

6 Political Ideology and Translation

Political and other sensitive texts are instances where ideology in its purest, or crudest, form may be at the centre of the translation process. As we indicated in chapter 2, in the Latin American macro-context covered by this book, huge political upheavals and traumas transpired in the second half of the twentieth century. This includes most notably the Cuban Revolution of 1959 which has had a marked influence on North-South relations in the Americas ever since. Stylistic analysis of the translation of the words and ideas of some of the major political leaders, thinkers, and movements could easily fill many books on its own, so we shall restrict ourselves to certain key and revealing examples as case studies of the various stylistic and ideological shifts that occur in such translations.

Although this chapter is entitled “Political Ideology and Translation,” it would be misguided to suggest that this meant that there is a clear dividing line between political and non-political texts and authors. Many novels present manifestly political topics: Miguel Angel Asturias’s *El señor presidente* (1946, translated by Frances Partridge, 1964 under the same title)¹ and García Márquez’s *El otoño del patriarca* (1975, translated by Gregory Rabassa as *The Autumn of the Patriarch*, 1976) are just two novels of dictatorship which unveil the brutality behind such regimes. Many of the central literary figures have themselves been heavily involved in the political struggle. In the blossoming of the Cuban Revolution, the Boom writers initially demonstrated a new Latin American solidarity that was later to influence politics and culture (see chapter 2); for instance, work by García Márquez, Fuentes, and Vargas Llosa figures among the key formative texts cited by the Chiapas rebel leader subcomandante Marcos (Gabriel García Márquez and subcomandante Marcos 2001). The younger Ariel Dorfman, now the figurehead of Hispanic writing in the United States, was an active militant in the Chilean Ministry of Culture under Salvador Allende. These authors continue to write political articles in the press, García Márquez remaining a close friend and supporter of Castro. Politics is therefore inextricably mixed with literature in Latin American writing. Moreover, institutional patronage has played a significant role in both north and south; while, in the 1960s, translation programmes were set

up in the United States through the Center for Inter-American Relations and the American Association of University Presses to promote U.S.–Latin America exchange as part of a general Cold War strategy (see chapter 2), the translation of many political texts from countries such as Cuba and now Venezuela has been controlled by direct political patronage in the source countries. For groups such as the Zapatista movement in Mexico, this control and dissemination now takes place thanks to the development of the Internet. Yet the translations of political texts are often unattributed or undertaken by translators who are less prominent than the major literary translators.

Since the number and range of political texts is huge, the examples discussed in this chapter can be no more than illustrative of the type of patterns and changes that may be seen in the translation of various kinds of prominent political texts from Latin America over the course of the twentieth century. Yet it is hoped that the types of texts analysed and the patterns identified might be relevant for future studies of different macro-contexts.

Any study of the translation into English of political texts from Latin America must inevitably take into account the relative strength of the two languages and most particularly the power of the United States that lies behind the English language. This is especially important when the translated text itself deals explicitly with power relations within the Americas, as is the case with the first two texts in this chapter, both of which had lasting political resonance: the philosophical essay *Ariel* written by José Enrique Rodó, which was the subject of two complete translations in the course of the century, and the best-selling anti-imperialist reading of the Disney enterprise, *Cómo leer al Pato Donald (How to Read Donald Duck)*, by Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, a book first published in 1971 by the Allende government in Chile.

Ariel, addressed to “the youth of America,” is the best-known work of the Uruguayan essayist and political thinker José Enrique Rodó (1871–1917). First published in Spanish in 1900, it adapts the story of Shakespeare’s *Tempest* to represent the opposition between the demagogic democracy of the masses (the character of Caliban) and the cultured, intellectual, and spiritual values of Ariel. The essay made an immediate impact as a clarion call for the unity of Latin America in the face of its overpowering neighbour, the United States: section five, in particular, has been the most controversial and has been interpreted as a scathing attack on the United States for the growing cultural and political influence it was exerting on Latin America. The essay is of particular relevance to our study because the different editions and translations published in English over the years reveal much about the way political concepts may be rewritten or manipulated by different forms of translation, most notably by the paratextual features of introductions and footnotes. We shall look at two interlingual translations (1922 and 1988) plus a 1929 annotated University of Chicago Press edition of the Spanish

text for students of Spanish which demonstrates considerable rewriting. It is perhaps significant that both interlingual translations were instigated by U.S. diplomats who realized the importance of the text for understanding Latin America: the first, in 1922, was carried out by F. J. Stimson, former U.S. ambassador to Argentina who, in his introduction, admits to a less than perfect understanding of the Spanish language; the new translation of 1988, by the established and respected translator Margaret Sayers Peden and published by the University of Texas Press, was instigated by James W. Symington, chief of U.S. protocol for the Johnson delegation to the Conference of American Presidents in Uruguay in 1967, where he had been struck by the Ecuadorian president's reference to Rodó's text in his keynote speech.

Ariel exerted decades-long political and philosophical influence on Latin American states and yet the number of complete translations that have been published is small. Those that have appeared have been framed with detailed introductions or footnotes that seek to impose an interpretation. Here, these paratextual elements seem to play the role attributed by Genette (1997) to both original prefaces, namely "to ensure the book gets read properly," and also to later prefaces, one of the main functions of which is to answer the critics of the earlier edition. Translation is indeed halfway between the two, since the TT presents a new edition for English-language readers but at the same time seeks to correct any prejudices or biases they may bring to a text from having read reviews or commentaries of the Spanish ST. This is particularly the case in an interesting form of rewriting, William F. Rice's 1929 editing of a version of the Spanish text for U.S. learners of the language, where he refashions Rodó's writing through a North American political and moral prism and deflects and answers criticisms of the United States. In his many English footnotes, Rice, Chair of the Spanish Department at the University of Southern California, frequently inserts blatantly evaluative comments relating to his quasi-moralistic attitude towards Latin American culture and society as a whole: for instance, he describes Rodó as being "absolutely free from any allusion of an objectionable nature so common to many writers of Spanish prose" (Rodó 1929: 11, note). Descriptions of Latin America are also presented from the superior viewpoint of the North American tourist or anthropologist, surprised, for example, at "a highly developed appreciation of art" in the South (*ibid.*: 12, note).

Typical is the way Rice deals with Rodó's neologism *deslatinizada* that appears as follows:

Es así como la visión de una América *deslatinizada* por propia voluntad, sin la extorsión de la conquista, y regenerada luego a imagen y semejanza del arquetipo del Norte, flota ya sobre los sueños de muchos sinceros interesados por nuestro porvenir. (Rodó 1900/1929: 75, emphasis in original)

[[It] is like the vision of an America delatinized by its own will, without the extortion of the conquest, and regenerated then in the image

and semblance of the archetype of the North, floats now on/above the dreams of many sincere interested [individuals] in our future.]

Here, Rodó is worried about the growing trend amongst his compatriots towards what he terms *nordomanía* (later translated by Margaret Sayers Peden as *USA-mania* [Rodó/Peden 1988: 71]) which he feels is distancing them from their Latin roots. In the footnote which accompanies the above example in the Chicago Spanish edition, Rice agrees with Rodó, but only insofar as the Latin roots signify “artistic taste, and air of ease and leisure,” an unproblematic stereotype of the South:

deslatinizada: Rodó’s contention that there are elements in the social structure that are in danger of being lost, and which ought to be preserved, is justified, as all who travel in those countries will testify. Most evident among these qualities are the politeness, artistic taste, and air of ease and leisure; while there are subtle, elusive qualities of these peoples that give them a poise and power which the North American may well envy. (Rice 1929: 75, note)

In this example, the language used by the North American Rice emphasizes the interest as being anthropological and almost akin to viewing a primitive tribe. Thus, the phrase *these peoples* is above all primed to occur in political or social science texts to refer to ‘primitive’ groups in developing countries.² The concept *deslatinizada* is italicized in the ST, indicating the word’s novelty and foreignness. Ironically, in the 1988 translation Peden follows a translation strategy of calquing the new term but not foregrounding its otherness graphically:

And this is why the vision of an America de-Latinized of its own will, without threat of conquest, and reconstituted in the image and likeness of the North, now looms in the nightmares of many who are genuinely concerned about our future. (Rodó/Peden 1988: 71)

However, Peden does maintain the ideological narrative perspective with the choice of personal pronoun *our future*. The changes in this extract occur in evaluation on the ideological perspective, through a shift in the interpersonal and rhetorical force and connotation of lexical items: the *extorsión de la conquista* is downplayed to *threat of conquest* but the dangerous atmosphere is foregrounded since the vision which *flota sobre los sueños* [‘floats above the dreams’] turns into the menacing *looms in the nightmares*. The semantic prosody of the lemma *LOOM* is predominantly negative (see Munday forthcoming), but the collocation with *nightmares* and the colligation *in the+noun* are very rare in the corpora we have examined. Indeed, only one close example, from creative writing, was found in a Google search.³ This suggests that, for Peden, the macro-stylistic criterion

of rhetorical and emotive force is the main factor behind the selection of *LOOM* and that this has outweighed other considerations of collocation and lexical priming.

A final, and significant, example from *Ariel* may serve to illustrate how the style of a text is conditioned by the perspective of the translator. It relates to Rodó's understanding of the essence of Americanism, specifically as it refers to the United States:

La concepción utilitaria, como idea del destino humano, y la igualdad en lo mediocre, como norma de la proporción social, componen, **íntimamente relacionadas**, la fórmula de lo que ha **solido** llamarse en Europa el espíritu del americanismo. (Rodó 1900/1929: 74)

[*The utilitarian conception, as an idea of human destiny, and the equality in the mediocre, as a norm of social proportion, comprise, intimately related, the formula of that which has tended to be called in Europe the spirit of Americanism.*]

The Stimson and Peden translations of this sentence are as follows:

The utilitarian conception as the idea of human destiny, and equality in the mediocre as the norm of social proportion, make up the formula which in Europe they call the spirit of Americanism. (Rodó/Stimson 1922, quoted in Torres Ríoseco 1963: 41)

The **inextricably linked** concepts of utilitarianism as a concept of human destiny and egalitarian mediocrity as a norm for social relationships compose the formula for what Europe has **tended to** call the spirit of Americanism. (Rodó/Peden 1988: 40)

We can see that the differences are to be found in the syntactic patterning, the choice of equivalents for abstract nouns, and, in Stimson, the omission for no obvious reason of two phrases: *íntimamente relacionadas*—‘intimately related,’ and *solido*—‘tended to’). Stimson has followed the wording and syntax of the ST so closely he has produced a TT that is actually very difficult to understand in the English. It corresponds to the rhetorical and syntactic complexity of Spanish. On the other hand, Peden deliberately normalizes the word order and “untangles” the syntax in English in a strategy aimed at rendering Rodó more accessible and intelligible to English-language readers, as she explains in an interview in *Translation Review* (Peden 1987: 12). One important element is the translation of abstract concepts: Peden standardizes the translation of *la concepción utilitaria* and *la igualdad en lo mediocre* (*utilitarian conception* and *equality in the mediocre* respectively in Stimson) with the more common philosophical or sociological forms *utilitarianism* and *egalitarian mediocrity*; she also

prefers the everyday *social relationships* for *proporción social* instead of the less common but accepted sociological term *social proportion*. ‘Untangling’ Rodó thus sometimes means interpretation and standardization on the phraseological and psychological planes.

If we turn for a moment to the footnote to this section in Rice’s Chicago edition, we see a totally different rendering and interpretation of these expressions:

The very widespread opinion that the basic ideals of our civilization in the United States are **gross materialism** and **dead-level mediocrity**, resulting from our theory of equality, unfortunately fails to recognize that we mean only ‘equality of opportunity.’ Still worse, it utterly ignores the fact that the great spiritual forces and purposes are at the back of our great material achievements. (Rice 1929: 74, footnote)

In this paratextual comment, the act of translation is concealed. In order for Rice to comment on the argument, an interlingual translation of key terms has been essential and it is here that we see the ideological interpretation. Thus, Rice exaggerates the charge, thereby undermining it. In place of *utilitarian conception* and *equality in the mediocre*, he uses a compound of an emotive and exaggerated negative epithet and an abstract noun: *gross materialism* and *dead-level mediocrity*. The evaluation lies in collocation, emotive in these common fixed expressions, and syntax, since the terms are presented as a predicate to verbal processes of relation (*the basic ideals [. . .] are gross materialism and dead-level mediocrity*). This makes them virtually unchallengeable English equivalents of the less emotive and more balanced terminology of the ST. Yet, because this occurs in a paratext, the reader may well be unaware of the interpretation that lies behind it.

This ridiculing of anti-American criticism is strengthened by the contrast with the positive term *our civilization*, itself a loaded concept and one which depends on perspective—Rice’s ideological alignment with the United States is made clear by the first-person plural pronouns (*our theory, we mean, our great material achievements*); opinion is signalled by modal adverbs *unfortunately* and *still worse*, but in the final sentence Rice uses a categorical assertion of zero modality (*it utterly ignores the fact that . . .*) to present as an undeniable truth what can only be opinion.

The second controversial text we shall consider is very different in scope and content: *Cómo leer al Pato Donald* by Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart (1971). A barbed critique of the exploitative colonialist mentality underlying the Walt Disney cartoons, the book was published as part of the Allende Popular Unity government’s ideological publishing campaign during its three years in office. Sensationally, it became a cult book of its time and was translated into over a dozen languages. After the military coup of 1973, Dorfman was exiled and the book banned in Chile, although it continued

to be published for a while in Argentina. An English translation, *How to Read Donald Duck*, was published by International General in New York in 1975, translated with an introduction by David Kunzle, an art historian and subject specialist who himself had written on comic strips and the art of revolutionary Chile.⁴

Several non-textual elements affect the reception of this text in English: first of all, very poor-quality paper and print, including the illustrations taken from the comic books, suggests that this is a mass or cheaply produced book without significant financial resources, much like the Spanish original. Secondly, a legal motivation lurks behind the addition of a mock copyright page among the front matter which states:

The name “Donald Duck” is the Trademark Property and the Cartoon Drawings are the Copyrighted Material of Walt Disney Productions. There is no connection between I.G. Editions Inc. and Walt Disney and these materials are used without the authorization or consent of Walt Disney Productions.

The Spanish ST had been publicly burnt by the military authorities in Chile, while the translation was also banned in the United States and seized by U.S. Customs in 1975 for an alleged violation of Disney’s copyright. The Centre for Constitutional Rights won the release of the copies under the ‘fair use’ rule which allows limited reproduction for comment. International General Editions were well aware of the threat of legal action, all the more so since in his introduction Kunzle cites an example of an underground parody of a Disney poster (“The Disneyland Memorial Orgy”) that had triggered a lawsuit from Disney against a pirated version in Japan. Kunzle’s introduction further sets the context for the work by describing the Popular Unity government’s valiant struggle against the U.S.-dominated media in Chile which culminated in Pinochet’s bloody coup and the suppression of all art that supported the government.

The TT is further framed by the addition of a selected and annotated bibliography “to assist the reader in locating additional Marxist studies on the two principal themes treated in this book: cultural imperialism and the comic book” (DD TT 100), a clear attempt at guiding the reader’s interpretation and later actions. Just as we saw with the very different *Ariel*, so with *How to Read Donald Duck* the paratexts are decisive in delineating the preferred and expected reading strategy, for channelling the audience’s response.

When it comes to the body of the TT, the translation of political concepts tends to show a shift to more intense Marxist and philosophical language: *las “visiones del mundo”* (DD ST 151, inverted commas in the ST) becomes *Weltanschauung* (DD TT 95, italicized in the translation, rather than ‘visions of the world’); *una sociedad pos-industrial* (e.g., DD ST 153) is several times translated as *advanced capitalist society* (DD TT 96), rather

than ‘post-industrial society,’ and there is the occasional addition of an obvious ideological component in abstract concepts such as *ideological manifestations of its economic-cultural system* (DD TT 96–97) and *the bourgeois concept of entertainment* (DD TT 97). This shift of the denotational elements of Field and therefore of the ideational function affect the phraseological and psychological planes of point of view, increasing cohesive ties and heightening the mind style of the TT. It is part of what seems to be a strategy of explicitation of political and economic concepts, rendering them more evident in the translation than in the original. This does not only occur with Marxist terms. In the following example, Kunzle adds explicatory glosses for the basic economic terms *primary*, *secondary*, and *tertiary*:

Disney expulsa el sector secundario de su mundo, de acuerdo con los deseos utópicos de la clase dominante de su país. Pero al hacerlo, crea un mundo que es una parodia del mundo del subdesarrollo. Sólo hay sector primario y terciario en el universo Disney. (DD ST 156–157)

[*Disney expels the secondary sector from its world, in accord with the utopian desires of the dominating class in its country. But by doing it, it creates a world that is a parody of the underdeveloped world. There is only a primary and tertiary sector in the Disney universe.*]

Since the Disney utopia eliminates the secondary (**productive**) sector, retaining only the primary (**raw material**) and tertiary (**service**) sectors, it creates a parody of the underdeveloped peoples. (DD TT 98)

Such explicitation would suggest that the translator considers the TT audience to be less familiar with the theoretical and technical vocabulary of economics than the ST audience, which would originally have been principally supporters of Allende’s cultural programme. However, syntactically the TT extract is far more complex than the ST, with three ST sentences being conflated into one in the TT. This is partly compensated by the argumentative link expressed through the conjunction *Since* in first position. Thus the resultant TT is more explicative even though the syntactic complexity is greater. The TT mind style thereby simplifies the ideas but retains or even intensifies the syntax of academic argumentation. There are also stylistic shifts in the area of gender-specific and sexist language that can only have been introduced out of a concern for the sensitivities of the U.S. audience. The most glaring instance is to be found in the final pages of the book, where Dorfman and Mattelart insist on the importance of the Disney world view as a reflection of overarching ideas and values of the society which produces and consumes that product:

Poner al Pato en el tapete es cuestionar las diversas formas de cultura autoritaria y paternalista que impregnan las relaciones del hombre

burgués consigo mismo, con los otros hombres y con la naturaleza. Es [. . .] una interrogación sobre la relación social que establece el padre con su hijo. (DD ST 159)

[Putting the Duck on the carpet is to question the various forms of authoritarian and paternalistic culture which impregnate the relations of bourgeois man with himself, with other men and with nature. It is [. . .] an interrogation about the social relation which the father establishes with his son.]

Putting the Duck on the carpet is to question the various forms of authoritarian and paternalist culture pervading the relationship of the bourgeoisie among themselves, with others, and with nature. It is [. . .] to scrutinize the social relations which a father establishes with his son. Obviously, this is equally the case for mothers and daughters as well. (DD TT 98–99)

The phrase *las relaciones del hombre burgués consigo mismo, con los otros hombres* Kunzle renders into the gender-neutral language of *the bourgeoisie [. . .] with others*. Even more striking is the addition of an extra sentence in the TT which attempts to correct the male-oriented view of society portrayed by the example of father and son: *Obviously, this is equally the case for mothers and daughters as well*. This is one of the few occasions when we see an addition of the modal adverb *obviously*, the function of which must be to pre-empt possible criticism of the authors for their insertion of a comment which for TT readers of the time would have been self-evident and which might have been interpreted as patronizing. This instance is all the more prominent because of its rarity. Very frequently the translator in fact omits to translate sentence-initial discourse markers such as *Por lo tanto* ('For this reason') and *Tal es así* ('This is the case'). The reader is then left to infer discourse relationships that have been explicated in the ST. To some extent the additional processing demand is compensated by the explicitation of ideological and technical terminology discussed above. The translator's focus shifts from discourse patterns to political and sociological precision.

We saw above that very considerable changes had been made especially to the format and presentation of the TT, with a new introduction and a bibliography to aid willing readers in their quest for further Marxist truths. This is common in those texts presented in traditional book format as the macro-contextual circumstances may change dramatically over time. This happened to Fernando Ortiz's *Contrapunto Cubano* (1940), translated by Harriet de Onís and analysed in chapter 3. The eighth edition of Ortiz's ST, published in 1963 in the early years of the Castro regime, is considerably altered. A whole section is inserted dealing with then recent medical findings linking tobacco to cancer, claiming that Cuban tobacco, being low in

nicotine, is safe; other insertions include a suggestion that the priest Bartolomé de las Casas, defender of the indigenous, would today be classified as “Communist.” Onís’s translation has not been updated, so the English TT remains embedded in the macro-context of 1947.

However, with the growth of the Internet, today important political communiqués or tracts may be part of breaking news and a dynamic site for political struggle. The translations of the words of the modern-day Mexican cult rebel figure subcomandante Marcos, for instance, are presented in a very different fashion. First of all, some of the translations of his work and speeches are exclusively available on the website of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) (<http://www.ezln.org.mx>) and thereby function as propaganda tools in the revolutionary struggle. The Zapatista movement has overseen the production of these translations and can thus control the presentation of their arguments. The translators’ identities are also concealed, in the same way as Marcos’s real identity has been hidden behind a ski-mask; thus the name of the translator of his speech at the Zócalo in Mexico City on 11 March 2001 is given as simply *la irlandesa* [“the Irish woman”]. This has the advantage of protecting the translator, and the EZLN contacts, from possible reprisal or investigation.

The translations are sometimes clearly not the work of professionals. For instance, Marcos’s key manifesto, *Chiapas: El sureste en dos vientos, una tormenta y una profecía* (1992, translated as *Chiapas: The Southeast in Two Winds: A Storm and a Prophecy*, 1994), which is available on the EZLN website in French and Italian in addition to Spanish and English, contains a few very basic errors of translation in the English: *ingresos* is translated as *taxes* rather than *income*, *fiscal* as *committee* not *prosecutor* and there are two instances of misreading of the Spanish source: *hambre* [‘hunger’] being translated as *people*, probably a confusion with the generic *hombre* [‘man’], and *incitar* [‘incite’/‘encourage’] rendered as *initiating* [Spanish *iniciar*].

Culture-specific items relating to the situation of the poor of Chiapas are dealt with by a mixture of domestication and borrowing that appears to be non-systematic even though the macro-strategy throughout is the intensification of anti-globalization and centralization arguments. Thus, there are many terms that describe the Mexican agricultural system and which are resonant of the colonial system of the sixteenth century onwards: the word *hacienda*, which in chapter 3 we saw domesticated as *plantation* by Harriet de Onís in Carpentier’s work on the Caribbean, is here both domesticated and explicated, through amplification, as *large-landed estate*, more appropriate than *plantation* for the Mexican context; on the other hand, other words relating to the rural economy, such as *campesinos* (‘peasants’) and *ejidos* (a system of communal farming) are simply borrowed into the TT, which might suggest that the translator expects the reader to be familiar with these terms that are crucial for creating solidarity with the Chiapas indigenous. This contrasts with the bracketed glosses marking an intrusion by the translator in the interpersonal function, making visible her voice:

SECOTUR [Department of Tourism], Pemex [the national oil company] and Carlos Salinas de Gortari [President of Mexico 1988-present]. These glosses, giving background information on Mexican institutions, are clearly aimed at covering knowledge gaps for an English-speaking international audience. It is also intriguing that a partially domesticating strategy seems to be used for these modern corporations or politicians which are considered alien to the interests of Chiapas, whereas the examples of foreignization above (*campesinos* and *ejidos*) both relate to elements inherent to the Chiapas world view. This opens up the possibility in this text that on the phraseological plane domestication and foreignization may be operating with unexpected underlying ideological significance.

This text is fascinating not least because of the mixture of genres employed. The first chapter describes the economics and geography of Chiapas: the reader is taken on the journey that could come straight from a guidebook or travel book, with the use of direct formal personal address and a visual spatio-temporal orientation of a drive through the landscape that is maintained as a core macro-stylistic feature of the TT narrative. Later, when Marcos presents Zapata as the bringer of the promised land, the writing segues into Biblical parallelism with sentence-initial additive conjunctions that disappear in the TT:

Y cuentan estos ancianos que no ha muerto, que Zapata ha de volver. Y cuentan los viejos más viejos que el viento y la lluvia y el sol le dicen al campesino cuándo ha de preparar la tierra, cuándo ha de sembrar y cuándo cosechar. Y cuentan que también la esperanza se siembra y se cosecha. Y dicen los viejos que el viento, la lluvia y el sol están hablando de otra forma a la tierra, que de tanta pobreza no puede seguir cosechando muerte, que es la hora de cosechar rebeldía. (TW ST)

[*And these elderly people tell that he hasn't died, that Zapata is to return. And the oldest people tell that the wind and the rain and the sun tell the campesino when he is to prepare the land, when he is to plant and when to harvest. And they tell that also hope is planted and harvested. And the old people say that the wind, the rain and the sun are speaking in a different way to the earth, that with so much poverty death cannot continue to be harvested, that it is the time to harvest rebellion.*]

These old campesinos say that Zapata didn't die, that he must return. These old campesinos also say that the wind and the rain and the sun tell the campesinos when to cultivate the land, when to plant and when to harvest. They say that hope is planted and harvested. They also say that the wind and the rain and the sun are now saying something different: that with so much poverty, the time has come to harvest rebellion instead of death. (TW TT)

The repetition of *Y cuentan* ('And they tell') in the Spanish is a device that mirrors the use of the additive *kai* in the Greek translation of the Bible (Nida 1964, see chapter 1). In the English King James Version of 1611,⁵ and the Spanish Reina Valera Bible of 1909,⁶ *kai* is strictly and repetitively rendered as the sentence-initial *And* and *Y*. This unusual stress may give the impression of child-like language since it is functionally redundant in modern English but equally it connotes the lyricism and solemnity of the Bible (Nida 1964, see chapter 1). In a political text, it is further associated with the rhetoric of speech. The translation retains repetition and parallelism with *They say* but not the more poetic 'They tell' nor the additive 'And.' Cohesion is therefore maintained at the formal level and the political rhetoric remains; however, at the higher discourse level the solemn Biblical connotation evaporates.

A similar pattern occurs at the lyrical conclusion of the text which brings together the key motifs of storm and prophecy:

Ya llega la hora de despertar . . .

LA TORMENTA . . .

. . . la que está

Nacerá del choque de estos dos vientos, llega ya su tiempo, se atiza ya el horno de la historia

Reina ahora el viento de arriba, ya viene el viento de abajo, ya la tormenta viene . . . así será . . .

LA PROFECIA

. . . la que está

Cuando amaine la tormenta, cuando lluvia y fuego dejen en paz otra vez la tierra, el mundo ya no será el mundo, sino algo mejor. (*TW ST*)

[Now arrives the time to wake up . . .

THE STORM . . .

. . . the one which is here

Will be born from the clash of these two winds, arrives now its time, is poked now the oven of history

*Reigns now the wind from above, now comes the wind from below,
now the storm comes . . . thus will be . . .*

THE PROPHECY

. . . the one which is here

*When calms the storm, when rain and fire leave in peace once more the
earth, the world will no longer be the world, but something better.]*

Now it is time to wake up . . .

The storm is here. From the clash of these two winds the storm will be born, its time has arrived.

Now the wind from above rules, but the wind from below is coming . . .

The prophecy is here. When the storm calms, when rain and fire again leave the country in peace, the world will no longer be the world but something better. (*TW TT*)

The layout of the Spanish emphasizes the motifs through capitalization and centring, through the parallelism of *la que está* ['the one which is (here)'], the suspension marks and the repetition of the emphatic interpersonal modal particle *ya*, which occurs six times in this section. Thus, stylistic markedness is produced by layout and graphology and not just by lexical and syntactic choices and repetitions. Yet much of this markedness vanishes in the English: the lowercase *storm* and *prophecy* fade into the rest of the TT, while the centring and foregrounding of *la que está* disappears since the equivalent *is here* merges into the rest of the paragraph. The parallelism and rhythm of the Spanish VS order (seven examples in this section) and the resultant information structure patterns are also lost, the only attempt at compensation occurring in the second line with the reordering of the circumstantial adjunct to a marked first position *From the clash of these two winds the storm will be born*. However, there is no inversion of verb and subject, which would have been possible, though strongly marked and rhythmically poor ('From the clash of these two winds [there] will be born the storm'). The third element of the birth of the storm is even omitted: *se atiza ya el horno de la historia* ('the oven of history is now being poked'). One can only hypothesize that the translator may have felt that this striking image would have been out of place or even faintly ludicrous in the English, but no attempt to compensate or create a related image is made. In a way this is surprising since the major metaphors, such as the storm, which structure

the text, are otherwise rigorously maintained and even intensified in the translation. One of these structural metaphors, that of Chiapas being bled dry by the beast of capitalism and politics, runs through the first chapter and colours the translation of the surrounding co-text:

Por miles de caminos se desangra Chiapas (TW ST)

[*Through thousands of roads bleeds Chiapas*]

Chiapas loses blood through many veins. (TW TT)

Here, the thousands of roads of the ST become *many veins*, reinforcing the blood metaphor. The intensification of the metaphor takes precedence over the preservation of syntactic markedness, which here is standardized from circumstantial adjunct+VS to SV+circumstantial adjunct.

Another example of embroidery of metaphor occurs in the prophecy that the viceroy (the local government leader) will be haunted by nightmares:

el virrey manda matar y encarcelar y construye más cárceles y cuarteles y el sueño sigue desvelándolo (TW ST)

[*the viceroy orders to kill and imprison and builds more prisons and barracks and the dream continues to keep him awake*]

the viceroy orders killings and kidnappings and he builds more jails and Army barracks. But the dream continues and keeps him tossing and turning and unable to sleep (TW TT).

Apart from the shift from *kill and imprison* to the more emotive and alliterative *killings and kidnappings*, the effects of the dream are much more graphic in the translation. Whereas the ST has the dream *desvelándolo* ['keeping him awake'], in the TT it *keeps him tossing and turning and unable to sleep*. The overall translation strategy in this text operates more on the macro-level, heightening some of the key evaluative motifs but normalizing the more unusual rhetorical and textual devices. The evaluative metaphors are structural and form part of the ideological plane of point of view. These stylistic choices suggest this takes priority over the textual cohesion associated with the psychological point of view (the VS normalization) and spatio-temporal point of view which should be a major consideration in political texts since the location of the narrator helps to condition the appeal of the message. This is suggested in a small stylistic detail hidden in the description of the agricultural exploitation of the region in chapter 1 of the tract:

Del maíz, más de la mitad producida **aquí** va al mercado nacional. (TW ST)

[*Of the corn, more than half produced here goes to the national market.*]

Of the corn produced in Chiapas, more than half goes to the domestic market. (TW TT)

The spatial location of the ST is indicated by the word *aquí* ('here'), showing that the writer, Marcos, places himself squarely in the region of Chiapas (in the Lacondon forest) and is looking outwards towards Mexico City. The translation, on the other hand, alters this to *in Chiapas*, a more detached and neutral description of the location. This contrasts to the treatment of similar markers of spatial deictics in the translation of *Ariel* (above) and of Castro's communiqué (below), and the use of the first person plural pronoun, which are scrupulously maintained even in those texts which do not share the narrator's ideological perspective. This would be a fruitful area for future study, to see in which texts the translator preserves the narrative location of the political figure.

Many of the other Marcos documents available online are communiqués or interviews. In the case of the latter, some have been published more formally for the printed press as well as on the website. This occurs with two major interviews he gave in Mexico City at the time of the high-profile 'caravan' march to the Zócalo in 2001. One is an interview with Julio Scherer García, founder of the respected Mexican left-wing political magazine *Proceso*, which was aired on the Televisa television channel on 10 March 2001 and published in *Proceso* the following day. The second interview was with Gabriel García Márquez and Roberto Pombo, published in the Mexican magazine *Cambio* on 28 March 2001. In both cases, the translations of these interviews were later published in the printed press. The translation of the Scherer interview appears online at <http://www.zmag.org>, the translators named as Donald Holoch and Lenore von Maltzahn Rinehart; the García Márquez interview was published in English in the United States in *New Left Review* May–June 2001 in an unattributed translation. Excerpts of the Márquez interview in a different translation were published on 2 July 2001 as "A Zapatista Reading List" in *The Nation*, a key left-wing publication in the United States. In all these cases, the translations are clearly based on the ST transcriptions rather than on any access to the original recordings. The same subheadings are used and there is no obvious difference between ST and TT in the transcription of features of spoken language and in the imposition of written punctuation on the spoken mode. Thus, fillers and suspension marks are inserted at the same points and there is no indication of false starts, hesitations, or self-corrections. This is perhaps unsurprising due to time and cost constraints.

Although Marcos's Scherer interview does contain the same divisions in ST and TT and close translations of the inserted section headings (e.g., "Opposed Worlds," "If Fox is serious, there will be results," "Marcos'

Mistakes,” “The Story of the Caravan”), the ST is framed by an informal introduction describing some pertinent details of the historical background⁷ and of the phone call which set up the Marcos interview. This framing, and the title *La entrevista insólita* (“The Unusual Interview”), guides reception by tempting the public and designating the subject matter in a way that the translation, with its very neutral title “Interview between Julio Scherer Garcia and Subcomandante Marcos,” does not (cf. Genette 1997: 76ff. for a discussion of the functions of titles). When it comes to the language of the interview itself, it is a little surprising in the ST transcription to see Marcos using Anglicisms such as *timing* and *rating*, both of which are italicized as borrowings in the ST. In the TT they are transferred back into English without comment or compensation. However, translators Holoch and von Maltzahn Rinehart do make an effort to imitate some degree of orality, including interjections such as *dammit* (for *coño*, used as a filler) and *hey* (for *vean*). Typical is the following passage which in the TT shows the use of phrasal verbs (*pick up on it*), colloquial idioms (*needs a good talking to*) and the colloquial modal particle *sure*:

Y si un movimiento armado está diciendo ahí va esta parte, vean, a esto estamos dispuestos, y no lo lee, entonces ya de plano necesita la clase política una gran lección. (*JS Int Sp 14*)

[*And if an armed movement is saying that there goes this part, see, this is what we are ready for, and [it] does not read it, then the political class really simply needs a big lesson.*]

And if an armed movement is saying this leads that way, hey, we’re prepared for this, and they don’t pick up on it, then the political club sure needs a good talking to. (*JS Int En 16*)

The interpersonal evaluative function of modals such as *sure* is also replicated in the translation of metaphors, just as we saw in the analysis of *The Southeast from Two Winds* above, even when these are new or surprising metaphors:

El hecho de que algunos de los personajes que **saltan** a la vida pública tengan **un lastre de criminalidad** no quiere decir que eso sea parejo para todos. (*JS Int Sp 5*)

[*The fact that some of the personages who leap into public life have a ballast of criminality does not mean that that is the same for all.*]

The fact that some of the VIPs who **vault** into public life carry a **ballast of guilt** doesn’t mean that it’s the same for all of them. (*JS Int En 4*)

In the TT, *vault* is a stronger, more specific and literary equivalent of *saltan* ('leap'/'jump') and *ballast* is a literal translation of *lastre* ('burden' would be a more common alternative). There are no other examples of *lastre de criminalidad* in Google. The expression *ballast of guilt* (rather than 'ballast of criminality') is not an original metaphor, to use Newmark's term (Newmark 1988), but nor is it so common that it could be classed as 'stock'; a Google search shows merely two other instances, one in a piece of melodrama from a creative writing course⁸ and the other in a music blog.⁹ The result of these TT choices is therefore a very forceful evaluative metaphoric style that succeeds in communicating Marcos's distinctive and targeted message. The TT even strengthens the coherence of some of the metaphors. The following example, explaining why Marcos rejected an offer of a meeting with President Fox, is coherent in contrasting the opposites *stood tall* and the formal *belittled*, both referring to height, whereas the ST comparison had revolved around *se levantó* ('stood/rose up') and *sería trivializado* ('would be trivialized'):

todo el movimiento que se levantó finalmente sería **trivializado** (*JS Int Sp* 15)

[*any movement that rose up finally would be trivialized*]

a movement that stood tall would end up **belittled** (*JS Int En* 18).

Metaphors are also intensified in the translation (unattributed) of the García Márquez interview. The following extract employs the key structural metaphor of the clock, as Marcos responds to a question of how he viewed the political scene in Mexico at that time:

Como una lucha y una disputa entre un reloj que chequea el horario de ingreso de los empleados de una empresa, que es el reloj de Fox, y el nuestro que es un reloj de arena. La disputa es entre que nosotros nos acomodemos a ese reloj de chequeo y Fox se acomode al reloj de arena. (*MP Int Sp* 7)

[*As a struggle and a dispute between a clock which checks the time of entry of the employees of a company, which is [President] Fox's clock, and ours which is an hourglass [lit. sand clock]. The dispute is between that we should adapt ourselves to that clock of checking and that Fox should adapt himself to the hourglass.*]

As a struggle between a clock operated by a punch card, which is Fox's time, and an hourglass, which is ours. The dispute is over whether we bend to the discipline of the factory clock or Fox bends to the slipping of the sand. (*MP Int En* 4)

Here, the intensification revolves around a stylistic strategy of lexical condensation—a ST extract of fifty-seven words is reduced to forty-four TT words, clearly illustrated by the rendering of *a clock operated by a punch card* for *un reloj que chequea el horario de ingreso de los empleados de una empresa* [‘a clock which checks the time of entry of the employees of a company’]. In addition, the metaphorical *bend to* translates the more neutral *nos acomodemos a* [‘should adapt ourselves to’], the effects of the two clocks is explicated with *the discipline of the factory clock* and reinforced by alliteration and rhythm in *the slipping of the sand*. So, in political texts, too, the phonological level can predominate.

The existence of a second translation (also unattributed) of an excerpt of this interview permits us to make further observations regarding the style. As the title “A Zapatista Reading List” (*The Nation*, 2 July 2001) conveys, the piece moves the ground away from the immediate declaration of political struggle. The extract comprises approximately the final third of the interview, precisely that part which focuses on Marcos the person, his background, family, education and reading, which, he stresses, includes writers of the Latin American Boom, books given to him at the time by his parents to explain the political situation of Latin America. Despite the title of the extract, which connotes the philosophy of the movement, it contains not a single explicit mention of the Zapatistas. This represents a genre shift, or at the very least a presentational shift. Interestingly, the Scherer interview contains a similar move by emphasizing a philosophical interpretation as opposed to a political one, even if this is more concealed since it arises from linguistic or orthographic choices in the body of the translation. Thus, Marcos warns against indigenous *fundamentalismo*, which is translated by the philosophical or cultural term *essentialism* (*JS Int En* 12). Furthermore, speaking of the establishment’s inability to grasp that the Zapatista movement is not a conventional political organization, he says, in the TT, “It will be difficult to make this understood by the Other, because his schemes are nothing but outdated” (*JS Int En* 9). A later TT repetition of *Other* refers to the federal government (*JS Int En* 17). This capitalization (*Other* for ST lower case *otro*) links the interpretation to the philosophical concept of alterity. These relatively minor changes on the phraseological plane may indicate a higher-level interpretation by the translator or editor, potentially shifting the focus of the political argument from that of a political tract to that of a philosophical treatise. Such terminological concentration by the translator occurs with some frequency in non-fiction texts: it was also seen in Peden’s translation of *Ariel* and Dorfman’s *Pato Donald* and now in this translation of Marcos’s interview.

Such stylistic choices in the translation may be subtle, even subliminal. Furthermore, the whole interview is an exercise initially in intralingual and intersemiotic translation, the spoken interview being transcribed for publication. It is thus the Mexican transcriber and editor who have made the

interpretation of *otro* in the ST. In the TT, the significance of the priming of *Other* for philosophical texts may pass almost unnoticed by the reader. On other occasions, it can be most blatant, as in the naming of controversial key figures in a very polarized press. An outstanding case is the treatment of the Venezuelan leader Hugo Chávez in the United States press. A search of the archive of the conservative *Geopolitical Review*¹⁰ reveals a range of naming that becomes increasingly strident and negative, ranging from the more neutral *Venezuela's Leftist Leader Hugo Chavez* (14 March 2005), to the disrespectful scare quotes of *Venezuelan 'President' Hugo Chavez* (17 January 2005), to the inherent negativity, in a modern U.S. context, of *Venezuela's Communist/Socialist Leader Hugo Chavez* (31 May 2005) to the undisguised attack of *Venezuela Despot Hugo Chavez* (24 June 2005). The function of such phraseological naming is to present an inherently negative and threatening image of Chávez no matter what he says or does and irrespective of any conventional translation of his words.

Critical discourse analysts get excited about 'manipulation' in such politically sensitive texts, but this may not happen in the expected ways. For instance, as we saw in chapter 1 the phenomenon of transitivity is functionally related to the ideational function and to the psychological plane since it is a representation of reality. Concealment of the actor, through the use of a passive or a nominalization, is normally a sign of a concealment of responsibility. Yet transitivity selections do not always follow the expected pattern. The following extract is the first paragraph of a proclamation to the Cuban people signed by Fidel Castro and read out on Cuban state radio on 31 July 2006. It informs listeners of the handing over of temporary power to Castro's brother Raul because of Fidel's impending operation. It is thus a politically significant moment and therefore a highly sensitive text since it was carefully examined across the world for indications of the imminent fall of the regime:

ST Castro Proclama del comandante (Castro 2006a)

Con motivo del enorme esfuerzo realizado para visitar la ciudad argentina de Córdoba, participar en la reunion del MERCOSUR, en la clausura de la Cumbre de los Pueblos en la histórica Universidad de Córdoba y en la visita a Altagracia, la ciudad donde vivió el Che en su infancia y unido a esto asistir de inmediato a la conmemoración del 53 aniversario del asalto a los cuarteles Moncasa y Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, el 26 de julio de 1953, en las provincias de Granma y Holguín, días y noches de trabajo continuo sin apenas dormir dieron lugar a que mi salud, que ha resistido todas las pruebas, se sometiera a un estrés extremo y se quebrantara.

The translations published in English were quoted and analysed in the press as if they were Castro's own words. The translation published

on the BBC World Service website perhaps unsurprisingly adheres very closely to the transitivity patterns and indeed to many types of structure, including lexical, cohesion, and information structure:

TT1 Castro Proclamation BBC World Service (Castro 2006b)

As a result of the great effort exerted to visit the Argentine city of Córdoba, to participate in the Mercosur meeting, the closing of the People's Summit in the historic University of Córdoba, and to visit Alta Gracia, the city where Che [Guevara] grew up, together with my participation in the commemoration in Granma and Holguín provinces of the 53rd anniversary of the assaults on the Moncada and Carlos Manuel de Cespedes Garrisons on 26 July 1953, days and nights of nonstop work with hardly any sleep led my health, which has withstood every test, to undergo extreme stress and a breakdown.

The ST conceals Fidel's participation by omitting the mention of the first person. This is most startling in the first line where there is no mention of the actor, Fidel. The process is instead realized by a past participle, *realizado* *exerted* and by infinitive forms *to visit*, *to participate* and so on. Even the use at the end of the paragraph of *mi salud* [. . .] *se quebrantara* (*my health* [. . .] *to undergo* [. . .] *a breakdown*) is a concealment because the actor is *health* rather than Castro himself. The text carefully shies away from an admission that *I suffered a breakdown of health*. The BBC translation is notable in studiously reproducing the transitivity pattern everywhere except in the choice of *my participation* (for *asistir*, 'to attend'). These transitivity choices are marked since they have clearly been taken to avoid the admission of weakness entailed by a phrasing such as 'As a result of the great effort which I exerted when I visited . . .'. That this interpretation nevertheless remains implicit can be seen in the translation published in the *Miami Herald* of 1 August 2006 where the translator has felt it necessary to reinstate the omitted first-person pronoun but within square brackets, an extremely unusual stylistic choice: "As a result of the enormous effort [I] made to visit the Argentine city of Cordoba [. . .]".

The proclamation is unusual because of the existence of several different TTs in addition to that disseminated by *Granma*, the official Cuban state organ. This is due to the importance of the news, causing the BBC, *Miami Herald*, *New York Times*, and ABC to produce their own translations for readers who wanted immediate access to the full text rather than an edited or commented version. Normally, Castro's speeches are quoted through the *Granma* translation, made available on the website, together with a full archive of Castro's speeches and press releases. What is even more remarkable in this case is that it is the *Granma* translation that makes Castro a far more explicit actor in the illness:

Castro TT2 Castro Proclamation Granma (Castro 2006)

As a result of the enormous effort entailed by **my visit** to the Argentinian city of Córdoba, **my participation** in the Mercosur meeting and in the closing ceremony of the People's Summit at the historic University of Córdoba, and **my visit** to the city of Altigracia, where Che spent his childhood, as well as the fact that immediately after this **I attended** the celebrations for the 53rd anniversary of the attacks on the Moncada and Carlos Manuel de Céspedes garrisons, which took place on the 26th of July 1953, held in the provinces of Granma and Holguín, and after days and nights of non-stop work with barely any sleep, my health, which has withstood every test, was put under extreme stress and submitted to the pressure.

The highlighted stylistic choices show that on three occasions TT2 includes the possessive pronoun *my* with the nominalized process and on one occasion (*I attended*) even foregrounds Castro's involvement with a first-person pronoun and a finite material process. The one point in the translation where the gravity of the situation is reduced is at the very end of the extract: "my health, which has withstood every test, was put under extreme stress and submitted to the pressure." Here the transitivity choice *was put under extreme stress* does tally with the goal of covering up Castro's condition, the passive emphasizing that external pressures have caused this illness rather than its being the result of a chronic weakness.

Translations provided by *Granma* are commonly cited verbatim by the world press and often come to take the place of the Spanish ST words. Thus, Raúl Castro's explanation of a heightened military alert in Cuba in an interview granted to *Granma* on 17 August 2006 ("We could not rule out the risk of somebody going crazy, or even crazier, within the U.S. government") appeared in press reports throughout the English-speaking world. In other circumstances, where dissemination is less tightly controlled, the press may indicate the constraints under which the TT has been produced by signalling that it is a "rush translation." With the growth of the Internet, it is also becoming increasingly common for the words of political figures to circulate in translations produced unofficially and even by individuals who confess that their translation competence is doubtful. One such example is Carlos Fuentes's essay "¡Viva Chile mierda!" (Fuentes 1998), translated by a fan who admits "I'm not a professional translator and my spanish is not very good—i hope i haven't made too many mistakes!"¹¹ The translation of political ideology is therefore becoming more democratized, particularly where texts concerned are in some way marginal even if this means that the conventional quality of the translation is not guaranteed.

CONCLUSION

The sensitive political texts analysed in this chapter, while varied, show some remarkable stylistic patterns in translation. The most evident are the paratextual framing, not only introductions and glossaries and bibliographies but also the titles (particularly in newspapers) and footnotes. The latter may even conceal the evaluative and interpretive act of translation, as we saw in Rice's edition of the Spanish *Ariel* text. Although the translator's voice can be seen in the use of metaphor, parallelism, and phonological translation, the clearest evaluation is to be found in naming and terminology, related to phraseological and psychological points of view. This most often happens when the translator shares an ideological affinity with the ST or author: Kunzle's translation of *How to Read Donald Duck* sharpens the Marxist terminology; the U.S. attitude to Hugo Chávez is most keenly expressed in the extreme evaluative descriptions of his political position.

The use of the Internet is leading to the increased use of translation to spread a political message, whether by marginalized groups such as the EZLN and subcomandante Marcos or by the governments of states such as Cuba or Venezuela. They are able to give direct access to their texts and thus control the paratextual framing that mediates them in the mainstream press in the English-speaking world. This represents a rich source of stylistic analysis, although the results of the Castro communiqué analysed in this chapter suggest that the patterns of, for example, transitivity to indicate power relations do not necessarily materialize in the expected form.