

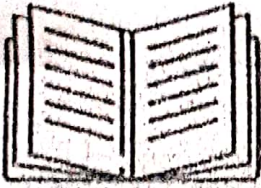
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Culture

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## HELLO EVERYONE!

Last lecture, we discussed the creation of the entity of Israel. Now we'll continue with the aftermath of the creation of the entity of Israel.

Can you tell me about the part that we will be reading about today?

**Student:** It talks about British policy and how they helped Israel and how they encouraged the Jewish immigration to Palestine. Israel refused to return the refugees. The USA, Britain, and Israel knew that these people will be absorbed inside the communities in which they lived.

**Instructor:** Very good. In Arabic we call this (التوطين).

• What about the relationship between this entity and its neighbors?

**Student:** It was a bad relationship.

• What have they thought of that relationship?

It's either peace or war. The free governments believed that eventually they will all either reach a permanent peace with the Arab States or a status of *modus vivendi* which means a status of coexistence. You coexist with your enemies because you know that you can't defeat your enemies and your enemies know that they can't defeat you.

**Student:** Why did they use the expression "modus vivendi" although it is Latin?

**Instructor:** It is a Latin expression but it is used in English to express this state specifically; the state of two enemies that are coexisting with each other.

• What about Egypt?

**Student:** Egypt demanded to change the agreement of 1936 with Britain. This led to severe fighting between British forces and Egyptian guerrillas. This released a political movement in Cairo. This led to the seizure of power by a secret society of middle ranking officers.

**Instructor:** In Arabic they are called (الضباط الأحرار)

**Student:** Then they became under the control of Jamal Abd al-Naser. Egypt became a republic not a kingdom. This gave it a the strength to return to the discussion of the two issues that they failed to discuss previously which were the issue of Sudan and the military presence of Britain in the Canal Zone. Concerning Sudan, Egypt could make an agreement with the new parties that emerged in Sudan. Those parties had three tendencies: the first one wanted independence with stronger relationships with Britain, the second one wanted independence with closer relationships with Egypt, and the third one spoke for people who



were not Muslims and not Arabs.

**Instructor:** You see that the problem of the south Sudan is an old problem; it's not recent.

**Student:** Britain withdrew from the Canal Zone. After Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Lebanon got their independence; other countries were encouraged to seek their independence.

• What do you know about the agreement of 1936? (It's called the Anglo-Egyptian treaty)

According to this agreement, British forces were to withdraw from Egypt except the Suez Canal, Britain would support and train the Egyptian army, and there was an agreement to defend that army and defend Egypt in case of war. This treaty lasted for about 20 years.

When the society of middle ranking officers took over the power, this treaty was set aside and they renegotiated. This renegotiation in 1946 left the issue of Sudan and the issue of the Suez Canal at a cliffhanger.

Later on, when this movement gained more power in Egypt, they negotiated again, and they agreed to withdraw British forces from the Suez Canal. They agreed that British forces would return to the military base in the Suez Canal in case of war. They included Turkey in the agreement.

• What does the inclusion of Turkey signify?

It signifies the interest of the USA and Western Europe in Egypt as opposed to Soviet Union. They wanted to build a line of defense.

Let us start reading:

**Public opinion in the Arab countries was much affected by these events. They were regarded as a defeat for the Arab governments. They were also generally thought of as a victory for the British, who had succeeded in withdrawing their officials and soldiers from the country without loss.**

- 'regarded': اعتبرت
- 'defeat': هزيمة
- 'upheavals': ثورات/اضطرابات
- 'the prevalent opinion': الرأي السائد
- 'encouraged 'Jewish' immigration': شجعت الهجرة اليهودية
- 'it's implications': مضامينها (أي مضامين الهجرة)
- subjection: عرضة للإخضاع
- dispossession: تجريد من الملكية
- damage: ضرر



- 'for its part': من جانبها
- 'feeling ashamed': تشعر بالخجل
- attitude: موقف
- conduct: تصرف، سلوك

كان الرأي العام في الأقطار العربي متأثراً جداً بهذه الأحداث فقد اعتبرت هزيمة للحكومات العربية. وكانت أيضاً يتم التفكير بها على أنها انتصار للبريطانيين الذين نجحوا بسحب موظفيهم وجنودهم من البلاد دون خسارة.

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In the Arab countries, the prevalent opinion was that British policy in effect had helped the Zionists; having encouraged 'Jewish' immigration, the government [i.e. the British government] had not been willing to accept its implications for the Arabs, and either stops it before it would lead to their subjection or dispossession, or at least try to limit the damage it would cause.

The United States for its part was seen to have acted throughout in support of the Zionists without feeling ashamed of this attitude and conduct.

- the prevalent opinion: الرأي السائد
- its implications: مضامينها (أي مضامين الهجرة)
- subjection: عرضة للإخضاع
- dispossession: تجريد من الملكية
- damage: ضرر
- for its part: من جانبها
- feeling ashamed: تشعر بالخجل
- attitude: موقف
- conduct: تصرف، سلوك

في البلاد العربية كان الرأي السائد أن السياسة البريطانية في تأثيرها ساعدت الصهاينة، فقد شجعت الهجرة اليهودية وكانت الحكومة البريطانية غير راغبة في قبول مضامينها بالنسبة للعرب وإما أن توقفها قبل أن تؤدي إلى إخضاعهم والسيطرة عليهم أو طردهم أو على الأقل تحاول أن تحدد الخسارة التي سوف تسببها.

الولايات المتحدة من جانبها كانت ترى تعمل من خلال دعمها للصهاينة دون أن تشعر بالخجل من هذا الميل وسلوك.

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The first two lines of this paragraph talk about "these events", which



events?

The events of 1948.

In the last two lines, "the British policy in effect" means the active policy not the static policy. This policy helped the Zionists do these things.

- What about the American position?

**Student:** They supported the Zionists and they didn't feel ashamed of it.

The 'Israeli' government, in which the dominant figure was David Ben Gurion (1886 - 1973), refused to take back any substantial number of Arab refugees; but it was generally accepted by the British, American and 'Israeli' governments that they would sooner or later be absorbed into the population of the countries where they had found refuge, and that if not peace, then at least a stable modus vivendi between 'Israel' and its neighbours might be achieved.

- 'the dominant figure': the most important person (الشخصية المسيطرة أو الأبرز)
- 'any substantial number': any considerable number. (عدد معقول)
- substantial: كبير
- absorb: يستوعب
- refugee: لاجئ
- refuge: ملجأ، ملاذ
- modus vivendi: an arrangement allowing conflicting parties to coexist peacefully. تسوية مؤقتة بدون اتفاقية سلام أو هدنة رسمية، أي لا حرب ولا سلام.

رفضت الحكومة الإسرائيلية التي كان فيها ديفيد بن غوريون (1886-1973) هو الشخصية المسيطرة أن تعيد أي عدد معتبر من اللاجئين العرب ولكن ذلك كان مقبولاً من جانب الحكومة البريطانية والأمريكية والإسرائيلية عموماً بحيث أنهم عاجلاً أم آجلاً يمكن أن يذوبوا داخل المجتمع السكاني في البلاد التي وجدوا ملجأ فيها وإن لم يكن ذلك بداعي السلم فليكن على الأقل كتسوية مؤقتة وطريقة للعيش بين إسرائيل وجيرانها يمكن أن يتحقق.

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In the meantime, the main energies of the government of 'Israel' were given to the task of absorbing large numbers of 'Jewish' immigrants, not only from Eastern Europe but also from the Arab countries. This changed the structure of the population. Much of the land which had belonged to Arabs was taken, by different legal means, for Jewish settlement.

- in the meantime: في هذه الأثناء
- task: واجب، مهمة



- absorbing: استيعاب، استقطاب

- structure: بنية

- Here, "legal means" means (عن طريق شراء الأراضي والبيوت وما إلى ذلك).

في نفس الوقت فإن الطاقات الرئيسية لحكومة إسرائيل قد سخرت لمهمة استيعاب أعداد كبيرة من المهاجرين اليهود ليس القادمين فقط من أوروبا الشرقية ولكن أيضاً من البلاد العربية. وهذا غير التركيبة السكانية. معظم الأراضي التي كانت مملوكة للعرب أخذت بواسطة طرق غير شرعية مختلفة من أجل توطين اليهود.

The most important idea here is that in 1948, most of the Arab population had to leave their lands and homes. This entity was established and it became a state. This state refused to take those refugees back. This state was going to coexist either in a permanent peace or in a *modus vivendi* state. In the meantime, they encouraged and made it possible for large numbers of Jewish people to come to the area.

**Although Arab citizens of 'Israel' had theoretically some legal and political rights, they did not fully belong to the national community which was taking shape. The movement of population into 'Israel' had an impact in Arab states as well.**

**In the generation after 1948 the ancient 'Jewish' communities of the Arab countries virtually ceased to exist; those from Yemen and Iraq moved mainly to 'Israel'; those from Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib to Europe and North America as well as to 'Israel'; only the 'Jewish' community of Morocco continued to be of significant size.**

- theoretically: نظرياً

- taking shape: يتشكل

- impact: تأثير

- virtually: nearly, almost

- ceased to exist: disappeared

ورغم أن المواطنين العرب في إسرائيل لهم بعض الحقوق الشرعية والسياسية نظرياً إلا أنهم لا ينتمون بصورة متكاملة إلى المجتمع القومي الذي كان يتشكل. وكان للحركة السكانية إلى إسرائيل أثر في الدول العربية كذلك.

في الجيل الذي جاء بعد سنة ١٩٤٨ توقفت المجتمعات اليهودية القديمة عن الظهور فأولئك الذين عاشوا في اليمن والعراق انتقلوا بصورة رئيسية إلى إسرائيل وأولئك الذين عاشوا في سوريا، مصر والمغرب هاجروا إلى أوروبا وأمريكا الشمالية وكذلك إلى إسرائيل. فقط المجتمع اليهودي في المغرب استمر في أن يكون ذا حجم مميز.

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- What is the idea here?

**Student:** The demographical change in the Arab World.

**Instructor:** Yes, and there is more. The Arab citizens who remained in Palestine were not fully absorbed in the local community that emerged because they were racist communities.

Jewish communities in other countries virtually disappeared. They went either to Palestine or to Europe, North America, and other places in the world. In Morocco, Jewish communities continued to exist in substantial numbers.

*The most important idea here is that Jewish societies in Arab countries except for Morocco ceased to exist, and Arab citizens in Palestine were never absorbed in the local community.*

In the next few years, another kind of political conflict was added to the Arab-Israeli conflict but in other countries in which Britain still had a special position: Iran, beyond the eastern boundary of the Arab World, where nationalization of the British-owned oil company caused an international crisis, and Egypt. Here Britain still had much freedom of action.

Having differed from British policy in Palestine, the United States was not disposed to weaken the position of Britain as guardian of western interests in other parts of the Arab World, although the large investment of American capital in the oil fields of Saudi Arabia did lead to the replacement of British by American influence there.

The Soviet Union, for its part, was too fully occupied with other regions to follow an active policy in the Arab countries. The Arab states, although committed in principle to the defence of the interests of Palestinians, were mainly concerned with their own problems.

في السنوات القليلة التالية أضيف نوع آخر من الصراع السياسي إلى الصراع العربي - الإسرائيلي ولكن في أقطار أخرى، حيث كان لبريطانيا وضع خاص مثل إيران (التي تقع وراء الحد الشرقي للعالم العربي حيث سبب تأمين شركة البترول المملوكة لبريطانيا أزمة عالمية) ومصر. هنا كانت بريطانيا لا تزال لديهم قدر كبير من حرية العمل. ولأن المسألة تختلف عن سياسة بريطانيا في فلسطين فإن الولايات المتحدة لم تكن ميالة إلى إضعاف مركز بريطانيا كوصية على المصالح الغربية في الأجزاء الأخرى من العالم العربي رغم أن حجم الاستثمار الكبير بالنسبة لرأس المال الأمريكي في حقول البترول في السعودية أدى إلى إحلال النفوذ الأمريكي مكان بريطانيا هناك. الاتحاد السوفييتي من جانبه كان مشغولاً جداً بمناطق أخرى لمتابعة سياسة نشطة في العالم



العربي: الدول العربية رغم أنها تعهدت مبدئياً بالدفاع عن مصالح الفلسطينيين إلا أنها كانت مهتمة بشكل رئيسي بحمايتهم الخاصة.

When I was reading the first sentence, I was puzzled. If you delete the statement between commas, you get the meaning.

Do you remember the Anglo-American agreement? The weaker part would protect their interests.

The American policy undermined the position of Britain in some parts of the world, especially in Palestine. They did not wish to undermine the British interests in the east. Yet, they replaced the British in Saudi Arabia because of the large investments.

• What about the Soviet Union?

They were occupied in other parts of the world, mainly Cuba.

• What about the Arab countries?

Student: They had their own problems.

Instructor: Although in principle they were committed to the Palestinian question, the Arab countries had their own problems.

The basis of British power in the Arab East had always been the military presence in Egypt, and it was here that Britain found itself faced with the most urgent problem. As soon as the war ended, there was a demand by the Egyptian government for a change in the agreement which had been reached in 1936.

- basis: قاعدة

- the military presence: الوجود العسكري

- face: يواجه

- urgent: ملج / عاجل

- demand: مطلب، مطلب

كانت قاعدة القوة البريطانية في الشرق العربي دائماً تواجهها العسكري في مصر ومن هنا وجدت بريطانيا نفسها تواجه أكثر مشكلة طارئة. فما أن انتهت الحرب كانت هناك مطالب من الحكومة المصرية لتغيير الاتفاقية التي كانوا قد توصلوا إليها في سنة ١٩٣٦،

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Negotiations between the two governments took place from 1946 onwards, but failed on two points: first, the Egyptian claim to sovereignty over the Sudan, a claim which the British government did not accept, in the belief that most Sudanese would not accept it and that Britain had obligations to them and secondly, the question of the British strategic position in the country.



In pursuance of the treaty of 1936, British forces were withdrawn from Cairo and the delta, but there was a deadlock in regard to the Canal Zone. British statesmen and strategists thought it was essential to remain there in strength, both for the defence of western interests in the Arab East and for that of British interests in the eastern Mediterranean and Africa.

- negotiations: المفاوضات
- sovereignty: السيادة
- obligations: تعهدات والتزامات
- the question: مسألة / قضية
- 'pursuance': the act of pursuing something (متابعة)
- 'deadlock': a situation in which no progress can be made; a big problem (مأزق أو ورطة أو إخفاق في الوصول إلى تسوية)
- the Canal Zone: منطقة القناة (قناة السويس)
- "In pursuance of the treaty of 1936" means: في محاولات إيجاد صيغة جديدة لمعاهدة عام 1936
- 'essential': very important.

تمت المفاوضات بين الحكومتين من سنة 1936 فصاعداً ولكنها فشلت في نقطتين: الأولى - مطالبة المصريين بالسيادة على السودان وهي دعوى لم تقبلها الحكومة البريطانية ظناً منها أن غالبية السودانيين لن يقبلوا ذلك وأن بريطانيا عندها تمهيدات والتزامات معهم. وثانياً - مسألة المركز الاستراتيجي البريطاني في القطر. متابعاً لمعاهدة سنة 1936 فقد انسحبت القوات البريطانية من القاهرة والدلتا ولكن كان هناك مأزق بالنسبة لقناة السويس فقد اعتقد الرجال الدولة البريطانية والاستراتيجيين أنه كان ضرورياً أن يبقوا هناك بشكل قوي من أجل الدفاع عن المصالح الغربية في الشرق العربي وكذلك من أجل المصالح البريطانية في شرق البحر المتوسط وإفريقيا.

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The military presence of Britain in Egypt was a strategic advantage for Britain to protect its interests in North Africa and the Mediterranean.

In 1936, they reached an agreement with the Egyptians; British forces were to withdraw from Egypt except for the delta zone. They agreed to maintain 10 thousand British troops in the delta zone with some administrative features.

After WWII ended, the Egyptians started to demand for their independence. They negotiated with the British from 1946, but they failed.

They didn't reach an agreement in several points here:



- The first point is the issue of Sudan. The Sudanese would not accept the Egyptian rule over them. Moreover, the British had obligations to the Sudanese.

- The second point is the British position in the country.

In 1951, serious fighting broke out between British forces and Egyptian guerrillas, and in January 1952 this touched off a popular movement in Cairo in which installations associated with the British presence were destroyed; the breakdown of order in its turn gave the opportunity for the seizure of power in July 1952 by a secret society of Egyptian officers of middle rank, at first with a corporate leadership and then under the domination of Jamal Abd al-Nazir (1918 -70).

The break with the past, which was to show itself in many spheres, was symbolized by the deposition of the king and the proclamation of Egypt as a republic.

- 'broke out': started; بدأت
- 'Egyptian guerrillas': الفدائيين أو الثوار المصريين
- In English, we also have the term "guerrillas warfare" which means (حرب عصابات)
- touched off: turned into
- installations: positions or establishments (نقاط تواجد أو تمرکز)
- 'the breakdown of order': حالة الاضطراب وانتشار الفوضى (ضد المستعمر)
- 'secret society': تجمع أو جمعية أو حركة سرية
- 'officers middle-rank': ضباط ذوي الرتب المتوسطة
- 'corporate leadership': قيادة مشتركة (أي قيادة مشتركة للثورة)
- 'the break with the past': تبتذ الماضي أو قطع الصلات مع الماضي
- 'deposition': خلع الملك
- 'to depose': (يخلع ملكاً)
- the proclamation of Egypt as a republic: إعلان مصر كجمهورية

في سنة ١٩٥١ نشب قتال عنيف بين القوات البريطانية و الفدائيين المصريين و في كانون الثاني سنة ١٩٥٢ تحولت إلى حركة شعبية في القاهرة حيث تم تدمير منشآت مرتبطة بالتواجد البريطاني. هذا الاضطراب في النظام بدوره أعطى الفرصة للاستيلاء على السلطة في تموز سنة ١٩٥٢ من قبل التنظيم السري للضباط المصريين ذوي الرتب المتوسطة. في البداية عن طريق قيادة مشتركة وبعد ذلك تحت قيادة جمال عبد الناصر (١٩١٨ - ١٩٧٠).

وكان الانفصال مع الماضي الذي يظهر نفسه في وجوه عديدة قد تمثل في طريق خلع الملك و إعلان مصر كجمهورية.



"British installations" means things built by the British. Something installed is something prepared somewhere and put here.

The most important idea here is that the fighting broke between the British and the Egyptians militias. This upheaval gave the opportunity to the secret society of free officers who seized power and disposed the king. They had a corporate leadership at first. Later on, they were led by Jamal Abd al-Nasser. Egypt has become a republic rather than a kingdom.

Having firmer control over the country than previous governments, the military rulers were able to resume negotiations with the British. Of the two main issues, that of the Sudan was removed when the Egyptian government reached a direct agreement with the main Sudanese parties in 1953.

Political movements in the Sudan had been able to express themselves more freely after an elected Legislative Assembly was created in 1947 and three main forces had appeared; those who wished for independence and the preservation of a link with Britain, those who wished for independence and a closer link with Egypt, and those who spoke for the non-Muslim, non-Arab peoples of the south.

-elected: منتخبة

-legislative: تشريعية

-preservation: المحافظة على (أو الإبقاء على)

-a link: صلة

-- 'spoke for': تحدثوا باسم

عندما سيطر الحكام العسكريون على البلاد بشكل قوي أكثر من الحكومات السابقة كانوا قادرين على استئناف المفاوضات مع البريطانيين. ومن القضايا الرئيسية التي تم الغاء مسألة السودان عندما توصلت الحكومة المصرية إلى اتفاقية مباشرة مع الأحزاب السودانية الرئيسية في سنة ١٩٥٣. وكانت الحركات السياسية في السودان قادرة عن التعبير عن أنفسهم بحرية أكبر بعد انتخاب جمعية تشريعية أوجدت في سنة ١٩٤٧ وظهرت ثلاث قوى رئيسية: أولئك الذين كانوا يتوقون إلى الاستقلال والمحافظة على العلاقات مع بريطانيا. ثم أولئك الذين رغبوا في الاستقلال مع إقامة صلات وثيقة مع مصر. والقوة الثالثة هي هم من غير المسلمين و غير العرب من شعوب الجنوب.

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The agreement made with Egypt involved the first two of these and it was accepted by Britain, although with some reluctance. It was agreed that power should be transferred from the Anglo-Egyptian condominium to the Sudanese under international



supervision.

Elections were held in the same year, and by 1955 the process was completed; the administration was in Sudanese hands and British and Egyptian armed forces were withdrawn.

The largest shadow over the future was thrown by the beginning of revolt and guerrilla warfare in the southern provinces, where the population, being neither Arab nor Muslim, was apprehensive of the results of being transferred from British to Arab rule.

--'agreement': اتفاقية/معاهدة

-involved: تضمنت

-reluctance: معارضة، كُره

-transferred: تحول، تنقل

-'condominium': control

-(The joint control of a state's affairs by other states): (السيادة أو الوصاية المشتركة)

-supervision: إشراف

وقد تضمنت الاتفاقية التي تم التوصل إليها مع مصر الفريقين الأولين وقد وافقت بريطانيا على ذلك رغم وجود بعض التردد، وقد تمت الموافقة أن السيادة يجب أن تنتقل من السيادة المشتركة الأنجلو مصرية إلى السودانيين تحت إشراف دولي. تمت الانتخابات في نفس العام. ومع حلول سنة 1955 كانت العملية قد اكتملت وأصبحت الإدارة في أيدي السودانيين وقد انسحبت القوات المسلحة البريطانية والمصرية. وكان أعظم ظل بالنسبة للمستقبل قد ظهر مع بداية الثورة وعمليات التمرد في المناطق الجنوبية حيث السكان كونهم لا عرب ولا مسلمون كانوا خائفين من نتائج الانتقال من الحكم البريطاني إلى الحكم العربي.

This new government in Egypt, the republican government, continued the negotiations with Britain. They were negotiating the two issues.

The first issue (the Sudanese issue) was resolved because three main parties emerged in Sudan:

- Those who favored independence and closer relationships with Britain.

- Those who favored independence and the closer relationships with Egypt.

- Those who spoke for the non-Arab and the non-Muslim people in the south.

Egypt reached an agreement with the first two parties; the third party was not happy about it. Yet, the Egyptians, the Sudanese, and the British agreed to withdraw British forces and Egyptian forces from Sudan and to



hand over the power to the Sudanese. This spurred conflict in the southern part of Sudan. Thus, the first point was resolved.

With the Sudanese problem resolved, negotiations on the other issue that of Britain's strategic position went ahead, and agreement was reached in 1954. British forces were to be withdrawn from the Canal Zone, and more than seventy years of British occupation would come to an end.

But it was agreed that the base could be brought into active use if there were an attack on Egypt, another Arab state, or Turkey.

- went ahead: continued

- could be brought into active use: يمكن جلبها أو وضعها للاستخدام الفعال.

وما أن تم حل مشكلة السودانى مضت المفاوضات بالنسبة للقضية الأخرى " حول الوضع الاستراتيجى لبريطانيا" هدماً وتم التوصل إلى اتفاقية في سنة ١٩٥٤ حيث كان على القوات البريطانية أن تنسحب من قناة السويس وأن تنتهي أكثر من سبعين سنة من الاحتلال البريطانى. ولكن كان الاتفاق أن القاعدة يمكن تفعيلها إذا كان هناك حرب في مصر أو أي دولة عربية أخرى أو تركيا.

\*\*\*\*\*

The inclusion of Turkey was an expression of British and American concern for the defence of western interests in the Middle East against a possible threat from Russia: various plans for a Middle Eastern defence pact were being discussed, and Egypt's willingness to include mention of Turkey in the agreement seemed to indicate that it might be willing to join in.

- inclusion: احتواء

- concern: اهتمام

- a possible threat: تهديد محتمل

- pact: معاهدة

- willingness: غير راغب

- to indicate: يوضح، يدل على

انضمام تركيا كان تعبيراً عن الاهتمام البريطانى والأمريكى في الدفاع عن المصالح الغربية في الشرق الأوسط ضد أي تهديد محتمل من روسيا. تمت مناقشة خطط متنوعة من معاهدة الدفاع عن الشرق المتوسط و رغبة مصر على ذكر اسم تركيا في الاتفاقية بدا كأنه يوضح أنها ترغب في الانضمام إلى الاتفاقية.

\*\*\*\*\*

They continued the negotiations and reached an agreement. The British



forces were to withdraw from the Canal Zone with the base to be active again in case of attack on Egypt or Arab states or Turkey. They included Turkey because they are building a line of defense.

The end of foreign occupation in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and the Sudan made it difficult for Iraq and Jordan to accept less than what they had obtained. In Iraq, the regime which had been restored by the British intervention in 1941 was anxious to retain a strategic link with the western powers; it was more aware of the proximity of Russia than were other Arab countries.

In 1948, an attempt was made to renegotiate the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 on these lines, but failed because of opposition from those who wished Iraq to be less committed to the western alliance.

نهاية الاحتلال الأجنبي في سوريا، لبنان، مصر والسودان جعلت من الصعب على العراق و الأردن أن يقبلوا أقل مما حصلوا عليه. في العراق كان النظام الذي أعيد نتيجة التدخل البريطاني سنة ١٩٤١ قلقاً من أجل الحفاظ على الصلة الاستراتيجية مع القوى الغربية و كان أكثر حرصاً وإدراكاً حول التقرب من روسيا أكثر مما كانت عليه الأقطار العربية الأخرى. في سنة ١٩٤٨ جرت محاولة لإعادة المفاوضات على المعاهدة العراقية - الإنكليزية التي تمت سنة ١٩٣٠ على هذه الخطوط و لكنها فشلت بسبب معارضة أولئك الذين زعموا في أن يكون العراق أقل انخراطاً في التحالف الغربي .

Then, in 1955, the government made an agreement with Turkey to set up a common defence and economic pact (The Baghdad Pact); Pakistan, Iran and Britain joined it, and the United States later began to participate in its work. In the context of this pact, an agreement was with Britain by which the two British air-bases were handed over to Iraq, but Britain agreed to give assistance if there were an attack on Iraq, or the threat of one, and if Iraq asked for help.

ثم في سنة ١٩٥٥ وقعت الحكومة اتفاقية مع تركيا من أجل إرساء معاهدة دفاع و اقتصاد ( حلف بغداد ) و انضمت باكستان و إيران و بريطانيا إلى الاتفاقية و بدأت الولايات المتحدة فيما بعد بالاشتراك في أعمالها . و في سياق هذه المعاهدة تم توقيع اتفاقية مع بريطانيا تم بموجبها تسليم القاعدتين الجوييتين إلى العراق و وافقت بريطانيا على تقديم المساعدة إذا كان هناك هجوم على العراق أو خطر من أي دولة وإذا طاب العراق المساعدة.

\*\*\*\*\*



Remember that during the war, the British government reinstalled a political party in Iraq. This idea is brought up again here.

After the independence of Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, and Sudan, and Iraq, Jordan would not accept less than independence.

We said earlier that the sense of unity was broken after the defeat of 1967. The Arab countries sought support from western superpowers. This idea is appearing here again.

There were two movements in Iraq:

- One that favored the relationships with the west.
- One that favored the proximity of Russia and the Arab countries.

In 1955, the Iraqi government made an agreement with Turkey. That agreement was a common defense and economic pact. The USA also joined them in one way or another.

Britain had two airbases in Iraq that were handed to the Iraqi government by means of this agreement. Britain agreed to help Iraq if there was an attack or a threat to it, and if Iraq asked for help.

Student: do we have to memorize the treaties?

Instructor: No, you have to know only the main ideas. In Iraq, they agreed to a common defense and economic pact. In Egypt, they agreed to withdraw forces except for the Canal. Later on, they had an issue with Sudan. You have to know how the issue of Sudan was resolved and the transformation of Egypt from a kingdom to a republic. You might if you like mention the three points of the common defense pact in Iraq: the attack, the threat, and if Iraq asked for help.

**In Jordan, there was a similar situation of a regime anxious for help against dangers from outside - from its Arab neighbours and also from the so-called 'Israel' (but under pressure from nationalist public opinion). After 1948, the country had a majority of Palestinians, who looked upon 'Israel' as their main enemy and watched for any sign that the regime was making concessions to it.**

في الأردن كان هناك وضع مشابه لنظام قلق من أجل المساعدة ضد الأخطار الخارجية - من جيرانه العرب وأيضاً ما يسمى "إسرائيل" (لكن تحت ضغط الرأي العام الوطني). بعد عام ١٩٤٨ كان في البلد أغلبية من الفلسطينيين الذين كانوا ينظرون إلى إسرائيل على أنها عدوهم الرئيسي و يترقبون أي إشارة من النظام إذا قام بأي تنازلات لها.

\*\*\*\*\*

**In 1951, King Abdullah was assassinated, a mark of nationalist suspicion that he was more accommodating towards the "Israelis"**



and their western sponsors than seemed wise and right. The uneasy balance shifted for a time in favour of complete independence.

في سنة ١٩٥١ اغتيل الملك عبد الله و كانت تلك علامة من علامات الشك القومي أنه كان على صلة أكثر مع الإسرائيليين ومن يرمى مصالحهم من الغربيين أكثر مما يبدو أنه الحق والحكمة. التوازن غير المستقر انتقل لمدة من الزمن لصالح الاستقلال التام.

\*\*\*\*\*

In 1957, the treaty with Britain was brought to an end by agreement and British forces were withdrawn from the bases which they had occupied; but it was a sign of the precarious position of Jordan and of the Hashemite regime that in the same year the British and American governments declared that the independence and integrity of the country were of vital interest to them.

في سنة ١٩٥٧ أنهيت المعاهدة مع بريطانيا عن طريق اتفاقية وانسحبت القوات البريطانية من القواعد التي كانت قد احتلتها ولكنها كانت علامة على عدم استقرار الأوضاع في الأردن والنظام الهاشمي بحيث أنه في نفس العام أعلنت الحكومات البريطانية الأمريكية أن استقلال ووحدة البلد كانت من المصالح الحيوية بالنسبة لهم.

\*\*\*\*\*

We had a similar movement in Jordan, but the Jordan government had more tendencies to tolerate British and Israeli interests. They would not recognize the Palestinian issue unless under the pressure from the inside and from the great presence of Palestinian refugees in Jordan.

King Abdullah was assassinated as a sign of this nationalist movement because he had suspiciously and unwisely tolerated this policy with Britain and Israel.

There was a treaty between Jordan and Britain to maintain military presence of British forces in Jordan but this treaty was renegotiated again and finally the British withdrew from Jordan and it was declared as an independent country.

In the Maghrib, it was more difficult for France to come to terms with the demand for independence. The French presence there was not only a matter of armies or the domination of metropolitan economic interests, but of the large French communities who lived there, controlled the profitable sectors of the economy and held the greater number of positions in the government at all, except the lowest levels.



- to come to terms with: to accept; مع تتقبل أو تتعاطى مع
- domination: سيطرة
- "metropolitan economic interests": the main or principal economic interests.
- profitable: (derived from the word 'profit'): المربحة
- the profitable sectors of the economy: القطاعات المربحة للاقتصاد
- positions in the government: المناصب الحكومية

في المغرب كان الوضع أكثر صعوبة بالنسبة لفرنسا للوصول إلى الشروط التي تتفق مع مطالب الاستقلال. كان الوجود الفرنسي ليس مسألة جيوش فحسب أو السيطرة والتحكم في المصالح الاقتصادية الكلية ولكنه مسألة المجتمعات الفرنسية الواسعة التي كانت تعيش هناك والتي كانت تسيطر على قطاعات الربح المنتجة للاقتصاد والتي ضمت العدد الأكبر من المراكز في الحكومة على الإطلاق، ما عدا المستويات المتدنية.

\*\*\*\*\*

To bring about any change in the relations of French and Arabs involved a greater effort and met with stronger resistance. The efforts began in Tunisia and Morocco as soon as the war was over.

In Tunisia, the Neo-Destour Party had the moral advantage that its leader, Bourguiba, had given unequivocal support to the Free French and their allies while in exile or prison during the war, and the material strength derived from the combination of the party and the trade-union federation, founded after the war when Tunisians were allowed to join unions for the first time.

- 'to bring about any change': to create a change in the status quo.
- resistance: مقاومة (مقاومة من قبل فرنسا لجهود الاستقلال في المغرب)
- It is the efforts of getting independence. (جهود الاستقلال)
- the moral advantage: الميزة المعنوية أو الأخلاقية
- unequivocal: صريح
- exile: منفى
- derived from: مشتق من
- combination: مزج، ضم
- federation: اتحاد

ولكي يتم التوصل إلى تغييرات في العلاقات بين فرنسا والعرب بذلت جهود كبيرة وقوبلت بمقاومة أقوى. وبدأت الجهود في تونس والمغرب حالما انتهت الحرب. في تونس كان للحزب الدستوري الجديد الميزة المعنوية بحيث أن زعيمها "يو رقيبة" قد أعطى دعماً لا ليس فيه لحكومة فرنسا الحرة وحلفائها. بينما كان في المنفى أو السجن أثناء الحرب. وكانت



القوة المادية المستقاة من اتحاد الحزب مع اتحاد التجارة قد تأسست بعد الحرب عندما سمح للتونسيين أن ينضموا إلى اتحادات لأول مرة.

\*\*\*\*\*

In Morocco, strength came from a combination of several elements. The small nationalist groups which had appeared in the 1930s organized themselves into the Independence Party Istiqlal, and established relations with the sultan, Muhammad V (1927-61), who began discreetly to demand the end of the French protectorate.

The idea of independence began to touch wider strata of society: a trade-union federation was formed and the Istiqlal (Independence) party was able to establish control over it; the rural migration into Casablanca and other cities created stronger links between city and countryside and encouraged the spread of nationalist ideas.

The presence of foreign commercial interests protected by international treaty since the beginning of the century, and a new American strategic interest, gave the nationalists some hope of a certain sympathy from outside.

- Independence Party Istiqlal: حزب الاستقلال
- discreetly: cautiously and slowly (بهدوء)
- the French protectorate: نظام الحماية أو الوصاية الفرنسي
- The word "strata" is the plural of the word "stratum" which means here 'a level or a class of society'.  
-- 'strata': شريحة
- 'wider strata of society': more classes in society.
- presence: حضور، وجود

في المغرب جاءت القوة من التضامن بين عناصر متنوعة . المجموعات القومية الصغيرة التي ظهرت في الثلاثينيات من القرن الماضي نظمت نفسها تحت اسم حزب الاستقلال. وأقامت علاقات مع السلطان محمد الخامس (1928-1961) والذي بدأ في المطالبة بإنهاء نظام الحماية الفرنسي. بدأت فكرة الاستقلال تمس شريحة واسعة من المجتمع. اتحاد التجارة كان قد تشكل وحزب الاستقلال بإمكانه أن يتولى رقبته، والهجرة الريفية إلى الدار البيضاء والمدن الأخرى خلقت صلات أقوى بين المدينة والريف وشجعت على انتشار الأفكار القومية. وجود المصالح التجارية الأجنبية التي كانت تحميها المعاهدة الدولية منذ بداية القرن والمصالح الأمريكية الاستراتيجية الجديدة أعطى القوميون بعض الأمل بتعاطف معين من الخارج.

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- What are the main ideas here?

**Student:** They are telling us why it was more difficult for the French to accept the withdrawal like Britain. That is because there is a large community of French people who controlled important positions in local governments.

**Instructor:** Exactly. As a matter of fact, all high ranking officials were French and the low ranking officials were local.

- When the author here says "in the Maghrib", what does he refer to? He is referring to Tunisia, Libya, Algeria, and Morocco.

- Where did the movement start?

In Tunisia.

- What happened?

The Neo-Destour party gave support to the Free French and their allies while in exile or in prison during the WWII.

In the WWII, France was defeated and the main lands were occupied by Germany. The new French government ruled from French occupied lands before the war, and they considered those lands as exile. Some of them were imprisoned by the Germans.

The trade-union federation means (الاتحاد التجاري الفيدرالي). Federation is a sort of union of several states where each state has its own sovereignty and its own laws and governments. The USA is an example of a federation. For international relations, they have one representative committee.

Tunisia was allowed to join the union for the first time. This union gave the Tunisians strength and they gained their independence.

In Morocco, the strength came from a combination of several elements:

- The small nationalist groups organized themselves into the Independence Party (Istiqlal) and established relations with the sultan Muhammad the 5<sup>th</sup>

- They began to demand the end of French protectorate.

- The idea of independence began to touch wider strata of society. (Strata means layer of society.)

- The Istiqlal party was able to rule over the trade-union federation in Morocco

- The rural migration to Casablanca and other cities encouraged nationalist ideas.

- Treaties with the Muslim World gave Moroccans a feeling that the western world would sympathize with their cause.



Cross over from page 110 to page 115 because I don't think that the Maghrib countries are independent. The Suez crisis is important.

We will try to briefly cover the Suez crisis. I'm going to summarize it for you next time.

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ملاحظة هامة جداً:  
نوع امتحان مادة الثقافة ٢: مؤتمت (وليس تقليدي)  
موعد الامتحان الاثنين ٥ أيلول ٢٠٢٢ الساعة ١٢.

Thank you

...

احذر المحاضرات المبروقة  
[مكتبة العائدي لا تنشر محاضراتها على الإنترنت، ونحن لا نتحمل مسؤولية أي  
نقص أو تشويه أو تزوير نجده في تلك المحاضرات. فالمرجع الرئيسي  
للمحاضرات هو المحاضرات الورقية فقط والتي يمكنك الحصول عليها من مقر  
مكتبة العائدي في المزة - نفق الآداب]

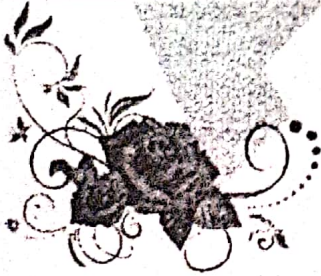


Page:

مؤسسة العائدي للخدمات الطلابية

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