

MS English Thesis

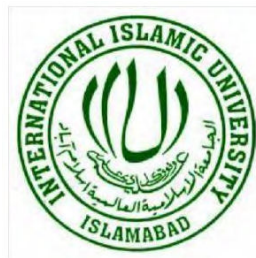
***Animal Farm* and 1984 as Cold War Texts: A Case Study of the Politics of Translations and  
Circulation in Urdu**

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## **Dedication**

To Cyrene, Rashid and Umm ul Khair.

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**List of Abbreviations**

IRD	Information Research Department
CCF	Congress for Cultural Freedom
PRO	Public Record Office
IRRC	International Rescue and Relief Committee
FO	Foreign Office (British)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
NCL	Non-Communist Left
USIA	United States Information Agency
USIS	United States Information Services
VOA	Voice of America
RFE	Radio Free Europe
WUFA	Writers Union of Free Afghanistan
OPC	Office of Policy Coordination
IACF	International Association for Cultural Freedom
IAC	International Advisory Council
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
IMG	Informational Media Guaranty
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
RIO	Regional Information Office (UK)
PSB	Psychological Strategy Board
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration



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**Abstract**

Any literature which crosses the cultural boundaries in which it is produced into another culture becomes world literature. Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* are world literature given their global reach and widespread translation. However, David Damrosch focuses more on the circulation aspect of world literature to foreground its distinctiveness. This thesis argue that the definition of world literature having insistence on the circulation aspect makes the practice and definition of world literature more susceptible to propaganda work. The translation, production and circulation of Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* in world's languages through the support of American funding to counter communism with the novels' themes of totalitarianism and the manipulation of translations to support such a view suggest that the insistence on circulation in world literature is problematic. It is further elaborated with the analysis of politics of translations of four Urdu translations of Orwell's *Animal Farm* and two Urdu translations of *1984* to elaborate the main argument. It is therefore established that a nuanced definition of world literature should be reached to fully analyse and theorize the practice of world literature.

**Keywords:** World Literature, Translation, Politics of Translation, Orwell, *Animal Farm*, *1984*, Propaganda, David Damrosch

## Introduction

While speaking in the National Assembly as the leader of the opposition on February 12, 2020, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi stated that 'Animal Farm is the reality of this country today... the reality of this government today' (SAMAA TV 00:17:14). He advised the Pakistani parliamentarians, especially the ministers, to buy and read George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. He even offered to purchase and distribute 200 copies among them.

In 2023, Pakistan's recently ousted Prime Minister, Imran Khan, was in jail. His lawyer, Babar Awan, visited him in prison and tweeted on August 23, 2023, a list of books that mentioned Imran Khan's reading list, including '*Animal Farm* and *1984*' (Awan). A person wrote in the comments that what has been written in these two books is very well carried out by Imran Khan during his tenure. However, a lot of people took to Facebook and Twitter to mention the arrest of the former prime minister and his close circle as an Orwellian act of despotism.

Such remarks by top Pakistani politicians, lawyers, and laymen in discussing the government's politics and policies suggest that references to *Animal Farm* have become commonplace and politically relevant to the lived reality of Pakistan, where this novel, along with *1984*, was introduced in Urdu in the late 1960s. However, the original English version may have arrived here earlier. Recently, its sales soared in Pakistan in the wake of the Russian-Ukraine conflict. Different editions of its translations were re-printed, suggesting its continued relevance in Pakistan.

What does it matter if *Animal Farm* makes it to the parliament or becomes commonplace in discussions in Pakistan? In itself, it makes no difference. Stories and novels are what people refer to clarify or elaborate living phenomena creatively. However, according to David Damrosch's definition, a renowned literary critic, *Animal Farm* is a world literature. It has

crossed its cultural boundaries and entered the Pakistani cultural space, becoming a relevant literature. One may ask how it has entered the Pakistani cultural space. What is it about that it has made into a Parliamentarian's speech? To dig into such a matter, we find ourselves in the Cold War era and its dynamics that were functional in Pakistan.

Pakistan, a former colony, gained independence from the British Empire in 1947, the same year the Cold War started. In the Cold War, third-world countries, especially the newly created states, were prominent battlefields for their major functions. The Cultural Cold War, which was the cultural, artistic and aesthetic offshoot of the Cold War, was pervasively crawling into the literary and cultural spaces of the third-world countries. To rival the Soviet Union's active presence in Pakistan, many American foundations and agencies indulged in the country during the Cold War for distributing and disseminating literature and educational content. They were supporting local writers, translators and publishers for publishing books that the US wanted to be present in Pakistan and to compete with the Soviet counterparts.

The US and the USSR were both active in Pakistan during the Cold War, but the US was comparatively more active and pervasive. In 1964, according to a 1964 US directory, 23 different organisations affiliated with the US were working in Pakistan to disseminate literature and books related to education. Some of these organisations overtly worked with the US under the patronage of the United States Information Agency (USIA), the information wing of the US working in foreign countries. Some of the organisations were also covertly operating inside Pakistan.

During the Cold War, the Western Bloc was very active in disseminating different types of content to show its presence in various countries of interest in response to the communist influence. It waged a Cultural Cold War. It used films, art, paintings, music, theatre, books,

magazines, journals, radio, and novels as the essential tools for cultural dominance. Books were very important in this type of war. They were majorly publishing anti-Soviet books and propaganda to counter Soviet influence that was already influential in Pakistan even before the partition of the subcontinent.

In Pakistan, the US operated the American Book Program. Under this program, the US ran Books Published Abroad directly under its patronage and the Franklin Books Program was operated privately. The Books Published Abroad program aimed at portraying a positive picture of the US and fostering good mutual relationships. USIA managed it through the Books in Translation project, in which different titles were translated and distributed with the help and support of local translators and publishers. The privately managed Franklin Books Program published 436 titles in Pakistan during its operation.

According to the 1958-1959 annual report of Books Published Abroad, published by the USIA, Orwell's *Animal Farm* was also sponsored by the Book Translation Program. It was translated by Jamil Jalibi, a renowned Pakistani literary critic, in 1958 and published by his publishing house Maktaba Naya Daur. Similarly, in the same year, *1984* was translated by Abu Al Fazal Siddique, a renowned Urdu writer. It was published by Urdu Academy Sindh, which frequently cooperated with the US translation and publishing projects. Both these translations have come out from two renowned literary personas, indicating the high-level interaction of the US agencies with Pakistan's cultural and literary figures. It also indicates their dedication and care to cultural engagement abroad in the Cold War.

In the late 1990s, new inquiries into Cold War studies began regarding the involvement of covert agencies and writers in the propagation and dissemination of literary and cultural texts. In 1996, the Public Record Office of Britain published a list of 35 writers that Orwell gave to the

IRD in 1949 as a no-recruit list. The list prevented communist induction into the IRD's anti-communist propaganda work. After this discovery, Orwell's reputation as a 'genuine writer' came under scrutiny. Similarly, when Frances Stonor Saunders, an investigative journalist and writer, published her book "Who Paid the Piper: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War" in 1999, the literary and cultural activity and the writers who engaged in covert endeavours came under severe scrutiny. A new wave of investigative, archival and historical research started to comprehend the Cold War's literary, aesthetic, and cultural dimensions and its impact on the autonomy of literature and culture.

The Cultural Cold War, a term coined by Saunders, has profoundly impacted the study of literature. The relationship between politics and art has always been a contentious issue in the study of literature. However, the Cold War has complicated the issue more with the involvement of covert agencies and organisations in the production and dissemination of literature. Gabriel Rockhill, a radical literary critic, believes that art and politics intervene and reconfigure the existing set of meaning and immanent conceptuality and are involved in the historical construction of reality. Similarly, during the Cultural Cold War, they enacted in the same way by intervening and constructing our notion in the interests of the stakeholders for whom the cultural war was fought.

An alternate logic of history and methodology is needed for a multifaceted inquiry into the interaction of arts and politics in the Cold War. Rockhill proposes a methodological change from an ontological inquiry to an epistemological inquiry. He believes that due to the apoliticisation of art, the 'social force field' (Rockhill 6) and the 'intricate social relations' in which 'multiple sites' and 'agenc[ies]' are 'involved in the production, distribution, and reception of aesthetic practices' (6) are bracketed from the work of aesthetic practices thus wrongly



reducing 'the politics of art' to the magical powers of a talisman. In his view, the analysis of 'distinct social dimensions of aesthetic practices – creation, circulation, interpretation' (6) can lead us to struggling social agencies, i.e., the stakeholders and an alternate history.

World literature has just emerged as a new discipline in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. David Damrosch, a renowned comparative and world literature theorist, has a pivotal role in solidifying the concepts of this discipline. His numerous books have provided a lot of theoretical basis and framework for world literature. He defines world literature as 'a mode of circulation and of reading' (*What is World Literature* 5). He sees it 'either in terms of a work's production or in terms of its circulation' (*How to Read World Literature* 4). However, if we see his definition of world literature from a Cultural Cold War perspective, it becomes problematic.

Production and circulation as the criterion for world literature alone can be problematic. In the Cold War, the US and the USSR produced and distributed thousands and millions of copies of literatures targeted as propaganda in different countries. It was either a tool of soft power or a necessary cultural policy execution to foster friendly relations with emerging nations and developing countries. In such a global political practice, the autonomy of literature as a literary and aesthetic text is severely compromised. It becomes reduced to a weapon that could be used when required. World literature in this global scenario seems a compromised business. The definition of world literature seems to be a cultural policy of the Cold Warrior nations.

This dissertation looks forward to establishing an alternate account of agency and alternate logic of history that would provide an alternate account of understanding the creation, circulation, and interpretation of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* against the backdrop of the Cultural Cold War. It also contests the definition of Damrosch's world literature in the context of the Cultural Cold War. Similarly, Giles Scott-Smith, a critic of Cold War studies and

cultural diplomacy, analyses trans-Atlantic relations from the Cultural Cold War perspective in his book "The Politics of Apolitical Culture." He superficially mentions the activities of the CCF in the Third World but does not discuss them. There is a need to research the impact of CCF and other Cultural Cold War institutions' activities in the Third World and their impact on the culture, literary aesthetics and practices.

## **Chapter 1: Contesting World Literature**

### **1.1.0 Emergence of World Literature in Europe**

Since the beginning of human history, nations and cultures have become closer to each other daily. The world has transformed from ancient kingdoms and imperial states to nation-states and now into a global village. Technological advancements in the field of communication have contributed to this change. This change has affected not only the economic but also the social fabric of life. Ideas and information now flow more quickly among nations than ever.

Language and cultural unity have an essential role in world literature. In the Renaissance, the status quo of Latin, a uniting force for continental Europe, was challenged, and local languages and cultures created their local literature and gave rise to national literatures. This new literature and its writers were restricted to their languages. However, due to the surge in global trade, communication techniques, and translations facilitating rapid cultural exchange in the 19th century, literature travelled more quickly among nations. Thus, cultures and literatures interacted more swiftly, partly due to the alternate ways of publishing and circulation. This development facilitated the inception of world literature as a field.

World literature as a concept first emerged in Europe in Germany in the first quarter of the 19th century. However, immediately after its inception, it was practised as comparative literature. It gradually spread across Europe and then to different parts of the world. Numerous comparative literature departments and journals were established across Europe. After World War II, it went into crisis, almost on the verge of becoming obsolete. However, at the turn of the century, comparatists critically debated its theoretical and critical aspects. Many suggested alternative fields in its stead, such as translation studies, world literature and comparative cultural studies. In the post-war era, world literature became prominent in the US, and David

Damrosch (1957- ), a well-known scholar in comparative and world literature today, gave it a new life.

An overview of the intellectual discussions on world literature indicates a few persistent problems that critics of world literature still struggle with. Damrosch compiles these problems in his book *World Literature in Theory and Practice*. These problems include: the division between ‘national literatures and the broader frameworks of regional and world literature’ (5); the effect of world literature on local literature; whether world literature seeks to identify unities among literature or do the unities serve as projections of values of great-power upon other cultures; should world literature be studied in translation or in their original language; what should world literature include?; and what is the value of popular literature for world literature?

To define world literature is to perform a very daring task. First, the constituents of the term itself are too subjective and broad to define. What ‘world’ are we talking about? And what literature are we looking into? Secondly, the term itself is very broad to deal with. Does this include the total sum of all the literature in the world? If not, then what literature is included, what is not, and why? Is there any canon of world literature? What is the link between world literature, comparative literature and translation studies? The inherent perplexity in the term does not easily define its boundaries. Since its inception almost two centuries ago, the discussion has ebbed and flowed in different forms, but a concrete resolution has not yet been achieved. However, world literature can be any literature that crosses its cultural boundaries of origin and enters into another cultural through translation or through the same language with global accessibility.

### 1.2.0 Goethe and Origin of World Literature

World literature, as a concept, was first introduced in 1827 by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) (D'haen 9). He was a German writer, novelist, playwright, poet and statesman who first used 'Weltliteratur,' now known as world literature. Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854), Goethe's disciple, made Weltliteratur famous when he published his *Conversation with Goethe* in 1835. Eckermann first noted it in his journal on 15 January 1827.

In his *Conversations*, Eckermann, Goethe's pupil in the last years of his life, provides sufficient details on how Goethe thought of and practised Weltliteratur. The *Conversations* notes 21 entries on it. The book shows Goethe actively engaging with the works of foreign writers, in original and translation, discussing and recommending them to others. He also enjoys his works in translation, benefiting from the diverse reading habits and accepting their influence manifested in his writings. Goethe names this practice as Weltliteratur.

Goethe does not provide a precise definition of Weltliteratur. He keeps the discussion open and proclaims that 'the epoch of World-literature is at hand, and everyone must strive to hasten its approach' (qtd. in *World Literature in Theory and Practice* 19-20). He imagines Weltliteratur as a practice of writers interacting, making networks and exchanging ideas, a channel of 'transnational communication among ... intellectuals' (D'haen 8), not an amalgamation of literature in compilations. Reading a review of his work in translation, he proclaims that 'a universal world literature is in process of formation' (qtd. in Strich 349) through continuous engagement with the world's literature.

Goethe's Weltliteratur came in reaction to the rising jingoism of national literatures, which he calls an 'unmeaning term' (Damrosch 19-20). The multitude of languages and cultures since the Renaissance, which fostered narrow nationalism in literature, bothered Goethe. The joy

in the company of great writers, facilitated by the new fast modes of communication and the longing for the political unification of Germany, compelled him to propose and advocate for Weltliteratur.

Goethe's Weltliteratur fosters humanism. Goethe thought that writers across borders cooperate and engage with each other in 'a world literary dialogue' (Pizer 24) to eliminate all the differences for a common goal. This foreign engagement acts as a mirror in refining the source literature by reflecting its unique and new dimensions in translation. Through this opportunity, different literatures will 'have a chance of correcting each other's errors' (qtd. in Strich 349) and strengthen themselves in various aspects of art. Weltliteratur, in this sense, acts like a literary policing agent that corrects the behaviour of a literary practice for its nourishment.

The translation is pivotal for Goethe's Weltliteratur. It not only serves the target culture but also the source culture by giving a new life to the source text in translation. The vigour and strength of a literary work in which people no longer take pleasure and find no nourishment are 'reborn in translation' (qtd. in Strich 22).

Goethe's Weltliteratur is not a well-defined and properly demarcated concept. He sees it as a practice of writers and a humanistic enterprise in which they seek collaboration of minds and peaceful coexistence. However, the concept became popular and many writers subsequently took it up. On the contrary, it was realised and practised through comparative literature and the way Goethe thought of the concept could not get promoted. Initially, it moved around Germany and France, and then slowly across Europe with a strong French influence. After World War II, comparative literature went into crisis. In the US, the discipline took a new shape and methodology. At the turn of the century, world literature emerged as a discipline, and till now, it is struggling to solidify its theoretical grounds.

### 1.3.0 Comparative Literature and World Literature

When it circulated in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *Weltliteratur* was not popular by its name. Different terms like ‘general literature,’ ‘comparative literature,’ and ‘universal literature’ (D’haen 18-19) were used for world literature. The newly conceived idea of *Weltliteratur* was taken simultaneously with comparative literature when it moved across Europe. Many used both terms interchangeably, but comparative literature was the dominant term and field. So, *Weltliteratur* became popular as Comparative Literature.

The rise of comparative literature immediately became a discipline, and anthologies and journals began to be published. The first among comparatists to theorise and institutionalise comparative literature was Hugo Meltzl (1846-1908), a Hungarian professor and scholar who set up a polyglot journal that published literature in around 10 languages. His journal reiterated Goethe’s concept of *Weltliteratur*. Stating the reason for establishing his journal, he says, ‘Our journal intends to be a meeting place of authors, translators and philosophers of all nations’ (Meltzl 37) where ‘nationality as individuality of a people should be regarded as sacred and inviolable’ (39). In his journal, translation and comparative literary history held importance in fostering a nationally based internationalism. Like Goethe, he believed true world literature could be created by emphasising cultural and linguistic specificity.

New critical discussions and theoretical perspectives emerged as the scope of comparative literature, the deviation from *Weltliteratur*, enlarged and authors from different countries interacted with it. Irish lawyer and scholar Hutcheson Macaulay Posnett (1855 – 1927) introduced comparative literature in the UK and New Zealand. He saw it in evolutionary terms and argued that it is in the middle stage of literary evolution, which has the ‘potential for universality and a new understanding of humanity's relation to nature’ (Posnett 42). He declared

that this ‘universalising of literature’ (43) had distinctive modes of reflective and critical modes of imitation. He believes that in the future, it will achieve a universality through the common and shared pattern of literary production.

In the early 20th century, Tagore (1861-1941) and Zheng Zhenduo (1898-1958), outside the European boundaries, were influenced by Goethe’s idea of *Weltliteratur*. Tagore, in his speech at the Indian National Council of Education, referred to World Literature instead of Comparative Literature, for which he was requested to give a lecture. He saw it from a humanistic perspective, as Goethe did. In the Goethean spirit, he instructs the readers to regain their lost humanity ‘by knowing, befriending, and serving fellow humans’ to become ‘great soul[s]’ (Tagore 49). Like Goethe, Tagore did not dare to define World Literature. He says, ‘Do not so much as imagine that I would guide your way through world literature ... literature is not my writing added to yours and to someone else’s’ (57).

In the meantime, Zheng, a Chinese literary modernist, wanted to broaden Chinese literary horizons by focusing on translating and unifying all the world's literature. Instead of comparative literature, he proposed the unification of the ‘entire world's literature’ (Zheng 67), a different deviation from Goethe’s *Weltliteratur*, which can enhance and benefit one’s culture through translations and active engagement with it. In his view, a synthetic study of all the world’s literature could help sketch out literary universalism. It could be achieved by knowing the world's literature, how it was influenced, and how it influenced other literatures. His sole emphasis was on translation. He believed all literature was translatable and its values and enjoyment could be restored even by an ‘ordinary and conservative translator’ (64).



### 1.3.1 Comparative Literature in Crisis After World War II

After World War II, the landscape of comparative literature began to change.

Comparative literature's overall structure, debate, and practice changed dramatically with the political and cultural power shift to the US after World War II. The scope expanded radically beyond Western Europe to establish its broader view. Comparatists, especially in the US, deviated from the French school, which they called 'obsolete methodology' (Wellek 162), for more humanistic and literary comparative literature. With the rise of theory, the relevancy and practice of the comparative method also went into further trouble.

Comparative literature's discipline went into crisis. In the postwar era, René Wellek (1903-1995), a literary scholar and comparatist, talked about 'The Crisis of Comparative Literature.' He criticised comparative literature's contemporary practice by maintaining that it has not yet established its subject matter and methodology. He called its French practice a 'mere subdiscipline investigating data about foreign sources and reputations or writers' (163), leading it into an unnecessary war for national and cultural prestige.

Further perplexity to the subject was added by René Etiemble (1909-2002), a French literary critic, essayist, and comparatist who advocated the inclusion of all non-Western literature. He examined the content of different contemporary anthologies and criticised them for their limited scope that supported their narrow self-proclaimed conception of nationalist world literature. He regarded it as a continuous violation of Goethe's conception of *Weltliteratur*.

Etiemble demanded the revival of Goethe's *Weltliteratur* via a comprehensive system of comparative literature that would enlarge its present scope. He believes a thorough understanding of different nations' literature and languages and an active translation practice would break down the narrow boundary. He proposed 'to organise our studies via a truly

international association of comparatists,' (95) to practically encompass all the world's best writing.

Different literary and cultural theorists proposed various alternatives to comparative literature during the crisis. They proposed comparative cultural studies, translation studies and world literature as plausible alternatives. While previously, Etiemble proposed to widen the sphere of comparative literature, Edward Said (1935-2003), a literary and cultural critic, on the other hand, was sceptical of the whole phenomenon of comparative literature due to the rise of multiple theories. Due to the inapplicability of theory in every cultural context, Said argued that 'there is no theory capable of covering, closing off, predicting all the situations in which it might be useful ... no social or intellectual system can be so dominant as to be unlimited in its strength' (Said 241). Thus, for Said, 'theory ... can never be complete' (241). So, he completely rejected the idea of a comparative literature discipline, arguing that it defies the Goethean spirit of inclusion.

At such a troubled hour, Moretti and Casanova, two prominent critics of comparative literature, proposed a systematic study of the circulation patterns of literature. Earlier, comparative literature was seen as an exchange of ideas among cultures. These two theorists proposed a more comprehensive study of literature but with a Eurocentric view. Such proposals sparked controversies from postcolonial critics, but their pioneering work gave a new dimension to assessing the circulation of literature, authors, and genres across cultures.

Moretti calls comparative literature a problem. He says that it demands 'a new critical method' (Conjectures 55). After studying and analysing different patterns in different literatures, he admits that the 'world literary system' is simultaneously '*one* and *unequal*' (56) due to the forced marginalisation by Western literary influence and hegemony. In the hope of finding some

solution, Moretti proposes ‘distant reading’ for a holistic analysis of the system. He lambasts the idea of close reading of texts as ‘very few texts taken very seriously’ (57). However, Moretti knows that such a daring task cannot be done without ‘collective work’ (*More Conjectures* 75). Amidst controversies, he maintains that ‘theories will never abolish inequality: they can only hope to explain it’ (77).

On the other hand, Casanova signals the presence of ‘world literary space’ (194) at the core of literatures of the world rather than a world literary system. This space is also not clear from ‘hierarchy and inequality’ (200), but she maintains that literary spaces are only dependent on political and economic spaces for their emergence, and later, they acquire autonomy. She believes that such spaces can only be measured by the ‘aesthetic scale of time’ (194). An aesthetic text appears for her within a ‘global structure’ where their extrinsic and intrinsic aspects are reconciled. She claims that their distinction ends, and national and world literature become one.

Amongst such troubled discussions, the discipline of Comparative Literature was announced dead by Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak (1942- ), a literary and feminist critic. She proposes to adopt alternative methodologies for comparative literature. The inclusion of alternate literature and anthologies pushed and challenged its boundaries further. Postmodernism and postcolonialism challenged its dimensions, practices, and existence. Some figures like Homi Bhabha (1949- ), another postcolonial and cultural critic, alternatively argued that its future would be in postcolonial literature. Ravitha Krishnaswamy (1960- ), a postcolonial literary critic and theorist, proposed to expand the discipline’s narrow Western critical horizons in favour of world literary knowledge. With every new theory, the field of comparative literature remained troubled.

However, at the turn of the twenty-first century, a wealth of new critical and theoretical discussions emerged to reshape the discipline. Writers like Franco Moretti (1950- ), Pascal Casanova (1959- ), Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak (1942- ), Susan Bassnett (1945- ), Emily Apter (1957- ), Christopher Prendergast (1942- ), Jonathan Arac (1945- ), and David Damrosch (1957- ), to mention only a few, fuelled the debate on the renovation of the discipline. As a result of this renewed critical and theoretical discussion, World Literature emerged through the rubble of the discipline which due since Goethe's inception of *Weltliteratur*.

The renewed interest in world literature is also due to translation studies. Bassnett, a leading translation theorist and scholar of comparative literature, and Apter, a leading translation theorist, argue that world literature owes more to translation studies. Bassnett views translation studies as complementary to world literature. In her view, translation studies could revive the emerging discipline of World Literature. Referring to its potential, she says 'what is significant today about the growth of world literature is that it offers a reappraisal of the significance of translation and proposes a shift of focus onto interconnectedness, on global literary and cultural flows on the one hand, and on questions of agency on the other' (Bassnett 239).

Parallel to Bassnett, Apter argues that interests and advancements in translation studies renewed the discussion in World Literature. The discipline now owes a lot to translation studies. However, translation is still taken very casual in all this activity, especially regarding producing equivalents and successful transference of meaning.

It can be observed that after Goethe, the definition of world literature oscillated around what is aesthetically more valuable and what encompasses more universal values in the form of comparative literature. It persisted till the turn of the 21st century when the term got again along the lines of Goethe's *Weltliteratur*. Recently, some practitioners of world literature, like Zhang

Longxi, have advocated that a full use of all ideas of world literature must be made to arrive at a good understanding and practice of world literature. Longxi, after a historical overview, lauds world literature's conceptual flexibility and concludes by suggesting that 'the dynamic mix of new entries' (522) from all around the world is its strength and secret of success in today's world, and we must make use of it.

In recent years, David Damrosch has tried to revive the field of world literature based on Goethe's footprints to give it a firm standing and methodology. He is a reviving figure in the field of World Literature and Comparative Literature. Despite the efforts to revive it, the idea of world literature is still open for debate, and no fixation is imposed or inherent in its definition. Prendergast, a literary critic, strictly asserts that world literature is not at all Goethe's idea and argues that 'it belongs to no-one in particular by virtue of the fact that its determinate shape and content are as yet far from clear' (*Debating World Literature*, viii).

#### **1.4.0 Damrosch's World Literature**

David Damrosch (1957- ) is a renowned American literary critic and scholar who extensively writes on Comparative Literature and World Literature. Currently, he is the Ernest Bernbaum Professor at Harvard University and director of the Institute for World Literature. He is also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Formerly, he was the president of the American Comparative Literature Association (ACLA). His famous books include *Around the World in 80 Books* (2021), *What is World Literature?* (2003), *The Princeton Sourcebook in Comparative Literature* (2009), and *The Routledge Companion to World Literature* (2011) etc.

Damrosch closely follows Goethe's Weltliteratur. In his book *What is World Literature?*, he tries to restore world literature as practised and imagined by Goethe. The methods, strategies, and procedures through which he engaged with world literature act as blueprints for Damrosch in

analysing and theorising world literature today. The differences in practices, strategies, and similarities of themes that Goethe liked about foreign texts are also practised in true spirit by Damrosch and illustrated in his other book, *How to Read World Literature?* He finds Goethe's Weltliteratur less a work in practice than a network of international writers who exchange ideas with each other.

#### **1.4.1 Theoretical Framework: David Damrosch's World Literature**

David Damrosch's world literature will be used as a theoretical framework to guide this study. Damrosch emphasises the translation, circulations, gains and losses in translation, and foreign manifestation as the key aspects of a global literary text. According to Damrosch, a literary text undergo transformation when it go beyond the domestic literary and cultural landscape. Its translation and interpretation is influenced by many cultural, political, economic, literary, non-literary etc., aspects. Taking Damrosch's theory as a theoretical framework, the current study will analyse the Urdu translations of *Animal Farm* and *1984* to determine the politics of translation inherent in theses translations.

#### **1.4.2 Circulation as World Literature**

Damrosch's world literature primarily depends upon circulation. He calls it 'a mode of circulation and reading' (*What is World Literature* 5). Squarely rejecting any criticism directed against the merits and validity of world literature, Damrosch insists on its full validity. He rejects any criticism against world literature's vastness, its lack of rigid common ground for analysis, the varied critical systems of the worlds in which individual literatures are written, and the feebleness of world literature for falling prey to ecotourism and global babble. In its stead, he rescues the idea on the basis of circulation.

World literature is defined by Damrosch as those literary works that ‘circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language ... [it] could include any work that has ever reached beyond its home base’ (*What is World Literature* 4). He explains that when a work is ‘being read *as* literature’ and ‘[circulates] out into a broader world beyond its linguistic and cultural point of origin,’ it becomes world literature. Further, a literary work can even enter into and fall out of the realm of world literature beyond a threshold point through this double-fold criterion (6).

The perplexity and instability at the core of world literature are resolved by Damrosch by relying on ‘phenomenology’ (*What is World Literature* 6) rather than ‘ontology’ of the phenomena from a global perspective. He directs all his attention on the circulation and description of the practice of world literature across time and space. This postmodern approach of acceptability and inclusivity via circulation for all types of texts welcomes variability and celebrates it as a feature, which before it was an unresolvable problem for world literature.

Damrosch also tries to resolve the issue of the canon of world literature. He believes world literature is either ‘an established body of literature,’ ‘as an evolving canon of *masterpieces*,’ or ‘as multiple *windows on the world*’ (*What is World Literature* 15). The first refers to the classics, the second to those that compete with the classics, and the third refers to those that ‘[serve] as windows into foreign world’ whether they are masterpieces or not or have any link to the ‘differing worlds’ (15).

### **1.4.3 World Literature and Foreign Manifestation**

It is imperative to note how world literature manifests itself outside the country of origin. Through translation, world literature takes on a new life in a new world, redefining and reframing its images for new cultural contexts. Literary works get three types of responses

abroad: they are viewed in *difference*, *similarity*, or a *like-but-unlike* relation. Damrosch believes that ‘a productive change in our own perceptions and practices’ (*What is World Literature* 11-12) occurs in the third type of response.

External influences also affect the manifestation of world literature abroad. Damrosch believes that due to some particular circumstances, a work of literature ‘*manifests* differently abroad than it does at home’ (*What is World Literature* 6). He alerts his readers of the ‘politics and economics’ (*How to Read World Literature* 2) involved in such influences. He warns that the ‘complex and ... troubled histories of imperial conquest, along with the unequal flows of commerce and capital’ (3) profoundly affect the selection of literary works. Similarly, the translator’s choices and biases are influential in shaping the translated work, its meaning, and its orientation. Interestingly, world literature may also, at a given time, ‘[functions] as world literature for some readers but not [for] others’ (*What is World Literature* 6). To monitor and keep in check such manifestations, a reader must critically work on the ‘phenomenology’ of that work rather than its ‘ontology’ (6).

#### **1.4.4 World Literature and Translation**

Translation is central to world literature’s production and circulation. Either writers are involved with the world's literatures while producing their work, or their work gets circulated through translation into different languages (*How to Read World Literature* 4). In both cases, translation remains pivotal. Either world literature circulates in translation or in its language, which has an international reach. Any literature written in global languages like English, French, Arabic, or any other language is considered world literature from its inception.

Translation has some innate problems that make studying world literature a very perplexing subject. Works get a new life of their own after translation. Damrosch notes that



‘translation is at once a linguistic and a cultural project’ (*How to Read World Literature* 85). A work of world literature does not remain exclusively national or entirely linked to its source culture after translation. He elaborates that works ‘only ‘began’ in their original language’ but then ‘cease to be the exclusive products of their original culture once they are translated’ (22). They are reframed in their new cultural contexts. Its images are ‘multiply refracted in the process of transculturation’ (24). According to Damrosch, the main success of a foreign text is how well it is perceived in the new culture and how well it performs (22).

Translation incites a fear of extremism in its faithfulness to the source text. Damrosch alerts us that ‘we need to be aware of the perils of exoticism and assimilation, the extremes on the spectrum of difference and similarity’ (*How to Read World Literature* 18). These extremes can be prevented, in his view, with a certain amount of specialised knowledge and critical awareness of the translator’s choices and biases and his political and literary ideology, which he is practising and advocating. When a translator drops a portion of a text, it is crucial to discover what has been discarded and why. Damrosch also regards ‘subtlety’ as very important in translation. A translator must use footnotes to elaborate the effect and content of a perplexing subtlety that the target language’s techniques cannot present an equivalent of (92). Versions of a translation can help the reader thoroughly examine the nuances of the source text through comparisons (92).

#### **1.4.5 ‘Gains’ in World Literature**

Damrosch’s world literature stands on a solid foundation of ‘gains’ that a work takes up through translation. These gains reflect the new elements added to a text through foreign literary practices. It informs the source culture and reader with new insights and meaning attained in the

foreign culture (*What is World Literature* 7). These gains inform and enrich the original text. Goethe termed it as ‘mirroring’ in his Weltliteratur practice.

The concept of mirroring is crucial for Damrosch’s world literature. When a literary text becomes world literature, it manifests itself differently through gains or losses. Damrosch strongly emphasises these ‘gains in translations’ (*What is World Literature* 6), transformations or manifestations abroad, to validate the point of circulation and translation. Such gains distinguish between the original and the new text, as elaborated on in the last chapter of this thesis through the examples of Orwell’s novels.

### **1.5.0 Problem’s with Damrosch’s World Literature**

The reception of a text varies across time in a given culture and simultaneously across different cultures. However, according to Damrosch, due to ‘complex dynamic cultural change and contestation, ... beyond a threshold point’ (*What is World Literature* 6), a literary work may come into and go out of the realm of world literature. Nowhere in his two books does Damrosch illustrate this point through examples concerning political motifs and reasons, i.e., funded cultural and covert projects, which I elaborate later in my thesis. This blind spot is never fully realised, explained, and scrutinised.

The loss and gains in translations pose problems for world literature. It becomes essential to note what has been lost and gained and why that has happened. Such changes may reinforce stereotypical views of the source culture due to the careless or selective presentations of texts. It can either bring a genuine literary aura to the target culture through adventurous manipulation and distortion or create propaganda through deliberate rendering for financiers, publishers, or any stakeholder.

However, when stripped down of its literary values, a watered-down text acts as a stereotypical and propaganda text that only reinforces the existing prevailing ideologies and assumptions rather than introducing a new window to look into another culture. Thus, careless translation and deliberate text distortion pave the way for crude propaganda. As the Cold War has shown and I discuss in chapter two, these acts are often backed by the proponents of certain political ideologies who want mass coverage of their ideas or refutation of rival political ideas.

World literature's dependency on circulation is susceptible to making it a commodity product. With the new techniques in the printing press and distribution, literature around the globe becomes readily available anywhere. If we view Damrosch's definition through literary globalisation, which Casanova describes as an 'ongoing literary pacification process; a progressive normalization and standardization of themes, forms, languages and story-types across the globe' (*World Literature in Theory and Practice* 195), Damrosch's definition seems service to the global market. Depending on circulation, such literature may cease to exist as world literature with low sales in the market. In such a practice, if short of funds and technical support, a genuine piece of literature will find it hard to acquire a place easily on the market shelves.

Avoiding any political, ideological, hermeneutic, or canonical tussle and keeping in view the difficulty of an unattainable canon of world literature, Damrosch rescues the ungraspable concept of world literature by preferring to call it 'a mode of circulation and of reading' which applies to any literary work be it classic, modernist or contemporary (*What is World Literature* 5). He defends his assertion by saying that neither there is 'a single set canon of world literature' nor a 'single way of reading.' This 'variability,' according to Damrosch, is one of the 'constitutive features' of world literature (5).

This assertion validates the feasibility that a literary work may enter into and fall out from the category of World Literature beyond a threshold point. However, rescuing world literature on ‘circulation’ is problematic. The politics of translation may facilitate any literature’s production and circulation beyond a threshold to make it world literature. When politics cool down, it may again drop out of the threshold to ordinary literature. This definition is too general and vulnerable to the texts meant as propaganda. What cultural warriors did during the Cold War, which I have illustrated in Chapter 2, does not satisfy this definition.

### **1.6.0 Contesting Damrosch’s World Literature**

Goerge Orwell’s *Animal Farm* and *1984* are world literature given their production by the writer in a Euro-political scenario and their circulation through translations across the continents. The novels begin in the English language but spread around the globe in all major world languages. His work served as ‘multiple windows on the world,’ which denounced despotism and totalitarianism worldwide. The ‘like-but-unlike’ response they generated countered communism in the world, which was pretty much aligned with the capitalist world.

As the translations of Orwell’s work were facilitated and promoted by different cultural organisations, the target culture’s norms and needs assert very little genuine influence on the translation, marketing, and reading of the works. It reframes and refracts the promotor’s interests, ideologies, and values per se.

In the backdrop of the Cultural Cold War, Orwell’s writings were elevated to the heights as I substantiate it in the later part of my thesis. Casanova has also signalled to such a phenomenon that ‘a work declared modern is doomed to become obsolete unless elevated to the category of ‘classic’ (*World Literature in Theory and Practice* 197). The threshold that

Damrosch talks about has been crossed. Now the return seems impossible, and every time, a renewed interest is being taken in his novels with every new political scenario.

The Cultural Cold War has shown that literature, which was anti-communist or anti-capitalist, entered the markets in cheap prints and also into academia, where researchers were engaged in pseudo-scholarly articles. It circulated in popular media along with scholarly seminars and symposiums. All this was not a serious ontological attempt but this effort went in supporting a particular ideological practice and demeaning the other one.

Interestingly, we can see Western classics readily translated and available in the Pakistani market in Urdu, but we hardly hear of any Urdu text translated into global languages and being made world literature. Let alone see 18th, 19th, and 20th-century colonial trends in literature. A whole phenomenon of geopolitics, cultural wars, and the unnatural flow of literature through sponsorship for propaganda is present behind the act of translations.

In all this scenario, it seems very difficult to reach a very nuanced definition of world literature given the multitude of political purposes present behind the selective circulation of specific texts, especially during the Cold War. A definition of world literature may become a comprehensive statement if we carefully insert or exclude all that makes world literature through ‘unnatural ways.’

Even if we reach a definition on the above model, a problem remains. What has once entered world literature through unnatural means may stay there for a very long time and may gain political relevance depending upon the prevailing political conditions and the publisher in whose interest it is being published continuously. Thus, the threshold may never fall down, making it difficult to place it at its genuinely earned position.

Given these problems in the definition of Damrosch's world literature, this study works on the phenomenology, as Damrosch put it, of Orwell's work in Urdu. It focuses on the 'selection of literary works', 'translator's choices and biases', and the facilitated circulation of Orwell's work to support such claims.

This phenomenon of regaining prominence again in the market raises various questions regarding *Animal Farm* and *1984* and the definition of world literature. What is there in *Animal Farm* that makes it to Khaqan Abbasi's speech in the parliament? How Orwell's both novels are perceived in Pakistan? What is world literature, and how does it work? How does the global scenario affect world literature and its circulation and printing in Pakistan? What are the implications of political motifs and conflicts on world literature and its academic discipline?

This thesis is an effort to address all the above questions. In Chapter 1, I explore the historical development of the definition and discipline of world literature since its inception while also discussing the inherent instability in Damrosch's definition of world literature dependent on the phenomena of production and circulation. In Chapter 2, I extend the discussion to the Cultural Cold War, its institutions and George Orwell's (1903 - 1950) *Animal Farm* and *1984* in the global political scenario and Orwell's role in the Cold War. Chapter 3 discusses different Urdu translations of Orwell's *Animal Farm* and Chapter 4 discusses different Urdu translations of *1984*. In the end, I sum up the discussion to conclude the debate on world literature, Orwell, and the Cultural Cold War.

### **1.7.0 Statement of the problem**

*Animal Farm* and *1984* were widely translated and distributed by the US and the UK worldwide. Many official US and UK archives mention America's and British Foreign Office's covert involvement in the dissemination, translation, and subsidisation of these books in different

countries and Pakistan to counter Russian influence. The politics of translation associated with the dissemination of literature during the Cultural Cold War has not been academically scrutinized in Pakistan. By studying the different translations, responses, and related fiction, I explore the ideological lineage of these writings as an aspect of the Cultural Cold War in Pakistan and its implication for the definition of world literature as proposed by Damrosch.

### 1.7.1 Research Objectives

- To contest Damrosch's world literature's problematic definition and criteria for becoming world literature.
- To study how and why George Orwell became a tool for the Cultural Cold War.
- To study the politics of translation behind the Urdu translations of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984*.

### 1.7.2 Research Questions

1. What are the political dimensions inherent in the translations of George Orwell's novels into Urdu, particularly in terms of the 'politics of translation' in Cold War Pakistan?
2. How the criteria for becoming world literature, as defined by Damrosch, are problematic given the conditions under which *Animal Farm* and *1984* were translated and circulated in Urdu in Pakistan?

### 1.7.3 Methodology

This research is qualitative. It undertakes a textual analysis of the translations, related fiction, and responses to the primary texts. It presents a synthesis of different definitions of world literature and supports it with examples from *Animal Farm* and *1984* in light of the politics of translation to counter Damrosch's definition.

The research has undergone the analysis of four different translations of *Animal Farm* and two different translations of *1984*. These translations are analysed individually and also comparatively. While doing analysis, they have been critiqued through their use of different translation techniques in relation to the politics of translation and have been evaluated that how they have contributed to the meaning making process.

World literature owes more to translation studies than any other discipline. Susan Bassnett views translation studies as complementary to world literature (Bassnett 239). Thus it is important for the analysis of world literature that an analytical methodology is adapted from translation studies.

Prior to the 1980s, translation studies were focused on linguistic and formalistic inquiry of translations. However, with the influences from postcolonial and cultural studies, translation studies tend to focus on the complex interplay of political, social, cultural and ideological factors involved in the process of translation. This new mode of inquiry highlighted the influence of translation as a key factor in shaping the cultural identities and power dynamics. This change came to be termed as the ‘cultural turn’ in translation studies.

Translation studies experienced a big change in its methodology, shifting its focus from mere linguistic inquiries towards nuanced culturally situated inquiries into translations. Susan Bassnett’s *Translation Studies* (1980) is fundamental in proposing to introduce cultural consideration in the field. Later, Gayatri Spivak’s *The Politics of Translation* (1992) proposed the existence of a complex relationship between translation and power dynamics in the cultural context. Work on these dynamics were further developed by many cultural theorists, however, the work of Andre Lefevere and Susan Bassnett in their edited book titled *Constructing*



*Cultures* (1998) is notable which introduces the cultural manipulation theory of translation commonly known as the ‘cultural turn’.

The current study employs a methodology based on Andre Lefevere and Susan Bassnett’s cultural manipulation theory to analyse the translations. Baicheng Zhang, a Chinese researcher, in his article *Innovative Thinking in Translation Studies: The Paradigm of Bassnett’s and Lefevere’s “Cultural Turn”* (2013) has further developed an analytical framework based on Bassenett’s and Lafever’s theory to study cultural manipulation in different translations. With some necessary changes, the model developed by Zhang has been adapted in this study to make it fit for the current analysis.

Translation is seen as a cultural interaction (*Constructing Cultures* 06) by Lefevere and Bassnett. They believe that it acts as a primary tool in manipulating the society to ‘construct’ a desired culture (39). In the process, the translator ‘recreates’ (26) the source text (ST) rather than just copying it. He essentially ‘rewrites’ (09) the text to make the literature function in a certain way, reflecting ideology or politics. This rewriting is essentially manipulation which ‘serves the power’ (*Introduction*, xvi). So the translation functions as a shaping force.

The purpose of translation, for Bassnett and Lefevere, is the transfer of ‘cultural capital’ (*Constructing Cultures* 04). In the process of translation, the cultural capital of a source culture gets transferred into the target culture. Translation regulates the distribution, transmission and regulation of the cultural capital among or between cultures. The distribution and regulation of translation depends upon two factors i.e. Ideology and patronage. These factors brought about the manipulation in the translations.

The manipulation tools used in the process of translation identified and adapted from *Constructing Cultures* by Zhang in his article are addition, omission, and rewriting (1922-1923).

Addition and omission can be done in good faith or in bad faith. If there is culturally deficient information in the ST then an addition is done in a good faith to fill the deficient gap with relevant information to make cultural comprehension possible. Similarly, an omission carried out to eliminate overloaded information may be in good faith. However, additions and omissions are manipulative tools influenced by ideology and patronage. Thus, they act in the service of power to construct a culture. Rewriting is the lifting of a work or writer ‘beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin.’ Some information may be completely ignored as irrelevant and some may be taken up or replaced by cultural oriented information.

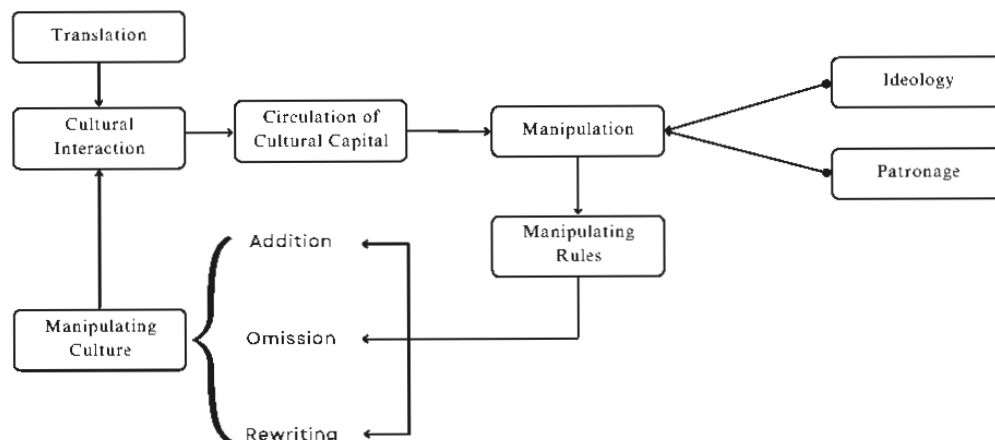


Fig. Analysis Methodology Adapted from Bassnett's And Lefevere's Manipulation Theory

The study will focus on the translations as cultural interaction helping the circulation of cultural capital from a source cultural to a target culture. The manipulative tools used to carry out this cultural transaction are addition, omission, and rewriting. These manipulative tools are influenced by the ideology and patronage which brings about this transaction. The analysis of the translated texts will be scrutinized through these parameters as illustrated in the figure and elaborated here in this paragraph.

Moreover, apart from the analysis of translations, the graphic content of the novels is also discussed in relation to the meaning making process and its significance in explaining, amplifying and providing context to the meaning of the content.

Additionally and more importantly, the research also lay weight on the importance and availability of the archival documents to justify the Cultural Cold War politics. However, due to the non-availability and restricted access to the online archives, the study has relied heavily on the secondary sources for some key discussions to relate the core argument to the Cultural Cold War. Meanwhile, some very important and relevant archives of the Books in Translation Program were available and were utilised in the research.

#### **1.7.4 Significance of the study**

The Cultural Cold War in Pakistan has not been properly studied. Few studies like Saadia Toor's "The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan" and Ali Raza's "Congress for Cultural Freedom and Cold War Politics in Pakistan" are present on the Cultural Cold War in Pakistan. This study sheds light on the effects of the Cultural Cold War that have influenced the literary spaces of Pakistan through book diplomacy. This study is also important because it unveils the politics of translation involved in the circulation of George Orwell's work and his use as an effective Cultural Cold War tool. This study is also significant because it revisits the definition of world literature by contesting its humanistic perspective in light of the political motives behind the circulation of particular texts as 'world literature.'

## Chapter 2: George Orwell and Cultural Cold War

### 2.1.0 Cultural Cold War

Cold War refers to the absence of direct physical confrontation and the presence of a perpetual narrative and proxy war that seeks dominance over any other competing nation and culture. Cold War is majorly fought with words. Propaganda suits it better, as it operates through hostile stereotyping. It plays with the psychology of the masses and manipulates information to achieve desired results, create a consensus and prepare the masses for an upcoming change or an event (Major and Mitter 6-7). The term Cold War was first used by George Orwell in 1945 in his essay “You and the Atomic Bomb,” published in *Tribune*. In history, the Cold War refers to the period of perpetual geopolitical tension between the Soviet Union and the Western Bloc from 1947, after World War II, till the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

After World War II, the relations between the USSR and the West, mainly the US and Britain, intensified. Their political manifestation appeared in Churchill's 1946 Iron Curtain speech and the Truman Doctrine of 1947. Following the 1949 atomic bomb tests of the USSR, the Cold War firmly changed into more rigorous proxy wars, cultural warfare, propaganda, and complex cultural diplomacy. Any military endeavours seemed improbable and highly destructive. Truman and Eisenhower were the first presidents in the US to use propaganda as official Cold War tools (Barnhisel 19). For Americans, the Cold War operated on the logic that it was ‘the brave and essential response of free men to communist aggression’ (Schlesinger 23).

Cold War’s first target, outside its originating countries, was the European states, where World War II created a leadership and ideological void. Both the US and the USSR wanted to fill that gap by imposing their existing model of ideological governance to extend their influence. After Europe, the two powers turned to the third world - the global south - to fill the political

vacuum left by the process of decolonisation. Simultaneously, with the political Cold War, a Cultural Cold War extended its realm for cultural hegemony.

The cultural, artistic and aesthetic offshoot of the political Cold War was called the Cultural Cold War. It was a struggle for intellectual and cultural manifestation, cultural prestige and ideological propagation along the conflicting lines of dominance, which became the real face of the Cold War at its peak. The primary targets of this struggle were those countries that were struggling for either independence from their colonial masters or political autonomy and cultural validity after World War II. Films, art, paintings, music, theatre, books, magazines, journals, radio, and novels were the basic tools for this cultural offensive during the Cultural Cold War. No artistic front was left untouched.

The Cultural Cold War was a daring endeavour by the US, the UK, and the USSR. The artistic machinery involved was backed by the spying agencies and their sister organisations, even if it was voluntary. In Britain, the Information Research Department (IRD) of the Foreign Office, established in 1948 by Clement Atlee's Labour government for propaganda, and in the US, the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) were involved in almost every cultural endeavour. Many private organisations collaborated with the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), a Cultural Cold War institution established in 1949 by the CIA for propaganda dissemination, and the IRD to fight the Cultural Cold War.

Soft power, achieved through the cultural offensive, was pivotal to the Cultural Cold War. Joseph Nye, a critic and writer on soft power, defines it as 'the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments' (Nye, *Introduction* x). He explains that this policy of attraction was exerted in the Cold War through foreign policy, political values and

culture. Both the US and the USSR utilised soft power in the Cultural Cold War to manifest their cultural presence abroad, influencing and attracting Europe and the global South towards themselves.

Some scholars see the Cultural Cold War through the perspective of cultural diplomacy. Scholars like Giles Scott-Smith in his book “The Politics of Apolitical Culture” and Greg Barnhisel in his book “Cold War Modernists” explicate the covert involvement of the agencies in the Cultural Cold War under the dynamics of cultural diplomacy. They view the Cultural Cold War as presenting a positive image of American and British culture abroad through any means available. Their argument and analysis try to set a more positive and apologetic point of view for such political actions in the Cold War.

Cultural diplomacy is believed to have been born after World War I. It was a major tool for influencing public opinion. The new communication technologies were very influential in shaping public opinion and improving the image of an organisation or a country (Barnhisel 11). However, the US exercised its cultural diplomacy through the help of private partners mostly. The public-private initiatives were the backbone for achieving the US interests abroad. These private partners were given materials to disseminate to portray the official image of the US with a seemingly non-partisan strand to make it more effective and useful.

Art was used as a creative diplomacy in the Cold War. Modernism later took the shape of American Imperialism and became an emblem for American Art, representing the US's cultural insignia, heritage, high culture and artistic achievements. It was promoted and circulated across the globe as the US's diplomatic face. Apolitical art and abstract expressionism were cultural and strategic weapons used by the US for this purpose in the art market (Barnhisel 4). In art, according to an online article by Jonathon Keats, Popular Art and Abstract Expressionism were

‘blatantly [reflecting] ... capitalist, consumerist, and individualist ideologies’ of the West. It mentions that works of American artists like Jackson Pollock, Robert Motherwell, Willem de Kooning, and Mark Rothko were used by the US government as Cold War weapons against communist art (Keats). Along with Abstract Expressionism, Jazz music was also popularised by the US as a tool of freedom and a cultural emblem of the US (Wang 301-305). Similarly, social realism and Sot Art, which is a combination of pop art and social realism, were popular communist art depicting communist values and ideals. The USSR controlled art and privileged social realism over any other art. Abstract art was deemed unintelligible and rendered useless by the USSR.

Films also played a vital role in fighting the Cultural Cold War. Films were used to constantly shape the respective audience’s reality and othering each other. An online blog by the University of North Carolina says that there is no denying that ‘the American film industry won the cinematic Cold War’ against the USSR (“Movies | a Visual Guide to the Cold War”). Films by the Americans, like *The Iron Curtain* (1948) and *The Hoaxters* (1952), were anti-communist, and films by the Russians, like *The Russian Question* (1948), *Meeting on the Elbe* (1949), and *The Secret Mission* (1950) were anti-American. These films were promoted to validate and reinforce ‘American freedom’ and ‘Communist collectivism’ by Americans and Russians, respectively.

The Cultural Cold War was very successful in shaping imagined reality worldwide. It also shaped the literary and cultural landscapes of different countries. In India, for example, Zecchini, a scholar on print culture and the politics of literature, argues that one of the factors that contributed to the nurturing of modernism was the Cold War. Pro-American, anti-communist, anti-establishment, dissident, and Avant-garde literature was circulated in official

and unofficial ways through translations, book programs, subsidised copies, Voice of America radio broadcasts, magazines, and cheap publishing houses. The worldliness of the American disseminated literature hijacked the Indian literary spaces and made India a chess board for the Communist and American literary war (Zecchini 174-176).

The main tool used by the Cold Warriors during the Cultural Cold War was using books and printing culture as weapons. A continuous struggle to claim ideological superiority manifested itself, along with other factors, through books. They were used to influencing each other in the country of interest. In the absence of first-hand knowledge, the USSR and the USA shaped the reality and perception of each other's masses through different discursive means. Pristed and Magnúsdóttir, researchers on book diplomacy in the Cold War, argue in their chapter titled "Book Diplomacy: Soviet–American Publishing Relations and the Moscow Book Exhibitions in the Late Cold War" that how the Soviet Union and the US used books to counter each other. They say that the Soviet Union had a state monopoly over book publishing during the Cold War. They only allowed what the state deemed as adequate, censored what looked culturally inappropriate, focused on anti-American themes, and published the American progressive writers who denounced American society. In the American free market, the USA sponsored many translations and book projects to propagate American values and culture and disseminated anti-communist literature worldwide to denounce Communism (Pristed and Magnúsdóttir 163-178).

The West's cultural offensive was intricate and nuanced. It utilised every medium of culture to disseminate Western values and interests abroad. Most importantly, it showed its active presence worldwide through these cultural endeavours. One of the reasons for this success was the public-private partnership of the US government agencies with the private operating



firms and foundations that were active in the cultural programs. Dozens of private organisations were willingly cooperating with the US and UK governments to achieve their diplomatic and political goals abroad. Organisations like the Ford Foundation, the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), the United States Information Agency (USIA), Voice of America (VOA), Radio Free Europe (RFE), Information Research Department (IRD) of the UK, Obor Foundation, Asia Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and Franklin Book Program etc., were very active during the Cold War. They collaborated to achieve the interests of the US foreign cultural policy by setting up book clubs and reading corners to influence every aspect of cultural exchange. Some of these worked overtly, and some worked covertly to achieve the goals.

Many writers collaborated closely with covert agencies to achieve foreign cultural policy goals. Some worked knowingly, but many were unwittingly exposed to the covert agencies' active presence, control, and influence. Some writers were used as good sources for communist polemics and anti-Soviet testaments. Ex-communists and non-aligned communists were valuable assets for the covert agencies. Interestingly, they were called the Non-Communist Left (NCL) in the CIA headquarters.

George Orwell was an important asset to the Western bloc during the Cold War. Covert agencies widely used Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* to contain Russian influence within the US and abroad, especially in European countries and the global South. They were crucial primary texts for the Cold Warriors and even essential reading for the covert agents themselves. The agencies got the novels' rights, translated them into as many languages as possible, and disseminated them at as low rates as possible.

### **2.2.0 Cultural Cold War Institutions - IRD**

Strong intelligence, information exchange and propaganda agencies emerged in Europe and the US after World War II. The experiences and experiments of intelligence in colonial rule, World War I, and the Russian Revolution of 1917 provided a strong basis for gathering and exchanging information across nations. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent widespread communist influence alarmed the capitalist and non-communist countries. Distressed by such developments, the Western bloc hastened to exchange information to counter communism. Meanwhile, the rise of Fascism and Nazism slowed down the process.

The Soviet Union became an ally of the UK and the US, before World War II, against Fascism and Nazism, and a response to communism could not solidify on a governmental level. Immediately after World War II, hostilities between the Soviet Union and the Western bloc started to increase. The leadership and cultural gap in the European countries after the war led to a rivalry between communist and capitalist influence and dominance. As both the US and, a little later, the Soviet Union acquired the atomic bomb, a strong militaristic response became impractical given the new peace initiatives in the form of the United Nations. Thus, a strong political, diplomatic, and cultural war necessitated its presence.

The new political and cultural uprisings after World War II demanded new intelligence agencies. Many wartime intelligence agencies and secret services were dissolved and merged into other governmental departments to counter communism and the USSR's influence. These departments worked for disseminating systematic propaganda in the form of books, articles, movies, films, radio talks, and through available resources and sources of information.

One such department the Information Research Department (IRD) was established in was established in Britain in 1948 by Clement Atlee (1883 - 1967), the existing prime minister of the

Labour government. He first refused to make any such propaganda departments. However, later, when he was convinced by Ernest Bevin (1881 - 1951), the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and Crystopher Mayhem, a Labour politician who lobbied for it in the parliament as a political 'third force' between the Soviets and the US, he gave approval. It was the first-ever official secret agency established in the UK to counter Soviet propaganda.

IRD was the first of its kind Western anti-Soviet propaganda initiative. Its aim was to 'produce and disseminate unattributable (or grey) anti-communist propaganda in Britain and overseas' (Shaw 115). It distributed fake news, misinformation, accusations, disinformation, false letters, books, films, etc., to British intelligentsia, who then reproduced this work to achieve the widest possible circulation. It decided to provide anti-Soviet information to ministers, Labor MPs, and British delegates abroad on an unofficial basis. It also decided to project the positive democratic socialist image of Britain as a third force in the world. It produced Category A, designated only for senior officials and ministers and Category B, which was designated for British Mission abroad who can then distribute and use the information.

IRD mainly recruited former wartime propagandists and intelligence officers and disseminated information with due care to the people of interest. Its primary focus was on journalism, but later, it also turned to publishing books. IRD would write 'personal' on the cover page of the briefing and provide it to diplomats, government officials, journalists, and writers. The non-governmental beneficiaries were told that the material was prepared for diplomats in the Foreign Office, but they were allowed to give it to persons of interest. The recipients were advised not to quote or attribute the information because it was not official yet. They were advised to destroy the information when it was no longer needed. In addition, IRD also established a publishing house, Ampersand, in 1950 for anti-communist books dissemination.

Interestingly, IRD hesitated to deploy intellectuals. In IRD's words, the intellectuals were 'too undependable' (Wilford 366) for anti-communist propaganda campaigns.

IRD's existence was kept secret until 1977. It was believed that its secrecy would showcase socialist politics as legitimate and communism as a disaster (Wilford 357). Even the parliament did not know about it for all 30 years of its existence. A handful of the intelligentsia knew about it, but the majority were unaware of the source of information they received from the IRD. It was dissolved in 1977 when David Leigh, an investigative journalist, exposed its existence. Until 1978, its existence was not even public.

After the US entered the Cultural Cold War, the IRD's directions changed significantly. The US poured much money through the Marshall Plan, an economic relief plan for Europe, into psychological warfare and covert propaganda campaigns, enumerating the subtleties through their scope and complex techniques. Soon the Britons 'were forced to accept a subordinate role in the war of words on the Soviet Union' (Wilford 354). Thus, the IRD gradually started to move in the US's direction and the struggle for projecting Britain and socialism as a third force subsided. Subsequently, it remained a supporting organisation that closely worked with the British Council and the US government in distributing propaganda overseas through the help of embassies and foreign missions.

### **2.2.1 Cultural Cold War Institutions - The Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF)**

Another Cultural Cold War institution with a greater impact was the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) established by the CIA in the US. It emerged as a successful American Cold War organisation in June 1950 as a result of a big gathering of non-communist intellectuals, scientists, philosophers, artists, writers, and ex-communists in Berlin. The congress was sponsored by the CIA with an initial fund of \$50,000 at the request of Micheal Joselsson (1908 -

1978), a key founding figure of the CCF and an active member of the Cold Warriors. It systematically fuelled the dissemination of anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

CCF worked under the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), a special unit established for propaganda work by the CIA. OPC operated under the direct control of the Department of State and Defence and was housed in the CIA's headquarters for administrative support. Frank Wisner (1909 - 1965), a key intelligence officer in the CIA, was OPC's first Chief. He organised a Psychological Warfare Workshop for the officials to excel in the art of propaganda. For a rigorous containment of the Soviet Union's influence, the CIA and OPC inhabited intellectual elites in their office.

The magazine *Der Monat* had a considerable role in the Berlin Conference and in establishing the CCF. Melvin Lasky (1920 - 2004), the editor of *Der Monat* and a CIA agent in Germany, established the magazine with the help of the US Military government in West Berlin for 'cultural politics' (Coleman 30), who also became his first editor. He 'recommended sponsoring and editing a cultural magazine that would bring to German intellectuals the best that was being written and thought in the free world' (30). The people engaged with the magazine's goals organised the Berlin conference, of which Lasky was the secretary general. In June 1950 the conference was held in which the participants agreed on denouncing communism on a grand and larger scale. In the end, the participants also agreed on a manifesto that Lasky drafted in favour of freedom and denouncing totalitarianism in its all forms. With this manifesto, the CCF came into existence. The CIA was happy with the success and proposed to establish and fund the Congress permanently. Josselson was made the head of CCF in the Paris office in 1950. He managed the CCF till 1967 when its CIA's funding was revealed.

From 1950-1967 the Congress for Cultural Freedom went through three different stages. From 1950-1958 it led a strong creative and expansive liberal offensive against Communism and its fellow travellers. From 1958-1963/4, it became a world community where it 'encouraged liberalization' (Coleman 21) and anti-communism. From 1963-1967 it retreated from many of its programs and 'operat[ed] under the shadow of the ... inevitable exposure of its funding by the CIA' (21). When it was fully exposed in 1967, the CCF was overtaken by the International Association for Cultural Freedom (IACF), which 'lost a clear sense of its mission' (21), to continue some of the CCF's programs until its dissolution in 1977.

The CCF was a cultural offensive on communism in the Cold War. It was not limited to Berlin, but it eventually spread all over Europe and the US. Later it also extended its efforts into the Third World and exerted a powerful influence on the intellectual and political atmosphere. At its peak, it operated in 30 countries and was published in almost all major languages of the world. The Congress sponsored 30 magazines worldwide, on the top was *Encounter*. After its secret funding was revealed, the Congress changed its name to IACF and started receiving funding from the Ford Foundation.

Despite being a covert Cold War institution, some writers say that it was the need of the time. For example, Peter Coleman, who worked with the Australian branch of the CCF, is adamant in endorsing the efforts of the CCF as 'a necessary war' (10) which was against the atrocities of 'Stalinism and its successors' (10). He firmly refutes any accusations regarding the direct control or dictation from any outside pressures least of all the CIA. The mission of the CCF, recalls Coleman, was to fight Fascism and Communism. Coleman recalls the overall features of the Congress. He says that it struggled throughout its tenure against right-wing

dictators. It refuted political conservatism. It had very little in common with other anti-communist outposts like churches and private businesses. It was on the left of the left.

A group of disillusioned communists from the Stalinist regime were of the most interest to the covert agencies against communism. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, many leftist intellectuals became disillusioned by the brutal Stalinist regime. They remained intact with the communist principles, but they advocated democratic socialism. This group was becoming larger with time. In the CIA headquarters, they were called Non-Communist Left or the NCL. The NCL was already popular among intellectuals as radically charged left-wingers with no organisational unity. They had a clear record of already published anti-Soviet polemics. The IRD and CIA were thinking of using them as their cultural warriors against communism as a fine front political organization.

Due to market realities and competition, these dissenters were hardly published. Taking this opportunity, the Non-Communist Left (NCL) was unified by the CCF to fight the Soviets through alleged neutral channels and to undermine Soviet propaganda and to further America's interests wittingly or unwittingly. The Congress kept its face as a non-conforming, liberal, and radical agency. However, the Congress did not show any political conservatism and rebuked any such attempt. But the CIA, which was a right-winged agency from the outset, ironically financed a left-looking NCL Congress, to further its aims.

One of the central figures to these intellectuals was Arthur Koestler (1905 - 1983). He was an important architect of the Cultural Cold War and effective propaganda. He was pivotal in establishing and brainstorming for an internationalist Cultural Cold War offensive. He worked with both the IRD and the CCF in concretising the Cultural Cold War procedures. His communist background and relations with different European national psychological warfare

sections of governments made him a key figure in establishing and gluing the NCL to one unified page in the Cultural Cold War, that predominantly operated with the economic and administrative assistance of the CIA, through Marshal Plan.

The NCL was introduced by Koestler through the collection of essays *The God that Failed* from six ex-communists. He published it with the help of Lasky, the editor of *Der Monat* and CIA's agent, in 1949. The essays contained the detailed accounts of disillusionment of those left wingers who were first communists. He published their disillusionments in 25 issues of *Der Monat*. It was then distributed throughout Europe and also in America. George Orwell, a novelist and essayist, wrote more than half of the pages of the magazine in the first two years (Harris 48). Orwell was important for propaganda in the Cold War due to his political background and his plain and clear prose style which was highly favourable for propaganda purposes. Coleman reasons that he was important because he was often mentioned with the idea of distortion of facts and his anti-Soviet and anti-communist stance were outstanding. The collection in *Der Monat* was a product of both intelligence and intelligentsia (Saunders 39).

Koestler was a friend of Orwell and had an influence on Orwell's work and later life. A critic of Orwell's studies observes that Koestler's power politics in *The Darkness at Noon* and his *The Yogi and the Commissar* influenced Orwell's *1984* (Shelden 434). They also initiated a collaborative political endeavour "League for the Rights of Man" for international human rights. The idea could not concretise because the proposal had a clause for 'psychological disarmament' on which a consensus could not build among many intellectuals. However, according to Cesarani, biographer of Koestler, the idea materialised in the form of the Congress of Cultural Freedom in 1950 when it was established by the CIA (256).



The main work of the CCF and IRD was disseminating anti-communist propaganda. A large portion of this activity was through the use of books. According to Peter Coleman, the CCF published books in Nigeria, India, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, The Philippines, Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, the UK, the US, and in Latin America. Similarly, The IRD also focused on publishing books. It mainly published books through Ampersand Ltd. for 20 years. It also published a series of Background Books, in small size, for dissemination. Initially, IRD disseminated material in Europe and gradually moved to the Middle East, South East Asia, Africa and India.

### **2.3.0 Weaponisation of Books During the Cold War**

During the Cold War, books were used as the primary weapon for the cultural offensive. Americans and Russians initiated many book programs to counter each other's influences abroad and within their own states. The active partners of the Western bloc in this endeavour were the United States Information Agency (USIA) and IRD. For such an exchange, the CIA even established an International Advisory Council (IAC) for its invoicing and the conduct of financial business regarding book publishing and the Cold War (The Zhivago Affairs 117).

IRD first contacted independent publishers to publish books 'based on IRD briefing papers' (Shaw 115). It backed a book publishing project named 'Background Books' which published almost 100 titles (Defty 171-172). The early books published by the Background Books include *Animal Farm* and *1984*. Penguin Press was also responsive to the IRD's call for publishing anti-communist books, and it published, along with other books, *Animal Farm* and *1984* (Shaw 115).

The IRD established its own press, Ampersand, in 1950 and promoted and published anti-communist writers. It also claimed in 1955 that 'it was selecting and distributing

approximately 24 anti-communist commercially published books per year' (Shaw 115). The widespread distribution of *Animal Farm* and *1984* was mainly managed by the IRD. It also managed the Arabic translation of *Animal Farm* in 1949 across the Middle East and North Africa (115).

The US State Department published Orwell in over 30 languages worldwide (Shaw 116), including Urdu (Books Published Abroad Report 1958-59). IRD and the United States Information Agency (USIA) collaborated to produce a cheap Arabic version of *Animal Farm*. At the same time, they published its cartoon strip in 'local newspapers in large parts of Latin America, the Far East, Europe, the Middle East, India, Ceylon and Pakistan' (Shaw 116). Melvin Lasky serialised *Animal Farm* in *Der Monat* in December 1948. *Animal Farm* and *1984* were republished in full in the magazine (Harris 48).

The information centres and the reading rooms established by the USIA abroad mostly contained more subtle anti-Soviet and anti-communist books rather than right-out crude anti-communist polemics. It contained literary books as well. Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* were translated into almost every language in which the USIA operated. The ultimate target of these books was the 'non-communist intellectuals and opinion leaders' (Barnhisel 116).

Freedom House, operating privately in close coordination with the USIA, launched the Bookshelf USA program abroad. It included many books for 'potential and actual elites' of the target country including students, union leaders and government officials (Barnhisel 132-133). Freedom House's 'The Personal Bookshelf' included Orwell's *Animal Farm* for those deemed to be potential leaders (Barnhisel 134). In the US, 'by the late 1950s [Orwell's] novels were prescribed reading on school curricula in both countries [Britain and the US]' (Shaw 118).

The American books, literary and intellectual programs came to Asia later than Europe and Russia. Cultural programs in Asia have always been extensions of previous efforts and programs. Pakistan was also played into the Cultural Cold War. Interestingly the declassified documents of the American government show that the cartoon strip of *Animal Farm* was also set for dissemination in Pakistan to counter Russian influence (Shaw 151). Franklin also established libraries across Pakistan to facilitate reading corners and, most importantly, give a ‘crash course’ of American Values to the readers (Barnhisel 140).

The most active Cold War program in the weaponisation of the book was the Franklin Book Program. It was a non-governmental program financed by the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller, USIA and (United States Agency for International Development) USAID that worked on the publishing market and reading practices of the target country during the Cold War. According to an estimate, it published around 3000 titles from 1952 to 1978. Most of the titles were translations of the original English books.

The Informational Media Guaranty (IMG) program operated in 21 nations, including Pakistan, but its activities were different from those of USIS. It was a market-driven institution, and its titles were also not chosen by the American government (Barnhisel 103). The Books in Translation program also operated in Pakistan, which began around the late 1950s. It also acted like the IMG, facilitating financial assistance for publishers (Barnhisel 108).

It is also interesting to note that almost the majority of the books on the Cold War begin their introductions of the chapters with a mention of George Orwell with either his *Animal Farm*, *1984*, Dystopia, Totalitarianism, or Orwellian – the word which denotes totalitarianism and dystopia. Orwell has become an inevitable Cultural Cold War figure.

#### 2.4.0 *Animal Farm*, 1984 and George Orwell

*Animal Farm* was published just at the beginning of the Cold War. It was rejected five times by publishers, many on account of national policy, which prohibited any damage to wartime Russia's friendly relations with Britain. But as Britain's distrust of Russia became enhanced after the war and, more precisely, after Winston Churchill's 5th March Iron Curtain speech, a book that until then was not in the national interest immediately became politically relevant. Orwell suddenly came into the spotlight and became inevitably important.

Orwell was necessarily a political writer. John Rodden and Bernard Crick have comprehensively written about his biography and political involvements. Being born in India, grew up in London, studied at Eton, and served in Burma as an Imperial policeman, he developed his contempt for imperialism and empire. His essays and novels on Burma show his radicalism and maturing political writing. After resigning as an Imperial policeman, Orwell became a full-time writer, still lacking a strong political voice.

After studying the poor life conditions of North England, his matured political views emerged in his book *The Road to Wigan Pier*. He so delicately put the suffering of English people in his writing that it refined and revealed his unique literary voice and style. Rodden notes that 'it made his reputation as a sharp critic of capitalism, and it launched him on the road to his own eccentric brand of socialism' (3).

The Spanish War was a significant turning point in Orwell's politics. Shortly after his marriage to Eileen Blair (1905 - 1945) in 1936, Orwell and his wife went to the Spanish War against Fascists. He firsthand noticed the betrayed revolution and his trust in socialism increased as a genuine alternative to the practised communism. He wrote *Homage to Catalonia* as his testimonial to the Spanish War.

Orwell's writings gradually became more straightforward and politically aggressive. His image as a major English political essayist and literary figure emerged after publishing *Inside the Whale*, which talked about the 'failure of political sense' (Crick 441) and the intellectual responsibility of the English academia to warn against totalitarianism. His prose became clear, concise, colloquial, and 'talking directly to the reader' (Rodden 4). Meanwhile, his unique socialism emerged 'combining egalitarianism, idealization of working-class culture, and an intense dislike of Marxist bickering' (4).

Orwell's persistent distrust of communists, especially English communists, intensified after the Hitler-Stalin pact, which became his totalitarian prophecy (Rodden 7). His primary focus became his fellow socialists and communists, whom he accused of discrediting democratic Socialism. After the pact, Orwell overnight became a strong supporter of the war, formerly a pacifist. He mistrustingly called the war a fight of 'one band of robbers against another' (6).

During the Second World War, Orwell gained recognition as a genuinely unorthodox political thinker. His political purpose is stated in his 1946 essay *Why I Write?* Orwell believes that 'no book is genuinely free from political bias.' He confesses in his essay that his political purpose changed after the Spanish War. Since then, he has written 'directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism and for democratic socialism.' It compelled him to turn 'political writing into an art.'

Orwell binds a writer's intellectual and aesthetic integrity with politics and does not perfectly distinguish between politics and literature because he believes that a writer, unconscious of his political standing, may 'sacrifice his talents for someone else' ("Why I Write?"). He states his objectives for political writings that there are 'some lies that I want to expose, some fact to which I want to draw attention, and my initial concern is to get a hearing'

(“Why I Write?”). His political struggle translates into his later essays and two last major novels, *Animal Farm* and *1984*. He reveals that it was *Animal Farm* in which he, for the first time, consciously tried to ‘fuse political purpose and artistic purpose into one whole’ (“Why I Write?”).

Orwell believed in purer and more effective propaganda. When he worked with the BBC’s Overseas Services as a Talk Producer for India and Southeast Asia from 1941, he declared it a total waste of his talent and time after working for two years. He considered the propaganda work meaningless. Orwell disagreed with the BBC on the content and the strategy of propaganda, which he declared ineffective. He told George Woodcock that ‘the right kind of man could at least make propaganda a little cleaner than it would otherwise have been’ (Crick 475). Moreover, this claim is also justified, given his support of the IRD’s aim and work and the list of suspected communists which he provided them.

Orwell started writing *Animal Farm* in September 1943 after resigning from the BBC. It had been in his head for the last six years, and he ultimately finished it in February 1944. However, it could not be published until September 1945 due to its anti-Stalin stance and shortage of paper during the war. Orwell’s first publisher, Gollancz, also rejected it for its anti-communist stance.

Orwell wanted to publish *Animal Farm* through two of England’s best publishing houses, Jonathan Cape and Faber and Faber. They rejected it due to the national policy. Jonathan Cape sought advice from a senior official in the Ministry of Information, who rejected it because it could damage the friendly relations with the USSR during the war. Later it was revealed that the officer in the ministry was the Soviet double agent, Peter Smollett. An American publisher also rejected *Animal Farm* on the grounds that it was impossible to sell animal stories in the US

(Crick 523). More than 12 American publishers rejected publishing *Animal Farm* after it was published due to its size or political reasons.

As a result of such rejections, Orwell intended to self-publish *Animal Farm* with an introduction titled 'The Freedom of The Press.' He wanted to expose the press for suppressing a genuine voice. He approached David Astor for a £200 loan for its publication. However, at the last moment, Secker & Warburg showed interest in publishing *Animal Farm* on the condition that only if they could find enough paper to publish it. Orwell then felt no use in publishing the introduction. He discarded the introduction, which was missing until 1971. Orwell sent the manuscript to Fred Warburg in July 1944 but could not get published until August 1945 due to the shortage of paper in the war.

*Animal Farm*'s first edition of 4500 copies sold out quickly. Brace Harcourt published it in the US on 26 August 1945 with 50,000 copies, a year later to the British first edition. The American Book of the Month club edition was published in August 1946 with 5,40,000 copies. An edition of 2000 copies appeared in Canada in November 1946.

Immediately after writing *Animal Farm*, Orwell started writing *1984* in 1946 and completed it by the end of 1948. It was also rooted in his Spanish experience. Orwell wrote to Warburg in a letter that he 'first thought of it in 1943' (Davison 134) but could not spare time for it, and his bad health also could not permit it. He even had a clear idea of the novel in his mind even before writing *Animal Farm*; some notes still survive today. However, the final draft of *1984* was completed on December 4, 1948, and published on June 8, 1949, in London and June 13, in New York. A total of 26,575 copies were published in the first edition by Warburg in the UK, and 20,000 copies were published by Brace Harcourt in the US (133).

Orwell's fame swelled overnight due to *Animal Farm*. It became the talk of the town, and reviewers constantly fixed and debated its meaning. Reviewers called it a story of a 'revolution betrayed', universal condemnation of tyranny, Tory propaganda, and an anti-Soviet narrative. However, American responses were much different. Orwell's political views were not known there, so the majority understood it as an anti-revolutionary and anti-socialist document (Crick 555-556).

As the ideological spectrum on the Left was diverse, all had their own understanding, misunderstanding, partial agreement, and complete disagreement with the novel. Bill Empson already warned Orwell about the possibility of misreading *Animal Farm* on a larger scale (Crick 559). The fable style of *Animal Farm* permitted an audience of every age to consume it. Herbert Read wrote in a letter to Orwell that he had enjoyed its reading along with his son, who read it 'chapter by chapter, every evening' (558).

*Animal Farm*, as Orwell clarified in his Ukrainian preface, exposed the 'Soviet myth' with which many intellectuals were in illusion. He sought a 'socialist revival' that, after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, was taken over by Stalinist and Leninist dictatorships. He wanted to distinguish between the totalitarianism of Soviet communism and real democratic socialism.

*1984* sparked many controversies. It was an extension of *Animal Farm*. Both of the novels were a reflection of his political ideologies in a different form. Some thought of him as depressed by the future, and others thought that the continuity of his political work centred on the dangers of the revolution betrayed. Some noted that it was 'not a prophecy but a warning' (Crick 640). However, the communist faction responded with the usual criticism of the novel. Meanwhile, the US's communists also attacked the novel as anti-communist. The major papers of the left called it a 'simple Cold War propaganda' (641).



Orwell was annoyed by the right-wing critics who saw *1984* as against socialism. He explained that it was rather a warning against the possible future in which our contemporary societies are heading and that it ‘could’ happen if it is not stopped (Davison 137-138). He clarified that the Ingsoc, which critics equated with England, opens a ‘wide range of choices’ and that can be ‘Americanism’ or ‘hundred percent Americanism’ of the US which suitably qualifies the adjective of totalitarianism (Crick 642-643). In the Cold War, Orwell’s image was promoted in the trans-Atlantic region as antitotalitarian but not as an advocate of democratic socialism.

Despite Orwell’s advocacy for clear writing, his own message in *1984* is ironically misunderstood. It clearly drew on Stalin’s Soviet Union, but it was meant to be a generalised warning against absolute power. It was even misunderstood by Orwell’s publisher, Warburg, who released a summary of the novel for his staff, stating it as a ‘breach between Orwell and Socialism’ (Crick 644). Crick daringly says that ‘while [Orwell] was primarily a political writer and *1984* may assume his own and known political values, yet it does not make them explicit. It is a flawed masterpiece both of literature and of political thought’ (648-649).

Orwell was always concerned about the translation and publication of *Animal Farm*. Even in his illness, he would be more worried about the cuts to *Animal Farm* in newer translations (Crick 608). In Orwell’s lifetime, *Animal Farm*’s translations appeared in eighteen languages. Publishers would suggest changing the title to *Animal Farm: A Fairy Story due to political complications*, but Orwell would refuse. During Orwell’s life, his two novels were broadcasted by the radio on several occasions in several languages. These adaptations were close to the real work and were meant for a close literary circle.

A wide range of people on both sides of the ideological spectrum try to own Orwell. Rodden keenly notes that ‘what is most strikingly distinctive about Orwell’s posthumous history

is that the claims and counter-claims to him occur at all points on the ideological spectrum – Right, Centre and Left.’ In postwar politics, a perpetual Cultural Cold War persisted over claiming Orwell’s controversial political legacy (10-11). However, many attempts have been made in recent years to reclaim him back with the help of history and released archives.

### **2.5.0 Orwell and the Cultural Cold War**

Orwell profoundly influenced the Cold War’s literary and political landscape. Orwell’s reputation was very positive until the Public Record Office (PRO) of Britain disclosed a list of 35 communists which Orwell gave to the IRD. The disclosure by the PRO started a backlash among many admirers of Orwell, and a new type of inquiry started regarding his role with the secret agencies, and his independent literary and political position. The foreign office’s archive no FO 1110/189 in the British National Archive deals with Orwell and the IRD. It reveals that Orwell cooperated with the IRD through Celia Kirwan. He happily contributed a no-recruit list of 135 crypto-communists and fellow travellers to Kirwan who could not be trusted for anti-communist propaganda.

While Orwell fell into the hands of Cold Warriors, there is a struggle to reclaim his controversial name and fame again after the archival release of the IRD. After such discoveries, interest in Orwell was renewed, and many alternate views emerged. Critics are now divided on Orwell’s position on and in the Cold War. One group believes that Orwell facilitated the covert agencies in the Cold War. Others claim he was not directly involved, but his writings were later used. Another believes that he was more than facilitating. He was actively involved and complicit.

Some critics believe that the covert agencies used Orwell’s writings during the Cold War for their aims. Tony Shaw believes that Orwell’s name was ‘claimed’ by the ‘official Western

propagandists' during the Cold War and raised his 'profile to ... dizzy heights' (Shaw 111-112). He was popularised and widely distributed to earn him a name as a neutral member of an anti-Soviet and anti-communist society. He was portrayed as a liberal socialist who foresaw the Soviet and communist atrocities and had a prescience view of the world. He admits that the CIA promoted his works. Orwell's writings on propaganda, misuse of language, and anti-totalitarianism made him a suitable warrior for the Cold War by the agencies and governments. He discusses four reasons in detail that, in his views, made Orwell a suitable cultural warrior: his left lineage, his being an 'outsider' who neither conformed to Communism nor Americanism, his clear style of writing, and his early death.

John P. Rossi, another critic, argues in his article "America's View of George Orwell" that he was 'virtually unknown' (572) to American readers before *Animal Farm's* publication in 1946. He notes that Orwell was more mythologised in America than in Britain. In the early 1950s, the conception of the Cold War was more extreme in America than in Britain. In Britain, it was viewed somewhat realistically. After 1946, when Orwell published *Animal Farm*, his previous political essays floated in the American reader's circle and became widely known to the audience.

Keith Alldritt, a critic of Orwell, believes that Orwell 'created no valuable work of literary art' and doubts the value of *1984* as an exceptional possibility (Rodden 142). In his view, many US English professors say that 'Orwell was a 'journalist' and 'didactic writer' who 'failed to live up to top literary standards', with *1984* in particular 'lacking in literary sophistication'' (141).

Some scholars believe there is no direct evidence supporting Orwell's direct work with covert agencies. The relationship of Orwell with the Secret Intelligence Service is well-

researched by Darcy Moore. He is content that Orwell's journalism and his role in espionage are not well established. He argues that there is no evidence that he had worked directly with the agency for espionage and gathered information for them. However, I believe espionage and gathering information does not necessarily contribute to propaganda. On the contrary, Moore's argument supports the fact that Orwell was voluntarily involved in the propaganda war against communism with the IRD in his last days without being on their payroll. According to Deery Philip, another researcher, 'Orwell did not leave any trace of his connection with the IRD ... his precise motives for collaborating with the IRD are obscure' (223). Thus, according to these critics, nothing can be said precisely about Orwell's aims and complicity with a spying agency and his role in betraying his ideals.

Many critics believe that Orwell was the principal architect of the Cultural Cold War. Andrew Rubin, a cultural and literary critic, believes that Orwell shaped the conception of modern propaganda and how effective psychological warfare can be waged. He believes that Orwell's work with the IRD helped the British and American authorities to effectively contain or counter communism in the First and Third World. The IRD and the British Council actively sought out Orwell, for his experience in Southeast Asia, to get them facilitated. They promoted anti-communist intellectuals, including Orwell, to manifest their superiority and power abroad.

Some critics like Derry, Lashmar, Oliver, Newsinger and Rubin propose that Orwell actively participated in the IRD's and CIA's cultural endeavours. They note that when Orwell was told of IRD's aims, he was 'delighted' and 'expressed his wholehearted and enthusiastic approval of the [IRD]'s aims'. Orwell discussed with Kirwan 'the office's international efforts to publish books that characterized Britain's presence and dominance abroad as benign, well-intentioned, and civilized' (Rubin 30). Due to his health, he only offered a no-recruit list of

crypto-communists and fellow travellers to the IRD. Rubin believes it served as ‘an element of a global strategy to manage the anticolonial discourse abroad, particularly critical accounts that were counter hegemonic’ (31). He is critical of the list and says it ‘formed and reproduced a relationship between Orwell’s works and the government’ (34). Orwell’s list has, according to Newsinger, done severe damage to none other than himself.

In Newsinger’s view, Orwell not only participated with the IRD but saw it as necessary work. He says that if his health had been better, he would have become more involved in their propaganda work and even participated with the American covert agencies. For instance, the International Rescue and Relief Committee (IRRC), a relief and rescue organization for the victims of Nazism and totalitarianism, was looking to establish contact with the labour party in Britain during Atlee’s Labour government. The IRRC was a member of the CIA’s covert network. Orwell told Koestler to contact them as they had considerable funds. Due to this introduction of Koestler to IRRC, he was able to travel to the US and establish contacts with the CIA (Cesarani 304; Newsinger 128). Orwell would even discuss the 125 names on his black list with Koestler (Saunders 188).

Orwell was also in close contact with the writers and associates who worked with the IRD for its propaganda works. In 1949, IRD wanted to hire people with a vast network of intellectuals who could be influenced and given grey propaganda. For this purpose, IRD appointed Celia Kirwan, sister-in-law of Arthur Koestler and Adam Watson, who had good connections in literary circles, especially on the left. Celia Kirwan knew many writers, including George Orwell, with whom she also had a brief affair and once politely rejected his marriage proposal. Sonia Blair (1918 - 1980), Orwell’s second wife, was also a ‘very useful contact’ for IRD for finding intellectuals who would write for them (Defty 87).

Orwell's active participation with the IRD and CIA helped his work get the widest circulation. Rubin believes that 'Orwell's activities with the Foreign Office established what became a lasting relationship between the government and his texts, such as *Animal Farm* and *1984*' (Rubin 37). In his view, Orwell enjoyed a great relationship with the IRD. He collaborated with them in assembling, translating, and distributing his *Animal Farm* abroad, where communism was rising. Orwell also requested and cooperated with the FO to bring a Russian translation of *Animal Farm* to the Soviet Union, but it could not happen (Rubin 41).

Melvin Lasky facilitated Orwell's relationship with the US's agencies. Rubin argues that their relation was 'instrumental in developing a cultural strategy with the United States, and in particular, with agencies and departments such as Voice of America, the U.S. Information Agency, the State Department, and the CIA. The first translations of *1984* were serialized in *Der Monat*, which later was to become the model for a whole series of transnational magazines' (42). This relationship helped the CCF of the CIA and the FO of Britain to wage better psychological warfare against communism.

The CIA's first involvement in the Cold War was through Orwell. Rubin says that the CIA's 'first cultural [initiative] was its involvement in the production, rewriting, and distribution of the 1955 feature-length animation of Orwell's *Animal Farm*' (Rubin 43). It was '[conformed] to the ideologically and methodically elaborated structures of the Cold War' (44). IRD and the USIA strived to disseminate it to the widest possible audience possible. The translation was disseminated across all the colonies of Britain and its rights were bought for dozens of languages (44). With Melvin Lasky and Orwell came the American help to Britain's FO and their propaganda abroad. *1984* was first serialised in *Der Monat*, an American Army publication

whose editor was Lasky, and then after that, it was also translated into more than 20 languages (Rubin 42-43).

Orwell's work had a significant impact on the Cultural Cold War. In Caute's opinion, a researcher, Orwell's work had a more momentous impact on the Cultural Cold War than any other book (90). Lashmar and Oliver note that 'IRD made great efforts to maximize the international political impact of George Orwell's work' (96). The CIA supported his work for propaganda, and the United States Information Agency (USIA) translated his last two novels into thirty languages (Caute 90). In November 1949, when *1984* was published, the IRD, according to the British National Archives file no FO 1110/221 (Caute 90), planned to translate it into fourteen languages, including Persian, Telugu, Bengali, and Gujarati (96). Defty notes that Orwell was 'most cooperative' (171) in giving IRD overseas rights to his work, and so were his wife, Sonia, and his publisher Frederick Warburg.

Orwell also supported the government's efforts to promote his *Animal Farm* in different countries. He supported the subsidised copies of *Animal Farm* in the Soviet zones with the support of the US anti-Soviet propaganda (Shaw 114). He was also directly involved with the IRD in producing an independent Russian translation of *Animal Farm* for the Displaced Persons in West Germany in 1949. He was requested through IRD's direction via a letter for publishing *Animal Farm* of 5000 copies for its first edition. Orwell, free of cost, gave the rights for a serialized version of *Animal Farm* in Russian and passed on the letter to Kirwan who then further passed it onto the Foreign Office and they approved of such a venture which 'was entirely consistent with the aims, roles and raison d'etre of the IRD' (Crick 222).

*1984* is believed to have been written for anti-Soviet propaganda. Newsinger believes it was 'intended as a contribution to the propaganda war against the Soviet Union' (137) by

Orwell. He supported the Labour government, even when their foreign policy was not aligned with labour politics. His last two novels were of global imperial and political interest to the US and the British government as an effective propaganda tool against communism and the political Left in the subsequent Cold War. It is interesting to note that Orwell's first wife, Eileen, also worked for the Censorship Department of the Ministry of Information and later for the Ministry of Food. Thus, it can be hypothesised but with no certainty that a network of cooperation might have been established between Orwell and government agents.

There are many ironies regarding Orwell's role in the Cultural Cold War. He refused the offer to address the League for European Freedom because they were silent on British imperialism (Crick 563). Nevertheless, 'the Foreign Office consulted him from time to time on the publication of factual articles and books by reputable experts to counter the threat of Communism' (Davison 145). Orwell declined to work directly with the IRD but extended his support by allowing them to publish his work and a list of suspected communists, which could benefit the IRD by not recruiting the wrong person (Barnhisel 113). It is even more interesting that the CIA's first film endeavour was carried out on *Animal Farm*'s film adaptation.

Orwell wanted Britain to act as a third force between the internationalist struggle of Communism and Americanism. He tried to promote socialism and actively participated in the Labour Party and the IRD's efforts against Soviet communism. He and Koestler envisioned a third camp while forming The League for The Freedom and Dignity of Man, for which he also drafted a two-page manifesto. Orwell later abandoned the plan. However, Koestler took it a step further and later translated it into CCF, which was never a third camp. From its outset, it was a cultural and literary outpost of capitalism and American hegemony over the literary spheres of freedom and thought.



A diverse faction of ideological players had claimed Orwell. However, the Soviet Union censored and demonized him and his literature until 1988, even though all factions of society still use his literature and linguistic terms. Many writers have enjoyed wide circulation through agencies like IRD, CIA, and USIA during the Cold War, but Orwell was the only one who enjoyed the greatest claim in the era, and his literature still tends to do so ‘as the most influential political writer’ (Shaw 125). Still, the actual meaning of *1984* and *Animal Farm* are debated by many people including the official diplomats of both blocks, each preferring one of her own interests.

Orwell’s *Animal Farm* and *1984* greatly impacted the Cultural Cold War. They structured the conception of totalitarianism for the West’s politics and culture. He became a cultural icon whose writings are adopted in every medium, including songs, films, dramas, theatre, cartoons, memes, music, and Opera. Orwell’s writings are translated into almost every major language of the world.

### **2.6.0 Animal Farm and 1984 as the Cultural Cold War Texts**

American and British governments actively participated in the translation, publication, and dissemination of Orwell’s work abroad to counter the communist uprising. Britain’s Foreign Office funded translators, editors, and publishers to promote Orwell and his *Animal Farm* and *1984*. The US Information Exchange also assisted these endeavours.

Western secret agencies widely distributed *Animal Farm* and *1984* during the Cold War. A new era of cooperation between the US government, through CCF, and the IRD started, initially with the collaborations in the widespread distribution of Orwell’s *Animal Farm*. The US State Department was very pleased with *Animal Farm* and *1984* as effective psychological warfare tools. They directly funded translation projects of *Animal Farm* in more than 30 different

languages (Shaw 116). In 1951, the USIS and the Regional Information Office (RIO) of the UK worked in collaboration to bring books in translation in East Asia, including *Animal Farm*. IRD secured the foreign rights for the cartoon strip version of *Animal Farm* in 1950 and published it in newspapers across the Third World, including Pakistan (Shaw 116).

In her article “All Propaganda is Dangerous, but Some are More Dangerous than Others: George Orwell and the Use of Literature as Propaganda,” Samantha Senn shows in detail how these works were ‘appropriated by both American and British intelligence agencies’ and were adopted into cartoon strips, films, and translations. Wholesale promotion of the full texts and subsidised copies were disseminated in as many countries as possible (Senn 150). The FO bought rights to *Aimal Farm* in as many languages as it could, including ‘Chinese, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Finnish, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Indonesian, Latvian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, ... Swedish ... [and] Burmese’ (Rubin 40). It was translated into Farsi, Telugu, Malayalam, Greek, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Arabic, and many other languages. These sponsored translations were distributed in Iran, India, Athens, Indochina, Malaysia, and throughout the Middle East and North Africa (37-38).

Due to different cultures and contexts, the IRD worked on *Animal Farm*’s adaptations that were suitable for other cultures and countries. Various adaptations helped to counter specific communisms in other countries. Another concern for such activities was not only to get a complete ‘ideological’ conversion but on the contrary, it was also used to make ‘visible’ and ‘identifiable’ the communists’ section of the society (Andrew 39).

Some declassified government documents, as Shaw and Leab reveal in detail, suggest how literary culture and politics interacted during the Cold War. Orwell’s work received many good reviews in the ‘Book of the Month Club,’ often compared to classics in papers, promoted in

many countries through translations and subsidised copies, used by embassies in countries with socialist uprisings as an expose of the USSR, smuggled into east Europe through Balloon Operations, used as prescribed reading in school curricula, and illustrated versions were produced to make understanding easy for every age group and community.

The IRD produced a cartoon strip of *Animal Farm* for serialisation. The cartoon strip, ‘featuring about ninety panels that were to appear daily over a three-month period in local newspapers in multiple countries and in a variety of languages,’ was published in ‘New Delhi, Rangoon, Eritrea, Bangkok, Saigon, Caracas, Lima, Mexico City, Karachi, Ankara, Cyprus, Bogotá, Reykjavík, Rio de Janeiro, Singapore, Colombo, Ceylon, Benghazi, and Montevideo’ (Rubin 38). The cartoon strip was further translated into ‘Chinese, Vietnamese, Malay, and French for distribution throughout Southeast Asia.’ In New Delhi, India, it was published by the *Times of India* (Rubin 38). In India, *Animal Farm* was translated into Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam.

*Animal Farm* was adapted into cartoon animation in 1954, released in London and New York simultaneously, making it far more reachable to the commonplace audience. The easy-to-understand content of *Animal Farm* by any age group and culture made the fable story very easy to be turned into cartoons, films, and animation. The American filmmaker, Louis de Rochemont, with the help of the British animators, Halas and Batchelor, made the cartoon animation of *Animal Farm* (Leab 133). OPC got the rights from Sonia Blair. It was a successful pro-capitalist propaganda because no one anticipated the CIA’s involvement in it (Jenkins 7-8).

While making the animation film, officials from the American government departments were in constant contact and coordination with the filmmakers and animators in deciding the orientation, content, and ending of the films and their supposed effects on the audience. The

script was under direct control of the US Psychological Strategy Board (PSB). It actively intervened in the meaning and outlook of the film and directed the producer to produce a simple and straightforward film having clear meaning and ease of understanding, even if it alters Orwell's meaning (Shaw 122). They were involved in the selection, production and distribution of the animation.

The end of the *Animal Farm* was compromised to give the animation an anti-Soviet outlook. Napoleon's depiction, the human characters, and the ending of the real story were compromised to gain anti-communist meaning and to encourage 'liberation' which was aligned with the US policy in the mid-1950s. The animation was not a box office success; however, discounts were given to students and labour unions. The animation was also translated into many languages but it could not reach Eastern Europe because it was banned there. Interestingly, it was also used as a pedagogical tool in British and American schools (Shaw 122).

*1984* was also adapted into a television play in 1953, into a television drama in 1954, and into a film in 1956. Only the cinematic version of the *1984* film in 1956 was made with British-American government cooperation. USIA had control of the script and subsidized its production. The ACCF suggested many changes to the director of the film Peter Rathvon to make it more comprehensible, contemporary, and hopeful. Sol Stein, the official government agent overseeing the production, wanted to make it a docu-drama to get a realistic outlook. It did not do well at the box office but it attracted many critics (Shaw 124).

The Cultural Cold War successfully shaped the conception of masses across countries and continents. The totalitarian conception as opposed to freedom and prosperity was directly associated by the Cultural Warriors with the Soviet Union and then with other totalitarian powers (Bennett 32-33). Orwell is among the most widely read totalitarian writers around the mid-

century. Mostly, readers of totalitarianism do not know much other than what they get from reading Orwell (Menand 54). When it seemed impossible to influence or penetrate the world and minds of the communists and their audiences, Orwell's *1984* greatly influenced them in shaping such a totalitarian communist world (Coleman 146). On the contrary, Rodden argues that Orwell was a realist and did not exaggerate the might and wealth of the USSR and 'did not regard "U-S-S-R" as some kind of Hate Weak rallying cry for the West' (Rodden 117). It was the Cultural Warriors who exaggerated it for their objectives.

### **2.7.0 *Animal Farm* and *1984* in South Asia**

In South Asia, the IRD and the USIA participated actively in the Cultural Cold War. Asia Foundation, Franklin Book Program, the USIA's Books in Translation program, Mishal Books or Obor Foundation, etc., were very active during the Cold War. The USIA's annual reports on Books in Translation mention the titles and years they have sponsored and disseminated books in different countries.

The US National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) contains USIA's archives. The "RG306 box 2 entry 1091" record group contains the USIA's Books Published Abroad archives. The annual reports from 1951-1958 show that *Animal Farm* and *1984* were translated and published by USIA in different countries. USIA published *Animal Farm* in 8 Indian languages, including Gujarati and Hindi in 1952, Bengali in 1953, Kannada in 1954, Malayalam in 1956, Assamese, Marathi and Tamil in 1957. *1984* was translated into Urdu in India in 1958. In Pakistan, *Animal Farm* was published in 1958. In 1952, *Animal Farm* was published by USIA in Greek. In Indonesia, *Animal Farm* was translated and published into Indonesian in 1952 and *1984* in 1955. In 1952, *Animal Farm* was also published in Vietnamese.

The USIS and other volunteer organisations affiliated with the US were very active in Pakistan during the Cold War. A 1964 directory titled “U.S. Non-Profit Organizations Voluntary Agencies, Missions and Foundations Participating in Technical Assistance Abroad” shows 23 different US-affiliated organisations operating in Pakistan with the help and coordination of the US government (434). Although the list is more comprehensive, these 23 organisations were more or less involved in disseminating information, books, articles and other education-related materials. It indicates the centrality of Pakistan during the Cold War.

In Pakistan, the US operated the American Book Program. Under this program, the US ran Books Published Abroad directly under its patronage and the Franklin Books Program was operated privately. The Books Published Abroad program aimed to portray a positive picture of the US and foster good mutual relationships. USIA managed it through the Books in Translation project, in which different titles were translated and distributed with help and support from local translators and publishers. The privately managed Franklin Books Program published 436 titles in Pakistan during its operation.

According to the 1958-1959 annual report of Books Published Abroad, published by the USIA, Orwell's *Animal Farm* was also sponsored by the Book Translation Program. It was translated by Jamil Jalibi, a renowned Pakistani literary critic, in 1958 and published by his publishing house Maktaba Naya Daur. Similarly, in the same year, *1984* was translated by Abu Al Fazal Siddique, a renowned Urdu writer. It was published by Urdu Academy Sindh, which frequently cooperated with the US translation and publishing projects. Both these translations have come out from two renowned literary personas, indicating the high-level interaction of the US agencies with Pakistan's cultural and literary figures. It also indicates their dedication and care to cultural engagement abroad in the Cold War.

### Chapter 3: *Animal Farm* and 1984 in Urdu: Politics of Translation

#### 3.1.0 *Animal Farm* and 1984 in Pakistani Languages

*Animal Farm* and 1984 are world literature in Pakistani context as world literature, according to Damrosch, ‘circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language ... [it] could include any work that has ever reached beyond its home base’ (*What is World Literature* 4). So, in this context a lot of translational activity has occurred around *Animal Farm* and 1984 in Pakistan. Interestingly, *Animal Farm*’s and 1984’s local translations cover almost all Pakistan’s major cultural and linguistic landscapes. They have been translated into four other Pakistani languages besides Urdu, showcasing the rich diversity of translations and their circulation across the local cultures. Five translations of *Animal Farm* exist in Urdu, two in Pushto, and a third is underway, one in Sindhi and one in Punjabi. 1984 has been translated into Urdu and Saraiki only. Orwell was introduced in English in the subcontinent even before translations; however, his presence in local languages came in October 1958. Only one Urdu translation of 1984 is locally produced in Pakistan, the other being produced in India, compared to five translations of *Animal Farm* in Urdu in Pakistan.

One of the Pushto translations of *Animal Farm* was done by Rasul Amin in the 1980s. He was an active figure during the Cold War when many Afghans were displaced to either Pakistan or Iran. He founded the *Writers Union of Free Afghanistan* (WUFA), an organisation that hosted writers of anti-communist and resistance block against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It was supported by USIS, the Asia Foundation, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Germany and the Royal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Denmark (Dinakhel et al. 32). These organisations were very active in the Cultural Cold War. Another recent translation of *Animal Farm* was done by Irshad Pukhton, a government school teacher, in 2019. He says that he did the translation because he

was unaware that another translation already existed. He did the translation because it is an allegory and such is rare in Pushto literature. Such translations can enrich the literary repertoire of Pashto literature. According to Irshad Pukhton, a third is also currently being carried out by Ihsan Ullah Asir. No further information has been found about him yet.

Habib Sanai produced a Sindhi translation around 2007. He lives in Sindh and is an associate professor and principal at a government college in Sindh. He is a writer, researcher and essayist. His *Animal Farm* in Sindhi translation was serialised in an online magazine. He is still looking forward to publishing it in a book form. Moreover, a Punjabi translation of *Animal Farm* has been carried out by Shahid Shabbir in 2020.

These translations of *Animal Farm* and *1984* in Pakistani languages show vibrant cultural activity and widespread circulation of these two novels across local Pakistani cultures. It shows how diverse and overarching influence these novels had over the cultural, ideological and literary landscape of Pakistan. For the local readers they act as both ‘classics’ and ‘multiple windows on the [outer] world’ (*What is World Literature?* 15) because of their local, communist, and capitalist politics embedded in the translations.

### **3.1.1 *Animal Farm* and *1984* in Urdu Languages**

This research will only discuss the Urdu translations. Among other regional languages of Pakistan, Urdu, which is also one of the official language of the country, has more translations of *Animal Farm* than any other regional and local languages. However, in discussing the translations, we must also be alert, as Damrosch points out, to the ‘politics and economics’ (*How to Read World Literature?* 2) involved in the translation for influence. The patronage for Urdu translation is also very explicit and evident from the archival document of USIA.



Five Urdu translations of *Animal Farm* have been produced so far. The first translation was produced by Jameel Jalibi, a renowned Urdu literary critic, in 1958 by the name ‘جانورستان’ – ‘Animal’s Kingdom’. A second translation came in 1973 by Professor Jameel Akhtar Khan by the name of ‘چاپایوں کی حکومت’ – ‘Government of Beasts’ with the subtitle ‘ایک طنزیہ نظریاتی ناول’ – ‘A satirical ideological novel’. A third translation was produced by Nasir Hussain Jaffery by the name of ‘جانورستان’ ‘Animal’s Kingdom’ in 1987. Syed Ala Ud Din produced a fourth translation with the original name ‘اینمل فارم’ – *Animal Farm*. Its first publication date is unknown yet.

There are two other translations of *Animal Farm* other than the four mentioned earlier. A fifth Urdu translation of *Animal Farm* is produced online by Amina Mufti by the name ‘جانور راج’ – ‘Animal’s Rule’. Amina Mufti is a journalist who writes for Hum Sub, an online blog. She has translated *Animal Farm* into 31 episodes over two years, from 19-08-2018 to 08-06-2020. Another sixth adaptation of *Animal Farm* was produced by Syed Irfan Ali and is present online. When Irfan was asked, he said it was basically an audio adaptation primarily produced for visually impaired people. Irfan’s website contains a lot of Urdu translations of classic English literary works that are primarily produced as audiobooks. He says this is his personal project, and it is run by donations received from different people, either in the form of subscriptions or charity. However, the study will only analyse the first four translations mentioned earlier than these two translations.

Unlike *Animal Farm*, translation activity around 1984 is not much diverse. Only one translation of 1984 is produced in Pakistan. It has been translated by Abu Al Fazal Siddique by the name ‘انیس سو چوراسی’ in 1958, the same year when *Animal Farm* was published. However, a second translation was also produced the same year in India in Urdu by Syed Suhail Wasti.

Interestingly, this translation also circulates in Pakistani markets with different names. It was available with the title ‘نفرت’ also, but it circulates with the title ‘1984’ now. Despite little translation activity around 1984, it is readily available in low quality cheap prints in the market. In addition, a Saraiki translation of *1984* has just recently been published in Pakistan by Muhammad Javed Asif in 2022. Its title is ‘انوی 100 چراسی’.

The western cultural capital flowed into South Asia through a pulsating USIA activity during this period. In the subcontinent, it is anticipated that after Shakespeare, Orwell’s two novels *Animal Farm* and *1984* are most widely translated English literary texts. Among many other factors, one factor was the continuous support and patronage of the USIA during the Cold War. The vibrant and prolific translation history and profile of *Animal Farm* and *1984* were due to the American support. In 1958, the USIA sponsored *Animal Farm*’s Urdu translation through its Book Translation Program. At the same time, the USIA extensively translated *Animal Farm* in India into different languages. In India, the yearly reports of Books Published Abroad show that *Animal Farm* was translated into Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, and Tamil. The yearly reports of Books Published Abroad sponsored by USIA’s Book Translation Program detail the countries, languages and years in which *Animal Farm* and *1984* were sponsored and published.

The USIA was the patron of both *Animal Farm* and *1984* in Pakistan in 1958. The 1958-1959 annual report of the Books Published Abroad has an entry mentioning the sponsorship of *Animal Farm* in Urdu in Pakistan by their Books Translation Program. Interestingly in 1958, only Jamil Jalibi translated *Animal Farm* into Urdu. According to the IRD archive FO 1110/738/PR/121/68/G, the American government purchased the rights to the Urdu translation of Orwell’s *1984* in 1955 (Igrek 179). In the meanwhile they may have been finding a suitable translator for their work. It was translated in Pakistan by Abu Al Fazal Siddique and published in

1958. A direct link to this sponsorship has not been confirmed yet. However, Urdu Academy Sindh, which published the translation, closely collaborated with the US translation projects through Franklin Books Program. However, *1984* was published individually, not under the Franklin Books Program. In India, the USIA sponsored *1984* in 1958, which was translated by Suhail Wasti. Similarly, the Pushto translation by Rasul Amin is also highly anticipated that it may have been patronized by the sister agencies of USIA. A direct link to the patronage has not been identified, however, given the highest level of cultural activity of Asia Foundation, a sister organisation of USIA, around WUFA of which Rasul Amin was a founding member, its patronizing can be a high possibility. The archival papers of WUFA may help in this regard which is not readily available online.

The patronage of these translations are clear from these archival references. Translations were necessary tools for carrying out a cultural offensive to win the book battle and enumerate the bookshelves of the markets with US books in competition to the Soviet books during the Cold War. This cultural cold war was also fought in the cultural landscape of South Asia including Pakistan. For the analysis of such a sponsored cultural engagement, analysis of only six translations are presented below, including the four translations of *Animal Farm* by Jameel Jalibi, Professor Jameel Akhtar Khan, Nasir Hussain Jaffery and Syed Ala Ud Din and two translations of *1984* by Abu Al Fazal Siddique and Syed Suhail Wasti respectively. This exercise shed light on the translation and publishing practice of these translations and to find out their translational politics.

### **3.2.0 Jameel Jalibi's Janwaristan (Animal's Kingdom)**

Jameel Jalibi is a renowned literary figure. He was the editor of *Naya Daur*, which published contemporary literature. Jalibi widely published translations of English literary

criticism. He is the author of ‘ارسطو سے ایلٹ تک’ – ‘From Aristotle to Eliot’ a collection of classical English literary critical essays. He has made a significant contribution to refining and modernising the critical landscape of Urdu literature and criticism. However, *Animal Farm* was his first published work and first literary translation in 1958. His translation’s publicity was also done in his journal.

Jameel Jalibi’s *Animal Farm* has two editions so far. The first was published in 1958 under the title ‘جانورستان’ ‘Animal Kingdom’ by Naya Daur Publishers, Karachi. It had an only introduction by Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi and a brief biographical sketch of Orwell at the end. The introduction mentions that the novel has been translated into fifteen languages and has sold ten lac copies so far. Its price was set at 3 rupees in 1958. A second edition has recently been published by Book Corner in 2022. It has an extended front and back matter, providing ample extra textual material regarding the novel. This section will discuss both his editions.

The new edition has made a little change to its original name ‘جانورستان’ – ‘Animal Kingdom’. It had no subtitle in the first edition, but the compiler of this new edition, Syed Kashif Raza, a poet, fiction writer, and translator, has changed it to ‘انیمل فارم - ناول’ ‘Animal Farm - A Novel’ in the new edition. Jhelum Book Corner, which published this edition, is doing publishing differently in Pakistan. They are trying to give publishing a new shape. They are translating modern classics in new get-up with an extensive back and front matter including the archival images, related essays and other important activity around them. This edition of *Animal Farm* reflect their new publishing practice, different from other Pakistani publishing houses.

The edition is peculiar and different from the first edition because it has an extended front and back matter. It contains five essays before the actual novel begins. It has illustrations from Umar Rayyan’s graphic version of *Animal Farm*, and short sketches of Orwell, Jalibi, Syed

Kashif Raza, and Omar Rayyan. The back matter also includes Bertrand Russel's commemorative appreciation essay on Orwell's death. It also include eight reviews from renowned writers regarding *Animal Farm*. They include Bertrand Russel, T. S. Eliot, Malcolm Bradbury, Ralph Steadman, Harold Bloom, Graham Greene, Cyril Connolly, and Edmund Wilson chronologically (see fig. 3.1).



Fig. 3.0. On the left, Book Corner's 2022 edition of Jalibi's *Animal Farm*. On the right is the original 1958 edition of Jalibi's *Animal Farm*.

It has a lot of images too. It has an image of Orwell on page 02, with his introduction on page 03. On page 04, there is an image of Jameel Jalibi, and his introduction is on page 05. On page 6, along with a small passport-size picture, an introduction of the compiler, Syed Kashif Raza, and an introduction of the artist Omar Rayyan are given. On page 8, a picture of *Animal Farm*'s first edition, published by Secker and Warburg, is given. There are three notes at the end. The first note is about the first edition's picture. The second is about the first Urdu edition of Jalibi's 'جانورستان' being published by Naya Daur Karachi. The third is a statement about the current edition. It says that the compiler, Syed Kashif Raza, has given the translation a new look.

He has included various important essays related to this novel, including Eliot's rejection essay, being translated by the compiler himself for this edition. The last line claims this edition is far better and more succinct than its various English editions.



Fig. 3.1. Reviews mentioned in the 2022 edition of Jalibi's *Animal Farm*.

This edition has a lot of important essays to *Animal Farm*. The first essay is from Kashif Raza, the editor, which discusses the story of *Animal Farm*'s first publication. The second essay is about T. S. Eliot's rejection of *Animal Farm*, which Kashif Raza also translates. The third essay is about 'The Freedom of the Press' essay, which Orwell intended to publish with *Animal Farm* when no one wanted to publish it and then later discarded it. The fourth essay is a translation of Orwell's preface for the Ukrainian edition. Then, the first edition's introductory essay by Dr Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi is reproduced here. The back matter presents the translation of Bertrand Russell's commemorative appreciation essay on Orwell's death.

Book corner even engaged with the reader through social media before publishing the novel. They posted on social media asking people to choose the cover for the novel. The picture with three images says, “YOU CHOOSE!! Vote For Best Book Cover” (Fig. 3.2). One proposed cover shows Boxer pulling a cart full of big stones, and in the back, a pig is shown lying leisurely on the ground and eating. The second cover shows a red pig puppeteer who is playing the farm animals, and a windmill is also shown. The third cover shows an angry black pig, in which small animals are present. The published edition, however, came with the first book cover. One of the reasons for choosing Boxer’s illustrations as the cover may be that pigs are unclean and irreligious to Muslims. Due to this religious sensitivity, they may have not been chosen.



Fig. 3.2. “YOU CHOOSE!! Vote For Best Book Cover”

With such an extensive back and front cover, one can expect much better academic and professional approach from a book publishing house and the compiler. Controversies regarding Orwell surrounding the Cold War are well known. The compiler has not even alluded to that for a second. The editor so positively and naively renders Orwell's character sketch that it neither

constructs a prophetic nor a negative image. This publication came out in 2022. Either the editor does not know about the facts, or he is avoiding factual ‘controversies.’ Orwell’s list came out in 2004 with a disclaimer in 1996, and the list is now well-known in academic circles. This sketch also mentions three women who rejected Orwell’s marriage proposal after Eilen’s death. The last woman who rejected Orwell, Celia Kirwan, is well-known now for her intermediary role between IRD and Orwell. His experience in the Spanish civil war is described neutrally with a comment that when the altercations between different left factions started, Orwell escaped to England with his wife. However, it was the turning point of Orwell’s politics. Politics of naivety has been played by the compiler and publisher regarding Orwell’s position in the Cold War.

Despite due care, a lot of errors are there in the essays in the current edition which needs worth consideration. In the first essay, the compiler confuses the dates regarding the starting point of *Animal Farm* writing. A small error on page 14 is present where the editor emphasises that Orwell completed the write-up of *Animal Farm* in 1943, and then until 1945, it was not published. Later on page 44, in his translation of Orwell’s Ukrainian preface, he translates Orwell’s words that “میں نے 1943ء تک اسے نہیں لکھا تھا” - ‘I did not write it out until 1943’. However, this does not mean he finished it in 1943. Bernard Crick, Orwell’s biographer, writes that Orwell started writing *Animal Farm* in September 1943 and completed it in February 1944. Thus, the editor seems to have wronged the dates.

The first essay is an embodiment of irony given its content. Raza mentions that the novel is a ‘historical document’ against ‘dictatorship and censorship’ and an excellent chapter on ‘literary resistance’ (13). This statement is problematic enough if it is viewed through Orwell’s list and his collaboration with the IRD through Celia Kirwan. Moreover, Raza mentions the rejection of *Animal Farm* by Jonathan Cape when the Russian double agent, Peter Smollett, who



worked in the Ministry of Information, was directed to refrain from publishing *Animal Farm*. I wonder if this much knowledge has surfaced to the compiler but not the politically controversial aspect of Orwell's politics in collaborating with a propaganda unit (IRD) to further his translations in as many languages as possible.

Lastly, Raza mentions the confiscation of the Ukrainian edition of *Animal Farm*. He also mentions the recent Russia-Ukraine conflict and mentions the irony that America was once helping the Soviets against the Ukrainians, preventing them from reading a book. That confiscation in Germany happened directly due to the preface, where Orwell explicitly mentioned the name of Stalin and his atrocities. The American and Soviet policies were to cooperate during the post-war reconstruction era. However, later the Cold War and propaganda war suggested otherwise.

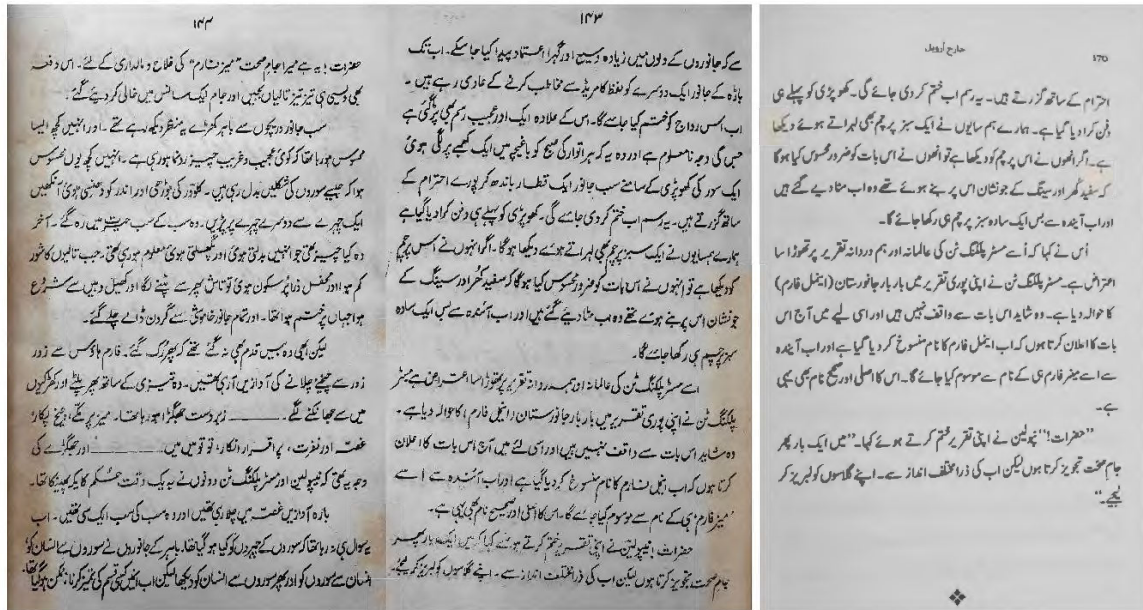


Fig. 3.3. Last two pages of Jalibi's 1958 edition and the last page of the 2022 edition.

Despite due care, a publishing disaster has happened around this edition. The novel in this edition is incomplete. This is not a deliberate choice but a publishing mistake. From the 10th chapter's fourth last paragraph's last line onward, starting with "Gentlemen, here is my toast: To

the prosperity of The Manor Farm!”, all three paragraphs are missing, including the mentioned line. The reason is that in the 1958 translation edition, the last page starts with “Gentlemen, here is my toast: To the prosperity of The Manor Farm!” (fig. 3.3). However, probably the copy that the compiler had did not contain the last page of the 1958 edition. Kashif Raza was contacted and shown the last two pages of the edition to clear any doubt. He acknowledged the mistake and said that in the next edition, the mistake would be ratified. However, Jamil Jalibi’s son was also contacted about this matter. He said that he permitted this edition due to their continuous insistence. And he does not intend to let them publish another edition.

After the novel ends in this edition, it presents Russell’s note on Orwell’s death written in 1950 as a closing remarks. Russell’s anti-communism and his brief collaboration with IRD have been known. However, he underwent a joint struggle with Orwell and Koestler to establish a union for freedom, which they failed to establish. Russell establishes Orwell’s image through his anti-communism sentiments and Stalin’s persecution of Trotsky. He highlights Orwell’s uneasiness with any ideology after his disillusionment with communism. Orwell’s reputation is declared due to his political writings and especially due to *Animal Farm*. He comments on the novel and elaborates that Orwell hated the enemies of his loved ones. Russell mentions that Orwell was a free man and refers to the instance in which Orwell commented on H.G. Wells “سمجھ بوجھ رکھنے والے کے پاس تو کوئی اختیار ہی نہیں ہوتا”. Russell continues to say that Orwell loved freedom; for that, he even tasted the bitter realities of life and lost all hope. Russell ends the essay with the words that what the world needed, half was with Orwell, and the search for half is still going on.

A unique feature of this adaptation is the incorporation of illustrations from Omar Rayyan’s graphic novel. It is not mentioned clearly in the edition whether any copyrights were

acquired. However, it is only mentioned on page 10 “Artist: Omar Rayyan” and nothing else. There are seven free downloadable sample illustrations on the Suntup Editions’ website, the publisher of Rayyan’s limited edition graphic novel. Interestingly, exactly those seven illustrations, with one cut in two and placed at pages 128 and 144, are used in this new Urdu edition of *Animal Farm*. Each picture is placed at its suitable position in the novel’s narrative. Thus, a lot of supporting content is given in this edition of *Animal Farm*.

These images in the novel are used against the pages 56, 64, 80, 112, 120, 128, 144, and 160 are depicting the characters in their action. Their actions and descriptions has been enhanced and exaggerated. The Old Major is shown as a prophetic persona standing out from the other animals at an elevated place, preaching them his dream. He is shown as a beacon of salvation. The picture on page 64 shows the pigs writing the seven commandments while the slim poor-fed donkey is watching them doing their business. The picture on page 80 shows the pigs with their fierce yellow eyed dogs in a dark dungeon, giving the air of fear. The horse is shown as toiling while the pig rests. In the subsequent illustration on page 112, the buyer is shown as slim and cunning and the pigs as fat and well fed. The windmill is shown as majestic in the subsequent graphic on page 120. In the next illustration on page 128, the pig is shown big as a hulk after the battle of windmill in contrast to the other imagery of the farm and its building. The last picture on page 144 portrays the pig and his misses in grandeur greenish clothes with their dog in vicinity. Their looks are commanding, authoritative and condescending. All these portrayals and illustrations enhance, distort, and add to the existing meaning of the written words of the text.

These graphics contribute to the meaning making of the instances in the texts against which they have been placed in this edition. All these subsequent graphics in the novel distort to enhance, but not to avert, the actual written description and enhance the effect, which the

description wants the reader to feel. Starting from the hard cover, it shows sweating horse toiling with big stones while the pig lay easy in the background on the soft grass, sketching a contrast among the lives of the two and establishing the relationship of owner and slave. From the outset, it sets the overall struggling air of the novel. The first page leading to the front matter is red with a big zoomed in image of a red pig, darkening the background to create a sense of alarm and danger.

The timing of this publication amidst the recent Russian-Ukrainian conflict has made the translation more relevant than any other book. Like the Cold War of the 1950s, this book reminds us of the past political tensions between the Soviet peace block and the transatlantic freedom bloc. The unconditional Western support of Ukraine, the opposition to Russian claims, and organised propaganda against Russia and Putin are all reminiscent of the re-emergence of a new Cold War. This new edition of the translated novel probably seems to make a small contribution to that effort. What is more politically controversial is that, on the day when the Russian army started the offensive against Ukraine, the Pakistani Prime Minister was meeting the Russian President in his office. This added to a widespread perplexity and wholesale media analysis of the war and Pakistan's role and stance on the conflict.

The simplicity of the first edition and the excessive front and back matter of the second edition reveals different politics. The first solemnly rely on the translation and a single introduction by Ishtiaq Hussain to introduce the novel as a great novel to its audience. However, the second try to situate it at the local and global political sphere as well. It also provide images for visualisation and ready interpretation. The extraneous matter influences the reader into reading a more despotic novel also related to our political scenario. Thus the novel having its

own inherent politics, also show different and new manifestations in the two local editions of the same translation.

### 3.2.1 Analysis of Jalibi's *Animal Farm*

Jalibi was a literary theorist as well as a translator. He had his own ideals of translation. He believes that there can never be an exact translation. He proposes and emphasises that a translator should preserve the style and tone of the ST's author. He should not exactly translate words. Rather, he should invent new phrases, structures and words. Without taking this liberty, he argues, a translation is worth nothing. Jalibi says that there are three type of translations when translating an English text into Urdu: word for word translation, which he says is a time wasting task; second, free translation of the overall concept/idea of the text in the popular writing style; third, and which Jalibi prefers, is that a translation must preserve the tone of ST's author and preserve the temperament/mood of TL and the translation should be faithful to the content of the ST. Jalibi says this is the most difficult of all translations and also beneficial to the TL because it introduces novel structures and style of utterance and make more space for complex and elaborate philosophical ideas and writings. He further says that a translator must try to bring the SL's expression closer to the TL's expression and cultivate new style in his writing with the help of the original author's style and tone (qtd. in Baig 104-106). He introduces these ideas keeping in view that it will expand the linguistic capabilities of Urdu language and will make it more acceptable to conveying complex ideas.

In his *Animal Farm*, Jalibi exercises his theory of translation. His translation is smooth without breaking the natural flow of Urdu syntax. He closely follows ideas in the paragraphs and their sentences and occasionally adds additional sentences, phrases, and new structures. When

there is an idiom, Jalibi strives to find its appropriate equivalent in Urdu. Jalibi also tries to retain Urdu's literary tint and aura in the translation.

Jalibi's use of different techniques in his translation - such as additions, omissions, repetitions, exaggeration and domestication – which just not only serve the production of effective TT equivalent, but it also wittingly or unwittingly influences the interpretation of the text. However, this research will stick only to addition, omissions and rewritings to elicit the politics of the translation as mapped out in the methodology.

Jalibi makes use of additions a lot in his translation. When an idea requires extra words or even sentences for elaboration Jalibi provides it. However, sometimes the translation becomes deviant. As Orwell's novel is a political and satirical allegory, any additional word or sentence may, wittingly or unwittingly, increase the weight of the political dimension on a definite side.

Sometimes Jalibi uses additional repetitions and additional expressions for emphasis on some political moment or exaggeration of their grief. For instance, Jalibi uses the single word "Rebellion!" (17) twice in his translation as "بغاوت --- بغاوت" (57) and then ends the paragraph. However, in the ST the word is present halfway through the paragraph which creates the effect of an uprising and a pause to cheer it up. At another instance, he uses "اے" (56) an exclamatory word to show old Major's grief for the farm animal's suffering arousing sympathy from the reader for his cause.

Jalibi uses addition to make his tone culturally charged. He is careful in his choice of words and tries to make it closer to Urdu culture where possible. After Major's death, the farm talks about rebellion, and some object to it in favour of Mister John's rule. Jalibi adds a verse, "تجھ کو کیا پڑی اپنی نبیڑ تو" (63), to comment on those who proposed that why should they suffer for the cause whose fruits will be consumed by others.

Jalibi inserted an additional sentence when translating Old Major's speech when addressing different animals about their production consumption by humans. The speech shows sympathy towards the animals and politically motivates them to rebel. He says;

“And you hens, how many eggs have you laid in this last year, and how many of these eggs ever hatched into chickens? The rest have all gone to market to bring in money for Johns and his men.” (16)

Jalibi translates these sentences quite interestingly.

"اے مرغیو۔ پچھلے سال جتنے انڈے تم نے دیے ان کا کیا حشر ہوا؟ وہ انڈے جن میں سیکڑوں بچے نکلتے اور تمہارے کلیجے ٹھنڈے ہوتے اور تمہارے خاندان کا نام چلتا سب کے سب بازار میں فروخت کر دیے گئے تاکہ ان سے جونز اور اس کے خاندان کے لیے روپیہ فراہم کیا جاسکے۔" (56)

He takes liberty in translating these lines. Jalibi compresses the two questions into one and changes the second question of the compound question into a sentence. However, till here the idea is preserved. Then he adds a sentence “تمہارے کلیجے ٹھنڈے ہوتے اور تمہارے خاندان کا نام چلتا” which is not present in the original sense of the sentence. This is an additional arousing statements which addresses the chickens that if their eggs were not taken by John, they might have children who would prove comfort to them and would have furthered their family's name. This serves as an additional provocation by Jalibi in addition to John's. In the last line “John and his men” is also treated differently. Jalibi has changed ‘his men’ into John's family “جونز اور اس کے خاندان کے لیے”. A reason for the addition and this change can be that in Pakistani culture people believe in a strong family system and seek comfort in a strong and big family. However, the political aspect of this addition is more powerful which taps into the moral obligation of the readers to rise for such a cause.

Jalibi uses the technique of omission to exaggerate instances. He has ruled out any possibility that the pigs ever helped the animals showing them very cruel and uncultured. At the beginning of chapter 5, when the harsh working conditions of the farm are described, it says that “even the pigs sometimes joined in at the critical moments” (53). However, Jalibi completely omits it in his translation (102-103). Another instance of unfaithful omission is that in the last scene of the novel, when Napoleon abandons the use of “comrade”, he refers to it as “a foolish custom” (169), but Jalibi completely ignores and drops it in the translation (169). Jalibi has also omitted a very important line. After the war of Cowshed, Boxer laments the killing of a human to which Squealer replies “War is war. The only good human being is a dead one” (40). This line is changed with “ساتھو! جذباتی باتیں بند کرو” (87), and the whole idea is dropped.

Through addition, omission and rewriting Jalibi has divorced any reference or connotation to foreignness. He has strictly domesticized the vocabulary. He has omitted ‘England’ from “green fields of England” (31) and rendered it as “ہرے بھرے سبز کھیت” (76). All the names of the books consulted by the pigs are omitted. Only a general reference is given (91-92). The “Crown Derby” (73) dinner set’s name is wholly omitted in the TT (130). “Paraffins” (54) are replaced with “سرسوں کا تیل” (104), and the name “Willingdon” is wholly omitted (105). He renders “bushel” (59) to “ٹوکری” (112). “Infanticide” (62) is wholly omitted. The loud cry of cockerel “cock-a-doodle-doo” (73), which acts as a trumpet, is rendered as “با ادب باملاحظہ ہوشیار” (129). “Real five-pound notes” (78) is changed with “سکہ رائج الوقت” (136). He has manifested the translation in the local imagery and context.

Despite closely clinging to his theory, Jalibi has taken some liberty in freely translating some paragraphs to indicate the pigs as more cruel. Pigs’ cruelty is throughout exaggerated by Jalibi through omissions, rewriting, and additions. He has rendered the last paragraph of chapter



3 very freely with a lot of omissions. In ST, this paragraph shows the reaction of animals when Squealer explains the necessity to keep the pigs healthy with apples and milk. The animals are satisfied and do not argue more (35). However, Jalibi adds sentences to exaggerate the scene that the animals were not only satisfied, but they were silent and their heads were down with guilt (81). Similarly, two additional lines are freely inserted at the end of chapter 7 on page 128. These lines say that Napoleon has abandoned “Beasts of England” because the rebellion was successful and a better society was created. These lines serve as irony to the complete despotic control of Napoleon over the farm at the end of chapter 7.

Jalibi often rewrites instances for exaggeration. For instance, he translates “castrate” (24) as “ذبح” - slaughter (67) to startle the reader with the severity which this word creates. He also rewrites Snowball’s studious and intellectual nature to exaggerate it with comments that “سنو بال ”کا مطالعہ وسیع تھا (91). An additional line is attributed to Boxer to exaggerate the moment, when Snowball is banished from the farm the translation says that Boxer’s face revealed disgust for John (99) which is nowhere in the source text (49). Napoleon’s despotism is also exaggerated by Jalibi when he differently renders “they did not sit all together” (50) in Urdu as “سب مل کر ایک ” (100). The translation gives the meaning of “could not” which implies that they were forced not to sit but according to the context it was the busy routine that did not leave them any leisure time.

Jalibi rewrites many instances of the novel to get the desired meaning. For instance, in some instances he has changed “Rebellion” – which is “بغاوت” in Urdu – to the meaning of revolution which is “انقلاب” e.g. on page 67 he translates “rebellion” as “انقلاب”.

While describing the terrible practices of Frederick at Pinchfield, the animal “dog” (75) is changed with “گائے” (133). When the knackers take Boxer away in their cart, Clover pleads to

the cart horses (93). Jalibi, through rewriting, exaggerates these requests (155). When Squealer announces the death of Boxer and explains that he was taken good care of by Napoleon (94), Jalibi adds a sentence “قلت زر کے باوجود” (157) - “despite the lack of resources” he was taken good care of. This practice of writing exaggerates the cruelty of the pigs and allegedly expose the despotism of the pigs.

When Napoleon approves of the poem written in his praise, Squealer hangs a portrait of him in profile (74). This scene is rendered differently in Jalibi’s 1958 and Raza’s 2022 editions with slightly changing words. The 1958 edition translates it as “یک رخی مجسمہ” (101) and the 2022 edition translates it as “پورٹریٹ --- جس میں اس کا چہرہ ایک رخ سے دکھائی دے رہا تھا” (132). The 1958 edition translation does not make this very obvious. However, the 2022 edition’s exact retention of the word ‘portrait’ in Urdu and its elaboration of ‘in profile’ make it much more obvious to Stalin’s portrait, whether it was intended or not.

Jalibi’s creative rewriting is evident from his poetic and beautiful language. This often comes at the instances where the farm animals are put into the laborious work and are encouraged by beautiful phrases. For instance, he renders “Gee up, comrade!” and “Whoa back, comrade!” (27) quite poetically in a rhythm as “ساتھیو! بڑھے چلو، بڑھے چلو” (73). This has a revolutionary and encouraging connotation. Idiomatic translation of the phrase “unable at first to speak” (59) is done as “سب کی زبانیں گنگ ہو گئیں” (111) while “miserable traitor” (60) is stylistically rendered as “ذلیل و خوار کمینے غدار” (112). Such phrases, while poetically rendered, indicate and foreground the innocence of the farm animals and despotism of the pigs.

Jalibi has also changed Clover’s gender in chapter 5. He uses masculine pronouns and verb forms while referring to her i.e. “پاس آیا، پر تھا، کر رہا تھا، جا کر بولا” (89). Benjamin never broke his rule of interfering in politics. He only once broke that rule and read to Clover from the

wall. However, Jalibi translates “for once” (101) as “ایک بار پھر” (165) - which means ‘once again’ and that is not a correct translation. When Mr. Pilkington addresses the pigs in the last scenes of the novel, he is unable to utter what he wants to say because his amusement overcomes him (103) and not because he could not find the right occasion (168), as translated by Jalibi. At the beginning of chapter 6 when it is revealed that there would be trade with humans, animals show their discomfort and they are informed that Napoleon “intended to take the whole burden upon his own shoulders” (55) without bothering the animals. This is intended as an Irony. However, this irony is plainly translated without powerfully preserving the ironic style in the translation (106). Another important line “some of them had five chins, some had four, some had three” (105) is also completely omitted in the TT.

The adjustments to the text through addition, omission and rewriting tilt it to a more despotic, exaggerated, explicit, and more attracting piece of literature, than it actually is in the ST. His repetition of the word rebellion, changing rebellion to revolution, his culturally charged tone, his indigenisation of the text, omission of foreign references, sensitivity to the word ‘pigs’, his use of exaggerations for showing Napoleon’s despotism, his exaggerated show of Clover’s plea for Boxer’s release from the Knacker’s cart etc., are some of the different instances where the meaning shifts away from the original ST meaning. Due to the choices of Jalibi, the novel is also domesticized and the text as world literature has been reframed in the local setting. Such shifts in the meaning amount to cultural negotiations and political commentary.

Through this translation Jalibi has emphasised pigs’ despotism in the novel, has omitted any foreign reference and has also exaggerated the urge for revolution while changing the word revolution to rebellion emphasizing a more urgent need than it actually is in the ST. This gain in translation, to use Damrosch’s words, evident from the overarching emphasis on the pigs’

treatment of the animals show the politics behind such rendition. The American camp also wanted this exact text to be viewed as the allegory of the despotism of the communist regime signified through the characters of pigs especially Napoleon and not to show it as a text denouncing totalitarianism in its totality, as elaborated in detail in the chapter 2. Such subtle rendition in the translation depicts the political and ideological influences on the translation.

### 3.2.2 1958 and 2022 editions

The Jalibi's translation's new edition published in 2022 has done merely few changes to the original first edition. These changes are not much different to be given much discussions regarding the politics of translation and their role in meaning making. However there are few things that need discussion here.

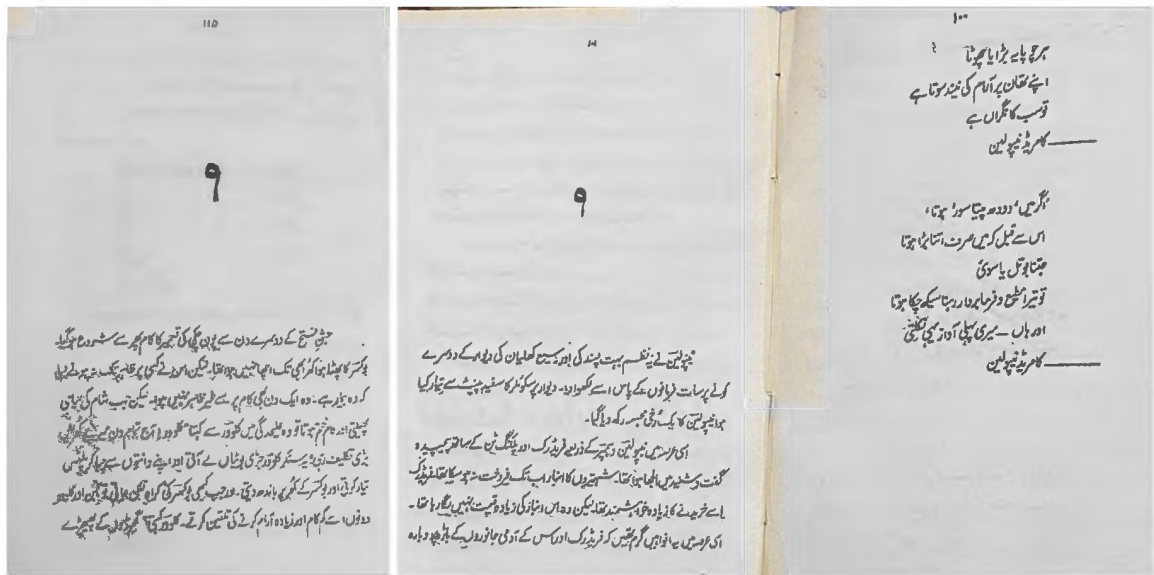


Fig. 3.4. Chapter 9 appears twice in the 1958 edition.

In the 1958 edition, there is a big printing mistake. Chapter 8 mistakenly ends after the poem of Minimus, and chapter 9 starts immediately. As that chapter ends there is another chapter 9. Chapter 9's heading appears twice in the novel due to mistake (see fig. 3.4). In the 2022 edition, this mistake has been ratified.

In the 2022 edition, despite the care it said to have received, there is a blunder of missing to print the last page of the novel which Jalibi translated but the compiler failed to realise that it was missing from the copy which he had. Moreover, in this regard no stress was taken to cross check the English text to confirm if there was something missing. The last page of the novel has its own political significance which cannot be missed by any considerate compiler or editor.

One obscurity remains in the 1958 edition. In the beginning of chapter 8, when it is announced that the gun would also be fired on Napoleon's birthday along with other 2 occasions, the other 2 occasions are understood already (73). However, the 1958 edition, obscures the 2 occasions, which I think has aroused due to misunderstanding. However, keeping in view this misunderstanding, the 2022 edition explicates the two occasions to rule out any obscurity which was produced in the 1958 edition (130). Otherwise, there would be no use for explicating the statement "the other two anniversaries".

The new edition has made a lot of changes to the type script. Bigger sentences are cut into small sentences by inserting full stops. The spelling of Squealer's name is changed in the new edition. In the 1958 edition, his spelling was سکونلر but in the 2022 edition, his name is spelled as سکویلر. The solicitor Whymper is named قانونی مشیر in the 1958 edition (71) but in the new edition, he is (106) قانونی مشیر مسٹر و همپر.

The typing setting is also changed. For example, کام یاب is changed to علی (67) and علی is changed into علی الصباح (68). In a few instances, additional words are inserted e.g. نیولین is changed into نیولین خود برآمد ہوا (164). Tenses are also changed in places. For example, حکم دیا تھا is changed into حکم دیا تھا (148). Some sentence structures are changed. For example, (25) "موسس جھوٹ بولتا ہے" is changed into (65) "موسس جھوٹا ہے". The clause "کان پہاڑ دینے والی ایک" (65) is changed into (138) "ایک زبردست دھماکہ ہوا۔ کان پھٹتے لگے" (109) is changed into (109) "آوار

دانتوں سے “ (77) is changed into “ایک بنجمن تو ایسا تھا“ (77). Another instance “دانتوں سے چبا کر، چھوٹی سی پوٹلی میں رکھ کر“ (144) is changed into “چبا کر پلٹس تیار کرتی (115) is changed into “ہر سور کو اتوار کے دن اپنی دم میں ہرا فیتہ لگانے کی اجازت بھی دی گئی“ (118) is changed into “سوروں کو ہر اتوار کی صبح اپنی دم میں ہرا ربن لگانے کو عزت بھی بخشی گئی“ (147). Another instance “معاملات میں بچولے کا کردار ادا کرنے پر“ (71) is changed into “معاملات کو طے کرانے پر راضی“ (106). Another instance “جانور حیران رہ گئے“ (86) is changed into “جانور حیرت میں رہ گئے“ (106). Another instance “مینی مس نے اس کے بجائے ایک اور گیت بنایا“ (95) is changed into “مینی مس (119). Another instance “تے فروخت کر دینے کی نیت سے (128).

Such typesetting changes in the new edition only confirms the text to the local publishing and editing practices of the press. The language setting has, for the past decades, changed with the invention of the new press practices, font styles and refinements in the written language use. These changes merely reflects a cultural and literary change in the publishing and written practice of the time.

Some typographic and linguistic mistakes are retained in both editions. For example, ابابیل (77 – 2022 edition) and (39 - 1958 edition) is already plural but it is again made a wrong plural as ابابیلوں and retained. A typing mistake “خرید کیں“ (157 - 2022 edition) and (130 - 1958 edition) is retained in both editions. Another typing mistake “سوروں پر مبارکباد دی“ (168 - 2022 edition) and (141 - 1958 edition) is also retained in both editions.

### 3.3.0 Professor Jameel Akhtar Khan’s *Chopayon Ki Hukumat* (Beasts’ Kingdom)

Another translation of *Animal Farm* emerged in 1973 from the pen of Professor Jameel Akhtar Khan. Feroz Sons Corporation Limited Lahore published this translation. The cover page has a red background, 2 pigs and three other animals including a sheep, a dog and a horse. The title of the translation says “چوپایوں کی حکومت“ - ‘Kingdom of Beasts’. The full title page shows a

subtitle below the title as “ایک طنزیہ نظریاتی ناول” - ‘A satirical ideological novel.’ This clearly indicated the political nature of the novel while the original ST does not indicate any such subtitle. On the contrary it said ‘A Fairy Tale.’

This first edition published 2000 copies, which is too much for an edition in Pakistan, the prices of which were set at 3 rupees and 75 pesa. Akhtar’s translation has no front and back matter except a brief of the novel on the back cover. It gives a summary of the whole story in a few words. In a political sense, it refers to the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ and the subsequent despotism that befell the animals in the name of revolution. A comment on the barbarianism is also succinctly passed on. A brief account of Orwell’s life is also given in a few lines, but it does not mention his political side and struggle. No front and back matter exists in this translation.

The explication of ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ is significant in the back matter. It clearly refer to the ‘failed’ Russian revolution and the directly refers to the ideology behind the revolution. The explication is peculiar to indicate the struggle of the basic people. In a sense, the subtitle ‘A Satirical Ideological Novel’ and the reference to ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ clearly indicate the politics of the text as exclusively a story of a failed Russian revolution and the despotism which was carried out in the meantime. The publication year is also very significant. It was published in 1973 when Bhutto nationalised the economy, and Pakistan had just lost its East part, which became Bangladesh. Thus the extraneous matter is also important in commenting on and harmonising the novel’s message with Pakistani politics.

What is more interesting than having somewhat similar names as Jameel Jalibi and professor Jameel Akhtar Khan is that the translations of both translators are also very similar. It is similar to the extent that the reader may at times restore to the novel's last line “it [is] impossible to say which [is] which” (104). A very similar diction, sentence structure, creative

phrases, punctuation, tone, style, and even the translation of the two songs are more than 90% similar. Sometimes, due to the similarity in translation and names, one is confused to believe that it might be an updated version or revised edition of the earlier Jalibi's translation. However, when a few people reached out for information, it was revealed that Professor Jameel Akhtar was serving in a college in Karachi, and he is, in fact, a different person from Jalibi. However, nothing could be said specifically about his translation.

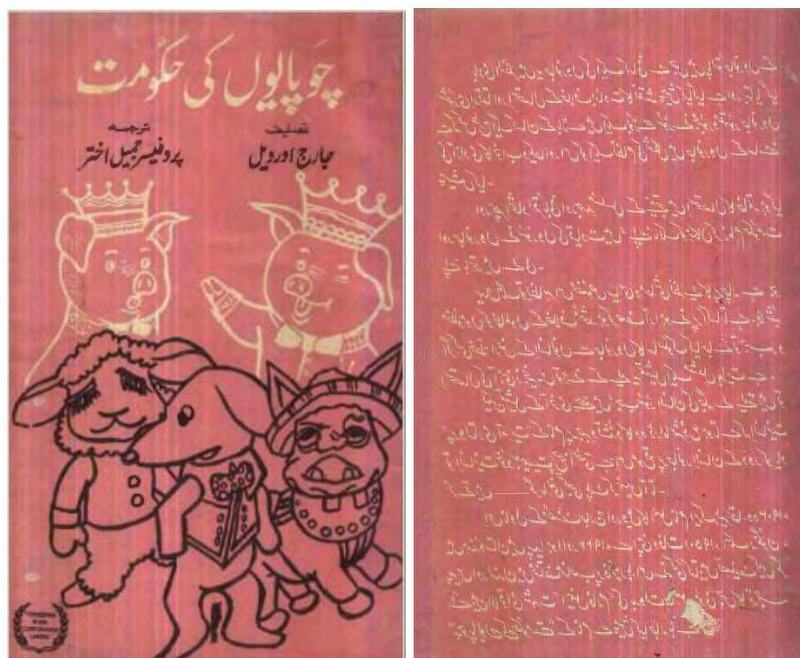


Fig. 3.5. Front and back cover of Professor Jameel Akhtar Khan's *Animal Kingdom*.

The striking similarity between the two novels becomes prominent when we look at the translation of the song “Beasts of England.” We can only see the difference on some occasions in the placement of words. Diction, structures, and phrases are all the same, except for the position of words in a sentence (see fig. 3.11, fig. 3.12, fig. 3.13, and fig. 3.14).

### 3.3.1 Analysis of Akhtar's *Animal Farm*

Akhtar's translation looks like an updated or revised version of Jalibi's translation. Both translations have a lot of similarities in the keywords, phrases and sentences. However, some



minor difference are also there. The foreign words and elements are restored in the translation.

The translation is quite word for word but it is still fluent and, at times, better and more politically touching. However, the politics in the translation is somehow made more obvious than Jalibi's subtle translation.

Similarities are quite outstanding. The four Animal Committees, translated as “جانور کمیٹی” in both texts, i.e. Egg Production Committee, Clean Tails League, Wild Comrades' Re-education Committee, and Whiter Wool Movement, are also translated quite similarly. The first three are translated exact similarly as, “صاف دم لیگ”, “پیداوار بیضہ کمیٹی”, and “جنگلی جانوروں کی کمیٹی” respectively. The last one is different in both. Jalibi translates it as “تحریک سفید تر” and Akhtar keep it as “سفید اون کمیٹی”. Even the word ‘tactic’ is translated similarly by both translators as “جوڑتوڑ” (Jalibi 101; Akhtar 67), when the dictionary meaning of the word is “چال” or “حرہ” which is not similar to “جوڑتوڑ”. Similarly, the statement that Squealer “looked very sly” is also translated by both translators as “تھوڑا جریز ہوا” (Jalibi 101; Akhtar 67). The phrase “unable at first to speak” is translated as “زبانیں گنگ ہو گئیں” (Jalibi 111; Akhtar 79). The word “bushel” is also creatively rendered by both as “ٹوکری سیب” (Jalibi 112; Akhtar 79). Interestingly, the word ‘infanticide’ is omitted by both from their novels. The loud cry of cockerel “cock-a-doodle-doo” (73), which acts as a trumpet, is rendered by both as “با ادب باملاحظہ ہوشیار” (Jalibi 129; Akhtar 100).

The term ‘rebellion’ - “بغاوت” is quite uniquely treated in both translations and need consideration. Rebellion has a negative connotation. At thirty instances, rebellion word comes in the novel. At only three instances, Jalibi and Akhtar render it as same as “انقلاب” – revolution, a positive connotation. But then Akhtar goes on to render an additional four instances of rebellion as انقلاب - revolution rather than بغاوت - rebellion. Akhtar prefers the more positive connotation.

When Old Major delivers his speech on his dream of a better society, he urges them to rebel. This rebellion is translated by Jalibi as بغاوت (57), but Akhtar has translated it as انقلاب (12). The rebellion in Mollie's question "Will there still be sugar after the Rebellion?" is translated by Jalibi as بغاوت (64), but Akhtar translates it as "انقلاب" - revolution (21). When the rebellion occurs in the novel, while commenting on Benjamin's behaviour there comes another word rebellion, which Jalibi translates as "بغاوت" (75), and Akhtar translates as "انقلاب" (36). At the beginning of chapter 7, rebellion in "The Story of the Rebellion" is translated by Jalibi as "بغاوت" (82) and by Akhtar as "انقلاب" (44). This episode of translating rebellion as revolution shows a subtle difference between the choices of the two translators while dealing with the subject. While Jalibi reserves himself to a darker tone, Akhtar gives the word a more positive connotation.

Contrary to Jalibi, some foreign words are restored and translated by Akhtar as they were without omitting or changing them. He retains, for example, 'Clementine' and 'La Cucaracha' as "کلیمنٹائن اور لاکریک" (15), which Jalibi omits completely. He also includes the word England in the phrase 'green fields of England' as "انگلستان کے ہرے بھرے کھیت" (37), which Jalibi omitted.

Despite having similarities with Jameel Jalibi's translation, Jameel Akhtar's translation is word for word. It is still fluent and, at times, better and more politically touching. For instance he rewrites some instances to exaggerate the workload and stresses to highlight the less free time available to them. The sentence "they were usually working when they were not asleep" (66) is rendered as "عام طور پر اس وقت تک کام کرتے رہتے جب تک نیند انہیں آرام پر مجبور نہ کر دیتی" (120). This defies the ST meaning. At another instance, "Death to Humanity" is translated by Jalibi as "انسانیت کو موت کے گھاٹ اتار دو" (120) and by Akhtar as "انسانیت کی موت" (89) which is more harsh and political. After the war of Windmill, when the dead animals are on the cart for the funeral,

Boxer and Clover pull it to the grave. However, Akhtar substitutes Clover with Napoleon in the translation (114).

Akhtar does not take quite as much liberty as Jalibi enjoys. Akhtar avoids repeating additional sentences, phrases and even verses while translating the novel. Akhtar makes the prose smooth, just like Jalibi, and successfully avoids structures that would lead to obscurity. The last scene, where Mr Pilingkton is overcome by amusement, which Jalibi confuses, is translated smoothly without misreading.

This analysis of the translation indicates that the translation is probably a modified version of Jalibi's translation because of the striking similarities. It is not an exact copy, as the changes and differences at different instances indicate. However, the politics in the translation is somehow made more obvious than Jalibi's translation. Both translations have same politics of indicating the pigs' more cruel than they actually are in the ST which overarch the theme of totalitarianism. However, due to the publication date of the later and the explicit mentioning of the failed revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the translation makes the domestic political significance and political commentary on communism more acute and obvious than the earlier Jalibi's subtle translation.

#### **3.4.0 Nasir Hussain Jaffery's *Janwaristan* (*Animal's Kingdom*)**

*Janwaristan* جانورستان is another translation of *Animal Farm* by Nasir Hussain Jaffery, which emerged in July 1987. This translation is a free translation and has almost adapted the novel into a localised form of *Animal Farm* commenting on the local politics and reframe the story in a setting which clearly foreground Pakistani politics and history. The novel has extended front matter and essays, which tells the story of inspiration for translation and its publication.

In the preface, Jaffery tells the story of this adaptation. As the preface says, Jaffery lives in London. His parents migrated to London for better economic opportunities. He translated this novel in London. He calls Orwell ‘مشہور طنز نگار’ rather than a political writer, as claimed by the majority. Jaffery says he has done a free translation of the novel and has relied on brevity. He claims to have focused on the delicacies, sweetness, and flow of translation’s prose. He also claims that he has used Urdu idioms and tried to preserve the original story with Orwell’s intention in the translation.

Jaffery further writes that the inspiration for translation came to him from his uncle’s translation of *Ameer Ali Thug*, whose uninterrupted flow of prose inspired him. Jaffery says that he moved to London and could not find time for translation. However, when he settled in a shop, he found ample time to do something. His son brought him *Animal Farm* one day, and after reading that he was moved by some provocative thoughts for its translation. His daughter took him to Elizabeth Hall to show him the ‘Drama’ adaptation of *Animal Farm*, which opened his eyes, and he became resolute to publish it. Another daughter sent a critical paper on Orwell, which proved fruitful to him. He then moves to write praises, in his preface, which he received for the translated prose of *Animal Farm*. He says that Dr Ralf Russell, retired Head of the Urdu Department at the University of London, who liked the translation, style and easy prose, encouraged him to publish it at the earliest.

The title page gives both English title of the novel ‘Animal Farm’, and Urdu title as ‘جانورستان’ at the bottom. The full title page’s lower third has a note which describes the novel as “طنزیہ ناول” - ‘a satirical novel’ clearly explicating the politics of the translation. This subtitle is not in the original or rather ‘A Fairy Tale’ was the subtitle in the original first English edition. This first edition came with 5000 copies, which is a large imprint compared to the standard

printing range of 500-1000 books per print. Al Mustafa Press and Publishing Company Limited published it. Jaffery's book has an extended front matter. It contains a one-page introduction to Orwell, a four-page preface, a dedication, a small two-paragraph brief about *Animal Farm* and a content page showing 14 chapters.

On the second page, Jaffery sets the tone for the novel with a brief overview of the novel, saying that it unmask the false claims of the governing class about democracy, who only struggle for their own vested interests. He clearly situates the novel in the local totalitarian politics. He says that the story forces us to think that it is about our own leaders and society. Jaffery dedicates his translation to those 'wounded hearts' who are still not free even after getting independence.

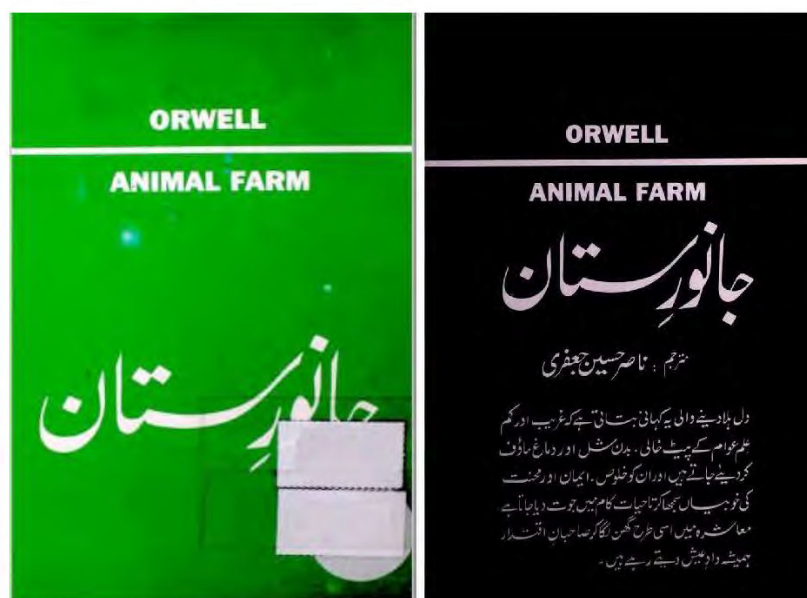


Fig. 3.6. Front and back cover of Jaffery's *Animal Kingdom*.

The introduction to Orwell on page 8 by Jaffery is ill-informed in some aspects. Many details are missing, and some are wrong and unnecessary. Orwell moved with his mother, not his parents, to England as a child. Jaffery skips all details but includes Orwell's teaching experience, which lasted for a very brief time. Reviewers and critics of Orwell's writings and politics often

skip this. He mentions Orwell's visit to Lancashire rather than Wigan. Often, critics mention Wigan, a town, rather than Lancashire, a county. Orwell did not conceive of chest problems after the Second World War, as wrongly claimed by Jaffery, but well before that in Burma.

Jaffery divorces the story from its original political background which Orwell explicated in his Ukrainian edition preface. He puts the novel at its central theme totalitarianism and despotism. He connects this theme with Pakistani society and rewrite it with a new direction. At the back cover of the book, Jaffery explicates this with a sad comment on the story. He writes;

"دل ہلا دینے والی یہ کہانی بتاتی ہے کہ غریب اور کم علم عوام کے پیٹ خالی، بدن شل اور دماغ ماوف کر دئے جاتے ہیں اور ان کو خلوص ایمان اور محنت کی خوبیاں سمجھا کر تاحیات کام میں جوت دیا جاتا ہے۔ معاشرہ میں اسی طرح گھن لگا کر صاحبان اقتدار ہمیشہ دادِ عیش دیتے رہتے ہیں۔"

"This heart-wrenching story tells that poor and uneducated people's stomachs are rendered empty, bodies weak and brains blocked and are preached the false virtues of sincere faith and hard work to be ploughed into life-long work. In this way, people of power in a society always indulge the poor in this illness and continue to praise them for it." (Translation mine)

Contrary to the original English ST, this translation has rewritten the whole story and has expanded the chapters to 12 from its original 10 chapters in the book's content on page 7. It additionally gives all 12 chapters unique titles, having revolutionary vocabulary that alludes to the different phases of the 'rebellion'.

The chapters are;

1. انقلاب (Revolution)
2. جدوجہد آزادی (The Struggle for Freedom)
3. جمہوریت (Democracy)

4. جنگ اول - گاؤخانہ کی جنگ (First War - Battle of the Cowshed)
5. کشمکش اقتدار (Power Struggle)
6. قیام مملکت جانورستان (Establishment of an Animal State)
7. آمریت (Dictatorship)
8. نشہ اقتدار (Power Addiction)
9. ملوکیت (Kingdom)
10. جنگ دوم - پن چکی کی جنگ (Second War - Battle of the Windmill)
11. ری پبلک آف جانورستان (Republic of Janwaristan)
12. قربانی و ایثار کا ثمر (The Fruit of Sacrifice)

عنوانات	
۱	تعارف
۲	پیش لفظ
۳	انقلاب
۴	جدوجہد آزادی
۵	جمہوریت
۶	جنگ اول "گاؤخانہ کی جنگ"
۷	کشمکش اقتدار
۸	قیام مملکت جانورستان
۹	آمریت
۱۰	نشہ اقتدار
۱۱	ملوکیت
۱۲	جنگ دوم "پن چکی کی جنگ"
۱۳	ری پبلک آف جانورستان
۱۴	قربانی و ایثار کا ثمر

Fig. 3.7. Titles of chapters of Jaffery's *Animal Kingdom*.

However, when we read the book, the chapters are fourteen. A title of one of the chapters is dropped and three new chapters are inserted. The new sequence becomes;

1. انقلاب (Revolution)
2. خواب (The Dream)
3. جدوجہد آزادی (Struggle for Freedom)

4. قیام مملکتِ جانورستان (Establishment of an Animal State)
5. جمہوریت (Democracy)
6. جنگ اول - گاو خانہ کی جنگ (First War - Battle of the Cowshed)
7. کشمکشِ اقتدار (Power Struggle)
8. جانورستان کی سالمیت برقرار رکھنے کے لیے - (Martial Law) مارشل لاء
9. آمریت (Dictatorship)
10. ایک سالہ منصوبہ
11. اقتدار کا نشہ (Addiction of Power)
12. ملوکیت (Kingdom)
13. جنگِ دوئم - پن چکی کی جنگ (Second War - Battle of the Windmill)
14. ری پبلک آف جانورستان (Republic of Janwaristan)

The outlook of the table of contents diction is revolutionary and explicitly tells about its politics. The diction is politically charged. This outlook prevents the book from being understood at the first glance as a novel. It rather gives an impression of the political history of a very politically unstable country. It is also important to note that the combined political and religious imagery employed in this adaptation and the year of publication are very significant. In 1987, General Zia ruled Pakistan. He was a military dictator and used to advocate for the Islamic State and the Islamic political system. This adaptation's political and religious tone and style never fails to remind the reader of the political past which inherently satirizes local Pakistani politics especially General Zia's rule.

### 3.4.1 Analysis of Jaffery's *Animal Farm*

Nasir Hussain Jaffery has done a free translation of *Animal Farm*. In the preface, he makes it clear that he has produced a free translation but with brevity. Many scenes are dropped.



He says that he has also used idioms when required. He claims that he has tried his best to remain faithful to Orwell's ideas and thoughts (09), but in practice not to the novel's plot. His translation relies mostly on rewriting of the scenes with excessive omissions and additions to foreground and reframe the story in the local history and politics.

Jaffery's adaptation is divided into fourteen chapters, each following an idea. Jaffery, on the majority of the occasions, has translated the ideas in his own freestyle without following the text closely. He goes for the sense of an idea and then freely writes it in his own words and with local and popular taste. It is necessarily free writing.

The foreign elements in the novel are either omitted or rewritten to domesticize the translation. Major's speech is fully translated, but rewritten with new style and tone emphasizing local aura of Urdu. He has substituted 'England' with "ہمارا ملک" (16). He uses repetition in Major's speech and the style of his speech is made very interactive by addressing every animal with proper reference to create suspense. He writes;

"ذرا سوچو۔ اور سمجھو میرے دوستو۔۔۔ اے میرے ساتھیو۔ میرے دوستو۔ اب سنو اور غور سے سنو۔" (16)

At another instance, Jaffery describes the death of Boxer in these words;

"اس کی روح قفصِ عنصری سے پرواز کر گئی" (97)

Jaffery include additional words to spice up a scene. He writes about the attitudes of the pigs as;

"سوردر اصل زیادہ چالاک تھے۔ خود کام نہیں کرتے تھے۔ بس احکامات اور ہدایات دیتے اور نگرانی کرتے۔

ایک طرح سے انھوں نے لیڈر شپ سنبھال لی تھی۔" (31)

While rewriting, Jaffery uses external sources and creative poetic verses in his adaptation for textual support and affirmation. The political differences between Snowball and Napoleon are described in the verse "اے ذوق اس جہان کو بے زیب اختلاف سے" (32). This verse, however,

endorses positivity in the difference of opinion but produces an ironic effect in the text given the unending differences and no resolution upon them. Immediately after this he adds a personal comment and quotes George Bernard Shaw's view on difference of opinion. He writes;

"جارج برنارڈ شاہ نے کیا سچی بات کہی ہے کہ جب دو آدمی کسی اختلاف اور بحث کے بغیر ایک مسئلہ پر

متفق ہو جائیں تو وہ دونوں احمق ہیں۔" (32)

It says whenever two people have an opinion without difference and debate, they are fools.

An additional couplet is inserted to highlight the ironic takeover of *Animal Farm* after the discussion by Napoleon when he refutes the claims about a time in future which promised plenty of time for rest. The couplet (103) is;

چشمِ تنگِ حرصِ دنیا دار را

یا قناعت پر کند یا خاک گور

A verse is added to comment on the situation, when the knackers take Boxer away with them, and he can no longer resist. It says, "موت سے کس کو رستکاری ہے" (97), which clearly indicates the death of Boxer. The verse means no one can escape death.

Jaffery brings in a lot of poetic verses to comment on the situations in *Animal Farm* to highlight the irony of the farm's takeover. He has also adopted the two songs very differently but quite poetically. They even sound better than the original English. The song "Beasts of England" is quite reduced to a few verses. The name of the song is also prolonged as;

رہبر انگلستان کے

جانور انگلستان کے

The verse can be translated as; "Beasts of England / Leaders of England". The complete song is reduced to only five lines.

Jaffery rewrites and artistically renders the song made for Napoleon by Minimus. It is completely poetic and in metres. Its rhythms are good, and it conveys the poem's actual message

quite successfully. It also produces a poetic effect. The poem does not follow line for line nor sense for sense. However, it has consumed the idea and reproduced it in the improvised poem (Image 4.0).

Jaffery uses additional words and explanations in his adaptation. After listing the names of Animal Committees, Jaffery inserts additional explanations. He writes that 15% to 16% of the population was educated at the time of the rebellion (33). He adds a verse to highlight that the number has increased now to 92 %;

"یہ دو دن میں کیا ماجرا ہو گیا/ کہ جنگل کا جنگل ہوا ہو گیا" (33)

He explains this by saying that whoever can write his signature and knows that London is in the North and Glasgow is in the South is counted as educated (33-34). He further adds that the remaining 8% are those kids who cannot talk but are able to inform others about their hunger through their screams. He adds that the pigs were very educated and participated in every act of governance. The dogs did not take an interest in education but registered for the military to defend the ideological and political boundaries of *Animal Farm*. This is an explicit comment on the political scenario of Pakistan in the 1970s and 1980s when the government changed the criteria for being counted as educated to increase the numbers to get foreign loans.

After commenting on Animal Committees, Jaffery put additional explanations for the adaptation. Napoleon says that the system in *Animal Farm* is now democratic, but Animalism's principles have not been successfully incorporated into our individuals. Thus, he says that he will strive hard to implement it and that he admits that it is his fault that these principles are not incorporated. He further argues that animals have no capacity to make the implementation of Animalism possible (36). This additional commentary by Jaffery is reminiscent of Pakistan's

early politics when Ayub Khan once said that this nation is not yet qualified enough for a democratic process of governance.

In the chapter ‘مارشل لاء - جانورستان کی سالمیت برقرار رکھنے کے لئے’, Jaffery presents a very grim and despotic image of *Animal Farm*’s electoral process and dictatorship. This episode presents the election in *Animal Farm* where Squealer is made head of the electoral process, who himself selects 20 pigs and Napoleon as a head and then carries out a vote asking whether animals want Animalism in the *Animal Farm* or not. This electoral process does not ask for an animal's vote in electing the representatives (49), which is also reminiscent of Ayub Khan’s BD electoral system. Thus Jaffery leaves no room in satirizing the local political practices.

There is an additional phrase which says “وہ دکھتی رگ تھی” (37). The goose does not eat the legs of humans in the Battle of Cowshed but he says exaggeratedly that “پنڈلیوں کو نوچ نوچ کر” (39). When Boxer laments the death of the stunned boy, Snowball’s confrontational attitude is exaggerated. Snowball does not mention that he is being shot at, but the narration informs the reader that blood is dripping from him. In the translation, Snowball says that Mr. Jones has shot him and he is bleeding (40). After the war there were only two titles, but in the TT, there are three titles. The third is “نواب شیر جنگ بہادر” (41) which is bestowed on a goat.

After Major’s death, the pigs become leaders. Jaffery explains their merits as “وہی سارے” (22). Squealer is described as a very cunning and opportunistic. His traits are explained in such details as “جیسا” (23). In the ST, animals did not have any leisure time for gossip and abundant sleep. However, Jaffery translates the scene after the spring season that they have now leisure time for gossips, telling stories and abundant sleep (68).

Jaffery explains the subtleties of the ST. He elaborates and makes it more explicitly propaganda work. His work is more literary and more fluent in Urdu expression. However, the satiric subtleties in Orwell's piece are not retained in the TT by Jaffery. In chapter 8, the scene where Squealer would tell the reports on different matters of the farm to the animals, Jaffery rendered it with more additional and exaggerated details by including many other reports which are not present in the ST (74).

Black cockerel is substituted with a black dog (75). Mollie's 'mysterious pains' is translated as "زنانه مرض" (41). An idiom "بلی تھیلے سے باہر نکل آئے گی" (51) is used to intensify the effect of Snowball's activities. The dogs who were very close to Napoleon are explained to have been similar to those dogs who used to be with Mr. Jones. Jaffery translates it quite provocative to demonize the dogs' position and highlight the pigs' cruelty. He translates those dogs as 'their mother' and writes that "جس طرح ان کی مائیں مسٹر جونز کے سامنے رہتی تھیں" (48). The knacker's cart scene is rendered quite elaborate. A separate box is dedicated to the inscription on the knacker's cart. It says;

"الفریڈ سائمن گھوروں کا مذبح"

ویلنگڈن

(ہمارے یہاں اعلیٰ قسم کے گھوڑوں کا گوشت. ہڈیوں کا گودا اور بہترین

کھالیں ملتی ہیں۔) (95)

An important scene is that when the windmill is blown up, all animals flung to their bellies except Napoleon. It was an important instance. However, Jaffery says all animals flung on their bellies, including Napoleon. He says "سب جانور زمین پر سر کے بل لیٹ گئے" (80). Orwell deliberately shows Napoleon as the only animal standing because he thought that Stalin did not

move out of Moscow when it was attacked by Hitler. However, this has been rendered differently by Jaffery, may possibly to highlight that no local politician can stand a crisis.

After the Battle of the Windmill, Boxer's contemplation is rendered unfaithful. He does not think that he cannot do more. He thinks that he has to do more work now. The narration tells that he was, however, becoming old. In the TT, Jaffery says that he was contemplating when he remembered that his muscles were now weak (83).

The conferences after the death of Boxer are also exaggerated with additional remarks and paragraphs (99). The medicine for Boxer was found in the Bathroom in ST, but Jaffery says that it was found in the cupboard of John's room (94). Only Napoleon was given a medal in the battle of Windmill, but Jaffery says that other animals, too were given medals (84). Pigs' progeny is exaggerated to 36 by Jaffery (88). Long additional sentences and paragraphs are added in the translation. One such is on page 90.

The scene in which Napoleon inquires of the animals for their resistance and attacks Boxer is heavily improvised. Napoleon's inquiry of the four pigs is also heavily improvised here. In the ST, he does not ask them to explain why they objected to his abolition of weekly assemblies. However, the pigs themselves, without any inquiry, tell everything about themselves (71). The accusation of Snowball's complicity with Jones is also exaggerated and improvised on page 69.

When Squealer clarifies the pigs' action of eating the good food, Jaffery adds a quoted statement in the TT. He says “خدا کے بے وقوف بندے یہ نہیں جانتے کہ کیا اچھا ہے اور کیا برا۔ وہ تو صرف ” (61). He emphasise the ironic simplicity of farm's Animal's nature, as are the local people of Pakistan who believes whatever they are told.

Napoleon's address to the humans in the last chapter is also treated with addition. One addition is that when he denounces the rumours about *Animal Farm*, there is an addition which says that they are created by "بیرونی دشمن اور اندرونی منافقوں" (110) i.e., the outsider enemy and the fifth columns within.

After the windmill is down, Napoleon sets a price for those who would catch Snowball. Jaffery exaggerates the prize by adding "اس کے ساتھ ایک کھیت بمعہ ایک پینل کے پیڑ کے جاگیر میں" (63). Squealer's speeches on joy of labour and dignity of services are rendered more explicitly. Jaffery elaborates his speeches as "محنت میں عزت ہے / کام میں لذت ہے / مشقت میں مسرت ہے" (65). Squealer's verbosity and imaginary speeches are more exaggerated by Jaffery. He says that Squealer motivated the animals in harsh conditions to work, but in fact it was Boxer's struggle that motivated the animals for work which Jaffery omits to highlight the role of Squealer more (64). This rendition also highlights the local political practice in which narrative wins over the actual problems.

In chapter 12 ملوکیت, Squealer's and the dogs' roles are exaggerated (66). He is shown to have an escort of 10 dogs with him, and they would cruelly investigate anyone who complained.

Jaffery deviates from the original and rewrites the question "Was not the labour problem the everywhere?" (103) as "کیا اقتصادی بدحالی پوری دنیا میں نہیں ہے" (109). He puts economics at the centre of this translation instead of the labour problems keeping in view the core Pakistani problem. Immediately next he explicates the 'lower animals' as "کم ذات کے لوگ موجود ہیں جو ایسی" (109). In the ST, Orwell does not discuss any cultural exchange between neighbouring farms. However, Jaffery says that there was also cultural exchange as well as economic exchange (57). Napoleon's speech at the novel's end only mentions economic trade, not culture. However, the TT mentions other exchanges like "تجارتی، معاشرتی، ثقافتی، تمدنی" (110).

These exchanges refer to the politics of exchange at the peak of Cold War between Pakistan and the US and other countries.

Additionally, Jaffery adds a sentence to highlight the despotism of pigs by saying “نہ وہ (53) ”اپس میں بات کر سکتے تھے۔ نہ بار بار پہلو بدل سکتے تھے۔ Two years plan of windmill is also changed by Jaffery to one year (54). Napoleon smoking Cigar is an addition in the TT (107), which is nowhere mentioned in the ST. In the ST, Clover took Benjamin to the wall to read the Seven Commandments. However, in the TT, it is Benjamin who takes Clover to the wall of Seven Commandments (106).

From the middle of chapter 9 till the end of chapter 10, Jaffery has treated it as one chapter by the name “ری پبلک آف جانورستان” (91). In this chapter, a lot of additional paragraphs are present which explicates and explains the subtleties of the ST. It also exaggerates the despotism and satire of the ST. Moreover, the explanations and words used are all alluding to the sad state of affairs of not an *Animal Farm*, but of a human country, supposedly Pakistan. It also says that a lot of research articles and even doctorate degrees were awarded on different aspects of revolution and especially Snowball’s life (100). Jaffery shifts the position of different information in the TT. All the explanations are elaborated or allude to the context of Pakistan.

The last scene, when the animals look from pig to man and from man to pig, is rendered sense for sense. It is translated as “یہ بالکل ناممکن سا ہو گیا تھا کہ وہ پہچان سکیں کہ ‘سور’ کون ہے اور (112) ”!!!‘ آدمی’ کون animals. He says;

”ہم جو کچھ دیکھتے ہیں اس پر اعتبار کرتے ہیں۔“

”اور یہی ہماری کوتاہ عقلی ہے۔“

At the very end he writes “ختم شد!!” - the end.



The title *Animal Farm*, which was the first Manor Farm on the wall, is translated as "ہیں چار پیر اچھے دو" (29). The maxim "Two legs good, four legs bad" is translated as "ہیں چار پیر اچھے دو" (29). The maxim "Two legs good, four legs bad" is translated as "ہیں چار پیر اچھے دو" (29). One out of the seven commandments is changed. The commandment "No Animal Shall Wear Clothes" is translated as "کوئی جانور آدمی سے بات نہیں کرے گا" (29). Jaffery translates tactics as "سیاست" (51), which was translated by Jalibi and Akhter as "جوڑ توڑ".

Many scenes are dropped. I will mention a few. The scene where Snowball paints the walls is omitted. The reading and writing for the past three months are omitted. The emphasis on the hayfield's cutting is dropped. In Chapter 3, Boxer's toil is omitted from the adaptation. The scene when Napoleon sent for Mr. Pilkington for reconciliation is omitted. However, the answer which comes back is mentioned (80). Mr. Pilkington's amusement scene is omitted from the TT when his amusement overcomes him, and he cannot say a word (109). Infanticide is also omitted by Jaffery (65). At the end of chapter 9 in the ST, the pigs discover whiskey, but in the TT, it is omitted (99). The mention of three new horses, whom Clover taught about the revolution, is omitted (102). The comment on Napoleon's speech as "to the point" is omitted from TT (110). The very last scene, when Clover questions about the puzzling faces of pigs, is omitted (112).

Jaffery also uses a lot of religious references and diction. In Major's speech, he dedicates a paragraph to only one line: "ایسی تو رضائے رب العالمین نہیں ہوسکتی" (16). He uses the word "گناہ" (20). Clover's and Boxer's acceptance of the principles of Animalism is described with the words "امنا و صدقنا" (24). He uses the phrase "حق کو حاضر و ناظر جان کر کہتا ہوں" (36) to assert his claim. The words "ایمان کا ثبوت پیش کیا" (49) and "ضروری نہیں بلکہ واجب", "حیوانیت کی تبلیغ" are religiously charged. Another word, "قتل عمد" (67), is used, which is an Islamic legal term for murder. After the cruel murder of animals in *Animal Farm*, Boxer utters a sentence, "خامیوں اور" (73). All pigs and dogs wore black clothes for condolences, a religious

flouting and addition (84). On every grave, they installed engravings and an addition (84). A strong religious word, “نفاق” (98), is used by Jaffery when Squealor discredits the rumours about the knacker. The word “آمین” on (109). “Foolish custom” is referred to as “بدعات” (111). At the end of the adaptation, Jaffery adds a verse from the Quran, serving as a warning to those who do not ponder and do not learn from others’ mistakes. It says; “فاعتبروا یا اولی الابصار” (112).

Jaffery does much political commentary in his adaptation. The political imagery he uses in his commentary is reminiscent of Pakistani politics of the 1970s and 1980s. Thus through his religious and political diction and commentary, he explicitly explicates his politics in the adaptation. He rewrites the story to fit the narrative to the context of Pakistan – an Islamic state.

For instance, chapter four opens with a political commentary by Jaffery. It has a strong tint of religious imagery, too. Two principles of Animalism, which is also an addition to the original idea of the ST, are elaborated. First, animalism will prevail all over the world, and second, Animal Farm will bring about this revolution all over the world. The diction employed needs our attention. It uses the words “معجزانہ قیام”, “مشیت ایزدی”, “خداوند تعالیٰ کی خصوصی نصرت”, “خداوند تدبیر” (26). At the end of the explanation a very popular verse which alludes to Pan Islamism is added. The verse is “میر ختن کو آئی ٹھنڈی ہوا جہاں سے / میرا وطن وہی ہے، میرا وطن وہی ہے” (26). Immediately after the expulsion of Snowball, Jaffery has introduced a new chapter by the name of ‘Martial Law.’ In this chapter, elections are conducted which introduces terminologies like “عام انتخابات”, “صدارت”, “کثرت رائے”, “مجلس شوری” (49). Additionally, it is defined that Napoleon is elected for 5 years, which is not present in the original but is reminiscent of Pakistani politics (50). Words like “خارجی معاملات”, “داخلی” (60) are all not present in the ST but are rendered in the

TT to create political relevance. Another word تحقیقاتی کمیٹی and تفتیشی دورہ are on page 68. Words “رہبر اعظم جناب نیولین” and “کمانڈر افواج ملی” (70).

Clover’s and Boxer’s enthusiasm for principles of Animalism is described with the words as “البتہ دو گھوڑے بوکسر اور کلور نہایت ہی انقلابی اور آزادی کے متوالے ثابت ہوئے۔” (24). The word “چھوٹا” (32). The word “مجلس مشاورت” and committee as “رائے” (27) is used. Jaffery translates vote as “سا آزاد وطن” (32). On page 102 “گویا اپنی مادر وطن سے ممتا مانگ رہے ہوں” A sentence “نہ بدلنے والا اٹل قانون زیست ہے” (73). A word ایوان صدر is mentioned (79).

When *Animal Farm* is made republic, words like “صدر کا انتخاب” and “بلا مقابلہ کثرتِ آراء” (91). Squealer is declared as “پولیٹکل سکرپٹری” and Minimus as “درباری قصیدہ گو” by Jaffery (53).

The analysis of Jaffery’s translation clearly indicate that his main aim was to tell a story of the people who have been betrayed. He explicates his politics by weaving the ST’s story with local political and religious imageries through addition, omission and majorly rewriting. He himself makes it clear in the introduction of the translation. The story is majorly rewritten and has been aligned with the local political history and its religious contours.

### 3.5.0 Syed Ala ud Din’s *Animal Farm* - اینمل فارم

Little is known about Syed Ala-ud-Din, however, his translation is easily available in the market. The first translation of *Animal Farm* by Ala ud Din may have emerged in the 1980s, however, the exact date of publication is not clear. The novels do not provide any information about the translator, nor any additional essay by the translator to express his view regarding the novel and the translation.

I have two different editions of the book at present. The 2021 edition is published by City Book Point with an imprint of 500 copies, and its price is set at 300 rupees. The other was

published by Ilm-o-Irfan publication in 2023. The quantity of its copies is unknown. The price is set at 400 rupees. Many other editions may also be out there in the market because of the cheap and non-consideration of copyrights in Pakistan's book publishing cultures. Both the editions which I am consulting, reveal bad publishing culture in Pakistan, showing no regard for plagiarism and ethical publishing practices and copyrights issues.

### 3.5.0.1 City Book Point's 2021 Edition

Both the edition show the bad publishing practice in Pakistan. A small note from Mr. Asif Mehmood, the publishing director, is given at the beginning of this edition. He says that he requested Mr Syed Ala ud Din to translate the novel for Urdu readers because of the novel's vast popularity.

The front matter and two short essays shed light on the bad publishing practice in Pakistan. The translation starts with a brief one-pager note on George Orwell but with a wrong title as *Animal Farm*. Another three-page review of *Animal Farm* with the heading “کتاب پر ایک تبصرہ” - ‘A commentary on the book’ is there by Peter Davison, Orwell's biographer. It is not mentioned whether it is a translated version of his essay from somewhere or if it was written at the publisher's request and then translated into Urdu. Whatever the case maybe, the write-up and sentence structure suggest it is a translated version of an earlier essay. The essay has overall no unity. It is a mix of different information that does not resonate as a coherent piece of writing. This essay might have been written for an English version of *Animal Farm*. There is a note on English punctuation of *Animal Farm* from which one can easily guess that it was not written for an Urdu version. There is the story of Orwell's revisions in *Animal Farm* and its BBC radio adaptation. Overall, the essay does not show coherent thought, and it seems that small chunks from a big essay are translated into the book's preface.

Additionally, there are some serious mistakes in this essay, too. The essay says that only 25,500 copies of *Animal Farm* were published in England, and then Orwell died in January 1950. Then, it continues to say that 590000 copies were published in the US, which is self-evidentiary for its success (7). Here, the publishing story ends. These sentences are not well-researched and are haphazardly written without any sequence or proper order. The actual number of copies has been discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis.

Another mistake is about the original title of *Animal Farm*. The essay says that the English publishers dropped the subtitle ‘A Fairy Tale’, and only the Telugu translations kept the original full title (7). However, Davison says that many foreign translations and editions did not write the subtitle ‘A Fairy Tale’, but only the English (Britain) and Telugu versions kept the title until Orwell’s death. Moreover, American publishers also dropped the subtitles because the US audience does not buy animal stories (Davison 125).

### **3.5.0.2 Ilm-o-Irfan’s 2023 Edition**

Another edition of this translation came out in January 2023 which is the exact extension of the bad publishing practice in Pakistan. It is published by Ilm-o-Irfan Publishers and costs 400 rupees. The book does not mention the number of copies this imprint has produced.

Sadly, even though the publisher is different, this edition has copied everything from the earlier 2021 edition, even the note from Asif Hassan and the note from City Book Point’s publishing house. Nothing has changed in this edition. Even all the spelling and typing mistakes present in the 2021 edition are retained in the present edition. Even the quality of paper and total number of pages are similar, i.e. 96 pages, as if it were a scan copy of a previous edition.

What is written in the ‘note on publishing house’ of this 2023 edition is very amusing (02). They have copied the exact note from the 2021 edition, just omitting the name “City Book



Fig. 3.8. Ilm-o-Irfan's edition on the left and City Book Point's on the right.

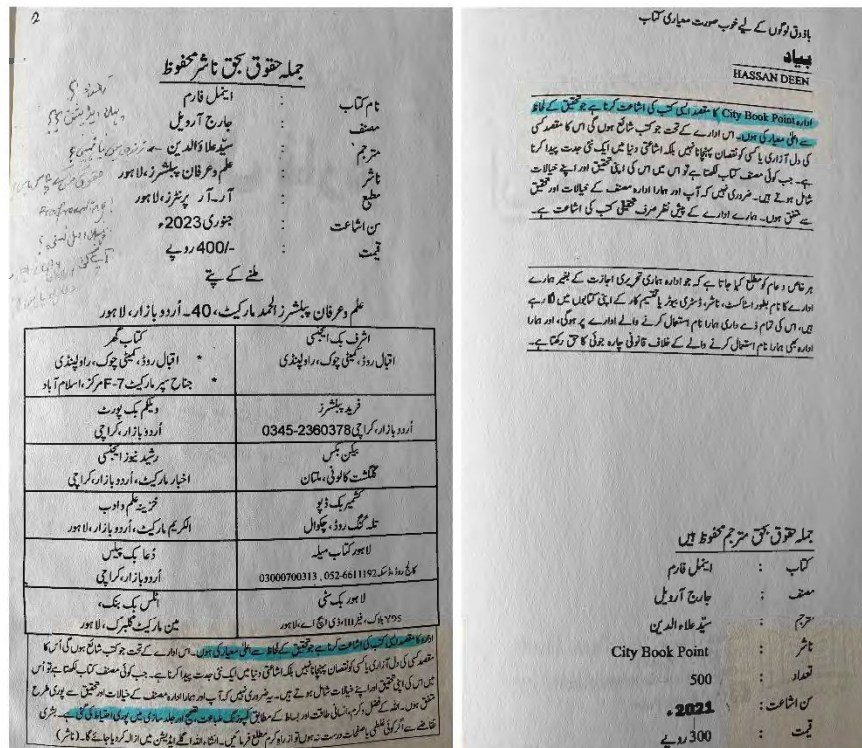


Fig. 3.9. Copyright page of Ilm-o-Irfan Publishers (left) and City Book Point (right).

An exciting treatment is given to the note of Asif Hassan's "اپنی بات" by the 2023 edition (04). The note from the 2021 edition is copied and pasted in this 2023 edition. There is only one change and even that has not been done with due care. The 2021 edition mentions three times change and even that has not been done with due care. The 2021 edition mentions three times سٹی بک پوائنٹ in the first, second and third paragraphs. The سٹی بک پوائنٹ of the first paragraph is changed with علم و عرفان پبلشرز. Quite ironically, in the second paragraph, the publisher forgot to substitute سٹی بک پوائنٹ with علم و عرفان پبلشرز, and the former name remains as it is. In the third paragraph, the name سٹی بک پوائنٹ is omitted, and instead, ادارہ is written.

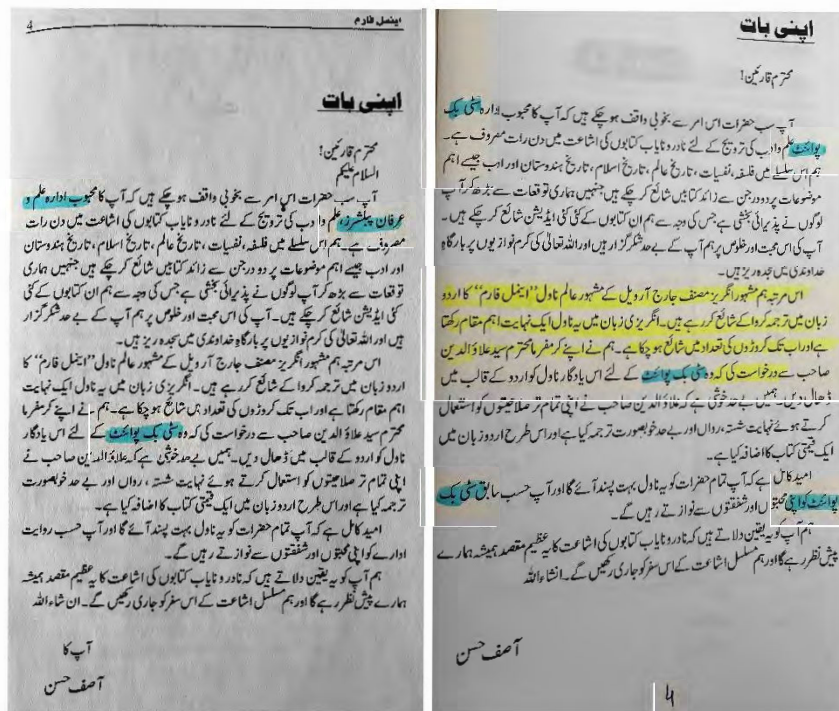


Fig. 3.10. The 'اپنی بات' note in the Ilm-o-Irfan (left) and City Book Point's edition (right).

### 3.5.1 Analysis of Ala ud Din's *Animal Farm*

Ala ud Din's translation is quite literally word-for-word translation. His translation is, at times, careless and at other times incorrect. Ala ud Din casually translates the text without giving proper consideration to the thought and its transmission. The style and tone of the original text are not retained; rather, the translated text is highly foreignised, and it keeps on reminding the

reader that it is a translation. Due to blatant incorrect translations, no addition, omission or rewriting seem intended but are rather instances of incorrect translation. Every deviation is not deliberate but is a mistake and misinterpretation. In such a case, the politics inherent in the translation is difficult to illicit.

There is plethora of mistakes in Ala ud Din's translation. A lot of wrong translations have been done by Ala ud Din. The phrase "lost their mother" means 'death' in the novel is translated as "ماں سے جدا ہو کر ... ماں کو تلاش کرتے ہوئے" (12). The statement "each was sold at a year old" is translated quite incorrectly as "چاروں ایک سال قبل بیچ دیئے گئے" (14) which means that they were all sold a year earlier. Quite blatantly he misunderstands 'vices' for 'voices' and translates it as "چاہے ہم ان کی اینٹ سے اینٹ بجا کر فتح حاصل کر لیں تو بھی ہمیں ان کی آواز (زبان) نہیں سیکھنی" (15). This translation is a clear indication that he has misunderstood the sentences from the ST. The phrase "set aside" is rendered as "ایک فیصلے کے تحت" (29), which is a wrong translation. The war scene where "Snowball flung his 15 stones" over the enemies is mistranslated as "اپنے مضبوط جسم اور ... پندرہ ساتھیوں کے ساتھ" (35).

Ala ud Din mistakenly drops the whole sentence "in its place painted ANIMAL FARM" in the translation from the ST's statement, "Squealer ... painted out MANOR FARM from the top bar of the gate and in its place painted ANIMAL FARM. This was to be the name of the farm from now onwards." In the translation, he writes, "اب اس فارم کا یہی نام رکھ دیا گیا تھا" (24), which misses the name and the reader asks 'what name?'. The word 'running' in the sentence "Then they sang 'Beasts of England' from end to end seven times running" describes the continuity but Ala ud Din translates its literal meaning as "احاطے میں سات چکر کاٹے" (22). Ala ud Din has misunderstood 'reproached sharply' for approach sharply and translates it as "دوسرے تیزی سے اس ... کی طرف بڑھے" (23).



Ala ud Din preserves the linguistic equivalent for one of Squealer's two typographical mistakes in writing commandments. He renders the first as “دوست کو دوست لکھا” (24). The second typographical mistake is quite carelessly kept. He writes;

”ایک جگہ “S” غلط سمت میں لکھا گیا تھا مثلاً “ ” باقی تمام جگے صحیح تھے۔“ (24)

Readers wonder why the brackets are empty because he mentions that the “S” was written in the wrong direction, but then it goes missing among the empty brackets in the text. There is an addition of “کوئی بھی صورت حال ہو” (24) in the first two commandments. The phrase “not for manipulation” is rendered as “زینت کے لیے نہیں ہوتے” (31). The double ration is translated as “پیٹ بھر کر خوراک” (22). The character Benjamin, a donkey, is rendered a monkey throughout the translation. Benjamin’s ‘cryptic answer’ is rendered as “پراسرار جواب” (29).

Another instance of Ala ud Din’s misunderstanding is in the scene when the stable lad is found stunned, and the animals search for Mollie. The statement, “And when the others came back from looking for her, it was to find that the stable-lad, who was only stunned, had already recovered and made off”, is naively misunderstood by the translator. Here, he translates it as;

”اور جب دوسرے جانور اسے تلاش کرتے ہوئے وہاں پہنچے تو انہوں نے دیکھا کہ اصطبل کا جوان جو مرا نہیں تھا بلکہ بے ہوش ہو گیا تھا ہوش میں آنے کے بعد Mollie کے پاس موجود ہے۔“ (36)

The translator has misunderstood the statement here. The boy vanishes when they find Mollie, and he is, in fact, not found with Mollie.

Ala ud Din incorrectly translates “biding his time” at the beginning of Chapter 5 as “لگتا ہے” which implies that his time has arrived (41). Immediately after this comes the sentence, “but of all their controversies, none was so bitter as the one that took place over the windmill”, which Ala ud Din so blatantly misunderstands and incorrectly translates that it makes no sense at all to the reader. Moreover, the sentence is also not logically sound. He

translates it “بہر حال ان میں اختلافات کے باوجود ہوائی مل کے مسئلہ پر کوئی بہت زیادہ تلخ نہیں ہوا تھا سوائے“ (41). “ایک کے

At the beginning of Chapter 6, it is said that there would be volunteer work on Sunday afternoons, but those who did not do it had their ration cut by half. In the ST, it is an act of the pigs, not a command. But Ala ud Din renders it as a command “راشن گھٹا کر آدھا کر دیا جائے گا“ (47). At another instance he misunderstands the sentence structure “The hens, said Napoleon, should welcome” and translates it as “مرغیوں نے کہا کہ نپولین ہماری طرف سے انٹوں کا تحفہ قبول کرے“ (49) and refers this sentence to the hens which Napoleon said. Another instance of incorrect translation is that he translates this sentence “but never, it was noticed, with both simultaneously” as “دونوں میں سے کوئی بھی توجہ نہیں دے رہا تھا“ (50) due to his misunderstanding of the structure of the sentence. Another misunderstanding on the part of translator, at the end of chapter 6, is that “Animal Hero, Second Class,' and half a bushel of apples to any animal who brings him to justice” is incorrectly translated as “جانور ہیرو درجہ دوم یا کوئی دوسرا جانور اگر اسے جانور بیلو درجہ دوم یا کوئی دوسرا جانور اگر اسے“ (53). “انصاف کے لئے لائے گا

At the beginning of Chapter 7, for Whymper’s visit, Napoleon orders to fill the empty bins with sand and then cover them up with “grain and meal.” Ala ud Din misunderstands it and incorrectly translates it as “ریت سے بھر کر اسے ڈھانک دی جائے جیسا کہ بچی ہوئی اجناس اور راشن کو کیا“ (56). Ala ud Din translates “The dogs saw to it that these orders were carried out” as “کتوں نے دیکھا کہ ان احکامات پر عمل درآمد ہو گیا ہے“ (57). The word “cowered” is misunderstood as ‘coward’ and he translated it as “ڈرپوک“ (60). “They had been secretly in touch with Snowball ever since his expulsion” is translated as “سنوبال کے نکالے جانے سے پہلے سے ہی اس کے حلیف رہے“ (61). The verse “Animal Farm, Animal Farm, / Never through me shalt thou come to harm!” is incorrectly translated as “مویشی خانہ، مویشی خانہ/ ہمیں کوئی زک نہیں پہنچا سکتا“ (64).

In chapter 8, the line “He took his meals alone, with two dogs to wait upon him” is misunderstood and translated as “دو کتے اس کا انتظار کیا کرتے” (66). Another sentence, “The wheat crop was full of weeds”, is translated as “گندم کے ذخیرے میں مٹی کوڑا وغیرہ ملا دیا گیا” (68). A crucial aspect of the novel in chapter 8 is that when the Windmill is blown up, “all the animals, except Napoleon, flung themselves flat on their bellies and hid their faces.” However, Ala ud Din renders this quite the opposite. He also flung flat Napoleon. He writes “سارے جانور بشمول نپولین” (72). “پیٹ کے بل لیٹ کر اپنے چہروں کو چھپالیا

In Chapter 9, the sentence “the contract for eggs was increased to six hundred a week, so that that year the hens barely hatched enough chicks to keep their numbers at the same level” is mistranslated by Ala ud Din as “چنانچہ اس سال مرغیوں نے زیادہ بچے نہیں نکالے تاکہ اپنی تعداد برقرار رکھ” (79). Last lines of Chapter 9, “the word went round that from somewhere or other the pigs had acquired the money to buy themselves another case of whisky” are misunderstood by Ala ud Din, which he translates as “سارے ہنگامے کہیں غائب ہو چکے تھے یا دوسرے سو روپےوں کے حصول میں” (85). “لگ گئے تھے تاکہ وہسکی خرید سکیں

At the beginning of Chapter 10, “Napoleon was now a mature boar of twenty-four stone” is incorrectly translated as “نپولین اب ایک پختہ کار حاکم ہو چکا تھا” (87). The instance “their appetites were always good” is also incorrectly translated as “بہر حال ان کی خواہشات ہمیشہ اچھی ہوتی ہیں” (88). Another incorrect translation of “they had little time for speculating on such things now” is done as “بہر حال ان کے پاس تھوڑا بہت وقت ضرور مل جاتا تھا کہ وہ اس پر غور کر سکیں” (89). When the animals see the walking pigs, their reaction is written in a long, complex sentence. The translator has failed to comprehend the sentence's meaning and rendered the translation relatively obscure and unfaithful. The instance is;

“Then there came a moment when the first shock had worn off and when, in spite of everything—in spite of their terror of the dogs, and of the habit, developed through long years, of never complaining, never criticising, no matter what happened—they might have uttered some word of protest. But just at that moment, as though at a signal, all the sheep burst out into a tremendous bleating ...”

It is translated on page 90 as;

"پھر وہ لمحہ بھی آگیا، پہلے صدمے کی گھڑی، ہر چیز کے باوجود، باوجود کتوں کی دہشت کے اور برسوں میں بنی عادت کے، شکوہ نہ کرنے کی عادت، تنقید نہ کرنے کی عادت، چاہے کچھ بھی ہو جائے وہ کوئی حرفِ شکایت زبان پر نہ لاتے لیکن اب اس لمحہ موجود میں، کسی سگنل کی طرح، تمام کی تمام بھیڑیں ایک ساتھ نغمہ سرا ہو گئیں۔"

Another instance of failed translation is at the end of the novel when Napoleon starts his speech. He says;

“For a long time there had been rumours—circulated, he had reason to think, by some malignant enemy—that there was something subversive and even revolutionary in the outlook of himself and his colleagues. They had been credited with attempting to stir up rebellion among the animals on neighbouring farms. Nothing could be further from the truth!”

It is translated on the page 93-94 as;

"کافی عرصے سے بد خواہ دشمنوں کی طرف سے یہ افواہیں اڑائی جا رہی تھیں، جس پر مجھے اور دوسرے جانوروں کو یقین تھا کہ مویشی خانے کے انقلاب کو بے اثر کیا جانے والا ہے۔ بہر حال وہ پڑوسی فارم کے جانوروں میں بے چینی کی لہر پیدا کرنے میں یقیناً کامیاب ہو گئے۔ لیکن سچ مچ کچھ بھی نہ ہوسکا۔"

The analysis show that Ala ud Din's translation is full of blatant mistakes. However, he has translated the story and it conveys the story of *Animal Farm*. Despite the incorrect

translations the story is clear to its readers. However, the politics inherent in the translation cannot be explicated. It is difficult to understand why this translation retains many incorrect translations and mistakes. One possible answer can be that the translator might have translated it in a rush. However, whatever the case may be, this translation with its contentious front matter, and the excessive mistakes in successive reprints suggest that the publishing industry in Pakistan is not up to the bar and its practices are seriously damaging and unethical.

This translation does not gain much elements after the rendering. The mistakes also do not contribute to the meaning making process. However, the translation shows tendencies of assimilative extremism, where the text's translation is highly foreignized. This strips the novel from its creative and satiric spirit and present the novel as a mere story. Many instances of the wrong translation also suggest that the meaning at key instances which acted either as irony or satire are compromised because of misunderstanding on the part of the translator. Overall, the analysis could not illicit any politics from the translation.

### **3.6.0 Beasts of England - A Comparison**

One of the peculiar element in *Animal Farm* is the song "Beasts of England." In different translations, every translator has rendered the song quite interestingly and differently. The songs are translated quite successfully by Jalibi. However, both Jalibi's and Professor Jameel Akhtar Khan's translations are quite similar except for the addition of some words that do not matter and do not change any meaning. Both go for word-for-word translation of the song and quite successfully preserve the sense of the song. However, they do not make it quite as poetically attractive as in the ST.

On the contrary, Nasir Hussain Jaffery has reduced the poem to only five verses. It retains the actual message that urges the animals to join the league. It cuts out everything which

is additional to the sense and message of the song. However, the song is reframed to suit the political adaptation of the translation by using the words that were prevalent in the local political party's slogan which called on people to join the 'league' if they were Muslims. Thus the poem takes on a political touch.

Ala ud Din renders the poem's meaning quite differently. The meaning of the song is quite different from the original. The poem's address is also changed to human from animal, and it somewhat renders a negative remark on the human's character. The title of the poem is changed to as "Despotic Beasts of England". It addresses the despotic and savage beasts along side the humans with lashes that their time will soon be over. This message is however confusing and contrary to the ST's meaning. This deviant meaning is also not deliberate but a reading or translation mistake.

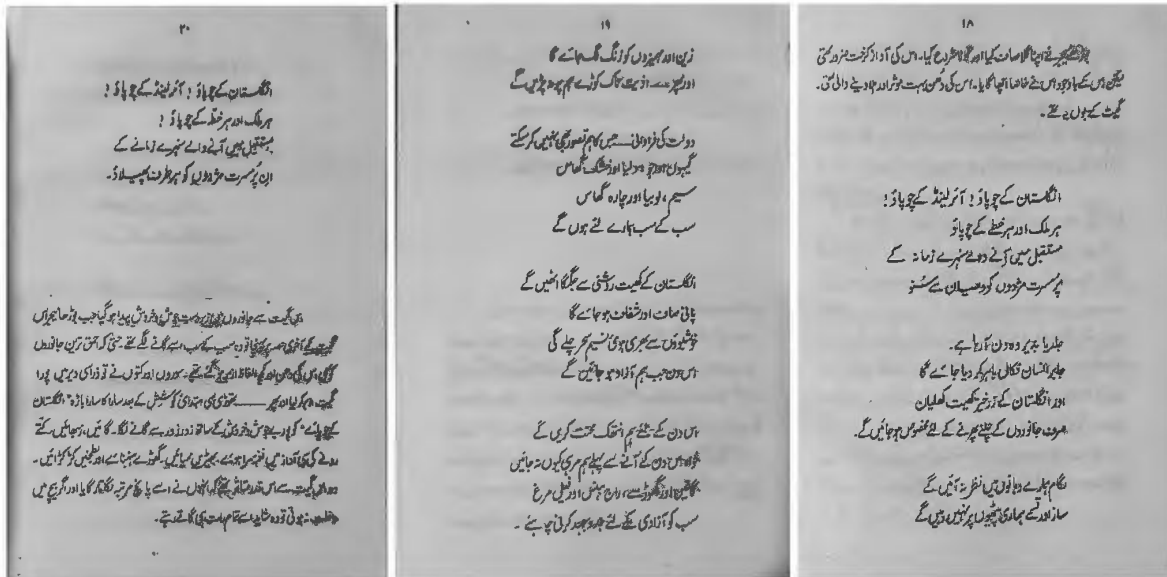


Fig. 3.11. Jameel Jalibi's translation of Beasts of England

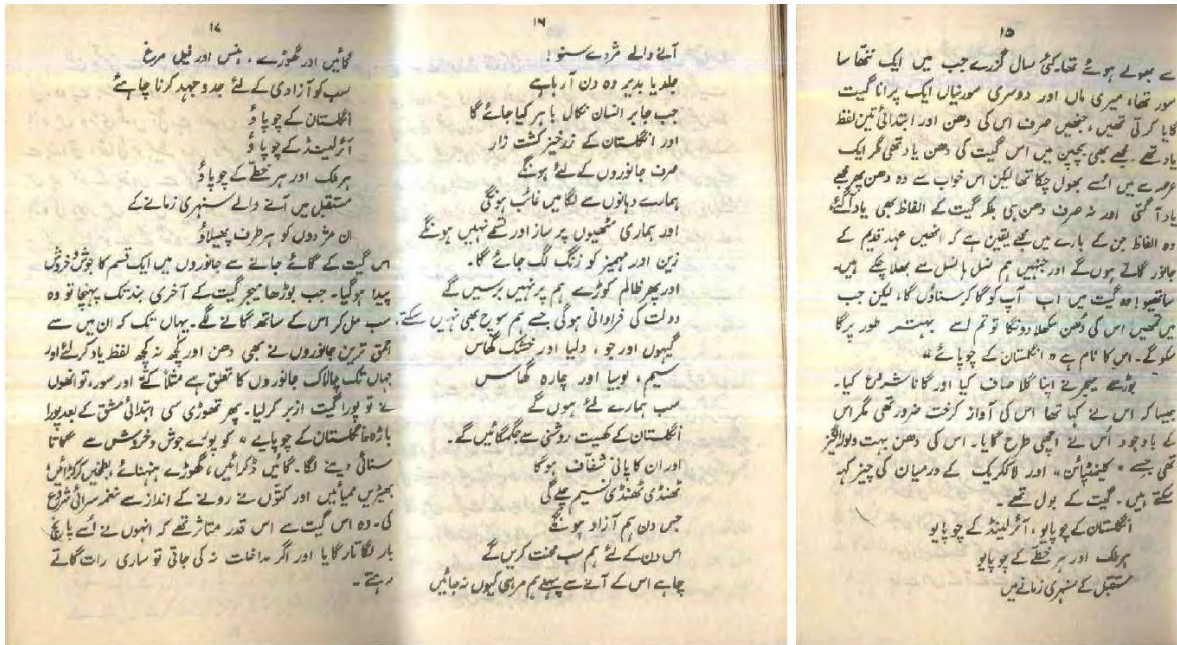


Fig. 3.12. Professor Jameel Akhtar Khan's translation of Beasts of England

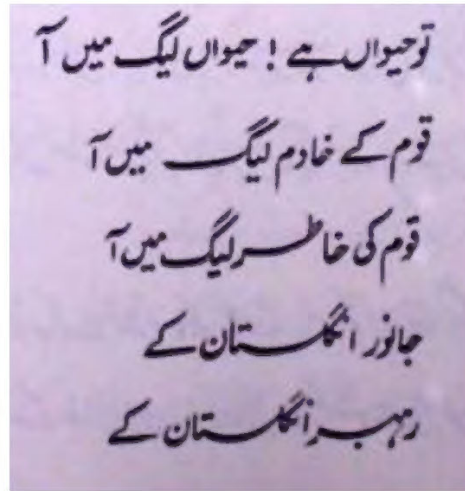


Fig. 3.13. Syed Nasir Hussain Jaffery's translation of Beasts of England

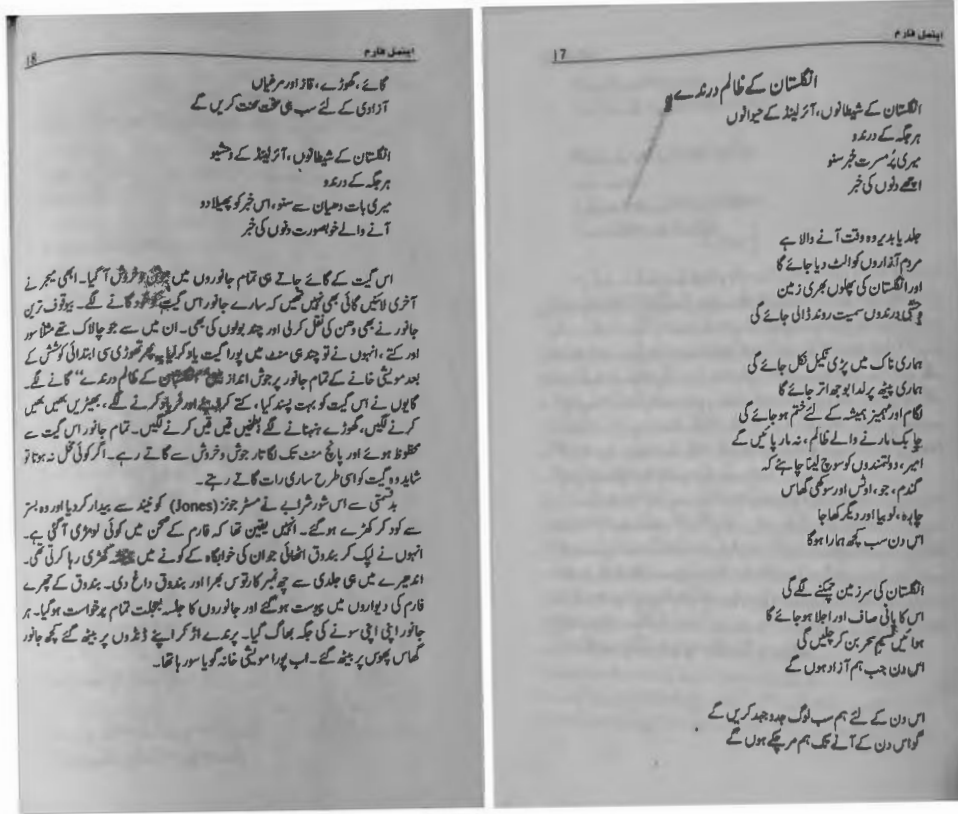


Fig. 3.14. Syed Ala ud Din's translation of Beasts of England

### 3.7.0 Abul al-Fazal Siddique's *Unnis So Chourasi* - 1984

In the earlier section, a thorough genesis of the presence of 1984 in South Asia and Pakistan was given. Out of the two translations of 1984 in Urdu, only one is originally produced in Pakistan. It is Abu al-Fazal Siddique's translation of 1984. His first edition of 1984 was published in 1958 by Urdu Academy Sindh, Karachi. Recently, two editions were published in 2020. One was published by Jhelum Book Corner in November 2020 as a book in their 'Worldwide Classics' series, with an imprint of 1000 copies. The other was published by Maktaba Jadeed in 2020 without mentioning the month or number of books published. It seems a pirated scanned copy of some earlier edition. Many such edition may have been in print by different publishers, as is the practice in local Pakistani publishing industry.



### 3.7.1.1 Urdu Academy Sindh's 1958 Edition

The first edition is a simple hardcover without any ornamentation, illustrations and pictures on the cover and also without any extra front and back matter. The title pages give the title in a mix of languages and scripts. The spine of the book has a Romanised Urdu title 'Unnis so Chourasi'. The half-title page says 'انیس سو چوراسی' in Urdu. On the full title page, '۱۹۸۴' is written on the top in big orange fonts with black boundaries. A little below is the title written in Urdu as 'انیس سو چوراسی' with an orange background in a talk bubble. Below it, the text says 'George Orwell's famous novel' – 'جارج آرول کا شہرہ آفاق ناول'. Below it mentions the name of the translator as 'ترجمہ: ابوالفضل صدیقی'. Below this, the logo of Urdu Academy Sindh, Karachi, is given. And at the end, the name of the publisher is 'Urdu Academy Sindh, Karachi'.

The copyright page mentions that the copyrights are reserved for American publisher Harcourt, Brace and Company Inc., New York, the one who also published the first American edition of *Animal Farm* and *1984* in English. The Urdu translation copyrights are reserved for Urdu Academy Sindh Karachi. In October 1958, 3000 copies were published at a price of 4 rupees and 12 cents. 3000 copies are a big print as compared to the local publishing practice. The three parts of the novel are given with Arabic numerals ۱، ۲، ۳. The book has no front matter, graphics, introductions, or other essays. It starts directly with the novel. The back matter has three advertisements for books. The first is about 'شام اودھ', the second is about four spy novels by Zafar Umar Alaig, and the last one is about Shakuntala.



Fig. 3.15. 1984's first edition in 1958 and translated by Abu Al Fazal Siddique.

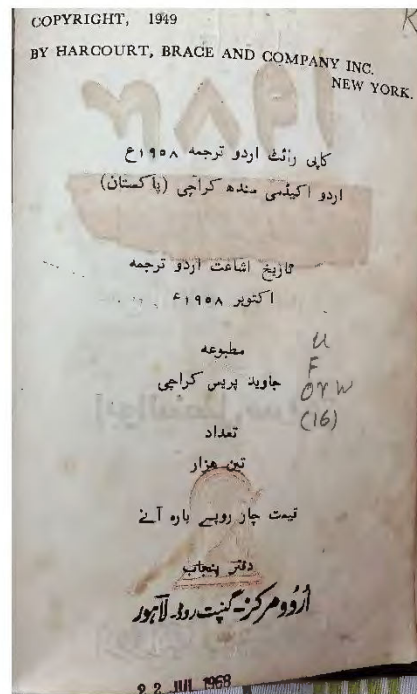


Fig. 3.16. Copyright page of 1958 edition of 1984, translated by Abu Al Fazal Siddique.

### 3.7.1.2 Jhelum Book Corner's 2020 Edition

Jhelum Book Corner published a new edition of the novel in November 2020. It has published 1000 copies, and the price is 700 rupees. Contrary to the first 1958 edition, this edition

has extended extra matter in the form of front and back matter. It also has copyright and publishing issues. Sketches from Jonathan Burton's art are also incorporated in the translation. The cover page gives the title in multiple eyes within which the title reads 'George Orwell's 1984' and beneath which, a small 'ناول' is also written. The bottom of one of the eye mentions it as a 'کلاسیک ناول' and a 'کلاسیک ترجمہ' – classic novel and a classic translation. The bottom of the cover says 'Big Brother is Watching you' in all bold letters.



Fig. 3.17. Front cover (left) and back cover (right) of Jhelum Book Corner's 2020 edition of Abu Al Fazal's *1984* Urdu translation.

A short commentary on the translation and the novel written by Zahida Hina on November 10, 2020 is given at the back cover. It introduces the translator Abu al-Fazal and the writer, Orwell with a portrait, and warns against falling into the trap of becoming supporters of a totalitarian regime. Even on the cover page, it has a typing mistake too. It incorrectly writes democracy as 'جمہوریت' instead of 'جمہوریت'.

#### 4.1.2.1 Front Matter



Fig. 3.18. Lesley Barnes' illustration used in the novel without copyrights and credits.

Inside the book, there are several illustrations relevant to the content of the book. The first two pages give an illustration of cubic art, which portrays the overall concept of the novel. It is made by Lesley Barnes, to which no reference or credit is mentioned in the book. The illustration was originally 'created for the third volume of The Graphic Canon' (Creative Bloq Staff). It contains all three party slogans at different places and with different fonts, many eyes in different shapes, several unidentifiable faces made with cubic buildings, several unrecognisable faces with moustaches, monoculars, several 2s, the four ministries shown with name flags, several big Bs, several shapes representing telescreens and at the right bottom corner a big monocular observing a small man walking exhaustedly with an umbrella. Behind the man, an Urdu inscription says 'بڑا بھائی دیکھ رہا ہے' a translation of 'big brother is watching you'. On the

next page, there is a black and white picture of Big Brother but with a red backdrop, underneath which an inscription says in English, ‘Big Brother is watching you’ all in capital letters along with its Urdu translation ‘بڑا بھائی دیکھ رہا ہے’.

The book uses six illustrations out of nine from Jonathan Burton’s *The Folio Society*’s edition on the following six pages (“The Folio Society”). The six illustrations include;

1. There seemed to be no colour in anything, except the posters that were plastered everywhere (Part 1: Chapter 1).
2. On it was written, in a large unformed handwriting: I love you (Part 2: Chapter 1).
3. At the far end of the room, O’Brien was sitting at a table under a green-shaded lamp (Part 2: Chapter 8).
4. Two of the men hoisted her up by knees and shoulders, and carried her out of the room like a sack (Part 2: Chapter 10).
5. If you are human, this is humanity (Part 3: Chapter 3).
6. Almost unconsciously he traced with his finger in the dust on the table (Part 3: Chapter 6).

These illustrations at the beginning of the novel sets a peculiar alarming and warring tone for the upcoming content of the book. The predominant colour theme of the illustration is charcoal black. They are sketched as cubic and brutalist art. The pictures are not complete here, but cropped from the original source, as mentioned above. The wary face of Winston in the second illustration, Julia’s weak and fragile body being picked up by two heavy soldiers in the third illustration, and Winston’s weak and frail body in the fourth illustration portray both as very vulnerable creatures. The relative position of Julia and Smith, O’Brien and the Big Brother’s face on the TV signifies the hierarchical position of them in the society. The last

picture is creating suspense in which  $2+2=$  is being pondered by Smith showing confused and unprepared expressions on his face. These illustrations are creating dark and bleak shadowy atmosphere around the content of the upcoming text. The politics of these insertions is very obvious in highlighting the extreme of totalitarian tendencies and despotic practices.

Page 4 mentions the edition notice. It gives credit to the illustrator Jonathan Burton but does not credit Lesley Barnes, whose illustration is used as the first image in the book's frontispiece. It does not mention whether the copyrights belong to the publisher or the illustrators. On page 6, the edition gives a picture of Orwell's first draft of *1984*'s first page, on which he had made corrections.

The table of contents on page 5 has the title 'ترتیب', which means 'sequence'. There are two introductory essays to the novel. The first one is 'برس پرانا سچ 70' by Zahida Hina, written in 2019, and the second one is 'انیس سو چوراسی' from Martin Seymour-Smith's book *The 100 Most Influential Books Ever Written*. The essay is from Yasir Jawad's translation of the book. After these two essays, the three parts of the novel are listed as 'دو', 'ایک', and 'تین' in Urdu.

The essay by Zahida Hina starts on page 7. It was first published on 16 June 2019 in Daily Express before this novel's edition was published. The essay briefly discusses Orwell and his ideology and then moves on to the novel's content. It reveals that Orwell became against Socialism but does not mention clearly his preferred ideology and politics. The essay intertwines totalitarianism and the novel's plot to comment on the history of the world and Pakistan and gives it a real presence in our lives. It declares the novel's main theme as 'totalitarianism' and states that history validates the novel's point. Hina calls the novel 'a troubling novel' and states that those affected by the state repression when reading the novel testify to the accuracy of Orwell's anticipation. The politics and ideology of this edition is explicated and has been made

clear through the inclusion of this essay. It aligns the totalitarian themes of the novel with the existing local Pakistani history and politics and comments that it is relevant to our society and history. Through these comments the editor is testifying and validating the novel as both relevant and great. A whole three-liner from the original article is omitted for the current edition because of the explicit mention of the mention of the former army generals in the essay. It is done soto avoid any resistance to publishing. The omitted lines are;

ہم لوگوں نے جنرل ایوب، جنرل یحیٰ خان، جنرل ضیاء الحق اور جنرل پرویز مشرف کے نام سے اقتدار پر قبضہ کرنے والوں کو دیکھا جو آخری لمحے تک اپنی شکستہ کشتی کے تختوں سے یوں چمٹے رہے جیسے وہ ان کی زندگی اور ان کے اقتدار کی ضمانت ہیں۔

“We have seen the power grabbers in the persona of General Ayub, General Yahya Khan, General Zia-ul-Haq and General Pervez Musharraf clinging to the planks of their broken ship till the last moment as if they were the guarantors of their lives and power.”

(Translation mine)

This omission is an embedded irony in the face of publishing this novel. The novel which so blatantly advocates free speech and freedom of thought is faced with a problem in publishing an essay mentioning the names of Pakistani generals. This is a self-inflicted censorship which Orwell would have criticised if he were alive.

The essay, written in 2019 while Imran Khan was the prime minister and was accused of severely silencing the opposition’s voice and dissent, seems to criticise his government. Similarly, in the last paragraph, she mentions that people are treated unjustly in the name of justice while justice – ‘انصاف’ was the chief slogan of Imran Khan’s party and also a keyword of his party’s name. There is also a typing mistake in the printed essay. In the original article published in Daily Express, the sentence says ‘ان کو۔۔۔ تیل لکڑی کے چکر میں’ while in the novel it is



written as ‘ان کو نون تیل لکڑی کے چکر میں’ which diverts the attention, if not everyone's, to Pakistan Muslim League (N), the chief rival party to Imran Khan's party. Also, the end line says ‘آج کا سچ’ – ‘today's truth’, which makes it more of a comment on its contemporary politics. Additionally, the editor is also an anti-PTI activist, this it also influences the politics behind this edition of the translation. Through this essay the editor has domesticized the politics of this novel and situated it in our local politics.

The essay by Zahida Hina is followed by the essay from Marin Seymour-Smith's *The 100 Most Influential Books Ever Written*, translated by Yasir Jawad, a renowned Urdu translator, which introduces *1984* as an influential book. It establishes the novel as an authentic and great masterpiece. This excerpt from the essay summarises the novel and introduces its constitutive elements. It clarifies that the novel's dystopia is not due to Orwell's illness, but it was in his mind from 1943, way before his illness, and it is exactly what he thought of it. He calls the novel a satire on Stalinist purity and deception along with our own time's despotic ‘political correctness’ (12). The essay also claims that *Animal Farm* gave Orwell little publicity as compared to *1984*, which gave Orwell his due prominence in the world. It also claims that *1984* is more political than it is literary.

Both essays introduce anti-socialist and anti-Soviet sentiments in their first paragraphs. These sentiments undoubtedly influence readers' expectations and judgments. Such a comprehensive front matter of a novel is always political. It acts as a totally unwarranted influential intermediary between the reader and the writer.

### 3.7.2.2 Back Matter

The last two pages of the book show 24 book covers published in different languages in 1984. They include Chinese, French, Italian, Russian, Lithuanian, Greek (Modern), Romanian,



Dutch, Danish, Portuguese, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, German, Kurdish, Turkish, Polish, Spanish, Azerbaijani, Bulgarian, Swedish, and Indonesian translations. The book also includes two English editions, one of which is the cover of the very first English edition.



Fig. 3.19. The back matter of Jhelum Book Corner's 2020 edition of *1984* showcasing the book covers of 24 different translations of *1984*.

The back cover has a small write up from Zahida Hina dated 10 November 2020. It introduces Abu Al Fazal Siddique as translator and 1958 as the year of its translation. It says that after one year of the publication of this translation, a totalitarian regime also took over Pakistani politics, referring to the military dictatorship of General Ayub Khan. It relates the novel's politics to Pakistani dictatorial politics of the time. It praises the original novel's sales and laments the lack of interest by people and low sales of books in Pakistan. It concludes on the remarks that our nation's lack of interest in books would let us become the believers of the three slogans of the Party.

The front and back matters of the novel advocates reading and also establishes the novel as great and authentic. It also places the novel as relevant to our local politics today. Through these essays and matters the novel gets a localised reframing and its ideology becomes explicit. It wants us to look at the totalitarian tendencies of our own political system and contemporary history and practice.

### 3.7.2.3 Analysis of Abu al-Fazal's 1984

Abu Al Fazal Siddique's Urdu translation of *1984* is simple and easy similar to that of Orwell's English *1984*. However, it omits the appendix on Newspeak language, to which an alternative would require a new world building in the translation. The language of the translation is smooth, and the text does not provide any linguistic skilfulness or literary complexities. The novel ends with the word 'ختم شد' - 'the end'. However, this translation have a lot of typing, punctuation, writing, formatting, and incorrect rendering issues due to typing mistakes.

### 3.7.2.4 Typing Mistakes

Despite having been called a classic and a classic translation, there are a lot of typing mistakes in 2020 edition. It highlights the bad states of affairs in local publishing industry. On page 60, a whole line is re-written mistakenly. It says;

جو تیرنے والے قلعوں کے ملاحوں کو سیگریٹ اور دوسری آسائشیں بہم پہنچاتی تھی۔ اس سلسلے میں پارٹی کے اندرونی حلقے کے ملاحوں کو سیگریٹ اور دوسری آسائشیں بہم پہنچاتی تھی۔ اس سلسلے میں پارٹی کے اندرونی حلقے کے ایک ممتاز رکن ---

Again on page 119, a half line is re-written again mistakenly. It says;

لیکن خطرے کی شدت سے وہ اس کی ہمت ہی نہ کر سکتا تھا۔ اس نے سوچا انتہائی خطرہ کی شدت سے وہ اس کی ہمت ہی نہ کر سکا تھا۔ اس نے سوچا انتہائی خطرے کے وقت انسانی خارجی ---

A lot of typing and writing mistakes appear in the edition. On page 110, حافظ is written instead of حافظہ. On page 114, Oceana اوشیانہ is written as اوشیانے. On page 140, چونکا is written twice mistakenly. On page 190, بڑے is written instead of بڑی. On page 225, کی is written instead of کو. On page 246, میں is written instead of سے. On page 285, نکلتے ہیں is written instead of نکالتے ہی. On page 291, کیا is written instead of کی.

Due to the typing mistakes and careless punctuation, page 284 and 287 are creating confusion in the text. The careless use of punctuation marks on both pages makes it difficult to comprehend the key aspects of the novel. On page 284, the text says;

میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ "کیسے" "لیکن" "کیوں؟" یہ بات سمجھ میں نہیں آتی۔

In fact, it is actually:

میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ "کیسے"، لیکن "کیوں؟" یہ بات سمجھ میں نہیں آتی۔

On page 287, the text says;

کیا تم نے کبھی یہ خیال بھی کیا ہے کہ اس کی ترتیب الٹی جاسکتی ہے --- غلامی آزادی ہے اکیلا --- آزاد --- فرد ہمیشہ شکست سے دو چار ہوتا ہے۔

The wrong punctuation makes it obscure. Instead the text actually should be;

کیا تم نے کبھی یہ خیال بھی کیا ہے کہ اس کی ترتیب الٹی جاسکتی ہے --- غلامی آزادی ہے۔ اکیلا --- آزاد --- فرد ہمیشہ شکست سے دو چار ہوتا ہے۔

The text has many formatting mistakes. The composer is regularly careless about quotation marks and punctuation. In many instances, the quotation marks are placed incorrectly. On page 38 in Chapter 2 of Part 1, when Winston goes out of Mrs. Parsons house, the kid calls Winston 'Goldstein!' and the quotation marks only include Goldstein. However, in the translation, the typist begins with the quote from Goldstein and ends it at the end of the paragraph. It says on page 38;

جب مسز پارسنز نے دروازہ بند کیا تو لڑکے نے چلا کر کہا۔ "گولڈ اسٹائن، اور ونسٹن نے اس تمام واقعے میں جس بات کو سب سے زیادہ محسوس کیا وہ مسز پارسنز کے چہرے کی بے بسی اور خوف تھا۔"

Whereas it must be;

جب مسز پارسنز نے دروازہ بند کیا تو لڑکے نے چلا کر کہا "گولڈ اسٹائن"۔ اور ونسٹن نے اس تمام واقعے میں جس بات کو سب سے زیادہ محسوس کیا وہ مسز پارسنز کے چہرے کی بے بسی اور خوف تھا۔

The translation is rendered incorrect due to a typing mistake. At the end of chapter 3, part 1, when the lady from the screen calls Smith to bend more, the translation renders it incorrectly as 'اور مجھ کو' instead of 'اور جھکو' (51), and it mentions it twice in the same paragraph. Such carelessness has caused incorrect translations, which produce many ambiguities in the target text.

The first edition has 'بڑا بھائی تمہیں دیکھ رہا ہے' at the end of the second paragraph of the first chapter of part one. The Jhelum Book Corner's edition has missed تمہیں. They write 'بڑا بھائی' دیکھ رہا ہے.

Due to such carelessness by the editor and its team, the translation creates room for many ambiguities thus obscuring the meaning of the novel. This highlights the bas publishing practice in our country.

### 3.7.2.5 Incorrect Rendering

Some instances in the translation are incorrect or careless rendering of the original. The text is translated a little differently:

'Party members were supposed not to go into ordinary shops ('dealing on the free market', it was called), but the rule was not strictly kept, because there were various things, such as shoelaces and razor blades, which it was impossible to get hold of in any other way' (07).

The shoelaces and razor are mentioned as examples, but in the translation, they are mentioned as only two fixed items that the talk is about. The translation on page 21 says;

کیونکہ تسمے اور ریزر بلیڈ کسی دوسرے طریقے سے حاصل نہ ہوسکتے تھے۔

This rewriting has created new meaning in the text and has made the state of affairs in the despotic regime as more absurd and existential. It is yet not clear that either this rendition is deliberate or unintentional mistake which has given rise to such an effect.

In Chapter 1, when Winston is about to write the diary, the narrator says;

‘How could you communicate with the future? It was of its nature impossible’ (08). It is translated as;

اسے مستقبل سے کیسے منسلک کیا جاسکتا ہے؟ یہ بات کچھ غیر یقینی تھی۔۔۔

The translation is different from the original text. The original text talks about communicating with the future, but the translation says of the difficulty of ‘connecting’ – منسلک the future and the present. Next, it is declared as impossible, but the translation declares it as ‘uncertain’ – غیر یقینی۔

At the end of chapter 4, part 1, when Winston creates the persona of Comrade Ogilvy, he says, ‘at seventeen he had been a district organiser of the Junior Anti-Sex League’ (40). However, the translation renders it incorrectly as sixteen years: “اور 16 سال کی عمر میں” (62).

When Winston and Julia meet O’Brien in his apartment, O’Brien switches off the telescreen, which they can do without risk for half an hour. In the midway, O’Brien tells his servant Martin, ‘I shall switch on in a quarter of an hour’ (149). In the translation, it is rendered incorrectly as ‘میں پندرہ منٹ کے لیے ٹیلی اسکرین کو دوبارہ لگا دوں’ (193) which seems a request on behalf of O’Brien, but in fact, he was telling him about his intentions.

These rewritings, though most probably mistakes, have given different meanings to the TT and has deviated from the original meaning. However, the general theme of totalitarianism is still intact.

### **3.7.2.6 Omissions**

Many omissions are made in the translation due to cultural taboos, linguistic differences, and impracticalities in order to align the text to the local culture. The cultural sensibilities has led to a more domesticized translation of the novel to make them culturally acceptable in a conservative society.

References to Pornography are entirely omitted. The first mention of Pornosec and pornography (37) is entirely omitted on page 59 of the translation. Again, on page 112 of the source text, the reference to Pornosec and two titles are omitted completely in the translation on page 148. A little below Pornosec is translated as the fiction department “افسانوی شعبہ” (page 148). Another reference to ‘Jus Primae Noctis’ (63) is omitted in the TT. It is translated ambiguously as ‘ایسی باتیں’ (90).

The translation also omits references to Berlin and Paris (241), which occurs in the last paragraphs of chapter 10, part 2 on page 187 of the ST.

### **3.7.2.7 Newspeak and Prole Language**

An appendix on the Newspeak language is given at the end of the original novel. In the translation, the whole appendix is discarded. In Chapter 1, part 1, there is an asterisk on the first appearance of the term ‘Newspeak’ for its explanation in the footnote. But, the asterisk and explanation in the footnote have been discarded in the translation. It is discarded due to the impracticality of translating a lingual specific and culturally contextual language that needs its own world making. Preserving the Newspeak would require making a new world in the

translation. The removal also ends the defamiliarization effect of the novel and makes it a plain text, more suitable for a plain propaganda text.

Newspeak and Prole's language are treated casually in the translation. Their defamiliarisation and newness have not been retained. The linguistic variability and novelty have not been preserved in the translation. No equivalent has been created. Both Newspeak and Prole's language is neutralised and normalised with the remaining text of the novel. Even a whole message in Newspeak language is omitted from the beginning of Chapter 8, Part 2 from the translation (see page 187 for example).

The first instance of Newspeak language in chapter 4 part 1 has been translated in simple and casual Urdu on page 54 of translation. The linguistic newness and charm has not been preserved in the translation. It says;

ٹائمز 18-3-84، تقریر کی غلط رپورٹ۔ افریقہ، تصحیح

ٹائمز 19-12-83، پیش گوئی، چوتھی سہ ماہی، طباعت کی غلطیاں، تازہ شمارہ دیکھو۔

ٹائمز 14-2-84، وزارت افراط، چاکلیٹ کے متعلق غلط رپورٹ تصحیح۔

ٹائمز 3-12-83، بڑے بھائی کے فرمان کی نہایت غیر تسلی بخش رپورٹ۔ متذکرہ شخص کا وجود ہی نہیں۔ سب دوبارہ لکھو، فائل کرنے سے پہلے اوپر پیش کرو۔

The accented speech of the prole is also normalised in the translation. All of the Prole's talk which appears in the novel is normalised. In chapter 8, part 1, a significant portion of Prole's talk appears. All of the talk is translated into normal Urdu. Also, when Winston is in the Ministry of Love, the old lady's talk with Winston is normalised in the translation on page 248.

### 3.7.2.8 Time reference

In the novel, time reference is essential. The novel mentions time with a 24-hour clock reference, which is very important in complicating the climax of the story. When Winston is

about to be detained the 24 hour clock plays a crucial role in complicating the scene and adds to the dramatic irony. However, in the translation, time is referred to with a 12-hour clock. In Chapter 10, part 1, the old analogue clock of Mr. Charington's upper room plays a dramatic role in mystifying the time for Winston and Julia. However, in the translation, this dramatising episode wears out due to the use of a 12-hour clock throughout the translation. And the text remains as a plain text. It amount to the extremism of assimilation which strips out the distinguishing elements in translation and make it a plain text, suitable for propaganda purposes.

### 3.7.3 Maktaba Jadeed's 2020 Edition

Maktaba Jadeed's edition was also published in 2020, but the month is unknown. The book has no front and back matter. Its copyright page, which is page 2, is simple and has basic information regarding the book. The number of books in this edition is unknown. The price is set at 740 rupees. The publisher reserves the rights to the book. The book's three parts start with Arabic numerals as ٢، ١ and ٣.

The front cover shows a depressed bald man under surveillance. Half of the head is covered with a black shadow of something unknown. The full title page, which is page 1, gives the title in big font of Arabic numeral as ١٩٨٤ and beneath it the Urdu title reads as 'انیس سو'. In the middle, the translator is declared as 'author' – مصنف by the publisher which is incorrect translation for translator. It should have been مترجم which is the actual translation for translator.

Many typing mistakes, which were present in Book Corner's edition, are not present in this edition. However, the spelling used in this edition is different in some instances from that used in the Book Corner's edition. For example, at times, Maktaba Jadeed uses اوشیانہ, but the Book Corner's edition uses اوشیانا. The translation of bending over has been misspelt in Urdu in



both editions. Originally, it is جھکو, but in both editions, it is written as ‘مجھ کو’, which is incorrect. This edition also repeats the mistaken age of Ogilvy as 16, which is, in fact, 17 in the original English.

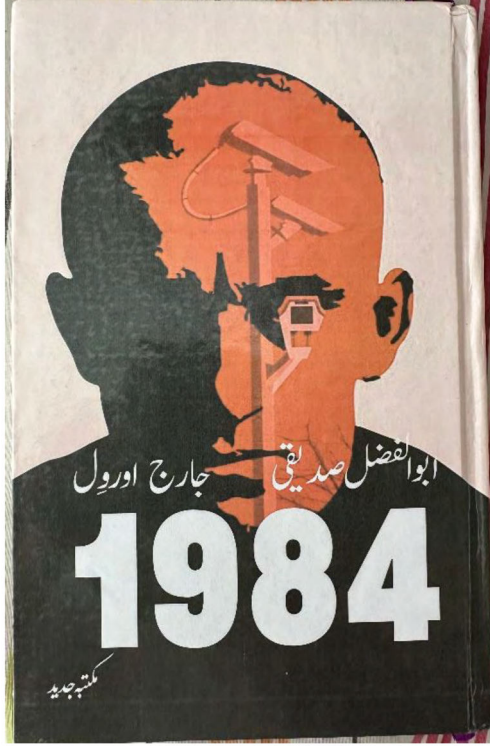


Fig. 3.20. Maktaba Jadeed's 2020 edition of Abu Al Fazal's *1984* Urdu translation.

This edition uses very minimal punctuation. The use of quotation marks is also minimal. Book Corner's edition has used inverted commas for key phrases, but this edition has ignored it in many instances. The numerals used in this edition are Arabic, but the numerals used in Book Corner's edition are English numerals.

A new chapter continues immediately after a previous chapter ends with the number of chapters in parenthesis. It starts on the same page without any break. In Book Corner's edition, a new chapter starts on a new page. At the end of the novel, “ختم شد”, meaning ‘the end’ is written in bold fonts.

### 3.8.0 Syed Suhail Wasti's 1984

Another Urdu translation of Orwell's *1984* was published in India in 1958, the same year as Abu al-Fazal's edition, but its imprint also circulates in Pakistan. It is also a popular translation. A recent edition was published by Ilm-o-Irfan Publishers in January 2023 in Pakistan. Wasti's translation circulates in different low cost editions.

#### 3.8.1 The First Indian 1958 Edition

The National Academy, Delhi published the first edition of Wasti's *1984* Urdu translation. Three thousand copies, which is a huge imprint, were printed for this first edition. Price is not mentioned on the online resource. The full title page gives the novel's title in Urdu as 'انیس سو چوراسی'. A little below, it says 'با تصویر ناول' - 'graphic novel'.

The original edition has graphic pictures in white and blue. They are insertions adjacent to the relevant page. There are seven graphic images in the novel. They are;

1. When people are yelling at the picture of Goldstein in the Two Minutes Hate (pg. 18).
2. When Julia gives Winston the love message on a paper after a shell falls down in the hallway (pg. 124).
3. When Winston throws the secret love message paper into memory holes (pg. 126).
4. When Julia is waiting for Winston under the tower for the first time in the rush area (pg. 134).
5. When they meet in the woods, she is untying her anti-sex league belt (pg. 142).
6. When they meet for the first time in Mr. Charington's upper room, she puts on her makeup (pg. 166).
7. When O'Brien is torturing Winston in the Ministry of Love and his hand is on the dial (pg. 286).

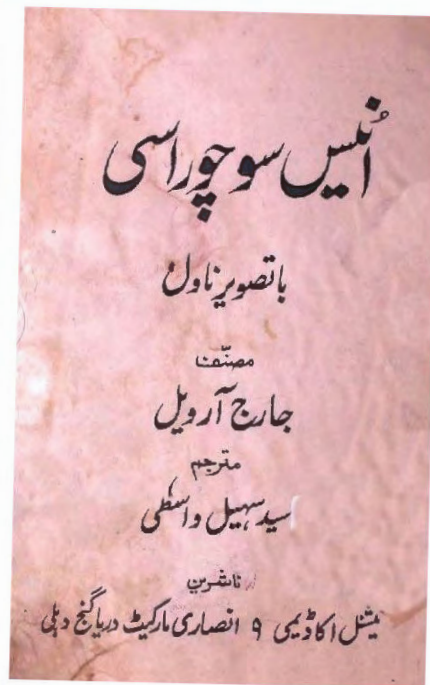


Fig. 3.21. Suhail Wasti's 1984 translation's first Indian edition's full title page.

The images play an important role in meaning making process in the understanding of the novel. The subsequent images induce hatred, arouse sympathy towards the couple, induce feelings of fear of persecution, show defiance to oppression and triumph of love, achievement of the couple in the face of extremism, arouse sympathy with the couple while they are tortured and show the cruelty of totalitarianism accordingly. These images serve the purpose of having us hate the idea of totalitarianism and to not support such ideologies. However, these illustrations are dropped in the new edition which flows in the market.

### 3.8.2 Ilm-o-Irfan Edition

Ilm-o-Irfan's edition of Suhail Wasti's translation came out in January 2023. Like the Jhelum Book Corner's cover page's eye, this edition cover page also gives multiple eyes within the eyes cover. On the back cover, the publisher has included nine other translations of different novels with pictures of their cover pages, one of which is *Animal Farm*.

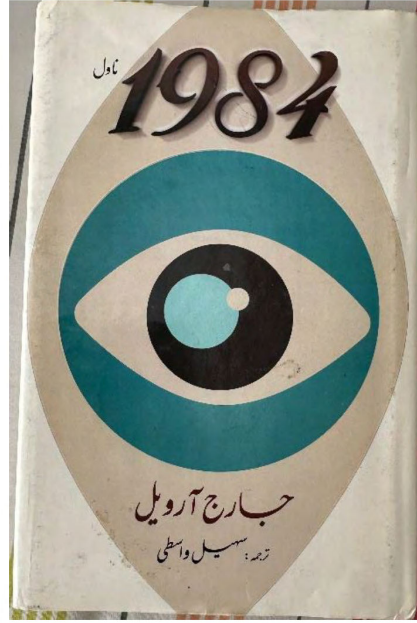


Fig. 3.22. Maktaba Jadeed's 2023 edition of Suhail Wasti's *1984* Urdu translation.

### 3.8.2.1 Front Matter

The copyright page gives general information about the edition. The price is set at 700 rupees, but the quantity of books printed has not been mentioned. Below on the copyright page, a note from the publisher says that they try to publish 'اعلیٰ معیار' high-quality' books. It also says that due care has been given to the composing, correction, and publishing process. The edition's analysis says otherwise.

### 3.8.2.2 Back Matter

The novel's end page is fully consumed because it ends on the last line of the page. It ends on the right side of the Urdu page. Immediately on the right side, the publisher gives a four-page catalogue without leaving a blank page.

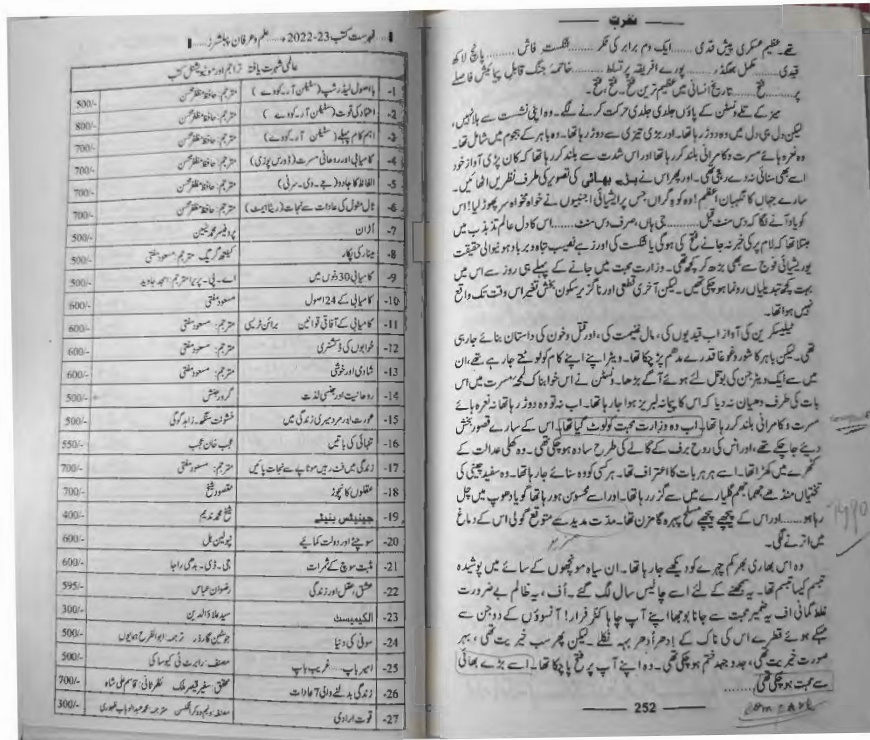


Fig. 3.23. Last page of Ilm-o-Irfan Publisher's edition of Wasti's 1984 Urdu translation and the back matter starting immediately afterwards.

### 3.8.2.3 Typing Mistakes

The present edition is full of typing errors. Many words are mistyped. Another big mistake is that of quotation marks. The quote usually starts where it has to end and ends where it has to start. The start quote is sometimes given, but the end quote is missing. Sometimes, a full stop is missing at the end of a sentence. Such mistakes can be seen on pages including 31, 34, 37, 42, 49, 60, 95, 104, 109, 113, 116, 119, 179, 182, 194, 195, 196, 198, 201, 203, 207, 211, 230, and 251.

Some pages have misprints due to cheap printing. On page 195, the end of the first three lines on the top left is missing. Sometimes, the title on the page above is cut, and at times, the page number at the end is cut due to a misprint.

On page 118, there is a footnote 1 on the word نظم افشان, the equivalent for ‘versificator’, and a line has also been drawn at the end of the page for a footnote. However, there is no footnote under the line, and nothing has been explained.

On page 189, the equivalent of the word ‘thirty-five’ is translated as پینتیس, but there is also a small ۳۵ as a subscript above the line. No explanation has been given regarding this superscript. Neither other numbers written in Urdu have such superscripts in the translation. This seems a misprint of a regular font.

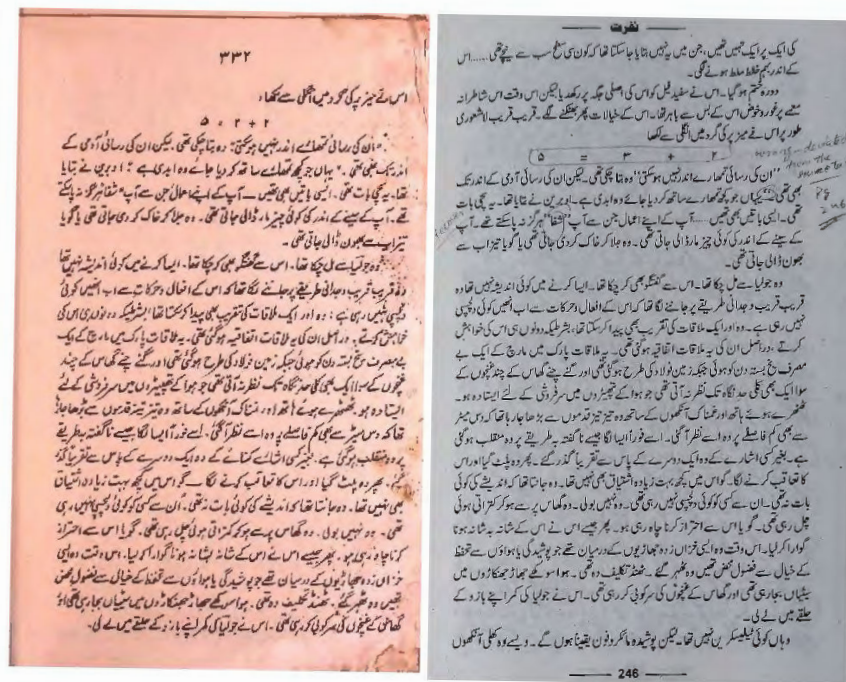


Fig. 3.24. Last chapter of Wasti's 1958 (left) and 2023 (right) editions where Winston Smith writes  $2+2=5$ .

The new edition looks like a copy from the online resource, as many instances are ambiguous in the online resource. There are many instances in the new edition, where we find this ‘....’ continuity sign. When we compare it to the online first edition, it becomes clear that the composer has not understood these phrases from the original copy and has left phrases which he



could not comprehend or were not clear to him in the print. For example, if we look at the beginning of chapter 4 part 1, a lot of phrases are omitted on page 34.

There is big publishing mistake at the end of the novel in the new edition. In the last chapter of the novel, when Winston is in the Chestnut Tree Cafe and playing chess, he writes  $2+2=5$  with his fingers. In the new edition, it has been mistaken for  $2+3=5$  which is a blatant mistake (see fig. 4.10). However, the first edition published by the National Academy, Delhi, which is available online on Rekhta, says  $2+2=5$ . This was a mistake on the part of the composer of the new edition and also the proof-reader.

### 3.8.2.4 Analysis of Suhail Wasti's 1984

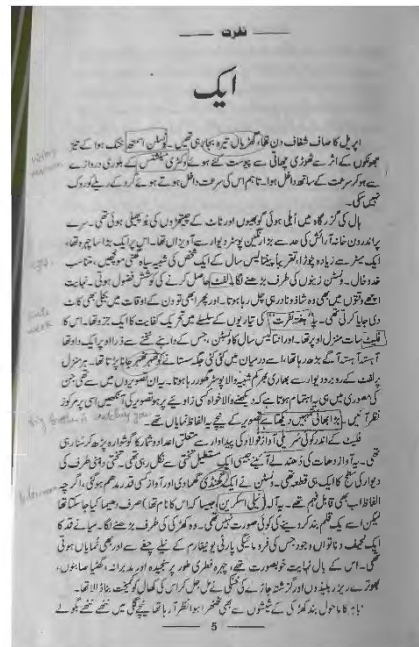


Fig. 3.25. A sample page from Ilm-o-Irfan Publisher's edition of Wasti's 1984 Urdu translation.

Interestingly, at the very top of the page on the inside of the novel, the title 'نفرت' is written, indicating that it is a scanned copy of an earlier edition which was titled as 'hate – نفرت', and is unavailable in the market now. Suhail Wasti uses literary language, and his expressions are unparalleled. He tries to keep the literary aura of the original in the translation as close as

possible. The original's expressions, sensations, sensual feelings, and literary beauty are restored closely to the original.

### 3.8.2.5 Language

Wasti uses help from four languages to create a unique translation of *1984*. He has used Arabic, Hindi, Persian, and Urdu expressions while employing the techniques of addition and rewriting to enrich the translation with such expressions and resources that weave a beautiful web of successful equivalents to create the effect which the original try to produce in the readers. Urdu uses the vocabulary of these four languages frequently. Due to these languages and excessive additions his translation has taken up a new life in a new setting. The experience in the novel has been localised and due to political and religious verbosity the foregrounding has somehow become religiously overcharged.

A lot of Arabic expressions are used in the translation to give it a religious touch. For instance;

على روس الاشهاد، اظهر من الشمس، من حيث الكل، علم تشريح الابدان، اتحاد دول، وقس على هذا، اشد من الكفر، من و  
عن، معتد به، على حاله، اجتماع ضدين، القاء، مابه النزاع، معا.

Hindi expressions are also abundant in the translation. He uses phrases like;

اريزى، كليسا كا گجر، روڑا، سوريہ نمسكار، مہاتگڑم، رام کہانی، کٹر پنتھی، پروہت، سنگیت، بن باس یاترائی،  
راکھسش۔

Some Persian expressions which are also used are;

باستثنائے تاریکی، این جانب، پابہ رکاب، کافی آنست کہ خود ببوید، بازیگاہ طفلان، زمان بین الدفتین، از اول تا ایندم،  
جواب نہ دارد، کلبہ زندان، صاعقہ نور، در قفس۔

He also uses some Persian verses in the translation to produce literary effect. For instance;



دیوار گوش دارد فہمیدہ لب بجنباں  
 عرصہ بیچ آفت نہ رسد گوشہء تنہائی را  
 گریز داز صف ماہر کہ مرد غوغا نیست

Wasti uses religiously charged phrases in his translation. Such phrases include;

اللہ میاں کی گائے، توبہ و استغفار، کفر کی علامت، جہاد، خاتمہ بالخیر، قادر مطلق، پاک اور بے عیب، قہار، حافظ، جبار، کریم۔

While dealing with Winston in the Ministry of Love, O'Brien tells Winston about Big Brother that he is 'tormentor... protector ... inquisitor ... friend' (208). Wasti translates such terms with Arabic words which are often used by Muslim for God. He uses words like القاء، قہار، (205) کریم and حافظ، جبار،

Other additional Arabised Urdu phrases include;

ٹھنگنا سریع الحركت، تیرہ و تار گھٹا ٹوپ دماغی بحران، فیل تن عورت، فیل تن پرول، ضبط الصوت۔

Urdu poetry has also been incorporated in the translation to produce a good equivalent.

For example;

ع۔ اب چہری صیاد نے لی اب قفس کا در کھلا

When O'Brien is lecturing Winston about the pervasiveness of surveillance and the strict control of every subject, Wasti adds an additional verse to emphasise the despotic surveillance activity. His rendering presents a grimmer image of the despotic practices of Oceania. He adds;

زمانہ آیا بے بے حجابی کا عام دیدار یار ہوگا  
 سکوت تھا پردہ دار جس کا وہ راز اب آشکار ہوگا

When O'Brien was telling Winston that nothing before humans existed and there is no proof of any pre human animal or creature, Wasti adds a verse to explain the scenario. He adds;

بابر انسان سے کوئی شے

ہر چند کہیں کہ ہے، نہیں ہے

The sentence 'Death and life are the same thing' (116), which is translated by Abu Al Fazal as "ان حالات میں زندگی اور موت یکساں ہے" (154), is translated by Wasti with the help of a verse by Ghalib as;

قید حیات و بند غم اصل میں دونوں ایک ہیں  
موت سے پہلے آدمی غم سے نجات پائے کیوں ---

These additions and rewriting with the help of four different languages and the diction employed in explicating these scenarios exaggerate and enhance the intensity of the story, while also making the totalitarian experience as more diversely controlled and manipulated than a simple phenomenon would do.

### 3.8.2.6 Rendering Intimate Scenes

As an edition produced in India initially, Wasti does not hesitate in rendering the intimate scenes, the same would have been difficult to produce in Pakistan. Wasti finds it comfortable to render them quite comfortably in his translation. He skilfully uses explicit words exactly as they are in the source text. He does not omit explicit words and translates Pornosec as فحشعبہ and pornography as فحش ادبیات (111). He renders Winston's and Julia's first intimacy very sensually. He translates it as;

شباب سے بھر پور گداز جسم اس کے بدن سے مس ہو گیا تھا۔ گھنے سیاہ بال اس کے منہ کے سامنت تھے، اور، جی ہاں بالکل سچی بات! اس نے اپنا چہرہ اوپر کو اٹھا دیا اور ونسٹن اس کے گدارے ہوئے سرخ ہونٹ چوم رہا تھا۔ دوشیزہ نے اپنی بانہیں اس کے گلے میں ڈال دی تھیں، اور بولے جا رہی تھی "پیارے --- سرتاج --- جان --- دلدار" ونسٹن نے اسے پھولوں کی سیج پر لٹا دیا۔ وہ مطلقاً غیر مدافع تھی۔ وہ اس کے ساتھ جو کچھ چاہتا کر سکتا تھا۔ لیکن دراصل کوئی جسمانی امنگ یا اعصابی سنسنی اسے محسوس ہی نہیں ہو رہی تھی۔ اگر اس وقت اسے کوئی احساس ہو رہا تھا تو وہ صرف اور محض لمس کا۔ (103)

For instance in Chapter 3 part 2, when Winston and Julia meet in the old Church they have intimate moments which he translates as;

وہ بل کھا گئی اور اپنی چھاتی کا فشار اس پر ڈالنے لگی۔ ونسٹن کو اس کی چھاتیاں چغے کے اندر ہی اندر سے محسوس ہونے لگیں، بھری بھری اور تنی تنی۔ اس کا بدن ونسٹن کے بدن میں اپنا جوہن اور اپنی توانائی کارس انڈیلنے سالگا۔ (116)

### 3.8.2.7 Newspeak and Prole Language

The footnote on Newspeak language in chapter 1 part 1 has also been omitted by Suhail Wasti in his translation. However, Wasti has preserved the newness of the Newspeak language. He has also preserved the language of proles in his translation. For instance, the first messages in Newspeak language in the novel which Smith received in his office are translated as follows;

ٹائمس ۱۷،۳،۸۴ ب ب تقریر غلط ترسیل افریقہ صحیح۔

ٹائمس ۱۹،۱۲،۸۳ پیش قیاسی ۳ س م ربع ۴ م ۸۳ سہو طباعت تقابل اشاعت رواں۔

ٹائمس ۱۴،۲،۸۴ منی پلٹتی غلط منقول چاکلیٹ تصحیح

ٹائمس ۳،۱۲،۸۳ نامہ نگاری ب ب حکم النہار دو چند مزید

ناخوب حوالہ نااشخاص باز نویس مکملانہ بلارس قبل انسلاک

When Winston and Julia met O'Brien in his home, O'Brien was speaking in the Newspeak language. The messages are translated as;

شق ایک کاما پانچ کاما سات منظور مکملانہ وقف مشورہ

ہمراہ شق چھ دو چند مزید مضحک راجع فکر جرم مسترد وقف

ناکار ترتیبانہ قبل حصول مزیدانہ تخمینجات مشینری بالا سر وقف ختم پیام۔

The language of proles has also been preserved by Wasti. For the first time when we are exposed to the talks of proles when Smith passes them, they are heard talking, which Wasti translates as;

"ہاں، میں اس سے بولی۔ یہ تو ٹھیک ہے، ہم بولا۔ پر میرا بدل تم ہوتی تب تم بھی ایسا کرتا جیسا ہم کیا۔ میں

میکھ سہج ہوتا ہے، ہم بولی: پر ہمارا ماملہ تمرا ماملہ ایک نٹی ہے۔"

"دیکھا" دوسری بولنے لگی "تم ٹھیک بولی۔ تم ایک دم سے پکا بات بولی۔"

The language which has been used for the proles in Urdu is a non-standard Urdu spoken by the people in the outskirts of cities and those who are not exposed to any formal education at all. It creates a good equivalent for proles description as has been sketched in the novel. Through such an accented language, Wasti finds skilful equivalent for Newspeak and prole language, which Abu al-Fazal failed to do in his translation.

### 3.8.2.8 Time Reference

Suhail Wasti has restored the time reference of the original. He tells time like “گھڑیاں تیرہ” and “بجا رہی تھیں” etc. The time reference has been preserved fully in the translation. Winston mistakens the time due to the old dial clock. The translation preserves the time reference to preserve the scene’s intensity.

The analysis of Wasti’s translation show that it has not much inherent politics in the translation due to its content which itself is political. However, the diction, style, and language used by Wasti show that he has given the novel a political touch. It indicates the political side of our society and alludes, but not clearly, to the political side of our societal practices in it.

### 3.9.0 Comparing 1984’s two Translations

Both translations find interesting equivalents for the key terms and vocabulary items in the Urdu language. The Newspeak and other essential vocabulary items have been interestingly translated into Urdu. It is important to have a look at them. The comparison show that the language used by Abu al-Fazal is simple and serves no obvious political purpose. On the

contrary, the language employed by Wasti contains political jargons, religiously phrasing, Arabised Urdu idioms, and elements of nationalist jargons.

Word	Abu Al Fazal Siddique's translation	Suhail Wasti's translation
Hate week	ہفتہ نفرت	ہفتہ نفرت
Big Brother is Watching You	بڑا بھائی دیکھ رہا ہے	بڑا بھائی تمہیں دیکھتا ہے
Thought Police	خیالات کا جائزہ لینے والی پولیس	محاسبان فکر/فکر پولیس/فکری پولیس
Telescreen	ٹیلی اسکرین	ٹیلی اسکرین
Ministry of truth/Minitrue	وزارت صداقت/منی ٹرو	وزارت صداقت/منسٹری آف ٹرتھ/ minitrue
Ministry of Peace/Minipax	وزارت صلح/منی پیکس	وزارت امن/ minipax
Ministry of Plenty/Miniplenty	وزارت افراط/منی پلنٹی	وزارت افراط/ miniplenty
Ministry of Love/Miniluv	وزارت الفت/منی لو	وزارت محبت/ miniluv
Airstrip one	ایئر اسٹریپ نمبر ایک/ایئر اسٹریپ اول	ایئر سٹریپ اول
Newspeak	نو اسپیک	نئی زبان (نیو سپیک)
Party	پارٹی	پارٹی
War Is Peace	جنگ امن ہے	جنگ امن ہے
Freedom Is Slavery	آزادی غلامی ہے	آزادی غلامی ہے
Ignorance Is Strength	جہالت طاقت ہے	جہالت قوت ہے
Down With Big Brother	بڑا بھائی مردا باد!	بڑے بھائی کا ناس ہو
Free Market	کھلے بازار	آزاد خریداری
Speak-write	لکھنے والی مشین/آواز کو ریکارڈ کرنے اور ہدایت دینے والا آلہ	اسپیک رائٹ
Doublethink	دہرا خیال	دہرا شعور/ڈبل تھنک
Two minutes hate	دو منٹ کی نفرت	نفرت کے دو منٹ
Junior Anti-sex League	جونیئر مخالف صنف لیگ/نوجوان مخالف جنس لیگ	جونیئر اینٹی سیکس لیگ/جونیئر انجمن اتیصال صنف

Inner Party	داخلی حلقہ	اندرونی پارٹی
The Brotherhood	اخوان	اخوت
The Book	کتاب	کتاب
Thoughtcrime	جرم خیال	جرم فکری
Vaporised	بخارات/دھوئیں اڑا دیے جائیں گے	کافور کرنا
Comrade	ساتھی	کامریڈ
Youth League	نوجوان لیگ	نوجون سبھا
Spontaneous demonstration	سیر و سیاحت	اجتماعی تماشوں
The great purge	عظیم تطہیر/ وسیع تطہیر	بے پناہ تنقید میں صاف ہونا/ تنقیے
The physical Jerks	ورزش کا پروگرام	جسمانی جھٹکے
Reality control	حقیقت الحقائق	پاسبانی حقیقت
Memory holes	روزن یادداشت	دریچہ یادداشت
Pornography	Omitted	فحش ادب
Pornosec	Omitted	فحشعہ
Proles	عوام	پرول
Duckspeak	آواز بط	بطخوں کی طرح ٹرانا/ ڈکسپیک
Facecrime	جرم چہرہ	جرم روئی
Ownlife	ذاتی زندگی	آپ جیون
House of Lords	دار الأمرا	دار الأمراء
Forced Labour Camps	جبری محنت کے کیمپوں	مشقت بالجبر کے کسی کیمپ
Golden Country	سنہرا دیس	سنہرا دیس
I love you	مجھے تم سے محبت ہے	میں تم کو چاہتی ہوں
It was a political act	یہ بھی سیاسی عمل سا تھا	یہ ایک سیاسی کارنامہ تھا
Talking by Instalments	قسط وار گفتگو	کلام بالاقسط (باقی آئندہ، گزشتہ سے پیوستہ)
Muck House	غلاظت کا ڈھیر	کوڑا گھر

Open market	کھلی مارکیٹ	
Goodthinkful	خوش فکر	خوب فکر مند
Dear	پیارے/پیارے	پیارے
Darling, precious one, loved one	پیارے، جانی	پیارے، سرتاج، جان، دلدار
12-hour clock	پرانی ساخت کی کلاک	بارہ گھنٹہ ڈائل والی گھڑی
Hate song	نغمہ نفرت	ترانہ نفرت
Make love	اظہار الفت	معاشقے میں مشغول
Our duty to the party	پارٹی کی طرف سے ہم پر عائد کردہ فرض	پارٹی کا حق
Versificator	گیت ساز	نظم افشاں
Rat	چوہا	موش
Unperson	اس کا تو کوئی وجود ہی نہیں تھا	ناشخص
This is business	یہ تو کاروبار ہے	اپنے کام کی بات ہے
Reclamation center	بحالیاتی مرکز	مرکز تربیت
Ingsoc	انگساک	انگساک
Neo-Bolshevism	نیو بالشوزم	نو بالشوزم
Death-Worship	مردہ پرستی	مرگ پرستی
Obliteration of the self	Omitted	خود سپردگی
Pharaohs and Ceasers	فرعون و سیزر	فراعنہ اور قیصر
Crimestop	ختم جرائم	جرم روک
Goodthinker	خوش فکر	خوب فکر مند
Blackwhite	سیاہ سفید	سیاہ سفید
Sanity is not statistical	ہوش مندی اعداد و شمار کی پابند نہیں	عقل و شعور ریاضتی چیز نہیں
Sanity was statistical	ہوش مندی اعداد و شمار کی طرح تھی	فراست ریاضی چیز تھی

Homosexuals	Omitted	امت لوط کے ہم مشرب
F- bastard	حرام زادے	مادر ---- حرامی
Great tumbling breasts	چھاتیاں سکڑ گئیں تھیں	بڑی بڑی چھاتیاں جھول رہی تھی
PolITS	سیاسی	پالٹس
The spirit of man	روح انسانیت	انسان کا ضمیر
Thou shalt not	تم نہیں کرو گے	تمہیں نہ ہونا چاہیے
Thou shalt	تم کرو گے	ہونا چاہیے
Thou art	تم ہو	تم ہو

Table 3.0. Comparison between the keywords from Wasti's and Abu Al Fazal's Urdu translation of 1984.

Both the translations have made a mistake in translating “I shall switch on in a quarter of an hour” (Chapter 8, Part 1) when O'Brien tells Martin to return to his work. Wasti translates it as “میں پندرہ منٹ کے لیے” (147) and Abu Al Fazal translates it as “میں پندرہ منٹ بعد پھر طلب کروں گا” (193). Both translations do not provide the exact meaning of the sentence. The translation should be “میں پندرہ منٹ بعد ٹیلی اسکرین کو دوبارہ لگاؤں گا”.

A paragraph from both the novels' translation is given for a contrast. Wasti's translation create an effect on the senses of the reader because of the intensity, darkness, and sensual appeal in the words. Meanwhile, Abu al-Fazal does not achieve that. An instance from Chapter 4 part 3 is given when Winston is tortured with the mouse trap in Room 101. Wasti's translation is as;

پنجرہ قریب تر ہو گیا۔ چہرے پر پیوست ہونے لگا۔ ونسٹن کو پیہم چیخ و پکار کا ایک سلسلہ سنائی پڑنے لگا جو ایسا معلوم ہوتا تھا کہ اس کے سر کے اوپر ہوا میں پیدا ہو رہا ہے۔ لیکن وہ اپنے اس بحران کے خلاف مجنونانہ طریقے پر جہاد کرتا رہا۔ سوچنا آخری سیکنڈ کے عشر عشر میں بھی سوچنا، آخری سہارا تھا۔ معا ان درندوں کی گندہ شراب جیسی بدبو ونسٹن کے نتھنوں میں سمانے لگی۔ اس کو شدید متلی ہونے لگی۔ اور اس کے حواس قریب قریب گم ہو گئے۔ ہر شے تاریک ہو گئی۔ ایک آن واحد کے لئے وہ مختل الحواس چنگھاڑتا جانور بن گیا۔ تاہم اس تیرگی سے وہ ایک خیال لے کر برآمد ہوا۔ اس کے سامنے اپنے آپ کو بچالینے کی ایک اور صرف



ایک ترکیب تھی اپنے اور موشوں کے درمیان اسے کوئی اور انسان، کسی اور انسان کا جسم حائل کر دینا چاہیئے تھا۔

Abu Al Fazal's translation is as;

پنجرہ قریب تر آ رہا تھا۔ ونسٹن نے تیز چیخیں سنیں، جو اسے سر کے اوپر سے آتی ہوئی سنائی دیں۔ اس نے اس دہشت کے عالم میں اپنے حواس بجا رکھنے کی پوری کوشش کی اور سوچنا چاہا۔ صرف ایک ثانیہ باقی رہ گیا تھا۔ اچانک اس نے چوبوں کی بو محسوس کی۔ اس کا جی متلانے لگا اور وہ بے حوش سا ہو گیا۔ ہر چیز سیاہ ہو گئی۔ ایک لمحہ کے لیے وہ سوچنے سے معذور ہو گیا۔ وہ جانوروں کی طرح چیخ رہا تھا۔ اس تاریکی میں اسے ایک خیال آیا اپنے آپ کو بچانے کی صرف ایک ترکیب تھی۔ اسے چوبوں کے اور اپنے درمیان کسی اور انسان کا جسم حائل کر دینا چاہیئے۔

Some other sentences for contrast are also presented. “And what good was that?” (132) is translated by Wasti as “تو کون سا تیر مار لیا تم نے؟” (132). But it is translated by Abu Al Fazal as “اور اس کا فائدہ؟” (173).

In the second last paragraph of the novel, “He was back in the Ministry of Love”, is translated by Wasti as “اب وہ وزارت محبت کو لوٹ گیا تھا۔” but Abu Al Fazal Translates it as “وہ وزارت الفت میں تھا”. Translation by both translators changes the time of the statement. Wasti implies that he went back to the Ministry but Abu Al Fazal implies that he was in the Ministry. The latter does not cater for the action of ‘back’ in the translation.

The very last line, “He loved Big Brother”, is translated by Wasti as “اسے بڑے بھائی سے” but Abu Al Fazal translates it as “وہ بڑے بھائی سے پیار کرتا تھا”. The first implies that he now loves Big Brother, but the later means that he loved Big Brother.

### 3.10.0 Contrasts of Songs

The songs translated by Wasti are treated quite literally. Their language is quite good and rhythmic. However, Abu Al Fazal treats the songs casually. The song is quite significant. The

women who is singing outside Mr. Charington's apartment incite feeling and emotions according to the plot of the story. However, Abu al-Fazal fails to capture the emotions and arouse feelings but Wasti does.

A fat woman sings a song in chapter 4 of part 2. She sings the first song as;

“It was only an ‘opeless fancy.

It passed like an Ipril dye,

But a look an’ a word an’ the dreams they stirred!

They ‘ave stolen my ‘eart awye!”

Wasti translates it as;

کچھ نہ تھا کچھ بھی نہ تھا، محض تخیل کا طلسم

جادوئے صبح بہاراں کی طرح ٹوٹ چکا

خواب ابھر آئے بیک چشمک و یک جنبش لب

اور مری روح مرے دل کا سکون لوٹ گیا

Abu Al Fazal translates it as;

یہ صرف ایک موہوم آواز تھی۔

اور اپریل کے رنگ کی طرح بہت جلد محو ہو گئی۔

لیکن اس سے خوابوں میں جو ہلچل پیدا ہوئی اور جو منظر سامنے آئے۔ انہوں نے میرا دل موہ لیا ہے۔

The second song sung by the woman is;

“They sye that time ‘eals all things,

They sye you can always forget;

But the smiles an’ the tears across the years

They twist my ‘eart-strings yet!”

Wasti translates the song sung the fat woman as;

مریم وقت سے بھر جاتے ہر تیر کے گھاو  
 کس کو لپٹائے ہوئے بھول کی آغوش نہیں  
 سالہا سال کے اشک و تبسم لیکن  
 میں انہیں بھول تو جاؤں جو فراموش نہیں!

Abu Al Fazal translates it as;

وہ کہتے ہیں کہ وقت ہر زخم مندمل کر دیتا ہے۔  
 وہ کہتے ہیں کہ تم ہمیشہ بھول سکتے ہو۔  
 لیکن سالہا سال پہلے کے آنسو اور قہقہے۔  
 وہ اب بھی میرے کانوں میں گونجتے ہیں۔

## Chapter 4: Discussion

### 4.0 Discussion

The elements of World Literature under scrutiny as pointed out in the theoretical framework are circulation, foreign manifestation, translation and gains and losses. The analysis of the four translation of *Animal Farm* and two translations of 1984 were presented in the previous section. This section will discuss all six translation collectively through the lens of world literature's different aspects as elucidated by Damrosch in his theory.

The four different translations of *Animal Farm* in Urdu show an interesting spectrum of new life the translations gave to it. First, Jamil Jalibi's translation, published in 1958, was patronized by the USIA, intended in a larger campaign for countering communist influence given the themes of the novel and the alleged bad political practice in the USSR. Its patronage is well established through the archival material provided in the analysis part. Its publicity was also done in the journal *Naya Daur*, which Jalibi himself published and had a wider readership. It gave an abstract of the novel and its price was set at 3 rupees. The title was simple 'Animal Farm' اینمل فارم, without any subtitle. However, it is still far from clear that after the first edition, subsequent edition of the novel did not appear. Recently a second edition was published by Book Corner Jelhum, but Jalibi's son made it clear that he will not allow another BC edition of the novel. Such reserve attitude towards the translation is still incomprehensible.

The translation is quite artistically rendered with fluent sentence structures, idiomatic phrases and without the reminiscence of foreign words. However, the translation through different tools of manipulation exaggerates the cruelty of the pigs. This shift is subtle, as was the case with other USIA sponsored translations where the ending and the disposition of the pigs are

altered to highlight their cruelty, as they are representing the communist ruling class, more specifically Stalin through the character of Napoleon, in the novel. The newness in the translation is not much obvious but the manifestation of translation invokes ‘similarity’, to use Damrosch’s words, with the target culture. The translation is reframed in a localised and domesticized setting through the omission of all foreign diction. Little does the translation show any explicit biasness. Though the translation has gained significant bigotry and cruelty in the characters of the pigs and their treatment of the local farm animals.

The new 2020 edition of the translation show a different and new life than the earlier edition. It has an extended front and back matter with a lot of different essays, explicating the politics and ideology of the novel. The edition was also released amidst the Russian-Ukraine conflict, signifying the failed revolution and totalitarian tendencies it talks about. The extraneous essays of the edition also situates the novel’s themes in the local politics and history, thus clarifying its politics and ideology without any doubt.

Second, Jameel Akhtar Khan’s translation arrived in 1973. The name of the translation is adapted as ‘Kingdom of the Beasts’ rather than *Animal Farm*. It also has a sub title as ‘A Satirical Ideological Novel’ clearly proclaiming the ideology and politics in the novel. The first edition had 2000 copies, which is a big volume. The price was also set at 3.75 rupees. The back matter has an essay elaborating the main concept and theme of the novel. It mentions ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ and the subsequent failed revolution. It clearly situates the novel in the anti-communist politics. The front cover also depicts two king pigs, a horse, a sheep and a dog. With the two pigs in crown and the cover’s colour as red, the translation gives it the usual communist touch. The year of publication is important regarding the local political history. It

was the year of great political distress due to Bhutto's nationalisation and the recent episode of East Pakistan partition. In that background it is also significant.

Akhtar's translation is quite similar to that of Jalibi's translation. It is in fact a modified or revised version of Jalibi's translation. The keywords, phrases, sentences and songs' translation suggest that it is quite a revised or almost the same translation. Despite having numerous similarities, there are few instances where the translation is different. The sentence structure is quite word for word than Jalibi's who preferred idiomatic translation. The translation falls under the extremism of assimilation where no details has been given to the subtleties of the novel's key instances. The treatment of the word rebellion is a bit different than that of Jalibi's. Out of thirty instances of rebellion, Jalibi prefers the negative connotation of rebellion and translate it as بغاوت while Akhtar translates it as revolution انقلاب and takes it as positive. Akhtar's translation preserves the foreignness of the translation and his treatment of tone is at time harsh and more political than Jalibi's. The plot and setting of the translation is not reframed into local tone and setting. The translation has the same politics which Jalibi's translation has but due to the translation's publication date, its domestic political significance seems more acute and obvious than the formers.

Third, a quite free and unique adaptation rather than translation has been carried out by Nasir Hussain Jaffery. It was published in 1987 with the title "Animal Kingdom" – جانورستان. It too has a subtitle 'A Satirical Novel' which the original ST does not have, clearly explicating the politics and ideology of the novel. The edition came out with 5000 copies, a very huge volume. It was translated and published from England. The adaptation has extended front and back matter and a few essays, which clearly situates the novel in the domestic politics of Pakistan. The plot of the novel is not followed in the adaptation. The translator himself says that he has freely

translated the novel without sticking to the plot but he has been faithful to Orwell's message which he states as totalitarian. He also relate the story to the local people who suffered from the partition of the subcontinent, while saying that the story unmasks the politicians and leaders and their democracy. Such comments explicates the ideology and politics of this adaptation and frames the story in the local history and politics.

Whole of the translation is reframed in the local political history and religious tone. It has got a new life because of excessive rewriting of the plot. It has huge similarity with local history and political culture. The gains are huge in the translation. The translation is divided into twelve chapters and every chapter is named with a political jargon. All of the names allude to the revolutionary aspect of the novel as revolution, the dream, struggle for freedom, establishment of an animal state, democracy, first war, power struggle, martial law, dictatorship, one year plan, addiction to power, kingdom, second war, and republic of janwaristan. Whole of the titling suggest and allude to the different political phases of early Pakistani political history. The content within also include instances which are reminiscent to Pakistani national politics. It is highly political translation and the plot weaves through local political history. The despotism shown in the story is grimmer than the ST. The adaptation is full with religious references and poetic verses. Jaffery skilfully combine the aesthetics, religious role in the politics and local history in the adaptation to emphasise on the theme of totalitarianism in local historical setting. The politics of the adaptation is made clear through the introductory essays and the frequent incorporation of historical instances and references to local history that it satirises the local political practices and their play with democracy.

Fourth translation of *Animal Farm* was done by Syed Ala ud Din. His translation has no subtitle and the title is also simply *Animal Farm*. The actual publication date is not clear yet,

neither any specific information has been gathered about the translator. However, his translation is more readily available in the market than any other translator. Jaffery's and Akhtar's translation are not available in the market at all. Only recently Jalibi's translation's second edition was published by Book Corner Jhelum. The only available translation in market is of Ala ud Din. The availability of his translation in different editions in the market and the copyright pages illustrate a very sad affair of publishing practice in Pakistan. As shown in the analysis section, both his recent editions has same copyright pages but with different publishers.

Ala ud Din's translation is most careless and at a lot of instances show unsuccessful and wrong translations and contains a lot of typing and publishing mistakes. Quite many instances are misunderstood the translator. Many instances have been incoherent due to incorrect translation and creates ambiguity. The introductory essay on Orwell has also a lot of mistakes and it is also an amalgamation of different chunks from an essay without any coherence. The copy which I consulted also looks like a scanned copy of an earlier edition. The typing and publishing mistakes are all prevalent in both editions which I have.

The translation by Ala ud Din is highly foreignized. The style and tone of the ST is not retained. The translation has fallen prey to the extremism of exoticism where the translation contains a lot of foreign words and the structure is also alienated with the English structures and word for word translations of English idioms. Due to blatant incorrect translations, no rewriting seems intended. The deviations and gains in the translation are not deliberate but are mistakes and misinterpretations. In such case, the politics inherent in the translation is difficult to illicit. Out of all four translations of *Animal Farm* analysed in this thesis, Ala ud Din's translation is the most incorrect and unfaithful and have a lot of typing, publishing and punctuation mistakes.



The translation of the songs are quite differently treated by all translators. Jalibi and Akhtar has similar translations of the songs, however Jalibi's is more poetic and fluent than Akhtar. The translation done by Jaffery is succinct and more politicised. He has reduced the whole lengthy song to a few lines and that too is treated in a very direct manner. However, he has preserved the message of the poem, but has cut all the wailing and future prospect as discussed in the ST's song. The translation done by Ala ud Din is very different. The address of the song is changed from Humans to Animals and the while reading the content, it seems that Ala ud Din has misunderstood the address and the message of the song.

The first translation of *1984* also appeared in 1958, the same year when *Animal Farm*'s first edition was published in Pakistan. It was translated by Abu al-Fazal Siddique and published by Urdu Academy Sindh, Karachi. Urdu Academy Sindh was also working closely in collaboration with the US translation projects through Franklin Books Program. However, *1984* was published individually, not under the Franklin Books Program. Despite this, there is still a likelihood for the patronage of this translation. 3000 copies were published in the edition with price set on 4.12 rupees.

Due to the content of the novel, Abu al-Fazal's translation is very simple. It lacks artistic vigour. There are a lot of typing, writing, punctuation, formatting mistakes along with incorrect renderings in the translation. The translator has omitted all references to pornography due to cultural sensitivity. Even the Newspeak language is harmonised in the text. The appendix on Newspeak language is also omitted completely from the translation due to the impracticality of creating a new world and cultural and linguistic specificity of Newspeak language. The 24 hour clock and its time reference is changed into 12 hours clock reference which does not complicate the action in the plot as is felt in the ST. The translation, thus overall, is very simplistic and is

suited well for a propaganda text, as are the case with them. They are divorced of artistic treatment and are meant for consumption as factual stories and analogies. Due to the simplicity of text, omission of references to pornography and harmonising of the prole and Newspeak language, the text is reframed in the local language tradition and is subjected to the extremism of assimilation.

Even, the recent edition published by Book Corner Jhelum in 2020, the mistakes are kept as it is with the exception of improvement in some of the punctuation. The new edition takes on a new life because of the extended front and back matter along with the multiple essays which elaborate the genesis and the background story of the novel. The new edition explicates the politics and ideology of the novel and also domesticize its politics by establishing parallels with the local politics and history. It also contains a lot of images to support the content in its meaning. However, the copyrights are still not mentioned clearly, reflecting the bad publishing practices in Pakistan. Another edition of Abu al-Fazal's translation is also published by Maktaba Jadeed, but it is without any copyright. It has minimal punctuation and quotation marks and retains all those mistakes which the original first edition has.

The second translation of *1984* was also published in 1958, the same year as Abu al-Fazal's translation, in India. It was translated by Suhail Wasti. This first edition was sponsored by the USIA as the archival documents of the USIA's Books Published Abroad reveal. The National Academy Delhi, Darya Ganj published this edition with 3000 copies, which is a huge imprint. This edition also floats in Pakistan. This novel has graphics in blue and black print at key instances of the novel and successfully affect the meaning making and sensual arousing of the readers.

Wasti's translation is artistic and skilful. He takes support from four languages in translation i.e. Urdu, Hindi, Arabic, and Persian. He highly domesticizes the translation and excessively uses Persian, Arabic, and Hindi phrases and idioms as equivalent. He uses verses and skilful alternatives along with highly politicised and religious vocabulary to show the dynamic and complex nature of totalitarian regimes. The prole's language is preserved by Wasti with an accented and non-standard Urdu dialect which skilfully differentiate their language from the normal language. However, Wasti's translation is also full of typing and punctuation mistakes of which a brief account is given in the analysis. The translation, however, has taken a new life with the skilful rendering and the use of four different languages in the translation. The translation has not only preserved the content but also the linguistic variability is also preserved in it.

Another low cost edition of Wasti's novel is also analysed. The translation has the same title on the cover page. But inside the novel it shows another title on the top of each page as نفرت. It was an earlier title of the translation. This edition has printed a scanned copy without bothering to remove the title from the top. This edition has nothing peculiar but only depicts the precarious publishing practices in Pakistan.

At the end it is important to note that publishing in Pakistan is not very ideal. Due to the scarcity of general reading public, the publishing industry is not much developed and a lot of unethical practices are noticed in different editions. Various new editions of *Animal Farm* and *1984* are pirated versions without any proper copyright and other relevant pages. This practice is however changing. Book Corner Jhelum is striving to change this publishing practice. But they too has fallen to such negligent practices and carelessness. First they have retained a lot of mistakes which are already present in both these novels. Second, a whole page went missing from the end of *Animal Farm* which the compiler himself later admitted when contacted.

Thirdly, there are several images in *Animal Farm* and *1984* without proper copyrights. In *Animal Farm* the publisher has not even bothered to mention the name of the illustrator. In *1984*, the one of the illustrator is mentioned but it is not clarified if they have bought the copyrights or not.

Another illustrator has altogether being ignored. Fourthly, there are a lot of proofreading mistakes, which has been left unattended. Fifth, in the essays a lot facts have been misplaced and not cross checked and verified as I have continuously pointed out in the analysis part. These are few things which needed a little attention. Despite all these problems, BC Jhelum is giving the world classics a new life by providing extended essays which are relevant to the novels and important for general reading public. I hope such practice may bear great fruit someday.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

### 5.0 Conclusion

This dissertation has aimed to contest Damrosch's definition of world literature and to delve into the political dimensions inherent in the translations of Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* during the Cold War, which has implications for the definition of world literature. As the study of cultural exchange during the Cold War is truly challenging, the economic and political dynamics involved in the production and circulation of literary texts make it even more problematic to comprehend the real value of such an exchange.

The current study reveals that translations of Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984*, carried out during the Cold War, were politically charged. Particularly, Orwell was a special asset in such activities due to his simple and plain prose style. His works played a significant role in shaping the totalitarian sense and conception and spreading its fear worldwide. The blatant anti-communism and explicit anti-Soviet stance and imagery of these novels acted as effective propaganda against rising communism in the cultural battlefields.

According to Damrosch's definition, George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* are world literature from the beginning. They were world literature within the restricted boundary of contemporary European politics. As per Damrosch's definitions, these texts were formed directly and indirectly by the influence of the internationalist communists and socialists' politics, which informed these writings' content.

After their publications, they were quickly transferred to other cultures through translations, some Orwell himself encouraged and advocated their immediacy, and some were done by the Cold Warriors after his death and also while he was alive. The British and American covert propaganda agencies promoted his writing to achieve a broader aim of cultural dominance

in the form of spreading an anti-communist polemic and supporting the right-wing or neutralising radical moments either in the European countries or in the Third World.

Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* were promoted in a culture in which they were not politically relevant for the time or warranted such immediacy. Their politics were not even intended for Third World countries. The Western Bloc countered the communist voices with these two novels. However, the internationalist agenda of communism was a key factor that should be borne in mind. Orwell's rejection of communism in favour of democratic socialism is also an alternative that is international in its disposition.

Due to the strong presence of the Communists in India and elsewhere in the world, the British and American agencies wanted to act promptly to counter its influence. The effective tools at the time were Orwell's allegorical book and his anti-totalitarian novel. Thus, literature gained international value as a weapon through secret covert agencies. It came as a boost to book publishing. Orwell was quickly recognised all over the world and was claimed as a world writer.

Orwell is important in initiating the literary Cultural Cold War because he made contemporary texts rapidly available through translations and adaptations. He fundamentally shaped propaganda and the circulation of texts. He coined the term 'Cold War' and is the 'architect' of the politically and culturally charged Cultural Cold War, which was waged with the help of the CIA and the IRD through secret funding.

Andrew Robin rightly notes that *Animal Farm* and *1984* belong to a new mode of production where 'the changing means of textual reproduction and duplication now administered by government agencies, institutions, foundations, media corporations, and international organisations made it increasingly possible to replicate mechanical copies of texts in multiple languages in distant and remote places, nearly instantaneously, for the first time in literary

history' (45). Such initiation of a globalist tradition of propaganda techniques and making literature global at a swift rate raises questions about the social and cultural formation of the time.

Thus in such a pervasive mode of cultural activity, it is impossible to determine when a literary work crosses the threshold to become world literature. The politics of the archive, which partly and actively plays a pivotal role in shaping our culture, politics, understanding and view of the world, impedes the scrutiny of determining what kind of literature becomes world literature and what falls short of the standard. It also leaves established world literature at the stake of maintaining its status quo with the release of archives. Such cultural activity makes Damrosch's world literature vulnerable to the threshold of political and covert activities. No agency would genuinely determine whether the production and circulation were not facilitated for political gains and motifs.

The covert agencies' facilitated production and circulation of Orwell's work as propaganda suggests that Damrosch's definition of world literature, which depends upon production and circulation, should be revised. In a time when production and circulation are vulnerable to agenda-driven publications, world literature's true aims and definition would be difficult to realise. The work of the literary Cold War heavily depended on cheap production, facilitated circulation, and the widest possible dissemination. The threshold that makes a literary work world literature could easily be decided in a secret meeting of some propagandist or by cultural diplomacy policymakers in their program offices. In this context, Damrosch's definition acts as a service or provides due logic to the Cultural Cold War and propaganda production. It should be revised and rechecked again.

The production and circulation of Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* in Pakistan in Urdu was a Cold War phenomenon in 1958. The United States Information Agency was politically motivated to influence the cultural and literary space of Pakistan to counter the rising communist influence in the country. English is the official language of Pakistan, but the novels were translated into Urdu by the USIA to gain widespread acclaim. Their presence was not literarily or aesthetically motivated. In 1958, they facilitated the translation of *Animal Farm* through their Books in Translation program. Jamil Jalibi gave this service to the USIA. *1984* was also translated in the same year by Abu Al Fazal Siddique. His involvement or the translation's sponsorship by the USIA is not yet known. However, Urdu Academy Sindh, which published the novel, was actively engaged with the Franklin Books Program of the US in disseminating translated books. Thus, both translations of Orwell were the product of the Cultural Cold War.

Different translation activities occurred around *Animal Farm* and *1984* during the Cold War. These translations have taken a new life in Pakistani setting. *Animal Farm*'s four translations emerged. Ala ud Din's translation is very casual. His wordings are also carefree and syntax is very basic. It has many mistakes. No aesthetics are worked out in the translation. Nasir Hussain Jaffery's *Animal Farm* is very creative. He has reworked the translation. It is a free writing of the translation with the amalgamation of local politics and religious imagery and appeal. His translation is not a faithful translation. Jalibi's translation of *Animal Farm* is aesthetically sound. He has translated the text well and has used very good vocabulary and syntax. Professor Jamil Akhtar Khan's translation of *Animal Farm* seems to be a plagiarised copy of Jalibi's translation. The syntax, choice of words, and translation of poems are almost the same.



Two translations of *1984* circulate in Pakistan. Abu Al Fazal Siddique's translation, published in Pakistan, is a careless rendering. It also does not preserve the proles and Newspeak language in the Urdu. The poems are also translated casually. The time frame, which is crucial for 1984, is also domesticised. The other translation of *1984* by Sohail Wasti was initially published in India. Wasti's translation is aesthetically and linguistically more valuable than Abu Al Fazal's. It also preserves the proles and Newspeak language. It also aesthetically translates the poems. It also preserves the original time frame. However, both translations have dropped the appendix on the Newspeak language.

This dissertation has tried to map Cultural Cold War traces in the Pakistani context, focusing only on Orwell's two novels. Critical writings have emerged in the West, and the Cultural Cold War and Orwell's role in the Cold War have been scrutinised. In Pakistani academia, Orwell is considered a saint. This thesis has elaborated on his political writing and role in the cultural Cold War.

Through Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984* Urdu translations in the Pakistani context, this research has tried to address the problematic definition of world literature in the context of the Cold War. It has also attempted to address the Cultural Cold War in Pakistan by analysing different translations of *Animal Farm* and *1984*. Different works on the Cultural Cold War and the involvement of different governmental-backed covert institutions were analysed and discussed to map out the elaborate network of Cold War institutions and their collaboration with publishing houses and writers.

The scope of this research can be broadened by conducting a comprehensive analysis of the foundations involved in Pakistan during the Cold War. For example, the Asia Foundation had a greater role in Pakistan during the Cold War, which needs detailed research and elaboration.

Similarly, the role of CCF in Pakistan needs a detailed analysis and comprehensive understanding. The USIA and its Books in Translation program were active during the Cold War. The Russian influence is documented in detail compared to the US's influence in Pakistan. However, a detailed comparative analysis of both influences may also contribute to a better understanding of the Cultural Cold War dynamics in Pakistan.

The main obstacle to this type of research is the unavailability of the archives. The archives of the USIA, Asia Foundation, CCF and other organisations are not present in Pakistan, and online access is also restricted. With access to the archive, many avenues in Cultural Cold War research would open up, and better investigation into the cultural dynamics of the Cold War would be carried out.

This research tried to utilise the available online archives, resources, and translations available in the Pakistani market. It relies on secondary archival resources cited in Western researchers and scholars' studies. The influence and workings of the Cultural Cold War can be traced from those resources. If archives of those foundations that worked in Pakistan during the Cold War become available, a nuanced, comprehensive, alternate history of the Cultural Cold War in Pakistan and its implication on the Pakistani cultural and literary landscape could be successfully mapped out.

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قرآن حکیم ترجمے کے ساتھ تکمیل کے قریب ہے۔ ابن خلدون کا مقدمہ، سیدنا عمر (رضی اللہ عنہ) کا طرز حکومت اور سوانح عمری۔ جارج اورویل کی کتاب 1984  
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