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**Translation of Language Functions in the political
discourse from Arabic into English
The case of Bachar Al- Assad speech(January, 6th 2013) .**

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Dedication

I dedicate this work

To my dear parents

To my brothers

To my sister

To my second beloved family”**Bensaid**”

To all my family and my dear friends

HAYET

Dedication

I dedicate this work

To all my family and friends.

NACIM

Introduction

Political discourse plays a considerable influence on the mind and behavior of the members of a speech community. In the Arab World, more and more people are involved throughout their daily life in political actions by for example, being asked to cast their votes in an election, watching the news on TV, reading a newspaper, or simply talking with friends about the consequences which recent decisions of the government might have for each individual. Translation plays an important role in the life of people as well as nations and also it is important in political discourse, Translation used to be considered an inter-language transfer of meaning, which is the point of departure for research and study. The duty of the translator is to know how to reconstruct the meaning of the source language and how to convey it in the target language. For this reason, it is imperative that the translator possesses a broad and profound knowledge of both languages.

To make sense of political discourse, it is necessary to think of language as mediation, based on the recognition that politics cannot be conducted without language, besides, we notice that language functions are necessary present in political discourse. The aim of our study is to highlight the importance of language in a political discourse and its translation.

Our thematic is about “The Translation of language functions defined by Roman Jakobson in his book “ Essais de Linguistique Generale (1960) where he defines the six functions which are functional, expressive, connative,phatic,poetic and metalingual that are necessary for communication in the political discourse as the one we choose of Bachar El- Assad on 03/01/2013 as a corpus.

Our study aims to analyze how language functions are used in Arabic political speech delivered by President Al-Assad and examining the way these functions are translated into English.

To make matters clearer, the research question posed by our research is as follows:

- Does the English translation maintain the language functions observed in El-Assad’s speeches?

From this main question, we pose the following secondary questions in order to achieve our research:

- How are language functions used in the Arabic political speeches?
- How are language functions translated in the target text?
- Is the functional theory useful in translating language functions?

In order to answer these questions we put some hypotheses which are:

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- The translator may keep the same function from the source text while translating.
- The translator may change the function while translating from the source text into the target text.
- The translator may omit the function while translating.

In our study, we will apply Skopos theory (Vermeer 1989) because Skopos theory may answer these questions as this theory focuses on both pragmatic and theoretical aspects of translation. According to this theory, translation is a specific kind of communicative action; each action has a specific purpose therefore, the most decisive criterion for any translation is its purpose. The aim of our study is to explain how language functions are studied in terms of language and translation in the political discourse in addition to K. Reiss text- typology) to examine this particular aspect of translation which will be discussed in our work because K. Reiss text- typology determines that any translation should depend on the type of the text.

After researches, it seems that there no previous studies concerning translation of language functions in a political discourse. Our corpus consists of the Syrian president Bachar El-Assad discourse with its translation. The speech was found through the internet at Voltaire.net website. The reasons for selecting this political speech are simple. From one part, in terms of language functions mentioned earlier, there are a lot of examples of language functions in this speech, besides; the language used is at some extent easy to understand. From the other part, this speech continues to receive growing importance due to the increasing pressure Syria is facing.

In order to fulfill the purpose of our study, we identify and analyze language functions using their different features of each function according to Jakobson (1960) then we analyze their translation and see whether the functions meaning in the source text is the same in the target text by applying the functional theories of Skopos and text-typology.

Our research consists of a general introduction providing an overview of the thesis structure and two main chapters: the first chapter in title of” *language functions and political discourse*” in which we will deal with definition of political discourse and its types, characteristics, plus the language functions according to Roman Jakobson and it will be concluded by Jakobson’s model of communication. The second chapter which is in title “*Critical Analysis of the language functions translation*” provides a discussion and analysis

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of the translation of language functions in the selected political speech. Finally our research concludes with a general conclusion as a summary of the whole work and an answer to the research questions and the hypothesis.

In order to achieve our goal, we used references one of them is **Roman Jakobson” Essais de Linguistiques Général 1960, Les théories de la Traduction by Zuzana Rakova(2014),** and **Reverso** Arab- English dictionary

Through our research we have faced some difficulties; the main difficulty that we faced is the lack of references related to our topic since this specific aspect has not already been discussed in the Arabic English translation context.

Chapter one

Political discourse and language functions

Chapter one: Political discourse and language functions:

This chapter will touch upon the concept of discourse and in particular the concept of political discourse and its types in addition to functions of language according to Roman Jakobson. It outlines definitions, types and characteristics. It also discusses the theories related to the translation of language functions which will be applied.

Before dealing with the principle term of our research, we will start by short definitions of “discourse” and “politics”:

1. Definition of “Discourse”

Many definitions are giving by different scholars and sources in literature. According to Meriam Webster it is” One piece of writing about a subject” (Meriam Webster, 2016). (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/context>) visited on July, 16th, 2018.

According to Van Dijk, discourse usually refers to a form of language use, public speeches or more generally to spoken language or ways of speaking” (1997:1)

The next section discusses political discourse from a number of stand points such as definition, characteristics and types.

1.1. Definition of “Politics”

From Oxford dictionary (2016), politics is a term treated as singular or plural, and it is defined as follows:

“The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.”

”السياسة عبارة عن الأنشطة المرتبطة بحكومة بلد أو منطقة لا سيما النقاش بين الأطراف التي لها سلطة” (ترجمتنا)

In other words, politics means the activities of governments concerning the political relation between states.

Many scientists define “politics” as David Easton (1965) in “A framework for political analysis” and “ A systems analysis of political life” who states that “a political system can

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be designated as those interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society."

"يمكن تصنيف النظام السياسي على أنه عبارة عن تفاعلات يتم من خلالها تخصيص القيم لمجتمع معين" (ترجمتنا)

Another definition about politics by Robert Dahl who states that" *a political system is any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves...power, rule, or authority"*

"النظام السياسي هو أي نمط ثابت للعلاقات الإنسانية التي تتضمن القوة أو الحكم أو السلطة" (ترجمتنا)

1.1.1. Definition of political discourse

Political discourse according to Christina Schaffner's article "Strategies of Translating Political Texts" (1997:119-120)

Is one type of discourse, It has its own characteristics, functions and purposes"

" هو نوع من أنواع الخطاب وله مميزات ووظائف و أهداف خاصة به دون غيره" (ترجمتنا)

In other words, political discourse is different from other discourse with its own characteristics, functions and purposes as for example a political discourse could have an expressive aim that is to provoke the feelings of the audience.

Political discourse has been defined by different linguists in many ways. For instance, **Schaffner(1997)** states that

"The political discourse is considered as such category of discourse in general. It is mainly based on two criteria: functional and thematic. Political discourse is of politics and it's historically and culturally determined, it has different functions because of the different political activities. It is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as: political activities, political ideas and political relations and tendency as well."

يعتبر الخطاب السياسي نوع من الخطاب بشكل عام و يستند على معيارين و هما وظيفية و مواضيعية,الخطاب السياسي هو من السياسة و لقد عرف تاريخيا و ثقافيا و له وظائف مختلفة بسبب الأنشطة السياسية المختلفة و موضوعي لأن موضوعاته تتعلق في المقام الأول بالسياسة مثل الأنشطة السياسية و الأفكار السياسية و العلاقات السياسية" (ترجمتنا)

Chapter one: Political discourse and language functions:

Means that political discourse is from politics and one kind of discourse and it has many subjects and functions always related to politics.

Zheng(2000) also defines political discourse as

” a mixed product of personal development and the relevant social environment in which an individual grows. Any individual political discourse is the result of personal development in certain social settings. Personal development is affected by the individual’s educational experiences, parental influence, social circles, political party, economic status etc”

هو مزج بين التطور الشخصي و البيئة الاجتماعية التي ينمو فيها الفرد فأى خطاب فردي هو نتيجة للتطور الشخصي في بعض البيئات الاجتماعية . تتأثر التنمية الشخصية بالخبرات التعليمية الفردية, تتأثر التنمية الشخصية بالخبرات التعليمية الفردية و تأثير الوالدين و الدوائر الاجتماعية و الحزب السياسي و الوضع الإقتصادي "" (ترجمتنا)

In other words, personal development and the social environment of the individual are two important factors in any individual political discourse.

Political discourse has different types; therefore the next point that we are going to discuss is what are the different types of political discourse?

1.2.1. Types of political discourse

According to the article published by Khader Majd on June,29th, 2016”*Characteristics of political discourse*” there are three types of political discourse which are the following:

A- The Official Political discourse:

It is the discourse that is related to the official subjects of state institutors.

This discourse is limited to one subject which contains direct, clear and usually limited number of pages.

B- The Real political discourse

It is the discourse that contributes to the clarification of a real issue or issue that still exists in the moments of reading or disseminating the political discourse. Examples of real political rhetoric speeches include speeches about the announcement of the results of

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the parliamentary elections. After reading and understanding well each type of political discourse, we deduce that our corpus can be classified among this type because the president exposed a problem about the dramatic situation of Syria that still exists at the moment when Bachar has pronounced his speech where he tried to find an efficient solution for the crisis.

C- The civil political discourse

- Is the discourse addressed to the general public It is tended to address the members of the society to hear their opinions and demands to try to find the means and the ways in which they contribute to their assistance. This type of discourse is usually used by officials much as mayors elections.

1. 2.2. Characteristics of political discourse

The political discourse has many characteristics that make it different from other speeches. According to (Kenzheknkyzy kenzhekanora, Kuralay (2015),” Linguistic features of political discourse” in Mediterranean journal of social sciences, Al farabi Kazakh National university, Rom-Italy, vol 6,N°6, pp 193-198). Political discourse characteristics are as follows:

1- The Image of the author

The addressers use their own personal and professional experience and show their identity through political debates and exchange of information about political events, the example of the Syrian president El- Assad political discourse to his people.

2- The addressee ability

This feature is one of priority in a political discourse which should have two features that are: communicative leadership and communicative equality. The example of the president who has

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the communicative leadership and communicative equality between him and his citizens since they share the same language and cultur.

3- Informational content

This category to a greater or lesser extent characterizes any act of communication but directly depends on the communication purposes of a discourse. As far as El-Assad's discourse is concerned is the Syrian crisis.

4- Intentionality

It is a category of a discourse which means communicative intention of the speaker. In the president discourse his aim is to continue fighting terrorist violence and urged foreign countries to end support for his enemies.

5- Estimation

The speaker in the political discourse can use axiological (estimated) vocabulary, which is a kind of center of gravity, which emphasizes the attention and influences on the consciousness of the reader. As in the president speech illustrated by emotive expressions in order to sensible Syrian people to react, for instance:

" أنظر إلى وجوه أبناء بلدي فلا أرى ضحكة "

6- Conventionality

It is the clarity and accuracy of information, logicity and simplicity of statements, being terminological means the accuracy of meaning, briefness, linguistic correctness and the use of rituality that is stereotype of behaviors. Example: the president language used.

7- Expressivity

In a political discourse, expressional shades depends on the purpose of their use forgiving those semantic characteristics can vary from friendly, familiar to slightly sarcastic.

In Al- Assad's political discourse, we can say that it is "friendly" because each time he says "brothers and sisters", "I look to your faces and the faces of the people in our country..."

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8- Modality

It is the attitudes towards reality in the representation of the speaker. In addition it implies a degree of confidence of the speaker that will demonstrate the level of knowledge from which the seriousness of the impression produced by political performance. The example of Syrian president who knows perfectly about the bad situation of the country, from which he tries to found the best solution

9- Inter- textuality

It is the relationship between public and linguistic structures which are realizing in the universal text, a set of the general and specific features of the texts.

10- Socio- Cultural context

The ability to involve the complex of socio- cultural contexts of recipients in the perception process.

11- Form of communication

A political discourse is as a form of communication in other words it is a form of a dialog between the speaker of the discourse and receivers or publics where there is a kind of exchange and debates between them.

12- Competitiveness

The basis of political discourse is making by continuous dialogue duel between the party in power and opposition in which opponents attack at each other from time to time, hold the fort, reflect blows and take the offensive.

13- Aggressiveness

It is one of the most important components of a political discourse; it is also connecting with concept of domination.

14- Ideological character

It represents the system of social representations as group, knowledge, opinions and beliefs based on group values and interests.

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After discussing political discourse types and characteristics as the first main point in our subject- theme, now we move to the second point:

2- Definition of language Functions

Jacobson (1960) contributes a theory which appears in the context of the analysis of the linguistic phenomenon. And the theory of linguistic communication is one of the most important modern theories of linguistics.

According to Jacobson, any act of verbal communication is composed of six elements which are: the context, the addresser, the addressee, the message, the code and a contact between the addresser and the addressee. (1960:350-377)

2.1. Types of language functions:

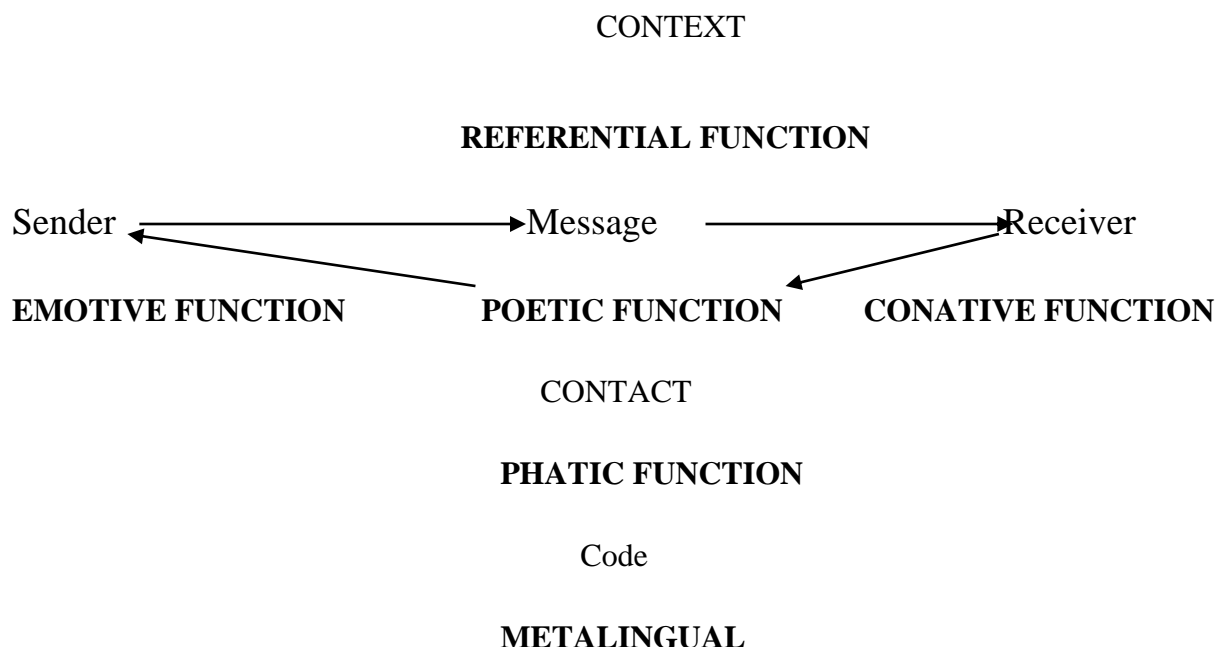
Roman Jakobson's work was related to linguistic meaning and equivalence (Smith, 2002,p56) he identified the following common elements of all oral or written speech acts: *the message* itself, *an addresser*, *an addressee*, *a context* from which statement is made which could be historical or social, *a contact* (the physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee) and a *common code* to both the addresser and the addressee.

Roman Jakobson in his book "Essais de Linguistique Generale (1960:83-91), defined six functions of language or communication functions that are necessary for communication to occur and each function focuses on one factor

- 1- **Referential function :** the focus is on the context or contextual meaning. This function refers to any message that is constructed to convey information.
- 2- **Emotive function:** the focus is on the addresser's own attitudes towards the content of the message or the emotion of the speaker towards the message.
- 3- **Conative function:** the focus is on the addressee or the receiver : the message has an effect on its receiver.

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- 4- **Phatic function:** the focus is on the contact, this function deals with the connection between speakers or utterances that are employed to maintain contact between two speakers.
 - 5- **Metalingual function:** the focus is on the common code used. It involves determining *who says what to whom, where and when* it is said, *How* and why it is said. According to Jakobson:” the addresser and the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code”.
 - 6- **Poetic function:** the focus is on the message, this function involves play with form like rhyme, repetition etc.
- In order to explain more these functions of communication, Roman Jakobson put down a model of communication which is called: **le schema de communication du Jakobson** (From publication: which illustrates clearly these six functions and the relation of the factor:
According to Jakobson, the target text should be in accordance with the source text as much as possible by equivalence and linguistic meaning.



Louis Hebert (2011)” The Functions of Language”,in Louis Hébert(dir), Singo online, Rimouski(Quebec)

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The *addresser* or the speaker (who expresses the emotive function) gives a message to the *addressee* (who expresses the connotative function) which must be in a *context* in order to be understood. The addresser and the addressee need to understand the *code* that explains the relationship between the message and the context. A *physical contact* must be established between them to convey the message (the phatic function)

The next section is a brief overview of the theoretical approach to translation where a few key concepts and theorists will be mentioned, which includes Skopos theory and theorists following this approach include names such as Katharina Reiss and Hans J. Vermeer.

3 –Methodology of corpus analysis

Any translation as a final product depends on different factors as: *the receiver, the context, the type of the text and the function of the target text in the target culture*. The two important factors in our translation study are as follows:

- ***The text- type*** is an important factor, thus in our approach study we are going to interest as the first point about *text- typology* of K. Reiss in order to determine the type of text of Bashar El- Assad speech. The second important factor in our analysis is ***the function of the target text***.
- “Functionalist” means focusing on the functions of texts and translation.

Functional approaches emphasize the function of the target text and it can be an essential factor to determine how choices are made while translating. The concept of “equivalence” is applied but at the whole texts instead of words or sentences. In this approach translating is seen as an act of communication and a form of action involving linguistic, social and cultural factors.

3.1. Katharina Reiss Text- Typology (1971/1977)

Reiss considers translation as a communication act whereas the translator is seen as secondary sender. This assumption will lead us to that a message has to be passed through the primary sender (source text) to the receiver (target text). The main coordinators are the source and the target language. The aim here is to produce a target language text “that is functionally similar to

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the source text (2001:74). This means the source text should be advisory point for the translator. So to achieve this functional equivalence, Reiss proposes the text typology text. This approach is based on the communicative function of a source text as a basis for translating into target text. So any target text which is not similar and don't respect the source text's function is not entirely a translation , but what Reiss calls "transfer" .Reiss's text-typology contains two-phases approach in translating a text :analysis and reverbalization phases .

Reiss distinguishes according to the dominant language function three types of texts that are: *informative*, *expressive* and *operative*. She states that each type of text has its own method of translation. Reiss links the functional characteristics of texts types to translation method. The main characteristics of each text type are as follows:

- 1- **Informative:** concerned with plain communication of facts: information, opinion etc. The language dimension is used to transmit the information is referential; the communication focus is on the content.
- 2- **Expressive:** where the author uses the aesthetic dimension of language.
- 3- **Operative:** the purpose is to appeal or to persuade the reader or the receiver of the text to act in a certain way.(Reiss, 1989: 105)

Through our study of K. Reiss typology of texts we find that she distinguishes only three functions of languages which are: *refferential*, *expressive* and *appellative function*.

The analysis phase based on establishing text's type, genre and style which means the linguistic form. The second phase is considered to be the most important as that is what would inform the translation method we will employ. (Reiss, 1971:160)

3.1.1 K. Reiss text- typology rules:

From Nord (2012), Text typology and Skopos theory:

1-**"Equivalence"** referred in Skopos theory as a static, result- oriented concept describing a relationship of equal communicative purpose of the translation. means that the translator must give correct and complete representation of the content of the text, or the same effect or provoking the same reaction of the readers.

2- **"Adequacy"** referred in Skopos theory as a dynamic concept related to the process of translation.

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3.2. The Skopos Theory:

This theory was formulated by Hans. J Vermeer in 1970 and Katharina Reiss, this functional theory of translation reflects not only a general shift from the formal translation to a translation based on a functional and socio- cultural perspective. skopos is a Greek word for” purpose” (Nord1997: 27). It introduce the idea that the translation should always be done to fulfill a purpose of the target text in a target text situation (Nord2007:10-12), the important element when translating is the receiver of the target text because translation is seen as an act of communication.

The main point of this approach or theory is that the source text is not responsible for its effects on the translation process. Skopos is controlled by the target text users and their situation and cultural background.

3. 2.1. The rules of Skopos Theory:

The Skopos of a particular translation task may require a “free” or “faithful” translation. “Making decisions depends on the purpose for which the translation is intended” ((Jabir, 2006)

The rules are formulated by (Reiss and Vermeer 1984: 119) which are the following:

- The target text is determined by its purpose which determines for choosing the translation method; this method is used to produce functionally appropriate result.
- The target text is an offer of information in a target culture and a target language based on an offer of information in the source text and the source culture.
- The Coherence: means that the translation of the source text must be coherent with its context in a manner to be easy to be interpreted by the recipients. In other words, the receiver must be able to understand the target text and the target text has to be meaningful in the communicative situation and target culture.
- The fidelity: means that The target text must coherent with the source text, which means coherence between the source text information received by the translator and the information that is encoded for the target text receivers: consists of respecting or intertextual coherence .

Chapter one: Political discourse and language functions:

This Chapter has discussed functions of language, political discourse, types and characteristics in addition to the theory of language functions translation.

The following chapter will be about Analysis of Translation of language functions referring to functional theory of Skopos and Katharina Reiss theory of text- typology:

Chapter two

Critical analysis of language functions translation

Chapter two: Critical analysis of language functions translation

This chapter analyzes the translation of a number of language functions. It consists of two main sections: corpus and methodology and discussion and analysis. (15 examples) are taken from online speech of Bashar El- Assad. The functions of language expressions from the source text (Arabic).

1. The Occasion of Bashar El Assad’s discourse

The president discourse on 06/01/2013 the day when Israel announced to build a five meter high fence on the Golan Heights captured by Syria in 1967 in order to reinforce its frontier with neighboring Syria, as a result, 101 people killed including 28 in the Damascus suburbs.

The Syrian president used an hour- long first speech after 8 Months of silence on Sunday, in Damascus opera house in the heart of the capital which was punctuated by thunderous applause and loyalist chants from what was a carefully selected audience. The city was under a security lockdown before the event to propose what he called comprehensive plan. He referred each time to plots against his country and the role of al- Qaida which he called as the leading element in what began people uprising in March 2011, he nicknamed it by “a gang of criminals”

Assad also through his speech thanked Russia, China and Iran for supporting Syria in the face of hostility from the US, Britain and France.

2. Corpus and Methodology

The analysis of this chapter is based on selected examples of language functions taken from El-Assad’s political speech (2013) taken from Voltairnet website. Each example is discussed with its English translation. Functional approaches are applied for the translation of language functions examples applied for our work Skopos and Katharina Reiss typology of texts. Moreover, different strategies are also used to provide a proper rendition of the functions expressions. There include equivalence, Adequacy, explications and more. The examples discussed are examined through the source text in terms of linguistic meaning. The translation of the examples used are then analyzed and compared in terms of adequacy and equivalence.

Chapter two: Critical analysis of language functions translation

Before we start with the analysis of the functions we will start by explaining with the main point of Skopos theory that is the outpoint by applying it on the discourse of Bashar El-Assad:

2.1. Analysis of corpus text:

The first part of our analysis consists of examining the source text by answering several questions such as: *how is the source text? Who is the sender? Who is the receiver? Where and when? why was the text written? what is the subject matter? Etc*, through the analysis:

2.1.1. Source text:

Source text is Bashar El- Assad's speech delivered on Sunday the 06th January 2013 at Damascus opera house, in the heart of the capital because of the dramatic events in Syria. As a dialog and a direct speech from the Syrian president El- Assad who addresses to people of foreign countries and his supporters.

When considering this communicative situation, the speech is best classified as being an *operative text* i.e. serving the appellative language function. The overall purpose of this text is to insight them to react towards the bad situation of Syria and to call on foreign countries to end support for rebels. This political speech intended to convince addresses by the addressers by justifying political arguments of the addressers. In this case, however, the addresser El-Assad must convince his population by his arguments since he is the President although this text is conative; it carries multiple sub- functions as well, as the emotive language function which means expressing the addresser subjective opinions as the discourse constitute El-assad's point of views, in addition to phatic through opening and closing remarks, referential elements and poetic function. This does not change that the text is operative, as the main purpose still to convince the addressees with his propos.

When examining the discourse, it is clear that the speaker is the Syrian President and the receivers are thunderous applause and loyalists. However given the fact this discourse is from the President of Syrian people, as a result the speech is for the wider Syrian public as well as the wider public of other states because of the fact that the speech was televised live and that

Chapter two: Critical analysis of language functions translation

it was published in the mass media afterwards. This wild addressees is illustrated trough many words and sentences as: *Sisters and brothers, Mr.Prime Minister,Ministers, heads and members of the leaderships of popular organizations and trade unions, "we are"*

As the addresser is the Syrian President Bachar El- Assad and the addressees are the wider public we conclude that the relationship between the addresser and the addressees would be an authority/ subordinate relationship expressed through a formal language style. There is also a high frequency of personal pronouns like:"I", "we", "you" which makes the text more personal to the addressees especially that the speech was delivered by El- Assad by speaking face to face with the addressees.

In terms of mode this text is characterized by face to face and as spoken monologue and this is illustrated by many linguistic features in the text namely personal pronouns.

2.1.2. Functions translation Analysis

In this section of the chapter, many examples of language functions in the political discourse with the translation, the analysis will be discussed in terms of linguistic features of the function itself examining the theories and strategies followed while translating (Skopos and K. Reiss Typology of texts. This chapter focuses on analysis of examples of language functions to examine how they are translated into English, how the approach is affected by the purpose of the text and the text type.

1- Referential Function This function allows a language to speak another language:

Example 01

"أنظر اليوم إلى وجوهكم ووجوه أبناء بلدي و قد كساها الحزن و الألم....أنظر إلى عيون أطفال سورية فلا أرى ضحكة برينة تشع منها و لا ألعابا تزرع البسمة على وجوههم....أرقب أيادي العجائز فلا أراها إلا متضرعة بالدعاء بالسلامة لإبن أو ابنة أو حفيد"

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- website Voltairenet.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

Today I look at your faces and the faces of the people of our country as they are covered with sorrow and pain. *I look into the eyes of Syria's children and I don't see an innocent laugh shinning*, nor do I see toys that draw a smile on their faces. I watch the hands of elderly people and see them open to prayer for the safety of a son, a daughter or a grandson.

One of the features of this function is objectivity, but in this example we notice the use of subjectivity through the use of personal pronoun "I" when he says "*I look into the eyes of Syria's children and I don't see an innocent laugh*," and we can understand it because he speaks about Syria's situation and the Civil War. It is clear as we know that Basahr El-Assad before being a President, Assad is one of other citizens. We notice in the same example "description" where Bashar gives a vision about the dramatic and chaotic situation of his country caused by the Civil War in Syria.

Analysis

In our analysis of the translation and the source text, we can conclude that there are two different verbs that each one has its own signification: in Arabic, the verb (تزرع) means **cultivate** according to Oxford dictionary, it to something durable which cannot be omitted, whereas the verb (**draw**) means to make a profile for something or someone, which has the meaning of رسم in Arabic which means something temporary (LEXILOGOS Reverso Arabic- English dictionary)

- In this example, according to the rules of Skopos theory, the purpose of this function is the transmission of the same information into the target text and the target readers, in addition, the translation and the source text are coherent; there is an intertextual coherence in terms of linguistic features and functional similarity because the function is the same in both the source text and the target text and intratextual coherence which means that the target function make sense in the communicative function and cultur of the target text or receivers, As far as Reiss text- typology is concerned, from this example we notice that from the translation

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there is equivalence which is referred in Skopos theory as a static- result oriented concept describing a relationship of equal communicative value between the two texts(Reiss1983- 1989). The translation gives correct and complete representation of the text content (Reiss 1971).

According to Reiss point of reference in the referential function is *the object* which is the Syria crisis and the addresser and the addressee share the same situation and this situation is well known between the two cultures.

- Whether it is oral or written , literary or technical translation, the translation process has two steps: in the example the translator seems to have a good mastery of the two languages Arabic and English and enough language background about Syria this is illustrated through the use of emotions and some descriptions used in El- Assad's speech. In addition, the translator re- expressed the function with some modification but keep the meaning for instance: لا أرى ضحكة تزرع البسمة على وجوههم" translated with "I see toys that draw a smile on their face"

Example 02

المشاعر و العواطف من ألم و حزن و تحد و إصرار هي طاقة جبارة...لن تخرج سورية من محنتها .. إلا هذه بتحويل هذه الطاقة إلى حراك وطني شامل ينقذ الوطن من براثن هجمة لم نشهد أو نتذكر لها مثيل.

- website Voltaire.net.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

These feelings of agony, sadness, challenge and determination constitute a huge energy.....unless it turns this energy into a comprehensive_national dynamic that saves the homeland from a **campaign**.

Analysis

In this example the passage in the speech, the President try to give people a kind of hope when he said

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"فمن رحم الألم يجب أن يولد الأمل...ومن عمق المعاناة تجترح أهم الحلول فالغيمة السوداء في نور الشمس...لكنها تحمل في طياتها مطرا و طهرا بالخير و العطاء حينما تمطر.

in this example when he said " *هذه المشاعر من ألم و حزن* " which are something abstract and give them a kind of personification, so from our first study we conclude that these words have the main role, but the President refers to the implicate sense from using these words mentioned above to describe a critical situation and to create a positive energy and a kind of hope inside his citizens.

we can conclude with another feature of this function that is the use of different translation for the real sense of برائن هجمة which means multiple crisis that can be translated with *clutches attack*, according to Oxford dictionary, but in the translated discourse, it is translated by *campaign* which as the meaning of *حملة* in Arabic. (LEXILOGOS Reverso Arabic- English dictionary)

In this example, this function is predominantly representational. According to Skopos theory rules, there is intertextual coherence between the source text and the target text. According to K. Reiss in this example, the translation is by *equivalence* as *رحم الألم* translated to the **womb of pain** besides in this example the translation gives correct and complete representation of the text content (Reiss 1971).

- In the example of *برائن هجمة* for its translation to the target text as *حملة* instead of *clutches attack* is according to K. Reiss there is one of the two exception from achieving equivalence since the translator used Adequacy and adaptation regarding the audience referred in the Skopos theory intertextual coherence and dynamic process of translation

Example 03

البعض يتحدث عن الحل السياسي فقط و البعض يتحدث عن مكافحة الإرهاب فقط و هذا الكلام غير دقيق فالحل يجب أن يكون حلاً شاملاً و فيه محاور..فيه السياسي و مكافحة الإرهاب و فيه محور ثالث مهم جداً هو الحل الاجتماعي و لدينا نماذج في حمص و درعا تحديدا حيث تحسن الوضع بشكل كبير بسبب هذا الحل الاجتماعي فأشخاص و طنيون يمتلكون حسا و طنيا و انتماء و طنيا و أخلاقا قاموا بمبادرات بين الدولة و بعض المغرر بهم من المسلحين و الإرهابيين و أعطت نتائج هامة جدا على الواقع و هؤلاء الأشخاص لا ينتمون إلى أحزاب و ليس لديهم أي برنامج سياسي و ليس لديهم سوى

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الانتماء الوطني و هذا النوع من المبادرات هام جدا و خاصة أن أي أزمة في أي وطن و حتى لو كانت جريمة عادية تتفاقم فعلينا أن نعود إلى الجذور الإجتماعية دائما.

- website Voltaire.net.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

Some speak of the political solution only, and some speak of combating terrorism only, and this discourse is imprecise, as the solution should be comprehensive and must contain several axes: the political axis, combating terrorism, and the third axis that is very important which is the social solution. We have examples in Homs and Daraa in particular where the situation improved significantly because of this social solution, as patriotic people with a patriotic sense and national affiliation and morals made initiatives between the state and some of those who were misled among gunman and terrorists, producing very important results in reality. These people don't belong to parties nor do they have a political program; they only have national affiliation; and this type of initiative is very important, particularly since any crisis in any country, even if it were a normal crime, will exacerbate; therefore, we must always return to the social roots.

Analysis

The referential function is mentioned through the object that the President attempt to propose a solution to Syrian crisis objectively.

Here in this example in the source text حلا شاملا which means a solution which concerns all fields, is translated to comprehensive solution because each solution should be taken with reflection without anarchy.

According to Cambridge Dictionary, the meaning of شامل is global, so while comparing and analyzing the two words شامل and comprehensive they are different because شامل means the solution which encompasses all parts and fields but comprehensive means an accurate and rational solution taken after a deep agreement by everyone

- According to K. Reiss text- typology this function is predominantly representational. The information is complete and correct transformation with intertextual coherence with adequacy or as referred from Skopos theory as dynamic process through the

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translation of the term حلا شاملا into comprehensive solution which could be the translation of حلا مفهوما in addition, according to Skopos rules here it is a “free” translation means that even if the words in Arabic is translated by another word than its equivalent that could be for example “global” solution but because of the purpose of the translation which is to explain how much is important is this solution for Syrian people.

2- Expressive function

The emotive meaning can be defined as a trend in the language directly related to feelings and the psychological attitude of the speaker when expressing something; this in turn may produce affective responses in people towards the matter addressed, In other words, in this function, the focus is on the transmitter, he expresses his thoughts, feelings and his own personality.

Example 01

في ظل كل ذلك لا يمكن لنا الحديث عن الحل إلا بالأخذ بعين الاعتبار هذه العوامل...الداخل...والعامل الإقليمي...و العامل الدولي...و أي إجراء لا يغير هذه العوامل لن يسمى حلا حقيقيا ولا تأثير له على الإطلاق.

- website Voltaire.net.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

In light of this, there cannot be talk about a solution unless we take into consideration these factors: the internal, the regional and the international. Any measure that does not change these factors is not a real solution and has no impact.

Analysis

The function is presented in this example through one of its features which is the use of the personal pronoun as the example "يمكن لنا الحديث" through which Bashar gives his own opinion when he said:” *there cannot be talk about a solution unless we take into consideration these*

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factors...”, in this statement, Bachar- El Assad expresses his own opinion and orders about how to face the difficult situation of Syria.

- According to K. Reiss (1971), this function is predominantly expressive. Since it focuses on the sender or the President who uses the personal pronoun I to express his idea. In this example there is a translation by equivalence between the two texts and the function is still the same, it means static result oriented- concept describing the relationship of equal communicative value between two texts (Reiss 1983- 1989) and inter-coherence in terms of linguistic and formal features.
- According to Skopos theory, the purpose of this function is to transmit the same emotions and effects from the source text to the target text in other words convey the same emotiveness to create the same effect and have the same impact on the target receivers as they had on the source receivers.

Example 02

لذلك فإن أي محاولة لزعج الفلسطينيين في الأحداث السورية هدفها حرف البوصلة عن العدو الحقيقي و هي محاولات فاشلة قبل أن تبدأ...فالفلسطيني في سورية يقوم بواجبه تجاه وطنه الثاني كأبي سوري و نحن في سورية دولة و شعبا نحمل مسؤولية القيام بواجبنا نحوهم كواجبنا تجاه أي سوري... فتحية لكل فلسطيني شريف في سورية صان العهد و قدر المواقف السورية و تأخى بالدم و المصير مع أخيه السوري و لم يعامل سورية كفندق للاستجمام يغادره حينما تشتد الظروف.

- Website Voltaire.net.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

Any attempt to implicate the Palestinians in the Syrian events is aimed at deflecting attention from the main enemy, and is stillborn. The Palestinians in Syria are doing their duty towards their second homeland like any Syrian. We are responsible, as Syrian people and state, for doing our duty towards them as towards any Syrian citizen. I salute every honest Palestinian who valued the Syrian stances and did not treat Syria as a hotel which he leaves when conditions get a little tight.

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Analysis

The expressive function in this example is illustrated by the fact that the President speaks in plural term when he uses the personal pronoun “we” when he said “**we are responsible**” even though he has the right to give instructions and orders he expresses his feelings of pain towards the affected families.

After analyzing these two examples, we find a direct communication between the president and his population where he explains the real situation of Syria and to discuss about possible solutions. Also we notice the use of punctuation: In Arabic discourse there is no punctuation, the transmitter used a continued speech without any rest as the example:

"لا يمكن لنا الحديث عن الحل إلا بالأخذ بعين الاعتبار هذه العوامل"

But in the translated discourse punctuation is clear: *In light of this, there can not be talk about a solution unless we take into consideration these factors:*

Arabic language is characterized by lack of punctuation whereas English language always respects punctuation like the use of commas, final point, apostrophe, brackets, and colons as the example above.

- The function according to K. Reiss (1971) is predominantly expressive. The source and the target text express the same function translated by equivalence in terms of language and formal features and according to Skopos theory in this example, we found intertextual- coherence by extreme fidelity to the linguistic features and functional similarity between the two texts, the case of this example which does not change while translating.

3- The Connative Function

The receiver is the center of attention in this function. We ask him to do something; we try to convince and to present him.

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Example 1

أيتها الأخوات...أيها الأخوة...

- website Voltaire.net.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

Sisters and Brothers

- In this example the receiver is the main concerned by the discourse. The president used this expression many times in his discourse in order to call the Arabic States present to look for Syrian and the Palestinian affair.
- According to Skopos rules, the function is the same between the two texts and there is intertextual coherence and a formal equivalence in the translation.
- According to Katharina Reiss type of texts this function can be classified through operative texts as it is appellative focus and the target text elicit desired response. In addition the translation method is by equivalent effect or adaptive.
- In this example, according to Skopos rules it is faithful translation since there are the equivalence in the target language.

Example 2

نحن ايها الاخوة... نقاتل هؤلاء... و كثير منهم غير سوريين..أتوا من أجل مفاهيم منحرفة و مصطلحات مزيفة يسمونها جهادا و هي أبعد ما تكون عن الجهاد و عن الإسلام في شيء...الشيء المؤكد أن معظم من نواجههم الآن هم من هؤلاء الإرهابيين اللذين يحملون فكر القاعدة و أعتقد معظمكم يعرف و يعلم كيف تمت رعاية هذا النوع من الإرهاب منذ ثلاثة عقود.

- website Voltaire.net.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

We are fighting **those**, most of whom are non-Syrians, who came for twisted concepts and fake terms they call Jihad, but nothing can be farther from Jihad and Islam. Most of them are terrorists instilled with al-Qaeda thought, and I believe that most of you know how this kind of terrorism was fostered three decades ago.

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In this example, we find the presence of both the transmitter and the receiver, here the president calls the fighters to know the enemy and to be aware. We understand through this function the use of implicate order from the president towards his population by trying to push them to respond to the outside attack and save their country.

According to Skopos rules the translation is by equivalence and intertextual coherence and the same purpose of both the source and the target function.

4-Phatic Function :

The focus is on the contact; we check that the contact takes place and that the communication is not broken; this function is composed of some textual marks which are: body movement, interjection which is an undividable world category allowing to enunciator to express a spontaneous emotion (joy, surprise, sadness, pain etc).

Example 1

اليوم أنظر إلى وجوهكم ووجوه أبناء بلدي و قد كساها الحزن و الألم.. أنظر إلى عيون أطفال سوريا فلا أرى ضحكة بريئة
تشع منها... ولا ألعاب تزرع البسمة على وجوههم.

- website Voltaire.net visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

Today I look to your faces and the faces of the people our country as they are covered with sorrow and pain. I look into the eyes of Syria's children and I don't see an innocent laugh shining...

Analysis

The important point on which this function is centered is *the contact*. For this example, the contact between the President and his audience is illustrated through personal pronouns that

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he uses many times on his speech for instance *I, you, their....* When he says: *Today I look to your faces, I don't see an innocent laugh shining etc*

Here in this example we found some expressions of sadness and pain about the situation of Syria's children through which Bashar El- Assad wants to tell that he is conscious.

In this case, we find that this function can be considered to be an indirect means of directing an appeal towards the receivers.

According to Skopos theory rules there is intertextual coherence between the source and the target text, since it is the same function, in other words both have the same purpose.

According to K.Reiss the translation is by “*equivalence*” or static-result oriented because through the linguistic analysis of the words used while translating there is a relationship of equal communicative value means that the purpose of this translation require a faithful translation as a result, the direct appeal towards the receivers still the same or the same affect between the two texts while translating.

Example 2

في البداية أرادوها ثورة مزعومة.. فثار الشعب عليهم حارما إياهم من حاضنة شعبية أرادوا فرضها بالمال و الإعلام و السلاح خفية وعندما فشلوا انتقلوا إلى المرحلة الثانية فأسقطوا أقمعة "السلمية" و كشفوا الغطاء عن السلاح الذي كانوا يستعملونه منذ البداية خفية فرفعوه علناً... و بدؤوا بمحاولاتهم احتلال مدنٍ لينقضوا كالدئاب من خلالها على باقي المدن...ضربوا بوحشية... و كلما كانوا يضربون كان الشعب الكبير بوعيه و صموده ينبذهم ويكشف زيفهم...فقرروا اللانتقام من الشعب بنشر الإرهاب أينما حلوا و في أي مكان و دون تمييز.

- website Voltaire.net.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

At the beginning they wanted it a fake revolution but the Syrian people rebelled against them; then they tried to impose it secretly through money, the media and arms; and when they failed, they moved to the second phase through dropping the masks of a “peaceful revolution” and unveiled their lies. Therefore they decided to take revenge on the people through spreading terrorism indiscriminately everywhere.

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Analysis

The function focuses on “*the contact*” and in this passage it is clear that the contact takes place and communication is not broken illustrated by El-Assad who try to get the attention of his audience in order to push them to react and be conscious about the bad situation of Syria.

- In this function there are some points which illustrate clearly the movement of body of the president, directly mentioned in some sentences like: فأسقطو أفئعة السلمية this expression refers to the rebels who want to make revolution and used some means as media and money but they were rejected by the population and when he said إنتقلو إلي المرحلة الثانية means that the enemy moved to the second attack after the failure of their first attempt. In addition, when he said فرفعوه علنا means the use of weapons openly and they put their in excusion.

The use of these movement verbs as (ضربو , رفعوه , إنتقلو , أسقطو) that illuqrates the body movements and to tell the actions that the enemy do. These verbs give information about the nature of the movement performed in Syria and also the attention or the psychological and physical state of the performer.

5) - Metalingual Function:

Jacobson have mentioned that in this function, the focus is in the code. When we speak we need to verify whether the message is understood; and the language speaks about itself:

Example 1

و بالنسبة للعفو العام يكون مع الاحتفاظ بالحقوق المدنية لأصحابها لأن الدولة يحق لها أن تعفو عن حقها أو ما يسمى الحق العام و لا يحق لها أن تعفو عن حقوق الأشخاص...و أعتقد إذا وصلنا إلى هذه المرحلة فلا بد أن يكون العفو عاما ليس من قبل الدولة ولكن من أصحاب الحقوق و عندها عمليا نصل إلى المصالحة الوطنية و الكل يسامح الكل.

- website Voltairenet.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

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Translation

As for the amnesty, the civil rights of the complainants will be preserved as the state can waive its right but has no right to waive the rights of the plaintiffs.

I believe though that when we have reached that stage, it will be an amnesty granted not only by the state but also by those who have rights. Then we will have practically reached the national reconciliation when everybody would forgive everybody else.

Analysis

In this example ولكن أصحاب الحقوق و عندها عمليا نصل إلى المصالحة الوطنية the word "عمليا" we understand that it is not the meaning to work, but in term of concrete which means that in order to have peace works to have forgiveness should be concrete.

According to Skopos rules the same function is on both the source and the target text and there is a free translation in order to transmit the message in terms that the translation of the word "عمليا" does not have its real meaning in this context while translating, the translator was "free" to choose without changing the meaning nor the function. Here we can say there is an intertextual coherence which means a relationship between the two texts in order to be acceptable for the target audience.

According to K.Reiss, in this example, the translation is "Adequate" or "a dynamic concept" related to the choice of appropriate linguistic words for the communicative purpose that is in this example "Milingual"

Example2

المرحلة الثانية..أولا..تدعو الحكومة القائمة إلى عقد مؤتمر الحوار الوطني الشامل للوصول إلى ميثاق وطني يتمسك بالسيادة سورية و وحدة و سلامة أراضيتها و رفض التدخل في شؤونها و نبذ الإرهاب و العنف بكل أشكاله بما يعني أن دعوة الحكومة للأحزاب و أطراف المجتمع هي لتحديد معايير هذا المؤتمر الذي سيعقد في المرحلة الثانية.. وبالنسبة

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الميثاق فهو ما سيرسم المستقبل السياسي لسورية و يطرح النظام الدستوري و القضائي والملاح السياسية والاقتصادية و الإتفاق على قوانين جديدة. للأحزاب و الانتخابات و الإدارة المحلية و غيرها,

- website Voltairenet.org visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation:

Stage 2:

First: the current government calls for holding a comprehensive national dialogue conference to reach a national pact that adheres to Syria's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity as well as to rejecting interference in its affairs and discarding terrorism and violence in all its forms.

The government's call upon the parties and the spectrums of the society is aimed at setting the criteria for this conference which is to be held later.

As for the pact, it will draw the political future for Syria and propose the constitutional and judicial system and the political and economic features, as it will also include agreement on new laws for the parties, elections and local administration, etc.

Analysis

This function, the focus is on the code in order to make the message clear and understood for the receivers.

In this example the function is clear by the use of some kind of personification of something abstract that is (الميثاق) as a leader of the political future and save Syria but without paying attention to the language level which has the meaning of **charter** according to LEXILOGOS Reverso Arabic- English dictionary. The aim here is the understanding of the message.

Example 3:

لم نرفض يوماً الحل السياسي...تبنيناه منذ اليوم الأول عبر دعامته الأساسية و هي الحوار..و مددنا أيدينا لكل من يعمل مشروعاً سياسياً وطنياً يدفع بسورية إلى الأمام...لكن مع من نتحاور...مع أصحاب فكر متطرف لا يؤمنون إلا بلغة القتل و الإرهاب...مع عصابات تؤمر من الخارج...تتبع للغريب أو امره...فيأمرها برفض الحوار لعلمه و يقينه أن

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الحوار سيفشل مخططاته بإضعاف سورية و الإنتهاء منها و خاصة بعض الدول الإقليمية التي يعلم مسئولوها أن خروج سورية من أزمتها سيقضي عليهم و على مستقبلهم السياسي بعد أن غرقوا و أغرقوا شعوبهم بالأكاذيب و صرفوا مقدرات بلادهم دعماً للإرهاب و لم يعد بمقدورهم تبرير سياستهم العدوانية و تورطهم في سفك الدماء و قتل الأبرياء... أم نحاور دمي رسمها الغرب وصنعها و كتب نصوص أدوارها... عندها الأولى أن نحاور الأصيل لا البديل نحاور من شكّلها لا من يقوم بتأدية الأدوار المكتوبة له على خشبات المسارح الدولية.. نحاور السيد لا العبد.

Translation

We never rejected the political solution as we have adopted it since day one based on dialogue as its main pillar as we land our hands to those who have a national political project that moves Syria forward. But who do we conduct dialogue with? With those who are carrying extremist thinking, and do not believe except in blood, killing and terrorism.

Should we conduct dialogue with gangs that receive their orders from abroad and follow a foreigner who orders them to reject dialogue because it believes that dialogue will foil his schemes aiming at weakening and understanding Syria?

The leaders of some regional countries know that if Syria came out of the crisis, it will undermine their political future after they were involved and drowned their people with lies, spent their countries potentials in supporting terrorism and involved in the bloodshed and the killing of the innocent.

Analysis

In this example, according to Reverso dictionary arabic-english- arabic, the term "الأصيل" means the one who has external extensions, in other words ;the one who works for colonialism, who is symbolized by the term "البديل" which means "alternate" in English.

We notice in this example that in the whole passage there is a translation by *equivalence* but in terms of the function it is omitted because there is no translation for the terms that illustrates the code used in the source text. However, it does not affect the meaning of the passage; it is still the same meaning as in the source text.

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6 -Poetic Function:

This function is also known as the Aesthetic function deals with that language whose primary focus is the beauty of the language itself.

This function focuses particularly on the Esthetic aspect of the message transmitted: it is known through its textual marks such as: Rhythm, sonores repetition, speech figures.

Example 1

ان نؤيد المبادرات الخارجية المساعدة لا يعني بأي شكل من الأشكال أن تقبل بتفسيرها إن لم يكن يتوافق مع رؤيتنا... و لا تقبل بأي تأويل لهذه المبادرات إلا بالطريقة التي تخدم المصلحة السورية..وفي هذا الإطار أتحدث عن مبادرة جنيف التي أيدتها سورية و لكن كان فيها بند غامض هو بند المرحلة الإنتقالية...طبعا هو غير مفسر لسبب بسيط، لأننا عندما نتحدث عن مرحلة انتقالية فأول شيء نسأله انتقال من أين إلى أين... أو من ماذا إلى ماذا... أن ننتقل من بلد حر مستقل إلى بلد تحت الإحتلال مثلا... هل ننتقل من بلد فيه دولة إلى بلد ليس فيه دولة و حالة فوضى مطلقة.

- website Voltaire.net visited on Mai, 20th,2018

Translation

Supporting helpful foreign initiatives doesn't mean in any way accepting its interpretation if it doesn't match our vision. We don't accept any interpretation of these initiatives except in a manner that serves Syrian interest. In this framework I'm talking about the Geneva initiative which Syria supported but had an ambiguous article which is the translational stage article.

Analysis

In this example, there is a sounds and texture illustrates these marks like (دولة حالة مطلقة) : all these Arabic words have the same Rythme. Sonore repetition is illustrated in the example: دولة و حالة, but in the target text it become a figure of speech and it is translated to (state and state) that is the use of word repetition but different in meaning.

The same function is on both the source and the target text and the translation according to Skopos theory is by equivalence and intertextual.

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According to K. Reiss text-typology, the translation is by” *adequacy* referred in Skopos theory as a dynamic concept related to the process of translation. Because in this example while translating the translator translates according to the target audience while using the term “state” for both”حالة و دولة”.

RESULTS

After the analysis of the functions translation through the 15 examples of both the source and the target text referring to functionalism (Skopos and text- typology approach) , the following results were obtained:

Visibly the translation is quite successful because through our analysis using Skopos theory we found that most of the examples there is no change neither the meaning nor the function as it is in the text source. In addition to this, we found that in the majority of the examples about the expressive function precisely the translator was able to reproduce the same effect of the function in the source text.

There are many reasons that lead the translation to be successful is because the translator has been able in many examples to define the purpose or the Skopos of the functions in the source text and also to identify the type of the text that is appellative.

The last part of this research is “conclusion” which aims to recapitulate the research objectives and to summarize the findings of the research that was conducted to answer to the objectives and the research questions:

CONCLUSION

Through this research we found that the political discourse especially the oral discourse is full of expressions which reflect the ideas of the political figure among which we chose in this research we have investigated on functions of language in the political speech of Bashar Al-Assad with an eye to translation by using a source text in Arabic and the target text in English as a corpus and we were able to analyze the translation, we asked the question: Does the English translation maintain the language functions observed in El-Assad's speech.

The translator of such discourse should first of all know what the text means. It is not enough to know the meaning of each individual word in the text, but one should also understand the higher levels of meaning including the purpose of the text. In addition, the translator should be able to make sense of the linguistic and rhetorical structure of both the source language and the target language. The translator of political texts should keep in mind that the addresser of the original texts depends on the shared background with his target audience, while the translated texts must be prepared for a different audience who do not share the same background. The idea that translating should primarily take into account the function of both the source and target text (the functional approach) has a great affinity with Skopos theory. The function of a translation is dependent on the knowledge, expectations, values and norms of the target readers, who are again influenced by the situation they are in and by the culture. As illustrated by the analysis of the examples.

The principal objective of our work is to identify the degree of the translation of language functions from Arabic into English in the political discourse of the Syrian President held on January, 6th, 2013 in Damascus opera house in the heart of the capital which was punctuated by thunderous applause and loyalist. We chose this discourse because it caught our attention by the number of the language function found and also the importance of its author who is the Syrian President.

To carry out our work, we found the political text and its official translation in the internet site and we found the video also on YouTube, after that, we have selected

CONCLUSION

some examples where there are functions of language then we analyzed these examples in the light of Skopos theory and text-typology.

Through our analysis of the translation of the language functions in our corpus we were able to answer the research question asked at the beginning of our work "Does the English translation maintain the language functions observed in El-Assad's speech?" by using Skopos theory and typology of text we found that the translator could in many cases translate the true meaning of the president Arabic speech and keep the same language functions on both the source and the target text which made his translation a perfect success and communicational. In addition to this, we answered the hypothesis given at the beginning of our research:

- The translator in most of the examples kept the same functions in both the source and the target text while translating.
- In some examples the translator changes the function while translating.
- There are functions that were omitted in some examples while translating but without changing the meaning.

The success of the translation is due to the translator seems to be trained in translating and had recourse to translation process. In fact, besides of the mastering of the source language which is the Arabic language must take account the expense of the target language or English and the American public All the extra- linguistic elements are also important during the process of translation because political discourse can touch on many fields that's why the translator must interest on the political context, social and culture of the country.

To sum- up, the political text in addition to his appellative function it is intended to influence and push the recipient to react. Therefore we propose the functional theory that would be suitable with this kind of text.

At the end, we hope that in the future, further research will be conducted to enrich this theme, another topic for instance the translation of language functions in a newspaper article or in advertisement.

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CORPUS IN

ARABIC

السادة رئيس وأعضاء الحكومة...

السادة رؤساء وأعضاء قيادات المنظمات الشعبية والنقابات المهنية.. أيتها الأخوات... أيتها الأخوة..

اليوم أنظر إلى وجوهكم ووجوه أبناء بلدي وقد كساها الحزن والألم... أنظر إلى عيون أطفال سورية فلا أرى ضحكة بريئة تشع منها ولا ألعاباً تزرع البسمة على وجوههم.. أرقب أيادي العجائز فلا أراها إلا متضرعة بالدعاء بالسلامة لابن أو ابنة أو حفيد.

نلتقي اليوم والمعاناة تعم أرض سورية ولا تبقى مكاناً للفرح في أي زاوية من زوايا الوطن.. فالأمن والأمان غابا عن شوارع البلاد وأزقتها.. نلتقي اليوم وهناك أمهات فقدن أبناءهن.. خيرة أبنائهن.. وأسر فقدت معيها وأطفال تيتموا وإخوة تفرقوا بين شهيد ونازح ومفقود.

وإذا كان كل هذا الألم يخيم كغيمة سوداء على البلاد، فإن الحالة الوجدانية وحدها.. على سموها.. ليست كافية لتعويض فقدان الأحبة أو عودة الأمن والأمان إلى البلاد أو تأمين الخبز والماء والوقود والدواء على امتداد ساحة الوطن.. فمن رحم الألم يجب أن يولد الأمل.. ومن عمق المعاناة تجترح أهم الحلول فالغيمة السوداء في السماء تحجب نور الشمس.. لكنها تحمل في طياتها مطراً وطهراً وأملاً بالخير والعطاء حينما تمطر.

هذه المشاعر والعواطف من ألم وحزن وتحد وإصرار هي طاقة جبارة.. لن تخرج سورية من محنتها.. إلا بتحويل هذه الطاقة إلى حراك وطني شامل ينفذ الوطن من برائن هجمة لم نشهد أو نتذكر لها مثيلاً في تاريخ هذه المنطقة.

هذا الحراك الوطني هو البلمس الوحيد للجروح العميقة التي أصابت أنسجة مجتمعنا وكادت أن تمزقه.. هو الوحيد القادر على إبقاء سورية جغرافياً وجعلها أقوى سياسياً واسترجاعها اجتماعياً وثقافياً وأخلاقياً.. فكل مواطن مسؤول بل وقادر على تقديم شيء ولو كان بسيطاً أو محدوداً بنظره.. فالوطن للجميع ندافع عنه جميعاً.. كل بما يستطيع ويملك.. فالفكرة دفاع والموقف دفاع والبناء دفاع والحفاظ على ممتلكات الشعب دفاع.. ولأن الهجمة على الوطن كله بما فيه ومن فيه فكل مواطن واع بات يعلم علم اليقين أن السلبية أو انتظار الزمن أو الآخرين ليحلوا المشكلة هو بحد ذاته سير بالبلاد نحو الهاوية.. وعدم المشاركة بالحلول هو إعادة للوطن إلى الوراء لا تقدم به نحو الخروج مما فيه.

ولأن كثيرين سقطوا في فخ ما تم تصويره لهم على أن الصراع هو بين حكم ومعارضة أي صراع على كرسي ومنصب وسلطة.. فقد ابتعدوا والتزموا الصمت والحيادية.. وبالتالي فإنه من واجبنا جميعاً اليوم أن نعيد توجيه الرؤية باتجاه البوصلة الحقيقية للوطن.. فالصراع أيها السادة هو صراع بين الوطن وأعدائه بين الشعب والقذلة المجرمين بين المواطنين وخبزهم ومائهم ودفنهم ومن يحرمهم من كل ذلك بين حالة الأمان التي كنا نتغنى بها وبث الخوف والذعر في النفوس.

قتلوا المدنيين والأبرياء ليقتلوا النور والضياء في بلدنا.. اغتالوا الكفاءات والعقول ليعممو جهلهم على عقولنا.. خربوا البنية التحتية التي بنيت بأموال الشعب لتتغلغل المعاناة في حياتنا.. حرّموا الأطفال من مدارسهم ليخربوا مستقبل البلاد ويعبروا عن جاهليتهم.. قطعوا الكهرباء والاتصالات وإمداد الوقود وتركوا الشيوخ والأطفال يقاسون برد الشتاء دون دواء تأكيداً على وحشيتهم أما لصوصيتهم فتجلت في تخريب الصوامع وسرقة القمح والطحين ليتحول رغيف الخبز حلماً وليجوع المواطن فهل هذا صراع على كرسي ومنصب... أم هو صراع بين الوطن وأعدائه.. هل هو صراع على سلطة... أم هو

انتقام من الشعب الذي لم يعط أولئك الإرهابيين القتلة الكلمة المفتاح من أجل تفتيت سورية و تفتيت مجتمعها... إنهم أعداء الشعب وأعداء الشعب هم أعداء الله وأعداء الله يحشرون في النار يوم القيامة.

في البداية أرادوها ثورة مزعومة.. فثار الشعب عليهم حارماً إياهم من حاضنة شعبية أرادوا فرضها بالمال والإعلام والسلاح خفية وعندما فشلوا انتقلوا إلى المرحلة الثانية فأسقطوا أقمعة "السلمية" وكشفوا الغطاء عن السلاح الذي كانوا يستعملونه منذ البداية خفيةً فرفعوه علناً.. وبدؤوا بمحاولاتهم احتلال مدنٍ لينقضوا كالدئاب من خلالها على باقي المدن.. ضربوا بوحشية.. وكلما كانوا يضربون كان الشعب الكبير بوعيه وصموده ينبذهم ويكشف زيفهم.. ففرروا الانتقام من الشعب بنشر الإرهاب أينما حلوا وفي أي مكان ودون تمييز .

يسمونها ثورة وهي لا علاقة لها بالثورات لا من قريب ولا من بعيد.. الثورة بحاجة لمفكرين.. الثورة تبنى على فكر.. فأين هو المفكر.. من يعرف مفكراً لهذه الثورة.. الثورات بحاجة لقادة.. من يعرف من هو قائد هذه الثورة.. الثورات تبنى على العلم والفكر لا تبنى على الجهل.. تبنى على دفع البلاد إلى الأمام لا إعادتها قروناً إلى الوراء.. تبنى على تعميم النور على المجتمع لا على قطع الكهرباء عن الناس.. الثورة عادة ثورة الشعب لا ثورة المستوردين من الخارج لكي يثروا على الشعب.. هي ثورة من أجل مصالح الشعب ليست ضد مصالح الشعب فبالله عليكم هل هذه ثورة وهل هؤلاء ثوار إنهم حفنة من المجرمين.

خلف كل ذلك كان التكفيريون يعملون في الصفوف الخلفية عبر عمليات التفجير والقتل الجماعي.. تاركين العصابات في الواجهة.. داعمين لها من الخلف.. وكلما كان الجيش والشعب يبدأ يصد قتلهم وإجرامهم كانوا يقتربون من الانهيار.. عندها لم يجد التكفيريون بداً مما ليس منه بد فانتقلوا للقتال في الصفوف الأمامية واستلموا دفة سفينة الدم والقتل والتكفير.. ولأن الفكر التكفيري فكر دخيل على بلادنا كان لا بد من استيراده من الخارج أفراداً وافكاراً.. وهنا انقلبت المعادلة.. تكفيريون.. إرهابيون.. قاعدة... يسمون أنفسهم "جهاديين" جاؤوا من كل حذب وصوب.. يقودون العمليات الإرهابية على الأرض وأما المسلحون وبعد فشلهم نقلوا إلى الصفوف الخلفية كمساعدين بأعمال خطف ونهب وتخريب.. خدم.. وبأحسن الأحوال أدلاء.. جواسيس على أبناء جلدتهم لصالح تكفيريين قتلة لا يتكلمون لغة سوى لغة الذبح وتقطيع الأوصال.

نحن أيها الاخوة.. نقائل هؤلاء.. وكثير منهم غير سوريين.. أتوا من أجل مفاهيم منحرفة ومصطلحات مزيفة يسمونها جهاداً وهي أبعد ما تكون عن الجهاد وعن الإسلام في شيء.. الشيء المؤكد أن معظم من نواجههم الآن هم من هؤلاء الإرهابيين الذين يحملون فكر القاعدة وأعتقد معظمكم يعرف ويعلم كيف تمت رعاية هذا النوع من الإرهاب منذ ثلاثة عقود في أفغانستان من قبل الغرب وبأموال عربية بعد انتهاء مهمة هؤلاء الإرهابيين بتفكك الاتحاد السوفييتي وخروجه من أفغانستان انفلت من عقاله وبدأ يضرب في كل مكان ضرب في العالم العربي.. ضرب في العالم الإسلامي وانتقل إلى الغرب.. حاولوا التخلص منه بحرب أفغانستان وحاولوا التخلص منه بطرق مختلفة بعد غزو العراق ولكن هذا الإرهاب كان معنوا ومستمر بالانتشار وبدأ يتغلغل في قلب المجتمعات الغربية نفسها فأنتت هذه الأحداث في العالم العربي وخاصة في سورية كفرصة سانحة لهذه القوى.. أقصد القوى الغربية لكي تقوم بنقل العدد الأكبر الممكن إلى سورية لتحويل سورية إلى أرض الجهاد وبالتالي يتخلصون من خصمين مزعجين بنفس الوقت.. يتخلصون من الإرهابيين ويضعفون سورية العقدة المزعجة بالنسبة للغرب.

هناك منظمة تعنى بموضوع الإرهاب لا أذكر ما اسمها أصدرت منذ نحو شهر أو أكثر بقليل تقريراً حول تراجع الأعمال الإرهابية بشكل عام وخاصة في منطقة أوسط وشرق آسيا.. صحيح لأن معظم الإرهابيين أتوا إلى سورية من معظم هذه الدول والبعض منهم يأتي من الدول الغربية نفسها.. دخول هؤلاء الإرهابيين إلى أي مجتمع هو خطير من

الناحية الأمنية وهذا من البديهيات ولكن ليس مستحيلاً دحهم عندما نمتلك الإرادة والشجاعة لذلك.. ولكن الأخطر هو الدخول بالمعنى الفكري والاجتماعي.. فهذا النوع من الفكر عندما يتغلغل في قلب مجتمع يتحول هذا المجتمع إلى مسخ مشوه وإن لم نعالج هذا الموضوع بشكل جدي بغض النظر عن الأزمة التي تمر بها سورية بجوانبها السياسية.. وبمعنى آخر يجب أن نسمو فوق الخلافات بالنسبة لهذا الموضوع.. وإلا فنحن نورث الأبناء والأحفاد دماء.. ودماء لأجيال وأجيال.. وسورية التي نعرفها لن تكون موجودة ليس بالضرورة بالاسم أو الجغرافيا وإنما على الأقل سورية التي عرفناها كمجتمع ولكن هذا لا يمنع أن هذا النوع من الفكر يخلق فتنة ويدمر الجغرافيا والمعنى السياسي لأي مجتمع يتغلغل فيه.. هذه مسؤولية كبيرة لا بد من أن نتوحد جميعاً من أجل مواجهتها.

لكن للأزمة ابعاداً أخرى ليست داخلية فقط.. فما يجري بالداخل بات واضحاً لمن يريد الرؤية.. أما إقليمياً فهناك من يسعى لتقسيم سورية وآخرون يسعون لإضعافها.. بعضها يمد المجرمين بالمال والسلاح والبعض الآخر بالدعم والتدريب.. دول عدوة بنيت على الاحتلال والعدوان لا نستغرب ما قامت وما تقوم به.. ودول جارة جارت على سورية وشعبها لتضعفه وتهيمن عليه.. ودول بحثت عن موقع لها في تاريخ لا تمتلكه.. فكتبت به دماء الأبرياء من الشعب العربي.. والسوري تحديداً.. لكن سورية وشعبها أقوى وأصلب.. ويعدهم بأنه لن ينسى.

وأما دولياً.. فليس خافياً على أحد أن سورية كانت وستبقى حرة سيدة لا ترضى الخنوع ولا تقبل الوصاية.. وهذا ما كان يزعج الغرب ولا يزال.. فأرادوا استغلال أحداث داخلية لإخراج سورية من المعادلة السياسية للمنطقة لينتهوا من هذه العقدة المزعجة وليضربوا فكر المقاومة وليحولونا إلى تابعين شأننا شأن الكثيرين ممن حولنا.. لكن المجتمع الدولي لا يقتصر على الغرب فقط فكثير من الدول في العالم وفي مقدمتها روسيا والصين ومعهما دول مجموعة البريكس وغيرها الكثير ترفض التدخل في شؤون الدول وزعزعة الاستقرار في المنطقة انطلاقاً من مبادئها ومصالحها وحرصها على حرية الشعوب في تقرير مصيرها.. دول تحترم سيادة سورية واستقلالها وحرية قرارها.. لن ترى منا إلا الشكر والتقدير والاحترام المتبادل.. وأخص بالشكر طبعاً روسيا والصين وإيران.. لكل من وقف إلى جانب الشعب السوري في تقرير مصيره.

في ظل كل ذلك لا يمكن لنا الحديث عن الحل إلا بالأخذ بعين الاعتبار هذه العوامل.. الداخل.. والعامل الإقليمي.. والعامل الدولي.. وأي إجراء لا يغير هذه العوامل لن يسمى حلاً حقيقياً ولا تأثير له على الإطلاق.

ولنبداً من الداخل.. فالخلاف إن كان بنظر البعض في البدايات بين معارضة وموالاتة.. وأنا لا أعتقد أنه كان بهذا الشكل منذ البداية.. فهكذا خلاف في العالم المتحضر يكون حول كيفية بناء الوطن لا تخريبه.. حول كيفية تقدمه وتطوره لا إرجاعه عشرات السنين إلى الوراء.. العلاقة بين المعارضة والموالاتة تكون علاقة الداخل بالداخل.. أما عندما يصبح جزء من الداخل مسيراً ومرتبباً بالخارج فالصراع هنا بين الداخل والخارج.. بين استقلال الوطن والهيمنة عليه.. بين بقائه سيداً حراً واحتلاله من الخارج سياسياً.. وهنا تتحول القضية إلى الدفاع عن الوطن برمته ويتوحد الجميع ضد العدوان الآتي من الخارج بأدوات بعضها داخلي.. لذلك عندما نقول معارضة خارجية أو أي كلام مشابه لا نقصد المكان الذي يقطن فيه هؤلاء الأشخاص وإنما نقصد المكان الذي وضعوا فيه قلوبهم وعقلهم.. ارتباطهم ورهانهم.. والأهم تمويلهم.. هذا ما نقصده بالخارج سواء كان يقطن بالداخل أو بالخارج فهناك أشخاص يقطنون في الخارج ولكن يدافعون عن بلدهم.

نعم أيها السادة ليست معارضة وموالاتة ولا جيشاً مقابل عصابات وقتلة فحسب.. نحن الآن أمام حالة حرب بكل ما تحمل الكلمة من معنى.. نحن الآن نصد عدواناً خارجياً شرساً بشكل جديد وهذا النوع من الحروب هو أشد فتكاً وأكبر خطراً من الحروب التقليدية لأنها لا تستخدم أدواتها لضربنا بل تجبرنا نحن لتنفيذ مشاريعها.. تستهدف سورية عبر حفنة من السوريين وكثير من الأعراب.. تحاول استخدامنا لقطع أشجارنا وهدم أحجارنا وللأسف بأيدي بعض منا.. وهكذا حرب

تواجه بالدفاع عن الوطن بالتوازي مع إصلاح ضروري لنا جميعاً والذي قد لا يغير من واقع الحرب شيئاً لكنه يقوينا ويقوي وحدتنا ويعزز مناعتنا في مواجهتها.. البعض يعتقد أن هذا الحل أو هذا الإصلاح سيحل المشكلة.. لا.. هو عامل مؤثر ولكن هو ليس كل الحل.

فالإصلاح دون أمان كالأمان دون إصلاح.. لا ينجح أحدهما دون الآخر.. وهذا ما كنا نقوله وما زلنا.. ومن كرر كثيراً أن سورية اختارت الحل الأمني فهو لا يسمع ولا يرى.. فنحن لطالما قلنا مراراً وتكراراً.. الإصلاح والسياسة بيد والقضاء على الإرهاب باليد الأخرى.. ومن يقلب الحقائق تحت هذا العنوان نقل له.. عندما يتعرض شخص للاعتداء ويدافع عن نفسه هل نقول دافع عن نفسه أم اختار الحل الأمني... فلماذا عندما تدافع الدولة عن الشعب وعندما يدافع الشعب عن الوطن يقولون إنهم اختاروا الحل الأمني.

الدفاع عن الوطن واجب ليس مطروحاً للنقاش وهو واجب قانوني ودستوري وشرعي وهو خيار وحيد فلا يوجد خيار للحل الأمني.. هنا خيار وحيد.. هو الدفاع عن النفس.. فإذا كنا اخترنا الحل السياسي وسعينا إليه منذ الأيام الأولى فلا يعني ألا ندافع عن أنفسنا.. وإذا كنا اخترنا الحل السياسي منذ الأيام الأولى فهذا يعني أننا بحاجة لشريك قادر وراغب بالسير في عملية سياسية والدخول في عملية حوار على المستوى الوطني.. وإذا كنا اخترنا الحل السياسي ولم نر شريكاً فهذا لا يعني أننا لم نرغب.. هذا يعني أننا لم نر شريكاً خلال المرحلة الماضية.. بشكل أوضح إذا كان الشخص يريد الزواج ويبحث عن شريك ولم يجد من يرغب ويقبل به فهذا لا يعني أنه غير راغب في الزواج.. لذلك أي طرح حول اختيار الدولة في سورية للحل الأمني كلام غير صحيح ولم يطرح في يوم من الأيام ولم يصرح أي مسؤول في الدولة أننا نختار الحل الأمني.

عندما نتعرض لهجوم وتدافع عن نفسك فهذا يسمى دفاعاً عن النفس ولا يسمى اختياراً للحل الأمني.. فلننا نحن من اخترنا الحرب.. الحرب فرضت على سورية وعندما تدافع الدولة عن الشعب وتدافع عن أنفسنا لا يمكن لعامل أن يسمى ذلك اختياراً للحل الأمني.. فالدفاع عن الوطن واجب وهو خيار وحيد، وقبلنا بالحل السياسي لا يعني ألا ندافع عن أنفسنا لكن أيضاً قبلنا بالحل السياسي يعني وجود شريك سياسي قادر على الحوار وراغب به.

نحن لم نرفض يوماً الحل السياسي.. تبيناه منذ اليوم الأول عبر دعائه الأساسية وهي الحوار.. ومددنا أيدينا لكل من يحمل مشروعاً سياسياً وطنياً يدفع بسورية إلى الأمام.. لكن مع من نتحاور... مع أصحاب فكر متطرف لا يؤمنون إلا بلغة الدم والقتل والإرهاب... مع عصابات تؤتمر من الخارج.. تتبع للغريب وأوامره.. فيأمرها برفض الحوار لعلمه ويقينه أن الحوار سيفشل مخططاته بإضعاف سورية والانتهاك منها وخاصة بعض الدول الإقليمية التي يعلم مسؤولوها أن خروج سورية من أزمتها سيقضي عليهم وعلى مستقبلهم السياسي بعد أن غرقوا وأغرقوا شعوبهم بالكاذب وصرخوا بمقدرات بلادهم دعماً للإرهاب ولم يعد بمقدورهم تبرير سياساتهم العدوانية وتورطهم في سفك الدماء و قتل الأبرياء.. أم نحاور دمي رسمها الغرب وصنعها وكتب نصوص أدوارها... عندها الأولى أن نحاور الأصيل لا البديل.. نحاور من شكلها لا من يقوم بتأدية الأدوار المكتوبة له على خشبات المسارح الدولية.. نحاور السيد لا العبد.

وأما الغرب.. لسيل الاستعمار وصاحب الختم الأول في سياسة التقسيم والتناحر الطائفي البيغض فهو من سد باب الحوار لا نحن.. لأنه اعتاد إعطاء الأوامر للإمعات ونحن اعتدنا على السيادة والاستقلال وحرية القرار.. لأنه أدمن الأجراء والأذلاء ولأننا جبلنا على الكرامة والإباء.. وسنبقى.. فكيف يحاورنا... ولماذا يحاورنا... وبالتالي فإن من يتحدث عن الحل السياسي فقط ويتعمى عن هذه الحقائق فهو إما جاهل بالوقائع أو متخاذل يقدم الوطن والمواطن لقمة سائغة للمجرمين ومن يقف خلفهم.. يبيع شعبه ودماء شهدائه بالمجان.. وهذا ما لن نسمح به.

البعض يتحدث عن الحل السياسي فقط والبعض يتحدث عن مكافحة الإرهاب فقط وهذا الكلام غير دقيق فالحل يجب أن يكون حلاً شاملاً وفيه محاور.. فيه السياسي ومكافحة الإرهاب وفيه محور ثالث مهم جداً هو الحل الاجتماعي ولدينا نماذج في حمص ودرعا تحديداً حيث تحسن الوضع بشكل كبير بسبب هذا الحل الاجتماعي فأشخاص وطيون يمتلكون حساً وطنياً وانتماءً وطنياً وأخلاقاً قاموا بمبادرات بين الدولة وبعض المغرر بهم من المسلحين والإرهابيين واعطت نتائج هامة جداً على الواقع وهؤلاء الأشخاص لا ينتمون إلى أحزاب وليس لديهم أي برنامج سياسي وليس لديهم سوى الانتماء الوطني وهذا النوع من المبادرات هام جداً وخاصة ان أي أزمة في أي وطن وحتى لو كانت جريمة عادية تتفاقم فعلينا ان نعود إلى الجذور الاجتماعية دائماً.

أوجه تحية إلى هؤلاء الأشخاص الذين أنجزوا إنجازات وطنية كل بحسب ما يستطيع وأنا أعرف البعض منهم والتقيت بهم بشكل مباشر والبعض الآخر سمعت عنه ولكن هناك جنوداً مجهولين ونوجه لهم التحية ونقول لهم نحن نعول كثيراً على مبادراتهم.

قد يبدو من كل ما سبق أنه لا يوجد أحد يناوره وهذا الكلام غير صحيح.. فرغم كل ما سبق.. سنحاور ونمد يدنا دائماً وأبداً للحوار.. سنحاور كل من خالفنا بالسياسة.. وكل من ناقضنا بالمواقف دون أن يكون موقفه مبنياً على المساس بالمبادئ والأسس الوطنية.. سنحاور أحزاباً وأفراداً لم تبع وطنها للغريب.. سنحاور من ألقى السلاح لتعود الدماء العربية السورية الأصلية تسري في عروقه.. وسنكون شركاء حقيقيين مخلصين لكل وطني شريف غير يعمل من أجل مصلحة سورية وأمانها واستقلالها.

وعليه وانطلاقاً من ثوابتنا المبدئية وفي مقدمتها سيادة الدولة واستقلالية قرارها ومبادئ وأهداف ميثاق الأمم المتحدة والقانون الدولي والتي تؤكد جميعها على سيادة الدول واستقلالها ووحدة أراضيها وعدم التدخل في شؤونها الداخلية.. وإيماناً منا بضرورة الحوار بين أبناء سورية.. وقيادة سورية.. ومن أجل استعادة المناخ الآمن وعودة الاستقرار فإن الحل السياسي في سورية سيكون على الشكل التالي.. المرحلة الأولى.. أولاً.. تلتزم فيها الدول المعنية.. الإقليمية والدولية بوقف تمويل وتسليح وإيواء المسلحين بالتوازي مع وقف المسلحين للعمليات الإرهابية.. ما يسهل عودة النازحين السوريين إلى أماكن إقامتهم الأصلية بأمن وأمان.. بعد ذلك مباشرة يتم وقف العمليات العسكرية من قبل قواتنا المسلحة التي تحتفظ بحق الرد في حال تعرض أمن الوطن أو المواطن أو المنشآت العامة والخاصة لأي اعتداء.. ثانياً.. إيجاد آلية للتأكد من التزام الجميع بالبند السابق وخاصة ضبط الحدود.. ثالثاً.. تبدأ الحكومة القائمة مباشرة بإجراء اتصالات مكثفة مع كل أطراف المجتمع السوري بأحزابه وهيئاته لإدارة حوارات مفتوحة لعقد مؤتمر حوار وطني تشارك فيه كل القوى الراغبة بحل في سورية من داخل البلاد وخارجها.

المرحلة الثانية.. أولاً.. تدعو الحكومة القائمة إلى عقد مؤتمر الحوار الوطني الشامل للوصول إلى ميثاق وطني يتمسك بسيادة سورية ووحدة وسلامة أراضيها ورفض التدخل في شؤونها ونبذ الإرهاب والعنف بكل أشكاله بما يعني أن دعوة الحكومة للأحزاب وأطراف المجتمع هي لتحديد معايير هذا المؤتمر الذي سيعقد في المرحلة الثانية.. وبالنسبة للميثاق فهو ما سيرسم المستقبل السياسي لسورية وي طرح النظام الدستوري والقضائي والملاح السياسية والاقتصادية والاتفاق على قوانين جديدة.. للأحزاب والانتخابات والإدارة المحلية وغيرها.. ثانياً.. يعرض الميثاق الوطني على الاستفتاء الشعبي.. ثالثاً.. تشكل حكومة موسعة تتمثل فيها مكونات المجتمع السوري وتكلف بتنفيذ بنود الميثاق الوطني.. رابعاً.. يطرح الدستور على الاستفتاء الشعبي وبعد إقراره تقوم الحكومة الموسعة باعتماد القوانين المتفق عليها في مؤتمر الحوار وفقاً للدستور الجديد ومنها قانون الانتخابات وبالتالي إجراء انتخابات برلمانية جديدة.. وكل ما يتعلق بالدستور والقوانين يمكن

ان نضع قبله كلمة "إذا" أي إذا اتفق في هذا المؤتمر .. مؤتمر الحوار على قوانين جديدة أو على دستور جديد تقوم الحكومة بالعمل على إظهارها. وتابع الرئيس الأسد.. المرحلة الثالثة.. اولاً.. تشكل حكومة جديدة وفقاً للدستور الموجود في ذلك الوقت.. ثانياً.. عقد مؤتمر عام للمصالحة الوطنية وإصدار عفو عام عن المعتقلين بسبب الأحداث مع الاحتفاظ بالحقوق المدنية لأصحابها.. ثالثاً.. العمل على تأهيل البنى التحتية وإعادة الاعمار والتعويض على المواطنين المتضررين بالأحداث.

وبالنسبة للعفو العام يكون مع الاحتفاظ بالحقوق المدنية لأصحابها لأن الدولة يحق لها أن تعفو عن حقها أو ما يسمى الحق العام ولا يحق لها أن تعفو عن حقوق الأشخاص.. واعتقد إذا وصلنا إلى هذه المرحلة فلا بد أن يكون العفو عاماً ليس من قبل الدولة ولكن من أصحاب الحقوق وعندها عملياً نصل إلى المصالحة الوطنية والكل يسامح الكل.

إن هذه الملامح الرئيسية للحل السياسي كما نراه وهي مجرد عناوين بحاجة لتفاصيل وستكلف الحكومة بإدارة هذا الموضوع وستقوم بوضع التفاصيل والتوسع في هذه العناوين وتقدم هذه الرؤية على شكل مبادرة خلال الأيام القليلة القادمة وتتابع بعدها كل هذه المراحل حسب البنود المذكورة.

دعونا نضع كل موضوع في سياقه فنحن نعيش الآن في عصر التزوير والتأويل الخاطئ ولسنا من يؤول الأمور لكن هذه الحالة العامة في تأويل الأمور بعكس مقاصدها لذلك دعونا نضع الأمور في سياقها ونصحح الأفكار والمصطلحات التي تطرح.

أولاً.. بالنسبة لهذه الرؤية البعض سيتخوف منها وسيشعر بالقلق وسيعتبر أن فيها عودة إلى الخلف من الناحية الأمنية لكن أنا اطمئن الجميع بأنه بالنسبة لمكافحة الإرهاب لن نتوقف طالما يوجد إرهابي واحد في سورية وما بدأنا به لن نتوقف عنه فأني شيء نقوم به في هذه المبادرة لا يعني على الإطلاق التهاون في موضوع مكافحة الإرهاب بل على العكس كلما تقدمنا في مكافحة الإرهاب كانت هناك إمكانية لنجاح هذه الرؤية.

ثانياً.. هذه الرؤية إذا أرادوا تسميتها مبادرة أو رؤية أو أفكاراً فهي موجهة لكل من يريد الحوار ولكل من يريد أن يرى حلاً سياسياً في المستقبل القريب في سورية وهي ليست موجهة لمن لا يريد أن يحاور وبالتالي سنسمع الآن منذ اليوم الكثير من الرفض من قبل الجهات التي تعرفونها ونحن نقول لهم مسبقاً.. لماذا ترفضون شيئاً هو ليس موجهاً لكم بالأساس كي لا يضيعوا وقتهم.

ثالثاً.. أي مبادرة تطرح من قبل أي جهة أو شخصية أو دولة يجب أن تستند إلى الرؤية السورية وهذا يعني أنه لا توجد مبادرة تحل محل ما يمكن أن نراه نحن كحل للأزمة في سورية.. بمعنى أوضح أي مبادرة هي مبادرة مساعدة لما سيقوم به السوريون ولا تحل محلها.. وبعد طرح هذه الأفكار من قبل الحكومة يجب أن تكون أي مبادرة تأتي من الخارج مستندة إلى هذه الأفكار ومساعدة لها ولا داعي لأن نضيع وقتنا ووقت الآخرين بمبادرات تخرج عن هذا السياق.

بنفس الوقت إذا تساءلنا كيف يمكن للمبادرات الخارجية أن تساعدنا.. فهناك محوران.. محور العمل السياسي ومحور مكافحة الإرهاب.. وفي المحور الأول لسنا بحاجة إلى مساعدة ونحن كسوريين قادرون على القيام بعملية سياسية متكاملة ومن برد أن يساعد سورية بشكل عملي وفعلي وصادق ويرد النجاح فهو قادر على التركيز على موضوع وقف إدخال المسلحين والسلاح والمال إلى سورية.. وهذه رسالة لكل من يعمل من الخارج كي يعرف أين يركز.. ولا نريد أحداً يأتي إلى سورية ليقول لنا ما الذي يجب علينا فعله في العملية السياسية.. بلد عمره آلاف السنين يعرف كيف يدير أموره.

النقطة الرابعة.. أن نؤيد المبادرات الخارجية المساعدة لا يعني بأي شكل من الأشكال أن نقبل بتفسيرها إن لم يكن يتوافق مع رؤيتنا.. ولا نقبل بأي تأويل لهذه المبادرات إلا بالطريقة التي تخدم المصلحة السورية.. وفي هذا الإطار أتحدث عن مبادرة جنيف التي أيدتها سورية ولكن كان فيها بند غامض هو بند المرحلة الانتقالية.. طبعاً هو غير مفسر لسبب بسيط.. لأننا عندما نتحدث عن مرحلة انتقالية فأول شيء نسأله انتقال من أين إلى أين... أو من ماذا إلى ماذا... أن ننقل من بلد حر مستقل إلى بلد تحت الاحتلال مثلاً... هل ننقل من بلد فيه دولة إلى بلد ليس فيه دولة وحالة فوضى مطلقة... أم هل ننقل من قرار وطني مستقل إلى تسليم هذا القرار إلى الأجانب.

طبعاً الخصوم يريدون الثلاثة معا.. وبالنسبة لنا في مثل هذا الطرف المرحلة الانتقالية هي الانتقال من اللااستقرار إلى الاستقرار وأي تفسير آخر لا يعيننا.. أما في الأحوال الأخرى لو لم يكن هناك أزمة فالانتقال الطبيعي هو من وضع إلى وضع أفضل.. هذا يأتي في سياق عملية التطوير وأي انتقال بالنسبة لأي مرحلة انتقالية يجب أن يكون عبر الوسائل الدستورية فبالنسبة لنا الآن ما نقوم به.. هذه الافكار بالنسبة لنا هي المرحلة الانتقالية.

خامساً.. أي مبادرة قبلنا بها فلأنها تنطلق من فكرة السيادة وقرار الشعب وفعلاً المبادرات التي طرحت وتعاملنا معها تركز على هذه النقطة في المقدمة.. وبالتالي الأشياء التي يتفق عليها داخل سورية أو خارجها يجب أن تكون بقرار الشعب لذلك حتى الميثاق الوطني الذي يمكن أن يقر من قبل مؤتمر الحوار الوطني لن يمر من دون استفتاء.. يعني يجب أن يكون هناك استفتاء شعبي على أي شيء وخاصة في هذه الظروف الصعبة ونحن قلنا لكل من التقينا به.. أي شيء أو فكرة تأتينا من الخارج أو الداخل يجب أن يمر عبر استفتاء شعبي ولن يكون عبر الرئيس أو الحكومة أو الحوار أو أي شيء آخر.

إن ذلك يشكل نوعاً من الضمانة لأن نقوم دائماً بخطوات تعبير فعلاً عن توافق شعبي وعن مصلحة وطنية وإذا فهمنا هذا الكلام البسيط والواضح فإن كل من يأتي إلى سورية ويغادرها يعرف بأن سورية تقبل النصيحة لكنها لا تقبل الاملاء وتقبل المساعدة ولكنها لا تقبل الاستبداد.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد.. بناء على ذلك كل ما يمكن أن تسمعه أو سمعتموه في الماضي من مصطلحات وافكار وآراء ومبادرات وتصريحات عبر الإعلام ومن مسؤولين لا تهمنا إذا كانت مصطلحات ذات منشأ ربيعي فهي فقاعات صابون كما هو الربيع عبارة عن فقاعة صابون سوف تختفي.

إن أي تفسيرات لأي موضوع يخرج عن السيادة السورية بالنسبة لنا هو عبارة عن اضغاث احلام.. يحق لهم ان يحملوا ويستطيعون أن يعيشوا في عالمهم الحالم الخيالي ولكن لا يستطيعون ان يجعلونا نعيش في عالمهم الواقعي ولن نقوم بأي مبادرة أو عمل إلا انطلاقاً من الواقع السوري ومن مصلحة ورغبة الشعب.

أيتها الأخوات.. أيتها الأخوة.. الوطن يعلو ولا يعلى عليه.. وسورية فوق الجميع.. بالمبادرات السياسية تقويها.. وبالذفاع عن كل حبة تراب نحميها.. فالسوري ينبض تسامحاً وعفواً.. لكن الكرامة والوطنية تسريان في عروقه.. وها هي الشرائح الأكبر هبت لمواجهة الإرهاب.. فمنهم من تعاون بإعطاء المعلومات القيمة للأجهزة المختصة ما مكنها من القيام بواجبها في إحباط عمليات إرهابية مخططة ضد المواطنين.. ومنهم من انتفض في وجه الإرهابيين وحرّمهم البيئة الحاضنة سواء بالذفاع عن مناطقهم أو حتى بالخروج في مظاهرات ضد المسلحين القتلة واستشهد خلال ذلك.. ومنهم من دافع كتفاً بكتف مع قواتنا المسلحة عن المدن والأحياء والبنية التحتية ولدينا نماذج كثيرة من هذه الحالات.. ولكن أذكر نموذجاً واحداً في قرية صغيرة في أقصى الشمال السوري بمحافظة الحسكة اسمها رأس العين حيث قام الشباب الأشاوس في تلك القرية وهي

على الحدود التركية مباشرة بالدفاع خلال عدة أيام ضد هجمات ارهابية متكررة وتمكنوا من دحر الإرهابيين القادمين من تركيا فتحية لهذه القرية.

ومنهم من حاور وأفنع وسامح وتسامح عبر مبادرات للمصالحة الوطنية على المستوى المحلي ما قطع الطريق على الإرهابيين وحول اتجاه الحالة العامة من التصعيد إلى التهدئة وعودة الوئام.

هؤلاء المواطنين عبروا بأدائهم عن حالة وعي عميقة فالأمان المنشود لا يأتي عبر الحياد والوقوف موقف المتفرج.. ولا عبر الهروب إلى الامام والانبطاح امام الخارج وعندما لا نكون بخير في وطننا فلن نكون بخير خارجه.. والوطن ليس لمن أقام فيه وحسب.. بل لمن دافع عنه.. ليس لمن نعم بخيراته وتقياً بظلاله وعندما طلبه لم يجده.. هو لأولئك الذين لبوا النداء عندما ناداهم الوطن رغم أن كثيرا منهم غبنوا في كثير من المواقع والأحيان لكن عندما انتكس الوطن هبوا على اختلاف مشاربيهم وانتماؤاتهم قائلين.. هذا هو وقت العطاء فكان عطاؤهم دون حدود.. ومنهم من نال شرف الشهادة فأسقطت دماؤهم الربيع المزيف وحمى الشعب من الخداع الذي كاد أن يفعل فعله في البدايات.

أسقطت دماؤهم ما سماه الغرب ربيعاً زوراً وبهتاناً وكان ناراً حاقدةً حاولت حرق كل ما لامسته عبر طائفية بغیضة وحقد أعمى وتقسيم مقبوت.. فما كان ربيعاً إلا لمن رسمه وخطط له وحاول تنفيذه وها هو يفشل.. فدماؤ هؤلاء الشهداء هي من حمت وستحمي الوطن والمنطقة.. وهي التي ستحمي وحدة أرضنا وتكرس تجانسنا واندماجنا وبنفس الوقت ستظهر مجتمعنا من الغدر والخيانة وتمنع سقوطنا الأخلاقي والإنساني والحضاري لعقود وأجيال.. وهذا هو الانتصار الأقوى والأهم.. والوطن عندما ينتصر لا ينسى من ضحى من أجله ولأن الوطن حق فسيعطي كل ذي حق حقه.

تحية لأصحاب الحق الأكبر بالتحية.. رجال الجيش العربي السوري.. تحية إلى ضباطنا وصف ضباطنا وجنودنا البواسل الذين يبذلون العرق والدم من أجل سورية وهم يرونها أولى من أنفسهم ومما يملكون.. تحية إلى قواتنا المسلحة التي تخوض أشرس أنواع الحروب وهي مصممة على إعادة الأمن والأمان للمواطن عبر اجتثاث الإرهاب.

إن قواتنا المسلحة التي سطرت ملاحم البطولة بتماسكها وصمودها وبلحمتها الوطنية كانت انعكاساً لصمود الشعب وتماسكه فحافظت على المواطن عزيزاً كريماً آمناً وحافظ الشعب عليها باحتضانه لها.. فالمجد لكل جندي قضى في المعركة وهو يدافع عن تراب البلاد والمجد كل المجد لكل جندي يمتشق سلاحه ودمه ليكمل مهمة من قضى.

تحية خالصة أوجهها لكل مواطن قام بواجبه الوطني عبر وقوفه إلى جانب قواتنا المسلحة.. كل بطريقته وبإمكانياته.. هؤلاء هم فخر سورية وعزتها وسيطر التاريخ أسماءهم بحروف من نور ونار لأنهم يكتبون التاريخ بدماؤهم وشجاعتهم فكانوا وما زالوا رديف الجيش وحماة المواطن جنباً إلى جنب مع حماة الديار.

أيتها الاخوات.. أيتها الاخوة.. أعلم كما تعلمون جميعاً أن ما يمر به الوطن مؤلم وصعب وأشعر بما يشعر به معظم الشعب السوري من وجع بفقدان أحبة أو استشهاد أبناء وأقرباء.. فنار حقدهم طالبت الجميع.. ودخلت نعوش الشهداء الطاهرة بيوت الكثيرين.. وأنا منهم لأنني من الشعب وسأبقى كذلك فالمناصب زائلة لكن الوطن باق وأما دموع الأمهات النكالي فستنزّل برداً وسلاماً على أرواح أبنائهن الطاهرة وناراً وجحيماً على القتلة المجرمين الذين سرقوا ضحكة أطفالنا وها هم يحاولون سرقة مستقبلهم ببلد آمن قوي ومستقر.

سورية ستبقى كما عهدتموها بل وستعود بإذن الله أقوى مما كانت فلا تنازل عن المبادئ.. ولا تقريط بالحقوق ومن راهن على إضعاف سورية من الداخل لتتسى جولانها وأراضيها المحتلة فهو واهم.. فالجولان لنا وفلسطين قضيتنا التي قدمنا

لأجلها الغالي والثمين.. الدماء والشهداء.. وسنبقى كما كنا ندعم المقاومة ضد العدو الأوحده.. فالمقاومة نهج لا أشخاص.. فكر وممارسة لا تنازلات واقتناص للفرص.. والشعب والدولة اللذان حملا أعباء ومسؤوليات الوقوف إلى جانب الشعب الفلسطيني في قضيته العادلة لعقود بكل ما حمله هذا الموقف من تحديات وأثمان دفعها كل مواطن سوري مادياً ومعنوياً.. ضغوطاً وتهديدات.. هذا الشعب وهذه الدولة لا يمكن أن يكونوا لأي سبب إلا في نفس الموقع تجاه إخوتهم الفلسطينيين.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد.. لذلك فإن أي محاولة لزج الفلسطينيين في الأحداث السورية هدفها حرف البوصلة عن العدو الحقيقي وهي محاولات فاشلة قبل أن تبدأ.. فالفلسطيني في سورية يقوم بواجبه تجاه وطنه الثاني كأبي سوري ونحن في سورية دولة وشعبا نحمل مسؤولية القيام بواجبنا نحوهم كواجبنا تجاه أي سوري.. فتحية لكل فلسطيني شريف في سورية صان العهد وقدر المواقف السورية وتأخى بالدم والمصير مع أخيه السوري ولم يعامل سورية كفندق للاستجمام يغادره حينما تشتد الظروف.

أيتها الاخوات.. أيها الاخوة.. رغم كل ما خطط لسورية وما فعله القريب قبل الغريب فينا فلم ولن يستطيعوا أن يغيروا ما بأنفسنا لأن ما فيها عظيم وقوي ومتمين وعريق فالوطنية تسري في عروقنا وسورية أعلى من كل شيء.. وما عبرتم عنه من صمود قرابة العامين تجاه ما يجري يخبر الكون كله أن سورية عصية على الانهيار وأن شعبها عصي على الخنوع والذل وأن الصمود والتحدي متأصل في خلايا الجسد السوري.. نتوارثه جيلاً بعد جيل.. كنا هكذا وسنبقى.. وبدأ بيد ورغم كل الجراح سنسير بسورية ومعها إلى مستقبل أقوى وأكثر إشراقاً.. سنسير بسورية ومعها.. سنسير إلى الأمام ولن يخيفنا رصاصهم ولن يرهبنا حقدهم لأننا اصحاب حق والله دائماً وأبداً مع الحق.

بشار الأسد

***CORPUS IN
ENGLISH***

Mr. Primer, Ministers,

Heads and members of the leaderships of popular organizations and trade unions,

Sisters and brothers,

Today I look at your faces and the faces of the people of our country as they are covered with sorrow and pain. I look into the eyes of Syria's children and I don't see an innocent laugh shining, nor do I see toys that draw a smile on their faces. I watch the hands of elderly people and see them open to prayer for the safety of a son, a daughter or a grandson.

We meet today with suffering prevailing over Syria's land leaving no room for joy in any corner of the homeland. Safety and security have been absent from the country's streets and alleys.

We meet today and there are mothers who lost their sons, families who lost their breadwinners, children who became orphans and brothers who have been parted from each other, being martyred, displaced or missing.

If pain is pervading like a dark cloud over the country, the emotional state, though sublime, is not enough to compensate for the loss of the loved ones or the restoration of security and peace to the country or for providing bread, water, fuel and medicine nationwide.

Out of the womb of pain, hope should be begotten and from the depth of suffering the most important solutions rise. As the dark cloud in the sky conceals sunlight, it also carries in its layers rain, purity and hope of welfare and giving.

These feelings of agony, sadness, challenge and determination constitute a huge energy that will not get Syria out of its crisis unless it turns this energy into a comprehensive national dynamic that saves the homeland from a campaign, unprecedented in the history of the region, targeting it. This national dynamic is the only balm for the deep wounds which affected our society and were about to divide it as it is the only way that is able to preserve Syria geographically and make it stronger politically.

Each citizen is responsible and able to provide something even if it is simple or limited in his/her view, because the homeland is for everyone; we all defend it, each according to his/her capacity and capability, because ideas are forms of defense, stances are forms of defense, construction is a form of defense and protecting people's properties is a form of defense.

Since the attack is launched against the homeland with all its human and material constituents, the mindful citizen has certainly known that passivity, waiting for time or others to solve the problem is a sort of pushing the country towards the abyss, and not contributing solutions is a kind of taking the homeland backwards with no progress towards overcoming what the homeland is going through.

Because many have fallen into the trap of what has been cast as a conflict between a government and an opposition, i.e. a conflict over office and power, they have kept at a

distance and remained silent and neutral. Consequently, it is our duty all to readjust our vision in the direction of the homeland. The conflict is one between the homeland and its enemies, between the people and killers, between the citizens' bread, water and warmth on the one hand and those who are depriving them of them all on the other, between a state of safety that we used to pride ourselves on, and spreading fear and panic in people's lives.

They have killed civilians and the innocent in order to kill light and brightness in our country. They have assassinated qualified and distinguished people in order to spread their ignorance over our minds. They have sabotaged the infrastructure built with the people's money to make suffering pervade into our lives. They deprived children of their schools to devastate the future of the country and express their ignorance. They cut off power supplies, communication lines and fuel supplies, leaving the elderly and children suffering from the cold weather without medicine in confirmation of their savagery. They destroyed wheat silos and robbed the wheat and flour stocks, to make a loaf of bread like a dream for citizens and to starve people. So, is this a conflict for power and office or is it a conflict between the homeland and its enemies? Is it a struggle for power, or is it revenge against the Syrian people who did not give those terrorist killers the key word for dismembering Syria and its society. They are the enemies of the people; and the enemies of the people are the enemies of God; and the enemies of God will be burnt by hellfire on the day of judgment.

At the beginning they wanted it a fake revolution but the Syrian people rebelled against them; then they tried to impose it secretly through money, the media and arms; and when they failed, they moved to the second phase through dropping the masks of a "peaceful revolution" and unveiled the cover of the weapons they were using secretly to use them openly, starting their attempts to occupy certain cities in order to attack other cities. Their brutality didn't intimidate our people, thanks to their awareness and steadfastness; so our people rejected them and unveiled their lies. Therefore they decided to take revenge on the people through spreading terrorism indiscriminately everywhere.

They call it a revolution, but in fact it has nothing to do with revolutions. A revolution needs thinkers. A revolution is built on thought. Where are their thinkers? A revolution needs leaders. Who is its leader? Revolutions are built on science and thought not on ignorance, on pushing the country ahead not taking it centuries back, on spreading light not cutting power lines. A revolution is usually done by the people not by importing foreigners to rebel against the people. A revolution is in the interest of people not against the interests of people. Is this a revolution? Are those revolutionaries? They are a bunch of criminals.

Takfiris were working at the back rows through bombings and mass killing, leaving the armed gangs at the front line, but the unity of the Syrian people and army forced them to move to fighting at the front lines where they led the rudder of a ship of blood, killing and mutilation. Because takfiri thought is alien to our country, they had to import it from abroad, whether through terrorists or thought. Thus, takfiris, terrorists, al-Qaeda members calling themselves Jihadis streamed from everywhere to command the combat operations on the ground. The gunmen, having failed, retreated to the backlines as aides in acts of kidnapping, pillaging and sabotage, as servants, and at best, guides who spy on their fellow citizens to serve criminals takfiris who only speak the language of slaughtering and mangling.

We are fighting those, most of whom are non-Syrians, who came for twisted concepts and fake terms they call Jihad, but nothing can be farther from Jihad and Islam. Most of them are terrorists instilled with al-Qaeda thought, and I believe that most of you know how this kind of terrorism was fostered three decades ago in Afghanistan by the West and with Arabs' money. After the mission of these terrorists ended with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its departure from Afghanistan, terrorism broke loose and started hitting everywhere in the Arab world, the Islamic world and then moved to the West. They tried to get rid of it through Afghanistan War and in the aftermath of Iraq's War, but this terrorism was unyielding and pervasive, and started to infiltrate Western societies. So, the events in the Arab world, especially in Syria, presented the Western powers with an opportunity to transfer as many terrorists as possible to Syria to turn it into the land of Jihad, hence dispensing with two troublesome rivals at the same time through getting rid of the terrorists and weakening Syria which is a nuisance for the West.

An organization specialized in terrorism issued a month or so ago a report on the decrease in terrorist acts in general, especially in the Middle and East Asia, which is true, because most of the terrorists came to Syria from these countries and some even come from the Western countries. Those terrorists' infiltration into any society is a security threat, but it is possible to vanquish them when we have the will to do so. The most dangerous still is a social and intellectual infiltration. When this kind of thought infiltrates into a society, it becomes deformed unless this issue is seriously tackled regardless of the crisis in Syria. We have to be above differences. Otherwise, we would bequeath blood to our sons and grandsons. Syria, as we know it, won't be there, not necessarily geographically speaking, but Syria as a society, because this thought incites sedition and destroys geography and the political meaning of any society which it invades. This is a great responsibility, and we have to unite in order to shoulder it.

The crisis has other dimensions, not only internal ones as it became clear to all who want to see. Regionally, there are parties who seek to divide Syria, others to weaken it, and some parties are providing the criminals with funds and weapons, while others are providing them with support and training. We were not surprised at what some neighboring countries have done to weaken and control the Syrian people, and the countries who sought a place in a history they don't have, writing it instead with the blood of innocent Syrians, but Syria and the Syrian people are strong, and they vow that they will not forget.

Syria has always been, and will remain, a free and sovereign country that won't accept submission and tutelage. That is why it has been a nuisance for the West, so they sought to take advantage of internal events to drive Syria out of the political equation in the region to get rid of this irksome problem and to strike at the culture of resistance and turn us into subordinates. But the West is not the entire international community, as there are world countries, namely Russia, China and the BRICS countries, and many other countries which won't agree to meddling in the internal affairs of countries and destabilizing the region based on their principles, interests and care for the people's freedom in determining their destiny. To those countries I extend my thanks, namely to Russia, China and Iran, and to all those who stood by the Syrian people to determine their own destiny.

In light of this, there cannot be talk about a solution unless we take into consideration these factors: the internal, the regional and the international. Any measure that does not change these factors is not a real solution and has no impact. Let's start with the internal front: if some tended to see the disagreement in the beginning as one between loyalists and the opposition, this disagreement in a civilized world should be over the way to build the homeland not destroy it, over developing it rather than taking it decades back. When part of the people becomes tied to foreign powers, the conflict becomes between the homeland and outside powers, between the country's independence and hegemony over it, between staying free being politically occupied; and hence the issue becomes defending the homeland and all of us unify against the outside aggression which is aided by some internal tools.

So, when we say external opposition or any such words we don't mean the place where these people live; rather we mean the place where they set their hearts and minds, their affiliation and bondage, and most importantly their funding. This is what we mean by outside, whether they live inside or outside, as there are people living outside but they defend their country.

It is not a matter of loyalists against opposition, nor an army vis-à-vis gangs and criminals. We are in a state of war in the full sense of the word. We are repelling a fierce outside aggression in a new disguise, which is more lethal and dangerous than a traditional war, because they do not employ their tools to strike us; instead, they have us implement their projects, and target Syria using a bunch of Syrians and a lot of foreigners.

Such war is confronted through defending the homeland in parallel with a reform that is necessary to all of us, which may not change the reality of war, yet it strengthens us and reinforces our unity in the face of the war. Some may believe that herein lies the solution or that reforms will solve the problem, which is not true. Reforms is an influential factor but it is not all the solution.

Reform without security is like security without reform. Neither will be successful without the other. Those who keep parroting that Syria has opted for a security solution do not see or hear. We have repeatedly said that reforms and politics go in one hand and eliminating terrorism in the other.

And to those who twist facts we say: when someone is attacked and he defends himself, do we say that he defended himself or he chose the security solution? Why when a state defends its people and when people defend their homeland, they say that they have opted for the security solution?

Defending the homeland is a duty that isn't up for discussion and is a legal, constitutional and religious duty and is the only choice. The security solution is no choice. Here there is one choice, which is self-defense. If we chose the political solution and sought it since the first days, this doesn't mean not to defend ourselves, and if we chose the political solution since the first days, this means that we need a partner that is capable and willing to move in a political process and enter a dialogue process on the national level. If we chose the political solution and didn't see a partner, that doesn't mean that we didn't desire one; this means that

we didn't see a partner during the past stage. To be clearer, for instance, if someone wants to get married and sought a partner but didn't find someone to desire and accept them, this doesn't mean that he doesn't want to be married. Therefore, any proposition that the state in Syria chose the security solution is incorrect and wasn't proposed at any time; and no state official announced that we chose the security solution.

When you're under attack and you defend yourself, it's called self-defense, not choosing a security solution. We didn't choose war; war was imposed on Syria, and when the state defends the people and we defend ourselves, no reasonable person can call that choosing a security solution. Defending the homeland is a duty and an only choice, and accepting the political solution doesn't mean not defending ourselves, but also accepting the political solutions means the existence of a political partner that is capable of dialogue and willing to engage in it.

We never rejected the political solution as we have adopted it since day one based on dialogue as its main pillar as we lend our hands to those who have a national political project that moves Syria forward. But who do we conduct dialogue with? With those who are carrying extremist thinking, and do not believe except in blood, killing and terrorism.

Should we conduct dialogue with gangs that receive their orders from abroad and follow a foreigner who orders them to reject dialogue because it believes that dialogue will foil his schemes aiming at weakening and undermining Syria?

The leaders of some regional countries know that if Syria came out of the crisis, it will undermine their political future after they were involved and drowned their peoples with lies, spent their countries' potentials in supporting terrorism and involved in the bloodshed and the killing of the innocent.

As for the west, the descendant of colonialism and owner of the first seal in the policy of division and despicable sectarian strife, it is the one who closed the door of dialogue not us, because it's used to giving orders to the submissive, and we're used to sovereignty, independence and freedom of decision, because it's addicted to hirelings and the subjugated and because we're raised on dignity and pride, and so shall we remain. So, how can it hold dialogue with us, and why would it hold dialogue with us? Therefore, those who talk about the political solution only and ignore these facts are either ignorant of the facts or are weak. They deliver their country and the people of the country as a tender morsel to criminals and those who stand behind them, selling their people and the blood of their martyrs for free, which we will not allow.

Some speak of the political solution only, and some speak of combating terrorism only, and this discourse is imprecise, as the solution should be comprehensive and must contain several axes: the political axis, combating terrorism, and the third axis that is very important which is the social solution. We have examples in Homs and Daraa in particular where the situation improved significantly because of this social solution, as patriotic people with a patriotic sense and national affiliation and morals made initiatives between the state and some of those who were misled among gunmen and terrorists, producing very important results in

reality. These people don't belong to parties nor do they have a political program; they only have national affiliation; and this type of initiative is very important, particularly since any crisis in any country, even if it were a normal crime, will exacerbate; therefore, we must always return to the social roots.

I salute those who made national achievements, each according to his/her capability. I know some of those and met with them directly and there are some others whom I heard of. There are unknown soldiers to whom we extend greetings and say that we count a lot on their initiatives.

It might seem from all we have went through that there is no one for us to have dialogue with, but this is incorrect. We will always extend our hands for dialogue. We will have dialogue with all those who don't agree with us in politics and who have stances contrary to ours providing that those stances are not based on affecting the national principles and basics.

We will have dialogue with parties and individuals who did not sell the homeland to strangers, and with those who dropped weapons to have the genuine Arab Syrian blood running back in their veins. We will be real honest partners with every honest patriotic citizen who works for Syria's interest and for its security and stability.

Accordingly and out of our firm principles, on top being the sovereignty of the state and the independence of its decision, and based on the principles and goals of the UN Charter and the international law which all stress on the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of countries and non-interference in their internal affairs, and out of our belief in the necessity of having a Syrian-led dialogue among the people of Syria and restoring the atmosphere of security and stability, the political solution in Syria will be as follows:

Stage 1:

First: the concerned regional and international countries commit themselves to putting an end to funding, arming and harboring armed elements. On parallel, armed elements stop their terrorist operations, which will facilitate the return of displaced Syrians to their original residential places safely.

Immediately afterwards, the Armed Forces halt the military operations but preserve the right to respond in case the homeland, citizens and public and private facilities came under any attack.

Second: Finding a mechanism to make sure that all are committed to the aforementioned item, particularly with regard to border control.

Third: The current government immediately starts making intensive contacts with all the spectrums of the Syrian society with all its parties and bodies to conduct open discussion to pave the way for holding a national dialogue conference in which all the forces seeking a solution in Syria take part, whether they are inside or outside the country.

Stage 2:

First: The current government calls for holding a comprehensive national dialogue conference to reach a national pact that adheres to Syria's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity as well as to rejecting interference in its affairs and discarding terrorism and violence in all its forms.

The government's call upon the parties and the spectrums of the society is aimed at setting the criteria for this conference which is to be held later.

As for the pact, it will draw the political future for Syria and propose the constitutional and judicial system and the political and economic features, as it will also include agreement on new laws for the parties, elections and local administration, etc.

Second: The pact will be put to referendum.

Third: An expanded government will be formed to represent the components of Syrian society, which will be assigned with implementing the provisions of the national pact.

Fourth: The new constitution will be put to referendum, and after it is approved the expanded government will adopt the laws agreed on at the dialogue conference according to the new constitution, including the elections law. Afterwards, new parliamentary elections are held.

We may put the word 'if' as far as everything related to the constitution and laws is concerned because everything will be contingent on reaching agreement regarding the contribution and laws in the dialogue conference, which will be then presented by the government once they are agreed on.

Stage 3:

First: A new government will be formed according to the constitution existing at the time.

Second: A general conference for national reconciliation will be held and a general amnesty will be granted to those detained due to the events while preserving the civil rights of plaintiffs.

Third: Working on infrastructure rehabilitation and reconstruction and giving and compensating those affected by the events.

As for the amnesty, the civil rights of the complainants will be preserved as the state can waive its right but has no right to waive the rights of the plaintiffs.

I believe though that when we have reached that stage, it will be an amnesty granted not only by the state but also by those who have rights. Then we will have practically reached the national reconciliation when everybody would forgive everybody else.

These main features of the political solution as we view it are only titles that need details. The government will be in charge of this issue as it will be tasked with drawing out the details and expanding on these titles so as to later present this vision in the form of an initiative in the coming few days and follow up on all these stages according to the aforementioned items.

Let us put each issue in its context, since we are living now in an age of falsification and misinterpretation. It's not us who are interpreting things, but this is the general case, that is to interpret things contrary to their meanings. Therefore, let us place things in their context and correct the ideas and terms being proposed.

First, regarding this vision, some will be worried and feel concerned, considering it a step backwards in terms of security, but I reassure everyone that when it comes to combating terrorism, we will not stop as long as there is a single terrorist in Syria. What we started, we won't stop. Anything we do in this initiative doesn't mean at all that we will neglect combating terrorism; to the contrary, the more we make progress in combating terrorism, the more there's a chance for the success of this vision.

Second, this vision, whether they want to call it an initiative or a vision or ideas, is directed to all those who want dialogue and all those who want to see a political solution in the near future in Syria. It isn't directed to those who don't want dialogue and thus we'll hear as of today much rejection by parties you know well, and we tell them in advance: why reject something that isn't addressed to you in the first place. So they don't need to waste their time.

Third, any initiative proposed by any party, figure or country must be based on the Syrian vision; meaning that no initiative can replace what we view as a solution to the crisis in Syria. In clearer language, any initiative is an initiative to help what the Syrians will do and doesn't replace that. After posing the ideas by the government, any initiative that comes from abroad must be based on these ideas and assist them. There's no need to waste our time and others' time with initiatives that deviate from this context.

At the same time, if we wonder how foreign initiatives can help us, there are two axes: the political work axis, and the counter-terrorism axis. In the first axis, we don't need help, and we as Syrians are capable of carrying out an integrated political process, and those who want to help Syria in a practical actual and honest manner and want to succeed can focus on the issue of stopping the entry of gunmen, weapons and funds to Syria. This is a message to everyone working from abroad to know where to focus. We don't want someone to come to Syria and tell us what to do in a political process. A country that is thousands of years old knows how to manage its affairs.

The fourth point, supporting helpful foreign initiatives doesn't mean in any way accepting its interpretation if it doesn't match our vision. We don't accept any interpretation of these initiatives except in a manner that serves Syrian interest. In this framework I'm talking about the Geneva initiative which Syria supported but had an ambiguous article which is the transitional stage article.

Of course, it isn't explained for a simple reason, because when we speak of a transitional stage then the first thing we ask is transition from where to where, or from what to what. Is it a transition from a free, independent country to a country under occupation, for example? Do we make a transition from a country that has a state to a country without a state and a state of utter chaos? Or do we make a transition from independent national decision to handing this decision to foreigners?

Of course, opponents want all three together, and for us in such circumstances, a transitional stage is transition from instability to stability, and any other interpretation doesn't concern us. In other situations if there hadn't been a crisis, a natural transition would be from a state to a better state. This comes in the context of the development process, and any transition in terms of any transitional stage must be through constitutional means. For us, what we're doing now, these ideas; for us this is the transitional stage.

Fifth, any initiative we accepted, we did so because it is based on the principle of sovereignty and the people's decision. Indeed, the initiatives that were proposed and we dealt with, focus on this point from the beginning. Therefore, things agreed upon within Syria or outside it must be by the people's decision. Thus, even the national pact which could be approved by the national dialogue conference will not pass without a referendum. This means that there must be a popular referendum on anything, particularly in these difficult conditions. We told everyone we met that anything or any idea that comes from outside or inside my pass through popular referendum, not through the president, government, dialogue or any other thing.

This constitutes a type of guarantee to always take steps that actually express popular consensus and national interest. If we understand these simple and clear words, then all those who come to Syria and leave it know that Syria accepts advice but doesn't accept dictations and accepts help but doesn't accept tyranny.

Based on all that, all you could have heard or did hear in the past of terms, ideas, opinions, initiatives and statements via the media and from officials don't concern us if they're terms of a "spring" origin. They are soap bubbles as the "spring" is but a soap bubble which will disappear. Any interpretation of any issue that deviates from Syrian sovereignty for us is but mere dreams. They have the right to dream and they can live in their dreaming fantasy world, but they can't make us live in their realistic world, and we won't make any initiative or action except based on Syrian reality and on the interest and desire of the people.

Sisters and brothers,

The homeland is above all, and Syria is above all. We can strengthen Syria through political initiatives and defending every single grain of its soil. Syrians abound with forgiveness and tolerance, but pride and patriotism run in their veins. The majority of people have risen against terrorism. Some have helped through providing the competent authorities with valuable information which enabled them to abort terrorist attacks against citizens. Others have risen against terrorists and deprived them of a support base, whether through defending their areas or even taking to the streets in protest against gunmen, many even fell martyr while doing so, and others have defended the cities, districts and infrastructure hand in hand with the armed forces.

I will mention one example of a small village in the farthest north of Syria in al-Hasaka province named Raas al-Ein where the valiant young men of this village, which lies directly on the Turkish border, confronted over several days repeated terrorist attacks and were able to force out the terrorists who came from Turkey. So, we give our salute to this village.

There are others who argued, convinced, forgave and were forgiven through national reconciliation initiatives on the local level, which blocked the road before the terrorists and shifted the general situation from escalation to calm.

Those citizens have demonstrated deep awareness. The aspired-to security does not come through fence-sitting, watching, escaping or groveling to the outside. If we are not fine in our country, we won't be so anywhere outside it. The homeland is not for those who dwell in it, but for those who defend it. The homeland is not for those who enjoyed its blessings and shade but were not there when it called for them.

The homeland is for those who rose from all walks of life and affiliations when their homeland needed them, even though they were wronged at times. This is the time for giving and their giving has been without bounds. Some were honored with martyrdom, and their blood had punctured the fake 'Spring' and shielded the people from deceit that was about to bear fruit in the beginning. Their blood has punctured what the West falsely dubbed Spring, but was a vindictive fire that sought to torch whatever came its way through an abominable sectarianism, blind hatred and loathsome partitioning. It was a Spring only for those who planned it and tried to make it a reality, which is now collapsing.

The blood of martyrs protected and will protect the homeland and the region, and will protect our territorial integrity and reinforce accord among us, while at the same time purify our society of disloyalty and treason, and keep us from moral, human and cultural downfall, which is the strongest victory. When the homeland triumphs, it does not forget those who sacrificed for its sake.

I'd like to extend my salutation to those who deserve it most: the Syrian Arab army who are shedding blood and sweat for Syria which they see uppermost. Greetings to our armed forces who are fighting the fiercest of wars and are determined to restore security and stability to the homeland through uprooting terrorism.

The armed forces have wrote down the epics of heroism thanks to their cohesion, steadfastness and national unity which reflected those of the people, thus doing citizens proud and keeping them safe. Glory to every soldier who is completing the mission of his colleagues who passed away.

I salute every single citizen who did his national duty through standing by the armed forces, each from his position. Those are the pride of Syria whose names will go down in history, for they are writing history with their blood and valor.

Sisters and brothers,

I know as you all know that what the homeland is going through is painful and difficult, and I feel the pain which is felt by most of the Syrian people over the loss of loved ones and the martyrdom of sons and relatives as the fire of the grudge has reached everyone, the pure coffins of the martyrs have entered the houses of many and I am one of them because I come from the people and will remain so. Offices of state and government are transient but the homeland is everlasting. The tears of bereaved mothers will refresh the pure souls of their

departed loved ones and burn the criminals, who stole the laugh of our children and here they are trying to steal their future in a safe, strong and stable country.

Syria will remain as it is and will return, God willing, stronger. There is no ceding rights or giving in on principles. Those who placed their bets on weakening Syria so that it might forget the Golan and its occupied lands are mistaken. The Golan is ours and Palestine is our cause for which we offered every precious thing, blood and martyrs. We will remain the supporters of resistance against the one enemy. Resistance is a culture, not individuals. Resistance is a thought and practice not concessions and seizing opportunities.

The people and state who bore the brunt of standing with the Palestinian people in their just cause for decades, despite all the challenges and costs that every Syrian citizen has paid materially and emotionally in terms of pressures and threats, cannot be but in the same place towards Palestinians.

Any attempt to implicate the Palestinians in the Syrian events is aimed at deflecting attention from the main enemy, and is stillborn. The Palestinians in Syria are doing their duty towards their second homeland like any Syrian. We are responsible, as Syrian people and state, for doing our duty towards them as towards any Syrian citizen. I salute every honest Palestinian who valued the Syrian stances and did not treat Syria as a hotel which he leaves when conditions get a little tight.

Sisters and brothers,

In spite of what has been planned against Syria and what has been done to us by those who are near before those who are far, they could never change us. Patriotism runs in our blood and Syria is the most precious of all. Your steadfastness over two years tells the whole world that Syria is impervious to collapse and the Syrian people impervious to humiliation. Steadfastness and challenge is deeply rooted in the Syrian body which we have inherited over generations. We will always be like that. Hand in hand we will move ahead despite all the wounds, taking Syria to a brighter and stronger future. We will move forward and we will not be frightened by their bullets or panicked by their hatred because we have rights and God is always with the right.

Bashar al-Assad

Summary:

The main purpose of our subject is to examine the functions of language used in Arabic political speeches as a tool of communication to gain political advantages. The analysis will mainly depend on six language functions: Referential, Expressive, Connative, Phatic, Poetic and Metalingual.

The corpus consists in a certain number of selected language functions from El- Assad speech which are translated from Arabic into English and to which we have made a simple analysis by referring to Functional Approach, relying on SKOPOS theory of Vermeer and K. Raiss Text-Typology and studying communication in political speech and we have compiled a set of results from our analysis of the translation.

Key- words: Language functions, Skopos theory, K. Raiss Text-Typology, political speeches.

المخلص

يقوم موضوعنا على ترجمة وظائف اللغة المستعملة في الخطاب السياسي لبشار الأسد، أساسا التحليل سوف يعتمد على وظائف الإتصال الستة و هي الوظيفة المرجعية و الوظيفة التعبيرية و الوظيفة الندائية و الوظيفة الشعرية ووظيفة ما وراء اللغة،

تتمثل المدونة التي اعتمدها في عدد من وظائف اللغة في خطاب بشار الأسد و المترجمة من اللغة العربية إلى الإنجليزية ثم قمنا بالتحليل إستنادا إلى المقاربة الوظيفية و نظرية الهدف أو سكوبوس لفيميمير و تصنيف النصوص لكاترينا ريس مع دراسة وظيفة التواصل في الخطاب السياسي و أظفنا مجموعة من النتائج التي توصلنا إليها من خلال تحليلنا للترجمة.

الكلمات المفتاحية ترجمة وظائف اللغة، نظرية سكوبوس، ك. رايس أنواع النصوص، الخطاب السياسي.