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Policy, Practice and Professionalization

Ian P. Jones &
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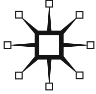

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Preface and Acknowledgements

Ian Jones writes: The genesis of this book can be traced back to the 'Languages at War' project of which I became aware when I was approached by Catherine Baker who interviewed me in March 2009 regarding linguistic support for NATO headquarters in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I subsequently attended the 'Languages at War' conference held at the Imperial War Museum in April 2011 where I met up again with Louise Askew who had been working with the 'Languages at War' team throughout the project. At the conference I also met the leaders of the project: Hilary Footitt and Michael Kelly, who subsequently encouraged me to write a book to relate my professional experiences. However, I felt this to be a daunting task because, although I had extensive experience of working as a linguist and as a manager of linguistic services, I had not been involved in any kind of academic research since I completed my studies in 1973. I therefore felt that it would be beneficial to write the book in collaboration with another author, in particular one who was au fait with the latest developments in historiography and translation studies. I was therefore delighted when Louise Askew (on the suggestion of the project leaders) agreed to work with me. Not only had she recently been awarded a doctorate by the University of Nottingham on the subject of the language policy of the international community in Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1995, but had worked harmoniously with me during her tenure as Chief of the SFOR Linguistic Services Branch. As well as relating her own experience, she was able to bring much-needed scientific rigour to the analysis and ordering of the material.

Louise Askew writes: When it was suggested to me that I write a book with Ian Jones, it seemed the most natural thing in the world to do given our professional experience, and I gladly agreed. Having recently completed a PhD, I also thought that it would be interesting (and less lonely) to write with somebody else, and even though writing with someone who lives in a different country has been a challenge, it has nevertheless been a rewarding experience. Having worked in and written on NATO's language service in Bosnia-Herzegovina, another motivation for getting involved with the project was to learn about the experiences of linguists at its other operational HQs.

Both authors write: We were ourselves actors in much of the material covered by this book. We have chosen to use the first person singular

when writing about our own experiences and also to make direct quotations whenever possible from interviews. Large parts of the book relate to Ian Jones' personal experience. The forms 'I, my' and so on generally denote Ian Jones, as indicated in the book. We hope that in this way we have avoided what Philip Ball calls the 'bloodlessness of the scientific literature, mostly stripped of adjectives and pronouns (especially the first person singular) and browbeaten into the passive voice' (2012: 398). That said, we are aware of the danger that the book could therefore be thought to contain merely anecdotal reminiscences. We have thus endeavoured to write as honestly and objectively as possible and to place the narrative in a structure and a context. We hope that our first-person involvement has however given us insights that would be more difficult for an outside observer to obtain.

Thanks to the wonders of modern technology, we were very fortunate to be able to interview, via Skype, 14 linguists who were directly affected by or involved in the changes that Ian Jones put in train. The interviews with various actors were all conducted by Louise Askew in order to allow them to express themselves more freely than might have been the case if they had been interviewed by Ian Jones, given that nearly all of them had been his direct or indirect subordinates. In fact one of our stock questions was to ask the linguists what they thought about his actions, so it was naturally better if a third party discussed this with them.

The narrative part of the book has mostly been written by Ian Jones and the commentaries and chapter introductions by Louise Askew, although both authors have reviewed or contributed to all parts of the book.

We would like to express our thanks to all the individuals who agreed to be interviewed. They all gave very generously of their time and we thank them for providing us with valuable insights which enriched our knowledge of a subject that we probably thought we knew everything about before we had even started – how wrong we were! A number of our interviewees wanted to remain anonymous, but the following gave us permission to use their real names: Michael Adubato, Kaber Alingary, Armend Bërlajolli, Vlora Braha, Gazmend Havolli, Audrey Philippe and Anida Tabaković Papenkort. The following names used in the book are pseudonyms: Hassan, Sadiq Khan, Tina Andrašić, Pierre Miquelon, Ahmad Mokri, Mustafa Nazari, Farhad Nawabi and Rashid Sadati.

We would also like to thank Hilary Footitt and Michael Kelly for having enough faith in us to encourage us to write the book. Last but far from least, we both wish to thank our spouses Evelyne Daix and Russell

Whiting, for their patience and support during the preparation and writing of this book. We are most grateful to Evelyne for reading all the final drafts and making many valuable comments and suggestions.

Ian P. Jones, Rixensart, Belgium
Louise Askew, Southwick, England

About the Authors

Ian P. Jones, now retired, is the former Head of the Linguistic Service at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), a position he held from 1989 to 2011. Born in Portsmouth, England, he was educated at the City of Bath Boys' School, the University of Salford (B.Sc. (Hons) in French, Spanish and subsidiary Italian) and the Instituto Caro y Cuervo (Diploma de linguística general) in Bogotá, Colombia. He worked as a freelance translator in Brussels from 1974 to 1976, when he joined the NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency in Luxembourg first as a translator, then a translator/interpreter and finally an interpreter/revisor before moving to SHAPE in 1989. While at SHAPE, as well as managing its Linguistic Service, he was responsible for coordinating the Allied Command Operations (ACO) Linguistic Services in both permanent and peace support headquarters. He also contributed extensively to the NATO Terminology Programme, representing ACO and chairing various working groups.

Louise Askew has been a professional translator, interpreter and revisor working between English and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian for, among others, the US Government, the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague and the NATO Stabilization Force HQ in Sarajevo where she set up and headed the translation and interpretation service from 2000 to 2004. In June 2011, she was awarded a PhD on the language policy of international organizations in post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina from the University of Nottingham. Apart from writing about her experiences at NATO's SFOR HQ in Bosnia-Herzegovina, she has also published on interpretation and translation at the International War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Most recently she contributed a chapter on her experiences working as an interpreter for the International Tribunal to the volume *Interrogation in War and Conflict* published in 2014. She is currently working as an interpreter for the International Committee of the Red Cross.

List of Abbreviations

AAP	Allied Administrative Publication
ABiH	Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina
ACCHAN	Allied Command Channel (abolished in 2003)
ACE	Allied Command Europe (abolished in 2003)
ACLANT	Allied Command Atlantic (abolished in 2003)
ACO	Allied Command Operations (created in 2003)
ACT	Allied Command Transformation (created in 2003)
AIA	Afghan Interim Authority
AIIC	Association internationale des interprètes de conférence (International Association of Conference Interpreters)
AJP	Allied Joint Publication
ALP	Afghan local police
AMIB	Allied Military Intelligence Battalion
ATP	Allied Tactical Publication
BiH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
BILC	Bureau for International Language Coordination
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
CIMIC	civil-military cooperation
COS	Chief of Staff
CPIC	Coalition Press Information Centre
CPO	civilian personnel officer
DOS	Director of Staff
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement (General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina)
DRC	Defence Reform Commission
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EIG	École d'interprètes de Genève (since 1972, École de traduction et d'interprétation (ETI))

ESIT	École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force
FIT	Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs (International Federation of Translators)
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
HQ	Headquarters
HVO	Hrvatsko vijeće obrane (Croatian Defence Council)
ICC	international civilian consultant
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IEC	International Electrotechnical Commission
IED	improvised explosive device
IFOR	Implementation Force (designation given to the first NATO force in Bosnia-Herzegovina)
IJC	ISAF Joint Command
INSCOM	US Army Intelligence and Security Command
IOL	Institute of Linguists
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (designation given to the NATO-led force in Afghanistan)
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
ITI	Institute of Translators and Interpreters
JFC	joint force command
JHQ	joint headquarters
JMC	Joint Military Commission
KAIA	Kabul International Airport
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KPC	Kosovo Protection Corps
KSF	Kosovo Security Force
LAN	local area network
LCH	local civilian hire

LDK	Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës (Democratic League of Kosovo)
LS	Linguistic Service
LSB	Linguistic Services Branch
MND	Multinational Division
MOD	Ministry of Defence
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NAMSA	NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCO	non-commissioned officer
NGO	non-governmental organization
NHQ	NATO headquarters
NSA	NATO Standardization Agency
NTMS	NATO Terminology Management System
NTO	NATO Terminology Office
NTP	NATO Terminology Programme
ODA	Operational Detachment Alpha (US Special Forces)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PIO	Public Information Office
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
PSO	peace support operation
PSYOPS	psychological operations
RAF	Royal Air Force
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SACT	Supreme Allied Commander Transformation
SFOR	Stabilization Force (successor to IFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina)
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (originally the headquarters of ACE then, from 2003, of ACO)
SOFA	status of forces agreement

SOP	Standing Operating Procedure
STANAG	standardization agreement
UN	United Nations
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force (UN force present in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the armed conflict)
UNSCR	UN Security Council Resolution
USD	US dollar
WEU	Western European Union

Introduction

This book could easily have been called 'How to Set Up a Language Service' giving, as it does, a nuts-and-bolts account of the language-related problems and challenges faced by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in its peace support operations since 1994 and the essentially practical responses that were formulated to resolve them. But that would be misleading because this book is so much more than that. It is about the development of NATO's language policy and how the organization has responded to the challenges that it has had to face since the end of the Cold War. NATO was established as a military alliance to defend Western Europe from the perceived threat of the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the latter, the Alliance found itself without a *raison d'être* and needing to adapt to the new security uncertainties of a world without the potential for superpower armed confrontation. The conflicts in the Balkans in the nineties demanded a response from the organization and at the end of 1995 NATO found itself embarking on its first peace support operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement. The conduct of this operation impacted in many ways on the organization and it had an inevitable effect on the way in which it considered language and the provision of linguistic services to its forces on the ground. Previously, the organization's policy was based on the provision of these services essentially in its two official languages – English and French – for its own internal purposes. This new peace support operation required NATO forces to operate in non-NATO states and to engage with members of their populations who spoke languages not commonly spoken beyond their borders. Moreover because of the extent of the operation, initially involving 60,000 force members, NATO was faced with having to provide linguistic services on a much larger scale than it had

done before. Subsequent peace support operations, first in Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania, and then in Afghanistan, brought new linguistic challenges.

In 1995, NATO did not have a formalized policy which would have dealt effectively with the language challenges it would face in its operations. In the absence of such a policy, responses to language challenges consisted of myriad decisions made on the ground with the aim of solving immediate problems (Kelly and Baker, 2013) and without a consistent, long-term approach to dealing with the communication challenges. It was not until much later, in 2011, that practices on the ground were formalized in a NATO doctrine on linguistic support for operations. This book is about how NATO reached that point and how it dealt with language problems and challenges on the way.

These language issues are considered through the lens of the long and unique career of Ian Jones, head of the Linguistic Service of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) from 1989 to 2011. He was instrumental in formalizing procedures related to linguistic service provision in the three theatres and has arguably been the most influential actor in the development of the doctrine. Because Ian Jones' NATO career began in 1976, his professional narrative provides us with a longer view of the language policy formulation process. We are able, through his eyes, to see not only the developments in language policy since the end of the Cold War but also the systems that NATO developed until that time to ensure effective communication between its member nations. His long career trajectory therefore gives us an invaluable context in which to explore the entire process of language policy formulation in a major international organization. Indeed, given its sweep, this book represents the first scholarly attempt to present such a detailed account of the mechanics of language policy formulation in an international organization and is a valuable contribution to the field.

The book takes a chronological approach, examining first of all the development of NATO language policy during the Cold War and the growing dominance of English as its working language. It then looks at Ian Jones' experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia (for HQ SFOR) and moves on to explore his subsequent actions in Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania (for HQ KFOR) and Afghanistan (at HQ ISAF). It culminates with consideration of NATO's doctrine on linguistic support which was adopted in 2011 shortly before Ian Jones retired from the organization.

Translation and interpretation as the focus of language policy

Language policy study is generally placed in the field of socio-linguistics, which underscores the links between policy and the influences on it of social and societal factors and circumstances. In this book we suggest that translation and interpretation should also be seen in this way. In charting the development of a language policy for operations through our focus on the provision of translation and interpretation services, we show that a language policy is not a purely institutional one to facilitate operations within a particular organization but one that must take into consideration the social, political and cultural circumstances outside of it.

Since its beginnings in the 1950s, language policy scholarship has developed into a wide-ranging field of inquiry. Originally, there was a tendency to view language policy formulation as an activity carried out at the state level by 'politicians, statesmen or policy-making bodies' (Cobarrubias, 1983: 62), but over time it has been recognized that there can be language policy at and across many different levels of society and in various settings (Johnson, 2013). When we think about policy, we tend to imagine one that is written down, formulated in advance and implemented from the top down. However, the scholarship demonstrates that in many cases language policy is not formulated in this way. As Bernard Spolsky points out, 'Many countries, institutions and social groups do not have formal or written language policies, so that the nature of their language policy must be derived from a study of their language practice or beliefs' (2005: 2153). Because NATO did not have a formalized language policy for operations, we follow Spolsky by looking at its practice as regards language issues during its peace support operations and trace the decision-making process that eventually culminated in the promulgation of a doctrine for linguistic support in operations.

This decision-making process was dependent to a great extent on the actions of one man. By concentrating on his personal narrative as he explains the language problems he encountered on the ground and the solutions he devised to resolve them, we are constantly aware that the policy-making process is not a dry paper exercise but one that relies on the actions of individuals and is influenced by their personal experiences. Thus, the views and approach of a linguist with many years' experience in an international organization informed the way in which he tackled the language challenges in NATO's peace support operations. The fluidity and flexibility of the language policy formulation process

are also evident in the way in which Ian Jones' thinking evolved while tackling the specific problems that he encountered in each theatre of operations.

This book contributes further to our understanding of language policy formulation by looking at the ways in which language issues are dealt with by an international military organization in the specific environment of peace support operations. The aim of all its decisions on language use was to establish effective communication with the local populations, thereby facilitating operations. The book therefore focuses on translation and interpretation as the means by which NATO forces communicated with the members of the local population they encountered on the ground. It looks at a wide range of aspects of the provision of language services in operations, from the organization and supervision of linguists to their recruitment, training and retention. It discusses issues, such as security and trust, that are particularly relevant to interpreters and translators working in a conflict or post-conflict environment and examines the outside cultural and social pressures on NATO's attempts to communicate effectively with local people. As we shall see, failure to take into consideration social and cultural conditions may not only make communication less effective but also have devastating and even fatal consequences.

Although our focus is on the specific context of an international military organization, many of the issues that NATO grappled with during its peace support operations were common to the numerous international actors present in the same areas. In all three theatres there were myriad organizations ranging from major international organizations such as the UN and OSCE to smaller NGOs such as World Vision, all of which had the same need to communicate effectively with the local populations that they were there to support. Like NATO they would all have faced, for example, the problem of having to find suitably qualified local people to work as interpreters and translators. The solutions that Ian Jones found to these kinds of issues should therefore be of interest both to readers concerned with how organizations in general operate in conflict and post-conflict environments and to those who might be called upon to set up similar operations in the future.

Our investigation of interpretation and translation practices during NATO's peace support operations is preceded by a discussion of NATO's language policy prior to these operations. Before the 1990s, NATO's language policy was concerned with facilitating communication among its member states, particularly during multinational operations involving their forces. In this context English became the language of

interoperability and we discuss the language policy actions that were taken to support this process. Additionally, we consider the way in which linguistic services were structured and organized at the NATO HQ level in light of the post-Second World War professionalization of the pursuits of translation and interpretation and the development of modern technology. These discussions provide the background to our investigation of the development of linguistic services for operations which make up the bulk of the book.

In each of the three theatres of operation dealt with in this book, there is a particular language issue that needs to be addressed in NATO's dealings with the local population. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, NATO is working in an environment where, put most simply, the single language that existed before the conflict of the nineties has become three mutually intelligible languages which provide an important identity marker for each of the three main ethnic groups in the post-Dayton state. It has therefore been important to ensure that communication with members of the local population is mediated in the correct language taking into consideration the slight differences between them. In Kosovo, the two official languages are Albanian and Serbian – which are very different from each other – but difficulties also arise from the need to use the correct dialect of Albanian, of which there are two. In Afghanistan, the provision of linguistic services has had to shift focus from using predominantly Dari to using Dari and Pashto (both official languages of the state) to a more equal extent. These differences need to be accommodated when formulating policy as does the fact that NATO was operating in three different kinds of environment. In Bosnia-Herzegovina the situation was one of post-conflict, in Kosovo the conflict is not wholly resolved and in Afghanistan the conflict is to all intents and purposes still ongoing. Policy and practice must take into consideration all these different circumstances.

The 'cultural turn' in translation and interpretation studies in recent years has meant that scholarship has paid more attention to the experiences and attitudes of translators and interpreters themselves rather than solely to the written or oral text. Feminist translation theory, for example, highlights the importance of the gender-based agency of the feminist translator in the translation process (Simon, 1996). Moreover, while translation studies scholars were originally preoccupied with literary translation, in recent years there has been increasing consideration of issues to do with translation in a wide range of other settings, such as online media translation and film subtitling. Similarly, in interpretation studies there is scholarship on the experiences of interpreters working in

various settings such as immigration interviews (Inghilleri and Harding, 2010), health-care settings (Angelelli, 2004; Davidson, 2010) and courts of law (Berk-Seligson, 2002). Most recently there has been increasing attention paid to translation and interpretation in a conflict and post-conflict environment (Stahuljak, 2000; Baker, 2006; Bos and Soeters, 2006; Dragović Drouet, 2007; Inghilleri and Harding, 2010; Kelly and Baker, 2013). Indeed, the present book is being published in a series entitled 'Languages at War' which resulted from a research project that focused on language policy and practice in two different post-conflict situations: Europe after the Second World War and Bosnia-Herzegovina after the conflicts that broke up the former Yugoslavia. Similarly, outside the academic community, professional organizations, such as AIIC (International Association of Conference Interpreters) and the non-profit advocacy organization Red T, have in recent years been raising awareness of the challenges and problems faced by interpreters and translators operating in conflict zones. For example, in 2012, these organizations, along with FIT (International Federation of Translators), published a field guide for civilian linguists working in a conflict zone and the users of their services.[1]

With this increasing attention on the subjectivity of an interpreter or translator and how it informs the interpretation and translation process, there now seems to be growing dialogue between theorists and practitioners. Previously, practitioners working in international organizations and with non-literary texts felt that they were ignored by translation and interpretation studies scholars who had in turn nothing to offer them in practising their craft. It is now becoming clearer that practitioners have much to contribute to the field of translation and interpretation studies and the gulf between theory and practice narrows as practitioners become researchers themselves. After all, as translation scholar Basil Hatim points out, a practitioner/researcher is 'someone who possesses not only craft knowledge but also analytical knowledge. This would ensure that problems are properly identified and appropriate solutions proposed and duly explained' (2001: 7).

The present book is written unashamedly from a practitioner's point of view. Both the authors have been professional linguists with many years of experience working for international organizations. Not only do we use the career of one of them as the framework for the book's narrative but we have also sought to bring in the voices of other linguists who have been and continue to be involved in the developments elucidated in this book. We were able to interview linguists employed in the three different theatres of operations and their supervisors, as

well as others who led training for them or were language testers. Our intention was to paint a more nuanced and detailed picture of the issues and challenges involved in translating and interpreting for an international military organization in a conflict or post-conflict environment. By incorporating the experiences and views of others who were directly affected by the changes that Ian Jones put in motion, we hope that we have enriched the scholarship on the experiences of interpreters and translators in such environments.

A certain amount of scholarship already exists about the experiences of linguists working for international military forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia (Bos and Soeters, 2006; Askew and C. Baker, 2010; Footitt and Kelly, 2012a, 2012b; Kelly and C. Baker, 2013). In the present volume we have built on this and incorporated the experiences of linguists also working for NATO forces in Kosovo and Afghanistan. There is little scholarship concerning these cohorts of linguists and we believe that the material from their interviews that we have incorporated in the text will make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the lives and professional experiences of linguists working in these theatres. In light of this we have attempted to give voice to them by providing extended excerpts from some of the interviews.

The interviews were semi-structured. We asked all our interviewees the same questions about their personal backgrounds and professional experience but tailored subsequent questions to each interviewee depending on the role they played in the events detailed in this book. This meant that our interviewees could highlight different aspects of their lives and work. It was striking, for example, that in our conversations regarding ISAF operations, many of our interviewees brought up cultural differences as an important consideration in their work, as well as the dangers of living and working in Afghanistan. There are always differences in culture between nations, even when they speak the same language. For NATO and partner nation personnel coming into a country, how far they perceive the gulf to be between their own culture and that of the host country can be significant. The perceived leap to understanding Afghan culture seems to have been far greater than in the Balkans and this may account for some of our interviewees' greater emphasis on cultural differences. We therefore decided to devote more space to these issues in the three chapters that deal with ISAF. Our intention was also to portray the linguists as individuals with diverse backgrounds and experiences and to report their own personal narratives because these narratives feed into their professional lives and it is important to understand them when considering the linguists' place in the entire organization of peace support operations.

This book is intended not only for those readers interested in translation and interpretation and language policy but also for those scholars and practitioners with an interest in the military and security aspects of peace support operations. We maintain that effective linguistic support is crucial for the success of operations and should be seen as an essential element of planning and mounting operations. This book, in essence, explains how this should be done and our hope is that it will also be of use to non-linguist practitioners involved in any future peace support operations.

The book is divided into 11 chapters. The first two chapters provide background to the subsequent discussion. Chapter 1 gives a brief overview of NATO language policy from its beginnings in 1949 until 1994 which marked the beginning of NATO's involvement in peace support operations. This chapter also outlines the way in which language services are organized at NATO Headquarters and the expectations placed on linguists at this level. Chapter 2 discusses the rise of English as NATO's working language and language of interoperability which facilitated communication between national forces during operations.

The next four deal with NATO operations in the Balkans. In Chapter 3, Ian Jones discusses his first fact-finding trips to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and gives his impressions of the situation he encountered on the ground. He also sets out his proposed plan for professionalizing the language service which became the blueprint for subsequent similar actions at KFOR and ISAF. The next chapter concerns the experiences of Louise Askew who was recruited by Jones to lead the new centralized SFOR Linguistic Services Branch. Here she highlights the practical challenges of implementing Jones' plan. Chapter 5 deals with Jones' experiences in KFOR and compares the situation that he encountered in this theatre with the conditions he found at SFOR. In this chapter he also explains how language support was organized at KFOR's two satellite headquarters in Skopje and Tirana. In Chapter 6, we hear from KFOR linguists and their experiences of the plan that Jones proposed to improve linguistic services, particularly concerning training and other actions taken to further the professionalization of the KFOR Linguistic Service. The chapter concludes by summing up the experiences detailed in this and the previous chapter.

The next three chapters deal with ISAF HQ. In Chapter 7, drawing on an interview with an experienced NATO linguist who spent two short periods at ISAF HQ in 2003 and 2004, we look at the way in which the language service was set up at the beginning of NATO's full engagement in Afghanistan. Here we see that there were similarities with the