to use Halliday's terms), but with subordination, one of the units is subordinated to the other. Thus, in a clause, like

6-1 I truly shut the door before the animal could escape,

where the subordinate clause 'before the animal could escape', is subordinated to the coordinate clause 'I truly shut the door' and to the 'superordinate clause' or clause complex that consists of both clauses joined together. Furthermore, subordination, in comparison with coordination, is a non-symmetrical relation, holding between two clauses in such a way that one is a constituent of the other (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1972, p. 309). This can be exemplified by:

6-2 ^{1}(I like John)^{1} and ^{2}(John likes me)^{2} [two coordinate independent clauses]

versus:

6-3 ^{1}(I like John ^{2}[because John likes me])^{21} [one subordinate/dependent clause embedded within an independent/main/superordinate one].

These examples also illustrate the terms commonly associated with the clause units distinguished.

Thus, the device of subordination enables writers or speakers to organize multiple clause structures, because each subordinate clause may itself be superordinate to one or more clauses, so that a hierarchy of clauses within one another, may built up, sometimes resulting in sentences (clause complex) of great complexity, as in:

6-4 $^{x-}$(I think $^{y-}$[that you can do it] $^{z-}${if you try}])$^{-z-y-x}$

Here, the clause beginning with 'z-' is subordinate to the clause beginning at 'y-', which, in turn, is subordinate to the clause beginning with 'x-'. Both 'y & z' are dependent clauses, while 'x' is an independent clause and is identified with the sentence as a whole. Thus, this independent (complex) clause consists of 'I', subject, 'think', verb, 'that you . . .', object, and 'if you can' as adjunct.

As for its formal indicators in the text, a subordinate clause is marked by some indicators contained in the subordinate rather than the main/superordinate/complex clause. These signals may be of a number of different kinds: (1) subordination conjunction; a wh-element, the item 'that', inversions; or (negatively) the absence of a finite verb form (cf. Quirk & Greenbaum, 1972; Halliday, 1985).

Subordinate/dependent clauses in English are analogous to their counterparts in Arabic (cf. 6.1), in that, they can be replaced by a single element. They, like the Arabic dependent or 'small' clauses (al-jumal aṣ-ṣuġrā) can function as subject (*That we need more equipment* is obvious.), direct object (I know *that she is pretty.*), subject complement (The point is *that we're leaving.*), indirect object (I gave *whoever it was* a cup of tea.), object complement (I imagined him *overcome with grief.*), adjunct (*When we meet*, I shall explain everything.), disjunct (*To be honest with you*, I've never liked him.) and conjunct (*what is more*, he has lost the friends he has.)[20]. They also may functions as (1) post-modifier in a noun phrase (A friend *who remains loyal* is a real friend.), (2) prepositional complement (It depends on *what we decide.*) and (3) adjectival complement (He is ready *to act promptly*).

In this respect, grammarians (Quirk et. al., 1972 & 1985, and Halliday, 1976, among many others) identify many factors that interact in pointing to the links between sentences. Quirk et. al. (1972), for example, refer to four main factors: semantic content, lexical equivalence, syntactic devices, and prosodic features connection (i.e. intonation which is only applicable to spoken texts). As far as the reader or hearer is concerned, he searches for the semantic relationships between clauses in the written or spoken text respectively. In a well-organized texts, the reader, for instance, expects to find some meaning relationship, through vocabulary and lexical equivalence between successive sentences[21].

From a systemic functional grammar point of view, (Halliday, 1985, p. 193), the notion of a clause complex (one independent clause plus one or more dependent/ subordinate clauses) enables language users and discourse analysts to account in full for the functional organization of sentences (a sentence to Halliday is an orthographic manifestation/realization of the clause complex, that is contained between two full stops). Thus, Halliday defines the sentence in terms of a clause complex, which he considers the only grammatical unit above the clause.

As for the relations between clauses in a clause complex in terms of the logical components of the linguistic system, that is the functional-semantic relations that make up the logic of natural language, Halliday proposes two types of relations regarding the interpretation of the relation between sentences: (1) the system of interdependency, 'tactic system (parataxis and hypotaxis[22]), which is general to all complexes from word complex to clause complex and (2) the logico-semantic system of expansion and projection, which is specific to inter-clausal relations, or rather a relation between processes, usually expressed (but not always) in grammar as a complex of clauses. These two dimensions together, Halliday (loc. cit.) points out "will provide the functional framework of describing the clause complex".

By the use of the term interdependency (the relation of modifying, whereby one element modifies another), Halliday does not mean to say that it is the only relation between members of the clause complex. However, where one element modifies another, the status of the two is unequal; the modifying elements is dependent on the modified. At the same time, two elements may be joined together on the basis of equal status (neither being dependent on the other); the former relation is referred to by

Halliday as hypotactic and the latter as paratactic (Halliday, 1985, p. 195). Thus, all logical structures in language are either hypotactic or paratactic, and the clause complex involves relations of both kinds, as in:

6-5 ^{1}(I would ^{2}[if I could])^{21} ^{3}(but I can't)^{3}

where there is a paratactic relation between 1 and 3 and a hypotactic relation between 1 and 2. Halliday (loc. cit.) sub-categorizes this relation between paratactic and hypotactic constructions (clauses) as primary and secondary, when he says:

> The primary [relation] is the initiating clause in a paratactic structure and the dominant clause in a hypotactic; the secondary is the continuing clause in a paratactic structure and the dependent clause in the hypotactic.

As for the logical-semantic relation, there is a wide range of relations any of which may hold between a primary and a secondary number of a clause complex. Halliday (1985, p. 196) groups these relations into a small number of general types, based on the fundamental relationship of 'expansion' and 'projection'. The former has to do with expanding the primary clause, by (a) elaborating it, (b) extending it or (3) enhancing it, while the latter has to do with projecting the secondary clause through the primary, by instating it as (a) a locution or (b) as an idea. These two logico-semantic relations can be illustrated and exemplified as types of clause complexes in the following table (see next page):

		(i) Paratactic	(ii) Hypotactic
E X P A N S I O N	(a) elaboration	John didn't wait (1); [=] he was scared (2).	John ran away (1), [=] which surprised me (2).
	(b) extension	John ran away (1), [+] and Fred stayed behind (2).	John ran away (1), [+] whereas Fred stayed behind (2).
	(c) enhancement	John was scared (1), [x] so he ran away (2).	John ran away (1), [x] because he was scared (2).
P R O J E C T I O N	(a) locution	John said (1): "I'm running away" ("2).	John said (1) he was running away ("2).
	(b) idea	John thought to himself: (1): "I'll run away" ('2).	John thought (1) he would ran away ('2)[23].

Figure 6-1: Types of Clause Complex (Adapted from Halliday, 1985, p. 197).

From a thematic point view, however, (cf. 3.6.2.6) any of the clauses (in a hypotactic relation) can act as theme of the clause, because either of them can occur in the initial position in the clause. On the other hand, in paratactic relations (the linking of elements of equal status), both the initiating and the continuing element (independent clauses) are free, in the sense that each could stand as a functioning whole, and consequently each has its own thematic structure.

For the purpose of the analysis of texts in terms of thematic structure, the selected English texts will be segmented into clause complexes on the basis of the paratactic and the hypotactic relations that exists within their constituting clauses. Therefore, each sentence, the orthographic manifestation of the clause complex in Halliday's formulation, will be treated as one clause complex with the simple sentence (one independent clause) as the limiting case. In order, to 'start afresh' (cf. 6.2) with each entry condition, in systemic terms, I adopted the following procedure in segmenting the English texts: (1) I let a friend of mine, a native speaker of English, read the texts a loud as if giving a speech. (2) By recording his reading of the texts, I was able to make use, to some extent, of the prosodic features of intonation, in giving

a further account of the boundaries of clause complexes (thematic major clauses) that comprise each text. This method of segmentation tallies with the method used in segmenting the Arabic texts (cf. 6.2.2), which is usually used in determining the boundaries of thematic clauses in spoken texts.

6.3.1.1 **Punctuation of Written English Texts**

Halliday (1985b, pp. 32-37)[24] points out that the omission of prosodic features, such as intonation and rhythm, from the written language is, in some respect, a genuine deficiency, if compared with the spoken language. He believes however that there is a device at work in the written language to partially overcome this deficiency. This device is punctuation. In this respect, Halliday (loc. cit.) identifies three main functions of punctuation:

1. Boundary Marking. In Halliday's systemic formulation, the grammar of each language is organised through a small hierarchy of units. In English as well as in Arabic, this hierarchy consists of sentences (complex clauses), clauses, phrases, words and morphemes. In English, complex clauses are recognized by full stops. Subsequently, the writing system provides for intermediate units by means of colon, comma: comma for weaker boundaries and colon for stronger ones, where both can be used to separate clauses, the difference serving to indicate internal bracketing. The comma is also used to mark off phrases, and even words if the occasion demands: for example for an afterthought, or in a list. A major difference is identified, however, between the colon and the semi-colon (although both can be used to mark boundaries between coordinate clauses) in that the colon usually has a cataphoric implication (cf. Halliday, 1976).

2. Status Marking. According to Halliday (1985b), as well as Quirk et. al. (1972 & 1985), it is not enough to show that a sentence has finished, it is also important to indicate whether its speech function (realised by the mood system: cf. 3.6.2.1) is a statement, a question or neither. So there is a contrast between full stop for statements; a question mark for questions; and an exclamation mark used for a mixed bag of speech functions, including commands, suggestions, offers, exclamations, calls, and greetings. These last six all share the negative property that they are "not exchange of

information" (Halliday, op. cit., p. 33). In other words, they are performative speech acts: the speaker is either exchanging goods-and-services (offers, suggestions & commands), expressing his/her own attitude (exclamation), or establishing social contact (calls and greetings).

Another symbol of status marking usually used in written texts is the quotation mark, whether single or double. This mark is used to ascribe some part of the text to someone other than the writer, whether a quotation or a citation. When both types of quotations are present, the double type usually encloses the single type. Another tradition has the double quotations for saying and single ones for thoughts, but the two have often been used interchangeably.

3. Relation Markings. Under this function, Halliday (1985b, p.34) includes four main types of punctuation markers: (1) the hyphen, which signals a link across a space (either word space or line space), showing that the following words are to be taken in apposition with the preceding one, (2) the dash, which signals that the following element is to be taken in apposition with the preceding one, (3) parenthesis, which indicate that the closed element is a kind of a subroutine, a loop of the main track of the sentence, and (4) the apostrophe, which is a kind of place holder signifying either that a letter has been omitted, or, by convention, that the noun is possessive.

In addition to the technique adopted in segmenting the English and the Arabic texts for thematic analysis (section 3.6.1 & 3.6.2), special attention will be paid to the following constructions in both languages:

A. The most 'slippery' of the criteria was the one applied to practically conjoined independent clauses within a single written sentence (complex clause) because the decision whether to conjoin two separate clauses or not, and how to do this, is a thematic one. This was particularly so with regard to the introduction of a specified subject in the second (or later) clause. Standard Arabic, the language, in which the clause complex (al-jumlatu l-kubrā) is being identified, does not introduce a specified subject as frequently as English does. The notion of an intervening object turned out to be particularly useful to the structure of the sentence bearing out Lehman's (1973 & 1976) formulation that the object is more central to the structure of the sentence than the subject. Therefore, I will be doing the following with regard to analysis of thematic structure of a complex clause in Arabic and English (two or more coordinated clauses)

that is conjoined with conjunctive articles such as 'and' (wa) , but (lakinna) . . . etc.:

(1) If the theme is associated with the subject, and the subject of the second clause is the same as the initial one, they will be analyzed as one clause complex consisting of two or more 'simple clauses' with the same subject (theme), whether it is specified in the second clause, or 'ellipted' (muqaddar).

(2) If the theme is associated with the subject, and the subject is not the same as that of the initial clause, they will be treated as one complex clause consisting of two or more separate 'simple clauses', having different thematic structures.

B. The complex clause of direct speech will be treated as having two separate clauses. Thus, 'said X' will be treated as a simple clause consisting of a theme and a rheme, the quoted construction, which could be either a complex or a simple clause, having its own thematic structure.

C. As for the appositive and parenthetical construction (whether between brackets or long dashes), it will be treated either as an independent clause, having its own theme and rheme, within the thematic or rhematic sphere of the main clause complex, or simply part of whatever sphere it lies within, thematic or rhematic, depending, respectively, on whether it contains a finite verb or not.

D. Fragment constructions will be treated mainly as rhematic, following Halliday's formulation that "clauses with no mood and transitivity structure [which] function as calls and greeting and exclamations . . . have no thematic structure" (Halliday, 1985, p.63) [my ellipsis]. Thus, fragments can be considered as minor clauses, in spite of the fact that they can be other than the types which Halliday exemplifies (cf. 3.6.2.6).

6.3.2 Segmenting the Arabic Texts

The major difficulty is segmenting SA texts into major independent clauses (jumal kubrā) arises from the fact that written Arabic texts, unlike English, lack a proper 'punctuation system'; and if punctuation is available, it can be misleading rather than guiding to text analysts as to where to mark the beginning of the rhematic major clause (independent clause). Unlike English also, independent sentences do not start their initial words with capital letters and end the sentence with a full stop. Instead, one might be faced with a text which does not contain a single punctuation mark.

Furthermore, there is a clear distinction between subordinating and coordinating conjunctions in English; a thing which the Arabic reader is insensitive to because he does not experience many sentences starting with subordinate clauses (jumal ġayr mustaqilla) which start with subordinators like 'although' (maᶜa ʾanna), 'because' (liʾanna), among others, which are mainly used in argumentative texts in SA.

In order to solve this problem of the 'misguided punctuation system' of Arabic, neo-grammarians on the one side and rhetoricians on the other, have come up with two solutions. On the surface, these two solutions look different, but in fact, they are two faces of the same coin: Arab grammarians have come up with the idea of independent/ large and dependent/small clauses (al-jumalu l-mustaqilla wa ġayr l-mustaqilla) (cf. 5.3.4,), which are equivalent to the terms 'independent and subordinate clauses' (al-jumlatu l-kubrā wa l-jumlatu ṣ-ṣuġrā) given by al-Anṭākī (1975, p. 311), and are treated by grammarians under the rubric 'hierarchical conjunction' (ᶜaṭf an-nasq)[25]. On the other hand, Arab rhetoricians have treated it under the rubric 'conjunction/ coordination and disjunction' (al-waṣl wa l-faṣl). As will be illustrated below, each of the two sides make use of the contributions of the other.

As for the grammarians, they, as al-Anṭākī (op. cit. p. 305) points out, are divided among themselves as to the 'boundary' of the sentence (hadd al-jumla). One group believes that the sentence in Arabic consists of a 'theme/ topic' (musnad ilayhi) and 'rheme/ comment' (musnad) whether it benefits the hearer/the reader or not. This is obviously looking at the sentence/clause in terms of a purely syntactic (parsing) definition, which, from the rhetoricians' view point (cf. 5.3), makes no sense at all. This is why the second group of grammarians defines the sentences in line with the rhetoricians, who, according to al-Anṭākī (loc. cit.), define the sentence in Arabic as: 'the expression that is completely beneficial and can correctly be followed by a pause' (al-jumala hiya l-ᶜibāratu l-mufīdatu fāʾidatan tāmmatan yahsunu ᶜalayhā l-waqf). Thus, to the second group, the first part of a conditional sentence like 'If Zeid came' (ʾin jāʾa Zaydun: fiᶜl aš-šarṭ:'protasis') does not benefit the hearer/reader if the 'response part of the conditional sentence' (jawāb aš-šarṭ: 'apodasis') is not uttered, which would be like:

6-6 ʾin jāʾa Zayd-un fa-ʾakrim-hu
if came Zeid-nom. (coordinator)- (you should be) hospitable- (to) him

6-6E If Zeid comes [theme], you should be hospitable him [rheme].

Arab grammarians call this second type the boundary of 'discourse' (kalām), and not simply a sentence boundary, but grammarians who advocate this view do not, according to al-Anṭākī (1975, vol. 3, p.311), see any difference between the concept discourse (kalām) and sentence (jumla); they treat them as one and the same (cf. 5.3).

On the basis of the second definition of the sentence, which was influenced by the views of Arab rhetoricians, grammarians have divided clauses into two major types: independent/large and dependent/small (jumlatun kubrā wa jumlatun ṣuġrā). This division, as will be shown from the rhetoricians' point view, is based on the syntactic (parsing) functions of sentences (ʾiʿrābu l-jumal). Grammarians define dependent clauses as those:

> that act as 'rhemes/comments' for themes/topics, for the six particles ('ʾinna and its sisters'), or for the incomplete verbs ('kāna and its sisters'). . . and those [sentences] that act as a second object for the category of the 'think-type' verbs . . . and those [sentences] that act as a third object for the category of the 'inform-type' verbs, since, originally, these objects act as the rheme/comment. (al-Anṭākī, 1975 vol.3, p. 311) [my translation and ellipsis][26].

They exemplify each type of the dependent sentences mentioned in the above quotation, respectively, as follows:

6-7 (Zayd-un {yanẓumu š-šiʿr-a}).
(Zeid-nom. {reciting-(he) the-poetry-accus.
6-7E Zeid [theme] is reciting/(recites) poetry [rheme].

6-8 (kāna Zayd-un {yanẓumu š-šiʿr-a}).
(was Zeid-nom. {reciting-(he) the-poetry-accus.}).
6-8E Zeid [theme] was reciting poetry [rheme].

6-9 (ʾinna Zayd-an {yanẓumu š-šiʿr-a})
([emphatic] Zeid-accus. reciting-(he) the-poetry-accus.
6-9E It is **ZEID** [theme/new] who recites poetry [rheme/given].

6-10 (zanan-tu Zayd-an {yanẓumu š-šiʿr-a}).
(thought-I Zeid-accus. recites (he) the-poetry-accus.
6-10E I thought [theme] that Zeid recites poetry [rheme].

6-11 (ʾaʿlam-tu Bakr-an Zayd-an {yanẓumu š-šiʿr-a}).
(informed-I Bakr-accus. Zeid-accus. recites (he) the-poetry-accus.
6-11E I informed Bakr [theme] that Zeid recites poetry [rheme].

In these examples, the clauses inside the bracelets are considered by grammarians as

dependent (jumal suġrā (or) ġayr mustaqilla). These types quoted above represent only 2 of 11 (sometimes given as 10) types of sentences that grammarians call sentences which have 'a parsing function' (lahā maḥallun mina l-ʿiʿrab); (cf. al-Anṭākī, 1975, vol. 3).

As for the definition of the 'independent/large' clause (al-jumala al-kubrā), al-al-Anṭākī, 1975, p. 311), following in the steps of TAGs (which he always does) says: 'it is the type of clause whose rheme/comment is another clause, or whose object (originally a rheme/comment) is a clause' (hiya l-jumalatu l-lati xabaruhā aw al-lati mafʿūluhā ḏu l-aṣl al-xabariyi jumla). The sentences inside the brackets in 6-7 through 6-11 represent this type. Moreover, grammarians point out (al-Anṭākī, 1975, Anīs, 1978 and Dayf, 1982, among many others) that the independent sentence/ clause is also of two types depending on the type of rheme/comment it has. When the independent clause (sentence) is verbal (cf. 5.2.1), for example, and the dependent clause within it is also verbal, grammarians call it a 'one-feature sentence' (jumla ḏāt al-wajh al-wāḥid) as in 6-10 & 6-11 above; the same thing also applies to the nominal sentence (cf. 5.2.2). On the other hand, if there is a difference between the independent and the dependent sentences, whether verbal or nominal, grammarians call this type a 'two-feature sentence' (jumla ḏāt wajhyn) as in 6-7, 6-8 & 6-9 above.

For the grammarians, the subject of coordination and linking between sentences in Arabic is treated, as mentioned above, under the rubric 'hierarchical conjunction' (ʿaṭf an-nasq), but what they really do is look at it from a purely syntactic (again parsing) point of view, which, for the purpose of this study, makes little contribution to what is intended. The only thing grammarians point out is the type of coordinating conjunctions, whether they join words or sentences, and a definition of each one[27]. They however, outline a general rule that says:

> the typical case is to have coordination between sentences that have the same structure, i.e. between one nominal sentence and another, one verbal sentence and another, but it is possible to have coordination between a nominal and a verbal sentence or vice versa, and even between a verbal sentence with a past tense and another with a present tense (Khatīb et. al. 1985, pp. 28-29) [my translation].

Grammarians, however, do not give any other explanation (pragmatic, for example), beside the syntactic ones, of why sentences like the following can be coordinated

(borrowed from Khatīb et. al. (1985, p. 29):

6-12 yunāḍilu l-ʾištirākiyyūna li-tahqīqi mujtamaᶜi l-ᶜadālati wa l-musāwāti, wa hum muʾminūna bi-ntiṣāri-him wa yahddūh-mu l-ʾamala fi ʾan taᶜumma l-ʾištirākiyyatu duwala l-ᶜālam . . . .

struggle the-socialists to-establish society (of) the-justice and the-equality, and they believe in-victory-their and hope-they in spreading the-socialism (the) countries (of) the-world.

6-12E The socialists [theme] are struggling to establish justice and equality in society, and they [theme] believe that they will be victorious, and they [theme] are hopeful that socialism will spread throughout every country in the world [rheme].

Examples like these, where nominal sentences are coordinated with verbal ones, and verbal sentences are coordinated, although they have different senses, are left to rhetoricians to provide the pragmatic explanation in each case. Rhetoricians, however, do not oppose the grammarians in their account of the general principle quoted above, but they are able to provide answers to the questions that may be posed by any reader or listener. For having a nominal sentences following or coordinated upon a verbal, for instance, they point out, that the rhetorical purpose is that, since the nominal sentence indicates an 'unchanging attribute' (tadull ᶜalā ṯ-ṯubūt), and since the verbal sentence indicates a process or an event (tadull ᶜalā l-ḥudūṯ), coordinating one with the other in any sequence will always give the initial sentence some of the properties of the second, and thus strengthening it as in 6-12 above (ᶜabbās, 1989, pp. 445-446)[28]. On the other hand, ᶜabbās (loc. cit.) also points out that, since the present tense indicates renewal (tajaddud), it is meant to bring up the image of a past event, if it happens in the past (which can be viewed in terms of de Beaugrande and Dresslers' notion of intertextuality, as one of the standards of textuality)[29]. The second rhetorical purpose of coordinating verbal sentences with different tenses can be exemplified from the Holy Qura'n by:

6-13 fa-farīq-an qaddab-tum wa farīq-an taqtul-ūn. (1, 114: 87)
some-accus. imposters-you and others-accus. slay-you

6-13E Some [theme/marked] you called imposters [rheme], and other [theme/marked you slay [rheme]

Looking at the first sentence, which has a past tense, the reader might think that the second should also be in the past tense. This, however, is not the case in the Holy verse: Allah Almighty wants to show the Jews how dreadful slaughter is; therefore, He

brings about the past image of killing by using a present tense, to let them imagine the scene of killing previous prophets as if it took place at that particular moment.

For rhetoricians, the question of coordination (al-ᶜaṭf/al-waṣl) and disjunction between sentences (the latter was not mentioned by grammarians) is treated, as mentioned above, under the rubric 'al-faṣl wa l-waṣl'. This is defined by al-Marāġi (1917, p. 193) as "the knowledge of the positions of coordination or resumptions in the structure, and how to place the coordinating conjunction particles in their places or leave them out when not needed" [my translation] (huwa l-ᶜilmu bi-mawāḍiᶜ l-ᶜaṭf aw l-ʾistʾināf wa at-tahaddi ʾila kayfiyyat ʾīqāᶜ ḥurūfi l-ᶜaṭf fi mawūqiᶜihā aw tarkihā ᶜinda ᶜadami l-ḥājati ʾilayhā)[30]. The question of conjunction and disjunction between sentences is so important to the Arab rhetoricians that they consider the foremost rhetorical issue. To this effect, al-Jurjānī says:

> Remember that knowledge of what should be done to sentences with regard to coordinating one with the other or dispensing with coordination, and present sentences as disjunctive, that is by resuming one sentence after the other, is one of the secrets of rhetoric. This secret cannot be attained by any one, except by pure bedouins and those who are accustomed to rhetoric, and who have acquired a high level of knowledge in the common sense of discourse; these are very few. It [conjunction and disjunction] is so sublime to this group, that they have made it the determining factor of knowledge in rhetoric. When asked about rhetoric, they said: 'it is the knowledge of conjunction and disjunction' (al-Jurjānī, 1988, p. 170) [my translation][31].

Unlike grammarians, rhetoricians do not pay a lot of attention to the conjunction and disjunction of single elements in the sentence, because they are not looking at the issue from a syntactic point of view, but rather from a semantic and a pragmatic view point. This is why they ignore coordination and disjunction between what the grammarians call 'the clauses that have a parsing function' (al-jumalu l-lati laha maḥall min l-ʾiᶜrāb), which are alluded to above. This is, because clauses like the ones embedded in the independent clauses in examples 6-2 through 6-6 above, have, according to al-Jurjānī (1988, p. 171), to be treated as single items (elements) because they function grammatically in place of single elements. Therefore, rhetoricians' main concern is those sentences which the grammarians call 'clauses that have no parsing function' (al-jumalu l-lati laysa lahā maḥall min l-ʾiᶜrāb). Grammarians (al-Anṭākī, 1975; Ḍayf, 1982; among others) list seven types of these sentences, while rhetoricians

(al-Hāshimī, 1978; al-Jurjānī, 1988; ᶜabbās, 1989) list nine types of these clauses[32].

Rhetoricians point out that coordination, whether between single items in a clause or between two clauses, can occur if there exists what they call 'an association' (tašrīk) and 'divergence/contrast' (taġāyur) between the two elements in a sentence/ clause or between the two coordinated clauses (ᶜabbās, 1989, p. 400). Thus, if there is no association between two clauses (semantic association or something that will join them together by using a coordination conjunction), and the meaning of the first (be it lexical, contextual or both) is not close to that of the second, coordination between them would be impossible, as in:

6-14 ta'abṭa šarran šāᶜirun wa 'amrīkā dammarat Baġdād.
Ta'bta Sharan a poet and America destroyed Baghdad

6-14E Tabbta Sharan is a poet and America destroyed Baghdad.

In this example, it would look odd if such clauses are coordinated, simply because there is no association between them.

In this respect, rhetoricians, have divided clauses that can be subject to conjunction or disjunction into three main categories:

1. The first category fulfils only one condition of conjunction between the two clauses, and that is the association in meaning: the lexical as well as contextual. With regard to this type, al-Jurjānī (1988, p. 187) says: "the relation between the clause in question and another one before it is like that of the relation between a noun and its adjective" (jumla ḥāluhā maᶜa l-lati qablahā ḥālu ṣ-ṣifa maᶜa l-mawṣūf). In this case, al-Jurjānī, among many rhetoricians, rejects coordination between such clauses because they do not fulfil the other conditions of conjunction, and that is, divergence/contrast, as in:

6-15 Zayd-un dakiy-un. kāna l-'awwalu fi l-'imitiḥān.
Zeid-nom. (is) smart-nom. (he) was the-first in the-exam

6-15E Zeid is smart; he was the first in the exam.

2. The second category also fulfils one condition of coordination only, and that is, divergence, but there is no association in meaning, whatsoever, between the two clauses, as in 6-14 above (this type of sentences will not, however, be present in a well organized, cohesive and coherent text). Regarding this type, al-Jurjānī (loc. cit.) says: the relation between the first and the second clause is similar to that between any two different nouns in the two sentences, which have no relation with each other, meaning

or otherwise. In this type, he, among others, also rejects coordination between the two clauses because of the lack of meaning association.

3. The third category, according to Arab rhetoricians, fulfils both conditions for coordination between clauses: there is an association in meaning as well as divergence. This type of clauses lies in between the first two. Here, the two clauses are neither two expressions of the same lexical and contextual meaning (the first category) nor are they unrelated (meaning-wise), or unconnected (the second category). In this type, there is divergence as well as meaningful association, or as al-Jurjānī (1988, p. 187) puts it: 'the condition of such sentences is similar to that of a noun in the current clause and another noun in the previous one. They (nouns) are not the same, but they enter into the same functional meaning" [my translation]. Here, however, it is obvious that al-Jurjānī acts as half-rhetorician and half-grammarian, because, as he admits, the functional meaning he is referring to is a grammatical one, i.e. the nouns being subject/theme, objects, etc. It is on this basis that he approves coordination between the two clauses, in addition, of course, to the close relation in meaning, as in:

6-16 al-Jāḥiẓu kātib-un wa l-mutanabbi šāᶜir-un.
Al-jahiz (is a) writer-nom. and the-Mutanabi (is a) poet-nom.
6-16 Al-jahiz [theme] is [rheme] a writer and Al-mutanabi [theme] is a poet [rheme].

On the basis of this categorization, almost all rhetoricians, suggested four conditions for disjunctions (faṣl) between two clauses. These four are:

1. Complete connection (meaning association) between the two clauses (kamāl al-ʾittiṣāl). This is associated with category one above, where the second clause is fully connected to the first one.

2. Semi-complete connection (meaning association) between the two clauses (šibhu kamālu l-ʾtitiṣāl). In this type of relation the second clause acts as the answer to an implicit (or sometimes explicit) question in the first. Sometimes, this relation is called 'rhetorical resumption' (ʾisti ʾnāf bayāni), especially when the noun/subject spoken about (theme/topic) is resumed in the second clause, as in:

6-17 ʾa-taddaᶜi ʾanna-ka s-takūnu l-ʾawwal-a fi ṣ-ṣaff-i;
taqḍi laylak-ka nāʾima?
do-pretend -you will-be-(you) the-first-accus. in the class-gen.
spend night-your a sleep?
6-17E Do you [theme] pretend that you will be the first in the class, while you spend fall a sleep all night [rheme]?

3. Complete disjunction (lack of meaning association) between the two clauses. In this respect rhetoricians (ᶜabbās, 1989, pp. 418-419, among others), list two sub-categories of this case: (1) when the two sentences are informationally different, i.e. the first is propositional, implicitly performative, (xabariyya) and the second is explicitly performative (ʾinšāʾiyya) or vice versa, as in:

6-18 dahaba l-muxliṣūna__ raḥima-humu Allāh!
gone the-faithful (people) bless-them Allah

6-18E The faithful people [theme] are gone [rheme]__ May Allah [theme] bless them [rheme].

The second sub-category is when the two clauses are informationally the same type (two propositional or two performatives), but there is no meaning relation between them, as in 6-14 above.

4. A half-way between complete conjunction and complete disjunction (at-tawaṣṣuṭ bayna al-kamālayni). In this type, rhetoricians prefer to disjoin the two clauses if conjuncting them results in ambiguity, as in:

6-19 (waʾidā) (xalaw) ila šayāṭīni-him (qālū) ʾinnā maᶜak-um ʾinnamā naḥnu mustahziʾūn. Allah-u yastahziʾu bihim. (Holy Qur'an 1, 114: 14-15)

(but if) are (a lone) with evils-their (they say) with-you we are jesting Allah-nom. (will) mock them.

6-19E But when they are alone with their evil ones [theme], they say: 'we are really with you [rheme]; we [theme] (were) only jesting [rheme]. Allah [theme] will throw back their mockery on them [rheme1].

Here, if the last verse (Allah will throw . . .) is coordinated with the previous sentence, the reader/hearer will think that Allah Almighty is joining forces with the disbelievers in 'making fun of the believers'; whereas, it is exactly the other way round.

As for the third category of clauses, mentioned above, where conjunction is possible between adjacent clauses, rhetorician discuss two types:

1. The first type occurs when there is a complete informational agreement between the two clauses: the two clauses are of (1) a propositional type (xabariyya) or of (2) a performative type (ʾinšāʾiyya), as in respectively:

6-20 ʾinna l-ʾabrāra la-fi naᶜīm, wa ʾinna l-fujjāra la-fi jaḥīm. (30 ,82:13-14)
(emphatic) the-righteous in bliss and the-wicked in fire

6-20E As for the Righteous [theme], they will be in bliss; and as for the wicked (theme), they will be in the Fire

6-21 wa ʾaqīmu ṣ-ṣalāt-a, wa ʾātū z-zakāt. . . . (29 ,73: 20)
and establish the-prayer-accus. and give the-charity-accus.
6-21E And establish [theme/ (0=you=theme)] regular prayer [rheme], and give [theme/ (0=you= theme)] regular charity [rheme].

2. The second type occurs when the two clauses are informationally different: one propositional and one performative or vice versa. In this type, as mentioned above, disjunction is obligatory unless it results in ambiguity, where conjunction becomes the obligatory option, as in:

6-22 A: hal xaraja ʾabū-ka mina l-mustašfā?
(interr.) left father-your from the-hospital
Did your father [theme] leave the hospital [rheme]?

B: lā (0= lam yaxruj mina l-mustašfā), wa ᶜāfā-ka ʾallāh!
No (0= didn't leave from the-hospital), and bestow-you (health upon) Allah
No, (May Allah [theme] Bestow health Upon you)!

Here, the ambiguity will result if 'and' (wa) is omitted and the response to the question is ellipted. Whether in writing, and to a lesser extent in speech (due to the existence of intonation), the questioner may understand the response which consists of two clause: the ellipted 'no' (lā) and the performative clause without the 'wa', of course, as a call to Allah Al-mighty to deprive him from health, which is not what is intended.

Looking at conjunction and disjunction in Arabic from the rhetoricians' view point, one finds that, except for the fact that they ignore conjunction and disjunction of single items within the sentence and consequently ignore conjunction and disjunction between independent clauses and dependent ones that are embedded in them, there is not a wide gap between their definition of a sentence as discussed in chapter 5 (cf. 5.3) (or clause for the purpose of this study), and that of the second group of grammarians, discussed above. Moreover, whether it is conjunction or disjunction that dictates the use or the non-use of a coordinating particle, the fact remains that the individual conjunctive and disjunctive clauses can stand by themselves as having two distinct messages to convey to the receiver, whether they contain embedded clauses or not. The only difference between conjunctive and disjunctive clauses would be the existence of a coordinating conjunction article, which in Halliday's thematic formulation (for English) acts as part of the theme of the clause, textual theme (cf. 3.6) , and which, in line with Hudson (1986) and Grimes (1975), (cf. also 3.6.6), will not be treated as part of the theme (initial theme) of the 'major rhematic clause' (RC: a term selected for

segmenting the texts in English and Arabic, following in the steps of Halliday's systemic functional grammar).

In order to capture the properties of the clause as outlined by the second group of grammarians (above), and not miss the three categories of clause discussed by rhetoricians, the following technique is used in segmenting the Arabic texts for the purpose of this study:

1. I let my wife, who holds a BA in Arabic Language and Literature and who has extensive experience in teaching Arabic in high schools, read each text as if she were giving a speech, and recorded the result.
2. She paused, as if there is a full stop, when the meaning of each sentence, according to my judgment as well as hers, was completed.
3. We reversed the roles, and then compared her recording with mine.
4. When there was a difference in the duration of pauses between her recording of the text and that of mine, this was solved on the basis of cohesion and coherence with what precedes the disputed rhematic clause and what follows it, and sometimes by reference to the overall text.

In this respect, the second group of grammarians who, like the rhetoricians, define the sentence in terms of completeness in meaning and benefit to the receiver are reminiscent of Halliday (1985) when he talks about 'completeness': ideational completeness means that the slots implied for the process are filled, interpersonal completeness means that at least one speech act is being performed and textual completeness means that there must be a whole message conveyed by the clause.

6.4 The Technique of Text Analysis

Appendices A through D will be analyzed by using the same technique. The technique being used can be summarized as follows:

1. The source texts of each appendix will be analyzed in terms of thematic structure prior to translating them into the target language.
2. Then, the target language texts will be, in turn, analyzed in terms of thematic structure.
3. The approach used in analyzing texts (the Arabic and the English) is the Hallidayan

model outlined in chapter 3 (cf. 3.6). When it comes to some 'inherent differences' between the two languages in terms of theme and rheme (cf. 5.8), these will be highlighted, especially the question of whether the translation from one language to another preserves their thematic structure or re-thematises other elements of the rhematic major clause.

4. The results of the text thematic structure analysis will be tabulated. Each corpus will have two sets of tables: one prior to the translation, and another after the translation.

5. By comparing, discussing and analyzing these tables, hypotheses set forth at the beginning of this study (cf. chapter 1) are either corroborated, disproved or modified, and conclusions and recommendations will be drawn accordingly (cf. chapters 7 and 8).

6.5 A Hallidayan-Oriented Approach to the Analysis of Political Discourse

6.5.1 An Overview

Traditionally, one of the dominant themes of political discourse analysis has been that political language functions to influence political thought (Wilson, 1990, p.9)[33]. In a sense this is obviously true, since politicians and their 'hired pens' present an argument which they want the electorate to believe. But this is radically different from claiming that politicians actively create for the layman a cognitive environment which directs his thinking on various issues. Here, the layman is closer to some assumed concepts of universal honesty which politicians or their 'controlled media' are ignoring, and which they are using language to obscure and subvert. Thus, there grows a tension between one's expectations of political behaviour and what is political reality, and nowhere, is this more apparent than political discourse.

Since classical times, it has been accepted that language plays a role in the creation of political reality, and that the aim of the analysis of political discourse (spoken or written) is "to uncover the rhetorical techniques used by politicians to create and manipulate a specific view of the world" (Wilson, op. cit., p.10). The typical text type that realizes this type of discourse is the emotive argumentative text type (cf. 6.2.1). The kind of analysis carried out regarding this type can be regarded as an

extension of literary criticism. In this respect, the standards of assessment are the analyst's own interpretive capabilities, which cannot be regarded as 'irrelevant' or incorrect, because, here, the underlying premise, as hinted above, is that politicians' language does not only convey the message, but also creates for the reader/ listener a controlled cognitive environment from which any interpretation is manipulated.

Whorf (1956) argues that our world view is relatively constrained by the language system we employ in representing language (cf. 3.1.1.3). In its strong form, this implies that thought is controlled by the language employed; this should be apparent, for example, in the English-speaking world, e.g. the UK and the USA, since English has a different tense system from Arabic (cf. 5.3). In such a case, it would be safe to say that the users of the two languages have a different concept of time. This would result in the ability of the English user to manipulate, on political grounds, the tense element differently from the Arabic user. It is difficult, however, to maintain such a strong 'determinist position'. The fact that the Eskimos, for example, may have more terms for 'snow' than presently available in English does not make it impossible for an English speaker to describe, with already available resources, a range of snow types.

In its weak and more realistic form, Whorf's argument suggests that the world is not given to us directly by experience only, but that experiences are, in part, mediated through language. This sounds undoubtedly reasonable and carries some truth. Moreover, in its strongest form, Whorf's hypothesis has been heavily criticized (cf. Strong, 1984)[34], simply because, in language use, there are 'no culture-free interpretation'; there are only alternatives guided by linguistic choices operating at various levels of structure (cf. 3.3 through 3.6 above). Thus, one has to be careful not to assume that there is, somehow, a universal truth, at least in linguistic terms; there are alternatives, each representing a relative view of the world.

One approach that has attempted to provide an underlying structural linguistic account of political languages is to be found in the works of those who are called 'critical linguists'[35]. Their aim is not to describe language, but to consider the role of language in the creation and maintenance of political and social ideologies. They approach their task by making use of standard linguistic theories and concepts. On the surface, the aim of critical linguistics is to describe how ideological positions are reflected through linguistic choice (a reminder of Halliday's systemic choices), and as

such, this approach is able , at the surface level, to make use of any linguistics theory__ e.g. Chomsky's transformational generative grammar (TGG), or more importantly Halliday's systemic functional grammar.

In what follows, there will be a brief discussion of three main areas that concern critical linguists with regard to the analysis of political discourse. These are: language and ideology, language and power and the proposed checklist which indicates how relations of power are signalled when analyzing political discourse. The last concern will only be looked at from a systemic linguistics' point of view, particularly that which touches upon the subject of this study.

6.5.2 **Language and Ideology**

For critical linguists, the term ideology is one of the least settled categories of philosophical and sociological discussions of the last century. Kress, for example, points out that its meaning ranges from "the relatively innocuous 'system of ideas' or 'world view' to more contested ones such as 'false consciousness' or 'ideas of the dominant ruling class'" (Kress, 1985, p. 29)[36]. Although critical linguists believe that it is not strictly necessary to introduce ideology into consideration of theories of languages, they point at some powerful reasons for doing so; these reasons include:

1. The fact that any theory of language that is serious about the social function and the effect of language cannot make do with 'asocial' categories such as world view. Thus, any theory of language has to focus quite deliberately on the relations of language to material conditions of its uses and of its users.
2. Ideology as a concept covers various issues and concerns regarding the forms of knowledge and their relations to class structure, to class conflict, and class interest, the modes of production and of economic structure, and with the forms of knowledge in specific social practices.
3. Ideology is equally concerned with dominant and with oppositional forms of knowledge in a society, with accommodative strategies, and with knowledge deriving from the historical and social positions of its users.

In this sense, ideology finds its best articulation or expression through language (although it is important to point out that ideologies find their articulation in a wide

range of social practices, cf. 3.5). Thus, a powerful way of examining ideological structure is through the examination of language, and consequently the forms of language are illuminated by an analysis of the ideologies at work in given societies. The relation between language and ideology exists at many levels: at the lexical level, at the grammatical-syntactic level, (cf. 3.4 & 5 and 6.3.3 & 4) etc. According to Kress (1985), this relation depends on the category of discourse, since no linguistic form has any special meaning when considered in isolation, nor does it possess any ideological significance or function. Thus, it is because these linguistic forms always appear in a text and therefore in systematic form as "the sign" of the system of meaning embodied in specific discourse that one can attribute ideological significance to them. In this respect, the defined and delimited set of statements that constitute a discourse are themselves expressive of and organized by a specific ideology. What this means is that ideology and discourse are realizationally related aspects of the same general phenomenon (the socio-semiotic or culture in Halliday's systemic terms), but regarded from two different standpoints. Kress summarizes this argument as follows:

> The systematic organization of content in discourse, drawing on and deriving from the prior classification of this material in an ideological system, leads to the systematic selection of linguistic categories and features in a text. Hence the presence of a linguistic feature in a text is always the sign of the presence of one term from a discursive and ideological system appearing in the context of the co-presence of other terms from that system [a reminder of Halliday's systemic choices] (Kress, 1985, p. 30).

Therefore, a linguistic feature or category never appears simply by itself__ it always appears as the representative of a system of linguistic terms, which themselves realize discursive and ideological systems. This means that the linguistic term in a discourse and in a text derives a specific meaning from its place in a system of other linguistic terms (options), and that the system gives specific meanings to terms in the system.

As for the ideological significance, hinted to above, this can be "read off" from the linguistic items in the text itself. This is because the linguistic features function as a sign of a term in an ideological system and this term has a quite precise meaning deriving from its place in a system of other terms. However, beyond this, texts can also be read for their ideological content because of the iconic nature of linguistic forms. While, according to Kress (1985), most lexical forms do stand in an entirely

conventional relation to their referents in the world (with the exception of onomatopoeia), most or perhaps all syntactic forms and processes have an 'expressive' relation to their referents. In the relation between passive and active clauses, for instance, the shift of emphasis indicated by first position (theme) from agent (actor) to patient (goal) directly expresses the relative significance assigned by the speaker or writer to the respective entities. In this respect, the entire syntactic system of language functions in the same manner, hence Halliday's term 'functional grammar', and hence the fact that a syntactic form signals not simply the prior presence of a specific ideological selection, but also the meaning or content of that ideological choice. And while a single linguistic form has a wide range of possible meanings (i.e., it is not clear from a passive clause in isolation why precisely the object has been made emphatic), when this form appears in the context of the systemic selection of the whole range of linguistic forms occurring in text, then the meaning of each form becomes quite specific.

Thus, it can be said that ideological content is expressed in linguistic form: (1) as the sign of ideologically determined selection made by the speaker or writer__ in other words, as an index of ideological activity, and (2) as the expression of ideological content expressed by a linguistic form in the context of other forms in a text. This content becomes specific because of the co-presence of the other forms in a text that narrows and determines the meaning of any linguistic form. In this respect, it can also be said that the selection or choice of a linguistic form may not be a 'live' process for the individual speaker if (1) discourses are the organizations of ideological materials in discursive forms, and if (2) these discourses exist in an already established repertoire of discourses in a social group. In this case, the individual speaker will not in fact be creating the discourse but rather will simply reproduce the discourse that he/she has previously learned. However, as discourse and text are distinct categories, and as discourse must be realized in a specific genre, it is possible for the speaker to use established discursive rules, but to give them a relatively 'novel implementation' in text. In fact, as Kress (1985, pp. 31-32) puts it, "there is not a direct, homologous relation between the social unit 'discourse' and the linguistic unit (semantic unit, to be more precise, in Halliday's formulation; cf. 3.5.1) 'text', a text may be the location of a number of often contradictory or disparate discourses". It is in the text rather than in

discourse that language users can exercise creativity, because, according to Kress (loc. cit.) discourses are relatively fixed and texts are unstable and unpredictable, and because text falls within the domain of language, whereas discourse does not. In fact, text's unpredictability is a major cause of linguistic change[37]. In this respect, it appears that Kress (1985), has the following diagramtical model representing language and ideology:

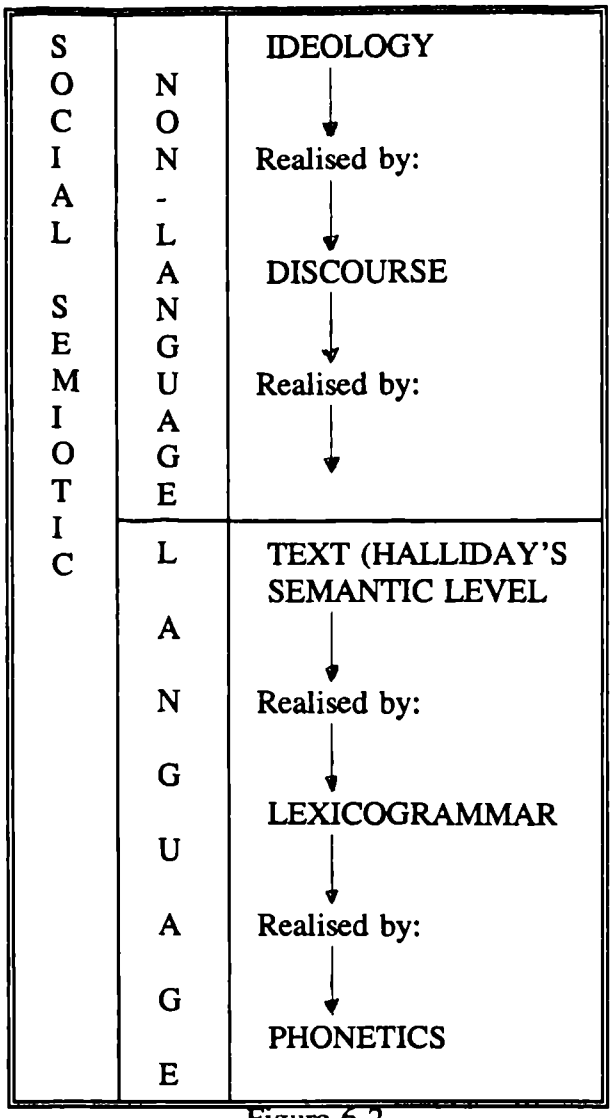

Figure 6-2

Among the critical linguists, Trew, (1979a & 1979b) illustrates how linguistic theory can be used as an aid to studying and analyzing the ideological character of discourse. He argues that the ideological character of discourse consists in:

> the systematic patterns and organization of linguistic characteristics of the relevant kind, including, in particular, the systematic patterns of classification of process and participants and the presentation of agency and interaction (Trew, 1979b, p. 154)[38].

Furthermore, in Trew's view, ideology is best understood not by analysis of given texts, but by analysis of the processes of which texts are a part. According to him, ideological or theoretical processes come into play when discourse contains "material which needs frequent explaining, interpreting, appropriating, suppressing, translating and so on" (Trew, op. cit., p. 155). Thus, the field of analysis contains sequences of texts and related discourses realized by these texts. Trew points out that this includes the need to make use of transformational linguistic theory, understood in a way that involves both transformation of sentences in discourse, and transformation of wordings (relexicalization: see sections 6.5.3 & 4 below). This also implies the need for a linguistic theory of modality (in Halliday's sense) as an expression of the evaluation of other discourses which enter into the process, and finally the need for a linguistic theory of textual structure in which the cohesion of a text with other discourses is expressed (these two imply the need for a model such as the Hallidayan systemic approach). Hence, Trew adopts a Hallidayan model of language that explicitly addresses itself to the relation between linguistic choice and the semiotic constraints of the speech situation.

A final major premise which Trew (1979a & b) bases his analysis on is his belief that ideological difference does not consist simply in variation, with the existence of separate texts and discursive practices expressing distinct ideologies. This difference, according to him, involves the ideological conflict of various modes, which have a wide range of linguistic expression. This includes variation in wording -'lexical variation'- even this involves the use of one option and the rejection of known alternative ones. It also includes the extremely important case of the same word being used with different meanings because it is 'embedded' within different linguistic systems expressing different ideologies or theories. In this, he concurs with Seidal (1985), who believes that Trews' analysis of political discourse in terms of Halliday's systemic functional grammar

> offers a powerful illustration in accessible language of how students of linguistics . . . can analyze some of the ideological determinants in discourse, and how it is intricated in social processes and in stages in the reproduction and transformation of ideology" (Seidal, 1985, p. 53) [my ellipsis][39].

6.5.3 **Language and Power**

For Fowler (1985, p. 61)[40], power "is the ability to control the behaviour and material lives of others". In these terms, therefore, it is a transitive concept entailing an asymmetrical relationship: X is more powerful than/has power over Y. In very general terms, it is an abstraction picking out one feature in an indefinitely large number of very diverse kinds of relationships, which range between those existing between child and mother (cf. 3.4.2) and those between government and its subjects.

These power relationships are not natural and objective; they are artificial, socially constructed inter-subjective realities (although the power relationship between a mother and a small child rests on the inherent relative helplessness of the child). These relationships are, according to Berger and Luckman (1976), 'the social construction of reality' (the title of their book). In this respect, language is a mechanism in the process of social construction; it is an instrument for consolidating and manipulating concepts and relationships in the area of power and control, as well as other areas of social and ideological structure. Fowler characterizes language in the following terms:

> not only is it used to enforce and exploit existing positions of authority and privilege in the obvious ways (commands, regulations, etc.); the use of language continuously constitutes the statuses and roles upon which people base their claims to exercise power, and statuses and roles which seem to require subservience. (Fowler, 1985, pp. 61-62).

For the critical linguists, language is a 'reality-creating process'. They insist on this view in their book *Language and Control* (Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew, 1979). They take this position not only because it emphasizes the necessity of studying language in relation to power, repression and inequality but also because it corrects the prevalent misformation in traditional sociolinguistics[41].

Although, critical linguists do not disagree with sociolinguists regarding the notion that members of different social groups speak different varieties, and even if all these varieties are as good as one another and there are no primitive languages (cf. 3.1.2), the fact remains that some varieties and items are associated with situations of prestige, success, and authority, and some with situations of powerlessness and deprivation. Thus, unlike sociolinguists, critical linguist treat language as practice that

contributes to inequality, and not as an innocent medium that simply reflects inequality[42].

Critical linguists draw attention to two types of linguistic processes by which social control is exercised by the powerful; they call these "directive" and "constitutive" (Fowler et. al., 1979, pp. 35-36)[43]. The former, according to them, is practised explicitly by the use of speech acts (cf. 6.5.4) such as commands, requests and proclamations, and interpersonal practices which, while not speech acts, nevertheless carry clearly recognized social meanings in the area of power, like pronominal usages[44]. Directive linguistic practices are very clearly visible in face-to-face conversations, especially in genres of discourse that are directly implicated in the power structure, such as interviews, and in written official discourse directed to a larger community. Constitutive linguistic practices are based on the idea of the social construction of reality alluded to above. In this case, what are being constructed are the institutions, roles, and statuses that preserve the hierarchic structure of society, guarding the exploitive opportunities of the ruling class and keeping the lower orders in voluntary or 'involuntary' subservience. The role of language, according to Fowler (1985, p. 64) is to:

> continuously articulate ideology, to insist on systems of beliefs that legitimate the institutions of power. Language shares this with other semiotic systems [cf. 3.5] (dress, the arts, sport, decor etc.,), but it is the most important system of signs in society, so richly impregnated is it with conventional meanings.

This argument of language being a reality-constituting power tallies with Halliday's approach of language as a social semiotic (cf. 3.5). In this respect, Hallidayan systemic-functional linguistics is the most suitable model for discussing and analyzing political discourse. Closely related to the critical linguists' assumption that language is a reality-creating power is Halliday's claim that "the particular form taken by language is closely related to the social and personal needs that language is required to serve" (Halliday, 1970, p. 142)[45]. This can also be associated with Halliday's other claims like: "no doubt language has evolved in this way [orchestrated into different modes of meanings] because of the ways in which it is used" (Halliday, 1978, p.188)[46]. Thus, Halliday's argument looks like that of the critical linguists (they admit that they draw on Halliday's functional model), in that both 'schools' claim that the

major part of linguistic structure can be explained as responding to the needs of the society that uses the language__ including, most importantly, the ideological needs referred to in 6.5.2. From an ideological perspective, Halliday does not differ from the critical linguists' beliefs, especially regarding languages, when he says:

> We can recognize a category of **'OPPRESSED LANGUAGES'**; languages of groups that are subjected to social and political oppression. It is a characteristic of oppressed languages that their speakers tend to excel at verbal content and verbal display. Meaning is often the most effective form of social action that is available to them (Halliday, 1978, p. 185).

According to Fowler (1985, p. 66), the major findings of dialectology and sociolinguistics is that languages are not unitary: that different groups, and different speech situations, employ different varieties of a language. In this respect, Halliday, following in the steps of sociolinguists, identifies two types of varieties: dialects (different ways of saying the same thing) and register (ways of saying different things) (cf. 3.6.3), or as he explicitly puts it:

> Whereas dialect variation reflects **SOCIAL ORDER** in the special sense of the **HIERARCHY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE**, register variation also reflects the social order but in the special sense of the **DIVERSITY OF SOCIAL PROCESSES**. We are not doing the same thing at the same time; so we speak now in one register, now in another. But the total range of the social processes in which any member will typically engage is a function of the structure of society. We each have our own repertory of social actions, reflecting our place at the intersection of a whole complex of social hierarchies (Halliday, 1978, pp. 185-186) [my emphasis].

Thus, the language of different groups, and of individuals in different social roles, articulate characteristically different social meanings, because these different groups, or individuals within a social group, need to affirm different ideologies; linguistic practice, as mentioned above, is the most powerful way of articulating experience, beliefs and values.

The notion of differential ideology within a language can easily be related to power, and its necessary antithesis, solidarity. A solidary group expresses it in terms of shared system of beliefs about reality. Linguistic practice (the repeated utterance of characteristic single linguistic items) affirms and reconstitutes the group's values and the individual's status and roles. By these means, the inner coherence of the group is

maintained and its boundaries clearly defined.

In studying the maintenance of power differential within a society, critical linguists follow in the steps of Marxist ideology[47]. The process of legitimating the power of the ruling authorities is performed, according to critical linguists, "by bathing society in official discourse: law, reports, parliamentary debates, sermons, text books, lectures" (Fowler, 1985, p. 68). All these methods, in conjunction with other state-controlled agencies (in states suppressed by dictatorial regimes), especially those that control the dissemination of ideas__ publishers of books, magazines, newspapers, radio and television companies, work in language and insist upon a set of concepts that make up a certain reality: one that is favourable to the groups for whom the ideology is constructed to serve. Thus, the power differential is maintained and suppression through the use of language is preserved.

6.5.4 Linguistic Signalling Devices of Power Relations in Political Discourse

Throughout the study of various genres of discourse, linguists, including critical linguists have, proposed a set of linguistic devices or categories of structure, that seem to figure frequently in the linguistic practice of power. This 'checklist' (the name given to it by critical linguists) is designed to direct the attention of discourse analysts towards parts of language that will probably repay close examination. This list however does not have any special theoretical value for the linguistics of power; it is merely a combination of observations compiled by Fowler (1985) from work done by the critical linguists at an earlier stage of their linguistic career (Fowler et. al. 1979). It is mainly based, as Fowler and Kress (1979, p. 197) admit, on the three functional components adopted by Halliday in his functional grammar (cf. 3.4.1). But Fowler et. al. (1979, p. 198) warn students as well as discourse analysts that "there is no one-to-one association between any linguistic form and any specific social meaning". Speakers make systemic selections to construct new discourses, on the basis of systems -ideologies- and complex purposes of all kinds; thus, to isolate specific forms, to focus on one structure, to select one process, and to lift components of a discourse out of their context and consider them in isolation would be antithetical to the critical linguists' approach.

As for the devices included in this list, Fowler (1985, pp. 69-74) lists the

following: (1) Lexical Processes, (2) Transitivity, (3) Modality, (4) Speech Acts, (5) Implicature, (6) Syntax: Ellipsis, Sequencing and Complexity, (7) Turn Taking, (8) Address, Naming and Personal Preference (cf. note 44), and (9) Phonology. Compared to the checklist proposed by critical linguists in 1979 (cf. Fowler et. al, 1979, p. 198), this new list can be considered a step forward towards a more exact analysis of the elements of power differential in political discourse. The 1979 listing does not include 7 and 9, which are particularly crucial in analyzing spoken political discourse. For the purpose of this study, however, lexical processes, transitivity, modality, syntax, speech acts and implicature will be discussed with regard to analyzing thematic structure in political discourse (cf. Fowler & Kress, 1979, Fowler, 1985, and Halliday, 1985).

1. **Lexical Processes:** One of the fundamental principles of modern linguistics (enunciated by F. de Saussure in his book, *A Course in General Linguistics*, the 1974 translation), is that linguistics signs are arbitrary: there is essentially no connection between ideas/things outside language and the words that designate them (with the exception of onomatopoeic words). Saussure and Whorf, among others, have assumed that this semiotic arbitrariness allows different cultures "to chop up 'the world' into unpredictably variable conceptual categories". (Fowler, 1985, p. 85). Certainly semiotic arbitrariness is a precondition for the difference in the way the world gets coded. In support of this, consider the difficulty of translating between languages and the marked differences between languages in particular areas of vocabulary such as kinship and colour terminologies[48]. Thus, the majority of vocabulary is arbitrary in the Saussurian sense, in that meaning is not natural, but rather chopped out of the flux of experience according to the needs of the community of speakers (e.g., motivated by natural divisions).

On the basis of this argument, the vocabulary of a language can be considered as a lexical map of the preoccupations of a culture. Whatever is important to a culture is richly lexicalised (or overlexicalized): detailed systems of terms develop for the areas of expertise, the features of habit, the institutions and relationships and the beliefs and values of community. For Halliday, the provision of a term for a concept is called "lexicalization" (Halliday, 1978, p. 165). Other relevant lexical processes include "overlexicalization" and "underlexicalization". Overlexicalization is the availability of many words for one concept, a thing that indicates the prominence of the concept in a

community's belief and intellectual interests (cf. the various words for God in Christianity, the words for 'sword' (sayf, muhannad, etc.) in classical Arabic, and even the various names of Allāh in the Islamic Faith [a known total of 99]). Underlexicalization, on the other hand, represents the lack of a term that would neatly encode a concept (i.e. technical jargon in standard Arabic, sometimes), that is communicatively and socially significant when a speaker laboriously expresses a concept that is not fully in his power by a circumlocution.

This Hallidayan-based argument corresponds with what critical linguists believe are crucial lexical processes in the linguistic practice of power. In this respect, Fowler says:

> Processing the terms crystallises the relevant concepts for their users; using them in discourse keeps the idea current in the community's consciousness, and helps transmit them from group to group and generation to generation (Fowler, 1985, p. 85).

In this way, ideology is reproduced and disseminated within society __ ideology in the neutral sense of world view, a largely unconscious theory of the way the world works accepted as commonsense.

It has also been noticed by critical linguists that stylisticians have identified several distinctions between vocabulary items that have been traditionally considered of relevance to the subject of language and power. Referentially, words may be abstract (democracy), concrete (brick), general (food) or specific (rice). Morphologically, lexical items may be complex (childishness) or simple (child). It would be broadly true to say that, for these two appositions, the first category is associated with more formal settings and relationships, with learning and institutional power.

2. **Transitivity:** This is Halliday's traditional term for the ideational dimension of the grammar of the "clause as a representation" as he usually refers to it in systemic linguistic terms (Halliday, 1985, chapter 5). He focuses on the predicates (usually verbs and adjectives) that communicate action, processes, states and so on, and the roles performed by the entities participating in these processes (usually designated by nouns).

There are some fundamental distinctions made at the level of transitivity between actors who are deliberately performing actions like:

6-23a John opened the door,

objects undergoing actions as in:

6-23b The door opened,

instruments being used to effect actions as in:

6-23c A/The key opened the door,

or an experiencer undergoing mental states and mental processes as in:

6-23d Ahmad was sad.

6-23e Ahmad saw the policeman.

As already indicated, transitivity has received a great deal of attention in discourse analysis carried out by critical linguists (cf. 6.5.2 & 3). The main types of process that have received particular attention by them are the action sub-type process (a sub-type of the material process), where an actor acts against a goal (cf. 6-23a), the process of sensing (mental process), where a sensor senses a phenomenon (cf. 6-23e), and the relational processes, which mark a relationship of either 'being', 'having' or 'becoming' between the participants (cf. 6-23d). A social motivation for analyzing transitivity is to try to work out what social, cultural, ideological, political or theoretical factors determine how a process is signified in a particular type of discourse, or in a particular text.

Which process type is chosen to signify a real process may be of cultural, political or ideological significance, as I suggested above. Halliday (1973) provided a literary example from William Goldings' *The Inheritors*, where he showed the perspective of Lok (Neanderthal man) is signified in the novel by event processes, with the consequence that 'directed actions' and the relations of agency and causality associated cannot be represented. This registers the cultural primitiveness of Lok, and his inability to make sense of the actions of the People (Homo Sapiens).

Some of the examples above (cf. 6.5.2: Trew, 1979a &b) suggest the possible political and ideological significance of choice of the process type. For example, an issue which is always important is whether agency, causality and responsibility are made explicit or left vague in media accounts for important events. Wars, industrial decline, anti-government demonstrations, to name just a few, are sometimes signified in terms of actions with responsible agents. These alternatives can be a focus of political and ideological study.

In addition to nominalization and passivization which will be discussed below, grammatical metaphor (cf. Halliday, 1985, chapter 10) is another option among the

systemic options that are available to the speaker/writer. By the use of metaphor, the speaker/writer can produce a form of grammar of a clause that is not always a straightforward type of process (congruent form, to Halliday's systemic term). There are cases of grammatical metaphor, where one process type takes on the typical grammatical realization of another. To illustrate this type of incongruent representation of the process, the following example is borrowed from Halliday (1985):

6-24 The fifth day saw them at the summit,

to express the success of mountaineers. Here, instead of realizing the process materially as an event process ('They reached the summit on the fifth day'), the time element 'the fifth day' is dressed up to look as if it were an onlooker 'seeing' the climbers when the arrived at the summit. I believe, as mentioned earlier (cf. 3.6.2.5) and as will be illustrated later in this study, that this change of process type which renders such a construction is meant to arrange the RCs theme-rheme structure the way the speaker/writer wants it.

In analyzing transitivity, therefore, it is important to note not only what roles of participants go with what predicates, but also what kind of entities are categorized as performing certain roles. For instance, a newspaper reporting street disturbances might implicitly blame the young people of the area by consistently characterizing them as agents while exculpating the police by not attributing agency to them. Or a government might play down its responsibility by sheltering behind abstract terms used as pseudoagents like:

6-25 Circumstances dictate the raising of taxes,

which thoroughly mystifies the practice of power and hides the formation of relations and differentials of power.

3. **Modality:** This is also Halliday's -- rather untraditional-- term for the interpersonal dimension of the grammar of "the clause as an exchange" (Halliday, 1985, chapter 4). Fowler (1985, p 72) outlines the range of linguistic devices that indicate the speakers'/writers' attitude to the propositions they utter, and to some degree, of their addressees/readers. These devices fall into the following areas: (1) validity__ the speaker expresses greater or less confidence in the truth of his propositions; (2) predictability__ the future events referred to are more or less likely to happen; (3) desirability__ practical, moral, or aesthetic judgments; (4) obligation__ the speaker's

judgment that another person is obliged to perform some action, and (5) permission__ speaker allows the addressee to perform some action. In other words, in any propositional utterance, the producer must indicate what Kress and Hodge (1988, p. 123) call "a degree of affinity" with the proposition, so any such utterance has the property of modality or is 'modalized[49].

The connection of these last two modal meanings with power is quite obvious, but the first three are also implicated: frequent and confident judgments of validity, predictability and (un)desirability are important parts of the practices by means of which claims to authority are articulated and legitimated authority is expressed.

Modality is signified by a wide range of linguistic forms: centrally, the modal auxiliary verbs (*must, may, can, should, etc.*), which are important means of realizing it. Moreover, the systemic approach to grammar, which the critical linguists draw upon (cf. 6.5), stresses the fact that modal auxiliaries are only one modality feature among many (cf. Kress and Hodge, 1988 & Halliday 1985, pp. 85-89). These include adverbs such as *probably, certainly*, etc., and adjectives such as *necessary, unfortunate, certain*, etc. Furthermore, some verbs and many nominalizations are essentially modal: *permit, predict, prove, obligation, likelihood, desirability, authority*, etc.
(cf. Fowler, 1985, p.73).

Fairclough (1992, pp. 159-160[50]) adds 'tense' as one of the significant linguistic forms of modality with examples like:
6-26 So any such utterance has the property of modality, or is 'modalized'.
He (loc. cit.) points out also that modality can either be subjective or objective. When subjective, the degree of affinity with a proposition is being expressed; whereas with objective modality, it may not be clear whose perspective is being presented__ whether, for example, the speaker is projecting his/her own perspective as a universal one, or acting as a vehicle for the perspective of some other individual or group. The use of objective modality often implies some form of power.

There is, however, more modality than the speaker's/writer's commitment to propositions. Producers indicate commitment to propositions in the course of interactions with other people, and the affinity they express with propositions is often difficult to disentangle from their sense of affinity, or solidarity, with interactants. For example, in an utterance, like:

6-27a Isn't she beautiful!
6-27b She is beautiful, isn't she?

Here, the speaker expresses high affinity with the propositions 'she is beautiful', and, at the same time, he is expressing solidarity with his addressee. Therefore, questions of this type propose that the affinity with the proposition is shared between speaker and addressee (given the latter's answers in advance). Such questions are asked to demonstrate this affinity and solidarity rather than to get information. So expressing a high degree of affinity may have little to do with one's commitment to a proposition, but a lot to do with a desire to do with a desire to show solidarity (Kress and Hodge, 1988, p. 123). On the basis of this argument, one would agree with Fairclough when he says:

> Modality is a point of intersection in discourse between the signification of reality and the enactment of social relations__ or in the terms of systemic linguistics, between the ideational and the interpersonal function of language (Fairclough, 1992, p. 160).

The other side of the coin is the modality of deference. An inferior addressing a superior has the many constructions available for signalling deference, lack of overconfidence, acquiescence: softeners and hedges such as 'a bit of', 'sort of', 'you know'; tentative and unconfident use of past tense 'I was . . .', tag questions, and intonation patterns signalling unassertiveness, and so on. (cf. Halliday [Kress, 1976, chapter 13]).

4. **Speech Acts**: According to Austin (1962), the theory of speech acts refers to the analyses of the role of utterances in relation to the behaviour of the speaker and hearer in interpersonal communication. It is not an 'act of speech' (in the sense of parole), but a communicative activity (a locutionary act), defined with reference to the intentions of the speaker while speaking (the illocutionary force of his utterances), and the effects he achieves on his listener (the perlocutionary effect of his utterances). In this respect, Searle (1976), quoted by Levinson (1983, p. 240), identifies five basic kind of actions that one can perform in speaking, by means of the following five types of utterance:

(i) **Representatives**, which commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition (paradigm cases: asserting, concluding, etc.)

(ii) **Directives**, which are attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something (paradigm cases: commanding, requesting, questioning, etc.)

(iii) **Commissives**, which commit the speaker to some future course of action (paradigm cases: thanking, apologizing, threatening, offering).

(iv) **Declarations**, which effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions (paradigm cases: excommunicating, declaring war, christening, firing from employment)[51].

This theory holds that every utterance, besides communicating content (ideas, information, propositions, etc.) constitutes an action performed by the speaker in relation to his addressee, as in:

6-28 I [theme] promise to pay you 5 pounds [rheme],

where the utterance of the speech act is the act of promising.

With regard to language and control, two types of speech acts are worthy of attention: the manipulative acts of commanding and requesting (called directive above). For critical linguists, the most direct forms of speech acts are generally legitimized only "when the power differential between participants is extremely great and can be openly acknowledged- parents and children are (regrettably) the most familiar example" (Fowler, 1979, p. 204). On the other hand, when the power differential is less, or cannot be acknowledged, indirectness and distance appear again. Hence, most commands do not appear in their direct syntactic form, the imperative. Instead, declarative, and interrogative, as will be shown later in this section, are used (with modalizers of different kind). This indirectness of the speech act, its linguistic distance from the intended act, signals the social distance and social indirectness. In speech acts, the kind of surface form selected gives direct insight into the meanings expressed; these meanings, however, are concerned with establishing linguistic role relations between the speaker and the hearer (commander, informer, questioner and commanded, informed, questioned), and the consequent control of the hearer's behaviour.

From a syntactic point of view, as hinted above, declaratives and imperatives are the two 'moods' (to use Halliday's systemic term) typically used to realize the two extremes of power differential. In declaratives, the speaker is assigned the role of 'giver of information'; whereas in imperatives, the speaker is assigned the role of 'commander', where the power differential is , as mentioned earlier, at its maximum. Although declarative sentences do not make any claim about power relations, and can thus apparently be considered neutral, Fowler, (1979, p. 204) believes:

> The giver of information also has the role of the speaker, and there are conventions about who may or may not be a speaker in any given situation . . . [especially in a dictatorial situation], and every one realizes when someone has 'spoken out of turn'. Also a giver of information is a '***knower***' of information, and knowledge is a basis of power [my ellipsis; original emphasis].

Therefore, one can take it as a general principle that the greater the power differential between the parties to a speech act of command, the more likely the 'direct' syntactic form (e.g imperative) is to be chosen. In this case, someone who enjoys absolute power (a dictatorial ruler, for example) can afford to be abrupt (e.g. drive the whole nation to destruction). Thus, the smaller the power distance, the greater the amount of linguistic effort of circumlocution (declaratives, particularly passive: cf. next point) are used, as in:

6-29 No outside shoes [theme] will be worn when in the pool area [rheme].

It must be pointed, however, that speech acts work in relation to the communicative contexts in which they are uttered; unless the circumstances are appropriate, they 'misfire', as when for example the speaker promises to give the addressee 5 pounds and the addressee does not need the money, or the speaker does not have it[52]. Therefore, many of the conditions for the successful performance of speech acts relate to the socially ascribed roles and statuses of speaker and hearers, so it is understandable that speech acts are centrally implicated in establishing and maintaining power relationships.

5. **Implicature**: First introduced by Grice (1975), the term implicature is used to refer to unstated propositions "between the lines" of discourse (or how it is possible to mean more than what is actually said): to the implications which can be deduced from the form of the utterance, on the basis of certain co-operative principles which govern the efficiency and normal acceptability of conversation (cf. chapter 2, note 43). Grice shows how implictures are produced, often by apparent breaches of conventions for the cooperative conduct of conversation (e.g. apparently irrelevant remarks that become relevant when interpreted in the light of some unstated proposition).

With regard to the implication of implicature in the question of language and power, two main points can appropriately be mentioned. First, an implicature is not accidental, but the product of an intentional act. Presumably, there are conventions (as

with speech acts) governing who has 'the right to implicate' in terms of status and authority. Second, the propositions that are implicated in any context may be consistent with one another and add up to the social semiotic a set of ideological commitments invoked to underpin the discourse__ this would be a way one speaker imposes an ideology on another.

6. **Syntax**: Traditional stylistics assumes that alternative syntactic phrasing are available to express essentially the same meaning, with perhaps minor but stylistically significant variations of focus, perspective, or emphasis[53]. This view is supported by the early versions of transformational generative grammar (cf. Chomsky, 1965); this is probably why critical linguists treat these alternative syntactic phrasing under the rubric 'transformation' in their 1979 book. It is very difficult to give a precise theoretical linguistic characterization of this insight. Nevertheless, it seems to be one of the main working assumptions of the sociolinguistics of language and power. Thus, in examples like:

6-30 Circumstances [theme] dictate the raising of taxes [rheme],

where the example is not only mystified by the pseudoagency 'circumstances', but also by the syntactic options taken in the remainder of the sentence. In this example the salient features is the deletion or ellipsis of nouns designating participants: 'dictate' has no subject (actor in Halliday's systemic terms), 'raising' has no subject, 'taxes' is not linked to any specification of who is taxing who. In this respect, it is easy for the reader or hearer to imagine syntactic paraphrases that would spell out the participants, as in:

6-30a Circumstances [theme & theme1] dictate[rheme1] # that[theme2] we [theme3] should raise taxes [rheme],

without altering the statement substantially__ and equally easy to imagine why a government would prefer the non-specifying syntax.

In what follows, three major syntactic variables will be treated. These will include: (a) deletion or ellipsis, where nominalization and passivization will be discussed, (b) Sequencing, where thematization will be briefly touched upon, and (3) complexity, where the effect of using paratactic versus hypotactic construction will be illustrated.

(a) **Deletion/Ellipsis**: There are numerous conventions for leaving out parts of

constructions (cf. 5.6). In ellipsis, for example, a truncated second sentence relies for its interpretation on the implication that some words from a preceding sentence are relied on to complete the meaning. The various elliptical styles can clearly be linked to sociolinguistic values (different according to context): these include, according to Fowler (1985, p.71) "brusquences, emphasis (POWER), intimacy and shared knowledge (SOLIDARITY)" [my emphasis].

There are two sociolinguistic constructions that permit deletion; these are nominalization and passivization (cf. 3.6.3, 3.6.2.2 & 5.3.1.1). For critical linguists, nominalization is "a rendering of the content of a verb in a form of a noun" (Fowler, 1985, p. 71). Thus, by nominalization, they mean nominals which (whether listed in dictionaries or not) are derived from sentences or parts of sentences__ to put it another way, nominal expressions of concepts for which an expression involving a verb or an adjective would have been available for the writer or speaker.

From a stylistic point of view, nominalization is well known for two major effects: (1) it attenuates any feeling of activity in the language, and (2) makes for 'impersonality' in style. Both effects are due to the deletion of participants, often actors/agents and goal/affected, which are possible without the process of nominalization. It can be said, therefore, that this process reduces a whole clause to a verb and then turns it into a noun (i.e. 'freedom' derived from 'someone is free'), and so on. Moreover, many of these derived nominals can be spotted by their endings as '*-ion*, *-ition*, *-ience*, *-ness*, *-ment*, etc.'; others may be learned words of classical origin, like 'expression', 'regulation', etc. Thus, they facilitate the process of 'relexicalizaion' (the coding of a new, specialized, set of concepts in a new set of lexical terms: cf. lexical processes above).

From an ideological point of view, nominalizations are 'endemic' in authoritarian kinds of discourse, such as official publications, academic writing (especially when it comes to definitions) and legal language as in:

6-31 *Failure* to display this notice [theme] will result in *prosecution* [rheme].
6-32 *Nominalization* [theme] is a *rendering* . . . [rheme].

By rendering the processes as objects, by permitting the deletion of both agency and modality (words like must/shall), and thus making mysterious the participants, obligations, and responsibilities spoken of by the discourse, nominalization neutralizes

the activity, and gives no sense of transaction or productivity. In this sense, one has to agree with the critical linguists, when saying: "nominalization can depersonalize and depopulate" (Fowler, 1979, p. 43). In fact, nominalization process can also drain the language of any social activity, a process which a dictator body of an institution will use efficiently to affirm its existence by the nominal transformation of processes into objects, and by the rejection of the alternative view, that intellectual progress springs from work, dialogue, and even conflict, which are tactically discouraged. Furthermore, nominalization, as well as passivization, are prominent, and interact, in varieties of language that practice an ideology of impersonality, such as scientific writing and constitutional documents.

Like nominalization, passive also permits the deletion of agent/actor, but, unlike nominalization, it does not permit the deletion of modality. Thus, it is still possible to fail to specify the cause of an event in examples like:

6-33 John [theme] was murdered [rheme].

In this respect, two important consequences of the passive ensue. Firstly, the naturally prominent first noun phrase position in the sentence, which in the active is occupied by the agent/actor of a process, is, in the passive, occupied by the affected/patient/goal. The goal thus becomes focal (the point of departure of the clause as a message in Halliday's formulation). Not only is the affected/patient/goal given 'thematic prominence', but the agent is deleted as well. Secondly, the passive construction, like nominalization, has a powerful neutralizing effect on the action/process being communicated. The auxiliary 'be', in 6-33 above and 6-34 below, is introduced, so that the verb following it begins to look as if it were an adjectival attribute, as in:

6-34 Membership cards [theme] must be carried and shown on request [rheme].

Here, an attentive reader will see the passive form and speculate about the deleted agent. The point to be made here is that:

> Processes, being under the control of agents, imply the possibility of modification, decision; whereas states perceived as unalterable and thus to be put up with [similar to the nominal sentence in standard Arabic, which states a permanent attribute (tufīd at-tubūt)]. All 'be' forms classifying processes as states are open to suspicion and should be inspected (Fowler, 1979, p. 31).

Thus passivization as a linguistic device allows the writer or the speaker to emphasize his thematic priorities, to emphasize what a text is 'about' even when entities of the theme are, strictly speaking, semantically subordinate (affected/goal rather then agentive/actor). A further development is available through the implicit connotation of agency which the subject position carries: passivized objects may seem to be agents, despite their real function as affected rather than affecting roles. Therefore, in 6-35,

6-35 *Salt* [theme] has long been associated with high blood pressure [rheme],

the example can be read as 'salt causes high blood pressure'.

(b) **Sequencing.** As already been illustrated above, passive allows a different ordering of participant nouns than its active equivalent. Thus, it is one of a number of reordering transformations (including nominalization) that are used to determine the order in which information is released to the addressee. From an ideological point of view, these syntactic reordering devices (especially passive)

> may do something even more treacherous. Rather than just clouding the relational responsibilities of the deep structure [transitivity in Halliday's terms], (who does what to whom?), it may actually **REVERSE** the distribution of rights and duties" (Fowler, 1979, p. 41) [my emphasis].

To illustrate this point, I find it appropriate to borrow an example from an article written by Trew (1979a, which he picked up and analyzed from *The Times* (3rd June 1975) after a two-days demonstration in Southern Africa:

6-36 *Eleven Africans* [theme] were shot dead when Rhodesian Police opened fire on a rioting crowd of 2000 [rheme].

Using the passive here puts the (syntactic) agents of killing ('police') in a less focal position. Not only is it in the passive, but the syntactic agent is deleted ('11 Africans were shot dead **BY**. . .) and is only identified, according to Trew (1979a, p. 98), "only weakly by implication through the temporal conjunction 'when', with the police opening fire". Looking at this in purely syntactic terms, with the deletion of the agent, there is no direct reference to who did the action and there is a separation of the action from whoever did it. This is something that can only happen if the description is in the passive form. Therefore, these syntactic reordering facilities, including passive, are, strictly speaking rhetorical; that is, devices meant to manipulate and consequently control the addressee's attention[54]. Thus, Trew (1979a & b) shows that the political orientation of the newspaper determines choices of process types to signify death in the

cause of political demonstration in South Africa, and then determines whether responsibilities for the deaths is explicitly attributed to whom.

(c) **Complexity.** In popular attitudes and in sociolinguistics, syntactic complexity has traditionally been related to social distinction involving power and prestige. According to critical linguists, syntactic complexity can be crudely measured in words per sentence. But it is much more revealing to study what kinds of clauses and phrases occur in what relationships. In this respect, an important distinction must be drawn between subordination and coordination of clauses; a high ratio of subordinate clauses per sentence implies a complexity of logical relationships among clauses that modify one another; coordination (and . . . and, then . . . then) implies, according to Fowler, 1985, p. 72) "a sequence of separate propositions all of the same kind" (cf. 6.3.2). The paratactic and hypotactic relations, founded on coordination and subordination are, respectively, associated with 'naive' modes of discourse (children's story telling, descriptive discourses, etc.) and with a more 'sublime' mode of discourse (those consisting of complex noun phrases and containing more than one premodifier and postmodifier).

6.6 Summary and Conclusion

As argued above, language thus embodies specific views -'theories'- of reality. This thesis has been developed by Whorf, who applies it to whole languages: a native speaker of English views the world differently from a speaker, say, of Arabic. This results from the fact that the structures of the two languages cut up the world in radically different ways; hence the difficulty of translating between languages in general.

Variations in types of discourse are inseparable from social and economic factors. Different social strata and groups have different varieties of language available to them; the same is true of institutions and media. Linguistic variations reflect and, what is more, actively express the structural social differences which give rise to them. They express social meanings. Among these social meanings are, importantly, the system of ideas__ ideologies.

Language usage is not merely an effect or reflex of social organization and

processes; it is part of the social processes. It constitutes social meanings and thus social practices. Necessarily, we all speak and write and listen and read within actual social and interpersonal contexts. If discourse articulates social meanings, then the act of articulation in context affects the situations and relationships which formed these meanings in the first place. Very often the effect is to reaffirm and consolidate existing social structures.

The natural basis for the kind of work (language and power manifested in political writings) is a functional model, that is to say, a theory of language which proposes that the structures of language have developed in response to the communicative needs that language is called upon to serve rather than a linguistic model which assumes that the structures are natural, universal properties of the human mind and so unaffected by social functions (Chomsky 1965 & elsewhere). Thus, I believe that Halliday's (1978 & elsewhere) work is very compatible with the aims set up in this study, in insisting that the functions of language structures (with particular emphasis on thematic structure) are based on social structure. This Hallidayan functional model, coupled with some concepts from Chomsky's transformational generative grammar (e.g. nominalization) and speech act theory is model of analysis of political discourse that aims at practical applicability rather than theoretical neatness.

To conclude, ideologies of any kind find their major means of expression through language. It follows, therefore, that the analysis of linguistic forms is enriched by the analysis of those ideological structures which underpin the use of language (Kress, 1985a)[55]. In other words, behind the systemic linguistic structural choices the speaker or writer makes, there is inevitably a prior classification of reality in ideological terms. The content of what we do with language reflects ideology at different levels: at the semantic level and the lexicogrammatical level. To be meaningful, text features must be viewed within the necessary social embedding of all texts, since items considered in isolation will inevitably lack a significant ideological import. Finally, it is my contention that discourse of any kind__ with text as its linguistic realization (a semantic unit) is a site for struggle. It is a terrain, a dynamic linguistic process, and a semantic space for ideological maneuvers, in which social meanings are produced or challenged.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Analysis of Data

7.0 Layout of the Chapter

This chapter will consist of 6 main sections. The first will discuss the procedure adopted by the author in analysing the English and the Arabic corpus. It will also give a detailed discussion of the number of sets or 'passes' (the number of analytical readings) that are carried out to analyze the nature of the thematic structure in both languages. The second will show the extent of depth of thematic analysis carried out within the complex clause (which will henceforth be called the rhematic clause [RC] to avoid misinterpreting a simple independent clause that contains no dependent or subordinate clauses as not being a RC). The third and the fourth sections will form the bulk of this chapter: they will contain a detailed analysis of the source corpus in terms of the various types of thematic structure: major, minor and discoursal (cf. 3.6.6). In addition to this; they will include actual discoursal exemplification of the thematic categories and their corresponding translations in both languages, in addition to some analytical comments on the translator's efforts to preserve the thematic structure of the source language text (SLT). The fifth section will include a discussion and exemplification of the significance of maintaining thematic structure in translation, to be followed by the final section which summarises the major findings of the research especially those that provide answers to the status of the hypotheses, proposed at the beginning of this study (cf. 1.5), which will be reviewed in the concluding chapter of this study (cf. chapter 8).

7.1 The Procedure of Analysis

The corpus and its corresponding translation is examined with two purposes in mind: (1) to gain a picture of how theme (in Halliday's narrow sense of the term) is realized in Arabic and English, and (2) to test the salience of the meaning value of theme by seeing whether, and to what extent, thematic organization of the original ten texts is preserved in the English and Arabic translation. This can be determined by

observing whether the referential meaning or semantic content is the same in the initial and final (unless marked) positions of the RC, which would constitute a reflection of theme[1].

As has been noted in the theoretical portion of this study (chapters 3 & 5), it seems, in general, that there should be considerable parallelism between Arabic and English, and that, except for the fact that Arabic is typically a VSO language and English an SVO one (among other structural difference), theme should be preserved as long as there are words or phrases available that have the same syntactic function, share a similar configuration of semantic features and components, and fall within the same register. Of interest, of course, are the cases in which the one-to-one correspondence breaks down: is any effort made by the translator, despite the impossibility of preserving the thematic structure as presented in the SLT? It is in this area that my efforts were concentrated. Special attention is also given to cases in which the referential semantic content is retained in the respective position of the theme in the absence of such a fit, as in:

7-1 #The question [1]/ naturally arises,// What[1]/ is British defence and diplomacy for now?# (Text 3: 23-1)

7-1A #as-suʾālu l-ladi yaṭrahu nafsahu tilqāʾīyyan[1]/ huwa (damīr faṣl) mā huwa hadafu d-difāʿī wa diblumāsiyyati l-ḇaritāniyya fi hāḏā l-waqti bi-ḏ-ḏāt?#

The very existence of such examples was taken both as (1) a confirmation of the importance of thematic organization of discourse, as well as, (2) evidence that this organization is carried over from one language to another even in the presence of syntactic and lexical constraints. Examples of this type are signalled (as will be shown below), analyzed and translated in terms of the constraints that are present, and other considerations, i.e., as prominent features of political discourse.

In order to understand how the theme is realized in Arabic and English political writing, and in order to give context for the task in hand, I collected data on theme from the entire corpus and studied the many forms and arrangements (word order) in which they occurred. As I mentioned earlier, since Arabic is predominantly a VSO language, particular attention was paid to the translation of the verbal material that had been in thematic position in accordance with Halliday's thematic model; any changes in the thematic content were analyzed.

Analysis of the corpus was divided into five different sets or 'passes'; within each pass, the corpus and its translation were reviewed several times. The first pass, for example, was carried out to confirm the native speakers' segmentation of both types of texts (cf. 6.3), and to insure that it was within the criteria set forth by Halliday, in his definition of the clause complex (RC). Consequently, the RCs of each of the selected texts and their translation were identified, counted, and tabulated with each table that shows the various types of thematic constructions (cf. Appendixes E & F).

Considerable thought was given to the criteria for the RCs. It was important to have consistent criteria, since one of the things being studied was the difference between theme in the initial position of the graphic sentence in Halliday's terms and the beginning of a conjoined clause within the graphic sentence. The differences were of special interest where there were discrepancies in translations. It must be remembered that the theme, as characterized by Halliday (1967, 1968, 1985 & elsewhere), is associated with the clause, which he likens to "a gateway . . . between the semantics and the grammar"; it is "where the meanings are organized together . . . [and] mapped on to one another into a single output" (Halliday, 1987, p.611)[2]. Thus, in gearing the study to the clause (represented in writing by the written sentence in English (cf. 6.3.1), and in Arabic by a 'large sentence' (al-jumla l-kubrā) (cf. 6.3.2), I felt confident that I would capture as many clues as possible about the content of the message conveyed in the RC, its theme-rheme structure, and to some extent, its given-new information structure.

The second pass of analytical reading was oriented towards the analysis of the major (obligatory) theme selections in the SLT and their translated target language texts (TLT). These, according to Halliday (1985 & elsewhere) include the ideational elements of the clause that are either participants in a process or the process itself, including what one can call 'the mood determiners' of the clause (cf. 3.6.1.2 & 5.3). These include the subject, the verb the object as surface representations of the actor/agent, the process (action, event, relational or mental), and the goal/affected/patient. The frequency of their occurrence in both types of corpus is also shown in tables (cf. appendices E & F).

The third pass was oriented towards the analysis of the minor theme selections. These include any interpersonal and/or textual component themes that act, in the case

of adjuncts, to embellish the stage for the following predication to unfold, or, to use Hatim's (1990) term, though in a different sense, "scene setters". Concurrent with identifying the various types of adjuncts as decoration-type themes in the RC, this pass, as already hinted, identifies conjunctions as themes, those which relate the RC to what has gone before. Furthermore, the number of multiple theme are also calculated, in contrast with those simple ideational-type ones. Again the result of the analysis is registered in their corresponding tables (cf. appendix E, tables 7-4 & 7-4A; and appendix F, tables 7-8 and 7-8E).

The fourth pass was conducted in order to identify Halliday's optional theme selections. These include identification, predicated, substituted and reference themes. Again the result is, in turn, added to its corresponding tables. The fifth, and last pass, was concentrated, although not as thoroughly as it might have been enough, on the incongruent theme selection (ideational or interpersonal), or to what Halliday (1985) calls the grammatical metaphor. This pass was not adequate for such a large topic as metaphor, which deserves further investigation in terms of the question of theme selection. Nevertheless, the results of this incomplete investigation are recorded in their corresponding table (cf. appendix E, tables 7-3 & 7-3A; and appendix F, tables 7-7 & 7-7E).

Along with this procedural and quantative method of analysis, a lot of questions, queries and facts pushed their way forward, and were thus kept in mind all the time during this phase of the study. Among these are the following:

1. The fact that the two languages compared belong to two different language families: Arabic as a Semitic language, and English as a Germanic one, with different writing systems and word order. Therefore, what Halliday's takes as the point of departure of the clause as the message the initial element(s) of the RC, this element is predominantly the verb in Arabic, which for Halliday constitutes part of the rheme, and for the Arab grammarians and rhetoricians constitutes the core of the predication in the verbal sentence. What this means, in the unmarked selection theme in the Arabic verbal sentence, is that what Halliday calls theme in English, amounts to part of the predication (rheme). The process of translation from both languages will demonstrate the shift of material that is originally in the initial position to different positions to comply with the target language (TL) word order. From an ideational point of view of

topical theme, I believe they are still be considered as themes or rhemes, as long as the former is what the RC is about, and the latter is part of what is said about it. This led to the question of how deep the theme actually is, especially in a long noun phrase (NP) in either language. Does it encompass the entire NP, no matter how it is long?
2. Related to the foregoing question was the question whether, when there is more than one theme, a very long phrase, essentially an NP, this affects the thematic status of the subsequent themes in the same RC. With multiple themes, I was interested in studying the extent to which the different types in Arabic, especially the cognitive ones, have various degrees of thematicity, as Halliday (1967c, p. 222 & 1985, pp.53-56) suggests for English.

In making the comparison with the translations, I gave attention to the degrees to which the various types of theme are reflected in the TLT. The types of constraints were identified which prevented the thematic relation from being reflected in the translation. In addition, violations were examined for each, whenever the referential or semantic content was preserved from the original theme in the face of constraints. These cases were signalled out as independent evidence in support of the hypothesis of thematic preservation if referential semantic content has a meaning-value which is important in communication.

7.2 **Exemplification of Theme**

Halliday, along with Travnicek (1962) (cf. 2.2.2), considers theme to be the first element(s) in the RC, regardless of its syntactic function. From this, Halliday excludes substitution, it-cleft and existential sentences, where initial elements of the last two act as dummy themes or 'theme anticipators', and the actual themes follow in the next NP. In the case of substitution, the afterthought NP acts as a delayed theme, and the initial pronoun refers cataphorically to what follows (cf. 3.6.4.1 & 2 respectively).

In my analysis of the corpus, especially the English, I looked at the first element of each RC from the standpoint of theme, and the findings reported are based, to a certain extent, on this assumption, and on the entire corpus of RCs__ i.e. the finite major clause (tables 7-1 through 7-4 for the English corpus and 7-1A through 7-4A for their Arabic translation, and tables 7-5 through 7-8 for the Arabic corpus and 7-5E

through 7-8E for their English translation; cf. Appendixes E & F). I took this approach, following in the steps of Halliday (1985, p. 62), who says "the main contribution [of the method of development of the text comes from the thematic structure of independent clauses. . . .; other clauses also come into the picture, and need to be taken into account of in theme-rheme analysis" [my ellipsis].

According to Halliday (cf. 7.3 below), the obligatory selection of the clause theme in English can be realized in five different ways: as a subject (the unmarked declarative mood), as a predicator, as a complement, as an adjunct and as a conjunction. In addition, there are also five optional selections that include identification and pseudo-cleft constructions, predicated theme (it-cleft constructions), existential sentences with '*there*', substitution (right-dislocation) and reference themes (left-dislocation). Halliday reserves the term 'marked theme' for the constructions that are syntactically independent of the rest of the clause and almost always constitute a separate information unit.

In what follows, there will be a detailed exploration, exemplification, discussion and instantiation of the structural nature of the different types of theme identified by Halliday in real texts. Tallies are given for all these types, with particular emphasis on the topical-type (cognitive/participant) themes like subject, predicator and object/complement, which I consider mutually exclusive. These topical themes, as Halliday points out, combine freely with conjunctions and adjuncts as themes, of which, as mentioned earlier (cf. 3.6.6), more than one type can occur in the same clause, or even additional themes of the same type.

In the illustrative English examples (whether original texts or translation) that follow, a back slash (/) has been introduced at the cutoff point between the series of constructions identifiable as themes (sometimes numbered) and the rest of the clause (the rheme). This is only done when the English RC consists only of one independent clause. As for the Arabic examples, theme element(s) will be underlined and numbered in the SLTs and in the TLTs of the English corpus. RC boundary, in both languages, will be separated by a double bar (#). In cases of more that one thematic element in the RC, the order is numbered so that the positioning of the information can be tracked if the theme is preserved in translation, by using the same number sequence as the original RC; otherwise, a zero theme [0] or simply no number at all, will be placed if

the theme is done away with in translation or if it is downgraded, and hence becomes part of the rheme. In cases of cataphoric or anaphoric themes (cf. 7.4.4 & 7.10.4), the same number will be repeated to indicate the type of cohesive relation involved. If, however, (a) new theme(s) is/(are) introduced by the translation process, it (they) will take a higher number, in the numbering system used, than the one(s) translated from the source language RC. If the RC contains one or more dependent clauses (a conditional RC for instance), there will be a double slash (//) separating the two clauses, being theme and rheme of the RC as a whole. In such case, the thematic element(s) within the dependent clause itself will be identified by either numbering them, by underlining them or by both; (cf. 6.1, for the procedure of numbering the paragraphs and RCs of the SLTs).

7.3 Major Theme Selections in the English SLTs

In the English source language texts (SLT), I considered the subject, the verb and the object/complement, following in the steps of Halliday (1967c, 1985 & elsewhere) as the three major theme selection types. These three types have the property of being cognitive and exclusive. Therefore, the subject, whether unmarked or marked, glossed, substituted (right-dislocated or extraposed), or 'referenced' (left-dislocated) the object (of course marked) and the finite verb. The verb-as-theme will be treated both ways: either as the theme (which is rarely the case, according to Halliday: cf. 3.6.2.1.3), or, for the purpose of comparison with Standard Arabic (SA), the second person personal pronoun 'you', the first person plural 'we' or the third person pronouns 'him' and 'them'. The third major type of major theme is the complement/object as theme (in Halliday's model a noun phrase as object or complement of the verb).

The concept of major themes is reinforced by another distinguishing characteristic: major themes are cognitive (animate or inanimate participants in the process), whereas minor and initial themes need not be. One type of minor theme, the marked prepositional phrase corresponds to another type of major theme. This is due to the fact that Halliday (1985, p. 143) refers to the prepositional phrase "as something that expresses a 'minor process', and interpreting a preposition as a kind of mini-verb.

He explains this when he says:

> A prepositional phrase contains a nominal group; but while a nominal group represents something that is potentially a participant in the process, a nominal group following a preposition is related to the process only indirectly, with the preposition acting as intermediary (loc. cit.).

Later on, Halliday argues in favour of interpreting prepositional phrases, except for the ones introduced by 'of', which he considers not 'a true' preposition, as "minor predicators and minor processes [and] . . . as a kind of minor clause __ which is what it is" (Halliday, op. cit., p. 190). This latter account, however, contains no reference to the notion of the preposition as an intermediary process.

In a word, major cognitive themes refer to the world beyond the discourse/ text. They are obligatory__ without them, the message unit is incomplete, and there can be only one per RC. Therefore, the major theme is essential to the RC structure: it must be present. It is always cognitive[3].

7.3.1 **Subject-as-Theme**

In the 875 RCs of the English texts, the grammatical subject was the unmarked theme in 727 RCs (approximately 83% of the overall total of the corpus RCs; cf. Appendix E, table 7-1[4]). This proportion was considered in relation to verb-as-theme, object/complement-as-theme, Interrogative RCs' theme, glossed theme, and theme in interpersonal RCs (cf. 7.12.2, note 57). Optional thematic selections, prominently have, as will be shown later on, the grammatical subject as their theme, whether initial or postponed (cf. Appendix E, table 7-2). This result does not surprise me, since in the case of the Hallidayan systemic model, subject is the unmarked theme in English. Furthermore, linguists from both sides of the Atlantic have indicated the predominance of the grammatical subject as theme or topic of the RC. In this respect, this analysis tallies with Givon's findings when he says:

> Although it is true that the grammatical subjects in discourse are **MOST COMMONLY** also **TOPICS**, there probably a residue of 10-20% in which the topic does not coincide with the grammatical subject (Givon, 1979b, pp.84-85)[5] [original emphasis].

This predominance of grammatical subject as theme is maintained in the process of translating these texts into Arabic (cf. Appendix E, table 7-1A). In this respect, the

native-Arabic translator has stayed within the bounds of the thematic structure of every RC of the SLT, although Arabic, in its unmarked sentence structure, is both a VSO and SP language, consisting respectively of verbal sentence and nominal sentences (cf. 5.2). In the English corpus as well as in its Arabic translation, the grammatical subject is frequently a noun phrase (NP), and unlike the complement or object, in English, it agrees with its main verb (case, number and gender in English; and case and gender in the Arabic translation when the English RC is translated as a VSO RC, and number, gender and case when it is translated as a SVO [marked] word order):

7-2 . . .#But[1] Reagan, Thatcher and Bush [2]/ recognized Saddam Hussein as 'their kind of guy', and moved to change that status.# (Text 1: 32-5)

7-2A #ġayra ʾanna[1] Rīġan wa Tāṭšar wa Buš[2] ʾiᶜtarafū bi ʾanna Ṣaddām Ḥusayn huwa 'ḥalīfuhumu l-mudallal' wa saᶜaw ila taġyīri waḍᶜi ᶜilāqātihi maᶜa s-sūfyat#.

In this respect, my gloss of the thematic meaning of the grammatical subject-as-theme would be something like this: there is a cognitive referent.

Halliday (1967c, p. 213) characterizes the subject as "that nominal group, which together with the finite verbal element fulfils a modal role in the realization of speech function." In the analysis of the English corpus, I adopted a four-point criterion for deciding the thematicity of the grammatical subject in English : (1) that it is a NP, (2) that it precedes the main verb of the RC, (3) that it agrees with the main verb (number, gender and case), and (4) that it is 'what the RC is about':

7-3 #The Bush administration [1]/ ridiculed Iraq's allegations that its invasion of Kuwait was in any way related to its commitment to the rights and interests of either the occupied Arab States or to the Palestinians.# (Text 2: 2-5)

7-3A #laqad saxirat ʾidāratu r-raʾīsi l-ʾamarīkī Buš[1] min ʾiddiᶜāʾāti l-ᶜirāqi bi-ʾanna ġazwahu lil-kuwayti kāna murtabiṭan biṭarīqatin aw ʾuxrā bil-tizāmihi bi-maṣālihi wa ḥuqūqi ʾad-duwali l-ᶜarabiyyati l-lati taḥtallu ʾisrāilu juzʾan min ʾarāḍīhā aw bi-maṣālihi wa ḥuqūqi s-šaᶜbi l-filisṭīni#

When, however, there is no finite verb, the theme of the RC in question was taken to be the first NP that preceded the first finite verb in the RC:

7-4 #Speaking the other day to the Catholic Institute for International Relations [1], Noam Chomsky [2]/ argued that the impact was entirely negative# (Text 4: 1-5)

7-4A #[0] bilʾamsi ḥāḍar Nawām Jumski[2] fi l-maᶜhadi l-kathulīki l-lᶜilāqāti d-duwaliyyati wa ʾakkada ʾanna t-taʾṯīra kāna ᶜala darajatin ᶜāliyyatin mina s-salbiyya#

Looking at the structure of the RCs from this thematic perspective only, it was not counted important whether the theme is given or new information, except, of course, in cases where the theme in English is either marked, glossed, or in cases of some special optional constructions like it-clefts (see below). Furthermore, it was not also important, although it was obvious, whether the grammatical subject-as-theme was agent or patient (to use C. Fillmore's case grammar terms), or actor or goal (to use Halliday's systemic terms). What really matters is the fact that the grammatical subject-as-theme/topic of the RC is that "what the RC is about".

7.3.1.1 **Thematic Structure of Passivized RCs**

One sub-type of the occurrence of the grammatical subject-as-theme is found in passive RCs. In analysing the English corpus, 111 passive RCs were found, which constitute about 13% of the total RCs of the whole corpus. Among these Passivized RCs, 87 (10% of the total RCs, and 78% of the total passivized RCs) were found to be agentless, and 24 (3%) were found to be agentive (cf. Appendix E, table 7-1). This total number of RCs does not include passive dependent RCs where the main clause of the clause complex is not passivized.

Halliday (1967c, pp. 215-216; cf. 3.6.2.2) points out that, within the transitivity system of the declarative clause as a realization of the experiential/ideational component of grammar, there exists a choice for the speaker/writer to select between 'an operative voice' (active), where the thematic function is mapped onto the deep grammatical subject, (or actor, in Halliday's systemic terms) or a 'receptive voice' (passive), where the function theme is mapped onto the deep grammatical object (goal) after being preposed. In this case the grammatical subject is displaced at the end of the RC and becomes the point of unmarked focus of the clause, or is deleted altogether if irrelevant or can be recovered from context. However, it will suffice to point out some of the typical examples that were depicted in the analysis of the English corpus and how the translator deals with them when translated into Arabic.

To start with, as can be seen from table 7-1 (cf. Appendix E), the number of agentless RCs is far higher than those of the agentive sub-type. This is because political writers prefer to use agentless rather than agentive for some reasons that have

been explained earlier (cf. 6.5). But a quick glance at table 7-1A (cf. Appendix E) reveals that only *two* of these passive RCs is rendered in translation into a passive RC in Arabic. The following is one of them:

7-5 #The Palestinian's right to self-determination [1]/has been universally endorsed and voted upon by the United Nation . . .# (Text 2: 8-2)

7-5A #ʾinna ḥaqq-a l-fīlisṭīniyyīna fi taqrīri maṣīrihim [1] qad *būrika* dawliyyan wa ṣawwata-*t* ʿalay-hi l-ʾumamu l-muttaḥida. . .#

I believe, that the inclination of the native Arabic translator to translate the passive RC into its grammatical equivalence in Arabic has to do, first and foremost, with the readability of the translated RC, and the unavailability of an equivalent to the English preposition '*by*' (cf. 5.3.1.1). As indicated earlier (cf. 5.3.1.1), 7-5, which consists of two coordinated passive RCs, was rendered into Arabic in a way which reflects the passive of the first coordinated clause, whereas the second RC is 'activized'. The reason behind this, I believe is the fact that when the first verb 'endorsed' is translated into its equivalent in Arabic (būrika), the morphological inflection differs orthographically from its origin (bāraka), and hence its is easy to recognize and read. On the other hand, the English verb 'voted upon' is rendered into an active Arabic verb (ṣawwata-*t*) because this form and its passive (ṣuwwita) will be written the same, and the (ḍamma) grammatical marker is taken for granted and thus rarely appears in writing. In cases of this type, however, the compensation for the loss of the passive structure is indicated by a linking pronoun (ḍamīr muttaṣil ʿāʾid) annexed to the end of the verb in question (cf. also 5.3.1.1). In addition to this linking pronoun, the theme-rheme structure is reversed, such that the prepositional phrase joins in the verb (the core of predication in Arabic), and the grammatical subject becomes a 'sort of' delayed, or substituted theme in Halliday's formulation. The typical word order of the verbal sentence in Arabic, VSO, also becomes VOS.

Whether the passivized RC (agentive or agentless) is rendered into Arabic with a passive RC or not, the thematic structure remains preserved to a large extent. It sometimes becomes a verbal noun (maṣdar[6]) plus an annexed noun phrase (a nominalized type of theme), as in, respectively:

7-6 #Modernity [1]/is defined against pre-modernity#, reason [1]/(0= is defined) against irrationality and superstition.# (Text 5: 14-1)

7-6A #wa[2] qad tamma taᶜrīfu l-ḥadātati [1] qiyāsan ᶜala ma qabla l-ḥadīṯ#, #wa (0= tamma taᶜrīfu) l-ᶜaqli [1] qiyāsan ᶜala ṭ-ṭayši wa r-ruᶜūna#

7-7 #We[1]/ *are fascinated* by the way our 'smart weapons *are mobilized* to 'knock down', and 'take out', to 'neutralize' and 'cleanse', enemy targets in what is called the 'theatre' of Iraq and Kuwait.# [original highlight] (Text 5: 28-2)

7-7A #laqad saḥarat-na[1] ṭ-ṭarīqata l-lati tamma bihā ʾiᶜdādu ʾasliḥatinā ʾaḍ-ḍakiyyati' liqaṣfi wa tadmīri wa ʾiskāti wa taṭhīri ʾahdāfi l-ᶜaduwi fi mā ʾaṭlaqū ᶜalayhi masraḥa l-ᶜamaliyyāti fi l-ᶜirāqi wa l-kuwayt#

In 7-6A, the theme of the English of the first passivized coordinated RC is preserved through the grammatical subject (a verbal noun) and the annexed noun, as well as the second coordinated RC, although the verbal phrase is ellipted. This brings a point raised by Quirk et. al (1985, p. 859), when they say: "so close is the association of coordination to ellipsis that we cannot understand one phenomenon without understanding the other"[7]. In this respect, the translator also preserved the elliptical structure of the original English RC, and no harm was done, although one of the thematic constituent (taᶜrīfu) is part of the elliptical noun group. Compared with 7-6, the Arabic translation of 7-7 does also preserve the thematic structure of the original. This can be justified, as already explained above (7-5a: the second coordinated RC): The RC is activized, and the original theme (the plural personal pronoun 'we') is preserved after being linked (-nā) to the verb.

More interesting are examples of the grammatical subject, being themes in the English RCs, and being downgraded into a rhematic status when translated into Arabic for the sake of maintaining the English parallel structure, which the Arabic language seems to be fond of. These include examples like:

7-8 #The Atlanticist compromise [1]/was challenged from the left by the new social movements, which emerged in the aftermath of Vietnam.# And [1] it [2]/was criticised on the right by the neo-liberals who favoured a more liberal form of capitalism.# (Text 3: 13-2)

7-8a #[1]fa-taḥadda l-yasār-u [2] l-musāwamat-a l-ʾaṭlasiyya-ta[0] min xilāli l-ḥarakāti l-ʾijtimāᶜiyyati l-lati ʾinbaṯaqat fi ʾaᶜqābi ḥarbi fiyatnām# #wa [1] tawalla l-yamīnu[2] ᶜamaliyyat-a ʾintiqād-ihā min xilāli l-labirāliyyīn l-judud al-laḏīna faḍḍalū namaṭ-an ʾakṯara taḥaruran mina r-raʾismāliyya#

In the rendition of 7-8 into RCs in Arabic, the two English RCs are activized to preserve the parallel structure at the expense of thematising the actor (which is

originally the thematic subject before passivising the process).

Quirk et. al (1985, p. 166) point out that there is a notable difference in the frequency of active and passive. The active, for instance, is more generally used and is by far the more common, but there is a considerable variation among individual text types. The passive has been found, according to them, to be as much as ten times as frequent in one text type as in another. The major stylistic factor determining frequency seems to be related to the distinction between informative and imaginative prose, rather than the difference between spoken and written language. Thus, Quirk et. al conclude:

> The passive is generally more commonly used in informative than in imaginative writing, and subtly more frequent in the objective, important, impersonal style (Quirk et. al. 1985, p. 166).

In this respect, the question of objectivity and impersonality of discourse is a main factor motivating the occurrence of passive RC. But Quirk et. al. do not lay down criteria for the objectivity of discourse apart from the fact that they consider scientific discourse as a clear example.

7.3.2 **Verb-as-Theme**

Halliday (1967c & 1985) recognizes a marginal possibility of the verb becoming the theme of the RC. He provides few examples to support this 'thin' claim (cf. 3.6.2.1.3). He (Halliday,1967c, pp.215-216), however, gives two examples in which the verb is 'regularly' thematic: the imperative mood (cf. 7-11 & 12 below), and the non-finite dependent clause as:

7-9 Standing outside door [theme], he was as large as life [rheme]!
7-10 And resign [theme], he did [rheme].

With regard to 7-9, he says the finite verbal element 'was' is part of the predicator, and therefore it is not thematic. In 7-10, 'did' carries the information focus, since it is a closed system item. He also believes that in neither of these is the predicator-as-themes the marked option. Halliday (1985, p.49), however, adds the option of having *you, let's & do*, as alternative themes in the imperative mood, with the last 'do', being used for either positive or negative imperative (cf. 3.6.1.2.3).

In analysing the English corpus, only 11 RCs (1%) out of the total RCs were found to be thematic. This, of course, does not include the non-finite clause which will

be discussed later when we come to discuss clauses-as-themes (see below), and does not include the yes/no interrogative finite verb that constitutes with the grammatical subject the modal element of the yes/no interrogative, and hence the theme, which also be discussed with interrogative thematic clause (see also below).

The idea that a verb can be thematic is possibly the first major break from the traditional view in which the theme is always a noun phrase. It will also be remembered that the prevailing term for theme in the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th was the 'psychological subject'.

My own view with regard to English is that verbs come to occupy the major theme slot only in the absence of an unmarked thematic subject or a marked object/complement. Inevitably, such verbs have a special relationship to the subject, since the subject must be either preposed/postposed, in a marked slot (e.g. 'as for . . .'), or else not specified at all. In each case, the status of subject is marked, since its preposing/postposing represents a departure from the norm of the simple declarative clause in its unmarked structure (SVO), and this marking has an importance with respect of the organization of discourse as a whole, and not just the referential meaning of the element in question.

Out of the 11 examples of the imperative RCs that have been identified in the process of analysing the corpus, 2 imperative RCs are found to be negative and 9 positive. These can be exemplified respectively as follows:

7-11 #And[1] don't [2] (0= you)[3]/ forget his militant religion#: #Islamic fanaticism and fundamentalism/ cannot be reconciled with (our) Reason, Truth and Enlightment# (Text 5: 4-3)

7-11A #wa[1] lā tans-ū[3]/ ᶜaqīdat-a-hu l-ᶜudwāniyyati l-mutamattilati bi-l-ᶜaṣabiyyati wa l-ʾuṣūliyyati l-ʾislāmiyyati l-lati lāyumkinu ʾan tattafiqa maᶜa manṭiqinā wa ḥaqīqatinā wa tanawwurinā#

7-12 Notice[1]/ that the Bush administration's plans were presented at a time when Saddam Hussein was still George Bush's friend and favoured partner# (Text 1: 14-10)

7-12a #wa[2] l-jadīru bi-d-dikiri[1]/ ʾanna ʾidārata r-raʾīsi l-ʾamrīkiyyi Buš kānat qad taqaddamat bi-xiṭaṭihā[0] fi l-waqti l-laḏi kāna fīyhi Ṣaddām Ḥusayn ʾaṣ-ṣadīqa l-ḥamīma wa š-šarīka ʾat-tijāriyya l-mufaḍḍala lada Jurj Buš#

As can be seen from the Arabic translation of these imperative RCs, the

translator has rendered the negative imperative into a regular verbal sentence with the jussive particle 'la' (don't) preceding the verb (the main predication in Arabic) and the plural linking pronoun 'ū' (you) acting as the theme of the RC. On the other hand, the positive imperative is rendered as a nominal sentence, with the imperative verb 'notice' English being translated as a verbal noun, and made the subject of the nominal sentence, and hence the theme of the RC. In both examples it seems that theme is 'partially' preserved. I say partially because 'you' (the second person pronoun, whether singular or plural) is one of the choices that Halliday (1985) has laid down as the theme of the imperative RC, and the fact that the verbal noun in 7-12a is derived from the verb in question (cf. note 6).

On the basis of the English examples cited above, I believe that the most decided, although rare, case of a thematic verb in English is the construction in which the verb is fronted and the grammatical subject is downgraded to a rhematic slot after the verb. This phenomenon is (sometimes called 'inversion') studied in English by Green (1982) who comes to the conclusion that it is less unusual in spoken discourse than had been thought to be the case[8]. Quirk et. al. (1985, p. 1379) believe that inversion "puts the subject in a final position . . . to achieve end-focus on the subject".

Analysing Spanish, a predominantly a VSO language, Sunner (1982) says that such sentences

> present to the hearer an '**OBJECT**' for consideration . . . . The verb serves to introduce the '**SUBJECT**' referent to the '**SCENE**'; it is like the '**TRAY**' on which the delicacy is presented: no one pays much attention to the tray; every one concentrates on what is '**PRESENTED**'. Besides presenting the object, this construction carries the existential assertion, since it asserts that the object exists in the universe (Sunner, 1982, p. 126[9]).

Sunner's account, in which the verb serves as a tray on which to serve up the object, and, at the same time, asserts the existence of that object, can be extended to say that the verb is thematised and the effect is to express a special relationship with what Travnicek (cf. 2.2.2) calls 'the object of thought'. In this case the thematic meaning of the element is marked (contrary to Halliday's unmarked assumption). It is also no longer simply the assertion of a relationship to a referent; attention is called to the referent, as if to say: the thematic meaning highlights the meaning itself of the theme. Thus the whole theme structure becomes some sort of a 'meta-theme'.

If we apply the previous argument to RC 7-12 above and its Arabic translation, for instance, we shall find that the imperative verb 'notice' presents the object of thought, which is, in this case, 'The Bush administration's plans (the theme of the passive dependent RC). In this respect, the reader's attention will be oriented towards 'what is on the tray' and he will forget about the 'tray' itself as a means of presenting the object to the 'stage'. This with the fact that the noun phrase 'The Bush . . .' is thematic, would force one to agree with the conclusion arrived at above and with Sunner's proposal. Again if we look at the Arabic translation (7-12a), we will find that the theme of the English passive dependent RC is preserved after the clause is activized (cf. 5.3.1.1 & 7.3.1.1).

It must be also pointed out that the imperative construction is also associated with Halliday's interpersonal system__ i.e. those systems that specify the role of the interlocutors and the associated attitude of the speaker. Therefore, I do not believe that they involve downgrading the subject to a rhematic slot for any specially marked cognitive or discursive reason; rather they are standard English constructions in the language in which the verb normally precedes the subject. What is marked is the mood of the message as a whole. Therefore, in the case of imperative RCs, verbs are fronted by reason of their participation in a construction that is marked for non-declarative mood (be it positive, negative imperative or interrogative). In dependent clauses, on the other hand, e.g. non-finite, the verb is serving as a marker for a syntactic relation of dependency (cf. 7.5.2.1 below).

7.3.3 **Complement-as-Theme**

When Halliday (1985, pp. 53-56) speaks of complement-as-theme, I assume he is using this general term to include the object, direct or indirect (goal or beneficiary, in his systemic terms) as well as what Quirk et. al. calls complement in the general sense of the term[10]. In English, a typical SVO language, a complement, be it object or whatever, can be thematised by displacing it to the left-most position (in a separate information unit; cf. 3.6.1). The only examples which Halliday provides regarding the thematisation of complement-as-theme are those of object:

7-13 #These **HOUSES**/my father **SOLD**# (Halliday, 1967c)

7-14 #This responsibility/we accept wholly# (Halliday, 1985)

Although it seems more informative to call this type of 'marked' thematic structure object/complement, yet Halliday is also correct in calling it complement in the most general sense of the term. This is because of the fact that, out of the 875 RCs in the English corpus, only 10 RCs (1%) were found to have a preposed complement, and among those 10 RCs, 9 have a complement as a 'marked' theme, and only *one* RC, has as its theme an object (cf. Appendix E, table 7-1). This can be illustrated, respectively, from the corpus by the following two examples:

7-15 #Perhaps[1] of equal significance[2] / . . . was the political leadership role that Iraq played in the wake of the Camp David accords in 1978.# (Text 2: 18-1)

7-15A #kamā[2] yumkinu[0] ʾan yakūna ʾad-dawru s-siyāsiyyu l-ladi laʿibathu l-qiyādatu l-ʿirāqiyyatu fi ʾaʿqābi tawqīʿi ʾitifāqiyyati Kāmb Dayfid ʿāma 1978[1] ʿala nafsi d-darajati mina l-ʾahammiyya[0]#

7-16 This rationality[1], it [=Europe] came to see (0= this rationality) as the basis of a universal culture; the justification for its claim to define universal values, to define its values as universal.# (Text 5: 13-4)

7-16A #wa[1] li-hāda[2] ʾiʿtabar-at=(0=urubbā[3])/ hadihi l-ʿaqlāniyyat-a[0] ʾasāsan li-tabrīri mutālabatihā fi taḍdīdi l-qiyami l-kawniyyati wa taḍdīdi qiyamihā bi-ʿtibārihā l-qiyami l-kawnniyya#

In Halliday's thematic formulation, the theme of 7-15 is both interpersonal conjunct 'perhaps' and the prepositional phrase 'of equal significance', since they are initial and constitute a multiple theme (the prepositional phrase being the topical theme). But, looking at this preposed complement and looking at the noun phrase, 'the political leadership . . .' (the subject of the RC)', following the copulative verb *was*, the translator seems to have parted company with Halliday's formulation in considering the preposed complement as rhematic and the postposed subject as the theme (in the sense of the fact that is what the RC is about). From a linguistic as well as a cognitive point of view, the translator's decision can be justified on the basis of the following counter arguments with regard to Halliday's formulation (although the translator may not be aware of them). First, the subject of the RC in question has already been introduced, and according to Chafe (cf. 4.3), it is still in the reader's consciousness. Thus, according to Prince (1981) (cf. 4.4), it is not 'new' in the sense that it cannot not be retrieved information. Secondly, the only reason for postponing it, according to Quirk

et. al (1985) is to focus it, in the sense of giving it prominence. The third has to do with the question of translation: The Arab native translator thematises the subject 'the political leadership . . .' on the basis of the fact that it is identified with the definite article 'the' and most of the RCs of the paragraph in question have this noun phrase as their theme. Therefore, it obvious that this noun phrase stands as the topic of the paragraph as a whole and, consequently contributes to the overall topic of the text itself (cf. 4.5.1.2.1). As a result it seems fair to say at this point that translation would help, to some extent, in finding out the exact thematic structure of the RCs in terms of what that RCs is about, and not with regard of that theme element(s) is initial in the RC (cf. 7.4.4).

RC 7-16, sums up this paragraph, and probably the ones earlier, by making the object (this rationality) as the marked theme. In translating this RC into Arabic, the translator opted for the typical VSO structure, with the anaphoric personal pronoun (it= Europe) being the grammatical subject, and hence thematic. I believe that the translator took this decision on two grounds: (1) the OVS is a rare word order in formal Arabic, although it is not infrequent in spoken Arabic, and (2), I think, from a textual point of view, the translator, sensed, that this RC constituted a conclusion 'wa li-hāda' ('for this reason' (or) 'as a result') of the previous paragraphs, which were mainly about Europe and 'its Reason, Rationality and Enlightment'. Since a new theme/topic is likely to start in the next paragraph (which it does), he preferred to sum up the thematic progression of the text up to that point with 'Europe' (the grammatical subject of RC in question).

In this respect, (Halliday, 1967c. p 241), draws a comparison between this type of thematic structure (where object in particular is the theme) and what he calls reference theme (or left-dislocation, for those linguists who follow in the steps of Chomsky's transformational grammar [TG]). In reference theme (cf. 3.6.4.3), there is always a copy of the preposed theme (i.e. a pronoun copy) within the clause. Nevertheless, both constructions would come under the heading 'topicalization'. (cf. Li and Thompson, 1976). In English as well as in Arabic, I believe, tropicalization is considered to be marked because it departs from the typical order of the standard sentence order in both languages. In Arabic, especially in spoken discourse, it actually occurs quite frequently. On the basis of work in the English corpus, I must conclude

that it is still not frequent in writing.

The rest of the complements (copulative verb type, in Quirk et. al. (1985) formal terms) are fronted to thematic slots. I believe they are thematic, in the sense that they are initial, but they are rhematic, in the sense, that they are not what the clause is about. In fact with the copulative verb they constitute the rheme of the RC. The only justification for fronting them is that attention should be paid to the long noun phrase that constitutes the postposed theme of the RC. The result would be a CVS word order with and extended marked theme, and a short preposed rheme. But from a logical point view, since theme should be brief, and it is the rheme that should give more information, one is liable to join forces with Halliday (1967c & 1985), and consider 'more likely' the theme of the clause that contains new information, and the rest is rheme:

7-17 #More likely [1], in my view, / is continued support for the position articulated in February 1989, by Yitzhaq Rabin, then the secretary of defence, when he told a group of 'Peace Now' leaders of his general satisfaction with the US-PlO dialogue, low-level discussion without meaning that would direct attention while Israel used forceful means to crush the intifada.[1]# (Text 1: 47-1)

7-17A #wa [3] lakinna [2] l-ʾamra l-ʾaktra ʾihtimālan [1] -fī raʾyī-/ (huwa) muwāṣalat-u daʿmi l-mawqifi l-laḏi ʾaʿlanahu ʾishāq Rabīn fi šahr ṣubāṭ li-ʿāmi 1989 (ʿindama kāna ʾānaḏāka wazīran li-d-difāʿ) ḥīna ʿabbara ʾamāma majmūʿatin min ḥarakati "ʾasslām l-yawm" ʿan ʾirtiyāhihi bi-ṣaʾni l-ḥiwāri l-laḏi yadūru bayna l-ʾidārti l-ʾamrīykiyya wa munaẓẓamati at-taḥrīri l-filasṭīniyyati wa l-laḏi la yaḥmilu fi ṭayyātihi ʾayya maḍmūnin wa yajri ʿala mustawan ḥukūmiyyin ʿādiyyin wa yusāʿidu ʿala ṣarfi n-naẓari ʿan muḥawalāti ʾisraʾīla l-mustamīta lisaḥqi l-ʾintifāda#

The translation of 7-17 into Arabic supports Halliday's argument that 'more likely' can be the theme of the RC, and hence it is preserved in translation as a 'kind' of wh-cleft (see below & cf. 5.5) in Arabic with the existence of the ḍamīr al-faṣl 'huwa' (pronoun of separation) which separates the theme from the rheme.

A counter argument to the above, and similar to the one presented in support of 7-15 above, may be presented. But as can be seen from both examples, there is enough evidence in both that support two different treatments, although both have a CVS word order with a postponed subject.

7.3.4 **Interrogative RCs**

Halliday (1967c & 1985; cf. 3.6.2.1.2) points out that the natural theme of the question is "what I want to know" as an inquirer (speaker/writer). In posing a question, a reader/speaker limits the subject matter to just those things that could count as satisfactory answers to the question, regardless of whether it is of a Yes-No type (asking about the polarity of some process: positive or negative), or of a Wh-type (requesting some missing information about a certain referent). Thus the thematic function practically follows from the very nature of the question being a question.

In analysing the corpus, a total of 29 interrogative RCs (3% of the overall RCs) were identified; 21 of which (2% of the total RCs of the corpus and 72% of the total Interrogative ones) are found to be of the wh-type (the one's seeking 'missing information'[11]). Among the 29 interrogative RCs, 12 are of the rhetorical type (cf. note 11), in which a question is asked by reader/speaker's "with no intention of obtaining an answer" (Brown & Levinson, 1978, p 228[12]).

With regard to preserving the thematic structure of the Interrogative RCs when translated into Arabic, I believe, as will be illustrated below, the native Arabic translator was able to do so, especially with regard to maintaining the interrogative article as the initial element, when not preceded by any adjuncts or conjunctions, unless the latter is added for cohesive and stylistic purposes:

7-18 #What[1] / does the war against Iraq tell us about how the US will exercise this unexpected freedom of action in the World?# (Text 4: 4-1)

7-18A #mādā[1] tuxbiru-nā l-ḥarbu l-lati xīḍat ḍidda l-ᶜirāqi ᶜani l-kayfiyyati l-latī satumirasu fīhā l-wilāyātu l-muttahidatu ḥurriyata t-taṣarrufi ġayri al-mutawaqqaᶜati hādihi fi l-ᶜālam?#

7-19 #But[1] is that[2]/ what Saddam is?# Is he [1]/ the primitive and irrational alien?# Might there [1] not be reason in his madness?# (Text 5: 22-4, 5 & 6)

7-19A #wa[3] lākin[1] hal[2] kāna Ṣaddāmu fiᶜlan kadālik?# hal huwa[1] bidāʾiyy-un wa lā ᶜaqlāny?#

7-20 #How [1], then [2],/ can we expect US policy towards the ME to adopt to these changed circumstances?# (Text 1: 45-1)

7-20A #kayfa [1] natawaqqaᶜu ʾidan[0] ʾan tatakayyafa s-siyāsat-u l-ʾamrīkiyyatu tijāha š-šarqi l-ʾawṣaṭi li-tatanāsaba maᶜa l-mutagayyirāti l-jadīda#

These three examples have one feature in common: they sum up the argument

that preceded in a number of paragraphs above in their respective texts, and, at the same time, orient the reader to a new theme for some of the ones that follows. In 7-18, for instance, the noun phrase 'this unexpected . . . ?' sums up the argument of the previous discourse, and orient the reader towards a new theme (the qualities of the monopolar world order) to be discussed by the posed question 7-18. In the next example, which consists of two rhetorical Yes/No question which are left unanswered, except for the fact that the writer, on the basis of the previous argument, sarcastically inquires whether what the 'West' thinks of Saddam Hussein is true, or simply because he rejects the idea of being "their gangster and their kind of guy" (cf. text 1-32). This can be seen from the anaphoric deictic in the first RC of 7-19 and the personal pronoun in the second RC; these anaphoric references bring to focus what type of argument that has been going on in the previous discourse, and orient the reader of the main theme of the following piece of discourse. In fact, Saddam is the theme of 5 of the 6 RCs of the following paragraph. In the third example, 7-20, the conjunct 'then', with its anaphoric reference to (1) 'the new pretexts for the US intervention to control the domains of the third world, to (2) the 'Latin Americanization of large parts of the Soviet Union', to (3) America's freedom of using its military force, and to (4) 'rent a cop', or rather 'a thug'__ all these are summed up in 7-20. Then the reader is directed through this same question towards a new theme, which explains the reasons behind America's unchanged policy, which constitute the theme for the rest of the RCs of the paragraph in question. The essence of such anticipation is both to indicate, in general terms, what is to follow and to prepare the hearer/reader for the next line of argument, and hence to arouse his interest as well as an indication on the part of the writer that 'he has won the previous argument'.

From a discourse analysis perspective, therefore, the rhetorical questions, which constitute almost half the interrogative RCs being identified, are rhetorical questions only by virtue of the place they hold in the ordinary sequence of events, of the work they do to further the argument and of their function as ascertained by evaluating participants' responses (speaker's & hearers; writers & readers).

Finally rhetorical questions in English have a contextual function of marking the theme. This claim, proposed earlier, follows from the fact that the interrogative mood as a whole is marked and not its thematic structure, which practically follows from the

RC itself being a question. In general, the interrogative RC serves to bring a theme to the stage. That is, it sets up or establishes a theme, even if not providing within the question itself a very full statement of it (the theme here is to be understood in terms of the theme of the major part of the RCs as well as contributing towards the overall theme or topic of the discourse in question). Sometimes, however, that introduced theme runs for a substantial portion of the texts in question, or for the text as a whole as is the case of the rhetorical questions posed in the first and second paragraph of text-3 of the English corpus.

7.3.5 **Marked & Glossed Themes**

As discussed in chapter 3 (cf. 3.6.2.1) and illustrated above, the marked theme in English involves the displacement of one of the elements of the RC constituents (SPCA) from its typical slot in the syntagm, as in the case of verb-as-theme and object/complement-as-theme illustrated above (cf. 7.3.2 & 3) respectively. According to Halliday (1985, p. 40), object-as-theme is the most extreme case of marked theme, because it could have been the subject of an active declarative clause (and subject of the passive RC), and hence an unmarked theme. Thus, the object is the least likely to become a marked theme (more frequent are adjuncts and conjunctions; see below). In the American linguistic tradition, this resource of marking the theme by giving it prominence, is called 'topicalization', which Halliday totally rejects, because it only implies one type of theme, that is 'glossed or topicalized theme'. Marking the thematic structure is a resource quite often used in both English as well as Arabic, especially in spoken discourse. Marked themes, according to Halliday (1967c, 1985 & elsewhere) represents the foregrounding of the speaker's point of departure, and its meaning appears from its tendency for association with a particular information unit. With unmarked theme, there is no particular tendency for the theme to be in a separate information unit, but such a tendency is noticeable in marked themes.

Sometimes, however, as Halliday (1985, p. 40) points out, the theme is announced explicitly, by means of some expressions such as *'as for . . .'*, *'for . . .'*, *'with regard/respect to . . .'*, *'about . . .'*, etc. Usually it is only nominal themes that are introduced by a locution of this kind. The theme is then picked up later by the

appropriate pronoun. This 'picking up' of the theme by a pronoun may happen even when the theme is not explicitly introduced (e.g. Halliday's reference theme: cf. 3.6.4.3; or left-dislocation in the American linguistic tradition).

Marking the theme necessarily involves some break from the single declarative RC which corresponds to the unmarked strategy, on the part of the speaker, and merely background expectation on the part of the listener (Halliday, 1967c, p. 219). Since, as mentioned earlier, the declarative RC is the most neutral and unmarked realization, it follows that, in English, the subject is the least marked theme. It can, however, be marked for its referential content, thus introducing increased assumptions by the speaker about the what the hearer will accept without challenge__ through definitisation and pronominalization. These resources have to do largely with specification of the subject referent; only to a minor degree do they increase any assumptions with regard to thematic status, as such. Since the subject is already in theme position, the only way to mark it as theme is to reiterate it or to gloss it.

In analysing the English corpus, only 16 RCs (2% of the overall total of RCs; cf. table 7-1 of Appendix E) were identified in which the thematic structure is glossed, and in all the glossed theme is announced 'explicitly' using either *'For . . .', 'with respect . . .', or 'As for . . .'. Furthermore, in all 16 RCs the discourse function* of the glossed theme is either that of contrastiveness, marking the introduction of a 'new or novel' theme/topic into the discourse or reintroducing an old one, or bringing into focus a prior proposition or a referent with prior proposition. These functions can be illustrated, respectively, from the corpus as follows:

7-21 #For the right [1]/, this [0=the cold war] was a conflict between freedom and totalitarianism.# #For the left[1]/, this was a conflict between capitalism and socialism.# Alternatively[1], for both[2]/, this was a form of great power rivalry#. (Text 3: 5-5)

7-21A #bi-nisbati li-l-yamīn [1], kānat [0=l-ḥarbu l-bāridatu] ṣirāᶜan bayna l-ḥurriyyati wa l-ʾistiᶜbād.# ʾammā bi-nisbati li-l-yasāri[1], fa-kānat ṣirāᶜan bayna r-raʾasimāliyyati wa l-ʾištirākiyya.# Wa[3] ʾammā bi-nisbati li-kilayhima[2] maᶜan[1], fa-qad kānat šaklan min ʾaškāli tanāfusi l-quwa l-ᶜuẓmā.#

7-22 #As for the Palestinians [1]/, US planners had no doubt in the assessment of the Israeli government specialists in 1948 that the refugees would either assimilate elsewhere or 'would be crushed'.# (Text 1: 23-1)

7-22A #ʾammā bi-nisbati l-lfilasṭiniyyīn[1]/, fa-lam yakun lada l-muxaṭṭiṭīna l-ʾamrikiyyīna ʾayyu sababin li-t-taškīki bi-taqyīmi l-ḥukumati l-ʾisraʾiliyyati lahum ᶜama 1948, wa huwa ʾanna haʾūlāʾi l-lājiʾīna sayatajammaᶜūna fi makānin ʾaxar, aw sayuṣhaqūn.#

7-23 #With respect to the Soviet Union[1]/, policy divided along two basic lines, both aiming to incorporate the USSR within the grand area__ which, for most of the region, meant returning it to its pre-1917 status as part of the third world.# (Text 1: 6-1)

7-23A #ʾammā bi-nisbati l-lʾittiḥādi s-sufyitiy[1]/, fa-qad ʾinqasamat as-siyāsatu bišaʾanihi ʾila qismayni raʾīsiyyayni hadafa kullun minhumā ʾila ḍammi jumhhuriyyāti-hi s-sābiqati ila l-mantiqati l-kubrā, l-ʾamru allaṯi sawfa yuᶜīduh ʾila waḍᶜi ma qabla ᶜāma 1917 wa ʾiᶜtibārihā juzʾan min duwali l-ᶜālami ṯ-ṯāliṯ.#

7-24 #Answer[1]/: Kuwait is a banking system without a country,# #and the US is a country without a banking system.# (Text 1: 18-6 & 7)

7-24A #ʾamma l-jawāb[1]/ fa-huwa ʾanna l-Kuwayta niẓāmun bankiyyun bidūwni dawlatin# #wa[1] ʾanna ʾamariykā[2] dawlatun bidūwni niẓāmin bankiyy.#

In 7-21, the writer 'kills two birds with one stone': by glossing the themes of the three RCs, and by placing these themes in separate information units marked in writing by commas, he achieves prominence of the themes of these RCs and he also achieves a sense of contrastiveness between the two propositions in question: the position of the Eastern and the Western Blocs with regard to the cold war. In doing so, he also makes use of another linguistic device, that of parallelism, which, to some extent, has the ability to concentrate the attention of the reader on both the glossed theme and the contrastive propositions. As for the second example (7-22), the writer manages through the glossed theme, to introduce a new, 'novel', theme/topic (which can be taken as the topic of the paragraph in question) in addition to the list of topic/themes already introduced in the previous discourse. In 7-23, a relatively given theme/topic is introduced from among a list of topics that has already been introduced up to that point in the discourse. The writer thus succeeds in bringing a prior proposition with its referent (theme/topic) into focus (to the highest spotlight of the stage) again to integrate the additional information with what the reader already possesses in his data base about that particular referent (in this example the status of the old Soviet Union's Republics in the view of the new US policy). The last example represents a glossed theme

without using an explicit glossing phrase. However, it is still a glossed theme, since it can be represented as a separate information unit separated from the rest of the predication by a colon, which, for Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 17), is a signal of cataphoric reference to the interrogative clause that follows. I believe that the function of glossing the theme in such examples is to introduce new information or comment on the part on the writer on the previous running theme or topic. It can also be interpreted as a means of orienting the reader to what to except next.

Similar to the above type of thematic structure exemplification, though glossed explicitly, is the following:

7-25 #For him[1]/, the Gulf War is no more than the challenge of a criminal to society.# (5: 2-1)

7-25A #bi-nisbati lifukuyāmā[1]/lam takun ḥarbu l-xalīj ʿakṯara min taḥaddū mujrimin li-mujtamaᶜ.#

By using the glossed theme 'for him' (the third personal pronoun which refers back to Fukuyama), which is spelled out in the Arabic translation, the writer was able to reintroduce him as theme/or topic of this RC. From this perspective, 'for him' is introduced as a separate information unit, although, according to Halliday (1967 and elsewhere) anaphoric elements are rarely focused. I believe the purpose behind glossing 'him', is a way of managing the argument in the discourse. Firstly, the writer introduces 'Fukuyama' (as third personal pronoun glossed theme) and then quotes his view regarding 'the superiority of the West'. Secondly, he counter argues and rebuts Fukuyama's view, and manages to replace it by a 'more sensible' one of his own. This is evident in the first RC of the following paragraph: 'This is more than just crass'.

In the examples cited above (7-21 through 7-25), the contrastive element is present throughout, although it is only made fully explicit in the first one. In this respect Chafe (1976, p. 49) (cf. 4.3) believes that "the so-called topic is simply a focus of contrast that has for some reason be placed in an unusual position at the beginning of the sentence." This is probably why he (loc. cit.) proposes to call such topics not topics but "cases of contrastiveness" (Chafe points out that other linguists, like Halliday, call them 'themes'; and Dik (1978 [1981]) uses these terms in exactly the opposite way to Chafe [cf. 4.5.1.2]).

Halliday (1985, pp. 40-41) has discussed very briefly two kinds of simple

thematic structure: those consisting of one element and 'complex ones', consisting of two noun groups or two phrases joined by 'and'. He points out that although the second type consists of more than element it is still a simple theme. He does not go any further in explaining what he means by 'simple' theme. Looking at some of 'the structured' examples which he provides such as '#The Warlus and the Carpenter/ were walking close at hand#', one feels that he means by simple theme syntactically simple, in the sense that it does not contain any embeddings that require additional 'internal' analysis into theme and rheme structures within the main clause complex, and does not contain any recursive thematic structures. Halliday's formulation on this issue, however, can be extended to include longer themes which are syntactically more complex, thematic structure that consist of various thematic types (adjuncts, dependent clause, conjunctions, appositive constructions, and serve cases where certain themes are recursive)[13].

I believe that it is reasonable to assume that longer thematic constituents make greater demands on the reader/hearer's short-term memory (RAM in computer jargon), and on his processing strategies, and are, therefore, at least in one sense, more marked. However, this does not mean that short simple themes are necessarily easy to process (especially with a new referent being introduced into the world of discourse).

In analysing the corpus, a considerable number of long or extended themes were identified, though not counted. The most extreme case are examples like the following:

7-26 #The fact that we have bombed Iraq, a rather small Third World country, back into the 19th century or even earlier; the likelihood of continuing violence in the Middle East; the possible lebanization of Iraq and Kuwait; the increasing difficulty in finding a solution to the Palestinian problem; the increased threat of terrorism; the erosion of democracy__ all these issues [1]/ will stimulate opposition of a long-range North-South confrontation.# (Text 3: 34-2)

7-26A ʾinna l-ḥaqīqata bi ʾannanā qad qumnā bi-qaṣfi al-ᶜirāqi (ḏalika l-baladu min buldāni l-ᶜālami t-tālit) wa ʾiᶜādatihi ila l-qarni t-tāsiᶜi ᶜašr aw ḥattā li-mā qabla ḏālik wa ʾihtimāli ʾistimrāri ʾaᶜmāli al-ᶜunfi fi manṭiqati š-šarqi l-ʾawsaṭi wa labnanati ṣ-ṣiráᶜi l-kuwayti - l-ᶜirāqiyyi wa ṣ-ṣuᶜubati l-mutazāyidati fi ʾīǰādi ḥallin li-l-qadiyyati l-filisṭīniyyati wa ziyādati t-tahdīdi bi-l-ʾaᶜmāli l-ʾirhābiyyati wa nhiṣāri d-dimuqrāṭiyyati-- ḏalika kullihi--[1]/ sawfa yušajjiᶜu t-tayyārāti l-muᶜāraḍati li-muwājahati ṭawīlati l-ʾamadi bayna š-šamāli wa l-janūb.#

It is important to point out, however, that we are never aware of the theme in its

unmarked expression as the subject of a simple declarative RC. The only time we realize this, and appreciate such a form as an unmarked theme is by observing the relationship that it highlights through its marked identification; this, I believe is the essence of systemic linguistics.

As for the rendition of marked and glossed themes in translation into Arabic, it was complete, as can be shown in the examples above. This complete rendition of the glossed theme, for instance, whether explicitly or implicitly announced, was, first and foremost, due to the availability of Arabic syntactic devices such as ' *ʿammā . . . fa . . .', bi-nisbati li . . . fa . . .', ʿammā bi-nisbati li . . . fa-qad . . .',* etc., which are equivalent to those listed above for English. The Arab native translator not only renders the exact structure of these glossed themes, but was also able to render the scalarity of thematic prominence in examples like 7-21, where there are three glossed thematic structures in three consecutive RCs. In fact, the translator has rendered as glossed thematic structures into Arabic more RCs than the English ST's originally contain (cf. Appendix E, tables 7-1 & 7-1a). I believe this has to do with nature of argumentation in Arabic, which tends to be more emotive than English. Generally speaking, this also has also to do with the high degree of emotiveness of an Arabic political discourse of this type, where the Arab reader rarely finds such a line of thought in the Western media. Another reason for this 'extra' emotiveness in rendering into Arabic more glossed themes than are contained in the ST is the fact that the translator, editors and proofreaders of the Arabic translated texts seem to have similar attitudes towards the Gulf War as those of the Western writers.

7.4 Optional Theme Selections in the English SLTs

Under this sub-section, optional theme selections based upon the findings of the analysis of the English corpus will be discussed. These thematic selections, predominantly having the subject-as-theme, include the equational RCs of identification and pseudo-/wh- clefts), predicated theme (it-clefts), in addition, theme in existential RCs with '*there*', and RCs and substituted/extraposed/delayed (right-dislocated) theme (cf. Appendix E, table 7-2[14]).

7.4.1 **Theme of Identificational and Pseudo-/Wh-Cleft RCs**

Halliday (1967c & 1985; cf. 3.6.3) points out that, by means of this option, any clause may be organized into a cleft sentence with an equative form, and in a number of possible arrangements. This can also be regarded as a particular means of organising information in the clause in a way that it:

> enables the speaker/writer to shift some of the component elements of a sentence [clause] to different positions, in order to make them more prominent, and to make the sequence of elements in the sentence conform more closely to the sequence of ideas in the text of which the sentence is a part (Fichtner, 1993, p. 1[15]).

In this respect, the thematicity of the subject qua subject can be highlighted through a different type of marking than the one discussed in 7.3.5 above and 7.9.5 below. By nominalisation, the subject and its verb can be thematised into a single nominal subject constituent, which Halliday calls identification (cf. 3.6.3). A clause like:

7-27 #John/ saw the play.# (Halliday, 1967c, p.223)

is turned into an equative clause consisting, on the one hand, of a wh-form that nominalises the side of the equation which is 'to be identified', and, on the other, of a noun phrase which corresponds to the wh-element, the identifier:

7-27a #What John saw [theme]/ was the play [rheme].# (or)
7-27b #The one/the person who saw the play [theme]/ was John [rheme].# (or)
7-27c #The thing that John saw [theme]/ was the play [rheme].# (or)
7-27d #The play [theme]/ was what John saw [rheme].#

Halliday (1967c, p. 223) also points out that "this is a highly favoured clause type in modern English, not least in informal conversation"; and, while the non-identifying clause specifies a process and participants, he (loc. cit.) says, "the identifying clause adds the further information that one of the participants is definable by participation in the process" (cf. 3.6.3 for Halliday's beer slogan). From a thematic perspective, identification (wh-clefts) exploits as a thematic option the resources of this particular type of transitivity pattern, and as in other equative clauses, the sequence is free: "either the identified or the identifier may be thematic" (Halliday, op. cit., p.224). Furthermore, (and this is the most important aspect of identification) "what is significant is that, whichever of the two comes first, the whole of that element is thematic" (cf.

examples 7-27a-e).

Contrary to Halliday's expectation, identificational RCs are not frequent in the English corpus. In analysing the corpus, only 20 RCs (2% of the overall RCs of the corpus) were identified, and only 7 of these are of the 'pure' wh-cleft type, so to speak. The rest of these RCs are of various forms of equative constructions (some are non-identified like 7-28) such as:

7-28 #In 1958[1], Kuwait[2]/ was the particular concern.# (Text 1: 16-1)

7-28A #fi ᶜāmi 1958[1] kānat al-kuwaytu[2] mawḍiᶜa qalaq.#

7-29 #All that is necessary[1]/ is "a strong link to be guaranteed by the five permanent members of the Security Council that we have to solve all the problems in the Gulf, in the Middle East and especially the Palestinian cause."# (Text 1: 35-3; paragraph final RC)

7-29A #wa[2] kullu mā huwa maṭlūb[1]/ huwa (pronoun of separation) rābiṭ-un qawiyyun yaḍmanahu al-ʾaᶜḍāʾu d-dāʾimūna fi majlisi l-ʾamni d-duwaliyyi yatamaṭṭalu bi-ḥalli kāffati l-mašākili fi manṭiqatayi l-xlīji wa š-šarqi al-ʾwsaṭ.#

From a discoursal perspective, identificational RCs, whether of the pure wh-type or any of its variants, or even of the type exemplified in 7-28, have one main function, which is, as Halliday (1967c & elsewhere) points out, to highlight the theme in the way the speaker/writer wants. Moreover, paragraph initial identified RCs usually announce a highlighted theme that can be developed throughout the paragraph in question, the following ones, and sometimes, a large portion of the text (possibly the whole text?) (cf. text 1, paragraphs 16-18). On the other hand, paragraph final identified RCs quite often sum up the paragraph in question and probably some of the preceding ones (cf. text 1, paragraph 35). Furthermore, such RCs often indicate the speaker's/writer's perspective and show a type of comparison he draws, in the sequence of his argument, between the reality of the situation at hand and another possibility, where the wh-cleft RC is brought in as a 'solution' to a problem raised earlier. This latter discoursal function is best illustrated by 7-29, which sums up all the "diplomatic possibilities" exerted to attain a peaceful solution to the Gulf Crisis. After 7-29 (or after the paragraph 36, to be precise), Chomsky, a linguist and a well-versed political writer, abandons the idea/theme/topic in question (the diplomatic attempts for a peaceful solutions, after he summarized it in paragraph 36), and moves into a new topic with paragraph 37 (the US

claims of unwillingness to reward aggressors). In all this, I believe that the wh-cleft, with its theme summing up the previous proposals for peace ('all that is necessary'), and providing a solution in the rheme (is a strong link . . .'), serves as a turning point in the text.

What applies to equative RCs like 7-28 and 7-29 applies to the 'pure' type of wh-cleft RCs, whether they are initial, medial or final in the paragraph or the text in question. The following examples from the corpus illustrate the three positions:

7-30 #This unthinkable predicament of modernity in the Orient[1]/ is what now confronts the West in the Gulf.# (Text 5: 20-1)

7-30A #ʾinna maʾzaqa l-ḥadāṯati[1]/ huwa (the pronoun of seperation) llaḏi yuwājihu l-ġarbu fi minṭaqati l-xalīj.#

7-31 #. . .; what is important to note[1]/ is that such resolutions have been passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council, yet the situation on the ground has become worse as time has gone on.# (Text 2: 12-5)

7-31A #ʾamma l-ʾamru l-muhimmu wa l-mulfitu li-l-ʾintibāhi[1]/ fa-huwa ʾanna miṯla tilka l-qararātu qad ṣadarat ᶜani j-jamᶜiyati l-ᶜāmati li-lʾumammi l-muttaḥidati wa majlisi l-ʾamni wa maᶜa ḏalik faʾinna l-waḍᶜa ᶜala ṭ-ṭabīᶜati qad ʾizdāda sūʾan maᶜa murūri l-waqt.#

7-32 #What cannot be tolerated[1]/ is the monster that pretends to modernity.# (Text 5-21: Final RC)

7-32A #ʾamma l-ʾamru l-laḏi layumkinu ʾiḥtimālah[1]/ fa-huwa ʾiddiᶜāʾu haḏa l-waḥšu li-lḥadāṯa.#

In 7-31, the writer, a member of the PLO executive committee and a professor of political science at a university in the USA, uses the wh-cleft RC to draw a comparison between the 'keenness' of the US with regard to the Gulf crisis and its 'slackness' regarding the application of UN resolutions regarding the Palestinian issue. The identified theme, 'what is important to note', comments on and highlights the 'keenness' of the US, and its negative attitude towards the Palestinian cause, which is reflected in the RCs following the wh-cleft, and which starts with the adversative conjunctions '*yet* the situation . . .', the modal adjunct '*certainly*', and finally the open if-clause, which ends the paragraph.

In the case of 7-32, the Wh-RC represents the climax of 'the predicament of the West' regarding 'the Oriental modernity' represented by Saddam Hussein. This climax

is gradually built up by assigning the theme function to Saddam Hussein in the past two paragraphs (20-21). Thus, the wh-cleft, here, serves also as a turning point in the text, where the writer moves into discussing aspects of Saddam's 'oddness and peculiarity'.

With regard to the rendition of identificational RCs (Wh-clefts and its various forms) into Arabic, the Arab native translator has done this in one of two ways. Firstly, the translator opted in translating such RCs for a nominal sentence with the pronoun of separation (damīr al-faṣl) separating between theme (whatever the leftmost constituent in the SLT is, be it identified or identifier; cf. 7-30 & 31). By using this method, he is able to preserve the thematic structure of the original RC as well as the information structure and its focus which, according to Halliday (1967c, p. 227), always falls on the identifier whether thematic or rhematic. In translation, the information focus is maintained by means of using a nominal sentence with the emphatic particle (ʾinna), and by placing a pronoun of separation in Arabic between the theme and the rheme of the TL RC (cf. 5.4). Secondly, the translator opts for a more emotive structure, while preserving the thematic structure and giving it prominence by glossing it (*ʾamma . . . fa*; cf. 7.3.5), although of course, he does not maintain the cleft structure as whole. By using a glossed thematic structure (cf. examples 7-31 & 32), the translator is able to make explicit the points that the two writers are trying to make, namely, the 'double standard' with which the US is treating the world issues, and the fact that 'Saddam Hussein' is not, after all, as 'bad' as the West says. This, the writer explicitly spells out later (Text 5-28) when he says:

7-33 #What distinguishes us from Saddam[2]/ is our superior, perhaps supreme, ability to screen out the death and mutilation.# (Text 5: 28-4)

7-33A #ʾinna mā yumayyizunā ᶜan Ṣaddām Ḥusayn[1]/ huwa (pronoun of separation) ᶜunṣuru tafawwuqinā aw rubbamā qudratinā l-fāīqatu ᶜala tamwīhi l-mawti wa d-damār.#

Again, as in 7-31, the translator, by the use of an emphasized nominal sentence and a pronoun of separation, is able to maintain the cleft construction, its thematic structure as well as the focus intended by the writer.

7.4.2 **Predicated Theme (It-cleft RC)**

Halliday (1967c, p. 236) points out that the predicated theme "maps the function identifier on that of theme giving explicit prominence to theme by exclusion" (cf. 3.6.4.1). In the examples he provides, Halliday (loc. cit.) claims that the thematic meaning, in examples like 7-34 below, is "John and nobody else is under consideration":

7-34 #It is JOHN [theme & new]/ who broke the window [rheme & given].#

Halliday (loc. cit.) also differentiates between the theme of the identified/ wh-cleft clause discussed above (cf. 7.4.1) and the theme of the it-cleft regarding the type of prominence and exclusion involved. In the former, he points out, it is cognitive, while in the latter it is thematic: "John and nobody else is the topic of the sentence."

In this respect, Halliday identifies two options associated with the predicated theme. The first option has to do with the structural formula '*It/There + Be + NP + That-Clause*', in which, according to Halliday (1967c, p. 238), "it and there, being cataphoric (or anticipatory/dummy '*it & there*', to use Quirk et. al's [1985] term), correspond, respectively to the definite article and the indefinite article" (cf. 7.4.3 for existential clauses with 'there' below). The second option has to do with structural formula '*NP + It/There + Be + That-Clause*', in which, according to Halliday (loc. cit.), the structure '*it + be*', following the 'marked theme', "explicitly asserts the thematic status of the NP". I believe, extending Halliday's formulation, that it also asserts the thematic status of the 'unmarked new theme' in the first option.

It-clefts clauses are more flexible than wh-clefts, regarding what can be fronted to a thematic status. It is for this reason, I believe, that Quirk et. al. (1985, p. 1384) emphasize that this construction is convenient in writing, since it provides an "unerring guidance to the reader in silently assigning appropriate prosody." This flexibility, however, does not include the verb or the value in Halliday's relational process, such as 'the leader is John', where 'the leader' cannot be predicated.

As is the case of Wh-cleft RCs, but, this time, contrary to Quirk et. al's (1985) expectations, it-clefts were not found to be very frequent in political discourse. In analysing the corpus, only a total of 13 RCs (1% of the overall total) were identified. The function of these RCs in the corpus lies mainly within the same general outline given by Halliday (1967c & elsewhere), namely, to steer the hearer/reader to interpret the proposition the way it was intended by the speaker/reader. This has also been

shown, quite recently by Jones and Jones (1985, p. 10), when they suggest that cleft sentences are used to "highlight the theme in the given segment of discourse"[16]. In this respect, it-clefts have this effect, because the clefting process adds a feature to the underlying sentence which that sentence lacks, i.e., polarity, and what the clefting process does is to express this feature of polarity overtly in the surface structure of the sentence and not merely by means of intonation patterns, which can, of course, be inferred from the context, but perceived only in actual speech. Furthermore, almost all contextual functions, illustrated in discussing wh-clefts, also apply, to a greater extent, to it-clefts. These can be illustrated here, by the few examples of it-clefts found in the corpus:

7-35 #The general assumption[1]/ was that "it is not Russian **military power** which is threatening us,# #it is Russian **political power**" (0 = which is threatening us.# (Text 1: 7-2 & 3; the second RC)

7-35A #. . . wa ʿinnamā quwwata-hu (hu=ʿar-rūs)[1] as-siyāsiya (0)(=hiya llati tuhaddidu-nā).#

Here, the writer highlights 'Russian political power', the theme of the second RC, in contrast with 'Russian military power', which constitutes part of the rheme of the first RC. The translated it-cleft also sums up the topic that develops through the two preceding paragraphs, namely, 'the role of states of the former Soviet Union' in the what the US administration calls 'the grand area'. It also represents the turning point in the text after which, the writer, having spelt out his perspective on the matter, moves on to discuss another idea (present another sub-topic in the overall development of discourse, or the text at hand). In this case, Chomsky moves on to discuss the role of the third world in the so-called 'grand area'.

In developing the topic in political discourse, the writer usually sums up his argument by laying down a proposed solution to the problem at hand, which represents the climax of what he tries to convince his reader of up to that point in the discourse (text). This climax, which also represents the turning point of his argument, usually follows after highlighting what we can call 'the winning topic', as in:

7-36 #Therefore[1], it was the **offensive** school[2]/ which won the procurement battle,# #and[1] it is these new offensive technologies[2]/ which are being used in the Gulf war.# (Text 3: 19-3)

7-36A #wa[3] li-hādā[1] faʿinna l-madrasata l-hujūmiyyata[2]/ hiya (pronoun of

separation) l-lati fāzat bi-ş-şafqa,# #wa[1] ʾinna tilka t-taqniyata l-hujūmiyata l-hadīthati[2]/hiya (pronoun of separation) l-lati tamma ʾistixdāmuhā fi ḥarbi l-xalīj.#

Here, the writer sums up the argument of the two opposing schools of thought, which emerged after the Second World War, regarding the post-war strategic calculations. These are the defensive school and offensive school of thought. After arguing their opposing views regarding the post-war era, Prof. Kaldor concludes her argument by highlighting the idea that the 'offensive school' and its 'offensive technology' (the focused themes of the two RCs; cf. 7-36) won the argument, which she develops two paragraphs earlier.

With regard to polarity, alluded to above, Fichtner (1993, p. 25) says:

> the polarization of the sentence -- its separation into two zones -- implies opposition, and opposition, particularly between elements in the same structure, frequently suggests contrast. Moreover, the designation of a specific element as focus of the cleft draws attention to that element, and increases the reader's awareness of any difference between information presented in the cleft sentence and that in or suggested by the context.

This quotation suggests two discoursal function of cleft sentences: (1) contrast of propositions and (2) focusing/highlighting a certain element, which, in turn, also serves the contrastive purpose. Both functions have already been illustrated and discussed with regard to wh- and it- clefts. One major function which was just mentioned in passing, at the beginning of this section, when we noted that it-clefts represent an inconsistency regarding Halliday's theme, being always initial. In fact, it is not initial in the sense of a topical theme, and the it-cleft construction is one way of overcoming the limitation imposed by the rigid SVO word order in English. It-cleft RCs make it possible for the writer to escape this rigid word order, and place, in the thematic slot, any element required to have a special prominence, as in:

7-37 #It is this historic, national **link**[1]/ that makes Iraq an antagonist in the Palestine/Israel/Arab conflict.# (Text 2: 16-4)

7-37A #ʾinna-hu (hu= ḍamīr aš-šaʾan) dālika **r-rābiṭu** t-tārixiyyu wa l-qawmiyyu[1]/ l-laḏi jaᶜala mina l-ᶜirāqi ṭarafan xaşman fi n-nizāᶜi l-filisṭīniy - l-ʾisrāʾiliy - l-ᶜarabiy.#

With regard to the preservation of their thematic structure when translated into Arabic, the Arab native speaker was able to achieve this by rendering both the wh-clefts and the it-clefts into equivalent-cleft constructions (cf. 5.5). This was done as already

mentioned in 7.4.1 by translating such constructions as emphatic nominal sentences, by using a combination of emphatic particles (ʿadawāt at-tawkīd like ʿinna), the pronoun of separation (ḍamīr al-faṣl), and, in the case of it-clefts, the 'pronoun of status' (ḍamīr aš-šaʿn).

7.4.3 **Thematic Structure of Existential RCs with 'There'**

With regard to the thematic structure of clauses that begin with 'there' as an initial element (grammatical subject), Halliday only mentions such clauses in passing when he discusses predicated thematic structure with it-clefts (cf. 7.4.2). In this respect, he only says: "with 'there' it [the theme] is described (non-uniquely specified)", and that, "'it' and 'there' are cataphoric, corresponding, respectively to definite and indefinite articles" (Halliday, 1967c, p. 238). This was said in reference to examples of predicated themes that have a structural formula like:

7-38 There + be + proper name/definite NP + that-clause

In his model of thematic structure, Halliday never mentions, other than these two occasions, the status of the 'there' clause, as, for example, an 'existential' clause, let alone providing illustrative examples to demonstrate its thematic status or syntactic, semantic or pragmatic characteristics.

I believe the main reason which prompts Halliday to mention clauses with 'there' as their initial (thematic) element is the fact that such constructions, in addition to it-clefts and substitutive thematic structure (cf. 7.4.2 & 7.4.4), constitute types of construction where the theme, in the sense of 'what the RC is about', is not an initial element, and types of constructions where the speaker/writer places the information focus (the weighty part of his message) in a position other than the final lexical item in the RC.

From a syntactic perspective, Quirk et. al (1985, pp.1402-1414) divide clauses with existential 'there' into two main categories: (1) bare existentials (sometimes called 'ontological') which simply postulate and asserts the existence of some entity or entities, and (2) there-clefts (in Halliday's formulation) which resemble cleft clauses with regard to their thematic structure and its rhetorical motivation. Quirk et. al. (loc. cit.) also discusses other sub-categories of the first type, but they don't seem to have

the same 'awkwardness' alluded to above, except for 'there-constructions' in which 'there' is followed by a verb other than 'be' (be is frequently preceded by one of the auxiliary verbs), and in which the notional (cognitive) subject could be either definite or indefinite[17]. These verbs represent three categories of intransitive verb-types. The first category is what Quirk et. al. (1985, p. 1408) call "the verbs of motion", or "of appearance on the scene", to use Firbas's (1964 & 1966) terms (cf. 2.1.5 & 2.2.1). This category include verbs like '*arrive, enter, pass, come, etc.*' The second category includes the verbs of inception/creation like '*emerge, spring up, etc.*' The last category includes the verbs of stance such as '*live, remain, lie, etc.*' The two main categories of 'there' RCs can be illustrated from the corpus, respectively as follows:

7-39 #In fact[1], there[2]/ is a very close similarity between these studies and top-level government planning documents of later years.# (Text 1: 4-3)

7-39A #wa[3] fi ḥaqīqati l-ʾamr[1] kāna hunāka[2] tašābuhun kabīrun bayna hādihi d-dirāsāti wa waṭāʾiqi t-taxṭīṭi l-hukūmiyyati ᶜāliyyati l-mustawā li-s-sanawāti l-muqbila.#

7-40 #Whatever the substance of the case against him[1]/, there[2] still remains some thing fundamentally obscurantist in the demonisation of Saddam.# (Text 5: 8-2)

7-40A #fa-mahmā yakun faḥwa l-qadiyyati l-mutārati ḍidda Ṣaddām Ḥusayn[1]/ lā yaẓālu hunāka[2] ʾamrun ġāmidun ʾizāʾa taṣwīrihi ramzan li-š-šarr.#

7-41 #There are also new analyses, German and American[1],/ which suggest that we are leaving such a world, not entering it . . .# (Text 4: 6-2)

7-41A #fa-[3] tammata taḥlīlātun jadīdatun ʾaydan -- ʾalmāniyyatun wa ʾamarikiyya--/ mafāduhā ʾannanā nuwaddiᶜu ḍalika l-ᶜālama wa lasnā fi ṭarīqinā li-d-duxūli fīh.#

From a semantic perspective, a number of linguists suggest a close relation between possession and existence. Duff (1993), for instance, points out that "the universe (a location, the grand setting) could be construed as the ultimate possessor/container of all, and domains within the universe are other potential local settings and thus possessors as well (Duff, 1993, p.2[18]). Furthermore, Clark (1970) posits that possessive/existential constructions are subsumed in a 'potentially' universal configuration, under the overriding semantic category of "locationals" because they share the same basic conceptual properties. Therefore, each existential clause contains a [+definite] locative phrase and a [± definitive] nominal. In addition to the semantic

element (+locational), Clark also identifies other cross-linguistic similarities among the various categories of existential clauses such as word order (e.g. copula, auxiliaries and other types of verbs) and definiteness of nominals involved. In this respect he says:

> psychologically, it would appear quite plausible to argue if an object is in some place, and the place is actually an animate being, the object is possessed by that "place". In other words, it is the [+animate] feature added to the locational feature that transforms it into [POSSESSOR-ANIMATE], (Clark, 1970, p. 3[19])

In this respect, there are several proposals by Lyons (1968) on existential sentences, and from which the following examples are extracted:

7-42 Lions exist in Africa.
7-42a There are lions in Africa.

7-43 A book is on the table.
7-43a There is a book on the table.

7-44 Coffee will be here in a moment.
7-44a There be coffee here in a moment.

These clause pairs are obviously related. However, Lyons admits that he finds it hard to distinguish existential 'there' clauses like 7-42a from 'there' clauses like 7-43a. The former has a lexical paraphrase "exist", which speaks for a classification of existential clauses; the latter has a lexical paraphrase is "is located", which, in a sense, speaks of a classification of existential clauses as well.

What is of interest is Lyons' interpretation of 'there' in locative clauses. Expletive 'there' in locative clauses like 7-43a & 44a which extends to existential clauses like 7-43a receives the following explanation:

> Although 'a book is on the table' is acceptable in English, it is a less common sentence than 'there is a book on the table'. Let us therefore say that what is sometimes called the expletive ('dummy') use of 'there' in locative sentences is a syntactic choice of English for 'anticipating' the locative phrase in the surface structure. It is noteworthy that the expletive 'there' is not generally found in locative sentences with a definite subject (e. g. the book is on the table); and it also serves in 'existential' sentences, which we have related to indefinite locatives (Lyons, 1968, pp. 393[20]).

Thus, it is obvious that Lyons views expletive (dummy) 'there' as anticipating the locative phrase and not replacing it (cataphoric in Halliday's 1976 cohesive terms). This seems to mean that expletive 'there' in locative clauses has stronger deictic force

than, for example, in clause like 'there was no one missing'. Therefore, expletive 'there' in locative clauses takes more of the local meaning of the locative than in other types of 'there' clauses. Expletive 'there', however, remains the subject of the clause.

Furthermore, Lyons (1968) points out also that in a number of Indo-European languages, the existential clause, whether of the verb '*to be*' type or not, include remnants of what was originally a locative element. In this respect, he says:

> 'Existential be-copula' does not normally occur in English without a locative or temporal complement [examples 7-43a & 45a respectively]; and it might appear reasonable to say that all existential sentences are at least implicitly locative . . . . Khan (1966, p. 258) [quoted by Lyons] has argued this view in relation to Greek and also more generally, as he [Khan] observes, both pre-Socratic and the ordinary Greek of Plato's days took it as axiomatic that "whatever is, is somewhere; whatever is nowhere, is nothing" (Lyons, 1968, pp. 390-391) [my ellipsis].

The question of existential 'there' and its meaning has also been analysed, in a way, that is adequate in the present context by Milsark (1977) who proposes that 'there' indicates a predication of existence of the referent of the focus NP, to which the further predication of a property of that referent, (e.g. its location/possessed state) is, in some sense, subordinate[21] (cf. the above quotations from Lyons' 1968). This is presumably a reversal of the more commonly recognized case, in which existence of the referents of indefinite NP's is entailed by predication of properties, provided they are true. On the basis of this view, clauses like 7-42 and 7-42a convey different information, even though their truth conditions ultimately fall together. However, the difference lies, according to Woisetschlaeger (1983, p. 139), "in what each of these clauses foregrounds, and what it backgrounds . . ."; clauses like 7-42a "foreground an existence claim."

Milsark (1977) as well as Woisetschlaeger (1983) point out that definite NP's (or quantified NP's as Milsark calls them) carry a presupposition with regard to their referents, whereas indefinite NP's do not[22]. Put another way:

> The difference between the two cases can be expressed in these terms: existence of the referent of a definite NP is a precondition for an utterance containing that NP in a referential position to have a truth value, while existence of the referent of an indefinite NP is an entailment that the utterance in which it occurred was true (Woisetschlaeger, 1983, p. 140).

Woisetschlaeger (1983) also points out that existential clauses with 'there'

followed by a definite NP are "typically marginal", and one way of making their marginality explicit is to say that their users are confined to "list contexts", (whether it is an explicit or an implied/contrastive list), and it is customary to indicate what 'list contexts' are by providing bit of connected discourse to which clauses like:

7-45 A: Is there anything to drink?
B: Well, there is the leftover wine from last night.

This, according Woisetschlaeger (1983, p. 140), could occur in the following context: a couple of roommates have been imbibing and, having come to the apparent end of their supply of alcoholic beverages, one of them might ask, 'Isn't there anything left to drink in this joint?'; the other, with a sly grin spreading over his face, might say: 'Well, there is . . . .'

With regard to the marginality of existentials which contain a definite NP following 'there', Woisetschlaeger (loc. cit.) points out that such marginality comes from the fact that such clauses foreground an existence claim of an entity whose existence is presupposed in the discourse, which seems an odd thing to do. What is more intriguing according to him, is why there-constructions of this type are used in discourse at all, if they are 'odd'. In response to this he lists a number of discoursal functions such clauses may serve:

(1) The listener/reader may know of some entity that it exists, and yet he may not have that fact "before his mind": he may have momentarily forgotten, in which case the speaker/writer may remind him.

(2) The listener/reader may simply not be thinking of the entity in question in some specific connection, in which case the speaker may cooperatively suggest that the entity might be relevant by simply reaffirming its existence.

(3) In certain cases, also, the speaker/writer may not be certain whether an existential presupposition that was valid in the past is still valid now, in which case he may, by means of a suitable question, invite his listener/reader to confirm its continued existence.

With these three discoursal functions of the existential clause with 'there' followed by a definite NP, we come to the pragmatic functions of such constructions, which relate to their thematic structure in discourse. Following Abbot (1993, p. 40), I believe that the main predication in an existential is one of existence with a secondary

predication possible[23]. However, it must be noted, as I indicated above, that the existence in question here is not necessarily ordinary, real world existence. It is of a broader concept, or as Kartunnen (1969 [1976]) calls "discourse existence", and which includes the possibility of actual existence as a special case[24].

Linguists seem to disagree with regard to the origin of the existential meaning of the 'there' clauses. To mention just a few, Woisetschlaeger (1983) attributes existential meaning to the word 'there'; Bolinger (1977, p. 199; cf. Lyon's quotation above) holds the view that 'there' still has some remnants of a locational meaning, and Abbot (1993, p.41) does not think that the word 'there' itself in existential clauses means anything; that is to say, "it is a purely dummy element (cf. Quirk et. al 1985 & Lyons 1968).

Abbot (1993, p. 41) claims that the function of existential clauses is to draw the addressee's attention to the existence and/or location of the entity or entities denoted by the focus NP. She also claims, following Bolinger (1977) and Hetzorn (1975), that positive there-clauses have essentially a presentational function, and that negative existentials call the addressee's attention to the absence of some entity or entities[25]. I believe that this function follows naturally from the syntactic and semantic properties described above. Thus, the postponing of the focus NP puts it into a position similar to that occupied by the direct object, which in the unmarked case convey new information, to use Halliday's (1967c) term. And the assertion of discourse existence allows either literal presentation of an actually existing entity, or the (somewhat metaphorical) abstract presentation of a hypothetical or otherwise unreal discourse entity.

In this respect, it seems to follow automatically from the foregoing that NP's which do not presuppose the existence of their referents should be perfectly natural in the focus position of an existential, and of course this is the case. Furthermore, provided that they are otherwise suitable, existentials with indefinite NP's such as 7-39 & 42 are of this type. On the other hand, NP's which do presuppose existence require special contextualization, and their existentials cannot initiate a discourse in contrast with the ones with indefinite NP's; existentials with definite NP's such as 7-45 are of this type. It is this latter type which Woisetschlaeger (1983) calls 'list' existentials, and it is for this type that he assigns the three functions outlined above. From a contextual

perspective, Abbot (1993, pp. 42-43) calls the existential clause with an indefinite NP in focus a 'non-contextualized existential clause (NE)' and Woisetschlaeger (1983) 'list' existentials (with definite NP in focus) 'contextualized existential clauses (CE)[26]'.

As I see it, the most salient difference between NE's and CE's is that the focus NP in an NE typically has a locational or other predicative phrase following it, whereas, proper names and anaphoric definites in CE's do not. Thus, the predicative phrase is a separate constituent in 7-46 and is part of the focused NP in 4-47:

7-46 #There is a book[1]/ on the table.#
7-46a #hunāka kitābun[1]/ ᶜala ţ-ţāwila.# [nominal clause] (or)
7-46b #yūjadu kitābun[1] ᶜala ţ-ţāwila.# [verbal clause]
7-47 #There[1] / is the book on the table.#[27]
7-47a #dūnaka (xud) (0=ʾanta) l-kitaba lladi ᶜala ţ-ţāwila.# (imperative clause)

With proper names and anaphoric definites, the predicative slot must be fixed before they are introduced. Since the referents for such NP's are, by definition, part of the discourse context, it is only appropriate to include them in an existential which has the kind of a reminding function noted above. But this presupposes some purpose or issue for which the entity in question might be suitable. Rarely is mere existence of a member of some category (such as 'a book' in examples like 7-46 above) of interest on its own. People need to know of the existence of entities of certain types in order to do something with them, and for that they need to know their location or some of their salient characteristics.

From a thematic perspective, the function of 'there' is to introduce the referent of the NP, of which it is a constituent, as a 'new' theme of the discourse. In all relevant clauses, the NP, dominating the existential 'there', has occurred in the position of theme (although non-initial). It is possible, however, for either a locative phrase or a manner adverb to occur as what Halliday (1967c & 1985) calls 'marked theme' (and which I call marked-scene-setter-theme).

As has been extensively discussed above, we explain the *raison d'etre* of 'there' by either modifying Halliday's account of thematisation, or by abandoning the above description of the function of 'there be'__ although it seems substantially sound. A choice of solution, perhaps, would be totally ad hoc if we did not already require a more sensitive statement of theme than Halliday provides. In order to accord, for instance, some thematic status to the subject of a declarative clause containing a marked

theme, and indeed to the grammatical function (surface) subject itself, marked themes are indicated not only by preposing of a clause constituent, but also by a number of prosodic features, and these often indicate variation in the underlying structure concealed by surface syntax; thematisation may, therefore, be a much more complex phenomenon than Halliday suggests.

If an unspecified existential clause is directly dominated by an NP, it would as a whole constitute the theme of the clause dominating the NP. Thus, the theme of a clause like 'There is a book on the table' cited above, is not 'a book' as would be suggested by Halliday (1967c), but rather 'there is a book', which expresses an assertion of the existence of 'the book'. It is intuitively satisfactory that the theme of an existential clause can be shown to be the assertion of the existence of the object (referent), be it real or unreal (hypothetical or discoursal). If, however, there-constructions do not include additional (or secondary predication, to use Abbots (1993) terms, as is frequently the case with there-constructions where the 'be' is followed by a definite NP (indicating an implied contrast), 'there' will be treated as the theme of the clause (the dummy surface grammatical subject) and the rest of the clause will be rheme. In this case I consider 'there' to assert the existence of the entity in contrast with an implied list of entities that are either present on the scene, or in the addressor's mind.

In analysing the English corpus, 39 existential RCs were identified (4% of the overall total; cf. table 7-2 of appendix E). The majority of such RCs (29; 74%) are found to be of what Quirk et. al. (1985; cf. above) call 'bare existentials', and only 10RCs are of the 'cleft-type' which corresponds to Halliday's predicated theme (cf. 7.4.2). There are also 15 embedded/dependent clauses within main RCs that act either thematic or rhematic depending on the field they occcupy within the syntagm of the RC.

In addition to the discoursal functions of 'there' RCs (NE's and CE's), there are some other functions identified when analysing the corpus. Thus, besides asserting the existence and location/ or the absence of the entity or entities realized by the focused NP, beside drawing the attention of the addressee to the NP in question (hence the 'there' RC presentational function), and beside the 'reminding function' of the focused NP (when definite), 'there' RCs appear to serve the following additional functions in

political discourse:

1. To introduce a discourse (or part of a discourse) topic, which is usually developed throughout the overall text or a portion of it (a paragraph or a section?). In the latter case, such a newly introduced topic may contribute in the overall macro structure of the overall topic of the discourse as a whole[28].

2. To substantiate a proposed thesis/hypothesis of an argument in the text, by introducing or presenting and asserting the existence of a new topic/theme realized by the focused NP, which adds new evidence in support of the argument that is being developed.

3. To introduce or substantiate a counter argument to a proposed thesis/hypothesis. Again this is also done by introducing a new theme/topic realized by the focused NP, which may constitute piece of evidence for the invalidity of the proposed thesis.

4. To sum up or conclude an extended discourse argument or simply conclude a sub-argument which extends to one or two paragraphs and prepare the addressee (hearer or reader) for a new topic with a new sub-argument.

The corpus examples cited above (7-39 through 41) as well as the ones that will follow later in this section__ all illustrate the various functions suggested by these linguists, whose contribution towards explaining the various aspects of there RCs is outlined above. In this respect, almost all 'there' RCs found in the corpus either assert the existence of the focused NP (when indefinite), or 'a reminder' of its existence, if the NP is definite. As for the location of the focused NP, which is taken for granted since it exists, it is also asserted if realized in the surface structure of the RC, as in:

7-48 #There has been reluctance in western Europe, up to now,[1]/ to support the Anglo-American position in the Gulf.# (Text 3: 32-3)

7-48A #kamā[3] ʾannahu hattā hādihi l-lahza[2] kāna hunāka ᶜadama raġbatin[1] min jānibi duwali ʾurubbā l-ġarbiyya li-daᶜmi l-mawqifi l-ʾanjlu-ʾamarikiy bi-šaʾni t-tadaxxuli fi manṭiqati l-xalīj.#

Each of the four additional discourse functions of there RCs, which were formulated during the analysis of the data can be exemplified respectively (each by two examples) from the corpus as follows:

1. **Function Type 1:**

7-49 #There are also important changes in the world[1]/, to which this strategic conception must be adapted.# (Text 1: 1-2)

7-49A #kamā[2] ʾanna-hu (pronoun of status) yūjadu ʾaydan ʿadadun mina t-taġayyurāti l-hāmmati fi l-ʿālami[1] tafriḍu ʿala hāda l-mafhūmi l-ʾistrātijiyyi t-takayyufa maʿahā.#

7-50 #There had been diplomatic possibilities[1]/ for resolving the crisis since August, including Iraqi offers described by high U.S. officials as "serious" and "negotiable."# (Text 1: 34-1)

7-50A #laqad kāna hunāka[1]/ majmūʿatan min l-ʾiḫtimālāti d-diblumāsiyyati li-t-tawaṣuli ʾila ḥallin lihaḏihi l-ʾazmati mundu ʾindilāʿihā fi šahri ʾuġusṭus (ʾāb) min baynihā ʿarūdun ʿirāqiyyatun waṣafahā masʾulūna ʾamarīkiyyūna ʿala mustawan ʿālin biʾannahā "jiddiyyatun" wa "qābilatun li-t-tafāwuḍ".#

1. **Function Type 2:**

7-51 #There is no reason[1]/ to expect changes in the principles that guide policy.# #There are no significant public pressures[1]/ for policy change.# (Text 1: 45-2)

7-51A #fa-[3] laysa tamata mā(=ʾamrun)[1] yadʿūnā ʾila tawaqquʿi ḥudūṯi taġayyurātin fi l-mabādiʾi llaḏi taqūdu ḏilika n-nahja s-siyāsiy.# #wa-[2] la tūjadu duġūṭun šaʿbiyyatun[1] tuḏkaru litaġyīri ḏālika n-nahj.#

7-52 #There is another way[1]/ of understanding the cold war, not as a conflict but as a kind of collusion, although the term 'collusion' perhaps implies too much conscious purpose.# #There were two distinct systems[1]/ in East and West: the Fordist variant of capitalism, and the stalinist or post-stalinist variant of socialism.#(Text 3: 5-8)

7-52A #wa[2] tammata[1] wasīlatun ʾuxrā li-fahmi hāḏihi l-ḥarbu wa ḏalika laysa bi-waṣfihā ṣirāʿan bal namaṭan min ʾanmāṭi t-tawāṭuʾi, ʿala r-rġmi min ʾanna ʾiṣṭlāḥa t-tawāṭuʾi yumkinu ʾan yanṭawi ʿala qadrin kāfin mina l-qasdi l-wāʿi.# #laqad kāna hunāka[1] niẓāmayni mutamayyizayni fi š-šaraqi wa l-ġarbi: ʾawwaluhuma n-niẓāmu l-fuwrdiyyi wa ṯāniyhumā n-niẓāmu s-stāliyniyu wa mā baʿda sttāliyniyi li-l-ʾištirākiyya.#

3. **Function Type 3:**

7-53 #But[2] there[1]/ is a disturbing feeling about that.# (Text 3: 24-1)

7-53A #ġayra[2] ʾanna-hu yūjadu ʾiḥsāsun muzʿijun[1]/ tijāha ḏālik.#

7-54 #There is a sense[1]/ in which the existence of nationalism, or more accurately, of old-fashioned nation-states on the periphery, can be convenient to hegemonic power-blocs.# (Text 4: 8-4)

7-54A #fa-[2] hunāka[1]/ ʾiḥsāsun biʾanna wujūda š-šuʿūri l-qawmiyyi aw bi-maʿna ʾadaqq ḥukumāti ẓ-ẓilli t-taqlīdiyya yumkinu ʾan yakūna mulāʾiman li-ḥaymanati ṣ-ṣulṭati l-ʿuẓmā#

4. **Function Type 4:**

7-55 #As noted earlier[2], there are real changes in the world system[1]./ with a number of important consequences: (1) . . . . (2) . . . . (3) . . . .# (Text 1: 42-1)

7-55A #wa[2] kamā ʾašarna mundu l-bidāya[2] yūjadu ᶜadadun mina t-taġayyurāti l-haqīqiyyti fi n-niẓ āmi l-ᶜālamiyyi[1] tamaxxada ᶜanhā majmūᶜatun mina n-natāʾiji l-hāmmati l-lati yumkinu ʾījāzuhā bimā yali: (1) . . . . (2) . . . . (3) . . . . .#

7-56 #There is, then, little reason[1]/ to anticipate a shift in U.S. rejectionism.# (Text 1: 45-7)

5-56A #lidā[2] yujadu ʾamalun daᶜīfun[1] bi-tawaqquᶜi ḥudūṯi taġyīrin fi mawqifi r-rafḍi l-ʾamrīkiy.#

7-49 & 50 illustrate respectively the first function. In 7-49, for example, the asserted (focused) indefinite NP 'important changes', the 'new' theme/topic of the 'there RC' is developed, through the writer's argument and counter argument up to approximately 42 paragraphs of the text, throughout which additional sub-topics are introduced to supplement it. Sub-topics like 'the new world order', 'Latin-Americanization of the disintegrating Soviet Unions' republics', 'the grand area' 'the role of the Third World within that area', among others, are developed in the context of developing the 'main discourse topic', which is introduced by the 'there-RC'. Example 7-50 represents one of these sub-topics, in which the new theme/topic ('diplomatic possibilities'), introduced as the theme of initial the there-RC of paragraph 34, is developed throughout the two following paragraphs (35 & 36), by the substantiated RCs in the case 'The last (0= diplomatic offer) made public . . . .', 'US officials describe the offer . . . .', 'A State Department for the ME described the proposal . . . .', 'Iraq would withdraw . . . .', among others.

The second function identified above can be illustrated by RCs 7-51 & 52. In 7-51, there-RC substantiates the newly introduced thesis/hypothesis realized by the rhetorical question posed at the beginning of the paragraph, which can be interpreted like "there will be no change in the US policy towards the Middle East' (cf. text 1 paragraph 45). The first there-RC presents a very general type of hypothesis by introducing a negated and abstract (general) NP 'no reason', as a new theme of the RC. In the second substantiative RC, the focused NP becomes more specific 'no significant

public pressure', which in turn, is made more and more particular by introducing a regular declarative RC, where '2/3 of the public express support for international consensus'. Example 7-51, which consists of two consecutive RCs, illustrates an opposition to the substantiation given for the proposed hypothesis (the cold war as a way of organising global relations), by the first RC, and provides an alternative substantiation of the same hypothesis. In this respect, it seems that the implicitly rejected substantiation reflects the dominant world view, while the alternative substantiation seems to reflect the writer's own view.

As for the function of introducing or substantiating a counter argument to a proposed thesis, examples 7-53 & 54 are respectively selected to illustrate this. 7-53 introduces a counter argument to the proposed hypothesis set forth in the previous paragraph, namely, 'the change of foreign policy in the UK, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union'. The there-RC, starting with an adverse conjunction 'but', and having an indefinite new theme 'a disturbing feeling' stands in opposition to 'winding the business down and going into something more profitable'. This counter argument is further substantiated by the RCs following the there-RC; clauses that have their thematic structures moving from a general to a more particular theme: 'something irreversible', 'the fear that Britain's long stay in the international sun', and then to 'a sense of hope'. On the other hand, RC 7-54 substantiates a counter argument introduced at the end of the previous paragraph ('But the matter is more complicated'). The there-RC substantiates this counter argument by the fact that there exists 'a sense that nationalism can be convenient to hegemonic power-bloc', which is further supported by providing examples like the 'Bantustan' shadow governments in South Africa, and some other states in South America.

The fourth and final discourse function of there-RCs, that of summing up an extended or short argument in the text, can be illustrated respectively by examples 7-55 & 56. Example 5-55 sums up the discourse argument developed in the first 42 paragraphs. This was done by using the special adjunct phrase '*as noted above*', which acts as a marked-scene-setter-theme, and by using the there-RC, with its focused NP 'real changes', as the new theme (originally introduced as 'important changes'; cf. 7-49), and which summarises these changes, as being three (cf. 7-55). Summing up a short portion of the text can be illustrated by 7-56, which provides a concluding RC of

the preceding argument presented in the paragraph in question. Whether it is an extended or a small portion of the text, there-RCs sum up such a portion and prepare the reader to start with a new sub-topic with its substantiated and/or counter argument.

With regard to maintaining the thematic structure of there RCs when translated into Arabic, the rendition was partial. In the occurrences where the thematic structure is not preserved, the reason goes back to the flexibility of Arabic language and thus to the various stylistic methods adopted by the native Arab translator, following the development of the text the SLT. However, the translator was able to maintain the status of the focused NP with regard to definiteness or indefiniteness, whether that NP remains thematic or is downgraded into the rhematic sphere of the translated RC. The other two features of 'there' RCs were also preserved. First, the assertion of existence and location of the entity realized by the focused NP were both preserved by translating the 'there' RC into a nominal sentence, with the demonstrative pronouns 'hunāka' (here-be/there), 'ṯammata' (there-be) and some other words, asserting existence and indicating location. The second method by which the assertion of existence is preserved is by translating such RCs into declarative passive or active clauses, where the passive verb 'yūjadu' (exist) or the active verb (yatawājadu), which asserts the existence of the focused NP which, in turn, act as the theme of the translated RC ('surrogate subject' (nāib fāᶜil) for the passive and the grammatical subject (al-fāᶜil) for the active). Whether it is active or passive, the verb, which asserts the existence of the entity realized by the focused NP of the SL RC, joins the rhematic field of the TL RC. That the locational status of the focused NP is preserved by translating the 'there' RC into a verbal sentence is taken for granted, since according to Lyons (1968; cf. quotation above), "whatever is, is somewhere".

There are, however, some of the translated examples in which the 'there' RC is translated into an active declarative clause which, while thematising the focused NP of the SL RC, seems to lose some of its assertiveness. Nevertheless, such TL RCs still preserve the presentative function of the SL RC by using what Arab grammarians call ''ʾafᶜāl aš-šurūc[29]', or 'verbs of inception', to use Quirk et. al's. (1985) term, as in:

7-57 #There are some of the contours of the planned new world order[1]/ that come into view as the beguiling rhetoric is lifted away.# (Text 1: 50-1)

7-57A #wa[2] qad badat taẓharu baᶜdu l-xuṭūṭi r-raʾīsiyyati li-muxaṭṭaṭi n-niẓāmi al-

ʿālamiyyi l-jadīdi[1]/ ḥālama tawaqqafa t-tašduqu l-bayāniyyu l-muḍalil.#

To sum up the question of translating the two major types of there-RCs (bare existentials and there-clefts), the following two points may be mentioned:

1. If a there-RC is translated into a verbal sentence in Arabic (passive or active), and depending upon the discoursal function of that there-clause (in this case it is either description or substantiation of a proposed hypothesis/thesis), the definite or indefinite focused NP following the VP is the theme of the RC, in the sense of 'what the RC is about'. In such case the assertion of existence, originally realized by 'there+be' is now downgraded into the rhematic sphere, since it is done by the verb, which in Arabic, is the core of predication (cf. 5.3).
2. If a there-RC is translated into a nominal sentence in Arabic, introducing a counter argument to a proposed thesis or substantiating a counter argument, the NP, following the demonstrative pronouns 'hunāka' (here/there, for closer entities) and 'ṯammata' (there; for far entities) which assert both existence and location, is downgraded to a rhematic position and thus is treated as the rheme of the RC. In this case the demonstrative pronouns act as the theme of the RC. In a word, the verbal existential RCs in Arabic correspond, more or less, to those of English that are of the 'bare' and the 'cleft' type, whereas nominal existential RCs do not, since they rhematise their focused NP.

7.4.4 RCs with Substituted/Extraposed/Delayed Theme

Halliday (1967c, pp. 239-241) points out that substituted theme is one of the instances where the theme-rheme sequence is reversed (cf. 3.6.4.2). To this, I add, as I have already mentioned earlier (cf. 7.4.2 & 3), that substitution is one of the methods of evading the rigid SVO order of English. The most frequent type of substitution, as indicated by Quirk et. al (1985, p. 1391) who calls it 'extraposition' following the generative grammarians, is the one where a subordinate nominal clause (acting as a subject) is moved to the end of the sentence, and the normal subject position is filled by an anticipatory/'dummy' pronoun (or a cataphoric pronoun, to use a Hallidayan cohesive term). In this respect, the most frequent pronoun used in the subject slot is the dummy 'it'[30].

Although Halliday (1967c) and Quirk et. al. (1985) look at substitutive clauses from different perspective (the former's is discoursal/textual; the latter's is syntactic), they identify four different types of substituted/exstraposed clauses with 'it' as the dummy subject. Since the approach I am using in treating thematic structure in Arabic and English is Hallidayan, I will stay within Halliday's formulation in identifying these four types.

Before listing and illustrating types of substitutive clauses, I would like to add that Halliday (1967c, pp. 240-241; cf. 3.6.4.2) points out that it might seem that the structural shape or simply the length determines the preference for substituted form. These two factors, according to him, play some role, but the main factor is not the presence of nominalization, but its structural role:

1. If the nominalization is of the class 'thing', and thus functioning as a participant in the transitivity structure of the clause, the substitutive form is still the marked one as in:

7-58 #It[1]/ excited him,// what he saw [1]# (= the thing he saw)
7-58A #ʿaᶜjaba-hu[1] mā (=ʿaš-šayʿ l-laḍi) raʿā.#

2. If nominalization is of the class 'fact', having the structural role of information, the substitutive form, is the unmarked one, as in:

7-59 #But[3] it[1] will be very difficult/ to construct a new post-fordist (as opposed to new-fordist) global order that has some chance of stability[1].# (Text 3: 37-1)

7-59A #ġayra ʿanna-hu[1] (pronoun of status) sayakūnu mina ş-ṣaᶜbi ʿinšāʿu nizāmin jadīdin liḥaqbati mā baᶜda l-fūrdiyya[1] yakūnu lahu haẓ-ẓu l-ʿistiqrār.#

3. Nominalization of conditional dependent clauses which act as a postponed subject[31], hence thematic, as in:

7-60 #It[1] hurts me/ when (if) you get angry[1].#

7-60A #ʿinna-hu[1] (pronoun of status) yuʿlimu-ni ġaḍabuk[1].#

4. Nominalization of a 'report', which Halliday does not consider as a substitute form at all__ let alone as nominalization. The justification he presents for his decision is based upon the fact that when the message contains an element whose structural role is that of 'fact' such an element is likely either, if fully recoverable, to be referred to by an anaphoric demonstrative, or, if not, to be delayed, as partially recoverable, after the cognitive content of the message. Therefore such substitution is not obligatory; but

if the theme is a nominalization of this type, non-substitution is the marked option, as in:

7-61 #It[1] has been clearly understood,/that such bilateral or multilateral attempts at unification and integration are consistent with the broad principles of Arab cooperation and unification and meet an important Arab aspiration[1].# (Text 2: 5-5)

7-61A #wa[3] laqad tamma t-tawḍīḥu bi-ʾanna miṯla ṯilka l-muḥāwalāti ṯ-ṯunāʾiyyati kānat am mutaᶜaddidati l-ʾaṭrāfi min ʾajli l-waḥdati aw ḍ-ḍamjii[1] tansajimu maᶜa l-mabādiʾi l-ᶜarīḍati li-t-taᶜāwuni l-ᶜarabiyyi wa l-waḥdawiyyi wa taʾti talbiyatan li-ṭumūhin qawmiyyin ᶜarabiyyin hāmm.#

In analysing the corpus, 28 RCs (3% of overall RCs) were identified as having 'it' as their cataphoric/anticipatory (impersonal) pronoun, and a substituted clausal subjects being postponed, as their 'notional subjects', which according to Halliday (1967c) act as themes of these RCs. The majority of these RCs (25) are of the type, where the nominalized NP (the clausal noun subject, in Quirk et. al.'s syntactic terms) are of the 'information' type (Halliday's second type above), and only 3 are of the 'report' type (Halliday's fourth type), with no occurrences of a 'conditional', a 'participant' or the type where a personal pronoun occupies the formal subject slot.

As for their discoursal function in political discourse as an argumentative text type, analysis of the corpus reveals two major functions:

1. Postponement of an extended clausal (propositional) theme to the end of the clause, where it receives more emphasis, by constituting a separate information unit with its own end focus. At the same time, the rhematic element (the verbal phrase and whatever follows it) will be initial, and in such a case the addressee's attention will be concentrated on both the theme and the rheme. This function can be illustrated by almost all occurrences of this type of RCs, especially by those RCs in which the nominal clausal subject consists mainly of 'that- clause' or an infinitive construction, as in:

7-62 #It[2] is unlikely/ that the West could have done anything, at that stage, to prevent the communist takeovers in the late-1940s[1].# (Text 3: 10-3)

6-62A #wa[3] ʾanna-hu[2] (pronoun of status) mina l-mustabᶜadi ʾan yakūna fi maqdūri l-ġarbi l-qiyāmu bi ʾayyi šayʾin li-manᶜi t-tawassuᶜi š-šuyūᶜiy[1].#

2. Possible answers to questions the speaker/writer implicity poses for himself, as a means of trying to conclude an argument after he has become certain that he has

convinced his listener(s)/ reader(s), and after he has reached a point, where he has to give a solution to a certain problem (thesis) he has raised earlier. This can be best exemplified by a ' it+ be + adjective + that clause', as in:

7-63 #In general[3], "it[2] is better/ to have a strong regime in power than a liberal government if it is indulgent and relaxed and penetrated by Communists."[1]# (Text 1: 8-8)

7-63A #wa[5] ᶜala l-ᶜumūm[4] fa-[3] ʾinna-hu[2] (pronoun of status) min l-ʾafḍali wujūdu niẓāmin taᶜassufiyyin ᶜala suddati l-ḥukmi[1] min wujūdi ḥukūmatin labirāliyyatin xuṣūṣan ʾidā kānat mutasāmiḥatan wa muṭmaʾinnatan wa muxtaraqatan min jānib š-šuyuᶜiyyīn.#

7-63 follows two RCs, in which Chomsky quotes G. Kennan who was one of the most influential figures of the post-2nd World War planning staff for the US administration. The latter outlines measures for protecting 'THEIR' resources, ("such resources happen, by geological accidents, to lie in other lands", and that "police repression by local government" and "harsh government measures" are part of his scheme, which is obviously working very well until now!). In this respect, Chomsky poses himself the following question: 'how can the police role of local governments be accomplished?', and 7-63 comes as an answer to his query.

As for the rendition of the thematic structure of these substituted RCs into Arabic, it was partial simply because, depending on their discoursal function, some sentences were rendered as verbal with various types of emphatic devices in Arabic (cf. 5.5.2), and others were rendered as nominal, in which the cataphoric '*it*' is translated as 'pronoun of status' (ḍamīr aš-šaʾn), hence giving the RCs more emphasis, and assisting in preserving the thematic structure more fully than a verbal sentence, in which grammatical subject, whether in its unmarked position following the verb or marked (when preceding it), is the theme of the RC.

7.5 Minor Themes in the English SLTs

Unlike the participant major cognitive themes, minor themes can co-occur in many combinations. This distribution, established as a result of my analysis, applies to Halliday's adjuncts-as-themes, and to some types of dependent clauses-as-theme (i.e., participial, conditional, relative, etc.). Another characteristic of minor themes, which

applies to adjuncts-as-themes only, is the fact that they can be either cognitive or non-cognitive, and often a cognitive minor theme (with external meaning or content) can take on one or more discoursal (internal) meanings by extension. Because of this lability, they are sometimes ambiguous.

7.5.1 **Adjunct-as-Theme**

Halliday (1967c & 1985) identifies two types of thematic adjunct. First, cognitive circumstantial adjuncts which indicate the temporal, spatial, causal, manner, accompaniment, matter and role relations that are attendant on any type of process (cf. 3.6.2.4). Second, noncognitive adjuncts which are either of the discoursal (textual) type, with the function of relating various parts of the text to each other, or of the modal (interpersonal) type with the function of expressing the speaker/writer's attitude towards the propositions he is presenting or with the function of signalling a marked mood, as in the following 'structured' example borrowed from Halliday (1967c, p. 222).

7-64 #And[1] perhaps[2] yesterday[3]/ John saw the play.#

In analysing the English corpus, all various types of cognitive adjuncts were identified. The result of the analysis of circumstantial cognitive adjuncts, registered in table 7-3, shows the various occurrences of each type: temporal 59, spatial 22, causal 17, matter 15, manner 13, accompaniment 7, and role 1 (cf. table 7-3 of Appendix E). No ratio of occurrence in relation to the overall RCs of corpus was attempted, since adjuncts can be more than one occurrence per RC.

As already been argued in chapter 3 (cf. 3.6.6), I disregard cognitive circumstantial adjuncts, together with attributes of Halliday's relational process, as topical themes in the sense that they are 'what the RC is about'. Nevertheless I still consider them marked theme in the sense that they are initial elements of the RC, hence the term 'minor theme' is given to them.

The way cognitive adjuncts-as-themes are treated and illustrated in this study is similar to Chafe's definition of topic (cf. 4.3). For me, cognitive thematic adjuncts are initial elements that set "the spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds" (Chafe, 1976, p.50). In this sense, they act as "frameworks', or 'marked stage setters', which account for them as marked ideational points of

departure for the clause as the message, but, as I said earlier, not as what the message is about. The incongruent/metaphorical (see illustration below) use of adjuncts-as-themes will be an exception to this generalization.

Most temporal expressions in English, especially those which express a point of time or period, are not tied to initial position in the RC, but can occur in other positions, typically either medially after the subject or clause finally. But when chosen as initiators, hence marked ideational thematic scene/stage setters, they have a definite discourse function: they mark a temporal discourse span (frame) which holds until a new span is established. This temporal span, called by Lowe (1987) 'time setting' may coincide with one clause[32], as in:

7-65 #As late as 1973[1], the US[1]/ controlled about 90% of the Japanese oil.# #After the oil crisis of the early 1970s[1], Japan[2]/sought more diverse energy resources and undertook conversation measures.# (text 1: 11-13 & 14)

7-65A #wa[3] bi-dālika[4] faqad şayṭarat l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu[1] wa li-ġāyati ᶜāma 1973 ᶜala ḥawālay 90% min ʾiḥtiyājīti l-yabāni mina n-nafṭ.# #wa[3] baᶜda ʾazmati n-nafṭi l-lati ḥadatat fi bidāyati s-sabᶜīnāti[1] daʾabat l-yabānu fi l-baḥṭi ᶜan maşādira badīlatin li-ṭ-ṭāqati kamā lajaʾat ila niẓāmi t-taqnīn.#

Sometimes, however, an event in time constitutes an agentive subject, derived by 'metaphorical' realization from a congruent adjunctive expression, and hence serves as a topical theme, as in:

7-67 #The Second World War[1]/ had solved the problems of the 1930s depression.# #It resulted . . . .# (Text 3: 8-1 & 2).

7-67a laqad ḥallat l-ḥarbu l-ᶜālamiyyatu t-tāniyatu[1] muškilāta r-rukūdi l-ʾiqtişādiy fi t-talātīnāt.#

In this example, 'the second world war' is an event in time, which acts as an agentive of the current RC, as well as the next one which starts with the coreferential pronoun 'it', and thus acts as theme in both RCs. It also serves to introduce another time setting and bring to an end the period implied by 'the Second World War', when the two RCs are followed by a third one starting with: 'And immediately after the war . . .'.

Frequently, however, the initial temporal introduces a longer discourse span, which may cover several sentences, or even larger portions of the text, as in:

7-68-1 #In 1958[1], Kuwait[2] was a particular concern.# (Text 1: 16-1)
7-68a #fi ᶜami 1958[1], kānat l-Kuwaytu[2] mawḍiᶜa qalaq.#

The temporals seen so far all make the time reference explicit independently of

the preceding context, In other cases, however, the time reference is "retrospective" (Lowe, 1987, p. 14) and can only be understood by referring back to the previous context, as in:

7-68-2 #At the time[1], a main concern[2]/ was that the Gulf oil and riches being available to support the ailing British economy.# (Text 1: 18-1)

7-68a #fa-[3] fi dālika l-waqti[1] kāna l-ʾihtimāmu r-raʾīsiyyu[2] yakmunu fi tawaffuri n-nafṭi wa ṭarāʾi duwali l-xlīji li-daʿmi iqtiṣādi Bariṭānyā l-mutadahwir.#

In this RC, the temporal 'at the time' cannot be understood in isolation without reference to 'in 1958', which was introduced two paragraphs earlier (cf. example 7-68 above).

As illustrated above, temporal adjuncts-as-themes either mark a point of departure of time or refer to a period of time. Refining somewhat Werlich's description (Werlich, 1983, p. 346[33]), it would seem that when the speaker relates events to utterance time he uses zero-point expression of time: '*tomorrow, yesterday, in the end* . . . etc.'. When event time is not related to utterance time but to some assumed temporal axis, he uses dates. In both cases, these can be replaced by adverbial clauses of time introduced by temporal subordinators such as, '*when, as soon as, before*, . . . etc. The third type of temporal expressions in English is the one which demonstrates the temporal frequency of a process. This type can either be definite such as, *each time, every other day*, etc., or indefinite such as, *generally, often, rarely, never, repeatedly, whenever*, etc.

As for spatial adjuncts as marked thematic ideational stages setters, they serve to establish the location in space framework, within which processes/events (with their participants) take place, as in:

7-69 #In the Middle East[1], the experience of modernity and modernisation[2]/ could only be negotiated in the context of a long history of colonial and missionary activities.# (Text 5: 16-3)

7-69A #wa[3] fi š-šarqi l-ʾawsaṭi[1] lā yumkinu munāqašat-u masʾalatayi l-hadātati wa t-taṭawwuri[2] illā fi siyāqi tārīxin ṭawīlin mina l-ʾistiʿmāri wa l-ʾanšiṭati t-tabšīriyya.#

Spatial adjuncts, together with the temporal ones, constitute a spatio-temporal point of departure for the clause as a message, but, again, they are not what the RC is about. This can be illustrated from the corpus by:

7-70 #Day after day[1], in military exercises, scenarios, games of espionage and hostile rhetoric[2], both sides [3]/ behaved as though the second world war had never ended.# (Text 3: 6-4)

7-70A wa[2] yawman baᶜda yawmin[1] yataşarrafu ṯ-ṯarafāni[3] ᶜala naḫwin yūḥi bi ʾanna l-ḥarba l-ᶜālamiyyata ṯ-ṯāniyyata lam tantahi baᶜd wa dālika min xilāli l-munāwarāti l-ᶜaskariyyati wa tasalsuli ʾaḥdāṯi l-muwājahati wa ʾaᶜmāli t-tajassusi wa t-taxrībi wa xuṭabi l-ḥarbi r-ranāna[0].#

Adjuncts of manner, as a marked stage-setting theme, set the stage in terms of the means whereby a process takes place, in terms of the quality which characterizes the process in respect of any variable that makes sense, or in terms of a comparison between the various participants in the process, or various topics/themes in the previous discourse. These three aspects of the adjunct of manner-as-theme can be illustrated, respectively as follows:

7-71 #With our moral rectitude our modernity and military science[1], we[2]/ look set to prevail against the evil Saddam and his ramshackle modernity.# (Text 5: 29-6)

7-71A #fa-bi-stiqāmatina l-ʾaxlāqiyyati wa hadātatinā wa ᶜilmunā l-ᶜaskariyyi[1] n-abdu (0=nahnu)[2]/ jāhiyīna li-t-taġalubi ᶜala Ṣaddām Ḥusayn wa ḥadāṯatihi l-mutadāᶜiyya#

7-72 #But[1], crucially[2], it[= outcome][3]/ would not have established the lesson that the world is to be run by force, the US comparative advantage.# (Text 1: 33-5)

7-72A #ġayra ʾanna[1] l-ʾahamma min dālika kullihi[2] huwa[pronoun of separation] ʾannahu lan yakūna fi maqdūri tilka l-muḥaṣṣilati[3] talqīnu l-ᶜālami darsan mafāduhu ʾanna ʾidārata hāda l-kawni satattimu ᶜan ṭarīqi l-quwwati l-lati hiya fi ṣāliḥi l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati nisbiyyan.#

7-73 #Like Frankenstein's creature[1], Saddam Hussein[2]/ must be banned from civilisation.# (Text 5: 26-2)

7-73A wa[3] kawahši Frānkištāyn[1] yajibu manᶜu Ṣaddāma Ḥusaynin[2] min rakbi l-ḥadāṯa.#

Circumstantial causal adjuncts, as marked stage-setting themes, set the stage by presenting the reason for which a process takes place (e.g. what causes a certain process), by presenting the purpose, for which the process takes place, or by presenting the entity, typically a person, on whose behalf or for whose sake the action takes place. These can be illustrated (the 'behalf' function is not available in the corpus) from the corpus respectively as follows:

7-74 #Because[1] military spending[2] absorbed scientific and technological resources[1],/ it[1] contributed to the decline of competitiveness of American products and, hence, a decline in the US ability to manage the world economy.# (Text 3: 13-6)

7-74A #wa[3] naẓaran[1] li ʾanna l-ʾinfāqa l-ᶜaskariy[2] ʾimtaşşa l-mawārida l-māliyyata wa t-taqaniyyata/ faqad ʾashama (0= al-ʾinfāqu l-ᶜaskariyyu [1]) fi ʾufūli şibġati t-tanāffusi ᶜan l-muntajāti l-ʾamariykiyyati wa bi-t-tāli ʾila zawāli qudrati l-wilāyāti l-muttahidati ᶜala t-taḥakumi fi l-ʾiqtişādi l-ᶜālamiy.#

7-75 #In the pursuit of Arab unity[1], both Egypt and Syria[2]/ achieved a voluntary unification of their states in 1958.# (Text 2: 10-1)

7-75A #fa-[3]fi muwāṣalati saᶜyi-himā li-taḥqīqi l-waḥdati l-ᶜarabiyyati[1] ḥaqaqqat kullun min miṣra wa sūriyyā waḥdatan ţawᶜiyyatan baynahumā fi ᶜāmi 1958.#

Circumstantial accompaniment adjuncts, as marked stage-setting themes, represent a form of joint participation in the process, where one of the participants (a minor participant, which is either an abstract or a personal noun group) sets the stage for the other participant which represents the actual 'doer of the deed' (the actor in Halliday's functional grammar terms), hence, the theme of the RC, as in:

7-76 #With U.S. support[1], Israel[2]/ had long blocked any opportunities for economic development in the occupied territories.# (Text 1: 47-6)

7-76A #fa[3]-mundu zamanin baᶜīdin[4] wa[5] bi-daᶜmin mina l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati[1] saddat ʾisrāīlu[2] ţ-ţarīqa ʾamāma ʾayyati furaşin li-n-nuhūḍi l-ʾiqtisādiyyi fi l-manātiqi l-muḥtalla.#

Halliday (1985, p. 142) points out that "one way of underlining a Theme is to express it as a circumstance of matter." As indicated above (cf. 7.3.5), the thematic noun group is presented as a circumstantial element , with locution like *As for. . .* etc., in order to give prominence and introduce it as an element conveying new information (cf. 7.3.5, examples 7-21 through 25). Role, Halliday's last type of circumstantial adjunct, as a stage-setting theme, represents the meaning of 'be' (attributive or identity), but in a marked sense of being preposed using the prepositional phrase '*as*', as in (the only example in the corpus):

7-77 #As a huge block of population and economic strength[1], the Community[2]/ will be formidable.# (Text 4: 4-3)

7-77A #. . . l-lati[0] yumkinu ʾan tuşbiha quwwatan murᶜibatan naẓaran li-kaṯāfati sukkānihā wa quwwatihā l-ʾiqtişādiyya[0].#

This example, among many of the occurrences of adjuncts-as-marked stage setting themes, represents not only a case where the translator rhematises the theme of the original RC, but also, for stylistic reasons, makes the SL's RC a relative clause modifying a rhematic noun group of the Arabic RC (cf. Appendix B, Text 4A, paragraph 4, the second RC).

If one agrees with Halliday (1985, pp. 142-143) that the prepositional group is a kind of "a mini process" (and therefore verb-like), and that the nominal group "stands to a preposition in some recognizable transitivity function (Halliday, as usual leaves ambiguous what type of transitivity function it may have: actor, goal, beneficiary or what?), then the preposition is always thematic since it is initial (it will not be, of course, what the clause is about). This violates what he says about the 'matter circumstantial adjuncts', which represent a glossed noun phrase as theme. Could be that '*As for John . . .*' consist of three themes?. I don't think so! Therefore, it is more sensible, I believe, to treat the prepositional phrase that constitutes the circumstantial cognitive adjunct as thematic, as whole, in the sense of being a marked 'stage setting'.

7.5.1.1 **Noncognitive Adjunct-as-Theme**

Discoursal as well as modal adjuncts, Halliday (1985, p.51; cf. 3.6.2.4) says: "tend to be given thematic status, and so typically occur in first position, but this not obligatory, since they can come elsewhere in the clause (cf. chapter 3, notes 84 & 85 for lists of both types). This, however, was not exactly Halliday's stance regarding them in his earlier writings (Halliday 1967c, p. 220), where he says: "an item occurring obligatorily in initial position **WILL NOT, IN THIS SENSE, BE THEMATIC**; and a corollary to this, is that thematic variation in the clause is possible, following such items" [my emphasis]. (The examples he gives illustrating this point include 'however' [discoursal adjunct], and 'perhaps' [modal adjunct], in addition to all classes of conjunctions). If the distinction between the two types of adjuncts is based on the concept of cognition (content adjuncts versus non-content ones), and the latter type (the noncognitive) allows thematic variation (hence the concept of multiple theme), and given that cognitive obligatory themes (subject, verb, complement) are exclusive, why is it that Halliday allows cognitive circumstantial adjuncts like '*yesterday*' in the

following example preceding a marked mood like a polar interrogative?

7-78 Yesterday[1] did John[2]/ see the play?

In this respect, I believe that excluding adjuncts the status theme in the sense of what the RC is about, though not the status of a point of departure for the clause as a message, is justified. It is further justified by the fact that they merely serve as 'marked stage-setting themes'.

With regard to occurrence, discoursal and modal adjuncts as 'initial themes' in English occur quite frequently in my corpus (34 of the discoursal type and 39 of the modal type; cf. table 7-4 of appendix E). They are not, as noted by Halliday, restricted to initial position, but occur freely in medial as well as in final positions of the RCs. Of interest to this study, however, is their occurrence as initial elements, where they were 'saturated' [my term] with what Halliday (1985) calls 'thematic flavour'. As initial elements in the RCs of political texts (and many other types of texts), modal and discoursal adjuncts as theme, serve, respectively, (1) to foreground the attitude of the writer towards what he is presenting, and thus create an interpersonal relationship with the reader, and a feeling of solidarity between them, and (2) to highlight the cohesive ties that link the discourse of what has gone before to the overall situation, and thus present a cohesive text that matches, within the world of discourse, the coherence of events, actions, processes, that took place in the real world outside the text. The two discoursal functions outlined above, can be illustrated, respectively, from the corpus by:

7-79 #Surely[1], this war[2]/ is doing greater damage to global oil supplies than a hard currency Iraq would have done.# (Text 3: 3-8)

7-79A #mina l-muʾakkadi[1] ʾanna hādihi l-ḥarbu[2] tulḥiqu ḍ-ḍarara bi-ʾimdādāti n-nafṭi l-ᶜālamiyyati ʾakṯara bi-kaṯīrin mimmā sayulḥiqahu ᶜirāqun mutaᶜaṭiššun l-lᶜumlati ṣ-ṣaᶜba.#

7-80 #In that case[1], the Jewish Lobby[2]/ would be ineffective as it was in 1956, when Eisenhowar and Dulles, on the eve of a presidential election, ordered Israel out of Sinai.# (Text 1: 21-10)

7-80A #wa[1] fi tilka l-ḥālati[2] sayafqidu l-lūbi ṣ-ṣahyuniyyi[2] faᶜāliyyatahu tamāman kamā ḥadaṯa ᶜāma 1956 ᶜindamā wajjaha ʾAyzinhawar wa Dalas ʾawāmirahumā li-isrāīla bi-l-ʾinsiḥābi min sīnāʾ.#

In Halliday's systemic terms, the adverb '*surely*' in 7-79 explicitly expresses the writer's stance regarding the proposition she/he is presenting. In this respect, I will go

a step further than Halliday and say that, from the political discourse perspective, the modal adverb helps the writer to also sum up the overall argument of the whole paragraph and enforce his own view. Therefore, such modal adverbs usually occur with the closing RC of some paragraphs, in which the writer comments on what she/he is saying. In example 7-80, on the other hand, the prepositional phrase '*in that case*', relates back to the previous RC (the proposition of 'ditching Israel'), and, as a result, links the two propositions together, and, at the same time, to the overall 'sub-topic' of the paragraph (US interests versus those of the Israelis), in a way that match their occurrence in the real world, outside that of the world of discourse. I believe this is the main reason which motivates de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) to include cohesion (the relation/linkage between propositions in the world of discourse) and coherence (the relation between propositions in the real world) as two of their basic seven standards of textuality[34].

With regard to the translation of adjuncts into Arabic, the translator manages, to some degree, to maintain the various types of adjuncts as marked thematic settings, although, for stylistic purposes, he is sometimes forced to 'sacrifice' this marked setting and to downgrade the adjuncts to a rhematic slot (cf. example 7-77 above). This generalization applies to both types of adjuncts (cognitive and non-cognitive). The frequency of the sacrifice of the thematic structure is more noticeable in the non-cognitive than the cognitive adjuncts, since the former, especially the interpersonal type, can be expressed in Arabic either initially, medially or finally without affecting the overall mood type of the RC.

7.5.2 **Dependent Clauses-as-Themes**

Under dependent clauses-as-minor themes in the RC in English, I will be discussing three main clause types: participial, conditional and adverbial, plus some others. These three types will be considered as types of thematic 'frameworks' within which the main proposition takes place, thus 'setting the stage' for what follows. Furthermore, an analysis of some examples of what Halliday (1985, p. 63) calls minor clauses "clause without themes" will be presented. Under each type of dependent clause-as-theme, I shall also discuss whether, from the cited examples, the translator

was successful in preserving their thematic structure when rendered into Arabic.

7.5.2.1 **Participial Clauses-as-Themes**

Participial clauses-as-themes include three main types: past participle and present participle, and the verb-to-infinitive purpose clause (the '*in order*' type). As initial elements such initial dependent clauses, while being neither participants (in the sense of what the clause is about), processes nor adjuncts, nevertheless set up a situational framework which, in some way, provides a point of departure for the clause as message for an ensuing stretch of discourse. In the corpus, the number of participial dependent clauses as 'scene setters' is relatively small compared with the overall RCs of the corpus. There are only 11 occurrences: 5 infinitives (*'to' plus the verb*), 3 present participles (*-ing*) and 3 past participles (*-ed*) (cf. Appendix E, table 7-3).

Past participle dependent clauses are inherently of the agentless passive type, and can occur in an initial, medial and final slot of the RC structure. When initial, these dependent clauses tend to focus on some action or state which affects (or conditions) a main participant, and which stands as the theme of the RC in question, as in:

7-81 #Masked by the cold war[1], it (=nationalism)[2]/ has in practice fulfilled that function for a long time.# (Text 4: 8-3)

7-81A #wa[3] taḥta qināᶜi l-ḥarbi l-bāridati[1] ʾaddat l-qawmiyyatu[2] ᶜamaliyyan dālika d-dawri wa li-waqtin ṭawīl.#

In addition, as Lowe (1987, p. 16) points out, these past participial dependent clauses often sum up the relevant part of the preceding context in which these actions or states have been produced. At the same time, they provide a point of departure for something new, be it a proposition or even a new theme or topic. In the following example, the writer uses the past participial clause to summarize the content of the preceding paragraphs, which dealt with "the British sense of loss after the cold war", as in:

7-82 #Simply put[1], the fear[2]/ is that . . . Britain's long day in the international sun may be waning; that we shall be forced to spend less time basking on summit slopes and more times digging the national allotment.# (Text 3: 24-3)

7-82A wa[3] bi-ṣūratin ʾabṣaṭ[1] yartabiṭu hāḏa l-ʾamru[2] bi-l-fazaᶜi min ʾanna nahāra ßariṭānya ṭ-ṭawīlati taḥta š-šamsi d-duwaliyyati badaʾa yattajihu naḥwa

l-ġurūbi wa ʾannahu yatawajabu ᶜalaynā qaḍāʾu waqtin ʾaqalla fi t-tasakkuᶜi ᶜinda munhadarāti l-qimami wa qadāʾu waqtin ʾaṭwala fi l-baḥṯi ᶜan l-ḥiyāzati al-waṭaniyya.#

In contrast with the past participial clause, the present type is active in meaning, and, like the former, represents a relationship of dependency with the main clause, and is tied to the participant (theme) of the main clause, whether this clause comes initially, medially or in final position. When initial, however, its contribution to the discourse is that of expressing economically an action or state auxiliary to the main situation and in which the main participant or theme (actor in Halliday's systemic terms) is directly involved, as in:

7-83 #Speaking the other day to the Catholic Institute of International Relations[1], Noam Chomsky[2]/ argued that the impact (of the cold war) was entirely negative.# (Text 4: 1-5)

7-83A #bilʾamsi[3] ḥāḍara[0] nawām šumski[2] fi l-maᶜhadi l-kātulikiyyi li-l-ᶜilāqāti d-duwaliyyati wa waḍḍaḥa biʾanna taʾṯīra-hā(= l-ḥarbu l-bārida) kāna ᶜala darajatin ᶜāliyatin mina s-salbiyya.#

Halliday (1985, p 218) treats examples like 7-83 as non-finite hypotactic clauses of extension and enhancement within the clause complex, in which the semantic relationship holding between the two clauses is not made explicit. However, in RCs like 7-83, we may feel justified in detecting a relationship of 'means', while in others like 7-84 below, we may also feel justified in detecting a 'causal', or rather a 'conditional' relationship:

7-84 #Following the advice of the business press[1], they (= the UK & the USA)[2]/ may try to turn their countries into mercenary states, serving as the global mafia, selling "protection" to the rich, defending them against "third world threats" and demanding proper payment for the service.# (Text 1: 49-2)

7-84A #wa[3] ʾidā mā ttabaᶜtā naṣīḥata ṣ-ṣahāfati t-tijāriyyati[1], faʾinna-humā (humā= 'the UK & the US') satuḥāwilāni taḥwīla baladayhimā ilā dawlatayni murtazaqatayni taᶜmalāni ᶜala xidmati l-māfya l-ᶜālamiyyati wa ᶜala bayᶜi l-ḥimāyati li-lʾaṯriyāʾi wa d-difāᶜi ᶜanhum ḍidda tahdīdi šuᶜūbi duwali l-ᶜālami ṯ-tāliṯi wa ṭalabi l-ʾajri l-munāsibi liqāʾa tilka l-xadamāt.#

In contrast with both past and present participial dependent clauses which refer to some situation which, respectively, has already happened or is happening now, the '*to-infinitive*' refers to a situation which has not yet happened but is possible. As such it can be considered as non-factual. The situation the 'to-infinitive' dependent clause

names is not only possible, but represents a goal to be achieved by the agentive participant or the theme of the main clause. When this 'purpose clause' is initial, Thompson (1985) points out, it names a goal and raises expectations about the means used to attain it[35]. This can be illustrated from the corpus by:

7-85 #To deflect the nationalist threat[1] , Britain[2]/ decided to grant Kuwait nominal independence, following the prescriptions designed after the Second World War when the imperial managers realized that British rule would be more effective behind an "Arab facade" so that the "absorption" of the colonies should be "veiled by constitutional fictions as a protectorate, a sphere of influence, a buffer state, and so on."# (Text 1: 16-6)

7-85A #wa[3] min ʾajli murāwaġati š-šuᶜūri l-qawmiyyi[1] qarrarat Βarīṭānya[2] manḥa l-kuwayti ʾistiqlālan ʾismiyyan buᶜayda nihāyati l-ḥarbi l-ᶜālamiyyati ṯ-ṯaniyati wa ḏalika ᶜindamā ʾadrakat ad-duwalu l-ʾimbiryʾliyatu ʾanna l-haymanata l-brītāniyyata yumkinu ʾan takūna ʾakṯara faᶜāliyyatan ʾiḏā mā mārasathā min xilāli "wājihatin ᶜarabiyyatin" biḥayṯu tatimmu ᶜamaliyyatu ʾimtiṣāṣi ṯarawāti tilka l-mustaᶜmarāti taḥta ġiṭaʾin mina š-šarᶜiyyati l-wahmiyyati wa jaᶜlihā maḥmiyyatin aw manāṭiqa nufūḏin aw duwalan fāṣilatan wa hākaḏa.#

Here, the goal is 'the deflection of the nationalist threats', and all that follows in the main clause provides the means of its attainment.

Lowe (1987, p. 9) believes that the considerations for having or not having an initial purpose clause have to do, to a great extent, with what he calls: "competition for initial position". He also points out that if a new individual framework is introduced which establishes a new local theme or topic, this takes precedence, with the result that spatio-temporal, purpose and participial expressions are not chosen to set up an initial framework. On the other hand, if topical/thematic continuity is maintained, in Givon's (1983a) terms, a non-individual framework (a scene setter) may be set up. Although this is partly true and applies to 4 of the 9 occurrences of the thematic participial dependent clauses that are identified in the corpus, Lowe (1987) does not provide an explanation of counter examples like 7-83 & 85 illustrated above. Therefore, his proposition needs more validation among various text types, since the examples that support and those that counter argue his hypothesis are relatively few in the corpus.

There remains one point worthy of mention regarding 'to infinitive' dependent clauses. This has to do with cases when, according to Quirk et. al. (1985, p.995) there is "no referential link with the nominal phrase be discovered in the linguistic context."

In such cases, Quirk et. al. point out, either an indefinite subject may be inferred, or else the 'I' of the speaker is introduced as the subject. Among the 5 examples of the preposed 'to infinitive' dependent clause, that are identified in the corpus, 4 are of this type. But all, except one with impersonal '*it*', show that the subject is intended by the political writer to be of an indefinite subject or personal pronoun '*we*', in order to appeal to anyone who reads it (or appeal to '*us*'), and thus create a 'feeling of solidarity' with the writer's views, and which constitute one major characteristic of political discourse usage of personal pronouns (cf. chapter 6, note 44). This can be exemplified from the corpus by:

7-86 #To see him (=Saddam Hussein) as the embodiment of irrationality[1]/ is to be certain of our own rational cause and motives.# (Text 5: 9-1)

7-86A #ʾan narā (0= we, 'naḥnu) fi šaxṣi Ṣaddāmi Ḥusayni tajsīdan li-llᶜaqlāniyyati[1] huwa t-taʾkkudu min dawāfiᶜina l-ʾaxlāqiyyati wa ʾasbābina l-ᶜaqlāniyya.#

In this example, the translator's decision to use the 'implicit plural personal pronoun we' (aḍ-ḍamīr al-mustatir: naḥnu) supports the above proposition; and is one of the examples where translation helps in understanding the thematic structure of the SLT. One more example, in which the translation renders a similar service to the reader is that of 7-84 above, in which a sense of conditionality was felt in the present participial dependent clause, following Halliday's (1985, p. 218) formulation (cf. 7-84), and where the translation into Arabic renders the participial clause as a conditional one. As for the rest of the illustrated examples, the translator, for stylistic purposes, did not fully preserve the thematic structures of the original RC. An obvious example is 7-83, where the present participial dependent clause is converted into a declarative RC in Arabic, with 'Noam Chomsky', subject and theme of the main clause in the SL's RC, becoming the theme of the translated RC, and with the participial verb 'speaking' being downgraded to a rhematic slot. As is the case with adjuncts, the participial dependent clauses, as part of the thematic structure of the clause in English, are, partially, 'vulnerable' when translated into Arabic.

7.5.2.2 **Conditional Clauses-as-Themes**

In discussing the thematic structure of the complex clause which consists of a

preposed conditional clause followed by a main or matrix clause, to use Quirk et. al's (1985, p. 1088) term, Halliday (1985, pp. 61-62; also cf. 3.6.2.5 & 6) points out that in complex clause like, 'If winter comes, can spring be far behind?', the conditional clause 'if winter comes' is the theme of the clause. However, one part of that theme is the '*if*', which expresses the nature of the clause's relation to some other clause "in the neighbourhood, and the other part is 'winter' [the topical theme] which has the function both in the transitivity system as 'actor' and in the mood system as 'subject'."

As will be illustrated from the corpus below, the term 'neighbourhood' is critical in the above quotations, but, unfortunately, Halliday does not explain or elaborate any further on this point in his discussion. To expand Halliday's formulation further, one can, following Quirk et. al. (1985, pp. 1089-1093), divide conditional clauses into two main types, depending on the types of 'situational setting or framework' they provide for the ensuing matrix clause. The first type is usually called 'direct conditional' which refers to a situation which is possible but unrealized, and which, while it does not establish a goal, presents a situation in the main clause which is directly contingent on that the of conditional clause. In other words, as Quirk et. al (1985, p. 1089) put it: "the truth of the proposition in the matrix clause is a consequence of the fulfilment of the condition in the conditional clause". Direct conditional are either 'open' (sometimes termed 'real', 'factual', or 'neutral', as in: '*If you go, I'll go*'), or 'hypothetical' (sometimes termed 'closed', 'unreal': either (1) non-factual, as in, '*If you went, I'd go too*', or (2) counter-factual, as in, '*If you had gone, I'd have gone too*'). Open conditionals are termed neutral because, according to Quirk et. al., they leave unresolved the question of the fulfilment or unfulfillment of the conditional, and that the speaker intends the hearer to understand that the truth of the predication depends on the fulfilment of the condition.

Hypothetical conditionals are termed thus because they convey the speaker's belief that the condition will not be fulfilled for 'future conditions' (i.e., '*If he changed his opinion, he would be a more likeable person*'), is not fulfilled for 'present conditions' (i.e., '*They would be with us, if they had the time*'), or was not fulfilled for 'past conditions' (i.e., '*If you had listened to me, you wouldn't have made so many mistakes*'). In this respect, the precise formulation of the speaker's belief depends on

the time reference of the conditional clause. For future reference, the condition is contrary to expectation; for present reference it is contrary to assumption; and for past reference, it is contrary to fact.

The second type of conditional, the indirect, are also open condition, but they depend on an implicit speech act of the utterance, as in the conventional expression of politeness ('. . . *,if I may say so*'), in which the speaker is making the utterance of the assertion dependent on obtaining permission from the hearer, though the fulfilment of that condition is conventionally taken for granted. This type of conditional will be not explained any further, since none of the conditional RCs found in the political texts selected contain such a type.

In analysing the corpus, 27 conditional RCs (3% of the overall total) were identified (cf. Apendix E, table 7-3). In these RCs, the initial conditional clause functions as a point of departure for an unreal situation (situational setting), which they provide. The term 'neighbourhood' can now be illustrated with regard to conditional RCs found in the corpus. In almost all these RCs, the ideational theme in the conditional clause (its topical theme), is either coreferential with a previous situation, (involving a thematic or rhematic participant), or cataphoric with the ideational theme of the matrix clause. This is, sometimes, achieved by using a deictic ('*this*' or '*that*'), a third personal pronoun, ellipsis, substitution (i.e., '*so*'), or by repetition of the same referent. Sometimes, however, the ideational themes of both clauses are not the same; in such a case, the one in the conditional clause is not 'new', but merely re-introduced, while, to use Prince's 1981 terms (cf. 4.4), the one introduced in the matrix clause is a 'brand new' theme. In political discourse, as may be the case with other discourse types, the conditional clause, as theme, represents an explicit or an implicit contrast between its unreal situation and that of the matrix clause. This, I believe, helps to present a cohesive and a coherent argumentative type of discourse, applicable, in this case, to political texts (cf. example 7-90 & 91 below). In some instances, also, the 'if-clauses' in the RC clause consist of more than one dependent clause. In such a case, beside functioning as 'an extended' theme of the RC in question (cf. 7-91) the conditional clause also sums up the situation of either the previous RC, or the previous paragraph(s) of the text in question. These various discoursal functions can be illustrated from the corpus as follows:

7-87 #However[1] one[1]/ weights the factors (0= the influence of American interests & the Jewish Lobby)//, both[1]/ are there.# (Text 1: 21-7)

7-87A #wa[3] mahmā[1] qayyama l-marʾu[1] hādayni l-ᶜāmilayni,// fa-[2] ʾinna kilāhima[1] mawjūdun.#

7-88 #And[1] if[2] it (=Iraq)[3]/ were to invade Saudi Arabia,// it[1]/ would control 44% of the oil reserves.# (Text 3: 3-6)

7-88A #wa[1] ʾidā[2] qāma (0= l-ᶜirāqu)[3] bijtiyāhi l-ᶜarabiyyati s-saᶜūdiyyati// fa-[2] inna-hu[3](=l-ᶜirāq) sawfa yusayṭiru ᶜala 44% min dālika l-ʾiḥtiyāṭiy.#

7-89 #If[1] this hypothesis[2]/ is true//, then[1] the enormous coalition against Iraq[2], under American leadership,/ is the end of an epoch not the beginning of a new one.# (Text 4: 6-4)

7-89A #fa-[3] ʾin[1] ṣaḥḥat hādihi l-maqūlatu[2]// fa-[1]ʾinna t-taḥālufa d-dawliyyi l-wāsiᶜi n-nitāqi l-munāhidi l-l-ᶜirāqi bi-qiyādati l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati l-ʾamrīkiyyati[2] huwa nihāyatu ḥaqbatin ʾakṯaru min kawnihi bidāyatan lahā.#

7-90 #If[1] Saddam's third-World modernity[2]/ is contaminated by a direct and brutal violence,// the military exploits of post-historical modernity[1],/ are, by contrast, clinical, surgical and sanitised.# (Text 5: 28-1)

7-90A #ʾidā[1] kānat ḥadātatu Ṣaddām Ḥusayn al-lati tantami ila l-ᶜālami t-tāliti[2] mabūʾatan bi-ᶜadwa l-ᶜunfi l-waḥšiy// fa-[2]ʾinna l-maʾātira l-ᶜaskariyyata li-ḥadātati ma baᶜda t-tārīxi[1] kānat bilmuqābili ᶜilājiyyatan wa jirāhiyyatan wa taṯhīriyya.#

7-91 #If[1] occupation[2] is illegal in both cases,/ if[1] invasions[2] are condemned in both areas/ and[3] if[1] annexation[2] violates both international law and United Nations' Resolutions,// then[1] clearly[2] those measures pursued with such alacrity in the Gulf War[3] ought to be pursued in the Palestinian/Israel and Arab conflicts.# (Text 2: 12-11)

7-91A #fa-[3] ʾida[1] kāna l-ʾiḥtilālu[2] ġayra šarᶜiyyin fi kila l-ḥālatayni wa[3] ʾidā[1] kāna qad ʾudīna l-ġazwu[2] li-kilā l-manṭiqatayni wa[3] ʾida[1] kāna ʾijrāʾu d-dammi ʾintihākan li-l-qānūni d-duwaliyyi wa qararāti l-ʾumami l-muttaḥidati//, fa-[1]ʾinna-hu[2] yatawajjabu taṭbīqu[2] nafsi l-ʾijraʾāta l-lati tammat mutābaᶜatuhā bi-jaddin wa našāṭin ʾibbāna ḥarbi l-xalīji bi-nafsi r-rūḥi li-faḍḍi n-nizāᶜi l-filisṭīniyyi - l-ʾisrāʾīliyyi - l-ᶜarabiy.#

With regard to preservation of the thematic structure of the conditional RCs in translation, the translator was completely successful in rendering the conditional clause with its thematic status in all the occurrences of such RCs in the ST. The reason, I believe, as will be shown in the analysis of the Arabic corpus, has to do with the

similarity of the pragmatic functions of conditional clauses in such RCs, and namely the presentation of an unreal situation whose fulfilment also decides that of the matrix clause. Another reason has, probably, to do with the fact that this linguistic phenomenon is common to most languages (cf. 7.11.2.2). The final point to be said about these RC conditional clauses in political discourse is that the writers have kept an equilibrium between open conditionals and hypothetical ones: the writers do not promise any significant changes in the current political situation, and they do not resort to retrospection, which might induce cynicism.

7.5.2.3 **Other Clauses-as-Themes**

Under this subheading, various other types of initial adverbial clauses, as themes, will be discussed and exemplified. These will include some temporal clauses with subordinates like '*as & when*' clauses of concession and contrast with *'although'*, *'whereas'*, *'irrespective of*, etc.', and clauses of reason with '*because & since*'. There also will also be a brief discussion of what Halliday (1985) calls "clauses without theme'. Concurrent with the discussion of these clause types, there will be some comments on how each type is rendered into Arabic.

In analysing the corpus, 30 RCs (3% of the overall total), mainly of the types mentioned above, were identified. As regards temporal clauses, they are merely another version of temporal adjuncts (cf. 7.5.1), and, as indicated earlier, the latter can be replaced by a clause of time. Therefore, temporal clauses-as-themes are, by analogy, marked scene setters for the ensuing rhematic matrix/main clause which will follow with its own process and participants, and consequently, its own thematic structure, which, in reality, is what is the overall RC is about, as in:

7-92 #As[1] the U.S. and Britain[2]/ lose their former economic dominance,// privileged access to the rich profits of Gulf oil production[1]/ is a matter of serious concern.# (Text 1: 18-3)

7-92A #wa[3] ᶜindama[1] faqadat kullun min l-wilāyāti l-muttahidati wa Barīṭānya[2] sayṭaratahumā l-ʾiqtiṣādiyyati s-sābiqa// ʾṣbaḥa ḥaqu l-ʾimtiyāzi fi l-wuṣūli ila l-marābiḥa l-wafīrati li ʾintāji n-naffṭi[1] masʾalatan bāliġata l-ʾahammiyya.#

Sometimes, however, temporal clauses may be recursive. In such cases, they constitute an extended temporal thematic setting for the main process which is realized

by the main clause, and which, in the real world, takes place after all 'auxiliary' processes, which are realized by the subordinate clauses of time preceding it:

7-93 #Just at the moment[1] when[2] the establishment figures on both sides of the Atlantic[3] were talking about substantial cuts in military spending,/ when[1] the role of the hawkish political leaders[2] was being eclipsed,/ when[1] the United States[2] seemed to be floating away from its international role,/ and[1] new self-confident Europe[2] seemed to be on the verge of creation,// Iraq[1] invaded Kuwait.#

7-93a #fa-[3] fi l-fatrati[1] l-lati[4] šaraᶜa fīhā l-masʾulūna fi muʾassasāti s-sulṭati ᶜala jānibayyi l-ʾaṭlanṭiy[3] fi l-ḥadīṯi ᶜan taxfīdātin jawhariyyatin fi l-ʾinfāqi l-ᶜaskariyyi wa[3] fi ḥīni[1] ʾaxaḍa dawru ṣ-ṣuqūri s-siyāsiyyīna l-mutašaddidīna[2] yaxbu baᶜda š-šayʾi wa[3] fi ḥini[1] badat l-wilāyāṯu l-muttaḥidatu[2] wa kaʾannaha taᶜūmu baᶜīdan ᶜan dawrihā l-ᶜālamiyyi wa[3] fi l-laḥẓati[1] l-lati[4] ʾaṣbahat fīhi ʾurubba l-jadīdatu l-wāṯiqatu min nafsihā[2] qāba qawsayni aw ʾadna mina l-wilāda// ʾaqdama l-ᶜirāqu[1] ᶜala ġazwi l-kuwayt.#

Concessive clauses, on the other hand, indicate that the situation in the rhematic matrix/main clause of the RC is contrary to expectation in the light of what is said in the concessive clause, which if initial, acts as a point of departure for the RC as a message. Furthermore, concessive subordinate clauses, as initial elements, provide a contrastive situation to that expressed by the rhematic main clause. In other instances, however, those concessive introduced by *'while'*, *the contrast is muted, although it* arises from a contrary expectation. These three thematic functions of the concessive clause can be illustrated, respectively, as follows:

7-94 #Whereas[1] the linkage issue[2]/ was both advocated and denied,// the precise understanding of what constituted linkage[1] was not made clear by the protagonists.# (Text 2: 2-1)

7-94A #bi-r-raġmi min[1] ʾanṇah-u (u= ḍamīr as-saʾan) nūdiya bimasʾalati r-rabṭi[1] wa[3] birruġmi min[1] ʾannah-u[1] tamma rafḍuhā// ġayra[1] ʾanna l-fahma d-daqīqa li-lᶜanāṣira l-mukawwinati lihaḏihi l-masʾalati[1] lam yuᶜṭi-hā ṭarafā n-nizāᶜi ḥaqqaha fi l-wuḍūḥ.#

7-95 #. . . whereas[1], at the time of Korea[2], there[3]/ was a dollar shortage, and[1] increased spending by the United States[2]/ merely stimulated the American economy,// at the time of Vietnam[1], increased spending[2]/ led to inflation and a trade deficit.# (Text 3: 12-7)

7-95A # . . . fa[4] baynamā[1] kāna hunāka[3] naqṣun fi d-dūlāri ʾaṭnāʾa l-ḥarbi l-kūriyyati[0] wa[1] lam yušajjiᶜ ʾinfāqu l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati l-mutazāyida siwā l-ʾiqtiṣāda l-ʾamrīkiy// ʾadda dālika l-ʾinfāqu[1] l-mutazāyidu ʾaṭnāʾa ḥarbi

fiyatnāmi ila t-taḍaxxumi wa l-ᶜajzi t-tijāriyyīn.#

7-96 #While[1] Iraq[2] acquired modern weapons and gained military experience in the course of its war with Iran,// Israel[1] had played a most important role, not only in supporting the Shah and providing the imperial army with weapons and other forms of support, but also in pursuing similar politics during the reign of Ayatollah Khomeini.# (Text 2: 19-5)

7-96A #wa[3] fi l-waqti[1] lladi[4] ḫaṣal fīhi l-ᶜirāqu[2] ᶜala ʾasliḥatin ḥadīṯatin wa ktasaba min xilāli ḥarbihi ḍidda ʾiyrān xibratan ᶜaskariyyatan wāsiᶜa// laᶜibat ʾisrāīlu[1] qabal dālika bi-kaṯīrin dawran ʾakṯara ʾahamiyyatan tamaṯṯal bi-daᶜmi š-šāh wa tazwīdi jayšihi l-ʾimbiryāliy bi-l-ʾasliḥati wa kāffati ʾanwāᶜi d-daᶜmi wa ʾistamarrat ᶜala nafsi n-nahji s-siyāsiyyi ʾibbāna ḥukmi ʾĀyatu l-lāhi l-Khumayniy.#

As initial thematic clauses within the RC, clauses of reason convey basic similarities of relationship to their rhematic main clause. In other words, there is generally a temporal sequence such that the situational framework in the subordinate clause of reason precedes in time that of the main clause. In this respect, the term 'reason' is a superordinate one for such clauses. These clauses either express the perception of an inherent objective connection with the real world (cf. 7-74), express the speaker's/ writer's inference of a connection or combine reason with a condition that is assumed to be fulfilled or about to be fulfilled, and, thus, they express a relationship between a premise in the subordinate thematic clause and the conclusion in the rhematic main clause. The last two functions can be illustrated, respectively, from the corpus as follows:

7-97 #For[1] if[2] the principle[3]/ is valid in one case,// it[1]/ must clearly be valid in all similar cases.# (Text 2: 8-9)

7-97A #fa-[1]ʾida[2] kāna l-mabdaʾu[3] mulziman fi hālatin mā// faʾinna-hu[3] yajibu ʾan yakūna mulziman fi jamīᶜi l-ḥālāti l-mušābiha.#

7-98 #Since[1] the main threat to our interests[2] is indigenous,// we[1] must, (#he[1] explained in secret#), accept the need for "police repression by the local government."# (Text 1: 8-5 & 6)

7-98A #wa[3] bima ʾanna[1] t-tahdīda r-raʾīsiyya li-maṣāliḥinā[3] maḥalliyyun// fa-[1] n-na-hu yanbaġi ᶜalay-nā(nā= naḥnu)[2] (#kamā[1] waḍḍaḥa Kīnan[2] dālika bi-sirriyatin tāmma#) l-qubūlu bi-mabdaʾi l-ḥājati liʾaᶜmāli l-qamᶜi l-bulīsiyyati l-lati tumārisuhā ʾanẓimatu l-ḥukmi l-maḥalliyya.#

With regard to what Halliday (1985) calls "clauses without themes", a total of

5 RCs were identified in the overall corpus. Although, I called these non-thematic, following Halliday, and for the simple fact that they are enclosed between two full stops, I, however, believe, that they consist of two sub-types. The first sub-type is non-thematic in the sense that it is no more than an extension of the preceding RCs rheme. I also believe that the reason behind enclosing this kind of thematic clause is to give it prominence, in the sense of being a separate information unit with its "end-focus" (Quirk et. al. 1985). The second sub-type is non-thematic, in the sense that theme is presupposed, and hence ellipted, from the preceding RC. A further difference between them lies in the nature of their pragmatic function: whereas, as mentioned above, the first type is merely an extension of the previous RC rheme, the second comments on that preceding theme, and shows the writer's attitude towards it. This function is realized both by giving prominence to this comment by presupposing its thematic element, and by using some interpersonal elements, like '*indeed*', '*certainly*', etc. These two functions can be illustrated from the corpus, respectively, as follows (Note highlighted RCs):

7-99 #With[1] the war[2] now raging in the Middle East/ we[1] are tempted to question such certainty.# **#Not Fukuyama.#** (Text 5: 1-4 &5)

7-99A #illa ʾanna-hu[1] bi-ndilāᶜi l-ḥarbi[2] l-lati yadūru raḥāha lʾāna fi manṭiqati š-šarqi l-ʾawsaṭ[3] taḥdū-nā(=naḥnu[4]) raġbatan jāmiḥatan li-munāqašati ṣiḥḥati hāda l-yaqīni l-qāṭiᶜi wa laysa Fukayāmā.#

7-100 #For the first time[1] the UN[2] would be able to operate effectively as the guarantor of a low-bound international order, with the US acting as its enforcement arm against aggressors.# #A new world order, indeed.# (Text 4: 5-3 & 4)

7-100A #fa-[3] liʾawwali marratin[2] kāna fi maqdūri l-ʾumami l-muttaḥidati[2] l-ᶜamalu bi-faᶜaliyyatin kaḍāmin li-ḥtirāmi n-niẓāmi l-ᶜālamiy bi-musāᶜadati l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati l-ʾamrīkiyyati --sāᶜidihā t-tanfīdiy r-rādiᶜi li-l-muᶜtadīn--# #ḥaqqan ʾinna-hu[1] la-niẓāmun ᶜālamiyyun jadīd!#

The translation into Arabic of examples like 7-99 & 100 shows that the process of translation can, to some extent, be a helpful tool in understanding some RCs' thematic structure in English. In 7-99, for example, the translator does not separate the the second 'non-thematic' RC from the first, but conjoined it with its rheme. More valid to such a decision, though, is the restriction imposed by the pragmatic rule of organizing an RC in Standard Arabic (SA), namely that a RC in SA should be complete

in the sense that it must benefit its receiver (cf. 5-2). By contrast, the highlighted RC in 7-99 cannot serve this purpose, if when translated, it is enclosed by two full stops. On the other hand, when the translator renders the second RC of 7-100, he renders it as rhematic, in the sense that its theme is presupposed in the verbal situation that is built up to that point in the discourse. That the second RC of 7-100 acts as a writer's comment on the preceding RC(s) can be judged by the use of the interpersonal adjunct 'indeed' (preposed in the Arabic translation), by presupposing the theme (it could have been a personal pronoun 'it= the new world order') which is spelled out explicitly in the Arabic translation by the linking pronoun (hu= 'it'), and by the use of two Arabic emphatic particles ('inna & 'lām t-tawkīd').

With regard to the rendition of the three types of RCs discussed and illustrated in this section, I believe the translator, aided by the flexibility of word order of Arabic, was able to maintain their thematic structure in translation. In this respect, one is obliged to repeat briefly what has been mentioned earlier in this study (cf. 5.2.1), that in constructing verbal sentences in SA (and this is how most types of the three discussed RCs are translated), the sentence will always remain verbal no matter how many adverbial clauses (minor processes) precede or follow verb of the main clause (or the main process).

7.6 Thematic Structure of Metaphorical RCs in the English SLT

When discussing the notion of the clause-as-theme, Halliday (1985, pp. 56-59; cf. 3.6.2.5) points out that there is "one special circumstance that leads to the situation, where something that is itself a clause functions as a theme.[36]" This, he calls the phenomenon of grammatical metaphor. What happens here is that one type of clause is expressed metaphorically as another, or to put it more correctly, a semantic configuration that would be represented "congruently" (non-metaphorically) by one type of clause process is represented metaphorically by another, or as Halliday puts it, "metaphor is variation in the expression of meaning." (Halliday, op. cit., p. 318).

Staying within the bounds of his 3-dimensional functions of language (the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual), Halliday (1985), as pointed out in the previous note, identifies two types of grammatical metaphor, the ideational and the

interpersonal (the textual being an "enabling function" to Halliday; cf. 3.5). Under the ideational type, he considers incongruent any process type that can be realized congruently; this is why he considers equative RCs incongruent, since they can be realized congruently (cf. note above). As for the interpersonal type, he also considers as incongruent clauses that express modality (realising the attitude of the speaker writer towards the proposition in question), since such attitudes can be realised congruently through an interpersonal adjunct (cf. 3.6.2.5). In this study, following Halliday, our analysis, exemplification and discussion of grammatical metaphor will be limited to its significance in determining the thematic structure of the RC in English as well as in Arabic, and the effort exerted by translator to preserve such thematic structures when translating from one language into the other, and vice versa.

In analysing the corpus, a total of 37 RCs (4% of the overall total) were identified as metaphorical RCs of a type which, I believe, has some impact on the selection of their thematic structure. There are, of course, other metaphorical RCs in the corpus whose structure, I believe, does not affect the selection of theme, but are used because a writer wants to bring into focus some semiotic/cultural values (some of which are comparable, in one way or another, with some Arabic semiotic values), and which characterise some aspect of the culture, where language is one of its main mediums of expression. Another reason for discarding such RCs from the analysis related to thematic structure is that fact that, according to Halliday (1985, p.321), such metaphorical representations have become the "the norm". In fact, this is a natural process of linguistic change, which always, from a diachronic perspective, 'demetaphorizes' such incongruent representations[37]. Put another way, Newmark (1988, p. 85), when he says:

> Gradually, when the metaphor is repeated in various contexts, the emotive effect subsides [Newmark believes that one purpose of using metaphor in language is to express certain emotiveness], and a new term that describes reality most closely been created,e.g. *étenné* [French] which in a seventeenth-century text might be translated as 'thunder struck', but is now translated as 'astonished'[38].

In what follows, there will be a brief discussion and exemplification, from the corpus, of the two types of metaphor, but before leaving this introduction, I found it appropriate to illustrate, what Halliday (1985, p. 325) calls "the unmarked theme" of

circumstantial adjunct which, to me at least, is the only type of theme (or topic) as adjunct, which combines both of Halliday's definition of theme as the "initial element" and "what the clause is about":

7-101 #The 1980s[1]/ suggested that new scarecrow-targets were being constructed to take the place of the Soviet Union.# (Text 4: 7-5)

7-101A #wa[2] laqad ʾawḥā ᶜaqdu ṯ-ṯamānīnāti[1] bi ʾanna l-ʾahdāfa l-wahmiyyata qad tamma ʾinšāʾūha li-taḥilla maḥalla l-ʾittiḥādi s-sūfyatiy.#

7-101 is a typical example of an ideational metaphor. In examples of this type, the translator maintains the original theme of the English RC when he renders into Arabic, although, as a mental process, 'the 1980s' should, according to Halliday's formulation, be an animate participant (a participant "endowed with consciousness"). Yet, and for the reason of this process becoming "the norm" in political writing, both the writer of the article, in which the RC is picked out, and the translator, uses this "incongruent" structure in the typical or unmarked sense.

7.6.1 **Ideational Metaphor.**

The clause in its ideational function (here the RC), says Halliday (1985, p. 321), "represents or realizes a process." Irrespective of the type of process selected, there are three steps involved in the realisation of any meaning, which represent the core of the systemic linguistic theory (Halliday's socio-semantic model; cf. 3.4). The first step involves the selection of the process type (material, mental or relational) with its various intermediate and secondary types. This is realized as (2) a configuration of transitivity functions: actor, sensor, manner, etc. representing the process, its participants and any circumstantial elements, and this is, in turn, is realized as (3) a sequence of groups or phrases (nominal, verbal group and adverbial groups, and prepositional phrase, etc.).

When using such a framework, as a way of getting from the meaning to the wording, we make the assumption that there are typical (unmarked) as well as marked ways of realising one and the same meaning. As is the case with all aspects of development of language, I believe, joining forces with Halliday, that language starts with congruent modes of representation and gradually begins to elaborate them until it reaches a stage, as in 7-101, where this elaboration becomes the norm in many of its

registers or genres. As with the case of marked thematic constructions (cf. 7.3.5) and any other language phenomena also, one starts thinking of congruent representations of meaning, of course, when incongruent ones like 7-101 and the following develop:

7-102 #Popular psychological accounts in the press[1]/ tell of a child who was beaten by his step-father and who turned into a self-important, paranoid and sadistic adult.# (Text 5: 3-4)

7-102A #. . . taḥaddaṯat at-tahlilātu s-saykulujiyyatu ᶜabra ṣ-ṣahafati[1] ᶜan ṣabiyyin ʾiᶜtada zawjū ʾummihi ᶜala darbihi, l-ʾamru l-laḏa ḥawwalahu ila fatan muᶜtadin bi-nafsihi sadiyyi ṭ-ṭabᶜi wa muṣābin bi-junūni l-ᶜaẓama.#

With regard to process type, What applies to 7-101 above applies to this example, and like any incongruent (metaphorical) structure, although this process becomes the norm in political news reporting, it can be reparaphrased congruently. Example 7-102, for instance, can be rephrased to read: 'Psychiatrists[1]/ talked\reported through the press of a child . . .', or, 'it[1]/ was reported by psychiatrists in the press that a child . . ., where the theme, respectively, becomes a 'conscious participant', '*Psychiatrists*', and the impersonal '*it*', (had the writer in the second case opted for a very objective stance). Although both representations are plausible representations of the same 'state of affairs', they are not synonymous, in the sense of the fact different encodings all contribute to the total meaning. They are potentially corepresentational. It has to be pointed out, however, that there is no clear line to be drawn between congruent and incongruent structure, because much of the history of every language is a history of "demetaphorising", to use Halliday's (1985, p. 327) term, of expressions which starting from the child language (which undoubtedly is non-metaphorical), to adult language and discourse, which is saturated with metaphors of various kinds, and then to normalise these metaphoric expressions, and make them the norm rather than a marked linguistic phenomenon.

7.6.2. **Interpersonal Metaphor**

As indicated above, interpersonal metaphor is the speaker/writer's opinion or his 'stamp' regarding the possibility that his observation is not coded as a modal element within the clause, which would be, in this case, its congruent realization, but as a separate, projecting clause in a hypotactic clause complex, as in:

7-103 #I[1] think, by the way,// that[1] we[2] can dismiss the idea of a new, competing superpower in the shape of the European Community of the future.# (Text 4: 4-2)

7-103A #fa-ᶜala sabīli al-mitāli[2] ʾaᶜtaqidu (ʾanā[1])// bi-ʾanna-nā(=nahnu[1]) nastaṭīᶜu ṣarfa n-naẓari ᶜan fikrati qiyāmi quwwatin ᶜuẓmā jadīda munāfisatan ᶜala hayʾati majmūᶜati ʾūrubiyyati mustaqbaliyya.#

7-104 #It[1] is unlikely// that the West could have done anything, at that stage, to prevent the communist takeover in the late-1940s[1].# (Text 3: 10-3)

7-104A #wa[2] ʾinna-hu[1] mina l-mustabᶜad[1]/ ʾan yakūna fi maqdūri l-ġarbi l-qiyāmu biʾayyi šayʾin fi tilka l-marḥalati li-manᶜi l-haymanati š-šuyuᶜiyyati fi ʾawāxir l-ʾarbaᶜīniyyāt[1].#

In 7-103, the dividing line between theme and rheme is the boundary between the two clauses, each clause, according to Halliday (1985), also has its own thematic structure, in the sense of its point of departure of that clause as a message. As for the second part of the definition of theme (what the clause is about), I believe, in 7-103, for example, it is about the initial 'interpersonal clause' [my term]. e.g., what 'I, the speaker/writer, think/believe', and the rest of the RC, that is its rheme, tells the hearer/reader, the core of the message: 'that we can dismiss . . . .' By comparison with 7-103, 7-104 can be treated as a sort of an 'interpersonal-impersonal' metaphorical RC, with the first dependent clause acting as the theme of the RC, in the sense of being what that RC is about: 'the likelihood of a European superpower being able to stop communism in the forties.'

These two examples illustrate two types of attitudes on the part of the writer towards the proposition, the first, as illustrated by 7-103, is subjective (note the use of the first personal pronoun '*I*'), and the second, illustrated by 7-104, is objective (note the use of the impersonal '*it*'). A comparison of the distribution of these two types of 'interpersonal thematic' clause in the corpus, shows that the number of subjective interpersonal RCs found in the corpus was quite few (only 6 RCs) in comparison to that of the impersonal ones (21 RCs; some of which have now become the norm). We thus we come to the conclusion, that in political discourse it seems that whenever the writer wants to intervene and project his point of view in the overall 'facts' he is presenting, he will either, if he has the '*guts*', use 'imperfect clauses' in Quirk et. al's (1985) terminology, like '*I believe*', or if he does not, he will hide behind the

impersonal/dummy pronoun '*it*', and use imperfect clauses like '*It is unlikely*'. In this respect, our main concern in this study is the subjective type, since this is the type that Halliday (1985; chapter 10) considers with regard to thematic structure (cf. 7.4.4 for the thematic structure of the other type).

In rendering ideational metaphor from English into Arabic, the translator can render the thematic structure of the RC as long as "there is a 'strong' cultural overlap", to use Newmark's (1985, p. 305) term[39]. Furthermore, the numerous examples of metaphorical forms and "congruent" rewording could, according to Newmark (1988, p. 295) "sensitise a translator to the need for frequent recasting." Saying this, I believe that in political discourse, (and viewing the overall turbulent world nowadays), languages, in general, have developed a sense of universality towards the rendition of "noncongruent structure" congruently.

With regard to the rendition of interpersonal metaphor in the English corpus into Arabic, it is complete. The translator manages to achieve this by using a type of verb called by Arab grammarians call 'verbs of disbelief' (ʿafʿāl al-rujḥān wa ẓ-ẓann), which, through their structural and discoursal natures, can render this incongruent structure from English into Arabic, while expressing the writers 'stamp' on the proposition of the ensuing dependent clause[40].

7.7 Conjunctions-as-Initial-Themes in the English SLTs

As discussed in Halliday's thematic model (cf. 3.6.2), Halliday (1967c, 1985 & elsewhere) draws a distinction between non-cognitive adjuncts (the discoursal/textual & modal/interpersonal type), on the one hand, and coordinating conjunctions (the pure and the portmanteau/combined) and subordinating ones (subordinating conjunctions have already been illustrated in the discussion of dependent clauses-as-themes, being the first initial elements in such clauses: items like '*if, when, with*, etc.'; cf. 7.5.2.2 & 3 above). Halliday's distinction is based upon two major differences. First, non-cognitive adjuncts, according to Halliday, are integral part of the clause; whereas conjunctions, according to him are not: "they are in any case best regarded on other grounds as not being part of the clause." (Halliday, 1967c, pp. 219). Second, conjunctions are inherently thematic, since "they have as it were floated to the front of the clause and

stayed there." (Halliday, 1985, p. 51); whereas noncognitive adjuncts tend to occur anywhere in the clause. But when they occur in initial positions, and hence become thematic, they either relate the clause to the preceding text (if they are of the discoursal type) or express the speaker's judgment regarding the relevance of the message (if they are of the modal type). In both cases, however, they, like conjunctions, act as the point of departure of the clause as a message.

In the Hallidayan model, the categories of discourse and modal adjuncts include a number of forms (*'therefore'*, *'nevertheless'*, *'however'*, etc.) that might otherwise be dealt with as conjunctions. As a result, the conjunctions are limited to a small list[41]. Beside their function of joining clauses within the complex clause, whatever type of relation that might conjoin them, be it paratactic or hypotactic, conjunctions, as thematic elements, signal that an inference is to be drawn or some other connection is to be made with the preceding discourse. Therefore, from a thematic perspective at least, I think, there is no need to separate non-cognitive discourse adjuncts from conjunctions, since if initial, both function in relating the current clause to the preceding and following discourse, by being part of the textual component language. This is also supported by the fact that Halliday (1985, p. 50) has explained the meaning of discourse adjuncts by reference to that of conjunctive adjuncts (cf. chapter 3, note 84).

Halliday (1976, pp. 226-227) also points out that, from a cohesive perspective, conjunctions "express certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in the discourse", and that the conjunctive relation is "a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before". Although he says this, he (Halliday, op. cit., p. 238) insists that conjunctive relations that are expressed through cohesion "are not the SAME as the elementary logical relations that are expressed through the structural medium of coordination". He, however, admits (op. loc.) that the 'additive relation' with *'and'* and *'or'* are the closest to coordination, and that, in general, a conjunctive relation is a textual one[42]. Once more, I believe that conjunctive and coordinate relations, at Halliday's clause complex level, (here at the RC level) are intertwined because, from a thematic point of view (at least), they work hand in hand to present not only cohesive text, but a coherent one as well.

In analysing the corpus, conjunctions with their various 'cohesive functions'

were abundant. A total of 114 were identified (cf. table 7-4 below). This, of course, does not include the number of discourse adjuncts (34 occurrences; cf. 7.5.2.1 & table 7-4), which, as I will argue below, share a similar thematic function: 'they simply relate/ connect the current clause with the preceding discourse'. Like adjuncts (cf. 7.5), no ratio was calculated, since there could be more than one occurrence per RC. Among the many occurrences in the corpus which express various types of textual relations, the following are selected to express a temporal textual relation:

7-105 #The collapse of the Soviet Union[1]/ adds several dimensions.# #First[1], new pretexts[2] are needed for Third World intervention, a serious challenge to the educated classes.# #Second, ...# #Third, ...# (Text 1: 3-4,5 & 6)

7-105A #kamā[2] ʿaḍāfa ʿinhiyāru l-ʿittihādi s-sufyatiyy[1] ʿabᶜādan jadīdatan.# kāna ʿawwaluhā[1] l-ḥājata ila ʿijādi darāʿiᶜa jadʿdatin li-t-tadaxxuli fi šuʿūni duwali l-ᶜālami ṯ-ṯāliṯi l-ʿamru l-laḏi kāna bi-maṯābati tahaddin ḥaqīqiyyin li-ṯ-ṯabaqāti l-muṯaqqafa.# #wa[2] kāna ṯāniyuhā[1] . . . .# #wa[2] kāna ṯāliṯuhā[1] . . . .#

7-106 #The new social movements of the 1970s and the 1980s[1]/ emerged outside the formal party structures precisely because of the way in which the parties of the Left, which should have articulated new emancipatory concerns, were caught up in the compromises of the 1940s.# #Yet[1] these movements[2]/ undoubtedly have had a profound influence on Western political culture, especially in Germany and southern Europe where cold war attitudes are less deeply em bedded and political processes have been more decentralised.# (Text 3: 33-4 & 5)

7-106A #fa[2] l-ḥarakātu l-ʿiǰtimāciyyatu l-ḥadīṯatu llati ʿinbaṯaqat fi sabᶜīnāt wa tamanīnāt[1] ʿimtadat xārija niṭāqi l-ʿaḥzābi l-haykaliyyati llati waqaᶜat min xilālihā ʿaḥzābu l-yasāri ḍimna taswiyyāti l-ʿrbaᶜīnāt wa llati kāna yanbaġi ᶜalayhā l-qiyyamu biṣiyāġati masārātin taharuriyyatin jadīdatin.# #ġayra ʿannahu[1] bilā šak[3] kāna lihādihi l-ḥarakāti[2] taʿtīrun ᶜamīqun ᶜala ṯ-ṯaqāfati s-siyasati l-ġarbiyyati xuṣūsan fi al-mānya wa duwali janūbi ʿurūbbā ḥaytu kānat l-mawāqifu mina l-ḥarbi l-bāridati ʿaqalla rusūxan wa ᶜumqan wa sayrūrātin siyāsiyyatin ʿaqalla markiziyya.#

The second RC in each example has a textual relation of a temporal kind with that of the preceding RCs. This relation can be expressed in the sense of 'nextness', but it is, rather, different in each example. In 7-105, this relation is realized by the first RC and three RCs following it. It is a relation of events, where one thing happens and then another. By comparison, there are no physical events in the second RC of 7-106 (no material process, in Halliday's systemic terms, but rather a 'stative/relational

process); or rather, there is no 'linguistic events', and the time sequence is in the writer's organization of discourse. In this respect, we can say that the time sequence is in the 'argument', provided the 'argument' is understood in its everyday rhetorical sense and not in its technical sense in logic. Thus, in 7-106, the two RCs are related as steps in an argument, and the meaning is rather 'first one move in the speech game is enacted, then another.' In fact, the distinction in the textual-temporal relation is related to the basic functional organization of language (cf. 7.3.2). In 7-105, the temporal-textual, or rather cohesion, has to be interpreted in terms of the experiential function of language; it is a relation between meaning in the sense of representations of 'content' (the writer's experience of) external reality. In 7-106, on the other hand, this relation has to be interpreted in terms of the interpersonal function of language, which is a relation between meanings in the sense of the speaker's/writer's own 'stamp' on the situation__ his choice of speech role and rhetorical channel, his attitudes and his judgment (Halliday, 1976c, p. 240).

With regard to the rendition of conjunction-as-initial theme from English into Arabic, the native Arabic translator seems to have a freer hand in this aspect of the thematic structure than he has when translating major and minor themes (cf. table 7-4a). He even inserts additional conjunctive elements-as-initial themes, in some translated Arabic RCs, which do not exist in the SLT. The reason may have to do with either that Arabic uses more conjunctive devices as cohesive tools in the Arabic texts than English, or that conjunctive cohesive devices are easier to use for the Arabic translator than all other devices such as reference, substitution, ellipsis and lexical cohesion, or it could be both. This subject, however, lies out the main concern of study, and requires a more detailed study in order to come up with any definite generalization.

7.8 **Multiple Theme in the English SLTs**

Halliday (1985, p. 53; cf. 3.6.2.4) proposes the principle of 'stacking' multiple thematic elements in the complex clause as follows: "if the initial element does not function as 'Subject, Complement, or Circumstantial Adjunct' (other than modal or discoursal adjuncts), then the subject, complement or adjunct next following is still part of the theme." The modification suggested to Halliday's thematic formulation in

chapter, section 3.6.6, and consequently to his stacking principle, does not, in any way, affect his concept of multiple theme; on the contrary, it enhances it, by adding a new dimension to that concept. With regard to exclusiveness of cognitive themes, it was argued earlier, however, that circumstantial adjuncts should be treated like discoursal and modal adjuncts, in the sense that they are not exclusive (cf. 3.6.6 & 7.5.1). This was suggested on the basis of the fact that they do not serve the two parts of Halliday's definition of theme (in being an initial element and in expressing what the clause is about). Since they do not fulfil the second part of that definition, it is better to regard them as 'marked scene setters', to the actual theme/topic of the clause that follows, which can be a marked subject or an 'extremely' marked object.

In this respect, Halliday (1985, p. 53) proposes that the sequence of the unmarked thematic structure of the multiple theme of a declarative clause runs follows: "textual ^ interpersonal ^ ideational" (^= followed by; also called composite theme in Halliday, 1967c, p. 220). In this sequence, the textual elements (conjunctions and discourse adjunct) and interpersonal elements (modal adjuncts) are optional, and language users (as will be illustrated below) can have various arrangements of these two set of elements. Ideational elements of the clause structure (SPCA) as themes always constitute the rightmost elements preceding the rheme, with the subject, as the unmarked theme; and either the object or the metaphorical use of adjunct as marked theme (what the RC is about).

Halliday's above formulation with regard the above sequence of thematic elements within the multiple thematic structure raises more than one question. One can ask: do initial elements-as-themes have a special thematic meaning, and are themes that are lower in the 'stack' less thematic? Do outer themes bracket inner themes, when looked at from both a thematic as well as a discoursal perspective? At what point are they actually downgraded to the status of rheme? These questions will be returned to and answered after illustration from the corpus.

The concept of multiple theme becomes more clear and more enhanced if the notions of initial, minor and major themes are taken into account. The major theme, i.e. subject, object, a metaphorical circumstantial adjunct, or a main verb (in English), is, as mentioned above, the rightmost element in the 'thematic sphere', in Svoboda's (1981) terms (cf. 2.2.4.1), after which the rest of the clause complex (the rheme)

follows. In this respect, I say that the rightmost thematic slot, like any other thematic slot in the syntagm of the complex clause, is assigned to major themes and has the specific function of specifying the cognitive referent (that what the clause is about), or, as Halliday (1970 & elsewhere) puts it, "the hook" on which the rest of the message is hung. The medial slot is assigned for minor themes that create a "setting". The leftmost slot is usually assigned, in a well cohesive and coherent discourse, to initial thematic elements like conjunctions, modal and discoursal adjunct that link the clause complex in question (in this research the RC) as a whole to the rest of the discourse. Generally speaking the leftmost slot is a 'shared slot' that can be occupied by any thematic element, acting as the point of departure of the clause as a message, but not always expressing what the message is about.

In analysing the corpus, over one-third of the total number of RCs of the corpus have their thematic structure consisting of multiple themes (229 RCs. or 34% of the overall total of the corpus RCs; cf. table 7-4). Bearing in mind Halliday's ordering formulation of the multiple thematic structure, I observed, in analysing both the English and Arabic corpus as well as their translation, to some extent, that there were more possible combinations to take into account, in both languages, which Halliday (1985) merely mentions in passing, without any further illustrations from real texts, apart from his structured examples. I also noticed that the leftmost item, in many cases, seemed to be more thematised, and that its occurrence in that position had to do not only with predictable ordering, but also with the writer's wish to highlight that particular thematic relationship. This leads me to wonder, as inquired earlier, about the status of such initial thematic elements, in comparison with the rest of the thematic elements in the 'thematic sphere' (Svoboda, 1981). In what follows, there will be illustrations, from the English corpus with their Arabic translation, of some of the various types of sequences or combinations of the multiple theme structure, and an attempt to answer the questions raised earlier in this section:

7-107 #But[1] of course[2], this 'new order'[3]/ may not be monopolar at all.# (Text 4: 6-1)

7-107A #ġayra ʾanna[1] hāḏa n-niẓama l-jadīda[3] qad lā yakūnu bi-ṭabīʿati l-ḥāli[0] ʾuhādiyya l-quṭubi ʿala l-ʾiṭlāq.#

7-108 #And[1] once again[2], of course[4], it is up to *cette vielle Europe* and its

civilizational offspring, America[5],/ to slay the dragon, to vanquish the alien.# (Text 5: 5-3)

7-108A #wa[1] marratan ʾuxrā[2] bilā šakk[3] yatawaqqafu ᶜala hādihi l-ᶜajūzi ʾurūbba wa walīdatihā l-ḥaḍāriyyati ʾamarīka[4] ʾamru ḍabṭi dālika t-tinnīni wa ḍaṛi dālika d-daxīl#

7-109 #And[1] so[2], as so often before[3], we[4]/ have the encounter of good and evil.# (Text 5: 5-1)

7-109A #wa[1] hākaḍa[2] wa[5] kamā huwa l-ḥālu fi s-sābiq[3] šāhad-nā(=naḥnu= we=[4]) ʾiştidāma l-xayri bi-š-šar#

7-110 #But[1] let us[2]/ not stop here in our excoriations.# (Text5: 7-1)

7-110A #lākin[1] daᶜnā[2]/ lā natawaqqaf fi ʾistinkārinā hāḍa ᶜinda hāḍa l-ḥadd#

7-111 #Or[1] rather[2], the most that one can predict[3]/ is that the 1990s will be a period of yet more bumps and twists, swerves and U-turns, and unexpected developments. (Text 3: 38-2)

7-111A #ʾinna julla mā yumkinu li-l-marʾi t-takkahunu bihi[3] yaqīnan[2] huwa (pronoun of separation) ʾanna ḥaqbata t-tisᶜīnāti satakūnu fatratan li-mazīdin mina š-šaddi wa l-jadbi wa n-naqlāti n-nawᶜiyyati wa l-munᶜaṭafāti l-muᶜākisati wa t-taṭwurrāti ġayri l-mutawaqqaᶜa#

7-112 #And[1] so[2] the 'smart' technologies of Western reason[3]/ are now being mobilised to smash the 'other'.# (Text 5: 26-4)

7-112A #wa[1] li-hāḍa[2] tammat al-ʾān taᶜbiʾatu t-taqaniyyati ḍ-ḍakiyyati li-l ᶜaqlāniyyati l-ʾūrūbiyyati li-saḥqi l-muġāyir#

7-113 #But[1] more importantly[2] the reaction of the people of region[3]/ was clear from the outset of the conflict. (Text 2: 8-5)

7-113A #wa[4] lākinna[1] l-ʾahamma min dālika kullihi[2] huwa (pronoun of separation) ʾanna radda fiᶜili šuᶜūbi l-manṭiqati[3] kāna wāḍiḥan mundu ʾindilāᶜi ş-ş irāᶜ.#

7-114 #And[1] if[2] it[3] were to invade Saudi Arabia,/ it [=Iraq= 1] would control 44% of the world's oil reserves.# (Text 3: 3-5)

7-114A #wa[1] ʾida ma qāma(0= huwa= l-ᶜirāq[3]) bi-jtiyāhi s-saᶜūdiyya/ fa ʾinna-hu (l-ᶜirāq=[1]) sawfa yusayṭiru ᶜala 44% min dālika l-ʾiḥtiyāṭiy l-ᶜālamiy#

Let us now try to answer the three questions posed above, guided by the illustrative examples 7-107 through 114. As for the last question regarding the

downgrading of theme to a rhematic status, or rather, by rewording that question: 'are themes that are lower (rightmost) in the thematic sphere less thematic and thus more vulnerable to becoming rhematic? I believe that the answer to this question is no, because each theme has its own function and the thematic slots, with the elements they contain, merely follow cognitive degrees of marking from left to right. So, while the leftmost slot is typically occupied either by conjunctive elements, discoursal or interpersonal adjuncts, which are non-cognitive, the medial position is usually occupied by cognitive circumstantial adjuncts, and the rightmost is a subject (when unmarked), an object/complement or even a verb (when marked), which are all highly cognitive elements of the clause structure (cf. examples 7-108 & 110). Thus, except for the cognitive-noncognitive difference in the multiple theme elements, there is no hierarchy of themes in the sense of that type is higher or lower in thematicity than the other. Each does a different job (i.e realising one aspect of the functional components of language: the textual, the interpersonal and the ideational).

With regard to the second question, which inquires about the possibility of outer themes bracketing inner ones, I believe the answer is 'yes', so long as the thematic structure of the RC follows Halliday's proposed sequence and any of its possible variation, as illustrated in any one of the examples above (cf. theme in dependent clauses; and examples 7-112 & 114, for a different multiple thematic configuration). Thus within the multiple thematic sphere, the leftmost slot typically occupied by conjunctions, discoursal(cognitive/noncognitive) or modal adjuncts, bracket the medial slot typically occupied by cognitive circumstantial adjuncts which, in turn, bracket the major themes (subject, when unmarked, object and metaphorical adjuncts (when the latter is marked).

The answer to the final question, regarding the special meaning of the thematic elements occupying the leftmost initial slot, is a qualified 'yes'. The theme that is chosen as the initial element in the RC establishes the main perspective (or framework, to use Chafe's (1976) term; cf. 4.3) within which the rest of the clause develops or rather proceeds. If it is a conjunction, for example, the relationship expressed is either that of additive, adversative, causal or temporal (cf. 7.7, and the examples 7-107 through 114), which gives a special 'motif' to all other experiential meanings that realized by the RC. The same will be true of interpersonal adjuncts, which engage the

speaker/writer and the listener/reader in a particular relationship for the duration of the RC and beyond. Discourse adjuncts establish an attitude. Cognitive adjuncts create a setting. Whichever comes first sets the tone for the rest of the RC. The other themes in the 'composite' structure are still themes, but they are not like that of the initial slot.

As for rendition of multiple thematic structure into Arabic, rendering with the same ordering was not total, although it will be seen from table 7-4a in relation to 7-4, that the total number of multiple RCs in the TLS is, by far, greater. Therefore, and despite the meaningfulness of such thematic structural ordering in English in examples like 7-112, for instance, the translator, for stylistic purposes, dropped the conjunctive initial theme ('*or*') and postponed the interpersonal theme ('*rather*') after the cognitive theme of the translated RC (a nominal Arabic RC).

In general, however, I did not observe that the translator was particularly responsive to the order of thematic presentation of the original text (in example 7-107, the interpersonal theme ('*of course*') is downgraded into the rhematic sphere). Therefore, one can say that the result of rendition was rather inconclusive, and that this was an area of in which relatively great liberty in translation was taken.

7.9 Major Theme Selections in the Arabic SLTs

7.9.1 Subject-as-Theme

As in English, when analysing the Arabic corpus, the predominant theme (290 occurrences) in the RCs (382) is the subject (77% of the overall total; cf. appendix F, table 7-5). In these RCs where the subject is thematic, it is either the subject (al-fāᶜil) of the verbal sentence, or the predicand (al-musnad ʾillayhi/al-mubtadaʾ) of the nominal sentence, whether the latter has a verbal predication (an SVO-type word order) or whether it has a nominal predication (a 'pure' nominal construction: SP word order ; cf. Appendix G, tables 7-9 & 10). The result of analysing the Arabic corpus also tallies, more-or-less, with Givon's (1979b) analysis of English (cf. 7.3.1).

As is the case in English, the thematicity of the grammatical subject (whether 'fāᶜil' or predicand) is determined by the same four criteria, which I have suggested for the English (cf. 7.3.1). However, one of these criteria, that of the necessity of subject

being an NP, can be bypassed without disturbing the grammatical rules set by the various schools of grammar. In fact, all of these schools interpret the structural elements of the RC following ''an & 'anna al-maşdariyya' as the subject of the RC in question (cf. 5.2). Examples of this type of thematic structure from the Arabic SLTs , where the 'interpreted verbal noun-as-subject' (al-maşdar al-mu'awwal min 'ann wa mā ba^{c}dahā), include those that are typical of the following:

7-115 #yajibu 'an lā yufhama mimmā taqaddam (=l-'amru= theme[1]) // 'anna l-wilāyāti l-mutthahidati[1]/ kānat ta^{c}tamidu 'i^{c}timādan kulliyyan ^{c}ala 'isrā'īl fi 'istrātijiyyatihā 'ad-difā^{c}iyyati fi manţiqati š-šarqi l-'awsaţ# (Text 7:6-1)

7-115E #None of this[1]/ should lead us to the conclusion that the US has been completely dependent on Israel for its defence strategy in the Middle East.#

In 7-115, the verbal phrase 'an lā yufhama' can be interpreted to a grammatical subject '^{c}adamu l-fahmi', and hence the theme of the RC as whole.

With regard to the maintenance of the thematicity of the grammatical subject when translating from Arabic into English, one comes to the conclusion, when looking and comparing tables 7-1 & 7-1A of appendix E with tables 7-5 & 7-5E of appendix F, for Arabic, that the translator renders the exact percentage of the occurrence of grammatical subject as theme in the SLTs, bearing in mind that there is a difference of 13 RCs between the SLTs and TLTs. However, the translation from Arabic into English renders more grammatical subjects than the translation from English into Arabic. This is due to the fact that there must be certain constraints and properties that are inherent in each language, and prevent the translator, no matter how well-informed he is in both languages as well as in the semiotic values of both cultures, from rendering a one-to-one correspondence of subjects in the two languages, even if he is capable of surmounting the lexical, semantic, or the textual equivalence in both languages[43].

As is also the case in English, the main discoursal function of subject-as-theme is to introduce either the overall topic of discourse or a sub-topic that substantiates it, whether proposing the hypothesis in order to convince the reader of it or to counter-argue it and eventually refute it and propose another. In both cases, the topic introduced will be developed, either by managing or monitoring of discourse, until the

writer's goal (the solution to the proposed problem/thesis) is attained[44]. This major function can be illustrated from the corpus as follows:

7-116 #laqad kānat maṣlaḥatu l-wiylāyāti l-muttaḥidati maᶜa ʾisrāʾil mustamaddatan ʾila ḥaddin kabīrin min ṣiraᶜiha l-marīr maᶜa l-ʾittihādi s-sūfyatiy xilāli fatrati l-ḥarbi l-bārida.# fa-[1] min tanāqudāti hadihi l-ᶜilaqati[2] ʾanna . . . .# #wa[1] la yūjadu maṣlaḥatun li-d-dawlati[2] . . . .# # wa[1] qad xalaqat hadihi l-haqīqtu[2] . . . .# (Text 7: 1-3)

7-116E #America's shared interests with Israel/ derive largely from its bitter conflict with the Soviet Union during the cold war. #One of the contradictions of this conflict/ was . . . .# #There could be nothing of sufficient importance/ to . . . .# #This situation/ gave rise . . . .# #This/ is particularly borne out by . . . .#

In 7-116, the writer introduces the discourse topic as the theme of the first RC: 'America's shared interests with Israel', which he develops throughout the article (cf. appendix C; text 7) until he reaches the conclusion that such interests with Israel have declined at the strategic deterrence level, since the Soviet Union does not exist any more, and US interests with Israel lie now in the latter's "normalizing its relations with its neighbours . . . in order to become a normal state capable of importing, exporting and investing capital and participating in regional political alliances", and hence reduce the financial burden on the US. (This is, in reality, what is taking place in the Middle East at this time!).

7.9.1.1 Thematic Structure of Passivized RCs

In analysing the Arabic corpus, 11 passive RCs are identified, which constitute about 3% of the overall total of the whole corpus. Among these passivized RCs, 10 are found to be of the agentless type (cf. appendix F, table 7-5). The total number of 11 passivized RCs does not include those dependent RCs, which constitute part of the rhematic field of the independent RCs.

As is the case in English, the occurrence of agentless passive RCs is far higher than that of agentive ones. This not surprising, since we are dealing with the analysis of political discourse in which, as indicated earlier (cf. 6.5), 'objectivity' and 'self-detachment', among some other things, are among its salient features. In contrast to this, the translator has rendered more passive RCs in the English TLTs than the ones identified when analysing the Arabic SLTs (11 RCs in the SLTs versus 29 in the TLTs;

compare tables 7-5 with 7-5a of appendix F). As I have already ascertained from the analysis of both the SLTs and TLTs, there are three reasons for this: one minor and two major. The minor reason has to do with the difference in the number of RCs between the SLTs and the TLTs. However, this difference does not result in too many additional passivized RCs in the TLTs (only one was counted). Therefore, this reason is ignored altogether, and no standard deviation calculation was attempted because the difference is only 13 RCs more when translating from Arabic to English, and, by coincidence, the same number when translating from English into Arabic, with Arabic being less in both cases (cf. note. 4 above).

The first major reason for having more passivized RCs in the English TLTs than the Arabic SLTs is the frequent occurrence of Arabic transitive verbs which are of the inflectional patterns 'tafāᶜala' and 'tafaᶜᶜala' followed by inanimate subjects. These verbs seem to be of on 'active' type if looked at from 'the surface structure' perspective, but of a 'passive' type if looked at from a deep structural level, to use the generative grammarians' terms[45]. Therefore, verbs of the type 'takarrara', 'tasāraᶜa', 'takāṯara', among others, can be exemplified from the corpus by:

7-118 #wa[1] mundu l-laḥẓati l-lati naṯaqa fīhā l-māystru l-ʾamarīkiy bidālik[2] takāṯarat al-ʾaqwālu l-mumātilatu wa l-mušābihatu[3] min qibali kulli l-ᶜāzifīna ᶜala n-naġmati n-našāzi siwāʾun kānu ʾulāʾika l-laḏīna yantaẓimūna ḍimna t-taxti l-musīqiyi nafsihi aw ʾulāʾka l-laḏīna yantaẓimūna ḍimna l-kawrasi l-muwākib.# (Text 10: 1-2)

7-118E #Since the Americans first orchestrated this campaign, similarly discordant notes have been struck by all the minor players, whether they were actually members of the alliance or merely stood by applauding US actions.

The second major reason, which has been alluded to in passing in the previous section and explained in some detail in sections 3.6.2.2 and 5.3.1.1, has to do with the inherent characteristics of the Arabic and the English languages. By comparison with English, Arabic can 'activize' any passive RC provided that there exists an anaphoric pronoun (damīr ᶜāʾid) which is linked to the verb in question, and is coreferential with the preposed NP which acts as the theme of the RC. Therefore, whereas 7-119 below is active is a coreferential pronoun is present (the underlined 'hā' [*it*] in the verb 'yaksubu' [win])) and is coreferential with the NP 'al-harbu' (war), it is English translation is a passive rendition because of this inherent constraint on the English

language:

7-119 #wa[1] l-ḥarabu[2] ʿidā našabat[3]/ fa-[1] lā budda ʿan yaksabahā[2] fi n-nihāyati ṭarafun mahmā kānat xasāʿiruhu.# (Text 6: 11-1)

7-119E #The war, if it should start/, will inevitably in the end be won by one side, no matter how great the loses that side suffers.#

Following Halliday, who in turn follows on the steps of the Prague School linguists (cf. 3.6.2.2), English tends to passivize in order to thematise the object of the active RC, and either place the subject of the active RC in the unmarked focus position or delete it altogether if its unnecessary or irrelevant.

7.9.2 **Verb-as-Theme**

In analysing the Arabic corpus, 4 imperative RCs (1% of the overall all number of RCs), were identified. These represent what Halliday (1967c & 1985) regards as RCs which either have the addressee's personal pronoun or the verb as theme. In either case, Halliday considers the theme unmarked (cf. 3.6.2.1 & 7.3.2). As has been argued earlier, the verb in Arabic is the core of predication. In the VSO word order (the declarative mood of the verbal RC), the verb presents the subject as the unmarked theme of the RC, whereas, in the imperative mood (including first person and third person imperatives), following Sunner (1982; cf. 7.3.2), the verb presents the grammatical subject-as-theme as 'marked' (in contrast with Halliday's formulation), since it is a constituents of a marked mood. Thus, the 'covert pronoun' (ad-damīr al-mustatir) of the imperative RC in Arabic acts as its marked theme. In this case the imperative verb serves as a 'tray', to use Sunner's (1982) term (cf. 7.3.2), in presenting the theme, but not as part of it:

7-120 #fa-l-nurakkiz (0= naḥnu: 'we'= theme) ʿala l-mafhūmi š-šāmili l-lquwwa# #wa nadaʿa (0= naḥnu: 'we'= theme) ʿamāma ʿaʿyuninā durūsa t-tārīx.# #wa ʿan nataḏakkar ʿanna. . . # (Text 9: 17-6, 7 & 8)

7-120E #Let us[1]/ therefore concentrate on the comprehensive concept of power;# let us[1]/ learn the lesson of history and remember that . . . .#

A predominate feature of all the examples of imperative RCs in the corpus is the use of the covert pronoun 'we' (naḥnu). This is natural, and represents a salient aspect of political discourse, where personal pronouns like 'naḥnu and ʿanta', among

others, render a feeling of 'solidarity' with the reader and a sense of 'objectivity' on the part of the writer, with regard to what he proposes and what he tries to convince his reader of.

In translating the imperative RCs from English to Arabic, the translator not only renders the exact number of those RCs in the SLTs, but also translates other RCs as imperative. This demonstrates that this aspect of political discourse sometimes seems to be more explicit in English than Arabic, and that translation can be considered as a tool in uncovering such feature in the SLTs. An example to illustrate this 'implicitness' of solidarity can be found in 7-121, taken from his Majesty, King Hussein's letter to President Saddam Hussein (cf. appendix F, text 5). Although his Majesty has pointed out, explicitly and implicitly, through the various methods which he has adopted in managing political discourse, the injustice that President Saddam Hussein has done to the Kuwaiti people (though not to the ruling regime), and to both regional and International Laws, (those of the United Nations and the Arab League), there still is that feeling of implicit solidarity in RCs like:

7-121 #ʾaᶜtaqidu (0= ʾanā; 'I'[2]) ʾan bi-ʾimkāninā[1]/ ʾan naṣūnahā wa nabniya wa nuaʾssisa ᶜalayhā ʾidā ma tawaṣṣalnā ʾila taswiyatin silmiyyatin fi ʾiṭārin ᶜarabiyyin taqbaluhā al-ʾaṭrāfu l-ᶜarabiyyatu l-maᶜniyya.# taswiyatun[1] . . . .# #taswiyatun[1] . . . .# (Text 6: 12-11, 12 & 13)

7-121E #Let us[1]/ suppose that we are able to achieve a peaceful resolution within the Arab framework__ a resolution . . . .# #If we are able to do all this[1]/ I believe that it is within our capacity to protect and build on these achievements.#

In 7-121, The mood of the RC is not that of an imperative type to signal a covert 'solidarity type-pronoun' as the theme of the RC, or the "royal we" as Quirk et al. (1985, p. 351). However, there is enough evidence in the RC itself (the 'na' in 'bi-ʾimkāni-nā', na-ṣūnahā wa na-bniya wa nu-ʾassisa) and in the preceding RCs to suggest that implicit feeling of solidarity with Iraq as part of the Arab nation, which is made explicit by the use of parallel structure throughout the whole paragraph (cf. Text 6, paragraph 12).

7.9.3 **Complement-as-Theme**

As indicated in 7.3.3., Halliday (1985) and Quirk et. al. (1985) use the general term complement to refer to all elements of the meaning/content of the clause complex, whether looked at from a functional perspective in the case of Halliday, or from a pure syntactic one in the case of Quirk et. al. The complement in Arabic is treated in almost the same way, and Arab grammarians (al-Anṭākī, 1975) and rhetoricians (ᶜabbās, 1989) believe that if it is not a 'musnad ʾilayhi' (theme/topic) or a 'musnad' (rheme/ comment), then the NP acting as complement must be either a complement of the event (or the process realized by the verb, to use Halliday's systemic term) or a complement of a NP which refers to a certain entity in either the discoursal or the real world. In other word, as al-Anṭākī, (1975, vol.3, p. 375) puts it:

> "the phrase as a complement is either 'a servant' of the process, or a servant of another NP, and what grammarians call 'at-taᶜlīq' (reference to) and rhetoricians call 'mutaᶜalliqāt l-fiᶜl' (reference to the verb) are no more than an illustration of who serves what [my translation].

From a syntactic and a functional perspective, Arab grammarians and rhetorician both agree that a complement is either an adverbial clause serving only the process, by showing its spatio-temporal dimensions, or a prepositional phrase which, in addition to the service rendered by the adverbial clauses, can also render other dimensions of the process, including those mentioned by Halliday (1985; cf. 7.5.1). An explicit realization of these dimensions, however, can be rendered also by the 5 main types of objects that are frequent as complements in verbal RC (cf. 5.2.1).

From a thematic perspective, and following both the Arab grammarians and rhetoricians, who, to some extent, have a similar approach to treating them as thematic structures, the various types of complements can occupy initial positions in the RC in Arabic. In this respect, al-Anṭākī (1975, vol.3, p.374) points out that, with regard to adverbial and prepositional phrases in Arabic, the Arabic language is extremely flexible with regard to their position within an RC; they can be placed initially, medially and finally. This is strikingly concordant with what both Halliday (1967c & 1985) and Quirk et. al (1985) say about adjunct in English. These Arabic 'adjuncts' by analogy with English will be discussed, illustrated and exemplified from the Arabic corpus in section 7.10.1 below.

As for the various types of objects as themes in the Arabic RC, the only type that is found in the corpus is that of the grammatical object (al-mafᶜūl bihi). In

analysing the corpus, only 9 RCs (2% of the overall total) were found to have this type of marked theme. They are marked, following both Arab grammarians and rhetoricians, in the sense that they refer to an ellipted verb of 'saying' (ʾaqūlu), where they act as a preposed, and thus a marked thematic element, after the ellipted verb. The RC (verbal or nominal) following them can also have its own theme-rheme structure following Halliday (1985), but, at the same time, it acts as an explication of what is said about the theme which is usually a serial number like ''awwalan, ṯāniyan, etc. (first, second, etc.), as in:

7-122 #ṯāniyan[1]/ ʾinna ʾimtināᶜa l-ʾurdunni ᶜan l-mušārakati yaᶜni fi l-ġālibi ᶜadama mušārakati l-filisṭiniyyīna li-ʾanna l-mušārakata l-filisṭīniyyata lan takūna mumkinatan ʾillā min xilāli mazalatin ʾurduniyyatin kamā huwa maᶜrūfun mimmā yaḫrimu l-filisṭīniyyīna min taḥqīqi ʾirādatihim kamā ᶜabbar ᶜanhā mumaṯṯilūhum fi l-muʾtamari l-wataniyyi l-ʾaxīr.# (Text 9: 9-1)

7-122E #Secondly[1], Jordan's refusal to participate in the peace conference[2]/ would almost certainly mean that the Palestinians will not participate either, because, as is well-known, their participation will only be possible under a Jordanian umbrella.# #Therefore[1], if[2] Jordan[3] refuses to participate,// the Palestinians[1] will be deprived of the opportunity to fulfil their desire, as expressed by their representatives in their most recent National Assembly.#

By comparison with 7-122, the first RC of 7-122E renders the object-as-theme in Arabic as and a marked adjunct-as-theme in English__ marked in the sense of being a cognitive element of the RC and constituting a separate information unit (cf. 3.6.1), and not, in English only, of 'what the RC is about', as I argued earlier. Therefore, whereas such marked-object-as-theme in the sense of 'what the RC in Arabic is about', in English, however, it turns out to be a marked-scene-setter-theme, for the following predication which has its own cognitive theme, in an ASPC word order, which is one of the frequent styles, according to Halliday, in formal genres of English.

7.9.4 **Interrogative RCs**

As in English, the typical intention of asking a question in Arabic, whether of a yes/no type or a wh- one, is to elicit information (known/unknown). This information is either an assertion of a given proposition or a request for a piece of missing information (cf. 3.6.2.1, 5.3.2 & 7.3.4). In analysing the Arabic corpus, 29 interrogative

RCs were identified (7% of the overall RCs of the corpus; cf. appendix F, table 7-5). In addition, there were also identified 7 dependent interrogative clauses which either constitute part of the rheme of an imperative RC or the rheme of a conditional RC, (jawāb aš-šarṭ; the ' protasis').

Unlike English, however, the predominant occurrence of interrogative RCs, whether of dependent or independent type, of a yes/no or wh- type, is the rhetorical interrogative type rather than the "real" one, to use Beekam and Callows' (1974) term, who point out, like Halliday (1985) and many others, that real question are posed by the speaker/writer with the intention of "obtaining information"; whereas rhetorical question (here, Halliday has nothing to say) are asked "to convey or call attention to information and to express the speaker's attitude, opinion, etc.[46]" In this respect they point out that real questions, in the Hallidayan thematic perspective, present no problem in translation, and consequently in preserving their thematic structure in translation, since their use is almost 'language universal'. On the other hand, rhetorical questions are not so straightforward as appears from their interrogative form, especially when it comes to translating them from a language like Arabic to English, and when efforts are made by the translator to preserve their thematic structure.

In revising the analysis of the Arabic corpus, 23 RCs (79% of the total interrogative RCs) were found to be of the rhetorical type, and only 6 of the real type. Furthermore, the 7 dependent clauses that were identified as interrogative are also of the rhetorical type as well. The fact that the rhetorical questions are asked without the intention on the part of the writer to request information, but rather to provide it, is supported by the definition given by Arab rhetoricians to such interrogative constructions. ᶜabbas (1989, p. 198), following al-Jurjāni (1988), defines the rhetorical question (al-ʾistifhām al-ʾistinkāri) as a type of speech act which is "performative in utterance, but propositional in content"[47], e.g. the truth of such questions can be challenged as if they were 'actual' statements.

The following are examples from the corpus, followed by a general discussion of their discoursal function and thematic structure in discourse, with all types being exemplified and discussed. Later, there will also be a discussion of the analysis of the thematic structure and whether it is preserved in translation or not, and whether this rendition from Arabic to English also preserve the pragmatic/discoursal functions that

are intended by the writer. First of all, the examples:

7-123 #mā hiya[1] ţalabātu l-ᶜirāqi l-muḥaddadatu wa l-maᶜqūlatu wa l-maqbūlatu mina l-kuwayt, siwāʾun bi-n-nisbati ʾila ḫudūdihi maᶜahā wa ḥajatihi ʾila mamari ḥurin l-l-miyāhi l-ᶜamīqati fi l-xalīj, aw . . . .?# (Real wh-question; Text 6: 7-3)

7-123E #What/ are the specific, reasonable and acceptable demands of Iraq from Kuwait, either with regard to its borders and Iraq's need for access to the deep waters of the Gulf, or . . . .?#

7-124 #fa-[3] hal[2] tasmaᶜu (ʾanta= you[1]) nidāʾī wa nidāʾa kulli ᶜarabiyyin qabla fawāt lʾawān?# (Real yes/no question; Text 6: 15-3)

7-124E #Will you/ listen to my call and the call of every sincere Arab before it is too late?

7-125 #fa-[3] hal[2] yuwaffiqunā llāhu[1] jamīᶜan fi şawni hādihi l-muktasabāt?# #naᶜam.# (Rhetorical yes/no question; Text 6: 12-9 & 10)

7-125E #Will Allah/ help us all in protecting these achievements?# #The answer/ is yes.#

7-126 #wa[3] hal[2] junna r-raʾīsu l-ʾamarīkiyyu[1] kay yaᶜtaqida ʾanna ʾahla hādihi l-minţaqati l-ʾislāmiyyati sayaqifūna ʾila jānibihi ḍidda ᶜarafāt?# (Rhetorical yes/no question; Text 8: 3-8)

7-126E #Is the US President/ mad enough to believe that the Arab and Islamic peoples of the Middle East would support him against Arafat?#

7-127 #tumma[3] matā[2] yataḥāwaru n-nāsu wa d-duwalu[1] ya zaᶜīma "l-ᶜālami l-ḥur" l-ladi ᶜallama n-nāsa -- fiymā tazᶜumūn -- fawʾida ʾad-daylūj?# #a-laysa şaḥīḥan ʾannahum yatahāwarūna ᶜindama yaxtalifūna wa yataşāraᶜūn?# #ʾam[2] tarāh-um[1] (=ʾan-nsu wa d-duwalu) yabdaʾūna l-ḥiwāra ᶜindamā n yakūnūna muttafiqīn?# #ḥaqqan[2] ʾinna ʾamra r-raʾīsa l-ʾamrīkiyyi[1] ᶜajību wa ġarīb.# (Text 8: 4-7, 8, 9 & 10)

7-127E #When is it[1]/ that people and countries engage in dialogue?# #This/ is a question to be addressed to the leader of the 'free world', the man who -so he claims- teaches people the benefits of dialogue and negotiation.# #Is it not true/ that people negotiate when they are in dispute with one another? #Or[1] do they/ do so when they are already in full accord?# #This US President's situation/ is a quite extraordinary one.

7-128 #. . . man[1] huwa l-filisţīniyyu l-jayyid?# #min jihatihim[1]/ yaqūlu l-līkudiyyūna: l-filisţīniyyu l-jayyidu huwa l-filisţīniyyu l-mayyit.# fa-[3] māḍa[2] taqūlu ya siyādata r-raʾīs? ʾaxālaka (0= ʾanā =I[1]) taqūl//: al-filisţīniyyu l-jayyidu[1]/ huwa l-filisţīniyyu l-xāʾinu l-filisţīniyyu l-

kāmbdavidiy.# (rhetorical wh-question; Text 8: 6-8, 9, 10, 11).

7-128E #. . . who/ are the good Palestinians?# #As far as the Likud are concerned,/ the only good Palestinian is a dead Palestinian.# #What[1]/ do you think Mr. President?# #I[1]/ believe// that[2] you[1] would say that the only good Palestinian is a perfidious Palestinian, a Camp David Palestinian.#

7-129 #wa[3] ʾin[2] wajad l-filisṭīniyyūna[1] maẓallatan ᶜarabiyyatan ʾuxrā//, ʾa-[2] lan yuʾaddi hādā[1] ʾila ᶜazli l-ʾurduni ᶜarabiyyan wa ᶜālamiyyan fi ẓilli l-ʾijmāᶜi l-ᶜarabiyyi wa l-ᶜālamiyyi l-qāʾimi ḥawla hāda l-mawḍūᶜ.# (Text 7: 9-6 & 7).

7-129E #If[2] the Palestinians[1]/ manage to find an alternative umbrella,// will it[1]/ not result in both the regional and international isolation of Jordan, in the light of the unanimous agreement of the Arabs and the world regarding this matter?#

7-130 #ma[1] huwa d-dawru l-mustaqbaliyyu l-ladi tasᶜā ʾilayhi ʾisrāʾīlu fi l-manṭiqa?# (Real wh-question; Text 7: 19-1)

7-130E #What/ future role will be sought by Israel in the region?#

To start with, RCs of the types illustrated in 7-123 & 124 represent the typical Hallidayan examples, in which Halliday (1967c & 1985) considers 'mā hiya' (what) the theme of 7-123, where the question is requesting the exact Iraqi demands in Kuwait, in the sense that these 'demands' are what the RC is about. In 7-124, it is the polarity of the RC that is the main concern of the RC. But I am inclined to include the grammatical subject 'al-fāᶜil' (if the RC is verbal), the surrogate subject 'nāʾib l-fāᶜil' in a passive RC, or the predicand 'al-mubtadaʾ' as also part of the theme of the RC. This inclination tallies with Halliday's formulation regarding the thematic structure of the yes/no interrogative RCs. In this respect, the RC will be requesting the polarity of the process (realized by the verb in the verbal sentence) or of an attribute (realized by the predicate (al-xabar) in the nominal sentence, with relation to the subject, the surrogate subject or the predicand. This new proposition adds a new thematic element to the yes/no interrogative RCs discussed in chapter 5 (cf. 5.3.2.2).

With regard to the discoursal function of interrogative RCs in Arabic, the analysis of the Arabic corpus identifies four main functions. Three of these functions will mainly be illustrated by rhetorical RCs, since rhetorical questions constitute the majority of occurrences in the corpus, compared with real questions.

Firstly, rhetorical questions may assert the underlying proposition of the statement that is transformed into a rhetorical question to acquire more vividness and call for more attention. In this respect, this rhetorical question can be transformed back to an assertive RC by using one of the empathic particles in Arabic. 7-126 is a typical example of this type which can be transformed into an emphatic declarative RC preceded by 'qad'.

Secondly, rhetorical questions may express the writer's incertitude regarding a certain proposition. In this respect, the rhetorical question represents a state of mind which may be entered into after seeing that the evidence provided to support a certain proposition does not lead to a firm conclusion. This can be best illustrated by example 7-128 where the second RC answers the rhetorical question in a form of a grammatical metaphor (cf. 7.6.2), expressing the deep doubt and sarcastic attitude of the writer, a Palestinian academic, towards Bush's bias and double standards.

Thirdly, rhetorical questions may be used to make a statement of evaluation (approval or disapproval) regarding some ethics, values, states, or persons. Such judgments are usually accompanied by emotional overtones and frequently imply an obligation on the part of the reader to respond with an appropriate action (cf. example 7-125 and the rest of the paragraph from which this example is extracted). In such contexts, it seems that the question form, especially the rhetorical type which is immediately followed by the answer of the inquirer himself, is used for a more polite or less direct way of a blame, a rebuke or even a command, and hence acts on the reader in a way that would persuade him and maintain the social relationship by balancing the reader and writer 'face' needs. Or as Frank (1990, p. 738) puts it:

> The value of rhetorical questions lies in their capacity to serve a dual purpose; by strengthening assertions and mitigating potential threat to face, they enable people to win an argument (short term), while not jeopardising a relationship (long term)[48].

It should be emphasised that rhetorical questions that evaluate (7-127) differ from those that express certitude (7-126) in that the former expresses an opinion as to whether an action or an attitude is right or wrong, good or bad.

The last discoursal function identified is that of introducing a new topic to the discourse (cf. 7.3.4) or a new aspect of the current overall topic of discourse or portion of that discourse. A clear example for illustrating this function is 7-130 in which

"Israel's future role in the region", a new aspect of the overall topic of the text (America's shared interest with Israel) is introduced as the initial RC of paragraph 19 of the text 7 of the corpus, and is developed throughout the remaining portion of the text.

In all these functions, the question form itself seems to have an implication in the Arabic SLTs as well as their English TLTs (cf. note 47); it is, as indicated earlier more vivid, more vocal and demands more attention on the part of the reader

With regard to translating Arabic interrogative RCs into English, the rendition was complete, including the preservation of the thematic structure of such RCs. This seems natural since, as we indicated earlier, the interrogative form with its two main types is a universal linguistic phenomenon that exists in all languages (compare tables 7-5 with 7-5E, appendix F).

However, there is a possibility of losing some of the sense/content of a number of Arabic rhetorical questions, if they are rendered by mistake as real ones. This process may result in losing some elements of the implicit intended meanings of the writer. The division of the first RC of 7-127 into a rhetorical RC in an it-cleft rhetorical form which highlights the cataphoric theme 'it' (= people and countries), and a statement with theme being the anaphoric demonstrative 'this', has lessened the element of scorn and ridicule, which constitute the dominant sense and intention of the writer, and are well expressed by the use of the vocative particle 'yā' (standarly used to informally address someone who stands at a close distance from the speaker[49]) to address the President of the most powerful nation on Earth. Apart from examples of this nature, the rendition of rhetorical RCs into Arabic and the preservation and highlighting of the their thematic structure by using a corresponding it-cleft question is nearly complete, although this typically results in losing some of their underlying motivations.

7.9.5 **Marked and Glossed Themes**

Among the three basic grammatical methods of emphasising a proposition in Arabic, namely the 'pure' nominal RC, the emphatic particles and the nominal RC with a verbal predication (cf. al-Hāshmī 1978, al-Jurjānī 1988 & ᶜabbās 1989), only the latter

and the emphatic particle '*ammā' (*as for, with regard, as far as . . ., etc.*) will, respectively, be considered with regard to marked and glossed themes in Standard Arabic (SA). With regard to nominal RCs with a verbal predication/rheme (SVO word order), ᶜabbas (1989, p. 121) points out that the preposed NP (a mubtada*/predicand) in such a sentence is a 'fāᶜil min hayṯi l-maᶜnā' ('a subject in meaning/content', e.g., 'the one who does the deed' in Halliday's systemic terms). In this respect, SVO word order in Arabic, in which the preposed NP acts as 'fāᶜil bi-l-maᶜnā' (subject-in-meaning), a'nā*ib fāᶜil' (surrogate subject) or even a 'mafᶜūl bihi' (first, second or third object in other marked word order of Arabic like OVS and SOV, which are rare in formal written genres of Arabic) can be considered as the theme of the RC in question, in the sense of 'what the RC is about'. As for '*ammā', (called '*ammā š-sarṯiyya' 'the conditional' by grammarians and rhetoricians alike), the NP accompanying it will, as already been discussed earlier and will be illustrated in more detail below (cf. 7.3.5), be considered a glossed theme[50].

In analysing the Arabic corpus, 98 nominal RCs (26% of the overall total) with a verbal predication (rheme) and 9 other RCs (2% of the overall total), predominantly of predicate-subject (PS) and other types word order, were identified, in which the preposed subject-in-meaning NP acts as its marked theme (cf. appendix G, table 10). This view is not only supported by rhetoricians, as indicated above, but also the Kufan grammatical school (cf. 5.2.2). In following the argument and the methods by which each of the writers of the corpus manages these political texts, most of these RCs are used to substantiate proposed hypotheses. This is to be expected, since substantiation has to be more emphatic than the proposed hypothesis because a substantiative RC has to be stronger to stand the challenge of its validity, or truth (a hypothesis of an argument in Arabic is usually presented in a 'plain' verbal sentence: plain in the sense that it does not contain any strong emphatic particle). In this respect, I believe that an RC with a marked theme will resist that challenge more than merely a 'plain' verbal RC. In this sense, the challenge may be weakened further, if such substantiated RCs are being structured in a parallel pattern, as in:

7-131 #*aᶜtaqidu (0=*an*=I=[1]) // *an bi-*mkani-nā(=naḥnu=[1]) *an naṣūnahā wa nabniya ᶜalayhā *idā tawaṣṣalnā ila taswiyatin silmiyyatin fi *iṭārin ᶜarabiyyin taqbaluhā l-*aṭrāfu l-ᶜarabiyyatu l-maᶜniyya# #taswiyatun[1]/tuḥtaramu fīhā . . .# #taswiyatun[1] /tu*akkidu . . . .# #taswiyatun/ tubayyinu . . . .# (Text 6:

12-11, 12 & 13)

7-131E #I[1] believe// that[1] it[2] is within our capacity[2] to protect and build on these achievements if we are able to achieve a peaceful resolution within an Arab framework__ a resolution which is . . . , a resolution which . . . a resolution which . . . .#

As for the translation of marked RCs from Arabic to English, the rendition is complete because the SVO word order, while marked in Arabic, is the unmarked word order of English. Thus, the situation is normal in English, since we are dealing with a word order that starts with the grammatical subject, unless, of course, the word order of the Arabic language is other than SVO (SOV, OVS, for example), which, in such a case, will be translated as marked in English as well.

With regard to glossed theme, 10 RCs (3% of the overall total) were identified as having such a thematic structure. As is the case with English (cf. 7.3.5), the glossed theme serves a contrastive purpose by being highlighted, and contrasted with either a prior NP that constitutes part of the rhematic field of a preceding RC, or with a another theme/topic being introduced and developed throughout the preceding portion of the text. These two contrastive functions can, respectively, be illustrated from the corpus by 7-132 and 7-133:

7-132 #wa[1] l-ḥarbu[2] ʾida[3] našabat// fa- lā buddā ʾan yaksabahā[2] fi n-nihāyati ṭarafun mahmā kānat xasāʾiruh# #ʾammā[1] l-xāsiru l-ḥaqīqiyuu fīhā[2]//fa-sanakūnu naḥnu l-ᶜarabu, l-muʾminīna bi-ḥaqi ʾummatinā fi l-ḥayāti siwaʾun kunnā fil l-ᶜirāqi aw fi ʾayyati buqᶜatin min waṭaninā l-ᶜarabiyyi l-kabīr# (Text 6: 12-1 & 2)

7-132E #The war, if it should start,/ will inevitably by won in the end by one side, no matter how greatly the loses that side suffers.# #But the real loser in this war/ will be ourselves, the Arabs, who believe in our nation's right to live, whether in Iraq or in any part of our great Arab nation.#

7-133 #ʾammā[1] l-maᶜnā l-ʾadaqqu wa l-ʾašmalu li-mafhūmi l-ʾistrātījiyyati s-siyāsiyyati[2]/ fa-huwa ʾixtiyāru ʾansabu l-ʾahdāfi l-lati min šaʾnihā xidmati maṣlaḥati d-dawlati ḍimna mā yatawaffaru lahā min ʾimkānātin wa ḍimna mā huwa qāʾimun min muᶜṭayātin fi l-muḥīṭi d-duwaliyyi min furaṣin yumkinu ʾistiġlāluhā aw ᶜawāʾiqa yajibu qubūluhā aw yumkinu taxaṭṭīyhā# (Text 9: 5-1)

7-133E #In contrast to this[1], political strategy in its more precise and comprehensive sense[2]/ is the selection of the best available objectives to serve national interests within the state's capabilities, and the existing international situation,

including opportunities to be seized and obstacles to be either acknowledged or avoided.#

In 7-132, the glossed theme in the second RC (' ʾammā l-xāsiru l-haqīqiyu fīhā'; 'But the real loser in this war') is used by his Majesty to contrast with that of 'aṭ-ṭaraf' (the side/party) which will in the end win the war, presented part of the rheme of the preceding RC. Thus, by drawing this contrast, his Majesty was trying, among the many methods he adopted in managing the discourse as realised by his letter, to persuade President S. Hussein not to go on with this adventure, which, in either case (whether he loses or 'wins') will result not only in the destruction of Iraq but of the Arab World as a whole. In 7-133, on the other hand, the glossed theme (ʾammā l-maᶜnā l-ʾadaqqu wa l-ʾašmalu li-mafhūmi l-ʾīstrātījiyyati s-siyāsiyyati; In contrast to this, political strategy in its more precise and comprehensive sense) contrasts with an earlier theme which has been developed over the preceding two paragraphs, and namely 'al-maᶜnā ḍ-ḍayyiq li-mafhūm l-ʾistrātījiyyati s-syāsiyya' (the narrow concept of political strategy). All these sub-topics are finally integrated into one whole conclusive solution to the problem presented as the theme of the first RC of the text (cf. example 7-116), which is spelled out as the theme of the initial RC of the last paragraph of the article: 'takmunu maşlaḥatu ʾisrāʾīlu l-ᶜulyā ʾidan fi taṭbīᶜi ᶜilāqātihā maᶜa jirānihā . . . .#

Compared with the 'over-rendition' of Arabic RCs with glossed theme when translating from English, the rendition of English RCs when translating from Arabic was marginal because, out of the 10 Arabic RCs, only one is rendered into English with a typical glossed theme form like '*As for* . . .', or *As far as* . . . etc. (compare tables 7-1 & 7-1A of appendix E with table 7-5 & 7-5E of appendix F). However, although the English rendition of the Arabic RCs has 'cooled down' the emotive element which is made more explicit in Arabic political discourse through the use of ' ʾammā', the element of contrast, as a major function of glossed themes in both languages, is maintained by other means than glossing the theme in the TLTs. As indicated earlier (cf. 7.3.5), the only time such glossing of thematic structure of English RCs as a SL is when the writer wants the reader to get involved in order to 'solidify' the writer's view point. Thus, Chomsky and Kaldor (cf. table 7-1) seem to be more emotive, and 'down-to-earth', and thus 'more interactive in style' , in their appeal to the readership than the other three writers of the English corpus. In Arabic, on the other hand, it seems that

the emotive element is virtually an inherent characteristic of Arabic political discourse, and consequently of the Arab mentality, especially in such a topic like the Gulf war. In this respect one dares to say that Arabic political discourse sounds more interactive in style and more down-to-earth than that of English. This proposition is supported by the fact that out of 875 RCs of English, only 16 RCs with glossed theme were identified, whereas out of 382 RCs of Arabic 10 RC were identified, and in the number of translated RCs into the TLTs of English and Arabic (again compare tables 7-1 & 7-1A of appendix E with Tables 7-5 & 7-5E of appendix F[51]).

Thus, whereas the elements of emotiveness in the Arabic RCs with glossed themes are not rendered in the English TLTs, the elements of contrastiveness are almost completely rendered into English via textual means. These means include adversative conjunctions such as '*but*' and '*however*', explicit contrastive and discoursal/textual adjuncts like '*on the one hand*', '*on the other*', '*in contrast to/with*' '*meanwhile*', *etc.*

There is, however, one occurrence of a glossed thematic structure in Arabic that has been rendered by the translator as a glossed theme in English. This is:

7-134 #min jihatihi-m [1]./ yaqūlu l-ʾisrāʾīliyūna l-likudiyyuna:ʾanna l-filasṭīniyya[1] l-jayyida huwa l-filasṭīniyu l-mayyit# (Text 8: 6-9)

7-134E #As far as the Likud are concerned[1]/, the good Palestinian is a dead Palestinian.#

In 7-134, the translator rendered both the emotive and the contrastive elements of the Arabic RC. This is because the translator, whether a native speaker or even an Arab, is facing a situation in Arabic similar to what Halliday (1967c & 1985) calls substitutive theme (cf. 3.6.4.2), where a NP (usually a subject) is introduced as a cataphoric pronoun 'hum' (they= the Likud in 7-134) and then picked up later in the main structure of the RC as its theme.

The only RC in the Arabic corpus with a glossed theme in which neither the element of contrastiveness, nor that of emotiveness or even the theme, is rendered in translation is the following:

7-135 #ʾammā l-maşlaḥatu t-tāniyyatu fi quwwati ʾisrāʾīl[1]/ fa-takmunu fi taqyīdi ʾayyati dawlatin ᶜarabiyyatin yakūnu lahā ţumūḥu l-burūzi kadawlatin qāʾidatin aw tasᶜa ʾila ʾimtilāki l-qudrati ᶜala taġyīri l-waḍᶜi l-qāʾimi aw tahdīdi l-wujūd aw l-maşāliḥa l-ʾamrīkyyati fi l-mintaqati wa fi ʾidᶜāfi hādihi l-quwwati aw darbihā ᶜinda l-luzūm# (Text 7: 5-7).

7-135E #America/ also had an interest in maintaining Israeli power[0], because this allowed it to constrain and weaken any Arab state which aspired to regional leadership and tried to acquire the military capability to change the status quo, or to threaten the US or its interests in the region, by attacking that Arab state if necessary.#

As I see it, one reason that might have prevented the translator from rendering the elements of emotiveness, contrastiveness, and to some extent, the glossed theme as a whole, and consider this RC as additive to the one preceding it has to do with the argument technique which the writer of the SLT adopted in managing the discourse, e.g a through-argument" (Hatim & Mason 1990; cf. 6.2.1), and which, the translator was trying to follow. Another reason, however, is the difficulty of finding a lexical equivalent of the Arabic verb 'takmunu' (this point was extensively discussed with a well-informed Arabist). According to this technique of argumentation, in which a hypothesis is proposed and then substantiated, the main hypothesis of the article is 'America's shared interest with Israeli military power' is supported by two substantiating interests: that of waging a 'proxy' war a gainst the former Soviet Union, and that of the contents of 7-135 above. But this does not ignore the fact that the theme in the Arabic RC is 'America's second interest in the Israeli military power' which has been down graded into the rhematic field of the TL RC, and only the NP 'America' is shown as the theme of 7-135E. Thus, it seems that the translator allows himself the freedom of sacrificing the thematic structure of the SLT in order to follow the argumentative technique adopted in the SLT.

7.10 **Optional Theme Selections in the Arabic SLTs**

As is the case in English, a number of Rc's in Arabic provide a choice of selecting a certain element as its theme, in the Hallidayan sense of 'what the clause about'. The predominant optional thematic selection in such RCs is that of subject-as-theme. Like English also, these optional RCs constructions in Arabic include identificational and wh-cleft equivalents, it-cleft equivalents, existential RC equivalents and RCs with substituted/extraposed/delayed (right-dislocated) theme. Halliday's reference (left-dislocated) theme is not considered because, as is the case in English, none of the RCs in the Arabic corpus was identified as having such a thematic

structure. This is, of course, natural, since written political discourse is a very formal genre in both languages.

7.10.1 Theme of Identificational and Pseudo/Wh-cleft Equivalent RCs

In analysing the Arabic corpus, a total of 16 RCs (4% of the overall corpus) were identified as either of Halliday's identificational or wh-cleft equivalents (only 3 RCs of the latter type). These types of equational RCs were identified and determined on the basis of the following criteria: 5 RCs by the presence of the 'pronoun of separation' (damīr al-faṣl), 10 RCs by the presence of the verb 'to be' (kāna) and 1 by the presence of the highlighted demonstrative particle 'this' (ʿism al-ʿišāra: 'hāḏa') (cf. 5.4., 5.5 & 7.4.1).

As is the case in English, identificational and wh-cleft RC equivalents in Arabic have the discoursal function of highlighting the theme in the way the speaker/reader intends. The RC having such a thematic construction can be identified in various positions of the text or portion of it, e.g. a paragraph. When in final position, such RCs sum up the preceding argument, either within that paragraph or of the text as a whole, as in:

7-136 #wa[1] hāḏa mā ʿarjūhu min[2]/ṣamīmi fuʿādi# (wh-cleft equivalent; Text 6: 14-2)

7-136E #From the bottom of heart[1], I [2]/ hope for your response.

In 7-136, his Majesty, king Hussein, sums up what he needs to say to President Saddam Hussein, in a very emphatic and emotional tune, regarding the latter's positive response to his Majesty various 'real and rhetorical questions' posed throughout the letter, particularly the one posed preceding this RC. Through this wh-cleft equivalent with its highlighted theme, the demonstrative particle, which according to Halliday (1967a, 1967c), rarely occurs as focused, unless contrastive (in this context it is contrastive; cf. 3.6.1), his Majesty was able to highlight the positive polarity of a 'hoped-for' response.

When this type of equational RC occurs within the main body of the text or portions of it, it usually substantiates a proposed hypothesis suggested by the writer, by placing some aspect of it in a thematic position, and thus highlighting and supporting

this hypothesis, as in:

7-137 #laqad takaššafat l-ʾazmatu[1] ᶜan ḥaqāʾiqa kaṯīra# # kāna ʾakṯaruhā marāratan ᶜala n-nafsi[1]/ mā t-taḍaḥa lī min ʾannanī wa baladi kunnā farīsatan li-ᶜamaliyyati dassin raxīşatin lada ᶜadadin min ʾašiqqāʾinā# #wa[1] qad kāna ʾabṯālu ᶜamaliyyati ḍ-ḍasi hāḏi[2]/ ᶜadadan min ʾixwāninā l-ᶜarabi mimman kānū mawḍiᶜa ṯ-ṯiqati wa t-taqdīri bi-mušārakati l-baᶜḍi min xāriji l-minṭaqati, l-ʾamru l-laḏi fassara lanā l-kaṯīra min l-mawāqifi l-muᶜādiyyati lanā# (Text 6 :14-1, 2 & 3)

7-137E #This crisis/ has revealed many facts, the most bitter of which was that my country and myself were the victims of cheap intrigues carried out by our brothers.# #The 'heroes' of these intrigues/ were a group of our brothers in collaboration with others from outside the area__ something largely explains the hostile attitudes towards us.#

In 7-137, the second RC, a wh-cleft equivalent, is used by his Majesty to substantiate the hypothesis proposed in the initial RC. Although this RC is of the unmarked VSO word order in Arabic, it is emphatic due to the presence of the emphatic particle 'qad' (cf. 5.5.2).

The most emphatic type of equational RCs, whether identificational or wh-equivalent, is the one accompanied by the pronoun of separation (damīr al-faşl). From the corpus, this can be identified as follows:

7-138 #al-ḥaqīqatu l-ʾūlā[1]/ hiya (pronoun of separation) ʾanna l-quwwata lam taᶜud tuqāsu bi-l-qudrati l-ᶜaskariyya# #wa[1]-hāḏa[2]/ huwa (pronoun of separation) ʾahammu mā yustaxlaşu min durūsi ş-şiraᶜi bayna š-šarqi wa l-ġarb# (Text 9: 14-1)

7-138E #First of all[1], power[2]/ cannot be measured solely in terms of military might.# #This/is the most important lesson to be drawn from the East-West conflict.

With 7-138, the writer starts wrapping up his previous argument and drawing his conclusion. For this reason he starts this paragraph with a nominal RC which is emphasized by the pronoun of separation (ḍamīr al-faşl), and follows this RC with another RC which has the same emphatic effect. These two identificational RCs were substantiated by a number of nominal rather than verbal RCs to provide the reader with more convincing evidence (cf. text 9:19).

From a translation perspective, the rendition, and hence the preservation of the thematic structure of the SL RCs is partial because only 12 out of the 16 equational RCs were rendered in the TLs (compare Tables 7-5 with 7-5E, Appendix F). The

remaining 4 RCs were rendered with a logical or spatial adjuncts as marked theme, which I consider as marked-scene-setters, followed by the grammatical subject as their unmarked theme in the sense of Halliday's concept of theme as 'what the RC is about'. (cf. 7-136 & 138). One of these RCs, however, is rendered as a passivized RC (cf. 7.9.1.1):

7-139 #wa[1] l-ḥaqīqatu ṯ-ṯāniyatu[2]/ hiya ʾanna ʾisrāʾīla maᶜzūlatun ᶜan muḥīṭihā s-siyāsiyyi l-ʾiqlīmiyyi ḥāliyyan wa maḥrūmatan tamāman mina l-xayārāti s-siyāsiyyati bi-sababi ṣ-ṣirāᶜi l-marīri maᶜa d-duwali l-ᶜarabiyyati wa l-ʾiᶜtimādi ᶜala l-quwwati l-ᶜaskariyya fi ʾidārati hāḏā ṣ-ṣirāᶜ# (Text 7: 10-1)

7-139E #Secondly[1]/, as[2] things[3] stand//, Israel[1]/ is isolated from its regional political environment, and is deprived of any political options as a result of its bitter conflict with the Arab states, and its total reliance on military power in dealing with this conflict.

Those four RCs that were not rendered as equational, and thus with less emphatic and highlighted force than that of the SL (although the overall predication is still emphatic by placing cognitive adjuncts in a marked position) are the ones that contain the 'pronoun of separation' in Arabic (ḍamīr al-faṣl). In this respect, it can be concluded that even in its equational equivalent form of RCs, Arabic (Standard Arabic) is more emotive than English, although both can present a highlighted cognitive theme by exclusiveness (cf. 3.6.3, 5.4, 5.5 & 7.4.1).

7.10.2 **Predicated Theme (It-Cleft Equivalent RCs)**

In analysing the Arabic corpus, 6 RCs (2% of the overall total) were identified as equivalent to English it-clefts that have what Halliday (1985) calls a predicated theme on the basis of both syntactic and pragmatic/discoursal criteria. From the syntactic perspective, they are identified as such because of the presence of either the emphatic particle ''inna' connected to the 'pronoun of status' (ḍamīr aš-šaʾan) in a nominal sentence, or the presence of the pronoun of separation (ḍamīr al-faṣl) which separates the 'mubtada'/predicand (theme/topic) from the 'xabar'/predicate (rheme/comment). From a pragmatic/discoursal view point, they function very similarly to those of English, in highlighting the theme of the RC by exclusiveness, summing up an argument and thus act as a turning point in the text, e.g. orient the reader to get

ready to shift his attention from the current sub-topic to another. It is because of the latter function, they usually come at the end of the paragraphs of the text. In all these functions, they serve the reader by drawing his attention to interpret a certain proposition, in exactly the same way the writer intends. The constructional and the functional criteria can be illustrated from the corpus in the following:

7-140 #wa[1] hāḏā[2]/ mā yufassiru t-tāwāfuqa d-dawliyya wa wuqūfa l-ᶜālami warāʾa l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati l-lati naᶜlamu jamīᶜan ʾanna lahā ʾaġrādan mubayyatatan ġayra hadafihā l-muᶜlani bi-taḥqīqi ʾinsihābi l-ᶜirāqi mina l-kuwayti wa ᶜawdati š-šarᶜiyyati lahā# (Text 6: 8-4)

7-140E #It is this/ which explains the widespread acceptance and support of the international community for the position of the United States, which, as we all know, has its own hidden agenda, which is quite different from its stated objective of achieving an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the restoration of the legitimate government.#

7-141 #fa[1] š-šaᶜbu l-filisṭīyniyyu 'huwa'(= pronoun of separation) ṣāhibu l-ḥaqqi fi ʾixtiyāri qiyādatihi wa fi taṣnifihā# (Text 8: 6-7)

7-141E #It is the Palestinians alone/ who have the right to choose, criticise, and categorize their leaders.#

7-142 #wa[3] bi-mᶜnā ʾāxar[1] fa-ʾinna-'hā'(= pronoun of status) l-xasāratun hāʾilatun li-s-siyāsati l-ʾiqlīmiyyati l-ʾamrīkiyyati[2] ʾan yakuna la-hā[2] dawlatun ḥalīfatan muxliṣatun tamliku quwwatan ᶜaskariyyatan ḍaxmatan tataḥammalu l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu ᶜibʾan ʾiqtiṣādiyyan kabīran li-daᶜmihā lākinnahā mahrūmatan min ʾistiᶜmālihā fi ʾayyi dawrin ʾiqlīmiyyin faᶜᶜāl# (Text 7: 11-6).

7-142E #In other words[1], American regional policy[2]/ is severely hampered by the fact that its most loyal ally, Israel, possesses huge military power, and yet is deprived of the means to use this power in settling any regional dispute.#

All three examples serve the discoursal functions outlined above. By placing the focus of the RC on the demonstrative particle 'this' (hāḏā) (cf. 7.10.1), the reader (in this context President Saddam Hussein), is steered by the writer, his Majesty King Hussein, to refer to the preceding context to explain what 'this' means to him, the writer, and how he intends the reader to interpret it. In this respect, 'this' means 'the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force', the 'dangers of any negligence in complying with this international principle' in the Middle East, especially with regard to Israel which, if this principle is neglected, will threaten 'the very

existence of Jordan', in addition to the fact that it represents a breach of 'the Arab consensus'. All these factors are summed up by 'this' in the exclusive sense: 'these factors and nothing else are what his Majesty is taking about'. In addition to summing up and concluding his Majesty's argument up to that point in the text, 7-140 also orients the reader towards a new sup-topic, e.g. 'the fear of the Arab peoples for Iraq'.

With regard to the rendition of such RCs, and consequently their highlighted thematic structure, this rendition is partial. The reason for this has also to do with the same factor, inherent in Arabic political discourse, namely emotiveness and 'down-to-earth' style (cf. 7.9.5 & 7.10.1). This is the reason why the theme of 7-142 'l-xasāratun hā'ilatun li-s-siyāsati l'iqlīmiyyati l'amrīkiyyati' (the theme of the RC in the sense of what 'we are talking about) is translated as an unmarked theme. However, there are a number of rhetorical questions in the Arabic corpus (cf. 7.9.4) that were rendered as it-cleft equivalent interrogative RCs. I believe this was done by the translator to place the information focus on the NP to which the cataphoric '*it*' refers to, as in:

7-143 #'a-lysa[1]/ ṣaḥīḥan // 'anna-hum(= 'an-nāsa wa d-duwala[1]) yataḥāwarūna ᶜindamā yaxtalifūna aw yataṣāraᶜūn# (Text 8: 4-8)

7-143E #Is it[1] not true[1]// that people negotiate[1] when they are in dispute with one an other?

Unlike identificational and wh-cleft equivalents, Arabic it-clefts equivalents are translated into English it-clefts; they will maintain their Arabic emotive element through the thematic contrastive focus of the theme in the TL. Like English, however, it-cleft equivalent RCs are infrequent in political discourse.

7.10.3 **Thematic Structure of Equivalent Existential RCs with 'There'**

In analysing the Arabic corpus, 15 RC (4% of the overall total) were identified as being equivalent existential to English RCs with 'there'. This was determined on the basis of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic criteria. In addition to these 15 RCs, a total of 6 dependent clauses were identified as having generally similar characteristics; these either constitute the theme of that dependent clause, e.g in conditional RCs, or part of the rhematic of field of the RC in question. From a syntactio-semantic perspective, these existential 'there' equivalent RCs were identified for various reasons. Firstly, a

verbal RC is identified in the corpus as being of the existential type either if starts with the positive passive verb of existence 'yūjadu' (there is) which asserts both existence and location (cf. 7.4.3), its negative counterpart (usually preceded by the negative particle 'lā ʾan-nāfiya' in Arabic), or by the presence of those verbs, which Quirk et. al (1985; cf. also 7.4.3) semantically categorizes as verbs 'of motion/ appearance into the scene (the stage), of inception/creation and of stance'. In all these instances, the subject, definite or indefinite, (in this case the surrogate subject 'nāʾib al-fāʿil', since the verb is predominantly in the passive form or, to use Halliday systemic term in the receptive mood) is made the point of focus and attention, by acting as the theme of such RC, in the sense of 'what the RC is about'.

Secondly, a nominal RC is identified as being existential-equivalent by the presence of the demonstrative pronoun 'hunāka' (there is) which asserts both existence and location of the entity in question. This entity, realised as a definite or indefinite NP, act as the rheme of the RC, and in this case, receives, what Halliday calls, "the unmarked focus" of the information unit whether such RC consists of one or more such units (cf. 3.6.1)

Thirdly, a few of these existential-equivalent RCs were identified on the basis of having the existence of their focused entities asserted by a spatial adjunct (usually realized as a prepositional phrase in which such entities are contained). These three methods of realising existential-equivalent RCs in Arabic, and consequently their marked thematic structure, can be respectively illustrated from the corpus as follows:

1. **The First Type:**

7-144 #kadālika[1] tūjadu darajatun ʿāliyyatun mina t-tanāqudi fi l-maṣālihi bayna l-jānibi l-ʾamrīkiyyi wa l-ʾisrāʾīliyyi[2]/ nastaṭīʿu ʾayḍan ʾistiġlālahā wa taʿmīqahā# (Text 9: 17-2)

7-144E #Furthermore[1], there is also a certain degree of conflict between the US and Israel[2]/, which the Arabs can exploit and deepen.#

7-145 #fa-[1] lā yūjadu ʾit-tiḥādun sūfyātiyun[2] yardaʿu ʾisrāʾīla wa yadʿamu l-juhūda d-difāʿiy l-ʿarabiy# #wa-[1] lā tūjadu quwwatun ʿaskariyyatun ʿirāqiyyatun kānat tuxīfu ʾisrāʾīl# (Text 7: 15-2&3)

7-145E #The Soviet Union/ is no longer present to deter Israel and to bolster Arab defences,# #and Iraq/ no longer has the military power to intimidate Israel.#

7-146 #wa[1] fi zilli hādihi l-ʾajwāʾi[2], wa[3] maᶜa bawākīri l-ʾamali wa l-waᶜdi l-jadīdi[3] taʾti ʾazmatu l-xalīji bi-š-šakli l-ladi taṭwwarat ʾilayhi[4] litamtahina l-ᶜālama fi tawajjuhihi wa nuzūᶜih# (Text 6: 2-1)

7-146E #As this new situation[2]/ began to emerge, and with it[5] (0= emerges)/ the first signs of a new era of hope and promise[3],// the current crisis[5]/ erupted in the Gulf, developing in such a way as to constitute the first real test of the intentions of the world community.

2. **The Second Type:**

7-147 #wa kamā[1] taᶜlam(0) (= ʾanta= 'you'[2] // hunāka[1] ʾijmāᶜun ᶜarabiyyun ᶜala t-tamassuki bi-hāda l-mabda ʾ l-ladi yaqḍī ᶜadama l-qubūli bi-ʾijrāʾāti ḍ-ḍammi wa bi-xāṣṣatan ʾidā ʾaddat ʾila ʾizālati dawlatin qāʾimatin ᶜuḍwin fi l-jāmiᶜati l-ᶜarabiyyati wa l-ʾumami l-muttaḥida# (Text 6: 8-2)

7-147E #As[1] you[2]/ know,// there[1] is an Arab consensus regarding adherence to this principle,[2]/ which states the unacceptability of the acquisition of territory by force, especially if it leads to the elimination of a state which is a member of the Arab League and the United Nations.

3. **The Third Type:**

7-148 #. . . wa[1] ʾanna fi l-munaẓẓamati baᶜda l-jayyidīn[2] . . . .# (Text 8: 2-1)

7-148E #There[2]/ remained, however, some good people[2] within the PLO; . . . .#

7-149 #wa[1] fi t-tārīxi[2] katīrun min l-ʾamṯilati[3] ᶜala l-fāʾidati l-kabīrati l-lati janathā duwalun ʾistaṭāᶜat ʾan tataᶜāmala maᶜa l-ᶜālami bi-wāqiᶜiyya# (Text 9: 6-6)

7-149E #There[3] are many example in modern history[2]/ of the great benefits gained by countries which were able to deal with the world in a realistic and flexible manner.

From a discoursal view point, all of the examples above serve, in addition to confirming the existence of their focused entity realised as a NP whether theme or rheme, to introduce a new topic into the discourse as the theme of the RC which is introduced as a new hypothesis, and to substantiate that hypothesis. An illustrative example of the latter function is example 7-145, in which the two existential equivalent RCs substantiate the proposed hypothesis introduced as the theme of the first RC of paragraph 15, text 7; namely 'the creation of a dangerous and unstable situation in the Middle East, which comes as a result of the end of the cold war, and the abandonment of Egypt of the struggle against Israel'. This hypothesis is substantiated by the two

negative existential equivalent RCs of 7-145, which has the indefinite and focused NP underlined in the example above: 'the Soviet Union and Iraqi military power which are not present to deter Israel'. What applies to 7-145 applies to the first RC of text 9, (not part of the illustration) where the verb 'tašhadu' (witness) is followed by two substantiating nominal RCs starting with the demonstrative pronoun 'hunāka' (here; there is).

In rendering this type of existential-equivalent RC into English, the translator has a wider range, and hence more freedom to translate than he does with the translation of English existential RCs into Arabic. Thus the rendition is complete with regard to the various functions of such RCs, e.g. assertion of existence, location and the various discoursal functions outlined in 7.4.3 above. There remains, however, the fact that some of the existential RCs, mainly the nominal type, that contain 'there' in its negative form, were not rendered with 'there' as the grammatical subject (hence the theme) of the RC, as they were in the Arabic nominal RC. Instead, the focused NP, which used to act as the rheme of the Arabic Nominal RC, is now upgraded to be the unmarked theme of the TL RC, in a typical English SVO word order:

7-150 #fa-[1] hunāka[2] šarīḥatun min n-nuwwābi tuᶜāriḍu l-ʾinḍimāma ʾila hāḏihi l-mufāwaḍāt ᶜala ʾasāsi ʾanna s-salāma fi ẓilli ẓurūfi ᶜadami takāfu ʾi fi mīzāni l-quwā lā yaᶜnī ʾilla l-ʾistislām# (Text 9: 1-2)

7-150E One group of MP's/ opposes Jordan's participation on the basis that the imbalance of power between the parties means that such participation is equivalent to surrender.

Thus, from a stylistic view point, it seems, that the translator ignores the existential-equivalent 'there' of Arabic, and opts for the typical SVO word order, so long as the semantic, the pragmatic, and the discoursal functions of the SL RC are fulfilled (cf. the contrastive use of '*One group of MP's*' in 150E); something which, I believe, is restricted in Arabic.

7.10.4 **RCs with Substituted/Extraposed/Delayed Theme**

In analysing the Arabic corpus, 11 RCs (3% of the overall total) were identified as equivalent to the English formulation illustrated in 7.9.4 above. They mainly consist of those RCs whose word order (WO) is neither the unmarked VSO WO of the verbal

RC, or its marked SVO WO (from a syntactic perspective, SVO WO, as indicated earlier, can also be considered that of a nominal RC with a verbal predication; cf. table 9 & 10 of Appendix G). Nor is the WO the unmarked SP WO of the nominal RC. Rather, it is either that of the marked VOS of the verbal RC, or that of 'predicate - subject' (PS) of the nominal RC. In either type of WO, however, the theme, in the sense of 'what the RC is about', is postponed to a later position, hence the similarity with that of the English RCs. As in English also, the initial thematic slot is either occupied, in the case of nominal RC, by the cataphoric 'pronoun of status' ('damīr aš-ša'an'; usually annexed to the emphatic particle 'inna), or unlike English it may be occupied by the rheme itself in some cases of nominal RCs and most cases of verbal RCs:

7-151 #ma'a 'anna-hu[1] (pronoun of status) mina ṣ-ṣa'bi jiddan wa s-sābiqi l-i'awānihi 'at-tanabbu'u bimā saya'ūlu 'ilayhi n-niẓāmu s-siyāsiyyi fi nihāyati l-maṭāf[1]// 'illa 'anna-hu[1] (pronoun of status) mina l-mumkini 'ibrāzu majmū'atin mina l-ḥaqā'iqi wa t-tawābiti l-lati lā budda mina t-twaqqufi 'alayhā wa t-ta'āmuli ma'ahā[1]# (Text 7: 13-1)

7-151E #Although it[1] is both extremely difficult and premature to predict what will ultimately happen to the international world order[1],// it[1] is, however, possible to identify a number of well-defined facts which need to be discussed and clarified[1].#

7-152 #fa-[1] mina l-wāḍiḥi 'anna l-mintaqata lam takun makšūfatan tamāman . . . .# (Text 7: 6-2)

7-152E #It[1]/ is obvious that the region was not left completely exposed during the cold war period[1], and . . . .#

7-153 #fa[1] kāna wāḍiḥan li-l-jānibi l-'amrīkiyyi 'anna 'ayya tadaxxulin min qibali 'isrā'īla min ša'nihi 'an yu'addiya 'ila natā'ija 'aksiyya[2] . . . .# (Text 7: 8-4)

7-153E #It[2] was therefore clear to the US that any direct intervention by Israel would have serious negative consequences, ...[1]#

As outlined above (cf. 7.9.4), Arabic RCs with delayed themes serve the same two discoursal functions as those of English. The first of these is the postponement of a propositional theme, which I can now say is an additional salient feature of political discourse, added to the ones proposed by the critical linguists (cf. 6.5.4), and thus receives Halliday's (1967c & elsewhere) unmarked focus, as can be illustrated by

almost all the occurrences of the corpus, including 7-151, 152, 153 & 154 below. The second function, that of answering implied questions by the writer in the course of his argument, can be illustrated from the corpus as follows:

7-154 #wa-[1] fi hāda s-siyāq[2] bāta (0= ʾal ʾamru[3]) wāḍiḥan// ʾanna r-raʾīsa l-filasṭīniyya --bi-šarʿiyyatihi wa šaʿbiyyatihi wa ʿtidālihi--/ huwa (pronoun of seperation) l-muʾahahlu liqiyādati ʾawsaʿi qāʿidatin mumkinatin min ʾabnāʾi š-šaʿbi l-filasṭīniyyi wa . . . .[3]# (Text 8: 6-4)

7-154E #[0] In this respect[2], it[3] is quite clear// that by virtue of his legitimacy, popularity and moderation, the Palestinian leader/ is the best qualified person to lead the great mass of the Palestinian people, and . . . .[3]#

In 7-154, the demonstrative pronoun (hādā; 'this') of the adjunct phrase relates this RC to the two preceding RCs, in which the former is a rhetorical interrogative question, and the latter is the answer provided by the writer (cf. 7.9.4). In this respect, 7-154, can be said to be functioning as a substantiation to the second RC, and hence an answer to an explicit question. However, it can also be said, that it can also be an answer of an implied rhetorical question: 'but who is the true representative (or head of state, if you like) of the Palestinians?; and, in this case, the answer comes from 7-154 (It is Arafat for the time being!).

Unlike in English, however, the formal function of a substituted RCs with delayed themes (together with the cleft and existential RCs) is not meant to evade the VSO, SVO or SP WO, as much as it is resorted to for stylistic purposes, e.g., to give emphasis to certain elements of the RC. This is said in support of the assumption that Arabic is a 'relatively' free WO language, that is to say, Arabic can invert the structure of the WO, so long as it does not violate the rules of grammar, and so long as the message is received by the addressee. This also explains the fact why it is a 'down-to-earth' language with regard to political discourse.

With regard to the rendition of these RCs and the preservation of their thematic structure in English, the translator seems to have achieved this to a very large extent. In fact, by comparing the number and percentage of occurrences of such RCs in the SLTs and those of the TL (compare tables 7-6 & 7-6E of Appendix F), we find that the translator seems to have 'over-done' this rendition. As I see it, the main reason for this, in addition to evading the rigid SVO WO of English, is also stylistic. In this respect, the translator even renders some of the dependent RCs (jumal şuġrā)in the Arabic SLTs,

which are mainly part of the rhematic field of the RC, into independent RCs in the English TLTs; hence there are more RCs in the TLTs. I believe the main reason for this is that the translator intends to give more emphasis to certain elements of dependent clause (e.g. the relative clause in 7-155 below), and rids himself of the monotonous style of recursivity by avoiding the multiple relative clauses, although this is accepted in English. This can be illustrated from the corpus by:

7-155 #wa[1] yaᶜni hāda[2] ʾanna ṭ-ṭarafa l-ladi xalaq waḍᶜan jadīdan bi-šaklin mubāġitin wa sarīᶜin qad ḥaqqaqa makāsiba kabīratin ᶜala ḥisābi ṭ-ṭarafi l-ʾāxari l-mujarradi min l-xiyarāti ġayra xiyāri ʾistixdām l-quwwati l-ᶜaskaryyati l-ladi yaṣᶜubu l-lujūʾa lahu li-maḥādīri t-taṣᶜīdi l-lati dukirat ʾaᶜlāh# (Text 7: 2-2)

7-155E #That is to say,/ that party which has moved to create the *fait accompli* will have secured significant gains at the expense of its opponent, who is denied any other option except the use of military force.# #It[1] would, however, be very difficult to resort to such force because of the above-mentioned dangers of escalation[1].#

In 7-155, the translator prefers to split the Arabic RC, which has three recursive relative clause (starting with 'al-ladi': which) rather than revert to the same recursive style which, I believe, he considered monotonous. At the same time he was able to highlight that part of the rheme the Arabic RCs (xiyāri ʾistixdām l-quwwati l-ᶜaskariyya; 'the resort to the use of force') by placing it as a delayed-'to-infinitive'-theme, with the pronoun 'it' as its cataphoric reference. Most of the 'extra' RCs of this type in the TLTs are of this type, and are rendered this way, by the translator, for the same stylistic purpose.

7.11 Minor Themes in the Arabic SLTs

As is the case in English, non-participant type themes will also be called minor themes. They, as we indicated earlier, can co-occur in many combinations, and in various positions in the Arabic RC. Having the Hallidayan approach to their treatment in mind, I will be treating them along the same lines, as I treated their English counterparts (cf. 7.5).

7.11.1 Adjuncts-As-Themes

In classifying the equivalent cognitive circumstantial adjuncts (az-zrūf), Arab grammarians (al-Anṭākī, 1975; Hasan , 1975; & Dayf 1982) among many others, place them under the two main categories which Halliday (1985) calls temporal and spatial adjuncts (ẓurūf az-zmān wa l-makān). However, they also identify the rest of Halliday's cirmustantial adjuncts equivalents (the causal, the manner, the accompaniment/ instrument, role and matter[52]), (cf. al-Anṭākī, 1975, vol.3, pp. 122-123) when they discuss the functions of the propositional phrase and the five types of object in Arabic, which, as has already been discussed (cf. 7.5.1), constitute, with the NP following them, Halliday's cirmustantial adjuncts, and the 'setting' for the main predication. In this respect, al-Anṭākī (op. cit., p.129) defines circumstantial adjuncts as "the container in which the process takes place" (ẓurūf wiᶜāʿun li-l-hadaṯ).

In analysing the Arabic corpus for the purpose of identifying the circumstantial adjuncts of Halliday's (1985) functional grammar, 13 temporal, 5 spatial, 5 causal, 1 accompaniment, 10 matter, and 1 role adjuncts were identified. As is also the case in English, no percentage calculation was attempted since there can be more than one such adjuncts per RC, and in different combinations (cf. table 7-7 & 7-7E of Appendix F).

As already been argued in 3.6.6, and elaborated and illustrated in 7.5.1 from English, I still consider these adjuncts, following Chafe's definition (1976, p. 50; quoted in 7.5.1; cf. also 4.3) as "frameworks within which the main predication holds." (compare this definition with that of al-Anṭākī, 1975, quoted above). From a thematic perspective, therefore, I will treat them the same way as I treated the English adjuncts-as-theme, unless, of course, they are used in a metaphorical sense (cf. 7.5.1). In this respect, they be looked at from the perspective of being marked-scene-setter-themes, in the sense of being the initial element that set the stage, in terms of the framework either of the temporal, the spatial, the causal, the manner, the accompaniment, the matter or the role dimension of the RC in question (whether of material, mental or relational type process), and consequently for part of the text or for the text as a whole. These types of discourse function can be illustrated from the Arabic corpus as follows:

1. **Temporal dimension**, as in:

7-156 #wa[1] fi kulli l-ḥālāti l-mādiya[2], kamā[3] fi l-ḥālāti r-rāhinati[4], kamā[5] fi kulli l-ḥālāti l-mustaqbaliyya[6], lan yajni ʿaᶜdāʿu l-ᶜarabi wa l-ᶜarabu l-ʿaᶜdāʿu ᶜala hadin sawāʿ[7] siwā ḥaṣāda l-fašal# (Text 8: 6-2).

7-156E #This[8] is not the first time -- nor will it be the last--/ that our enemies[7] -- be they Arabs or non-Arabs--[9] have tried to impose an alternative leadership on the Palestinians.# #Every one of these attempts, whether past, present or future,[2,4,6]/ is doomed to failure.#

2. **Spatial Dimension**, as in:

7-157 #fi l-jānibi l-ʾislāmiyyi l-ᶜarīḍ[1] wa[2] l-ᶜarabiyyi l-ʾadyaq[3] wa[4] l-filasṭīniyyi l-xāṣṣ[5] fa-[6] ʾinna l-mawqifa l-ʾamrīkiyyi[7] yaqifu ᶜāriyan min ṭiyābih# (Text 10: 3-1).

7-157E #The American government[1]/ has been exposed, not only from the Islamic perspective, but also from the narrower Arab and Palestinian perspective#.

3. **Causal and Accompaniment Dimensions**, as in:

7-158 #wa[1] fi ẓilli hādihi l-ʾajwāʾi[2] wa[3] maᶜa bawākīri haqbati l-ʾamali wa l-waᶜdi l-jadīdi[4] taʾti ʾazmatu l-xalīji[5] li-tamtaḥina l-ᶜālama fi tawajjuhihi wa nuzūᶜih. . . .# (Text 6: 2-1)

7-158E #As this new situation[2] began to emerge/, and[3] with it[2] the first signs of a new era of hope and promise[4] (0= began to emerge as well),// the current crisis[5] erupted in the Gulf, developing in such a way as to constitute the first real test of the intentions of the world community.#

4. **Matter Dimension**, as in:

7-159 #ʾamma bi-nisbati li-l-xaṭari l-ʾiqlīmiyyi[1] fa-huwa (pronuon of separation) bi-ḍ-ḍarūrati dū ṭabīᶜatin mahdūda . . .# (Text 7: 3-9).

7-159E A regional threat, on the other hand,[1]/ would necessarily be of a limited nature, ...#

5. **Role Dimension**, as in:

7-160 #dimna ḥamlatin ʾiᶜlāmiyyatin wajjahaṭhā ḍidda katīrin mina d-duwali l-ᶜarabiyyyati wa l-qādati l-ᶜarab[1] qālat l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu l-ʾamrīkiyyatu[2] ʾanna Yāsir ᶜarafāt qad faqad miṣdāqiyyatahu li-ʾannhu ḍahaba baᶜīdan fi taʾyīdi Ṣaddām Ḥusayn wa l-ᶜirāq# (Text 10: 1-1)

7-160E #As part of its current media campaign against various Arab states and their leaders[1], the US[2]/ is claiming that through his ill-judged and over-enthusiastic support for Saddam Hussein, Yasir Arafat has lost all credibility.#

With regard to translating these adjunct-equivalents into English a comparison of each type of circumstantial adjunct in the SLTs and TLTs shows that the number of these adjuncts in the TLTs is higher than those of the SLTs (compare table 7-7 with 7-

7E, Appendix F). The main reason is not that the translator renders these in the SLTs plus others. In fact, he does not render all those adjuncts of the SL into equivalent adjuncts in the TL, 7-157, among some others, being a case in question. In this example, what the translator has done is to downgrade the marked metaphorical spatial adjunct of the SL into a rhematic slot, and opt for an SVO word order with a passive construction, with emphasis being placed on the 'deep' subject, in generative grammar terms, by using the emphatic construction of '*not only . . ., but also. . . .*' The real reason for having more adjuncts, however, is the fact that the translator, for stylistic reasons, has upgraded 17 extra circumstantial adjuncts (5 temporals, 5 spatials, 1 causal, and 6 of manner; cf table 7-7 & 7-7E) from their positions as complements (part of the rhematic field of the Arabic SLTs, and has placed them as marked scene-setters in the TLTs. To illustrate from the corpus, the following example is selected:

7-161 #laqad ʾaṣāba-ni(=ʾanā) wa l-ʾurdunna miṯlamā ʾaṣāba ʾixwataka fi l-yamani darrun bāliġun lā yaqillu fi ḥiddatihi ᶜammā ʾaṣāba-ka(=anta) wa ʾaṣāba l-ᶜirāqa l-ḥabīb[1]# (Text 6: 15-1)

7-161E #Like Yemen[1], Jordan and myself[2]/ have suffered as badly as you and our beloved Iraq.

By placing the theme of the RC in the marked position of an VOS word order, his Majesty intends to emphasize the 'the terrible suffering' (darrun bāliġ), the theme of his RC, which was inflicted on the three parties (Jordan and its leader and both Iraq and Yemen and their leaders). To match this, rather 'difficult-to-translate' RC with this type of WO and comparison of the three parties (involving three participants in the same process plus the inanimate participant, the theme of the RC, in Halliday's systemic terms), the translator opted for preposing 'miṯlamā ʾaṣāba ʾixwataka fi l-yaman', (like Yemen) as a comparison/manner adjunct-as-marked-theme-setting (originally part of the rheme of SL RC), and thematised 'His majesty and Jordan', rhematising 'Iraq and President S. Hussein' in order to achieve the contrast of the three parties. This results in losing both some of the emotive and rhetorical aspects of the repetition of the verb 'ʾaṣāba' (inflict) in SL; something which Arabic can achieve by using particles of comparison like 'miṯlamā' and 'kā' (like), as well as by repetition of emotive-type elements, e.g., verbs and others. For these two reasons, therefore, I still believe, that, like translating from English into Arabic, adjunct-as-themes are partially

rendered. As a result, adjuncts, cognitive and, to a larger extent non-cognitive (discoursal and modal) are still vulnerable with regard to their thematic status in translation into both languages.

7.11.1.1 Non-cognitive Adjunct-Equivalent-as-Theme

In analysing the Arabic texts, I have identified a total of 76 noncongitive-adjuncts-equivalent-as-themes (6 modal & 70 discoursal), in Halliday's (1967c & 1985) sense of the term; these I call 'initial themes' (cf. 3.6.6). As is the case in English, these serve either to show the writer's attitude towards what he is presenting (modal adjuncts) or to relate the various parts of the text to each other conjunctively or disjunctively (discoursal adjuncts), hence their cohesive function (cf. 6.3.2).

With regard to modal adjuncts, they, as indicated earlier (cf. 6.5.1.1), they can come in any position in the RC in Arabic without disturbing the systemic mood of the RC. On the other hand, discoursal adjuncts predmoninatly occupy initial position in the Arabic text in order to be able to fulfil their cohesive textual function in the texts by bringing together with other textual means (cf. Halliday, 1976) the various parts of the text into one cohesive and coherent unit. These two types of noncognitive adjuncts can be illustrated respectively from the corpus by the following examples:

7-162 #wa[1] tabᶜan[2] naḥnu[3] lā naᶜrif nawāyā r-raʾīsi l-ʾamrīkiyyi l-ḥaqīqiyya# (Text 8:2-2).

7-162E #Of course[2], we[3]/ do not know the real intentions of the US President.#

7-163 #ḥaqqan[1] ʾinna ʾamra r-raʾīsa l-ʾamrikiyyi ᶜajībun ᶜajīb.# (Text 8: 4-10).

7-163E #The US President's situation[1] is a quite extraordinary one.#

7-164 #. . . wa la-hā(=ad-duwal l-ʾurūbiyya wa l-yābān) maṣlaḥatun ʾakīdatun fi t-tawājūdi fi l-minṭaqati mimmā yajᶜalu hāḏā l-xiyāru wāridan wa wāqiᶜiyyan# (Text 7: 15-11)

7-164E #Indeed[1], the fact that these powers have a demonstrable interest in being present in the region[1]/ makes this option not only conceivable but also realistic.

7-165 #wa[1] min zāwiyatin ʾuxrā[2] kānat ad-duwalu l-xalījiyyatu[3] tuᶜāriḍu d-duwala l-yasāriyyata t-tawriyyta wa wujūda l-ʾittiḥāda s-sūfyatiyyi fi

l-minṭaqati min n-nāhiyati n-nātijati ᶜan taʾṯīrātihā s-salbiyyati l-mubāširati ᶜalayhā# (Text 7: 14-10).

6-165E #However[2], in terms of the direct negative influence the leftist states exerted[4], the GAS's[3]/ opposed these states and Soviet presence in the region.#

7-166 #. . . ʾiḍāfatan ʾila ḍuġūṭin dāxiliyyatin mutazāyidatin tunādi bi-taxṣīṣi l-mawārida l-ʾamrīkiyyati kullihā li-ʾaġrādin dāxiliyyatin maḥḍatin baᶜda ʾintihāʾi fatrati l-ḥarbi l-bāridati wa nḥiṣār l-ʾittiḥādi s-sufyātiy# (Text 7: 17-4).

7-166E #In addition[1], the end of the cold war and the falling a way of the Soviet threat[2]/ have led certain interest groups within America to press for the reallocation of all American resources for internal purposes.#

As is the case in translating cognitive-equivalent adjuncts, the translation of the noncognitive is also partial, although the number of these in the TLT is far higher than in the SLTs (compare tables 7-8 & 7-8E of appendix F). Again, the reasons for such rendition, and the argument supporting them with regard to cognitive adjuncts also applies here. Although the overall proportion of RCs of this type in the SLTs and the TLTs is small (13 RCs in total), these extra RCs in English require cohesive devices of some kind to relate them to the overall text, hence more discoursal adjuncts in the TLTs. With regard to 7-166E, for instance, the adjunct constitutes part of the rhematic field of the SL RC, and now since it has been separated and made an RC by itself, it has to be textually related, in some way, to the previous RC in order to contribute to creating a cohesive text. What applies to 7-166E applies to 7-164E; this time the cohesion is achieved by inserting a modal adjunct 'indeed', which fits in the overall context, and which implicitly hints at the writer's view point in the text regarding the Gulf states ruling families' attempts to lessen 'their dependence' on the US, by 'a process of rapprochement or even alliance' with Western Europe, who 'indeed' have a very wide interest in area, and are thus ready to 'strike' such deals (the defence agreements between the Al-Sabah of Kuwait and Britain, France and even Russia).

On the other hand, in examples like 7-163, the translator has sacrificed the modal adjunct 'haqqan' (indeed) in an RC which sums up a paragraph of mockery of the US administration, and Bush's political stance in particular. The only relative compensation for such a loss, as I see it, is the implicit mockery imbedded in the

attributive RC and the use of attributes like 'a quite extraordinary'. Yet the fact remains that noncognitive adjuncts, like cognitive ones, are still partial in rendition and can be lost, although new ones may be created.

7.11.2 **Dependent Clauses-as-Themes**

As is the case in English, dependant clauses-as-themes of the RC, in the sense of a framework in which the main process in the main clause takes place, will be analyzed and discussed under three major types: participial-equivalents, conditional and adverbials. Other types of dependent/subordinate clauses will only be discussed if they contribute to the thematic structure of the overall RC. Within each of the three major types, the translator's efforts in rendering them into English will also be commented on.

7.11.2.1 **Participial-Equivalent-Clauses-as-Themes**

In analysing the Arabic corpus, there are only two occurrences that are shown explicitly as having a 'means/causal' relation with the main process and its actor (theme) of the RC (cf. 7.5.2.1):

7-167 #wa[1] binā' an ᶜala hāda l-fahmi wa t-tahlīli l-ladi šārakaniy 'iyyahu al-maliku l-Hasani t-tānī wa siyādatu r-ra'īsi š-Šādliy bin Jadīd[2] wa ᶜala du'i tatawwuri l-'azmati wa waᶜyinā l-kāmili bi-mudāᶜafātihā wa muktanafātihā llati dakartu[3] wa min muntalaqi hirsinā ᶜala l-muhāfazati ᶜala salāmati l-ᶜirāqi wa mā yumatil[4] faqad kullif-tu (='anā= his Majesty[5]) min qibalihimā bi-tarhi s-su'āli t-tāli ᶜala siyādatikum kabidāyatin li-juhdin jamāᶜiyyin ᶜarabiyyin muxlis# (Text 6: 7-1).

7-167E #On the basis of this understanding and analysis which I share with His Majesty King Hasan II and President Chadli Benjedid[2], in the light of the development of the crisis and our full awareness of its complications and ramifications[3], and given our heartfelt concern for the preservation of Iraq and what it represents[4],/ I[5] was entrusted by these two leaders to ask your Excellency the following question, as the prelude to a new and sincere collective Arab effort, ...#

7-168 #tumma[1] 'inna l-wilāyāti l-muttahidati[2]-- fi 'aᶜqābi harbi l-xalīji wa mā wākabahā min duġūtin li-tatbīqi š-šarᶜiyyati d-dawliyyati fi l-qadiyyati l-filastīniyya--lam tudayyiᶜ 'ayya waqtin li-t-taharrubi min tilka d-duġūti min xilāli siyāsatin muwzdawajatin qiwāmuhā mawqifun lafziyyun yadᶜamu l-

filasṭīniyyīna yatazāmanu maᶜa mawqifin ᶜamaliyyin yadᶜamu ʾisrāʾīla wa ṣ-ṣahyuniyya# (Text 10: 7-2).

7-168E #Following this war, and the accompanying pressure to implement the provisions of international law regarding the Palestinian question[1],/ the US[2] wasted no time to in evading this pressure through a hypocritical policy which combined verbal support for the Arabs and the Palestinians, with practical support for Israel and Zionism.#

In 7-167 the participial-equivalent nominal dependent clause, (realized by the last prepositional phrase in RC that act as a marked-scene-setter theme) demonstrates the purpose of the action taken by the main participants (the theme) of the main passive RC, e.g. His Majesty, the King, who is being 'entrusted to ask President S. Hussein a question', regarding the latter's 'final, reasonable and acceptable demands of Iraq from Kuwait', given the fact of the 'deep concern' of the three leaders towards Iraq and what it represents. In 7-168, on the other hand, the explicit indications of an equivalent present participial (active in contrast with past participials which are agentless; cf. 7.5.2.1) is the presence of both the conjunctive Arabic particle '<u>ṯ</u>umma' and the parenthetical temporal adjunct (fi ʾaᶜqābi ḥarbi l-xalīji wa mā wākabahā min ḍuġūṭin li-taṭbīqi š-šarᶜiyyati d-dawliyyati fi l-qaḍiyyati l-filasṭīniyya). With regard to the former Arab grammarians call it a particle of 'tartīb wa tarāxi' ('and then/immediately after'; a particle of sequence and arrangement; cf. chapter 6, note 24); the adverbial adjunct following it gives the sense of an equivalent present participial framework for the ensuing proposition.

In addition to these two explicitly shown purpose participial equivalent dependent clauses, there were identified 8 additional ones that implicitly function in the same way, e.g. towards developing the overall argument of the texts in question. They are made more explicit when translated into English; hence this constitutes an area where translation can serve as a tool in understanding the possibility of having some structural elements of the clause in the SL (like Arabic) acting as thematic framework, had the writer of the SLT opted for a different writing style. This can be demonstrated from the SLTs and the TLTs, by upgrading some causal adverbial phases from a rhematic position to a thematic one:

7-169 #<u>wa[1] hal[2]</u> yastaṭīᶜu l-ʾurdunnu taḥamulla ha<u>ḏ</u>ihi l-ᶜuzlati fi ẓilli l-ʾawdāᶜi l-ʾiqtiṣādiyyati r-rāhinati l-lati namurru bihā?# (Text 9: 9-6)

7-169E #Given its desperate economic situation[1], can Jordan[1] withstand this isolation?#

In 7-169, had the RC been constructed otherwise, e.g. by upgrading the causal adverb 'fi ẓilli l-ʿawḍāʿi l-ʿiqtiṣādiyyati r-rāhinati l-lati namurru bihā' to a thematic position, this RC would be a perfect match to RC 7-169E. In this respect, it must be concluded that English political discourse uses more participial frameworks than the Arabic. However, this area needs more investigation and research.

7.11.2.2 **Conditional-Clauses-as-Themes**

As is the case in English (cf. 7.5.5.2), the conditional construction in Arabic is a construction in which the actual validity of a given statement is 'conditioned' by another statement along with it, e.g. the statement presented in the main clause has no validity in itself without the restriction imposed by the subordinate clause. The latter, usually precedes the former, and, in this case only and as a whole, acts as the theme of the RC, in Halliday's systemic formulation[53].

In analysing the Arabic corpus, a total of 23 conditional RCs (6% of the overall total) were identified, over half of which have the particle ''idā' as the conditional particle (14 RCs with ''idā', 5 with ''in', 2 with 'law', and 1 each with 'kamā' and mahmā'). The predominance of conditional RCs with 'idā' in Arabic political discourse, is explained by the public political expression dominant in the Middle East regarding a number of policy making processes: 'given time it will be; it is just a question of time.' This is especially true when a temporal circumstance is understood as being essential or necessary for the actual occurrence of the action expressed by the main clause. Or as simply put by Cantarino (1975):

> The basic conditional significance of ''idā' normally remains so closely related to its temporal one that even in its conditional use, it generally introduces only a statement of something which is known through experience and about the eventual occurrence of which there can, therefore, no doubt (Cantarino, op. cit., p. 302).

This quotation can be clarified, if looked at from a discoursal perspective; something which will also demonstrate the pragmatic function of such RCs in the overall development of the text in question. The difference outlined semantically, for

example, by Cantarino (1975) between ' ʾin' and ' ʾidā', can be illustrated from the corpus by the following extract:

7-170 #fa-[1] ʾin ši ʾ-tum (= ʾantum/ḥaḍratukum=[2]) wa ḥaddad-tum[2] ʾijābatakum bi-šaklin ʾījābiyyin// fa-[1] sa ʾataḥarraku (0= ʾanna[2]) l-l ʾiltiqā ʾi bikum wa ʾaxdi l- ʾajwibati mubāšaratan# #wa[1] ʾida[2] ʾirta ʾay-tum (= ʾantum/ḥaḍratukum=[3]) ʾan tursilahā maᶜa rasūlin minkum// fa-[1] ʾrju[2] ʾan yatimma dālika bi ʾasraᶜi waqtin yumkin# #ʾammā ʾidā ʾirta ʾaytum xilāfa dālik[1]// fa-[1] lā ḥawla wa lā quwwuata[2]/ ʾilla bi-llāh# (Text 6: 17-2,3 & 4).

7-170E #Should you[2] give positive responses,// I[1] will be pleased to meet with you to receive them directly.# #On the other hand[4], if[2] you[3] wish to convey them through an envoy,// I[1] hope you will do so soon as possible.# #If[2] you[3] consider, otherwise,// then[1] there is "no power[2] except in Allah".#

In 7-170, following Cantarino (1975, pp. 312-313), ' ʾin' (if) basically states a fact or an event (ʾin š ʾi-tum (= ʾantum/ḥaḍratukum=[2]) wa ḥaddad-tum[2] ʾijābatakum bi-šaklin ʾījābiyy). This eventual occurrence which his Majesty, the king, (the theme of the main clause: 'jawāb aš-šarṭ'; the apodasis) cannot be sure of is the positive response of President S. Hussein, hence the use of ' ʾin'. In this respect, it seems that his Majesty (as is always to be expected of his Majesty, in managing such a type of discourse) feels very optimistic in securing a positive response, on the basis of the dangers that threaten Iraq (dangers whose seriousness S. Hussein obviously never realized). This is why his Majesty follows the first conditional RC with another (with ʾidā) provides a sense of hope and optimism, e.g. implicating politely that it is only a question of time (the temporal dimension indicated in the main clause) that may be needed for S. Hussein 'to come to his senses' and provide a positive response. This RC is, in turn, followed by another conditional RC which has a glossed subordinate conditional clause with ' ʾammā' (which can also be said to be recursive with ' ʾamma' [translated as 'if' in 7-170], if we accept the definition of ' ʾamma' as outlined in note 52 above). In the last RC of 7-170, his Majesty, out of politeness and prudence in not expecting a negative answer to his question or no answer at al, glosses the 'protasis' (fiᶜl aš-šarṭ; the theme), of the RC in order to steer S. Hussein's attention to the dangers lying ahead if he provides a negative answer. This is also made clear in the main clause of the RC, by citing the verse from the Holy Qura'n, usually recited in the time of very destructive catastrophes, and by the rest of the letter.

As is the case in English, the various types of conditional RCs (I say various types in the sense of the different types of conditional particles used) serve, from a discoursal perspective, to introduce a given participant into the world of discourse which acts as the theme of the protasis, followed by a new proposition in the main clause with a new participant as its theme; whereas taken as a whole, the protasis acts as the theme of the new proposition introduced in the main clause. Secondly, the conditional RC can also substantiate an introduced hypothesis (cf. 7-171), as well as being a 'hypothetical' hypothesis itself, e.g., a hypothesis which can either be attained (cf. 7-172) or not (cf. 7-173), depending on the conditional particle by which the overall RC is introduced (Among the conditional particles, according to Arab grammarians as well as Arabists, 'law' is especially used to introduce a hypothetical conditional state of affairs; cf. note 53). In both functions, the conditional RC serves to maintain the cohesion and coherence of the text in question by relating its various parts (cf. 7-174). These discoursal functions can be respectively illustrated from the corpus as follows:

7-171 #rābiᶜan[1] ʾidā[2] kānat l-ḥājatu[3] lā tazālu qāʾimatan li-man yaqūmu bi-dawri ʾistiᶜmāli l-quwwati bi-n-niyābati// fa[1] yufaḍḍalu ʾan takūna[2] hādihi d-dawlatu juzʾan min n-niẓāmi l-ʾiqlīmiyyi bal wa ᶜarabiyyatan ᶜala wajhi t-taxṣīṣ# (Text 7: 11-1).

7-172E #Fourthly[1], if[2] there is still any further need [3]/ for a proxy use of force by any state to serve the interests of the US,// it[1] is far preferable that this state should be part of the regional order and specifically an Arab state.[1]

7-172 #fa-[1] law[2] qāmat l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu[3] bi-bināʾi nafsi l-qudrati fi l-minṭaqati bi-šaklin mubāširin ᶜan ṭarīqi ʾinšāʾi l-qawāᶜida l-jawwiyyati ʾad-daxmati wa ʾirsāli ḥāmilāti ṭ-ṭāʾirāti// lakallafa-hā (=l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu[3]) dālika ʾaḍᶜāfa mā kānat tadfaᶜahu li-ʾisrāʾīl . . .# (Text 7: 5-5).

7-172E #Had the US[3]/ set about building a similar power base in the region through the establishment of huge military air bases and the deployment of aircraft carriers,// it[1] would have cost many times the amount it has paid over to Israel. . . .#

7-173 #bi-maᶜna ʾaxar[1] ʾidā[2] kānat maṣlaḥatu l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati[3] fī-mā maḍā bi-ʾabᶜādihā l-ʾiqlīmiyyati mustamadatan min raġbatihā fi manᶜi taġyyīri l-waḍᶜi l-qāʾimi fi minṭaqati l-xalīji ᶜala wajhi t-taḥdīdi wa manᶜi burūzi ʾayyati dawlatin ᶜarabiyyatin takūnu qādiratan ᶜala tahdīdi hādā l-waḍᶜi l-qāʾim,// fa-[1] ʾinna nafsa l-ʾiᶜtibārāti[1] hiya (pronoun of separation) l-lati tajᶜalu l-wilāyāta l-muttahidata tasᶜā liʾiqāmati taḥālufātin badīlatin maᶜa ʾaṭrāfin ᶜarabiyyatin takūnu ʾaqdara ᶜala l-qiyāmi bi-dālika d-dawr# (Text 7:

11-2).

7-173E #In other words[1], if US regional interests with regard to Israel, previously derived from an American wish to prevent any change in the status quo of the Gulf region in particular, and to block the emergence of an Arab state capable of threatening this status quo,[2]// these very same interests[1] now motivate the US to look for an alternative among the Arab states better able to perform this role than Israel.#

7-174 #wa-[1] ʿidā[2] hadaṯa hāda[3]// fa[1] sayakūnu (0= hādā/dālika[2]) kāriṯatan bi-n-nisbati lanā wa l-lfilasṭīniyyīn# (Text 9: 9-4).

7-174E #If[2] this[3]/ happens,// it[1]/ will be catastrophic for both the Jordanians and the Palestinians, ...#

With regard to the rendering of these conditional RC into English, the rendition is complete except in the case of 2 RCs which were rendered otherwise for stylistic purposes (not part of the illustration; compare tables 7-7 with 7-7E, Appendix F). This result is quite normal, since the conditional structure is a universal linguistic phenomenon occurring in all languages (cf. Canatarino, 1975, al-Anṭākī, 1975 & Quirk et. al. 1985). It must be also concluded that this is one case in which the subordinate clause with all its structural elements, including the verb, (which constitutes part of the rhematic field of the subordinate clause, being the central of predication in Arabic), constitute the theme of the conditional RC.

7.11.2.3 **Other Dependent Clauses-as-Themes**

Under this subheading, dependent clauses of the comment, adverbial, concessive or any other type (found in the corpus) will be illustrated, discussed and exemplified with regard to their own thematic structure and with regard to their role as themes in the sense of 'stage setters' for the ensuing 'main' proposition in the RC. In one sense, they can also be considered as 'auxiliary' processes that affect the development of the main ones.

In analyzing the Arabic corpus, a total of 7 such RCs (2% of the overall total) were identified. These include 4 comment RCs, 2 temporals and 1 concessive (cf. Table 7-7). From a discoursal perspective, comment RCs are used to claim the reader's attention, call for his agreement, express the writer's informality and warmth towards

the reader, and thus express a feeling of 'solidarity' with him[54]. Like temporal adjuncts, temporal dependent clauses provide a temporal dimension/setting for the ensuing main clause (cf. 7.5.1, 7.5.2, 7.11.1 & example 7-176 below). The one concessive example in the corpus (cf. Cantarino 1975, p. 332) is of the adversative type (cf. example 7-177) in which the stage-setting clause refers to a present event whose actual occurrence has not "nullified" the content of the main clause[55]. A common feature of the three types of dependent clauses is the fact that most of them occur in RCs which function as substantiative of an introduced hypothesis. Comment clauses, in examples like 7-175 below, for instance, assume that the introduced thesis/hypothesis is well-known to the reader, and His Majesty, King Hussein, merely draws S. Husseins' attention to it, and consequently seeks his agreement. The dependent clauses link the present RC with the overall verbal and situational context of the text, by having some of its elements refer back to the preceding context or forward to the ensuing one. The three types can be illustrated from the corpus as follows:

7-175 #wa[1] kamā[2] taʿlam (0=ʾanta=[3])// hunāka[1] ʾijmāʿun ʿarabiyyun ʿala t-tamassuki bi-hāḏa l-mabdaʾ i l-laḏi yaqḍi ʿadama l-qubūli bi ʾijraʾāti ḍ-ḍammi wa bi-xāṣṣatn ʾiḏā ʾaddat ila ʾizālati dawlatin qāʾimatin ʿudwin fi l-jāmiʿati l-ʿarabiyyati wa l-ʾumami l-muttaḥida# (Text 6: 8-2).

7-175E #As[2] you[3]/ know,// there is an Arab consensus regarding adherence to this principle[1]/, which states the unacceptability of the acquisition of territory by force, especially if it leads to the elimination of a state which is a member of the Arab League and the United Nations.#

7-176 #li-dalika[1] wa mā[2] ʾan ʾintahat l-ḥarbu[3]// ḥattā[1] wajad-nā (naḥnu=2] l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati l-ʿatīdati tubādiru ʾila ʾixtirāʿi d-darāʾiʿi kay taqūla "lā" fiʿliyyatan fi mawdūʿi taṭbīqi š-šarʿiyyati d-dawliyyati fi l-qaḍiyyati l-filasṭīniyyati min xilāli ṣiyaġi "naʿamin" al-laḥziyya# (Text 10: 6-2).

7-176E However[1], no sooner[2] had the Gulf war[3]/ ended,// than[1] we[1]/ found the glorious US looking for new excuses to reject the implementation of international law in the case of the Palestinian, while still appearing to accept it.#

7-177 #maʿa[1] ʾanna-hu[2] (ḍamīr šaʾn) min ṣ-ṣaʿbi jiddan wa s-sābiqi liʾawānih at-tanabuʾu bima sayʾūlu ʾilayhi n-niẓamu s-siyāsiyyu d-dawliyyu fi nihāyati l-maṭāf//ʾillā[1] ʾanna-hu[2] (damīr šaʾn) min l-mumkini ʾibrazu majmūʿatin mina l-ḥaqāʾiqi wa t-tawābiti l-lati lā budda min t-taʿarrufi ʿalayhā wa t-taʿāmuli maʿahā[2]# (Text 9: 13-1).

7-177E #Although[1] it[2] is both extremely difficult and premature to predict what will ultimately happen to the international world order[2],// it[2] is, however, possible to identify a number of well-defined facts which need to be discussed and clarified[1].#

As far as the rendition of such RCs into English and consequently the preservation of their thematic structure is concerned, the rendition is complete. In fact, for stylistic reasons, there are more of these dependent RCs in the TLTs than the SLTs (compare tables 7-7 with 7-7E of Appendix F). The predominance of extra dependent RCs in the TLTs are those of the temporal type, but none of the comment type (except, of course, the ones translated from the SLTs). Although their total is marginal (compared to none in the English corpus), the existence of comment-equivalent dependent clauses within the structure of Arabic RCs supports an earlier conclusion, if we accept Quirk et. al's (1985) syntactic categorization and my argument above, that Arabic political discourse is, to some extent, less formal and more down-to-earth (interactive in style), thus more emotive and appealing than that of English.

7.12 **Thematic Structure of Metaphorical RCs of The Arabic SLTs**

By comparison with Halliday's (1985, p. 318) concept and definition of grammatical metaphor quoted in section 7.6 above, ᶜabbas (1989, p. 129), among a number of Arab rhetoricians, defines an utterance as being metaphorical when that "utterance/expression is used to express a certain meaning which such an utterance is not originally (or literally) meant to convey. In such an instance, the literal meaning will not be 'pragmatically' the intended interpretation due to the existence of certain elements in the co-text which will prevent such an interpretation" [my translation], or as simply put by ᶜabbas in Arabic: "al-majāz huwa l-lafẓu l-mustaᶜmalu fi ġayri mā wuḍiᶜa lahu maᶜa qarīnatin tamnaᶜu ʾīrād l-maᶜnā l-ḥaqīqīy[56]."

In this respect, Arab rhetoricians (al-Hāshimī 1978, al-Jurjānī 1988, ᶜabbas, 1989, among others) divide metaphor into two main categories: (1) 'rational' (ideational) metaphor (majāz ᶜaqli) and (2) 'linguistic' metaphor (majāz luġawi). The latter, in turn, is divided into two sub-categories: (a) 'absolute' metaphor (majāz mursal) and (b) 'metaphor of transfer' (ʾistiᶜāra). Of interest to us in this study is the first type, the rational metaphor. This type of metaphorical structure of the Arabic RC is considered

with regard to its thematic structure and can be associated, to some extent, as we shall see below, with Halliday's ideational metaphor, which is used, according to Halliday (1985; cf. 7.6.1), to thematise certain elements of the clause complex whose meaning is incongruently presented.

7.12.1 **Ideational-Equivalent Metaphor**

By comparison with Halliday's ideational metaphor (cf. 7.6.1), 'rational metaphor' in Arabic is defined as "relating a verb phrase (the realization of process type in Halliday's systemic formulation) or its syntactic equivalent to a process which typically/congruently will not be associated with it" [my translation], or as ᶜabbas, (1989, p. 139) puts it: "ʾisnādu l-fiᶜli aw mā fi maᶜnāhu ila ġayri mā huwa lah.[57]" Unlike linguistic metaphor, the co-text (al-qarīnah) in the case of rational metaphor, as ᶜabbas (1989, p. 140) points out, does not have to be linguistic (or textual; cf. note 56), but rather abstract or experiential ("maᶜnawiyya"), hence the equivalence between this metaphor and Halliday's ideational metaphor (cf. 3.3 for Halliday's definition of the ideational component of language).

In analyzing the Arabic corpus, a total of 22 RCs (6% of the overall total) were identified to be of the ideational-equivalent type. They mainly consist of mental process using an 'unconscious' participant, to use Halliday's systemic terms (cf. 7.6.1), with the purpose of thematising that participant, in the sense of what 'the RC is about', as in:

7-178 #wa[1] yataᶜāmalu (0=al-mafhūmu d-dayiqu li-l-ʾistrātījiyya[2]) maᶜa d-dawlati bi-ᶜuzlatin tāmmatin ᶜan muḥīṭihā d-duwaliy# (Text 7: 3-3).

7-178E #it[2]/ also treats the state in complete isolation from its international political environment.#

Here, the 'narrow concept of political strategy' is, metaphorically, 'endowed with consciousness' in the SLT and in the TLT in order to become the theme of the RC (cf. 7.6). However, there are other examples in the Arabic SLTs that were demetaphorized, as a result of becoming the norm in the TL. In either case, whether it becomes congruent or not, the subject-as-theme in such RCs was rendered fully into the TL, unless, of course, for stylistic purposes, the subject-as-theme is downgraded to

a rhematic slot as in:

7-179 #. . .[1] jā ʾat ʾazmatu l-xalīji[2] li-trā fihā d-duwalu ş-şināᶜiyyati l-furşata d-dahbiyyati li ʾiᶜādati tanẓīmi lminṭaqa . . . # (Text 6: 4-1).

7-179E #Against this background, whose precise details I am sure no one can be more aware of than yourself[1], there[3]/ erupted the Gulf crisis[0].

In comparing the numbers and percentages of occurrence of ideational metaphorical RCs in the English and the Arabic corpus, and to a lesser extent their translation, we find that the percentage of Arabic metaphorical RCs is higher than that of the English (cf. 7.6.1). This provides further support for earlier arguments (cf. glossed themes and their translations; cf. 7.3.5 & 7.9.5), and following Newmarks' comment quoted in section 7.6 above, that Arabic political discourse is more emotive, and thus more appealing than English.

7.12.2 **Interpersonal-Equivalent Metaphor**

About interpersonal metaphor, Arab rhetoricians do not have anything to say. Thus, this type of equivalent metaphor remains in the realm of grammar. As indicated in section 7.6.1, (cf. note 40), a group of Arabic verbs called ' ʾafᶜāl r-rujhān wa z-zan: zanna wa ʾaxawātuhā' (zanna 'and its sisters') render the service of putting the writer's 'stamp' on the proposition, he is presenting, in order to appeal to the reader/listener.

In analyzing the Arabic corpus, 10 RCs (3% of the overall total) are identified as being of the 'interpersonal-equivalent metaphor'. Among those, there are 7 occurrences which are of the subjective ('*I*'/'*we*' *believe that* . . . ')[58]; the other 3 objective impersonal-interpersonal '*it-seems*' equivalent type (cf. 7.6.2). This is exactly the opposite of English, where objective are more common than subjective (cf. 7.6.2); something which, again, indicates the down-to-earth, interactive in style of Arabic political discourse by having more direct interaction with the reader and by showing what exactly the reader thinks or believes. The two types of interpersonal-equivalent metaphors can be illustrated from the Arabic corpus as follows:

7-180 #wa[1] lā ʾaᶜtaqidu (0= ʾanā[2]) // ʾanna-hu[1] (ḍamīr šaʾn) yaxfā ᶜala ʾaxi hajma l-masʾūliyyati l-mutarattibati ᶜala jawābih[1]# (Text 6: 17-2).

7-180E #I[1]/ do not believe// that[3] you[4]/ will ignore the weight of historic

responsibility your response entails.

7-181 #yabdū ʾanna namaṭa t-tafkīri s-siyāsiyyi s-sāʾida ladā muᶜāriḍi nḍimāmi l-ʾūrdunni li-ᶜamaliyyati s-salāmi[1] yataṭābaqu kulliyan maᶜa n-namūḏaji l-ʾawwal l-mubayyani ʾaᶜlāh# (Text 9: 7-1).

7-181E #It[1] seems// that[2] the prevailing pattern of political thinking amongst those opposed to Jordan's participation in the peace process[1]/ is in total accord with the first model discussed above.

With regard to translating this type RCs and preserving their thematic structure, the rendition seems to be complete (cf. tables 7-7 & 7-7E). In this respect, it is appropriate to say that, in such RCs, the verbs of 'ẓanna and its sister', in addition to those of conditional (fiᶜl aš-šarṭ) and comment clauses (cf. 7.5.2.2 & 7.11.2.2 above) constitute part of the thematic structure of the RC in question.

7.13 **Conjunctions-as-Initial-Themes of The Arabic SLT**

In analysing the Arabic corpus, a total of 258 occurrences of such conjunctions were identified ; no attempt of percentage calculation was attempted, since, as we shall demonstrate in the next section, there could be more than one conjunctive particle per RC (cf. Table 7-8 of appendix F). By further investigation of the corpus, it is found that the predominant conjunctive particles were as follows: 'wa', 'fa', 'ṯummā', the most widely used ('and' & 'and immediately after', 'and then'; called 'conjunctive conjunctions'), 'aw', 'ʾam' ('or'; called disjunctive particles), 'bal' and 'lākin' ('nor', 'or rather/even' and 'but'; called adversative) (cf. 6.3.2 & note 27 of the same section).

From a discoursal perspective, the main function of these conjunctive particles is to connect the various parts of the text (RCs, paragraphs in particular) into one cohesive unit. As can be seen from the various names given to their various types, which accord with their individual function in the text, (be it narrative, expository, argumentative or legal) their main discoursal function remains the same, hence they always occupy initial position(s) of the RC (cf. 7.7), and thus, I call them 'initial themes' (cf. 3.6.6).

To illustrate these various types of conjunctions from the corpus, the following examples are selected:

1. The Conjunctive Type:

7-182 #wa[1] yakūnu l-ʿirāqu[2] qad najaḥa fi l-hifāzi ʿala munjazātihi li-šaʿbihi wa li-ʾummatihi# wa[1] yakūnu l-ʿirāqu[2] qad ḥalla. . . .# #wa[1] yakūnu l-ʿirāqu[2] qad ʾawṣala . . . .# #wa[1] yakūnu l-ʿirāqu[2] qad ḥaqqaqa. . . .# #wa[1] yakūnu l-ʿirāqu[2] qad najaḥa . . . .# (Text 6: 12-3, 4, 5 & 6).

7-182E #Iraq[2]/ will have succeeded in preserving the achievements of its people and the Arab nation,# #it[2]/ will have succeeded in . . . , and (0= Iraq) will have solved. . . .# #It[2]/ will have established . . ., and (0= Iraq) will even have gained . . . .# #Iraq[1]/will also have attained . . . , and (0= Iraq) will have succeeded . . . .#

7-183 #fa[1] māda[2] taqūlu ʾanta yā siyādata r-raʾīs?# (Text 8: 6-10)

7-183E #What[1]/ do you think Mr. President?

7-184 #tumma[1] salabat l-wilāyatu l-muttaḥidatu[2] min ʿuqūlinā baqāya l-ʾamali bi-ʾimkāniyyati ʿadlihā wa taxallīhā ʿan siyāsatihā dāti l-miʿyāri l-muzdawaji wa l-wifāqi s-siyāsiyyi l-munḥāzayni liʾisrāʾīl ʿindamā . . . .# (Text 10: 6-6).

7-184E #Then[1], the US[2]/ deprived us of any remaining shred of hope that it might renounce its political double standards and its bias towards Israel and act impartially, when . . . .#

2. The disjunctive Type:

7-185 #ʾam[1]/turā //ʾanna ʿadaʾa r-raʾīsi l-ʾamrīkiyyi l-l-munaẓẓama bi-sababi daʿmihā l-l-ʿirāqi[2]/qad waṣal ila darajatin ʾaʿlā min ʿadāʾihi li-l-ʿirāqi dātih?# (Text 8: 4-5).

7-185E #Is it/ the case// that the animosity of the US President towards the PLO on account of its support of Iraq/ is greater than his animosity towards Iraq itself?

7-186 #wa[1] yazīdu (0= ḥadmu miʾāti l-ʾulūfi mina l-muhājirīna s-sūfyaṭ[2]) min ḥājati-hā (= ʾisrāʾīl) ila musāʿadātin ʾamrīkiyyatin aw yujbiru-hā (ʾidā lam tatawaffar hādihi l-musāʿadātu bi-s-surʿati wa l-ḥajmi l-maṭlūbayni) ʿala taxṣīṣi juzʾin mutazāyidin mina l-mawāridi. . . .# (Text 7: 17-7).

7-186E #This[3]/ is taking place at a time when Israel's attempt to absorb hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews is putting increasing pressure on Israel's limited resources, and greatly increasing its need for American aid.# #If[1] this aid[2] is not made available swiftly enough or in sufficient amounts//, Israel[1] will be obliged to reallocate an enormous part of its own resources, ...#

3. The adversative type:

7-187 #ʾinna hāda[1] laysa raʾyī faqaṭ# #bal[1] huwa[2] raʾyu jalālati l-Ḥasani t-tāni

wa r-raʾisi š-Šāḏli bin Jadīd . . . .# (Text 6: 6-1 & 2).

7-187E #This[1]/ is not only my opinion.# #It[2]/ is also the opinion of his Majesty King Hasan II and President Chadli Benjedid, ...#

7-188 #wa[1] lākin[2] rubbamā[3] ʾanna-hu (= Jūrj Buš[4]) ʾarāda t-tarājuᶜa . . . ᶜan l-maʾzaqi l-laḏi waḍaᶜathu fīhi taṣrīhātuhu l-ʾaxīra . . . .# (Text 8: 1-4).

7-188E #In getting himself into one predicament[5], George Bush[4]/ may in fact have wanted to get himself out of another . . . one in which he was placed by his statements . . . .#

These examples, along with many from the corpus, illustrate one common discoursal functions, and that is cohesion, achieved by thematising the initial conjunctive particle as the point of departure of the RC as a message. This particle, in turn, shows, by referring to the preceding verbal context in conjunctions with other cohesive devices (mainly by reference and lexical repetition in Arabic), the type of relation that connects the various constituents of the text in question. In 7-182, for instance, through the 'wa' (and) relation in conjunction with the repeated parallel structure of the RCs, especially the repetition of the cognitive-topical theme 'Iraq', his Majesty, the King, was able to draw the attention of the reader (except President S. Hussein himself to whom this political letter is addressed) of the equal importance of each coordinated RC in a very emotive and appealing style. In 7-183, on the other hand, the conjunctive conjunction 'fa' (and 'then'/'immediately after') implies an arrangement of the text event/processes. It also refers to the preceding statement as a necessary premise for the action of the second, and thus unites the two RCs through a certain type of relationships, mainly causal, towards the effect, or fact, and its consequences. By contrast with 'fa', 'ṯumma' (then), in examples like 7-184, emphasizes that the sequence existing between the two structurally independent RCs is internal, which means that the action/process of the preceding RC has been completed before introducing a new event/situation.

Disjunctive particles like ' ʾam' (or), in examples like the interrogative rhetorical RC like 7-185, provide an alternative to a preceding RC. In this respect, this particle implies a condition of exclusion in one of the two RCs; whereas in 7-186, on the other hand, the particle 'aw' (or) relates between two RCs as being possible alternatives of the same state of affairs: 'this or this are possible'.

With regard to adversative particles, 'bal' (but) in 7-187, for instance, presents a statement in adversative/corrective relation of the preceding RC. On the other hand, in examples like 7-188, the adversative particle 'lākin' (but) introduces an element which implies negation of a preceding statement, e.g., 'I think, rather, I believe . . . .', where it introduces a completely new opposing nominal RC.

As for the rendition of these Arabic conjunctive particles into English, table 7-8E of Appendix F shows that they are the least preserved in translation, and that the translator almost has no restriction 'in sacrificing them' for stylistic purposes (cf. all examples above except 7-184). In this respect, it seems that English political discourse (and probably in other types of genres), as an argumentative text type, depends, for its cohesion on other cohesive devices (especially anaphoric reference) more than conjunctive relations (cf. 7.7 & Halliday, 1976). On the bases of this, therefore, it must be concluded that Arabic political discourse (and probably in other types of genres) 'overuses' conjunction particles, in addition to other cohesive devices (especially lexical repetition), to the extent of monotony, in comparison with English which uses very few, and thus sounds less monotonous, more sound, and has less interaction with the reader (compare tables 7-4 & 7-4A of Appendix E, on the one hand, with 7-8 & 7-8E of Appendix F on the other).

7.14 **Multiple Theme-Equivalent-Structure of the Arabic SLTs**

In analysing the Arabic corpus, 290 RCs (76% of the overall total) were identified as having multiple theme structures, in the Hallidayan sense of the term (cf. 3.6.2.4 & 7.9). As is the case in English, I observed, by further examination and investigation of such thematic structures, that, among the three functional components of Halliday's systemic and functional grammar (the textual, the interpersonal and the ideational) that are mapped onto the RC and realized by its various constituents, the most common arrangement with regard to thematic structure is that of the textual element(s) followed by the ideational element. The second most common is that of the three functional elements being realized in the thematic structure (cf. example 7-187 above), followed by a third combination, consisting of the interpersonal element followed by the ideational elements; this is relatively rare (cf. example 7-163, section

7.11.1.1). Furthermore, the three questions posed in section 7-7 above, regarding the Halliday's three functional components that typically contribute to the structure of the multiple English RC and their discoursal status, also apply to the Arabic RC, if the latter's multiple thematic structure follows the same pattern(s) set up by Halliday, which in most cases it does. The most predominant type of pattern in Arabic can be exemplified from the corpus by:

7-189 #wa[1] ᶜala ʾasāsihi[2] šaraᶜ-tu(=ʾanā[3]) bi-lᶜamali l-muḍni bādilan kulla mā fi juhdi li-t-tawaṣṣuli ʾila ḥallin ᶜarabiyyin min ʾajli ʾiḥbāṭi mā yurādu li-l-ᶜirāqi wa min baᶜdihi li ʾummatih# (Text 6: 10-2).

7-189E #I[3]/ personally realized this fact from the outset of the crisis, and I therefore started working strenuously, and to the best of my efforts, in order to reach an Arab solution and to thwart the plots against Iraq, and against the Arab nation.#

With regard to rendering such RCs with their multiple themes, the preservation of the thematic structure, apart from preserving the ideational element as theme, is partial (cf. tables 7-8 & 7-8E of appendix F). The reason is that English political discourse, as indicated in the previous section, depends more on the other cohesive devices other than conjunctions; such knowledge motivates the translator to avoid the 'monotonous' style of using a lot of '*and's*', for instance, and the rest of conjunctions, whether modal or discoursal[59]. Thus, the rendition of such thematic structures was not as frequent as it is in Arabic, whether in the SLTs or TLTs (again compare tables 7-4 & 7-4A of Appendix E, on the one hand, with 7-8 & 7-8E of Appendix F on the other).

7.15 Significance of Maintaining Thematic Structure of the RCs of the SLT in Translation

Lyons (1977, p. 510) points out that translators are particularly 'attuned' to the ways in which languages express their differences in thematic structure[60]. It is my own awareness of the special importance of maintaining thematic structure in translation that has been, as noted in the introduction to this study, the underlying motivation of for the present study. Furthermore, I believe that the process of translation, unlike the process involved in the production of speech and writing, e.g. in producing language, is an interpretive process. In effect, it is an interpretation, in another set of linguistic

systems, of the signals that were the components of the original message and of their relative importance. In other words, translation makes a statement about the original message *qua* message.

Becker (1984, p. 135) emphasizes that translation is a "necessary first step in understanding a text.[61]" In this respect, he considers that the source of constraints on a text is context (the non-linguistic aspect of language in Halliday's systemic model; the social semiotic/culture), and that translation helps to show the ways in which context constrains a particular language. This position contrasts with the view (obviously a Chomskyan view) that language, as a linguistic phenomenon, is "built up in a rule-governed way out of minimal bits" (Becker, op. cit., p. 136).

To illustrate this proposal, Becker (1984) proposes a model of contexts on the basis of six types of relations: (1) 'structural' (parts to a whole), (2) generic (a text to prior texts; (cf. intertextuality in de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981), (3) medial (a text to its medium; mode in Halliday's systemic term), (4) interpersonal (the text to the participants in the text act; tenor in Halliday's systemic term), (5) referential, the text to the world beyond discourse (coherence in text-linguistic terms) and (6) silential, the text and that which is left unsaid or unsayable (inference/ implicature in pragmatic terms). In this respect, Becker believes that the process of translation sheds valuable light on all these relations. From my own point of view it really does.

The proposal in this study that translation can be used to advantage in the study and understanding of thematic structure can also be extended to that of discourse as a whole, since text is the exponent of the various genres of discourse (with its three functional components, the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual, with the latter being the enabling function of the first two, in Halliday's systemic formulation), and especially for cross-language studies. In this respect, Stubbs (1983) identifies three approaches that have been used to date in discourse analysis: (1) the inspection of conversational data for surface organization and patterns (cf. Halliday, 1985, appendix-A, regarding an analogous approach to analysing conversational data in thematic terms), (2) the observation of ethnographic data for underlying functions (cf. 3.1.2) and (3) the examination of 'aspects of language, which syntax and semantics have had difficulties in explaining, e.g. the pragmatic aspect of language[62]. Here, I venture to say that translation can, to some extent, be used both in support of Stubbs' third approach and

go even further and say as a fourth approach in its own right for the elucidation of contextual relations, whether the latter is seen from a Hallidayan systemic perspective, or as proposed by Becker (1984).

Given the strong association between translation and discourse (cf. Catford, 1965, Callow 1974a & b, Nida & Taber 1969 and Enkvist, 1978), translation can serve as an independent tool for verifying whether or not the meaning values, in this case, the system of thematisation, is typically captured by translators as part of the import of the message.

Therefore, when assigning his priorities, the translator must support his linguistic intuitions with explicit, conscious argument for and against a certain definite hierarchy of criteria of equivalence. And the professional linguist's task is precisely to correlate intuitions and 'meanings' with concretely verifiable features in the text. Although the syntactic units of language function within the RC, the common creed of all the various orientations of text linguistics is that the unit of communication is the text (as a realization of a certain discourse genre) or a sentence-text, as the minimum text unit. Thus communication takes place with the aid of strings of RCs which reveal certain structural and linguistically describable patterns which lie beyond the confines of the single RC. This, of course, can be tested because our linguistic intuitions can distinguish between a well-formed, coherent text from inchorent, random strings of RCs. This arrangement, ordering, and marking of cohesion is an obligatory concern for all text linguists (cf. Halliday, 1976 & de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981).

All these issues are relevant to the translator. In this respect, Enkvist (1978) points out that

> One obvious link between him [the translator] and text linguistics is the extent of the translator's duty to maintain the clause and sentence division of the source text. This problem has worried translators for a long time; . . . . Should we in fact translate clause-by-clause and sentence-by-sentence, or should we feel free to change the clause and sentence division of our text and translate 'chunk-of-text' rather than syntactic units? (Enkvist, 1978, p. 171[63]) [my ellipsis].

One cannot provide an answer to such a sweeping question of this kind; such an answer will predominantly depend on the rhetorical purpose of the SLT: its pragmatic functions within the overall world of discourse (e.g. to narrate, describe, instruct, or argue).

In any case, a sensitive and a professional translator will evaluate the text,

guided by his linguistic intuition and his sense of social and aesthetic properties, and then provide such an answer. However, if, in the linguistic fashion, the translator wishes to pin down and describe the factors that affect the organization of the SLT rather than its RCs, text linguistics can offer him helpful ideas, principles and even models to do so. One such model is provided by Enkvist (1978, pp. 171-173), who tries to explain the production process of texts as combination/realization (to use a Hallidayan systemic term), linearization and grouping of smaller underlying units, or "atoms" as he prefers to call them.

In such a model, the unit at one end of the spectrum is that of the text, and at the other end is the predication/proposition, or as Enkvist call it "atomic meaning", since, according to him, they are not dressed up into proper sentences through lexicalization and syntax. This input to the "text generator" consists of a set of predications together with temporal, causal and other relations. The predications, in turn, can be extracted out of a semantic network, and the same set of predications and interpredication relations can be textualized in different ways, depending on the strategies chosen. Such text strategies consist of principles of narrative and rhetorical organization.

Like all strategies, text strategies too are realized through tactical solutions. These tactical solutions involve all the linguistic or textualizing operations that govern the grouping, linearization and linking of/predications into well-formed or acceptable clauses and sentences. In a network model (similar to that set by Halliday for his functional components; cf. 3.3) the strategy would be realized as a point of entry into the network and the choice of path through the network. The tactical realization of strategy would then involve the thematic and syntactic arrangements, conjunctions, embedding or predications and the like.

Such a model ought to provide a method of splitting up the text-- here the SLT of translation-- into analytical text units (RCs in my formulation). Such an analysis of a text will reveal the strategic principles involved in its composition. These principles can then be contemplated by the translator, who must decide whether to retain them, or, perhaps, abandon them for considerations that have higher priorities on the agenda of his criteria of translational equivalence. Among these principles, as I see it, is the thematic progression line of the text (cf. 2.4).

Such operations might be summed up as involving a control of the textual functions of individual texts 'atoms' or predications: is, for instance, a certain predication to appear as an independent sentence, as a conjoined clause, or as an embedding? Is it to appear in the beginning, middle or end of the text? How should the text signal the role of each predication as part of a speech act and as part of a specific type of modality (such as statements, questions or commands)? In this respect, text linguistics , and Halliday's systemic linguistics, to an extent, (cf. 3.3, 4 & 5) offer potentially useful concepts in more restricted areas than those governing entire text strategies at the macro-structural level, (e.g. text and discoursal levels). One area in which these two schools have developed concepts useful in contrasting of structures in the source and target languages is thematic structure of the RC, or FSP, or topic-comment articulation, to give just a few of these terms (cf. 1.2).

As we have noted throughout the various parts of this study, according to recent linguistic schools, the role(s) of the various constituents of the RC (SPCA) has/(have) been understood to be only the roles which these constituents play in the RC. How many such roles and levels we wish to distinguish depends on the linguistic school in question (cf. chapters 2 through 5). Such studies and sources are of great value, not least to the translator. But they do not solve his problems; they merely provide him with background information against which he should view his problems and opt for his solutions. In addition, thematic structural mechanism has been more and more closely analyzed in the process of constructing grammar for individual languages. All this provides an exceptionally important background to the translator.

From a systemic perspective, the translator should be aware not only of the cognitive meanings (Halliday's ideational component) and syntactic structure of the RCs comprising his SLT (Halliday's interpersonal component), but also of its information dynamics, that is the thematic and information structure of RCs (Halliday's textual, and 'enabling' component). Such an awareness does not necessarily imply theoretical sophistication in linguistics, or an ability to analyze such RCs into themes and rhemes, because, even here, the translator must rely, to a greater extent, on his linguistic intuition. But in situations where linguistic theories may be the only way of help, it should not be avoided. Needles to say, as Enkvist (1978) puts it:

In many types of translation, such thematic contrasts ought to be

> captured and rendered with maximal accuracy. If they are contrasts, they are by definition functional. . . . A thematically strongly marked structure may then be acceptable in a certain type of context, whereas it may be unacceptable in another type of context (Enkvist, 1978, p. 181) [my ellipsis].

As I see it, the most damaging effect occurs through not rendering as the same thematic elements in both the SLT and the TLT those elements which I called 'the obligatory/major participant-type themes', and their sub-category of the optional ones, which are predominantly of the participant type. I say this because, following Halliday's systemic formulation, these theme types constitute the ideational component element that contributes in the construction of the theme. Therefore, it must be present in the TLT and placed in its due slot in structure of the RC, depending on the WO of the TL (cf. 3.6.2.4, 7.8 & 7.14).

There are certain cases in which only the degree of prominence of this theme is lessened, following some stylistic options offered to the translator by the TL, but very few cases in which, for reasons outlined above, the translator does not consider some of these cognitive thematic elements as themes *per se* (e.g. in the case of verbs). In such cases, he substitutes that cognitive element with a cognitive participant-type theme, e.g. the grammatical subject. First, glossed themes in the Arabic SLT are not rendered with the same prominence (or emphasis) when translated into English (cf. 7-190 below); this also applies to some optional thematic selections when translating from English into Arabic (cf. 7-191 below), although the translator in 7-191 tries to compensate for the loss of 'there' by asserting the existence of the participant theme (he uses the emphatic particle 'qad' in Arabic, although this does not provide as emphatic an assertion of existence of the cataphoric 'there' in English). Second, most of the passive constructions in the English SLT (whether agentive or agentless) have been nominalized in the Arabic TLT (cf. 7.3.1.1 & exampe 7-192). Third, some moods have been altered in the Arabic SLT when translated into the English TLT, for reasons that have to do with aspects of political discourse. This applies to all three cases just discussed (cf. example 7-193 below). These three cases including the one where the grammatical subject replaces the verb as theme can respectively be illustrated from the corpus as follows:

7-190 #ʾammā l-buᶜdu l-ʾiqlīmiyyu fi l-ᶜalāqati l-ʾamrīkiyyati[1] faqad ʾāla ʾila nafsi

l-maşīr# (Text 7: 8-1).

7-190E #Meanwhile[2], the regional dimension of the American-Israeli relationship[1]/ has also suffered the same fate.#

7-191 #There[1]/ are some of the contours of the planned new word order// that[1]/ come into view as the beguiling rhetoric is lifted up.# (Text 1: 52-1).

7-191A #wa[2]- qad bada ʾat taẓharu l-xuṭūṭu l-raʾīsatu li-n-niẓāmi l-ᶜālamiyyi l-jadīdi[1] ḥālamā tawaqqafa t-tašaduqu l-bayāniyyu l-mudallil.#

7-192 #France[1]/ was quickly excluded by legal legerdemain, leaving a US-British condominium# (Text 1: 11-1).

7-192A #la qad tamma ʾistibᶜādu Faransā[1] bi-l-lujūʾi ʾila l-ḥīlati l-qānuniyya tārikatan bi-dālika s-siyādatu l-muštarakatu likullin min l-wilāyāti l-muttahidati wa Bariṭāniyā#

7-193 #law naḥnu[1] tajāwaznā -- li-laḥẓatin-- ʾat-tarīxa ṭ-ṭawīla l-muᶜādi l-ladi qādathu l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu ḍidda filasṭīna wa munaẓẓamati t-taḥrīr wa xuṣūṣan fi ᶜahdi r-raʾīsi Runāld Rīġan fi l-fatrati ma bayna 1980-1988, wa law naḥnu[1] tajāwaznā . . . wa law naḥnu[1] tajāwaznā . . . // māḍa[2] ᶜasāna najid?# (Text 10: 2-1).

7-193E #Let us[1]/, for the moment, ignore the long history of US hostility towards the PLO, most obviously during the period of the Reagan administration between 1980-1988, ...# #Let us[1] also ignore the corresponding negative statements periodically uttered against Israel.# #What[1] do we find?#

7-194 #And[1] Do not forget[2]/ his militant religion:# fanaticism and fundamentalism can never be reconciled with (our) Reason, Truth and Enlightment# (Text 5: 4-3 & 4)

7-194A #wa[1] tansa-w (= ʾantum= [1]) ᶜaqīdatahu l-ᶜudwāniyya l-mutamattilata bi-l-ᶜaşabiyyati wa l-ʾuşūliyyati l-ʾislāmiyya l-lati lā yumkinu ʾan tattafiqa maᶜa manṭiqinā wa ḥaqīqatinā wa tanawurinā#

In examples like these, the translator was successful in maintaining the theme qua theme of these various RCs, except that he had either reduced the emphasis/ prominence put on some of them (7-190 & 191), changed the syntactic structure of the RC (7-192), changed the mood of the RC (7-193), or even changed the thematic structure, example 7-194, in which the grammatical subject is the theme of the RC in the sense of what the RC is about. The latter goes along with the conclusion reached in the analysis cf. 7-16), and which is in line with Halliday's rather undetermined

position in this regard (cf. 3.6.2.1.3).

One way of ensuring that the thematic structures (whether simple or propositional) of the RCs, realizing a SLT or a portion of it (e.g. a paragraph, a section, a chapter, . . .etc.) are maintained in translation, is to make two summaries of both the SL and the TL texts and see if these two summaries match. If these summaries match in terms of what Djik (1977a [1980] & 1977b) calls 'text macro-structures', then the thematic structure of the SLT, in the sense of what the individual RCs are about is maintained[64].

With regard to minor themes (especially cognitive adjuncts) and initial themes (the non-cognitive discoursal and modal adjuncts as well as conjunctions), the degree of their presentation depends mainly on the degree of their 'cognitiveness' and secondly on the stylistic methods of the translator. This explains why the rendition of cognitive adjuncts proves to be somewhat partial between Arabic and English, and most of the sacrifice in thematic structure was made in the area of rendering the initial themes, especially when translating from Arabic into English. Thus initial themes are the least damaging to the coherence of the text, followed by cognitive adjuncts, and finally major obligatory themes which, I believe, can draw the line between a coherent text and a 'non-text'. This also applies to cohesion, with the exception that when translating from Arabic into English, the translator uses fewer conjunctions, and other means of cohesive devices instead (cf. 7.13, 14 & 16).

The above argument regarding the significance of maintaining thematic structure in translation can be summed up as follows: the difference between thematic structure and syntactic structure in different languages often means that the translator faces a choice. If he is maximally faithful to thematic and information structures he may be unfaithful to something else; whereas if he is faithful to something else, say to the basic syntactic patterns of the language, for instance-- he may have to be unfaithful to thematic and information structures. In such a situation, thematic and information structures should be counted as one of the criteria of translational adequacy/ equivalence, or as Enkvist (1978) explicitly puts it:

> I am of course not suggesting that information dynamics [information and thematic structures] should receive top priority, or indeed any priority rating fixed a priori, among the various criteria of translational adequacy. I am, however, arguing that information dynamics ought to be

> given those particular priorities it deserves in each particular situation. And these priorities will be affected by the translator's conceptions of his responsibilities towards the patterns of emphasis and the text strategy [the text type focus] of the SLT (Enkvist, 1978, p. 181).

7.16 Summary and Conclusion

The major findings of this analysis that have to do with the frequency and presentation of thematic structure, in its three main divisions (major, minor and initial) and their rendition in translation will be summed up here with regard to both languages. These major findings are:

1. The percentage of occurrence of grammatical subject-as-theme in the English SLTs is the same as in the Arabic SLTs when adding the 3% occurrence of the 'surrogate subject-as-theme' (nā'ib l-fāʿil) to the latter which is treated by Arab grammarians and rhetoricians as a 'predicand/theme (musnad 'ilayhi; cf. al-Anṭākī, 1975, vol. 1, p 349). Similarly, when translating from English into Arabic, the percentage of preserved grammatical subjects-as-theme is nearly the same when rendering the English corpus into Arabic (compare table 7-1 and 7-1A of appendix E with table 7-5 and 7-5E of appendix F).
2. The verb-as-theme is rare in both languages; its rareness corresponds to Halliday's (1985) ambiguous claim regarding its status as theme. My own view is that it is not a theme, in the sense of what the RC is about, although it might be an initial element in some systemic moods like the imperative or the yes/no interrogative (with regard to the latter Halliday (1985) changes his former view (Halliday 1967c) by considering auxiliary verbs like can/do/be, which form part of the question, the theme; he thus adds the subject as part of it and does not provide a definite answer with regard to the former).

From a comparative perspective, this view is supported from Arabic by both Arab grammarians and rhetoricians who insist that the verb is the core of the predication, no matter what type of 'mood' (ṣīga) of the clause is used. This is also supported from English and Spanish (Quirk et. al. 1985 & Sunner 1982), and goes along with Halliday's second functional component of the language, the interpersonal, in which interaction between the interlocutors gains more 'ground' by preposing the

verb, which seems to inform the addressee that 'you/we/they/(he) are/(is) the one/ones I/we am/are talking about.' This also explains why in translating from both languages, especially from Arabic into English, some conditional RCs are sometimes rendered as a first-person imperative (with 'we', i.e. 'let us', being the theme) to explicitly illustrate, in political discourse, the interaction between the writer and the reader, hence creating a feeling of solidarity between the two.

3. The complement-as-theme, in the sense of a grammatical object, is rare in both languages. The thematic status of preposed complements of Halliday's relational process, in English, is undetermined. Two arguments have been presented: one in favour of a Hallidayan approach (complements are themes conveying new information) and another in favour of a Praguean approach (the postponed participant is thematic because it is usually made definite by being preceded by a definite article 'the', and contextually given information, by being mentioned in the preceding text; cf. 2.2.4 & 2.3). In this respect, this structure needs further investigation.

4. With interrogative RCs, The Arabic corpus has twice as many RCs of this kind as the English. Whereas English has more 'information-seeking wh-questions' than 'polarity-seeking yes/no questions', Arabic has a roughly equal number of the two. What is notably different between the two languages is the occurrence of rhetorical questions. Whereas English has approximately 50% of its interrogatives as rhetorical, Arabic has over 75% of these RCs as rhetorical. Although interrogative RCs render the same discoursal services in both languages, and although their rendition in translation from one language to the other is nearly complete, due to the universality of interrogatives as a linguistic phenomenon, it seems that there is a sense of loss of some of the pragmatic meanings of some interrogative rhetorical questions when translated from Arabic into English, e.g. the element of ridicule (cf. 7.9.4).

5. The percentage of occurrence of glossed themes in the Arabic corpus is higher than that in the English. This is also supported by the translation, where the translator over-rendered the glossed themes when translating from English into Arabic, whereas only one occurrence is rendered from Arabic into English. This finding proves beyond doubt the emotiveness of Arabic political discourse and its down-to-earth style.

6. In two of the four optional selections of subject-as-theme, namely the wh-cleft and the it-cleft, the proportion of occurrence of their equivalent constructions in the Arabic

corpus is higher than in the English. Bearing in mind the major discoursal functions of the two thematic selections in both languages, namely to highlight the subject-as-theme, the higher percentage of occurrence in Arabic political discourse adds additional support to the hypothesis of the emotiveness of Arabic. This is also supported by the translation from English, which is complete, in comparison to that from Arabic which is partial because, in some occurrences, the translator opts for a cognitive circumstantial adjunct as a marked scene-setter-theme, followed by the subject whose thematic emotiveness, in the sense of what the RC is about, is reduced.

7. With regard to Existential RCs, the percentage of their occurrence in both languages is the same. Despite their similar discoursal function in both languages, and the partiality of their rendition into both languages, the translation into English seems to be freer regarding the status of 'there' as theme (or part of the theme) of the RC. In some cases, the translator ignores 'there' altogether in favour of following the argumentative line in the text, where the 'there' RC presents a contrast between two propositions, in such case the subject-as-theme. In this respect, it seems that Arabic is more constrained.

8. As for RCs with delayed themes, the two languages are also equal in the percentage of their use. Although they serve the same discoursal functions in political discourse in both languages (mainly the postponement of a propositional extended theme), English preserves the thematic structure of such RCs more than Arabic (which is more flexible regarding word order); this is a result of the fact that English presents thematic structure in this way to evade its typical and rigid SVO word order.

9. In both languages, the cognitive adjunct-as-theme, except when used metaphorically, is treated as a marked-theme-setter, framework, or discourse dimension within which the main proposition takes place, no matter what type of adjunct is present in the RC. While in translating into Arabic, the translator manages to completely render them as marked theme-settings, he seems to have overrenderd the number of RCs identified in the Arabic corpus when translating into English. This, however, is not achieved by rendering every thematic adjunct in the Arabic corpus into its equivalent in the TLTs, but, for stylistic purposes mainly, when translating into English he downgrades some adjuncts into the rhematic field of the RCs in question, and upgrades more adjuncts from the rhematic fields into thematic ones. This indicates that English political discourse (as well perhaps as other genres of discourse as well) prefers to use such

adjuncts as marked-theme-setters more than the Arabic.

10. Participial dependent-clauses-as-theme in their various types occur more in the English corpus than the Arabic, although they are infrequent in both. This represents an area in which translation between the two languages can serve as a tool in understanding the thematic structure of some RCs, especially in Arabic in which there are some elements of the structure of the RC (mainly adverbial phrases) that could act as initial dependent clauses, and thus set the required framework for the main proposition to follow, had the writer opted for a different writing style. The latter statement also accounts for their partiality in translation between the two languages.

11. The percentage of occurrence of conditional dependent clauses as themes (which in addition have their own internal theme-rheme structure) in the Arabic corpus is twice as high as it is in the English. In both languages, however, they serve the same discoursal functions, and their rendition is complete. The latter finding is explained by their similar pragmatic functions, and the universality of conditionals as a linguistic phenomenon.

12. The percentage of occurrence of the various other types of dependent clauses as themes (temporal, reason, concessive, comment, and themeless RCs) in the English corpus is higher than in the Arabic (comment dependent clauses are found in the Arabic only). Apart from their previously discussed discoursal functions, two types are especially important in supporting two of the hypotheses set forth in chapter 1 (cf. 1.5). The first is comment dependent clauses which, although infrequent in both corpuses (4 in Arabic versus none in English), supports the hypothesis that Arabic political discourse is more emotive and down-to-earth (hence interactive in style) than the English. The second is themeless RCs, which although infrequent in both corpses (5 RCs in English versus one in Arabic) support the proposition (in addition to other 'thin' clues discussed in some of the above sections) that translation can serve as a tool in understanding the thematic structures of some RCs; in this instance it is the understanding of Halliday's (1985) "clause without theme."

Although their rendition in translating from the two languages seems to be complete, English seems to overrender more of such clause types in comparison with the Arabic corpus. This is understandable if we remember that adjuncts-as-themes (temporal, causal, etc. cf. 7.6.1) can alternatively be expressed by a dependent clause,

and this is what happens in the translation process from Arabic into English.

13. The percentage of occurrence of grammatical metaphor, in the Hallidayan sense, in the Arabic corpus is higher than in the English. The difference in the percentage between the occurrence of English ideational metaphor and its Arabic equivalent (37 RCs, 3% of the English corpus RCs versus 22 RCs, 6%, of the Arabic), between what I call the subjective interpersonal metaphor (6 RCs, 1%, of the English corpus of the RCs versus 7 RCs, 2% of the Arabic) and between what I call the objective interpersonal metaphor (21 RCs, 2% of the English corpus RCs versus 3 RCs, 1%, of the Arabic), in addition to their complete rendition in translation, add another piece of evidence (to the ones already discussed) to the claim that Arabic political discourse is more emotive than its English counterpart.

14. With conjunctions-as-initial-themes (be they non-cognitive adjuncts, discoursal or modal conjunctions), the initial element(s) of Halliday's (1985) multiple theme structure, we come to the area in translation the translator, especially when translating English into Arabic and, to a lesser extent, Arabic into English 'regularly sacrifices' conjunctive elements as initial themes. Considering the freedom of Arabic as a relatively free word order language, the translator was insensitive to Halliday's sequence of multiple theme, although he over-renders the occurrences of multiple theme in the Arabic TLTs. On the other hand, when translating into English, the translator felt free in enormously reducing the number of conjunctive particles used in the SLTs, by using other methods of cohesion (cf. 7-13 & 14). This again supports the hypothesis that, by virtue of being emotive and down-to-earth, Arabic political discourse tends to be more interactive in style.

15. In study and analysis, translator's deletions and additions have been noted. But there is more to a message, realised as a RC, than content involved; there is arrangement of content, analyzed here from the theoretical perspective of thematic organisation, originally laid down by Halliday (1967c) and modified by the author for the purpose of this comparative study (cf. 3.6.6). However if thematisation means anything-- and obviously I believe it does-- then alternation of themes is in some sense alternation of the message. As a message, the content of a political text as SLT (Arabic or English) is, qualitatively and quantatively, slightly different from the TLT, since changing the theme of some RCs changes the point of departure for the RC as a

message, especially when that point of departure is what the RC is about. Therefore, I suggest that the analysis of thematisation offers a tool for the objective evaluation of the fidelity of translation to its SLT. In this respect, I truly believe and strongly support Dubois when he (1990, p. 44) says that "fidelity to thematisation is one criterion by which to judge the quality of translation[65]".

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.0 Layout of the Chapter

This chapter will consist of four sections. Section one will consider the status of the six hypotheses proposed in the introduction to this study, in the light of both the theoretical and the applied studies. Section two will discuss additional findings that have emerged as a result of the analysis of data. Section three will outline the modified Hallidayan thematic model which also emerges as a result of the analysis of data and which might have value in a comparative thematic analysis, not only in presenting thematic structure of RCs in political discourse prior to and after the process of translation, but also for other genres of Arabic and English discourse, and may prove to be useful for comparing the thematic structures of other languages. Finally, I will list some areas for future research that could be carried out using the proposed thematic model.

8.1 Review of Proposed Hypotheses

On the basis of the theoretical and the applied study that have been carried out, the status of the proposed hypotheses of this study is as follows:

1. The first hypothesis, that Halliday's systemic and functional grammatical model of thematic structure has a cross-language validity and can be applied to languages with a non-SVO patterns of word order, is evident in both the argument presented in chapter 5 (cf. 5.3 & 5.8) and the analysis of Arabic data which is carried out accordingly (cf. 7-9 through 7-14). In this respect, it should be noted that Halliday never makes any explicit claim beyond English either in his original formulation of thematic structure (Halliday 1967a , 1967c & 1968), or in his re-formulation of the model (Halliday 1985). The only shift of position noticed on the new formulation pertains to the thematic structure of yes/no interrogative RCs and those of the imperative. For the former, he adds the grammatical subject (the second constituent of the modal elements of the clause) as part of the theme of the RC, and to the latter, he introduces an alternative

analysis of imperative RCs under which the verb or the grammatical subject (usually the first, the second and the third personal pronouns, singular or plural, that refer to the addressee) are regarded as themes of such RCs. Both modifications are in line with the 19th century formulation of the theme, as the psychological subject, and with Halliday's own formulation in terms of his definition of theme as what the RC is about. This latter case is also in line with the traditional and modern Arab grammarians who, together with Arab rhetoricians, emphasize that the verb is the core of predication of the sentence in Arabic (cf. 5.2). Halliday's latest modification is also in line with the modified model adopted in the analysis of the data. In this respect, all I made was a slight modification of Halliday's systemic model of thematic structure (cf. 3.6.6 & 8.3 below) and applied this model to an extended analysis of data from both languages. This proved to be sound and valid.

2. The second hypothesis, that of the universal applicability of Halliday's overall model of language (cf. 3.5), is evident from the theoretical and applied arguments presented in support of applying its three major components (the interpersonal, the textual and the ideational) to languages like Arabic. With regard to the interpersonal function, Arab rhetoricians have modified the formal moods (şiyağ) of SA on the basis of the need of the pragmatic need of the interlocutors, their speech roles and the overall speech situation (cf. 5.3). The textual analysis carried out in chapter 7, on the basis of the author's modification of Halliday's thematic model, suggests, despite some marginal problems (cf. 7.3.3), the applicability of this model to written discourse (it might also be applicable to information units of spoken discourse, had such an analysis is carried out, where information structure, realised by the phonological level of the language, is at full play). The ideational component was evident in the analysis of the various process types and was most explicit in the analysis of grammatical metaphor, especially ideational metaphor, in which the incongruent mapping and realisation of a process as an RC in both languages is treated along the same lines in the thematic analysis of the corpus (cf. 7.6.1 & 7.12.1).

3. The third hypothesis, that translation can be used as a tool in understanding aspects of the thematic structure of the RCs of the SLTs, is evident in the process of translation into the two languages. In this respect, I would like to say that for the past 15 years I spent as a professional interpreter/translator, and before working on this study, I had

been observing that successful translations managed to reflect in the TLTs the thematic relations that are expressed at the start of the RC, and also the effect of the preceding discourse on both these types of expressions. This hypothesis, therefore, was that translation could be used as a tool for cross-language study of discourse, of the fidelity of translation (cf. 7.15), and consequently as tool for understanding the thematic structure of some RCs of the SLTs.

In particular, I was interested in seeing how the expression of thematic structure was constrained by the need to deal with constructions that have no obvious correspondent in the TL. In arriving at my conclusions, I made use of the comparative analysis I have carried out. The constraints that I identified were mainly syntactic and lexico-semantic, but there were others that have to do with register and/or genre (i.e. social constraints, e.g., power relations in the case of political discourse), cohesion and speech situations (e.g. the use of language as an arena for the practice of power, in its various systemic moods). By far the most frequent syntactic constraint is the verb-initial construction in the Arabic RCs, for which no syntactic equivalent is available in English. These cases account for 58% of the overall total of RCs in the Arabic SLTs (cf. table 10 of appendix-G). What was impressive was that, in support of this hypothesis, the corpus translator, editors and proof readers frequently found ways of getting around this problem guided by the reformulation of the syntactic mood system of Arabic along pragmatic lines, and thus they maintain the order of thematic and rhematic spheres of the RCs of SLTs.

In this respect, it can be said that the objective results of testing the validity of this hypothesis range from weakly significant cases (e.g. dependent clauses as theme, especially purpose-type dependent clauses, and themeless RCs) to strongly significant cases (e.g. those of the imperative RCs in both languages, where translation of political discourse suggests that the actual theme of such RCs is far from being the verb, but the personal pronoun referring to the addressee). However, despite the lack of consistency and the marginality of findings to support this hypothesis, the fact remains that the process of translation provides unique insights into the various ways in which different languages (in this case Arabic and English) make use of the contextualising resources of thematisation and information structure, and consequently assists researchers in understanding the thematic structure of the SLTs in both languages. I also would like

to add that had I not analyzed the thematic structure of the SLTs and the TLTs in both languages with this hypothesis in mind and in the light of the various problems that it posed for the translation of English and Arabic, I would not have been able to isolate the many features that come together to characterise the system of message constructions in terms of theme-rheme and information structure, or as Becker puts it:

> Translation is a necessary first step in understanding a distant text; necessary because it opens up for us the exuberance and deficiencies of our own interpretations (Becker, 1984, p. 135[1]).

4. The fourth hypothesis, that Arabic is more capable of preserving and presenting Halliday's multiple theme in translation than English, is evident from the fact that the number of RCs rendered into Arabic is higher than those identified in the English SLTs. The opposite is true: the number of RCs in the English TLTs is less than those identified in the Arabic SLTs. However, it must be kept in mind that this finding results from the fact that in the process of translating into Arabic, the translator was insensitive to the significance of the way multiple themes are organized in the SLT: this results in the over-rendition of multiple themes in the Arabic TLTs. On the other hand, translator does not render the same number of multiple themes as in the Arabic SLTs when he translates into English because the latter uses cohesive devices, other than conjunction, (i.e. reference, substitution, . . . etc) in connecting the various types of RCs.

5. The fifth hypothesis, that Arabic political discourse is more emotive (thus more down-to-earth and more interactive in style) than English, is supported by the following findings of the analysis:

(a) The percentage of occurrence of glossed themes in the Arabic SLTs is higher than in the English. This is also supported in translation by the fact that the translator into Arabic rendered more glossed themes in the Arabic TLTs than are present in the original SLTs. This is also evident from the fact that, in translation into English, only one RC with glossed theme is rendered into English with the same markedness effect; the rest of the Arabic glossed themes are rendered as marked-scene-setters themes, using cognitive circumstantial adjuncts.

(b) The number of occurrences of comment clauses in the Arabic SLTs (4 among 382 RCs) compared with (1 among 875 RCs) comment clause found in the English SLTs.

(c) The percentage of occurrence of subjective interpersonal-equivalent metaphorical RCs and ideational-equivalent metaphorical RCs is far higher in the Arabic SLTs than in the English SLTs. On the other hand, the number of objective interpersonal metaphorical RCs with 'it' is more frequent in the English SLT than those of the Arabic SLTs. The result is more interaction between the writer and reader in Arabic political discourse, and self-detachment and objectivity and consequently less interaction in the English.

(d) The percentage of occurrence of first, second personal pronouns, singular and plural ('I', 'we' and 'you') is higher in the Arabic SLTs than the English (compare tables 11 and 12 of appendix-H). In addition to the fact that such occurrences add a new dimension to the emotiveness of Arabic political discourse over English, they also signal an important feature of political discourse, i.e. the feeling of solidarity generated as a result of the interaction between the writer and reader, especially when the referents of such pronouns act as themes in the sense of what the RC is about and the power differential between readers and writers is relinquished.

6. The sixth hypothesis, that Arabic as source and as target language respectively presents and consequently preserves the salient features of political discourse in translation more than English, is not evidently clear and is only partially true[2]. This is borne by the following findings arrived at as a result of the analysis of the corpus:

(a). With regard to vocabulary/lexical items used to express/code/realise ideological beliefs, thinking or orientation and their experiential values in helping to create social relationships in terms of power, both languages as source and target languages express these aspects with almost the same frequency. Furthermore, such lexical items are also lexically abstract in both languages as well as their translations; lexical items like 'nationalism' (al-qawmiyya) (text 1: 12-2), 'qawmajiyy' (pseudo-nationalist) (text 8: 7-3), ' ʿaṣāla' (nobility of descent) (text 6: 13-1) , and 'gangster' (balṭajiy), and their equivalent translation, are used depending on the context, formal/informal, to express some political concepts that are inherent in the culture of both languages. In both languages, if an equivalent lexical item is not found to dress up a new idea, the language will either coin a new term (e.g. 'qawmajiyy') or borrow one from another language.

(b) Lexical complexity, as indicated earlier (cf. 6.5.4), can be measured by (1) types

of relations between clauses (dependent & main) constituting the RC (coordination/ subordination or paratactic versus hypotactic, to use Halliday's systemic terms) and by (2) the number of words of each RC. The analysis of data demonstrates that both languages demonstrate almost the same degree of lexical complexity with regard to the latter, although, in some instances and for stylistic purposes, some of the Arabic SL RCs are split into more than one RC in English due to the length of the former. On the other hand, the hypotactic relation, 'a sublime type of relation', tends to be more prominent in the English RCs (both as a source and target language); whereas the paratactic, a 'naive' type of relation tends to be prominent in the Arabic RCs (both as a source and target language), owing to the fact that Arabic use of conjunctions as cohesive devices exceeds far that of English (cf. 7-13 & 14).

(c) With regard to transitivity, Halliday's semantic realisation of the ideational component, one of the choices of participants in the process is that of nominalization within which a process can occur in a reduced form, i.e. with no tense or agent; so there will be no indication of the timing of the process nor, often, of agent and/or patient. In this respect there will be no indication of who does what to whom or when. Both languages express this feature quite frequently either as SL or as TL, although throughout the analysis Arabic seems to be using it more. This is justified by the fact that the tense system in Arabic is not as complicated as that of the English (it only consists of past, present and future tense; cf. 5.3). The other justification is clear from the Arabic as a TL, where most occurrences of passive RCs in the English SLTs are rendered in terms of nominalized process by using a 'verbal noun' (maṣdar; cf. tables 7-1 & 7-1A of appendix E)[3]. This is done due to the fact Arabic does not possess an equivalent tense system to that of the English. The second justification is that the morphological change resulting from changing active to passive verbs is not usually shown by the grammatical case markers (fatha, damma, kasra) in all genres of written Arabic discourse (cf. 5.3.1.1).

(d) Passivization (agentive or agentless), which I call 'the process of misleading the addressee without overtly lying' and which is used as a manifestation of power relations in languages, is more frequent in English political discourse than in Arabic. This is also clear in the translation from Arabic into English where the number of passivised RCs rendered into English exceeds the ones the Arabic SLTs originally have. It is also

clear from the fact that only two passive RCs of the English SLTs are rendered into Arabic (cf. 3.6.2., 5.3.1.1, 7.3.1.1 & 7.9.1.1). Regardless of the reasons that motivate the English politician or political writer to use the passive, especially when it is agentless (be they power, tact/politeness, self-detachment, objectivity, evading responsibility for a certain action and drawing attention to the object as if he were the doer of the 'deed', in addition to the inherent constraints of English word order, which, unlike Arabic, cannot thematise any part of the RC), the fact remains that its frequent non-use in Arabic political discourse (whether in original or in TL texts), does not, by any means, make Arabic political discourse more explicit in spelling out 'who does what to whom'. On the contrary, while English avoids explicitness by using agentless passive quite often, Arabic does it more comprehensively through the process of nominalization. Such a process, as indicated above, not only protects the agent by deleting it, but also gets rid of the tense element which indicates the timing of the action.

(e) Both languages, as source and target, equally express some aspect of experience incongruently, i.e. through Halliday's grammatical metaphor, especially its sub-branch the ideational type (compare tables 7-3 & 7-3A with 7-7& 7-7E).

(f) In both languages, as source and target, relational modality is expressed by modal auxiliary verbs like 'can' , 'could', 'may', 'might', 'ought', 'have to', 'must', etc. and their equivalents in Arabic like 'yumkinu' (may), 'yastaṭīʿu' (can), 'yajibu' (must), 'yatawajjabu' (ought to) and the rest. These modal auxiliaries in both languages either express permission if positive or prohibition if negative (the first 4 of the English list and the first 2 of the Arabic) or express obligation (the remaining auxiliaries of both lists). In all their occurrence in the SLTs or the TLTs, the authority and power relations on the basis of which producers of the text grant permission to or withhold it from or impose obligation upon those the message is given to, are not made explicit. It is precisely implicit authority power claims in both languages alike that makes relational modality a matter of ideological interest.

(g) Attitudinal/expressive modality, by which the writer expresses his authority regarding the truth or probability of the representation of reality. As indicated earlier this authority can be realised either by the subjective interpersonal metaphor or by the use of modal non-cognitive adjuncts. In analysing the data, it was found that both types

of modal expressions occur more in the Arabic SLTs (cf. 7.5.1.1, 7.6.2, 7.11.1.1. & 7.12.2).

(h) As indicators of power relations in political discourse, first ('I' & 'we') and second ('you') personal pronouns in English and their equivalences in Arabic have a relational value (cf. 6.5.4, note 44). How politicians and writers select and distribute these types of pronouns have to do with what I may call 'pronominal pragmatics', that is to say in certain societies such a pronominal choice is affected by the perceived roles of the speaker/writer. Therefore the choice of one over the other, especially as a theme of RC, does not affect the fact that the speaker's/writer's basic intention of referring to one or more than one audience/reader is not altered.

The distribution of 'I', 'we' and 'you' is clearly marked in political discourse as a measure of power and authority. It is also noticeable (compare tables 11 and 12 of appendix-H) that Arabic political discourse uses these pronouns as means of power more than English. This probably has much to do with the topic of the corpus in question, the writer's political orientation, and/or the writer's personality. Furthermore, the use of such pronouns as indicators of power is mainly meant to achieve apparently two contradictory aims (i.e. assert the powerful status of the writer/speaker, and seek solidarity to share responsibility of the reader/hearer). To accomplish these two aims, the writer/politician has to relinquish some of his power in order to gain the addressee's feeling of solidarity. This is mainly achieved by the use of 'we'. On the other hand, 'I' indicates no relinquishing of power, while 'you' is imperative.

(i) Implicature, as a feature indicating power relations in political discourse, involves, as indicated earlier (cf. 6.5.4), two main points. First, implicature is an intentional act, in the sense that political writer/politician cannot 'flout' Grice's (1975) principles of conversation (known as 'maxims of conversations') unless he is socially powerful (cf. 2.3.3, note 43). If not, he will lose the spirit of solidarity with the reader; something which he always aspires to win. Second, unless the 'implicated proposition' enriches/updates the existing ideological beliefs of the reader, he will not only, (in this case) lose the solidary feelings of the reader but also his own credibility, and will be looked at as 'a bluffing dictator' if he is a politician, or 'a bluffing mercenary' if he is a political writer. Throughout the analysis of the corpus, the implicature drawn by the writers of the corpus prove to be of equal value for these two conditions.

(j) With regard to speech acts, as indicators of power relations in political discourse, directives (commands and requests) are of special importance. For a critical linguist, the most direct forms of speech acts are legitimated only when the power differential between participants is at its maximum level, in which case the imperative and interrogative moods are used. On the other hand, when power differential is at its minimum level, neutral declarative mood is used, in which case the only privileges of power the addresser gains against the addressee is that of being 'a provider of information' (cf. 6.5.4). This applies to the majority of RCs in political discourse in any language. As for the interrogative and imperative speech acts, the analysis of data shows that English, as a source and a target language, uses more imperatives and less interrogatives than Arabic (compare tables 7-1 & 7-1A with 7-5 & 7-5A). Note that, as indicated earlier, the majority of Arabic interrogatives are of the rhetorical type, which means that the exercise of power was achieved, as in declarative utterances, by providing information, rather than by seeking it from the position of power (cf. 7.9.4).

To sum up these arguments with regard to the validity of the above hypothesis, I tentatively propose a modification to this hypothesis. This involves the fact that both languages express power relations in every aspect of those ten features in different degrees, to the extent that neither language seems to realise power relations more explicitly than other. In this respect, I conclude that power relations of political discourse depend mainly on the nature of each individual feature of the discourse, the nature of the topic being discussed, the ideological orientation of the writer, and above all the linguistic resources available to each language to express these relations.

8.2 Additional Findings

In addition to the findings listed in chapter 7 (cf. 7.16) three additional findings are identified which are related to the overall motivation of this study. The first additional finding has to do with what I called earlier propositional theme. This is related to the lexical and syntactic complexity of RCs in English and Arabic political discourse, both as a SL and a TL (cf. 7.9.4. & 7.10.4). I call a propositional theme any thematic structure in which the obligatory participant cognitive-type theme is modified by either one or more relative clauses, by a prepositional phrase, by apposition, or by

another dependent clause. Propositional theme also consists of all recursive 'frameworks' that set the stage and which include all types of cognitive circumstantial adjuncts and dependent clause that are usually followed by the major cognitive theme. Such a theme is propositional in terms of the fact that it provides the reader with additional information about the theme which he/she is not aware of. This additional information is usually neither mentioned in the preceding verbal context, nor is it part of the reader's world knowledge. The majority of occurrences of propositional theme in the corpus are usually found among those substantiating RCs of a proposed hypothesis/thesis in the writer's argumentative line of thinking or among RCs that substantiate the writer's counter argument to a certain hypothesis. This can be illustrated from English and Arabic respectively by:

8-1 #Historian Abraham Sachar, whose interpretation is particularly interesting because he is custodian of the archives of Truman's influential associate David Niles,[1]/ alleges that Truman's ultimate decision to support Israeli expansion was based upon the Israeli military victory, which showed that Israel "could become a strategic asset__ a kind of stationary aircraft carrier to protect the American interests in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.# (Text 1: 22-3)

8-1A #yazᶜumu l-muʾarrixu Abrahām Šāšar al-ladi yuᶜtabaru tafsīruhu ᶜala darajatin ᶜāliyyatin min l-ʾahammiyyati naẓaran li-ʾannahu kāna qāʾiman ᶜalą maxṭūṭāti Dayfid Nāylz ʾaṣṣadīqu l-mutanaffidu ladā Trūman[1] ʾanna l-qarāra an-nihāʾiyya li-r-raʾīsi l-ʾamrīkiyyi Trūman bi-daᶜmi t-twassuᶜi l-ʾisrāʾīlī kāna natījatan li-l ʾintişāri l-ᶜaskariyyi l-ladai ʾaẓhara ḥaqīqata ʾannahu yumkinu ʾan tuşbiha ʾisrāʾīlu sanadan ʾistrātījiyyan aw hāmilata ţāʾirātin ţābitatin li-ḥimāyati l-maşālihi l-ʾamrīkkayyati fi minţaqatayyi ḥawḍi l-baḥri l-mutawasiţi wa š-šaraqi l-ʾawsaţ#

8-2 #wa-[1] kadālika[2] fa-ʾinna l-mafhūma l-ladi yaqūdu ʾila l-ʾixtiyāri min bayni l-ʾasālībi wa l-furaşi mā min šaʾnihi taḥqīqu l-ʾahdāfi l-mawdūᶜati muşbaqan wa rafḍi kulli l-siyasāti l-ʾuxrā l-lati lā tatanāsabu maᶜa taḥqīqi hādihi l-ʾahdāf[3] yuʾaddi bi-ḍ-ḍarūrati ʾila ʾiġfāli kulli l-ʾahdafi l-ʾaqalla ţumūḥan wa l-lati taşubbu fi taḥqīqi maşlaḥati d-dwla# (Text 9: 3-6)

8-2E #Furthermore[1], this narrow concept which is designed to achieve certain predetermined objectives [2]/ will also result in the selection from the various possibilities available of one option and ignore all other polices inconsistent with the promotion of these objectives.# #It[2]/ will inevitably result in the abandonment of all less ambitious objectives which might contribute to the achievement of the state's interests.

It has also been noted throughout the analysis phase of this study, that this type of theme is more common in the English SLTs. This of course is not surprising, since

Arabic depends on conjunctions, as cohesive devices, more than English. This results in Arabic having more coordinative relations (paratactic relations in Halliday's systemic terms) than English. This is evident in the abundant use of 'wa' and 'fa' ('and', 'and then'/'then') in the Arabic SLTs as well as the TLTs (cf. 7-13, 14 & 16).

The second additional finding has to do with redundancy in translation. Throughout the analysis of data, it was found out that English as a source and as a target language is more redundant than Arabic[4]. In this respect, I believe that, in political discourse, redundancy occurs as a result of two main factors. The first is inherent and has to do with the nature of some systemic grammatical options of the RC as a message, such that some options are more dominant in one language and less frequent in another. With regard to English and Arabic, for instance, passivisation is more frequent in English than in Arabic (cf. 3.6.2.2, 5.3.1.1, 7.3.1.1 & 7.9.1.1). In agentive passive in English, for example, the 'by phrase' can be reduced in Arabic, be it a source or a target language, by the use of a 'resumptive pronoun' (damīr ᶜā ʾid aw ʾisti ʾnāf), as in 7-132 above (repeated here for convenience; note highlighted pronouns and compare the number of words):

8-3 #wa[1] l-ḥarbu[2] ʾida[3] našabat// fa-[1] lā buddā ʾan yaksabahā[2] fi n-nihāyati **ṭarafun** mahmā kānat xasāʾir-**uh**# #ʾammā[1] l-xāsiru l-ḥaqīqiyu fīhā[2] // fa-sanakūnu naḥnu l-ᶜaraba, l-muʾminīna bi-ḥaqqi ʾummatinā fi l-ḥayāti siwaʾun kunnā fi l-ᶜirāqi aw fi ʾayyati buqᶜatin min waṭaninā l-ᶜarabiyyi l-kabīr# (Text 6: 12-1 & 2)

8-3E #The war, if it should start,/ will inevitably by won in the end by one side, no matter how greatly the loses that side suffers.# #But the real loser in this war/ will be ourselves, the Arabs, who believe in our nation's right to live, whether in Iraq or in any part of our great Arab nation.#

The second and more important factor is what I call 'conscious redundancy' or lack of concentration, to use Enkvist's (1978, p. 172[5]) term, which allows readers to process texts (especially political texts) fairly rapidly and in ways that are, more or less, in line with the writer's ideological orientation. This type of redundancy results from the provision of many components (i.e. propositional themes) in the text that are included for other reasons than to convey new information to readers. For example, the writer must provide the reader with enough background to make the comprehension and integration of new information possible and consequently to convince him of his point of view. In a technical sense, components which prepare for and reinforce the

transmission of new information might be called redundant, but they are nonetheless indispensable for comprehension.

On the other hand, conscious low redundancy in political discourse (or probably any genre of discourse) is likely to cause a wider spread of interpretation than would apply to texts with high redundancy. The difference arises because, in this case, the readers supply more out of their individually variable supply of world knowledge and experience. Many actual obstacles to interpretation are directly caused by low redundancy or, in more familiar terms, lack of explicitness.

With regard to translation, the translator must use restraint in dealing with redundant SL features, whether they express inherent or background information, and confine himself to pruning here and there, since, if he goes too far, he is sometimes likely to find the whole SLT redundant, in which case he will find himself liable to recreate a brand new TLT. Therefore, the translator should decide to what extent he should retain the degree of redundancy of the SLT, because excessive change in the degree of redundancy by ellipsis or any other means can also shift the emphasis of the SLT and may alter its thematic structure and thematic progression scheme (cf. 2.5) and consequently the distribution of new information among its constituting RCs.

The third additional finding has to do with what Hatim (1987a, 1987b, 1989 & elsewhere) claims, on the basis of 7 TL clauses of English with no Arabic SL, that nominal sentences are predominant in Arabic argumentative texts (cf. 1.1). In analysing the word order of the Arabic corpus (Arabic as a SL and as a TL), the results of the analysis of a total of 1244 RCs of Arabic shows a predominance of verbal sentences (VSO word order) in relation to nominal sentence (with either SVO, OVS, SP & PS; cf. tables 9 and 10 of appendix-G). This finding matches another study carried out by Rosenhouse (1990)[6].

My findings together with those of Rosenhouse (1990) demonstrate the superficiality of Hatim's claims which ignore the many ways in which a verbal sentence can be made evaluative like a nominal sentence (cf. 5.5.2). Hatim's analysis of the theme-rheme structure of Arabic and English is also problematic in that it 'dangles in the air' and belongs properly to no linguistic school, even to Halliday's systemic model to which he claims to adhere (cf. 1.1).

8.3 A Proposed Model For Comparative Thematic Analysis

On the basis of the reasoning set forth in chapter 7 and which, in turn, was based on arguments proposed earlier in this research (cf. 3.6.6 & 5.8) and supported by the analysis of many RCs in the context of extended political discourse and their translation in the two languages (English and Arabic), I have reached the conclusion that thematisation is writer/speaker-based. In this sense it bridges the gap between the writer's internal thought and the expression of that thought in the form of language. In this respect, also, and since the beginning of my research, I have felt the need to draw a distinction between what I called obligatory (participant-type) theme selections and optional types (identification, predication, substitution and reference) which, although predominantly of the participant-type, are invoked optionally by the originator of the message with the purpose of illustrating how effectively the writers/speakers use them in the expression of their intentions.

All would agree that the functions which Halliday associates with thematisation, including the optional theme selections, and information structure are essential to the creation of the message. In this respect, for all the investigations of the effect of thematisation on the construction of messages, I believe that we still do not have a complete picture of the message as entity in itself. This is why a modified model of Halliday's thematic structure is proposed here, which will concentrate on the structure of the message as such in order to understand its relation to the RC.

Each RC, as a realisation of a message within the overall text, consists of one or more initial element (theme), and one or more terminating element (rheme). These two elements specify the distribution of elements that 'stage' the message. In the unmarked case, the setting is established by a simple element which corresponds to the first element in the simple declarative clause of English, the 'predicand' (al-mubtadaʾ) in nominal RCs and the grammatical/surrogate subject (al-fāʿil aw nāʾib al-fāʿil) in verbal RCs of Standard Arabic (SA). The terminating element/s, in turn, is/are closely related to the overall distribution of information content within the message, which starts with reference to an antecedent, or else some mechanism for the 'newness' or most 'informativeness' (cf. 4.4). In the unmarked case the culmination of the message

coincides with the termination (rhematic sphere).

The proposed modified thematic model used in the analysis of data in chapter 7 is integrative. It brings together concepts that have been characterised 'rather loosely' by Halliday (1967c, 1985 & elsewhere) under thematisation, and to a lesser extent, information structure, the two systems constituting his "enabling" textual components (cf. 3.4 & 3.5). This model also directs these two systems towards the prime function of message formation, by specifying the overall structural frame of the message. In this model, the thematic structure of the RC as a message specifies the patterning of multiple theme to the cutoff point where the rheme begins. The writer has the choice of which slot to fill in that thematic sphere and whether or not to enlist a marked construction, be it of the participant or scene-setting type. In this respect, the RC, as already indicated, contains one major cognitive theme plus anything else that may be placed in the slots that are available to the left of it. As indicated in chapter 3 (cf. 3.6.3), chapter 5 (cf. 5.8) and chapter 7, I have concluded that major themes are cognitive and mutually exclusive. They consist mainly of grammatical subjects (congruent or incongruent/ metaphorical), complements/ objects, wh-elements the modal elements in the yes/no questions, and the first and second personal pronouns (singular and plural) of the imperative mood, and not the verb as Halliday proposes as thematic alternative element. From this, it can be concluded that major themes must be one of the defining characteristics of the RC.

Minor themes (i.e. circumstantial adjuncts and dependent clauses) usually set the various types of framework for the main predication to follow. Cognitive adjuncts, for instance, set the various types of dimensions (temporal, spatial . . . etc.) for the main process with its participants (one of which will be thematic) to take place, and can also act metaphorically as participant-type themes. Dependent clauses, in addition to setting various types frameworks for the main predication to ensue, can also have their own thematic structure which is, in some way, related to that of the main clause.

Initial themes (conjunctions, modal and discoursal noncognitive adjuncts) can occur freely with any number of cognitive adjuncts and dependent clauses in English or Arabic. Thus the thematic structure of the RC that precede the major theme can contain one or more cognitive adjuncts and/or dependent clause(s) and only one conjunction or modal/discoursal adjunct, in a construction that looks like this:

8-4 Initial theme(s) (followed by) minor theme(s) (followed by) major theme (followed by) the rheme.

In this respect the function of the major theme is to establish the cognitive setting of the message (realized as an RC) in terms of what the message is about. The function of the minor theme is to establish the overall framework stage-setting of the scene. And the function of initial theme (the noncognitive, discoursal and modal, adjuncts and conjunctive) is to relate this message to the preceding one, to illustrate the attitude of the message producer and his role in the speech situation and to illustrate the type of logical relation to the immediate context (verbal or situational; additive, adversative, etc.).

The rheme, of course, is everything that follows the theme (except in SA where the verb, which typically precedes the subject, is rhematic). In this respect I would like to believe that this model and characterisation of thematic structure, as analyzed in both the SL and the TL texts of English and Arabic, is sufficiently general to apply to most languages and at the same time specific enough to be useful in adding to our understanding of the nature of the message (realised as an RC) and is applicable to other genres of discourse in these two languages. In conclusion, also, the general function of the thematic structure is to specify the distribution of the thematic elements over the thematic sphere and those of the rheme over the rhematic sphere.

8.4 **Areas for Further Study**

At the close of this comparative study of thematic structure and the role of translation in presenting this structure in political discourse, I find myself inclined to consider the following as future areas of research in the same topic:

1. Testing the above model by using other discourse genres and by using other types of texts, e. g. expository texts (descriptive and narrative) and legal texts.
2. Testing the model against spoken political discourse. In such discourse the phonological level of the source and the target languages will contribute greatly to the thematic structure of each information unit (which can be less, equal or more than its equivalent in a written RC). Furthermore, the salient features of political discourse (cf. 6.5.4) and the social constraints that determine their usage by political speakers or

politicians (i.e. power relations, bias/prejudice, caution, ideological orientation, among others) will be more pronounced than the corresponding features in written discourse and will play a part in determining the future reputation of politicians, and those of their interpreters/translators, if these politicians happen to be monolinguals.

NOTES

Notes to Chapter 1:

1. In this respect, Yallop (1987), after discussing some of the existing theories of translation, points out that it is important not to be persuaded by scientism to downgrade practical knowledge to the level of causal intuition and mechanical procedure. To support this proposal he draws an analogy between the 'gardener' and the 'botanist' on the one hand, and the translator and the theoretical linguist on the other. In this respect, he emphasizes that skilled gardening may be oriented towards practical tasks in an unanalytical way, but it is not, by any means, an unthinking or unsystematic enterprise. In fact, the botanist's work is not characterized by greater thoughtfulness, let alone superior intelligence, but rather by analytical abstraction or concentration. If one wished to turn the tables, one might argue that abstraction is in its own way also limited. Gardeners, it might be said, are likely to have a more integrated sense of reality, since they deal with plants in the broadest possible setting, and do not inevitably approach their work from a botanical perspective. In a similar vein, translators may also think of themselves in a wider context of, say, satisfying customers and delving into different areas of 'subject-matter', rather than necessarily adopting the linguist's focal attention on language.

   Yallop further points out that it is not right to make one kind of knowledge superior to the other, but to see how they differ. If there is knowledge that is professionally useful to translators and if translators can learn their job, then it is legitimate to recognise a field of practical translation studies in which some degree of systemization is possible. By the same token, I would say that a good translator need not be a theoretical linguist, in the same way the gardener need not be a botanist. In this perspective, Yallop's objection to the popular view that anyone who knows two languages can translate competently is not so much that this view denies the value of translation theory but that it denies the extent and elaboration of practical knowledge.

   Finally Yallop points out that if there is a gulf between theory and practice in translation, it should be remembered that differences and distinctions need not be divisive. Antagonism between practice and theory is fostered by irreconcilable beliefs-- pragmatism on the one side and scientism on the other-- not by differences alone. A legitimate distinction between the translator's practical knowledge and a linguist's theoretical knowledge is no barrier to respectful interaction and discussion between translators and linguists. Nor does it prevent an individual human being from following Halliday's example and taking an interest in both kinds of knowledge, given the fact that one of Halliday's many contributions to linguistics is his interest in building 'bridges' between linguistics theory and professional practice, e.g. languages teaching and translation. For more details, the reader is referred to:

   C. Yallop, "The Theory and Practice of Translation", in *Language Topics: Essays in Honour of M. A. K. Halliday, vol.1*, (Eds.) R. Steel & T. Threadgold, (Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing Co., 1987) pp. 349-351.

2. For additional details regarding these quotations and Hatim's understanding of the role of nominal and verbal sentences in the various types of texts, the reader is referred to:
   B. Hatim, "Discourse Texture in Translation: Towards a Text-Typological redefinition of theme and rheme", in *Translation in the Modern Language Degree*, (Eds.) I. Mason & H. Keith, (London: CILT: Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, 1987) pp. 52-62.

   --------, "A Text Linguistic Model for the Analysis of Discourse Errors: Contributions From Arabic Linguists", in *Grammar in the Construction of Texts*, (Ed.) J. Monaghan, (London: Francis Pinter Publisher, 1987) pp. 102-114.

   --------, "Text Linguistics in The Didactics of Translation: The Case of The Verbal and Nominal Clause Types in Arabic", in *IRAL, vol. XXVII/2*, May 1989) pp. 137-144.

3. D. Bolinger, *Aspects of Language, 2nd. Ed.*, (New York & others: Hercourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975).

4. P. Schlobinski & S. Schutze-Coburn, "On the Topic and Topic Continuity", in *Linguistics, vol 30, no. 1*, pp. 89-121.

5. F. Danes, "Zur Terminologie", in *Papers on FSP*, (trans.), P. Schlobinski & S. Shutze-Coburn, (Ed.) F. Danes, (The Hague: Mouton, 1974) pp. 217-222.

6. R. de Beaugrande, "Topicality & Emotion in the Economy and Agenda of Discourse", in *Linguistics, vol. 30, no. 1*, pp. 243-265.

7. For a detailed study of the concepts of 'frames' and 'schemes', the reader is referred to:
   T. V. Dijk & W. Kintsch, *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*, (London & New York: Academic Express, 1983).

8. Under a more charitable reading, Givon points out that the terms 'vague' and 'mysterious' mean 'not fully specified' in terms of a similar common scientific practice, in which one is handed a blank cheque, with tacit understanding-- or at least hope-- that future research will fill in the details. For detailed information on Givons' topical formulation, the reader is referred to:
   T. Givon, "Topic Continuity in Discourse: An Introduction", in *Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantative Cross-Language Study*, (Ed.) T. Givon, (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Co., 1983) pp. 1-41.

9. T. Givon, "Pragmatics of Word Order: Predictability, Importance, and Attention",

In *Studies In Syntactic Typology*, L. Hammond et. al. (Eds.), (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Academic Express, 1988) pp. 243-284.

10. This is said in spite of Newmark's warning that in respect of political texts, the translators' "neutrality is a myth". He also points out that the main aim of the translators may be as transparent as a glass in actual translation, but even more than members of other professions, since their aim is to promote understanding between nations, they have social and moral responsibilities to humanity as well as to language. For additional details, the reader is referred to:
P. Newmark, "The Translation of Political Language", in *Dimensione Linguistiche E Distanze Culturi*, 1986, pp. 43-64.

11. For a detailed study of cohesion and coherence from a text-linguistic and a thematic perspective, the reader is respectively referred to:
R. de Beaugrands and W. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics*, (London & New York: Longman, 1981), chapters 2 & 3).
M. A. K. Halliday & R. Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, (London & New York: Longman, 1976).

12. Hatim (1990) provides more details regarding each of these three major problems. Under the first one (the comprehension of the SLT) he lists: (a) parsing of text (grammar and lexis), (b) access to specialized knowledge and (c) and access to intended meaning. Under the second problem (transfer of meaning) he lists: (a) relaying lexical meaning, (2) relaying grammatical meaning and (c) relaying rhetorical meaning, including implied or inferrable meaning (pragmatic meaning) for potential readers. And under the third problem (readability of the TLT), he lists: (1) readability, (2) conforming to generic and discoursal TL conventions, and (3) judging adequacy of translation for specified purposes. For more details the reader is referred to:
B. Hatim & I. Mason, *Discourse and the Translator*, (London & New York: Longman, 1990), chapter 2.

13. N. Chomsky, "Deep Structure, Surface Structure and Semantic representation", in *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics: Presented to Shiro Hattori on his 60th Birthday*, (Ed.) R. Jackobson, (Tokyo: Tec Corp., 1970) pp. 52-91.

14. M. A. K. Halliday, "Corpus Study and Probabilistic Grammar", in *English Corpus Linguistics*, (Eds.) K. Aijmer & B. Altenberg, (London & New York: Longman, 1991) pp. 30-43.

15. R. Fowler, *Language and Control*, (London & others: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

Notes to Chapter 2:

1. F. Danes, "Methods and History in Linguistics", in *Janua Linguarm*, vol. 40., Ed. P. L. Garvin, (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1970) pp. 132-146.

   --------, "Functional Sentence Perspective and the Organization of the Text", in *Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective*, Ed. F. Danes (Prague: Academia, 1974) pp. 106-128.

2. F. Danes, "Functional Sentence Perspective and Text Connectedness", in *Text and Discourse Connectedness*, M. E. Conte, J. O. Petofi & E. Sozer, (Eds.), (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamin B. V., 1989) pp. 23-31.
   --------, "On Text-Constituting Semantics", in *Language in Function*, S. Rot, Ed., (Budapest F. V.: Heczey Laszlone, 1983) pp. 71-76.

3. G. Sampson, *Schools of Linguistics*, (London & Others: Hutchinson, 1980).

4. This meeting took place in Mathesius flat in Prague, in the presence of Prof. H. Becker, Jena university in East Germany at that time. For details and minutes of that first meeting, the reader is referred to:
   J. Vachek, *The Linguistic School of Prague*, (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1966) Chapter II.

5. B. Trnka, "Linguistics and Ideological Structure of the Period", in *The Linguistic School of Prague*, (Ed.) J. Vachek, (Bloomington & London: Indiana Press University, 1966) pp. 152-165.

6. The quotations taken form Vachek (1966), whether his own contribution and comment or whether those of Trnka (1948), reflect two uses of the notion of function of language: the one relating to the 'inner' function as an aspect of the language system, and the second is the 'outer' function__ that of communication. The second type of functionalism is developed by Halliday (cf. chapter 3), while the first has been developed as a 'European functionalism' by Martinet and others. For a detailed discussion of the latter, the reader is referred to:
   A. Martinet, *A functional View of language*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

7. F. Danes & J. Vachek, "Prague Studies in Structural Grammar Today", in *Travaux Linguistique de Prague (TLP1)*, vol. I, 1964, pp. 21-32.

8. V. Mathesius, *A functional Analysis of Present Day English on A General Linguistic Basis*, trans. L. Duskofa, & Ed. J. Vachek. (The Hague and Paris, Mouton, 1975).

9. The original terms coined by Mathesius were the 'basis' of the statement and the

'nucleus' of the statement. As a rule, however, they have ceded-- at least in the English writings-- to the more conventional terms theme-rheme (for the first time introduced by Firbas 1957, p. 94) which also have the advantage of providing more feasible bases for derived adjectives (thematic-rhematic).

10. J. Vacheck, editor of Mathesius (1975), believes that the disadvantage of Mathesius definition of the sentence is that it does not expressly cover those utterances in which the main aim is not to function as pure communication but rather as 'expression' or 'appeal'. Undoubtedly the purely communicative function is dominant in present-day languages but opposed instances, in which some of the other two functions prevail, should not be overlooked. It appears to Vachek, then, that Mathesius' correct basic standpoint will be served by the following adaptation of his definition: "the sentence is an elementary expression of the standpoint, implemented by lingual means, of the speaker or writer to some extra-lingual reality" (Mathesius, 1975, p. 185 [footnote no. 70]). This definition, according to Vachek, covers all articulated utterances and defines them functionally.

11. H. Weil, *The Order of Words in Ancient Languages Compared with that of Modern Languages*, Koerner, E. F. K. (Ed.), (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Publishing Co., 1978).

12. The literal translation is not provided for examples 2-5 through 10 below, because what is meant here in this approximate translation is to include additional words that can be taken as thematic/ rhematic, and they involve more subtle distinction of accent, contrastiveness and definiteness.

13. V. Mathesius, "On linguistic Characterology with Illustrations from Modern English", in *A Prague School Reader in Linguistics*, (Ed.) J. Vachek, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964) pp. 59-67.

14. J. Firbas, "from Comparative Word Order Studies", in *Brno Studies in English*, vol. 4, 1964, pp. 111-128.

15. V. Mathesius, "O tak Znvnem aktualnim Cleneni Vetnem [On So-Praha Functional Sentence Perspective]. In *Slovo a Slovesnost (SAS)*, (Prague: Parha, 1939, pp. 171-174); reprinted in *Cestina a Obecny Jazykospyt*, 1947, pp. 234-240.

16. J. Firbas, "On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Perspective", in *TLP1*, 1964, pp. 267-280.

17. J. Firbas, "Some Aspects of The Czechoslovak Approach to Problems of Functional Sentence Perspective, in *Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective*, (Ed.) F. Danes, (Prague: Academia, 1974) pp. 11-37.

18. W. Chafe, "Language and Consciousness", in *Language*, vol. 50, 1974, pp. 111-

19. F. Travnicek, "O tak Zvanem aktual cleneni vetnem" (On the So-called Functional Sentence Perspective", tran., L. Valyiova, in *Solvo a Slovenost* (Praha), vol. 22, pp. 163-171.

20. Firbas (1974, p. 24), quoting Benes (1959, 216) in the latter's article entitled in English, "German Sentences from the Point of view of FSP", points out that Benes distinguishes between a 'basis' and a theme. He applies the term 'theme' to the phenomenon defined by Firbas himself as the element(s) carrying the lowest degree(s) of CD; Benes, according to Firbas, also understands by the 'basis' the phenomenon that "as the opening element of the sentence links up with context and the situation, selecting from several possible connexions one that becomes the starting point, form which the entire further utterance unfolds and in regard to which it is oriented".

21. F. Danes, "A Three-level Approach to Syntax", in *TLP1*, 1964, pp. 225-240.

22. According to Cruttenden (1986), stress itself is said to involve four main factors. These are (1) melody (pitch change), (2) length of syllable, (3) loudness and (4) pause. For more details about the factors affected by stress and intonation, the re ader is referred to:
A. Cruttenden, *Intonation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

23. Following in the steps of Bar-Hillel (1952 [1970]) and J. Lyons (1977), Levinson (1983) points out that the distinction between sentence meaning and utterance meaning is of fundamental importance to both semantics and pragmatics. According to Levinson, "a sentence is an abstract theoretical entity [i.e., a type] defined within a theory of grammar, while an utterance is the **ISSUANCE** of a sentence [i.e., a token], a sentence-analogue, a sentence fragment, in actual **CONTEXT**" (Levinson, 1983, p. 18) [my emphasis]. In addition, the relationship, which he draws between utterance and a corresponding sentence may be quite obscure (e.g. the utterance may be elliptical, or contains sentence fragments or 'false starts'), but he asserts that it is customary, following Bar-Hillel, to think of an utterance as a pairing of a sentence and context, namely the context in which the sentence was uttered. Moreover, Levinson emphasizes the fact that it is empirically essential, to maintain this distinction all the time in the study of meaning, although he admits that is difficult to do so in practice. One aspect of the difficulty is that one may note that linguistics frequently oscillate between assigning notions like presupposition, illocutionary force or truth conditions to sentences or utterances, although important theoretical consequences follow from the choice. Levinson also claims that the confusion results from the need for further distinction. This is why he advocates for further distinctions like the one between text-sentences, which Lyons defines as "context-dependent utterance signals (or part of utterance signals), tokens of which may occur in particular texts" (Lyons, 1977, p. 622), and system

sentences as "an abstract theoretical constructs, correlates of which are generated by the linguist's model of language-system in order to explicate that part that is covered by the notion of grammaticality" (op. loc.). By the same token, Lyons also distinguishes between 'sentence-type and 'sentence-token', 'utterance-type' and 'utterance-token'. As a result, Levinson comes to the conclusion, following in the steps of Bar-Hillel again, that an utterance, when it stands in contrast with a sentence, it is a sentence (or sometimes a string of sentences) paired with context (cf. Mathesius' definitions of sentence: 2.3.2 above). In this respect, one can say that Levinson uses this argument to support his proposal that "semantics is concerned with sentence meaning and pragmatics with utterance meaning" (Levinson, op. cit., p. 19). For a detailed discussion of the distinction between sentence and utterance, the reader is referred to the following:

Y. Bar-Hillel, "Indexical Expressions", in *Aspects of language*, (Ed.) Y. Bar-Hillel, (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 69-80.

J. Lyons, *Semantics*, 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, vol. 2) chapter 14.

S. C. Levinson, *Pragmatics*, (Cambridge & Others: Cambridge University Press, 1983) pp. 18-19.

24. J. Firbas, "On the Concept of Communication Dynamism in the Theory of Functional Sentence Perspective", in *SMFPPUB A19*, 1971, PP. 135-144.

25. J. Firbas, "On the Interplay of Prosodic and Non-prosodic means of Functional Sentence Perspective", in *The Prague School of Linguistic and Language Teaching*, (Ed.) V. Freid, (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) pp. 77-94.

26. Firbas (1964a) gives additional consideration to the effect of semantic structure on FSP. Among these examples is the sentence "He bought a new book yesterday", where the adverb 'yesterday' conveys a mere temporal setting of the event expressed by the verb 'bought', and the object 'book'; whereas in the sentence "Chaucer lived in the 4th century", the semantic structure causes the adverb to have greater prominence. In this respect, Firbas says:

> The verb expresses existence, the adverb element the time of existence. If the subject 'Chaucer' is thematic and the rest of the sentence is non-thematic, then, from the point of view of communication, the statement of time of existence is more important than that of existence itself. The adverbial element even becomes the rheme of the sentence (Firbas, 1964a, p. 115).

27. J. Firbas, "A Note on Transition Proper in Functional Sentence Perspective", in *Philologica Pragensia* 8, 1965, pp. 170-176.

28. A. Adjemian, "Theme, Rheme, & Word Order: From Weil to Present-day Theories", in *Historiographia Linguistica*, 1978, vol. 3, pp. 253-273.

29. N. Francis, "Review of Brno Studies in English, vol. 4", in *Language*, vol 42, 1966, pp. 142-149.

30. A. Svoboda, "On Two Communicative Dynamisms", in *Paper On functional Sentence Perspective*, (Ed.) F. Danes, (Prague: Academia, 1974), pp. 38-42.

31. Svoboda (1974) also proposes a method of measurement of the contextual dependence by setting symbols denoting the values attached to the elements on the ground of measuring and testing both kinds of contextual dependence on the three levels of syntax proposed by Danes (1964b). He points out that after this is done, he "arrives at a set of various patterns displaying the distribution of contextual dependence in a language" (Svoboda, op. cit, p. 41). He also indicates that these patterns reveal certain laws according to which the utterance is organized and that these laws hold good not only for utterances within a certain context but also for those standing in isolation or initial position of the discourse, where there is hardly any context or contextual dependence.

32. J. Firbas, "On the Thematic and Non-thematic Section of the Sentence", in *Style and Text: Studies Presented to Nils Erik Enkvist,* (Ed.) H. Ringbom et. al., (Stockholm: Spraforget Skriptor AB, 1975) pp. 316-334.

33. J. Firbas, "A Functional View of 'Ordo Naturalis'", in *Brno Studies in English,* Vol. 13, 1979, pp. 27-59.

34. D. L. Bolinger, "Linear Modification", in *Forms of English*, Ed. D. L. Bolinger, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965) pp. 279-307.

35. P. Sgall et. al., *Topic, focus and Generative Semantics*, (Kronberg Taunus: Scriptor Verlag Gmbh & Co. KG, 1973).

36. E. Benes, "On Two Aspects of Functional Sentence Perspective", in *TLP3*, 1968, pp. 267-274.

37. F. Danes, "Some thoughts on the Semantic Structure of the Sentence", in *Lingua*, vol. 21, 1966, pp. 55-66.

38. Svoboda (1968) points out that the distributional fields are provided by explicit and implicit predication. The explicit distributional fields are exemplified by a sentence, or a clause or a subordinate clause, whereas the implicit predication (an attributive constructions) is an example of the implicit predication. This also entails the necessity of regarding the sentence elements (subject, Verb, object, complement and adjunct) to act as communicative units, or carriers of CD. The creation of this hierarchy of distributional fields of CD, Firbas believes, makes it necessary to split up the verb into two communicative units: one constituted by the notional verb, and the other by the its auxiliary. For more details on the distributional units and fields

of CD, the reader is referred to:
A. Svoboda, "The Hierarchy of Communicative Units and Fields, as Illustrated by English Attributive Constructions", in *BSE 7*, 1968, PP. 49-101.

39. J. Firbas, "Non-thematic Subjects in Contemporary English", in *TLP2*, 1966, pp. 239-255.

40. J. Firbas, "On the Concept of Scene and Perspective in Fillmore's Approach and in that of Functional Sentence Perspective", in *Language in Function*, (Ed.) S. Rot, (Budapest F. V. :Leczey Laszlone, 1983) pp. 101-108.

41. J. Firbas, "Scene and Perspective", in *Brno Stduies in English*, vol. 14, 1981, pp. 37-39.

42. In his analysis of the constituents of the broad scene (both thematic and non-thematic elements), Svoboda (1981) believes that these constituents will eventually, through the development of discourse or text, become prospective members of the narrow scene. He divides these elements into three kinds according to the criterion of how well they are established in the broad scene. They are: (1) eternal themes (potential hyperthemes related to any kind of text); they include (a) the speaker (I, we), (b) the listener (you), (c) "man" in general (general subjects), and (d) "nature" on general (impersonal pronouns). These elements are well established in the broad scene of the overall discourse that they need not be introduced as rhemes first in order to become themes later on; they can be introduced as themes right away. They can also operate as rhemes if signalled by the appropriate WO, semantic structure and the immediate context. As for the second type, which Svoboda calls "long-lived themes", they include all the elements that are introduced initially as rhemes and later on become themes, and even constitute hyperthematic strings. This is why Svoboda refers to them as "potential hyperthemes related to the given text" (Svoboda, 1981, p. 176). As for the third type which Firbas (1983) refers to here, is what Svoboda (1981) refers to as "short-lived themes". This type consists of non-thematic elements that are expected to become prospective themes. For Svoboda, this type consists of the transitional and rhematic elements of a given clause that is introduced onto the broad scene and becomes one of its members, because it may play the role of thematic elements in the subsequent clauses and therefore prospective members of the narrow scene. According to Svoboda, some of them become part of the narrow scene at the next clause of the text development, some remain "latent" and join in the narrow scene at a later stage of the text or discourse development. However, the length of the time that these non-thematic elements which have not entered the narrow scene of (at least) one of the following six or seven clauses appear later on, not as thematic but as transitional or (more often) as rhematic elements. This means that they have to be reintroduced onto the broad scene again. For more details and exemplification on each type, the reader is referred to:
A. Svoboda, *Diatheme*, (Prague: Univerzita J. E Purkyne V Brene, 1981) esp.

pp.166-184.

43. Grice (1975) suggests that there is a general cooperative principle between speaker and hearer, which, roughly, controls the way in which a conversation may proceed. He distinguishes four categories under each of which there are several maxims. These are:
    A. Quantity:
    (1) Make your contributions as informative as required (for current purpose of the exchange).
    (2) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

    B. Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.
    (1) Do not say what you believe to be false.
    (2) Do not say that for which you lack evidence.

    C. Relevance: Be relevant.

    D. Manner: Be perspicuous.
    (1) Avoid obscurity of expression.
    (2) Avoid ambiguity.
    (3) Be brief.
    (4) Be orderly.
    For more details on Grice's cooperative principles, together with their underlying maxims, the reader is referred to:
    H. P. Grice, 'Logic and Conversation', in *Syntax and Semantics vol 8: Grammatical Relations*, (Eds.) P. Cole, & J. M. Sadock, (New York & London: Academic Press, 1977) pp.41-58.

44. Oscillation is a term given by Svoboda (1981) to mark the changes of the various thematic elements in the what he calls the "thematic sphere". In this context the elements exchange positions 'horizontally' between 'diatheme' ("the centre of the theme", or the most dynamic element in the theme sphere") and what he calls "theme proper" ("the least dynamic element"). Moreover, The theme elements oscillate also between explicit and ellipted theme proper, being slightly foregrounded and backgrounded within the background of the scene. Such changes in the narrow scene (the thematic sphere of the clause): taking elements from the centre to the background of the scene and visa versa is called "internal oscillation" compared with "external oscillation", where the thematic elements leave the narrow scene and become non-thematic (as the example of second instance sentences), and either return to the narrow scene of the next clause or disappear altogether. For more details on the concept, the reader is referred to:
    A. Svoboda, *Diatheme*, (Prague: Univerzita J. E. Purkyne, 1981) esp., pp. 94-99.

45. K. Hausenblas, "On Characterization and Classification of Discourse", in *TLP1*, 1964, pp. 67-84.

46. Danes (1974, pp. 115-117) also points out that the composed utterances result from composition, by which two (or more) simple utterances are combined in a single sentence frame (i.e. involve coordination); if the themes or the rhemes of the two utterances are the same (from the semantic point of view), they will be mentioned only once. The condensed utterances are based on fusion: if two subsequent simple utterances share a common FSP-element, they may be fused into a single condensed utterance, either by way of thematisation or rhematisation of one of the utterances (i.e. involve subordination). The two possibilities, of course, depend on the type of thematic interrelations obtaining between the two utterances. Moreover, the processes of composition and fusion, as can be seen from the examples below, are manifested or realized by means of grammatical devices on the level of the sentence,such as coordination, apposition, some nominalization, some relative transformation, etc.

47. F. Danes, "Functional Sentence Perspective and Text Connectedness", in *Text and Discourse Connectedness*, (Eds.) M. E. Conte et. al., (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Publishing Co., 1989) pp. 23-31.

48. Danes (1983) distinguishes between two principally different layers of text structure: (1) layer of text cohesion, (2) layer of the communicative articulation of text (FSP). He also points out that both layers are interrelated. In this article, Danes discusses the various (classes) types of cohesive semantic relations, which he divides into three main types: (1) isotopic relations, (2) logical relations and (3) the compositional relation. He defines the isotopic relation as "the relations between two or more semantic text-components which may be interpreted by the listener as 'the same', 'identical', 'semantic equivalent or as semantically affined" (Danes, 1983, p. 71). He also asserts that isotopic relations can be treated in terms of 'known' (old) or 'text-given' information, familiar in studies from the domain of FSP. He further points out that two semantic components (C1) and (C2) in a given text form an isotopic pair, "if C2 represents such a piece of information, that the speaker evaluates, with respect to C1, as already known" (Danes, op. cit., p.72). He divides the isotopic relations into two major subsets:
    1. semantic relations based on referential identity (co-referential).
    2. semantic relations of mere (intentional) affinity.
    For a detailed discussion of each type of relation, the reader is referred to:
    F. Danes, "On Text-Constituting Semantic Relations", In *Language in Function*, (Ed.) Sander Rot, (Budapest: dr Heczcy Laszlone, 1983), pp. 71-76.

49. M. A. K. Halliday, "Functional Diversity in Language as Seen From a Consideration of Modality & Mood in English", in *Foundation of Language*, no. 6, pp. 322-361.

50. P. Sgall et. al. *Topic/Focus Articulation of Czech Sentences*, (Prague: Academia, 1980).
51. P. Sgall, "The Position of Czech Linguistics in Theme-Focus Research", in

Language Topics: Essays in honour of M. Halliday, (Eds.) R. Steele & T. Threadgold, (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Co., 1987) pp. 47-55.

52. J. Firbas, "The Why's and How's in my Research into Functional Sentence Perspective", in *Thirty Years of Linguistic Evolution: Studies in Honour of Rene Dirven on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday,* (Ed.) M. Putz, (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Co., 1992) pp. 335-357.

53. J. Firbas, "On Two Starting Points of Communication", in *Language Topics: Essays in honour of M. Halliday,* (Eds.) R. Steele & T. Threadgold, (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Co., 1987) pp. 23-46.

Notes to Chapter 3:

1. J. Monaghan, *The Neo-Firthian Tradition and Its Contribution to General Linguistics*, (Tubingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1979).

2. C. S. Butler, *Systemic Linguistics Theory and Applications*, (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1985).

3. In his dictionary of phonetics and linguistics, Crystal (1985, p. 32) has defined behavioursim in linguistics as the influence of the school of psychology (the study of observable and measurable behaviour) in the work of the American Linguist L. Bloomfiled, and the latter's insistence on rigorous "DISCOVERY PROCEDURES", and most notably in his behaviourist account of meaning in terms of observable stimuli and responses made by participants in specific situations. The limitations of behaviourist or ('mechanistic') account of LANGUAGE were criticized by N. Chomsky in the late 1950s, in writings which anticipate the development of MENTALISTIC ideas in linguistics. For a detailed discussion of the term and the overall movement, the reader is referred to:
   J. Lyons' *Semantics, Vol. I.*, (London & Others: Cambridge University Press, 1977) chapter 5.

4. Crystal (1985, pp. 192-193) has defined mentalism in linguistics as the influence of this school of thought (that mental states and processes exist in independently of their manifestations of behaviour, and can explain behaviour) on the works of N. Chomsky, especially in his notion of "COMPETENCE and INNATENESS", and his general views of the relationship between language and mind. In this respect **mentalistic linguistics** is opposed to the "BEHAVIOURSIM" of the earlier psychological work in language. For a detailed discussion of the term and the overall movement, the reader is referred to:
   J. Lyons' *Semantics, Vol. I*, (London & Others: Cambridge University Press, 1977) chapter 5.

5. Crystal (1985, p. 112) defines this term as a term introduced into linguistics by de Saussure to refer to a state of language when looked at as at a particular point in time, regardless of its antecedents or subsequent history. An *etat de langue* is therefore the primary subject matter of synchronic linguistic study. For more details, the reader is referred to:
   J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

6. M. A. K. Halliday, "Systemic Background", in *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse, Vol. 1: Advances in Discourse Process, series XV*, (Eds.) J. D. Benson & W. S. Greaves, (Newjersy: Ablex publishing corporation, 1985) pp. 1-15.

7. L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953).

8. B. Malinowski, "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages", supplement to C. K. Ogden & I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1923).

9. B. Malinawski, *The Coral Gardens and Their Magic, vol. 2.*, (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1935).

10. J. Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 2., (Cambridge University Press, 1977).

11. G. R. Kress, *Halliday: system and Function in Language*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).

12. G. Sampson, *Schools of Linguistics*, (London & Others: Hutchinson, 1980).

13. M. A. K. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1978).

14. M. A. K. Halliday, "Context of Situation", in *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*, by M. A. K Halliday & R. Hasan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) pp. 3-14.

15. J. R. Firth, "Ethnographic Analysis and Language with Reference to Malinowski's View", in *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth 1952-1959*, (Ed.) F. Palmer, (London: Longman, 1968) pp. 137-67.

16. J. R. Firth, "Personality and Language in Society", in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951*, by J. R. Firth, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 177-189.

17. J. R. Firth, "Applications of General Linguistics", in *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth 1952-1959*, (Ed.) F. Palmer, (London: Longman, 1968), pp. 126-136.

18. T. F. Mitchell, *Principles of Firthian Linguistics*, (London: Longman, 1975).

19. J. R. Firth, "The Techniques of Semantics", In *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951*, by J. R. Firth, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 7-33.

20. J. R. Firth, "A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory", in *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth*, (Ed.) F. Palmer, (London: Longman, 1968), pp. 168-205.

21. J. R. Firth, "Modes of Meaning", in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951*, by J. R. Firth, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 190-215.

22. J. R. Firth, "General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar", in *Papers in*

Linguistics 1934-1954, (Ed.) J. R. Firth, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) pp. 216-230.

23. F. Palmer, *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth 1952-1959*, (London: Longman, 1968).

24. Crystal (1985, p. 323) has defined value as "a term introduced into linguistics by F. de Saussure to refer to FUNCTIONAL identity of an entity when seen in the context of a RULE-governed SYSTEM. In his view, LANGUAGE is a system of independent terms, in which the 'value' of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of others, related through the notion SYNTAGMATIC and PARADIGMATIC association" [original emphasis]. For more details of the concept of values, the reader is referred to:
F. Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, (trans.) W. Baskin, (London: Peter Owen, 1960).

25. J. Culler, *Saussure*, (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1976).

26. M. Berry, *Introduction to Systemic Linguistics: vol. 1, Structures and Systems*, (London: Batsford, 1975).

27. For a detailed discussion of Firth's view of language, the reader is referred to:
C. S. Butler, *Systemic Linguistics: Theory and Applications*, (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1985) pp. 9-13.

28. M. A. K. Halliday, "Some Notes in Deep Grammar", in *Halliday, System and Function in Language*, (Ed.) G. Kress, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 88-98.

29. N. Chomsky, *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1964).

30. For Chomsky (1964 & elsewhere), the term deep structure or deep grammar is used in contrast with 'surface structure'. Deep grammar is the abstract syntactic representation of a sentence__ an underlying level of structural organisation which specifies all the factors governing the way the sentence should be interpreted. This level, according to Chomsky, provides information which enable language users to distinguish between the alternative interpretations of sentences which have the same surface form (i.e. they are ambiguous), e.g. 'flying planes can be dangerous', where 'flying planes' can be related to two underlying sentences 'planes which fly . . ., and 'to fly planes . . .'. It is also a way of relating sentences which have different surface structure forms but the same underlying meaning, as in the relationship between active and passive structures, e.g. 'The panda chased the man' as opposed to 'The man was chased by the panda'. The various grammatical relations in such sentences can then be referred to as the 'deep subject', 'deep object', etc. (contrasted with 'surface subject', etc.) It is also possible to compute the 'depth' at which transformation operates, by referring to the number of stages is a

derivation before it applies.

Halliday (1966) adopts a different concept of deep grammar, although he seems to be influenced by Chomsky's formulation, hence the use of the same term. For Halliday (1966), a representation involving the concepts of 'class' and 'sequence' may be said to be a representation of surface structure. Here, the ordering, if each pair of brackets is said to enclose an 'ordered set' of classes, is interpreted in the usual sense of the word, as 'linear successivity', or 'sequence'. This interpretation does not, according to Halliday (1966), preclude discontinuity or fusion of constituents, nor is it affected by the depth of the bracketing imposed: both the more copious bracketing of immediate constituents type representation and the much sparser type can adequately specify the relation of sequence in the surface structure.

31. M. A. K. Halliday, "Syntax and the Consumer", in *Reading in Systemic Linguistics*, (Eds.) M. Halliday & J. R. Martin, (London: Batsford, 1981) pp. 21-28.

32. M. A. K. Halliday, "Linguistics Function and Literary Style: An Inquiry into the Language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*", in *Explorations in the Functions of Languages*, by M. Halliday, (London: Edward Arnold, 1973) pp. 103-140.

33. M. A. K. Halliday, "The Functional Basis of Language", in *Explorations in the Functions of Language*, by Halliday (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), pp. 22-47.

34. M. A. K. Halliday, "Language Structure and Language Function", in *New Horizons in Linguistics*, (Ed.) J. Lyons, (London: Benguin, 1970) pp. 140-165.

35. M. A. Halliday, "The Place of Functional Sentence Perspective in Linguistic Description", in *Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective*, (Ed.) F. Danes, (Prague: Academia, 1974) pp. 43-54.

36. M. A. K. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: part 3, in *Journal of Linguistics*, no. 4, 1968, pp. 179-215.

37. In his definitional system, Hjelmslev (1947), in a translated version, considers function as the starting point of the analysis, or " a dependence that fulfils the condition for analysis" (Definition-8). It [function] is a relation necessarily composed of two terms, each of which is a *functive*, or "an object that has a function" (Definition-9). The functive, therefore, is closer to the function in the traditional-mathematical sense. In Hjelmslev's system, functives may or may not be subject to further decomposition in the particular place of analysis. An entity (Definition-11) is the derivate (Definition-21) of a functive that is not subject to further derivation. Functives, when they are subject to further analysis, become, in turn, functions in their own right, and their derivates are once again functives. This

picture is similar to Chomskyan phrase structure__ i.e. the tree with its nodes, branches and terminal string, to which no further branching applies. The influence of Saussure's dichotomy of signifier and signified is obvious on both, especially when Saussure inquires about the nature of his dichotomy and the answer leads him, according to Culler (1975, p.23), to the conclusion, which in itself is an important principle: "both signifier and signified are purely relational or differential entities because they are arbitrary, they are relational". For more details on this issue the reader is referred to:

L. Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to A Theory of Language,* (trans.), F. J. Whitfield, (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1947).

38. The term etymology is traditionally used for the study of the origins and history of forms and meaning of words. The linguistic form from which a later form derives is known as ***etymon.*** A ***folk etymology*** occurs when a word is assumed to come from a particular etymon, because of the association of form and meaning, whereas the word in fact has a different derivation, e.g. *spit* and *image*, becomes *spitting image*. The ***etymological fallacy*** is the view that an earlier (or the oldest) meaning of a word is the correct one (e.g. that history means investigation, because this was the meaning the etymon had in classical Greek). This view is commonly held, but it contrasts with the attitude of the linguist, who emphasizes the need to describe the meaning of modern words as they are now, and not as they once may have been in some earlier state of the language (the oldest state, of course, being unknown). In this context, Lyons, (1977, 551) says: "In so far as etymological meaning of a lexeme differs from its usual synchronic meaning is stylistically relevant, this can be taken into account in the analysis of texts". For a detailed discussion of the term 'etymological', the reader is referred to:

D. L. Bolinger, *Aspects of Language,* ^{2n}d. Ed. (Harcourt Brace Javanovich. 1975) chapter 10.

39. J. Vachek, *The Linguistic School of Prague,* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1966).

40. M. A. K. Halliday, "Functions of Language", in *Language, context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective,* (Eds.) M. A. K. Halliday & R. Hasan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 15-28.

41. R. de Beaugrande & W. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics,* (London: Longman, 1981).

42. R. Jackobson, "Closing Statement: Linguistics & Poetics, in *Style and Language,* (Ed.) T. A. Sebeok, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press & Wiley, 1960), pp. 350-377.

43. D. Morris, *The Naked Ape,* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967).

44. J. Britton, *Language and Learning*, (London: Penguin & Harmondsworth, 1970).

45. According to Halliday (1980b, [1989, p. 17]), shaded areas represent uses of language not covered by the author in question.

46. M. A. K. Halliday, "Text as a Semantic Choice in Social Contexts", in *Grammars and Description*, (Eds.) V. Dijk & J. Petofti, (Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 1977) pp. 176-225.

47. F. Danes, A Three-levels Approach to Syntax, in *TLP1*, 1966, pp. 225-240.

48. M. A. Halliday, "Options and Functions in the English Clause", in *Readings in Systemic Linguistics*, (Eds.) M. A. K. Halliday & J. R. Martin, (London: Batsford, 1981) pp. 138-145.

49. M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (London & Others: Edward Arnold, 1985).

50. M. A. K. Halliday, "Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 2", in *Journal of Linguistics, no. 3*, 1967, pp. 199-244.

51. J. R. Firth, "The Techniques of Semantics", in *Papers In Linguistics*, by J. R. Firth, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 7-33.

52. M. A. K. Halliday, "Language in A Social Perspective", in *Explorations in the Functions of Language*, By Halliday, (London: Edward Arnold, 1973) pp. 48-71.

53. M. A. K. Halliday, "Language and the Social man: Part 1", in *Language as Social Semiotic*, by Halliday, (London: Edward Arnold, 1978) pp. 9-35.

54. In Mitchell's article "The language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica: A Situational Statement", Mitchell has provided an instance of a well-defined setting, where one can speak of 'text', which may be defined, according to Halliday (1973, p.80), as "language in setting". For more details, the reader is referred to:
T. F. Mitchell, "The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica: A Situational Statement", in *Principles of Firthian Linguistics*, Ed. T. F. Mitchell. London: Longman Group Ltd, 1975) pp. 167-200.

55. M. A. K. Halliday, "Towards a Sociological Semantics", in *Explorations in the Functions of Language*, by Halliday, (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), pp. 72-102.

56. Halliday (1978, pp. 40-41]) was asked by Parret to explain what he means by this same quotation, because it sounds 'very peculiar to anybody who has the least

amount of background of the notion of realization in systemic linguistics__ which is a 'move' from the more abstract to the more concrete or to the more specific. But it turns out that Halliday does not mean this by his use of the quotation above. His answer to the question tallies with what has been said in his (1972) article. This time, he takes an example from the context of cultural transmission: the mother controlling the behaviour of her child (cf. 3.4.2 below). In trying to do so, the mother may choose, among different forms of control__ a simple imperative mode, a positional appeal, a personal appeal or the like, as Bernstein's (1971) work. When this choice is encoded in language, what the mother is doing is deriving a set of linguistic categories from the options in the social system. These linguistic categories, however, will be very general: forms of transitivity, for example. Halliday believes that, in order to get these general grammatical categories, we have to go through a network of behavioural options which become very highly specific. A linguistic category such as 'clause type: material process, benefactive' appears (among other things) as the expression of some behavioural option that is highly specific in terms of the social theory, such as 'threat of loss of privilege'. Thus the sociological categories which these linguistic ones realize will in relation to the social system be very particular and deriving from particular social contexts. This is probably why Halliday rejects the notion raised by Kress (1976) earlier (cf. 3.1.4 above) that the problem of relating social contexts and settings to the linguistic system has to do with the "macro" scale of society to the "micro" scale of Language. Instead, he suggests that the problem has to be put another way: not as a problem of size but that of abstraction, and that what, for language, are abstract and general categories have been seen as realizing highly concrete and specific notions in the social structure.

57. Halliday (1978, pp. 39-40) in answering Parret of whether '*can mean*' is a form of '*can do*' or not, repeats the assertion made in his 1971a article, namely that 'can mean' is on the same order of abstraction as 'can do'. The difference this time is that he explains it in terms of the text, "in what people actually *do* and *mean* and *say*". Thus, he defines text as "an actualized potential"; it is the actual seen against the background of the potential, but he insists that "the actual and the potential are at the same level of abstraction" (Halliday, op. cit., p.40). Furthermore, he also says that this is what makes it possible to relate the one to the other; moreover, they are at the same level of coding within the system, so that any text represents an actualization at each level: the level of *meaning*, the level of *wording* and the level of *saying*, to use folk linguistic terminology. This looks very interesting from my point of view. Halliday (1980a & elsewhere) has defined text as "a semantic unit", which realizes options the speaker has selected from a higher-level semiotic. He calls this level "behavioural system", and refers to it by different names: the social context, social system, culture, and some others. If Halliday uses the term 'abstraction' in the sense of realization, where the lower stratum in language realizes the one above it, then it could be argued that the 'pure potential' or the 'can do' is more abstract than the 'actualized potential','can mean' or 'text'__ since the latter is what happen in the real world; whereas the former is simply what might

happen or might have happened. It could not be argued that Halliday uses the term "abstraction" in any other sense, because in both (Halliday, 1971a & 1978), he has made it obvious that "the key concept is that of realization" (Halliday, 1978, p. 39).

58. D. Hymes, *On Communicative Competence*, in *Sociolinguistics*, (Eds.) J. B. Pride & J. Holmes, (Harmodsworth: Penguin, 1972) pp. 269-293.

59. Halliday (1972 & 1978) explains the term 'reductionism' in relation to the highly idealized linguistics of Chomsky and philosophical linguists. According to Halliday, many behaviourally significant variations in language are 'ironed out, and reduced to the same level as 'stuttering, false starts clearing the throat and the like.' Moreover, these very things which are left out of consideration by Generative Grammarians are precisely of interest to those linguists who are concerned with the sociological study of language. Halliday's position on the question of idealization is to: "accept the 'mess' that is ironed out and build it into a theory" (Halliday, 1978, p. 38). As a result, he does not accept any distinction between what is 'grammatical' and what is 'acceptable'. In a note about reduction, mentioned in an article written at the end of 1977 but not published until 1984 (Halliday 1984, p. 5), he says: "people talk, what is more, they talk to each other, and the linguistic theory which ignores these facts ends up by painting itself in into a corner". For more details on this last quotation, the reader is referred to:
M. A. K. Halliday, Language as Code and Language as Behavioural", in *Current Papers in Systemic Linguistics*, (Eds.) R. P. Fawcett et. al., (London: Batsford, 1984) pp. 3-35.

60. Peter Geach (1969, p. 23) raises the issue of idealization in his article "Should Traditional Grammar be Ended or Mended-II", which was published in *The State of Language: Educational Review, Vol. 22.1*, pp.18-25). His argument is, that in order to understand the logical structure of sentences we have to 'iron out' a lot of the differences that occur in living speech: "idealization which approximates slightly less well to what is actually said, will, by the standards of logical insight into the structure of sentences, pay off better than some analyses that try to come closer to what is said."

61. G. T. Turner, "Social Class and Children's Language of Control at Age Five and Age Seven", in *Class, Code and Control 1: Theoretical Study Towards the Sociology of Language. vol 4*, (Ed.) B. Bernstein, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973) pp. 135-201.

62. For a detailed discussion of the example, the reader is referred to:
M. A. K. Halliday, *Explorations in the Functions of Language*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1973) pp. 72-102]).

63. These numbers represent the delicacy of the semantic options open to the mother based on the threat behavioural network on the previous page (cf. figure 3-4). Each

one of these options can be accompanied by an explicit condition like 'if you do that again'.

64. In this example, Halliday looks at the semantic network from the point of view of its relation 'downwards', and tries to see how he gets from it into grammar. In particular, he considers the extent to which the grammatical and lexical properties of sentences, used by the speaker in a speech situation, can be 'predicted' from the semantics of behaviour, which is a semantics based on social context and setting. Halliday, however, provides no justification for choosing these categories other than the fact that these features are not marginal areas of grammar but categories of the most general kind and are justified by general linguistic theory. Every clause in English makes some selection in these systems, and Halliday is able to relate the choice to the social function of an utterance. But when it comes to adopting the categories established by Roget, Halliday's only justification is: "we have not been able to specify the exact lexical items, but we have been able to narrow down many of them fairly closely by using the notion of a lexical set as exemplified on Roget's *Thesaurus*" (Halliday, 1971a, [1973, p.91]). This, however, sounds a weak justification because the categories established by Roget's Thesaurus are purely for the purpose of convenience in presenting synonyms and near-synonyms.

65. The notion of language and ideology is further developed by G. Kress and R. Hodge (1979). These two authors take languages, in general, as systems of categories and rules on functional principles and assumptions about the world. These principles and assumptions are not related to or determined by thought: they are the thought by itself. Whorf has called these fundamental organizing assumptions a "science", and a "metaphysic", that is, a systematic account of reality and a priori assumptions on which that account rests. Such assumptions are embodied in language, learned through language and reinforced in language use. For Kress and Hodge, language typically is immersed in the on-going life of a society, as the political consciousness of that society. They call this consciousness ideology, defining the latter as a "systemic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view." Thus, ideology is a subsuming category which includes sciences and metaphysics, as well as political ideologies of various kinds, without implying anything about their status and reliability as guides to reality (cf. 6.5.4 below).

66. For a detailed discussion of account of Saussure's linguistic ideas of the concept of sign (signifier/signified), the reader is referred to:
J. Culler, *Saussure*, (Sussex: The Harvester Press Ltd., 1976).

67. M. A. K. Halliday, *Learning How to Mean: Explorations in the Development of Language*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1975).

68. M. A. K. Halliday & R. Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, (London : Longman, 1976).

69. R. Hasan, "Text in the Systemic functional Model", in *Current Trends in Text Linguistics*, (Ed.) W. Dressler, (Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 1978). pp.228-246).

70. M. A. K. Halliday et. al., *The linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*, (London: Longman, 1964).

71. M. A. K. Halliday, "Register Variation", in *Language, Context, and Text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*, by Halliday & R. Hasan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) pp. 44-51.

72. For a detailed study of the contrast and comparison between register and dialect, the reader is referred to:
    M. A. K. Halliday and R. Hasan's Language, *Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, esp. pp. 41-43. (OR)
    M. Gregory & S. Carrol's, *Language and Situation*, (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978) chapters 2 & 6.

73. M. A. K. Halliday, "Sociological Aspects of Semantic change", in *Language as a Social Semiotic*, by Halliday, (London: Edward Arnold, 1978) pp. 60-92.

74. R. Hasan, "Code, Register and Social Dialect", in *Class, Code and Control, vol. 2: Applied Studies towards a Sociology of Language*, (Ed.), B. Bernstein, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973) pp. 253-292.

75. B. Bernstein (Ed.), *Class, Code and Control, vol. IV: Applied Studies towards a Sociology of Language*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971).

76. T. Givon, *On Understanding Grammar*, (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

77. M. A. K. Halliday, "Some Aspects of the Thematic Organization of the Clause", In *Halliday: System & Function in Language*, by G. R. Kress, (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 174-188. [printed in part under the heading "Theme and Information in the English Clause"].

78. Throughout this study, focused items in English and some other languages will be capitalized and highlighted.

79. It might argued that all aspects of an utterance are 'speaker selected' (the speaker chooses what to say and what not to say). In this respect, I believe, here, that Halliday fails to say that any utterance (its theme or rheme) is speaker-oriented whether the listener does know before hand what is he going to speak about, since, in his model, Halliday himself, and contrary to the views of the traditional Pragueans, introduces the possibility of the theme being either given or new

information.

80. In splitting this sentence/clause into two information units, I do not believe that Halliday has any justification other than the sentence has been taken from spontaneous speech, and is thus unmarked. He, however, admits that in unmarked sentence, the boundary between given and new is undetermined, although theme is a 'given element', and only in marked cases can the boundary between given and new can be drawn (cf. 3.6.1). Even in marked cases the boundaries between given and new been disapproved of and argued against with some counter examples by Grimes (cf. 4.2).

81. J. Svartvik, *On Voice in the English Verb*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).

82. Halliday (1985, p. 51) has divided the conjunction into two categories: coordinators (items like *and, or, but*, etc.) and subordinators (items like *when, before, if*, etc.). In his earlier writings, however (Halliday, 1967c, p. 220), Halliday calls the former types "pure coordinates" and the latter one "portmanteau items". For a detailed discussion and classification of conjunctions, the reader is referred to:
M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (London & others: Edward Arnold, 1985) chapter 3.

83. Halliday (1985, p. 52, table 3-5) has also divided relatives in two types:definite relatives (items like *which, who*, etc.) and indefinite relatives (items like *whatever, whoever*, etc.). For more details see reference to Halliday in the previous note.

84. Halliday (1985, pp. 50-52) has divided the textual elements that participate in the construction of the theme into three types: conjunctive adjuncts (table 3(2), p. 50), conjunctions (table 3(4), p. 51) and relatives (table 3(5), p. 52). Below is an adaptation form those three tables (see next page):

Conjunctive Adjuncts (discoursal Adjuncts)

No.	Type	Meaning	Examples

I	appositive	'i.e.', 'e.g.'	that is, in other words, for instance, etc.
	corrective	'rather'	or rather, at least, to be precise, etc.
	dismissive	'in any case'	in any case, anyway, leaving that aside, etc.
	summative	'in short'	briefly, to sum up, in conclusion, etc.
	verifactive	'actually'	actually, in fact, as a matter of fact, etc.
II	additive	'and'	also, moreover, in addition, besides, etc.
	adversative	'but'	on the other hand, however, conversely, etc.
	variative	'instead'	instead, alternatively, etc.
III	temporal	'then'	meanwhile, before that, later on, next., etc.
	comparative	'likewise'	likewise, in the same way, etc.
	causal	'so'	therefore, for this reason, as a result, with this in mind, etc.
	conditional	'(if...) then'	in that case, under the circumstances, otherwise, etc.
	concessive	'yet'	nevertheless, despite that, etc.
	respective	'as to that'	in this respect, as far as that's concerned, etc.

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	corrective	'rather'	or rather, at least, to be precise, etc.
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	concessive	'yet'	nevertheless, despite that, etc.
	respective	'as to that'	in this respect, as far as that's concerned, etc.

Conjunctions (Discoursal)

Type	Examples
Co-ordinator	and, or, nor, either, neither, but, yet, so, then.
Subordinator	when, while, before, after, until, because, if, although, unless, since, whether, that.
	even if, in case, supposing (that), assuming (that), seeing (that), given that, provided that, in spite of that, in the event that, etc.

Relatives (Discoursal)

Type	Examples
definite	which, who, that, whose, when, where, (why, how).
indefinite	whatever, whichever, whoever, whosoever, whenever, wherever, however.

85. The complete list of modal adjunct themes as listed by Halliday (1985, p. 50), is as follows (see next page):

Modal Adjuncts (Interpersonal)

No.	Type	Meaning	Examples
I	probability	how likely? how obvious?	probably, possibly, certainly, etc. perhaps, maybe, of course, surely, obviously, etc.
	usuality	how often? how typical?	usually, sometimes, always, never, etc. for the most part, seldom, often, etc.
	opinion	I think	in my opinion, from my point of view, personally, to my mind, etc.
II	admissive	I admit	frankly, to be honest, to tell you the truth,
	assertive	I assure you	honestly, really, believe me, seriously, without any doubt, etc.
	presumptive	how presumably?	evidently, apparently, no doubt, presumably, etc.
	desiderative	how desirable	(un)fortunately, to my delight, luckily, regrettably, hopefully, etc.
	tentative	how constant	initially, tentatively, looking back on it, provisionally etc.
	validative	how valid?	broadly speaking, in general terms, on the whole, objectively, strictly speaking, etc.
	evaluative	how sensible?	wisely, understandably, foolishly, by mistake,
	predictive	how expected	to my surprise, as expected, amazingly, by chance, etc.

86. Halliday (1985, pp 64-67) has carried out a text analysis on the basis of dividing the text into five paragraphs, and has selected a sentence from each paragraph (mostly the first sentence) as the topic sentence of that paragraph.

87. Halliday (1985, chapter 10) identifies two types of grammatical metaphors: ideational and interpersonal. He defines metaphor, in general, as an incongruent representation or realization of a semantic representation in the lexicogrammatical level of language. He considers, as an example, the thematic equative structure in sentences like:
a. What the duke gave my aunt was a teapot
as incongruently represented in lexicogrammar in contrast with the non-metaphorical structure of the same sentence as in:
b. The duke has given my aunt a teapot.

88. Nominalistion, as defined by Crystal in his dictionary of linguistic terms (1985) as a term used in some grammatical descriptions as a substitute for noun (e.g. nominal group for a noun phrase). It refers to the process of forming a noun from some other word classes (e.g. red+ness) or, especially in generative grammar, the

derivation of a noun phrase from an underlying clause (e.g. 'his answering of the letter . . .' from ' he answered the letter'. For a detailed discussion of nominalization, the reader is referred to:
R. Quirk et. al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, (London: Longman, 1985) chapter. 17.

89. M. A. K. Halliday, "Functional Diversity in Language as Seen From a Consideration of Mood and Modality", in *Foundation of Language*, no. 6.3, pp. 322-361.

90. Huddleston (1988, p. 56) points out that the grammar of English makes use of no specific markers to identify the topic, except for the expression as 'as for' and 'as regards' in examples like 'As for Zeid, he was killed in the Gulf War' and 'As regards health insurance, they are proposing to retain the present scheme), which serve to mark the topic status of 'Zeid' and 'health insurance' respectively, the first coinciding with subject, the second not. Huddleston also cites examples ('nothing will satisfy you') to claim that subject picks the topic, since we must say that the topic is about 'you' rather than about 'nothing'. For more details on the notion of topic in the sense exemplified above, the reader is referred to:
R. D. Huddleston, *English Grammar: An Outline*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

91. R. A. Hudson, "Review of Halliday 1985 and Butler 1985", in *Journal of Linguistics*, no. 24, 1986, pp. 791-815.

92. A. Downing, "An Alternative Approach to Theme: A systemic-Functional Perspective", In *Word*, vol. 42, no. 2 (August, 1991), pp. 119-143.

93. J. Muir, *A Modern Approach to English Grammar: An Introduction to Systemic Grammar*, (London: Batsford, 1972).

94. T. Givon, "Topic Continuity in Discourse", in *Topic Continuity in Discourse*, (Ed.) T. Givon, (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 1-42.

Notes to Chapter 4:

1. The terms combiners and separators are given to these two linguistics schools and their adherents by Fries (1983). (c.f. next section).

2. J. Firbas, "On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Perspective", in *TLP1*, 1964, pp. 267-280.

3. P. H. Fries, "On defining the Theme in English: Argument from Discourse", in *Micro and Macro Connexity of Texts*, (Eds.) J. S. Petofi & E. Sozer, (Hamburg: Buske Verlag, 1983) pp. 116-152.

4. Chafe (1976) believes that the initial position in the clause is determined by other factors such as 'giveness', 'subject', 'definiteness', topic, contrastiveness and point of view, and that it does not contribute independently to meaning of the clause. For more explanation of this, the reader is referred to section 4.3 below and to:
   W. Chafe, "Giveness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics and Point of View", In *Subject and Topic*, (Ed.) N. C. Li, (New York, San Francisco & London: Academic Express, Inc., 1976) pp. 25-56.

5. J. E. Grimes, *The Thread of Discourse*, (The Hague, Paris & New York: Mouton Publishers, 1975).

6. According to Grimes (1975), much of the content of discourse is expressible in terms of predicates whose arguments are related to them in a small number of conventional ways called 'role' or 'case' relationships. The predicate whose arguments involve role specifications directly are the ones Grimes calls "lexical"; the one that underlies English *eat* is an example. Those whose arguments are related in other ways Grimes calls "rhetorical"; the one that underlies English *because* is an example. For a detailed study of lexical and rhetorical relationships, the reader is referred to chapters 8 and 14.

7. These paradigms are originally adopted by Grimes (1975) from Halliday's (1967 & 1968) articles. In each one, he gives the unmarked theme for the 'mode' in question and within that thematization, he gives various options for the placement of the information centre. Beside the unmarked information centre that corresponds to that 'mode' (Halliday's mood) the subject, the object, the modal, the verb and the pronoun may be marked information centres. All the given examples in these paradigms consist of single clauses that are unmarked with respect to information blocking; that is one clause, one block. Below is part of the exemplification of the declarative 'mode':
   7-1 Unmarked theme: John saw the **PLAY**.
   7-2 Subject as marked theme: **JOHN** saw the play.
   7-3 Verb as marked theme: John **SAW** the play.
   7-4 Object as marked theme: (ambiguous with unmarked centre).

For a detailed discussion of these various types of paradigms the reader is referred to:

J. Grimes, *The Thread of Discourse*, (The Hague, Paris, & New york: Mouton Publishers, 1975, pp. 329-331).

8. According to Grimes (1975), the agentive abstract predicate adds an action component and corresponding agent role to a process. In English, there is a process predicate '*break*', for example, as in the '*the rope [predicate] broke*'. It has an agentive counterpart, in this case phonologically identical, that gives an action-process as in '*the minor [agent] broke the rope*' [predicate]. The process to which the action is added may itself be the result of a semantic derivation like the developmental, as in '*the chef [agent] reddened the frosting [predicate].* The agentive abstract predicate adds the possibility of an instrument as well as the agent, along with force in the normal way, so that we can best consider that the agentive derivation adds the whole agentive role complex: '*the chef [agent] reddened the frosting [predicate] with the pomegranate juice (instrument)*', and also '*the crocodile's blood [force] reddened the water [predicate]*'.

9. P. Clements, "The Effect of Staging on Recall from Prose", in *New Directions in Discourse Processing*, Ed., R. O. Freedle, (Norwood, New Jersy: Ablex, 1979) pp. 287-331.

10. C. Fillmore, "The Case for Case", in *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, (Eds.) E. Bach & R. Harms, (New York: Holt Rheinhart & Winston, 1968) pp. 1-88.

11. A. Hendricks, "Review of Grimes' Thread of Discourse", in *Language*, no. 53, 1977, pp. 956-959.

12. W. Chafe, *Meaning and the Structure of Language*, (London & Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

13. Chafe's use of the terms 'consciousness' and 'memory', where information is preserved, is similar to the method in which computers process input data. In my opinion, consciousness, for Chafe, is analogous with what is called in computer terminology 'random access memory' (RAM) where all data that is received from the end user (the speaker in Chafe's case), or in some cases retrieved from the long-term memory (the hard disk), Chafe's memory, is processed and printed (in the case of consciousness organized in chunks of information units and uttered). One can also think of Chafe's terminology, as he himself mentions (Chafe, 1974), in terms of the well-known staging metaphor of Grimes (1975) and Svoboda (1981). Information that is present in the addressee's consciousness is similar to that fronted on the stage, while unknown or new information that has to be said about it is still in the 'dressing room' [my term]. For more detailed on Chafe's use of the terms consciousness and memory, The reader is referred to:
W. Chafe, "Language and Consciousness", in *Language*, no. 50, 1974, pp. 111-

133.

14. M. A. K. Halliday, Transitivity & Theme in English, part 2, in *Journal of Linguistics*, no. 3, 1967, pp. 199-244.

15. Chafe (1970, p. 224 footnote, 3) has indicated that perhaps the contrastive sentence should not be thought of containing the specification 'new' at all, but rather other specifications, which he calls "focus". In that case, according to him, 'new' and 'focus' would be in complementary distribution, the former occurring only in non-contrastive sentences, the latter only in contrastive ones.

16. Perfetti and Goldman's (1974) experimental research can be summarized as follows: (1) they constructed a pair of paragraphs, in one of which a certain referent (the serfs) is mentioned frequently and another referent (the baron) is infrequently mentioned. In the other pair the frequency is reversed, while the final sentence in both paragraphs reads as follows: 'The serfs rebelled against the baron', then (2) the referents 'the serfs and 'the baron' were tested for their effectiveness as prompts for the retrieval of this final sentence. In the first paragraph, where the predominant subjects are the 'serfs', the 'serfs' were the a more effective prompt than the 'baron'. In the second paragraph, the effectiveness of the 'serfs' and the 'baron were equal, although the 'baron' was subject of all sentences of the passage except the 'target sentence', where 'the serfs' was the subject. For the two linguists, as well as for Chafe, these results suggest that its the subjects which provide a particularly effective prompt for a sentence, even when the preceding context has been predominantly about something else. According to them, the fact that this [target sentence] is about 'the serfs' was all that is needed. For a detailed study of their experiment, the reader is referred to:
    C. A. Perfetti & S. R. Goldman, "Thematisation and Sentence Retrieval", In *Journal of Verbal Learning & Verbal Behaviour*, Vol.13, 1974, pp. 70-90.

17. In order to prove his point with regard to his criticism of Chafe is this respect, Fries (1983, p. 146) extracts a paragraph from Chafe's (1976, p. 34), which consists of seven independent clauses, that follow an initial sentence, say 'topic sentence' and tests them for contrastiveness. Five of these seven clauses begin with adverbial elements. Among those five, only one (7) is clearly the focus of contrast, while the other four (1, 2, 5, & 6) begin with information which picks up and continues information given in the previous context. From this test, Fries comes to the conclusion that these initial adverbials are not the focus of contrast as Chafe (1976) claims. For more details on Fries appraisal of Chafe (1976), the reader is referred to:
    P. H. Fries, "On the Status of Theme in English: Argument from Discourse, In *Macro and Micro Connexity of Texts*, Petofi, T. S., and E. Sozer (Eds.) (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1983,) pp. 116-153, esp. footnote 2.

18. W. Chafe, " Integration and Involvement in Speaking and Writing", in *Spoken and*

Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy, 1982, (Norwood, New Jersy: Ablex) pp. 33-53.

19. W. Chafe, "Cognitive Constraints on Information Flow", in *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse,* Ed. R. Tomlin, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1987), pp. 21-51.

20. W. Chafe, "Grammatical Subjects in Speaking and Writing", in *Text,* Vol. 11-1, Ed., T. Van Dijk, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991) pp. 45-72.

21. Chafe (1991) defines the other type of non-functional subjects as those type of subjects that combine with their predicates to express single, conventionalized ideas, thus failing to express subjects that function independently. In these cases the meaning of the entire subject-predicate combination functions as a unit: it has been *lexicalized.* Many of these are called 'discourse markers', which signal the discourse role of the phrase to which they are attached such as the following lexicalized phrases:
    9-1 *I* mean . . ..
    9-2 *you* know . . ..
    For a detailed study of such discourse markers, the reader is referred to:
    D. Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

22. Chafe (1991) has carried out an experiment to compare the occurrence of subjects as new information in conversational English in the one hand and in written English on the other. For written English, he selected excerpts from a short story written by E. Hemingway and another one from one of N. Hawthorne's novels and a report from *Time* magazine. In analysing the three types of data, he found that only 3% of the nouns in the conversational data convey new information, whereas, in the written data, the results were strikingly different from one another: Hemingway's passage contains only 10%, whereas the *Times* and Hawthorne's contain 27% and 30% respectively. For a detailed discussion of the mechanics of Chafe's experimental research, the reader is referred to:
    W. Chafe, "Grammatical Subjects in Speaking and Writing", in *Text,* Vol. 11-1, Van Dijk, T. (Ed.), (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), pp. 45-72.

23. W. Chafe, "Writing in the Perspective of Speaking", in *Studying Writing Linguistics Approaches,* (Eds.) C. R. Cooper & S. Greenbaum, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1986), pp. 12-39.

24. E. W. Prince, "A Comparison of Wh-clefts and It-Cleft", in *Language,* no. 54, 1978, pp. 883-906.

25. A. Akmajian, "On Deriving Cleft Sentences From Pseudo-Cleft Sentences", in *Linguistic Inquiry,* no. 1, 1970, pp. 149-168.

26. D. Bolinger, *That's That*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1972).

27. Prince (1978, pp. 885-886, footnote 3) has pointed out that if the verb of the wh-cleft is not selectionally restricted to human objects, then a focused human object noun phrase is in fact acceptable, as in:
    a. I don't need money__ What I need is you.
    Beside this exception, she also shows other cases where the wh-cleft can focus on animate noun phrases. These cases include:
    1. non-referential noun phrases, as in:
    b. What he wants to be when he grows up is the **POPE.**
    2. Wh-clefts include those cases where they are used to disambiguate the well-known ambiguity in sentences like:
    c. John wants to marry a Norwegian.
    where 'a Norwegian' may either be specific or non-specific. Only the latter may be focused in a formally-defined wh-cleft, as in:
    d. What John wants to marry is a **NORWEGIAN.** She should have long hair.
    Prince, however, admits that the situation with focused subjects noun phrases is trickier, because it seems, according to her, that the focused human subject must be non-agentive, as in:
    e. John made me laugh
    f. What made me laugh was **JOHN.**
    In 'e', 'John' may be read as agentive or non-agentive (instrumental may be?), but only the non-agentive reading is possible in 'f'. This is in contrast with the situation in cleft-sentences with lexical heads, where agentive readings are also possible, as in:
    g. The one that made me laugh was **JOHN.**

28. H. P. Grice, "Logic and Conversation", in *Syntax and Semantics*, no 3, (Eds.) P. Cole and J. L. Morgan, (New York: Academic Express, 1975) pp. 41-58.

29. Prince (1978) believes that the Halliday's criteria in assigning the status of 'given' and 'new' to a constituent are not very clear. Her justification in saying this comes from the fact that Halliday (1976c, p. 206) states that "anaphoric items are inherently 'given' in the sense that their interpretation depends on the identification within the preceding text". Prince's confusion underlies the question of whether an anaphoric item in a sentence with an unmarked focus is to be independently marked as given or not. But in any case, she believes that Halliday's notion of givenness does not depend directly on what the speaker takes to be in the hearer's consciousness, although Halliday always emphasizes the fact that most of the time, given is represented to the hearer as derivable from previous discourse or the situation.

30. Firbas (1964b & elsewhere) defines theme as the element having the lowest degree of CD. This definition combined with Halliday's (1967c) notion of the fact that given information is optional might give good results with stressed-focus it-clefts__

in which *it*, being dummy, certainly has the lowest degree of CD and would mark the sentence as 'themeless'. However, as Prince proceeds with her discussion of the other type of it-clefts, the informative presupposition type, where the focus may be the theme, but where *it* would necessarily still have the lowest degree of CD.

31. The term 'performative' is used by the philosopher J. L. Austin (1962) in his book, *How to Do Thing with Words.* It is used now in grammatical and semantic analysis to refer to a type of sentences where an action is performed by virtue of the sentence having been uttered, e.g. 'I apologize . . . ', I name . . .', etc. The original distinction was drawn between performative and causative utterances: the latter are descriptive statements which can be analyzed in terms of truth-value terms. Performative verbs (apologize, etc.) have a particular significance in speech act theory, as they mark the illocutionary force of an utterance in an explicit way. Some transformational analysts even proposed a performative analysis of sentences, such that a performative verb is present in the underlying structure, e.g. an underlying (deleteable) verb such as 'I assert that . . .', but the advantages of adopting such a procedure have still to be fully explored. For more details on performative verbs and speech act theory, the reader is referred to the following:

    S. Levinson, *Pragmatics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), chapter, 5.

    J. Lyons, *Semantics, vol.2*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), chapter, 16.

    R. Huddleston, *An Introduction to English Transformational Grammar*, (London: Longman, 1975), chapter, 9.

32. This statement by Prince seems to be in line with Bolinger (1977, p. 68) statement that "a factive verb implies the actuality of its complement in the mind of the hearer, not the shared knowledge of it between the speaker and hearer". For more details on this topic, the reader is referred to:
    D. Bolinger, *Meaning and Form*, (London: Longman, 1977).

33. In this experimental research, Hornby (1974) presented his subjects with a series of 60 pre-recorded sentences, each followed by a picture, and asked them to say whether each picture accurately depicted the preceding sentence. Of these 60 sentences, 20 were simple. e.g. 'The girl is petting the cat'; 20 were it-clefts, e.g. 'It is the girl that is petting the cat'; 20 'akin' to wh-clefts, e.g. 'The one who is petting the cat is the girl'. Each of the 20 sentences, 10 were active, 10 were passive. Of each set of 10 sentences, five were followed by pictures which misrepresented their presupposition, and 5 by pictures which depict them correctly. The results, as depicted by Hornby, show the percentages of times that the subjects failed to note the misrepresentation, i.e., said the picture was an accurate depiction when it was not. Below is the table of Hornby's results (see next page):

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE	AVERAGE TOTAL
1. SIMPLE SENTENCES	15.6%	40.6%	28.2%
2. IT-CLEFTS	30.6%	48.0%	39.4%
3. WH-CLEFTS	44.6%	55.2%	50.2%

For more detailed discussion of this experiment, the reader is referred to:
P. A. Hornby, "Surface Structure and Presupposition", in *JVLVB*, vol. 13, 1974, pp. 530-538.

34. E. W. Prince, "Towards a Taxonomy of Given/New Information", in *Radical Pragmatics*, (Ed.) P. Cole, (New York: Academic Express, 1981) pp. 223-256.

35. N. E. Enkvist, "Connexity, Interpretability, Universes of Discourse, and Text World", in *Possible Worlds in Humanities, Arts and Sciences: Proceedings of Noble Symposium 65*, (Ed.) S. Allen, (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989) pp. 162-186.

36. Hoyle's (1983) data is extracted from two trails: Rosie Lee Pegues et. al. V. Mississippi State Employment Service and Maxine Cearly, et. al. US. (US. District Court, Southern California). For additional details on the points she made, the reader is referred to:
J. Hoyle, "A Discussion of Wh-Clefts in English". Papers presented in the seminar on functionalism, Georgetown University, Washington D.C., 1983.

37. J. Gundel, "On the Function of Marked and Unmarked Terms", in *Studies in Syntactic Typology*, (Ed.) M. Hammond et. al., (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Company, 1988) pp. 285-301.

38. J. Gundel, "Where Do Cleft Sentences Come from", in *Language*, no. 53(3), 1977, pp. 543-559.

39. Gundel (1977, p. 553, note 22) assumes that topic-comment corresponds roughly to presupposition and focus respectively, i.e., topic refers to what the sentence is about --what is already given, or presupposed-- while comment-- the new information--refers to what is being predicated bout the topic. This position, discussed by her in 1974, is greatly confused by the fact that the focus of the cleft sentence is something referred to as the "topicalized constituent". The difference, however, is not always just a matter of terminology, e.g., Halliday (1976c) considers topic to be distinct from what is 'given', and claims that the focus of the cleft sentence (even though it always represents new information) is also its topic, while topic in other sentences is always the initial constituent. In this respect, Gundel believes that Halliday's view of topic "is essentially **INCORRECT**, and cannot be made **CONSISTENT** with any semantic or cognitive value which might be attached to this notion" [original emphasis]. On the other hand, Chafe notes that the focus of the cleft sentence is not necessarily new at all, since it may refer to something which is 'already in the mind of the addressee'. The disagreement between the three, here, arises out of a distinction in the use of the term 'new' information. The focus itself is not new information; what is new is the

identification as the object referred to in the focus (referent in Chafe's case). Gundel, however, found it more correct to say that the focus in the it-cleft sentences is "**ALWAYS PART OF THE COMMENT OR NEW INFORMATION**" [my emphasis].

40. S. Dik, *Coordination; its Implications for the Theory of General Linguistics*, (Amsterdam: Foris Publications, 1968).

41. S. Dik (1978 [1981], pp. 4-5) draws a comparison between his FG with its functional paradigm, and Chomsky's TTG and its formal paradigm. He lists eight major differences, which can be summarized as follows:

    1. With regard to the definition of language, Chomsky's formal paradigm defines it as 'a set of sentences'; whereas Dik's functional paradigm defines it as 'an instrument of social interaction'.

    2. With regard to its primary functions, Chomsky believes that language's primary function 'is the expression of thoughts'; whereas Dik believes that it is primary function 'is communication'.

    3. With regard to its psychological correlate, Chomsky believes that the psychological correlate of a language is competence: 'the capacity to produce, interpret, and judge sentences'; whereas, following in the steps of Hymes (1972), Dik believes that the psychological correlate of language is communicative competence: 'the ability to carry on social interaction by means of language'.

    4. With regard to the language system and its use, Chomsky believes that the study of competence has logical and methodological priority over the study of performance; whereas Dik believes that the study of the language system from the very start take place within the framework of the system of language use.

    5. With regard to language and setting (Halliday's context of situation), Chomsky believes that the sentences of the language must be described independently of the setting in which they are used.

    6. With regard to language acquisition, Chomsky believes that the child constructs grammar of the language by making use of his 'innate properties' on the basis of a quite restricted and unstructured input of the linguistic data; whereas Dik believes that the child discovers the system underlying language use, aided by an extensive and highly structured input of linguistic data presented in a natural setting.

    7. As far as language universals are concerned, Chomsky believes that language universals are to be regarded as 'innate properties' of the human organism; whereas Dik sees them as explainable in terms of the constraints inherent in (a) the goals of communication,(b) the biological and psychological constitution of language

users, and (c) the settings in which language is used.

8. With regard to the relation of the 3 levels of language which Dik proposes (Syntax, semantics and pragmatics), Chomsky believes that syntax is autonomous with respect to semantics, and semantics is autonomous with respect to pragmatics; the priorities run from syntax via semantics to pragmatics. On the other hand, Dik believes that pragmatics is the 'all-encompassing framework' within which semantics and syntax must be studied; 'semantics is subservient to pragmatics and syntax to semantics; the priorities run from pragmatics via semantics to syntax'.

For more details on Chomsky's formal paradigm, the reader is referred to:
N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Grammar*, (Mass., Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965).
----------, *Knowledge of Language*, (Mass., Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986).

42. S. C. Dik, *Studies in Functional Grammar*, (London & others: Academic Press, 1980).

43. J. R. Ross, "on Declarative Sentences", in *Reading in English Transformational Grammar*, (Eds.) R. Jacobs, & P. Rosenbaum, (Waltham, Mass: MIT publication, 1970) pp. 222-272.

44. One could regard this fact as a semantic fact; it is certainly a referential fact. How is it regarded depends on the extent to which proper nouns can be brought within semantic analysis.

45. R. Barry, "Topic in Chinese", In *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism* Grossman, R. E. et. al. (Eds.), (Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1975), pp. 1-9.

46. S. C. Dik, *The Theory of functional Grammar. Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*, (Holland-Dordrecht: Foris Publication, 1989).

47. In this respect, I suspect that there is quite a lot of variation between languages with regard to what counts as 'too far removed'.

48. For more details on Grimes''span analysis', the reader is referred to:
J. E. Grimes, *The Thread of Discourse*, (The Hague & Others: Mouton Publications, 1975) chapter. 6, pp. 92-96.

49. H. Hannay, *English Existentials in Functional Grammar*, (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1985).

50. H. Clark & S. Haviland, "Psychological Process and Linguistic Explanation", In *Explaining Linguistic Phenomena*, Cohen, D. (Ed.), (Washington: Hemsihere,

1974, pp. 91-124).

51. Dik (1989, p.285) has exemplified the same sub-types of counter-presupposition focus that are used for the subject in the predication of the clause to the predicate element of the clause. These sub-types and examples runs as follows:
    1. Completing Focus, as in:
    A: What have you done to my money?
    B: I **SPENT** it.

    2. Replacing Focus, as in:
    A: John grows potatoes.
    B: No, He doesn't **GROW** them; he **SELLS** them.

    3. Expanding Focus, as in:
    A: He is not only going to **BUY** bananas, he's also going to **SELL** them.

    4. Restricting Focus, as in:
    A: It seems John grows and sells potatoes.
    B: No, he only **SELLS** them.

    5. Selecting Focus, as in:
    A: Are you going to rent or buy a car?
    B: I'm going to **BUY** one.

52. In traditional grammatical description, the term 'absolute' is used to refer to a sentence constituent which is isolated from or abnormally connected to the rest of the sentence. English, as well as other languages, displays an absolute use of adverbs and adjectives, (and in this case Dik's theme as in the examples shown above) in sentence initial position, as in:
    1. However, he arrived late.
    2. Happy, she went to sleep.
    For more details on the various aspects of 'absolute constructions', the reader is referred to:
    R. Quirk et. al. *A University Grammar of English*, (London: Longman, 1972,) chapter. 11
    F. Palmer, *Grammar*, (London: Penguin, 1984).

53. T. Givon, "Topic, Pronoun, and Grammatical Agreement, in *Subject and Topic*, (Ed.) C. N. Li, (London & others: Academic Express, Inc., 1976) pp. 149-188.

54. For a detailed study if these six major factors, the reader is referred to:
    S. C. Dik, *Functional Grammar*, (Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publication, 1981) pp-172-174.

55. According to Crystal's dictionary of linguistic terms (Crystal, 1985, p. 51), the term clitic is used in grammar to refer to a form which resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as a normal utterance, being structurally dependent upon a neighbouring word in a construction. It originally comes from the Greek word for 'leaning'. Crystal's examples of such a tern include what he calls "the CONTRACTED forms of *be*, such as *I'm* and *he's*. He classifies these clitic words into two main categories: (1) **proclitics**, in which they depend upon a following word, as in the case of articles, and (2) **enclitics**, in which they depend upon a preceding word, as in the attachment of some pronouns to the end of the verb like the following Arabic sentence:

    1. darab-tu-hu bi-l-ᶜaṣā.
       hit-I-him with-the stick
       I hit him with the stick.

    Here, 'bi' and 'l' are proclitics and 'tu' and 'hu' are enclities. For more details on clitic pronouns, the reader is referred to:

    P. H. Mathews, *Syntax*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), chapter 9.

56. D. Hymes, "On Communicative Competence", In *Sociolinguistics*, (Eds.) J. B. Pride & J. Holmes, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) pp. 269-293.

57. M. A. K. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1978).

Notes to Chapter 5:

1. Standard Arabic (SA), referred to here, (also known as Modern Written Arabic and Modern Literary Arabic) is the uniform variety of Arabic which is used all over the Arabic speaking world as the usual medium of written communication in books, periodicals, journals, magazines, newspapers, signs, business and personal letters. It is also used as a medium of the oral communication on the stage, in radio and television broadcasts, in formal speeches, public and university lectures, learned debates, conferences, in some songs, and in general on occasions accompanied by some degree of formality and solemnity.

2. This group of traditional Arab grammarians belongs to five main schools of grammar: the Basra School, the Kufa School, the Baghdad School, the Andalus School and the Egyptian School. Below is a list of the main grammarians who belong to each school some of whom are mentioned in this chapter.
   I. The Basra School: Abu l-Aswad d-Du'alī, al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad, Sibawayhi, Quṭrub, al-Mubarrid, az-Zajjāj, Ibn s-Sirāj, and aṣ-Ṣayrāfī, among many others.
   II. The Kufa School: al-Kisā'ī, al-Ferra', and Abu-Bakr l-Anbārī, among many others.
   III. The Baghdad School: Ibn Kisān, az-Zajjājī, Abu-'ali l-Fārsi, Ibn jinnī, Ibn Ya'īsh, and az-Zamakhsharī, among many others.
   VI. The Andalus School: Ibn Madā' l-Qurṭubī and Ibn Mālik, among many others.
   V. The Egyptian School: Ibn l-Ḥājib, Ibn Hishām and aṣ-Sayūtī, among many others.
   For a brief study of these schools of Arabic grammar and their major differences, the reader is referred to:
   S. Ḍayf, *al-Madāris n-Naḥawyya* [The Grammatical Schools], (Cairo: Dār l-Ma'ārif, 1978).

3. F. H. 'abbas, *al-Balāġa Funūnuha wa Afnānuhā: 'ilmu l-Ma'āni* , 2nd. ed., (Amman: Dār al-Furqān li-n-našr wa t-tawzī', 1989).

4. A. al-Jurjānī, *Dalā'ilu l-'I'jāz fi 'ilmi l-Ma'āni*, (Ed.) Muhammad Rashid Riza, (Beirut: Dār l-Kutub l-'ilmiyya, 1988).

5. Ibn l-Muqaffa', *al-Manṭiq* (logic), (Ed.) Danshpazuh, M. T. (Tehran: Tehran publishing Co., 1978).

6. I. Anīs, *min Asrār l-Luġa*, (Cairo: The Anglo-Egyptian Library, 1978).

7. A. al-Hāshimī, *Jawāhir l-Balāġa fi l-Ma'āni wa l-Bayān wa l-Badi'*, (Beirut: Dār l-Kutub l-'ilmiyya, 1978).

8. 'abbās (1989, p. 88) says in his definition of 'al-musnad', "huwa l-mubtada' l-ladi

lahu fāᶜil aw nāʾib fāᶜil yasuddu masadda l-xabar aw l-xabar fi l-jumlati l-ʾismiyya aw l-fiᶜl fi l-jumlati l-fiᶜliyya". I believe that, when ᶜabbās defines the predicate (al-musnad) as a predicand (mubtadaʾ) in the first part of this quotation he merely refers to the verbal sentence which has the verb as its initial element in a VSO word order or the initial NP in the nominal sentence. This is made clear in the final clause of the quotation which demonstrates that the verb, in the verbal sentence, constitutes part of the predicate/rheme/comment.

9. These quyūd (complements) has more than one name. TAGs call them 'faḍalāt' (also translatable as complements). Grammarians have divided these complements into two main categories: those that complement the verb phrase (VP) in the sentence and those that complement the noun phrase (NP), which could be the subject/agent, the mubtada, and sometimes the xabar. Complements that complement the VP, include the five types of object that may occur in the verbal sentence in addition the prepositional and adverbial phrases (cf. main text). The complements of the NP include the circumstantial accusative (al-ḥāl), the accusative of specification (at-tamiyīz), the 'annexation' (al-ʾiḍāfa), the adjective (ʾan-naᶜt), emphasis (ʾat-tawkīd), the permutative (al-badal), and 'the expletive coordination/apposition'(ᶜadf an-nsaq) above. For a detailed discussion of all these complements from a grammatical point of view, the reader is referred to: M. al-Antaki, *al-Muḥīṭ fi Aşwāti l-ᶜarabyyati wa Naḥwihā wa Şarfihā, vol 2*, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār aš-Šarq, 1975) pp. 91-286.

10. A. M. Harūn (Ed.), *Kitāb Sibawayhi, Parts 1 & 2*, by Sibawayhi, A., (Cairo: dār l-Kātib al-ᶜrabyyi li-ṭ-ṭibāᶜati wa n-našr, 1968).

11. Harūn (1968), in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*, (part 1, p. 23), quotes the latter's about the indispensable relation of (al-ʾisnād) between the musnad ilayhi and the musnad by saying:"la yastaġni wāḥidun minhumā ᶜan l-ʾāxar, wa la yajidu l-mutakallimu minhu buddan, famin ḏalika l-ʾismu l-mubtadaʾ wa l-mabni ᶜalayhi l-xabar".

12. M. Ibn Yaᶜish, *Šarḥu l-Mufaşşal, vol. 1*, (Beirut: ᶜālamu l-Kutub, [no date]).

13. The 0 (zero) here indicates the case marking of the Arabic jussive and the imperative formal modes. When it (0) is used to indicate the existence of an elliptical item, the presupposed item/(s) is always provided inside brackets with the equals sign (=) preceding it/(them).

14. M. ᶜabdul ḥamīd, *Šarḥ Qaṭri n-Nadā wa Ball aş-Şadā li-Ibn Hishām*, (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat as-Sacāda, 1963).

15. A. az-Zajjājī, *al-ʾIḍāh*, (Ed.) M. al-Mubārak, (Cairo, 1959).

16. Ibn Fāris *al-ʾIşḥāḥ fi Fiqhi l-Luġati l-ᶜarabiyyati wa Sunani L-ᶜarābi fi Kalāmihā*, (ed.) M. al-Shwaymi, (Beirut: Muʾasasatu Badrān li-ṭ-ṭibāᶜati wa n-Našr,

1964).

17. R. ᶜabdu at-Tawwāb, *Fuṣwulun fi l-ᶜarabiyya*, (Cairo: Maktabat l-Khānji, 1983).

18. I. Muṣṭafā, *ʾIḥyā ʾu n-Naḥw*, (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat Lajnatu t-Taʾlīf wa t-Tarjama, 1959).

19. For a detailed discussion of the various types "ᶜawāmil' (operators) and Mustafa's criticism of them, the reader is referred to the previous note, pp. 22-42.

20. W. Wright (1890, p. 143) points out that case-markers were originally used in Semitic languages to differentiate between the nominative case, the case which specifies the 'the mubtada, theme or topic' (musnad ʾilayhi) and some times 'rheme or comment' (the xabar or musnad). Moreover, he believes that the nominative case /hu/ is associated with the pronoun (huwa), and the accusative case /a/ is associated with the deictic particle /ha/, which is still used in some Semitic languages like the Ethiopic, where the /ha/ indicates an orientation towards a certain direction using some verbs like ' ʾaqbāl' and 'qaṣada' (come towards and head towards). As for the genitive case, he argues that it can be associated with the 'ya' of attribution, as in ' al-qaṣr l-malakī' (the royal palace), and which can be justified in SA by the fact that the adjective follows the noun. But Mustafa (1959), Anīs (1978) and ᶜabdu at-tawwāb (1983) reject this assumption because, according to them, it lacks diachronic as well a synchronic evidence, and thus, it remains no more than a speculation that lacks the evidence to be generalized. For a detailed discussion of Wright's proposal, the reader is referred to:
W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of Semitic Languages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890).

21. N. Lewkowicz, "A transformational Approach to the Syntax of Arabic Particles", PhD Dissertation, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1967.
- - - - -- - -, "Topic and Comment and Relative Clause in Arabic", in *Readings in Arabic Linguistics*, (Ed.) al-ᶜāni, (Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistic Club, 1978).

22. N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, (Mass., Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965).

23. Lehmann (1973 &1976) reduces the VSO, SOV and SOV typology of Greenberg (cf. next note) to simply VO and OV. He brings evidence to show that the relationship of a verb to its object is stronger than that to its subject, and he concludes that "the object-verb construction is the fundamental syntactic pattern in a language, and that the subject plays a "disruptive role" (1976, p. 447). VSO constructions are typologically complex, but they persist for perceptual and sociological reasons.
Lehmann (1976, p. 449) attributes the secondary role of the subject to

the fact that its function is diffused. He quotes Halliday's (1970, p. 164) definition of subject as having four different functions: (1) actor (logical subject: ideational), (2) modal subject (grammatical subject: interpersonal), (3) theme (psychological subject: textual), together with a fourth function which is in the structure of the information unit (given: psychological subject, textual). But his approach of typology moves away from the formal statement of Greenberg's advancing a typology based upon all four syntactic processes, i.e., not only arrangement but also selection, modification, and modulation (Lehmann,1973, p. 61). The OV order is associated with agglutinative morphology and characteristic phonological features (like German), whereas VO order is associated with inflectional morphology (like Arabic). In this respect, he rejects any role of the subject in linguistic typology on the basis of more 'labile' nature of the subject as compared with the object; he feels that its inclusion in the past "has been a source of trouble for typologists as well as for linguistic theorists in general" (Lehmann, 1973, p. 51). For a detailed study of Lehmann's typological studies, the reader is referred to:

W. P. Lehmann, "A structural Principle and its Implications", in *Language*, vol., 49/1, 1973, pp. 48-66.

----------, "Form Topic to Subject In Indo-European", in *Subject and Topic*, (Ed.) C. N. Li, (New York & Others: Academic Press, 1976) pp. 447-556).

24. On the basis of statistical studies of samples from 30 languages of different families which he carried out, Greenberg (1961 [1966]) has identified a series of formal principles of grammar, most of which having to do with WO, which permits the establishment of a basic order typology__ a 12-celled taxonomy based on WO. He uses three criteria: the dominant order of verb, subject, and object; the existence of prepositions versus postpositions; and the position of qualifying adjectives. Of the six possible combinations of the subject (S), verb (V) and object (O), he reports that only three occur in the dominant WO in the languages he has studied: VSO, SVO and SOV. He divides the three broad classes into sub-classes according to whether the language has postposition or preposition, or whether adjective (A) come before or after the noun (N) (Greenberg, 1961, pp. 76-77). These divisions can be illustrated as follows:

	VSO	SVO	SOV
postposition A:	0	1	6
postposition N:	0	2	5
preposition A:	0	4	0
preposition N:	6	6	0

As it can be seen, there is a clustering of types, and many of the cells are empty. In this respect, Greenberg points out that often the meeting of one criterion will imply that certain others are met as well. In order to make deductions about grammar, these relationships, for him, are 'implicational universals'. Thus starting from 14 statistically derived universals of form, he is able to make a total of 56 distinct claims, 45 of which are about grammar, and the rest on morphology. In this way, his typology is exclusively systemized on the basis of form. For more details on the nature of his typology, especially his universal principle of grammar,

the reader is referred to:
J. H. Greenberg, "Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements", in *Universals of Language, 2nd ed.*, (Ed.) J. H. Greenberg, (Mass. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966) pp.73-113.

25. An agglutinative language is one in which its constituents (words) typically contain a linear sequence of morphs - as seen in English 'dis/establish/ment- and thus contrasts with inflectional languages. Agglutinative languages are well-known for using prefixes and suffixes by adding them to the root to change its meaning. However, the boundary between the two categories of languages is not clear cut: different languages will display the characteristic of agglutination to a greater or a lesser degree. Languages like Turkish and Japanese display agglutination to a major extent. For further denials, the reader is referred to:
J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, (Mass., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), chapter 5.

26. In this respect, I think that Lehmann's analysis has some problems, or at least it could be construed as having some problems. Lehmann presumably started from the position that it is possible to identify SVO languages, SVO languages, etc., by looking at word order in neutral (unmarked) sentences. He then looked at associated linguistic features, such as order of nouns and adjectives. I would say that it is 'possible' to do this procedure the other way, i.e., to start with the associated features and conclude what the basic word order is. However, it could presumably be argued that such associated features not necessarily demonstrate a particular basic order ; rather, they are simply associated with it.

27. G. N. Saad, *Transitivity, Causation and Passivization*, (London & Others: Kegan Paul International, 1982).

28. C. Fillmore, "The Case for Case", in *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, (Eds.) E. R. Bach & T. Harms, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1968), pp. 1-88.

29. Arab rhetoricians have divided discourse in general into two main categories: propositional (xabariyya), where discourse is meant to inform and benefit the addressee, whether hearer or reader, and performative 'inšāʾyya', which contains no proposition about anything that really takes place. Thus,the latter is not subject to challenge, while the former is. ʿabbās (1989, p. 100) proposes the following definitions of 'al-xabar' and 'al-ʾinšāʾ': 'al-xabar lā yatawaqqafu taḥqīquhu wa wujūduhu ʿala qawli l-mutakallim, ʾamma l-ʾinšāʾ, fahwa mā yatawaqqafu taḥaqququhu ʿala talāffuẓi l-mutalkllimi bih", which can be translated as 'the proposition is a type of discourse that does not depend upon the speaker's saying it in order for it to exist or be accomplished, but the performative discourse depends fully upon its utterance by the speaker in order for it to exist and be accomplished (carried out)'. Hence it is not expected to be true or false. Rhetoricians also divide

performative utterances into two types: demand and non-demand types. The former is not expected to be carried out at the moment of uttering the sentence although it is demanded that it be carried out at some time, while the former is not required to be carried out at all, because the speaker is not requesting/requiring the hearer to do anything for him; this is exemplified by exclamation expressions. For a detailed discussion of the Arab rhetoricians treatment of these topics, and speech acts in general, the reader is referred to, respectively:

F. H. ᶜabbas, *al-Balāġa Funūnuhā wa Afnānuhā: ᶜilmu l-Maᶜāni*, 2nd. ed., (Amman: Dār al-Furqān li-n-našr wa t-tawsīᶜ, 1989) pp.99-205.

J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962)

30. al-Anṭākī (1975) points out that ' ʾammā' can be either a conditional (šarṭ), particularizational (tafṣīl) or an emphatic (tawkīd) particle. The reason for it being called a conditional particle is because it is always associated with the 'fa' in its 'jawāb' (answer/result); the reason for calling it particularization particle is because what follows the NP that precedes it and what follows it is a detailed explanation of that NP (like the function of the colon in English), and the reason for calling it an emphatic particle is because, according to al-Anṭākī, the sentence becomes more emphatic when preceded by an ' ʾammā' (as for). For a detailed discussion of this particle, the reader is referred to:

M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fī Aṣwāti l-Luġati l-ᶜarabyati wa Naḥwiha wa Ṣarfiha, Vol. 3*, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975), pp. 106-108.

31. S. Ḍayf, *Tajdīdu n-Naḥw* (The Renewal of Syntax), (Cairo: Dār l-Maᶜārif, 1982).

32. H. Khatīb et. al., *al-Luġtu l-ᶜarabiyyatu liġayri l-Muxtaṣṣīna bihā*, (Aleppo: Aleppo University Press, 1985).

33. M. G. Carter, "An Arab Grammarian of the 8th Century A. C.: A Contribution to The History of Linguistics", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society (JAOS)* 93, 1973, pp. 146-157.

34. L. Bloomfield, *Language*, (New York: Holt, 1959).

35. M. A. K. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English, Part II, in *Journal of Linguistics*, no. 3, 1967, pp. 199-244.

36. For a detailed illustration, discussion and exemplification of the various types of formal moods of SA (the subjunctive, the jussive, the energetic, and the imperfect indicative), the reader is referred to:

C. Cantarino, *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose*, vol. I, (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1974) pp. 77-83.

W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language, vol. I*, (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1898).

M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fī Aṣwāti l-ᶜarabiyyati wa Naḥwihā wa Ṣarfihā*, 3 Vols., (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975).

37. I. as-Sāmarrāʾī, *Fiqhu l-Luġatī l-Muqāran*, (Contrastive Linguistics, 3rd. ed.) (Beirut: Dār l-ᶜilmu li-l-Malāyyīn, 1983).

38. R. M. al-Astrabāḏī, *Šarḥu l-Kāfiya fi n-Naḥw*, (Beirut: dār l-Kutub l-ᶜilmiyya, 1975).

39. G. M. al-Qazwīnī, *al-ʾIḍāḥ fi ᶜulūmi l-Balāġa li-l-Khafāji*, (Ed.), Abdul Munᶜim (Cairo: 1949). (reproduced. Beirut: Dār l-Kitābi al-Lubnāni, 1980).

40. For a detailed study of the ways of uttering an predication which are informative to the addressee taking in consideration his state of mind, and the rhetorical purposes that motivate the speaker not to follow these ways, the reader is referred to:
F. H. ᶜabbas, *al-Balāġa Funūnuhā wa Afnānuhā: ᶜilmu l-Maᶜāni*, 2nd. ed. (Amman: Dār l-Furqān li-n-našr wa t-tawzīᶜ, 1989) pp.133-145.

41. A. al-jurjānī, *Dalāʾilu l-ʾIᶜjāz*, (Eds.) M. ᶜabdu, & M. Rizā, M., (Beirut: Dār l-Kutub l-ᶜilmiyya, 1988).

42. This argument tallies with ᶜabbas's (1989) argument (see previous section), which is based on word order in the nominal sentence when both pillars of the predication are defined. It is also in line with Halliday's (1967c) argument on identification (cf. 3.6.3), in which he points out that whatever occupies the left-most position is theme and consequently given or known information unless contrastive or contradictory.

43. For a detailed study of the secondary types of predication (ʾaġrāḏ al-xabar), the reader is referred to:
F. H. ᶜabbas, *al-Balāġa Funūnuhā wa Afnānuhā: ᶜilmu l-Maᶜāni*, (Amman: Dār al-Furgan li-n-naṣr wa t-tawzīᶜ, 1989), pp. 106-112.

44. Muṣṭafā (1959, p. 154), quoting from Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*, in the latter's justification for changing the accusative case-endings in preposed object to a nominative, where he says: in examples like:
1. Zayd-an Raʾyt-u-hu.
Zayd-accus. saw-I-him
It is Zaid [theme] who I saw [rheme].
"the accusative is common Arabic, but the nominative is preferable" (an-naṣbu ᶜarabiyyun kaṯīrun wa r-rafᶜu ʾarjaḥ). For more details on 'al-ʾištiġāl' (government), where this topic is discussed, the reader is referred to:

I. Mustafā, *ʾIḥyā ʾu n-Naḥw*, (Cairo: Lajnat t-taʾlīf wa t-tarjama wa n-našr, 1959).

45. A. F. L. Beeston, *The Arabic Language Today*, (London: Hutchinson, 1970).

46. M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (London & Others: Edward Arnold, 1985).

47. A. F. L. Beeston, "Embedding of the Theme-Predicate Structure in Arabic, in *Language*, no. 50, 1974, pp. 474-477.

48. Halliday (1967c; cf. 3.6.4) points out that there are certain clause construction which can place the theme in the sense of what the clause is about, in positions other than the initial ones. These are the cleft constructions and 'there' existential sentences (cf. chapter 7 for illustration and exemplification from real data).

49. al-Anṭākī (1975, pp. 351-3) points out that from a formal point of view, the term 'specified' (muxaṣṣaṣ) with regard to the circumstance (aẓ-ẓurūf) whether spatial or temporal (makāniyya aw zamāniyya) is when they are limited or specified by a certain location or by a specified span of time as in the example provided above; whereas the term'inflectional (mutaṣarrif) means on whether they are subject to all grammatical functions: act as subject, objects or object of preposition or not (see examples in the main text). He also points out that, with exception of the direct object, which has the priority of replacing the subject (agent) as a surrogate subject (nāʾib l-fāʿil), there is no priority of occurrence between 2, 3, 4, and 5 above. For more details, the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīt fi Aswāti l-ʿarabiyyati wa Naḥwihā wa Ṣarfihā*, vol.3, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975).

50. For more details on these steps of passivization and the morphological changes the various types of verbs in Arabic undergo, the reader is referred to:
Š. Ḍayf, *Tajdīdu n-Naḥu* (Renewal of Syntax), (Cairo: dār l-Maʿārif, 1982) pp. 158-160).

51. J. Vachek, *The Linguistic School of Prague*, (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1966).

52. V. Bubenik, "Thematisation and Passivisation", in *Lingua*, No. 49, pp. 295-313.

53. For more details of these two additional uses of interrogative, the reader is referred to:
F. H. ʿabbas, *al-Balāġa Funūnuhā wa Afnānuhū: ʿilmu l-Maʿāni*, 2nd. ed., (Amman: Dār al-Furqān li-n-našr wa t-tawzīʿ, 1989), pp. 190-202.

54. TAGs call this grammatical category the cancellers (an-nawāsix) for two main reasons: (1) they occupy the position of the predicand (mubtadaʾ) and thus cancel

its status as an initial element of the nominal sentence, and (2) they change the case ending of the predicand and the predicate depending on the type of the canceller. For a detailed discussion of the types and their grammatical functions in the nominal sentence, the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fi Aşwāt l-ᶜarabiyyati wa Nahwiḥā wa Şarfihā*, Vol., 2., (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975).

55. M. Abu-Mūsā, *Dalalāt t-Tarākīb: Dirāsatun Balāġiyya*, (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1979).

56. A. Ibn ᶜaqīl, *Šarḥ Ibn ᶜaqīl ᶜalā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik 4. vols.*, (Beirut: Dār l-Fikr li-ṭ-ṭibāᶜati wa n-našr wa t-tawzīᶜ, no date).

57. H. Fleisch, *al-ᶜarabiyyatu l-Fuşḥā: Naḥwa Binā ʾin Luġawiyyin Jadīd* (Classical Arabic: Towards a Modern Structure), (Ed. & trans.) ᶜabdul Şabūr Šhāhīn, (Beirut: al-Maṭbaᶜa l-Kāṯulīkyya, 1966).

58. ᶜabbas (1989, pp. 116-117) points out that the pronoun of separation was called a pronoun by grammarians because it only looks like the 'the absent pronoun *he*' (ḍamīr l-ġaʾib 'huwa') in form. According to ᶜabbas, for grammarians, especially the Basrans, it is not a pronoun, and thus, it is treated as a particle (ḥarf) that separates the mubtada from the xabar, and thus has no other grammatical function than being a device for emphasis. The second difference between it and regular pronouns is the fact that regular pronouns are defined entities (coreferentials, in systemic terms), while the separation pronoun is not.

59. A. A. Bloch (1992), joining forces with TAGs, points out that 'ḍamīr ʾaš-šaʾn' is a dummy pronoun. Like Halliday's treatment of the pronoun 'it' in the it-cleft construction, when he says: "'it' is non-anaphoric . . . and never can be thematic" (Halliday, 1967c, p.238), Bloch also points out that 'damīr š-šaʾn' is neither anaphoric nor cataphoric because it neither has a semantic content nor a referent. Thus, It is not anaphoric because it is not coreferential, and it cannot anticipate any new referent in the discourse because it is empty (dummy). Bloch discusses various grammatical functions of this type of pronoun. The following are the ones that pertain to the point raised in the main text:
1. It allows the verb to follow upon the 'verb-similar-particles' (al-ḥurūf l-mušabbaha bil-fiᶜl) or ' ʾinna and its Sisters', and thus allows a verb-subject word order after these particles, as in this verse taken from the Holy Qura'n:

a. ḏalika bi-ʾannahu kānat tʾīhim rusululhum bilbayināt . . . . (28:64:6)
That was because there came to them messengers with clear signs . . . .

2. It represents various forms of focusing. Although if one looks at their meaning in context, especially the examples Bloch draws from the Holy Qurʾān, one finds that there is no focusing involved, since as noticed earlier and essential element

of focus is contrastiveness, implying that 'not someone else is the theme of the it-cleft construction', where Allah Al-Mighty is the only theme, yet there are some genuine focus sentences in the Holy Qur'ān such as:

a. 'innahu (hwua) 'aḍḥaka wa 'abkā, (27: 53:43)
It is (**HE**) Who Granteth Laughter and Life.
For a detailed and a recent study of 'damīr aš-ša'n', the reader is referred to:
A. A. Bloch, "ḍamīr aš-Ša'n", in *Journal of Arabic Linguistics (JAL)*, Vol. 30, 1992, pp. 30-39.

60. For a detailed discussion of each one of these emphatic particles, the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīt fī Aşwāt l-Luġati l-ᶜarabiyyati wa Naḥwihā wa Şarfihā*, vols. 2 & 3, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975).

61. M. B. Schub, "Focusing and Topicalisation in Classical Arabic", in *Arabica*, Vol 24, 1977, pp. 207-210.

62. M. A. K. Halliday & R. Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, (London & New York: Longman, 1976).

63. For Halliday, a complex clause consists of one independent and a number of dependent clauses, and which in turn, represents a sentence of a written English. For more details the reader is referred to:
M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (London & Others: Edward Arnold, 1985) chapter 7.

64. Halliday (1976 pp. 199-202]) points out that there are two cases in which verbal ellipsis, operator and model, does not accompany clausal ellipsis in the clause, whether modal or propositional, and thus does not omit any constituent of the verbal group. Operator ellipsis, for example, is usually avoided in simple past and simple present tenses, as in:
1. A: What did he do? B: (0= he did) Run a way. [or] (0=he does) run a way.
2. A: What does he do? B: Runs a way. or (0=he does) run a way.
There is however some uneasiness about 'run away' in this context, perhaps because it 'appears' to be finite (and therefore wrong, either in number or in tense); on the other hand the non-elliptical also seems wrong, because it is clearly finite and yet lack a subject, which is contrary to the normal pattern. Lexical ellipsis, on the other hand, is avoided with verbs like 'be' and 'have'(=possess), and substitution may be used instead; the two being indistinguishable from each other in simple past and present (unmarked positive form), and indistinguishable from the full form.

65. Some generative grammarians, call this linguistic phenomenon 'gapping'. This refers to the deletion of a repeated verb in clauses which have been

conjoined__ a 'gap' has been left in the reduced clause, as in 5-137 above. For detailed information about gapping in generative grammar, the reader is referred to:

A. Radford, *Transformational Syntax: A Student's Guide to Chomsky's Extended Standard Theory*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) chapter 8.

66. For more details about the grammatical notion of 'dispute' (at-tanāzuᶜ), its various forms and conditions, the reader is referred to:

M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīt fi Aşwāti l-ᶜarabiyyati wa Naḥwihā wa Şarfihā*, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975) pp. 37-44.

67. The Arabic version of the quotation reads as follows:

> naḥdifu mina l-kalām l-ladi nuᶜabiru fihi ᶜan l-maᶜnā l-murād, wa qad yakūnu hāda l-juzʾu kalimatin, wa qad yakūnu jumal. wa hāda l-maḥdūfu lābudda ʾan yastaġni l-kalāmu ᶜanhu, ʾay: yufahmu bidunihi, kamā ʾanna hāda l-ḥadfu lābudda lahu min qarīnatin tadullu ᶜalayhi (ᶜabbas, 1989, p. 595).

68. Arab rhetoricians, ᶜatīq (1970), al-Hāshimī (1978), ᶜabbās (1989), among many others, point out that sentential ellipsis involves the ellipsis of more than one sentence from the text. This type of ellipsis, they point out, is dominant in narrative discourse. Their best authority for this type ellipsis is the Holy Qurʾān, where many sentences that do not contribute to the main topic of discourse in some surahs are not mentioned, and yet the overall content of the message intended, semantically or pragmatically, is completely understood. They site numerous examples from *The Holy Qurʾān*, among which the following text with its translation is selected:

> ʾidhab bi-kitābi hādā f-alqihi ʾilayhim tumma tawallā ᶜanhum faʾanẓur mādā yarjiᶜūn. (01, 02), (03). qālat yā ʾayyuhā l-malaʾu ʾinnī ʾulqiya ʾilayya kitābun karīm. (*The Holy Qurʾān*, 27: 26 &27).

These verses are translated in English By Yūsuf Ali (1989) in his translation of The Holy Qurʾān as follows:

> Solomon said: soon shall we see whether thou hast told the truth or lied. Go thou, with this letter, and deliver it to them and (wait to) see what answer they return. (01) & (02). The (queen) (03) said: ye chiefs! there is - delivered a letter worthy of respect. (*The Holy Qurʾān*, 27: 26 & 27).

ᶜatīq and ᶜabbās point out that there two ellipted sentences between these two verses; they interpret them as follows:

1. (01= The robin took the letter and flew to Sheba).
2. (02= The robin threw the letter in front of the queen).
3. (03= The queen picked up the letter, read it and then, she said:"ye chiefs. . . .)

By comparison with English, Halliday (1976) has mentioned ellipting a whole clause in indirect yes/no question and indirect statement, but he does not encourage it because, according to him it leads to too much ambiguity, as in
4. A: I finished writing that story and it's going to be published.
B: when (0)?
Here, the reader does not know whether sentential ellipsis in the rejoinder presupposes the first, the second or both clauses. Halliday concludes his argument by suggesting that:

> this type of ellipsis is only possible if all clauses following the one that is presupposed are within the domain of the presupposition. In practice, this usually means that they must branched; that is they must share at least one element in common, typically, though not necessarily the subject (Halliday, 1976, p. 224).

For more details on sentential ellipsis in Arabic and English, the reader is referred respectively to (cabbās, 1989) and:

A. ᶜatīq, *ᶜilmu l-Maᶜāni*, (Beirut: Dār n-Nahḍa l-ᶜarabiyya li-t-ṭibāᶜa wa n-našr, 1970).

M. A. K. Halliday & R. Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, (London & New York: Longman, 1976), pp. 196-222.

69. A. Hasan (1975) points out that nunation can compensate for what can be ellipted from a nominal group, and thus the sentence will still meaningful and acceptable in terms of syntax and semantics. However, I believe this and other examples by Hasan are slightly problematic because the relationship between 'each' and the ellipted word 'eligible' is not, one of simple omission (as the presence of nunation (tanwīn) demonstrates that this might be regarded in SA as a form of substitution, since nunation in SA has been defined as an 'additional nūn' which is annexed to the noun, and will either be articulated, or dropped when followed by a full stop. For more details on nunation, the reader is referred to:
A. Hasan, *ʾan-Naḥw l-Wāfī*, Vol. 1, (Cairo: al-Maktaba l-Miṣriyya, 1975).
I. U. Daᶜᶜās, *Fannu t-Tajwīd*, (Riyadh: manšurāt Maktabat l-Baṭhāʾa, 1982).

70. al-Anṭākī (1975) defines the 'preference noun' (ʾism ʾu t-tafdīl) as a noun derived morphologically from 'triliteral' verb (fiᶜl ṯulāṯi) in order to signal that two referents (realized by two nominal groups) have the same 'attribute' (ṣifa), where one of the referents is associated more with it than the other, and, and if the definite article (at-taᶜrīf) is prefixed to the preference noun it could 'compare' more than two nominal groups.

For more details about the way the preference noun is formulated and its agreement in number, gender and case with the following nouns, the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fī Aṣwāti l-ᶜarabiyyati wa Naḥwihā wa Ṣarfihā*, Vol. 2.,

(Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975) pp. 243-246.

71. It can be argued, however, that this is simply a non-central (non-prototypical) use of the word 'class' (al-faṣl), where the uttered physical aspect of the word 'class' does not correspond to the actual intended meaning of the speaker. This is known by Arab rhetoricians as 'metonymy or antonomasia' (al-kināya), and is defined as "uttering something and intending to meaning of another" (ʿatakalumu bišayʾin wa nurīdu ġayrahu). For more information about metonymy in SA, the reader is referred to:
F. H. ᶜabbās, *al-Balāġa Funūnuha wa Afnānuha: ᶜilm l-Bayāni wa l-Badiᶜ* , 2nd ed., (Amman: Dār al-Furqān li-n-našr wa t-tawzīᶜ, 1989), pp. 243-273.

72. M. A. K. Halliday, "The Place of FSP in Linguistic Description", in *Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective*, (Ed.) Danes, F. (The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 1974) pp. 43-54.

73. A. Moutawakil, "Topic in Arabic: Towards a Functional Analysis", in *Syntax and Pragmatics*, (Eds.) C. de Groot, & J. L. Mackenzie, (Dordrecht: Foris publication, 1985 pp. 75-89.

74. Y. Y. Aziz, "Theme-Rheme Organization and Paragraph Structure in Standard Arabic", in *Word*, Vol. 39, No.2, (Eds.) M. Brend, R. Catello, G. Fichtner, (New York: International Linguistic Association, 1988) pp. 117-128

75. S. C. Dik, *Functional Grammar*, (Dordrecht: Foris Publication, 1981).

76. Moutawakil (1985, p. 89, note 2) points out the results of a previous study, which he himself carried out, of the interaction of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic functions as determiners of the cases displayed by the terms to which they are assigned urges him to propose the following hierarchy of decreasing influence: Syntactic function> semantic function> pragmatic function [>= more than].

77. J. Firbas, "On the Interplay of Prosodic and non-Prosodic means of FSP, in *The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching*, Fried, V. (Ed.), (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp 77-94.

78. For a detailed discussion of the dispute between TAGs as to the type of grammatical function the 'ma' has, the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīt fī Aswāti l-ᶜarabiyyati wa Naḥwihā wa Ṣarfihā*, vol. 2., (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975) pp. 358-366.

79. J. Firbas, *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

80. The numbers inside the examples show Firbas's estimate of the constituents that

can be focused (become rheme proper in his formulation) as new information.

81. Firbas (1992, p.70) defines a 'successful competitor' as that element that competes with another and succeeds in completing the development of communication within their distributional field.

Notes to Chapter 6:

1. The selection of texts is based on the majority of the world's abhorrence of war and destruction of human beings, and civilization, where people are striving in every moment of their life to preserve things. This so-called 'Gulf war', which began out of greed and hatred, and resulted in what every one can see, simply because none of the warring parties heeded the voice of logic and wisdom. I do not believe anybody with the least amount of sense and humanity should agree with what has happened, especially its consequences which will outlive our present generation; they will surely agree with the writers' views, which are selected for analysis on a purely linguistic bases.

2. It is appropriate to give the reader a short outline of the life and contributions of the writers, whose articles are selected for analysis in this study:

   1. Noam Chomsky is a noted author, lecturer and Institute professor in the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). He is the author of numerous books and articles on linguistics, philosophy and intellectual history and contemporary issues, and has written extensively on U.S. foreign policy. The selected for the purpose of this study is entitled "After the Cold War: US-Middle East Policy", in:
   P. Bennis & M. Moushabeck (Eds.) *Beyond The Storm*, (Edinburgh, U. K.: Canongate Press PLC., 1991) pp. 75-87.

   2. Ibrahim Abu-Laghud is a professor of political science at Northwestern University in Evanston, Ilinois. He is a member of the Palestine National Council. The article selected for the purpose of this study is entitled "The Politics of Linkage: The Arab-Israeli Conflict in the Gulf War", in *Beyond The Storm*, (Eds.) P. Bennis & M. Moushabeck (Edinburgh, U. K.: Canongate Press PLC., 1991), pp. 183-190.

   3. Mary Kalder is a well-known British researcher in the field of international relations and armament policies. She is a professor at the Research Unit in the University of Sussex. Among her publications are *The Disintegration of the West* (1978), *The New Coalition: A Re-thought of the Relations of the West with the East*, 1989. The article selected for the purpose of this study is entitled "An Imaginary War", and was published in *Marxism Today*, March 1991.

   4. Neal Ascherson is a well-known English journalist. He acts as a reporter in Eastern Europe for *The Guardian* and *The Observer*, and has covered all the important events that took place in Czechoslovakia, Bolonia and Germany. Among his publications are *The Bolonic August* (1982) and *The Nazis' Inheritance* (1984). The article selected for analysis in this study, entitled "A New World Order: Nations in the Thaw", published in *Marxism Today*, March, 1991.

5. Kevin Robins is a well-known British political researcher and a full-time writer in the *Marxism Today*. The article selected for the purpose of this study is entitled, "The Mirror of the Unseen" taken from the same magazine, March 1991 issue.

3. This political letter is part of a book published by the Jordanian Government in August 1991, and is entitled the *White Paper* (al-kitābu al-ʿabyad). The book reflects, through the speeches given by his Majesty, the king, and his royal highness the crown prince, on several occasions, Jordan's desperate attempts to try and stop the war and bring the disputing Arab leaders to the negotiating table in order to prevent any foreign intervention in a domestic Arab problem, that could have been solved through the Arab League,had those 'leaders' listened to the voice of logic and wisdom. The book also contains the Arab League's Resolutions with regard to the Gulf crisis and the position of eachArab State towards the crisis in general and Jordan in Particular.

4. R. de Beuagrande and W. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics*, (London & New York: Longman, 1981).

5. The proceedings of this conference can be found in German in: E. Gulich & W. Raibe, *Textsorten*, (Frankfurt: Athenaum, 1972).

6. K. Reiss, *Texttyp Und Ubersetzugsmethode: Der Operative Text.* (Krongberg: Scriptor, 1976); [in German].

7. The notion of function, as used by de Beaugrande and Dressler, is based on that of the systems theory: the contribution of an element to the working of the entire system (in this case the system of communication). Thus the so-called 'function-words' derive their name from the dominance of their contribution to the organization of actual systems over their contribution of stable content. This notion of function is the basic of the systems theory.

8. B. Hatim & I. Mason, *Discourse and the Translator*, (London & New York: Longman, 1990) chapter 8.

9. E. E. Werlich, *A Text Grammar of English*, (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1983).

10. S. J. Schmidt, "Some Problems of Communicative Text Theories", in *Current Trends in Text Linguistics*, ed, W. Dressler, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977) pp. 47-60.

11. de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, p. 90), following in the steps of Shank and Abelson (1977), point out that schemas are global patterns of events and states in ordered sequences linked by time proximity and causality. Unlike frames, schemas are always arranged in a progression, so that hypotheses can be set up about

what will be done or mentioned next in a textual world. For more details the reader is referred to:
R. C. Shank & R. Abelson, *Script, Plans, Goals and Understanding*, (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1977).

12. For de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, pp. 90-91), plans are global patterns of events and states leading up to an intended goal. Plans differ from schemas in that the planner (e.g. a text producer) evaluates all elements in terms of how they advance him towards his goal.

13. For de Beaugande and Dressler (1981, p. 91), scripts are stabilized plans called up very frequently to specify the roles of participants and their expected actions. scripts, thus, differ from plans by having a pre-established routine.

14. For a detailed discussion of these two sub-types of argumentative texts, the reader is referred to Hatim (1990, chapter 8) (cited in a previous note), or:
B. Hatim, "The Pragmatics of Argumentation in Arabic: The Rise and Fall of a Text Type", in *Text*, 11(2), 1991, pp. 189-199.

15. For Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, p. 163), the mediation process is the extent to which one feeds one's own beliefs and goals into one's model of the communicative situation. The accessible evidence in the situation is fed into the model along with our prior knowledge and expectations about the 'real world'. The greater the expanse of time of the use of previously encountered texts (intertextuality in Beaugrande's and Dressler's terms), the greater mediation will be; mediation will be extremely light in activities such as replying, refuting, reporting, or evaluating other texts as is usually found in conversation.

16. de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), building on Searle's (1969) formulation, point out that their seven standards of textuality (cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality) function as 'constitutive principles of textual communication: they define and create the form of behaviour identifiable as textual communicating, and if they are defied, that form of behaviour will break down'. Beside standards, there must also exist 'regulative principles' (again following in the steps of Searle 1969) that control textual communication rather than define it. In this respect, de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) propose three regulating principles: (1) efficiency of the text which depends in its use of communicating with a minimum expenditure of effort by the participants, (2) effectiveness of the text which depends on its leaving a strong impression and creating a favourable condition for attaining a goal, and (3) appropriateness of the text which depends on the agreement between its setting and the ways in which the standards of textuality are upheld.

17. C. S. Butler, *Systemic Linguistics: Theory and Application*, (London: Batsford Academic, 1985).

18. M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (London & Others: Edward Arnold, 1985).

19. R. Quirk & S. Greenbaum, *A University Grammar of English*, (London: Longman, 1972).

20. Dependent clauses in English rarely act as object complements, or as indirect objects. As object complements, they must be non-finite clauses in complex-transitive complementations such as 'The professor assumed *that the student to know some French*'. As indirect objects, they must be nominal relative clauses as in the example cited in the text.

21. Halliday (1976) has treated such relationship between sentences under two main subtypes: (1) semantic relationship between sentences, which is realized by his concept of 'reference/coreference', conjunctions and lexical cohesion, and lexicogrammatical, which is realized by his concept of substitution and ellipsis. For more details of these cohesive devices, as Halliday calls them, the reader is referred to:
    M. A. K. Halliday and R, Hasn, *Cohesion in English*, (London & Others: Longman, 1976).

22. In his dictionary of linguistics and phonetics terms, D. Crystal (1985, p. 221) defines the paratactic as a term used in descriptive linguistics to refer to constructions which are linked solely through juxtaposition and punctuation/ intonation, and not through the use of conjunctions. In comparison with the paratactic relation, hypotactic relation refers to subordinate (dependent) constructions where constituents have been linked together through the use of conjunctions.
    For more details on these types of relations, the reader is referred to the rest of this section and to:
    R. Quirk, et. al., *A comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, (London: Longman, 1985) chapter 13.

23. Halliday (1985, pp. 196-197) defines each of these sub-types of logico-semantic relationship of expansion (a, b, c) and projection (a, b), respectively, as follows:
    a. Elaboration (i.e.) takes place when one clause expands another by elaborating on it (or some portion of it): restating in other words, specifying in greater detail, commenting, or exemplifying. They are represented by a plus sign in the table. With regard to an equal status of clauses within the hypotactic relation, however, it seems that Halliday is contradicting himself, when on page 195 he says: "contrasting with this [hypotactic relation] is the PARATACTIC, which is the relation between TWO LIKE ELEMENTS OF EQUAL STATUS" [my emphasis].
    b. Extension (and) takes place when one clause expands another by extending beyond it: adding some more new elements, giving an exception to it, or offering an alternative. The plus sign in the table indicates that one clause is added to the

other.

c. Enhancement (so, yet, then) takes place when one clause expands another by embellishing around it: qualifying it with circumstantial features of time, place, cause and condition. The multiply sign in the table indicates that one clause is multiplied (qualified) by another.

a. Locution (says) takes place when one clause is projected through another, which presents it as a locution, a construction of wording. The double quote in the table indicates a projection of a locution.

b. Idea (thinks) takes place when one clause is projected through another, which presents it as an idea, a construction of meaning; it is represented by a single quote in the table. For a detailed discussion and extensive exemplification of these types of relations within the clause complex, the reader is referred to.

M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (London & Others: Edward, Arnold, 1985) chapter 7.

24. For a detailed study of Halliday's view of the various types of punctuation in written English texts, the reader is referred to:
M. A. K. Halliday, *Spoken and Written English*, (Victoria: Deakin University Press, 1985) chapter 3.

25. M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fi Aṣwāt l-ᶜarabiyati wa Naḥwihā wa Ṣarfihā*, vol. 3, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975).

26. The original Arabic text of the roughly-translated quote above is: "al-jumlatu ṣ-ṣuġrā hiya l-jumlatu l-wāqiᶜatu xabaran fi ʾabwāb l-mubtadaʾ wa l-ʾaḫrūf ʾas-sitta wa l-ʾafᶜāl an-nāqiṣa, . . . wa kaḏālika l-wāqiᶜatu mafᶜūlan ṯāniyan fi bābi (ẓanna) wa mafᶜūlan ṯāliṯan fi bābi (ʾaᶜlama), li ʾanna ʾaṣl hāḏayni l-mafᶜūlayni huwa l-xabar". For more details on 'the incomplete verbs', the 'six particles' (also called the verb-similar-particles), the 'think-category', the 'inform-category' of verbs in SA, the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fi Aswāt l-ᶜarabiyati wa Naḥwihā wa Ṣarfihā*, vol. 2, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975), pp. 3-50.

27. Khatīb et. al. (1985, p. 23) al-Anṭākī (1975, vol. 2, pp. 288-296) point out that there are nine coordination conjunctions: (1) 'and' (wa), (2) 'then/immediately after' (fa) , (3) 'then/later on' (ṯumma), (4) 'until' (ḥattā), (5) 'or' (ʾaw), (6) 'or with interrogative' (ʾam), (7) 'not' (bal), (8) 'but' (lākinna) and (9) 'but' (lā). Except for the last one grammarians point out that these particles are used to connect sentence (independent clauses) with one another. Furthermore, Cantarino (1975. vol. III), calls these conjunctions syndetical (waṣl) as opposed to asyndetical (faṣl) (cf. 6.3.2). In this respect he divides them into three main categories: conjunctive conjunctions which include 'wa, fa & ṯumma' and which are used to connect two or more complete sentences, structurally independent, (2) adversative particles which include 'wa, lākinna, lākin, & bal', and which connect adversative sentences, and (3) disjunctive particles which include 'aw, ʾam, & ʾimmā', added

as an alternative to a simple interrogative (introduced by 'hal' and 'hamza'), or to another statement. For a detailed syntactic treatment of the conjunctive/ coordinating particles, the reader is referred to:
H. Khatīb et. al. *al-Luġatu l-ᶜarabiyyatu li-ġayri al-Muxtaşşīna bihā,* (Allepo: Allepo University Press, 1985, p. 23-31).
V. Cantarino, *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose*, Vol. III, (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1975, pp. 7.53).

28. F. H. ᶜabbās, *al-Balāġa Funūnuhā wa Afnānuhā: ᶜilmu l-Maᶜāni*, 2nd ed., (Amman: Dār l-Furqān lin-naşr wa t-tawzīᶜ, 1989).

29. As one of the standards of textuality in texts, de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, p. 10) define intertextuality, as "the factors which make the utilization of one text dependent upon the knowledge of one or more texts previously encountered". For more details on this standard and its role in the evolution of text types, the reader is referred to:
R. de Beaugrande and W. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics*, (London & New York: Longman, 1981), chapter, XI, pp. 163-181.

30. A. M. al-Marāġī, *ᶜulūmu l-Balāġa*, (Cairo: Maţbaᶜat Muhammad Maţar, 1917).

31. A. al-Jurjānī, *Dalā ʾilu l- ʾIᶜjāz*, (Eds.), M. ᶜabdu & M. Rašīd, (Beirut: Dār l-Kutub l-ᶜilmiyya, 1988).

32. ᶜabbās (1989, p. 397) lists the following types of clauses that have no parsing function: (1) the 'initial' (al-ʾibitidāʾiyya), (2) the 'appositive' (al-ʾiᶜtirāḍiyya), (3) the 'relative clause' (şilatu l-mawşūl), (4) the 'resumptive' (al-ʾistiʾnāfiyya), (5) the 'causal' (at-taᶜlīliyya), (6) the 'interpretive' (at-tafsīriyya), (7) the clause located in the position of 'a jussive conditional response', (al-wāqiᶜa fi jawāb aš-šarţ al-jāzim), (8) the clause located in the position of a 'non-jussive conditional response', and finally (9) the clause which is coordinated with one of the first eight. The difference between this and the list of the grammarians is marginal: grammarians merely place the first and the fourth under one heading (that of the fourth) and the fifth and the sixth under the sixth. For more details and exemplification of each type the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anţākī, *al-Muḥīţ fi Aswāt l-ᶜarabiyati wa Naḥwihā wa Şarfihā*, vol. 2, (Beirut: mak tabat Dār š-Şarq, 1975) pp. 363-373.

33. J. Wilson, *Politically Speaking: The Pragmatic Analysis of Political Language*, (Oxford & Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

34. Strong (1984) points out that the Strongest interpretation of Whorf is-- that language is able to control and influence how 'we think'-- is a nihilistic view. For a detailed discussion of his counter-argument, the reader is referred to:
T. B. Strong, "Language and Nihilism: Neitzche's Critique of Epistemology", in

Language and Politics, (Ed.) M. Shapiro, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984) pp. 81-107.

35. This group of includes names like G. Kress, R. Fowler, R. Hodge, T. Trew, G. Siedal, among others. This group is mainly interested in the relationship between language and reality, or perhaps, more correctly, the relationship between language and the construction of social meaning. According to R. Fowler & G. Kress (1979. p. 185), "there are social meanings in a natural language which are precisely distinguished in its lexical and syntactic structure and which are articulated when we write and speak". For more details of their major works and contributions to political discourse analysis, the reader is referred to:

    G. Kress and R. Hodge, *Language as Ideology*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978.);
    R. Fowler et. al., *Language and Control*, (London: Ruotledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1979.);
    T. A. Van Dijk, *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 4 vols., (Ed.) V. Dijk, (London & Others: Academic Express, 1985).

36. G. Kress, "Ideological Structure of Discourse", in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis vol. 4*, (Ed.) T. A. Van Dijk, (London & Others: Academic Express, 1985) pp. 27-42).

37. For critical linguists, discourse is a category that belongs to and derives from the social domain, where content, function and social significance of language are at issue. On the other hand, text is a category that belongs to and derives from the linguistic domain, where the materiality, form, and structure of language are at the issue. The relation between the two is that of realization: discourse finds its expression in text. It could be said thus that the relation between them is that of emergence: discourse emerges in and through texts. Thus, discourse is never simply an aggregate of texts but is rather, on the one hand, the (abstract) structure of an aggregate, which is, on the other hand, affected by the effect of genre.

38. T. Trew, "What the Papers Say: Linguistic Variation and Ideological Difference", In *Language and Control*, (Eds.) R. Fowler, et. al., (London & Others: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1979) pp 117-156.

39. G. Seidal, "Political discourse Analysis", in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, vol.4, (Ed.) T. A. Van Dijk, (London and Others: Academic Express), pp. 43-60.

40. R. Fowler, "Power", in *A Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, vol. 4, (Ed.), T. A. V. Dijk, (London & Others: Academic Express, 1985), pp. 61-82.

41. On the one hand, traditional sociolinguistic theories assume that language and

society are distinct entities. Social institutions, roles, statuses and inequalities are regarded, as originating independently of language. On the other, sociolinguists do not generally concern themselves with the means by which social formations arise, and therefore, they tend to take for granted matters such as socioeconomic class and official institutions. Although, it is informative about the details of speech of different classes of speakers in different communities, critical linguists point out, sociolinguistics tends to be 'complacent' and uncritical, accepting 'official' versions of society and not seeing language as an instrument of inequality. For details of these sociolinguistic insights, the reader is referred to:

W. Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972).

P. Trudgill, *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974).

42. For more details on the views of critical linguists, the reader is referred to:
G. Kress & R. Fowler, "Critical Linguistics", in *Language and Control*, (Ed.) R. Fowler, et. al., (London & Others: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) pp. 185-213.

43. With regard to encoding power relationships, Fowler (1979) offers the following definitions of directives and constitutive. Directives are certain specific practical actions to control the behaviour of a community; constitutives are certain specific rules that identify the community as a social entity: they are the token of its formal existence. For Fowler, the space between the two can be seen as a continuum. At the directive end (instructions at a self-service patrol pumps, for example), there is no ambiguity about the power relationship (the patrol company has all the knowledge, the customer none, the must carry out the instructions verbatim). At the constitutive extreme are rules which do not apply to the specifics of behaviour, but are deigned to define a community by offering a distinctive analysis of, or ideology of, that community's behaviour. For more details and exemplification of these two power encoders, the reader is referred to:
R. Fowler, "Rules and Regulations", in *Language and Control*, (Eds.) R. Fowler et. al., London & Others: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1979) pp. 26-45.

44. Brown and Gilman's (1972) study of pronoun usage interprets the varying distribution of linguistic items in semantic and ideological terms. Their study accounts for the use of the second-person pronouns used in addressing single individuals in some European languages. Whereas, English uses 'you', French and German, for example provide a choice: between '*tu*' and '*vous*' in French and '*du*' and '*Sie*' in German (corresponding roughly to '*ʿanta*' (you) and '*hadratuka*' [your excellency] in Standard Arabic, although the latter is more formal than 'vous' and 'Sie'). For any one who has learned one of these languages, this is not a free choice; the first choice of each pair typically implies an equal relationship between the speaker and addressee, whereas the latter does not. In fact, the choice, for the authors, implies two abstract underlying social principles of which the social

semantics of any particular system could be generated. They call these principles 'power' and 'solidarity': the former has the dimensions "superior", "inferior" and "equal"; the latter "solidary" and "non-solidary".

For the critical linguists, power in Brown and Gilman scheme matches their commonplace usage of the term: it is an abstraction from such relationships as 'older than', 'stronger than', 'richer than'. Solidarity is based on similarities that make for 'like-mindedness' or similar behaviour disposition. Thus, power and solidarity are broadly accepted by the critical linguists, because, according to them they serve two purposes. Firstly, in specific communities, they generate particular social configurations, relationships between individuals that are power-asymmetrical or solidary, and between institutions and individuals. Secondly, they also generate systems of linguistic items, like pronouns, by means of which the social distinctions are articulated in discourse. For more details on Browm and Gilman's study, the reader is referred to:

A. Gilman & R. Brown, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", in *Language and Social context*, (Ed.) P. P. Giglioli, (Hamondsworth: Penguin, 1972) chapter 12.

45. M. A. K. Halliday, "Language and Language Function, in *New Horizons in Linguistics*, (Ed.) J. Lyons, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), chapter 7.

46. M. A. K. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1978).

47. Critical linguists follow in the steps of Louis Althusser, the French Marxist theorist, who has identified the instruments of the impositions of ideology on societies by what he calls "the ideological state apparatuses, such as the church, the law, education". These, along with the "repressive state apparatuses" (the armed forces, the police and the special government spying agencies), have the function of legitimating the existence and behaviour of the ruling authorities. It is appropriate, however, to clarify that the author of this study is neither a communist nor does he accepts the 'so-called' socialists' beliefs in communism. But this situation, as exemplified by Althusser, has been witnessed by the author in many 'regimes' in the area (the Middle East) where he comes from. For details of the Marxist theorizing advocated by L. Althusser, the reader is referred to:
L. Althusser, Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus", in *Lenin and Philosophy*, (trans.) B. Brewster, (London: New Left Books, 1971).

48. With regard to colour terminology, they turn out to be a bad example for the thesis of linguistic relatively, in the light of recent psycholinguitic research. Clark & Clark (1977) point out that some colours are more nameable than others (i.e. black, white, green, etc.,) apparently because the way in which human beings are biologically equipped to perceive some colours as more salient than others. These nameable colours are examples of natural categories that are very likely to be coded in different languages; other natural categories have been proposed in the field of

shapes, dimensions, directions, logical categories. For more details, the reader is referred to:

E. V. Clark & H. H. Clark, *Psychology and Language*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977) chapter 14.

49. For more details on the various degrees and linguistic devices signalling the producer's affinity to the proposition, the reader is referred to:
G. Kress & B. Hodge (Eds.), *Communication and Culture: An Introduction*, Kensington, NSH: South Wales University press, 1988).

50. N. Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, (Oxford & Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.

51. For a detailed study and exemplification of each type of speech act, the reader is referred to:
S. C. Levinson, *Pragmatics*, (Cambridge and Others: Cambridge University Press, 1983) chapter 5.

52. Levinson (1983, pp. 229-230) points out that Austin (1962) produced a typology of conditions which performatives sentences (as opposed to constatives, which can either true or false) must meet if they are to succeed or to have a 'happy' ending. Austin (1962) called these conditions '**felicity conditions**', and he distinguished three main categories:
A. (i) There must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect.
(ii) The circumstances and persons must be appropriate, as specified in the procedure.
B. The procedure must be executed (i) correctly and (ii) completely.
C. Often (i) the persons must have required thoughts, feelings and intentions, as specified in the procedure, and (ii) if consequent conduct is specified, then the relevant parties must do. (Austin's last conditions reminds one of an Arabic verse of poetry that reads in Arabic: lā tanha ᶜan xuluqin wa taʾtiya miṯlahu, ᶜārun ᶜalayka ʾiḏa faᶜalta ᶜaẓīmu, which translates: 'Shame upon you! You prohabit others from practising a certain bad moral behaviour, while you yourself always practice it'). Austin, according to Levinson (1983, p. 230), notes that violations of these conditions are not all of equal stature; violation of A & B give rise to misfire (as indicated in the main text), where the intended actions simply fail to come off. Violation of C conditions, on the other hand, are 'abuses' (cf. the Arabic verse), not so easily detected at the time of utterance in question, with the consequence that the action is performed, but infelicitously or insincerely.

53. For a detailed study of these alternative syntactic phrasings, the reader is referred to:
G. N. Leech & M. H. Short, *Style in Fiction*, (London:Penguin, 1981) chapters 1 & 4.

54. For a detailed study of how passive and other syntactic power-related devices operate fully with political discourse, the reader is referred to:
T. Trew, Theory and Ideology at Work, in *Language and Control*, (Eds.) R. Fowler et. al., (London & Others: Routledge & Paul Kegan, 1979) pp. 94-116.

55. G. Kress, *Linguistic Processes in Socio-cultural Practices*, (Victoria: Deankin University Press, 1985).

Notes to Chapter 7:

1. J. House (1981, pp. 25-26), in her attempt to come up with a quality assessment model of translation on the basis of the pragmatic theories of language use, points out that the essence of translation is the preservation of the "meaning" across two languages. She identifies, along with many other linguists and translation theorists, three basic aspects of this meaning: a semantic aspect, a pragmatic aspect and a textual aspect. The semantic aspect of meaning consists of the relationship of reference or denotation, i.e., the relationship of linguistics units or symbols for their referents in some possible world. By "possible world", she means any world that the human mind is capable of constructing. This definition takes account of the fact that semantically meaningful utterances occur even though the terms of that utterance have no referents in the real world, as is for instance, the case of science fiction.

   To a very large extent, the nature of the universe (i.e., the subjective interpretation of possible worlds) is common to most language communicants; thus the referential aspect of meaning is the one which (a) is most readily accessible and for which (b) equivalence in translation can most easily be seen to be present or absent, e.g., the distinction between 'stool' (kanaba in Arabic) and 'chair' (kursī) in English is more easily ascertained than the (superficially similar) difference between 'residence' and 'abode' which may have the same denotation (a place to live in), namely a particular building, but different 'pragmatic uses'. This relative ease of accessibility of semantic meaning is one of the reasons why it has been given preference in many earlier treatment of translation.

   For a detailed study of the remaining two types of meaning, the reader is referred to:

   J. House, *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment*, (Tubingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1981) pp. 26-31.

2. P. J. Thibault, "An Interview With Halliday", in *Language Topics: Essays in Honour of M. A. K. Halliday, vol. 2*, (Eds.) R. Steel & T. Threadgold, (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Co., 1987), pp. 601-927.

3. The term 'cognitive' meaning is sometimes used in semantics as part of a classification of types of meaning. It refers, according to Lyons (1977), to those aspects of meaning which relate directly to denotation of lexical items and the propositional content of sentences, and thus corresponds to an intellectually objective level of interpretation. Alternative terms include denotative and propositional; opposite terms include emotive and connotative. For more details, the reader is referred to:

   J. Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, chapter 7.

4. I say 'approximately' because the decimals of the percentage were rounded up to either 1% if they are equal to 0.5% or above or ignored if less than 0.5%, unless,

of course, the presence of such decimals was necessary for the calculation of percentages. Furthermore, no deviation calculation is carried out because the difference between the SLTs and the TLTs RCs is minimal and equal in each translation (13 RCs), with Arabic having less RCs, whether it is the SL or the TL. This procedure followed in calculating the percentage of occurrence of obligatory theme types tallies with Halliday's 'more-or-less' systemic approach to the study of language as a human phenomenon and not an 'all-or-none' approach like that of the generative grammarians, since we are dealing with the percentage of occurrence of one major theme per RC.

5. T. Givon, "Form discourse to Syntax: Grammar as a Processing Strategy", in *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 12, T. Givon (Ed.), (New York & Others: Academic Express, 1979) pp. 81-112.

6. A. al-Anbāri (1987) provides the two different arguments of the two major traditional Arab grammarian's schools, al-Basra and al-Kufa, regarding the origin of inflection in the Arabic language. The Basrans believe that the verb is the origin and that the verbal noun (maşdar) is derived from it, whereas the Kufans believe exactly the opposite. In this study, I adopt the view of the Basrans because it closely corresponds to the Hallidayan systemic approach with regard to the verb as the 'core' of predication in the proposition, and with regard to its being characterized by a specific tense and aspect, which constitute some of the features of the Basran's argument in favour of the verb being the origin in Arabic as far as inflection is concerned. For a detailed study of this issue, the reader is referred to 'matter number 28' (al-mas'ala 28) in:
   A. al-Anbāri, *al-'Inşāf fi Masā'il l-Xilāf bayna 'an-Naḥwiyyīn l-Başryyīn wa l-Kufiyyīn*, Vol. 1, (Beirut: al-Maktaba l-'ilmiyya, 1987) pp. 235-245.

7. R. Quirk et. al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of The English Language*, (London & Others: Longman, 1985).

8. G. M. Green, "Colloquial and Literary Uses of Inversion", in *Spoken and Written Language: Advances in Discourse Processes 9*, (Ed.) D. Taneen, (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1982) pp. 119-153.

9. M. Sunner, *Syntax and Semantics of Spanish Presentational Sentence-Types*, (Washington, D. C.,: Georgetown University Press, 1982).

10. Quirk et. al. (1985, pp. 1168-1322) divides the complement into 3 main categories: (1) verb complementation, consisting of copular, monotransitive, complex transitive and ditransitive, (2) adjectival complementation, consisting of complementation by a prepositional phrase, by a that-clause, by a wh-clause, and by a to- and an -ing finite clause, and (3) complementation with an abstract noun.

11. As will be shown below, not all interrogative RCs (the rhetorical type) are asked

to seek missing information. Some of them, as will be illustrated, will be asked in support of an argument, to win an argument, or, as in the case of political discourse, to gain the reader's participation, involvement, and consequently his feeling of solidarity.

12. Brown and Levinson (1978) believe that rhetorical questions are means of 'flouting' Grice's (1975) condition of sincerity: 'be sincere'. According to them, by posing a rhetorical question whose answer is "hanging in the air" (1978, p. 228), the speaker/writer will be able to do "face threatening acts" indirectly; hence they included them among the 15 strategies of doing face threatening acts. Their approach (a) recognizes the use of rhetorical questions as politeness strategies to minimize face-risk, (b) acknowledges that function may be influenced by utterance sequence and form of syntactic markers (pp. 229-230), limited the use of the rhetorical questions to the performance of particular acts (excuse, criticism and sarcasm/irony). For a detailed study of the role of rhetorical questions as face threatening acts, the reader is referred to:
    P. Brown & S. Levinson, "Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena, In *Questions and Politeness*, (Ed.) E. Goody, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 256-289).

13. T. Givon (1979) points out that some constructions are 'obviously' more complex (hence more marked) than others even without grammatical morphology. According to him, all embedded constructions are of this type. He also posits that the length of a construction is expected to correlate with complexity. Thus embedding of one proposition into another obviously increases the average length of the overall construction. For a detailed study of the means of sentence complexity and markedness, the reader is referred to:
    T. Givon, *On Understanding Grammar*, (New York & Others: Academic Press, 1979) pp. 74-85.

14. RCs with thematic structures of reference (left-dislocation) will not be discussed in the optional thematic selections because the analysis of the data shows no example of this type. This confirms Halliday's formulation (cf. 3.6.4.2) that such structures occur mainly in spoken discourse when the speaker feels that he does not give his addressee enough information to enable him to retrieve' the referent or 'what the speaker is talking about'. Therefore, it is natural that such an informal category of thematic structure would not occur in a very formal type of written discourse (text), such as political discourse.

15. E. G. Fichtner, "Cleft Sentences in English: A comprehensive View", in *Word*, Vol., 44, No.1, April, 1993, pp. 1-29.

16. L. B. Jones & L. K. Jones, "Discourse function of five English sentence types", In *Word*, Vol. 36, no. 1, April, 1985) pp. 1-21.

17. Quirk et. al, (1985, p. 1408) point out that with bare existentials, especially those which are realized by verbs other than 'be', have been described as "presentative". In this sense, they serve to bring something on the 'discoursal stage' deserving our attention. They also point out that, in all 'there' existential sentences, 'there' can be regarded a 'dummy' element, which, placed before the subject and verb, provides the necessary condition for inversion to take place.

18. P. A. Duff, "Syntax, Semantics, and SLA: The Convergence of Possessive and Existential Constructions", in *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, Vol. 15, no. 1, March, 1993, pp. 1-31

19. E. Clark, "Locationals: A Study of the Relation between 'Existential' and Possessive Construction", in *Working Papers on Language Universals*, no. 3,: Syntax, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970, pp. 1-26).

20. J. Lyons, "A Note on Possessive, Existential and Locative Sentences," In *Foundations of Language*, vol. 3, 1968, pp. 390-396.

21. Woisetschlaeger (1983, p. 139) points out that one way of making sense of the idea that 'there' specifically signals the existence of the referent of the focus NP, and that any further property predications effected by existential sentences as subordinate to this primary signalling function, is to interpret these notions in discourse terms. Assuming that a discourse essentially builds a cast of characters, on the one hand, and involves these characters in a plot, on the other, 'there' could be considered as an explicit means of adding to the cast of characters; any property ascription would serve the plot function, by saying something about where the new character comes into the picture. For a detailed treatment of 'there' from a semantic perspective and a pragmatic one, the reader is referred, respectively, to:
G. L. Milsark, "Toward an Explanation of Certain Peculiarities of the Existential Constructions in English", in *Linguistic Analysis*, Vol. 3, no 1, 1977, pp. 1-29.
E. Woisetschlaeger, "On the Question of Definiteness in 'An old man's book'", In *Linguistic Inquiry*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1983, pp. 137-154.

22. In this respect, I would say that it would be too literal-minded to take all of these references to existence as being about 'real-existence-in-the-real-world.' The only sensible view to take here is that a discourse builds its own world, so that what is at stake is always existence-in-the-discourse-world. The question of whether a discourse world is meant to represent some aspect of the real world (and what consequences that has) is an interesting though separate issue.

23. I believe that the term 'main predication' means 'new information' in terms of Halliday's given-new formulation where the focus falls on the definite/indefinite NP in question, which with the 'there be' are within the thematic sphere of the clause. On the other hand,'secondary predication' is given information lying within the rhematic sphere of the clause, hence Halliday's formulation that theme should

not always consist of given information. For additional details, the reader is referred to:

B. Abbot, "A Pragmatic Account of the Definiteness Effect in Existential Sentences", in *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 19, 1993, pp. 39-55.

24. L. Kartunnen, "Discourse Referents", in *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol 7, (Ed.) J. D. McCawley, (New York & London: Academic Express, 1976, pp. 363-385).

25. Hetzorn discusses the concept of the presentative function of existential sentences with 'there' in terms of word order, where a sentence may be reconstructed in such a way that one of its components will dominate the immediate sequel of that particular utterance. The most obvious motivation for placing an element in such 'a privileged position', according to him, is either to re-mention it or refer to it in the subsequent discourse. The reason for such reference is either to provide an unexpressed contrast for what comes later or to urge the addressee to remember the element in question as a mere gesture. For additional details, the reader is referred to:

R. Hetzron, "The Presentative Movement, or Why the Ideal Word Order is V.S.O.P.", in *Word Order and Word Order Change* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1975, pp. 374-388).

26. It seems that Abbot follows common practice in using the term 'definite NP' whose determiners are 'the', a demonstrative pronoun, or a possessive.

27. Readers who are having difficulty contextualising (7-47) might think of it as an answer to a question like 'What can I use to prop open the door?'

28. For more details regarding the macro-structure of discourse, the reader is referred to:

T. A. Van Dijk, *Meaning and Context: Exploration in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*, (London: Longman, 1977 [1980]) chapter 5.

29. al-Anṭākī (1975,) gives this name to a group of verbs such as 'bad'a', šaraᶜa, ṭafaqa, 'axaḏa ('start/begin), jaᶜala (make), and any verb which denotes any of these meanings. Like 'kāna wa 'axwātuhā', he points out such verbs has been emptied of their other various lexical meanings. They, however, differ from 'kāna wa 'axwātuhā', in that the predicate (xabar) or rheme of the clause is a verbal sentence as in 'jaᶜal al-fannānu [theme]/yarsumu [rheme]. (The artists[theme]/ started drawing[rheme].#. For more details, the reader is referred to:

M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fi Aṣwāti l-ᶜarabiyati wa Naḥwihā wa Ṣarfihā*, vol. 2, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975) pp. 19-20.

30. Most of the examples used in illustrating substitution/extraposition by either Halliday (1967c) or Quirk et. al (1985) among others, are ones where 'it' is the grammatical subject. This proves to be true also of data used for this study, in

which, as will be shown below (cf. table 7-2) not a single substituted RC occurs with any personal pronoun other than'it'. This is said to demonstrate that the examples Halliday recites in illustrating this construction with NP's other than 'it' to some extent originate in spoken discourse, because he mentions them in the context of dialects ("other dialects tend to favour the other variants and to use the pattern much less frequently" [Halliday, 1967c, p.239]) , which, of course, has to do with spoken English rather than formal written discourse, like political discourse. The other discoursal motivation for using 'it' in political discourse, especially by political academics like the ones chosen for this study, is to keep themselves 'detached from what they propose' (the latter point will be illustrated and demonstrated further in the main body of this study).

31. Quirk et al. (1985, p. 1392) emphasize that for a clausal subject, the postponed position is more usual than the canonical position before the verb. They (op. loc.) further point out in a note that for certain constructions which have all the appearance of clausal extraposition (it seems/ appears/ happened/ chanced/etc) the corresponding non-extraposed version does not occur. In such cases, it can be said that extraposition is obligatory. With regard to dependent conditional clauses as subjects (Halliday's third type; cf. main text), Quirk et. al. cast doubt on this, by suggesting that in each case of occurrence, the clause acts as a subject, although it could act as initial adverbial clause. Therefore, they propose what they call an on balance, in which suggests that "they appear to be adverbial rather than extraposed subjects." This explains the fact that there are no examples to illustrate such a type in the corpus.

32. I. Lowe, "Sentence Initial Elements in English and their Discourse Function", in *Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics*, Vol. 2, pp.5-34.

33. E. Werlich, *A Text Grammar of English*, (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1983).

34. For a detailed study of coherence and cohesion, as standards of textuality (the others being intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situtionality and intertextuality), the reader is referred to:
R. de Beaugrande and W. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics*, (London & New York: Longman, 1981) chapters 4 & 5.

35. S. A. Thompson, "Grammar and Written Discourse: Initial Vs. Final Purpose Clauses in English", in *Text*, Vol. 5, part 1/2, pp. 55-84.

36. Although Halliday (1985, chapter 10) discusses two types of metaphorical structures (the ideational and the interpersonal), he only analyses one of them (the interpersonal) in this quotation, as a structure, which helps the writer/speaker in assigning the theme the way he wishes. With regard to ideational metaphor, as will be shown and illustrated in the main body of this study, Halliday relates this to thematic structure from the stand point of either guiding the writer/speaker to

typically thematise some structures like adjuncts or in the process of nominalization where a whole clause that could be realized congruently as a normal process,be it material or mental, is turned out into an equative RC.

37. In this respect, the researcher has counted 108 metaphorical RCs, which are discarded from the thematic analysis of the RCs for these two reasons. Therefore, it would sufficient to illustrate, in this respect, these two metaphorical features that have no thematic influence in the assignment of theme, since they became the norm in some registers or genres of discourse. The first, is the expression of semiotic values, as in:
(1) 'We inhabitants of the post-historical world', he trumpets, ... (Text 5-2)
The underlined 'comment clause', in Quirk et. al's. (1985, p.1115) terms, is metaphorical, because it gives the impression of playing the trumpet loudly with some sense arrogance. This was caught by the translator, when he remembered that before Islam, the Arabs used to gather every year in certain markets in the Arabian Peninsula for the purpose of reciting poetry in praise of their tribes or their leaders (as is the case nowadays!). The outcome of such rivalry was, sometimes, long-terms wars between certain tribes. The translation of the example above was rendered "rafaᶜ ᶜaqīratahu", which tells of one of those 'Sheikhs', who sat in 'sūq ᶜukāẓ', and arrogantly said; "whoever is better than me, will come and dare cut off my leg." After his leg was cut off by another Sheikh, he carried it proudly, (and here comes the word 'ᶜaqīra', a cutoff leg): "I lost my leg", which ended in a forty-years war between the two tribes.
The second reason for excluding some metaphorical expressions and considering them as the norm is the fact in some registers, i.e news reporting, political writing, they become de-metaphorised, as in:
(2) The relationship[1] deepened as Israel became, in effect, a mercenary state, beginning in the 1960s, when the CIA provided Israel with large subsidies to penetrate Black Africa in the U.S. interest, later in Asia particularly Latin America. (Text 1-27)
This RC represents a mental process with the 'unconscious' participant 'the relationship'. But it becomes congruent in the process of language development with regard to political writing, with, in this example, the inanimate noun phrase 'relationship' as the theme of the RC. It also become the norm in Arabic, where the translator was maintaining 'relationship' the theme of the corresponding Arabic RC, as in:
(2a) wa[2] qad taᶜammaqat al-ᶜilāqatu[1] . . . ."

38. P. Newmark, *Approaches to Translation*, (London & Others: Prentice Hall International (UK) Ltd, 1988).

39. P. Newmark, "The Translation of Metaphor", in *The Ubiquity of Metaphor*, W. Paprotte & R. Divern (Eds.), (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: J. Brnjamins Publication Company, 1985) pp.295-326.

40. M. al-Anṭākī (1975) gives a list of such verbs which, he says, have the meaning of the verb 'ʾiʿtaqada' (believe). These are 'ẓanna' (believe), 'ḥasiba' (think), zaʿama' (allege), 'xāla' (believe), ḥajā (think), jaʿal (in the meaning of 'believe' and 'make'). For more detailed the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fi Aṣwāti l-Lugati l-ʿarabiyyati wa Naḥwiha wa Šarfihā*, Vol. 2, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975) pp. 40-51.

41. For more details on Halliday's list's of both non-cognitive (discoursal & interpersonal) adjuncts as well as conjunctions, the reader is referred to chapter 3 of this study, note 84, or to:
M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (London & Others: Edward Arnold, 1985, pp. 50-51).

42. Halliday (1976) identifies 4 general types of conjunctive relations that are cohesive: additive, adversative, causal and temporal. for detailed study and structured textual exemplification, the reader is referred to:
M. A. K. Halliday, *Cohesion in English*, (New York & Others: Longman, 1976) pp. 226-273.

43. For definition and discussion of the various kinds of equivalences in the literature of the theories of translation the reader is referred to the following:
J. C. Cataford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965) chapter 3.
P. Newmark, *Approaches to Translation*, (New York & Others: Prentice Hall, 1988) chapters 3 & 5
R. T. Bell, *Translation and Translating: Theory and Practice*, (London: Longman, 1991) chapters 3 and 6.

44. For more details on the two major methods of discourse processing, namely managing and monitoring of discourse, the reader is referred to:
R. de Beaugrande & W. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics*, (London & New York: Longman, 1981) chapter VIII.

45. For a detailed study of the various inflectional patterns of the verb in Arabic, the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fi Aṣwāti l-ʿarabiyyati wa Naḥwihā, Ṣarfihā*, vol. 1, (Beirut: Maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975).

46. J. Beekham & J. Callow, *Translating the Word of God: With Scriptures and Topical Indexes*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974).

47. ʿabbas (1989) divides rhetorical questions into two main categories: 'assertion' (taqrīri) and the denial/negative' (ʾinkāri). He, in turn, divides the former into two sub-types. He calls the first sub-type an 'acknowledgment assertion' (in Arabic:

"ʾigrār l-muxāṭab bi-šayʾin ṯabata ᶜindahu ᶜan ṭarīqi l-ʾistifhām li-ʾannahu ʿʾawqaᶜu fi n-nafsiʾ [more vivid] wa ʿʾadallu ᶜala l-ʾilzamʾ [more obliging/ convincing])." This subtype, according to ᶜabbas, and al-Jurjānī (1988) does not need an answer, since according to them, it can be transformed to an assertive statement preceded by one of the emphatic articles like 'qad', for example. ᶜabbas cites examples like ʿʾa-lam ʾaftaḥu ʾamāmaka kaṯīran min ʾabwābi l-xayr? (Didn't I give all types of opportunities?), which is transformed by him to 'qad faᶜaltu ḏalik' (I did give you all that). The second subtype is that of 'ṭalab ʾiqrār l-muxāṭab bimā yurīduhu l-mutakallim' (the acknowledgment of the addressee of what the speaker wants'. The examples he gives include ʿʾa-lastu ʾustāṭaka?' (Am I not your teacher?). ᶜabbas claims that the second type needs an answer, which I don't believe. The reason for opposing ᶜabbas's view is the fact that looking at language from the power and authority perspective, I don't believe that the teacher needs the acknowledgment of a 'poor student' to acknowledge his status as a teacher, which is also the case in one aspect of political discourse.

The second category of rhetorical questions is that of 'denial', which correspond to what Beekam and Callow (1974) call the negative rhetorical (cf. the main text). ᶜabbas also divides the denial interrogative into two sub-types: 'takḏībiy' and 'tawbīxiy' (the falsifying and the reprimand). The former occurs when the speaker points out as false, something which the addressee attributes to himself something which he has not done in the past and is not expected to do the future; whereas in the latter, the speaker reprimands the addressee for something he has done in the past or is expected to do in the future.

For the purpose of this study, the importance of this note lies in the fact in all four types of rhetorical question, the question can be transformed into a statement positive or negative, depending on the type of rhetorical question being posed. This will force us to look more carefully to the thematic structure of such questions, and query Halliday's formulation with regard to such structure in both English and Arabic, especially since we have come to realise that such questions convey information rather than seeking it (cf. main text).

For additional details, exemplification, discussion and illustration of the four main types of rhetorical questions in Arabic, the reader is referred to:
F. H. ᶜabbas, *al-Balaġa Funūnuhā wa Afnānuhā: ᶜilmu l-Maᶜāni*, (Amman, Jordan: Dār al-Furqān li-n-našr wa t-tawzīᶜ, 1989) pp. 190-204.

48. J. Frank, "You Call it a Rhetorical Question: Form and Functions of Rhetorical Questions in Conversation", in *Journal of Pragmatics*, Vol. 14, 1990, pp. 723-738.

49. az-Zamkhšarī (no date, p. 309) points out that among its uses as a vocative particle, 'ya' is used by the speaker informally to address some one at a distance "to remind him of what he was advocating" (li-mufāṭanatihi limā yadᶜu ʾilayhi). For more details, the reader is referred to:
az-Zamkhšarī, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi ᶜilmi l-Luġati l-ᶜarabiyya*, (Beirut: Dar l-Jīl, no date,

pp. 307-310).

50. al-Anṭākī (1975) points out that ' ʾammā' is a conditional and an emphatic particle at the same time. He justifies this proposition as follows:
(1) As a conditional particle, he says, the 'fa' letter, which usually accompanies the 'jawāb aš-šarṭ' ('apodosis': the response part of the conditional). He further points out that, in case someone raises a question regarding the 'fiʿl aš-šarṭ' ('protasis': the dependent clause containing the conditional particle), the answer would be that ' ʾammā' is in itself can be considered as representing such a clause. He interprets ' ʾammā' as the protatis of conditional clause by saying that " ʾammā means 'wa mahmā yakun min šay ʾ' or 'wa mahmā yakun min ʾamri X', hence the English 'equivalence' (whatever that thing is/whatever happens to that thing). This explains the fact that, in Arabic, it is sometimes followed by a conditional RC, and the fact that the translator from English into Arabic has rendered the Arabic RC in which ' ʾammā' is its initial element as a conditional RC in English (In fact 5 of the 10 RCs identified in the Arabic corpus were translated into conditional RCs).
(2) As an emphatic particle, al-Anṭākī (op. loc.) also points out that the proposition of any RC that has ' ʾammā' as its initial element will be more emphatic than by any other emphatic means. For more detail and exemplification, the reader is referred to:
M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fī Aṣwāti l-ʿarabiyyati wa Nahwiḥā wa Ṣarfihā*, vol. 3, (Beirut: Maktabat Dar š-Šarq, 1975) pp. 106-107.

51. A third reason for proposing that Arabic political discourse is more emotive than English and thus more colloquial is reflected in the layman's comprehension of it in both societies. The main concerns of the man-in-the-street in a country like Jordan, for example, is always the political situation, not only that of domestic affairs but international affairs as well. This does not mean, of course, that he is more educated or is more aware of the world around him than that of the Westerner, but, I believe the various types of political media that he listens to or reads are closer to his intellectual ability, being more colloquial than that the Western layman who is constantly exposed to 'elite-type' less colloquial political media. In Britain, in particular, the popular press largely ignores political issues.

52. The circumstantial adjunct of matter is discussed by Arab grammarians, in relation to the disjuctive particle ' ʾammā š-šarṭiyya, (the conditional ' ʾammā'), whereas that of comparison is discussed by them when they discussed the preposition particle 'ka/ miṯla' (like). However, the corpus does not include any manner-equivalent adjunct (in Halliday's sense) in initial position, and therefore it will not be discussed any furhter.

53. Cantarino (1975) points out that Arabic has always been extremely rich in its different uses and the meanings of the basic conditional constructions. In this respect, he discusses the most important types of conditional constructions on the basis of what type of conditional particle is used, e.g. 'if' (ʾin) which basically

starts a fact, 'if in the sense of ''ʾidā' which presents uncertainty regarding the temporal dimension only (when the action will take place), 'law' (if) which the Arab grammarians call (ḥarfu ʾimtināᶜin li-mtināᶜ; cf. al-Anṭākī, 1975) and 'lawlā' (ḥarfu ʾimtināᶜin li-wujūb) which, according to Cantarino, always introduces a single member and hypothetically negates its existence. In spite of his extensive illustration and exemplification of their semantic functions, Cantarino only introduces the main conditional particles and ignores the rest (i.e. kamā, mahmā, etc.). For a detailed discussion of the main conditional particles, their major semantic functions in the conditional clause and a full listing and explanation and exemplification of these particles, the reader is, respectively, referred to:

V. Cantarino, *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose: The Compound Sentence, vol III,* (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1975) pp. 309-325.

M. al-Anṭākī, *al-Muḥīṭ fi Aswāti l-ᶜarablyyati wa Naḥwihā wa Ṣarfihā, vol. 3,* (Beirut: maktabat Dār š-Šarq, 1975) pp. 392-397.

54. From a syntactic perspective, Quirk et. al. (1985, pp. 1112-1115) point out that comment clauses, many of which are characteristic of spoken English, (and to a large extent of spoken Arabic), are generally marked prosodically by increased speed and lowered volume. Furthermore, they are either content disjuncts that express the speaker's comments on the content of the matrix clause, or style disjuncts that convey the speaker's view on the way they are speaking (cf. example 7-174 in the main body of the study).

55. Cantarino (1975, pp. 330-334) points out that concessive clauses in Arabic are conditionals in which the relationship between the main clause and the conditional has evolved from its original meaning to such a degree that it presents a completely new aspect. He also emphasizes that the subordinate clause in the concessive clause does not limit the validity of the clause, but extends it even in the event of the fulfilment of the special conditions/situations stated by the subordinate clause. Thus, the condition of the concessive RC is rather hypothetical than real, and is meant to achieve a rhetorical effect by using a hypothetical event or one contrary to fact as a means of emphasizing the validity of the statement in the main clause.

56. In this respect, ᶜabbas (1989), along with other Arab rhetoricians, lays down 4 conditions for any expression or utterance to be interpreted as metaphorical: (1) the word (a NP or a VP), (2) the existence of two meanings for such a word (one literal and one metaphorical), (3) the existence of a relation between the two meanings that would enable the user of the language to use the same word for the two meanings (wujūd ᶜilāqa bayna l-maᶜanayayn) and (4) The existence of an element in the co-text of the utterance that will allow the reader to interpret the utterance in a way which prevents the interpretation the utterance in its literal meaning. In this respect, ᶜabbas illustrates this by various types of examples from Arabic, by citing examples from the Holy Qura'n, Arabic prose and poetry. Among the examples which he selects is the following:

1-55 #raʾy-tu[1] šamsan bi-yadihā kitāb.#

1-55E #I/ saw a sun holding a book in her hand.#

Such an example fulfils all four conditions set by Arab rhetoricians to be considered metaphorical. First, the word 'sun', a NP, is literally signifies (to use de Saussure's 'signified-signifier' dichotomy) the sun (star); this word is transferred to mean 'a beautiful lady's face', and the relation between them is that of 'radiance', and the prepositional phrase 'bi-yadihā kitāb' is the cotextual element which prevents the interpretation of such utterance in its literal meaning. For more details regarding metaphor in Arabic including its various types, which is far more complicated than this examples, the reader is referred to:

F. H. ᶜabbas, *al-Balāġah Funūnuhā wa Afnānuhā: ᶜilmu l-Bayāni wa l-Badīᶜ*, (Ammān: Dār al-Furqān lin-n-ašr wa t-tawzīᶜ, 1989) pp. 127-241.

57. Although rational metaphor differs from linguistic metaphor with regard to type of structural elements used metaphorically in the clause (the latter uses a word, usually a NP or a VP, whereas the former uses the concept of ' ʾisnād', the relationship between the predicand and the predicate, whether the sentence is verbal or nominal), the two types of metaphor require a 'qarīnah' (co-text; cf. the main text) and a type of relation between the two meanings (the congruent and the noncongruent, to use Halliday's systemic terms). With regard to the latter, ᶜabbas (1989, pp.140-141) lists six different types of relation: spatial (makāniyya), temporal (zamāniyya), verbal noun (maṣdariyya), causal (sababiyya), 'objectival nominal' (mafᶜūliyya) and subjective nominal (fāᶜiliyya). To illustrate one of these, the spatial, for instance, the following example is borrowed from ᶜabbas (1989, p. 140):

1-56 #sāla n-nahru[1].#

1-56E #The river/ flowed.#

According to ᶜabbas, the river, physical entity, does not flow, but it's the water that flows; thus the relation between the two is spatial, since the river is a place for the water. For a detailed illustration and exemplification of all these types of metaphorical relations, the reader is referred to the same reference of the previous note, (pp. 139-148).

58. It must be pointed out that, following a Hallidayan model of thematic structure, the theme of the RC of the 'subjective-interpersonal metaphor' (the 'believe-type' with the grammatical subject being a personal singular or plural pronoun: '*I/we*') in English, and its equivalent in Standard Arabic is not the grammatical subject *per se*, but, rather, the 'belief' of that subject entity (the actor in Halliday's systemic term) regarding the proposition realized by the '*that-clause*', which follows the main clause. For this reason, the English as well as the Arabic percentage of subjects-as-theme has to drop by exactly the percentage of occurrence of interpersonal metaphor. In this case, 1% must be taken out of the English and its Arabic translation (cf. tables 7-1 & 7-1A of appendix E), and 2% from the Arabic and its English translation (cf. tables 7-5 & 7-5E of appendix E), since, as has been noted in the main text, the rendition of this type of clause complex structure was complete in the translation process from both languages (cf. 7.6.2 & 7.12.2). The reason for not dividing grammatical metaphor into two types in tables 7-3, 7-3A,

7-7 and 7-7E is two-fold. Firstly, I do not want to disturb the three-fold division of the thematic structure of the RC (the major [obligatory & optional], the minor and the initial) by having too many tables; something that will confuse the reader. Secondly, the word processing software used in typing this thesis (Wordperfect 5.1) does not allow too much information on one table drawn A4 paper without reducing the typing font to a degree that would be difficult for the reader to read.

59. In this respect, I have counted a total of 36 'ands' (the most predominant conjunction article) in the overall English SLTs in comparison to approximately over 200 '*wa's*' (and's) in the Arabic SLTs, bearing in mind that the number of RCs in the latter SL is 382 RCs and in the former 785 RCs.

60. J. Lyons, *Semantics, vol.2*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

61. A. L. Becker, "Biography of the Sentence", in *Text, Play & Story: Proceedings of the American Ethnographical Society (1983)*, (Ed.) E. M. Burner, (Washington, D. C.: The American Ethnographic Society, 1984) pp. 135-155.

62. M. Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis: the sociolinguistic analysis of natural languages*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

63. N. E. Enkvist, "Contrastive Text Linguistics and Translation", in *Theory and Practise of Translation, Nobel Symposium no. 39*, (Ed.) l Grahs et. al., (Switzerland, Liebeteld/Berne: Drucle Ltd., 1978) pp. 158-169.

64. Van Dijk (1977a & b) points out that the summary of a text lies on its macro-structure, and since this level is associated with the semantic level of the language, macro-structure makes explicit the 'global' meaning of the text; it also answers the same question with regard to that of the theme/topic of the RC: namely, 'what that piece of text is about'. In this respect, the text macro-structure, as a realization of a certain discourse genre, is not merely a theoretical construct but also a psychological correlate or schema, storage and reproduction of the text. At the semantic level, the macro-structure of a text is obtained from the 'smaller' elements, viz., the interpretation of the receptive sentences of the text. In this respect, Dijk identifies various types of 'macro-rules', which have both a 'reductive' and a 'subsumptive' roles, and which map the sequence of propositions onto the sequence of sentences, and thus provide 'a meaningful picture' of details. For a detailed study of macro-structure of text/discourse including Dijk's macro-rules, the reader is referred to:
    T. A. Van Dijk, "Sentence Topic and Discourse Topic", in *Papers in Slavic Philology, Part 1*, 1977, pp. 49-61.
    ----------, *Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*, (London: Longman, 1977 [1980]) chapter 3.

65. B. L. Dubois, "Thematisation Across Machine and Human Translation", in *IRAL*,

vol. XXVIII/1, Feb, 1990, pp. 43-56.

Notes to Chapter 8:

1. A. L. Becker, "Biography of a Sentence: A Burmese Proverb", in *Text, Play, and Story: 1983 Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society*, (ed.) E. M. Bruner, (Washington, D. C.: The American Ethnological Society) pp. 135-155.

2. I consider the salient features of written political discourse which express power relations between writers and readers, outlined in chapter 6 (cf. 6.5.4), to underlie three main categories: (1) lexical which includes lexicalization, overlexicalization, underlexicalization and lexical complexity of RCs, (2) grammatical which includes transitivity (nominalization, passivization and grammatical metaphor) and modality (relational, expressive/attitudinal and the use of first and second personal pronouns), and (3) pragmatic (speech acts and implicature). Thus the points in support of, or against the 6th hypothesis, in the main text, will be presented from this perspective.

3. Hasan (1971) defines the 'verbal noun' (al-maṣdar) as "a noun which indicates an absolute process" (ʾismun yadullu ᶜala l-ḥadaṯi l-mujarrad). Badri (1984) clarifies the term 'process' (l-ḥadaṯ) by saying that it is "that happening which has no relation with the any restricted time limit [tense], spatial, temporal, cognitive agent, action, gender, number or individual participant, and it has no real existence" (wa maᶜna l-ḥadaṯi ʾamrun mujarradun lā ṣilata lahu bi-zamānin ʾaw bi-makānin wa lā bi-ḏātin wa la ᶜamaliyyatin wa lā bi-nawᶜin wa lā ᶜadadin wa lā šaxṣin wa laysa lahu wujūdun wāqiᶜī). Badri also points out that when it is produced, the verbal noun is meant to indicate an absolute process, without paying any attention to what it might need for its existence: a time which limits its occurrence or "who does what to who", and when the speech situation requires a specific time for its occurrence, it thus becomes a verb with either past, present or future tense (this of course reflects the Basran's grammatical school's view of the verbal noun being the origin of any process. The Kufans believe it is the other way round). When the speech situation requires that the verbal noun shows "who does the action", the active mood is brought to bear, and when it is required to show "who does what to who", the passive mode is established, with or without mentioning the agent. For additional details, the reader is referred to:
   A. Hasan, *an-Naḥwi l-Wāfi*, (Cairo: Dār l-Maᶜārif, 1971), p. 106.
   K. I. Badri, *az-Zaman fi n-Naḥwi l-ᶜarabiy*, (Riyadh: dār ʾUmayya li-n-našr wa t-tawzīᶜ, 1984), pp. 341-356.

4. A count of the number of words of the English SLTs has shown that the total of 19148, whereas the Arabic TLTs is 17205 words. Another count was also carried out on the Arabic SLTs which shows that the number of words is 9267 versus 12728 for the English TLTs. The latter results support Harris (1991) who carried out a similar study and analysis of three Arabic SLTs of political writing and their translation into English, and reaches the same conclusion. For a detailed study of Harris's analysis, the reader is referred to:
   B. Harris, "Redundancy in translating from Arabic into English". Paper

presented to a conference on *Translation and Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language*, University of London, (16-18 January) 1991.

5. Enkvist (1978) uses the term 'concentration' to describe the degree to which the grouped and linearized predications are controlled in the text. Concentration is achieved by conjoining and embedding predications in a manner which permits the desired degree of deletion of syntactically undesirable, or unnecessary, contextually recoverable elements. It is worth noting also that the arrangement of predications is governed by text strategy which thereby controls the amount of permissable deletion. This, in turn, governs the degree of concentration in the final text form, whether it is a SLT or a TLT. For additional details, the reader is referred to:
   N. E. Enkvist, "Contrastive Text Linguistics and Translation", in *Theory and Practice of Translation: Nobel Symposium 39*, (Ed.) L. Grahs et. al., (Liebefeld & Berne, Switzerland: Language Drucle Ltd., 1978) pp. 169-188.

6. Rosenhouse (1990) carried out a comparative study between classical Arabic (Sibawayhi Arabic) and modern standard literary Arabic. The style of the latter is similar to the data analyzed in this study, and includes 6 extracts (1678 sentences) taken from six academic text books. The result of the analysis shows that classical Arabic uses more verbal sentences than modern standard Arabic; something which she attributes to the influence of foreign languages on Arabic. However, her analysis of modern standard literary Arabic also shows the proportion of occurrence of nominal versus verbal sentence is 1: 1.15, with the average value of 40.9% nominal sentences and 59.1% verbal sentence, which, more or less, matches the percentages of occurrence of my analysis. For a detailed study of Rosenhouse's analysis, the reader is referred to:
   J. Rosenhouse, "Tendencies of Nominalization in Modern Literary Arabic as Compared with Classical Arabic", In *Journal of Arabic Linguistics*, vol. 22, 1990, pp. 23-43.

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APPENDICES

Text-1[1]

"After the Cold War: U.S. Middle East Policy"

BY: Prof. Noam Chomsky

1. #(1) U.s. policy towards the Middle East has been framed within a certain strategic conception of world order that is widely shared, though there are tactical disagreements.# #(2) There are also important changes in the world, to which this strategic conception must be adapted.#

2. #(2)There has been much recent talk about a "new world order."# #(2) Implicit in it is the assumption that there was an "old world order" that is changing.# #(3) That system of world order was established after World War II.# #(4) At the time, the U.S. was in a position of power without historical precedent.# #(5) It had about 50% of the world's wealth, and a position of remarkable security.# #(6) Political and economic elites were well aware of these facts, and, not surprisingly, set about to organize a world system favourable to their interests--although they also recognized, quite explicitly, that more noble rhetoric would be useful for propaganda purposes.#

3. #(1) Basic elements of a new world order were coming into focus 20 years ago, with the emergence of a "tripolar world" as economic power diffused within the domains of post-World War II U.S. power.# #(2) The U.S. remains the dominant military power, but its economic superiority, though still manifest, has declined, and may well decline further as the costs of the Reagan-Bush party for the rich fall due.# #(4) The collapse of Soviet tyranny adds several new dimensions.# #(5) First, new pretexts are needed for Third World intervention, a serious challenge for the educated classes.# #(6) Second, there are new prospects for the "Latin Americanization" of much of the former Soviet empire, that is, for its reversion to a quasi-colonial status, providing resources, cheap labour, markets, investment opportunities, and other standard Third World amenities.# #(7) But the U.S. and Britain are not in the lead in this endeavour. #(8) A third important consequence is that the U.S. is more free than before to use force, the Soviet deterrent having disappeared.# #(9) These changes in the international system have implications for the Middle East, as for every other region of the world.#

4. #(1) During World War II, representatives of U.S. corporations and government carried out far-ranging studies on what they called a "Grand Area," a world system in which the interests they represented would be expected to flourish.# #(2) The plans extended to all major areas and issues, and were to a large extent implemented in the early post-war years.# #(3) In fact, there is a very close similarity between these studies and top-level government planning documents of later years.#

5. #(1) Within the Grand Area, the industrial powers were to reconstruct, under the leadership of the "great workshops," Japan and Germany, now under U.S. control.# #(2) It was necessary to restore traditional conservative rule, including Nazi and fascist

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[1] In all the corpus (the English and the Arabic texts, and their corresponding translations) the paragraph breakdown system is not altered and is kept exactly the same as in the original document, including the numbering of paragraphs of the source texts of both languages. The highlight of some phrases at the beginning of some paragraphs is also original.

collaborators, to destroy and disperse the anti-fascist resistance, and to weaken the labour movement.# #(3) This was a worldwide project, conducted in various ways depending on local circumstances and needs.# #(4) It constitutes chapter one of post-war history, and generally proceeded on course.#

6. #(1) With respect to the Soviet Union, policy divided along two basic lines, both aiming to incorporate the USSR within the Grand Area--which, for most of the region, meant returning it to its pre-1917 status as part of the Third World, in effect.# #(2) The hard-line "roll back" approach was given its basic formulation in NSC 68 of 1950, written by Paul Nitze, who succeeded George Kennan as head of the State Department Policy Planning Staff.# #(3) The softer Kennan policy of "containment" proposed reliance on the overwhelming economic advantages of the U.S. and its allies to achieve more or less the same ends.# #(4) Note that these goals have basically been achieved, with the collapse of the Soviet system in the 1980s.#

7. #(1) Few anticipated a Russian military attack.# #(2) The general assumption was that "it is not Russian military power which is threatening us,# #(3) it is Russian political power" (Kennan, October 1947).#

8. #(1) The Third World also had its role in the Grand Area: to be "exploited" for the needs of the industrial societies and to "fulfil its major function as a source of raw materials and a market."# #(2) I am quoting from documents of George Kennan and his Policy Planning Staff.# #(3) Kennan was one of the most influential of the post-war planners, representing generally the "softer" extreme of the spectrum.# #(4) He emphasized that a major concern was "the protection of our resources"--our resources, which happen, by geological accident, to lie in other lands.# #(5) Since the main threat to our interests is indigenous, we must, #(6) he explained in secret,# accept the need for "police repression by the local government."# #(7) "Harsh government measures of repression" should cause us no qualms as long as "the results are on balance favourable to our purposes."# #(8) In general, "it is better to have a strong regime in power than a liberal government if it is indulgent and relaxed and penetrated by Communists."# #(9) The term "Communist" refers in practice to labour leaders, peasant organizers, priests organizing self-help groups, and others with the wrong priorities.#

9. #(1) The right priorities are outlined in the highest level secret documents.# #(2) They stress that the major threat to U.S. interests is "nationalistic regimes" that are responsive to popular pressures for "immediate improvement in the low living standards of the masses" and diversification of their economies for domestic needs.# #(3) Such initiatives interfere with the protection of our resources and our efforts to encourage "a climate conducive to private investment," which will allow foreign capital "to repatriate a reasonable return."# #(4) The threat of Communism, as explained by a prestigious conservative study group, is the economic transformation of the Communist powers "in ways that reduce their willingness and ability to complement the industrial economies of the West," and thus to fulfil the Third World function.# #(5) This is the real basis for the intense hostility to the Soviet Union and its imperial system from 1917, and the reason why independent nationalism in the Third World, whatever its political cast, has been seen as a "virus" that must be eradicated.#

10. #(1) Plans for the Middle East developed within this context.# #(2) The major concern was (and remains) the incomparable energy reserves of the region.# # (3) These were to be incorporated within the U.S.-dominated system.# #(4) As in Latin

America, it was necessary to displace traditional French and British interests and to establish U.S. control over what the State Department described as "a stupendous source of strategic power, and one of the greatest material prizes in world history," "probably the richest economic prize in the world in the field of foreign investment."# #(5) President Eisenhower described the Middle East as the most "strategically important area in the world."#

11. #(1) France was quickly excluded by legal legerdemain, leaving a U.S.-British condominium.# #(2) There was conflict for a time, but it was soon resolved within the framework of U.S. power.# #(3) U.S. corporations gained the leading role in Middle East oil production, while dominating the Western hemisphere, which remained the major producer until 1968.# #(4) The U.S. did not then need Middle East oil for itself.# #(5) Rather, the goal was to dominate the world system, ensuring that others would not strike an independent course.# #(6) There was, at the time, general contempt for the Japanese,# #(7) and few anticipated that they would ever be a serious economic competitor.# #(8) But some were more farsighted.# #(9) In 1948, Kennan observed that U.S. control over Japanese oil imports would help to provide "veto power" over Japan's military and industrial policies.# #(10) His advice was followed.# #(11) Japan was helped to industrialize,# #(12) but the U.S. maintained control over its energy supplies and oil-refining facilities.# #(13) As late as 1973, the U.S. controlled about 90% of Japanese oil.# #(14) After the oil crisis of the early 1970s, Japan sought more diverse energy sources and undertook conservation measures.# #(15) These moves reduced the power of the veto considerably,# #(16) but influence over oil pricing and production, within the range set by market forces, remains a factor in world affairs.#

12. #(1) As elsewhere, the major policy imperative is to block indigenous nationalist forces.# #(2) A large-scale counterinsurgency operation in Greece from 1947 was partially motivated by the concern that the "rot" of *independent nationalism there* might "infect" the Middle East.# #(3) A CIA study held that if the rebels were victorious, the U.S. would face "the possible loss of the petroleum resources of the Middle East."# #(4) A Soviet threat was concocted in the usual manner, but the real threat was indigenous nationalism, with its feared demonstration effect elsewhere.#

13. #(1) Similar factors led to the CIA coup restoring the Shah in Iran in 1953. Nasser became an enemy for similar reasons.# #(2) Later, Khomainini was perceived as posing another such threat, leading the U.S. to support Iraq in the Iraq-Iran war.# # (3) The Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein then took over the mantle, shifting status overnight from moderate friend to a new Hitler when he invaded Kuwait, displaying U.S.-British clients.# #(4) The primary fear throughout has been that the nationalist forces not under U.S influence and control might come to have substantial influence over the oil-producing regions of the Arabian peninsula.# #(5) Saudi Arabia elites, in contrast, are considered appropriate partners, managing their resources in conformity to basic U. S. interests, and assisting U. S. terror and subversion throughout the Third World.#

14. #(1) The basic points are fairly clear in the secret planning record, and often in the public government records as well.# #(2) Thus, in early 1990, the White House presented Congress with its annual National Security Strategy Report, calling -as always- for a bigger military budget to protect us from the threat of destruction by enemies of unimaginable power and bestiality.# #(3) For the last few years, it has been

hard to portray the Russians as the Great Satan,# #(4) so other enemies have had to be conjured up.# #(5) By now, it is conceded that the enemy is the Third World nationalism.# #(6) This report therefore explains that we have to build up a powerful high tech military because of the "technological sophistication" of the Third World powers, intent on pursuing their own course.# #(7) We must ensure the means to move forces " to reinforce our units forward deployed or to project power into areas where we have no permanent presence," particularly in the Middle East, where the "threats to our interests" that have required direct military engagement "could not be laid at the Kremlin's door"__ a fact finally admitted.# #(8) "In the future, we expect that the non-soviet threats to these interests will command even greater attention."# #(9) In reality, the "threat to our interest" had always been indigenous nationalism, a fact, sometimes acknowledged, as when the architect of President Carter'e Rapid Deployment force, aimed primarily at the Middle East, testified before Congress in 1980 that its most likely use was not to resist a (highly implausible) Soviet attack, but to deal with indigenous and regional unrest (called "radical nationalism" or "ultranationalism").# #(10) Notice that the Bush administration plans were presented at a time when Saddam Hussein was still George Bush's amiable friend and favoured trading partner.#

15. #(1) The Anglo-American condominium in the Gulf region received its first major challenge in 1958, when the nationalist military coup in Iraq overthrew a dependent regime.# #(2) In his history of the oil industry, Christopher Rand describes the 1958 coup as "America's biggest setback in the region, since the war," "a shocking experience for the United States" that "undoubtedly provoke[ed] an agonizing reappraisal of our nation's entire approach to the Persian Gulf."# #(3) Recently released British and American documents help flesh out earlier surmises.

16. #(1) In 1958, Kuwait was the particular concern.# #(2) The "new Hitler" of the day was Gamal Abdel Nasser,# #(3) and it was feared that his pan-Arab nationalism might spread to Iraq, Kuwait, and beyond.# #(4) One reaction was a U.S. Marine landing in Lebanon to prop up the regime;# #(5) another, apparent authorization of nuclear weapons by President Eisenhower "to prevent any unfriendly forces from moving into Kuwait."# #(6) To deflect the nationalist threat, Britain decided to grant Kuwait nominal independence, following the prescriptions designed after World War I when the imperial managers realized that British rule would be more cost-effective behind an "Arab facade," so that "absorption" of the colonies should be "veiled by constitutional fictions as a protectorate, a sphere of influence, a buffer state, and so on" (Lord Curzon).# #(7) Britain reserved the right of forceful intervention to protect its interests, with the agreement of the U.S. which reserved the same right for itself elsewhere in the region.# #(8) The U.S. and Britain also agreed on the need to keep the oilfields in their hands.# #(9) Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd had already summarized the major concerns, including free access to Gulf oil production "on favourable terms and for sterling," and "suitable arrangements for the investment of the surplus revenues of Kuwait" in Britain.#

17. #(1) Declassified U.S. documents reiterate that Britain's "financial stability would be seriously threatened if the petroleum from Kuwait and the Persian Gulf area were not available to the U.K. on reasonable terms, if the U.K. were deprived of the large investments made by that area in the U.K. and if sterling were deprived of the support provided by Persian Gulf oil."# #(2) These factors and others provide reasons for the U.S. "to support, or if necessary assist, the British in using force to retain

control of Kuwait and the Persian Gulf."# #(3) In November 1958, the National Security Council recommended that the U.S. "be prepared to use force, but only as a last resort, either alone or in support of the United Kingdom," if these interests were threatened.# #(4) The documentary record is not available beyond that point,# #(5) but there is little reason to suspect that guiding doctrines, which had been stable over a long period, have undergone more than tactical change.#

18. #(1) At the time, a main concern was that Gulf oil and riches be available to support the ailing British economy.# #(2) That concern was extended by the early 1970s to the U.S. economy, which was visibly declining relative to Japan and Gemman-led Europe.# #(3) As the U.S. and Britain lose their former economic dominance, privileged access to the rich profits of Gulf oil production is a matter of serious concern.# #(4) The point was captured in a current Wall Street witticism.# #(5) Question: Why do the U.S. and Kuwait need each other?# #(6) Answer: Kuwait is a banking system without a country,# #(7) and the U.S. is a country without a banking system.# #(8) Like many jokes, it is not a joke.#

19. #(1) Capital flow from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the other Gulf principalities to the U.S. and Britain has provided a good deal of support for their economies, corporations, and financial institutions.# #(2) These are among the reasonswhy the U.S. and Britain have often not been averse to increases in oil price__# #(3) and why the U.S. would follow essentially the same policies if it were *100%* on solar energy, just as it followed the same policies pre-1970, when it had little need for Middle East oil.# #(4) The sharp price escalation in 1973 was in many ways beneficial to the U.S.-U.K. economies, as was widely noted in the business press and scholarly journals;# #(5) the U.S. trade balance with the oil producers actually improved, and became favourable to the U.S., as the oil price rose, enriching U.S. energy, manufacturing, and construction corporations and allowing the U.S. and Britain to profit from their own high-priced oil in Alaska and the North Sea.# #(6) The issues are too intricate to explore here,# #(7) but these factors surely remain operative.

20. #(1) When we consider these factors, it should come as no great surprise that the two states that established the imperial settlement and have been its main beneficiaries followed their own course in the Gulf crisis, moving at once to undercut sanctions and block any diplomatic track, thus narrowing the options to the threat and use of force.# #(2) In this course they were largely isolated, apart from the family dictatorships that rule the Gulf oil producers as an "Arab facade."# #(3) Though it was clear from August that sanctions and diplomacy had unusually high prospects of reversing Iraq's aggression peaceably, the administration policy of narrowing the options to capitulation or war has a certain chilling logic:# #(4) it is the right policy choice if the goals are to firm up the mercenary-enforcer role and establish the rule of force, the dimension of power in which the U.S. reigns supreme.# #(5) Adopting that role, the U.S. must continue to enforce obedience (called "order" or "stability" in the doctrinal system), with the support of other industrial powers.# #(6) Riches funnelled by the oil-producing monarchies will help prop up the troubled economies of the guardians of order.# #(7) To be sure, force is only a last resort.# #(8) It is more cost-effective to use the IMF than the Marines or the CIA if possible;# #(9) but it is not always possible.#

21. #(1) One major U.S. concern in the Middle East has been, and remains, the "stupendous source of strategic power.# #(2) "A second has been the relationship with

Israel.# #(3) There is considerable debate over whether that special relationship derives from the role of Israel in U.S. strategic planning, or from the influence of a "Jewish lobby."# #(4) My own view, for what it is worth, is that the former factor is by far the more significant, and that the so-called "Jewish lobby" is actually one component of a much broader group, including liberal intellectuals who were deeply impressed by Israel's military victory in 1967, for reasons that had a good deal to do with the domestic scene.# #(5) In this judgment, I disagree with many commentators, including the leadership of the lobby, which publicly claims vast influence.# #(6) But we needn't try to settle this issue.# #(7) However one weights the factors, both are there.# #(8) I will keep here to the first, which in my view is the more important.# #(9) I would expect, frankly, that the U.S. would ditch Israel in a moment if U.S. planners found this in their interest.# #(10) In that case, the Jewish lobby would be as ineffective as it was in 1956, when Eisenhower and Dulles, on the eve of a presidential election, ordered Israel out of the Sinai.#

22. #(1) One can trace the thinking behind the special "relationship" back to Israel's early days.# #(2) In 1948, Israel's military successes led to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to describe it as the major regional military power after Turkey, offering the U.S. means to "gain strategic advantage in the Middle East that would affect the effects of the decline of British power in that area" (Avi Shlaim).# #(3) Historian Abram Sachar, whose interpretation is particularly interesting because he is custodian of the archives of Truman's influential associate David Niles, alleges that Truman'e ultimate decision to support Israeli expansion was based upon the Israeli military victory, which showed that Israel "could become a strategic asset__ a kind of stationary aircraft carrier to protect American interests in the Mediterranean and the Middle East."#

23. #(1) As for the Palestinians, U. S. planners had no reason to doubt the assessment of Israeli government specialists in 1948 that the refugees would either assimilate elsewhere or "would be crushed":# #(2) "some of them would die and most of them would turn into human dust and the waste of society, and join the most impoverished classes in the Arab countries" (Moshe Sharett's Middle East section).# #(3) Accordingly, there was no need to trouble oneself about the U. S. assessments of Israel and the Palestinians have already changed since that time.#

24. #(1) Shortly after the Iraqi coup in July 1958, the National Security Council concluded that a "logical corollary" of opposition to radical Arab nationalism "would be to support Israel as the only strong pro-Western power left in the Middle East."# #(2) That understanding was extended in the 1960s.# #(3) U. S. intelligence regarded Israeli power as a barrier to Nasserite pressures on Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing clients.# #(4) That role was firmed up with Israel's smashing victory in 1967,destroying the nationalist threat; and again in 1970, when Israel threats palyed some role -- a major role, according to Kissinger's rather dubious account -- in protecting Jordan from the possible Syrian effort to support the Palestinians.# #(5) U. S. aid to Israel sharply increased at that point.#

25. #(1) These moves were in the context of the new Nixon doctrine, according to which other powers must deal with the regional problems within the "overall framework of order" maintained by the United States, as Kissinger put it, admonishing Europe to put aside any ideas about striking out on its own.# #(2) A few years later, Kissinger pointed out in a private talk with American Jewish leaders, later released, that one of his prime concerns was "to ensure that the European and the Japanese did not

get involved in the diplomacy" of the Middle East -- a commitment that persists, and helps explain U. S. opposition to any international conference.# #(3) In the Middle East, Iran and Israel were to be the "cops of the beat" (in the phrase of Defence Secretary Melvin Laird), safeguarding order.# #(4) Police headquarters, of course, remained in Washington.#

26. #(1) More serious analysts have been clear about these matters. #(2) In May 1973, the Senate's ranking oil expert, Senator Henry Jackson, emphasized "the strength and Western orientation of Israel on the Mediterranean and Iran on the Persian Gulf," two reliable friends of the United States, with powerful military forces, who work together with Saudi Arabia "to inhibit and contain those irresponsible and radical elements in certain Arab States . . . who, were they free to do so, would pose a grave threat indeed to our principal sources of petroleum in the Persian Gulf"; in reality, also to U.S. control over riches that flow from these sources.#

27. #(1) The relationship deepened as Israel became, in effect, a mercenary state, beginning in the 1960s, when the CIA provided Israel with large subsidies to penetrate Black Africa in the U.S. interest, later in Asia particularly Latin America.# #(2) As one high official put it during the Iran-contra affair, Israel is "just another federal agency, one that's convenient to use when you want something done quietly."# #(3) Other relationships also developed, including intelligence sharing, weapons development, and testing of new advanced weapons in live battlefield conditions.#

28. #(1) The relations between Israel and Iran were intimate, as later revealed (in Israel) after the Shah fell.# #(2) The relations of Israel and Iran to Saudi Arabia are more subtle and sensitive,# #(3) and direct evidence is slight. #(4) Saudi Arabia was virtually at war with both Israel and Iran, which had conquered Arab islands in the Gulf. #(5) But, as Senator Jackson indicated, there appears to have been at least a tacit alliance;# #(6) more, we may learn some day, if the documentary record is ever revealed.# #(7) That tripartite relationship continued after the fall of the Shah, when the U.S. began, virtually at once, to send arms to Iran via Israel, later (and perhaps then) financed by Saudi Arabia.# #(8) High Israeli officials involved in these transactions revealed that the purpose was to inspire an anti-Khomeini coup and restore the traditional alliance.# #(9) This was, incidentally, long before there were any hostages.# #(10) It is one of the many features of the Iran-contra affair suppressed in the Congressional-media damage control operation.# #(11) The same model of overthrowing an unwanted civilian government had been pursued successfully in Indonesia, Chile, and other cases, and is, in fact, fairly standard statecraft:# #(12) if you want to overthrow some government, support its military, hoping to find who, will do the job for you from inside.#

29. #(1) Notice that, in accord with this strategic conception, a peaceful political settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict is not of any great importance, and might even be detrimental to U.S. interests.# #(2) And not surprisingly, we find corporations that the U.S. has blocked a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict for 20 years.#

30. #(1) The depth of this rejectionist stance was dramatically revealed on January 14, 1991, when France made a last minute proposal at the UN calling for immediate Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait in return for a Security Council commitment to deal with the Israel-Palestine problem "at some appropriate moment," which remains unspecified.# #(2) The U.S. with, Britain tagging along, announced at once that it would veto any such resolution.# #(3) The French proposal reiterated the basic content

of a Security Council statement in which members expressed their view that "an international conference, at an appropriate time, properly structured," might help "achieve a negotiated settlement and lasting peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict."# #(4) The statement was a codicil to Security Council Resolution 681 of December 20, calling on Israel to observe the Geneva Conventions.# #(5) It was excluded from the resolution itself to avoid a U.S. veto.# #(6) Note that there was no "linkage" to the Iraqi invasion, which was unmentioned.# #(7) The U.S. was determined to go to war rather than allow even a hint that there might someday be an international effort to deal with the Israel-Palestine problem.# #(8) The pretexts advanced need not detain us.#

31. #(1) It is worth noting that the U.S. has also been firmly opposed to a diplomatic settlement of the second major issue that has been raised during the Gulf crisis: Iraq's very dangerous military capacities.# #(2) Here the U.S. rejection of "linkage" is particularly remarkable, since it is beyond dispute that disarmament questions must be addressed in a regional context.# #(3) Iraq has raised the issue several times since August,# #(4) but all proposals have been rejected or ignored, on the pretext that the U.S. cannot accept "linkage" __in this unique case.# #(5) Again, we know perfectly well that "linkage" and "rewarding the aggressor" have nothing to do with it.# #(6) In fact, Saddam Hussein had made a similar proposal in April 1990, when he was still George Bush's friend and ally.# #(7) He then offered to destroy his chemical and biological weapons if Israel agreed to destroy *its* non conventional weapons.# #(8) The State Department rejected the link "to other issues or weapons systems."# #(9) Note that these remain unspecified.# #(10) Acknowledgement of the existence of Israeli nuclear weapons would raise the question why all U.S. aid to Israel is not illegal under Congressional legislation of the 1970s that bars aid to any country engaged in nuclear weapons development.#

32. #(1) These matters are of enormous significance for understanding the current crisis, and for speculating about the future.# #(2) The U.S. and U.K. were quite supportive of Saddam Hussein prior to August 1990.# #(3) A decade earlier, they had helped prevent any UN reaction to Iraq's attack on Iran.# #(4) At the time, Iraq was a Soviet client,# #(5) but Reagan, Thatcher and Bush recognized Saddam Hussein as "their kind of guy" and moved to change that status;# #(6) within a few years, Iraq was largely Western-oriented.# #(7) Iraq was removed from the list of states that sponsor terror, permitting it to receive substantial credits from the U.S. and become a major trading partner, exporting its oil to the U.S. and receiving U.S. agricultural and other exports.# #(8) Western corporations took an active role in building up Iraq's military strength, including its weapons of mass destruction.# #(9) The Reagan and Bush administrations intervened forcefully to prevent any meaningful Congressional censure of their friend's atrocious human rights record, crucially barring any sanctions that might have interfered with profits for U.S. corporations or with Iraq's growing strength.# #(10) In July 1990, the State Department indicated to Saddam Hussein that it had no serious objection to his rectifying border disputes with Kuwait, or intimidating other oil producers to raise the price of oil to perhaps $25 a barrel.# #(11) There was no doubt in anyone's mind that he was a murderous gangster,# #(12) but, it was assumed, he was "our gangster."# #(13) Saddam's record was already so sordid that conquest of Kuwait added little to it,# #(14) but that action was a crime that matters: the crime of independence.# #(15) Torture, tyranny, aggression, slaughter of civilians are all acceptable by U.S.-U.K. standards, but no stepping on our toes, whether the

guilty party is a committed Third World democrat or a brutal thug.#

33. #(1) According to sources in the Iraqi democratic opposition, which had long courageously opposed Bush's old friend, they were rebuffed by the White House in February 1990 when they sought support for a call for parliamentary democracy in Iraq.# #(2) It is a very revealing fact that the Iraqi democratic opposition was also scrupulously excluded from the media after the crisis erupted in August__ naturally enough, since their positions were hardly distinguishable from those of the mainstream of the U.S. and European peace movements.# #(3) Unlike Bush and Reagan, the peace movement and Iraqi democratic opposition had always opposed Saddam Hussein, but also opposed the quick resort to violence to undercut the danger that sanctions and diplomacy would lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict.# #(4) Such an outcome would have avoided the slaughter of tens of thousands of people, an environmental catastrophe, chaos in Iraq and the likely emergence of another tyranny__# #(5) but, crucially, it would not have established the lesson that the world is to be run by force, the U.S. comparative advantage.#

34. #(1) There had been diplomatic possibilities for resolving the crisis since August, including Iraqi offers described by high U.S. officials as "serious" and "negotiable."# #(2) All were rejected out of hand by Washington.# #(3) The last made public before the bombing started was disclosed by U.S. officials on January 2: an Iraqi offer "to withdraw from Kuwait if the United States pledges not to attack as soldiers are pulled out, if foreign troops leave the region, and if there is agreement on the Palestinian problem and, further banning of all weapons of mass destruction in the region" (Knut Royce, *Newsday*, Jan. 3, 1991).# #(4) U.S. officials described the offer as "interesting" because it dropped any border claims, and "signals Iraqi interest in negotiated settlement."# #(5) A State Department Mideast expert described the proposal as a "serious prenegotiation position."# #(6) The U.S. "immediately dismissed the proposal,"# #(7) Royce continues.#

35. #(1) The next day the *New York Times* reported that Yasser Arafat, after consultations with Saddam Hussein, indicated that neither of them "insisted that the Palestinian problem be solved before Iraqi troops get out of Kuwait."# #(2) According to Arafat, "Mr. Hussein's statement August 12, linking Iraqi withdrawal to an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, was no longer operative as a negotiating demand."# #(3) All that is necessary is "a strong link to be guaranteed by the five permanent members of the Security Council that we have to solve all the problems in the Gulf, in the Middle East and especially the Palestinian cause."#

36. #Two weeks before the deadline for Iraqi withdrawal, then, the possible contours of a diplomatic settlement appeared to be these:# #(2) Iraq would withdraw completely from Kuwait with a U.S. pledge not to attack withdrawing forces;# #(3) foreign troops leave the region;# #(4) the Security Council indicates a serious commitment to settle two major regional problems: the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the problem of weapons of mass destruction.# #(5) Disputed border issues would be left for later consideration.# #(6) We cannot evaluate the prospects for settlement along these lines, because the offers were flatly rejected, and scarcely entered the media or public awareness.# #(7) The United States and Britain maintained their commitment to force alone.#

37. #(1) The claim that the U.S. was unwilling to "reward the aggressor" by allowing future consideration of these two regional issues is undeserving of a moment's

attention.# #(2) The U.S. commonly rewards aggressors and insists upon "linkage," even in cases much worse than Saddam Hussein's latest crimes.# #(4) It follows that the reasons presented are not the real ones, and, furthermore, that no reason at all was presented for going to war; none whatsoever.# #(5) That seems obvious enough, if one is willing to think the matter through.#

38. #(1) The real reasons, again, are not obscure.# #(2) The U.S. opposes a diplomatic settlement of all the "linked" issues.# #(3) Therefore, it opposes "linkage," that is, diplomacy.# #(4) If that means a devastating war, so be it.# #(5) Further withdrawal offers in February were contemptuously dismissed, on grounds too absurd even to discuss, outside the commissar culture.#

39. #(1) From the outset, the President was clear and unambiguous that "there will be no negotiations."# #(2) "Diplomacy" will be limited to delivery of an ultimatum: capitulate or die.# #(3) It took wilful blindness to misunderstand these facts.# #(4) The reasons had nothing to do with "rewarding aggressors" or "linkage," nor with "annexation"# #[5] (the U.S. dismissed at once offers that would have terminated the annexation), or with the severity of Saddam Hussein's crimes, which were monstrous before, but of no account.# #(6) His latest crimes, furthermore, do not compare with others that the U.S. and U.K. cheerfully supported, and continue to support today, including the near-genocidal Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor, successful thanks to the decisive support of the U.S. and U.K., which continues today.# #(7) U.S.-U.K. posturing on this matter has descended to a level of cynicism that is extraordinary even by the standards of statecraft,# #(8) and it is an astonishing commentary on our intellectual culture that it does not merely inspire ridicule, and is even parroted.#

40. #(1) These considerations direct us towards the future.# #(2) I see little reason to expect the U.S. to modify its goals with regard to oil production and profits, or to abandon its rejectionism on the Israel-Arab conflict.#

41. #(1) Since 1917, the pretext offered for U.S. intervention has been defense against the Russians.# #(2) Before the Bolshevik revolution, intervention was justified in defense against the Huns, the British, "base Canadian fiends," or the "merciless Indian savages" of the Declaration of Independence.# #(3) For the last several years, the Russians have not been available as a pretext.# #(4) The U.S. invasion of Panama kept to the normal pattern, but was historic in that it was the first post-Cold War act of aggression,# #(5) and appeals to the Russian threat were beyond the reach of even the most fevered imagination.# #(6) So the U.S. was defending itself from narcoterrorism.# #(7) Little has changed apart from rhetoric.#

42. #(1) As noted earlier, there are real changes in the world system, with a number of important consequences:# #(2) [1] at the rhetorical level, new pretexts are needed for intervention;# #(3) [2] the "end of the Cold War" opens the way to the "Latin Americanization" of large parts of the former Soviet empire;# #(4) [3] the elimination of the Soviet deterrent leaves the U.S. more free than before to use military force.#

43. #(1) In the new world order, the Third World domains must still be controlled, sometimes by force.# #(2) This task has been the responsibility of the United States, but with its relative economic decline, the burden becomes harder to shoulder.# #(3) One reaction is that the U.S. must persist in its historic task, while others pay the bills.# #(4) Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger explained

that the emerging new world order will be based on "a kind of new invention in the practice of diplomacy":# #(5) others will finance U.S. intervention to keep order.# #(6) In the London *Financial Times,* a respected commentator on international economic affairs described the Gulf crisis as a "watershed event in U.S. international relations," which will be seen in history as having "turned the U.S. military into an internationally financed public good."# #(7) In the 1990s,#(8) he continues#, "there is no realistic alternative [to] the US military assuming a more explicitly mercenary role than it has played in the past" (David Hale, *FT,* Nov. 21, 1990).#

44. #(1) The financial editor of a leading U.S. conservative daily puts the point less delicately:# #(2) we must exploit our "virtual monopoly in the security market. . . as a lever to gain funds and economic concessions" from Germany and Japan (William Neikirk, *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 9, 1990).# #(3) The U.S. has "cornered the West's security market" and will therefore be "the world's rent-a-cops";# #(4) the phrase "rent-a-thug" might be more accurate, if less appealing.# #(5) Some will call us "Hessians," #(6) he continues,# #(7) but "that's a terribly demeaning phrase for a proud, well-trained, well-financed and well-respected military";# #(8) and whatever anyone may say, "we should be able to pound our fists on a few desks" in Japan and Europe, and "extract a fair price for our considerable services," demanding that our rivals "buy our Israel bonds at cheap rates, or keep the dollar propped up, or better yet, pay cash directly into our Treasury."# #(9) "We could change this role" of enforcer,# #(10) he concludes,# #(11) "but with it would go much of our control over the world economic system."#

45. #(1) How, then, can we expect U.S. policy towards the Middle East to adapt to these changed circumstance?# #(2) There is no reason to expect changes in the *principles* that *guide* policy.# #(3) There are no significant public pressures for policy change.# #(4) In polls, about two thirds of the public regularly express support for the international consensus on a two-state settlement,# #(5) but few have the slightest awareness of U.S. isolation in blocking the peace process,# #(6) and even such elementary facts as the official U.S. position and the record of diplomacy are rigidly excluded from the media and public discussion.# #(7) There is, then, little reason to anticipate a shift in U.S. rejectionism.#

46. #(1) This is, of course, not a certainty.# #(2) The tactical divide of 20 years ago still exists in elite circles, and might lead to internal pressures for the U.S. to join the world community on this matter.# #(3) If this radical policy shift takes place, hard problems quickly arise.#

47. #(1) More likely, in my view, is continued support for the position articulated in February 1989 by Yitzhak Rabin, the Defense Secretary, when he told a group of Peace Now leaders of his general satisfaction with the U.S.-PLO dialogue, low-level discussions without meaning that would divert attention while Israel used forceful means to crush the intifada.# #(2) The Palestinians "will be broken,"# #(3) Rabin promised his interlocutors,# #(4) and he may be right.# #(5) There is a limit to what flesh and blood can endure.# #(5) If so, then the U.S. and Israel can continue to assume, as they did 40 years ago, that the Palestinians will "turn into human dust and the waste of society," while Russian Jews, now effectively barred from the U.S. by legislation designed to deny them a free choice, flock to an expanded Israel with U.S. financial support, leaving the diplomatic issues moot.# #(6) With U.S. support, Israel had long blocked any opportunities for economic development in the occupied

territories.# #(7) Palestinians had been permitted to serve as virtual slave labour for the Israeli economy,# #(8) but those options are being sharply reduced. #(9) The curfew during the Gulf War administered a further blow to the remaining shreds of a Palestinian economy.# #(10) In the natural course of events, there will be only marginal opportunities for survival,# #(11) and "invisible transfer" of those who are able to leave may remove the remaining obstacles to a full Israeli takeover.#

48. #(1) There is every reason to expect the U.S. to persist in its traditional rejectionist stand, most recently elaborated in the 1989 Baker-Shamir-Peres plan, which bans an "additional Palestinian state" (Jordan already being one); bars any "change in the status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza other than in accordance with the basic guidelines of the [Israeli] government,"which preclude any meaningful Palestinian self-determination; rejects negotiations with the PLO, thus denying Palestinians the right to choose their own political representation; and calls for "free elections" under Israeli military rule with much of the Palestinian leadership in prison camps.# #(2) Palestinians, with representatives chosen for them in effect by Israel and the U.S. will be permitted to collect garbage in Nablus and set tax rates in Ramallah, and those who can, will leave.# #(3) The media and educated communities will then have the task of finding new pretexts for old policies, and extolling the high ideals and noble purposes of the U.S. government, which, unfortunately, could not be fully realized because of the intransigence of the Palestinians and the fears of the Israelis__ which we so easily understand, for they are human beings like us, not Third World degenerates.#

49. #(1) The political leaderships in Washington and London have created economic and social catastrophes at home, and have no idea how to deal with them, except to exploit their military power.# #(2) Following the advice of the business press, they may try to turn their countries into mercenary states, serving as the global mafia, selling "protection" to the rich, defending them against "third world threats" and demanding proper payment for the service.# #(3) Riches funnelled from the Gulf oil producers are to prop up the two failing economies.# #(4) The rest of the Third World will be controlled by economic pressures if possible, by force if necessary.#

50. #(1) There are some of the contours of the planned new world order that come into view as the beguiling rhetoric is lifted away.#

Text-2
"The Politics of Linkage: The Arab-Israeli Conflict in the Gulf War"

BY: Prof. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod

1. #(1) Had the Bush administration been less opposed to the Palestinian right to self-determination and more sensitive to the general body of opinion in the Arab world, it would have responded less defensively to Iraq's endeavour to play the "linkage" issue in the politics of the Gulf conflict.# #(2)Its adamant denial of either an objective or a subjective linkage between the Palestine/Israeli/Arab conflicts and that of the Gulf remained singular throughout the crisis and appeared unauthentic.# #(3) Even before the termination of the military conflict both President Bush and Secretary of State Baker saw fit to address themselves to the issues without admitting the linkage.# #(4) And as soon as Iraq was defeated, the Bush administration "resumed" what it has described as the "peace process" in the Middle East, affirming if not a linkage certainly an important connection between the two issues.#

2. #(1) Whereas the linkage issue was both advocated and denied, the precise understanding of what constituted linkage was not made clear by the protagonists.# #(2) It will be recalled that the term linkage emerged in the politics of the Cold War, and on various occasions referred to the strategic interest of a power in one region where it was anxious to resolve a particular conflict and thus was prepared to compromise in favour of its competitor in another region in which its own interests were not viewed as critical.# #(3) But linkage could emerge from more objective and substantive norms and interests.# #(4) The first notion of linkage would have called for a settlement of the Gulf conflict by an acceptance of the principle of Iraq' withdrawal form Kuwait -- a critical objective of American policy -- in return for an American commitment to bring about a settlement of the Palestine/ Israel/ Arab conflicts, presumably an important objective of Iraqis' foreign policy.# #(5) The Bush administration ridiculed Iraq's allegations that its invasion of Kuwait was in any way related to its commitment to the rights and interests of either the occupied Arab states or to the Palestinians.# #(6) The U.S. rejection of Iraqi's assertion, in that specific sense, was clearly based on Iraq's own public statements.# #(7) For it is now evident that Iraq justified its invasion and occupation of Kuwait on the basis of either historical claims, or territorial/economic issues.# #(8) But Iraq, especially after the occupation of Kuwait, referred to a connection between the two issues, but more often than not addressed the linkage in terms of the principles and norms of international relations and law.# #(9) As far as can be determined from the public record and other pronouncements, Iraq did not commit itself to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait if a settlement of the Palestine/Israeli/Arab conflict was achieved either through the initiative of the U.S. or that of the UN.# #(10) Both in the Arab world and elsewhere the linkage continued to be viewed as one stemming from historical/political factors or normative values.# #(11) I shall therefore address myself to the issue of linkage between the two conflicts as it played itself out in that part of the Arab world that did not endorse the American-inspired military solution to the Gulf conflict, and more particularly among the Palestinians.#

3. #(1) Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, produced two different reactions in the Arab world.# #(2) The first reaction, and the overarching policy that

logically followed from that reaction, questioned the legitimacy of Iraq's action on the grounds that all the Arab states have long adhered to and accepted the validity of the principle of self-determination of people and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the states of the region.# #(3) Although Iraq justified its invasion with historical claims relating to the administrative and political system of the region prior to its fragmenta- tion by European imperialism, the Arab states recognized the moral basis of the historical/ territorial claim without accepting its policy implication in the way Iraq did.#

4. #(1) There was no doubt in 1990, any more than there was in 1961 when Kuwait acquired its full sovereignty and independence, that Iraq and Kuwait, and of course much of the rest of the Arab world, constituted a different and more broadly-based geopolitical unit prior to the First World War.# #(2) The process of state formation that has characterized Arab political development from the nineteenth century on, and the intervention of European imperialism contributed significantly to the emergence of the contemporary state system.# #(3) Whether the "people" of the region accepted the legitimacy of the system as it emerged is immaterial to our present consideration.# #(4) The fact remains that the Arab state system emerged, and each Arab state acquired a particular territorial frontier, often drawn by the European powers -- in the case of Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia by Britain in 1922 --# #(5) and collectively gave rise to a territorially-based national identity.#

5. #(1) Two values were held simultaneously with the emergence of the state system.# #On the one hand the states collectively accepted their own national identity as Arab states (frequently mentioned in their constitutional documents), thus affirming a degree of cultural ethnic cohesion that could contribute to the achievement of a wider political system.# #(3) When the Arab states began to formalize their political kinship by organizing the League of Arab States they committed themselves to advance their coordination and cooperation, to respect each other's independence and sovereignty, and to settle their disputes, of whatever type, by peaceful means.# #(4) This collective Arab commitment, reflected by their adherence to the Charter of the Arab League, did not prevent any member from seeking closer association or unity with other members. #(5) It has been clearly understood that such bilateral or multilateral attempts at unification and integration are consistent with the broad principles of Arab cooperation and unification and meet an important national Arab aspiration;# #(6) successful achievement of such unification, however, must be based on the free will of such states.#

6. #(1) Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, irrespective of the historical, economic or territorial justification advanced by Iraq, in fact violated a principle long respected by the Arab state system.# #(2) It was viewed as violating the right of the state to its independence and sovereignty, but also was a violation of the right to self-determination of the people of Kuwait.# #(3) At the Arab summit conference held in Cairo on August 10 no member of the League of Arab States endorsed Iraq's military action.# #(4) Clearly what disagreement existed was occasioned by the resolution endorsing the use of the U.S. military to reverse Iraq's act.

7. #(1) Three major issues then appeared that suggested strong and evident linkage with the Palestine/Israel/Arab conflicts.# #(2) Those are self-determination, occupation of territory of another state and means of settlement of inter-state conflict.#

8. #(1) The collective Arab position on the need for acceptance of the principle

of self-determination, in this case the people of Kuwait, was clearly consistent with the historic drive of the Arab people in general and the Palestinian people in particular to exercise their self-determination.# #(2) The Palestinians' right to self-determination has been universally endorsed and voted upon by the United Nations but their exercise of that right has been violently negated by Israel;# #(3) needless to say the United States has consistently opposed the Palestinian right to self-determination.# #(4) When the Bush administration justified its impending military operations against Iraq on the basis of Kuwait's national right to self-determination it made the linkage evident.# #(5) But more importantly the reaction of the people of region was clear from the outset of the conflict.# #(6) The Arab states that cooperated with the U.S. in its military operations subordinated their assessment of the reality of the linkage to the need to dislodge Iraq's army.# #(7) But it should be evident that historically all the Arab states, those who cooperated with the U.S. and those who opposed the military operations, have consistently supported the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.# #(8) What became evident in the course of public discussion of the issue of linkage was the degree to which the U.S. and its European allies were motivated in their pursuits by their concern with the principle of self-determination.# #(9) For if the principle is valid in one case it must clearly be valid in all similar cases.# #(10) As the conflict unfolded it became clear that while the linkage issue was not openly productive of a change in American policy, the Bush administration began to pay some attention to Palestinian Arab assertions of equivalence.#

9. #(1) Irrespective of the validity of Iraq's historical/national claims on Kuwait, Iraq's military attack constituted both a violation of Kuwait's sovereignty and of both the provisions of the Charters of the Arab League and the United Nations.# #(2) The issue is clearly two-fold:# #(3) can a state, even on the basis of a territorial claim based on national identity, alter the status and acquire that territory by force?# #(4) The collective Arab response to the issue was clear:# #(5) the frontiers of the Arab states may not be changed by military means.# #(6) Status of states could be changed peacefully;# #(7) and as long it is accomplished voluntarily by the agreement of the states concerned, the Arab state system (and others) have been prepared to respect such changes.#

10. #(1) In the pursuit of Arab unity, both Egypt and Syria achieved a voluntary unification of their states in 1958.# #(2) The resulting United Arab Republic was accorded Arab and international recognition immediately.# #(3) More recently the Arab Republic of Yemen and the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen, again in an attempt to undo the effect of European imperialism and to realize their own national aspirations, agreed to merge their sovereignties and produced the new Republic of Yemen.# #(4) Again the new state received immediate recognition regionally and internationally.#

11. #(1) Clearly the differing reaction of the regional and international communities to the UAR, Yemen and Iraq's absorption of Kuwait related to the means and not to the idea or the aspiration for greater unification.# #(2) The Bush administration's rejection of Iraq's action which theoretically was premised on the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law was of course correct.# #(3) But regionally it gave rise to the question of why the U.S. had acquiesced in Israel's military invasion of Palestinian and other territories of the adjacent states, when in fact Israel has even less of a national/historical claim on those

territories than Iraq has advanced regarding Kuwait.# #(4) The linkage in the nature of the act is too clear to ignore.

12. #(1) The third issue that links the two conflicts is clearly the United Nations context of the resolution of the issue.# #(2) The U.S. assumed a crucial role in mobilizing the UN Security Council, not only to pass the appropriate resolutions condemning Iraq's act but also in imposing sanctions and eventually obtaining authorization to use military force to dislodge Iraq.# #(3) Of course the U.S. utilized all its leverage to obtain the appropriate resolutions enabling it to act and justifying the fierce military attack that followed.# #(4) But the UN and its Security Council have probably passed more resolutions and recommendations on the Palestine/ Israel/ Arab conflicts than on the Gulf crisis.# #(5) The UN has condemned Israel for its continued occupation and annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights and Jerusalem, and for violating Palestinian political and human rights.# #(6) Israel has been severely censored for its violation of the Geneva Convention and other human rights charters.# #(7) Whether the U.S. obstructed or supported the passage of such resolutions is not important for this issue;# #(8) what is important to note is that such resolutions have been passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council,# #(9) yet the situation on the ground has become worse as time has gone on.# #(10) Certainly the U.S. has not seen fit to use any means of pressure either to compel Israel to rescind its legislation of annexation of territory (the Golan Heights and Jerusalem) or to halt the colonization which is changing the demographic composition of the occupied Palestinian territories.# #(11) If occupation is illegal in both places, if invasions are condemned in both areas and if annexation violates both international law and UN resolutions then clearly those measures pursued with such alacrity in the Gulf War ought to be pursued in the Palestine/Israel and Arab conflicts.

13. #(1) The fourth principle of linkage, as advanced in the Arab region but most forcefully advanced by the Palestinians relates to the mode of settling the dispute in the Gulf.# #(2) Of course the Arab heads of state who attended the Arab summit conference in Cairo wished a settlement of the conflict.# #(3) But whereas a slim majority went along with the proposal to use force, the other Arab states and more particularly the PLO emphasized the need to settle the conflict peacefully through a process of negotiation.# #(4) This mode of settling inter-state conflicts is clearly consistent with the UN Charter and international law.# #(5) The peaceful settlement of international disputes is of immeasurable value.# #(6) The Palestinians have upheld that value and gave it open expression in the Declaration of Independence at Algiers in 1988, and then used that commitment to launch a major policy initiative that called for a negotiated political settlement of their conflict with Israel under international auspices.# #(7) A negotiated settlement of the Palestine/Israel/Arab conflicts has been an important policy objective of the U.S. for quite some time, which achieved partial success in the Camp David Accords.# #(8) Hence the Palestinian/Arab endeavour to demonstrate that the linkage between the two conflicts is not only related to values, norms of international politics and law and UN resolutions but subjectively to the mode of resolving international conflict.# #(9) If the Palestinians, the Arab states of Syria and Lebanon are prepared to resolve their conflict with Israel in a process of negotiation under international auspices why could the same goal not be pursued with regards to the Iraq-Kuwait conflict?# #(10) If negotiation and peaceful measures fail, should the international community utilize force in all similar situations to halt invasions,

occupation, annexation of territories and violation of human and political national rights?#

14. #(1) A cursory examination of statements that expressed the views of both the proponents and opponents of linkage between the Gulf crisis and Palestine/ Israel/ Arab conflicts would reveal that the issues discussed above constituted the "core" of the linkage issue.# #(2) Rarely did such statements reflect an understanding of historical links between Iraq and Palestine and of course the negative encounter between Israel and Iraq.# #(3) Probably it would be fair to suggest that those who opposed linking the two conflicts viewed Iraq's assertion as opportunistic behaviour intended to mobilize Arab opinion against the U.S. and/or to embarrass those Arab states that accepted American leadership in resolving the Gulf conflict.# #(4) The reverse is true.# #(5) The Arabs who called attention to the linkage wished of course to unmask the "real" intentions of the U.S.: far from being concerned with principles of self-determination, international law and enforcement of UN resolutions.# #(6) The U.S., in their perspective, intended variously to control the oil resources of the Arab region in its entirety, to cripple any potential Arab power that could be used to advance Arab welfare and so forth.# #(7) The fact that the U.S. had behaved in imperialist fashion toward Grenada and Panama and other parts of Central America demonstrated its true standards of international behaviour;# #(8) and closer to the region not only did the U.S. condone Israel's repeated violations, but also sustained it by various forms of economic and military assistance; it also endorsed the act of conquest by its ally the Shah of Iran when, in November 1971, his forces invaded and annexed three islands that had been part of the United Arab Emirates.#

15. #(1) The Arab view of American political and military behaviour is rooted in the historical encounter of the Arabs with the West in general and Israel in particular.# #(2) Israel is in Palestine and is engaged in the systematic violation of Palestinian rights, not only as a consequence of Britain's previous commitment and support but more importantly through the recent support of the U.S.# #(3) Iraq's position of support was clear even before Saddam Hussein became president:# #(4) it opposed the displacement of the Palestinians and sought peaceful ways of persuading Britain to accommodate both peoples in Palestine without committing an act of injustice against the Palestinians.# #(5) When the Palestinians engaged in the general strike of 1936 and in their major revolution in the Mandate period, Iraq's policy was to render direct support (financial and paramilitary) to the Palestinians and to use its diplomatic machinery and good offices with Britain to bring about a fair solution to the Palestinian Arab/Jewish conflict.# #(6) Iraq participated in the 1939 round table conference on Palestine in London,# #(7) and its views were helpful in the issuing of the White Paper on the future of Palestine.# #(8) Certainly Iraq was very supportive of the Palestinians in the first years of the UN.# #(9) After May 1948 some of its forces crossed the Palestinian/Jordanian frontier in a hopeless effort to prevent Israel from acquiring more territory than it did.# #(10) It is a matter of some significance to point out that despite the fact that the Iraqi army was in Palestine in 1949, withdrawing only in the context of international negotiations, Iraq is one of the Arab states that did not sign the armistice agreement with Israel.# #(11) It should be clear then that Iraq's support for the Palestinians is historically consistent and certainly did not originate with either the Ba'ath party or President Saddam Hussein.# #(12) After the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy in 1958, President Qasim called for the liberation of Palestine by inviting the

Palestinians to undertake the initiative in the process of liberation and committed Iraq to provide the necessary training and support.# #(13) That historic support was affirmed when the Ba'ath party consolidated its power in Iraq after 1968 and continued to play an active Arab role in promoting Palestinian rights.#

16. #(1) Iraq's historic support for the Palestinians, and opposition to Zionism/ Israel is clearly related to Arab nationalism as an idea, and to the Arab identity of both peoples.# #(2) The Palestinians not only affirm their own Arab identity but, equally importantly, consider Palestine to be part of the Arab national homeland.# #(3) Their view of Palestine as an Arab territory and Iraq's adherence to the principle of Arab unity produce a policy that clearly links the struggle for Palestinian liberation with other Arabs committed to the freedom and independence of the Arab world.# #(4) It is this historic, national link that makes Iraq an antagonist in the Palestine/Israel/Arab conflict.

17. #(1) Not only did Iraq play that active role in Palestine itself but additionally it tried to provide assistance to the Arab states when the latter were involved in conflicts with Israel in 1967 and 1973.# #(2) Parts of Iraq's army were dispatched to both Syria and Jordan during those two conflicts.#

18. #(1) Perhaps of equal significance (#(2) and this might have been an important factor in the eruption of the Gulf conflict#) was the political leadership role that Iraq played in the wake of the Camp David Accords of 1978.# #(3) It will be recalled that the peace treaty resulted essentially in removing Egypt from the Arab side of the Arab-Israeli conflict.# #(4) That removal meant that Egypt was no longer able to assume the hegemonic role in the Arab world;# #(5) on the contrary, it was even expelled from the Arab League.# #(6) Iraq's emergence to a position of modest leadership goes back to that period;# #(7) it was Iraq that coordinated Arab policies of isolating Egypt, of coordinating Arab policies on the resolution of the Palestine/Israel conflict and in providing the political support for opposition to American peace initiatives more supportive of Israel's interests.# #(8) It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that Iraq aspired to fill the vacuum that developed with Egypt's demise.# #(9) In that sense whatever Iraq did had an important reference to the Palestine/Israel/ Arab conflict.#

19. #(1) Our discussion of the linkage would be incomplete if we did not take into account Israel's perception of Iraq's identity, role and aspirations.# #(2) Of course Israel dealt with the monarchy of Iraq in its successful endeavour to persuade Iraqi Jews to migrate to Palestine.# #(3) Israel also encountered Iraq's army in the field, and as Iraq acquired greater regional power it confronted Israel indirectly through its Palestinian proxies.# #(4) Israel was fully conscious of Iraq's commitment to the Palestinians.# #(5) While Iraq acquired modern weapons and gained military experience in the course of its war with Iran, Israel had played a most important role, not only in supporting the Shah and providing the imperial army with weapons and other forms of support, but also in pursuing similar politics during the reign of Ayatollah Khomeini.# #(6) Israel's perception that Iraq constituted strategic danger to Israel was epitomized by Israel's destruction of Iraq's nuclear reactor in 1981 and in many of its public relations campaigns warning of Iraq's acquisition of modern weapons. #(7) There are no doubts in Israel's mind that Iraq was and perhaps remain a very important power in the Arab coalition against it.# #(8) Whether the squd missiles launched against Israel confirmed Israel's perception or not is immaterial.# #(9) But the constant allusions to the potential Iraqi threat to Israel suggest that Israel

prepared itself for the mutually antagonistic roles of both, stemming from the Palestine/ Israel/Arab conflict.#

20. #(1) In the aftermath of the Gulf War, the question of whether Iraq will recover its territorial integrity and what role it will play, as a consequence, cannot yet be assessed.# #(2) But there seems to be no doubt that the U.S. has concluded that Iraq's power is no longer a factor in the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.# #(3) The ability of the U. S. to exercise unchallenged and immediate political hegemony throughout the Arab world is no longer in doubt.# #(4) It is clear that the U. S. is now more ready to acknowledge the linkage between the Gulf crisis and the Arab-Israeli conflict.# #(5) President Bush stated in his fall 1990 address to the U. N. and his subsequent speech to Congress that the Arabs and Israel will find it easier to deal with their conflict after Iraq's eviction from Kuwait and that there should be a settlement of the Palestinian issue.# #(6) Secretary of State Baker was equally clear in his Congressional testimony on the connection between President Hussein's appeal to the Arabs and the chronic Arab-Israeli conflict, and thus the imperative of resolving that conflict.# #(7) What becomes evident now that the Gulf War is over is that the antagonists clearly understood that the linkage exists,# #(8) they differed on how to deal with it.# #(9) Those Arabs who were sympathetic to the idea of linkage hoped for an outcome consistent with universally accepted principles of self-determination, equality of states, respect for international law and enforcement of UN resolutions.# #(10) For the U.S. linkage may mean a freer hand in resolving the Palestine/Israel/Arab conflict in accordance with a design more supportive of Israel and detrimental to the Palestinians.# #(11) The initiative undertaken by Secretary of States Baker so soon after Iraq's defeat not only confirms the existence of linkage but also assures that any solution to this bitter conflict will have to be approved by the U.S., in their position as the unchallenged hegemonic power in the region.#

Text-3
"War of Imagination"

BY: Prof. Mary Kaldor

1. #(1) How did we get into this war?# #(2) It is only a year since the cold war ended.# #(3) This time, last year, most of us believed that we were on the threshold of a new era of peace and cooperation in international affairs.# #(4) How was that mood of optimistic euphoria so rapidly smashed?# #(5) How is it that the United States' (and British) military machine - more American troops and weapons than in Europe at the height of the cold war - is pounding away, day after day, at a low-tech Third World enemy?#

2. #(1) Of course, it was a great achievement that the United Nations reacted so promptly to the invasion of Kuwait by a dictator capable of almost infinite nastiness.# #(2) Compared with all those other invasions - China in Tibet, Indonesia in East Timor, Israel in the Lebanon, etc- it was heartwarming to witness the way in which the world community was taking a stand against an act of gross injustice and imposing unprecedented economic sanctions.# #(3) So what went wrong?# #(4) How did this global cooperation degenerate into a war led by the United States and Britain?# #(5) How did the United Nations get hijacked into becoming an institution for war-making?# (6) How is it possible that what will prove to be an act of technological genocide has been carried out in the name of international law?#

3. #(1) Some would argue that the answer is the Western interest in oil, that the United States and Britain cynically exploited moral abhorrence at Saddam Hussein's behaviour.# #(2) After all, Western countries had earlier supported Iraq in the war with Iran, even though it was started by an illegal Iraqi act of aggression.# #(3) Douglas Hurd, writing in *The Guardian* (January 24,1991) cheerfully admits the interest in oil.# #(4) After occupying Kuwait,#(5) he argues,# Iraq controls *18%* of the world's oil reserves.# #(6) And if it were to invade Saudi Arabia, it would control 44% of the world's oil reserves.# #(7) But, in that case, would it not have been enough to defend Saudi Arabia and maintain the pressure on Saddam Hussein through sanctions?# #(8) Surely, this war is doing greater damage to global oil supplies than a hard currency starved Iraq would have done?#

4. #(1) A more plausible explanation has to do with the end of the cold war.# #(2) This war has to be explained in terms of the collapse of the old order - not simply in the sense that the United States was left as the only superpower, but in the more profound sense that the collapse of the old order has far-reaching consequences for American society and politics, that this war is a defensive reaction to the deep disturbance caused by the end of the cold war.# #(3) To develop this explanation and to assess the consequences of the war, it is necessary to understand how the world order was organised up to 1989.#

5. #(1) **The cold war was a way of organising global** relations.# #(2) The orthodox construction of the cold war, shared by both Left and Right, is that it was a deep-rooted conflict between East and West.# #(3) It was the threat of military power, deterrence, that prevented war from breaking out.# #(4) Left and Right differed only on the nature of this conflict.# #(5) For the Right, this was a conflict between freedom and totalitarianism.# #(6) For the Left, this was a conflict between capitalism and

socialism.# #(7) Alternatively, for both Left and Right, this was a form of great power rivalry. #(8) There is another way of understanding the cold war, not as a conflict but as a kind of collusion, although the term 'collusion' perhaps implies too much conscious purpose.# #(9) There were two distinct systems in East and West: the Fordist variant of capitalism, and the stalinist or post-stalinist variant of socialism.# #(10) But they were not in conflict.# #(11) They needed each other,# #(12) they complemented each other,# #(13) they were bound together in a joint world order that defined the period 1948-1989.#

6. #(1) The military confrontation which represented this world order has to be viewed not as deterrence but as imaginary war.# #(2) It was not that both sides were preparing for some future war to deter the other side.# #(3) Rather, both sides were conducting a war in the imagination.# #(4) Day after day, in military exercises, scenarios, games of espionage and hostile rhetoric, both sides behaved as though the second world war had never ended.# #(5) And this had profound consequences for the functioning of each system.# #(6) The second world war had solved certain intractable economic and social problems.# #(7) The imaginary war, at least for the first 20 years after the war, reproduced the solutions of the second world war.# #(8) It created a wartime atmosphere which could be used to manage the economy and to generate social cohesion.#

7. #(1) For the West, the imaginary war could be said to have defined the era of Fordist capitalism.# #(2) It could be described as the Fordist method of international political regulation.# #(3) This is not to say that it was the consequence of the rise of Fordism (ie, the changes that were taking place during the first half of the 20th century in capitalist methods of production).# #(4) Rather, it was a way of coping with some of the contradictions thrown up by the rise of Fordism.# #(5) It came about not for economic reasons but as a consequence of complex political processes.# #(6) Many of the characteristics of the postwar period which we associate with Fordism, for example, high levels of military spending or private consumption, could just as well be explained in terms of the political institutions which shaped the Fordist era.#

8. #(1) The second world war had solved the problems of the 1930s depression.# #(2) It resulted in a massive increase in government spending both in the United States and in Europe and it created a bipartisan consensus, a sense of political solidarity both domestically and among allies, in the pursuit of shared war aims.# #(3) Immediately after the war, the United States moved politically to the right# #(4) and Europe moved dramatically to the left -# #(5) the prewar establishments had been discredited by appeasement and collaboration.# #(6) Postwar elections resulted in left governments or left-leaning coalitions in all European countries.# #(7) The United States cut back on government spending and on financial support to its former allies, despite the fact that the allies were economically devastated and desperate for dollars both because of fiscal conservatism and the leftist nature of the new European governments.#

9. #(1) The cold war was a way of recreating a bipartisan consensus and a sense of allied solidarity, at least between America and Britain.# #(2) The New Dealers in the United States were able to mobilise support for big government by emphasising the Soviet threat.# #(3) The Social Democrat and Labour Parties of western Europe were able to establish their respectability by emphasising their distance from the communists.# #(4) And this new-found cohesion between governments in the United

States and western Europe provided a political framework for the regulation of the international economy (including its financial, trade, and technological aspects) and the spread of Fordism, as well as a method whereby the US was persuaded to spend its surplus dollars.#

10. #(1) I do not want to suggest that Stalin had nothing to do with the origins of the cold war.# #(2) On the contrary, the occupation of eastern Europe and the brutal behaviour of the Red Army was a vital ingredient.# #(3) It is unlikely that the West could have done anything, at that stage, to prevent the communist takeovers in the late-1940s.# #(4) Agreement on Germany and the provision of Marshall Aid without strings might have led to a different outcome.# #(5) However, the division of Germany, the decision to create a West German state, and the establishment of Nato provided a legitimation for the Soviet role in eastern Europe - and vice versa.#

11. #(1) The height of the cold war was also the period which has come to be known as the golden age of capitalism.# #(2) Detente and the new cold war in the 1970s and the 1980s can be viewed as different ways of reacting to the end of the golden age, the faltering of the Fordist formula for capitalist expansion, and the emergence of new policies of capitalist accumulation in West Germany and Japan, based on new post-Fordist technologies.#

12. #(1) Vietnam was the turning point.# #(2) It is no accident that 1971 was the year of the first US trade deficit, the year that the US devalued the dollar and abandoned the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates, and also the year that Nixon and Kissinger went to Moscow and initiated detente.# #(3) Vietnam was a real war# #(4) and real wars are much more unpredictable than imaginary wars.# #(5) Vietnam polarised political opinion instead of recreating social cohesion.# #(6) Vietnam was expensive;# #(7) whereas, at the time of Korea, there was a dollar shortage,# #(8) and increased spending by the United States merely stimulated the American economy,#(9) at the time of Vietnam, increased spending led to inflation and a trade deficit.

13. #(1) From the 1970s onwards, the cold war increasingly became an obstacle to economic and political stability.# #(2) The Atlanticist compromise was challenged from the Left by the new social movements which emerged in the aftermath of Vietnam.# #(3) And it was criticised on the Right by neo-liberals who favoured a more liberal form of capitalism.# #(4) American military spending no longer facilitated the expansion of the world economy;#(5) instead it became an obstacle to financial regulation.# #(6) Because military spending absorbed scientific and technological resources, it contributed to the decline in the competitiveness of American products and, hence, a decline in the US ability to manage the world economy.# #(7) Essentially, the cold war preserved American power structures and so prevented the emergence of a new set of political institutions which could regulate the post-Fordist global economy, and which could manage and respond to the dramatic changes in the balance of the world economy as a result of the introduction of new methods of production, especially in Japan and Western Europe, based on the intensive use of information technologies.#

14. #(1) **The imaginary war consisted of a real** military confrontation, with real soldiers, real weapons and using real resources.# #(2) The strategies, and the weapons designed for them, that were acted out on the north German plains bore a marked resemblance to the actual experience of the second world war.# #(3) Civil technology changes continuously in response to changing needs as signalled in the

market place.# #(4) Military technology changes dramatically in wartime, in response to experience on the battlefield.# #(5) In peacetime military technology tends towards inertia.# #(6) New inventions are applied only in so far as they fit existing missions and strategies determined in previous wars.#

15. #(1) The second world war was a Fordist war.# #(2) A combination of mass production and the internal combustion engine was responsible for the Allied victory.# #(3) It was the ability of the United States and the Soviet Union to outproduce Germany that was critical.# #(4) The monthly aircraft production of Ford's Willow Run Factory was half the peak monthly output of the entire German airframe industry.# #(5) The war was characterised by mobile offensive operations.# #(6) The invention of the tank and the aircraft broke through the defensive stalemate that had characterised the first world war.#

16. #The Korean war was very similar.# #(2) In the imaginary war in Europe, both sides re-enacted the style and missions of the second world war.# #(3) If there were asymmetries on both sides, this is to be explained in terms of the differences on the Western and Eastern fronts.# #(4) It is as though they were not fighting each other but some phantom German army.# #(5) This is particularly evident in relation to nuclear weapons.# #(6) For the US and Britain, nuclear weapons were imagined as terror weapons, as an extension of strategic bombing missions.# #(7) Intercontinental missiles were viewed as pilotless bombers.# #(8) The Russians had undertaken little bombing during the war.# #(9) (Indeed they viewed strategic bombing as barbarous).# #(10) For them, nuclear weapons were regarded as an extension of artillery, which had been so crucial in the second world war.#

17. #(1) The wars in Vietnam and the Middle East introduced a new dimension into strategic calculation.# #(2) There had been an enormous increase in the accuracy and destructiveness of all munitions, owing to the introduction of information technologies.# #(3) Attrition rates for tanks and aircraft increased greatly, sparking off a debate about the implications of the new technologies.# #(4) One school of thought argued that mobile, offensive operations were no longer possible and# #(5) future wars would be more like the first world war than the second.# #(6) The best that could be achieved in western Europe was a dispersed defensive strategy which would bog down an offensive, in case of war, and so give time for negotiation.# #(7) These ideas were taken up by the peace movement in the early-1980s as an alternative to reliance on nuclear weapons.# #(8) And they also formed the basis for Gorbachev's concept of 'reasonable sufficiency' and for the way in which the negotiations on conventional force reductions in Europe were conducted.#

18. #(1) The other school of thought argued that offensive operations remained important and that military technology had to be designed to protect offensive missions and to swamp the defensive with area destruction munitions.# #(2) Concepts like Emerging Technology, AirLand Battle, or Deep Strike, involved more complex aircraft with all sorts of electronic counter-measures for protection, the use of various kinds of surface-to-surface and air-to-surface missiles, and a mixture of nuclear, chemical and conventional munitions.# #(3) Some of the conventional munitions are said to be equivalent in immediate destructiveness to nuclear weapons.#

19. #(1) The choice between these two schools of thought could not be based on rational calculations, since these two different approaches could not be tried out in war.# #(2) In practice, the choice was made on subjective grounds, reflecting the

institutional preferences of military planners.# #(3) Therefore, it was the offensive school which won the procurement battle,# #(4) and it is these new offensive technologies which are being used in the Gulf war.# #(5) These technologies could be said to be neo-Fordist - that is they make use of information technologies but within a framework determined in the Fordist era.#

20. #(1) **If we understand the cold war as imaginary** war, a situation in which the Fordist variant of capitalism needed the stalinist variant of socialism, in which the two systems were propped up by a never-ending pretend confrontation, then the collapse of communism was bound to lead to a dramatic reaction in the West.# #(2) The Gulf war could be described as the struggle for control of the post-cold war world order - a bid to retain American leadership, to establish a form of political regulation of the post-Fordist world economy that retains the Fordist political institutions.#

21. #(1) Long before the Gulf crisis, American British and French ministries of defence were warning about the new threat from the South - the increase in missiles and chemical weapons, the danger of fanatics, fundamentalists drug traffickers and so forth.# #(2) In a remarkable speech, pulsating with mixed metaphors, given at Chatham House in June 1990, George Walden, the Conservative MP, captured the revolutionary impact of the collapse of communism on our institutions.# #(3) Walden talked about the way in which Britain's role had been artificially inflated by the cold war:# #(4) 'What could be better calculated to raise the national spirits than a government holding the flag high in the face of the evils of communism, the murderous follies of buffoonish Argentinean generals, and the intrigues of the perfidious French?'#

22. #(1) 'And now it is gone,# #(2) all gone... # #(3) the communists have thrown in the sponge and left us bouncing around in the ring looking for an opponent.# #(4) With the exception of the Middle East,... Third World heat spots are cooling fast.'#

23. #(1) 'The question naturally arises,# #(2) what is British defence and diplomacy for now?'# #(3) In any other sphere of life, when the demand for your product collapses for reasons entirely beyond your control, you don't try to drum up new custom, you wind the business down and go into something more profitable.'#

24. #(1) 'But there is a disturbing feeling about that something irreversible may be happening in the world and it is not to Britain's advantage.# #(2) Simply put, the fear is that... Britain's long day in the international sun may be waning; that we shall be forced to spend less time basking on summit slopes and more time digging the national allotment.# #(3) With the passing of the cold war and the rise of a new Europe, a sense of hope is coupled, in the case of Britain, with a palpable sense of loss.'#

25. #(1) If this is how the British were feeling, how much more palpable must have been the sense of loss in the United States, how much more disturbing the feeling that something irreversible was taking place.# #(2) So many lives, careers, and worldviews had been vested in the cold war.# #(3) The soul-searching that went on in the security community, in the think tanks and universities throughout the United States in 1990 gives some hint of that 'sense of loss'.#

26. #(1) The Gulf war can be viewed as an attempt to reverse the irreversible.# #(2) Just at the moment when the establishment figures on both sides of the Atlantic were talking about substantial cuts in military spending, when the role of the hawkish political leaders was being eclipsed, when the United States seemed to be floating away

from its international role, and new self-confident Europe seemed to be on the verge of creation, Iraq invaded Kuwait.# #(3) And the cold war procedures, routines and language sprang back into action.# #(4) American troops were deployed more or less according to a plan, Operation 90-1002, developed in the early-1980s to contain a southward thrust by the Soviet Union.# #(5) Bush droned on about good and evil, right and wrong, Hitler, Munich, appeasement, using all the same phrases that most of us thought we had heard for the last time, after the revolutions of 1989.# #(6) European unity disintegrated;# #(7) the British-American special relationship was revived,# #(8) the UN went along with US actions,# #(9) and the Gulf war looked set to become the defining moment of the post-cold war order.#

27. #(1) Empires in decline are often dangerous.# #(2) Domestic power structures are sustained by the imperial role.# #(3) Paul Kennedy's *The Rise And Fall Of Empires* struck a sensitive chord in the American body politic.# #(4) Can the Gulf war establish a new international framework, dominated by the US, which would serve as a mechanism for international political regulation in a post-Fordist era?# #(5) Certainly, it is possible to envisage such an outcome.# #(6) There is something eerie about this war.# #(7) It has been presented as remote and 'surgical' - a technological war of such precision that only military targets are hit# #(8) and all we experience is a TV screen demonstrating the spectacular nature of the equipment, and the helplessness of Third World enemies.#

28. #(1) If Saddam Hussein is easily defeated, if the show is a success, and the war does not lose its current popular appeal, then it is possible that the United States, Britain, Israel and Saudi Arabia will establish a permanent military presence in the Gulf.# #(2) Already the Pentagon is drawing up plans for long-term containment, including the construction of training and recreational facilities for thousands of troops.# #(3) Douglas Hurd has proposed the establishment of a Gulf Co-operation Council, with Western support, to contain Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism.#

29. #(1) The costs of a permanent military presence would be paid by Germany, Japan and oil-rich Arab allies, thus siphoning off excess savings to finance the permanent, long-term external deficits which are likely to be experienced by the US and Britain.# #(2) It will be a neo-Fordist world in which the priorities of the Fordist era will determine the way in which new information technologies are utilised - a world in which the priorities are military spending and private consumption, and which is energy and transport-intensive.# #(3) It will be a stagnating world in which the costs of military adventures and private consumption bear most heavily on people in the Third World via high interest rates, high oil prices and the foregone peace dividend.# #(4) And it will be an exclusivist world in which the rich countries insulate themselves from the pressure of migration, and the threat of terrorism.#

30. #(1) The rich countries will consolidate around the banner of democracy against Saddam Hussein-type enemies in the Middle East, the Third world, and even perhaps in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.# #(2) Saddam Hussein may be defeated and even killed but the Saddam phenomenon will survive and may even be nurtured by the war.# #(3) This is the phenomenon of fanaticism, fundamentalism, brutality and barbarism - a phenomenon which is a consequence of poverty, frustration and impotence in the face of dwindling resources and the destruction of traditional cultures, together with the readiness of the West to sell weapons and technology either for profit or for short-term geo-political interest.# #(4) It is possible to envisage a new

imaginary war between North and South, neo-Fordism and fundamentalism, modernity and monstrosity.# #(5) These two distinct systems will feed upon each other through an ongoing confrontation acted out in the Middle East.#

31. #(1) **However, it could be that the Gulf war** turns out to be more like Vietnam than Korea.# #(2) It may be the last gasp of American imperialism in the face of decline.# #(3) The Gulf war could instead mark the beginning of a kind of Western perestroika.# #(4) First of all, it is very difficult to see how a renewed American hegemony can be sustained economically.# #(5) This war is very expensive.# #(6) United States military costs are estimated at $60 billion so far,# #(7) and UK military cost amount to some £90m, almost the same as the entire 1990/1 defence budget.# #(8) It is the most costly spectacle on earth and it cannot be repeated again this century.# #(6) Well over half the costs are being defrayed by Germany, Japan and the Gulf states.# #(10) How long will these countries tolerate American deficits which would imply an intensifying global recession and an increased burden on eastern Europe and the Third World?#

32. #(1) Secondly, it may be difficult to sustain American hegemony politically, both for inter national and domestic reasons.# #(1) Western Europe and Japan may find it politically difficult to finance and support Anglo-American interventionism in the future.# #(3) There has been reluctance in western Europe, up to now, ta support the Anglo-American position in the Gulf.# #(4) This has prompted taunts from the British and American press about the unwillingness of European countries to shoulder their responsibilities.# #(5) Indeed, in Britain, the short-lived post-Thatcher pro-Europeanism has been dissipated in a wave of Atlanticism and jingoism -# #(6) talk of political union now seems to be off the agenda.# #(7) But in other west European countries a different conclusion is being drawn, namely that European political union, perhaps excluding Britain, is all the more important so as to provide a check on American behaviour, to avoid a unipolar world. #(8) In particular, in Spain, Italy and also Germany, there is much discussion about a Mediterranean CSCE (Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, better known as the Helsinki process) a long-term institutionalised process of dialogue and negotiation about all the problems of the region which is seen as an alternative to Hurd' Gulf Co-operation Council.#

33. #(1) The behaviour of states depends on domestic political processes.# #(2) The success of the cold war formula had every thing to do with the way in which, at least in the West, it commanded a broad bipartisan political consensus and incorporated the dominant parties of the Left.# #(3) A North-South cold war formula is unlikely to command the same kind of broad domestic support, even though for the time being, the parties of the Left are supporting the war, at least in the United States and Western Europe.# #(4) The new social movements of the 1970s and the 1980s emerged outside the formal party structures precisely because of the way in which the parties of the Left, which should have articulated new emancipatory concerns, were caught up in the compromises of the 1940s.# #(5) Yet these movements undoubtedly have had a profound influence on Western political culture, especially in Germany and southern Europe where cold war attitudes are less deeply embedded and political processes have been more decentralised.#

34. #(1) If and when the true extent of human, ecological and political costs of this war become public, the concerns of the new movements especially about peace, the environment, Third World poverty, gender and democracy, may well recapture the

political agenda.# #(2) The fact that we have bombed Iraq, a rather small Third World country, back into the 19th century or even earlier; the likelihood of continuing violence in the Middle East; the probable Lebanisation of Iraq and Kuwait; the increasing difficulty in finding a solution to the Palestinian problem; the increased threat of terrorism; the erosion of democracy - all these issues will stimulate opposition to a long-term North-South confrontation.#

35. #(1) Political transitions are always ways chaotic.# #(2) They are periods of political experimentation.# #(3) The old order has collapsed.# #(4) New ways of organising global relations are tried out.# #(5) It is rather like competition in the market place,# #(6) only the costs of failure are very much higher, involving violence and anarchy.# #(7) The Soviet Union is disintegrating.# #(8) The US is in decline.# #(9) A European political union is perhaps in the making# #(10) but it is doubtful whether a European political union would act as a superpower -# #(11) the task of coordinating military efforts, of 'speaking with a single voice', may not even be worth attempting.# #(12) A new *Pax Europa* or even *Pax Japanica is* difficult to envisage for all sorts of historical and geopolitical reasons.#

36. #(1) It may be that, in this interdependent world, the very notion of great powers, in the traditional sense, cannot work.# #(2) In the postwar period, international institutions have, after all, played a much greater role than previously, albeit dominated by the United States, and, to a lesser extent, the Soviet Union.# #(3) It is difficult to see how any of the dramatic problems of the modern world thrown up by the exhaustion of Fordism - can be solved unless there is some sort of cooperation among major and lesser powers and some sort of political involvement of those groups and movements that articulate concern about these global problems.# #(4) Unless this happens, if deep discontent is marginalised and excluded, if there is no access global power structures, then the future looks bleak.#

37. #(1) But it will be very difficult to construct a new post-Fordist (as opposed to neo-Fordist) global order that has some chance of stability.# #(2) It will necessitate a reform of political structure especially international institutions like the United Nations or the IMF.# #(3) And this is unlikely to happen unless there is a European political union and unless Europe and Japan play a more autonomous international role.# #(4) It will necessitate a fundamental self-questioning and transformation of the dominant parties of the Left and a rearrangement of the domestic political spectrum.#

38. #(1) For the next few years at least, the real messy world is likely to be unpredictable.# #(2) Or rather, the most that one can predict is that the 1990s will be a period of yet more bumps and twists, swerves and U-turns, and unexpected developments.# #(3) Whether and how we can emerge from these turbulent times, depends on the kind of political debates, actions choices and alliances that are worked out during this period in the Unite States, Japan, the Middle East and especially here in Europe.#

Text-4
"Nations in The Thaw"

BY: Neal Ascherson

1. #(1) Before venturing to describe the new world order, or disorder, we have to clarify our sense of what the order was like, and to value it.# #(2) Essentially, we are talking about the cold war period, so brilliantly analyzed by Mary Kaldor under the rubric of 'imaginary war',# #(3) and as far as Europe and relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are concerned, I have little to add.# #(4) But how should we evaluate the cold war's impact on the world outside Europe and North America - on the world which emerged from the second world war still largely in the condition of colonialism?# #(5) Speaking the other day to the Catholic Institute for International Relations, Noam Chomsky argued that the impact was entirely negative:# #(6) 'the cold war was a war primarily conducted against the Third World'.# #(7) This seems to me to beg a hundred questions.# #(8) For, if that departed order can be allowed any saving graces, it was in that area that they might be found.# #(9) During the cold war, and to a great extent because of it, the colonial world achieved political independence.#

2. #(1) War and cold war had some progressive effects within the colonial empires.# #(2) At the economic level, prices of strategic raw materials soared and led to a rise in cash earnings:# #(3) in Africa and Asia, large numbers of people acquired a certain purchasing power and savings.# #(4) As these prices fluctuated, for example after the end of the Korean war boom, there was widespread unrest - often in resistance to well-meant price stabilisation funds set up by the colonial power -# #(5) and out of this unrest arose movements which were to become nationalist parties and national liberation struggles.# #(6) Secondly, the zone of tension between the Soviet Union and the West allowed national liberation movements to play one side off against the other:# #(7) on the one hand, fear of 'communism' induced some colonial powers to make political concessions,# #(8) while on the other the Soviet Union often provided political support, arms and training to these movements.# #(9) Frelimo in Mozambique is one example of a movement which owes its success to cold war tensions.#

3. #(1) But the old order has certainly collapsed.# #(2) A bipolar world has become, through the implosion of the Soviet Union, a monopolar one.# #(3) Nobody expected this:# #(4) we can all remember the period of China-mania in the United States in the 1970s, and the anticipation of a 'tripolar world'.# #(5) What became of that?# #(6) The general expectation was, though, that bipolarism would endure but soften its nature.# #(7) The whole Helsinki framework was established on the assumption that the West and the Soviet Union would retain their spheres of influence, especially in Europe, but that the application of their hegemonies would become milder and more tolerant, and that a series of negotiations and security agreements would steadily remove the possibility of East-West conflict.# #(8) However, the cold war ended quite differently and unexpectedly, as one superpower withdrew from the contest and resigned its control over its zone of Europe.# #(9) The United States is left as the only global superpower, in effect.#

4. #(1) **What does the war against Iraq tell us** about how the United States will exercise this unexpected freedom of action in the world?# #(2) I think, by the way, that we can dismiss the idea of a new, competing superpower in the shape of the

European Community of the future.# #(3) As a huge block of population and economic strength, the Community will be formidable.# #(4) Politically, however, I would foresee a 'Germanisation' of the EC, in the sense that the present German wish to avoid active external commitments and to concentrate on internal development will become the passive, defensive ethic of a Community which will attempt to build walls between itself and the turbulence of the outside world.#

5. #(1) One view of the quality of a monopolar world, based on the Gulf crisis, would be optimistic.# #(2) For the first time, the United Nations would be able to operate effectively as the guarantor of a law-bound international order, with the United States acting as its enforcement arm against aggressors.# #(3) A new world order, indeed.# #(4) A less hopeful view is that the United States will now be able to use force, if necessary, to apply its national interests throughout the world without fear of challenge, and to tow the United Nations obediently behind it.# #(5) Backyards, incidentally, remain backyards.# #(6) Few can seriously suppose that removal of the Soviet 'threat' in Latin America will lead to a fundamental revision of American policy and behaviour in that part of the world, whatever slogans will now be used to justify armed interventions and de-stabilisation.# #(7) The feebleness of American reaction to the terrible events in the Baltic republics, moreover, relates as much to an unspoken compact about backyards as to concern to retain Soviet support for the anti-Saddam coalition.#

6. #(1) But of course, this 'new order' may not be monopolar at all.# #(2) There are new analyses - German and American- which suggest that we are now leaving such a world, not entering it: that the cold war, falsely represented as a balance of terror between two superpowers, was in reality the period of almost challenged American global dominations.# #(3) The United States, in economic decline, will now retire into isolation leaving an increasingly chaotic 'world disorder' to its own devices.# #(4) If this hypothesis is true then the enormous international coalition against Iraq, under American leadership, is the end of a epoch not the beginning of a new one.#

7. #(1) In one view, the 'imaginary war' must continue, substituting new adversaries for the cold war enemy# #(2) and in this sense the Gulf war would be compared to the Korean war - as the conflict which defines the new world order.# #(3) But the cold war's neat polarities can hardly be carried on:# #(4) it takes two to make a war, hot or cold.# #(5) The 1980s suggested that new scarecrow-targets were being constructed to take the place of the Soviet Union.# #(6) 'Fundamentalism', Islamic and otherwise, has been one of these.# #(7) A more likely and lasting target, however, will be a demonised view of nationalism.# #(8) If it is true, as I believe, that nationalism in its variety of forms remains the main political dynamic of the human race, then it is disconcerting that we hear little but wholesale condemnation of it.# #(8) Nationalism was, is and will be: it is, as Tom Nairn put it, the Janus-face looking at once forward to liberation and progress and backward to reactionary and often mythical notions of the past;# #(9) it is a force which should never be identified with the nation-state, a concept which nationalism has for a time inhabited, as a hermit crab inhabits a shell, but is evidently beginning to evacuate as the sovereign nation-state shows clear sign of obsolescence. #(10) How is it possible that the distinction between nation and state still escapes intelligent people on the British Left?# (11) To hear Scotland, for example, referred to as 'England' is a venerable howler which does at least represent the unequal nature of a relationship.# #(12) But there is no excuse for those who confuse 'England'

(nation) with 'Britain' (the multi-national state).#

8. #(1) **In the new world order, it may well be that** nationalism functions as the opposition to that order, the main source of resistance and challenge to large and more or less integrated blocks of power.# #(2) Masked by the cold war, it has in practice fulfilled that function for a long time.# #(3) But the matter is more complicated.# #(4) There is a sense in which the existence of nationalism, or more accurately, of old-fashioned nation-states on the periphery, can be convenient to hegemonic power-blocs.#

9. #(1) The 'Bantustan effect' is a system by which a developed and dominating core area surrounds itself by poor and backward 'sovereign' states.# #(2) They are used as reserves of migrant labour and raw materials, to which the developed centre can export its unemployment when necessary:# #(3) the importance of sovereignty is that a Bantustan carries political responsibility for handling the consequences of economic down turn while the developed centre carries little or none.# #(4) In South Africa, the satellite states had to be created.# #(5) In the European Community, during the years of the 1960s and 1970s they already existed in the Balkans and elsewhere, as they exist for the States in Latin America.#

10. #(1) In other words, the West has an interest in the maintenance of nationalism but only in its most backward form: the sovereign nation-state, so long as it is powerless, dependent and relatively small.# #(2) The engine of these systems is the 'labour pump', the device which South Africans used to call 'influx control', which ensures that migrant labour circulates and can be pumped back to its Bantustan when no longer required.#

11. #(1) But the pump leaks.# #(2) Germany, hoped to keep all its immigrant force as contract labour, has acquired a huge Turkish settled population.# #(3) The same has happened in the white urban areas of South Africa, and in many regions of the United States.# #(4) The project of exporting social responsibility frontiers is rapidly breaking down# #(5) and immigration from the Third World, from eastern Europe and possibly the Soviet Union will be the major phenomenon of the next quarter-century and a central problem for any new order.#

12. #(1) In the longer term no effective barriers can be devised.# #(2) Tighter immigration controls, visa restrictions, a shrinking of the right of asylum, cannot do more than reduce the rate of immigration.# #(3) The idea that immigration discouraged by investment programmes paid for by the West and intended to make poor countries staying in cannot possibly work, given the inconceivable sums of money would be required, except - may be- in eastern Europe.# #(4) Meanwhile, the attractions of North America and western Europe as a destination will increase.# #(5) The price of a ticket, not by purchase, but as part of some loan struck with small charter airlines or labour contractors, is beginning to be accessible to millions of small peasants or urban workers in Asia and Africa.#

13. #(1) As this inflow increases- a population movement which can only be compared to the millennial westward movement of peoples into Europe which ended with the defeat of the Mongols - a final answer will be given to our absorbing little debate about European identity.# #(2) The nation will certainly survive longer, as an enduring but Protean idea.# #(3) But to visualise the nation stripped both of is territorial significance and of its ethnic assumptions is to ask too much of the imagination.# #(4) We will have to wait and see.

Text-5
"The Mirror of Unreason"

BY: Kevin Robins

1. #(1) It is just two years since Francis Fukuyama announced the triumph of the Western idea.# #(2) With the total exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives, he told us, the ascendancy of western modernity and its universal culture was unchallenged and unchallengeable.# #(3) With the war now raging in the Middle East we might feel tempted to question such certainty.# #(5) Not Fukuyama.#

2. #(1) For him, the Gulf war is no more than the challenge of a criminal to society.# #(2) 'We inhabitants of the post-historical world',#(3) he trumpets#, 'will have to keep in mind that the truly fundamental transformations in world politics are not going on in a desolate Middle Eastern desert, but back in *cette vielle Europe* which was the cradle of the idea of human freedom'.#

3. #(1) This is more than just crass.# #(2) Fukuyama's confidence in the superiority, and the supremacy, of western modernity should be seen as dangerously blind and arrogant.# #(3) Of course, we can see Saddam as a gangster and a bully, the 'violent boy from Al-Ouja'.# #(4) Popular psychological accounts in the press tell of a child who was beaten by his step-father and who turned into a self-important, paranoid and sadistic adult.#

4. #(1) On a more epic scale, we can imagine how this emotionally crippled child mutated into a second Hitler.# #(2) His evil and bestial nature stands directly opposed to our just and civilised culture.# #(3) And don't forget his militant religion:# #(4) Islamic fanaticism and fundamentalism can never be reconciled with (our) Reason and Truth and Enlightenment.#

5. #(1) And so, as so often before, we have the encounter of good and evil.# #(2) Saddam represents the forces of irrational barbarism that must always be contained and controlled by the forces of reason and sanity.# #(3) And once again, of course, it is up to *cette vielle Europe* and its civilizational offspring, America, to slay the dragon, to vanquish the alien;# #(4) these UN crusaders must take on the 'beast of Baghdad' and his 'empire of terror'.# #(5) Reason, universal reason, must be made to prevail in the new world order even, or perhaps, especially, in that desolate Middle Eastern desert.#

6. #(1) The terror that has ruled in Iraq under Saddam's regime is tragically clear.# #(2) The atrocities are grimly recorded and documented in reports by Amnesty International and Middle East Watch and in Samir al-Khalil's *Republic Of Fear.*# #(3) There can be no understatement;# #(4) we cannot describe these events as other than evil.#

7. #(1) But let us not stop here in our excoriations.# #(2) Remember where many of Saddam's weapons of destruction originated:# #(3) Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy have all played a part in developing his nuclear, chemical and ballistic capabilities.# #(4) Remember the West's complicity with Iraq when Iran was its Satan.# #(5) And remember, too, the lessons in scientific death that we in the West have given throughout this bloody century.#

8. #(1) It is too easy to project all the evil outwards into that desert and then to believe that all is well in our own garden.# #(2) Whatever the substance of the case

against him, there still remains something fundamentally obscurantist in the demonisation of Saddam.# #(3) Accusations against his criminality and bestiality are related to the desire to purify our own culture and civilisation.#

9. #(1) To see him as the embodiment of irrationality is to be certain of our own rational cause and motives.# #(2) Which is to say that defences are being erected to protect the integrity of Western culture, of the Western idea.# #(3) The symbolic damnation of Saddam-Hitler may then reveal a great deal about the fears and anxieties, and maybe even the guilt, of this post-historical world.# #(4) It may reflect something disturbing at the heart of western modernity and rationality.#

10. #(1) Two distinct, though interrelated, forces have shaped modern Western culture and identity.# #(2) The first, associated with the European Enlightenment, has been the centrality of reason as the constitutive principle of modernity itself.# #(3) The Enlightenment was about the dissolution of 'pre-modern' custom and tradition, and its replacement by a more formal and rational management of economic and political life.# #(4) Above all, instrumental and purposive rationality has been at the heart of the whole project of Western science and technology which has, over the last two centuries, transformed the natural and social orders.#

11. #(1) The second force defining the modern West has been the intensive and intense encounter with other cultures brought about by imperialist expansion.# #(2) Something new was developing in the 19th century, argues the historian Albert Hourani,# #(3) something 'created by the vast expansion of the European mind and imagination so as to appropriate all existing things.'#

12. #(1) In this quest to appropriate the world the West learned to define its own uniqueness against *the other,* against 'non-Europe'.# #(2) If the political reality has always been one of conflict and disunity, the construction of an imaginary Orient helped to give unity and coherence to the idea of the West.# #(3) This Orient was, moreover a mirror in which Europe (and subsequently America) could see reflected its own supremacy.# #(4) In learning to account for its difference from non-Europe, it also had to account for this supremacy, for the unquestionable success it had in imposing its hegemony on 'inferior' cultures.#

13. #(1) Fundamental to both its difference and its inherent superiority, #(2) it seemed#, was the principle of rationality.# #(3) It was on the basis of this rationality, embodied in modern science and technology, that *cette vielle Europe* had triumphed throughout the world, had made itself the universal point of reference.# #(4) This rationality it came to see as the basis of a universal culture; the justification for its claim to define universal values, to define its values as universal.#

14. #(1) Modernity is defined against pre-modernity, reason against irrationality and superstition,# #(2) and this divide is mapped on to a symbolic geography that counterposes the West and its Orient.# #(3) *Its* Orient, because if 'the West' did not exist, then the Orient could not exist either.# #(4) It is 'the West' that has given both existence and identity to 'the Orient'.# #(5) And the existence and identity it has bestowed is one of constitutive inferiority and deficit.#

15. #(1) Oriental culture is a subaltern culture, conceived through the very process of its subjugation and subordination to the universal culture.# #(2) And it is a culture defined by what it lacks (modernity, rationality, universality);# #(3) its 'otherness' is defined in terms of the backwardness, the irrationality and the particularity of its values.#

16. #(1) This confrontation has assumed its most intense and confrontational form in the encounter with Islam.# #(2) Since the time of the crusades, the relation between Muslims and Christians has been founded on mistrust, misgivings and misunderstandings.# #(3) In the Middle East, the experience of modernity and modernisation could only be negotiated in the context of a long history of colonial and missionary activities.# #(4) In this region, it was an involuntary experience, another kind of crusading invasion, and it involved a deep sense of despair and humiliation.#

17. #(1) Hourani describes a sense of secondariness in contemporary Arab identity:# #(2) 'It is no longer to have a standard of values of one's own, not to be able to create but only to imitate; and so not even to imitate correctly, since that also needs a certain originality.# #(3) 'In the face of self-proclaimed Western universalism, Islamic and Arabic culture was shaken to its foundation.#

18. #(1) Within the terms of this self-proclaiming universal culture, moreover, there could be no escape from this degradation.# #(2) Islam was inferior in its very essence.# #(3) In Western eyes (though contrary to historical evidence), it was constituted as a conservative culture, a culture of dogmatism and fanaticism.# #(4) History and progress were possible only in the West.# #(5) Islam, by contrast, was a static culture, an eternally medieval and feudal culture;# #(6) it was the culture of impossible modernisation.# #(7) And it could not be otherwise.#

19. #(1) It could not be otherwise because the very difference and supremacy of the West were constructed around this image of Arab and Islamic otherness.# #(2) 'Our' civilisation was defined against 'their' barbarism;# #(3) 'our' beauty against 'their' bestiality.# #(4) If that irrational culture had access to our rationality and science, what would be the implications for the Western sense of difference and uniqueness?# #(5) If that backward culture could modernise itself, where would we then find the mirror to reflect our superiority.#

20. #(1) This unthinkable predicament of modernity in the Orient is what now confronts the West in the Gulf.# #(2) In this war, Saddam is assaulting the norms that have defined Western uniqueness and superiority;# #(3) he is violating the boundaries that have differentiated rationality and irrationality, Western modernity and the premodern Orient.# #(4) He has armed himself with the munitions of modernity, not only with 'conventional arms', but also with an arsenal of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.#

21. #(1) But he is by nature - by his Arab and Oriental nature- irrational.# #(2) When equipped with the scientific instruments of warfare, Saddam's inherent irrationality can only become explosive;# #(3) with modern technologies he is a monstrous and psychotic force.# #(4) The armies of Reason, the allies of the post--historical world, must then suppress this crazed Unreason.# #(5) They must outlaw the 'mad dog'.# #(6) They must crush what defence secretary Tom King has called Iraq's 'monstrous military machine'.# #(7) What cannot be tolerated is the monster that pretends to modernity.#

22. #(1) We have imagined Saddam in terms which stand diametrically opposed to our civilisation and culture.# #(2) We have imagined him as absolutely, and monstrously, 'other'.# #(3) To see him in this way has made it possible - has made it logical and rational - to set fire to the night skies of Iraq.# #(4) But is that what Saddam is? #(5) Is he the primitive and irrational alien?# #(6) Might there not be reason in his madness?#

23. #(1) Saddam uses our weapons, the weapons that we have sold him, and he uses them like us, in a rational and calculating way.# #(2) He is a cunning military strategist:# #(3) he has a 'game plan' for the war, and, according to General Colin Powell, he is 'resourceful' and 'ingenious' in implementing it.# #(4) Saddam embodies the aspirations and logic of modernity.# #(5) He is modernity as it now exists in that part of the world.# #(6) Saddam is a mirror - a distorting mirror perhaps, but a mirror nonetheless - reflecting an image of us.#

24. #(1) The West does not like what it sees in that mirror.# #(2) But let us be clear about just what it is that it is seeing.# #(3) It is the monstrous side of its own modernity,# #(4) it is the irresistible spread of its own project, a project that has been marked by both rationality and violence.# #(5) Saddam is not an alien monster, a monster against modernity, but rather a monster born of modernity, a monster within modernity.# #(6) As the Liberal Democrat leader, Paddy Ashdown, unwittingly intimated, 'we are now haunted by a monster which we helped to create'.# #(7) This is the paradoxical truth that we cannot stomach.#

25. #(1) Many commentators have described the creation of a Frankenstein's monster in Iraq.#(2) Like Mary Shelley's creature, Saddam is a monster created through the global spread of modernity.# #(3) In him, too, our fear of modernity's monstrous aspect is projected onto an elemental hatred of the 'other'.# #(4) Saddam must be a race apart.#

26. #(1) If Iraq is in the process of modernisation, then it is an alien kind of modernity that can never be acceptable to the civilised world.# #(2) Like Frankenstein's monster, Saddam must be banned from civilisation.# #(3) Only through his exclusion can reason be reclaimed in the name of universal progress and humanity.# #(4) And so the 'smart' technologies of Western reason are now being mobilised to smash the 'other'.#

27. #(1) Saddam is, nonetheless, a part of modernity.# #(2) Can we *ignore the* reality that, in this global culture, there is no place that modernity has not reached?# (3) How can we continue to de-link the 'other' from the project of modernity?# #(4) Saddam's means of war are products of modern science and technology, as are those even more lethal systems being unleashed against him by the Western allies.# #(5) It is difficult for us to acknowledge that violence and destruction, on both sides, are expressions of 'rational' behaviour; that 'reason' may be at the heart of violence.#

28. #(1) If Saddam's third-world modernity is contaminated by a direct and brutal violence, the military exploits of post-historical modernity are, by contrast, clinical, surgical and sanitised.# #(2) We are fascinated by the way our 'smart weapons' are mobilised to 'knock out' and 'take apart', to 'neutralise' and 'cleanse', enemy targets in what is called the 'theatre' of Iraq and Kuwait.# #(3) We are seduced by what science can do in the name of freedom and civilisation.# #(4) What distinguishes us from Saddam is our superior, perhaps supreme, ability to screen out the death and mutilation.# #(5) It is this that makes us more advanced. #(6) We are simply better at being modern.#

29. #(1) The allies, #(2) George Bush tells us#, are 'on the side of God'.# #(3) 'I have resolved all moral questions in my mind',#(4) he says#, #(5) 'this is black versus white, good versus evil'.# #(6) With our moral rectitude our modernity and military science, we look set to prevail against the evil Saddam and his ramshackle modernity.# #(7) The Western idea will stumble on.# #(8) Its post-history will be

driven by the same fantasies and phobias as its wretched and ravaging history.# #(9) White versus black.# #(10) Good versus evil.# (11) Us against them.# #(12) But at what cost?#

30. #(1) The Spanish reporter, Alfonso Roja, describes a woman in Baghdad,# #(2) her eyes smouldering, shouting down at a crowd of Western journalists: 'Is this what you call Western civilisation?'#

APPENDIX-B: TEXTS 1A THROUGH 5A

مرحلة ما بعد الحرب الباردة: السياسة الامريكية تجاه منطقة الشرق الاوسط

(١) تشكّلت السياسة الامريكية تجاه منطقة الشرق الاوسط ضمن إطار معين للمفهوم إلاستراتيجي للنظام العالمي شاركتها في صنعه دول أخرى بالرغم من وجود اختلافات سياسية فيما بينها. كما أنه يوجد أيضا عدد من التغيّرات العالمية الهامة تفرض على هذا المفهوم الإستراتيجي التكيّف معها.

(٢) كثر الحديث مؤخرا عن وجود "نظام عالمي جديد" ، وهذا يعني وجود نظام عالمي قديم في طريقه الى التغيير. لقد تم إنشاء ذلك النظام القديم في أعقاب الحرب العالمية الثانية؛ ففي تلك الأثناء، كانت الولايات المتحدة في موقع قوة لم يشهد له التاريخ مثيلا حيث كانت تسيطر على حوالي٥٠٪ من ثروات العالم، وتتمتع بمركز أمني لامثيل له أيضا. وكانت دول النخبة الاقتصادية والسياسية تدرك ذلك كل الادراك، لذا فلا عجب أن تشرع هذه الدول بصنع نظام عالمي يتفق ومصالحها بالرغم من اعترافها الواضح بأن المزيد من التشدق بالبيان النبيل يمكن أن يكون ذا فائدة دعائية.

(٣) لقد برزت العناصر الأساسية للنظام العالمي الجديد بوضوح منذ عشرين عاما وذلك بإنبثاق عالم ثلاثي القطب إندمجت فيه القوة الإقتصادية ضمن مجالات القوى التي تتمتع بها الولايات المتحدة والتي أعقبت فترة الحرب العالمية الثانية حيث بقيت الولايات المتحدة القوة العسكرية المهيمنة. إلاّ أنّ تفوقها الاقتصادي الظاهر قد بدأ بالاضمحلال، ويمكن أن يضمحل أكثر فأكثر إذا إنخفضت تكلفة حزب ريغان ـ بوش في حماية الاثرياء. كما أضاف إنهيار الاتحاد السوفياتي أبعاد جديدة، كان أولها الحاجة الى ايجاد مبررات جديدة للتدخل في شئون دول العالم الثالث، الامرالذي كان بمثابة تحدّ حقيقي للطبقات المثقفة. وكان ثاني هذه الأبعاد وجود توقعات جديدة الآن "بأمركة" العديد من جمهوريات الاتحاد السوفياتي السابقة على نمط دول أمريكا اللاتينية؛ وهذا يعني إعادة تلك الجمهوريات الى وضع شبيه بالاستعمار يتمثل بتزويد الولايات المتحدة بثروات تلك البلاد وعمالتها الرخيصة التكاليف وتوفير الأسواق التجارية وفرص الاستثمار ووسائل الراحة والاستجمام الكائنة في دول العالم الثالث. إلاّ أنّ الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا لم تكونا رائدتين في هذا المضمار. وكان ثالث هذه الابعاد (وأهمها) أنّ الولايات المتحدة أصبحت أكثر حرية من ذي قبل في إستخدام قوتها العسكرية نظرا لزوال قوة الردع السوفياتية. أمّا بالنسبة لمنطقة الشرق الاوسط فقد كان لهذه التغييرات في النظام العالمي عدة مضامين شأنها في ذلك شأن أية منطقة في العالم.

(٤) أثناء الحرب العالمية الثانية، قام ممثلوا الشركات والادارة الامريكية بدراسات واسعة النطاق شملت ما أطلقوا عليه إسم "المنطقة الكبرى" ، وهي عبارة عن نظام عالمي توقعوا من خلاله رواج المصالح التي يمثلونها. وقد امتدت هذه الخطط لتشمل كافة المناطق وتعالج كافة المشاكل الرئيسية، حيث تم تطبيقها على نطاق واسع في السنوات الأولى التي أعقبت إنتهاء الحرب. وفي حقيقة الأمر هناك تشابه كبير بين هذه الدراسات ووثائق التخطيط الحكومية العالية المستوى للسنوات المقبلة.

(٥) وضمن المنطقة الكبرى، باتت على عاتق الدول الصناعية العظمى بقيادة ورشتي العمل الرئيسيتين، اليابان والمانيا، والخاضعتين حاليا للسيطرة الامريكية إعادة البناء، وبات من الضروري أيضا إستعادة القانون التقليدي المحافظ بما في ذلك العملاء النازيين والفاشست لتدمير وتفريق حركات مقاومة الفاشية واضعاف الحركات العمالية. كان هذا مخططا عالميا جرى تنفيذه بطرق شتى إعتمدت على الظروف

والمتطلبات المحلية وكوّن الفصل الاول لتاريخ حقبة ما بعد الحرب وواصل مساره العام على نفس النهج.

(٦) أمّا بالنسبة للاتحاد السوفياتي، فقد إنقسمت السياسة الأمريكية بشأنه الى قسمين رئيسين هدف كل منهما الى ضم جمهوريات الاتحاد السوفياتي السابقة الى المنطقة الكبرى وهذا يعني بالنسبة لهذه الجمهوريات العودة الى عهد ما قبل ١٩١٧م (تصبح جزءا من دول العالم الثالث). لقد تمت الصياغة الأولية لمنهج " الإعادة" المتطرف هذا إبّان مؤتمر الامن القومي الثامن والستين الذي إنعقد عام ١٩٥٠م، وقد اختطها بول نيتسه الذي خلف جورج كينان كرئيس لهيئة التخطيط السياسية التابعة لوزارة الخارجية الامريكية. أما بالنسبة لسياسة الإحتواء الأقل تطرفا والتي تبناها جورج كينان فقد إعتمدت على القوة الاقتصادية الساحقة للولايات المتحدة وحلفائها لتحقيق نفس الأهداف على أقل تقدير. والجدير بالملاحظة أنّ هذه الأهداف هي نفسها التي تحققت نتيجة إنهيار الاتحاد السوفياتي في الثمانينات.

(٧) القليل منّا من توقع حدوث هجوم عسكري روسي. فقد كان الافتراض العام بأنها "ليست قوة الروس العسكرية هي التي تهددنا وإنّما قوته السياسية" (جورج كينان، أكتوبر، ١٩٤٧).

(٨) لقد كان للعالم الثالث دورٌ في إنشاء هذه المنطقة الكبرى. تمثل هذا الدور باستغلال ثرواته لسد احتياجات الدول الصناعية "وتلبية متطلباتها الرئيسية نظرا لكونه مصدرا للمواد الخام وسوقا إستهلاكية." أقتبس هذه المعلومات من وثائق خاصه بجورج كينان وهيئة التخطيط السياسي التابعة له، حيث كان واحدا من المخططين البارزين لمرحلة ما بعد الحرب الكونية الثانية، ويمثل الخط السياسي المعتدل. فقد ركّز إهتمامه على "حماية مصادرنا"، تلك المصادر التي توجد بمحض الصدفة الجيولوجية على أراضي الغير. وبما أنّ التهديد الرئيسي لمصالحنا محلي فإنّه ينبغي علينا (كما وضحه كينان بسرية تامه) القبول بمبدأ الحاجة لأعمال "القمع البوليسية التي تمارسها أنظمة الحكم المحلية، وأنّه يجب أن لاتسبب لنا هذه الإجراءات القمعية التعسفية الحكومية أي ضيق ما دامت النتائج المتوخاه منها على قدر محبب لخدمة أهدافنا." وعلى العموم فإنّه من الأفضل وجود نظام حكم تعسفي على سدة الحكم من وجود حكومة ليبرالية، خصوصا اذا كانت متسامحة ومطمئنه، وسهلة الاختراق بالنسبة للتيار الشيوعي. إن عبارة "شيوعي" تعود في الواقع الى القادة العماليين والمنظمين العوام وجماعات المساعدة الذاتية التي ينظمها رجال الدين، وآخرين غيرهم ممن يضعون الاولويات الخاطئة.

(٩) لقد دوّنت الاولويات الصحيحة في الوثائق السرية جدا؛ تركّز هذه الأولويات على أنّ المصدر الرئيسي لتهديد المصالح الأمريكية هي "الانظمة القومية" التي تستجيب للضغوط الشعبية من أجل التحسين الفوري للمستويات المعيشية المتدنية للجماهير" وتوجيه اقتصادها نحو المتطلبات المحلية. إنّ مثل هذه المبادرات تتعارض مع حماية مصادرنا وجهودنا في تشجيع "مناخ يفضي الى الإستثمار" وإ عطاء الفرصة لرأس المال الأجنبي "لجني عوائد معقولة." أمّا بالنسبة للتهديد السوفيتي، فيتمثل، كما بينته مجموعة مرموقة من الباحثين المحافظين، بالتحول الإقتصادي للقوى الشيوعية "بوسائل تحد من رغبتها وقدرتها لتكون مكملة لإقتصاد الغرب الصناعي"، وبالتالي تؤدي المهمة المناطة بدول العالم الثالث. هذا هو الأساس الحقيقي للعداء الشديد للإتحاد السوفياتي ونظامه الامبريالي منذ ١٩١٧م ، وهذا هو السبب في الموقف العدائي لحركات الاستقلال القومية في العالم الثالث أيّاً كانت توجهاتها السياسية واعتبار هذه الحركات بمثابة "فيروس" يجب إستئصاله.

(١٠) لقد تطورت الخطط تجاه الشرق الاوسط ضمن هذا المفهوم. وكان الاهتمام الرئيسي (وما يزال) الطاقة النفطية في تلك المنطقة حيث توجّب دمج هذه الخطط ضمن نظام الهيمنة الاميريكية. وكما هو الحال في أمريكا اللاتينية، فقد بات من الضروري إستبدال المصالح التقليدية لكل من بريطانيا وفرنسا، وقيام الولايات النحدة بفرض سيطرتها على ما وصفته وزارة خارجيتها "بالمصدر الهائل من القوة الاستراتيجية وأحد أثمن المصادر الطبيعية في التاريخ العالمي،" ومن المحتمل أن يكون هذا المصدر (النفط) "أثمن عائد إقتصادي في العالم في مجال الإستثمار الأجنبي." فقد وصف الرئيس الأمريكي أيزنهاور منطقة الشرق الأوسط بأنّها " أهم منطقة إستراتيجية في العالم."

(١١) لقد تم إستبعاد فرنسا بسرعة باللجوء الى الحيلة القانونية تاركة بذلك السيادة المشتركة لكل من بريطانيا والولايات المتحدة وقد كان هناك نزاعا استمر لفترة من الزمن ما فتيء أن تمت تسويته ضمن إطار قوة الولايات المتحدة التي تصدرت شركاتها على إثره دور الريادة في التنقيب وإستخراج النفط في منطقة الشرق الأوسط في الوقت الذي سيطرت فيه أيضا على نصف الكرة الغربي الذي ظل المنتج الرئيسي للنفط حتى عام ١٩٦٨م. لذا لم تكن الولايات المتحدة بحاجة ماسة الى بترول الشرق الأوسط في ذلك الحين لتمويل نفسها وإنما كان الهدف منه السيطرة على النظام العالمي وضمان عدم شق الآخرين لمنهج سياسي مستقل. وقد كان هناك إستياء عام من اليابانيين في ذلك الحين، وقليل من توقع أن يصبح اليابانيون بحق منافسين إقتصاديين على وجه الإطلاق. غير أنّ آخرين كانوا أبعد نظرا. ففي عام ١٩٤٨م، لاحظ كينان أنّ سيطرة الولايات المتحدة على واردات اليابان من النفط يمكن أن تساعد قوة حق النقض (الفيتو) بشأن سياسة اليابان العسكرية وسياسات التصنيع. وقد تم التمشي بموجب نصيحته. ونتيجة لذلك تمت مساعدة اليابان في النهوض صناعيا، غير أنّ الولايات المتحدة أبقت على سيطرتها على متطلبات اليابان من الطاقة وعلى مرافق تكرير النفط، وبذلك فقد سيطرت الولايات المتحدة ولغاية ١٩٧٣م على حوالي ٩٠٪ من إحتياجات اليابان من النفط؛ وبعد أزمة النفط التي حدثت في بداية السبعينات دأبت اليابان في البحث عن مصادر بديلة للطاقة كما لجأت الى نظام التقنين في إستخدامها. وقد خفضت هذه الإجراءات من التقليل من تأثير حق النقض (الفيتو) بشكل كامل، غير أنّ التأثير على أسعار النفط وإنتاجه ضمن المدى الذي حددته القوه الشرائية للسوق بقيا شأنين هامين من الشئون الدولية.

(١٢) وكما هو الحال في أي مكان في العالم، تمثل المطلب الرئيسي للسياسة الامريكية في حتمية سد الطريق أمام الحركات الوطنية المحلية. فقد كان عامل الخوف من إستشراء عث الشعور القومي بالاستقلال وانتقال عدواه الى منطقة الشرق الأوسط جزأ من لحافز الرئيسي لعملية قمع التمرد الذي حدث في اليونان عام ١٩٤٧م . فقد أفادت دراسة قامت بها وكالة الاستخبارات المركزية بأنّه لو نجح العصاة المتمردون فإنّه يمكن أن تواجه الولايات المتحدة "خسارة ممكنه في المصادر النفطية في منطقة الشرق الأوسط." وقد تم ترتيب مسألة التهديد السوفياتي بطريقة عادية، غير أنّ التهديد الحقيقي كان يتمثل بالشعور القومي المحلي والخوف من آثار ظهوره في أماكن أخرى.

(١٣) وقد أدت عوامل مماثلة الى الإنقلاب العسكري الذي دبّرته وكالة الإستخبارات المركزية لإستعادة الشاه السلطة عام ١٩٥٣م والتي جعلت من عبدالناصر العدو اللدود. وفي نهاية المطاف تم إعتبار الخميني عدوا لدودا يشكل النوع ذاته من التهديد، الأمر الذي حدا بالولايات المتحدة مساندة العراق إبّان الحرب

العراقية ـ الإيرانية، ومن ثم إضطلع ديكتاتور العراق صدام حسين بدور العداوة مغيّرا بين عشيّة وضحاها مكانته لدى الولايات المتحدة من صديق معتدل الى "هتلر جديد" عندما أقدم على غزو إمارة الكويت كاشفا بذلك دور التحالف الانجلو ـ أمريكي. كان مردُّ الخوف الذي ساد المنطقة آنذاك أنّ هذه الحركات القومية لاتخضع لتأثير وسيطرة الولايات المتحدة ويمكن أن يكون لها تأثيرا جوهريا على مناطق إنتاج النفط في شبه الجزيرة العربية. ومقارنة مع هذه الحركات تعتبر الإدارة الامريكية آل سعود شركاء مناسبين يديرون مصادر ثرواتهم بما يتوافق والمصالح الأمريكية ويساعدون الولايات المتحدة على نشر الرعب والدمار في أرجاء العالم الثالث.

(١٤) إنّ النقاط الأساسية بدت واضحة نوعا ما من خلال سجلات الخطط السرّية وكانت كذلك على الأغلب في السجلات العامة للدولة. ففي التقرير السنوي لإستراتيجية الأمن القومي الذي تقدم به البيت الابيض لمجلس الشيوخ الامريكي (الكونجرس) في بداية عام ١٩٩٠م ، دعى البيت الابيض فيه ـ كما جرت العادة ـ الى إعتماد ميزانية ضخمة لشئون الدفاع من أجل حمايتنا من التهديد بالدمار على أيدي أعداء ذوي بأس شديد وقوة عسكرية يصعب معه تصورها. ولسنين خلت، كان من الصعوبة بمكان نعت الروس "بالشيطان الأكبر" ؛ لذا بات لزام إستحضار أعداء جدد. وحتى الآن، فقد بات أمرٌ من الامور المسلم بها أيضا أن العدو الجديد هو الشعور القومي السائد في دول العالم الثالث. ولذلك يفسر هذا التقرير سبب حتمية بناء قوة عسكرية ذات تقنية عالية نظرا "للتقنية العالية" التي تتمتع بها قوى العالم الثالث ولعقدها العزم على مواصلة سعيها لبلوغ ما تصبو اليه. لذا يتوجّب علينا أن نؤمن الوسائل الكفيلة بنقل القوة العسكرية . . . لتعزيز وحداتنا المتمركزة على خط المواجهة وإمكانية نشر هذه القوات في المناطق التي ليس لنا فيها أي تواجد دائم، خصوصا منطقة الشرق الأوسط، حيث لايمكن طرح أمر التهديد القائم لمصالحنا الذي يحتاج الى مواجهة عسكرية مباشرة على أبواب الكرملين لحله. هذه حقيقة تم الاعتراف بها مؤخرا. "ففي المستقبل، نتوقع أن التهديد اللاسوفيتي لمصالحنا سيتطلب منّا إهتماما أكثر." وفي واقع الأمر،فإنّ "تهديد مصالحنا" كان دائما وابدا يتم عن طريق الحركات القومية المحلية."فهذه حقيقة يتم الاعتراف بها أحيانا خصوصا عندما اعترف مهندس تشكيل قوات التدخل السريع الامريكية إبّان عهد إدارة الرئيس الامريكي جيمي كارتر أنّه وضع نصب عينيه منطقة الشرق الوسط هدفا رئيسيا. جاء ذلك في شهادة أدلى بها أمام مجلس الشيوخ الامريكي عام ١٩٨٠م عندما إعترف بأنّه من غير المحتمل إستخدام هذه القوات لصد الهجمات السوفايتيه (فذلك أمر غير وارد)، بل للتعامل مع الاضطرابات الاقليمية المحلية التي أطلقوا عليها مصطلح "الراديكالية القومية" أو "الراديكالية الزائدة عن حدها." والجدير بالذكر أنّ إدارة الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش كانت قد تقدمت بخططها في الوقت الذي كان فيه صدام حسين الصديق الحميم والشريك التجاري المفضل لدى جورج بوش.

(١٥) لقد واجهت السيادة الأنجلو ـ أمريكية المشتركة في منطقة الخليج أول تحد لها عام ١٩٥٨م عندما أطاح الانقلاب العسكري للقوميين العرب في العراق بالنظام التبعي هناك. فقد وصف كريستوفر راند صاحب الباع الطويلة في صناعة النفط ذلك الانقلاب بأنّه كان "أسوأ هزيمة تتلقاها أمريكا في المنطقة منذ الحرب العالمية الثانية، وأنّه كان تجربة قاسية بالنسبة للولايات المتحدة أثارت دون شك عملية إعادة تقييم مؤلمة للنهج السياسي لأمتنا تجاه الخليج الفارسي." وقد ساعدت وثائق إنجليزية وامريكية تم نشرها مؤخرا على القاء الضوء على التوقعات التي مر ذكرها.

(١٦) في عام ١٩٥٨م، كانت الكويت موضع قلق. وكان "هتلر الجديد" تلك الأيام جمال عبدالناصر، وكان مصدر الخوف ينطلق من امكانية امتداد شعوره القومي الوحدوي الشامل الى العراق والكويت وغيرها من الدول العربية. فقد كان أحد ردود الفعل الأمريكية آنذاك القيام بإنزال قوات مشاة البحرية الامريكية (المارينز) على الشواطيء اللبنانية لدعم نظام الحكم فيها. أمّا رد الفعل الآخر فكان تصريح الرئيس الأمريكي آيزنهاور الذي لا غبار عليه بإستخدام الاسلحة النوويه "لمنع تحرك أية قوات معادية بإتجاه الكويت." ومن أجل مراوغة التهديد بالشعور القومي، قررت بريطانيا منح الكويت إستقلالا إسميا حسب الخطط التي حيكت بعيد نهاية الحرب العالمية الأولى وذلك عندما أدركت الدول الامبريالية أنّ الهيمنة البريطانية يمكن أن تكون أكثر فعالية اذا ما مارستها من وراء "واجهة دول عربية" ، بحيث تتم عملية "إمتصاص" ثروات تلك المستعمرات تحت غطاء من الشرعية الوهميّة، وجعلها محميات أو مناطق نفوذ أو دولا فاصلة وهكذا" (اللورد كورزون). وقد إحتفظت بريطانيا لنفسها آنذاك حق التدخل العسكري لحماية مصالحها بموافقة الولايات المتحدة التي إحتفظت لنفسها بالحق نفسه في أماكن أخرى من المنطقة. واتفقت كل منهما أيضا على الحاجة بإبقاء حقول النفط تحت سيطرتهما. لخص وزير الخارجية سيلون لويدز هذه الاهتمامات الرئيسية بما فيها سهولة الوصول الى مواقع إنتاج النفط في منطقة الخليج "على أساس شروط ميسرة منها دعم الجنيه الاسترليني وعمل الترتيبات المناسبة لإستثمار العوائد النفطية الكويتية الزائده في بريطانيا."

(١٧) أكدت وثائق أمريكية تم كشف النقاب عنها مؤخرا بأنّ "الاستقرار المالي لبريطانيا سيكون في وضع حرج جدا اذا لم يتوفر النفط من الكويت والخليج الفارسي بشروط ميسّرة، واذا توقفت الاستثمارات الكبيرة لتلك المنطقة وتوقف دعم الجنيه الاسترليني. وقد أعطت هذه الأسباب وغيرها الولايات المتحدة المبررات "لدعم او مساعدة بريطانيا باستخدام القوة اذا لزم الامر لاستعادة السيطرة على الكويت والخليج الفارسي. ففي نوفمبر (تشرين ثاني) عام ١٩٥٨م ، أوصى مجلس الأمن القومي الأمريكي بأن تكون الولايات المتحدة الامريكية مستعدة لاستخدام القوة ـ كآخر حل طبعا ـ إمّا منفردة أو لدعم بريطانيا اذا تهددت تلك المصالح. ولم يشتمل السجل الوثائقي على أبعد من تلك المرحلة. غير أنه لا يوجد أي سبب للتشكيك بأن هذا المبدأ العام قد خضع لأكثر من مجرد تغيير تكتيكي بالرغم من حالة الاستقرار التي شهدها لسنوات طويلة.

(١٨) ففي ذلك الوقت كان القلق الرئيسي يكمن في توفر نفط وثراء دول الخليج لدعم إقتصاد بريطانيا المتدهور. وقد امتد هذا القلق في بداية السبعينات ليشمل الاقتصاد الأمريكي الذي بات واضحا أنّه في طريقه نحو الاضمحلال مقارنة بالاقتصاد الياباني والاقتصاد الاوروبي الذي تتسيده المانيا. وعندما فقدت كل من بريطانيا وامريكا سيطرتهما الاقتصادية السابقه، أصبح حق الامتياز في الوصول الى المرابح الوفيرة لانتاج النفط في الخليج مسألةً بالغة الاهميّة. وقد تصدرت هذا الموضوع مجال الدعابة في السوق المالية في وول ستريت وذلك بطرح السؤال التالي: لماذا تحتاج كل من الولايات المتحدة والكويت لبعضهما البعض؟ أما الجواب فهو لأنّ الكويت نظام بنكي بدون دولة، وأنّ أمريكا دولة بدون نظام بنكي. إنها والحالة تلك لم تعد تلك نكتة عادية.

(١٩) إنّ إنسياب رأس المال من السعودية والكويت وبعض العواصم الخليجية الأخرى الى الولايات

المتحدة وبريطانيا قد قدم الكثير من الدعم لاقتصاد هاتين الدولتين وشركاتهما ومؤسساتهما المالية، وكان هذا من بين أسباب عدم معارضتهما لارتفاع سعر النفط وأحد الأسباب التي دعت الولايات المتحدة الى ضرورة إتباع نفس السياسات حتى ولو كانت تعتمد على الطاقة الشمسية بشكل كامل، وهو نفس النهج السياسي الذي إتبعته قبل ١٩٧٠م عندما كانت تحتاج الى كميات قليلة من بترول الشرق الأوسط. فقد كان الارتفاع الحاد بأسعار النفط مفيدا ـ بطريقة أو بأخرى ـــ لإقتصاد كل من بريطانيا وأمريكا حيث لوحظ ذلك من خلال مطبوعات الاعمال التجارية والدوريات الأكاديمية. فقد تحسن بشكل ملحوظ ميزان المدفوعات التجاري الأمريكي مع الدول المنتجة للنفط، وكلما كانت ترتفع أسعار النفط، كان ذلك أفضل بالنسبة للولايات المتحدة اذ ساهم ذلك في إثراء مصادر طاقتها وصناعاتها وإنشاء الشركات ومنح الفرصة لكل من أمريكا وبريطانيا للاستفادة من أسعار نفطهما المرتفعة في كل من ولاية الاسكا وبحر الشمال. إنّ هذه المسألة على درجة عالية من الدقة والتعقيد، غير أنّ هذه العوامل بقيت فاعلة الى حد كبير.

(٢٠) عند أخذ هذه العوامل بالحسبان، فلا عجب ان تتبع كل من أمريكا وبريطانيا ـــ تلكما الدولتان اللتان أوجدتا التسوية الامبريالية واللتان جنيتا ثمارها ـــ نفس النهج السياسي الذي إخطططتاه معا بشأن أزمة الخليج. تمثل هذا النهج بالتحرك الفوري لسد الطريق أمام التأثير المتوقع للحظر المفروض على العراق وسد الطريق أيضا أمام أية جهود دبلوماسية لحل الأزمة وتضييق الخناق على الخيارات المتاحة لتقتصر على التهديد بإستخدام القوة العسكرية. ونتيجة لهذا النهج، فقد عزلت كل من امريكا وبريطانيا نفسيهما عن العالم بإستثناء العائلات الديكتاتورية الحاكمة في الدول المنتجة للنفط والتي تمثل "واجهات حكومات عربية." وبالرغم من أنّه كان واضحا منذ بداية شهر أغسطس (آب) بأن العقوبات الأقتصادية والدبلوماسية تبشر بتوقعات غير عادية لعكس نتيجة الهجوم العراقي رأسا على عقب بطريقة سلمية، كانت سياسة الادراة الامريكية القائمة على تضييق الخيارات على الاستسلام او الحرب مسألة ذات منطق مثبط للعزيمة. إنّها الخيار السياسي الصحيح لو كانت الأهداف ترتبط بتثبيت دور فارض القانون المرتزق وفرض قانون القوة، وهو المجال الذي لايتفوق فيه على الولايات المتحدة أحد. ونتيجة تبنّي الولايات المتحدة لهذا الدور، فإنّه يتوجّب عليها مواصلة فرض طاعتها بالقوة بمساعدة القوى الصناعية الكبرى، وهو ما يطلق علية في النظام العقائدي بمصطلح "النظام" أو "الاستقرار." إنّ الثراء الذي ينساب من دول الخليج المنتجة للنفط سيساعد على دعم الإقتصاد المهزوز لحماة ديارهم. فقد أكد هؤلاء الحماة بأنّ إستخدام القوة لن يكون إلاّ الملاذ الأخير. إنّ إستخدام صندوق النقد الدولي أكثر فعالية من إستخدام قوات مشاة البحرية أو وكالة الإستخبارات المركزية إذا أمكن، إلاّ أنّ ذلك غير ممكن دائما.

(٢١) لقد كان مصدر الطاقة الاستراتيجي الضخم ومايزال أحد الاهتمامات الرئيسية للولايات المتحدة في منطقة الشرق الأوسط. أمّا الاهتمام الآخر فهو علاقة الولايات المتحدة بإسرائيل. فهناك جدل مستفيض فيما إذا كانت العلاقة الخاصة مع إسرائيل تنبثق من دور الأخيرة في التخطيط الاستراتيجي للولايات المتحدة أو نتيجة لتأثير "اللوبي اليهودي". ففي رأيي الخاص (وعلى قدر ما لرأيي من قيمة) فإنّ العامل الأول دون شك أكثر أهمية، وإنّ ما يسمى باللوبي اليهودي لايشكل في واقع الأمر سوى حلقة واحدة من سلسلة واسعة تشتمل على مجموعة من رجال الفكر الليبراليين الذين فتنتهم بشدة إنتصارات إسرائيل في حرب عام ١٩٦٧م لأسباب مردها الرئيسي المشهد الداخلي. وبهذا الحكم فإنّني أختلف مع الكثير بما فيهم قيادة اللوبي نفسها التي

تدّعي لنفسها التاثير الكبير. إلاّ أنّنا لسنا بحاجة الى تسوية هذه المسألة. ومهما قيّم المرء هذين العاملين فإنّ كليهما موجود. وفي هذا السياق سألتزم جانب العامل الأول لأنّه – برأيي – العامل الاهم. فقد توقعت أن تقوم الولايات المتحدة بالتخلي عن إسرائيل فورا إذا وجد المخططون أنّ ذلك يخدم مصلحة الولايات المتحدة. وفي تلك الحالة سيفقد اللوبي اليهودي فعاليته تماما كما حدث عام ١٩٥٦م عندما وجه آيزنهاور و دالاس أوامرهما لإسرائيل بالإنسحاب من سيناء عشية إنتخابات الرئاسة الأمريكية.

(٢٢) يستطيع المرءُ تتبع الفكرة التي تكمن وراء العلاقة "الخاصة" التي تربط إسرائيل بالولايات المتحدة منذ الايام الأولى لتشكيل دولة إسرائيل. ففي عام ١٩٤٨، أدّى النجاح العسكري الإسرائيلي برئيس هيئة أركان القوات الأمريكية أن يصف إسرائيل بالقوة العسكرية الرئيسية في المنطقة بعد تركيا، الأمر الذي حدا بالولايات المتحدة تقديم وسائل الدعم الأمريكي "لتحقيق تفوقها الاستراتيجي في منطقة الشرق الأوسط والذي يمكن أن يؤثر على العوامل التي أدت الى اضمحلال السيطرة البريطانية في المنطقة" (آفي شليم). يزعم المؤرخ أبراهام شاشر الذي يعتبر تفسيره على درجة عالية من الأهمية (نظرا لأنه كان قيّما على مخطوطات ديفيد نايلز الصديق المتنفذ لدى ترومان) بأنّ قرار الرئيس الامريكي ترومان النهائي في دعم التوسع الاسرائيلي كان نتيجة للانتصار العسكري الذي أظهر حقيقة أنّه "يمكن أن تصبح إسرائيل سندا استراتيجيا أو حاملة طائرات ثابتة لحماية المصالح الامريكية في منطقتي حوض البحر المتوسط والشرق الأوسط.

(٢٣) أمّا بالنسبة للفلسطينيين، فلم يكن لدى المخططين الامريكان أي سبب للتشكيك بتقييم الحكومة الاسرائيلية لهم عام ١٩٤٨م ، وهو أنّ هؤلاء اللاجئين سيتجمعون في مكان آخر أو "سُيسحقون" . "والقليل منهم سيموت ويتحول الى رماد إنساني وقمامة مجتمع"، وسيلحق معظمهم بأكثر فئات الدول العربية فقرا" (قسم دراسات الشرق الاوسط: موشيه شرتي). وبناء على ذلك، لم يكن هناك أي داع للقلق بشأنهم. غير أنّ عملية تقييم الإدارة الامريكية لكل من إسرائيل والفلسطينيين تغيرت الآن عمّا كانت عليه في ذلك الحين.

(٢٤) بعد الانقلاب العراقي الذي وقع في يوليو (تموز) عام ١٩٥٨ بقليل، خلص مجلس الأمن القومي الى نتيجة مفادها أن "النتيجة الطبيعية والمنطقية للوقوف في وجه الحركة القومية العربية الراديكالية تتمثل في دعم اسرائيل بوصفها القوة العسكرية الوحيدة الموالية للغرب والمتبقية في منطقة الشرق الأوسط. وقد إتسع ذلك الفهم في الستينات، حين اعتبرت مصادر وكالة الاستخبارات المركزية القوة الاسرائيلية سدا واقيا لضغوط الحركة الناصرية على العربية السعودية والعملاء الآخرين من الدول المنتجة للنفط. وقد ترسخ هذا الدور نتيجة للانتصار الاسرائيلي الساحق في حرب حزيران عام ١٩٦٧م الذي أدى الى تدمير القوى القومية العربية التي تهدد المصالح الأمريكية، وتكرر نفس الشيء مرة أخرى عام ١٩٧٠م عندما لعب التهديد العسكري الإسرائيلي دورا حاسما ــ على حد تعبير وزير الخارجية الامريكي آنذاك هنري كيسنجر ــ في حماية الأردن من احتمال وقوع هجوم عسكري سوري ضده لمساندة الفلسطينيين. وقد إزداد حجم الدعم الأمريكي لإسرائيل زيادة كبيرة في تلك الاثناء.

(٢٥) كانت هذه التحركات تدور ضمن إطار المبدأ العقائدي للرئيس الأمريكي نيكسون والذي كان يفرض على القوى الأخرى التعامل مع مشاكل المنطقة "ضمن الاطار العام للنظام" الذي صانته الولايات المتحدة. جاء ذلك على لسان وزير خارجيته هنري كسينجر عندما حذر أوروبا بالتخلي عن أية أفكار تتعلق

بتوجيه أية ضربة عسكرية على عاتقها. وبعد ذلك بسنين عديدة، أشار هنري كسينجر في حديث خاص مع القادة اليهود تم كشف النقاب عنه مؤخرا بأنّ أحد اهتماماته الرئيسية كان يتركز على "ضمان عدم تورط الدول الاوروبية واليابان في المشاكل الدبلوماسية" لمنطقة الشرق الأوسط، وهو التزام استمر وساعد على تفسير معارضة الولايات المتحدة لعقد أي مؤتمر دولي للسلام. وفي منطقة الشرق الاوسط، كان لكل من إسرائيل وأيران دور "شرطي المنطقة" ــ على حد تعبير وزير الدفاع الأمريكي ملفن ليرد ــ ودور حماة النظام، وبطبيعة الحال بقيت قيادة الشرطة في واشنطن.

(٢٦) لقد كان المحللون الجادّون على درجة عالية من الوضوح بالنسبة لهذه المسائل. ففي مايو (أيار) عام ١٩٧٣م ركّز هنري جاكسون ـ السيناتور الخبير في شئون النفط ــ على "دور قوة إسرائيل في منطقة حوض المتوسط ودور قوة ايران في منطقة الخليج الفارسي وسياسة البلدين الموالية للغرب وصداقتهما الحميمة للولايات المتحدة التي يمكن الاعتماد عليها. كما تمتلك هاتان الدولتان قوة عسكرية جبّارة وتتعاونان مع المملكة العربية السعودية "لمنع واحتواء تلك العناصر المتطرفة (الراديكالية) واللامسئولة في بعض الدول العربية والتي يمكن أن تشكّل تهديدا خطيرا للغاية لمصادرنا الرئيسية من النفط من منطقة الخليج الفارسي لو سنحت لها الفرصة بذلك؛" وتشكّل في حقيقة الامر ايضا تهديدا للسيطرة الامريكية على إنسياب الثروات من هذه المصادر.

(٢٧) لقد تعمقت العلاقات بين الولايات المتحدة وإسرائيل فعليّا عندما أصبحت الاخيرة دولة مرتزقة منذ بداية الستينات وعندما قامت وكالة الاستخبارات المركزية بتقديم مساعدات كبيرة لإسرائيل لإختراق القارة السوداء لصالح الولايات المتحدة الامريكية ومن ثم قارة آسيا وإنتهاء بامريكا اللاتينية. فقد صرح أحد كبارالمسئولين أثناء فضيحة أيران ـ كونترا، بأنّ "إسرائيل ليست أكثر من وكالة إستخبارات فيدرالية أمريكية يمكن إستخدامها عندما يراد تنفيذ أمر ما بهدوء." وقد تطورت بينهما أيضا علاقات أخرى إشتملت على تبادل المعلومات الاستخبارية وتطوير الأسلحة وإختبار الأسلحة الجديدة المتقدمة في ظروف المعركة الحيّة.

(٢٨) كانت العلاقات بين إسرائيل وايران وثيقة جدا حسب ما تم كشف النقاب عنه مؤخرا (في إسرائيل) بعد سقوط الشاه. أمّا بالنسبة لعلاقة كل منهما مع السعودية، فقد كانت أكثر دقة وحساسية، وإن الدليل القاطع على وجودها ضعيف جدا. فقد كانت العربية السعودية عمليا في حالة حرب مع الدولتين، حيث قامت ايران بغزو واحتلال جزيرتين في الخليج، غير أنّه كان يبدو ـ كما أشار السيناتور جاكسون ـ أنّ هناك تحالف ضمني فيما بينها على أقل تقدير. وزيادة على ذلك، فانه يمكن أن نتحقق من ذلك التحالف في يوم من الايام اذا تكشّف النقاب عن السجل الوثائقي. وقد إستمرت تلك العلاقة الثلاثية حتى بعد سقوط الشاه عندما بدأت الولايات المتحدة عمليا بشحن الاسلحة الفوري لايران عن طريق إسرائيل وبتمويل سعودي. فقد كشف مسؤولون إسرائيليون على مستوى عال اشتركوا في تنفيذ هذه الصفقات أنّ الهدف من وراء ذلك كان للتشجيع على القيام بإنقلاب عسكري ضد الخميني وإعادة التحالف التقليدي. ومن قبيل الصدفة، حدث كل ذلك قبل أزمة الرهائن بكثير، وكان صورة من الصور العديدة لفضيحة ايران ـ كونترا التي تمت التغطية عليها في عملية كان القصد منها السيطرة على حملات التجريح التي تشنها وسائل الاعلام ضد الكونجرس. تمت مواصلة إنتهاج هذا الأسلوب للاطاحة بالحكومات المدنية غير المرغوب فيها في كل من أندونسيا وتشيلي وفي دول أخرى، وحقاً ثبت أنّ هذا النهج هو من المؤامرات شبه الثابتة التي تحيكها الادراة الامريكية. يمكن

تلخيص هذا النهج كما يلي: "اذا أردت الإطاحة بنظام حكم ما، فما عليك إلاّ دعم قواته المسلحة، داجيا أن تجد من ينفذ المهمة لحسابك من الداخل."

(٢٩) الجدير بالذكر أنّه بموجب هذا المفهوم الاستراتيجي، فان تسوّية سياسية للنزاع العربي – الإسرائيلي ليست ذات أهمية، ويمكن أن تكون قصرية طبقا للمصالح الامريكية. فلا عجب اذا وجدنا أنّ الولايات المتحدة قد سدت الطريق بوجه أية تسوية سياسية للنزاع العربي ـ الاسرائيلي لمدة عشرين عاما.

(٣٠) لقد تم الكشف وبشكل دراماتيكي عن عمق موقف الرفض هذا في الرابع عشر من يناير (كانون ثاني) عام ١٩٩١م عندما قامت فرنسا بالتقدم الى الامم المتحدة بمشروع قرار يدعو الى الانسحاب الفوري للقوات العراقية من الكويت مقابل التزام مجلس الأمن بمعالجة القضية الفلسطينية "في وقت يراه مناسبا"، ولم يتم تحديد ذلك الوقت. غير أنّ الولايات المتحدة وبدعم من ذنبها بريطانيا أعلنت فورا بانها ستستخدم حق النقض (الفيتو) لمنع إستصدار مثل ذلك القرار. كرر مشروع القرار الفرنسي المضمون الأساسي لإعلان مجلس الأمن الذي عبر فيه أعضاؤه عن رأيهم بأن "مؤتمرا دوليا للسلام يتم عقده في وقت مناسب وضمن تركيبة صحيحة يمكن أن يساهم في تحقيق تسوية متفق عليها وسلام دائم بشأن النزاع العربي ـ الإسرائيلي." وكان هذا الاعلان ملحقا بقرار مجلس الأمن رقم ٦٨١ الصادر في ديسمبر (كانون أول) الذي يدعو فيه إسرائيل مراعاة مواثيق جنيف ولم يتم دمج ذلك الاعلان مع نص القرار تجنبا لإستخدام امريكا لحق النقض (الفيتو). والجدير بالذكر أنه لم يكن هناك أي ارتباط بينه وبين الغزو العراقي الذي لم يتم التطرق له. فقد فضلت الولايات المتحدة خوض غمار الحرب على ألاّ تسمح لأي بصيص أمل بامكانية القيام بجهد دولي لمعالجة القضية الفلسطينية ـ الاسرائيلية في يوم من الأيام. غير أنّ هذه الحجج المقدمة يجب أن لاتفت من عضدنا.

(٣١) ومن الجدير بالذكر أيضا أنّ الولايات المتحدة كانت تعارض بشدة أية تسوية دبلوماسية للمسألة الثانية التي جرت إثارتها إبّان أزمة الخليج والتي كانت تتمثل بقدرات العراق العسكرية الخطيرة. وحول هذه المسألة كان الرفض الامريكي "لمسألة الربط" مذهلا حقا اذ أنّ الجدل بشأن مسألة نزع السلاح يجب ان يتم ضمن سياق إقليمي. وقد أثار العراق هذه المسألة عدة مرات منذ أغسطس (آب)، غير أنّ كل المقترحات التي تقدم بها العراق إمّا أن تكون الولايات المتحدة قد رفضتها أو تناستها بحجة أنها لاتستطيع القبول بمسألة الربط في مثل هذه المشكلة الفريدة. ومرة أخرى، نعلم جيدا أنّه لاتوجد أية علاقة بين "مسألة الربط" و "مكافأة المعتدي" و "مسألة نزع السلاح." وفي واقع الأمر فقد تقدم صدام حسين بإقتراح مماثل في أبريل (نسيان) عام ١٩٩٠م، عندما كان صديقا وحليفا لجورج بوش. ومن ثم تقدم بعرض آخر لتدمير أسلحته الكيماوية والبيولوجية اذا وافقت إسرائيل على تدمير أسلحتها غير التقليدية. وقد رفضت وزراة الخارجية ربط مسألة احتلال الكويت "بأية مشاكل أخرى أو انظمة أسلحة." كما تجدر الملاحظة أيضا الى أنّ هذه المسألة بقيت دون تحديد، وإنّ الاعتراف بحيازة إسرائيل لأسلحة نووية يمكن أن يثير التساؤل حول شرعية المساعدات الامريكية لها بموجب تشريعات السبعينات الصادرة عن مجلس الشيوخ والقاضية بحجب المساعدة عن أية دولة متورطة في تطوير أسلحة نووية.

(٣٢) إنّ هذه المسائل على درجة بالغة الأهمية لفهم الأزمة الراهنة والتمعّن في مستقبلها. فقد كانت كلّ من الولايات المتحدة الامريكية والمملكة المتحدة تساندان صدام حسين قبل أغسطس (آب) عام ١٩٩٠م،

وقبل عقد مضى، ساعدت هذه الدول على منع أي رد فعل مناوىء للهجوم العراقي على ايران. وفي حينه، كان العراق واحدا من الدول التي تتعامل مع الاتحاد السوفيتي، غير أنّ ريغان وثاتشر وبوش إعترفوا بأن صدام حسين "حليفهم المدلل" وسعوا الى تغيير وضع علاقته مع السوفييت. وفي غضون سنوات قليلة، أصبح العراق غربي التوجه الى حد كبير، وتم شطب إسم العراق من قائمة الدول التي تدعم الإرهاب وبدأ يصدر نفطه الى الولايات المتحدة ويتلقّى صادرتها الزراعية وغيرها، ولعبت الشركات الغربية دورا فعّالا في بناء قوة العراق العسكرية بما فيها أسلحة الدمار الشامل. وقد تدخلت كل من إدارتي ريغان وبوش تدخلا سافرا لمنع أي انتقاد جارح يوجهه مجلس الشيوخ الامريكي ضد السجل الاجرامي لصديقهما الحميم فيما يتعلق بحقوق الإنسان، وبذلك تكونان قد منعتا قيام أي حضر تجاري ضد العراق يمكن ان يمس عوائد أرباح الشركات الامريكية او يتعارض مع قوة العراق المتنامية. وفي يوليو (تموز) عام ١٩٩٠، صرحت وزارة الخارجية الأمريكية أنّها لاتعارض في واقع الأمر تسوية النزاع الحدودي بين العراق والكويت أو قيام العراق ببث الرعب في نفوس مصدّري النفط الآخرين لرفع سعر برميل النفط الى ٢٥ دولار أو أكثر. ولم يكن هناك أدنى شك في تصور أي شخص بأنّ صدام حسين كان مجرما سفاحا. غير أنّه كان من المفترض أن يكون "أداة بلطجة في أيدينا"، فقد كان سجله الاخلاقي ملطخا بالدم سلفا، ولم تضف جريمته بإحتلال الكويت سوى القليل الى ذلك السجل. لكن فعلته بإنتزاع استقلال إمارة الكويت كانت الجريمة بحد ذاتها. فالتعذيب والطغيان والروح العدائية وذبح المدنين كانت كلها أمورا مقبولة لدى الولايات المتحدة والمملكة المتحدة شريطة أن لايمس ذلك مصالحهما بسوء سواء أكان الطرف المذنب من دول العالم الثالث ديمقراطي ملتزم أم مجرم سفاح.

(٣٣) وحسب ما جاء على لسان حركة المعارضة العراقية من أجل الديمقراطية التي وقفت لفترة طويلة بحزم وثبات بوجه صديق بوش القديم، فقد أقدم البيت ألابيض على الوقوف بوجه هذه الحركة في فبراير عام ١٩٩٠م عندما سعت الى كسب التأييد لندائها الذي دعت فيه الى إقامة ديمقراطية برلمانية في العراق. وقد إتضح ذلك أيضا باستبعادها قصدا عن دائرة الضوء الاعلامية بعد تفجر الأزمة في أغسطس (آب) حيث كان ذلك طبيعيا نتيجة لموقفها الذي لم يختلف في مضمونه عن الاتجاه السائد لحركات السلام في كل من أوروبا وأمريكا. على العكس من موقف إدارتي ريغان وبوش، فإنّ حركات السلام والحركة الديمقراطية العراقية كانتا دوما تعارضان صدام حسين، وكذلك سرعة اللجوء الى استخدام القوة العسكرية لقطع الطريق أمام الآثار الخطيرة للحظر الاقتصادي والدبلوماسي المفروضين علىالعراق واللذين كان يمكن أن يؤديا الى حل الأزمة بالوسائل السلمية. كما كان يمكن أن تؤدي تلك المحصلة الى تفادي ذبح عشرات الآلآف من البشر وتفادي وقوع كارثة بيئية واضطرابات حادة داخل العراق وامكانية بروز طغيان من نوع جديد، إلاّ أنّه لن يكن في مقدور ذلك الحل تلقين العالم درسا مفاده أنّ إدراة هذا الكون ستتم عن طريق القوة، التي هي لصالح الولايات المتحدة نسبيا.

(٣٤) لقد كان هناك مجموعة من الإمكانات الدبلوماسية للتوصل الى حل لهذه الأزمة منذ اندلاعها في أغسطس (آب)، كان من بينها عروض عراقية وصفها مسئولون امريكيون على مستوى عال بأنها " جدّية" "وقابلة للتفاوض"، إلاّ أنّ واشنطن رفضت كل هذه العروض. وكان اخرها ذلك العرض الذي كشف مسؤولون أمريكيون النقاب عنه مؤخرا في الثاني من يناير (كانون ثاني) عام ١٩٩٠م، أي قبل البدء بعمليات القصف

الجوي ضد العراق. نص هذا العرض على "أن يقوم العراق بالانسحاب من الكويت شريطة أن تتعهد أمريكا بعدم مهاجمة القوات العراقية المنسحبة، وأن تقوم القوات الأجنبية بالإنسحاب من المنطقة وأن تكون هناك إتفاقية بشأن حضر أسلحة الدمار الشامل في المنطقة" (نوت رويس، صحيفة *نيوزدي*، ٤ يناير ١٩٩١م) . وقد وصف مسئولون أمريكيون هذا العرض أيضا على أنّه "غاية في الاهمية" لانه يسقط أية مطالبات بشأن تسوية الحدود "ويشير الى الرغبة العراقية الأكيدة نحو تسوية سلميّة عن طريق المفاوضات." ووصف خبير شرق أوسطي في وزارة الخارجية الأمريكية هذا العرض على أنّه "موقف جدّي لمرحلة ما قبل المفاوضات. إلاّ أنّ الولايات المتحدة رفضت ذلك العرض فورا" (رويس).

(٣٥) وفي اليوم التالي (٥/١/ ١٩٩١م) أوردت صحيفة *نيويورك تايمز* خبرا مفاده أن ياسر عرفات قد صرح بعد جولة من المشاورات أجراها مع الرئيس العراقي صدام حسين الى أنهما "لايصران على حل القضية الفلسطينية قبل الانسحاب العراقي من الكويت." وبموجب هذا التصريح، فإنّ "تصريح صدام حسين الذي أدلى به في الثاني عشر من أغسطس (آب) عندما ربط الانسحاب العراقي بالانسحاب الاسرائيلي من الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة لم يعد ساري المفعول كشرط تفاوضي." وكل ما هو مطلوب هو "تعهد قوي يضمنه الاعضاء الخمسة الدائمون في مجلس الامن الدولي يتمثل بحل كافة المشاكل في منطقتي الخليج والشرق الاوسط، وخصوصا القضية الفلسطينية."

(٣٦) قبل أسبوعين من الموعد النهائي لانسحاب القوات العراقية، بدأت الخطوط العريضة للتسوية الدبلوماسية تتمحور حول هذه النقاط:

- سحب القوات العراقية من الكويت على أن تتعهد الولايات المتحدة بعدم التعرض للقوات المنسحبة.
- سحب القوات الاجنبية من المنطقة.
- الالتزام الجدي لمجلس الامن الدولي بتسوية المشكلتين الأقليميتين الرئيسيتين وهما الصراع العربي ـ الإسرائيلي ومشكلة إنتشار أسلحة الدمار الشامل، وطرح المشاكل الحدودية جانبا للنظر فيها فيما بعد.

لانستطيع تقييم توقعات التسوية ضمن هذه الخطوط العريضه لأن كافة مشاريع الحل قد تم رفضها، وقليل منها هو الذي تمكنت وسائل الاعلام من تسليط الأضواء عليه أو أصبح معروفا لدى الجماهير. وبقيت كل من بريطانيا وأمريكا على التزامهما باستخدام القوة العسكرية

(٣٧) إنّ الزعم بأنّ الولايات المتحدة كانت لا تقبل "مكافأة المعتدي" وذلك بمنح الفرصة لمعالجة مستقبلية لهاتين القضيتين الأقليميتين أمر لا يستحق أدنى لحظة تأمل. فقد جرت العادة أن تكافيء الولايات المتحدة المعتدي وتصر على "مسألة الربط" في حالات كانت أبشع من جرائم صدام حسين الأخيرة. هذا يعني أنّ الأسباب التي تم تقديمها لم تكن أسبابا حقيقية، وعلاوة على ذلك، فإنه لم يتم تقديم أي سبب البتة لخوض غمار تلك الحرب. كان ذلك واضحا جدا اذا رغب الواحد منّا مراجعة حساباته.

(٣٨) ومرة اخرى، لم تكن الاسباب الحقيقية لاندلاع هذه الحرب غامضة كل الغموض. فقد كانت الولايات المتحدة تعارض التسوية السلمية لكافة المسائل "المرتبطة." ولهذا السبب كانت تعارض "مسألة الربط" ذات الصبغة الدبلوماسية. فإذا كان ذلك يعني حربا مدمرة فلتكن. أما بالنسبة لعروض الانسحاب الأخرى

التي تم تقديمها في فبراير (شباط) ١٩٩١م، فقد تم رفضها بازدراء شديد على أسس سخيفة لاتستحق البت بها، واعتبار هذه العروض لا تعدّ لثقافة المفوض بشيء.

(٣٩) منذ بدء النزاع كان الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش واضحا كل الوضوح عندما أعلن "بأنّه لن تكون هناك أية مفاوضات وإنّ الدبلوماسية ستقتصر على إعطاء مهلة إنذار للإستسلام او الموت. وهذا لايحتاج أكثر من متعام عن الحقيقة لفهمه. فلا توجد أية علاقة بين أسباب إندلاع الحرب وبين مسألة "مكافأة المعتدي" أو "مسألة الربط" أو مسألة "ضم العراق للكويت" (فقد رفضت الولايات المتحدة فورا تلك الحلول التي تقضي بالغاء عملية الضم.). كما لا توجد أية علاقة بين هذه الاسباب ووحشية جرائم صدام حسين الأخيرة التي كانت كذلك منذ أمد بعيد، غير أنّ أحدا لم يعرها أي إهتمام آنذاك. علاوة على ذلك فإنّ جرائم صدام حسين الأخيرة لايمكن مقارنتها بتلك الجرائم التي دعمتها كل من بريطانيا والولايات المتحدة، وأخذتا بيد مرتكبيها كغزو الإبادة الذي قامت به أندونيسيا وضمها لتيمور الشرقية، حيث لاتزال عبارات الثناء تنهال على كل من أمريكا وبريطانيا ليومنا هذا لقاء دعمهما الحاسم. لقد إنحطّ موقف كل من بريطانيا وأمريكا تجاه هذه القضية حتى وصل الى الدرك الاسفل من الاشمئزاز يصعب تقديره حتى بمعايير الحيل والخداع. وهو اشمئزاز يأخذ تفسيره بألباب ثقافتنا الفكرية بحيث أصبح لا يوحي للمرء بالسخرية فحسب بل بالإستهزاء منه.

(٤٠) لقد وجّهت هذه الاعتبارات أنظارنا نحو المستقبل اذ لا أرى بصيص أمل في اجراء أية تعديلات على أهداف الولايات المتحدة بشأن إنتاج النفط والعوائد التي تجنيها أو التخلي عن مبدأها الرافض لفض النزاع العربي ـ الإسرائيلي.

(٤١) منذ عام ١٩١٧م ، كانت الحجج المقدمة التي تبرر التدخل الأمريكي تكمن في مواجهتها لروسيا. وقبل الثورة البلشفية كان المبرر يكمن في مواجهة الهون والانجليز "والعفاريت المتمركزين في كندا" أو "الهنود الحمر المتوحشون القساة" الذين يعود تاريخهم الى مرحلة إعلان الاستقلال. وفي السنوات الأخيرة، لم يعد الروس حجة لتبرير التدخل الأمريكي. لقد التزم الغزو الأمريكي لبنما نفس النمط، غير أنّه كان حدثا تاريخيا فريدا لأنه كان أول عمل عدواني أعقب مرحلة الحرب الباردة وكانت المناشدة بالتهديد الروسي آنذاك أبعد من تهيؤات من أصابته الحمى. لذا كانت الولايات المتحدة تدافع عن نفسها ضد "الارهاب النرجسي" (حلمها بوجود خصيم). ولم يتغير شيء عن ذي قبل سوى التشدق البياني.

(٤٢) وكما أشرنا منذ البداية، يوجد عدد من التغييرات الحقيقية في النظام العالمي تمخض عنها مجموعة من النتائج الهامة التي يمكن إيجازها بما يلي:

١. على مستوى التشدق البلاغي، دعت الحاجة الى اختلاق مبررات جديدة للتدخل الأمريكي.
٢. فتح إنتهاء الحرب الباردة الطريق "لأمركة" عدد كبير من جمهوريات الاتحاد السوفياتي على نمط أمركة دول أمريكا اللاتينية.
٣. فتح زوال خطر قوة الردع السوفياتيه المجال أمام الولايات المتحدة بإستخدام القوة العسكرية بحرية أكثر من ذي قبل.

(٤٣) وفي النظام العالمي الجديد، يجب السيطرة على مقدرات دول العالم الثالث، ولو أدى ذلك الى اللجوء لاستخدام القوة العسكرية أحيانا. لقد كان هذا الواجب وما يزال مناطاً بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

غير أنّ هذا العبء اصبح ثقيلا نظرا للتدهور النسبي في إقتصادها. وكان أحد ردود الفعل هو أن تواصل الولايات المتحدة الاضطلاع بهذا الواجب التاريخي بينما يدفع الآخرون فاتورة تكاليف التنفيذ. جاء ذلك على لسان مساعد وزير الخارجية الامريكي أيجل بيرجير حين قال: " إنّ العالم الجديد سوف يرتكز على أساس جديد من الابتكار في ممارسة الشئون الدبلوماسية." وهذا يعني أن دولا أخرى سوف تقوم بتمويل التدخل الأمريكي للمحافظة على النظام العالمي الجديد. ففي صحيفة *الفايننشل تايمز* اللندنية، وصف المعلق الصحفي المختص بشئون الاقتصاد العالمي ديفيد هيل أزمة الخليج بأنها "كانت علامة فارقة في العلاقات الدولية للولايات المتحدة"، وأنها "حوّلت" من الوجهة التاريخية "القوة العسكرية الامريكية الى سلعة عامة تمول عالميا". وواصل ديفيد هيل حديثه قائلا: "وفي عقد التسعينات، لن يكون هناك بديل حقيقي أكثر وضوحا لدور المرتزق الذي سليعبه الجيش الأمريكي أكثر من ذلك الدور الذي لعبه في الماضي" (ديفيد هيل، *الفايننشل تايمز*، ٢١ نوفمبر ١٩٩٠م).

(٤٤) أمّا صحيفة *الديلي تربيون* المعروفة بإتجاهها المحافظ، فقد عبرت عن نفس المضمون بأسلوب أقل كياسة عندما كتبت تقول: "يجب أن نستغل إحتكارنا الفعلي للسوق الأمنية . . . كما تعمل الرافعة لنكسب العوائد المالية والتنازلات الاقتصادية من كل من المانيا واليابان" (وليم نيكرك، *شيكاغو تربيون*، سبتمبر ١٩٩٠م). وبذلك تكون الولايات المتحدة قد وضعت "السوق الأمنية الأوروبية في مأزق حرج"، ولهذا ستحمل هذه السوق الشعار العالمي "شرطي للأجرة" او بتعبير أدق "سفاح للأجرة"، ولو كان الأخير أقل جاذبية. وسيطلق علينا البعض لقب "المرتزقة الهستيون" على الرغم من أن هذا اللقب سيجرد هذا الاصطلاح من مضمونه الاصلي الذي يطلق عادة على قوة عسكرية تتمتع بقدر عال من الفخر والإحترام وتكون جيدة التدريب والتمويل. بالرغم مما سيقوله البعض عنا، فاننا يجب ان "ندقّ بسواعدنا الصلبة القوية على أبواب كل من إدارتي حكومتي اليابان والمانيا وأن ننتزع منهما السعر المعقول لقاء خدماتنا الجليلة، وأن نطالب منافسينا بشراء صكوك إسرائيليتنا بمعدلات منخفضة أو بدعم الدولار، والافضل من ذلك كله الدفع عدا نقدا لصالح خزينتنا". وختم نيكرك مقاله قائلا: "نستطيع أن نغيّر دور فارض النظام هذا، غير أنّ ذلك سيؤدي بنا الى فقدان السيطرة على النظام الاقتصادي العالمي."

(٤٥) كيف نتوقع إذن أن تتكيف السياسة الامريكية تجاه الشرق الأوسط لتتناسب مع المتغيرات الجديدة؟ فليس ثمة ما يدعونا الى توقع حدوث تغييرات في المباديء التي تقود ذلك النهج السياسي ولا توجد ضغوط شعبية تُذكر لتغيير ذلك النهج . فأثناء عمليات الاقتراع يعبّر حوالي ثلاثة أرباع لناخبين على دعمهم للاجماع العالمي بشأن تسوية سلمية على أساس إقامة دولتين على أرض فلسطين، غير أنّ القليل من هؤلاء من يعي التفرد الأمريكي في سد الطريق أمام عملية السلام أو حتى الحقائق المبدئية كموقف الولايات المتحدة والسجل الدبلوماسي المحجوبين تماما عن وسائل الإعلام ومناظرات الجماهير. لذا يوجد أمل ضعيف بتوقّع حدوث تغيير في موقف الرفض الأمريكي.

(٤٦) إنّ هذا الامر ليس أكيدا بطبيعة الحال. فالانقسام التكتيكي الذي حصل منذ عشرين عاما في دوائر الصفوة لايزال قائما ويمكن أن يؤدي الى توليد ضغوط داخلية على الولايات المتحدة للانضمام الى الأسرة الدولية بشأن هذه المسألة. فإذا حدث هذا التغيير الراديكالي، ستبرز فورا مشاكل عويصة أخرى.

(٤٧) ولكنّ الأمر الأكثر احتمالا ـ في رأيي ـ هو مواصلةُ دعم الموقف الذي أعلنه إسحاق رابين

في فبراير (شباط) ١٩٨٩م (عندما كان آنذاك وزيرا للدفاع) حين عبّر أمام مجموعة من قادة حركة "السلام اليوم" عن إرتياحه التام بشأن سير الحوار الذي يدور بين الادارة الأمريكية ومنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، والذي لايحمل في طياته أي مضمون، ويجري على مستوى حكومي عادي ويساعد على صرف الانظار عن محاولات إسرائيل المستميته لسحق الانتفاضة الفلسطينية. فقد وعد رابين محدثيه بان الفلسطينين "سينكسروا"، وقد يكون صادقا في قوله لانّ هناك درجة تحمل للجسد البشري. فإذا كان الأمر كذلك، ستكون كلا من الولايات المتحدة وإسرائيل قادرتين (كما فعلتا قبل أربعين عاما) على الإستمرار بافتراضها بأن الفلسطينين "سيتحولون الى رماد إنساني وقمامة مجتمع"، في الوقت الذي يتدفق فيه اليهود الروس الى إسرائيل ذات الرقعة المتسعة بدعم مادي من الولايات المتحدة التي منعت هولاء اليهود من الدخول والعيش فيها بموجب تشريعات أنكرت عليهم حق الاختيار كانت قد صممتها الولايات المتحدة خصيصا لذلك الغرض تاركة بذلك المسائل الدبلوماسية موضع جدال. فمنذ زمن بعيد وبدعم من الولايات المتحدة قامت إسرائيل بسد الطريق أمام أية فرصة للنهوض الاقتصادي في المناطق المحتلة. لقد سمحت للفلسطينين بالعمل كعبيد فعليين لدعم الاقتصاد الإسرائيلي، غير أنّ هذا الخيار أيضا قد تقلص بشكل حاد. فقد وجّه أمر حضر التجول الذي فرضته إسرائيل إبّان حرب الخليج ضربة أخرى الى ما تبقى من الاقتصاد الفلسطيني. وضمن المسار الطبيعي لمجريات الأحداث، فإنه لن يكون هناك سوى فرص ضيئلة للقدرة على البقاء وإنّ عملية "التهجير الصامتة" لهولاء الفلسطينين القادرين على الهجرة يمكن ان تزيل آخر عائق أمام تولي إسرائيل الكامل لزمام الأمور.

(٤٨) وهناك أكثر من سبب متوقع من وراء إستمرار الولايات المتحدة موقفها التقليدي الرافض والذي تجلى مؤخرا من خلال خطة بيكر- شامير- بيريز عام ١٩٨٩ التي تحظر قيام دولة فلسطينية (ما دام الاردن دولة قائمة سلفا). كما تحظر هذه الخطة أيضا إجراء أية "تغييرات في وضع يهودا والسامرة وقطاع غزة الا بموجب التوجيهات الاساسية للحكومة الاسرائيلية" التي تستثني أي معنى لحق تقرير المصير بالنسبة للفلسطينين وترفض التفاوض مع منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، وبذلك تنكر على الفلسطينيين حقهم في إختيار ممثليهم السياسين، وتدعو الى "إنتخابات حرة " تتم تحت الحكم العسكري الاسرائيلي في الوقت الذي يقبع فيه معظم أعضاء القيادة الفلسطينية في معسكرات الاعتقال. أمّا بالنسبة للفلسطينيين الذين تم إختيار قيادتهم في واقع الامر عن طريق إسرائيل وامريكا فانه سُيسمح لهم جمع القمامة من شوارع نابلس ووضع نسب الضرائب في رام الله. أما القادرون منهم فسوف يهاجرون. وعندها ستكون مهمة وسائل الاعلام والمثقفين البحث عن ذرائع جديدة لانتهاج السياسات القديمة وكيل الثناء والإطراء على المثل العليا والاهداف النبيلة للإدارة الأمريكية التي لم يستطع أحد إدراك أبعادها الكاملة لسوء الحظ بسبب الموقف المتصلب للفلسطينيين ومخاوف إسرائيل واللذين يمكن فهم موقفهما بسهولة نظرا لأنهما بشر مثلنا وليسوا حثالات من العالم الثالث.

(٤٩) لقد خلقت القيادتان السياسيتان في كل من واشنطن ولندن كوارث إقتصادية وإجتماعية في بلديهما، وليس لديهما أدنى فكرة حول كيفية التعامل معها بإستثناء اللجوء الى إستغلال قوتيهما العسكرية. وإذا ما اتبعتا نصيحة صحافة الاعمال التجارية، فإنّهما ستحاولان تحويل بلديهما الى دولتين مرتزقتين تعملان على خدمة المافيا العالمية "وعلى بيع الحماية للاثرياء" "والدفاع عنهم ضد تهديد دول العالم الثالث" "وطلب" الأجر المناسب لقاء تلك الخدمات. وهكذا ينساب الثراء من الدول الخليجية المنتجة للنفط لدعم الإقتصاد المنهار لهاتين الدولتين. أمّا بالنسبة لبقية دول العالم الثالث فستتم السيطرة عليها من خلال الضغوط الاقتصادية اذا

أمكن وإلا باللجوء الى القوة العسكرية إذا لزم الأمر.

(٥٠) وقد بدت تظهر بعض الخطوط العريضة لمخطط النظام العالمي الجديد حالما توقف التشدق البياني المضلل.

Appendix B: Text -١A.

"After the Cold War: U. S. Middle East Policy",
By: Prof. Naom Chomsky,
Beyond The Storm, ١٩٩١

سياسة الربط: دور الصراع العربي ـ الاسرائيلي في حرب الخليج

(١) لو كانت إدارة الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش أقل حدةً في معارضتها لحق الشعب الفلسطيني في تقرير مصيره، وكانت أكثر حساسيةً لمجمل الآراء في العالم العربي، فإنّ ردها سيكون أقل رفضاً في محاولة العراق استخدام مسألة "الربط" في تعامله السياسي في نزاع الخليج. إنّ رفض الادارة الامريكية المتشدد لمسألة الربط (سواء كان ذلك الرفض موضوعيا أم غير موضوعي) بين الصراع الفلسطيني ـ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي والصراع في منطقة الخليج بقي أحادي القطب خلال الازمة. غير أن ذلك الرفض لم يكن واقعيا نظرا لأن كلا من جورج بوش ووزير خارجيته جيمس بيكر إرتأيا _ حتى قبل إنتهاء النزاع المسلح_ أنه بات من المناسب أن يوجّها أنظارهما الى هاتين المسألتين دون الإعتراف بالربط بينهما. وبعد هزيمة العراق، بدأت إدارة الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش ما وصفته بمسيرة السلام في الشرق الأوسط، مؤكدة على أهمية الربط بين هاتين المسألتين وإن لم يكن بينهما رابط فعلي.

(٢) بالرغم من أنّه نودي بمسألة الربط وعلى الرغم من أنّه قد تم رفضها، غير أنّ الفهم الدقيق للعناصر المكونة لهذه المسألة لم يعطها طرفا النزاع حقها في الوضوح. كما يجدر التذكير بأنّ إصطلاح "الربط" قد انبثق من سياسات الحرب الباردة، وأنّه تمت الاشارة اليه في مناسبات عديدة على أنّه الاهتمام الاستراتيجي لقوة من القوى في منطقة معينة بحيث تكون هذه القوة متحمسة لفض أي نزاع مهما كان نوعه، وتكون مستعدة لتقديم التنازلات لصالح الطرف المنافس لها في منطقة أخرى تنظر الى مصالحها فيها على أنها غير حيوية. بيد أنّ سياسة الربط يمكن أن تنبثق من معايير ومصالح أكثر موضوعية وجوهرية. يتمثل المفهوم الاول للربط بالدعوة الى تسوية أزمة الخليج بقبول مبدأ الانسحاب العراقي من الكويت (وهو هدف حيوي للسياسة الامريكية) مقابل الالتزام الامريكي بتحقيق تسوية للصراع الفلسطيني ـ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي الذي يمكن أن يكون هدفا رئيسيا في سياسة العراق الخارجية. لقد سخرت إدارة الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش من ادعاءات العراق بأنّ غزوه للكويت كان مرتبطا بطريقة أو بأخرى بالتزام العراق نحو حقوق ومصالح الدول العربية التي تحتل إسرائيل جزأ من أراضيها ونحو حقوق ومصالح الشعب الفلسطيني. وقد جاء الرفض الامريكي للتأكيدات العراقية بهذا المعنى والوضوح بناء على التصريحات التى أدلى بها النظام العراقي نفسه ولأنّه بات الآن في حكم المؤكد والواضح أنّ العراق برر غزوه واحتلاله الكويت على أساس مطالب تاريخية أو مشاكل اقليمية ـ حدودية واقتصادية. صحيح أنّ العراق أشار الى وجود علاقة بين المشكلتين وخصوصا بعد احتلاله الكويت، الاّ أنّه نظر الى مسألة الربط في معظم الاحيان بمنظار مبادىء ومعايير العلاقات الدولية والقانون الدولي. وبناء على ما تم تأكيده من خلال السجلات العامة والتصريحات الأخرى، فإنّ العراق لم يتعهد بالانسحاب غير المشروط من الكويت، سواء تم التوصل الى تسوية للصراع الفلسطيني ـ الاسرئيلي ـ العربي وسواء تأتّى ذلك عن طريق مبادرة من جانب الولايات المتحدة او من جانب الامم المتحدة. لذا إستمر النظر الى عملية الربط في كل من الوطن العربي واقطار العالم الاخرى انطلاقا من عوامل تاريخية أو سياسية او قيم معيارية. ولهذا سأنظر الى مسألة الربط بين هذين الصراعين كما بدت لذلك الجزء من العالم العربي ـ وخصوصا الجانب الفلسطيني ـ الذي لم يبارك الحل العسكري للنزاع في منطقة الخليج الذي أوحت به أمريكا.

(٣) ولدّ الغزو العراقي للكويت في الثاني من أغسطس (آب) نوعين مختلفين من ردود الفعل في العالم العربي. شكك رد الفعل الاول والسياسة العليا التي لازمته ملازمة منطقية بشرعية الإجراء العراقي على أساس أنّ جميع الدول العربية قد التزمت منذ زمن بعيد بالقبول بشرعية مبدأ تقرير المصير واحترام وحدة أراضي وسيادة الدول في المنطقة. وبالرغم من أنّ العراق برر غزوه للكويت بمطالب تاريخية ذات علاقة بالنظامين الاداري والسياسي للمنطقة قبيل قيام الامبريالية الغربية بتجزئتها، إلاّ أنّ الدول العربية تقدر الاساس الاخلاقي للمطلب التاريخي او الاقليمي دون القبول بمضمونه السياسي بالطريقة التي مارسها العراق.

(٤) ففي عام ١٩٩٠ لم يكن هناك شكا (كما لم يكن في سابقه عام ١٩٦١ عندما نال الكويت استقلاله وسيادته الكاملين) بأنّ العراق والكويت ومعظم أرجاء العالم العربي كانت قبل الحرب العالمية الاولى تشكل بطبيعة الحال وحدة جيو- سياسية على أساس قاعدة عريضة ومختلفة. وقد ساهمت كل من عملية تأسيس الدول العربية التي ميزت التطور السياسي في المحيط العربي منذ بداية القرن التاسع عشر والتدخل الامبريالي الاوروبي بشكل بارز في ظهور نظام الدولة الحديث. وسواء قبلت شعوب المنطقة بشرعية هذا النظام عندما ظهر أم لم تقبل فذلك أمر غير ذي أهيمة في بحثنا الحالي. فالحقيقة تبقى أنّه ظهر نظام لدول عربية، واصبح لكل دولة حدودا اقليمية رسمتها على الغالب القوى الغربية (بالنسبة للحدود بين العراق والكويت والسعودية، فقد قامت بريطانيا بترسيمها). وقد تسبب هذا بمجموعه في صبغ الهوية القومية على أساس اقليمي.

(٥) هناك نوعان من القيم بقي العرب متمسكين بهما. تزامن ذلك مع ظهور نظام الدولة الحديثة. فمن ناحية، قبلت هذه الدول جميعها هويتها القومية كدول عربية (وغالبا ماورد ذلك في نصوص دساتيرها)، وبهذا تكون قد أكدت على درجة التلاحم الثقافي العرقي الذي يمكن أن يساهم في تحقيق نظام سياسي أشمل. وعندما بدأت الدول العربية إنشاء علاقات سياسية مع بعضها البعض بتأسيس جامعة الدول العربية، إلتزمت بتحسين عرى التنسيق والتعاون واحترام إستقلال وسيادة كل منها، وتسوية خلافاتها (أياً كان نوعها) بالطرق السلمية. إنّ هذا الالتزام الجماعي العربي الذي انعكس بتمسك الدول العربية بميثاق جامعة الدول العربية لم يمنع أي دولة عضو في الجامعة من ايجاد تقارب أو وحدة مع أعضاء آخرين. ولقد تم التوضيح بأن مثل تلك البوادر ثنائية كانت أم متعددة الاطراف من أجل الوحدة او الدمج تنسجم مع المبادىء العريضة للتعاون العربي والوحدوي وتأتي تلبية لطموح قومي عربي هام. غير أنّ إنجاح مثل هذه الاتحادات يجب أن يكون بمحض الارادة الحرة لتلك الدول.

(٦) بغض النظر عن المبررات التاريخية والاقتصادية أو الاقليمية التي تقدم بها العراق، كان غزوه للكويت في حقيقة الامر انتهاكاً لمبدأ إحترمته أنظمة الحكم العربية منذ زمن بعيد. ولهذا رأت الدول العربية في هذا الغزو انتهاكاً لحقوق الشعب الكويتي في تقرير مصيره. ففي مؤتمر القمة العربية الذي تم عقده في القاهرة في العاشر من أغسطس (آب) عام ١٩٩٠ لم يبارك أي من أعضاء الجامعة العمل العسكري العراقي. والواضح ان الخلاف الذي وقع بين هذه الدول كان مرده تبني القرار الذي يصادق على استخدام القوة العسكرية الامريكية لردع العمل العسكري العراقي.

(٧) برزت آنذاك ثلاث مسائل أوحت بوجود علاقة ربط قوية وواضحة بالصراع الفلسطيني ــ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي، وهي حق تقرير المصير وجواز الاستيلاء على أراضي دولة أخرى ووسائل تسوية الصراعات بين الدول.

(٨) كان الموقف الجماعي العربي بشأن الحاجة لقبول مبدأ تقرير المصير بالنسبة للشعب الكويتي منسجما بوضوح مع الدافع التاريخي للشعب العربي عامةً والشعب الفلسطيني خاصةً وخصوصاً في ممارسة الكويتيين لحقهم في تقرير مصيرهم. إنّ حق الشعب الفلسطيني في تقرير مصيره قد بورك دوليا وصوتت عليه الامم المتحدة. إلاّ أنّ ممارستهم لذلك الحق رفضته اسرائيل بشدة، ناهيك عن القول بأنّ الولايات المتحدة عارضت بتعنت شديد حق الفلسطينيين في تقرير مصيرهم. وعندما بررت ادارة الرئيس الاميركي جورج بوش عملياتها العسكرية الوشيكة ضد العراق على أساس حق الكويتيين الوطني في تقرير مصيرهم، جعلت مسألة الربط بين النزاعين واضحة. ولكن الاهم من ذلك هو أنّ رد فعل شعوب المنطقة كان واضحاً منذ اندلاع الصراع. فالدول العربية التي شاركت الولايات المتحدة بعملياتها العسكرية قامت بذلك دعما لتقديرها لحقيقة الربط بين النزاعين والحاجة الى طرد القوات العراقية. غير أنّه يتوجب من الوجهة التاريخية التوضيح بأنّ كافة الدول العربية (تلك التي تعاونت مع أمريكا وتلك التي عارضت العمل العسكري) كانت قد ساندت على الدوام حق الشعب الفلسطيني في تقرير مصيره. إنّ ما اتضح من خلال النقاش العام لمسألة الربط هو درجة تحمس الولايات المتحدة وحلفاؤها الاوروبيين في مواصلة سعيهم الدؤوب انطلاقا من اهتمامهم بمبدأ تقرير المصير. فاذا كان هذا المبدأ ملزما في حالة ما يجب أن يكون ملزما في جميع الحالات المشابهة. وحالما انفض النزاع أصبح من الواضح أنّه بالرغم من أنّ مسألة الربط لم تكن مثمرة حقا في تغيير السياسة الامريكية، إلاّ أنّ إدارة الرئيس الامريكي بوش بدأت تصرف بعض الاهتمام بشأن إصرار العرب الفلسطينيين على مبدأ المساواة.

(٩) بغض النظر عن شرعية المطالب التاريخية أو القومية للعراق في الكويت شكلت الهجمة العسكرية العراقية على الكويت إنتهاكاً لسيادة الكويت وإنتهاكاً لبنود ميثاقي جامعة الدول العربية وهيئة الامم المتحدة. إنّ لهذه المسألة شقين: هل تستطيع دولة تغيير وضع دولة اخرى والسيطرة على أراضيها بالقوة حتى ولو كان ذلك العمل مبني على أساس مطالب اقليمية وتلك المطالب مبنية بدورها على أساس من الهوية القومية؟ كان رد الفعل العربي الجماعي بشأن هذه المسألة واضحا: وهو أنّه لايجوز تغيير الحدود بين الدول العربية بالوسائل العسكرية. لكن ذلك يجوز بالطرق السلمية شريطة أن يتم ذلك طواعية وبموافقة الدول المعنية.

(١٠) في مواصلة سعيهما لتحقيق الوحدة العربية حققت كل من مصر وسوريا وحدة طوعية بين دولتيهما عام ١٩٥٨، ونالت الجمهورية العربية المتحدة موافقة كل العرب وحازت على الاعتراف الدولي فور تشكيلها. وفي محاولة لازالة أثار الامبريالية الغربية وتلبية لتطلعاتهما القومية، وافقت كل من الجمهورية العربية اليمنية وجمهورية اليمن الديمقراطية الشعبية مؤخرا على دمج سيادتيهما، وكانت النتيجة قيام الجمهورية اليمنية الموحدة. ومرة أخرى، حازت الدولة الجديدة على الاعتراف الفوري على المستويين الإقليمي والدولي.

(١١) يتضح أنّ ردود الفعل المختلفة للمجتمعين الإقليمي والدولي بشأن قيام الجمهورية العربية المتحدة والجمهورية اليمنيه من ناحية وابتلاع العراق للكويت من ناحية أخرى كان مردها الوسيلة وليست الفكرة او التطلع نحو تحقيق وحدة أشمل. وقد جاء رفض إدارة الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش للإجراء العراقي في محله ومنسجماً مع ميثاق الامم المتحدة ومبادىء القانون الدولي. غير أنّ ذلك الرفض تسبب على

المستوى الإقليمي بطرح التساؤل بشأن قبول الولايات المتحدة غزو إسرائيل العسكري لفلسطين وبعض الاراضي العربية المجاورة مع أنّه لايوجد لها أي مطلب قومي أو تاريخي بهذه الاراضي مثل التي تقدم بهما العراق بشأن حقه في الكويت. إنّ مسألة الربط بين الاجراءين على درجة عالية من الوضوح يصعب معه انكارها.

(١٢) تكمن المسألة الثالثة التي تربط بين النزاعين بوضوح في طبيعة قرارات الامم المتحدة بشأنهما. لقد اضطلعت الولايات المتحدة بدور حاسم لحمل مجلس الامن الدولي ليس باصدار قرارات الادانة المناسبة ضد الاجراء العراقي فحسب، بل بفرض العقوبات الاقتصادية أيضا، وأخيرا في الحصول على تصريح باستخدام القوة العسكرية لطرد القوات العراقية من الكويت. وبطبيعة الحال استخدمت الولايات المتحدة كل ما في وسعها لإصدار القرارات المناسبة التي تمكنها من التحرك وتبرير هجومها العسكري الشرس الذي أعقب ذلك. إلاّ أنّ الامم المتحدة ومجلس الامن الدولي بالمقابل اصدرا العديد من القرارات والتوصيات بشأن الصراع الفلسطيني ـ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي وأكثر من تلك التي صدرت بشأن أزمة الخليج. وقد أدانت الامم المتحدة اسرائيل لاستمرارها في إحتلال وضم مرتفعات الجولان السورية ومدينة القدس العربية ولإنتهاكها الحقوق الانسانية والسياسية للشعب الفلسطيني، كما تم توجيه النقد اليها لإنتهاكها إتفاقيات جنيف وعدة مواثيق دولية أخرى تتعلق بحقوق الانسان. وسواء عطلت الولايات المتحدة أم دعمت مسار تطبيق تلك القرارات فإنّ ذلك أمر ليس بذي أهمية في هذه المسألة. أمّا الامر المهم والملفت للانتباه فهو أنّ مثل تلك القرارات قد صدرت عن الجمعية العامة للامم المتحدة وعن مجلس الامن ومع ذلك فانّ الوضع على الطبيعة قد ازداد سوءاً بمرور الوقت. من المؤكد أنّ الولايات المتحدة لم تر اللجوء الى أية وسيلة لممارسة الضغط على إسرائيل مناسباً لإجبارها على التراجع عن قرارها بضم الاراضي العربية (القدس ومرتفعات الجولان السورية) أو التوقف عن الاستعمار المتمثل بتغيير التركيبة الديمغرافية (السكانية) للاراضي الفلسطينية المحتله. فاذا كان الاحتلال غير شرعي في كلا الحالتين، وإذا كان قد أدين الغزو لكلا المنطقتين، واذا كان إجراء الضم إنتهاكا للقانون الدولي وقرارات الامم المتحدة ، فإنّه من الواضح أنّ الإجراءات التي تم تطبيقها بجد ونشاط في حرب الخليج أن تُطبّق بنفس الروح لفض النزاع الفلسطيني ـ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي.

(١٣) أمّا المبدأ الرابع لمسألة الربط الذي برز في المنطقة العربية وتقدم به الفلسطينيون بكل اصرار فيتعلق بصيغة تسوية الخلاف في منطقة الخليج. فبطبيعة الحال، ودّ رؤوساء الدول العربية الذين حضروا مؤتمر القمة العربية في القاهرة التوصل الى تسوية للصراع، غير أنّه في الوقت الذي وافقت فيه الاغلبية الضعيفة على الاقتراح باستخدام القوة، ركزت دول عربية أخرى وعلى رأسها منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية على تسوية النزاع بالطرق السلمية وعن طريق المفاوضات. إنّ تلك الصيغة لتسوية النزاعات بين الدول تنسجم مع ميثاق الامم المتحدة والقانون الدولي، وإنّ تسوية النزاعات عن طريق المفاوضات تبزّ كل تثمين. لقد تمسّك الفلسطينيون بتلك الصيغة وعبروا عنها عياناً جهاراً عند إعلان الإستقلال في مؤتمر الجزائر عام ١٩٨٨ ومن ثم تسلحوا بها للبدء بمبادرة سياسية رئيسية دعت الى تسوية سياسية مع اسرائيل عن طريق المفاوضات تحت المظلة الدولية. وقد كانت وما تزال تسوية النزاع الفلسطيني ـ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي عن طريق المفاوضات هدفاً رئيسياً لسياسة الولايات المتحدة الامريكية لمدة طويلة حققت من خلالها نجاحاً جزئياً في توقيع اتفاقية كامب ديفد. ولهذا السبب يحاول الفلسطينيون والعرب أن يثبتوا أنّ مسألة الربط بين النزاعين

ليست مرتبطةً بالقيم والمعايير والقوانين الدولية وقرارات الامم المتحدة بل هي ذاتية الارتباط بصيغة حل النزاعات الدولية. فاذا كان كل من الفلسطينيين وسوريا ولبنان مستعدين لحل النزاع مع اسرائيل عن طريق المفاوضات وتحت المظلة الدولية، فلماذا إذن لاتتم متابعة نفس الهدف بشأن النزاع العراق ــ الكويتي؟ واذا فشلت المفاوضات والوسائل السلمية، أليس من حق المجتمع الدولي اللجوء الى استخدام القوة في كافة الظروف المشابهة لايقاف الغزو والاحتلال والضم وانتهاك الحقوق الانسانية والسياسية القومية؟

(١٤) إنّ إختباراً سريعاً للتصريحات التي عبرت عن آراء كل من المناصرين والمعارضين لمسألة الربط بين أزمة الخليج والنزاع الفلسطيني ــ الاسرائيلي ــ العربي يكشف أنّ المسائل التي نوقشت أعلاه تشكّل "جوهر" مسألة الربط. كما أنّه نادر ما كانت مثل تلك التصريحات تعكس فهماً للروابط التاريخية بين فلسطين والعراق، وتلك المواجهة السلبية بين اسرائيل والعراق. يبدو أنّه من الانصاف بمكان التلميح بأنّ أولئك الذين عارضوا مسألة ربط النزاعين رأوا في تصميم العراق سلوكاً انتهازياً كان الغرض منه تأليب الرأي العام العربي ضد الولايات المتحدة أو إحراج تلك الدول العربية التي قبلت بقيادة أمريكية في حل النزاع في الخليج العربي أو الغرضين معاً. إلاّ أنّ العكس هو الصحيح. فالعرب الذين نبهوا الى مسألة الربط أرادوا بطبيعة الحال كشف النوايا الحقيقية للولايات المتحدة والتي كانت بعيدةً كل البعد عن الاهتمام بمبدأ حق تقرير المصير ومبادىء القانون الدولي وتنفيذ قرارات الامم المتحدة. وانطلاقاً من هذا المنظور، تعتزم الولايات المتحدة السيطرة على كامل مصادر النفط في المنطقة العربية وبشتى الوسائل المتاحة وشل أية امكانية بقيام قوة عربية يمكن استخدامها للمساهمة في دفع عجلة تقدم العرب وهلم جرا. إن نهج الولايات المتحدة الامبريالي الطابع تجاه جرينادا وبنما ومناطق أخرى في أمريكا الوسطى أوضح مقاييس الولايات المتحدة الحقيقية في السلوك العالمي، وإنّها ــ وعلى مقربة من منطقة الخليج ــ لم تتغاض عن إنتهاكات اسرائيل المتكررة فحسب، بل قامت حتى بدعمها بكافة أنواع المساعدات الاقتصادية والعسكرية، وباركت في الحقيقة اجراء الاستيلاء على الاراضي بالقوة كالعمل الذي قام بها حليفها شاه ايران عندما أقدمت قواته في عام ١٩٧١ على إحتلال وضم ثلاث جزر تابعة للامارات العربية المتحدة.

(١٥) تعمقت الرؤيا العربية في فهم السلوك السياسي والعسكري الامريكي أثناء فترة المواجهة التاريخية بين العرب والغرب عامة وبينهم وبين اسرائيل على نحو خاص. فها هي اسرائيل تحتل فلسطين و هاهي متورطة بانتهاك منظم لحقوق الشعب الفلسطيني ليس نتيجة لالتزام بريطانيا ومساعدتها لها في السابق فحسب، بل ــ والاهم من ذلك ــ عبر دعم الولايات المتحدة الحالي. إن موقف الدعم العراقي للشعب الفلسطيني كان واضحا حتى قبل أن يكون صدام حسين رئيسا للعراق. فقد عارض العراق عملية إبعاد الفلسطينين عن ديارهم وسعى للبحث عن طرق سلمية لاقناع بريطانيا بإستيعاب الشعبين الفلسطيني واليهودي في فلسطين وتجنب فرض القوانين المجحفة بحق الشعب الفلسطيني. وعندما قام الفلسطينيون بالاضراب العام عام ١٩٣٦ وعندما بدأوا ثورتهم الرئيسية اثناء الانتداب، كانت سياسة العراق تتمثل بتقديم الدعم المادي وشبه العسكري واستخدام قنواته الدبلوماسية وعلاقته الجيدة مع بريطانيا لتحقيق حل عادل للنزاع العربي ــ اليهودي. وقد شارك العراق بمحادثات الطاولة المستديرة للقضية الفلسطينية التي جرت في لندن عام ١٩٣٩ وقد ساعدت الاراء التي طرحها على إستصدار الكتاب الابيض حول مستقبل فلسطين، كما كان العراق حقاً سنداً قوياً للفلسطينين في السنوات الاولى من اشراف الامم المتحدة على فلسطين. وبعد مايو (أيار) عام

١٩٤٨، قامت بعض قطعات الجيش العراقي باجتياز الحدود الاردنية ــ الفلسطينية في محاولة يائسة لمنع إسرائيل من الاستحواذ على المزيد من الاراضي العربية. إنّه لفي غاية الاهمية الاشارة الى أنّه على الرغم من حقيقة أنّ الجيش العراقي كان في فلسطين عام ١٩٤٩ ولم ينسحب منها الاّ في سياق المفاوضات الدولية يبقى العراق واحداً من الدول العربية التي لم توقع على إتفاقية الهدنه مع اسرائيل. وانّه بات من الواضح إذن أنّ دعم العراق للشعب الفلسطيني كان متواصلاً على مدى التاريخ وإنّه وبكل تأكيد لم يبدأ دعمه هذا مع قيام حزب البعث أو مع تولّي الرئيس صدام حسين مقاليد الحكم في العراق. فبعد الاطاحة بالنظام الملكي هناك عام ١٩٥٨، نادى الرئيس عبدالكريم قاسم بتحرير فلسطين ودعا الفلسطينيين الأخذ بزمام المبادرة في عملية التحرير والتزم العراق بتقديم التدريب والدعم المطلوبين. وقد تأكّد ذلك الدعم التاريخي عندما تعززت قوة حزب البعث في العراق بعد عام ١٩٦٨ حيث واصل القيام بدور فعال في تعزيز الحقوق الفلسطينية.

(١٦) إنّ الدعم العراقي للفلسطينيين عبر التاريخ ووقوفه ضد الصهيونية واسرائيل يرتبطان ارتباطا وثيقا بمفهوم القومية العربية كفكرة ومن منطلق الهوية العربية للشعبين. لم يؤكد الفلسطينيون هويتهم العربية فحسب بل ــ وبنفس الدرجة من الاهمية ــ اعتبروا فلسطين جزءاً لايتجزأ من التراب القومي العربي. لقد تمخضت هذه النظرة تجاه فلسطين ــ اضافة الى تمسك العراق بمبدأ الوحدة العربية ـ عن بروز سياسة ربطت بوضوح بين النضال من أجل تحرير فلسطين والتزام العرب الآخرين بحرية واستقلال العالم العربي. إنه ذلك الرابط التاريخي والقومي الذي جعل من العراق طرفا في الصراع الفلسطيني ــ الاسرائيلي ــ العربي.

(١٧) لم يقتصر دور العراق على القيام بذلك الدور الفعّال حيال فلسطين نفسها فحسب، بل حاول ــ اضافة الى ذلك ــ تقديم العون والمساعدة الى الدول العربية عندما تورطت بالنزاع المسلح مع اسرائيل عامي ١٩٦٧ و ١٩٧٣ حيث تم إرسال قطعات من الجيش العراقي الى كل من سوريا والاردن إبّان هذين النزاعين.

(١٨) يمكن اعتبار الدور الريادي الذي لعبته القيادة السياسية في العراق في أعقاب توقيع اتفاقية كامب ديفد عام ١٩٧٨ على درجة عالية من الاهمية (ويمكن إعتباره عاملاً رئيسياً وهاماً لاندلاع حرب الخليج). كما يجب ألاّ ننسى أيضا أنّ اتفاقية كامب ديفيد أدت الى خروج مصر من حلبة الصراع العربي ــ الاسرائيلي، وقد عنى خروجها آنذاك عدم قدرتها على الاضطلاع بدور الريادة في العالم العربي. على العكس فقد تم طردها من جامعة الدول العربية. يرجع ظهور دور العراق الريادي المتواضع الى تلك الفترة. إنّ العراق هو الذي قام بتنسيق السياسات العربية لعزل مصر وتنيسق السياسات العربية بشأن القرار المتعلق بالنزاع الفلسطيني ــ الاسرائيلي وتقديم الدعم السياسي للوقوف بوجه مبادرات السلام الامريكية التي تدعم المصالح الاسرائيلية. وإنّه ليس من باب التهويل في القول بأنّ العراق كان يطمح بسد الفراغ الذي خلفته مصر. ومن هنا، فإنّ كل ما قام به العراق يرتبط بالصراع الفلسطيني ــ الاسرائيلي ــ العربي.

(١٩) إنّ نقاشنا لمسألة الربط لايكتمل أبداً إلاّ اذا تم الاخذ بالحسبان الاحساس الاسرئيلي بهوية ودور وتطلعات العراق. بطبيعة الحال، لقد تعاملت إسرائيل مع النظام الملكي في العراق في محاولتها الناجحة إقناع اليهود العراقيين بالهجرة الى فلسطين وقد واجهت أيضا الجيش العراقي في ميدان المعركة وعندما إكتسب العراق قوة اقليمية كبيرة واجه اسرئيل بشكل غير مباشر من خلال من مثله من الفلسطينيين. وقد كانت اسرائيل تعي التزام العراق الكامل تجاه الشعب الفلسطيني. وفي الوقت الذي حصل فيه العراق على أسلحة حديثة وأكتسب خبرة عسكرية واسعة نتيجة لحربه ضد ايران، لعبت اسرائيل قبل ذلك بكثير دورا أكثر أهمية

تمثل في دعم الشاه وتزويد جيشه الامبريالي بالاسلحة وكافة اشكال الدعم الأخرى، وواصلت نفس النهج السياسي إبّان حكم آية الله الخميني (فضيحة ايران جيت : الباحث). إنّ إحساس إسرائيل بأنّ العراق يشكل خطراً على امنها دفعها الى تدمير المفاعل النووي العراقي عام ١٩٨١، وشن الحملات الدعائية التي تحذر من حيازة العراق على اسلحة حديثة. كما أنّه ليس هناك أدنى شك في مخيلة إسرائيل بانّ العراق كان وربما لايزال قوة لها مكانتها في التحالف العربي ضدها. وأنّه ليس بالضرورة أن تكون صواريخ سكود التي أطلقها العراق على اسرائيل قد أكدت ذلك الاحساس أم لم تؤكده. غير انّ التلميحات المستمرة بامكانية التهديد العراقي أوحت الى إسرائيل أن تعد نفسها لمواجهة دور الخصومة المتبادل لكلا الاحتمالين بدأ بالنزاع الفلسطيني ـ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي.

(٢٠) بعد حساب آثار كارثة حرب الخليج، يبقى السؤال الذي يتعلق بامكانية إستعادة العراق لسيادته الاقليمية وماهية الدور الذي سيلعبه مستقبلا نتيجة ذلك رهن الإجابة. غير أنّه ما من شك أنّ الولايات المتحدة قد وصلت الى نتيجة مفادها أنّ قوة العراق لم تعد عاملا حاسما في تسوية النزاع العربي ـ الاسرائيلي، وأنّ قدرة الولايات المتحدة على ممارسة الهيمنة السياسية المباشرة التي لايستطيع احد اعتراض طريقها لم تعد موضع شك في كافة أرجاء الوطن العربي، وإنه يبدو واضحاً أيضاً أنّ الولايات المتحدة أصبحت مستعدةً الآن أكثر من أي وقت مضى للإقرار بمسألة الربط بين أزمة الخليج والصراع العربي ــ الاسرائيلي. فقد أعلن الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش في خطاب نهاية عام ١٩٩٠ أمام مجلس الامن الدولي وفي كلمة لاحقة القاها أمام الكونجرس بأنّ العرب واسرائيل سيجدون أنّه أصبح من السهل عليهم الآن التعامل معاً بشأن فض نزاعهم بعد طرد القوات العراقية من الكويت، وأنّه يجب تحقيق تسوية للمشكلة الفلسطينية. وقد كان وزير الخارجية الامريكي جيمس بيكر على نفس الدرجة من الوضوح أثناء الإدلاء بشهادته أمام الكونجرس بشأن الربط مابين ما نادى به الرئيس العراقي القادة العرب وبين النزاع العربي ـ الاسرئيلي الطويل الأجل، والى حتمية فض هذا النزاع. إنّ الذي إتضح الآن (خصوصا بعد انتهاء حرب الخليج) هو أنّ الاطراف المتخاصمة قد استوعبت بوضوح وجود ذلك الرابط، وإنّها لم تختلف الا بكيفية التعامل معه. فأولئك العرب الذين كانوا متعاطفين مع مسألة الربط كان يحبوهم الامل بالخروج بنتيجة تنسجم مع المبادىء الدولية المتعارف عليها في تقرير المصير ومبدأ المساواه بين الدول واحترام القانون الدولي وتطبيق قرارات الامم المتحدة. أمّا بالنسبة للولايات المتحدة الامريكية، فيمكن تفسير مسألة الربط باطلاق يدها بحرية في فض النزاع الفلسطيني ــ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي حسب مخطط يكون أكثر دعما لاسرائيل وملزّما للفلسطينيين. إنّ المبادرة التي شرع بها وزير الخارجية الامريكية جيمس بيكر فور هزيمة العراق لم تؤكّد على عملية الربط فحسب بل تؤكّد أيضاً على أنّ أي حل لهذا الصراع الحاد يجب أن تباركه الولايات المتحدة انطلاقا من موقعها كقوة مهيمنة لا يشق لها غبار.

Appendix B: Text - ٢A

The Politics of Linkage: The Arab-Israeli Conflict in the Gulf War" "

Prof. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, U.S.A.

Beyond The Storm, ١٩٩١

"حرب المخيلة"

(١) كيف إنخرطنا في هذه الحرب؟ لم يمض سوى عام واحد على إنتهاء الحرب الباردة. ففي مثل هذا الوقت من السنة الماضية إعتقد معظمنا أننا نقف على عتبة حقبة جديدة من السلام والتعاون في القضايا الدولية. كيف تهشم بسرعة ذلك الاحساس بالتفاؤل العارم؟ كيف حدث أنّ الولايات المتحدة الامريكية (وبريطانيا) تدمران يوماً بعد يوم عدواً من العالم الثالث ذا مستو تقني منخفض ، وتستخدمان لهذا الغرض آلةً عسكريةً وقواتاً ومعدات تفوق ما تم نشره في اوروبا بأسرها في أوج الحرب الباردة؟

(٢) لقد كان بحق إنجازاً عظيما أن نرى الامم المتحدة تسارع بالرد على غزو طاغية معروف للكويت. وبالمقارنة مع اجتياحات أخرى ـ الصين للتبت وأندونيسيا لتيمور الشرقية وإسرائيل للبنان ـ انه مما يثلج الصدر أن نرى المجتمع الدولي قد اتخذ موقفا ضد عمل ظالم، وفرض عقوبات اقتصادية لا سابق لها. ماذا جرى إذن؟ كيف إنحط هذا التعاون الكوني الى حرب تقودها الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا؟ كيف تم خطف منظمة الامم المتحدة وجعلها مؤسسة لصنع الحرب؟ كيف أن حدثا مثل هذا سيثبت التاريخ بأنه إبادة بشرية بتقنية عالية قد تم تنفيذه بإسم القانون الدولي؟

(٣) قد يرى البعض أنّ مصالح الغرب النفطية هي السبب، وأنّ الولايات المتحدة الامريكية وبريطانيا إستغلتا ـ على نحو خبيث ـ البغض الأخلاقي لسلوك صدام حسين. ألم تدعم الدول الغربية العراق في حربه ضد ايران من قبل مع أنّ الحرب كانت قد بدأت بعدوان عراقي غير مشروع؟ ففي صحيفة الجارديان الصادرة بتاريخ ٢٤ يناير ١٩٩١م يقر دوجلاس هيرد بإنشراح بالغ حكاية الاهتمام بالمصالح النفطية حين يقول: أنّه باحتلاله الكويت بات العراق يسيطر على ١٨٪ من احتياطي العالم من البترول واذا ما قام باجتياح السعودية فإنّه سوف يسيطر على ٤٤٪ من ذلك الاحتياطي. فإذا كان الأمر كذلك، ألم يكن كافيا الدفاع عن السعودية وممارسة الضغط على صدام حسين من خلال العقوبات الاقتصادية؟ من المؤكد أنّ هذه الحرب تلحق الأذى بإمدادات النفط العالمية أكثر ممّا كان سيفعله عراق متعطش للعملة الصعبة.

(٤) أمّا التفسير الآخر الأكثر احتمالا فيرتبط بنهاية الحرب الباردة إذ يتوجب تفسير نشوب هذه الحرب بمفهوم إنهيار النظام القديم، أي ليس بمعنى أنّ الولايات المتحدة باتت الآن القوة العظمىالوحيدة فحسب بل بالمعنى الاكثر عمقاً وهو أنّ انهيار النظام القديم يتصف بعواقب وخيمة بعيدة المدى تطال كلا من المجتمع والسياسة الامريكية، وأنّ هذه الحرب جاءت كرد فعل دفاعي تجاه الاضطراب العميق الذي احدثته نهاية الحرب الباردة. لذا، فمن أجل تطويرهذا التفسير وتقدير آثار الحرب فقد بات من الضروري فهم الكيفية التي انتظم بها النظام العالمي حتى عام ١٩٨٩.

(٥) كانت الحرب الباردة أسلوباً في تنظيم العلاقات الدولية، وكان التكوين الثابت للحرب الباردة التي إشترك فيها اليمين واليسار بمثابة صراع عميق الجذور بين الشرق والغرب. وإنّ التهديد بقوة الردع العسكرية هو الذي منع اندلاع الحرب بينهما. لم يختلف اليسار واليمين الاّ بشأن تفسير طبيعة هذا الصراع. فبالنسبة لليمين، كانت صراعا بين الحرية والاستبداد. أمّا بالنسبة لليسار،فكان صراعا بين الرأسمالية والاشتراكية. وأماً بالنسبة لكليهما معا فقد كانت شكلاً من اشكال تنافس القوى العظمى. وثمة وسيلة أخرى لفهم هذه الحرب، وذلك ليس بوصفها صراعاً بل نمطاً من أنماط التواطؤ، بالرغم من أنّ اصطلاح "التواطؤ" يمكن أن ينطوي على قدر كاف من القصد الواعي. لقد كان هناك نظامين متمايزين في الشرق والغرب. أولهما النظام الفوردي للرأسمالية وثانيهما النظام الستاليني وما بعد الستاليني للاشتراكية، إلاّ أنه لم يكن بينهما أي

صراع. فكل منهما كان بحاجة الى الآخر، وكل منهما كان مكمّلا للنظام الآخر. فقد كان كلاهما مرتبطين معا ضمن نظام عالمي مشترك حدد مضمون الفترة الواقعة مابين ١٩٤٨-١٩٨٩.

(٦) ينبغي النظر الى المواجهة العسكرية التي مثلت هذا النظام العالمي ليس كحالة ردع بل حرباً متخيلة، وأنّ الطرفين لم يكونا بصدد التحضير لحرب مستقبلية لردع الطرف الآخر، وإنّما كانا يمارسان في الغالب حرباً في نطاق المخيلة. ويوماً بعد يوم يتصرف الطرفان على نحو يوحي بأنّ الحرب العالمية الثانية لم تنته بعد وذلك من خلال المناورات العسكرية وتسلسل احداث المواجهة وأعمال التجسس والتخريب وخطب الحرب الرنّانة. وقد كان لهذا الموقف آثارا عميقة على تصريف شئون النظامين. لقد وفرت الحرب العالمية الثانية الحلول اللازمة لبعض المشاكل الاقتصادية والاجتماعية المستعصية. أمّا الحرب المتخيلة فقد أعادت انتاج حلول الحرب العالمية الثانية بعد مرور عشرين عاما على انقضائها وخلقت مناخ حرب يمكن استخدامه لإدارة الاقتصاد وتوليد التجانس الاجتماعي.

(٧) بالنسبة للغرب، يمكن القول: أنّ الحرب المتخيلة حددت معالم حقبة الرأسمالية الفوردية، كما يمكن وصفها بالمنهج الفوردي في تنظيم العلاقات السياسية الدولية. غير أنّ هذا لايعني بأنها كانت نتيجة لازدهار الفوردية (والمقصود هنا التغييرات التي طرأت خلال النصف الاول من القرن العشرين على أساليب الإنتاج الرأسمالية). إنّها على الأغلب وسيلةً من التلائم مع بعض التناقضات التي أثارها ازدهار الفوردية. وإنّها لم تتولد لاسباب سياسية فحسب بل نتيجة سيرورة سياسية معقدة. إنّ العديد من الخصائص التي نقرنها عادة بالفوردية كالمستوى العالي للانفاق العسكري او الاستهلاك الفردي يمكن تفسيرها أيضا بمفهوم المؤسسات السياسية التي كونت الحقبة الفوردية.

(٨) لقد حلت الحرب العالمية الثانية مشكلات الركود الاقتصادي للثلاثينات، ونتج عنها زيادة هائلة في الانفاق الحكومي في كل من الولايات المتحدة واوروبا وخلقت اجماعا ثنائي الحزبية واحساسا بالتضامن السياسي على النطاق الداخلي وبين صفوف الحلفاء حول الاشتراك في جني ثمار الحرب. وبعد الحرب مباشرة انتقلت الولايات المتحدة الامريكية سياسيا الى صف اليمين في حين انتقلت أوروبا على نحو دراماتيكي الى اليسار. كما فقدت مؤسسات ما قبل الحرب مصداقيتها عبر المهادنة والعمالة. وقد أفرزت إنتخابات ما بعد الحرب حكومات يسارية او تحالفات ذات صبغة يسارية في كافة البلدان الاوروبية. ولهذا السبب قامت الولايات المتحدة بتخفيض حجم الانفاق الحكومي والدعم المالي لحلفائها السابقين على الرغم من أنّ هؤلاء الحلفاء كانوا في ضائقة مادية وأحوج ما يكونوا الى الدولار بسبب الطابع المحافظ للنظام الضريبي والطبيعة اليسارية لهذه الحكومات الاوروبية الجديدة.

(٩) كانت الحرب الباردة وسيلةً لإعادة خلق اجماع ثنائي وحس بالتضامن التحالفي بين أمريكا وبريطانيا على اقل تقدير حيث مكّنت المتعاملين الجدد في الولايات المتحدة من تأمين الدعم لفكرة حكومة كبرى من خلال تأكيد التهديد السوفياتي واصبحت الاحزاب الديمقراطية الاشتراكية والعمالية قادرة على فرض احترامها بتأكيد إبتعادها عن الشيوعيين. وقد وفّر هذا التلاحم الجديد بين الادارة الامريكية وحكومات أوروبا الغربية إطاراً سياسياً لتنظيم الاقتصاد العالمي (في جوانبه المالية والتجارية والتقنية) ولانتشار الفوردية إضافة الى أنّه أقنع الولايات المتحدة بصرف فائض دولاراتها.

(١٠) لا أريد الايحاء بأنّه لم يكن لستالين دور في أصول الحرب الباردة بل على العكس كان إحتلال

أوروبا الشرقية والسلوك الوحشي للجيش الاحمر عنصرين هامين، وأنّه لم يكن في نية الغرب القيام بشيء في تلك المرحلة لمنع التوسع الشيوعي في أواخر الاربعينيات. ولعل الإتفاق بشأن المانيا وتقديم مساعدة مارشال دونما قيد أو شرط كانتا ستقودان الى محصلة أخرى، بيد أنّ تقسيم ألمانيا وقرار إنشاء ألمانيا الغربية وتأسيس حلف الناتو وفرت الشرعية للدور السوفياتي في اوروبا الشرقية والعكس صحيح.

(١١) وكانت ذروة الحرب الباردة ايضا تلك الفترة التي أصبحت تعرف فيما بعد بالعصر الذهبي للرأسمالية. كما يمكن إعتبار الوفاق السياسي والحرب الباردة الجديدة في السبعينات والثمانينات أساليب مختلفة لرد الفعل إزاء أفول ذلك العصر وتراجع الصيغة الفوردية للتوسع الرأسمالي وانبثاق سياسات للتراكم الاقتصادي في ألمانيا الغربية واليابان التي ارتكزت على تقنية جديدة لحقبة ما بعد الفوردية.

(١٢) لقد كانت حرب فيتنام نقطة التحول، وإنه ليس من قبيل الصدفة أن يكون عام ١٩٧١م سنة أول عجز تجاري وخفض لقيمة الدولار وتخل عن نظام بريتون وودز في حساب معدلات التبادل الثابتة. وكانت ايضا السنة التي توجّه فيها كل من نيكسون وكسينجر الى موسكو ودشنا الوفاق السياسي. كانت حرب فيتنام حربا حقيقية والحروب الحقيقية لايمكن التكهن بنتائجها كما هو الحال في الحروب المتخيّلة. لقد إستقطبت حرب فيتنام الرأي العام السياسي بدل أن تعيد خلق اللُحمة الاجتماعية وكانت حرب باهضة التكاليف، فبينما كان هناك نقصا في الدولار أثناء الحرب الكورية ولم يشجّع إنفاق الولايات المتحدة المتزايد سوى الاقتصاد الامريكي أدّى ذلك الإنفاق المتزايد أثناء حرب فيتنام الى التضخم والعجز التجاريين.

(١٣) ومنذ السبعينات وما بعدها لزداد تحول الحرب الباردة الى عقبة في وجه الاستقرار الاقتصادي والسياسي. فتحدى اليسار المساومة الاطلنطية من خلال الحركات الاجتماعية التي انبثقت في أعقاب حرب فيتنام وتولّى اليمين عملية انتقادها من خلال اللبيراليين الجدد الذين فضلوا نمطا اكثر تحرُرا من الرأسمالية. ولم يعد الانفاق العسكري الامريكي يسهل التوسع في الاقتصاد العالمي بل اصبح يشكل عقبة في وجه التنظيم المالي. ونظرا لأنّ الانفاق العسكري امتص الموارد العلمية والتقنية فقد أسهم في أفول صبغة التنافس عن المنتجات الامريكية و بالتالي الى زوال قدرة الولايات المتحدة الامريكية على التحكم في الاقتصاد العالمي. لقد حافظت الحرب الباردة جوهريا على هيكل بنية السلطة الامريكية وحالت بالتالي دون وصول مجموعة جديدة من المؤسسات السياسية التي يمكن ان تقوم بتنظيم الاقتصاد الكوني لحقبة مابعد الفوردية وتدبير ومعالجة التغييرات الدراماتيكية في ميزان الاقتصاد العالمي نتيجة ادخال اساليب جديدة في الانتاج خصوصا في اليابان وغرب أوروبا تركزت على الاستخدام المكثف لتقنية المعلومات.

(١٤) كان قوام الحرب الباردة مجابهةً عسكريةً حقيقيةً بجنود ومعدات وموارد حقيقية وكانت الاستراتيجيات والاسلحة المصممة لها خصيصا والتي يتم تطبيقها في سهول المانيا الشرقية تشبه الى حد ملحوظ التطبيق الفعلي للحرب العالمية الثانية. ففي حين تتغير التقنية المدنية باستمرار طبقا للحاجات المتغيرة التي يشير اليها السوق تتغير التقنية العسكرية تغيرا دراماتيكيا في زمن الحرب وفقا للتجربة في ميدان القتال، أما في زمن السلم فتركن التقنية العسكرية الى الخمول ولا يتم تطبيق الابتكارات الجديدة الا بقدر ما تناسب مهام واستراتيجيات قائمة حددتها حروب سابقة.

(١٥) كانت الحرب العالمية الثانية حربا فوردية وكان المزج بين الانتاج الجماعي ومحرك الاحتراق الداخلي وراء انتصار الحلفاء. إنّ قدرة الولايات المتحدة والاتحاد السوفياتي الانتاجية التي فاقت قدرة المانيا

كانت العامل الحاسم حيث كان معدل الانتاج الشهري للطائرات لمصنع (فورد ويلو رن فاكتوري) تعادل نصف اعلى معدل شهري لكافة مصانع هياكل الطائرات الالمانية وكان اختراع الدبابة والطائرة بمثابة خرق للمعادلة الدفاعية الذي اتصفت بها الحرب العالمية الاولى.

(١٦) كانت الحرب الكورية شبيهةً بذلك تماماً، أمّا بالنسبة للحرب المتخيلة في أوروبا فان الطرفين يعيدان تطبيق نفس اسلوب ومهام الحرب العالمية الثانية واذا كانت هناك فوارق نسقية بين الطرفين فانّه يجب تفسيرها على اساس الاختلافات على الجبهتين الغربية والشرقية. إنّه يبدو وكأنهما لا يتحاربان بل يقاتلان خيالا لجيش ألماني حيث يبدو هذا واضحا عند الاشارة الى الاسلحة النووية. بالنسبة للولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا فقد تصورتا الاسلحة النووية مجرد أسلحة ترويع او مجرد إمتداد لمهام القصف الاستراتيجي، أمّا الصواريخ العابرة للقارات فقد كانتا تنظران إليها كقاذفات قنابل دون طيارين. لقد نفذ الروس القليل من مهام القصف الجوي خلال الحرب (لقد اعتبروا القصف الاستراتيجي عملا وحشيا حقا!). أمّا الاسلحة النووية بالنسبة لهم فقد كانت إمتدادا لسلاح المدفعية الذي كان سلاحا حاسما للغاية خلال الحرب العالمية الثانية.

(١٧) لقد أدخلت حروب فيتنام والشرق الاوسط بعدا جديدا على الحساب الاستراتيجي وطرأت زيادة هائلة على القوة التدميرية لمختلف الذخائر مردها ادخال تقنيات الحاسبات الاليكترونية والمعلومات وازدادت على إثرها معدلات الاستنزاف بالنسبة للدبابات والطائرات زيادة كبيرة أثارت الجدل حول مفاهيم التقنية الحديثة. فهناك مدرسة فكرية ترى أنّ العمليات الهجومية المتحركة ممكنة وأنّ حروب المستقبل سوف تكون شبيهة بالحرب العالمية الاولى أكثر من الثانية. وإنّ أفضل ماتم انجازه في أوروبا الغربية كان استراتيجية دفاعية متباعدة الانتشار تصد الهجوم في حالة الحرب وتمنح فرصة للمفاوضات. وقد تبنت هذه الافكار حركة السلام في الثمانينات كبديل عن الاعتماد على السلاح النووي كما شكلت أساسا لمفهوم جورباتشوف حول (الكفاية المعقولة) وحول سير المفاوضات المتعلقة بخفض الاسلحة التقليدية.

(١٨) أمّا المدرسة الثانية فترى أنّ العمليات الهجومية ماتزال على درجة من الاهميه وأنّه ينبغي تصميم التقنية العسكرية لكفال حماية المهام الهجومية وقصف المواقع الدفاعية بذخائر تدميرية. لذا فإنّ مفاهيم تقنية الانبثاق والمعركة البرية-الجوية وضرب العمق تتطلب طائرات مزودة بمختلف أنواع إجراءات الحماية الاليكترونية المضادة واستخدام مختلف أنواع الصواريخ (أرض- أرض و جو-أرض) ومزيج من الذخائر النووية والكيماوية والتقليدية حيث قيل أنّ بعضا من هذه الذخيرة التقليدية تعادل في قوة تدميرها المباشرة الاسلحة النووية.

(١٩) إنّ الاختيار ما بين هاتين المدرستين الفكريتين لايمكن أن يكون على أساس حسابات عقلانية طالما يتعذر اختبارهما عمليا على أرض المعركة، لذا فقد جرى الاختيار عمليا على أسس ذاتية عكست الميول المفضلة لدى واضعي الخطط العسكرية. ولهذا فإن المدرسة الهجومية هي التي ربحت الصفقه، وإنّ تلك التقنيات الهجومية الحديثة هي التي تم إستخدامها في حرب الخليج. يمكن القول أنّ هذه التقنية ترجع الى فوردية جديدة بمعنى أنّها استفادت من تقنية المعلومات ولكن ضمن الاطار الذي حددته الحقبة الفوردية.

(٢٠) اذا فهمنا انّ الحرب الباردة كانت حربا خيالية او موقفا إحتاج فيه التنويع الفوردي للرأسمالية الى التنويع الستاليني للاشتراكية او موقفا تقوم فيه تلك المواجهة الكاذبة التي لاتنته بدعم النظامين معا فإنّ إنهيار الشيوعية لابد له ان يؤدي الى رد فعل دراماتيكي لدى الغرب. يمكن وصف حرب الخليج صراعا

للسيطرة على النظام العالمي لما بعد الحرب الباردة او المطالبة بالإبقاء على القيادة الامريكية للعالم وتأسيس شكل من أشكال التنظيم السياسي لاقتصاد العالم لحقبة ما بعد الفوردية بما يكفل بقاء مؤسساتها السياسية.

(٢١) قبيل أزمة الخليج بزمن طويل حذرت وزارات دفاع كل من امريكا وبريطانيا وفرنسا من الخطر الجديد القادم من الجنوب والمتمثل بزيادة عدد الصواريخ والاسلحة الكيماوية وخطر المتطرفين والاصوليين وتجارة المخدرات . . . الخ. وفي خطبة عصماء تنبض بالبلاغة القاها جورج وولدن العضو المحافظ بمجلس العموم البريطاني في ((Chatham House في حزيران عام ١٩٩٠ تحدث وولدن عن التأثير الثوري لانهيار الشيوعية واشار الى الطريقة التي كانت وراء تضخيم دور بريطانيا بعد الحرب الباردة حيث قال: "ماذا يمكن ان يرفع الروح المعنوية اكثرمن مشهد الحكومة وهي ترفع ألوية النصر في وجه الشيوعية والحماقات الاجرامية لجنرالات الارجنتين ودسائس الفرنسيين الغادرين".

(٢٢) "والآن لقد انقضى ذلك كله، فقد القى الشيوعيون المنشفه وتركونا نرقص على الحلبة بحثا عن غريم، وما عدا الشرق الاوسط فان البؤر الساخنة في العالم الثالث تبرد بسرعة".

(٢٣) السؤال الذي يطرح نفسه عادة: ماهو هدف الدفاع والدبلوماسية البريطانية في الوقت الحاضر؟ ففي اي ميدان من ميادين الحياة، عندما ينهار الطلب على بضاعتك لسبب خارج عن ارادتك كليا فانك لاتلجأ الى التفتيش عن زبون جديد بل تبدّل انتاجك للحصول على ربح افضل.

(٢٤) إلاّ أنّه يوجد احساس مزعج تجاه ذلك، فهناك أمر ما لايمكن رده يجري في العالم ولغير صالح بريطانيا، وبصورة أبسط يرتبط هذا الامر بالفزع من ان نهار بريطانيا الطويل تحت الشمس الدولية بدأ يتجه نحو الغروب، وانه يتوجّب علينا قضاء وقت أقل في التسكع عند منحدرات القمم وقضاء وقت أطول في البحث عن الحيازة الوطنية. فمع إنقضاء الحرب الباردة وظهور اوروبا الجديدة يقترن شعور الأمل الذي ينتاب بريطانيا بشعور متواتر بالخسارة.

(٢٥) اذا كان هذا هو الحال في بريطانيا فكيف تكون درجة الوضوح بالخسارة في الولايات المتحدة الامريكية؟ وماهو مقدار الاضطراب الذي اكتنف الاحساس بأنّ أمرا قاهرا يشق طريقه اليوم في العالم؟ فهناك الكثير من الأدمغة والمهن والآراء العالمية قد استهلكتها الحرب الباردة. وأنّ البحث المحموم الذي ساد الجماعات الامنية والادمغة الفكرية والجامعات على نطاق الولايات المتحدة عام ١٩٩٠ يعطي بعض الدلائل على هذا الشعور بالخسارة.

(٢٦) يمكن إعتبار حرب الخليج محاولة لعكس ذلك الأمر القاهر الذي تعذر عكسه. ففي الفترة التي شرع فيها المسؤولون في مؤسسات السلطة على جانبي الاطلنطي في الحديث عن تخفيضات جوهرية في الانفاق العسكري، وفي حين أخذ دور الصقور السياسين المتشددين يخبو بعض الشيء، وفي حين بدت الولايات المتحدة الامريكية وكأنها تعوم بعيدا عن دورها العالمي، وفي اللحظة االتي اصبحت فيها اوروبا الجديدة الواثقة من نفسها قاب قوسين او ادنى من الولادة، أقدم العراق على غزو الكويت، فقفزت لغة الحرب الباردة واجراءاتها وروتينها الى ميدان العمل من جديد وتم نشر القوات الامريكية وفق خطة العمليات رقم (٠٩-١٠٠٢) التي تم وضعها في مطلع الثمانينات لاحتواء التقدم الذي كان من المحتمل ان ينفذه الاتحاد السوفيتي جنوبا، وتشدّق بوش مطولا بالكلام عن الخير والشر والحق والباطل وعن هتلر وميونيخ والسكوت على العدوان مستخدما فيها جميع العبارات التي إعتقد معظمنا بأنّنا سمعناها للمرة الأخيرة بعد ثورات عام

١٩٨٩. لقد تفسخت الوحدة الاوروبية وجرى إحياء العلاقة الامريكية-البريطانية الخاصة وسارت الامم المتحدة في ركاب الاجراء الامريكي وبدت حرب الخليج جاهزة لتصبح نقطة البدء لتحديد النظام العالمي لمرحلة ما بعد الحرب الباردة.

(٢٧) غالبا ماتكون الامبرطوريات خطرة في طور اضمحلالها ويجري الحفاظ فيها على بنى السلطة الداخلية عبر الدور الامبريالي. ففي كتابه *The Rise and Fall of Empires* يكشف بول كينيدي خيطا حساسا في الجسم الامريكي. هل تستطيع حرب الخليج تأسيس اطار جديد تتسيده الولايات المتحدة ويعمل كأداة لتنظيم الوضع السياسي الدولي في الحقبة ما بعد الفوردية؟ من المؤكد أنّه يمكن تصور مثل تلك النتيجة. هناك أمر منغص في هذه الحرب. لقد تم عرضها كحرب "جراحية" تجري احداثها بتحكم تقني عال وأنّ الأهداف العسكرية هي وحدها التي يتم قصفها وكل ما نشاهده لم يتعدّى أكثر من شاشة تلفزيون تعرض الطبيعة الأخاذة لتلك المعدات وعجز وضآلة الأعداء من أبناء العالم الثالث.

(٢٨) اذا تمت هزيمة صدام حسين بسهولة وكان العرض ناجحا ولم تفقد الحرب جاذبيتها وشعبيتها الراهنتين سيكون ممكنا أن تقيم الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا واسرئيل والسعودية وجودا عسكريا دائما في الخليج. فمنذ اللحظة بدأ البنتاغون يرسم خطط احتواء بعيدة المدى تتضمن إنشاء مراكز تدريب وتأهيل لآلاف الجنود، ولقد اقترح دوجلاس هيرد تأسيس مجلس تعاون حول الخليج يشترك فيه ويدعمه الغرب لاحتواء التيارات القومية العربية والنزعات الاصولية الاسلامية.

(٢٩) إنّ ألمانيا واليابان والدول الحليفة الغنية بالنفط هي التي ستسدد نفقات هذا الوجود العسكري الدائم ممهدة بذلك امتصاص التوفيرات الزائدة لتمويل العجز الخارجي الطويل الأمد التي تعاني منه كل من الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا وسوف يكون عالم فوردي جديد تحدد فيه اولويات الحقبة الفوردية طريقة استخدام تقنية المعلومات الجديدة وسيكون عالم تقتصر فيه الأولويات على الإنفاق العسكري والإستهلاك الفردي وتنحصر نوازعه في مجالي الطاقة والنقل وسوف يكون عالم راكد تتحمل فيه شعوب العالم الثالث وطأة النفقات الناجمة عن المغامرات العسكرية والاستهلاك الفردي وذلك عبر معدلات الفائدة العالية واسعار النفط المرتفعة وحصة السلام المضيعة وسوف يكون عالم استثنائي تطهر فيه الدول الغنية أوشاب ضغط الهجرة وتهديد الارهاب.

(٣٠) وسوف تلتف الدول الغنية حول شعار الديمقراطية ضد أعداء من نمط صدام حسين في الشرق الأوسط والعالم الثالث وربما في أوروبا الشرقية والاتحاد السوفياتي (سابقا). قد تتم هزيمة صدام حسين غير أن ظاهرة صدام حسين ستعيش ولعلها ستتغذى بفعل الحرب. إنّها ظاهرة التعصب والاصولية، ظاهرة برزت نتيجة للفقر والاحباط والعجز في التصدي لوقف عملية نهب الثروات الأخذة بالنضوب وعملية تدمير الثقافات العريقة فضلا عن استعداد الغرب لبيع الاسلحة والتقنية لغرض الربح أو المصالح الجيو- سياسيه قصيرة المدى، كما أنّه يمكن تصور حرب متخيلة جديدة بين الشمال والجنوب، بين النيو- فوردية والاصولية، بين الحداثة والمسخ. انّ هذين النظامين المتميزين سوف يغذي بعضهما الآخر من خلال مواجهة مستمرة دائمة تجري فصولها على مسرح العمليات في الشرق الاوسط.

(٣١) بيد أنّ حرب الخليج قد تسفر عن نتيجة تجعلها أقرب الى حرب فيتنام منها الى الحرب الكورية، وقد تكون الشهقة الاخيرة للامبريالية الامريكية من مرحلة اضمحلالها، وقد تكون مؤشرا على بداية

نوع من البرويستروكا الغربية. أولا تصعب رؤية الكيفية التي سيتم بموجبها صيانة الهيمنة الامريكية المتجددة من الناحية الاقتصادية. لقد كانت هذه الحرب غالية التكاليف حيث تم تقدير نفقات الولايات المتحدة حتى الآن بحوالي ٦٠ مليار دولار، أمّا بريطانيا فتبلغ نفقاتها ما يعادل ميزانية الدفاع للسنة المالية ١٩٩٠-١٩٩١ بأكملها. لذا فقد كانت أغلى عرض على وجه البسيطة ولايمكن تكرارها هذا القرن. لقد تحملت كل من المانيا واليابان ودول الخليج أكثر من نصف تكاليفها. السؤال هنا: كم ستستمر هذه الدول في تحمل العجوزات التي قد تعني تعميق جذور الكساد الاقتصادي العالمي وزيادة العبء على كاهل اوروبا الشرقية والعالم الثالث؟

(٣٢) ثانيا، يبدو أن دعم الهيمنة الامريكية بات غير ممكن سياسيا وذلك لاسباب محلية وعالمية. ويمكن أن تجد كل من أوروبا الغربية واليابان صعوبة من الوجهة السياسية في تمويل ودعم التدخل الانجلو-أمريكي في المستقبل، كما يبدو أنه كان هناك لغاية الآن عدم رغبة من جانب دول أوروبا الغربية لدعم الموقف الانجلو- امريكي بشأن التدخل في منطقة الخليج. ونتيجة لهذا الموقف أيضا ظهرت تعليقات لاذعة في الصحافة الامريكية والبريطانية حول عزوف الدول الاوروبية عن تحمل مسئولياتها. والحق أنّ الانتعاش القصير المدى لنزعة التأييد لاوروبا التي سادت الاوساط البريطانية بعد حقبة ثاتشر ما لبث الا ان غمرته بسرعة موجة الحماس الاطلسي وقرع طبول الحرب، حتى أنّ الحديث عن الوحدة السياسية اليوم يبدو خارج جدول الاعمال. غير أنّ نتيجة أخرى مختلفة يجري إستخلاصها في بلدان اوروبية أخرى وتتلخص في أنّ الوحدة الاوروبية (ربما باستثناء بريطانيا) باتت اليوم على درجة من الاهمية بحيث تستطيع مراقبة السلوك الامريكي بهدف تجنب نظام عالمي آحادي القطب. وتتمثل هذه الدول على وجه الخصوص باسبانيا وايطاليا والمانيا حيث يوجد هناك نقاش مستفيض حول نموذج لحوض البحر المتوسط على غرار "مجلس الامن والتعاون الاوروبي" المعروف أيضا باسم "سيرورة هلسنكي" وهي عبارة عن سيرورة مؤسساتية طويلة الأجل من الحوار والمفاوضات المتعلقة بمشكلات المنطقة ويمكن إعتبارها بديلا لمجلس التعاون الخليجي الذي طرحه هيرد.

(٣٣) إنّ سلوك الدول يعتمد على السيرورات السياسية الداخلية وإنّ نجاح صيغة معادلة للحرب الباردة في الغرب (على اقل تقدير) يعتمد إعتمادا كاملا على الطريقة التي تحقق فيها هذه الدول السيطرة على إجماع سياسي عريض وثنائي القطب وعلى دمج الاحزاب السياسية المهيمنة. من المستبعد أن تحظى صيغة معادلة لحرب باردة بين الشمال والجنوب بالنوع ذاته من الدعم الداخلي العريض حتى ولو أخذ المرء بعين الاعتبار أنّه في هذه اللحظة تقوم أحزاب اليسارفي كل من أمريكا وبريطانيا على الأقل بدعم موقف الحرب. فالحركات الاجتماعية الحديثة التي انبثقت في السبعينات والثمانينات تحركت خارج نطاق الاحزاب الهيكليّة بسبب الطريقة التي وقعت من خلالها احزاب اليسار ضمن إطار تسوية الاربعينات التي كان القصد منها سلك مسارات تحررية جديدة. غير أنّه بلا شك كان لتلك الحركات تاثيرا عميقا على الثقافة السياسية الغربية خصوصا في المانيا واوروبا الغربية حيث كانت المواقف من الحرب الباردة أقل رسوخا وعمقا والسيرورات السياسية اقل مركزية.

(٣٤) حين تظهر الاثمان الانسانية والبيئية والسياسية الحقيقية لهذه الحرب (اذا تم ذلك) قد تعود عندها الى الصدارة تلك الحركات الجديدة التي تتمحور حول السلام والبيئة وفقر العالم الثالث والتمييز العرقي والديمقراطية، ولعلها ستحتل رأس لائحة الهموم السياسية. إنّ الحقيقة بأنّنا قد قمنا بقصف العراق (ذلك البلد

من بلدان العالم الثالث الصغير نسبيا) وإعادته الى القرن التاسع عشر او حتى لما قبل ذلك وإحتمال إستمرار العنف في منطقة الشرق الاوسط و"لبننة" الصراع العراقي ـ الكويتي والصعوبة المتزايدة في ايجاد حل للقضية الفلسطينية وزيادة التهديد بالاعمال الارهابية وانحسار الديمقراطيه -- ذلك كله-- سوف يشجع التيارات المعارضة لمواجهة طويلة الأمد بين الشمال والجنوب.

(٣٥) إنّ فترات الانتقال السياسي تتسم دائما بالفوضى العارمة وإنها أحقاب للإختبار السياسي. فقد إنهار النظام القديم وهناك أساليب جديدة يجري اختبارها بهدف تنظيم العالم. والامر اشبه بتنافس في ساحة السوق ولايعدو الفارق الوحيد سوى أنّ ثمن الفشل باهظ التكاليف للغاية حيث ينطوي على درجة عالية من العنف والفوضى. فالإتحاد السوفيتي يتفكك والولايات المتحدة تغرب شمسها والوحدة الاوروبية قاب قوسين او ادنى من الانجاز، بيد أنّه من المشكوك فيه أن تلعب هذه الوحدة دور القوة العظمى وأن تقوم بمهام تنسيق الجهود العسكرية والتحدث بصوت واحد وقد لايكون ذلك كله جديرا بالتجربة ايضا، كما يصعب ايضا تصور سلام اوروبي جديد او حتى سلام ياباني لعدة اسباب تاريخية وجيو- سياسية.

(٣٦) وفي هذا العالم الذي يعتمد بعضه على بعض قد تكون فكرة القوى العظمى بمعناها التقليدي غير قابلة للتطبيق. ففي الفترة التي اعقبت الحرب لعبت المؤسسات العالمية دورا أكبر من ذي قبل على الرغم من خضوعها للولايات المتحدة وبدرجة اقل للإتحاد السوفيتي (سابقا). إنّه يصعب تصور الكيفية التي سيتم بها وضع الحلول للمشكلات الدرماتيكية للعالم الحديث والتي القت بها الفوردية المنهكة دون ان يكون هناك نوعا من التعاون بين القوى العظمى وتلك الاقل منها شأنا ودون ان يكون هناك نوعا من التدخل السياسي لتلك المجموعات والحركات التي تشدد على المشكلات الكونية. فإذا لم يحدث ذلك واذا جرى تهميش واستثناء الاستياء العميق واذا لم يكن هناك سبيل للتوصل الى هيكلة كونية لتراتب القوى فإن المستقبل يبدو قاتما.

(٣٧) غير أنّه سيكون من الصعب انشاء نظام كوني جديد لحقبة ما بعد الفوردية يكون له حظ الاستقرار مقارنة بالفوردية الجديدة. أمّا إن استقر، فانّه سوف يفرض ضرورة اصلاح البنى السياسية الدولية وخصوصا المؤسسات الدولية كالامم المتحدة وصندوق النقد الدولي. إنّ ذلك غير متوقع الحدوث إلاّ اذا تمت الوحدة السياسية الاوروبية ولعبت كل من اوروبا واليابان دورا اكثر فعالية في القضايا الدولية. وسوف يفرض هذا النظام الجديد ايضا مساءلة ذاتية جوهرية وتحوّلا للاحزاب اليسارية السائدة واعادة تنظيم المنظور السياسي الداخلي.

(٣٨) لذا ولسنوات قليلة قادمة على اقل تقدير سيكون هذا العالم الحقيقي المضطرب حافلا بالمفاجآت .إنّ جلّ ما يمكن للمرء التكهن به على الاقل هو أنّ حقبة التسعينات ستكون فترة لمزيد من الشد والجذب والنقلات النوعية والمنعطفات المعاكسة والتطورات غير المتوقعة. أما فيما يتعلق بكيفية او إمكانية الخروج من هذه الفترات العصيبة فيعتمد على نوعيّة الحوار السياسي والاجراءات والخيارات والتحالفات التي تحققت خلال هذه الفترة في الولايات المتحدة اوليابان والشرق الاوسط وخصوصا هنا في اوروبا.

Appendix B: Text ٣A

"The war of Imagination"
By: Prof. Mary Caldor
Marxism Today, March ١٩٩١

"أمم بعد ذوبان الجليد"

(١) قبل الخوض في وصف النظام العالمي الجديد (او الفوضى الجديده) يتوجّب علينا ايضاح وتقييم مانعنيه بالنظام القديم. فمن الناحية الجوهرية نتحدث عن مرحلة الحرب الباردة التي حللتها ماري كالدور على نحو بالغ من العمق تحت عنوان "حرب المخيّله"، أمّا فيما يتعلق باوروبا والعلاقات بين الاتحاد السوفياتي (سابقا) والولايات المتحدة فليس لدي سوى القليل لأضيفه الى تحليل كالدور. ولكن كيف سنقيّم تأثير الحرب الباردة على العالم الذي يقع خارج نطاق اوروبا وامريكا الشمالية (ذلك العالم الذي أفرزته الحرب العالمية الثانية وبقي رازحا تحت الشرط الاستعماري الى حد بعيد) ؟ بالأمس حاضر نوام شومسكي في المعهد الكاثوليكي للعلاقات الدولية واكّد أنّ التأثير كان سلبيا الى درجة عالية حين قال: "كانت الحرب الباردة في الاساس موجهة ضد العالم الثالث". يبدو لي أنّ هذا الامر مثاراً لمئات الاسئلة. إذ أنّه ـ لاقدر الله ـ إن كان لذلك النظام البائد من فضائل فانها هناك في ذلك العالم. فخلال الحرب الباردة او بسببها تمكن ذلك العالم الذي كان يئن تحت نير الاستعمار من نيل استقلاله السياسي.

(٢) لقد كان للحرب وللحرب الباردة آثارها التقدمية داخل الامبرطوريات الاستعمارية، فعلى المستوى الاقتصادي قفزت أسعار المواد الخام الاستراتيجية وادت الى ارتفاع في المداخيل بالعملات الصعبة وقد أصبح العديد من السكان في كل من آسيا وافريقيا يتمتعون بقدرات شرائية ومدخرات لابأس بهما. وحين تقلبت الاسعار بعد الانتعاش الاقتصادي الذي أعقب نهاية الحرب الكورية مثلا، اتسع نطاق الاضطرابات الذي أتخذ في الغالب طابع مقاومة للصناديق والمؤسسات النقدية التي سعت الى تثبيت واستقرار الاسعار بدفع من القوى الاستعمارية. ومن قلب هذه الاضطرابات انبثقت حركات تحولت فيما بعد الى أحزاب قومية وحركات تحرر وطنية. ثانيا، سمحت حدة التوتر بين الاتحاد السوفياتي (سابقا) والولايات المتحدة لحركات التحرر الوطني هذه ان تلعب دور المنحاز الى هذا الطرف او ذاك. فمن ناحية، شجّع الخوف من الشيوعية بعض القوى الاستعمارية على تقديم تنازلات سياسية، وبالمقابل قدم الاتحاد السوفيتي اسلحة وتدريبا ودعما سياسيا لتلك الحركات، وما جبهة "فريليمو" في الموزمبيق الا احدى هذه الحركات التي تدين بنجاحها الى توترات الحرب الباردة.

(٣) بيد أنّ النظام القديم قد انهار فعلا واصبح أحادي القطب بسبب تفكك الاتحاد السوفيتي. لم يتوقع أحد حدوث ذلك. فكل منّا يتذكر مرحلة "الهوس الصيني" في الولايات المتحدة خلال السبعينات والتكهن بولادة عالم ثلاثي القطب. ماذا حدث لذلك؟ كان الاعتقاد السائد بأنّ النظام الثنائي القطب سوف يستمر ولكنه سيقلل من حدته. فقد تم تأسيس الاطار العام لمؤتمر هلسنكي على افتراض أنّ الغرب والاتحاد السوفياتي سيحتفظان بمناطق نفوذهما وخصوصا في اوروبا، إلاّ أنّ تطبيق هيمنتهما سيصبح أقل فظاظة واكثر تهاونا، وأنّ سلسلة من المفاوضات والاتفاقيات الامنية سوف تزيل على الدوام احتمال الصراع بين الغرب والشرق. غير أنّ الحرب الباردة انتهت على نحو آخر مختلف وغيرمتوقع إطلاقا حينما انسحب احد العملاقين من النزال وتنازل عن حصته من النفوذ داخل أوروبا، وبقيت الولايات المتحدة القوة العظمى الكونية الوحيدة السارية المفعول.

(٤) ماذا تخبرنا الحرب التي خيضت ضد العراق عن الكيفية التي ستمارس فيها الولايات المتحدة حرية التصرف غير المتوقعة في العالم؟ فعلى سبيل المثال أعتقد أننا نستطيع صرف النظرعن فكرة قيام قوة عظمى جديدة منافسه على هيئة مجموعة أوروبية مستقبلية، بحيث يمكن أن تصبح تلك المجموعة قوة مرعبة

نظرا لكثافة سكانها وقوتها الاقتصادية. غير أنّني ــ ومن وجهة نظر سياسية ــ أتوقع "جرمنة" المجموعة الاوروبية، بمعنى ان الرغبة الالمانية الراهنة تكمن في تحاشي الالتزامات الخارجية الفاعلة وفي التركيز على التنمية الداخلية اللذين سيصبحان الخلق الدفاعي السلبي للمجموعة الاوروبية التي ستحاول عزل نفسها عن اضطرابات العالم الخارجي.

(٥) هناك نظرة تفاؤلية لنوعية النظام الاحادي القطب تم استنتاجها من خلال أزمة الخليج. فلأول مرة كان بمقدور الامم المتحدة العمل بفعاليّة كضامن لاحترام النظام العالمي بمساعدة الولايات المتحدة ساعدها التنفيذي الرادع للمعتدين. حقا إنّه لنظام عالمي جديد!! وثمة نظرة أخرى أقل تفاؤلا: وهي أنّه أصبح الآن بمقدور الولايات المتحدة الامريكية إستخدام القوة عند الضرورة لفرض مصالحها الوطنية في طول العالم وعرضه دونما خوف من أي تحد، وجر الامم المتحدة خلفها. الحقائق هي الحقائق، فالقليل من يفترض بجدّية أنّ زوال التهديد السوفيتي عن امريكا اللاتينية سيؤدي الى اعادة النظر في السياسة الامريكية وسلوك الولايات المتحدة تجاه تلك البقعة من العالم مهما تكن نوع الشعارات التي تطرحها لتبرير التدخل العسكري المسلح وزعزعة الاستقرار. وعلاوة على ذلك فإنّ ضعف رد الفعل الامريكي تجاه احداث جمهوريات البلطيق مرده ذلك التطابق غيرالمعلن حول الشئون الداخلية أكثر منه استرضاء الاتحاد السوفياتي (سابقا) للحفاظ على التحالف المعادي لصدام حسين.

(٦) غير أن هذا "النظام العالمي الجديد" قد يكون أحاديا بطبيعة الحال، فثمة تحليلات جديدة – ألمانية وأمريكية– مفادها اننا نودع ذلك العالم ولسنا في طريقنا للدخول فيه، وأنّ الحرب الباردة التي تم تصويرها زورا وبهتانا كحالة من توازن الرعب بين الجبارين كانت في الواقع مرحلة تحد للهيمنة الامريكية الكونية. فالولايات المتحدة سوف تركن الآن الى العزلة نظرا لأفولها الاقتصادي تاركة بذلك الاضطراب والفوضى العالمية المتزايدة تسير على هواها. فإن صحت هذه المقولة فإنّ التحالف الدولي الواسع المناهض العراق بقيادة الولايات المتحدة الامريكية هو نهاية حقبة اكثر منه بداية لها.

(٧) من ناحية، فإنّ الحرب المتخيّلة يجب ان تستمر مستبدلة الحرب الباردة بخصوم جدد. وبهذا المفهوم يمكن مقارنة حرب الخليج بالحرب الكورية أو كصراع يحدد النظام العالمي الجديد. بيد أنّه يصعب تحديد قطبا الحرب الباردة لانّه لا بدّ من توفر طرفين لكي تنشب حرب ما، ساخنة كانت ام باردة. ولقد أوحى عقد الثمانينات بأنّ الاهداف الوهمية الجديدة يجري انشاؤها لتحل محل الاتحاد السوفياتي وأنّ أحد هذه الاهداف هي "الاصولية"، إسلامية كانت ام غيرإسلامية. أمّا الهدف الاكثر احتمالا وديمومة فهو الصورة الشريرة للنزعات القومية. وإن صح القول –كما اعتقد– بأنّ القومية في اشكالها المتعددة ستبقى المحرك السياسي الرئيسي للجنس البشري، فإنّه من المربك حقا أن نسمع ادانات قليلة وعامة لها. فالقومية موجودة وباقية وستبقى ـ على حد تعبير توم نيرن ــ وجه جانوس الناظر الذي يتطلع في آن واحد الى الامام نحو التحرر والتقدم والى الوراء نحو التخلّف، وغالبا الى افكار الماضي الاسطورية. إنّها القوة التي يجب ان لاتكون موالية للسلطة، وهو المفهوم الذي تمسكت به التصاق السرطان الناسك بالقوقعة، غير أنّ هذا المفهوم يبدأ بالتراجع عندما تظهر السلطة الحاكمة دلائل واضحة على أنها آيلة للسقوط. كيف يمكن أنه ما يزال يخفى على اليسار الانجليزي الذكي التمييز بين السلطة الحاكمة والامة؟ أن تسمع الاشارة الى اسكتلندا على سبيل المثال على أنّها انجلترا هو مجرد هراء يمثل ـ على اقل تقدير ـ طبيعة صيغة علاقة غير متكافئة، غير

أنّه ما من عذر لمن يخلط "انجلترا" ـ القومية ـ ببريطانيا ـ الدولة المتعددة القوميات ـ.

(٨) ففي النظام العالمي الجديد، قد يكون من الممكن جدا أن تلعب القومية دور المعارضه لذلك النظام، وتكون المصدر الرئيسي لمقاومة وتحدي القوة الكبيرة التي تكون اكثر او اقل انسجاما، وتحت قناع الحرب الباردة أدت القومية ذلك الدورعمليا ولوقت طويل. غير أنّ المسألة اكثر تعقيدا من ذلك. فهناك إحساس بأن وجود الشعور القومي (او بمعنى أدق حكومة الظل التقليدية) يمكن أن يكون ملائما لهيمنة السلطة العظمى.

(٩) إنّ كيانات البانتوستان١ انظمة ذات سيادة لدول فقيرة متخلفة تسمح القوة المهيمنة المتطورة بأنشائها حول نفسها، ويتم استخدام هذه الكيانات كمستوطنات للايدي العاملة المهاجرة والمواد الخام تستطيع الحكومة المركزية المتطورة أن تصدر اليها البطالة العمّالية عند الحاجة. إنّ أهمية السيادة لمستوطنات البانتوستان تنبع من حقيقة أنّها تتحمل المسئولية السياسية في معالجة تبعات التدهور الاقتصادي في حين لا تتحمل الحكومة المركزية إلاّ اليسير من هذه التبعات او لا تتحمل شيئا البتة. ففي جنوب افريقيا كان خلق حكومات الظل أمرا حتميا. أمّا في دول المجوعة الاوروبية فقد كانت هذه الكيانات موجودة سلفا في دول البلقان واماكن أخرى خلال فترة الانتعاش الاقتصادي في الستينات والسبعينات وكانت متوفرة للولايات المتحدة في امريكا اللاتينية.

(١٠) وبمعنى آخر، فإن للغرب مصلحة في الإبقاء على النزعات القومية، شريطة أن تبقي على اكثر اشكالها تخلفا، اي تبقى كذلك طالما أنّه لاحول لها ولاقوة وتابعة وصغيرة المساحة نسبيا. إنّ المحرك الرئيسي لهذه الانظمة هي "مضخة العمل" أو الابتكار الذي اطلق عليه الافارقة الجنوبيون اسم "السيطرة على التحكم بالقوة العاملة" الذي يضمن حركة اليد العاملة المهاجرة من والى البانتوستان حسب مقتضيات الحال.

(١١) ولكن المضخة تزرب. فالمانيا التي أملت في ابقاء قوة العمل المهاجرة ضمن اطار التعاقد المؤقت انتهى الامر بها الى استقرار جالية تركية كبيرة، وحصل الشيء نفسه في المناطق المدنية الآهلة بالسكان البيض في جنوب أفريقيا، وفي مناطق متعددة من الولايات المتحدة. إنّ مشروع تصدير المسئولية الاجتماعية خارج الحدود ينهار بسرعة، والهجرة من العالم الثالث واوروبا الشرقية وربما الاتحاد السوفيتي سوف تكون الظاهرة الرئيسية لربع القرن القادم وسوف تكون المشكلة الرئيسية لاي نظام عالمي جديد.

(١٢) وعلى المدى البعيد يتعذر انشاء اية حواجز فاعلة لايقاف هذه الهجرة. ولن تستطيع الاجراءات المشددة للهجرة وفرض القيود على منح التأشيرات وتقليص الحق في الحصول على اللجوء السياسي سوى خفض معدل الهجرة. كما يتعذر ايضا نجاح فكرة انشاء برامج استثمار يموّلها الغرب بحيث تجعل العيش في الدول الفقيرة أمراً مستحبا، آخذة بعين الاعتبار المبالغ الطائلة المطلوبة (قد يتم استثناء اوروبا الشرقية في هذا المجال). وفي هذه الاثناء ستزداد جاذبية الهجرة الى امريكا الشمالية واوروبا الغربية كاماكن استقرار حيث اصبح سعر تذكرة السفر في متناول أيدي الملايين من الفلاحين والعمال ذوي الدخل المحدود في كل من قارتي آسيا وافريقيا ليس عن طريق الشراء المباشر بل على صورة قرض يتم التعاقد علية مع خطوط جوية عبر رحلات اضافية او عن طريق متعاقدي عمل.

(١٣) وكلما يزداد هذا التدفق ــ تلك الحركة السكانية التى لم يشهد لها التاريخ مثيلا سوى هجرة الشعوب بالملايين نحو الغرب والتي انتهت باندحار المغول ــ سوف نتلقى الجواب النهائي لجدلنا القصير هذا

حول هوية اوروبية. صحيح أنّ اصطلاح "الامة" سيدوم فترة اطول كفكرة تحمل ذات أطوار دائمة التغيير، غير أنّ رؤية أمة مجردة من حدودها الجغرافية واحتمالاتها العرقية لأمر أقرب الى طلب المحال من الخيال. على اية حال علينا الانتظار والترقب.

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١. الاوطان السوداء او البانتوستان هي مناطق تقام خارج نطاق "افريقيا الجنوبية" تسمح للافارقة السود بتطوير حكم ذاتي وفقا لنظرية الفصل العنصري حول التعددية. وهذه المناطق تقع في ارض قاحلة وتضم كتلا مبعثرة من السكان (الباحث).

Appendix B: Text -٤A

"Nations In The Thaw"
BY: Neal Ascherson
Marxism Today, March, ١٩٩٠

"مرآة الجهالة"

(١) لم يمض سوى عامان على اعلان فرانسيس فوكوياما عن انتصار فكرة الغرب حين اخبرنا أنّه باهتراء البدائل النسقية بات صعود الحداثة الغربية وثقافتها العالمية فوق مستوى التحدي. إلاّ أنّه باندلاع الحرب التي يدور رحاها الآن في منطقة الشرق الاوسط تحدونا رغبة جامحة لمناقشة صحة مثل ذلك اليقين القاطع وليس فوكوياما.

(٢) بالنسبة لفوكوياما، لم تكن حرب الخليج أكثر من تحدّي مجرم لمجتمع. وفي هذا السياق، يرفع فوكاياما عقيرته قائلا: "نحن سكان عالم ما بعد التاريخ ينبغي ان نتذكر دائما ان التحوّلات الجوهرية الكبرى في السياسة العالمية لاتحدث في صحراء الشرق الاوسط القاحلة وانمّا في هذه العجوز اوروبا(*Cette Vielle Europe*) التي كانت مهد فكرة الحرية الانسانية."

(٣) إنّ هذا اكثرمن جهالة، فثقة فوكاياما في تفوق وعلوّ شأن الحداثة الغربية ينبغي النظر اليها كثقة عمياء خطيرة ومتغطرسة. بطبيعة الحال يمكن النظر الى صدام حسين كقاطع طريق وبلطجي "وشقي قدم من قرية العوجى"، حيث تحدثت التحليلات السيكولوجية عبر الصحافة عن صبي اعتاد زوج امه على ضربه، الامر الذي حولّه الى فتى معتدّ بنفسه سادي الطبع ومصاب بجنون العظمة.

(٤) وعلى نطاق ملحمي أوسع، يمكن أن نتصور كيف انقلب هذا الصبي الجموح الى هتلر جديد حيث تقف طبيعته الوحشية والشريرة على النقيض من ثقافتنا الغربية العادلة، ولا تنسوا عقيدته العدوانية المتمثلة بالعصبية والاصولية الاسلامية التي لايمكن ان تتفق مع منطقنا وحقيقتنا وتنورنا.

(٥) وهكذا (وكما هو الحال في السابق) شاهدنا اصطدام الخير والشر، فصدام حسين يمثل قوى البربرية الطائشة التي يتوجّب على قوى العقل والصواب احتوائها والسيطرة عليها دائما. ومرة اخرى بلا شك يتوقّف على هذه العجوز اوروبا ووليدتها الحضارية امريكا أمر ذبح ذلك التنين ودحر ذلك الدخيل، كما يتوقّف على صليبيي الامم المتحدة أمر الاجهاز على "وحش بغداد" وعلى "امبرطورية الرعب" التي يحكمها، وكما يتوجّب ايضا أن يسود المنطق العالمي هذا النظام العالمي الجديد، حتى (او ربما خصوصا) في ذلك الجزء القاحل من صحراء الشرق الاوسط .

(٦) إنّ الرعب الذي سيطر على العراق تحت نظام صدام حسين لمأساوي حقا، فقد تم تدوين وتوثيق الاعمال الوحشية المريعة في تقارير منظمة العفو الدولية ولدى جهاز مراقبة الشرق الاوسط وفي كتاب سمير الخليل <u>جمهورية الرعب</u>[١]، وليس ثمة مجال للتقليل من فضاعتها، كما إنّنا لانستطيع وصفها بأقل من شيطانية.

(٧) لكن دعنا لا نتوقف في استنكارنا هذا عند هذه النقطة، بل دعنا نستذكر من أين جاء صدام حسين بأسلحة الدمار الشامل هذه. إنّ كلا من بريطانيا والولايات المتحدة وفرنسا والمانيا وسويسرا وايطاليا قد لعبت دورا في تطوير اسلحته النووية والكيماوية والصاروخية، ودعنا نستذكر أيضا مشاركة الغرب للعراق في حربه ضد ايران عندما كانت الاخيرة "شيطان الغرب"، ودروس القتل على الطريقة العلمية التى قدمها الغرب خلال هذا القرن الدامي.

(٨) إنّه من السهل بمكان ان نرشق كل الشرور الى الخارج باتجاه تلك الصحراء القاحلة ومن ثم نصدّق بأنّ الامور على خير مايرام داخل حدائق منازلنا. فمهما يكن فحوى القضية المثارة ضد صدام حسين

يبقى هناك شيء غامض ازاء تصويره رمزا للشر. إنّ الاتهامات المثارة ضد جرائمه ووحشيته ذات صلة وثيقة برغبتنا في تنقية ثقافتنا وحضارتنا.

(٩) أن نرى في شخص صدام حسين تجسيدا للاعقلانية هو التأكد من دوافعنا واسبابنا العقلانية، وهذا يعني أنّ الدفاعات والتحصينات لحماية وحدة ثقافة وفكرة الغرب قد تم بناؤها. كما أنّ الادانة الرمزية لمركب صدام-هتلر يمكن ان تكشف بالتالي عن مقدار الرعب والقلق او حتى الشعور بالذنب لدى عالم ما بعد التاريخ هذا. ويمكن ان تعكس ايضا شيئا عميقا مضطربا في قلب الحداثة العقلانية الغربية.

(١٠) هناك قوتان متمايزتان ـــ ولكن مرتبطتان ـــ اسهمتا في تكوين الثقافة والهوية الغربيتين الحديثتين. اولهما مركزية العقل كمبدأ مكون للحداثة ذاتها ومرتبط بعصر التنوير الاوروبي. كان هذا العصر يتمثل في التحرر من إرث واعراف ماقبل الحداثة وإستبدال ذلك بادارة منظمة وعقلانية لنواحي الحياة الاقتصادية والسياسية. وفوق ذلك كله كانت العقلانية الآليّة الهادفة مركز مجمل المشروع الغربي للعلوم والتقنية والذي حول النظم الطبيعية الاجتماعية على مدى القرنين الماضيين.

(١١) أمّا القوة الثانية التي ميّزت الغرب الحديث فتتمثل بالمواجهة العنيفة مع الثقافات الأخرى الذي حدثت نتيجة للتوسع الامبريالي. يرى المؤرخ البيرت حوراني أنّ "هناك أمر جديد تطور في القرن التاسع عشر "صنعه التوسع الهائل للذهن والمخيله الغربيين لوضع اليد على جميع الموجودات الكائنة".

(١٢) وفي اثناء سعيه لامتلاك الكون تعلم الغرب تحديد تفرده الخاص عن "الاخرين"، أي ضد كل ما هو غير اوروبي. فاذا كان الواقع السياسي محل نزاع وتفكك على الدوام، فإنّ بناء "شرق" متخيّل ساعد في اضفاء الوحدة والتجانس لفكرة "الغرب". اضافة الى ذلك، كان هذا الشرق مرآة ترى فيها اوروبا (وبالتالي امريكا) انعكاسا لصورة تفوقها. وأثناء مرحلة تعلّم تفسير اختلافها عن كل ماهو "غير اوروبي" كان على اوروبا ايضا تفسير هذا التفوق والنجاح المنقطع النظير الذي احرزته عن طريق فرض هيمنتها على الثقافات "الوضيعة".

(١٣) يبدو أنّ العنصر الأساسي لتميّز أوروبا وتفوقها الموروث كان مبدأ العقلانية. وإنّه على أساس هذه العقلانية المتمثلة بالعلم الحديث والتقنية المتقدمه إنتصرت تلك "العجوز اوروبا" في كل مكان في العالم، وجعلت من نفسها مرجعا لكل العالم. ولهذا إعتبرت هذه العقلانية اساسا لتبرير مطالبتها في تحديد القيّم الكونية وتحديد قيّمها باعتبارها القيّم الكونيّة.

(١٤) وقد تم تحديد الحداثة قياساعلى ماقبل الحديث والعقل قياسا على الطيش والرعونة، وتم ترسيم هذا التقييم كمصطلحات جغرافية تضع الغرب في مواجهة شرقه. أقول شرقه لانّه لو لم يوجد الغرب لم يكن بمقدور شرقه ان يوجد ايضا. إنّ الغرب هو الذي اعطى وجودا وهوية لشرقه. وإن الوجود والهوية اللذين منحهما الغرب لهذا الشرق ليسا سوى الدونيّة والعجز.

(١٥) فالثقافة الشرقية ثقافة ثانوية. يجري تصويرهذه الثقافة من خلال نفس السيرورة التي يتم بواسطتها إخضاعها وإتباعها بالثقافة الغربية. وهي ثقافة يتم تعريفها بما ينقصها من عناصر الحداثة والعقلانية والأمميّة. أمّا بالنسبة "لاختلافها"، فيحدد بمفهوم التخلّف واللاعقلانية وخصوصية قيمها.

(١٦) إتخذت هذه المواجهة اكثر اشكالها عنفا في صدامها مع الاسلام. فمنذ عهد الصليبيين والعلاقة بين المسلمين والمسيحيين تنم عن فقدان الثقة وانعدام التواصل وسؤ الفهم. وفي الشرق الاوسط

لايمكن مناقشة مسئلتي الحداثة والتطوير إلاّ في سياق تاريخ طويل من الاستعمار والنشاطات التبشيرية. ففي هذه المنطقة كانت التجربة قصرية وكانت نوعا جديدا من الغزو الصليبي وانطوت على حس عميق باليأس والاذلال.

(١٧) يصف البيرت حوراني حس التابع الذي لازم الهوية العربية المعاصرة، حين يقول: "لم يعد بمقدور المرء حيازة مستوى معين من القيم خاص به وليس بمقدورة صنع تلك القيم. لذا فعليه بالتقليد، ولكن ليس التقليد الصحيح لانّ ذلك يحتاج الى نوع من الاصالة." ونتيجة لهذه النزعة الأمميّة التي زعمها الغرب لنفسه تعرضت الثقافة العربية الاسلامية الى هزة عميقة.

(١٨) علاوة على ذلك، فإنّه ضمن شروط هذه الثقافة العالمية المدّعاة لم يعد هناك مهرب من الاذلال. فالاسلام دونيّ في جوهره وذاته. فمن وجهة نظرالغرب (علما بأنّ هذا منطقا يعاكس التاريخ) قام الاسلام كثقافة محافظة (ثقافة تعصب وأصولية). لذلك لم يكن التاريخ والتقدم ممكنين إلاّ في الغرب. أمّا الاسلام بالمقابل، فقد كان ثقافة جامدة يستحيل تحديثها ولم يكن بوسعه ان يكون غير ذلك.

(١٩) لم يكن بوسع الاسلام ان يكون اكثر مما هو عليه نظرا لانّ الفارق والتفوق الغربي ذاتهما هما اللذين نهضا على هذه الصورة من "إختلاف" العرب والاسلام. فثقافتنا (الغرب) يتم تحديدها مقارنة ببربريتهم (الشرق) وجمالنا يتم تحديده مقارنة بوحشيتهم. واذا ـــ لاقدر الله ـــ امكن تلك الحضارة الوصول الى عقلانيتنا وعلمنا، ماذا سيصبح والحالة تلك مضمون مفاهيم الغرب عن الفارق والفرادة؟ واذا استطاعت تلك الثقافة المتخلفة من تطوير نفسها فاين اذن سنجد المرآة التي تعكس تفوقنا؟

(٢٠) إنّ مأزق الحداثة غير المتوقع هو الذي يواجه الغرب في منطقة الخليج الآن. ففي هذه الحرب يهاجم صدام حسين المعايير التي حددت تفرد وتفوق الغرب ، إنّه يخترق الحدود التي تميز بين العقلانية واللاعقلانية، بين الحداثة الغربية وتخلف الشرق. لقد سلّح نفسه بذخائر الحداثة، ليس بالاسلحة التقليدية فحسب بل بترسانة من الاسلحة النووية والكيماوية والبيولوجية.

(٢١) لكن صدام حسين غير عقلاني بطبيعته نظرا لانها عربية وشرقية. فحين يتزود بمعدات الحرب العلمية فإنّ طبيعته اللاعقلانية الاصل لايمكنها إلاّ أن تصبح قابلة للتفجر، وحين يتزود بالتقنية الحديثة فإنّه يصبح قوة وحشية منفلتة من عقالها. عندها يصبح لزامّ على جيوش العقلانية والمنطق ـ حلفاء حقبة عالم ما بعد التاريخ ـ إخضاع هذا المنفلت اللاعقلاني، وحرمان ذلك المجرم من حماية القانون وسحق ما أسماه توم كينج ـ وزير الدفاع البريطاني ـ "بالآلة العسكرية العراقية الرهيبة". أمّا الامرالذي لايمكن احتماله فهو ادعاء هذا الوحش للحداثة.

(٢٢) لقد تخيلنا صدام بمفاهيم مضادة تماما لحضارتنا وثقافتنا. ولقد تخيلناه في صورة "المغاير" المطلق الوحشي. إنّ رؤيته على هذه الصورة جعل من السهل ـ منطقيا وعقلانيا ـــ أن نشعل سماء العراق نارا. ولكن هل صدام فعلا كذلك؟ هل هو بدائي و لاعقلاني؟ هل يمكن أن تكون هناك عقلانية في جنونه؟

(٢٣) فصدام يستخدم أسلحتنا. تلك الاسلحة التي بعناها له، ويستخدمها بطريقة عقلانية ومحسوبة مثلنا. إنّه إستراتيجي وعسكري بارع ولديه "خطة ملعوبة" لهذه الحرب . وهو "واسع الحيلة و متدبر" في تطبيق تلك الخطة، جاء ذلك على لسان الجنرال كولن باول. إنّ صدام حسين يجسد طموحات ومنطق الحداثة، وهي الحداثة ذاتها كما توجد الآن في تلك البقعة من العالم. وإنّه المرآة المشوهة ـــ ورغم ذلك فهي مرآة ـــ

التي تنعكس عليها صورتنا.

(٢٤) لايحب الغرب ما يراه في تلك المرآه. لكن دعنا نكن صريحين عمّا يراه الغرب بالتحديد في تلك المرآة. إنّه يرى الجانب الوحشي من حداثته، وذلك الانتشار لمشروعه الذي لاسبيل لردعه وهو ذلك المشروع المتميز بالعقلانية والعنف معا. فصدام حسين ليس وحشا دخيلا ولا مناهضا للحداثة، وكما قال زعيم الحزب الديمقراطي الحر بادي آشداون دونما طرافة وخفة دم: " اليوم يحوم فوق رؤوسنا الوحش الذي ساعدنا في صنعه". هذه هي الحقيقة المفارقة التي نعجز عن هضمها.

(٢٥) وقد ذهب العديد من المعلقين الى حد التحدث عن خلق وحش من طراز فرانكنشتاين في العراق، و كالوحش الذي خلقته ماري شيللي٢ ، فإنّ صدام حسين وحش مريع صنعه الانتشار الكوني للحداثة. ففي شخصه، يندغم خوفنا من الجانب الوحشي للحداثة وكراهيتنا المبدئية لصورة "المغاير". لذا ينبغي أن يكون صدام حسين جنسا بشريا يتوجب الحجر عليه.

(٢٦) اذا كان العراق في سيرورة التحديث، فإنّه تحديث دخيل على الحداثه، ولايمكن قبوله لدى العالم المتحضر، وكوحش فرانكنشتيان يجب منع صدام من الحداثة. لن تتم استعادة العقلانية باسم التقدم العالمي والانساني إلاّ باستثناء صدام حسين من ركب الحداثه. لذا فقد تمت الآن تعبئة التقنيات "الذكية" للعقلانية الاوربية لسحق "المغاير".

(٢٧) وعلى الرغم من ذلك فإنّ صدام جزء من الحداثة. هل نستطيع ان ننكر حقيقة أنّه ما من مكان لم تبلغه الحداثة وسط هذه الثقافة الكونية؟ كيف نستطيع الاستمرار في فصل "المغاير" من حلقة الكون وعن مشروع الحداثة؟ إنّ آلة صدام حسين الحربية نتاج العلم الحديث والتقنية المتقدمه مثلها مثل الانظمة الاشد فتكا التي يستخدمها ضده الحلفاء الغربيون. وإنّه يصعب علينا الاقرار بأنّ العنف والدمار في كلا الجانبين تعابير عن السلوك "العقلاني" ، وأنّ العقل يمكن أن يكمن في قلب العنف.

(٢٨) فاذا كانت حداثة صدام حسين التي تنتمي الى العالم الثالث موبوءة بعدوى العنف الوحشي، فإنّ المآثر العسكرية لحداثة ما بعد التاريخ كانت بالمقابل علاجية وجراحية وتطهيرية. لقد سحرتنا الطريقة التي تمت بها تعبئة "أسلحتنا الذكيّة" لقصف وتدمير واسكات وتطهير اهداف العدو في ما اطلقوا عليه "مسرح العمليات" في العراق والكويت، وقد أغرانا ما يمكن أن يقوم به العلم الحديث باسم الحرية والحضارة. أن ما يميّزنا عن صدام حسين هو عنصر تفوقنا أو ربما قدرتنا الفائقة على تمويه الموت والدمار. إنّ هذا بعينه هو الذي يجعلنا أكثر تقدما. ببساطه نحن أفضل منه لاننا اكثر حداثة.

(٢٩) يخبرنا جورج بوش أنّ الحلفاء يقاتلون "في صف الله" ويردف قائلا: "لقد حسمت كل المسائل الاخلاقية في ذهني"، "فهذه مسألة أبيض ضد أسود" و "ومسألة خير ضد شر". فباستقامتنا الاخلاقية وحداثتنا وعلمنا العسكري نبدو جاهزين للتغلب على صدام حسين وحداثته المتداعية. وسوف تسير "الفكرة" الغربية كحاطب ليل ، فطورها ما بعد التاريخي سينقاد بالاوهام ومركبات الخوف ذاتها كما انقاد تاريخها البائس الحافل بالاقتتال. فالابيض ضد الاسود والخير ضد الشر ونحن ضدهم ، ولكن، بأي ثمن؟

(٣٠) يصف المراسل الصحفي الاسباني الفونسو روخو امرأة بغدادية ــ يغلي في عيونها غضب مكبوت ــ وهي تصرخ باعلى صوتها في حشد من الصحفيين الغربيين: "أهذا ما تسمونه الحضارة الغربية"؟!

١. يلمح روبنز هنا الى الكاتب العراقي المعارض سمير الخليل (اسم مستعار) الذي وصلت به درجة الوقاحة واللامسئولية الى دعوة الجنرال الامريكي شوارزكوف الى الاقتداء بالجنرال ماك آرثر واقتحام بغداد لفرض مااسماه بالديمقراطية على جثث مئات الألآف من المواطنين العراقيين الابرياء، وقد تم نشر دعوته هذه في صحيفة النيويورك تايمز (الباحث).

٢. مؤلفة بريطانيه (١٧٩٧- ١٨٥١) وضعت رواية فرانكشتاين عام ١٨١٨، والتي تصف فيها قيام عالم بخلق رجل وحش تحول الى كائن بشري بعد ذلك (الباحث).

Appendix B: Text - ٥A

"The Mirror of Unreason"
By: Kevin Robins
Marxism Today, March,١٩٩١

APPENDIX-C: TEXTS 6 THROUGH 10

الوثيقة السابعة: رسالة جلالة الملك الحسين المعظم الى سيادة الرئيس صدام حسين

سيادة الاخ العزيز الرئيس صدام حسين حفظه الله ورعاه،
تحية المودة والاخوة، عربية هاشمية أبعث بها اليك وبعد،

1. #(1) فقد عدت لتوي من لقاء الرباط الذي دعاني اليه جلالة الملك الحسن الثاني، متلمسا دعا اليه فخامة الرئيس الشاذلي بن جديد،#(2) وقد كان موضوع اللقاء البحث في أزمة الخليج التي أصبحت أزمة الامة العربية منذ تفجّرها في الثاني من آب الماضي حين إحتلت القوات العراقية الكويت (3) وبدأ مسلسل الانزلاق نحوالمظلم المجهول، وما رافقه من قلق لاينتهي، بل يزداد حدة مع كل يوم وساعة#(4) ونحن نرى ان ماتمكنت أمتنا من تحقيقه بنضالها في مطلع هذا القرن، مهدد بالزوال او الاندثار،#(5) ويحدث ذلك بعيد انتهاء فترة الحرب الباردة، وفي الوقت الذي يعيش العالم فيه مرحلة انبثاق حقبة جديدة، تتشكل فيها ملامح نظام عالمي جديد، #(6) وتوضع للعبة الدولية فيه قواعد وقوانين تختلف عما عهدنا في الحقبة التي انحسرت ثم غربت.#

2. #(1) وفي ظل هذه الاجواء، ومع بواكير حقبة الامل والوعد الجديد، تأتي ازمة الخليج بالشكل الذي تطوّرت اليه، لتمتحن العالم في توجهه ونزوعه.#(2) وأقول العالم، لأن أزمة الخليج تتمحور حول النفط الذي تحتاجه كل الشعوب وبشكل أكثر من أي وقت مضى أهم مرتكزات الحقبة الجديدة التي تتطلع فيها الشعوب للعيش في عالم يسوده السلام والتعاون والبناء من اجل حياة افضل للانسان، في منأى عن المجابهه والمنازعات التي أنهكته واستنزفت طاقاته في العهد الذي مضى.#

3. #(1) وبناء عليه، فان منطقتنا العربية وفق مقاييس هذه الحقبة الجديدة، قد أصبحت ذات أهمية قصوى لهذا العالم، ليس فقط بسبب موقعها واتساع رقعتها وحجم سوقها التجاري، بل لمخزونها النفطي الهائل الذي يقدر بثلثي احتياطي النفط العالمي او يزيد.#(2) وينعكس الاهتمام العالمي بمنطقتنا على صور شتى من أهمها الحرص على استقرارها ضمن الاطر التي ترتضيها الدول الصناعية الكبرى، ومنها محاولات التحكم في مسار نهوضها الاقتصادي والاجتماعي والعسكري والعلمي والثقافي، بحيث ينسجم مع تصورات هذه الدول ومطامحها ولايتعارض مع مطامعها، ومنها تعزيز علاقاتها مع دول الجوار من غير العرب، كي تبقى هذه الدول مصادر تهديد وازعاج وابتزاز للعرب، سواء فيما يتعلق بقدرتها على التحكم بمصادر المياه المنسابة الى الارض العربية، او فيما يتصل بقدرتها العسكرية، كما هوالحال مع اسرائيل على شن الاعتداءات المسلحة ومواصلة التوسع على حساب الارض العربية، اوفيما يتصل بتطلعات بعضها للقضاء على البعد القومي العربي وحلم الامة العربية الموحدة وتذويب الشخصية العربية المتميزة باسم الدين، أو تمزيق الجسم العربي بالعمل على تجزئة المنطقة ضمن الأطر العرقية.#

4. #(1) وبناء على هذه الخلفية التي أعلم انكم أكثر من يدرك تفاصيلها وأبعادها، جاءت أزمة الخليج لترى فيها الدول الكبرى والصناعية الفرصة الذهبية لاعادة تنظيم المنطقة، وفق مخططات خبيثة تتناسب مع تطلعاتها ومصالحها، على حساب تطلعات ومصالح الشعوب العربية، ولترى فيها ايضا الفرصة السانحة لوضع وترسيخ قواعد اللعبة الدولية وبلورة نمط التعامل مع منطقتنا في العهد الجديد1#.

5. #(1) ولا يخفى عليكم والحالة هذه، مجمل المخاطر التي ينطوي عليها هذا التوجّه، بالنسبة لما

أنجزته امتنا حتى الآن على تواضعه،#(2) ومهما كانت مآخذنا على الكيفية التي كان يعمل فيها نظامنا العربي حتى 1990/8/2، فان ذلك في رأيي لايبرر التضحية بمنجزات أمتنا.#(3) والاهم من ذلك لايبرر التضحية بالكثير الكثير الذي أنجزه العراق بقيادتكم، ليغدو بحق محط اعتزاز العرب وكبريائهم، وليستقر العراق في وجدانهم قاعدة الامل والرجاء لنهوضهم كي يحتلوا المكانة العالمية والانسانية الجديرين بها.#

6. #(1) إنّ هذا ليس رأيي فقط، #(2) بل هو رأي جلالة الملك الحسن الثاني والرئيس الشاذلي بن جديد،#(3) وبالتأكيد هو رأيء الجماهير العربية. #(3) فالعراق الذي يحتل هذا الموقع المتميز في القلوب يجعلنا نؤمن بان العراق ما عاد ملك نفسه#(5) وأن قيادته ما عادت للعراق فقط. #(6)فالعراق وقيادته أصبحا لكل العرب في كل أقطارهم. #(7) ومن هنا يأتي شعورنا الصادق بالقلق عليهما وبضرورة حمايتهما والحفاظ عليهما وبحقنا في ابداء رأينا بما يدور، كيلا تقع الكارثة التي اذا اصابت العراق ــ لاسمح الله ــ فانها ستصيبنا جميعا.#

7.#(1) وبناء على هذا الفهم والتحليل والتقييم الذي شاطرني اياه جلالة الملك الحسن الثاني وسيادة الرئيس الشاذلي بن جديد، وعلى ضؤ تطور الازمة ووعينا الكامل على مضاعفتها ومكتنفاتها التي ذكرت، ومن منطلق حرصنا الاكيد على المحافظة على سلامة العراق وما يمثل، فقد كُلفّت من قبلهما بطرح السؤال التالي على سيادتكم كبداية لجهد جماعي عربي مخلص،#(2) وكلنا أمل ورجاء بالتكرم بالاجابة السريعة عليه. #(3) ما هي طلبات العراق المحدده والمعقولة والمقبولة من دولة الكويت سواء بالنسبة الى حدوده معها وحاجته الى ممر حر للمياه العميقة في الخليج أو بالنسبة للديون والتعويضات المالية عن نفط حقل الرميلة او غير ذلك ان وجد؟#(4) وبمعنى آخر: ماهي الطلبات العراقية بحدودها النهائية المعقولة والواقعية، والتي يمكن أن تلقّى قبولا لدى القادة العرب الذين اجتمعت بهم قبل زيارتي الاخيرة لكم كي اتبناها مع جلالة الملك الحسن الثاني والرئيس الشاذلي بن جديد ونتحرك بها لاقناع الطرف المعني بها والقادة العرب ألاخرين سعيا للتوصّل الي حل عربي للمشكلة قبل فوات الاوآن وضياع الفرصة التى أخشى (ما أخشاه)، أن تضيع وينزلق الوضع في هوة المجابهة العسكرية المدمرة، التي ستجلب الدمار والكوارث ليس لعراق الامل والرجاء وحده، بل للامة العربية بأسرها؟#

8.#(1) ولا ريب ان سيادة اخي يعلم باننا ملتزمون بمبدأ عدم جواز احتلال اراضي الغير بالقوة، ليس فقط من حيث المبدأ المجمع عليه عالميا، بل أيضا من حيث واقعنا في مواجهة الاطماع الصهيونية والاحتلال الاسرائيلي القائم للاراضي العربية، اذ ان التهاون في الالتزام بهذا المبدأ، وبخاصة في منطقتنا سيشكل سابقة خطيرة، تستفيد منها اسرائيل بكل ماينطوي عليه ذلك من مضاعفات تهدد امن الاردن ووجوده، مثلما تهدد الامن القومي بشكل عام. #(2) وكما تعلم، فهناك اجماع عربي على التمسك بهذا المبدأ الذي يقضي عدم القبول باجراءات الضم، وبخاصة اذا أدت الى ازالة دولة قائمة عضو في الجامعة العربية والامم المتحدة. #(3) كما لايخفى على أخي ان هذه الحالة هي الاولى من نوعها في ظل الاوضاع الجديدة السائدة في العالم، ألامر الذي لا يمكن ان يرضى به احد لانه في حالة السكوت عليه سيغدو سابقة قد تشجّع آخرين في مناطق أخرى على اعتمادها، مما سيؤدي الى نشوب نزاعات وحالات من عدم الاستقرار في اقاليم متعددة، وفي زمن يتوجه فيه العالم نحو حل النزاعات لا تفجيرها. #(4) وهذا هو مايفسر التوافق الدولي الواسع ووقوف العالم وراء الولايات المتحده التي نعلم جميعا ان لها اغراضا مبيّته غير هدفها المعلن بتحقيق انسحاب العراق

من الكويت وعودة الشرعية اليه.#

9. #(1) ومن المهم ان يعرف أخي أن معظم العرب يخشون بصدق (ولهم الحق في ذلك) على العراق#(2) ـ العراق الظاهرة الجديدة بامكانته العلمية والبشرية والعسكرية والمادية. #(3) تصل خشية بعضهم على العراق ـ ظاهرة الامل والرجاء ـ حد الاعتقاد بأن شركا نصب له ووقع فيه، مهيئا بذلك الفرصة التي طالما انتظرها أعداء الامة لضربه وتدميره تحت غطاء الانتصار لدولة الكويت وباسم الشرعية الدولية، #(4) بينما هم في الحقيقة ساعون لانهاء العراق وسحق آمال أمتنا العربية فيه وفيما يمثل، وتدمير ثقة أمتنا المتجددة بنفسها.#

10.#(1) لقد ادركت ذلك شخصيا منذ البداية، وعلى أساسه شرعت بالعمل المضني، باذلا كل ما في جهدي للتوصل الى حل عربي من اجل احباط ما يراد للعراق ومن بعده بأمته. #(2) وقد وضعت العراقيل أمامي ومازالت توضع.#(3) وتدهورت الامور بشكل متسارع لم يعرف التاريخ لها مثيلا حتى غدت المنطقة على حافة الانفجار. #(4) وفي الحقيقة لا أرى امامي كثيرا من الوقت #(5) فنحن في سباق مع الزمن لتفادي الكارثة. #(6) واذا وقعت ـ لاقدر الله ـ سيفتح المجال امام الفريق الذي حاربنا لمدة ثمانية أعوام وعلى خلفية الدمار وما سيجره من احباط ونقمة ويأس، ليكون أحد الاطراف المتربصة والمؤهلة لوراثة العراق، ولتسديد الضربة القاضية لما دافع عنه العراق نيابة عن أمته العربية وقدم في سبيل ذلك أغلى التضحيات وأعطى بكل كرم وسخاء.#

11.#(1) والحرب إذا نشبت، فلا بد أن يكسبها في النهاية طرف مهما كانت خسائره. #(2) أما الخاسر الحقيقي فيها فسنكون نحن العرب، المؤمنين بحق أمتنا في الحياة سواء كنا في العراق او في أي بقعة من وطننا العربي الكبير.#

12. #(1) أما اذا كُتب لنا النجاح بعون الله في تجنبها وتمكنا من التوصل الى حل عربي فيكون العراق قد حقق الكثير بالرغم من الالام والخسائر التي رافقت الأزمة. #(2) ويكون العراق قد نجح في الحفاظ على منجزاته لشعبه ولامته، #(3) ويكون العراق قد حلّ المشكلة مع ايران،#(4) ويكون العراق قد أوصل رسالته بتجسير الفجوة بين أغنياء العرب وفقرائهم وثبتها كقضية قومية في نفوس الشعب العربي، وكسب بها الانصار والمتفهمين حتى على الساحة الدولية، #(5) ويكون العراق قد حقق مطالبه المشروعة التي كانت موضوع الخلاف مع دولة الكويت الشقيقة، #(6) ويكون العراق قد نجح في احراج العالم الذي أهمل القضية الفلسطينية وفي حمله على تحمل مسئوليته أسوة بما فعله ازاء الكويت بالتزامه بتنفيذ القرارات الدولية،#(7) ويكون العراق قد فوّت الفرصة على الاعداء الاستفادة من انقسام الامة العربية،#(8) وفوق هذا وذاك، فاننا الآن على عتبة عهد عربي جديد لن تعود فيه الامور الى ما كانت عليه، اذا توصلنا الى تسوية سلمية في اطار عربي # (9) فهل يوفقنا الله جميعا في صون هذه المكتسبات؟ # (10) نعم،#(11) اعتقد أن بامكاننا ان نصونها بل نبني ونؤسس عليها اذا توصلّنا الى تسوية سلميّة في اطار عربي تقبلها الاطراف العربية المعنية#(12) ـ تسوية تحترم فيها إرادة الكويتين ليقرروا بملء حريتهم ما يريدون،#(13) تسوية تؤكد انسجاما مع انفسنا وانسجام العراق مع نفسه حينما طرح بقيادتك الشجاعة مبدأ عدم جواز استخدام السلاح العربي ضد العرب، #(14) وان كل دولة عربية شقيقة ـ مهما صغرت في حجمها ـ هي بنفس حجم الدولة العربية الكبيرة في حقوقها #(15) تسوية تبين أن احتلال العراق للكويت لم يكن الا من قبيل الدفاع عن النفس،

وليس من قبيل التوسّع والهيمنة، #(16) تسوية كفيلة بتصويب ما حدث وبتطويق الازمة تمهيدا لحلها ووصولا لاستعادة الثقة بين الاشقاء وارساء قواعد الاستقرار في المنطقة وتنظيم صفوف الامة في بداية عهد جديد واعد.#

13. #(1) لقد وقفت معك ـ يا أخي ـ بكل صدق وأمانه واخلاص، كما لم أقف مع أحد من العرب، لما وجدته فيك من نبل وأصالة وعروبة صافية ورجولة حقة، #(2) وأنا واثق من ادراكك لذلك2.#

14.#(1) لقد تكشفت هذه الازمة عن حقائق كثيرة، #(2) كان أكثرها مرارة على النفس ما اتضح لي من أنني وبلدي، كنا فريسة لعملية دس رخيصة لدى عدد من أشقائنا. #(3) وقد كان أبطال عملية الدس هذه بعضا من اخواننا العرب ممن كانوا موضع الثقة والتقدير، بمشاركة البعض من خارج المنطقة3، الامر الذي فسر لنا الكثير من المواقف المعادية لنا. #(4) لقد أشاع هولاء بأن القيادات الاردنية والعراقية واليمنية تتآمر على أقطار عربية أخرى وعلى قيادتها وخيراتها.#

أخي أبا عدي،،

15. #(1) لقد أصابني والاردن مثلما أصاب اخوتك في اليمن ضر بالغ، لايقل في حدته وحجمه عما اصابك واصاب العراق الحبيب، #(2) فهل تتجاوب معنا لما فيه مصلحتك وخيرك ومصلحة وخير العراق وشعبه الذي وحدت وقدت، والذي قدم تحت قيادتك وبكل الرضى والسخاء ما قدم من تضحيات جسام ودماء زكية؟ #(3) هذا ماأرجوه من صميم فؤادي.#

16. #(1) لقد قلت لك عند وداعي لك في آخر مرة سعدت بزيارتي فيها لك: أرجو أن تطلبني اذا شعرت بحاجة اليّ. #(1) وغادرت بغداد الى الاردن مهموما محزونا، فيما كنت اتمنى أن اواصل التحرك لمنع التدهور الذي مازال يجري منذ ذلك الوقت، #(3) فهل تسمع ندائي ونداء كل عربي مخلص قبل فوات الاوآن؟ #(4) وهل يمكن ان نعمل معا لاستعادة الاصدقاء الذين فقدنا منذ تفجرالازمة وكسب أصدقاء جدد؟ #(5) ان لكم أشقاء يعانون أكثر مما تعانون منه مباشرة، تألما مما يهددك، ومما يحيق بالعراق والامة من أخطار، #(6) فهل تعطينا الفرصة لنتحرك نحو تصويب الأمور، وفتح أقنية التواصل بينكم وبين أشقائكم في منطقة الخليج الذين أصيبوا بالذعر والصدمة مما حدث فوقعوا مثلما وقع العراق في حبائل التواجد العسكري الاجنبي الضخم والمتزايد؟#

17. #(1) هذه الأسئلة اوجهها لسيادتكم كتابة، #(2) ولا أعتقد انه يخفى على أخي حجم المسئولية التاريخية المترتبة على جوابه. #(3) فان شئتم وحددتم اجاباتكم بشكل ايجابي، فسأتحرك للالتقاء بكم وأخذ الأجوبة منكم مباشرة، #(4) واذا ارتأيت أن ترسلها مع رسول منكم، فأرجو أن يتم ذلك بأسرع ما يمكن.#(5) أمّا اذا ارتأيتم خلاف ذلك فلا حول ولا قوة الا بالله. #(6) وحينئذ لا أجد حاجة للتحرك نحوكم حتى لا أكون مضطرا عند عودتي أن أقول بألا أمل في حل عربي، #(7) وهو ما طلب مني أن أقوله بالحاح #(8) ورفضت #(9) ورفضه اخواني الذين زرتهم سابقا ولاحقا، حتى لايشكل مثل هذا القول الضوء الاخضر والمبرر للانفجار الكبير الذي جرت التهيئة له بكل اتقان، وحتى لا نكون سببا في الاقدار التي نخشى أن تكون على درجة عالية من القسوة.#

وفقكم الله وأعانكم، وألهمنا جميعا سداد القرار وصواب العمل، وأخذ بيدنا في سعينا لنيل مرضاته، وتقبلوا صادق ومحبتي، والله يحفظكم ويرعاكم.

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

الحسين بن طلال

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1 ـ هذه العبارة تستشهد بتحليل سيادة الرئيس صدام حسين قبل الحرب لمستقبل العالم العربي، كحافز لسيادته على قبول التسوية السلمية للازمة.

2 ـ الاشارة هنا الى الموقف الاردني بدعم العراق إبان الحرب العراقية ـ الايرانية.

3 ـ الاشارة هنا الى ما أشيع عن "المؤامرة المزعومة بوجود أطماع توسعيّة أردنية.

عمان في 3 ربيع الاول سنة 1411هـ

الموافق 22 أيلول سنة 1990م

Appendix C: Text -6

His majesty King Hussein's Letter to President Saddam Hussien

The white Paper,1991

البحث عن السلام والمصالح الدولية في المنطقة

1. #(1) لقد كانت مصلحة الولايات المتحدة مع اسرائيل مستمدة الى حد كبير من صراعها المرير مع الاتحاد السوفايتي خلال حقبة الحرب الباردة،#(2) فمن تناقضات هذه العلاقة أن التوازن الاستراتيجي حرم كليهما الى حد كبير من إستخدام السلاح العسكري ضد بعضهما البعض لأن مثل هذا الاستخدام كان سيؤدي الى تدميرهما تدميرا كليا وشاملا. #(3) ولايوجد مصلحة للدولة ـــ مهما كانت حيوية ـــ تبرر هذه المخاطرة باستثناء تهديد وجود الدولة نفسها،#(4) ولقد خلقت هذه الحقيقة مصلحة مشتركة عليا لدى الطرفين تكمن في عدم التصادم العسكري المباشر تحت أي ظرف من الظروف، لان مثل هذا التصادم، مهما كان محدودا، كان يحمل في طيّاته احتمال التصعيد الى المستوى الاستراتيجي خصوصا اذا ما اخذنا بعين الاعتبار صعوبة قبول احدهما بنتيجة محدودة تُفسّرعلى أنها نصرا للطرف الآخر، لما في ذلك من تأثير سلبي جدا على سمعته ومصداقيته تجاه حلفائه بل على علاقة الردع المتبادل مع الطرف الآخر.#

2. #(1) وفي مثل هذه العلاقة يكون العبء على الطرف الذي عليه اتخاذ قرار مصادمة الطرف الآخر عسكريا،#(2) ويعني هذا أن الطرف الذي خلق وضعا جديدا بشكل مباغت (Fait Accompli) وسريع يكون قد حقق مكاسب كبيرة على حساب الطرف الآخر المجرد من الخيارات غير خيار استعمال القوة العسكرية الذي يصعب عليه اللجوء له لمحاذير التصعيد التي ذُكرت اعلاه.#(3) ولقد كان هذا الوضع مصدر قلق مستمر لصانعي القرار في الولايات المتحدة، خصوصا بعد ان تمكن الاتحاد السوفيتي من تحقيق التوازن الاستراتيجي في نهاية الستينات، وذلك لقربه جغرافيا من المناطق التي كانت تعتبرها الولايات المتحدة حيوية، ولبعد الولايات المتحدة جغرافيا عن المناطق السوفيتية الحيويّة.#

3. #(1) لقد عالجت الولايات المتحدة الوضع في اوروبا عن طريق وضع قوات أمريكية على الحدود مباشرة بحيث يكون مستحيلا وقوع أي هجوم سوفياتي دون الصدام المباشر مع الجيش الامريكي نفسه (Trip Wire Strategy) ،#(2) أي أن نفس قرار الهجوم على أوروبا لايمكن ان يفصل عن قرار التصادم مع القوات الامريكية، مما يحرر الولايات المتحدة من هذا العبء، ويضعه على أكتاف الاتحاد السوفيتي،#(4) بالاضافة الى ذلك وضعت الولايات المتحدة الامريكية ألآف القنابل الذرية التكتيكية والصواريخ القصيرة والمتوسطة المدى لتوفير مدى واسع من الخيارات العسكرية وتوفير القدرة على تدمير القوة الغازية في حالة فشل الردع دون الحاجة الى الدخول بتبادل استراتيجي فوري يؤدي بالتأكيد الى فناء الدولتين العظميين نفسيهما.#

4. # (1) أمّا الشرق الاوسط الذي كان يعتبر ثاني أهم منطقة في العالم للمصالح الامريكية، فلم يكن لها فيه من وسائل الردع والدفاع ما يذكر.#(2) ولقد اعتمدت السياسة الدفاعية الامريكية في هذه المنطقه على ثلاثة دول: ايران التي خسرتها بعد الثورة الاسلامية، وتركيا التي كان يسهل على الاتحاد السوفيتي معالجتها في حالة نشوب صراع مسلح لوجود حدود مشتركة بينهما، واسرائيل التي لها ميزة البعد النسبي عن الاتحاد السوفيتي من ناحية والقرب من منطقة الخليج من ناحية اخرى ولها القدرة علىاستعمال السلاح الحديث لا تقل عن قدرة الدول الغربية نفسها ويمكن الاعتماد عليها الى حد كبير لشدة ارتباط وجودها بالدعم الاقتصادي والعسكري الامريكي.#

5. #(1) لقد أعطت اسرائيل الولايات المتحدة عددا كبيرا من الخيارات العسكرية لاستعمالها في

ادراة صراعها مع الاتحاد السوفيتي اذا اقتضت الضرورة، كان لا يمكن توافرها دون وجودها في المنطقة. #(2) من أهم هذه الخيارت أن اسرائيل كان يمكن ان تقوم بشن حرب على القوة السوفيتية الغازية بالنيابة عن الولايات المتحدة (by proxy) وأن توفر غطاءا لتدخل أمريكي مباشر تحت الراية الاسرائيلية، او ان تغزو حلفاء الاتحاد السوفيتي في المنطقة،#(3) كما كانت اسرئيل كذلك تُعبتر مخزنا كبيرا لكميات ضخمة من العتاد والمعدات الامريكية،#(4) ولقد توفرت كل هذه الخيارات بكلفة مادية معقولة نسبيا، #(5) فلو قامت الولايات المتحدة ببناء نفس القدرة في المنطقة بشكل مباشر عن طريق انشاء القواعد الجوية الضخمة، وارسال حاملات الطائرات لكلفها ذلك أضعاف ما كانت تدفعه لاسرائيل (حتى لو استطاعت أن تتخطى كل الصعوبات والعوائق اللوجستية التي كانت قائمة). #(6) ولقد اكتشفت الولايات المتحدة على اثر محاولات انشاء قوات التدخل السريع تطبيقا لمبدأ كارتر (لاعطائها خيارات اضافية كانت تتعلق على الارجح بتطوير القدرة على معالجة أخطار تنشأ عن تطورات في داخل الدول النفطية ذاتها تكون القوة الاسرائيلية فيها غير مناسبة لمعالجتها) ان كلفة انشاء هذه القوات باهظة جدا وقدراتها محدودة الى حد كبير. # (7) أما المصلحة الثانية في قوة اسرائيل فتكمن في تقييد أية دولة عربية يكون لها طموح البروز كدولة قائدة او تسعى الى امتلاك القدرة على تغيير الوضع القائم او تهديد الوجود او المصالح الامريكية في المنطقة، وفي اضعاف هذه الدولة او ضربها عند اللزوم.#

6. # (1) يجب أن لا يفهم كل ماتقدم أن الولايات المتحدة كانت تعتمد اعتمادا كليا على اسرائيل في استراجيتها الدفاعية في منطقة الشرق الاوسط، # (2) فمن الواضح أن المنطقة لم تكن مكشوفة تماما، #(3) وان ردع الاتحاد السوفيتي في المنطقة كان يتوفر الى حد كبير نتيجة لحالة الردع الكونية المتبادلة بين الطرفين، #(4) الا أن العلاقة الاستراتيجة مع اسرائيل كانت تعتبر حيوية للغاية، حيث هدفت الى سد ثغرات هامة في علاقات الردع المتبادل والى زيادة الخيارات المتوفرة لمواجهة تطورات معينة كان احتمال وقوعها ضيئلا جدا لكنه على درجة بالغة من الاهمية والخطورة، # (5) وكان وجود هذه الخيارات لمواجهة تلك الاحتمالات رادعا اضافيا يقلص من احتمالات حدوثها.#

7. #(1) ان انتهاء الحرب الباردة واندحار الاتحاد السوفيتي بهذا الشكل الحاسم، انهى العلاقة الاستراتيجة القوية التي كانت تربط الولايات المتحدة واسرئيل تماما لان الاحتمالات الامنية التي هدفت تلك العلاقة لمواجهتها لم تعد قائمة، #(2) ولا يوجد أية دولة في النظام الدولي الحالي قادرة على تهديد المصالح الامريكية في المنطقة على الوجه وبالاسلوب الذي كان يخشى أن يصدر عن الاتحاد السوفيتي في السابق.#

8. #(1) أمّا البعد الاقليمي في العلاقة الامريكية الاسرائيلية الامنية فقد آل الى نفس المصير، #(2) فلقد بينت حرب الخليج أولا أن اسرائيل لاتستطيع استعمال قوتها العسكرية بشكل مباشر للحفاظ على الوضع القائم في المنطقة نيابة عن الولايات المتحدة،#(3) فكان من شأن هذا الاستعمال أن يحول الصراع الى صراع عربي ـ اسرائيلي يفيد الدول المناوئة للولايات المتحدة ويحرج حلفاؤها، #(4) فكان واضحا للجانب الامريكي خلال هذه الازمة أن أي تدخل مباشر من قبل اسرائيل من شأنه أن يؤدي الى نتائج عكسية واضعاف تحالفها ضد العراق الى حد كبير، #(5) ويُفشل محاولات الولايات المتحدة لاعطائها غطاءا من الشرعية الدولية.#

9. #(1) ثانيا، أن نوع الخطر الامني من مصدر اقليمي يختلف نوعا وحجما عن نوع الخطر الذي

كان يخشى ان يحدثه الاتحاد السوفيتي،#(2) فكما ذكر أعلاه، كان من الصعب جدا معالجة وجود عسكري سوفياتي بعد وقوعه خشية التصعيد. #(3) أمّا بالنسبة للخطر الاقليمي فهو بالضرورة ذو طبيعة محدودة، #(4) ومحدودية ما يتوفر من قوة للدول الاقليمية يمكن معالجته بكل روية وتأني. #(5) ولقد بينت حرب الخليج أن بامكان الولايات المتحدة أن تتدخل على المستوى الاقليمي على نطاق واسع جدا اذا ما اعطيت الوقت الكافي للاعداد،#(6) ولقد بينت هذه الحرب أيضا ان التكنولوجيا العسكرية قد تقدمت الى حد يجعل من الممكن حسم المعارك عن طريق القوات الجوية والصاروخية التي يسهل نقلها بل واستعمالها من مسافات بعيدة،#(7) وهذا يعني أن الحاجة الى قواعد دائمة أو حلفاء اقليمين أقوياء عسكريا قد تقلصت الى حد كبير.#

10. #(1) ثالثا، ان انتهاء الثنائية القطبية يحرم الدول الاقليمية ذات الرغبات الكامنة في تغيير الوضع القائم من مصدر التسلح والدعم السياسي يمكنهم من تحدي الولايات المتحدة أو حلفائها في المنطقة. #(2) بمعنى آخر ان بروز بعض الدول الاقليمية المعادية للولايات المتحدة أو حلفائها في المنطقة كان مجرد امتداد طبيعي للصراع العالمي بين الدولتين العظميين ونتيجة حتمية مباشرة له. #(3) فكما قام بسبب أو نتيجة لذلك الصراع فانه سينتهي بزوالة.#

11. #(1) رابعا، اذا كانت الحاجة لاتزال قائمة لمن يقوم بدور استعمال القوة بالنيابة فيفضل حتما أن تكون هذه الدولة جزءاً من النظام الاقليمي بل وعربية على وجه التخصيص. #(2) بمعنى آخر اذا كانت مصلحة الولايات الامريكية مع اسرائيل فيما مضى بأبعادها الاقليمية، مستمدة من رغبتها في منع تغيير الوضع القائم في منطقة الخليج العربي على وجه التحديد، ومنع بروز دولة عربية تكون قادرة على تهديد هذا الوضع القائم، فان نفس الاعتبارات هي التي تجعل الولايات المتحدة تسعى لاقامة تحالفات بديلة مع أطراف عربية قائدة تكون أقدر على القيام بهذا الدور، #(3) وكلمة "أقدر" هنا لاتعني القدرة العسكرية بل السياسية. #(4) فان أية دولة عربية تكون أكثر قبولا للدول الاقليمية الاخرى مهما كانت العلاقات بينها وبين تلك الدول، بعكس اسرائيل المستثناه كليا من النظام الاقليمي والعاجزة تماما عن لعب أي دور سياسي في المنطقة. #(5) لذا فان مصلحة الولايات المتحدة في ايجاد تسوية سلمية في المنطقة لاتستمد من رغبتها بازالة مايعكر صفو تحالفتها الاقليمية فحسب بل تكمن أيضا قي ازالة القيود القائمة حاليا على أي دور اقليمي لاسرائيل. #(6) وبمعنى آخر فانها خسارة هائلة للسياسة الاقليمية الامريكية أن يكون لها دولة حليفة مخلصة تملك قوة عسكرية ضخمة تتحمل الولايات المتحدة عبئا اقتصاديا كبيرا لدعمها، لكنها محرومة من استعمالها في أي دور اقليمي فعّال.#

12. #(1) خامسا، تشكل دول الخليج العربي الآن مركز الثقل للمصالح الامريكية في الشرق الاوسط،#(2) وكانت مصلحة دول الخليج العربي في هذه العلاقة تكمن في ما كانت توفره الولايات المتحدة لها من أمن وحماية في مواجهة ما كانت تعتبره هذه الدول خطرا دوليا واقليميا خلال الحرب الباردة.#(3) لذا فان أهم العوامل والمتغيرات التي يتحتم على صانعي القرار في الولايات المتحدة أخذها بعين الاعتبار في عملية اعادة النظر في العلاقات مع اسرائيل (أو أهم العوامل التي تدفعهم الى اعادة النظر في هذه العلاقة) هو مدى تأثير هذه العلاقة المستقبلية على العلاقات المتميزة القائمة حاليا بين الولايات المتحدة ودول الخليج العربي؛#(4) وكيف ستتأثر هذه العلاقة لو استمر الدعم الامريكي لاسرائيل على ما كان عليه؟#

13. #(1) من الحقائق التاريخية الواضحة أن الدعم المادي والعسكري الذي كانت تقدمه الولايات

المتحدة لاسرائيل لم يؤدي الى زعزعة العلاقة بينها وبين دول الخليج العربي،#(2) بل على العكس من ذلك، لقد تعمقت العلاقات وترسخت أكثر وأكثر باستثناء الفترة الوجيزة التى تأزمت خلالها بعض الشيء بعد حرب أكتوبر،#(3) وتعود أسباب هذه الظاهرة الى عوامل معينة نتجت عن التفاعل بين أنماط توزيع القوة والمصالح على المستويين الاقليمي والدولي،#(4) وأدت الى اتباع سياسة كانت تبدو وكأنها متناقضة بحيث سعت هذه الدول مقاومة اسرائيل من جهة والتحالف مع راعيتها الولايات المتحدة من جهة أخرى.#

14. #(1) لقد أدى دعم الولايات المتحدة الامريكية لاسرائيل الى تبنيها سياسات عدوانية توسعية مما حدا ببعض جيرانها ودول اقليمية اخرى الى التقارب والتحالف مع الاتحاد السوفيتي طلبا للدعم والحماية، #(2) وكان هذا الوجود السوفيتي المتزايد يعتبر مصدر خطر على دول الخليج العربي #(3) كما كانت الدول العربية الرئيسية المتحالفة معه (مصر قبل 1973 وسوريا والعراق) بعقائدها اليسارية وتوجهاتها "الثورية" تعتبر مصدر خطر أيضا على أنظمة الحكم المحافظة القائمة في الخليج.#(4) وكان من شأن هذه الاعتبارات أن تدفع بها الى التقارب مع الولايات المتحدة،#(5) ومن ناحية اخرى فان وجود الاتحاد السوفيتي في المنطقة ودعمه العسكري والسياسي لحلفائه قد أدى الى بناء قوة عسكرية عربية لابأس بها في مواجهة اسرائيل، #(6) والاهم من ذلك فان الدرجة العالية من الالتزام التي أبداها الاتحاد السوفيتي بأمن حلفائه والتي تجلت بالدخول في معاهدات صداقة وتعاون مع معظمهم أدت الى توفير درجة من الردع للقوة الاسرائيلية وخصوصا اذا أخذنا بعين الاعتبار طبيعة وخطورة التوازن الاستراتيجي الذي كان قائما في حينه بين الدولتين العظميين. #(7) فكان من المفهوم والمتفق عليه فعليا أو ضمنيا، أن القوة العسكرية الاسرائيلية تستطيع أن تعمل فقط ضمن حدود معينة لايمكن تجاوزها، #(8) فالقوة الاسرائيلية اذن كانت مقيدة الى حد كبير بوجود حائط مانع من الردع والدفاع لاتستطيع النفاذ منه لتهديد منطقة الخليج نفسها، الامر الذي أعطى هذه الدول مجالا واسعا للتحرك السياسي.#(9) فكانت هذه الدول تدعم قوة الدول اليسارية الثورية وتؤيد الوجود السوفيتي من ناحية أمنية كامنة لكنها أكيدة فيما يتعلق بالخطر الاسرائيلي وضرورة احتوائه،#(10) ومن زاوية أخرى كانت الدول الخليجية تعارض الدول اليسارية الثورية ووجود الاتحاد السوفيتي في المنطقة من الناحية الناتجة عن تأثيراتها السلبية المباشرة عليها، #(11) وكانت هذه الناحية بالذات تعالج عن طريق التقارب مع الولايات المتحدة. #(12) النقطة المهمة هنا أن هذه الدول لم تكن تشعر بخطر اسرائيلي مباشر عليها، #(13) وكانت كل زيادة في دعم الولايات المتحدة لاسرائيل تؤدي من خلال حلقة من التفاعلات السياسية الى زيادة التقارب بين الولايات المتحدة ودول الخليج العربي.#

15. #(1) لقد أدى انتهاء الحرب الباردة وخروج مصر من المواجهة مع اسرائيل الذي سبقها تدمير القوة العراقية الى خلق حالة خطرة من عدم التوازن. #(2) فلا يوجد اتحاد سوفياتي يردع اسرائيل ويدعم الجهد الدفاعي العربي، #(3) ولا توجد قوة عسكرية عراقية كانت تخيف اسرائيل. #(4) وعليه فان القيود على القوة الاسرئيلية والتي كانت توفر للدول النفطية الأمن والحماية زالت تماما ولم تعد قائمة، #(5) ويترتب على هذا الوضع -- ان استمر الدعم الامريكي المطلق لاسرائيل الذي يمكنها من الاستمرار في اتباع سياسة عدوانية توسعيّة -- تشكيل خطر على أمن هذه الدول وافقادها الكثير من الخيارات السياسية التي كانت متوفرة لها.#(6) ولا تصبح معالجة هذا الوضع مجدية عن طريق تعميق العلاقة مع الولايات المتحدة كما كان يحدث في السابق لأنها تكون في هذه الحالة هي مصدر الخطر.#(7) سيؤدي هذا الوضع بالضرورة

الى تفاعلات سياسية لاتكون لصالح الولايات المتحدة. #(8) أولها، عملية تقارب وربما تحالف بين دول الخليج من جهة ودول الهلال الخصيب من جهة اخرى يكون هدفها انشاء جبهة دفاعية قوية لدرء الخطر الاسرائيلي، #(9) أي بمعنى آخر أنه لمن مصلحة الدول النفطية العليا النابعة من ضرورة الحفاظ على وجودهم في حالة استمرار او تفاقم الخطر الاسرائيلي أن تملىء الفراغ الذي نتج عن انسحاب الاتحاد السوفيتي # (10) وتسخر قوتها الماليه لابقاء الخطر الاسرائيلي بعيدا عن حدودها، الامر الذي ينهي حالة التمزق والتناحر العربي القائمة حاليا ويقلل من نفوذ الدول الاجنبية التي اتخذت واستغلت هذا الانشقاق لغاياتها. #(11) والثاني يمتثل في تحقيق محاولة أكيدة للتخفيف من الاعتماد على الولايات المتحدة وتكوين قدرة ضغط عليها لابعادها عن اسرائيل أو تخفيف دعمها لها عن طريق التقارب مع قوى كبرى كالدول الغربية واليابان وحتى الاتحاد السوفيتي نفسه، الذي تلاشى خطره الامني في المستقبل، آخذين بعين الاعتبار أن هذه القوى لاتشكل خطرا على أنظمة الحكم والوضع القائم كما كان يفعل الاتحاد السوفيتي في السابق ولها مصلحة أكيدة في الوجود في المنطقة مما يجعل هذا الخيار واردا وواقعيا.#

16. #(1) نستخلص من هذا كله أن السياسة الامريكية في المنطقة في الحقبة المقبلة لا يمكن أن ترتكز على دور قهري لاسرائيل يسعى لاخضاع دول المنطقة #(2) بل على العكس من ذلك ان مصالحها تملي عليها ازالة الشعور بالخطر من القوة العسكرية الاسرائيلية السائدة حاليا، لما يسبب ذلك من مضاعفات سلبية على العلاقة المتميزة بينها وبين الدول النفطية.#

17. #(1) إنّ مايجري من تغيرات جذرية في النظامين العالمي والاقليمي لاتعني على الاطلاق أن العلاقات السياسية الوثيقة بين الولايات المتحدة واسرائيل قد انتهت تماما، او أن المساعدات العسكرية والمادية ستتوقف فورا أو كليا.#(2) فيمكن لاسرائيل القوية اقتصاديا وعسكريا أن تلعب دورا اقليميا مهما لو أزالت قيودها واستطاعت الانخراط في النظام الاقليمي الامر الذي يتطلب حلولا جذرية ودائمة للنزاع القائم. #(3) وفي حالة عدم حدوث ذلك، فمن الحتمي أنها ستواجه اهمالا أمريكيا متزايدا ومعارضة امريكية علنية وواضحة لتلك الجوانب في السياسة الاسرائيلية التي تناقض مصالح الدول أو حلفائها في المنطقة. #(3) وسيصبح تبرير برامج المساعدات الضخمة مثل التي كنا نشهدها في الماضي القريب أمرا غير سهل، خصوصا اذا ما أخذنا بعين الاعتبار اولويات أخرى أخذت تبرز وتتطلب تخصيص موارد أمريكية ضخمة مثل أوروبا الشرقية وامريكا اللاتينية والتحالفات الجديدة في الشرق الاوسط اضافة الى ضغوط داخلية متزايده تنادي بتخصيص الموارد الامريكية كليا لاغراض داخلية محضة بعد انتهاء الحرب الباردة وانحسار الخطر السوفيتي.#(4) يحدث كل هذا في الوقت الذي تحاول فيه اسرائيل هضم مئات الالاف من المهاجرين السوفييت، الامر الذي يشكل ضغطا متزايدا على مواردها المحدودة اصلا،#(5) ويزيد بشكل كبير من حاجتها الى مساعدات أمريكية#(6) أو يجبرها اذا لم تتوفر هذه المساعدات بالسرعة والحجم المطلوبين على تخصيص جزء متزايد من الموارد التي تخصصها الآن للغايات العسكرية الى قطاعات مدنية كالاسكان والزراعة والتصنيع . . . الخ.#

18. #(1) من الواضح أن نمط المصالح الذي انتج علاقة التحالف والتلاحم بين الولايات المتحدة واسرائيل في العقود الماضية قد تغير من جذوره، اذا ما نظرنا اليه من زاوية المصالح الامريكية.#(2) إنّ أي دور سياسي مفيد لاسرائيل في المستقبل وفي غياب ما كان يعتبر خطرا سوفياتيا على المنطقة سيكون

بالضرورة دورا اقليميا بحتا. #(3) وفي غياب أي تهديد أمني من خارج المنطقة أو داخلها، لايوجد دور عسكري مفيد ممكن لاسرائيل القيام به، #(4) فعلى اسرائيل أن تعي أن مصلحة الولايات المتحدة بها كقوة عسكرية بحتة قد ولت وانتهت،#(5) وان أي دور مستقبلي يكون مفيدا لها وللولايات المتحدة لابد وأن يكون دورا سياسيا.#(6) واذا كانت اسرائيل لاتزال ترسم سياستها على أساس استمرار العلاقة مع الولايات المتحدة بالشكل الذي كانت عليه فانها ستصطدم بالواقع إمّا فورا او تدريجيا،#(7) وعليها عاجلا أم آجلا ان تعيد النظر بأهدافها الطموحه وأساليبها القهرية ودورها الدولي والاقليمي ليس بسبب ضغوط الولايات المتحدة أو غيرها بل لان الاستمرار على النهج السابق سيؤدي الى اضعافها وزيادة عزلتها والاضرار بعلاقاتها الخاصة مع الولايات المتحدة الامريكية التي تعتبرها حيوية،# (8) ستغّير اسرائيل سياستها لا لان احد سيجبرها على ذلك بل لان من مصلحتها أن تفعل ذلك.#

19. #(1) ماهو الدور المستقبلي الذي تسعى اليه إسرائيل في المنطقة؟ #(2) للاجابة على هذا السوأل ننطلق من حقيقتين،# (3) الاولى هي ان اسرائيل من أكثر دول العالم اعتمادا على الدعم الخارجي للبقاء،#(4) وان مصدر هذا الدعم يتركز الى حد كبير جدا في دولة واحدة هي الولايات المتحدة الامريكية. #(5) يُستخلص من هذه الحقيقة أن دور اسرائيل الجديد سيصب بشكل حتمي بمسار خدمة المصالح الامريكية في المنطقة، لكي يستبدل الدافع العسكري الامني الاستراتيجي بدعم اسرائيل بدافع سياسي اقليمي، #(6) بمعنى آخر على اسرائيل البحث عن دور يكون مفيدا للولايات المتحدة اولا وقبل كل شيء # (7) ومن مصلحة اسرائيل ايضا أن يؤدي هذا الدور الجديد الى وضع تحقق فيه اسرائيل فوائد اقتصادية تؤدي تدريجيا الى تقليص اعتمادها الخانق على المساعدات الامريكية.#

20. #(1) والحقيقة الثانية هي أن اسرائيل معزولة عن محيطها السياسي الاقليمي حاليا ومحرومة تماما من الخيارات السياسة بسبب الصراع المرير مع الدول العربية والاعتماد الكلي على القوة العسكرية في ادارة هذا الصراع.#(2) إنّ اسرائيل محرومة الآن من استعمال ما يتوفر لها من امكانات عسكرية لأن هذا يتناقض مع ما هو قائم من معطيات على الساحة الدولية، #(3) كما انها لاتستطيع استعمال هذه القوة بدور سياسي لأن هذا يتناقض مع المعطيات القائمة على المستوى الاقليمي. #(4) فالمهمة الشاقة الملقاة على عاتق اسرائيل (بالاضافة الى البحث عن دور سياسي يكون مفيدا لها وللولايات المتحدة) هي السعيُ لتغيير المعطيات الاقليمية التي تحول دون ممارسة هذا الدور.#

21. #(1)تكمن مصلحة اسرائيل العليا اذن في تطبيع علاقتها مع جيرانها بأسرع وقت ممكن والدخول في النظام الاقليمي، الامر الذي يفتح امامها الكثير من الخيارات السياسية المغلقة حاليا وينهي عزلتها الاقتصادية.#(2) وهذا التطبيع لايمكن أن يتم بالقوة،#(3) فالدور السياسي الذي تسعى اليه يتطلب قبولها من قبل الدول الاقليمية، الامر الذي يتطلب انهاء حالة النزاع القائمة مع الدول العربية لتصبح دولة عادية طبيعية، تستورد وتصدر وتقترض وتستثمر وتتحالف وتتمحوّر.#

Appendix C: Text -7

"Search For Peace and the International Interests in the Region"
Dr. Radwan Abdualla, Jordan University
Al-Ra'i, March ,20, 1991

انهم يريدون تحت الرأس الفلسطينية لتناسب القبعة الامريكية

1.#(1) يبدو أن "هيئة الاذاعة البريطانية" على حق هذه المره.#(2) ففي نشرتها المفصلة عصر يوم العاشر من آذار الجاري، وصفت تصريحات الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش للصحفيين العرب الذين انتقاهم، بانها تصريحات "تضعه في مأزق . . . ذلك أنه من جهة يريد حل قضية فلسطين ويرفض من جهة اخرى التعامل مع قيادة منظمة التحرير. . . بل يحاول عزلها" #.(3) وربما يكون جورج بوش قد وضع نفسه في مأزق، #(4) ولكن ربما ايضا انه أراد التراجع ــ كما توقع الكثيرون ــ عن "المأزق" الذي وضعته فيه تصريحاته الخاصة "بضرورة تطبيق القرارين 242 و 338 على أساس مبدأ "الارض مقابل السلام" والتي سبق وادلى بها قبل ذلك بيومين. #(5) حينئذ، قال كثير من المحللين ان كلمات بوش المعسولة عن تطبيق الشرعية الدولية المنتقاه (اذ انه تحدث فقط عن القرارين 242 و 338 وليس عن القرارين 181 و 194 مثلا!) انما قصد منها الاستهلاك السياسي بعد ان وظفها في خدمة تنفيس المشاعر القومية العربية والدينية الاسلامية القوية المعادية للغرب عموما، وللولايات المتحدة خصوصا في اعقاب حرب الخليج.#

2. (1) واليوم ، يقول كثيرمن من المحللين: هاهو الرئيس الأمريكي، ومن باب التراجع ومن باب لحس كلماته السابقة حتى قبل أن يجف حبرها يبادر بتصريحات قوامها أن منظمة التحرير قد خانت أصدقاؤها وإنه لن يجدد صلاته معها في المستقبل القريب وان عرفات فقد مصداقيته لدى الامريكان لأنه أيدّ العراق وأن دور رئيس المنظمة قد أضمحل وان في المنظمة بعض الجيدين وان ليس كل من في المنظمة رديء.#(2) وطبعا، نحن لانعرف نوايا الرئيس الامريكي الحقيقية.#(3) فان كان الرئيس بوش ينوي التراجع عن دعمه الجزئي للشرعية الدوليه الذي ابداه مؤخرا في الموضوع الفلسطيني فقد كان بامكانه ان يفعل ذلك دون اساءات جديدة لنفسه . . قبل الآخرين.#(4) وان كان لاينوي التراجع ويبحث "بجدية" عن "قيادة بديلة" للمنظمة بين الفلسطينين فانه انما يكشف عن جهله وينسى او يتناسى ان "غيره كان اشطر" . #(5) فلا هذه هي المحاولة الاولى،ولا هي المرة الاخيرة، التي يحاول "أعداء العرب" او "العرب الاعداء" فرض قيادة فلسطينية بديلة! وفي كل الحالات الماضية، كما في كل الحالات الراهنة، كما في كل الحالات المستقبلية، لن يجني أعداء العرب . . والعرب الاعداء . . على حد سواء، سوى حصاد الفشل# (6) فلماذا؟ #(7) وكيف؟#

3.#(1) كنا نعتقد ان الرئيس الامريكي، بوصفه مديرا عاما سابقا للمخابرات المركزية الامريكية، وبوصفه نائبا للرئيس الامريكي لمدة طويله، اصبح يدرك عمق الشك والريبة والعداء العربي والاسلامي للولايات المتحدة الامريكية بسبب تاريخها المنحاز لاسرائيل والمعادي للقضايا العربية #(2) وكنا نعتقد ان الرئيس بوش قد تعلم من دروس حرب الخليج ان جزاء لايستهان به من الشعبية السريعة والواسعة التي حظي بها الرئيس العراقي إنّما جاءت من كونه تحدى الولايات المتحدة الامريكية ورئيسها وسياستها في المنطقه، مستفيدا ــ بالتالي ــ من ينابيع لاتنضب من العداء الجماهيري العربي والاسلامي للسياسات الامريكية المعادية#(3) وكنا نعتقد أن الرئيس الامريكي ادرك ان شعبية الرئيس الفلسطيني قد تضاعفت بسبب موقفه الشجاع من ازمة الخليج، الذي لم يكن ضد الكويت كما يشيعون كذبا، وإنّما كان مؤيدا للعراق في مواجهته مع قوات الحلف الاطلسي التي جاءت لتخوض حربا، بالنيابة عن الصهيونية "واسرائيل" ضد القوة العربية المتنامية في العراق.#(4) وكنا نعتقد ان الرئيس الامريكي قد ادرك ـ من دروس حرب الخليج ــ انه كلما كان يهاجم الرئيس صدام حسين كان تلقائيا وفوريا، يضاعف من شعبية الرئيس العراقي التي كانت قد

نمت في الشارعين العربي والاسلامي لاسباب عديده. #(5) وهاهو الرئيس الامريكي ــ مشكورا ــ يزيد من شعبية الرئيس عرفات بهجومه الشخصي ضده.#(6) وهاهو يسهم ـ مشكورا ـ في عزل كل "الثوريين جدا" و "القوميين جدا" و "الاسلاميين جدا" الذين سبق لهم وطعنوا في وطنية عرفات او حتى اتهموه بالخيانة والاستسلام،#(7) بل هاهو الرئيس الامريكي، وطبعا من حيث لايريد ولا يتمنّى، يقوم عمليا باسكات بعض الاصوات الفلسطينية والعربية والاسلامية الناقدة للمنظمة او لقيادتها تجاه هذا الموضوع اوذاك . . . بعد ان باتت المسألة مسألة بين بوش . . . وعرفات#(8) وهل جُنّ الرئيس الامريكي كي يعتقد ان اهل هذه المنطقة العربية الاسلامية سيقفون الى جانبه . . . ضد عرفات؟#

4. #(1) ومن ناحية ثانية، لنفترض ان مقصد الرئيس الامريكي "شريف" مثلما هو "بريء" في طروحاته،#(2) ولنفترض أنه، فعلا، مستاء من عرفات فقط لان الرئيس الفلسطيني أيد الرئيس العراقي في مواجهته ضد حلف الولايات المتحدة،#(3) لنفترض كل ذلك، ولنسأل: الا يدرك الرئيس الأمريكي أن شعبية ومصداقية عرفات قد ازدادت بسبب دعمه للعراق في مواجهته مع القوى الاطلسيه، تماما مثلما ان شعبية ومصداقية الرئيس الامريكي قد تلاشت بسبب حربه المجنونة ضد الشعب العراقي؟ #(4) ثم نسأل: اذا كانت المسألة قوة دعم منظمة التحرير للعراق في ازمة الخليج التي بدأت في آب 1990، فلماذا اذن قطع الرئيس الامريكي الحوار مع المنظمه في حزيران عام 1990، اي قبل الدعم الفلسطيني للعراق بشهرين كاملين؟ #(5) ثم اذا كان الرئيس الامريكي يسمح لنفسه ولاركان حربه بالحديث مع القادة العراقيين والتفاوض معهم، فلماذا لايريد التحادث والتفاوض مع منظمة التحرير؟#(6) أم ترى ان عداء الرئيس الامريكي للمنظمة بسبب دعمها للعراق قد وصل الى درجة اعلى من عدائه للعراق ذاته؟ #(7) ثم متى يتحاور الناس والدول يا زعيم "العالم الحر" الذي علم الناس ـ فيما تزعمون ـ فوائد الحوار والديلوج؟ #(8) أليس صحيحا أنهم يتحاورون عندما يختلفون او عندما يتصارعون؟ #(9) أم تراهم يبدأون الحوار عندما يكونون متفقين؟#(10) حقا، ان امر الرئيس الامريكي عجيب وغريب.#

5. ومن ناحية ثالثة، هل هكذا يريد الرئيس الامريكي ان يبدأ حكاية "القتال بلا هوادة" لتطبيق الشرعية الدولية . . . و "المساعدة" في مساعي منح الشعب الفلسطيني حقه التاريخي والانساني في تقرير المصير؟#(2) وهل من باب تقرير المصير للشعب الفلسطيني ان يبادر الرئيس الامريكي ليفصل للشعب الفلسطيني قيادة على مقاس امريكي ومن قماش أمريكي؟ #(3) ومن تراه يوافق مع الرئيس الامريكي على نحت الرأس الفلسطينية كي تلائم القبعة الامريكية؟ #(4) ومن تراه يوافق مع الرئيس الامريكي على نحت القدم الفلسطينية كي تلائم الحذاء الامريكي؟#(5) ولماذا لايبادر الرئيس الامريكي ـ أطال الله عمره ــ الى تفصيل قيادة اسرائيلية مناسبة اكثر لمخططاته ولقتاله المزمع "بلا هواده" لتطبيق القرارين 242 و 338؟#(6) من ذا الذي يرفض تطبيق قرارات الشرعية الدولية، القيادة الفلسطينيه ام القيادة الاسرائيليه؟#(7) واذا كانت "اسرائيل" هي التي ترفض تصريحات بوش ـ في حين يؤيدها عرفات ولو بتحفظ وحذر ــ فمن يأترى جدير بجهود بوش وتدخلاته المرفوضه؟#(8) وهل من المنطقي ان يصب الرئيس الامريكي جام غضبه ضد القيادة الفلسطينية المعتدله القابلة بالشرعية الدوليه، أم كان الاجدر به ان يصب حممه البركانية ضد القيادة الاسرائيلية الرافضة ليس فقط للشرعية الدولية وانما هي ايضا رافضة حتى التفسير الامريكي لتلك الشرعية؟#

6. #(1) يخطأ الرئيس الامريكي خطأ فادحا ـ بل هو يرتكب جريمة نكراء بحق السلام ـ حين يقول

ما يقول ويفعل ما يفعل#(2) ونسأل: هل يريد بوش ـ حقاـ التعامل مع الشعب الفلسطيني؟ #(3) اذن عليه التعامل مع القيادة التي اختارها الشعب وارتضاها من خلال مؤوسساته الشرعيه الهمّ الا اذا كان يريد التعامل مع اشباح لايوجودون خارج مخيلته ومخيلة الليكوديين الاسرائيليين.#(4) وفي هذا السياق، بات واضحا ان الرئيس الفلسطيني ـ بشرعيته وشعبيته واعتداله ـ هو المؤهل لقيادة اوسع قاعدة ممكنة من أبناء الشعب الفلسطيني وغيره من العرب والمسلمين في مسيرة سياسية تستند الى الشرعية الدولية.#(5) وعلى صعيد مختلف، ليس للرئيس الامريكي او لغيره أن يقرر للشعب الفلسطيني اسماء قيادته،#(6) بل ليس من حق الرئيس بوش ان يسقط معاييره الخاصة على الشعب الفلسطيني وقيادته فيصف هذا بالرديء ويصف ذاك بالجيد. #(7) فالشعب الفلسطيني هو ـ وحده ـ صاحب الحق في اختيار قيادته وفي انتقادها وفي تصنيفها. # (8) ثم ها نحن نسأل الرئيس الامريكي: من هو الفلسطيني الجيد؟#(9) من جهتهم، يقول الاسرائيليون الليكوديون: "ان الفلسطيني الجيد هو الفلسطيني الميت."# (10) فماذا تقول انت ياسيادة الرئيس؟ #(11) أخالك تقول: "الفلسطيني الجيد هو الفلسطيني الخائن . . . الفلسطيني الكامبديفدي".#

7. #(1) وختاما، نقول للرئيس الامريكي: ان لنا معاييرنا وادوات قياسنا الخاصة بنا. #(2) فنحن الآن ـ لاسباب متعددة ـ مع الشرعية الدولية.#(3) ونحن مع القومي العربي الحقيقي وضد "القومجي العربي الامريكي المواصفات".#(4) ونحن مع الاسلام، لكننا ضد "الاسلام الامريكي " #(5) ونحن مع الفلسطيني "العربي الانتماء، الفلسطيني النضال، الانساني الجوهر" . . . وضد "المختار" الفلسطيني المختار امريكيا.#

Appendix C: Text -8

"Cutting the Palestinian Cloth to Fit the American Coat"
Dr. Assa'd Abdulrahman, Jordan University
Al-Dostour, March, 16, 1991

المفاوضات المقبلة والتنسيق المطلوب

1. #(1) تشهد الساحة الاردنية حاليا جدلا حادا حول انضمام الاردن لمفاوضات السلام المقبلة، #(2) فهناك شريحة لابأس بها من نواب الأمة تعارض الانضمام الى هذه المفاوضات، على أساس أن السلام في ظل ظروف عدم التكافوء في ميزان القوى لا يعني إلاّ الاستسلام ،#(3) وهناك شريحة أخرى توافق على انضمام الاردن الى هذه المفاوضات لا لقناعتها بجدواها، بل لأنها لا ترى خيارا آخر في الظروف الراهنة.#

2. #(1) وقد أثارني موقف الشريحة الاولى لخطورة الطرح، ولما يحمل في طياته من تشكيك في نوايا أصحاب الطرح المضاد، ولغياب الحجة والمنطق المقنع، #(2) كما أثارني موقف الشريحة الثانية لسطحيته وسذاجته.#(3) ولعل تاريخنا المعاصر يشهد على كثير من مواقف الرفض والامتناع المماثلة، والتي تعود على ما يبدوالى فهم خاطيء للمفاهيم السياسية الأساسية المتصلة بالاهداف التي تضعها الدولة الحديثة لنفسها، والاساليب التي تختارها لتحقيق مصالحها القومية العلياء،#(4) إن المفهوم الذي يربط بين الاهداف من جهة والأساليب من جهة أخرى هو مفهوم الاستراتيجية السياسية والذي يعتبر بمعناه الضيق توظيف ما يتوفر للدولة من إمكانات بافضل طريقة ممكنة لتحقيق هدف معين. #(5) ويفترض هذا المفهوم وجود مصلحة قومية واضحة وثابتة وقائمة بحد ذاتها، تبقى تحت كل الظروف، ولا تتأثر بأية متغيرات، #(6) فلا تُطبّق الاستراتيجية السياسية لاكتشاف مجال التحرك السياسي للدولة بل لاختيار أنجع الاساليب والسبل ــ ان وجدت ـ الكفيلة بتحقيق الاهداف القائمة،#(7) وتكون عملية رسم السياسة الناتجة عن هذا المفهوم واضحة وبسيطة، حيث يتم تعريف المصلحة القومية،#(8) ومن ثم توضع مجموعة الاهداف لتحقيق هذه المصلحة، ويتم أخيرا اختيار أمثل السبل لتحقيق هذه الاهداف.#

3. #(1) إنّ هذا المعنى الضيق لمفهوم الاستراتيجية السياسية والذي يبدو انه سائد في مجتمعاتنا، يؤدي اذا ما أستعمل في رسم السياسة الخارجية للدولة، الى كثير من التخبط وعدم الوضوح، والى الحاق الضرر بمصالح الدولة العليا نفسها الى حد كبير،#(2) فهو لايعلمنا شيئا عن كيفية تعريف المصلحة واختيار الاهداف،#(3) ويتعامل مع الدولة بعزلة تامة عن محيطها الدولي،#(4) فاذا لم يكن هناك تناسب بين امكانات الدولة من جهة والاهداف المرسومة من جهة أخرى ضمن محيط دولي تكون السياسة غير عقلانية حتى لو كانت الاستراتيجية المتبناه صحيحة. #(5) واذا ما تحررت عملية اتخاذ القرار من واقع الامكانات المتاحة وظروف المحيط الدولي فستختار الاهداف التي من شأنها أن تحقق أقصى الطموحات والتي هي في الواقع مجرد أماني وتمنيات.#(6) كذلك فان هذا المفهوم الذي يقود الى الاختيار من بين الاساليب والفرص المتاحة من شأنه تحقيق الاهداف الموضوعة مسبقا ورفض كل السياسات الاخرى التي لاتتناسب مع تحقيق هذه الاهداف مما يؤدي بالضرورة الى اغفال كل الاهداف الاقل طموحا، والتي تصب في مسار تحقيق مصلحة الدولة.#(7) وأخيرا ان اختيار السياسات على هذا الاساس يقتصر على تلك التي تصب في تحقيق أكبر قدر من الفائدة وإستثناء السياسات التي تصّب في تجنب أكبر قدر من الخسارة أو الربح كاحباط محاولات دول أخرى لتهديد مصالح الدولة، مع أن حجم الضرر الناتج عن اغفال هذه الناحية لايقل عن حجم الضرر الناتج عن اغفال الناحية الاولى.#

4. #(1) يبدو أن ترسيخ هذا النمط من التفكير السياسي في عقولنا يعود جزئيا الى ممارسات السلطة

في مجتمعاتنا والتي كانت تحاول اظهار نفسها دوما بمظهر القادر على تحقيق أقصى الطموحات وما كان يرافق ذلك من تركيز أجهزة الاعلام المختلفة على تلك الاهداف وتأكيد التزام السلطة بها.#

5. #(1) أمّا المعنى الادق والأشمل لمفهوم الاستراتيجية السياسية فهو اختيار انسب الاهداف التي من شأنها خدمة مصلحة الدولة ضمن ما يتوفر لها من امكانات، وضمن ما هو قائم من معطيات في المحيط الدولي من فرص يمكن استغلالها أو عوائق يجب قبولها أو يمكن تخطيها. #(2) يتجاوز هذا المفهوم كل ما ذكر أعلاه من سلبيات متعلقة بالمفهوم الضيق. #(3) فالاهداف هنا لا توضع مسبقا بل بعد اجراء عملية استكشاف لما هو ممكن،#(4) ولا تكون هذه الاهداف ثابتة بل متغيرة، حسب ما يجري من تغيير مستمر في المحيط السياسي أو في امكانات الدولة نفسها.#

6. #(1) إنّ الدولة التي لا ترسم استراجيتها السياسية على أساس هذا المفهوم الواقعي السلس، تعرض نفسها الى خطر العزلة او الهيمنة أو الزوال،#(2) فلا تحقق ما تهدف اليه ولا تهدف الى تحقيق ماهو ممكن،#(3) ولاتستطيع درء خطر الغير،#(4) ولاتشكّل خطرا على أحد. #(5) ولعل كثيرا من الكوارث التي لحقت بهذه الامة يعود سببها الى عدم وضوح هذا المفهوم بأذهاننا. #(6) وفي التاريخ كثير من هذه الامثلة على الفائدة الكبيرة التي جنتها دول استطاعت أن تتعامل مع العالم بواقعية ومرونة. #(7) فلقد دخلت كل من اليابان والمانيا في صراع مميت مع الغرب أدى الى تلاشيهما كدول لفترة من الزمن #(8) ثم نهضتا على انقاض ذلك لأنهما استطاعتا أن تتعاملا مع العالم بكل سلاسة وواقعية،#(9) واستطاعتا استغلال تناقضات الثنائية القطبية وتسخيرها لغاياتيها، لترتقيا الى مصاف الدول الكبرى.#(10) وفي مرونة تكّيف الاتحاد السوفياتي حاليا مع الواقع الجديد في العالم وقدرته على اعادة النظر في أهدافه وأساليبه أكبر مثال.#

7. #(1) يبدو أن نمط التفكير السياسي السائد لدى معارضي انضمام الاردن لعملية السلام يتطابق كليا مع النموذج الاول المبين أعلاه. #(2) فمن الواضح أن عملية التقييم السياسية نمت على أساس أقصى الطموحات وعدم توافر الفرص لتحقيقها، مع اغفال كلي لفوائد كثيرة يمكن أن نجنيها من انضمامه لهذه العملية، وتجاهل كامل لما يمكن أن ينتج من أضرار في حالة الرفض وعدم المشاركة، #(3) وتتلخص هذه الفوائد أو الأخطار فيما يلي:#

8. #(1) أولا ـ أنّ هذا المؤتمر يعتبر فرصة نادرة لمخاطبة الرأي العام العالمي على كل الأصعدة الرسمية والشعبية على حد سواء، وتعرية اسرائيل واسقاط قناعها الزائف أمام مؤيديها، فطالما حاولت اسرائيل اظهار نفسها بمظهر المحب للسلام، الساعي له، واظهار العرب بصورة وحش متعطش للحرب والدماء. #(2) إنّ رفضنا القاطع لمجرد المشاركة في مؤتمر السلام سيرسخ هذه الصورة المشوهة في ضمير العالم.#

9. #(1) ثانيا ـ إنّ امتناع الاردن عن المشاركة يعني على الاغلب عدم مشاركة الفلسطينيين، لأن المشاركة الفلسطينية لن تكون ممكنة الا من خلال مظلة اردنية كما هو معروف، مما يحرم الفلسطينين من تحقيق ارادتهم كما عبر عنها ممثلوهم في المؤتمر الوطني الاخير، #(2) ونتيجة كهذه، تعطي اسرائيل فرصة نادرة للانفراد بسوريا#(3) (والانفراد بالدول العربية الواحدة تلو الاخرى سياسية اسرائيلية راسخة)، #(4) وان حدث هذا فسيكون كارثة سياسية بالنسبة لنا وللفلسطينيين #(5) وسيؤدي الى تمزق ما تبقى من التضامن

العربي،#(6) وان وجد الفلسطينيون مظلة عربية أخرى، ألن يؤدي هذا الى عزل الاردن عربيا وعالميا في ظل الاجماع العربي والعالمي القائم حول هذا الموضوع؟#(7) وهل يستطيع الاردن تحمل هذه العزلة في ظل الظروف الاقتصادية العصيبة التي نمر بها؟#

10. #(1) ثالثا – أن الدخول في عملية مفاوضات مع اسرائيل يمنعها من استعمال ما تتفوق به من الناحية العسكرية لتهديد وجودنا نفسه،#(2) واذا ما نظرنا للأمور من هذه الزاوية، يغدو واضحا أن الدخول في المفاوضات واطالتها يجب أن يكون هدفا أردنيا بحد ذاته، وبغض النظر عن جدوى هذه المفاوضات في تحقيق تسوية سلمية، ما دامت اسرائيل تمتلك الخيار العسكري الذي لا نملكه نحن.#

11.# (1) رابعا – يقال أن توازن القوى الدولي قد اختل الى درجة كبيرة حيث توجد الآن على الساحة الدولية دولة واحدة تملك قوة عسكرية جبارة، لا يوجد ما يوازيها وهي الولايات التحدة الامريكية، #(2) فانهيار الاتحاد السوفيتي حسب هذا الطرح يمثل خسارة مباشرة لنا لانه دولة صديقة كانت تناصر القضايا العربية، وبشكل غير مباشر، لأن قوته العسكرية كانت تردع وتقيد القوة الامريكية المعادية للعرب.#(3) إن هذا الفهم لانعكاسات ما جرى من تغيير على توزيع القوة في العالم على عالمنا العربي غير دقيق لأنه يستعمل منطق الثنائية القطبية في نظام دولي فقد تلك الصفة تماما. #(4) ان تصنيف الدول الى صديقة وعدوة وتلك التي نحبها أو تلك التي نكرهها ماهو الا خلط بين ما يربط الافراد داخل المجتمع من علاقات عاطفية وبين ما يربط الدول في النظام السياسي الدولي من علاقات مصلحية، #(5) فالصداقات والعداوات تنشأ وتنتهي بين الدول حسب ما يربطها من مصالح مشتركة أو ما يفرقها من تضارب في المصالح،#(6) وعليه، فان نمط العلاقات القائم على أساس نمط من المصالح ضمن توزيع معين للقوة وما ينتج عنه من نظام دولي يتغير بتغيير ذلك النظام.#

12. #(1) لقد كانت مصلحة الولايات المتحدة الاستراتيجية مع اسرائيل، في ظل النظام الثنائي القطبي، مستمدة الى حد كبير من حقيقة وجود القوة السوفيتية وخطر المد الشيوعي، #(2) وكذلك فان سوء العلاقات بين الولايات المتحدة وبعض الدول العربية لا يمكن أن يفسر الا في اطار التنافس الامريكي – السوفيتي في المنطقة وحساسية هذه المنطقة بالذات في توازن القوى بين الطرفين.#(3) فهل أثر انتهاء الثنائية القطبية على نمط المصالح الامريكية في المنطقة؟#(4) وهل سنشهد نمطا جديدا من العلاقات بينها وبين دول المنطقة؟#

13. #(1) مع أنه من الصعب جدا والسابق لاوانه التنبؤ بما سيئوول اليه النظام السياسي الدولي في نهاية المطاف، الا انه من الممكن ابراز مجموعة من الحقائق والثوابت التي لابد لنا من التعرف عليها والتعامل معها.#

14. #(1) الحقيقة الاولى هي أن القوة لم تعد تقاس بالقدرة العسكرية فحسب، #(2) وهذا هو أهم ما يستخلص من دروس تاريخ الصراع بين الشرق والغرب،#(3) فلقد اكتشف الاتحاد السوفياتي متأخرا أن القوة العسكرية الجبارة التي بذل جهدا هائلا لبنائها لاقيمة لها في ادارة صراعه مع الغرب الا لغايات الردع. #(4) وان امتلاكها لم يحل دون محاصرته واضعافه ثم اندحاره. # (5) لقد 'حسمت الحرب الباردة لصالح الغرب لأن الغرب تفوق في بناء نوع آخر من القوة وهي القوة الاقتصادية والتكنولوجية، #(6) فالتفوق الصناعي التكنولوجي وما ينتج عنه من قوة مالية بالاضافة الى ما يوفره للدولة من وسائل ضغط متعددة

ومؤثرة قد ساهم باعطاء الدولة المناعة الكافية لمقاومة الضغوط الخارجية، #(7) وهو قبل كل ذلك قوة عسكرية كامنة. #(8) ويستخلص من ذلك ايضا أن الاختلال الحالي في توازن القوى العسكري الذي نتج عن انهيار الاتحاد اسوفياتي واحتكار الولايات المتحدة شبه الكلي لما تبقى من قوة عسكرية استراتيجية في العالم لايعطي صورة حقيقية عن توازن القوى الدولي الفعلي، اذا ما استبدلنا المعنى الضيق لهذا المفهوم بالمعنى الاوسع والاشمل. #(9) فكما لم يكن باستطاعتنا قياس توازن القوى الحقيقي بين الشرق والغرب على أساس توازن القوى العسكري فاننا ايضا لانستطيع قياس توزيع القوة الدولي في حقبة ما بعد الثنائية القطبية على نفس الاساس.#

15. #(1) إنّ توزيع القوة بمعناه الاشمل سينتج على الارجح نظاما عالميا ثلاثي القطب، يتكوّن من كل من الولايات المتحدة وأوروبا (السوق الاروبية المشتركة) واليابان،#(2) وسيشهد هذا النظام نمطا متزايدا من التنافس الاقتصادي والتكنولوجي بأشكاله المتعددة،#(3) وكما بات معروفا فان الولايات المتحدة الامريكية بالذات تواجه صعوبات جمة في مواكبة سرعة التقدم التكنولوجي لدى منافيسيها ـ بالاخص اليابان ـ، وزخم الغزو الياباني لاسواق العالم بما في ذلك السوق الامريكي نفسه#(4) كما أنها ستواجه في هذا الصراع المقبل دولا أوروبية موحدة اقتصاديا وربما سياسيا تمتلك أكبر قدرة انتاجية في العالم، #(5) وهذا يعني أن فرص الولايات المتحدة في المحافظة على مكانتها الاقتصادية في العالم وبالتالي مكانتها السياسية ليست مشرقة الى حد كبير.#

16. #(1) اذا كانت الولايات المتحدة ،في ظل الثنائية القطبية، تخاطر بمصالحها الاقتصادية في منطقتنا في سبيل ما كانت تعتبره مصلحة أمنية كانت تربطها باسرائيل فان ذلك كان أمرا طبيعيا نظرا لسمو الاعتبارات الامنية لأي دولة على أي اعتبارات اقتصادية عند وجود تضارب بين المصلحتين. #(2) أمّا الآن فلم يتلاشى الاعتبار الامني الذي كان يربط بين الولايات المتحدة وأسرئيل فحسب، بل تعاظمت اضافة الى ذلك المصالح الاقتصادية في المنطقة وتلاقت وتلاحمت مع المصالح الامنية تماما. #(3) وكما هو بديهي، لا توجد أية مصالح اقتصادية للولايات المتحدة في اسرائيل، #(4) بل على العكس من ذلك فهي تمثل عبئا اقتصاديا كبيرا،#(5) ويترتب على ذلك أن مصلحة الولايات المتحدة الأكيدة تكمن في اقامة علاقة سياسية متميزة مع أقطار المنطقة عامة ومع الدول النفطية بشكل خاص. #(5) ولا يوجد في الحقبة المقبلة في اعتبارات السياسة الامريكية الناتجة عن حسابات توازن القوى وطبيعة النظام الدولي ما يتناقض أو يتضارب مع هذه المصلحة، #(6) بل على العكس تماما فهي نتيجة مباشرة لتلك الحسابات. #(7) وأخيرا فان أهم ما يعكر صفو التواجد الامريكي في المنطقة على أسس راسخة وطويلة المدى في المنطقة هو النزاع العربي ـ الاسرائيلي آخذين بعين الاعتبار أن منافسي الولايات المتحدة الامريكية في المنطقة هم أكثر قدرة على التنافس اقتصاديا، #(8) ويرتبط بعضهم في المنطقة بعلاقات حوار وتاريخ #(9) ولا يشكل أي منهم تهديدا أمنيا للوضع القائم كما كان يفعل الاتحاد السوفياتي سابقا، #(10) لذا فان استثناءهم من المنطقة ليس بالسهولة التي استطاعت بها الولايات المتحدة استثناء الاتحاد السوفياتي.#

17. #(1) نستخلص مما تقدم أن موقف الجانب العربي في المفاوضات المقبلة هو ليس بدرجة الضعف التي صورها لنا البعض، حيث يوجد قدر من المصالح المشتركة الكامنه التي يمكن استغلالها لعالمنا لو كانت الارادة العربية موحدة،#(1) كذلك توجد درجة من التناقض في المصالح بين الجانب الامريكي

والاسرائيلي نستطيع أيضا استغلالها وتعميقها.#(3) يتوجب على هذه الامة أن تستخلص الدروس والعبر من تاريخ عالمنا الحديث، وأن تدرك قبل فوات الاوآن أن الضمانة الوحيدة لوجودنا تكمن في قدرتنا على تحقيق نقلة نوعية ترتقي بنا الى مصاف المجتمعات الاوروبية والتكنولوجية الحديثة، #(4) وان هذه النقطة لايمكن تحقيقها بالعزلة والتقوقع لكي لا نعرض أنفسنا الى مثل الذي حصل في دول المعسكر الشرقي والتي تملك مقومات الوجود اضعاف ما يتوفر لنا.#(5) وكذلك علينا أن نحذّر من تخصيص الجزء الاكبر من مواردنا للبناء العسكري على حساب البناء الاقتصادي وعملية التنمية عامة، وأن ندرك أن السعي لتحقيق الأمن القومي عن هذا الطريق هو مجرد سراب ان لم يكن مستمدا من قدرات الدولة نفسها، #(6) فلنركز على المفهوم الشامل للقوة#(7) ونضع أمام أعيننا دروس التاريخ#(8) ونتذكر أنّ الاتحاد السوفياتي خسر أوروبا الشرقية رغم تواجد مليون جندي سوفياتي على أرضها،#(9) وأن المانيا الغربية استردت المانيا الشرقية دون أن تطلق طلقة واحدة.#

18. #(1) وأخيرا، فانني أدعو اخواني اصحاب الرأي الآخر داخل مجلس النواب وخارجه الى التحاور بذهنية مفتوحة وبعيدة عن الانفعال والتشنج ليقارعوننا الحجة بالحجة، #(2) لعل فيما يطرح من آراء صائبة وأفكار سليمة أن تبين لنا الطريق الصحيح#(3) وعسى أن نرتقي جميعا الى مستوى الوعي والادراك الذي تتطلبه هذه المرحلة الخطيرة من تاريخ امتنا.#

Appendix C: Text - 9

Dr. Radwan Abdulla, Jordan University

"The Forthcoming Negotiations and the Necessity Coordination"

Al-Rai', March,22, 1991

السياسة الامريكية الراهنة تجاه فلسطين

1. #(1) ضمن حملة اعلامية وسياسية وجهتها ضد كثير من الدول العربية والقادة العرب، قالت الولايات المتحدة الامريكية أن ياسر عرفات قد فقد مصداقيته لانه ارتكب خطأ جسيما عندما ذهب بعيدا في تأييد صدام حسين والعراق. #(2) ومنذ اللحظة التي نطق فيها المايسترو الامريكي بذلك، تكاثرت الاقوال المماثلة والمشابهة من قبل كل العازفين على النغمة النشاز، سواء كانوا أولئك الذين ينتظمون ضمن التخت الموسيقي نفسه أو أولئك الذين ينتظمون ضمن الكورس المواكب. #(3) ثم تسارعت الالحان النشاز بل والاعمال النشاز اللاحقة.#(4) فلم يمض وقت طويل حتى بدا العالم المشدوه يسمع تخرصات جديدة من الولايات المتحدة الامريكية ـ يا رعاها الله ـ قوامها المساواة على صعيد هجومها التعسفي بين منظمة التحرير ورئيسها بحيث فقدت المنظمة في بنك السياسة الامريكية الكثير من رصيدها.# (5) ومنذئذ كثر الحديث حول ضرورة إيجاد قيادة بديلة عن قيادة المنظمة وخصوصا وان الولايات المتحدة حرصت –مشكورة – على التنويه بأنه مايزال في المنظمة بعض العناصر الجيدة.#(6) ثم جرى تكرار التباهي بأن دول الخليج ـ الا من عصم ربك ـ لن تعيد العلاقات مع منظمة التحرير، ولن تدفع مخصصات المنظمة والانتفاضة، ولن تجدد عقود العاملين الفلسطينيين. #(7) وهكذا، لم يعد العقاب مقصورا على الرئيس الفلسطيني عرفات وعلى منظمة التحرير فحسب، وإنما توسّع العقاب متجاوزا حدودهما ليطال أبناء الشعب الفلسطيني نفسه. #(8) وعند هذه اللحظة، بدأت أعمال القمع في الكويت على الهوية ضد الفلسطينيين وفق الطرق الكتائبية. #(9) وكان كل هذا منسجما مع المخطط الامريكي القديم ـ الجديد، الصهيوني ـ الغربي المتصهين، بل مكملا له،#(10) فكيف ذلك؟#

2. #(1) لو نحن تجاوزنا ـ للحظة ـ التاريخ الطويل المعادي الذي قادته الولايات المتحدة ضد فلسطين ومنظمة التحرير وخصوصا في عهد الرئيس رونالد ريغان في الفترة 1980ـ1988 ولو نحن تجاوزنا ـ للحظة ـ بعض الكلام السياسي المعسول تجاه الفلسطينيين الذي نطقت وتنطق به ادارة بوش / بيكر بين الفينة والاخرى، ولو نحن تجاوزنا ـ للحظة ـ بعض الكلام السياسي المتذمر تجاه اسرائيل الذي صدر عن الادارة الامريكية الحالية، ماذا ترانا نجد؟#(2) من ناحية أولى، سنجد كلاما كثيرا ومعسولا تجاه الدولة الصهيونية يفوق ـ وربما لا يقارن ـ كل نقد موجه لها. #(3) ومن ناحية ثانية، سنجد أن الولايات المتحدة الامريكية في عهد بوش ـ بيكر قد لعبت دورا مركزيا في رفض كل المحاولات العالمية لتنفيذ قرارات الشرعية الدولية من خلال تجاهل قرارات مجلس الأمن والجمعية العامة بل وتجاهل قرارات المجموعة الاوروبية الغربية ذاتها مع الاصرار على البحث عن صيغ اسرائيلية ـ امريكية بديلة مثل خطة شامير ومشروع النقاط العشر المصرية، ثم مشروع بيكر للنقاط الخمس. #(4) ومن ناحية ثالثة، سنجد أن ادارة الرئيس الأمريكي بوش قد بدأت جهودا مضنية في سبيل تفريغ الحوار الامريكي ـ الفلسطيني المحدد جغرافيا في تونس والمحدد دبلوماسيا على مستوى السفراء من أي مضمون سياسي حقيقي وجوهري.#(5) ومن ناحية رابعة، سنجد ان الادارة الامريكية المذكورة حرصت حرصا بالغا على تجاوز الحوار مع المنظمة من خلال محاولة اجراء حوار مع فلسطينيين آخرين من المناطق المحتلة عبر زعامة مصر. #(6) ومن ناحية خامسة سنجد أن ادارة بوش ـ بيكر لم تألُ جهدا في استخدام حق النقض (الفيتو) ضد أي قرار لمصلحة حماية

الفلسطينيين المدنيين، أو لمصلحة قضية فلسطين، أو لمصلحة منظمة التحرير، ناهيك عن مصلحة الانتفاضة الفلسطينية واستمرار نضالها.(7) ومن ناحية سادسة، سنجد أن الادارة الامريكية الراهنة قد تجاوزت كل الحدود والاعراف الدولية عندما رفضت منح فيزا دخول لرئيس منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية التي تدير معها حوارا ، والتي كانت قد لبت مختلف الشروط الامريكية لبدء ذلك الحوار في مقررات السلطة التشريعية الفلسطينية في تشرين الثاني / نوفمبر 1988 في الجزائر وفي قرارات السلطة التنفيذية الفلسطينية في كانون الاول / ديسمبر 1988 في جنيف مانعة رئيس المنظمة ــ بالتالي ــ من القاء كلمة فلسطين أمام هيئة الامم المتحدة.#(8) وقد تكررت هذه الممارسات على الرغم من التنديد العالمي المتواصل بالتصرفات الامريكية، وعلى الرغم من انتقال الجمعية العامة باسرها الى مقر الهيئة الدولية في جنيف كي تتاح الفرصة لممثل الشرعية الفلسطينية بمخاطبة الاسرة الدولية من على منبر الامم المتحدة. #(9) ومن ناحية سابعة، كانت ادارة الرئيس الامريكي قد استمرت في سياستها القديمة ـ الجديدة تجاه اسرائيل والقائمة على أساس الفيض المستمر من المساعدات العسكرية والاقتصادية والسياسية والدبلوماسية للحفاظ على التفوق الاسرائيلي ليس تجاه الفلسطينين وانما تجاه العرب، جميع العرب، علاوة على الضغط عالميا وبكل الوسائل وخصوصا في منظومة الدول الاشتراكية من أجل تحقيق كامل المشروع الصهيوني باستكمال تهجير يهود العالم الى فلسطين.#

3. #(1) في الجانب الاسلامي العريض والعربي الاضيق والفلسطيني الخاص فان الموقف الامريكي يقف عاريا تماما.#(2) فبعد ثلاثة عشر عاما من ممارسة الحرمان السياسي الامريكي ضد التعامل مع منظمة التحرير (باعتبارها منظمة ارهابية لا تعترف باسرائيل و لا بحقها في الوجود ولاتقبل بقراري مجلس الامن رقم 242 و 338) وجدت الولايات المتحدة نفسها تقف أمام العالم خارج ثيابها الداخلية لحظة أعلنت المنظمة قبولها بالشروط الامريكية، مما اضطر ادارة ريغان ـ شولتز الى الاعلان عن بدء حوار جوهري معها عبر السفير الامريكي في تونس وذلك عشية استلام ادارة بوش / بيكر مقاليد السلطة. #(3) وعندئذ، وسواء باختيارها او تحت وطأة اللوبي الصهيوني، باشرت الولايات المتحدة سياسة هدفت من ورائها الى تصفية القضية الفلسطينيه عن طريق ممارسة الضغوط المتلاحقة على قيادة المنظمة كي تقدم المزيد من التنازلات وصولا الى القبول بما يرضي اسرائيل، أي وصولا الى تصفية ـ وليس تسوية ـ قضية العرب الاولى.#

4. #(1) وقد تجلى الموقف الامريكي ذاك بالممارسات الرئيسية السبع السابقة الذكر وكذلك في بذل كل الجهود لاضعاف منظمة التحرير باعتبارها الوطن المعنوي للشعب الفلسطيني وفي ضرب تحركاتها وتشوية سمعتها، علاوة على محاولات الولايات المتحدة مساعدة اسرائيل للخلاص من مأزق الانتفاضة التي نجحت أكثر من أي عامل آخر في ادخال قضية الشعب الفلسطيني الى كل بيت وكل منبر سياسي علىامتداد العالم ، تماما مثلما نجحت الانتفاضة في كشف الوجه الحقيقي لاسرائيل باعتبارها دولة احتلالية فاشية قمعية توسعية وعنصرية مناهضة لحقوق الانسان.#(2) وقد لاحظنا في هذا المجال المحاولات الامريكية الدوؤبة للمساواة بين العنف الفلسطيني والعنف الاسرائيلي أو المساواة بين الضحية والجلاد، #(3) كما لاحظنا جهود الادارة الامريكية لتجفيف الموارد المالية لمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية (وهي بالمناسبة، السياسة ذاتها التي مورست ضد المملكة الاردنية ثم العراق في مرحلتين لاحقتين)، #(4) ثم لاحظنا المحاولات الامريكية التي هدفت الى اعادة تشويه الصورة النضالية الفلسطينية عبر الزعم بأن الكفاح الفلسطيني يساوي الارهاب. #(5) اذن، فان الموقف الامريكي المعادي للمنظمة ولقيادتها ولحقوق الشعب الفلسطيني ليس وليد اللحظة الراهنه،

ولا هو نتيجة ذهاب ياسر عرفات بعيدا في تأييد صدام حسين والعراق ـ حسبما تقول به الاصوات السياسية الاعلامية الامريكية والمتأمركة ـ بل هو موقف قديم قديم.#

5. #(1) وما أن انتهت حرب الخليج حتى بدأ العالم بأسره يطالب الولايات المتحدة الامريكية ـــ صاحبة الفضل الاول في تطبيق قرارات الشرعية الدولية الجديدة بالنسبة للكويت ـــ بضرورة المسارعة الى تطبيق قرارات الشرعية الدولية القديمة بالنسبة لفلسطين. #(2) بل ان العالم كان قد بدأ عملية المطالبة هذه حتى قبل انتهاء حرب الخليج واعدا ـ ومعه الولايات المتحدة ـ بانهم جميعا سيتفرغون لتطبيق القرارين 242 و 338 الخاصين بالصراع الفلسطيني ـ الاسرائيلي ـ العربي فور الفروغ من تطبيق قرارات مجلس الامن الخاصة بالكويت.#(3) بل ان هولاء جميعا تبجحوا بانهم كانوا سيباشرون فورا في تطبيق قرارات الشرعية الدولية الخاصة بقضية فلسطين لولا انهم لايريدون القبول بصيغة ربط قضايا المنطقة وانهاء جميع الاحتلالات في المنطقة وفق المعادلة التي نادى بها الرئيس العراقي لانهم لو فعلوا ذلك فانهم عندئذ سيكونون بمثابة من يكافيء المعتدي، الامر الذي لا يريدونه بل يرفضونه.#

6. #(1) ويومها قبل كثيرمن السذج في هذه المنطقة بهذه الطروحات التهريبة. #(2) ولذلك وما ان انتهت الحرب حتى وجدنا الولايات المتحدة العتيدة تبادر الى اختراع الذرائع الجديدة كي تقول "لا" فعلية في موضوع تطبيق الشرعية الدولية في القضية الفلسطينية من خلال صيغ "نعم" اللفظية.#(3) وعلى هذا الاساس بدأت التصريحات اللفظية الامريكية الايجابية حول الالتزام بالقرارين 242 و 338 وبمبدأ الارض مقابل السلام، لكنها تصريحات جاءت مترافقة مع موقف عملي قوامه رفض تطبيق الشرعية الدولية على أساس أن الولايات المتحدة ترفض التعامل مع عرفات مثلما ترفض التعامل مع العناصر الرديئة في المنظمة عقابا لهولاء جميعا على انغماسهم في دعم الرئيس العراقي ابان حرب الخليج. #(4) اذن، اصبح المطلب ـ الشرط الامريكي الجديد (على طريق التهرب من تطبيق الشرعية الدولية في الموضوع الفلسطيني) التخلص من عرفات ومن الغالبية الساحقة من القيادة الفلسطينية.#(5) ثم سرعان ما اتحفتنا ادراة بوش ـ بيكر بمطلب او شرط ثان على طريق التهرب الفعلي من تطبيق الشرعية الدولية في الموضع الفلسطيني الا وهو بناء الثقة مع اسرائيل عبر رفع قوانين المقاطعة الاقتصادية العربية ضد الدولة الصهيونية وعبر الدعوة الى ضرورة انهاء الدول العربية جميعها لحالة الحرب مع اسرائيل قبل او بالتواكب مع حل الموضوع الفلسطيني. #(6) ثم سلبت الولايات المتحدة من عقولنا بقايا الأمل بامكانية عدلها وتخليها عن سياسيتها ذات المعيار المزدوج والوفاق السياسي المنحازين لاسرائيل عندما أعلمتنا والعالم أجمع بأنها لن تمارس أي ضغط على اسرائيل فحسب، بل سمتضي في سياستها الفعلية القاضية بتقديم مختلف أنواع المساعدات العسكرية والاقتصادية والمالية للدولة الصهيونية ولسياستها في تهويد المناطق وغمرها بالتهجير اليهودي الوافد اليها من الاتحاد السوفياتي (بفضل الضغط الامريكي).#(7) بل ان الولايات المتحدة تجاوزت كل حدود عندما حرصت على تعنيف اليابان لانها لاتدعم اسرائيل كما يجب وعندما سارعت الى حث الحكومة اليابانية على المضي بعيدا في دعم الدولة العبرية.#

7. #(1) اذن، ان موقف الولايات المتحدة الامريكية في مناهضة الحقوق الفلسطينية وفي تجاهل منظمةالتحرير ومحاولة شطبها موقف قديم وسابق على حرب الخليج.#(2) ثم ان الولايات المتحدة ـ في أعقاب حرب الخليج وما واكبها من ضغوط لتطبيق الشرعية الدولية في القضية الفلسطينية ـــ لم تضيع أي

وقت للتهرب من تلك الضغوط من خلال سياسة مزدوجة قوامها موقف لفظي يدعم الفلسطينين والعرب يتزامن مع موقف عملي يدعم اسرائيل والصهيونية. #(3) والغريب العجيب في كل ذلك لا علاقة له بالموقف الامريكي القديم / الجديد هذا. #(4) إنّما الغرابة كل الغرابة، والعجب كل العجب، في موقف اولئك العرب الذين لايحبون ان يصدقوا عيونهم او يصدقوا خبراتهم. #(5) والسؤال الآن هو: أين هو قالب الاسمنت العربي الذي طالما تمنينا وجوده على شكل قوة عربية ذاتية قادرة، على الاقل، على تعديل العوج الامريكي، كي لا نطالب بما هو اكثر.#

Appendix C: Text -10
"Current American Policy Towards Palestine"
Dr. Assad Abdulrahman, Jordan University
Al-Dostour, March, 22, 1991

Text-6E

DOCUMENT VII[1]

His Majesty King Hussein's Letter to
President Saddam Hussein, Sep., 1990

(1) I have just returned from the Rabat meeting to which I was invited by King Hasan II and President Chadli Benjedid. The subject of the meeting was the crisis in the Gulf__ a crisis which has become that of the entire Arab Nation, since the fateful day of August 2nd, when Iraqi troops occupied Kuwait, and precipitated the slide towards the abyss. These events have given rise to an ongoing and ever increasing sense of anxiety as we perceive the gains which our nation has struggled to achieve since the early part of this century threatened with total obliteration. They also take place in the immediate post cold-war period, when the world is moving towards a new era with the emergence of a New World Order, and the establishment of new rules for the international game which are quite different from those of the period which has just passed.

(2) As this new situation began to emerge, and with it the first signs of a new era of hope and promise, the current crisis erupted in the Gulf, developing in such a way as to constitute the first real test of the intentions of the world community. I say the world community because the crisis of the Gulf revolves around oil, which is required by all the peoples of the world and which has now more than at any previous time in this new era came to assume an unparalleled centrality, as all people of the globe strive to achieve a world of peace, cooperation and creative activity with the aim of improving the life of man, and eliminating the kind of confrontations and conflicts which have up till now had such a debilitating effect.

(3) In this new era, therefore, our region has come to be of the utmost importance to the world, not only because of its location, its huge area and the size of its markets, but also because of its vast oil reserves which are estimated to constitute two thirds or more of total global reserves. This international interest in our region is reflected in various ways, the most important of which is the desire for stability in the region within a general framework which is acceptable to the industrial super powers. This framework includes an attempt to control its economic, social, military, scientific and cultural development, so that it remains consistent with the polices and ambitions of the industrialised countries. It also involves these countries strengthening their relations with non-Arab neighbouring states in the region such that these countries remain able to threaten, destabilize and blackmail the Arabs, either through their ability to control the water resources flowing into Arab land, or, as in the case of Israel, through their potential for military aggression, and continued expansion at the expense of Arab territory, or through the ambitions of some of these countries to eliminate the Arab national dimension and the dream of a united Arab nation, by destroying Arab identity under the guise of religion, or by rupturing the Arab body politic through the

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[1] The opening and the closing greetings, and personal addresses are not translated in this personal letter in order to accord with the overall plan of political discourse analysis, i.e., to be an analyzed as a text. (See the original text in Arabic, Appendix C).

partition of the area on ethnic lines.

(4) Against this background, whose precise details I am sure no one can be more aware of than yourself, there erupted the Gulf crisis. This gave the great industrial powers a golden opportunity to reorganize the region according to their own evil designs and in terms of their own goals and interests at the expense of the goals and interests of the people of the Arab world. This crisis provided them with an opportunity to establish the rules of the international game, in order to fix the *modus operandi* with our region in the new era[2].

(5) It should be evident that dangers inherent in this orientation threaten everything our nation has achieved -- however modest -- up till now. Whatever our reservations regarding the way the Arab Order functioned up till 2/8/1990, they do not justify sacrificing the entire achievements of our nation. More importantly they do not justify sacrificing the many achievements which Iraq has accomplished under your leadership, as a result of which Iraq has become truly a source of pride and self-respect for the Arabs, and which have enshrined your country in the hearts of the Arab people as a source of hope and expectation for their advancement and progress, allowing them, in turn, to assume the status amongst the people of the world to which they are entitled.

(6) This is not only my opinion. It is also the opinion of his Majesty King Hasan II and President Chadli Benjedid, and certainly the opinion of the Arab masses. Because Iraq occupies this exceptional position in the hearts of the Arabs, we are constrained to believe that it is no more the property of itself, and that its leadership does not only belong to itself; rather, both Iraq and its leadership, have become the property of all the people of the Arab world. This is why we feel genuinely anxious for Iraq and its leadership, and sense that it is absolutely necessary to protect and preserve them. It is our right to express our opinion on what is happening in order to avoid -- may Allah forbid -- a catastrophe, which, if it should befall Iraq, will befall us all.

(7) On the basis of this understanding and analysis which I share with His Majesty King Hasan II and President Chadli Benjedid, in the light of the development of the crisis and our full awareness of its complications and ramifications, and given our heartfelt concern for the preservation of Iraq and what it represents, I was entrusted by these two leaders to ask your Excellency the following question, as the prelude to a new and sincere collective Arab effort, in the hope that you might provide us with a swift response. What are the specific, reasonable and acceptable demands of Iraq from Kuwait, either with regard to its borders and Iraq's need for access to the deep waters of the Gulf, or with regard to debts, and financial compensation relating to the Rumailah oilfield, or anything else should it exist? In other words, what are the Iraqi demands in their final, reasonable and realistic form from Kuwait, which will be acceptable to the Arab Leaders whom I met with before my last visit to you, such that they can be taken up by the three of us? Given these, we can try to convince the party concerned and the other Arab leaders, and reach an Arab solution to the problem before it is too late; before we lose the opportunity, which I genuinely fear losing, and before

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[2] This statement by His Majesty's cites the analysis of his excellency President Saddam Hussein before the war regarding the future of the Arab World. This is used by His Majesty as an incentive for President Saddam Hussein to accept a peaceful settlement of the crisis (see Arabic text).

the situation slides into a destructive military confrontation, which will cause catastrophic losses, not only to Iraq, which is the hope and expectation of the Arab world, but also to the entire Arab Nation.

(8) I am sure that Your Excellency knows that we are committed to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, not only because this is principle is internationally accepted, but also, with regard to our situation in confronting Zionist avidity and the current Israeli occupation of Arab territories. Therefore, any negligence in complying with this principle (especially in our area) will constitute a dangerous precedent, which will be exploited by Israel, to threaten the security and even the very existence of Jordan, as well as Arab national security in general. As you know, there is an Arab consensus regarding adherence to this principle, which states the unacceptability of the acquisition of territory by force, especially if it leads to the elimination of a state which is a member of the Arab League and the United Nations. Surely, it will not escape your memory that this situation is the first of its kind in the context of the new circumstances prevailing in the world. It is a situation that cannot be tolerated by anyone because, if it is, it will become a precedent that may encourage others in other regions to follow suit. This will lead to the eruption of conflicts and instability in many areas, at a time when the world is trying to resolve conflicts and not produce them. It is this which explains the widespread acceptance and support of the international community for the position of the United States, which, as we all know, has its own hidden agenda, which is quite different from its stated objective of achieving an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the restoration of the legitimate government.

(9) It is important that your Excellency should know that the majority of Arabs truthfully fear for Iraq-- this new phenomenon, with its scientific, human, military and material capabilities-- and they have the right to do so. Their fear for Iraq, in which we have placed so many hopes, has reached a point where many have come to believe that it has fallen into a trap which has been set for it, thus creating the opportunity that has been awaited by the nation's enemies for a long time to strike and destroy Iraq under the guise of helping Kuwait, and in the name of international legitimacy. But they are, in fact, trying to destroy Iraq, to crush the hopes of our Arab nation-- for this is what Iraq represents-- and to destroy our people's renewed self-confidence.

(10) I personally realized this fact from the outset of the crisis, and I therefore started working strenuously, and to the best of my efforts, in order to reach an Arab solution and to thwart the plots against Iraq, and against the Arab nation. Obstacles have been and still are being put in my way. Matters have deteriorated more rapidly than in any previous crisis of this nature, and the region is now on the verge of catastrophe. In fact, I do not see much time left for us; we are racing against time to avoid a disaster, which, should it befall us -- may Allah forbid-- will present the party which we fought against for eight years with the opportunity of becoming, through the rage and desperation which comes of defeat, the heir to Iraq. It will thus be allowed to strike the knockout blow against everything which Iraq defended on the behalf of Arab nation, and for the sake of which the Iraqi people made the most costly sacrifices, which they offered with unstinting generosity.

(11) The war, if it should start, will inevitably in the end be won by one side, no matter how greatly the loses that side suffers. But the real loser in this war will be ourselves, the Arabs, who believe in our nation's right to life, whether in Iraq or in any part of our great Arab nation.

(12) If, however, we manage with the help of Allah to avoid such a war, and to achieve an Arab solution, then Iraq will have accomplished an enormous amount, despite the painful losses that have accompanied the crisis. Iraq will have succeeded in preserving the achievements of its people and the Arab nation, it will have solved the problem with Iran, and will have successfully drawn attention to the gap between rich and poor in the Arab world. It will have established this issue at the national level in the consciousness of the Arab people, and will even have gained support and understanding for this internationally. Iraq will also have attained its legitimate demands which were the basis of its dispute with Kuwait, and will have succeeded in embarrassing the international community which has neglected the Palestine question, thus forcing it to assume its responsibility in exactly the same way as it has done with regard to Kuwait, in its commitment to implementing United Nations' resolutions. Finally Iraq will have deprived our enemies of the opportunity to take advantage of the divisions between us. But, more important than all of this, if we can reach a peaceful resolution within an Arab framework, we will enter into a new Arab era in which things will never be the same as they were before. Will Allah help us all in protecting these achievements? The answer is yes. Let us suppose we are able to achieve a peaceful resolution within an Arab framework__ a resolution which is acceptable to all parties concerned, a resolution which respects the wish of the Kuwaitis to decide freely what they want, a resolution which confirms our consistency as well as that of Iraq, when, under your leadership, it courageously upholds the principle of the inadmissibility of Arab resorting to force against Arab, and of each Arab State, however small it may be, enjoying the same rights as all other Arab states whatever their size, a resolution which demonstrates that the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was no more than an act of self-defence, and was not meant as an act of expansion or hegemony, and a resolution which rectifies what happened, contains the crisis, paves the way to its solution, restores confidence between our brother Arabs, establishes the basis of stability in the region and organizes the Arabs at the beginning of this new era of promise. If we are able to do all this, I believe that it is within our capacity to protect and build on these achievements.

(13) I have supported you truthfully, honestly and faithfully, as I have never supported anyone before, due to the magnanimity, nobility of descent, genuine patriotism and true virtue which I found in you. I believe that you realize all of this[3].

(14) This crisis has revealed many facts, the most bitter of which was that my country and myself were the victims of cheap intrigues carried out by our brothers. The 'heroes' of these intrigues were a group of our brothers in collaboration with others from outside the area[4]__ something which largely explains the hostile attitudes adopted towards us. These brothers propagated rumours that the Jordanian, Iraqi and Yemeni leadership were conspiring against their countries, governments and resources.

(15) Like Yemen, Jordan and myself have suffered as badly as you and our beloved Iraq. Therefore, will you respond positively and do what is in the interests of yourself, your country and your people, whom you have united and led, and who have willingly and generously sacrificed their own lives? From the bottom of my heart, I

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[3] His Majesty the King is alluding to Jordanian support for Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war.

[4] His Majesty the King is alluding to the rumours which were spread prior to the Gulf War regarding alleged Jordanian plans for territorial expansion.

hope for your positive response.

(16) When I bade you farewell last time I had the honour of meeting you, I told you to call me in case you needed any help. I left Baghdad for Jordan anxious and saddened because I was hoping to pursue my attempts to prevent the deterioration in the situation which has been going on ever since. Will you listen to my call and the call of every sincere Arab before it is too late? Can we work together to regain those friends whom we have lost since the crisis started, and to gain new ones? You have brothers who suffer more than you do, through their fear of the dangers that are threatening yourself, Iraq and the Arab Nation. Will you give us the opportunity to act to rectify the situation and open the channels of dialogue between yourself and Arab leaders in the Gulf, who were utterly shocked by what happened, and consequently fell, as Iraq did, into the trap of a large and growing foreign military presence.

(17) I address these question to you in writing; I do not believe that you will ignore the weight of historic responsibility your response entails. Should you give positive responses, I will be pleased to meet with you to receive them directly. On the other hand, if you wish to convey them through an envoy, I hope you will do so soon as possible. If you consider otherwise, then there is "no power except in Allah". In this case, I would see no point in contacting you again, in order not to be forced to admit that there is no hope of an Arab solution. It is this that I was persistently asked to say, but I refused, along with the other leaders whom I lately visited, in order not to allow such an admission to be taken as the justification for an overwhelming and carefully planned offensive, and to avoid being the cause of a fate which we fear will be utterly devastating.

Text-7E

"The Search for Peace and International Interests in the Region"

(1) America's shared interests with Israel derive largely from its bitter conflict with the Soviet Union during the cold war. One of the contradictions of this conflict was the fact that the strategic balance between the two superpowers effectively deprived each of them of the possibility of the direct use of force against the other, since this would have resulted in the annihilation of both. There could be nothing of sufficient importance to either state, no matter how vital it might seem, to justify such reckless adventurism, except for the survival of the state itself. This situation gave rise to a common interest among both parties in avoiding direct military confrontation under any circumstances because such a confrontation, no matter how limited it might initially be, would imply the possibility of the escalation of the conflict to the strategic level. This is borne out particularly by a consideration of the difficulty of either of the two warring parties accepting a limited outcome which might be interpreted as a victory for the other; for this would have a negative impact not only on its reputation and credibility among its allies, but also in terms of its mutual deterrence capabilities vis-a-vis the other party.

(2) In this kind of situation, the onus rests with the party which is required to initiate military action. That is to say, that party which has moved to create the *fait accompli* will have secured significant gains at the expense of its opponent, who is denied any other option except the use of military force. It would, however, be very difficult to resort to such force because of the above-mentioned dangers of escalation. This situation proved a perpetual source of disquiet for American policy makers, especially following the Soviet Union's success in achieving a strategic balance at the end of the 1960s, and in view of its geographical proximity to those regions considered vital by the US coupled with America's geographical remoteness from those regions vital to the Soviet Union.

(3) In Europe, the Americans overcame this situation by stationing US forces on the very borders of the Soviet Union, so that no Soviet attack could be launched without engagement by the US army (the so-called *trip-wire strategy*). This meant that any Soviet decision to attack Western Europe inevitably implied a decision to engage the US army. This released the US from the burden of escalating the confrontation to the reciprocal strategic level (as discussed above), and put the onus for any conflict on the Soviet Union. The US also put in place thousands of tactical nuclear weapons, as well as short- and medium-range missiles, which provided a wide variety of military options, including the capability of destroying the attacking forces, if deterrence failed, without resorting to an immediate and mutual strategic military exchange which would inevitably annihilate both super-powers.

(4) In the Middle East on the other hand, which was considered the second most important region in terms of American interests, the US did not have any significant strategy for defence and deterrence. American defence policy depended on three countries: (1) Iran, which the US lost following the Islamic revolution, (2) Turkey, which the Soviet Union could easily deal with in case of armed conflict, since the two countries shared a common border, and (3) Israel, which was, on the one hand, relatively remote from the Soviet Union, and, on the other, relatively close to the Gulf

region. Israel was also no less capable than the West of using modern military equipment, and could be depended upon due to the fact that its very existence was intimately linked to American economic and military aid.

(5) In case of necessity, Israel provided the US with additional military options in managing its conflict with the Soviet Union, options which would have not been available were it not for the presence of Israel in the region. The most important of these was the potential for Israel to launch a strike against Soviet forces on behalf of the US, and to provide cover for direct American intervention under the Israeli flag, or to attack the allies of the Soviet Union in the region. Israel also acted as an giant American weapons and ammunition depot. All these options were made available at a relatively low financial cost. Had the US set about building a similar power base in the region through the establishment of huge military air bases and the deployment of aircraft carriers, it would have cost many times the amount it has paid over to Israel (even if the US were able to overcome all the difficulties, such as logistical support). Recall that at one stage the US attempted to organise a rapid deployment force, in accordance with the Carter doctrine, in order to provide itself with additional military options, which would presumably have given it the capability of dealing with possible internal threats within the oil-producing countries where Israel could not intervene. However, it discovered that the cost of organising such a force was very expensive compared with its extremely limited capabilities. America also had an interest in maintaining Israeli power, because this allowed it to constrain and weaken any Arab state which aspired to regional leadership and tried to acquire the military capability to change the status quo, or to threaten the US or its interests in the region, by attacking that Arab state if necessary.

(6) None of this should lead us to the conclusion that the US has been completely dependent on Israel for its defence strategy in the ME; it is obvious that the region was not left completely exposed during the cold war period, and that deterrence of the Soviet Union in the region depended, to a large extent, on the mutual and global deterrence of the two super powers. The US-Israeli strategic relationship was, however, absolutely vital, because it was intended to close critical gaps in the mutual deterrence relationship, and to increase the number of options available to confront certain types of development, which although highly improbable, were potentially at least extremely dangerous. The existence of these options constituted an additional source of deterrence, which in itself reduced the possibility of their occurrence.

(7) The end of the Cold War and the total defeat of the Soviet Union brought to an end the close strategic relationship which had previously existed between the US and Israel, since it meant the disappearance of the potential security problems which this relationship was intended to confront; thus under the New World Order there was now no state which could threaten American interests in the region to the same extent as the former Soviet Union.

(8) Meanwhile, the regional dimension of the American-Israeli relationship has also suffered the same fate. Firstly, the Gulf war has demonstrated beyond doubt that Israel cannot make direct use of its military power to maintain the status quo in the region on behalf of the US, because this would transform the conflict into an Arab-Israeli conflict and would only serve to help the enemies of the US and to embarrass its allies. It was therefore clear to the US that any direct intervention by Israel would have serious negative consequences, drastically weakening the alliance against Iraq, and thwarting US attempts to give the conflict an air of international legitimacy.

(9) Secondly, any future threat emanating from a regional source will be of a completely different type and scale from that which was posed by the Soviet Union. It would have proved difficult to deal with any Soviet military move into the region, for fear of strategic escalation. A regional threat, on the other hand, would necessarily be of a limited nature, and wholly dependent on the military power available to that regional state; as such, it would be easier to deal with on a long-term calculated basis. The Gulf war has demonstrated that the US has the capability to intervene on a very large scale at the regional level, if given enough time for preparation. It has also shown that military technology has advanced to the point where it has become possible to decide the outcome of a war by the use of aircraft and missiles, which can be deployed without difficulty vast distances from the battle-field. This also means that the need for permanent air bases and militarily strong regional allies has substantially diminished.

(10) Thirdly, the termination of the bipolar conflict has deprived those regional Arab states which harbour a desire to change the status quo of the source of armaments and political support which might have enabled them to challenge the US or its allies in the region. In other words, the emergence of regional states hostile to the US and its allies was an inevitable extension of the global conflict between the two super-powers. Thus, whatever regional patterns emerged from that conflict have come to an end as a result of its termination.

(11) Fourthly, if there is still any further need for a proxy use of force by any state to serve the interests of the US, it is far preferable that this state should be part of the regional order__ and specifically an Arab state. In other words, if US regional interests with regard to Israel previously derived from an American wish to prevent any change in the status quo of the Gulf region in particular, and to block the emergence of an Arab state capable of threatening this status quo, these very same interests now motivate the US to look for an alternative among the Arab states better able to perform this role than Israel. The term 'better able', here, is to be interpreted not militarily but politically. Any Arab state would be more acceptable than Israel, no matter how bad its relations with other Arab states, since Israel is totally excluded from the regional order and is quite incapable of assuming any political role in the region. In other words, American regional policy is severely hampered by the fact that its most loyal ally, Israel, possesses huge military power, and yet is deprived of the means to use this power in settling any regional dispute.

(12) Fifthly, the Gulf Arab States (GAS's) now constitute the centre of gravity of American interests in the ME. The major concern of the GAS's is the maintenance of their own security, which the US used to provide, in the face of the global and regional threat as perceived by these states during the cold war. Thus, the most important variable to be taken into account by American decision makers in their quest to reevaluate the US-Israeli special relationship is the influence of this relationship on the current special relationship between the US and the GAS's. How will this relationship be affected if the US continues to support Israel as it has done up till now?

(13) It is a historically self-evident fact that the financial and military support provided by the US to Israel had never undermined the relationship between the US and the GAS's. On the contrary, this relationship has become progressively closer, except during the short period following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, where there was a phase of relative crisis, which can be traced back to certain factors resulting from the interactions between the patterns of distribution of power and interest at the regional and the global levels. This led to the adoption of an apparently contradictory policy on

the part of the GAS's, which continued to oppose Israel, on the one hand, while allying themselves with its protector, the US, on the other.

(14) US support for Israel led the latter to adopt an aggressive and expansionist policy, forcing certain of its Arab neighbours and other countries of the region into a rapprochement with the Soviet Union for the sake of help and protection. This growing Soviet presence in the region was considered a threat by the GAS's. The key Arab states which were in alliance with the Soviet Union (Egypt until 1973, Iraq and Syria) were also considered a source of threat to the conservative regimes of the GAS's, due to their 'leftist' and 'revolutionary' ideology. These considerations forced the GAS's into a rapprochement with the US. On the other hand, the Soviet presence in the region and its support for its allies resulted in the building up of a sizeable Arab military power capable of confronting Israel. Most important of all was the high degree of commitment shown by the Soviet Union towards the security of its allies. This was manifested in the signing of friendship and cooperation agreements with most of these allies, an action that resulted in the establishment of a high level of deterrence against Israeli military action, particularly given the critical nature of the strategic balance between the two super-powers during the cold war era. Thus, whether explicitly or implicitly, it was fully understood and accepted that military power could only operate within precisely specified limits, and Israeli power was, to a large extent, constrained by a barrier of defence and deterrence, which it was unable to penetrate in order to threaten the Gulf region itself. This provided the GAS's with extensive room for political manoeuvre. Faced with the implicit Israeli threat to their security and the necessity to contain it, these States supported both the revolutionary leftist Arab states and the presence of the Soviet Union. However, in terms of the direct negative influence the leftist states exerted, the GAS's opposed these states and Soviet presence in the region. The Gulf states attempted to contain this problem by developing closer relations with the U.S. In this respect, the most important point is that the GAS's never faced any direct threat from Israel; and every increase in US support for Israel led, through a series of political interactions, to the development of even closer relations between the US and the GAS's.

(15) The end of the cold war and the abandonment by Egypt of the struggle against Israel, as well as the destruction of Iraqi military power, has led to the creation of a dangerous and unstable situation. The Soviet Union is no longer present to deter Israel and to bolster Arab defences, and Iraq no longer has the military power to intimidate Israel. Thus, the constraints which formerly deterred Israel from using its military power and provided security for the oil-producing Gulf states, have completely disappeared. As a result, continued unconditional American support for Israel has enabled Israel to pursue its aggressive and expansionist policy. It has thus come to constitute a source of immediate threat to the GAS's which have been deprived of many of the political options which had previously been available to them. It is not possible to resolve this problem through a deepening of the GAS's relations with the US, as was previously the case, because the US in this instance is itself the source of the threat. This situation will inevitably have political repercussions which are detrimental to American interests. First among these may be a process of rapprochement or even alliance between the GAS's on the one hand and the states of the Fertile Crescent on the other, with the aim of organising a defensive front against the Israeli threat. In other words, given the necessity to safeguard their own existence, and the deepening Israeli threat, it is in the ultimate interest of the oil-producing states to fill the gap

arising from the withdrawal of the Soviet Union, and to utilize their financial power to keep the Israeli threat away from their own borders. This would bring to an end the current situation of fragmentation and antagonism between the various Arab states, and would reduce the influence of foreign powers which have exploited inter-Arab divisions for their own purposes. Secondly, we are likely to witness a serious attempt to reduce the dependence of the GAS's on the US through the development of relations with other powers such as Europe, Japan, and even the former Soviet Union itself. It should also be borne in mind that these states do not constitute a potential security threat, since, unlike the old Soviet Union, they do not pose a danger either to the Gulf regimes or to the status quo. Indeed, the fact that these powers have a demonstrable interest in being present in the region makes this option not only conceivable but also realistic.

(16) From this, we conclude that American policy in the region in the coming period, cannot be established on the basis of the granting of an oppressive role to Israel whereby it pursues its subjugation of the neighbouring Arab states. On the contrary, US interests will force Israel to remove any sense of insecurity caused by its military power (currently the dominant sentiment), because of the negative implications this would have for the special relationship which exists between the US and the GAS's.

(17) The radical changes currently taking place in both the global and regional orders certainly do not mean that the close relationship between the US and Israel has come to an end, or that US military and financial aid will immediately and completely dry up. On the contrary, a militarily and economically powerful Israel would be able to perform an important regional role if the constraints on it were removed and it was able to participate in the regional order. This, however, would require a permanent and a radical solution to the present Arab-Israeli conflict. If this is not achieved, Israel will inevitably face increasing American neglect and even open opposition to those aspects of Israeli policy which are in conflict with the interests of the US or its allies in the region. The huge sums in American aid which Israel, until recently, received from the US will become very difficult to justify, especially in the view of other priorities which have now began to emerge and which require the allocation of large sums of American resources, such as Eastern Europe, Latin America and the new alliances in the ME. In addition, the end of the cold war and the falling away of the Soviet threat have led certain interest groups within America to press for the reallocation of all American resources for internal purposes. This is taking place at a time when Israel's attempt to absorb hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews is putting increasing pressure on its limited resources, and greatly increasing its need for American aid. If this aid is not made available swiftly enough or in sufficient amounts, Israel will be obliged to reallocate an enormous part of its own resources, which are currently earmarked for military purposes, to serve civil sectors such as housing, agriculture, and industry.

(18) It is clear, then, that the pattern of interests which gave rise to the close alliance between the US and Israel over the past decades has undergone a radical change, when viewed from the perspective of American interests. Therefore, in the absence of a Soviet threat to the region, any future political function for Israel must necessarily be of a purely regional nature. And in the absence of a potential security threat, whether internal or external, there will be no possible military function for Israel to perform. Therefore, Israel must realize that the US has ceased to have any interest in it from a purely military point of view. Israel's future role must be a political one, for the well-being of itself as well as that of the US. If Israel is still planning its policy on the basis of a continuation of its previous relationship with the American, then it

will, sooner or later, find itself confronted by a new state of affairs, and will have to review its expansionist ambitions, its coercive methods and its global and regional role, not only as a result of pressure from US and other states, but because the continuation of its current policy will result in its own decline and isolation, and in damage to its special relationship with the US, which it considers so vital. Eventually, Israel will change its policy not because some one will force it to do so, but because such a change will be dictated by its own self-interest.

(19) What future role will be sought by Israel in the region? To answer this question, we must take into accounts two facts. Firstly, Israel is more dependent on foreign aid for its survival than almost any other country in the world; and the source of this aid is virtually limited to one country__ the US. From this, we may conclude that the new Israeli role will inevitably be oriented towards serving American interests in the region; thus, the strategic military motivation for supporting Israel will be superseded by a regional political one. In other words, Israel should look for a political role in the region, which first and foremost serves the interests of the US. It is also in the interests of Israel that this new role should lead into a situation in which Israel can benefit economically, thus gradually reducing its crippling dependence on US aid.

(20) Secondly, as things stand, Israel is isolated from its regional political environment, and is deprived of any political options as a result of its bitter conflict with the Arab states, and its total reliance on military power in dealing with this conflict. It is also incapable of using its military capacity, because this would contradict with the global status quo, or of using its power in a political role, because this would contradict with the current regional status quo. Thus, the problem (and this is not an easy one to solve) is to find a political role which would serve both the interests of Israel and those of the US, by attempting to change those factors within the region which prevent Israel from exercising such a role.

(21) Israel's higher interest, therefore, lies in normalizing its relations with its neighbours as soon as possible, and in participating in the regional order. This would open the door to a number of political options that are simply not available at the moment, and would put an end to its economic isolation. This normalization cannot be achieved by force because the political role Israel is seeking requires its acceptance by the other states of the region, which, in turn, requires the termination of the current state of conflict, in order for Israel to become a normal state capable of importing, exporting, raising and investing capital, and participating in regional political alliances.

Text-8E
Cutting the Palestinian Cloth to Fit the American Coat

(1) The B. B. C. World Service seems to have got it right this time. In its news analysis on the evening of the 10th of this month (March 1991) it claimed that the statements made by the American President, George Bush, to a selected group of Arab journalists, "put him in a critical predicament because, on the one hand, he wants to solve the Palestinian question but, on the other, he refuses to deal with the PLO leadership and indeed tries to isolate it." In getting himself into one predicament, George Bush may in fact have wanted to get himself out of another (as many have suggested), one in which he was placed by his statements made two days earlier regarding the implementation of United Nations' Resolutions 242 and 338 on the basis of the "land for peace". At that time, it was suggested by many analysts that Bush's apparently favourable statements regarding the implementation of selected aspects of international law (since he talked only of Resolutions 242 and 338 and not of 181 and 194, for example) were simply designed for political consumption with the intention of deflating the strong anti-Western and particularly anti-American nationalistic and Islamic sentiment in the Arab World following the Gulf War.

(2) Today, many analysts argue that the US President is indeed backtracking as expected and abandoning his commitments even before the ink is dry, by making statements to the effect that "the PLO has betrayed its friends, and none of them will renew their relations with it in the near future. Arafat has lost his credibility with the Americans because he supported Iraq, and the PLO now has only a minor role to play. There remain, however, some good people within the PLO; not every one member of the organization is wicked". Of course, we do not know the real intentions of the US President. If Bush intended to abandon his recently professed qualified support for the demands of international law regarding the Palestine issue, he could have done so without causing any further damage either to himself or to others. If he didn't intend this, but was genuinely looking for an alternative leadership' to the PLO from among the Palestinians, he would merely be demonstrating his ignorance -- whether real or feigned. This is not the first time -- nor will it be the last-- that our enemies, be they Arabs or non-Arabs, have tried to impose an alternative leadership on the Palestinians. Every one of these attempts, whether past, present or future, is doomed to failure. Why should this be?

(3) At one time, We used to imagine that, as former Director of the CIA and US Vice-President of long standing, the current American President had come to appreciate the depths of distrust and hostility towards the US which had developed in the Arab and Islamic world on account of America's history of anti-Arab and pro-Israeli bias. We believed that President Bush had learned from the Gulf War that a considerable part of the widespread popularity enjoyed by Saddam Hussein was due to the fact that he was prepared to challenge US policy in the region, and, as a consequence, was able to take advantage of the mass popular opposition amongst Muslims and Arabs towards the hostile line adopted by Americans. We also believed that the US President had realized that the popularity of Arafat has actually increased because of his courageous stand over the Gulf Crisis, since he was not supporting Iraq against Kuwait as has been alleged, but rather supporting Iraq against the NATO forces, which came to wage war on behalf of Zionism and Israel against the emerging Arab power in Iraq. We similarly believed

that the American President had learnt from the Gulf War that, when he attacked Saddam Hussein, he automatically and immediately increased the latter's popularity in both the Arab and Islamic worlds. Now, as he did with Saddam, the US President is thankfully helping to increase Arafat's popularity, through his personal attacks, and by so doing, is contributing towards the isolation of all the pseudo-revolutionaries, pseudo-nationalists and pseudo-Islamists, who once challenged Arafat's patriotism, even to the extent of accusing him of treason and surrender. Without of course intending to do so, the US President has, in effect, silenced a number of the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic voices which criticized the leadership of the PLO over various issues, by making the issue one of personal conflict between him and Arafat. Is the US President mad enough to believe that the Arab and Islamic peoples of the Middle East would support him against Arafat?

(4) For the sake of argument, however, let us suppose that the US President was honest in his intentions and innocent in his proposals. Let us also suppose that he was really resentful of Arafat only because the Palestinian leader supported the Iraqi President in his confrontation with the American Alliance. Let us suppose all of this, and let us ask: does the US President not realize that Arafat's popularity and credibility have actually increased because of his support of Iraq against the NATO forces, just as the popularity and credibility of the US President have declined dramatically due to his insane war against the Iraqi people? We may also ask: if the issue was the PLO's strong support for Iraq during the Gulf crisis which started in August 1990, why was it that the US President stopped the US-PLO dialogue in June 1990, two months before the Palestinians started supporting Iraq? And if the US President allows both himself and his military staff to talk to and negotiate with the Iraqi leadership, why doesn't he want to talk to and negotiate with the PLO? Is it the case that the animosity of the US President towards the PLO on account of its support of Iraq is greater than his animosity towards Iraq itself? When is it that people and countries engage in dialogue? This is a question to be addressed to the leader of the 'free world', the man who -so he claims- teaches people the benefits of dialogue and negotiation. Is it not true that people negotiate when they are in dispute with one another? Or do they do so when they are already in full accord? This US President's situation is a quite extraordinary one.

(5) Is this how the American President wants to begin the story of his "relentless struggle to implement international law", and to help in granting the Palestinian people their historic right to self-determination? Is it part of the Palestinians' self-determination that the US President should take the initiative in cutting the Palestinian cloth to fit the American coat? Who would agree with the American President carving the Palestinian head to fit the American hat, or the Palestinian foot to fit the American shoe? Why doesn't our glorious American President take the initiative and make to measure an Israeli government that suits his plans and his determined and 'relentless struggle' to implement United Nation's resolutions 242 and 338? Who is refusing to implement the resolutions of international law, the Palestinians or the Israelis? If it is Israel which rejects Bush's statement at a time when Arafat, albeit cautiously and with reservation, supports them, then which side is more deserving of Bush's unacceptable interventions? Is it reasonable that the US President should pour out his indignation on a moderate Palestinian leadership which accepts the concept of international law? Would it not be more reasonable that he should pour it out on an Israeli leadership which not only rejects this concept, but even rejects the US interpretation of this law?

(6) Through his words and actions, the US President is not merely committing a grave error; he is also perpetrating a crime against peace of extraordinary dimensions. We must ask: does Bush really want to deal with the Palestinian people? If so, he has to deal with the leadership which was chosen and approved by this people, thorough its legal institutions, unless, of course, he wants to deal with a fictitious leadership which only exists in the world of his imagination and that of the Likud. In this respect, it is quite clear that by virtue of his legitimacy, popularity and moderation, the Palestinian leader is the best qualified person to lead the great mass of the Palestinian people, as well as other Arabs and Moslems on a political course based on international law. Neither the American President nor anyone else has the right to choose a Palestinian leadership on behalf of the Palestinians. Bush has no right to use his own personal criteria to judge who is good and who is bad amongst the Palestinians or their leadership. It is the Palestinians alone who have the right to choose, criticise, and categorize their leaders. We ask the American President this: who are the good Palestinians? As far as the Likud are concerned, the only good Palestinian is a dead Palestinian. What do you think Mr. President? I believe that you would say that the only good Palestinian is a perfidious Palestinian, a Camp David Palestinian.

(7) In conclusion, we say this to the US President: we have our own criteria of judgment. We are now, for various reasons, on the side of international law. We are with the true Arab nationalists, but against "the made-in-America pseudo-nationalists." We are on the side of Islam, but against "American Islam." We are on the side of those Palestinians whose humanitarianism leads them to side with the Arab nation and the Palestinian struggle, but we are against those Palestinian 'representatives' who really represent only the Americans.

Text-9E
"The Forthcoming Peace Negotiations and the Necessity for Coordination"

(1) There is currently a heated debate going on in Jordanian political circles regarding Jordan's participation in the forthcoming peace negotiations. One group of MP's opposes Jordan's participation on the basis that the imbalance of power between the parties means that such participation is equivalent to surrender. Another group of MP's reluctantly agrees, not because it is convinced, but because it does not see any alternative given the current circumstances.

(2) I was moved to respond to the stance of the first group because of three things: the dangerous nature of their proposal, the fact that they cast doubt on the sincerity of those who oppose them, and the absence of any convincing logic in their own arguments. I was also moved to respond to the stance of the second group because of its superficiality. During the modern period, the Arab world has, arguably, witnessed many similar examples of rejection and isolationism. The root cause of these, it can be claimed, was a misunderstanding both of the basic political concepts underlying the objectives which the modern state sets for itself and of the methods chosen by the state to further its fundamental national interests. The concept which links these objectives with the methods used to achieve them, is that of political strategy which, in its narrow sense, means the employment of whatever means are available to the state to achieve a certain objective. This concept assumes the existence of a clear, well-established, independent and stable set of interests, which are unaffected by any variables. Thus, a particular political strategy is adopted not in order to gauge the state's room for political manoeuvre, but simply on the basis that it is the best available method of achieving certain pre-existing objectives. The establishment of practical policy on the basis of such a concept is clear and easy, since national interests can be defined, objectives set to achieve these interests, and the most appropriate approach selected to achieve these objectives.

(3) This narrow concept of political strategy, which seems to be prevalent in our society, typically results in confusion and lack of clarity. As a consequence, it tends to cause enormous damage to the state's fundamental interests, especially if used to plan its foreign policy, for it not only tells nothing about how to define our interests and how to select appropriate objectives; it also treats the state in complete isolation from its international political environment. Therefore, if there is no correlation between the state's capabilities and its planned objectives within the international environment, its policy will be irrational, even if the strategy adopted is correct. If our decision-making process is divorced from the capabilities of the state and international political circumstances, the objectives selected will doubtless correspond to our ultimate ambitions, but will in fact be no more than wishful thinking. Furthermore, this narrow concept will also result in the selection from the various possibilities available of one option, which is designed to achieve certain predetermined objectives and which ignores all other policies inconsistent with the promotion of these objectives. It will thus, inevitably, result in the abandonment of all less ambitious objectives which might contribute to the achievement of the state's interests. Finally, such strategies selected on this basis will only include those objectives which contribute towards avoiding areas of maximum risk, such as thwarting the attempts of a foreign power to threaten the state's interests__ despite the fact that the damage resulting from a failure to take into

account this aspect is not less than the damage resulting from a failure to take into account the other aspect.

(4) It seems that the establishment of this pattern of political thinking is partly a result of the way power has been exercised in our societies. Arab governments have in the past tried to present themselves, through concentrated media campaigns, as capable of achieving their ultimate ambitions in order to assure people of their commitment to them.

(5) In contrast to this, political strategy in its more precise and comprehensive sense is the selection of the best available objectives to serve national interests within the state's capabilities, and the existing international situation, including opportunities to be seized and obstacles to be either acknowledged or avoided. This concept excludes all of the above-mentioned negative aspects, which appertain to the narrow sense of the term. Here, objectives are not predetermined, but established following an investigation of what is achievable; they are not static, but variable, depending on the continuous changes in the political environment and the capabilities of the state itself.

(6) Any state which does not plan its policy on the basis of this realistic and flexible concept runs the risk of isolation, subjugation and even extinction. It will not achieve its aspirations and will not aspire to achieve what is possible; nor will it be able to deter any outside threat, or itself to pose a threat to others. I believe that most of the catastrophes which have befallen the Arab nation are due to our lack of clear understanding of this fact. There are many example in modern history of the great benefits gained by countries which were able to deal with the world in a realistic and flexible manner. Japan and Germany, for instance, engaged in a bloody conflict against the West which resulted in their virtual annihilation as states for a certain period of time. They were however subsequently able to recover from this catastrophe because they were able to deal with the world in a realistic manner, and to exploit the conflict between the two super-powers in such a way as to serve their own ends, and consequently to reemerge as major states. Another clear example can be seen in the flexibility of the Soviet Union as it currently reviews its objectives and methods and adapts itself to the new global situation.

(7) It seems that the prevailing pattern of political thinking amongst those opposed to Jordan's participation in the peace process is in total accord with the first model discussed above. It is clear that the process of political evaluation has been made on the basis of ultimate ambitions of a type which are quite impossible to achieve, plus a total failure to consider the many advantages Jordan might gain by joining the peace process, and the damage that might be done were Jordan to refuse to participate. These relevant aspects can be summarized as follows:

(8) Firstly, this peace conference is a rare opportunity to address international public opinion, to expose the duplicity of Israel in front of its supporters at both the official and the popular levels, to refute its claim that it is a peace-loving nation, while the Arabs are monsters, desirous only of war and bloodshed.

(9) Secondly, Jordan's refusal to participate in the peace conference would almost certainly mean that the Palestinians will not participate either, because, as is well-known, their participation will only be possible under a Jordanian umbrella. Therefore, if Jordan refuses to participate, the Palestinians will be deprived of the opportunity to fulfil their desire, as expressed by their representatives in their most recent National Assembly. Such an outcome would offer Israel a unique opportunity to reach a separate agreement with Syria (the concluding of such separate agreements

with the various Arab states is a long-established Israeli policy). If this happens, it will be catastrophic for both the Jordanians and the Palestinians, and will lead to the total disintegration of what remains of Arab solidarity. If the Palestinians manage to find an alternative umbrella, will it not result in both the regional and international isolation of Jordan, in the light of the unanimous agreement of the Arabs and the world regarding this matter? Given its desperate economic situation, can Jordan withstand this isolation?

(10) Thirdly, Jordan's participation in the peace process with Israel will prevent the latter from using its superior military might to threaten the very existence of Jordan as a state. If we view matters from this perspective, it becomes clear that participation in and extension of the peace negotiations should be a Jordanian objective for its own sake, regardless of whether or not such negotiations achieve a peaceful settlement, since Israel has the military option, which we do not.

(11) Fourthly, there are those who claim that the international balance of power has, to a great extent, become disturbed, since there is only now one state which possesses overwhelming military might in the international arena__ the USA. According to this assessment, the collapse of the Soviet Union represents a direct loss for us because the Soviet Union was a friendly power which supported Arab causes, while Soviet military might deterred anti-Arab US military activity. This understanding of the effect of recent shifts in the balance of global power on the Arab world is not very precise, because it uses the logic of a bipolar world order for a new world order that has already lost its bipolar characteristic. The categorization of countries into friendly and hostile states-- those which we like and those which we don't-- merely represents a confusion between the relations of affection which bind human beings together in a society, and the interest-based relations which bind states together in an international political order. Thus friendship and enmity between states emerge and disappear according to the common interests which link them or the conflicting interests that divide them. Therefore, the current pattern of relations, as established on the basis of a world order resulting from a certain pattern of interests within a certain distribution of power, will necessarily change when this order changes.

(12) Under the circumstances of a bipolar world order, US strategic interests regarding Israel derived, to a large extent, from the fact of Soviet power and the threat of Communist expansion. The poor relations between the US and certain Arab states can only be explained in terms of US-Soviet competition in the region and the region's sensitivity to the balance of power between the two super-powers. Has the end of the bipolar world order affected the pattern of US interests in the region? And are we now going to witness a new pattern of relations between the US and the various states of the region?

(13) Although it is both extremely difficult and premature to predict what will ultimately happen to the international world order, it is, however, possible to identify a number of well-defined facts which need to be discussed and clarified.

(14) First of all, power cannot be measured solely in terms of military might. This is the most important lesson to be drawn from the East-West conflict. The Soviet Union has recently discovered that its huge military power, which it took a tremendous effort to build up, is of no value in managing its conflict with the West, except for deterrence purposes. Thus, the possession of military power could not prevent the Soviet Union from being besieged, weakened and, ultimately, defeated. The Cold War was decided in favour of the West because the West proved more capable of establishing a new type of power__ economic and technological power. Thus the

West's industrial and technological superiority, and its associated financial might, together with various opportunities for the effective application of pressure which these provided, have continued to provide it with the required protection against external pressures. Above all, such power is also a potential military power. This leads us to the conclusion that the current imbalance of military power, which has resulted from the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the virtual US monopoly of the remaining strategic power in the world, does not give us a realistic picture of the actual global balance of power, if we substitute for the narrow sense of this term the wider and more comprehensive one. Just as we were unable to measure the real balance of global power between East and West on the basis of military might, so we will be unable to measure its balance in the post-bipolar era on the same basis.

(15) The distribution of power, in the widest sense of the term, will probably result in a tripolar world order, consisting of the US, Europe (the EC) and Japan. This order will also witness an increase in the various types of economic and technological competition. As is well-known, the US in particular currently faces enormous difficulties in keeping pace with the technological progress of its competitors, especially Japan and the force of the Japanese assault on world markets, including that of the US itself. In this forthcoming conflict, the US will also face an economically, and possibly politically, united Europe, which will have the largest productive capacity of any power bloc in the world. This means that the chances of the US preserving its economic and consequently its political status in the world, are not entirely promising.

(16) Under the bipolar world order, it was normal practice for the US to jeopardise its economic interests in the Middle East for the sake of what it considered its security interests (a practice which tied the US to Israel); such interests are usually given priority over economic interests, by any state in case of conflict between the two. But now, not only have the security considerations which used to link the US to Israel disappeared, but also America's economic interests in the region have grown, and become identical with its security interests. As is also self-evident, the US has no economic interest in Israel; on the contrary, Israel represents a heavy economic burden for the US. It follows that real US interests lie in establishing special political relationships with the Arab states of the region, and particularly the oil-producing states. Furthermore, proposed American policy for the coming era, which has been formulated on the basis of the balance of power, and of the nature of the new world order, includes nothing that would conflict with these interests; on the contrary, it is a direct result of these calculations. Finally, given the competitive economic edge of America's rivals in the region, it must be concluded that the most serious threat to a stable and long-term American presence is the Arab-Israeli conflict. A number of America's rivals have a long history of mutual dialogue with the region, but none of them constitute a threat to the regional status quo, as the old Soviet Union used to do. It is, therefore, going to be very difficult for the US to exclude them from the region in the same way as it used to exclude the Soviet Union.

(17) It is therefore to be concluded that the position of the Arab party in the forthcoming peace negotiations is not as weak as has been suggested, because there are a large number of covert mutual interests that can be exploited, if only the Arabs adopt a united stance. Furthermore, there is also a certain degree of conflict between the US and Israel, which the Arabs can exploit and deepen. Therefore, the Arab nation must learn the lessons of modern world history, and must realise, before it is too late, that the only guarantee of our survival lies in our ability to achieve a qualitative leap, and

to join the ranks of European societies with their modern technology. This objective will not be achieved through isolationism in the manner the Eastern Bloc, which was far better able to provide for itself than we are. We must warn against allocating the bulk of the Arab's World's resources on military spending at the expense of economic growth and development in general. We must also realise that our pursual of the goal of national security through these means is a mere illusion, unless it derives from the capabilities of the state itself. Let us therefore concentrate on the comprehensive concept of power; let us learn the lessons of history and remember that the Soviet Union lost Eastern Europe, in spite of the fact it had a million soldiers stationed there, whilst West Germany recovered East Germany without firing a single shot.

(18) Finally, I urge my colleagues who are of a different opinion, both inside and outside the House of Representatives, to conduct an open-minded, objective, and reasoned debate, to contest our arguments one by one, in the hope that we will be guided by the conclusions which emerge from this debate, and that we will be able to develop an understanding of the situation which is sufficient to meet the demands of this crucial period in the history of our nation.

Text-10E
"Current American Policy Towards Palestine"

(1) As part of its current media campaign against various Arab states and their leaders, the US is claiming that through his ill-judged and over-enthusiastic for Saddam Hussein, Yasir Arafat has lost all credibility. Since the Americans first orchestrated this campaign, similarly discordant notes have been struck by all the minor players, whether they were actually members of the alliance or merely stood by applauding US actions. These discordant voices have recently reached a crescendo and have given rise to increasingly violent actions. Indeed, a bewildered world has now begun to hear new allegations from the glorious US, whose abusive tones are directed not only against Arafat but against the PLO in general, and which suggest that the PLO has lost whatever credit it had with the American administration. There have also been increasing reports of the need to find an alternative leadership to the PLO, a task made more pressing by the extraordinary generous US acknowledgment that the organization still contains at least some good people. Recently too, the Gulf States have arrogantly announced that, with one or two exceptions, they will not resume their relations with the PLO, nor provide financial support to either the PLO or the Intifada, or renew the work contracts of Palestinian employees. Thus, the punishment is not now restricted to the PLO and its leader, but has been extended to include the entire Palestinian people. At the same time, oppressive measures against the Palestinians in Kuwait have been initiated on the basis of national identity, following the methods pioneered by the Phalange in Lebanon. All of this is not merely consistent with the old/new pro-Zionist policy of America and the West, but is the consummation of it. I shall explain what I mean.

(2) Let us, for the moment, ignore the long history of US hostility towards the PLO, most obviously during the period of the Reagan administration between 1980-1988, as well as the more positive statements which have been and still occasionally are uttered, by the Bush-Baker administration towards the Palestinians. Let us also ignore the corresponding negative statements periodically uttered against Israel. What do we find? Firstly, we find a huge number of statements in favour of the Zionist state, of a type incomparably more forceful than anything which could be considered a criticism of it. Secondly, we find that the US has played a major role during the Bush-Baker administration in blocking all international attempts to implement resolutions relating to international law, not only by ignoring all resolutions passed by the UN Security Council and the General Assembly, but also by ignoring even the resolutions of the EC group, and by insisting on seeking an alternative American-Israeli settlement formula such as the Shamir plan, the Egyptian ten-point plan, or the Baker 5-point plan. Thirdly, the Bush administration has made exhaustive efforts to empty of all real content the process of American-Palestinian dialogue, which was, in any case, restricted geographically to the borders of Tunisia, and diplomatically to the ambassadorial level. Fourthly, it has made every attempt to disregard its dialogue with the PLO, and to conduct a dialogue with other Palestinians from the Occupied Territories under Egyptian patronage. Fifthly, it has done its best, through its right of veto, to block any resolution designed to protect Palestinian civilians, or to promote the Palestinian cause, or the PLO, let alone to support the continuing struggle of the Intifada. Sixthly, the present American administration has violated all international protocols, by denying an entry

visa to the leader of the PLO and thereby preventing him from speaking to the United Nations, even though the organization was at the time engaged in dialogue with the US, and had already fulfilled all American conditions for starting a dialogue, through the resolutions of its legislative authority (passed in Algeria in November 1988), and those of its executive authority (passed in Geneva in December of the same year). These practices have been maintained in spite of the continuing international condemnation of American actions, and despite the fact that the General Assembly of the UN had to be transferred to Geneva in order to enable the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people to address the international community from the UN chamber. Finally, the Bush administration has continued its old/new policy towards Israel, which is based on military, economic, political and diplomatic support, in order to maintain its superiority, not only over the Palestinians, but over the Arabs in general. The US has also continued to apply various forms of international pressure, especially against the community of socialist states, in order to accomplish the grand Zionist design of bringing about the emigration of all the world's Jews to Palestine.

(3) The American government has been exposed, not only from the Islamic perspective, but also from the narrower Arab and Palestinian perspective. For 13 years the Americans forbade any political contact with the PLO on the ground that it was a terrorist organisation which did not recognize the right of Israel to exist, and did not accept Security Council Resolutions 242 & 338. When the PLO announced its acceptance of US conditions, America found itself naked in front of the whole world. This forced the Reagan-Shultz administration to announce the beginning of substantive dialogue with the PLO through the US ambassador to Tunisia, on the eve the accession to power of the Bush-Baker administration. At the same time, the US, whether of its own accord or as a result of pressure from the Zionist lobby, initiated a new policy aimed at settling the Palestinian question by the exercise of continuous pressure on the leadership of the PLO to make even greater concessions in order to satisfy Israel, and thereby not to solve, but rather to dissolve the most important political issue in the Arab politics.

(4) The American position is clearly discernable in its adoption of the seven major tactics mentioned above, its untiring efforts to weaken the PLO (the spiritual homeland of the Palestinian people) in its actions against the PLO's political activities and its defaming of its reputation, and in its attempts to help Israel put down the Intifada, which, more than anything else, has succeeded in bringing the Palestinian question into every home and every political arena in the world, and in exposing Israel as an inhuman, fascist, colonialist, oppressive, expansionist and racist state. In this respect, we may note the persistent American attempts to equate the Palestinian struggle with Israeli violence, and the victim with the victimiser, as well as its ongoing efforts to drain the PLO of its financial resources (this policy, by the way, was also subsequently applied against Jordan and Iraq). We may also note the renewed American attempts to tarnish the image of the Palestinian struggle through the claim that this struggle is nothing more than terrorism. The hostile attitude of the Americans towards the leadership of the PLO, the organization itself and the rights of the Palestinian people, is, therefore, neither the result of present circumstances, nor a reaction to Arafat's pronounced support for Saddam Hussein and Iraq, as most American and American-influenced political commentators have claimed, but, rather, it is a very old and well-established policy.

(5) No sooner had the Gulf war come to an end, than the whole world started

to urge the US -- which enjoyed an unrivalled position of privilege when it came to implementing the new resolutions of international law with regard to Kuwait-- of the need to move swiftly to implement the old resolutions of international law with regard to Palestine. In fact, the international community started urging this even before the Gulf war came to an end, and promised (along with the US) to dedicate itself to implementing UN resolutions 242 & 338, regarding the Palestinian-Israeli-Arab conflict, as soon as it had finished in implementing the UN resolutions regarding Kuwait. Indeed, some of these countries even boasted that they would have begun this process anyway, had it not been for the unacceptability of linkage between the two issues, and claimed that the only reason that they were unwilling to adopt the formula proposed by the Iraqi President for ending all occupations in the region was that they believed that if they did so, they would be rewarding the aggressor, a practice which they not only did not want to engage in, but, in fact, actively rejected.

(6) At that time, these evasive proposals were naively accepted by a great many in the region. However, no sooner had the Gulf war ended, than we found the glorious US looking for new excuses to reject the implementation of international law in the case of the Palestinians, while still appearing to accept it. Thus, the Americans expressed their commitment towards resolutions 242 & 338, and towards the principle of 'land for peace'. But this verbal commitment was concurrent with actual practices which signalled the rejection of international law through the US refusal to deal with Arafat and the 'evil elements' in the PLO, in punishment for all those who had indulged in support for the Iraqi President during the Gulf war. In order to evade international law regarding the Palestinian issue, the Americans introduced the new demand or 'condition' of the removal of Arafat and the vast majority of the leadership of the PLO. Soon after this demand, the Bush-Baker administration surprised us with a second demand or 'condition', designed to constitute a practical evasion of the implementation of international law with regard to the Palestinian question; this new condition calls for confidence building with Israel by lifting the laws of which underpin the economic boycott and by calling on the Arabs to end the state of war against Israel, prior to, or concurrent with, the solution of the Palestinian question. Then, the US deprived us of any remaining shred of hope that it might renounce its political double standards and its bias towards Israel and act impartially, when it informed us, and the whole world, that it was not only going to refrain from exercising any pressure over Israel, but would also continue its present policy of providing the Zionist state with manifold forms of military, economic, and financial assistance, and supporting its attempts to Judaize the occupied territories by flooding them with Russian-Jewish immigrants through continued pressure on the Soviet Union. Finally, the US exceeded all previous limits when it reproached Japan for failing to support Israel in the required manner, and urged the Japanese government to provide generous assistance to the Jewish state.

(7) Thus the position of the US in opposing Palestinian rights, and in ignoring and attempting to eliminate the PLO is an extremely old one which predates the Gulf War. Following this war, and the accompanying pressure to implement the provisions of international law regarding the Palestinian question, the US wasted no time in evading this pressure through a hypocritical policy which combined verbal support for the Arabs and the Palestinians, with practical support for Israel and Zionism. In all of this, there is one aspect which stands out as quite extraordinary. However, it has nothing with the old/new US position. It lies, rather, in the attitude of those Arabs, who do not want to believe the evidence of their eyes or their own experience. The question

we must ask ourselves is this: how can we achieve a sufficient degree of Arab solidarity and autonomy to effect a reformulation of American policy and thereby to avoid being forced into making yet more concessions?

Text No	No of RCs	Subject-as-Th No	%	Verb-as-Th No	%	Object/Comp.-as-Th No	%	Interrogative RCs Wh-Q	%	yes/no-Q	%	Passivized RCs Agentive	%	Agentless	%	Glossed Th No	%
1	303	260	86%	05	2%	04	1%	02	1%	00	0%	06	2%	30	10%	04	1%
2	131	101	77%	00	0%	03	2%	01	1%	01	1%	04	3%	09	7%	02	1.5%
3	219	180	82%	00	0%	00	0%	10	4.6%	02	1%	09	4%	24	11%	06	3%
4	080	066	82%	00	0%	00	0%	04	5%	00	0%	00	0%	06	8%	01	1%
5	142	108	76%	06	4%	03	2%	04	3%	05	4%	05	4%	18	13%	03	2%
Total	875	715	NA	11	NA	10	NA	21	2%	08	1%	24	3%	87	10%	16	NA
Overall Ratio	NA	82%		1%		1%		3%				13%				2%	

Table 7-1: Obligatory (Topical/Participant) Major Themes in the English SLTs. (Th= Theme; %= Ratio)

Text No	No of RCs	Subject-as-Th No	%	Verb-as-Th No	%	Object/Comp.-as-Th No	%	Interrogative RCs Wh-Q	%	yes/no-Q	%	Passivized RCs Agentive	%	Agentless	%	Glossed Th No	%
1A	321	291	91%	00	0%	00	0%	02	1%	00	0%	00	0%	01	0%	14	4%
2A	140	124	85%	00	0%	00	0%	01	0%	01	1%	00	0%	01	1%	04	3%
3A	196	152	77.6%	00	0%	00	0%	10	5%	02	1%	00	0%	00	0%	19	9.7%
4A	081	068	84%	00	0%	00	0%	04	5%	00	0%	00	0%	00	0%	04	5%
5A	124	102	82%	00	0%	00	0%	04	3%	01	1%	00	0%	00	0%	05	4%
Total	862	732	NA	00	NA	00	NA	21	2.4%	08	.5%	00	NA	02	NA	46	NA
Overall Ratio	NA	85%		0%		0%		3%				0%				5%	

Table 7-1A: Obligatory (Topical/Participant) Major Themes in the Arabic TLTs. (Th= Theme; %= Ratio)

TEXT NO	NO OF RCs	IDENTIFICATIONAL & WH-CLEFT RCs		PREDICATED/ IT-CLEFT RCs		EXISTENTIAL RC,s with 'THERE'		SUBSTITUTED/EXTRAPOSED (RD) THEME		REFERENCE (LD) THEME	
		No	RATIO	No	RATIO	No	RATIO	No	RATIO	No	RATIO
1	303	07	2%	02	1%	21	7%	07	2%	00	0%
2	131	05	4%	01	1%	03	2%	07	5%	00	0%
3	219	01	0%	05	2%	07	3%	09	4%	00	0%
4	080	03	4%	01	1%	04	5%	00	0%	00	0%
5	142	04	3%	04	2%	04	3%	05	4%	00	0%
TOTAL	875	20	NA	13	NA	39	NA	28	NA	00	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA		2%		1%		4%		3%		0%

Table 7-2: Optional Theme selection in the English SLTs (RD= Right Dislocation; LD= Left Dislocation)

TEXT NO	NO OF RCs	IDENTIFICATIONAL & WH-CLEFT RCs		PREDICATED/ IT-CLEFT RCs		EXISTENTIAL RC,s with 'THERE'		SUBSTITUTED/EXTRAPOSED (RD) THEME		REFERENCE (LD) THEME	
		No	RATIO	No	RATIO	No	RATIO	No	RATIO	No	RATIO
1A	321	07	2%	02	1%	18	6%	04	1%	00	0%
2A	140	05	4%	01	1%	02	1%	05	4%	00	0%
3A	196	01	1%	05	3%	04	2%	07	4%	00	0%
4A	081	03	4%	01	1%	02	2%	00	0%	00	0%
5A	124	04	3%	04	3%	03	2%	04	3%	00	0%
TOTAL	862	20	NA	13	NA	29	NA	20	NA	00	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA		5%		2%		3%		3%		0%

Table 7-2A: Optional Theme selection in the Arabic TLTs (RD= Right Dislocation; LD= Left Dislocation)

TEXT No	No OF RCs	CIRCUMSTANTIAL ADJUNCTS-AS-THEMES							DEPENDENT CLAUSES-AS-THEMES					
		Temporal No	Spatial No	Causal No	Manner No	Accomp. No	Matter No	Role No	Non-finite No	Conditionals No	%	Other Clauses No	%	G. Metaphor No	%
1	303	28	05	03	09	01	04	00	03	04	1%	05	2%	20	6%
2	131	08	02	02	02	00	02	00	00	07	5%	14	11%	02	1.5%
3	219	13	04	01	00	02	06	00	03	08	4%	03	1%	10	5%
4	080	06	05	03	00	00	01	00	03	03	4%	03	4%	03	4%
5	142	04	06	04	02	04	03	00	02	06	4%	05	4%	02	1%
Total	875	59	22	13	13	07	15	00	11	27	NA	30	NA	37	NA
Overall Ratio	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		3%		3%		4%

Table 7-3: Circumstantial Adjuncts and Dependent Clauses as Minor Themes in the English SLTs. (Th= Theme; %= Ratio); Accomp=Accompaniment; G.=Grammatical)

TEXT No	No OF RCs	CIRCUMSTANTIAL ADJUNCTS-AS-THEMES							DEPENDENT CLAUSES-AS-THEMES					
		Temporal No	Spatial No	Causal No	Manner No	Accomp No	Matter No	Role No	Non-finite No	Conditionals No	%	Other Clauses No	%	G. Metaphor No	%
1A	321	23	13	05	05	00	14	00	00	05	2%	08	2%	20	6%
2A	140	08	02	02	02	00	01	00	00	06	4%	08	6%	06	4%
3A	196	13	04	01	00	00	06	00	03	07	3.6%	06	3%	06	3%
4A	081	06	05	03	00	00	01	00	03	03	4%	02	2%	02	2%
5A	124	04	06	08	02	00	01	00	02	05	4%	07	6%	01	1%
Total	862	59	22	14	19	05	11	00	11	26	NA	31	NA	35	NA
Overall Ratio	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		3%		4%		4%

Table 7-3A: Circumstantial Adjuncts and Dependent Clauses as Minor Themes in the Arabic TLTs

Text No	No of RCs	Subject-as-Th No	%	Verb-as-Th No	%	Object/Comp.-as-Th No	%	Interrogative RCs Wh-Q	%	yes/no-Q	%	Passivized RCs Agentive	%	Agentless	%	Glossed Th No	%
6	081	60	74%	00	0%	00	0%	02	2.5%	05	6%	01	1%	02	2.5%	03	4%
7	110	91	83%	00	0%	05	5%	02	2%	00	0%	00	0%	02	2%	04	3.6%
8	055	34	62%	00	0%	00	0%	11	20%	05	9%	00	0%	00	0%	01	2%
9	096	72	75%	00	0%	04	4.2%	00	0%	03	3.1%	00	0%	06	6.3%	02	2%
10	040	37	92.5%	00	0%	00	0%	00	0%	01	2.5%	00	0%	00	0%	00	0%
Total	382	295	NA	00	NA	09	NA	15	4%	14	4%	01	0%	10	3%	10	NA
Overall Ratio	NA	77%		0%		2%		7%				3%				3%	

Table 7-5: Obligatory (Topical/Participant) Major Themes of the Arabic SLTs. (Th= Theme; %= Ratio)

Text No	No of RCs	Subject-as-Th No	%	Verb-as-Th No	%	Object/Comp.-as-Th No	%	Interrogative RCs Wh-Q	%	yes/no-Q	%	Passivized RCs Agentive	%	Agentless	%	Glossed Th No	%
6E	078	55	71%	01	1%	00	0%	02	3%	05	6%	02	3%	03	4%	00	0%
7E	117	103	88%	01	1%	00	0%	02	2%	00	0%	06	5%	03	3%	00	0%
8E	057	28	49%	04	7%	00	0%	07	12%	06	11%	01	2%	00	0%	01	2%
9E	092	75	82%	02	2%	00	0%	00	0%	03	3%	04	4%	05	5%	00	0%
10E	050	38	76%	02	4%	01	2%	02	4%	00	0%	02	4%	03	6%	00	0%
Total	394	299	NA	10	NA	01	NA	13	3%	14	4%	15	4%	14	4%	01	NA
Overall Ratio	NA	76%		3%		0%		7%				7%				3%	

Table 7-5E: Obligatory (Topical/Participant) Major Themes of the English TLTs. (Th= Theme; %= Ratio)

TEXT NO	NO OF RCs	IDENTIFICATIONAL & WH-CLEFT RCs No	RATIO	PREDICATED/ IT-CLEFT RCs No	RATIO	EXISTENTIAL RC,s with 'THERE' No	RATIO	SUBSTITUTED/EXTRAPOSED (RD) THEME No	RATIO	REFERENCE (LD) THEME No	RATIO
6	081	04	5%	02	2%	03	3%	02	3%	00	0%
7	110	09	8%	03	3%	05	5%	05	5%	00	0%
8	055	00	0%	01	1%	01	2%	01	2%	00	0%
9	096	03	3%	00	0%	06	6%	03	2%	00	0%
10	040	00	0%	00	0%	00	0%	00	0%	00	0%
TOTAL	382	16	NA	06	NA	15	NA	11	NA	00	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA		4%		2%		4%		3%		0%

Table 7-6: Optional Theme selection of Arabic SLTs (RD= Right Dislocation; LD= Left Dislocation)

TEXT NO	NO OF RCs	IDENTIFICATIONAL & WH-CLEFT RCs No	RATIO	PREDICATED/ IT-CLEFT RCs No	RATIO	EXISTENTIAL RC,s with 'THERE' No	RATIO	SUBSTITUTED/EXTRAPOSED (RD) THEME No	RATIO	REFERENCE (LD) THEME No	RATIO
6E	078	03	4%	02	0%	03	4%	03	4%	00	0%
7E	117	07	6%	02	2%	03	3%	09	8%	00	0%
8E	057	00	0%	06	11%	01	2%	02	4%	00	0%
9E	092	02	2%	00	0%	04	4%	05	6%	00	0%
10E	050	00	0%	00	0%	02	4%	00	0%	00	0%
TOTAL	394	12	NA	12	NA	13	NA	19	NA	00	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA		3%		3%		4%		5%		0%

Table 7-6E: Optional Theme selection of the English TLTs (RD= Right Dislocation; LD= Left Dislocation)

TEXT No	No OF RCs	CIRCUMSTANTIAL ADJUNCTS-AS-THEMES							DEPENDENT CLAUSES-AS-THEMES					G. Metaphor	
		Temporal No	Spatial No	Causal No	Manner No	Accomp. No	Matter No	Role No	Non-finite No	Conditionals No	Ratio	Others No	Ratio	No	Ratio
6	081	02	01	04	00	01	03	00	01	07	9%	01	1%	10	12%
7	110	02	02	01	00	00	04	00	01	05	4.5%	01	1%	06	5%
8	055	03	00	00	00	00	01	00	00	04	7%	00	0%	06	11%
9	096	00	01	00	00	00	02	00	00	06	6.3%	02	2.2%	07	7%
10	040	06	01	00	00	00	00	01	00	01	3%	02	5%	03	8%
Total	382	13	05	05	00	01	10	01	02	23	NA	07	NA	32	NA
Overall Ratio	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		6%		2%		8%

Table 7-7: Circumstantial Adjuncts and Clauses as Minor Themes of the Arabic SLTs.
(Th= Theme; %= Ratio); Accomp=Accompaniment; G.=Grammatical)

TEXT No	No OF RCs	CIRCUMSTANTIAL ADJUNCTS-AS-THEMES							DEPENDENT CLAUSES-AS-THEMES					G. Metaphor	
		Temporal No	Spatial No	Causal No	Manner No	Accomp No	Matter No	Role No	Non-finite No	Conditionals No	Ratio	Others No	Ratio	No	Ratio
6	078	03	01	02	01	01	00	00	02	07	9%	04	5%	04	5%
7	117	03	05	01	01	00	00	00	03	07	6%	02	2%	02	1%
8	057	06	00	01	03	00	01	00	01	05	9%	01	2%	05	9%
9	092	03	03	02	01	00	00	00	02	06	7%	05	2%	04	4%
10	050	06	01	00	01	00	00	01	02	00	0%	04	6%	02	8%
Total	394	18	10	06	06	01	01	01	10	25	NA	16	NA	17	NA
Overall Ratio	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		6%		3%		4%

Table 7-7E: Circumstantial Adjuncts and Clauses as Minor Themes of the English TLTs.

TEXT NO	NO OF RCs	CONJUNCTION-AS-THEME No	MODAL-ADJUNCT-AS-THEME No	DISCOURSE-ADJUNCT-AS-THEME No	MULTIPLE THEME No	Ratio
6	081	52	02	08	60	74.1%
7	110	60	00	29	84	76.4%
8	055	40	04	06	41	74.5%
9	096	73	00	15	72	75%
10	040	33	00	12	33	82.5%
TOTAL	382	258	06	70	290	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA	NA	NA	NA		76%

Table 7-8: Conjunctions, Modal and Discoursal Adjuncts as Initial Themes in the Arabic SLTs

TEXT NO	NO OF RCs	CONJUNCTION-AS-THEME No	MODAL-ADJUNCT-AS-THEME No	DISCOURSE-ADJUNCT-AS-THEME No	MULTIPLE THEME No	Ratio
6E	078	06	03	09	26	33%
7E	117	05	02	33	43	37%
8E	057	05	01	01	16	28%
9E	092	02	01	23	24	25%
10E	050	03	03	16	28	56%
TOTAL	394	21	10	82	137	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA	NA	NA	NA		39%

Table 7-8E: Conjunctions, Modal and Discoursal Adjuncts as Initial Themes in the English TLTs

TEXT No	No of RCs	VSO WORD ORDER (V RCs) No	Ratio	SVO WORD ORDER (N RCs) No	Ratio	SP WORD ORDER (N RCs) No	Ratio	OTHER TYPES OF WORD ORDER No	Ratio
1A	321	293	63%	70	22%	36	11%	12	4%
2A	140	078	56%	40	29%	14	10%	08	8%
3A	196	110	56%	61	31%	20	10%	05	3%
4A	081	036	44%	27	33%	15	19%	03	4%
5A	124	065	52%	31	25%	26	21%	02	2%
TOTAL	862	492	NA	229	NA	111	NA	30	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA	57%		27%		13%		3%	

Table 9: Word Order Type of the Arabic TLTs (VSO= Verb-Subject-Object; SVO= Subject-Verb-Object; SP; Subject-Predicate; V RCs= Verbal Rhematic Clauses; N RCs= Nominal Rhematic Clauses)

TEXT No	No of RCs	VSO WORD ORDER (V RCs) No	Ratio	SVO WORD ORDER (N RCs) No	Ratio	SP WORD ORDER (N RCs) No	Ratio	OTHER TYPES OF WORD ORDER No	Ratio
6	081	49	60%	18	22%	13	16%	1	1%
7	110	60	55%	36	33%	10	9%	4	4%
8	055	32	58%	10	18%	11	20%	2	4%
9	096	50	52%	29	30%	16	17%	1	1%
10	040	29	72.5%	05	12.5%	05	12.5%	1	2.5%
TOTAL	382	220	NA	98	NA	55	NA	9	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA	58%		26%		14%		2%	

Table 10: Word Order Type of the Arabic SLTs (VSO= Verb-Subject-Object; SVO= Subject-Verb-Object; SP; Subject-Predicate; V RCs= Verbal Rhematic Clauses; N RCs= Nominal Rhematic Clauses)

TEXT NO	NO OF RCs	'I' OCCURENCE No	RATIO	'WE' OCCURENCE No	RATIO	'YOU' OCCURENCE No	RATIO
1	081	16	20%	14	17%	15	19%
2	110	00	0%	01	1%	00	0%
3	055	01	2%	13	24%	02	4%
4	096	03	3%	15	16%	00	0%
5	040	00	0%	12	30%	00	0%
TOTAL	382	13	NA	55	NA	17	NA
OVERALL RATIO	NA	6%		14%		5%	

Table 12: Distribution of First and Second Personal Pronouns Between the RCs of the Arabic SLTs