COPING WITH NEOLOGISMS IN ENGLISH/ARABIC

TRANSLATION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the strategies Arab translators use when dealing with English new terms (neologisms) that do not readily have apparent equivalents in Arabic. The techniques or strategies, which will be identified in the process of this investigation, may be considered as basic parameters or elements to bear in mind when designing training programs and delivering the actual training of future Arab translators.

Neologisms are vital to the development of any language since they are important mechanisms for generating new lexemes that cater for terminological evolution. Neologisms ensure that languages develop in a lively and effective ways in order to cope with the needs of different language communities. This is all part of linguistic creativity manifested by the morphology of a language.

Neologisms, thus, form an interesting field of research in translation for the challenges they create in the process of transfer from one language to another. In English/Arabic translation, neologisms and procedures or strategies to render them are sadly neglected. The literature on neology is sparse, and there is not a clear and practical set of strategies for the translator to use when dealing with neologisms.

In the present study, two research tools are employed to increase the validity of the conclusions reached and thus enhance the credibility of the findings. The first tool of investigation is the survey study where a set of English neologisms in their contextual occurrences along with a set of term creation strategies determined a priori is presented to a group of professional translators. The subjects (translators) are asked to read the neologisms and to select the strategy that they would most probably choose if they were to translate them into Arabic. To enhance the sample representativity and data credibility a second tool of investigation is included. Journal articles from well known magazines are examined along with their translations. They are selected to cover different areas of interest such as political, economic, scientific, technical, and social areas.

The findings are carefully analyzed and the results regarding which strategies are thought to be most appropriate have yielded valuable insights into how, in their translations into Arabic, professional translators actually handle neologisms to best effect.
It is concluded that, contrary to common belief, some of the strategies employed to render English neologisms, like Derivation and Metaphor, are used more often than strategies like Arabicization and Omission.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Neologisms are words or phrases that have been recently coined often to apply to new or pre-existing concepts. They can also be older terminologies which have been reformulated to be more contemporary. Neologisms are especially useful in identifying inventions, new phenomena, or older ideas that have taken on new cultural contexts. The
term ‘neologism’ was itself a neologism it was coined around 1800. Neologisms form a highly relevant linguistic category for a number of reasons – they are the elements that make a language dynamic, they indicate language change, they form a serious challenge in translation situations, and they show the morphological productivity of a language.

1.1 Importance of the Research Area

In today’s world, information is central to almost all activities. The amount of new information created and used in the present information age surpasses the accumulative amount of information produced in past ages. Therefore, we find ourselves face to face with the huge task of creating new names and labels for hundreds of new concepts, products and processes.

Since translation is an act of communication involving different personal, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, translators often have to produce innovative solutions to conceptual and linguistic discrepancies, one of which is the phenomenon of ‘neologism’. A translator who seeks faithful and successful transference of information has to keep up with the changes that occur in today’s society and culture. In this sense, translators need to update themselves continuously with neologisms that represent new processes, and products. Moreover, they need to acquire expertise, such as translational skills and techniques to deal with neologisms.

In Arabic, as in any other importing or consuming language, translation of neologisms is not a process of direct transference from one language to another. Due to their recency and importance, neologisms require certain translation procedures. Underestimation of this linguistic category in the past has yielded many wrong translations of important concepts and processes that have become deeply rooted in today’s Arabic. Many Arabic websites and publications (either original Arabic or translated versions) have translated or transliterated English neologisms in a way that conveyed nothing or wrong concepts such as the translation of hacking as قرصنة = piracy (PC magazine) which deals with one meaning of hacking only. The transliteration of Bluetooth as بلوتوث (PC magazine) is practically meaningless to the average Arabic reader. Another example of a meaningless translation is the translation of Coca-
Colonization as ﻣﺟﻠﺔ اﻟﻌﻠوم (ﭒ إﺳﺗﻌﻣﺎر اﻟﻛوآا). Such mistranslations do not help the reader to grasp the notion which the neologism labels. Ultimately, they do not contribute anything meaningful to the development of the Arabic language, which instead keeps it revolving like a satellite in the orbit of the more productive languages.

1.2 Significance of the Present Research

As illustrated above, neology is a very important lexical category due to many reasons including most importantly ensuring that language continuously evolves. Many language scholars have recognized the vitality which neology and neologisms lend to their languages, and started to investigate and analyze the phenomenon identifying patterns and categories of neologisms and working out methods and principles to deal with and convey them. Among the first approaches to neologisms was H. W. & F. G. Fowler’s section on literary and scientific neologism in their book The King’s English (1906). These authors tried to define and specify the phenomenon through examples of the neologisms of the time.

Another attempt to define the phenomenon is Alain Rey’s (1975/1995) who concludes that there are no objective criteria for being a neologism. Rey states that, for a long time, the concept of neology was considered as a psychopathic formation of words. He further lists many definitions that contribute to this view, including definitions of the phenomenon by well known dictionaries such as Merriam Webster’s dictionary, which until now lists a definition of neologism as “a meaningless word coined by a psychotic.”

From a literary point of view, André Lefevre sees neologisms as “new words [that] are variations on existing words or combinations of parts of existing words” (Lefevre 1992: 41). Lefevre’s definition is slightly problematic as it is concerned with the diachronic and derivational sides of the phenomenon. Perhaps it is the literary view of the phenomenon that affected the definition.

Peter Newmark’s (1988/2000) has another, rather different interpretation of neologism. His account can be subsumed under the linguistic paradigm since he defines neologisms as “newly coined lexical units or existing lexical units that acquire a new sense” (Newmark 1988/2000: 140). Newmark provides a list of different types of
neologisms, which although concise and clear, raise many questions concerning the criteria for the identification of a neologism.

Another contribution to the effort of defining the phenomenon comes from Maria Teresa Cabré (1999). She formulates four “parameters” or criteria to identify a neologism: a psychological criterion, a lexicographic criterion, a diachronic criterion, and a criterion based on a word exhibiting systematic signs of formal or semantic instability (Cabré 1999: 205). In spite of the fact that none of these criteria alone can identify the phenomenon in question satisfactorily, as Cabré herself admits, the combination of all criteria can, in fact, serve to formulate a multidimensional definition of neologisms. Arabic research to date has not tackled the phenomenon of neology extensively or elaborately. Most Arabic translation research in general, and the research into terminology in particular, deal with the surface of the phenomenon as being one of the many processes of term creation. Although recognized as a process, neology, in Arabic translation studies, is not identified as a field of research yet. This can be demonstrated simply by the distinct lack of research works on neology in Arabic language. Moreover, modern Arab translators tend to be monotypic when dealing with foreign neologisms (especially English). The method mostly used for transferring neologisms into Arabic seems to be transliteration as in the word nano in nanophysics and eco in financialescosystem, which are translated as ﻟّاﻧو and إﻛوﻟوﺟﻲ respectively. Consequently, the lack of rigorous investigation has marginalized the phenomenon in the process of designing curricula and training translation/interpreting trainees.

The present research attempts to identify the strategies actually used by contemporary Arab translators in translating English neologisms into Arabic. These strategies can help in setting parameters for the training of future translators, opening new avenues of research in translation and terminology, varying the methods employed to present neologisms in Arabic, and establishing a basis on which new words emerge to serve the urgent needs of different language communities.

1.3 Thesis Map

To achieve the aim of the present research work, two different tools are
employed. The first is a survey study, the second is the examination of English texts translated into Arabic for various types of neologisms and determining the actual strategies used in the translation.

The survey took the form of a questionnaire that is designed with clear instructions for those being surveyed. In order to identify the neologisms to be included in the questionnaire, Cabré’s multidimensional approach was adopted. This has helped in searching relevant websites for neologisms and in verifying them.

As for translation strategies, a set of term creation procedures used by old Arab translators are redeployed. These procedures were devised by those professional translators ages ago.

The second tool of investigation is the examination of English journal articles and their translations to identify neologisms and their translation strategies. The texts are taken from different well-known magazines covering different areas such as scientific, technical, political, economic and social areas. Here, the researcher found both Cabré’s multidimensional approach and Newmark’s taxonomy of neologisms of great assistance to identify and verify neologisms. Newmark’s taxonomy also helped in identifying the procedures employed to render neologisms.

The findings are scientifically analyzed using Microsoft Excel computer software to calculate the sums and percentages and to draw necessary charts in order to identify the strategies used in actual translation situations. The strategies extracted are organized on the basis of the frequency of use and percentage received by each strategy. A list of strategies of translating English neologisms to Arabic was then drawn up based on the results of the survey study and the examination of the texts.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One introduces the thesis and argues that neology is an important linguistic category which is marginalized in Arabic translation studies, where it is considered just another procedure of term creation. The Chapter also discusses the issue of translating English neologisms into Arabic and the distinct lack of research works and systematic investigations in a field that requires special attention and specific translational skills.
Chapter Two introduces the most prominent and influential translation models through a historical transition of translation from a practice to a field of study. The Chapter focuses on relevant notions such as equivalence and translation strategy starting with the well-known theories of Catford’s translation shifts, Nida’s dynamic equivalence and Newmark’s communicative approach. Translation strategies is another important issue that was handled innovatively by Vinay and Darbelnet in 1958. Their approach influenced many scholars and translation schools such as the Prague Circle. Other issues discussed include translation function with Reiss’s text type approach and Nord’s text analysis. The important notions of discourse, register and genre are presented in details through discussing key approaches in this area such as House’s model of translation quality assessment, Baker’s pragmatic analysis and Hatim and Mason’s semiotic approach.

Chapter Three presents an overview of the notion of neology. In order to define the phenomenon, several translation theories dedicated to the definition and identification of the phenomenon are discussed in this chapter. Alain Rey’s definition, which appeared in 1975, is taken as the first detailed account of the notion. Although severely criticized by many, Rey’s approach opened the door widely for further research in this area. Other approaches like Boulanger’s multidimensional view, Lefevre’s literary approach and Newmark’s rather linguistic account are discussed. Cabré’s approach is seen to be the most important, relevant and detailed approach to neology and it is, therefore, discussed elaborately for its multidimensional and comprehensive identification of the concept.

Chapter Four is the core of the present thesis as it deals with the investigation done and the results obtained. The chapter opens with a short illustration of the methodology adopted and the work plan made. The chapter then demonstrates the two tools used in the research, explains them separately, illustrates and discusses the results of each tool alone with charts showing the probabilities for better understanding of the work done. The chapter concludes with an illustration and discussion of the results obtained.

In Chapter Five, conclusions based on the present research work are drawn demonstrating the value of the findings and further discussing the results obtained along
with implications of such findings in both educational and professional domains. The chapter also incorporates some suggestions and recommendations for implementation of the findings and for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Translation is as ancient as language. It was the first tool of communication between groups of people of different tongues. Translation is needed in different times and situations, in times of peace and in times of war. It is present in every verbal interactive setting whether political, commercial, or intellectual. Translation is a critical tool of communication. A mistranslation may set off a conflict, and an accurate translation can bring a resolution.

The proper study and theory of translation emerged only after the second half of the twentieth century. Before that, the study of translation consisted only of personal remarks mostly on translation as a product. Some European theorists go as far as suggesting that translation theory actually existed in ancient European empires, mainly the Roman Empire. In particular, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 to 43 BC) and Horace (65 to 8 BC) are considered to have started translation as a discipline (Malmkjær 2005: 1). This is supported by the fact that Cicero’s writings as well as Horace’s were among the first writings about translation that are still in existence and had a significant impact on the development of translation as a study and activity.

2.1 Modern Translation Studies

2.1.1 Linguistic Translation Studies

Many translators and translation theorists agree that the second half of the twentieth century is the time when translation studies was born as an independent and systematic field of study. The 1950s and 1960s witnessed the true departure of translation research from the dry lands of the literal vs. free debate. Munday (2001: 35) explains that more systematic and scientific analyses marked the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century. Issues that are more important are now on the table; however, these issues would not go beyond the linguistic terrain. Key linguistic issues like equivalence
and meaning are the center of attraction for decades to come and will make a good feast for translation researchers.

The pioneering figure in the area of equivalence is the Russian-born American structuralist Roman Jakobson. His 1959 essay ‘On the Linguistic Aspects of Translation’ and in particular his statement that “Equivalence in difference is the cardinal problem of language and the pivotal concern of linguistics”, and that, “like any receiver of verbal messages, the linguist acts as their interpreter” (Jakobson 1959/2000: 114) have inspired many researchers to examine the new concept.

2.1.1.1 Equivalence

2.1.1.1.1 Catford’s Textual Substitution

Equivalence and meaning became the focus of attention for translation studies for decades. After Jakobson’s statement, equivalence was tackled in many different ways. One of the first attempts to investigate the concept of equivalence in a scientific manner was made in England by J. C. Catford (1965). Although heavily criticized and even described as “of mere historical interest.” (Snell-Horby 1995: 15), Catford’s theory is a pioneering study in this field. It might be appropriate to note here that Catford bases his theory on Halliday’s 1961 linguistic model, which is an early version of the semantic functional grammar (Malmkjær 2005: 22).

To Catford, equivalence is a matter of replacing “textual material” in a language with an equivalent “textual material” in another language (Snell-Horby 1995: 15). In his book Teaching and Researching Translation (2001), Hatim explains that Catford’s use of “substitution” in his definition of translation as “a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another” (Hatim 2001: 14) is important and should not be overlooked. In the process of translation, substitution aims at ‘replacing’ the meaning of an SL element with that of a TL and not ‘transferring’ meaning. The substituted element can, presumably, function in the same way in a given situation as the SL meaning (Hatim 2001: 14). This is attained through what Catford calls formal correspondence (to be distinguished from what Catford calls “textual equivalence”). Thus, formal correspondence means:
Adhering closely to the linguistic form of the source text. It covers formal relationships which exist when ‘a TL category can be found which occupies the “same” place in the “economy” of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL.
(Hatim 2001: 15)
This means that translation is possible through replacing an SL adjective, adverb or preposition, for example, with one of the same category (adjective, adverb and preposition) in the TL. However, Catford suggests that wherever formal correspondence proves unworkable, “textual equivalence” is the answer. This refers to:
Any TL text or portion of text which is observed on a particular occasion ... to be the equivalent of a given SL text or portion of text.
(Hatim 2001: 15)
Beside the scientific and analytic nature of his approach to translation, Catford made an undeniable contribution to translation studies, which is the notion of untranslatability that incorporated features beyond the linguistic realm, features that are considered contextual and communicative such as function, context, culture, situation and relevance. Such features will form critical issues in future translation studies. Malmkjær (2005) explains Catford’s notion of untranslatability in terms of distinction he makes between two types of untranslatability: (1) linguistic untranslatability and (2) cultural untranslatability. However, he still prefers to limit untranslatability to the linguistic level justifying that by arguing that it is always easier to describe a language than a culture (Malmkjær 2005: 27-28).
2.1.1.1.2 Nida’s Dynamic Equivalence
Another influential approach to the study of equivalence is the scientific model proposed by the American Bible translator and theorist Eugene Nida. Nida’s views of equivalence have influenced the field of translation studies and have, in the process, raised much opposition up to the present day. His theory was derived mostly from his actual practice of translation since the 1940s, especially when he was translating, and organizing the translation, of the Bible.
Although linguistically oriented, Nida’s theory included many textual and contextual factors such as society, culture and relations between languages, which broadened the scope of translation studies (Hatim 2001: 18). His views on translation and hence his theory was based on the response of the TT receptor as he states, “the older focus in translating was the message... the new focus, however, has shifted from the form of the message to the response of the receptor” (cited in Fawcett 1997: 56).

According to Hatim (2001), there are two assumptions which marked this type of response research, and Nida’s is not an exception. The first is the universality not practicality in making statements and assumptions about translation and translatability, a principle formulated by Nida as follows: “anything which can be said in one language can be said in another, unless the form is an essential element of the message” (Hatim 2001: 18). The second assumption relates to the communicative approach invested in the translation process where the receptor’s response, and not the ST linguistics, is the focal point (Hatim 2001: 18).

On this basis, Nida established his concepts of ‘dynamic equivalence’ and ‘formal equivalence’. The latter indicates, Nida argues, that the translator’s main concern is the original message’s form and content. The translator should focus on producing a text in the receptor’s language that “should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language.” (Nida 1964: 159). Dynamic equivalence, on the other hand, is based on what Nida calls ‘the principle of equivalent effect’. It simply means that the translator should reproduce an effect on TT reader (receptor) ‘equivalent’ (or similar) to the effect of that which the original message has on the ST reader (receptor) (Nida 1964: 159).

Nida further explains that the TL message should suit the TT receptor’s linguistic needs and cultural expectations and that the translator should aim at ‘naturalness of expression’, which is very important in Nida’s opinion (Nida 1964: 166). Munday (2001) argues that dynamic equivalence is not an absolute concept, and Nida is aware of that, due to the problems between “traditional notions of content and form” (Munday 2001: 42) and the difficulty of resolving them. But in order to achieve equivalent effect, Nida
sees that priority should be given to equivalence of meaning over equivalence of style (Munday 2001: 42).

Nida’s influence on translation research and theory is undeniable. His views and concepts drew the first border lines of translation studies as a discipline and managed to bring translation research into the scientific era. His work has been influential on many subsequent distinguished figures in translation studies like Peter Newmark, Werner Koller and others.

2.1.1.1.3 Newmark’s Communicative Translation

Peter Newmark is another important figure in translation studies. His books Approaches to Translation (1981) and A Textbook of Translation (1988/1991) are still used as mandatory reading in many translation training courses around the world. As Munday (2001) rightfully puts it, Newmark follows Nida’s general framework, but not his exact model, Newmark attempts to avoid the principle of equivalent effect, considering it “illusory” (Munday 2001: 44) and “inoperant if the text is out of TL space and time” (ibid). To distance himself from Nida’s receptor oriented model, Newmark argues that the “gap between emphasis on source and target language will always remain as the overriding problem in translation theory and practice” (ibid). Newmark’s suggestion to bridge the gap is to replace the terminologies of Nida’s model (i.e. formal, dynamic equivalence) with ones of his own creation. These are ‘semantic’ and ‘communicative’ translation, defined in the following terms:

Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original. Semantic translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original.

(Newmark 1982: 39)

In examining Newmark’s definitions of these terms, it can be noted that his communicative translation does not depart much from Nida’s dynamic equivalence, in that they both seek to produce an effect on the TT reader similar, or as close as possible,
to that produced on the ST reader. Semantic translation also mirrors Nida’s formal equivalence. However, by distancing himself from the Nida’s controversial principle of equivalent effect, Newmark spares himself the fierce criticisms that Nida’s model receives. Nevertheless, semantic translation is set apart from literal translation (or word-for-word translation) as it reckons with context (Newmark 1982: 63). This does not mean that he denies the role of literal translation, as in dealing with both communicative and semantic translation; he admits the literal word-for-word translation “is the only valid method of translation” (Newmark 1982: 39) provided that equivalence of effect is already established.

In spite of his contributions to the emerging field of translation studies and translation research and training, Newmark has received criticism for being prescriptive rather than descriptive in his language and evaluations. Interestingly, this is a quality which he himself opposes in the writings in and about translation in what he calls the “pre-linguistic era” of translation studies.

2.1.1.4 The German School

Nida’s scientific approach to translation research has had an impact on models of translation developed in different parts of the world. One sphere of influence is Germany (the two republics before 1989 reunion) where Nida’s views had a considerable influence on the direction of translation research. Among those influenced by his approach are Wolfarm Wilss, Otto Kade, Albert Neubert and Werner Koller (Munday 2001: 46). Wener Koller’s work on the pragmatics of translation is by far the most important. The importance of Koller’s work stems from his close examination of the concept of equivalence in relation to correspondence, with the former related to the field of translation studies, while the latter to contrastive linguistics. Koller stresses that although knowledge of correspondence marks one’s competence in the foreign language, “it is knowledge and ability in equivalence that are indicative of competence in translation” (Munday 2001: 47). The second important feature of Koller’s work is to do with classifying equivalence in terms of types, or levels as Hatim (2001) calls them. Hatim explains that Koller managed to establish a ‘framework of equivalence’ as a consequence
of a double-linkage to source and target texts (Hatim 2001: 28). It is important to note that, according to Koller, equivalence in translation is attainable at any level or at all following levels of this framework:

- SL and TL words having similar orthographic or phonological features (formal equivalence);
- SL and TL words referring to the same thing in the real world (referential or denotative equivalence);
- SL and TL words triggering the same or similar associations in the minds of speakers of the two languages;
- SL and TL words being used in the same or similar contexts in their respective languages (text-normative equivalence);
- SL and TL words having the same effect on their respective readers (pragmatic or dynamic equivalence).

(Hatim 2001: 28)

This ‘framework of equivalence’ can be compared to another scholar’s typology, namely that proposed by Otto Kade in his scheme of ‘equivalence types’. Kade’s system includes four types of equivalence: one-to-one equivalence, when complete identity is found; One-to-many correspondence achieved when a single SL expression has more than one equivalent in the TL; One-to-part-of-one correspondence, attained when the TL expression indicates only part of the concept designated by a single SL expression, and nil-equivalence when the SL expression has no counterpart in the TL (Snell-Hornby 1995: 20).

2.1.1.5 Equivalence Continues

The notion of equivalence never lost spark; it remained the center of attention throughout the 1970s and beyond. Many translation and applied linguistics scholars found it controversial and in need of further investigation. Chesterman, for example, asserts the importance of equivalence by stating its position as a “central concept in translation theory” (Munday 2001: 49). Susan Bassnett, in her 1991 book Translation Studies, puts her views about equivalence in a section dealing with the problems of the
notion itself, how theorists approached it from a linguistic and other perspectives. She considers linguistic equivalence as the most basic and non-problematic kind of equivalence, suggesting that “[…] Once the translator moves away from close linguistic equivalence, the problems of determining the exact nature of the level of equivalence aimed for begin to emerge” (Bassnett 1991: 25).

Mona Baker, in her book In Other Words (1992), tackles the notion of equivalence in a more detailed and systematic fashion. Starting with the word level, Baker arranges types of equivalence according to the levels of word, grammar, text and pragmatics, justifying her approach by recognizing that many factors can affect equivalence such as linguistic and cultural factors.

Although marginalized nowadays, as Munday (2001) argues, equivalence remains a central issue to translation study and practice (Munday 2001: 50). Although many aspects of the notion are exhausted through research, many facets remain to be discovered.

2.1.1.2 Translation Strategies

2.1.1.2.1 Vinay and Darbelnet’s Taxonomy

At about the same period as that in which ‘equivalence’ was the center of attention, another major contribution to translation studies was in the making. This time it was about the translation process where many scholars attempted to propose detailed lists of translation procedures or techniques. Among the better-known classifications is Vinay and Darbelnet’s list of translation techniques. Fawcett (1997) points out that this model is based on two elements. First is the use of notions from Saussurean linguistics, such as langue/ parole, signifier/ signified, “the structuring of language at the level of grammar, lexis” (Fawcett 1997: 34) and ‘message’ (a meaning of the concept of their own creation). The second element is to do with the fact that each individual language has a “spirit” which directs that language to express itself in a certain way (ibid). Such a concept came to be disparaged later on by later commentators accusing its users of incorporating folk factors in their scientific study.

In spite of criticism, Vinay and Darbelnet’s model deserves a closer look as it
constitutes an important mark in the history of translation studies. The original idea of the two authors is to distinguish between two types (or strategies) of translation: direct translation and oblique translation (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 31). By examining their definitions, it is possible to draw a kind of analogy between Vinay and Darbelnet's dichotomy and the old one of ‘literal’ vs. ‘free’ translation respectively (Munday 2001: 56). However, Vinay and Darbelnet put forward a detailed list of seven techniques. Their list includes ‘borrowing’, ‘calque’, ‘literal translation’, ‘transposition’, ‘modulation’, ‘equivalence’ and ‘adaptation’.

1. Borrowing is when the SL word form is transferred to the TL without changing it, except the writing code (or alphabet). This happens when the TL lacks the linguistic equivalent for that SL form. Other reasons for borrowing can be political, or as Vinay and Darbelnet put it, “to create a stylistic effect” (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 32). For example, the Russian term “perestroika” was borrowed into English and still used to indicate a certain era, the English word ethnic is borrowed to Arabic as إثنى.

2. Calque: This is “a special kind of borrowing” (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 32), which occurs at phrase level, e.g. the English term “science-fiction” used in French as it is, the English phrases like money-laundering, rush hour and skyscraper are imposed on Arabic as ساعة النزوة, غسيل أموال and ناطحة سحاب respectively. Another example is the ball is in their court now = الكرة في ملعبهم الآن.

3. Literal translation: This indicates word-for-word translation which the two authors state as being the most common between closely related languages in terms of origin and culture. Vázquez-Ayora approves of this when suggesting that:

if, given two utterances, one in English and the other in Spanish, there exist between them a precise correspondence of ‘structure’ and of ‘signification’, and the equivalence is achieved moneme by moneme, literal translation results and can be applied without risk.

(cited in Fawcett 1997: 36)
Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 34) advocate the use of literal translation describing it as a good technique. However, the literal strategy is deemed unacceptable if:

(a) Gives a different meaning;
(b) Has no meaning;
(c) Is impossible for structural reasons;
(d) ‘Does not have a corresponding expression within the metalinguistic experience of the TL’;
(e) Corresponds to something at a different level of language.

According to Vinay and Darbelnet, the above three translation techniques are subsumed under direct translation. If, the authors continue, none of the above result in acceptable translation, then oblique translation strategy is aimed for. This includes four techniques:

4. Transposition is the change of one grammatical part of the ST for another part in the translated TT without changing the sense, e.g. he went bankrupt = أفلس, Arabs pioneered medicine = آنان العرب رواد الطب. This may not be a rule, as Fawcett (1997) suggests, which is one of Vinay and Darbelnet's weakness points as they make their list sound like a list of imperative rules (Fawcett 1997: 37). Nevertheless, Vinay and Darbelnet's view is that transposition might be the most common grammatical shifting process undertaken by translators, supporting their view with a list of ten categories where transposition might occur (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 94-98).

5. Modulation: This technique is related to the semantic level of language. As Vinay and Darbelnet explain, modulation means, “a variation in the message, obtained by changing point of view” (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 36), e.g. it was blown away = ذهبت أدراج الرياح, every other day = آل يومين. Kelly (1977) further explains that modulation indicates the change of the signifier while the signified remains constant (Fawcett 1997: 37). Occurring at the level of message, modulation is subdivided into ten procedures (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 249-
(a) Abstract for concrete (metonymy);
(b) Explicative (Cause-effect);
(c) Part-whole (synechdouque);
(d) Part-another part (metonymy);
(e) Reversal of terms;
(f) Negation of opposite (litotes);
(g) Active to passive and vice versa;
(h) Space for time (metalepsis);
(i) Exchange of intervals for limits (in space and time);
(j) Change of symbols.

Nevertheless, Vázquez-Ayora argues that while transposition is an intuitive process employed by many translators, modulation, which relies on the translators’ extensive knowledge of the target language, is rather vague and risky (in Fawcett 1997: 37). Newmark (2000) agrees with this view and further attacks Vinay and Darbelnet’s technique by saying “As I see it, the general concept, since it is a super-ordinate term covering almost everything beyond literal translation, is not useful as it stands” (Newmark 2000: 88). He also criticizes some of the subdivisions proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet under modulation describing them as misleading and stamps the whole technique as unconvincingly categorized, but he gives them credit for their “stimulating examples” (Newmark 2000: 89).

6. Équivalence: Vinay and Darbelnet use this term to refer to the translation of idioms and proverbs. In particular, they define it as a procedure undertaken “when two languages refer to the same situation in totally different ways” (Fawcett 1997: 38), e.g. he killed his neighbor in cold blood = قتل جاره عمدًا, how nice to remember your palmy days = ماأجمل أن تتذار أيام العز. Therefore, it relies on language knowledge, which means that the translator either knows or does not know the equivalent phrase. Hence, Munday argues, Vinay and Darbelnet’s equivalence is used in a “restricted sense” and must not be confused with the more general
concept (discussed above) (Munday 2001: 58).

7. Adaptation is the last and the most controversial technique proposed by the two authors. It occurs when the cultural reference must be changed, as the situation of the SL does not exist in the TL (ibid), e.g. before you could say Jack Robinson = قبل أن ينيس بينت شفت.

2.1.1.2.2 The Prague Circle

Vinay and Darbelnet’s taxonomy has been of great influence in East Europe. Among those impacted by it are prominent linguists from the Prague Circle such as Jiri Levý, František Miko and Anton Popovič. Levý’s work is to be discussed for the considerable controversy it raised. His major work is on literary translation deriving his views from the Prague school of structural linguistics. He examines translation of the surface structure of both ST and TT focusing in his comparison on the translation of poetry (Munday 2001: 62). Although he does not deny creativity as an important feature in translation, Levý talks of translation as a process of ‘reproduction’ saying:

The translator’s goal is to receive, understand and convey the (message of the) original, but under no circumstances to create a new work without a predecessor. The goal of translation is reproductive.

(cited in Qvale 2003: 27)

According to Qvale, Levý does not seem to be interested in discussing the content of the translation, which he assumes it to be “a fixed quantity” that cannot be affected by any variation of form. Therefore, he prefers to employ a functional approach to render meaning, style and form (Qvale 2003: 27). Nevertheless, Levý is criticized for narrowing his model to word level.

Before his death, Levý made another contribution to translation studies in Czechoslovakia. In his paper ‘Translation as a Decision Process’ (1967), Levý relates the “gradual semantic shifting of translators’ linguistic choices to game theory” (Munday 2001: 62). This shows Levý’s perception of translation from a pragmatic angle.

2.1.2 Functional Translation Studies

The notion of equivalence has proved to be the center of attraction through the
1970s and 1980s, especially in German speaking countries and Finland. However, this time, function, text type, and translation product are the key terms in viewing equivalence. Therefore, product-oriented theories, which have led to the emergence of the Skopos theory, are the mark of this ‘school’. This type of theories is known as the functional approaches (Malmkjær 2005: 35). Among the pioneers of the functional theory are Katharina Reiss, Hans J. Vermeer, Justa Holz-Mänttäri and Christina Nord.

2.1.2.1 Reiss’s Text Types

In her study, which was originally her doctoral thesis, Reiss adopts Bühler’s (1933) taxonomy of language functions consisting of representation, expression and appeal. Her aim is to provide a set of objective criteria to evaluate translation product (Fawcett 1997: 106, 107). Her theory is to categorize texts in accordance with the type of language functions a text prioritizes (Malmkjær 2005: 35). Hence, Reiss ended up with three types of texts (Hatim 2001: 77):

- Informative texts which convey information (prioritizing the representative function);
- Expressive texts which communicate thoughts in a creative way (prioritizing the expressive function);
- Operative texts which persuade (prioritizing the appellative function).

Reiss also identifies other text types, which she calls ‘mixed forms’ e.g. sales promotion (subsumed under operative type) with poetic elements. She argues that there is a “correlation” between text types, translation technique and text function (Hatim 2001: 77). Therefore, Reiss identifies each text type with a certain translation technique (or method), (Munday 2001: 75):

- The TT of an informative text should transmit the full referential or conceptual content of the ST. the translation should be in ‘plain pose’, without redundancy and with the use of explication when required.
- The TT of an expressive text should transmit the aesthetic and artistic form of the ST. the translation should use the ‘identifying’ method, with the translator adopting the standpoint of the ST author.
• The TT of an operative text should produce the desired response in the TT receiver. The translation should employ the ‘adaptive’ method, creating an equivalent effect among the TT readers.

Through these details, it is possible to say that Reiss deems it crucial to determine the text type of the ST in order to identify the translation technique.

2.1.2.2 Vermeer’s Skopos

The functional trend has Skopos theory as its prime influence on the development of a translation theory that has become one of the distinctive marks in the history of the field. In 1984, Katharina Reiss and Hans J. Vermeer published a book titled Groundwork for a General Theory of Translation, in which they formulated their functional Skopos theory. Building on Reiss’s text typology and Vermeer’s functional work, the primary aim is to formulate a theoretical framework that is suitable for all texts (Munday 2001: 79).

Vermeer’s Skopos theory emerges from his work on the function of translated texts and from his overall view of translation as a process. He sees translation as a crosscultural act and defines it as “information offered in a language z of culture Z which imitates information offered in language a of culture A so as to fulfill the desired function.” (cited in Snell-Hornby 1995: 46).

To Vermeer, translation is not a mere transference of linguistic codes, but a mixture of actions where the translator offers information about a text in a new environment and in accordance with the TL functional, cultural and linguistic parameters (Snell-Hornby 1995: 46). Therefore, the TT (or translatum as Vermeer calls it) must be cohering with the background knowledge and situation of the targeted audience. However, in order to sound like a translation (as opposed to the original), the TT must maintain a sort of relation to the ST (Vermeer does not give enough account on this kind of relation). (Malmkjær 2005: 35, 36)

2.1.2.3 Mänttäri’s Translational Action

Justa Holz-Mänttäri (1984) is another prominent scholar with a theory derived from experience as a teacher in a Finish translation college. In her book, Translational
Action. Theory and Method (1984), Holz-Mänttäri proposes new interpretations of known concepts, a contribution considered rather radical to the accepted understandings at that time. Among these re-interpretations is the rejection of the term ‘text’ replacing it with ‘message’. In fact, she views the text as a vehicle of the message (Snell-Hornby 1995: 47).

Here, ‘translational action’ is a main concept. Holz-Mänttäri sees translation not as a mere process of transferring, but a web of complex actions by a chain of experts, from the original author to the receiver. Furthermore, she views the receiver of the translation and the specific function of the TT as the main criterion (Snell-Hornby 1995: 47).

2.1.2.4 Nord’s Text Analysis

A final contribution to this approach to translation (i.e. the functional approach) is Christina Nord’s translation-oriented text analysis theory (1989/1991). Incorporating some of Reiss’s, Vermeer’s and Mänttäri’s elements, Nord developed the most detailed functional approach. In her model, Nord distinguishes between two types of translation processes (a) documentary translation, and (b) instrumental translation.

(a) Documentary translation “serves as a document of a source culture communication between the author and the ST recipient” (Nord 89/ 91 in Munday 2001: 81). That is the TT recipient is accessing, in his TL, the (original) ST message in its (original) ST context intended to address a ST recipient (Hatim 2001: 89). Nord gives examples of translation techniques employed to achieve this type such as literary translation, literal and word-for-word translation and what she calls “exoticizing translation” (Munday 2001: 81). The latter technique relates to culture-bound lexical items, e.g. food and traditions.

(b) Instrumental translation

Serves as an independent message-transmitting instrument in a new communicative action in the target culture and is intended to fulfill its communicative purpose without the recipient being conscious of reading or hearing a text which, in a different form, was used before in a different
communicative situation.
(Nord 89/ 91 in Munday 2001: 81)
At first sight, Nord’s definition of instrumental translation seems similar, in one way or another, to another controversial statement by Nida (1969) when he asserts that “translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style”. He further adds, “The best translation does not sound like a translation” (cited in Fawcett 1997: 56, 57), a proposal that has proved to be problematic. Nevertheless, Nord does not tackle translation in the same formal vs. dynamic equivalence, linguistic approach as Nida. Her statement takes the functional and communicative purposes of the translation process as a point of departure. That is the TT may have the same function (or communicative purpose) as the ST or it can acquire a different function (or communicative purpose) (Hatim 2001: 89).

2.1.3 Discourse and Register Analysis in Translation Studies
In the last three decades of the twentieth century, another major development in translation studies had to do with register and discourse analysis in particular, and translation as part of applied linguistics in general. The systematic functional model by Halliday has had a considerable influence on most models of translation subsumed under this approach. Key works like Juliane House’s model of register analysis (Translation Quality Assessment – 1977/ 1997), Mona Baker’s pragmatic analysis (In Other Words - 1992) and Hatim and Mason’s register analysis with pragmatic and semiotic dimensions (Discourse and the Translator - 1990) and (the Translator as Communicator - 1997) which have dominated the scene, all envisaged within a Hallidayan framework.

2.1.3.1 House’s Translation Quality Assessment
To demonstrate what this trend has achieved, it is only proper to start with Juliane House’s model, which is certainly pioneering. House proposed her theory of translation quality assessment in 1977. However, due to heavy criticism she revised it and published it in a new edition in 1997 taking into account much of the criticism initiated by her first attempt.
House aims at providing a theory of translation strategy based on linguistics and equivalence. In pursuing this aim, she takes into account the pragmatic function of the ST and TT, and in so doing caters for the contextual meaning in translation (Hatim 2001: 92). Hatim (2001: 92) further explains that equivalence in House’s model can be established on the basis of:

- The linguistic and situational particularities of source and target texts;
- A comparison of the two texts;
- An assessment of their relative match.

In this scheme, House distinguishes between two types of function. Language function (e.g. Bühler’s taxonomy adopted by Reiss above), which proved to be somehow restricted and problematic. Textual function is what House suggests as most relevant. She sees textual functions on a continuum between two points rather than two opposites.

These points (or extremes) are referential and non-referential text functions. Her model is of a comparative nature that includes systematic comparisons of textual profile of the ST and TT and it operates within the following scheme (Munday 2001: 93):

1. A profile is produced of the ST register.
2. To this is added a description of the ST genre realized by the register.
3. Together, this allows a ‘statement of function’ to be made for the ST, including the ideational and interpersonal components of that function (in other words, what information is being conveyed and what the relationship is between sender and receiver).
4. The same descriptive process is then carried out for the TT.
5. The TT profile is compared to the ST profile and a statement of ‘mismatches’ or errors is produced, categorized according to genre and to the situational dimensions of register and genre; these dimensional errors are referred to as ‘covertly erroneous errors’, to distinguish them from ‘overtly erroneous errors, which are denotative mismatches or target system errors.
6. A ‘statement of quality’ is then made of the translation.
7. Finally, the translation can be categorized into one of two types: overt translation or covert translation.

In short, House’s model aims at assessing translation quality through comparative analysis of ST and TT “profiles”. This analysis helps in finding out the “mismatches and errors” in the translation (Munday 2001: 92). This eventually leads to House’s ultimate goal, which is to formulate a thorough model of translation strategy.

Based on her analytical scheme, House identifies two translation methods (or strategies), covert translation and overt translation. Covert translation is a translation in which the TT addresses the TL audience in the same way the ST addresses the SL audience. This method is applicable when the ST is not attached to the SL, culture, and audience (Fawcett 1997: 113, Hatim 2001: 93, Munday 2001: 94). The other translation method is overt translation. Overt translation is a translation that informs about the ST in the SL since the ST is addressing the SL audience and it is attached to the SL and culture (Fawcett 1997: 113, Hatim 2001: 94, 95 Munday 2001: 93).

2.1.3.2 Baker’s Pragmatic Analysis

In 1992, Mona Baker presented an interesting approach to translation from a pragmatic perspective incorporating relevant concepts from Halliday’s systemic functional grammar. In her 1992 book (In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation), Baker views equivalence as a multileveled notion, at word level, above word level, grammar level, textual level (this is of two sublevels: thematic and information structure, and cohesion) and pragmatic level. Her interest is in the textual and pragmatic levels, in that she incorporates detailed analyses of the ideational and interpersonal functions as well as comparisons of nominalization and verbal forms in theme positions in a number of languages (e.g. English, Brazilian Portuguese, Spanish and Arabic).

Through theme-rheme analysis, she finds that different languages have different thematic structures and, thus, require different treatments such as changing nominal sentences into verbal. However, Baker (1992) argues that Halliday’s thematic analysis may not always be applicable to translation since it is designed for English language. Here, Baker suggests, translators should acquaint themselves with “alternative traditions”
such as the Prague School functional sentence perspective (FSP) saying “a functional sentence perspective approach may prove more helpful in explaining the interactional organization of languages other than English” (Baker 1992: 160).

Another important concept in Baker’s model is cohesion; it is “the network of lexical, grammatical, and other relations which provides formal links between various parts of a text”. Cohesion is so important in terms of regulating and even creating the text (Baker 1992: 180). She also illustrates that it is “impossible” to recreate an identical network of cohesion relations in the TT as that of the ST as cohesion networks are not identical in any two languages (Baker 1992: 206). In this case, various translation strategies can be used to produce a TT that is both cohesive and coherent even if those strategies result in a different string of lexical and grammatical networks. Baker asserts that:

A good translator will make sure that, at the end of the day, the target text displays a sufficient level of lexical cohesion in its own right. Subtle changes – and sometimes major changes – are often unavoidable. But what the translator must always avoid is the extreme case of producing what appears to be a random collection of items which do not add up to recognizable lexical chains that make sense in a given context.

(Baker 1992: 207)

The third important feature of Baker’s model relates to different aspects of pragmatic equivalence in translation. In this section, Baker discusses two major concepts: coherence and implicature. Like cohesion, coherence is also a network but “of conceptual relations which underlie the surface structure” (Baker 1992: 218). Surface structure indicates the lexical and grammatical structure, i.e. cohesion. Coherence depends on the receiver’s abilities to make sense of the present discourse and of the outside world (Baker 1992: 218). In other words, cohesion is a quality of the text, while coherence is a quality of reception. However, a receiver cannot establish coherence from a non-cohesive text. Therefore, coherence relies on text cohesion. And since cohesion differs between ST and TT as explained above, coherence will differ consequently.
Another concept of the pragmatic dimension to which Baker gives special attention is implicature. According to Baker (1992) implicature is “what the speaker means or implies rather than what s/he literally says.” (Baker 1992: 223). The concept of implicature was originally developed by Paul Grice (1975) who suggested a set of maxims which regulate normal cooperative conversational situations. Those are quantity, quality, relevance and manner (cf. Baker 1992: 225). It can be said that adhering to these maxims along with limiting the accompanying range of linguistic and cultural contexts will help in reducing the amount of implicature in any discourse situation (Munday 2001: 99). Baker (1992) stresses, through examples, that any translator engaged in any crosscultural communication (e.g. translation) should be aware of the different cultural and cooperative maxims at work in the languages and cultures s/he is working with (Baker 1992: 236-237).

2.1.3.3 Hatim and Mason’s Semiotic Approach

Another important contribution to translation studies within the pragmatic trend is Hatim and Mason’s approach. Their influential functional and semiotic approach is presented in their 1990 book Discourse and the Translator and supported later in 1997 in The Translator as Communicator. In both books, the authors base their theory on the Hallidyan model of language function concentrating on the ideational and interpersonal functions. However, they take their approach to the next higher level beyond House’s register analysis and Baker’s pragmatic analysis (Munday 2001: 100) to incorporate the semiotic level of discourse.

Through their study of key passages of a French ST and English TT, for example, Hatim and Mason (1997) could establish that altering the “transitivity structure” in the English TT result in shifting the “ideational function” of the text (Hatim and Mason 1997: 7-10). They further demonstrate how such shifts may be due to the translator’s own understanding of the text.

In their discussion of shifts in language functions between STs and TTs, the two authors tackle the issue of shifts in modality in translation. This is illustrated by a study of how a group of trainee interpreters had problems distinguishing between French
conditional allegation and rumor in a European Parliament debate. The majority of the sample altered the modality (probability) in the French ST into factual statement shifting the function of discourse and the entire intended message of the English TT (Hatim and Mason 1997: 73-76).

The two authors also discuss the influence on his/her translation of the translator’s own views and beliefs that is the translator’s ideology and discourse. They further highlight the semiotic function of dialects and idiolects and their importance in translation (Hatim and Mason 1997: 103). In their text-analysis approach, Hatim and Mason (1997) state that a text has “stable” elements that can be rendered fairly easily through literal translation and “dynamic” elements which put the translator in a more challenging situation. With the latter, literal translation is assumed to be always applicable (Hatim and Mason 1997: 30-31).

2.2 Arabic Translation Studies

Although the term ‘translation studies’ (as it is used today) was not known to the seventh century Arab translators, it seems that the general concept was not strange to them. Al-Didawi (2005) clearly illustrates the role of Bayt Al-Hikma (lit. House of Wisdom) in Baghdad and Bayt Shahûq in Mousl (of modern Iraq) in teaching translators the profession. Such a process like instruction cannot be done without having sufficient practical experience and a theoretical base (Al-Didawi 2005: 49-53).

Al-Khûry (1988) and Baker (1998) also explain that there were two methodologies in translation. Those methodologies came to be known as ‘schools’ of translation. Both methodologies were associated with the names of their creators. The first one known as the method (school) of Yuhanna Ibn Al-Batriq and Ibn Nā‘îma Al-Himsi, and the second method was known as the method (school) of Hunayn Ibn IsHâq and Al-Jawhari. Those two methodologies (schools), with different sets of principles, views and strategies, were the foundation of the theoretical and pedagogical systems for teaching translation (Al-Khûry 1988: 51, 52) (Baker: 1998: 312, 313).

Moreover, and due to the importance of translation for Arabs at that time, intellectuals in general and translators in particular began to think and reflect upon the
concept, methods, principles and strategies of translation. Al-Khūry (1988) and Al-Didawi (2005) present two different examples written by the same person, who was one of the greatest Arab intellectuals of his time, namely Al-Jāhidh. The first, stated in Al-Khūry (1988), is Kitāb Al-Haywān in which Al-Jāhidh laid out the characteristics of a translator and the translation of literary works, the translation of poetry in general and Arabic poetry in particular. The second book is Al-Bayān wal-Tabyīn in which he included a definition of a concept, which many Arab intellectuals agreed that it is of translation, and the features of correct textuality (Al-Didawi 2005: 356).

Those two books were considered as the “Constitution of Translation” (Al-Didawi 2005: 356) in the Arab world in the era of Arab Islamic state. Al-Jāhidh’s concepts of translation drew up the path for many translators and translation theorists in and outside the Arab Islamic state for many years. This is but one example of translation studies during the Abbasid rule. Many other theorists wrote on this, relating translation to logic and linguistics. Carr (1998) argues that Arab intellectuals reflected on issues such as the translatable of certain texts, reliability of translations and interference of other languages in translation into and from Arabic (Carr 1998: 75-86).

Nevertheless, as Baker (1998) states, Arab translation studies at that time took the form of critiques of existing translated texts, on which later studies of issues of translation were built (Baker 1998: 113). In other words, Arab translation studies at that time started from application to theory, i.e. they highlighted the problems of translation in already translated texts and put solutions to them, then built some theoretical frameworks for better translation processes.

This theorization process seemed to be successful and fruitful for translation flourished for centuries and brought the world to Arabs and the Arabs to the world. However, this process, whether it met the standards of modern ‘translation studies’ or not, did not continue after the fall of the Arab Islamic state. Since that time, translation dwindled for various reasons and with it all sorts of intellectual productivity also diminished.

It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that Arabs felt the need to
cope with the international major advancements. At that time translation, again, seemed
to be the answer to their needs. Translation confronted Arabs with the same problematic
issues for which modern Arab intellectuals sought answers. But in spite the fact that
many research works, papers and books about translation are written and published in the
Arab world, only a small number deal with the issues, problems and methodology of
‘translation studies’.

Most Arabic translation works are either individual impressions based on personal
experiences or translations of European and Western publications about the translation
theory. With the latter type, Arab translators include their comments and texts taken from
Arabic literature as examples of the cultural and linguistic problems that may be
encountered in translation. In either type, the product (the translation study work) lacks
scientific, analytical and objective methodology. The translation process in the Arab
world, as mentioned above, suffers from the lack of attention and organization.
Translation process and ‘translation studies’ in the Arab world are based on individual
decisions.

However, many Arab authors advocate the idea and the process of translating the
main Western source books of the discipline into Arabic. In their argument, Arab
intellectuals and translators believe that during the last thirty years, translation as a
discipline had major developments and achieved huge breakthroughs in the fields of
translation theories and translation critique. Some authors even further argue that
translating, or at least summarizing, the major Western reference books of translation into
Arabic is the best way to found a translation discipline. Then an Arab translation
discipline, whose principles are derived from Arabic translation problems, can emerge
(Al-Didawi 2005: 359).

The above is a general review of previous Western and Arab research work in the
field of translation studies. The aim of this demonstration is to establish relevance
between past translation models and the area of translation strategy, which is the scope of
the present research. From the above translation literature review, it can be said that
translation strategy (or technique) is a key concept to the study of translation activity. The
next chapter will attempt to link translation strategy to the core issue of this thesis, which is the translation of neologisms.

CHAPTER THREE

NEOLOGY

3.1 Definition of Neologisms

Neologisms form an extremely important linguistic category for many reasons – they are the elements that lend a language vitality and dynamism, they are indicative of language change, they help to show the productive power morphology of a language and they are serious obstacles in translation. Consequently, research devoted to the observation, analysis and translation of neologisms is high priority. Many linguistic research institutions and language departments in many universities (such as CGTN in France and APRIL in Liverpool/UK) are dedicated to the observation and analysis of neologisms. Furthermore, many of the major lexicographic publishing houses have their own methods of observing neologisms. However, the aims of observing neologisms differ from one institution to another due to different agendas.

Two main goals in the linguistic observation of neologisms can be identified: one is updating existing lexicons and dictionaries with words that have recently come into the language. The other is the analysis and description of the neologisms themselves in terms of distribution over word-classes, statistics on derivational methods, statistics on loan word origination, etc. The latter type of research is of special importance as it depends on the detection of all the neologisms occurring in a given corpus.

The lack of a standard definition of what a neologism is has made the detection of neologisms a far from trivial task. Nevertheless, many linguists, lexicographers and terminologists have attempted to define the phenomenon from different perspectives. One of the best attempts to define neologisms is made by Alain Rey (1975/1995), who concludes that there are no objective criteria for being a neologism. In his book Essays on Terminology (1975/1995), Rey states that, for a long time, the concept of neology is considered a psychopathic formation of words. This view of neology can be seen in psychological research works which identify neology as a result of mental disorders such
as Jargon Aphasia. Bose & Buchanan, in their paper titled A Cognitive and Psycholinguistic Investigation of Neologisms (2006), associate the phenomenon of neologism with aphasia and study it as part of the disorder. Rey (1975/1995) further lists many definitions that contribute to this view, including definitions of the phenomenon by well-known dictionaries such as Merriam Webster’s dictionary, which to this day defines neologism as “a meaningless word coined by a psychotic”¹

¹ (cf. Merriam Webster online dictionary: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/neologism)

Rey (1975/1995), admits that the definition of neologism as a linguistic phenomenon is difficult, though he provides what he describes as a “problematic definition” in which he sees a neologism as “a lexical unit perceived as recent by language users” (Rey 1975/1995: 64). Accepting the problems of this definition, Rey poses three questions:

- What sort of linguistic unit is involved?
- What sort of novelty?
- Which definition of the code or system is the most relevant and which are the relationships between neological units and the system in which they appear?

Rey (1975/1995: 64)

Given the vagueness of the term, Rey argues against the use of the word neologism in dictionaries, stating that ‘neologism’ is only a “pseudo-concept” (Rey 1988: cited in Cabré 1999: 205). He further illustrates that the notion of neologism bears no abstract meaning of “new”, but a neologism is a word that is new in a given language at a given moment in time. Thus, a word can be counted as a neologism with respect to time only (Rey 1975/1995: 75). Furthermore, he discusses the types of neologisms one can distinguish (formal, semantic and pragmatic), and what it means for a word to be ‘new’. Concerning the latter issue, Rey concludes that no solid, objective criteria for newness can be given, and that hence the label neologism is only an indication of a subjective sentiment.

In an essay published in 1989, Jean-Claude Boulanger gives an overview of the
concept of neology stating the difficulty to limit the concept to one paradigm, e.g. the
linguistic paradigm saying:
The concept of neology cannot easily be defined, especially because it
cannot be reduced to a linguistic curiosity. Neology is part of a current
interactive subgrouping about which the general purpose language and the
technolects have reached an agreement that establishes a close relationship
between society, the dictionary makers, the political situation and,
nowadays, the huge sector of language industries.
(Boulanger 1989/ cited in Cabré 1999: 203)
Boulanger believes that the concept is multidimensional and should be treated as
such if we are to reach an objective definition. Some terminologists see the importance of
a multidimensional approach; others still confine the concept to one paradigm. Among
those is André Lefevre.
André Lefevre, in his book Translating literature: practice and theory in a
comparative literature context (1992), attributes the creation of “new words” to the
writer’s need to “strengthen the illocutionary power” of his/her text (Lefevre 1992: 41).
This is, of course, from a literary point of view. In his account of neologisms, Lefevre
tries to give a definition of neologisms from a translational perspective stating that
neologisms are “new words [that] are variations on existing words or combinations of
parts of existing words” (Lefevre 1992: 41). The translator, Lefevre continues, should
assess the importance of a given neologism to the TL receiver and the possibility of
creating a parallel TL neologism. Lefevre’s definition is a bit problematic. To name a few
issues: it only takes but one side of the phenomenon, which is a diachronic, derivational
side, excluding entirely new creations (although quite a few), and other term creation
methods. However, giving Lefevre the benefit of doubt, it is perhaps the literary view of
the phenomenon that affected the definition.
Peter Newmark’s (1988/2000) attempt to define neologisms falls within the
linguistic paradigm since he defines neologisms as “newly coined lexical units or existing
lexical units that acquire a new sense” (Newmark 1988/2000: 140). Furthermore, he lists
the types of neologisms: “old words with new senses, new coinages, derived words, abbreviations, collocations, eponyms, phrasal words, transferred words, acronyms and pseudo-neologisms” (Newmark 1988/2000: 141-149).

Although concise and clear at first glance, Newmark’s definition raises many questions concerning the criteria to identify a neologism. Is the lexicon that should be the decisive criterion? If so, which one to choose? If not, should it be experts or the public to decide what a neologism is? Who are those experts, or people? What authority they should have? Although, Newmark’s definition does not cater for such possibilities, it is only fair to say that the classification of the types of neologisms proposed is truly beneficial.

Another contribution to the effort of defining the phenomenon comes from Maria Teresa Cabré (1999). She formulates four “parameters” or criteria for the identification of a neologism: a psychological criterion, a lexicographic criterion, a diachronic criterion, and a criterion based on a word exhibiting systematic signs of formal or semantic instability (Cabré 1999: 205). As Cabré herself points out, none of these criteria alone can give a fully satisfactory identity to the phenomenon. Nonetheless, the combination of all criteria can, in fact, yield a multidimensional definition of neologisms.

Cabré formulates a set of four criteria to identify a neologism, three of which are of particular importance. These are the psychological criterion, lexicographic criterion, and the diachronic criterion. The next three sections are dedicated to the explanation of each of them along with their advantages and disadvantages.

3.1.1 Psychological Definition

A neologism is, by definition, a new word. The term ‘neologism’ is commonly found in dictionaries, where it is intended to be an established yet new word in the language as defined, for instance, by Plag as a newly created linguistic expression which is considered known by at least part of the linguistic community (Plag 2006: 541).

Cabré’s psychological definition is based on Rey’s views and conclusion that the identification of a neologism is subject to individual criteria of what a neologism may be. Thus, to Cabré, a neologism is a word that is perceived as new by the language
The word being new should imply that the word is currently part of the language, but was not so previously. However, language does not progress through well-defined stages, where the words in the new lexicon can be compared to the words in the old lexicon. Firstly, ‘new’ is a relative notion – some words may be older than others, but there is no definite period for being new. Secondly, there is no well-defined, stable lexicon of a language against which newness can be tested - a language cannot be stably defined within “its limits in the chronological, spatial, and social dimensions” (Rey 1975/1995: 75).

Without the possibility of verifying a word as new against a stable language setting, the notion of a neologism is reduced to a subjective feeling of being new, as in Cabréd’s psychological definition above. Given the nature of language, the feeling of newness should reside with the language community rather than the lexicographer. But there are two objections to using the perception of the language community as a definitional criterion for neologisms. First, measuring the perception of the community is a tedious and time-consuming process, and not feasible for an entire lexicon. Second, the language community itself is not the most reliable source for perceived novelty (Rey 1975/1995: 73-74). Cabréd also does not intend to count individual perception as a correct criterion for being a neologism, but what she argues is that being a neologism reduces to a feeling in the absence of real criteria, merely the subjective opinion of the individual linguist or lexicographer assigning the label. In assigning the label ‘neologism’ the linguist or lexicographer will attempt to apply a real notion of newness, but have no proper way of doing so.

3.1.2 Lexicographic Definition

The most obvious source of lists of established words of a language is lexicographic: thesauri, vocabularies and in particular dictionaries. Dictionaries attempt to be stable, synchronic projections of the lexicon of a language. Accepting the dictionary as an authority, a neologism can simply be defined in terms of absence in a lexicon. Hence, any word that does not appear in the dictionary is considered a neologism (Cabréd
The advantage of the lexicographic criterion is that it is relatively well defined, since a dictionary provides a fixed number of non-neologisms. Therefore, the definition of a neologism depends on the choice of which dictionary to use (for there is more than one for many languages), but with that choice, the list of non-neologisms is fixed. However, with the relative strictness of the lexicographic definition, there are at least two issues. First is that the definition may not be as well defined as it appears at first sight, especially not from a detection perspective. Second, the lexicographic definition does not actually define ‘new’ words; it defines words that are not well established enough to be included in the dictionary. However, this non-establishment can be due to many reasons. Novelty can be a reason for a word not to appear in the dictionary, but other reasons may include the fact that the word is too infrequent, too predictable, too specialized, too old, obsolete, taboo, or simply accidentally overlooked by the lexicographers. All these reasons do not indicate that a word is a neologism simply for not being in the dictionary. A dictionary is not an objective repository of all words. It is subject to various intervening factors such as editorial decisions, market demand, and specialty, to name a few. Hence, appearing in the dictionary is not enough to be a neologism as dictionaries are almost incomplete repositories of words (Coleman 2006: 591-594). However, the reason why the dictionary (or the lexicographic criterion) is very frequently used as a decisive criterion can be attributed to the fact that neologism research is often initiated and/or funded by dictionary publishers to identify changes in vocabulary (ibid).

3.1.3 Diachronic Definition

What is lacking from the lexicographic definition is a direct relation between the definition of a neologism and a notion of newness. The diachronic criterion is a key ingredient in the definition of a neologism. According to Cabré’s multidimensional criteria, a neologism is any word-form that has appeared recently in language, and was not previously part of that language (Cabré 1999: 205).

The problem of the diachronic definition is that it does not, by itself, define which
words are part of the language, and hence which words are new. As shown in the previous section, the dictionary is not a sufficient source for establishing which words are part of the language. Dictionaries attempt to be faithful abstractions of a language, but can never be complete repositories. Only the language itself can be a full representation of itself. Consequently, dictionaries are not the suitable tools to define a concept like neology and neologism.

If we consider dictionaries to be correct, but incomplete repositories of the words of a language, then the diachronic criterion will be a backbone of the lexicographic definition – i.e. all diachronic neologisms will be lexicographic neologisms, but not the other way around. In accordance with this assumption, only those words that did not appear in the dictionary because they were too recent should be considered neologisms. Hence, it is possible to say that leaving out words in a dictionary can be attributed to restrictions in size not because of considerations about whether the word belongs to the language or not.

The notion of neologism has often been considered as indefinable, leaving it as a subjective and arbitrary label. Although there are several ways in which the notion is arbitrary and conventional, it is nevertheless possible to establish a relatively well-defined criterion for when a word should be counted as a neologism. Despite Cabré’s contribution to the definition and identification of neology and neologisms, her proposed set of criteria does not establish identity of neologisms if taken individually. As illustrated above, each criterion defines a certain aspect of the notion leaving others to speculation. As asserted by Cabré herself, a ‘hybrid’ approach to the concept of neology and neologism, which brings all criteria together, is the best solution for the definition and identification of the notion.

3.2 Evolution of Neologisms

Every word in a language was, at some time, a neologism, ceasing to be such through time and acceptance. Neologisms can be created by many means and may be classified according to different approaches. One of these is Peter Newmark’s classification. In his book, A Textbook of Translation-1988/2000, Newmark proposes
twelve different types of neologism. His categorization is based on the method of creation of a neologism. According to Newmark, neologisms are of two main categories: existing lexical items with new meanings, or entirely new creations. The first comprises two subcategories namely: words and collocations. The second includes ten sub-categories, which are “New coinages, Derived words (including blends), Abbreviations, Collocations, Eponyms, Phrasal words, Transferred words (new and old referents), Acronyms (new and old referents), Pseudo-neologisms, Internationalisms” (Newmark 1988/2000: 150). It is possible to say that Newmark’s classification is for translation purposes, as he emphasizes the usefulness of componential analysis in the identification and translation of neologism (Newmark 1988/2000: 122, 123). Although Newmark mentions some examples for the types of neologisms and offers ways for dealing with them, it can be noted that the neologisms created by science fiction and fantasy authors are not included. However, Newmark’s account of neologism types and their (possible) translation “techniques” is, to date, one of the most comprehensive in this area. Other scholars follow the same categorization method of Newmark, but with different labels. Among these are Laurie Bauer (1995, 1996, 1997), Silvia Pavel (1993), and Ingo Plag (2006). Some of these creation methods are derivation, composition, compounding, blending, acronymy and abbreviation, and borrowing. It should be noted here that Newmark’s and Pavel’s lists of creation methods are more into the technical side of neologism, while Bauer’s and Plag’s are general language word-formation methods.

In any case, and whatever means of creation is used, certain factors should be considered for a neologism to be accepted in a language as Pavel (1993) points out. She further explains that the most frequent criteria to accept and approve a new word are correctness, which refers to the conformity of the newly formed word to the rules and syntax of the language in which it is created (Pavel 1993: 23, 24), and acceptability, i.e. the approval of the language users of the new word (ibid). Here Pavel admits that acceptability does not presuppose correctness as she states:

The relationship between correctness and acceptability, and their
respective impact on the molding of new technologies are yet not clearly understood. Many grammatically correct terms never find acceptance within a professional community while others become accepted only after a long, uphill battle. Incorrect ones may be readily accepted for no apparent reason, and whereas some of these are as readily, others become impossible to uproot from current usage.
(Pavel 1993: 24)

Many terminologists view the factor of acceptability within the scope of linguistics as Pavel (1993: 23) explains. But there are other scopes that can restrict the acceptability of a new creation, as Rey (1975/1995) argues that the psychological and sociological factors are as important as the linguistic factor is:
The psychological and sociological factors are as restricting as the linguistic system; they determine the lexical norm and guarantee the efficacy of communication.
(Rey 1975/1995: 66)

The use of acceptance as a criterion of identifying neologisms is rejected by many scholars and researchers, as illustrated in the Psychological Definition above.
Nevertheless, it is undeniable that public and expert acceptance of the neologism plays a vital role in the continuity of the neologism due to the lack of objective instruments to handle neologisms (cf. 3.1.1).

Neologisms, like any other phenomenon, have a certain lifetime with specific stages. Bauer (1996) states three stages which resemble a lexeme's life. The first stage is nonce formations and refers to “a new complex word coined by a speaker/writer on the spur of the moment to cover some immediate need” (Bauer 1996: 45). The new creations are characterized with extreme instability and are limited to a small group of users only. Synonymy is a high probability at this stage since the lexeme is not yet fully standardized (or institutionalized). Another characteristic of this stage is that many lexemes may live for a relatively short time as Bauer (1996) points out that “there are large numbers of nonce formations which are used on very few occasions (perhaps no more than once)”
This happens when the need for the nonce formation, i.e. the lexeme, is extremely rare and ceases to be very quickly. However, according to Bauer, when the users (speakers/writers) are aware that they are using a lexeme they already heard, the lexeme is no more a nonce formation. Here the lexeme enters a new stage, which Bauer names institutionalization. At this stage the lexeme goes through two phases, the first can be labeled as the diffusion phase in which it has reached a significant audience, but not yet gained widespread acceptance. What characterizes lexemes in this phase is that meanings of a lexeme are narrowed down as possible and any ambiguity is ignored for the sake of clarity and preciseness (Bauer 1996: 48). The second phase is when lexemes gain recognizable and probably lasting acceptance. Bauer (1996) explains that a lexeme at this phase becomes more “transparent” and specific in meaning shedding off any accompanying ambiguities from the previous phase. Here the lexeme becomes more stable and ‘institutionalized’.

The third, and final, stage of a lexeme’s life is when it gives up its novelty and passes into formal linguistic acceptance, or become culturally dated in its use. In Bauer’s terms, this stage is referred to as lexicalization and it is at this stage a lexeme can be “traced at every level of linguistic analysis” (Bauer 1996: 49). Here, lexemes become part of the language and cease to be new creations (or neologisms), and gain transparency, limitation and clarity of meaning.

3.3 Neology and Linguistic Purity

According to the lexicologist Alain Rey (1975/1995) different factors may trigger neological/onomasiological needs such as subject related (thematic onomasiology), semantic (componential onomasiology) or translation related. A need for a neologism may be language-internal, i.e. within one language area, or because of external pressure resembled through new concepts and/or products, an example of this is the diffusion of technical innovations, e.g. computer terminology from English to other languages (Rey 1975/1995:77-84). This, however, has social and cultural influence with subsequent lexicological and terminological repercussions as linguists and language purists may oppose, fiercely, any lexical innovation.
From the point of view of linguistic purism, any lexical neology that is not based on a scientific study of the developmental tendencies of a given language is considered a sort of linguistic deviation. Baker & Jones, in their book Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education (1998), recognize the concept as the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (Baker & Jones 1998: 217, 218).

Purism is then an attitude, or a struggle, towards language against the introduction into usage of loan and international words, certain grammatical rules, or neologisms and borrowings from other languages. It is the activity of people attempting to protect their native language from foreign influence, but mostly these attempts are in vain. Although it is an emotionally driven reason for linguistic standardization, purism is a stage every standardized language undergoes and therefore is an integral part of language. Baker & Jones explain this by setting up a hypothesis regarding the inevitability of purism, they believe that purism is an inevitable phase through which any language must pass on its way to full development as a prestigious, autonomous and polyvalent standard language (Baker & Jones 1998: 220). Baker & Jones continue saying that the ‘puristic’ orientation and the intensity of the ‘puristic’ movement are determined by the aesthetic features which are paramount during the phase of language standardization (ibid).

All ‘puristic’ and other language standardization activities are part of the process of language planning which is the responsibility of language planning organizations like language councils and academies, linguists as well as translators. Translators and interpreters, training schools, and terminological organizations could be powerful agents in the process of language planning, language standardization and the diffusion of lexical innovations mainly through their many links worldwide. The role of translators and translation in the diffusion of neologisms is dealt with in the next section.

In the old Arab Islamic state (7th – 13th century), Arab linguists attributed
linguistic innovation to language deviation and dialectal use. Al-Zubaidi (1886/1994) explains that Arabs had a very puristic view of any linguistic innovation. They believed that any new expression is of foreign origin and is, thus, condemned. In the introduction to his book Taj Al-‘Arūss, Al-Zubaidi identifies linguistic neology as “a new expression that is created by ‘non-original Arabs’ whose language cannot be substantiated” (Al-Zubaidi 1886/1994: 61) (my translation). This illustrates that, in the past, Arabs established a connection between linguistic concepts and sociological factors, e.g. Arabs vs. non-Arabs, which consequently led to the exclusion of any lexical innovation from the domain of classical, ‘correct’ language. (Khassara 1994: 128).

However, modern Arab linguists have an entirely different view towards neology and neologisms. Many Arab language scholars and terminologists recognize the vital role of neology in the development of Arabic language. Khassara (1994) points out that lexical innovation is considered the first means of Arabic language development (ibid).

3.4 Neology and Translation Strategy

3.4.1 Translation Strategy

Translation, in simple terms, is the transfer of written or spoken SL texts to equivalent written or spoken TL texts. In general, the purpose of translation is to reproduce various kinds of texts including religious, literary, scientific, and philosophical texts in another language and thus making them available to a wider audience. However, the difference between an SL and a TL and the variation in cultures make the process of translating a real challenge. Among the problematic factors involved in translation are form, meaning, style, proverbs, idioms, etc. Different issues require different procedures of translation. Therefore, translation has to have a set of strategies to deal with different problems. But first we need to shed some light on the notion of translation strategy. Within translation studies, there is substantial literature on translation strategies. However, to make a proper start in the investigation of the concept, let us examine the approach which positions the concept in terms of theory and practice of translation. this is the model developed by Hönig and Kussmaul (1982) who state that translation strategies
are the primary connection between translation theory and practice, and that translation strategies justify translation theory (in Muñoz Martin 2000: 143). This positioning of translation strategy leads to another conception propounded by Wilss (1988) who holds that the concept is not clearly identified, saying that "Translation strategy seems to be a rather diffuse concept, which refers to the general transfer perspective or transfer concept of a particular text" (ibid). Wilss's view seems to be based on the variety of definitions available as other theorists discussed this concept in relation to many other notions such as equivalence, adequacy, function and translation unit. But it is the nature of the concept to be relative to other translation concepts as it comes to serve certain translation needs that seems to be the predominant view.

Many other definitions of translation strategy come from well-known scholars. Nida (1964), for example, distinguishes between two different types of translation "procedures":

1. Technical procedures:
   a. analysis of the source and target languages;
   b. a thorough study of the source language text before making attempts translate it;
   c. Making judgments of the semantic and syntactic approximations.

2. Organizational procedures: constant reevaluation of the attempt made; contrasting it with the existing available translations of the same text done by other translators, and checking the text's communicative effectiveness by asking the target language readers to evaluate its accuracy and effectiveness and studying their reactions.

(Nida 1964: 241-247)

Loescher (1991) defines translation strategy as “a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with in translating a text...
segment from one language into another” (cited in Chesterman 1997: 91). As this definition shows, the notion of consciousness is significant in distinguishing strategies which are used by the learners or translators. In this regard, Bell (1998: 188) asserts that the element of consciousness is what distinguishes strategies from those processes that are not strategic.

From a communicative point of view, Beaugrande (1978) identifies translation strategies as “the result of combination of textual constraints and communicative goals” (Muñoz Martín 2000: 134).

Newmark (1982) mentions the difference between translation methods and translation procedures. He writes that, "While translation methods relate to whole texts, translation procedures are used for sentences and the smaller units of language" (Newmark 1982: 81). He goes on to refer to the following methods of translation:

• Word-for-word translation in which the SL word order is preserved and the words translated singly by their most common meanings, out of context.

• Literal translation in which the SL grammatical constructions are converted to their nearest TL equivalents, but the lexical words are again translated singly, out of context.

• Faithful translation which attempts to produce the precise contextual meaning of the original within the constraints of the TL grammatical structures.

• Semantic translation which differs from 'faithful translation' only in as far as it must take more account of the aesthetic value of the SL text.

• Adaptation which is the freest form of translation, and is used mainly for plays (comedies) and poetry; the themes, characters, plots are usually preserved, the SL culture is converted to the TL culture and the text is rewritten.

• Free translation which produces the TL text without the style, form, or content of the original.

• Idiomatic translation which reproduces the 'message' of the original but tends to distort nuances of meaning by preferring colloquialisms and idioms where these do not exist in the original.
• Communicative translation which attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership (Newmark 1982: 45-47).

Newmark (1991) writes of a continuum existing between "semantic" and "communicative" translation. Any translation can be "more, or less semantic—more, or less, communicative—even a particular section or sentence can be treated more communicatively or less semantically." Both seek an "equivalent effect. (Newmark 1991:10-12)

Vinay and Darbelnet also dealt with the concept of strategies or "techniques" as they called them (cf. Ch-2). However, their approach is widely criticized due to the narrow linguistic view it has about translation (Fawcett 1997: 50, 51).

Furthermore, Bell (1998:188) differentiates between global (those dealing with whole texts) and local (those dealing with text segments) strategies and confirms that this distinction results from various kinds of translation problems.

Venuti (1998) indicates that translation strategies "involve the basic tasks of choosing the foreign text to be translated and developing a method to translate it" (Venuti 1998: 240). He employs the concepts of domesticating and foreignizing to refer to translation strategies.

Jääskeläinen (1993) considers strategy as a series of competencies, a set of steps or processes that favor the acquisition, storage, and/or utilization of information. Taking into account the process and product of translation, Jääskeläinen divides strategies into two major categories: some strategies relate to what happens to texts, while other strategies relate to what happens in the process. Product-related strategies, as Jääskeläinen writes, involve the basic tasks of choosing the SL text and developing a method to translate it. However, she maintains that process-related strategies "are a set of (loosely formulated) rules or principles which a translator uses to reach the goals determined by the translating situation in the most effective way". Moreover, Jääskeläinen (1993) divides this into two types, namely global strategies and local strategies. Global strategies refer to general principles and modes of action and local
strategies refer to specific activities in relation to the translator's problem-solving and
decision-making (Chesterman 1997: 89-92).

Finally, Andrew Chesterman, summarizes all translation strategies in a threecategory
list:

Syntactic strategies
Literal translation
Loan, Calque
Transposition
Unit shift
Phrase structure change
Clause structure change
Sentence structure change
Cohesion change
Level shift
Scheme change
Semantic strategies
Synonymy
Antonomy
Hyponymy
Converses
Abstraction change
Distribution change
Emphasis change
Paraphrase
Trope change
Other semantic changes
Pragmatic changes
Cultural filtering
Explicitness change
3.4.2 Creating and Translating Neologisms

Many general definitions are proposed for the concept of translation strategies in translation studies. However, the concept of translation strategies of neologisms would have to be more precise since the phenomenon belongs to the linguistic domain. Thus, it is more restricted in terms of definition. Cabré (1999) distinguishes between different types of term creation depending on different criteria. Nevertheless, she focuses on borrowing and methods of adapting terms as main means of translating neologisms. In addition, Cabré lists 14 international criteria (stated by the ISO) for term creation as principles of identifying neologisms (cf. Cabré 1999: 212).

Rey (1975/1995) has his own view in terms of procedures to create neologisms. Morphology, abbreviation, acronymy, borrowing and creation of fixed expressions seem to be the tools to deal with neologisms in translation (Rey 1975/1995: 80). Sager (1997) lists several methods to form neologisms (Sager 1997: 38-40):

- New creations, which are very rare in most languages, for example: gas, byte and blog.
- Interlingual borrowing, for example from ancient Greek and Latin to many European languages.
- Scientific vocabulary, which in the case of English scientific vocabulary is mostly from Greek and Latin, for example: reservoir.
- Derivation, for example: television.
• Secondary term formation, which replaces the borrowed word by a formation more suitable to the pattern of the language. For example: FAX (English) (from facsimile transmission) and telecopieur (French).
• Loan translation, whereby a term from one language is translated element by element into the receiving language. For example: online (English) into en linea (Spanish).
• Double loan translation, as a result of loan translation from several language sources for the same concept. For example: in Spanish there is a synonym linguistica informatica (from French) and linguistica computacional (from English).

Newmark (1988/2000) has a different set of strategies based on the classification of neologisms he adopts, which is based on neologism formation (cf. 3.2). His list of neologism translation strategies consists of:

Type Translation procedure
A. Existing lexical items with new meanings
   1. Words
   2. Collocations
B. New forms
   1. New coinages
   2. Derived words (including blends)
   3. Abbreviations
   4. Collocations
   5. Eponyms
   6. Phrasal words
   7. Transferred words (new and old referents)
   8. Acronyms (new and old referents)
   9. Pseudo-neologisms
10. Internationalisms

1. Transference (with inverted commas)
2. TL neologism (with composites)
3. TL derived word
4. Naturalization
5. Recognized TL translation
6. Functional term
7. Descriptive term
8. Literal translation
9. Translation procedure combination (couplets etc.)
10. Through-translation
11. Internationalism

(Adapted from Newmark 1988/2000: 150)

Furthermore, Newmark formulates a set of “contextual factors” that can help the translator to adopt a certain strategy (or procedure) highlighting the importance of “language planning, policy and politics” of the TL in the process of translating neologisms (Newmark 1988/2000: 149). As a result, it is possible to say that Newmark created a comprehensive framework of ‘neo-specific’ translation strategies in translation studies.

As far as Arabic language is concerned, a term is defined as ‘an expression whose meaning is altered for certain purposes and this alteration is agreed upon by a specialized group’ (my translation). Al-Jurjani (1988) (lived in the 13th century) defines the process of terminology as ‘an agreement among people to name a thing using a word transferred from its original meaning’ (my translation). He also lists a number of definitions used throughout the Arabic translation history (Al-Jurjani 1988: 28). Khassara (1994) for his part explains that, in Arabic, for an expression to be a term, there are crucial requirements: ‘verbalism’, ‘meaning alteration’ and ‘agreement’ (my translation) (Khassara 1994: 102).5
Term creation is in the main part of translation, which is an old craft in Arabic heritage. As pointed out in Chapter Two, translation can be traced back to the Arab Islamic Empire especially during the Abbasid rule. In fact, it can be said that most Arabic knowledge, at that time, owed its richness to translation, which is why it had such a prestigious status.

According to Al-Shihabi (1995), in the past, Arabic had four procedures of term creation. However, he believes that, today, these procedures are still valid. Those procedures are (Al-Shihabi 1995: 28):

1. Modifying the original linguistic meaning of the Arabic word incorporating the new (intended) meaning;
2. Deriving new expressions from original Arabic roots or from arabicized roots to designate new meanings;
3. Translating foreign words along with their meanings;
4. Arabicizing foreign words and deem them correct.

Although these procedures are for term ‘creation’, Al-Shihabi does not mention the notion of neologism, at any time. Perhaps, old Arab terminologists and translators did not know the concept of neology. Al-Didawi (2000: 69-75), (2005: 111-114) includes the same list of term creation procedures in his account of Arab translation and terminology heritage.

Following in the same path, Al-Khūry (1988), also formulates a list of procedures to create new terms. Although very close to Al-Shihabi’s, Al-Khūry includes blending in his list instead of translating (cf. procedure 3 of Al-Shihabi). Al-Khūry’s procedures

المصطلح هو لفظ منتقل من معناه اللغوي إلى آخر، ومنتقع عليه بين طائفة مخصوصة" (خسارة 1994" : 3 : 102).


- تحويل المعنى اللغوي الأصلي للكلمة العربية وتضمينها المعنى الجديد.
- اشتقاق الفاظ جديدة من أصول عربية أو معربة للدلالة على المعاني الجديدة.
- ترجمة ألمات أعمية بمعانيها.
include derivation (in Arabic), metaphor, blending and arabicization (my translation) (Al-Khûry 1988: 161).7

Khassara (1994) proposes a different and more detailed list of term creation procedures. His list has three main procedures (or labels) which includes several different sub-procedures. The main procedures are translation, lexical creation and borrowing (my translation) (Khassara 1994: 102).8 Although, the first and third procedures are familiar ones, the second can be of particular interest. Khassara actually incorporated the concept of neology in his procedures for the definition of /tawli:d/ i.e. lexical creation which, according to Khassara, is somehow similar to the definition of neologism in the Western tradition. Khassara defines the concept of /tawli:d/ as getting a word from a previously existing one (Khassara 1994: 127). This shows that Arabs are no strangers to the concept of neology and neologism. Furthermore, Khassara strictly emphasizes the importance of /tawli:d/ in the development of Arabic throughout history describing it as the pillar of language development (ibid). Al-Sayadi (1984) goes even further in his recognition of the process stating that /tawli:d/ is “the creation of a new word that does not exist either in the old or modern language” (Al-Sayadi 1984: 61) (my translation)9. Although this definition seems an orthodox linguistic one, Khassara (1994) emphasizes that the root of the newly created word should be in the Arabic language. Khassara continues to propose two methods of creating ‘neologisms’, the first is derivation, which is of three types: the small, the big and the biggest. The second is metaphor.

Many Arabic language academies (in Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Tunisia) and the Bureau for Coordination of Arabicization in Morocco, have agreed a set of strategies for creating new terms. This agreement was one of the recommendations of a convention held in 1981, which emphasized traditional term creation processes. The procedures endorsed include, first, the use of old words (from Arabic language heritage) and, second, the creation of new terms using derivation, metaphor, blending and arabicization (cf. Al-Khûry 1988: 159).

In the present thesis, it was decided to adopt the same set of procedures of term
creation stated in Al-Khūrī (1988) for two reasons. First, it is the most comprehensive set of term creation procedures that is applicable to term creation and neologisms as well. Second, it has been either replicated or partially quoted in other books and research works for various reasons. Therefore, it seems proper now to present a short account of each of the procedures.

As mentioned above, Al-Khūrī (1988) lists four procedures used by old Arab translators to deal with new words and concepts. These procedures, according to Al-Khūrī, are still valid until the present day and have become rules unanimously agreed upon for the creation of new lexical items (Al-Khūrī 1988: 161). The four procedures are derivation, metaphor, blending and arabicization.

1. Derivation is to “pull out (coin) a word from another word provided that the two words have a proportional harmony in pronunciation and meaning” (ibid) (my translation). derivation is of three types:
   a. The small derivation occurs when the newly derived word and the root from which it is derived are identical in the number and order of letters.
   b. The big derivation occurs when the newly derived word and the root from which it is derived are proportionally identical in the pronunciation and meaning but not the order of letters. It is also referred to as ‘reversion’.
   c. The biggest derivation occurs when the newly derived word and the root from which it is derived are proportionally identical in the pronunciation and meaning but differ in some letters. It is also referred to as ‘alteration’.

2. Metaphor is a word that is used in a certain context to designate another concept. The new context restricts the word to the new designation. Al-Khūrī (1988) argues that, although this procedure is widely employed in creating new expressions in Arabic, many of the neologisms created die after a relatively short time (Al-Khūrī 1988: 163).
3. Blending is the process of forming a word out of two, or more, words provided that a proportional harmony in pronunciation and meaning between the newly formed words and its parental words exists. Al-Khūry (1988) states that Arabic Language Academy in Cairo warns that this procedure should sparingly used to prevent inappropriate word forms (Al-Khūry 1988: 164).

4. Arabicization is an old method of word formation in Arabic. It refers to the pronunciation, in Arabic, of the foreign word. The arabicized is also referred to as ‘foreigner’. Al-Khūry explains that it is possible to find arabicized words in Quran (the Holy Book of Islam) borrowed from Persian (Al-Khūry 1988: 164,165). Although rejected, arabicization was of particular importance in term creation in the history of Arabic due to its role of introducing many ‘hard-to-translate’ expressions to Arabic during the prime of the Arab Islamic State. However, it was highly recommended that arabicization was to be used as the last option when all other procedures fail and to use the arabicized words for a short period until some other native terms can be created (Khassara 1994 158-162).

When it comes to the matter of choosing a procedure (or a strategy) for translating a neologism, target culture, target language community, and the actual need for translation are among the factors that a translator should bear in mind. Some strategies, such as arabicization, seem tempting and easy to use but the consequences can be catastrophic if such strategies become the sole method of translating new words.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Methodology

This chapter tackles the methodology used in the investigation of translation strategies of neologisms, and presents and discusses the findings of the research. This will be informed by the literature dealing with the strategies and/or procedures for translating problematic concepts and phenomena like neologisms which, as explained in the previous chapter, is substantial (cf. 3.4.2 Creating and Translating Neologisms). The translation of neologisms is not a direct process of rendering words form one
language to another. There are certain procedures devoted to this linguistic phenomenon due to its sensitivity and importance. Different strategies to translate neologisms are available. However, the actual use of these strategies varies from one language community to another due to lexicographic traditions and cultural differences. Hence identifying the strategies of translating neologisms adopted in a language community is important to establish, with the training of future translators in mind, the basis on which new words are presented in the language community.

The aim of this research is not a mere illustration of translation strategies. Rather, it aims at putting these strategies to test and find out which are in actual use today. Therefore, the core of the research is based on two different tools. The first is a survey study to determine the actual strategies used in translation, the second is the examination of English texts translated into Arabic for various types of neologisms and translation strategies.

The survey study is in the form of a closed questionnaire containing a certain number of neologisms in their natural contexts, along with a list of translation strategies to choose from. The subjects (translators) were asked to read each neologism (in context) and to identify the strategy they use for translating that neologism.

In the process of formulating the questionnaire, the present research took into consideration the time and place pressure factors under which professional translators work. Thus, to encourage the subjects (translators) to answer it without consuming much of their time, the questionnaire form was designed to be simple and easy to use with clear instructions on how to answer. The questionnaire consists of ten neologisms which are selected on the basis of two criteria: recency and form of word. To satisfy the first criterion, which is the recency of the lexeme, several soft and hard copies of specialized dictionaries were consulted to determine the date of each lexeme. The neologisms themselves are from two online sources, the first is a website named Word Spy10 dedicated to collecting neologisms through individual participations. The second is Rice University Neologism Database11. Each of the websites was investigated to determine their reliability. As for the second criterion, many forms are chosen to reflect real-life
translation situations. The forms are single word forms, collocations, blends and abbreviations. This range of word formation is the most prevalent pattern in creating neologisms. The neologisms chosen are from different fields of knowledge, as the aim is to cover the phenomenon of neology in general not in a certain branch. The list of neologisms consists of: walkshed, mullet strategy, digital native, videophilia, groceraunt, exoplanet, peaknik, defictionalization, daughter track, scuppie.

As for the strategies suggested in the questionnaire, it was decided to adopt the list devised by old Arab translators in the translation of terms. This list is recognized by many (if not all) modern Arab translators and translation scholars as an official set of ‘rules’ to deal with new terms and concepts in translation into Arabic. The list of strategies as illustrated in the previous chapter (cf. 3.4.2 Creating and Translating Neologisms) consists of four strategies (procedures as labeled by Al-Khūry: 1988, and Khassara: 1994) as Derivation, Metaphor, Blending, and Arabicization. We considered giving the subjects a fifth strategy quoted from Newmark’s list of strategies (cf. 3.4.2 Creating and Translating Neologisms), which is Recognized TL Translation to give the subjects more options from modern translation studies and to find out whether modern Arab translators are aware of and actually use such ‘international’ strategies. Although optional, another field labeled Other Strategy along with a certain space for comments and suggested translation are also provided. All this is presented in a simple direct format to induce the subjects to answer the whole questionnaire.

The survey is in two parts. The first part is a pilot study where the questionnaire was given to seven translators who are also students of the Masters of Arts in English-Arabic-English Translation and Interpreting program (MATI) at the American University of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates to identify any weaknesses in the questionnaire form. The feedback was of crucial importance. The first comment was on the length of the questionnaire which varied from “medium” to “long”. However, the length of the questionnaire and the number of neologisms were carefully studied to be representative, doable and calculable. The other comment was on the fifth strategy Recognized TL Translation; most feedback suggested that it is not a feasible strategy in English-Arabic
translation of neologisms and some suggested Omission instead, which is especially
10 www.wordspy.com
11 www.esa4.rice.edu

الإشتقاق والمجاز والانحشت والتعرف
12 الحذف
13

used with abbreviations that cannot be translated or transliterated. Thus, we decided to
discard the strategy Recognized TL Translation and replace it with Omission, leaving the
rest of the questionnaire format as it is. Consequently, the final list of strategies given to
professional translators in the second part of the survey consists of Derivation, Metaphor,
Blending, Arabicization and Omission.

In the second part of the survey, the present researcher did an online search for
translation agencies in the UAE which have good reputation and resources. The search
resulted in identifying eleven agencies in Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah and Ajman. Sixty
hard copies of the final questionnaire were made and distributed by hand to the agencies
in Dubai, Sharjah and Ajman while the agency in Abu Dhabi received a soft copy of the
questionnaire. A time limit of fifteen days was given to the agencies due to some logistic
problems like delivering the questionnaire copies to subjects as some of their translators
are actually freelancers living outside the UAE which required sending them additional
soft copies. In addition, twenty professional translators who were part of Mohammed Bin
Rashid Foundation translation project were contacted by e-mail sending them soft copies
of the questionnaire.

Eventually, fifty-four completed copies were collected either by hand or via email.
Due to time limit, this number of responses was deemed sufficient and was
considered representative as the present research is not based on survey study only, but
also on the examination of translated texts extracted from well-known specialized and
semi-specialized journals.

The second tool of investigation included texts which are taken from different
respectable well-known journals. The types (or fields) of the magazines were categorized
into (1) scientific/technical (2) political/economic and (3) social/general. For each type
one representative title (i.e. journal) was selected. For the scientific/technical type the American science and technology magazine Scientific American and the Arabic ‘translated’ version of the same texts in Al-Oloom14 magazine were used. The Economist and its translated texts in Al-Majalla15 were chosen to represent the political/economic type. Finally, the English and Arabic versions of Newsweek were selected for type three, which is the social/general type. Although, the abovementioned categorization is merely theoretical devised by the researcher himself to help in organizing the research and the findings, it must be noted here that three different issues included for each of these types do ensure comprehensiveness and reliability of the findings.

The responses are scientifically analyzed in order to identify the strategies used in actual translation situations. The strategies extracted are organized on the basis of percentage each strategy received. A list of strategies of translating English neologisms to Arabic is drawn up based on the results of the survey study and the examination of the texts.

The following sections demonstrate how each tool is used in this research, along with the findings and discussion.

4.2 Results and Discussion

4.2.1 The Survey Study

4.2.1.1 The Questionnaire

The translation strategies presented above are based on both theoretical considerations and analyses of authentic translation situations. They have been proven as successful procedures of term creation in Arabic for no less than one hundred years. To check the adequacy of the strategies, and to see if they are really used and to what extent, a survey study was made at the beginning of October 2008.

The study consisted of a questionnaire in two parts, first a pilot study part where the translators gave their comments on the strategies and overall format of the questionnaire, then a short survey undertaken with multiple-choice questions where the
translators tick their preferences of the different strategies. The final survey has the following five strategies:

1. Derivation
2. Metaphor
3. Blending
4. Arabicization
5. Omission

4.2.1.2 Results

Five of the targeted translation agencies started forwarding notifications of replies from their associates within ten days and by the end of the period given, fifty-four completed copies were collected either by hand or via e-mail.

Computer software used for analyzing the responses was Microsoft Excel. It is selected for its user-friendly features and flexibility in operation. The aim of using this software is to calculate the sum and percentage of responses and draw necessary charts of the findings.

As mentioned above, the questionnaire was answered by a total of fifty-four (54) persons. The results are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Derivation</th>
<th>Metaphor</th>
<th>Blending</th>
<th>Arabicization</th>
<th>Omission</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Walkshed</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullet strategy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digital native</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Videophilia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocernaut</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exoplanet</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaknik</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defictionalization</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter track</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scuppie</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
percentage 45% 21% 4% 17% 2% 11%

Table: (Results of Translators’ Survey)

For further illustration, the results are shown down in the form of a graph showing the percentage of each strategy as actually used by translators:

Figure 1: Translators’ Survey

It is clear that strategies 3. Blending and 5. Omission are the least popular strategies. The strategies that the translators prefer are 1. Derivation and 2. Metaphor. To further understand the findings and get a stronger basis for future research, it is better to highlight each strategy and discuss the results.

1. Derivation

Strategy 1, Derivation: The results show that this is the most popular translation procedure; the following figure shows the actual use of this strategy in each of the contextualized short texts given in the survey. The figure illustrates that Derivation is widely used when the neologism has an identifiable, direct and single meaning as in the translation defictionalization, exoplanet, and grocernaut, which scored 47, 45, and 43 respectively. Clarity and singularity of meaning seem to be the criteria of using Derivation as a translation strategy; this is supported by the low scores of using derivation with mullet strategy, videophilia, and scuppie, where the numbers are 7, 2, and 1 respectively.

2. Metaphor

When it comes to strategy 2, Metaphor, there is a slight difference in preference. As shown in the following figure, this strategy is used with a certain type of lexical items, which consist of more than one lexeme and have indirect (metaphorical) meanings. The figure illustrates that Arab translators tend to use this strategy with items like daughter track, mullet strategy, and walkshed, which received 37, 30, and 18 respectively of the responses. Other neologisms received a noticeably few to none responses.

Figure 2: Translators’ Actual Use of Derivation

3. Blending

For strategy 3, Blending, the answers show a considerable low tendency to use
this strategy. The numbers hardly go above six. For some reason, it seems that Arab translators do not rely on this strategy when dealing with new lexemes. Perhaps the differences in the phonological, morphological, and syntactic systems are the main cause.

Figure 4: Translators’ Actual Use of Derivation
Figure 3: Translators’ Actual Use of Metaphor

4. Arabicization

Strategy 4, Arabicization - here one can again see a rather clear tendency to use this strategy with a certain type of lexical items, Abbreviations and blends. The high number of responses for both videophilia and scuppie (45, 34 respectively) compared to the low responses for other lexemes, and also in comparison to the responses of strategy 1 and 2 above, show that Arab translators tend to use this strategy as the last option when all other strategies fail or when the neologism is hard to interpret. A tendency that goes in line with what old Arab translators and terminologists used to do (cf. 3.4.2 Creating and Translating Neologisms).

5. Omission

Finally strategy 5, Omission. This strategy is quite controversial among Arab translators according to the comments from the pilot study. It is interesting to note that it was suggested by professional translators themselves. However, the comments of the subjects in the second part of the survey study suggest other procedures after using this strategy, they can be called as ‘post-omission strategies’. Those include Transference of Meaning and Translation of the Sentence.

Figure 5: Translators’ Actual Use of Arabicization

As mentioned above in section 4.1, the present researcher included another option in the questionnaire, which is labeled as Other Strategy. The following figure shows the responses of this option:

The figure shows that particular types of neologisms attracted most of the responses; those are abbreviations and lexemes with metaphorical meanings. The reason behind this is the failure of other strategies to deal with them. Scuppie (a Socially Conscious Upwardly Mobile Person), for example, as a neologism refers to a concept that
has no equivalent in the Arabic language so it is not possible to translate it, and it is not easy to arabicize for spelling difficulties. Thus, translators suggest to either translate the phrase from which the abbreviation is coined, or paraphrase it. The same procedure applies to peaknik, which is a lexeme with metaphorical meaning. The suggested strategies for this neologism are explanation of meaning, paraphrase, and translation of sentence which includes the neologism.

4.2.1.3 Discussion

Naturally, a survey like this does not only aim at revealing the actual behaviour of translators - that has to be studied in real-life translating situations - but also shows the attitudes and tendencies of individual translators, related to norms within society in which they work. Attitudes and norms are important factors for the shaping of translation strategies.

There are some interesting findings in the results of the translators’ survey. One is the tendency towards using Arabicization as a term creation procedure. Contrary to the Arabic lexicographic tradition manifested by Bahumaid (1992: 133-139) who states that arabicization in the form of loan translation, direct loan or transliteration is the most usual way of introducing foreign, normally English or French terms in Standard Arabic, the results of the present research show that arabicization as a translation strategy is only used in restricted situations when other strategies fail to give the desired translation. Even when using this strategy, translators seem to be hesitant to use it more than once and emphasize the need for additional clarifications. This is clear in some of the translators’ comments on the use of arabicization with neologisms such as videophilia “arabicize with explanation of meaning” and "ع توضيح بح المعنى الثاني "، and scuppie “use once with explanation” and “translation of sentence then use borrowing”.

It is possible to attribute this low tendency to using Arabicization as a translation strategy of neologisms to the technological development since Bahumaid’s time. The easy access to online dictionaries, glossaries, translation portals, and computer aids made
it possible for translators to avoid this strategy, bearing in mind the possible damage that may occur of heavy reliance on unplanned Arabicization.

Another aspect that would be interesting to explore is the high preference of both Derivation and Metaphor as translation strategies of English neologisms into Arabic. This reflects the strong background knowledge of Arab translators of the Arabic lexical and grammatical systems as well as Arabic literature. Derivation as a lexical procedure of term creation requires an extensive knowledge of Arabic lexicology. Metaphor, as well, requires the translator to have a considerable knowledge of Arabic literature, metaphors used in the past and present, novels and even folk stories to achieve accuracy when using this strategy. Being the first and second strategies, as indicated by the results shown above, it can be said that Arab translators are in strong touch with their language heritage.

These findings draw our attention to another role that Arab translators play besides being translators which is worthy of further investigation, namely the role of terminologists. Although translators usually do not prefer to "invent" words in the translation situation itself, many of them have been active in producing glossaries and dictionaries both for their own use and for the communities involved. It would not be farfetched to use the great interest and the linguistic creativity of translators in lexicographic work, e.g. in the creation and dissemination of new terminology.

What about the attitude of translators towards official and semi-official terminology which have been developed and recommended by authorities, organizations etc., and to what extent do translators use these terms in their work? In other words, to what extent can translators be used as assistants or agents for spreading standardized or newly created terms? And what education do translators have for that task? These and other questions which are related to the terminological aspects of creativity need to be explored in a separate study.

4.2.2 The Examination of Journals

4.2.2.1 Areas of Investigation

As pointed out above, the present thesis relies on two research tools to increase the reliability of findings. The first tool is the Survey Study, discussed thoroughly along
with the findings in the previous section (cf. 4.2.1). Now we come to the second tool of research used in this thesis, the investigation of neo-specific translation strategies in already translated literature.

The type of literature selected for this research tool is journal articles. The reason behind the selection of this particular type of written literature is to ensure recency, availability of translated versions and vitality of style. The first and most accredited criterion of identifying neologisms is recency. This is why journal articles are preferred to other types of written literature.

The areas of investigation are divided into three. The first area of investigation is the scientific/technical area and for this type, the American scientific and technical magazine titled Scientific American is chosen. The Arabic translated version of this magazine titled Al-Oloom magazine is the version in which translation strategies are specified. The second area of investigation is the political/economic area has The Economist and the translated version of its articles in Al-Majalla as the chosen sample. The third and last area of investigation is the social/general area and Newsweek (English and Arabic) is chosen.

The number of issues selected for each of the aforementioned areas of investigation is three. Although, the total number of nine issues might seem negligible, it should be noted here that sample selection is one of two investigation tools designed to increase accuracy, credibility and support the findings of the first tool (the Survey).

The following sections illustrate and discuss the findings of this research tool using figures that show the actual results.

4.2.2.2 Methodology

The methodology used in this part of the research is simple and direct. After identifying the subject matter areas of investigation and selecting the issues of each publication, the source text articles in the English versions are examined carefully for identifying lexemes that are possible neologism candidates. The second step was to verify the list of candidates against a number of soft and hard copies of reliable dictionaries. The dictionaries used for verification are:
After drawing up the final list of English neologisms, the Arabic translated versions (TT) of the English articles (ST) are examined to identify the translation strategies used in transferring the SL neologisms. The following section illustrates the findings in a written as well as graphical manner along with a discussion of the results.

4.2.2.3 Results

The process of identifying translation strategies of neologisms in journal articles took a considerable time and effort as accuracy and precision are priorities in this thesis. The findings are best explained through the following figure:

Figure 8: Translation strategies of neologisms

The numbers shown in the (percentage) field illustrate the percentage of use of a particular strategy in translating the neologisms in the included specimen. The chart above shows some interesting tendencies. The first interesting finding is the overwhelming use of strategies other than those devised and used traditionally by Arab translators to deal with neologisms. The main strategy employed is the transference of meaning of the neologism which eventually led to the deletion of the new word in the TT which is Arabic in this case. The reasons of this heavy reliance on such strategies are dealt with in the next section. Another interesting finding is the zero-use of blending as a recognized Arabic strategy of translating neologisms. Although we could not find any trace of blends in the TT’s of ST’s neologisms, it should be noted that Al-Oloom magazine is interested in introducing new Arabic blends but of words that are not neologisms anymore. Thus, the strategies are arranged according to priority of use as follows:

1. Other strategy.
3. Derivation.
4. Omission.
5. Arabicization.

4.2.2.4 Discussion

As mentioned above, the findings of the second tool of research, i.e. the examination of journal articles, are quite interesting and unexpected. The most interesting finding is the heavy use of transference of meaning. Not less interesting is the negative result regarding blending.

In order to interpret these findings, it is important to bear in mind that translation is a ‘decision-making’ process as Jirí Levý (1967) states:

From the point of view of the working situation of the translator at any moment of his work (that is from the pragmatic point of view), translating is a DECISION PROCESS: a series of a certain number of consecutive situations— moves, as in a game— situations imposing on the translator the necessity of choosing among a certain (and very often exactly definable) number of alternatives.

(Levý 1967/ Venuti 2000: 148)

Many elements intervene in the process of translation (as a decision-making process), either before, within or after the translating process. Some are pre-decision like patronage which indicates the decisions, ideologies and regulations set by the commissioner, employer or client. Another element is the translator’s own ideology which formulates the type of discourse adopted by the translator. These ideological views play a vital role in the decision-making process as Hatim (2001) points out that “[…] these ideological-discursive formations play an important role in the decision-making process undertaken by translators and in the choices made when dealing with text-worlds in transition.” (Hatim 2001: 124). Those elements can have a serious impact on the process of translation. However, other elements such as readership may have even greater influence after the translation process is complete. This is known as post-decision phase in which these elements may force the translator to re-evaluate a decision, discard a
certain translation and adopt another alternative.

Thus, the results obtained from this research tool can be interpreted according to the assumptions made above, that is, there are pre-decision-making elements as well as post decision-making elements that formulate the decisions of selecting a certain translation strategy.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusion

Language, like any organism, continuously changes in response to the changes in time, social realities, political, cultural, and economic variables. In the present technological fast-pace world, neologisms are created in various fields; hence, translators must be sensitive to neologisms and must continually work on understanding them as well as know the ways to introduce them in their cultures in an easy and readable way. English language can be considered as one of the fastest-changing languages with hundreds of new words created, and similar numbers fading away, each year. English language can be said to be the ‘exporting’ language of new terms and concepts. Many cultures and consequently languages including Arabic are mere ‘importers’ of new lexemes and concepts, which puts further burden on translators. Arabic for hundreds of years had been a flexible language capable of embracing any new concept and word. The history of Arabic is full of evidence of intercultural interactions that brought to Arabic many foreign words. All that led to the development of the Arab Islamic State in the ninth century including translation which was recognized as a respectable profession and central to all advancements made at that time.

As a profession, translation grew more sophisticated with rules and schools. Many experienced translators of that time shared their experience and passed their knowledge to the younger generations. Together, they devised solutions for each problem, an answer to each issue. We owe much of our present knowledge of translation to them.

The aim of the present thesis was to examine those translation operations used by modern professional Arab translators to deal with English neologisms. One of the things
that make neologisms attractive is that they are often exotic descriptions of other cultures even though they do not exist in ours. This is not surprising at all, as it is a well-known fact, that in this rapidly changing world, there is an increased need for knowledge, and reading. This increases the demand for literature that is informing, (and also for good translations which are informative and readable).

In order to achieve the aim of the present thesis, two different research tools are adopted. The first tool is survey study to have responses from real-life translation situations. The results demonstrate that Arab professional translators do use a certain set of translation strategies that was used in Arab Islamic era. To increase validity of the findings, a second research tool is included. This time a defined set of English, well known journals and their Arabic versions (or their translated articles) is selected for examination, extraction of neologisms and identification of the strategies employed by Arab translators. The investigation produced slightly different results. The analysis of the findings illustrated a tendency to use some alternative strategies and avoid creating TL neologisms. This tendency can be attributed to a number of factors affecting the process of translation such as ideology, skopos of the client, and readership.

Collectively, and through subjects’ responses and comments, the research findings of both research tools have important implications. The most important indicator is that Arab professional translators do not rush to use direct loans (or transliterations) whenever they encounter a neologism. The overall results show that other, more difficult paths are taken before using arabicization which is opted for as a last resort. Strategies such as derivation and metaphor, which require a certain level of excellence in both SL and TL, have priority of use to other ones.

In conclusion, it can be said that the list of translation strategies devised by medieval Arab translators to deal with new terms is valid and used in the present time. Moreover, they are, as the findings of the present thesis show, used in a particular order of importance that reveals a kind of awareness of the Arabic language and readership.

5.2 Suggestions and Recommendations

As the present thesis draws to an end, some suggestions and recommendations
building on the findings that were reached might be useful to share. Generally, it would be fruitful to emphasize on this kind of translation strategies in the curricula taught in our universities. Nevertheless, this emphasis would require an excellent mastery of Arabic as well as in English. Therefore, translation departments and schools should include an admission test of language proficiency of Arabic in addition to the TOEFL and IELTS. This is due to the fact that some of the translation strategies like derivation, metaphor and blending cannot be used unless the translator has excellent knowledge of Arabic lexicology, grammar and stylistics, and literature. The mastery of these strategies, and learning when and how to use them, is not a luxury but a the basic set of translation operations a young translation apprentice needs to acquire as they have proven their importance and validity over centuries.

The researcher would recommend further research in this particular area. Neology, in Arabic, is a sadly neglected area of research. This has been proven by the sparseness of any previous research works in this area. The potential of this area is promising; it is still virgin territory. One area of interest is the investigation of the variables or extra-linguistic qualities a translator should have in order to deal with the phenomenon of neologisms as a creative process. Another area is the study of neologisms as a translational creative process in English-Arabic translation with reference to information theory and cognitive psychology, a research area that has not been extensively investigated yet. More urgent perhaps is the need to investigate neologisms and the process of decision-making, and what factors interfere in the translation process of this particular lexical phenomenon. Finally, another very important area of research is the interpretation of neologisms, especially in simultaneous interpreting where interpreters work under immense psychological pressure.
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Retrieved October 9, 2008 form


b. Arabic Sources:
دراسة ودور التربية العلمية في اللغة العربية في القديم والحديث. (الطبع الثالثة، 2005).


بيروت: دار الفكر العربي.


الوحدة العربية.


بيروت: دار الانتشار العربي.

c. Journal Articles Used in the Sample:


Appendix

A. SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

I am conducting a questionnaire for my MA research project on the translation of English neologisms into Arabic. The purpose of this research project is to explore and better understand the difficulties in handling neologisms, and the resources and strategies translators use to render them.

I would be grateful if you could spend a few minutes completing this questionnaire. Your input and view will enhance the credibility of any findings.
Guidelines:
1. Please read each paragraph carefully.
2. Please tick only one box which represents your actual choice of translation strategy.
3. Please provide a short comment (under Comment) if you choose the box (Other strategy).
4. Please provide answers on all questions on pages 2 to 11.
Thank you for your support.

Sinan Gailan Hameed

1. Following are 10 neologisms in contextual occurrences; each question in the questionnaire relates one neologism, hence 10 questions. Please read the neologisms and their occurrences and answer the questions in terms of the strategy you would adopt in dealing with these neologisms in translation from English into Arabic.

1. Neologism: Walkshed

[...] Those under-a-mile journeys fall into the zone that new urbanists call 'walkshed': the area a person can reasonably cover on foot. People whose walksheds teem with shops and restaurants have more reason to walk than those whose don't.


Strategies: (please tick only one box)
Derivation (اﻹﺷﺗﻘﺎق)
Metaphor (اﻟﻣﺟﺎز)
Blending (اﻟﻧﺣت)
Arabicization (اﻻﺗﻌرﯾب)
Omission (اﻟﺣذف)
Other strategy

Comment: .................................................................
2. Neologism: Mullet strategy

The latest buzz term in IT circles is the "mullet strategy". It's a technique the big internet sites such as CNN, Youtube and MySpace are now turning to — "business up front, party in the back".

Which, when Billy Ray Cyrus is not in the picture, essentially means real, researched information is now posted up front, and all that indulgent user-generated opining and sledging is being shoved back to the secondary pages.

What's interesting about the mullet strategy is that it represents the first signs of backlash against that heaving mass of people out there who think a domain name gives them licence to share what they ate for breakfast.

- Sarah Wilson, "Sympathy for the devil," The Daily Telegraph, April 5, 2008

Strategies: (please tick only one box)

- Derivation (اﻹﺷﺗﻘﺎق)
- Metaphor (اﻟﻣﺟﺎز)
- Blending (اﻟﻧﺣت)
- Arabicization (اﻟﺗﻌرﯾب)
- Omission (اﻟﺣذف)
- Other strategy

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Suggested translation (optional): ........................................................................
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3. Neologism: Digital native

It's a subject that usually elicits screams of angst, rather than whoops of excitement.
Digital immigrants tend to throw their hands up in the air and proclaim the internet a sort of 21st-century Wild West, while digital natives blast the hubris of those trying to exert influence over the internet's uncontrollable force.


Strategies: (please tick only one box)

Derivation (اﻹﺷﺗﻘﺎق)
Metaphor (اﻟﻣﺟﺎز)
Blending (اﻟﻧﺣت)
Arabicization (اﻟﺗﻌرﯾب)
Omission (اﻟﺣذف)
Other strategy □

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4. Neologism: Videophilia

Numbers tell us people don't participate in outdoor activities the way they once did. ... Visits to national parks are down, as are fishing, hunting and even watching wildlife. Only 25 percent of the population — down 18 percent — participates in an outdoor activity.

Scientists call it "videophilia" — a way of life connected to computers, video games and TV.


Strategies: (please tick only one box)

Derivation (اﻹﺷﺗﻘﺎق)
5. Neologism: Groceraunt

A new business word is getting traction in Arizona. (No, it's not "sanctions.")

It's the term "groceraunt."

That's how Rose & Allyn's Chief Marketing Officer Stacy Pearson described the newest concept from Whole Foods Market.

The company’s second prototype store in Arizona to feature such additions as a restaurant and a sit-down wine bar opened in Scottsdale last month.

- Chad Graham, "Whole new word," The Arizona Republic, March 14, 2008

Strategies: (please tick only one box)

Derivation (الإشتقاق)
Metaphor (المجاز)
Blending (النحت)
Arabicization (التعريب)
Omission (الحذف)
Other strategy

Comment: ........................................................................................................

Suggested translation (optional): ........................................................................

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6. Neologism: Exoplanet

Sara Seager, a theorist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who was not part of the team, said that ‘right now in exoplanets we are on an inexorable path to finding other Earths.' Dr. Seager praised the discovery as 'a big step in finding out if our planetary system is alone.'


Strategies: (please tick only one box)

Derivation (اﻹﺷﺗﻘﺎق)
Metaphor (المجاز)
Blending (النحت)
Arabicization (التعريب)
Omission (الحذف)
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7. Neologism: Peaknik

Germanio and other Austinites who have banded together to trade information and survival tips are preparing themselves for what they see as inevitable deprivations as oil production declines past its peak. Some call them "Peakniks." [...]

Suggested translation (optional):..............................................................
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- Asher Price, "Should oil wells start running dry, Austin's 'Peakniks' will be prepared,
Austin American-Statesman, February 10, 2008

Strategies: (please tick only one box)

Derivation ( )
Metaphor ( )
Blending ( )
Arabicization ( )
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Other strategy [ ]

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Suggested translation (optional): ........................................................................
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8. Neologism: Defictionalization

- Patricia Hluchy. "When fiction becomes fact; Thank movies, TV, and literature for Holiday Inn, this jolt drink, and earthworm-flavoured jelly beans. Could 'defictionalization' become a new corporate strategy?"
- The Toronto Star, January 13, 2008

Strategies: (please tick only one box)

Derivation ( )
Metaphor ( )
Blending ( )
Arabicization ( )
Omission ( )
Other strategy [ ]

Comment: ............................................................................................................
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9. Neologism: Daughter track

[Felice N.] Schwartz (1989) introduced the term "mommy track" to refer to an alternative career path that allows a mother flexible or reduced work hours, but at the same time tends to slow or block advancement. A newly coined phrase, the "daughter track", refers to a late-in-life version of the mommy track where women are leaving their jobs to care for their aging parents.


Strategies: (please tick only one box)

Derivation (لاatching)
Metaphor (المجاز)
Blending (النحت)
Arabicization (التحريف)
Omission (الحذف)
Other strategy

Comment: ...........................................................................................

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Suggested translation (optional):..........................................................

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10. Neologism: Scuppie

I don't need to care what sort of world we pass on to our children — I don't have
any, and I'm not terribly concerned about yours — but I do anyway. Not enough to
go to extremes of effort or expense, but if I can give a beer bottle or hummus tub a
second life by putting it in an orange bin rather than a trash bag, you can count on
me.
I'm not a true scuppie — a Socially Conscious Upwardly Mobile Person —
because newspaper people are not so much upwardly mobile as backwardly noble.
I can't afford to blow the rent money at Whole Foods on organic cruelty-free,
hand-churned onion dip or imported free-trade hemp dental floss.
- Samantha Bennett, "How Green Is My Footprint?", Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, April 27,
2008
Strategies: (please tick only one box)
Derivation (لا الإشتقاق)
Metaphor (المجاز)
Blending (الاحتت)
Arabicization (التعريب)
Omission (الحذف)
Other strategy ๑
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Suggested translation (optional): ..................................................
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B. SAMPLE NEOLOGISMS FROM JOURNALS AND
MAGAZINES
Newsweek Newsweek العربية
Neologism Source (Article Title) Translation Source (Article Title)
falling angel A New Age Of Global
Capitalism Starts Now بداية عصر جديد من الخسارة الكبيرة
The New Age Of Global Capitalism Starts Now X

Bidenesque Biden's Unified Theory of Biden

Obamaniacal Biden's Unified Theory of Biden

Reaganesque Biden's Unified Theory of Biden

Anschluss Charging To The Right

Hyperpartisanship Good Luck to the Next Guy

Kennedyesque THE NEXT IRAQ fourth-generation warfare THE NEXT IRAQ type T personality President On the Precipice

Little Eight President On the Precipice

Antibailout President On the Precipice

antistimulus President On the Precipice
anti-Detroit President On the Precipice

Reaganism The Fall of America, Inc.

soft power The Fall of America, Inc.

cowboy capitalism The Fall of America, Inc.

Reaganomics The Fall of America, Inc.

negative externalities The Fall of America, Inc.

Off-Site Weekends The Monster That Ate Wall Street

welfare states on steroids

The Fall of America, Inc.

البلدان التي تفرط في تقديم

Reaganomics The Fall of America, Inc.

negative externalities The Fall of America, Inc.

Off-Site Weekends The Monster That Ate Wall Street

عطالت نهاية الأسبوع خارج
Maverickism The Palin Problem
Sarah Six-Pack The Palin Problem
Palinworld The Palin Problem
McCainworld The Palin Problem
Troopergate The Palin Problem
Scientific American
Neologism Source (Article Title) Translation Source (Article Title)
Microfluidics Big Lab on A Tiny Chip
New Orleans Effect Climate Change
Refugees
Overnurished A Question of Sustenance
Coca-Colonization A Question of Sustenance
Food defense experts Is Your Food Contaminated
Dirty bomb A Need for New Warheads
Soft targets A Need for New Warheads
Green nuclear

warhead

A Need for New

Warheads اهتاك حاجة إلى رؤوس الراس الحربي النووي الأمن

نووية جديدة

Nutraceuticals Getting to know

Nutraceuticals تعرّف المغذيات الدوائية المغذيات الدوائية وا

Life raft Conservation for the

People الحفاظ على البيئة من أجل طول الحياة

البشر

Semantic Web The Semantic Web in

Action الوب الديكالي في التطبيق الوب الديكالي

Futarchy When Markets beat

the Polls عندما تتغلب الأسواق على فوتاراي

إستطلاعات الرأي

Terrorist futures

market

When Markets beat

the Polls عندما تتغلب الأسواق على سوق إرهاب ذي عقد أجة

إستطلاعات الرأي

The Economist المجلة

Neologism Source (Article Title) Translation Source (Article Title)

TARP (Troubled

Asset Relief

Programme)

America’s bail-out

plan

برنامج إنقاذ الأصول

خطة الإنقاذ الأمريكية المضطربة
Endism America’s bail-out plan X خطة الإنقاذ الأمريكية
shadow banking
system
America’s bail-out plan النظام المصرفي غير خطة الإنقاذ الأمريكية الرسمي
off-balance-sheet vehicles
America’s bail-out plan خطة الإنقاذ الأمريكية الأدوات خارج الميزانية
tomorrow's American finance انكماش التمويل الأمريكي
Green Berets American finance التمويل الأمريكي المخترق في الأسواق
financial ecosystem American finance التمويل الأمريكي نظام إيكولوجي مالي
TIA (Terrorism Information Awareness)
Data mining (برنامج) التنوعية بمعلومات التنقيب في البيانات الإرهاب
C. SAMPLE JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES
A New Age Of Global Capitalism
Starts Now
With the American model in tatters, its European and Asian rivals make their move.
PHOTOS
The Bailout Felt 'Round the World
A look at how an American made crisis has shaken economies the world over.
Lower Credit-Card Limits Hit Holiday Shopping
It was a week for dramatic words and even more dramatic gestures. As the U.S. congress debated, then vetoed, and then revised and ultimately passed a $700 billion plan to bail out the country's failing banks, world stock markets rose and fell in what can really only be described as rollercoaster fashion. The Dow recorded its biggest loss in two decades before making up much of the ground, falling and rising again in triple digits each day of the week as Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson's plan wound its way through Congress. Among lenders, paranoia reigned—record-high interbank lending rates underscored the fact that after weeks of financial fall-out, nobody knew who was the next falling angel with a basket of exploding assets. Individual investors were gripped by siege mentality. The usual queues of limousines formed in front of London's posh Savoy Place were outnumbered by queues of customers inside, piling into a gold exchange looking to turn stacks of cash into bullion, many paying premiums of up to $100 an ounce above spot prices to walk away with coin and bars in hand. Demand for Krugerrands threatened to outstrip supply. "At least it's a safe bet," said one buyer. "I mean, what are these banks doing with our money?"

It's the question on everyone's lips. And increasingly, it's not just bank solvency that's being questioned, but the entire Anglo-Saxon capitalist system. Three decades of conventional economic wisdom said the markets were supposed to know best, but as U.S. politicians bowed to public outrage at the idea of average Joes spending nearly a trillion dollars of their hard-earned cash to bail out profligate masters of the universe who seemed to have in the end created nothing of real value (in fact, quite the opposite), it was clear that the idea that "what's good for Wall Street is also good for Main Street" is over.

Now, as the clout of Reagan–Thatcher ideology diminishes before our eyes, there's a palatable sense that a line has been drawn—we are leaving the golden era
of free markets, easy credit, high-risk deals, and big paydays, and entering a new “capitulation bottom” paradigm of tight money, tough regulation, less speculation and more government meddling in markets. Politicians everywhere, eager to reassert themselves, are calling for new regulation and "reform" of the financial system. Meanwhile, authoritarian capitalist states like China, along with social democratic nations like Germany and France, greeted the crisis with an attitude somewhere in between relief and "I told you so." Both have been fearful of the Anglo model, albeit for different reasons. The demise of Wall Street now meant that their own models might not only survive, but flourish.

In France, President Sarkozy is planning a world forum to "rethink capitalism," declaring "the legitimacy of public powers to intervene in the functioning of the financial system is no longer in question." Germany's Angela Merkel remarked last week, "A few years ago, it was fashionable to say that governments would be ever weaker in a globalized world. I never shared that view." She added that it was the Americans and British who rejected her calls for more financial regulation at the G8 meeting. Her finance minister, Peer Steinbrück, went a step further, saying the crisis would lead to "the end of America as a financial superpower."

It's a sentiment that will no doubt draw cheers in Russia, where Putin is busy blaming the "American contagion" for his market troubles, and in Latin America, where leaders from Hugo Chávez to Cristina Fernández de Kirchner to Evo Morales are declaring neoliberalism DOA. "The U.S. economic model is terminally ill," crowed Ecuador's Rafael Correa last week.

Certainly, there is no lack of schadenfreude surrounding the fall of Wall Street. But beyond that is a sense, even from many eminent players within the financial community, that things had indeed gone too far. "At a fundamental level, the model of globalization and deregulation has blown up, and that's what's caused the current crisis," says investor and philanthropist George Soros, one of the first to sound a warning about the dangers of complex securitization of nearly
everything, from mortgages to credit-card bills. "We're now at the end of that ideology." The future, says Soros, will be "less freewheeling, less aggressively speculative, less leveraged, and tighter on credit. We're in the midst of a massive de-leveraging."

Indeed, the past twenty years of deregulation and financial liberalization set the stage for an era in which bank leverage ratios reached such nose-bleed heights as 33 to 1 for Morgan and 28 to 1 for Goldman Sachs and Merrill Lynch as these and other global financial giants wielded growing numbers of complex securities like mortgage-backed derivatives to boost their profits to record highs. Now, as such banks are more tightly regulated, their leverage will decrease, and with it, so will their profits. That's bad news not just for banks, but for the economy as a whole—over the past few years, financial firms have represented around a quarter of all corporate profits in the United States. Their shrinkage will take a significant chunk out of the country's national income.

Yet the riches were borne out of a system that had become so complex and opaque that many of the people doing the deals in the end had no idea about the value of the assets they were holding. "What ultimately needs to come out of this crisis is more judicious management of capital, more transparent financial instruments and institutions, and as a result, a system that is better aligned with the real economy that it was designed to serve in the first place," says Stephen Roach, chairman of Morgan Stanley Asia. "Finance has simply moved too far from its moorings in the real economy."

It didn't happen overnight. From the late 1970s onward, a slew of legal and technological changes unshackled the growth and earning potential of financial institutions—pension funds were allowed to start investing their portfolios in the stock markets, brokers were able to start offering mutual funds to individuals, different types of banks were allowed to merge and enter new areas of business, automatic teller machines and trading software created a 24/7 electronic finance network. From the 1970s to 2005, the percentage of Americans owning stock rose
from 16 percent to more than 50 percent. As former Clinton labor secretary
Robert Reich notes in his book "Supercapitalism," there was a profound change in
the economic psychology of Americans. "Savers turned into investors, and
investors turned active."

Driving it all were the investment bankers, who, in the post-Volcker era of low
inflation, were looking for new ways to make double-digit returns. Financial
innovation burgeoned, helped along by market-friendly politicians, mostly
notably Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. There were bubbles and blips
along the way—remember the S&L crisis of the 1980s? But they were quickly
forgotten as growing prosperity continued to ensure that a "market knows best"
philosophy reigned. Throughout the 1990s, the deregulation continued, one of the
high points being the repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act that separated commercial
and investment banking.

Banks took advantage of the subsequent economies of scale (and, say some,
conflicts of interest) to grow even bigger, doing more and more highly profitable
megamergers and underwriting ever-ballooning IPOs. The repeal of the act
allowed retail banks like Citigroup and others to get into the hot new creditderivative
markets (which included products like mortgage-backed securities and
CDOs, which represent the spliced and diced debt of many entities, and are at the
heart of the current crisis). Investment bankers themselves became cigar-smoking,
suspending-wearing Croesian archetypes immortalized in numerous books and
films of the period. The rise of stock options throughout the decade further
increased their wealth (along with that of the corporate executives they serviced)
while at the same time making it more difficult to quantify the exact numbers.

Most everyone now believes the two trends together created a toxic mix. "By
allowing even commercial banks into this riskier territory, and encouraging stock
options as pay, you had an increasingly short-sighted focus on immediate profits,"
says Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz. "It created a culture of gambling."

Of course, the economy had turned by 2001, making things a bit tougher at the
roulette table, but thanks to lower and lower interest rates (the Federal Reserve, under Alan Greenspan, cut rates to 1 percent in 2003) easy money continued to flow. The decline in rates also had the effect of exploding the market for credit derivatives, those spliced and diced securities that are at the heart of the current crisis, as bankers looked for ways to boost returns in a low-interest environment. Between 2000 and its peak last summer, the market for credit default swaps, the main type of credit derivative, went from $100 billion to $62 trillion. While sages like Warren Buffett (who memorably called derivatives "financial weapons of mass destruction") and institutions like the Bank for International Settlements expressed concern, others like Greenspan insisted that they played an important role in spreading risk.

And there was plenty being spread, particularly after 2004, when another legal shift further increased the stakes of the game. The SEC, in order to gain more regulatory jurisdiction over the parent holding companies of investment banks (which it regulated), bartered away the traditional 12 to 1 cap on leverage in a Faustian bargain, allowing banks to take bets as big as they liked. On one level, the move made sense, since the holding companies were typically the entities taking the hazy credit-derivative bets that were making people increasingly nervous. Yet the result was a situation in which SEC regulators no longer had clear-cut capital guidelines to review when judging the solvency of banks; instead, they had to pour over incredibly complex models comparing the value of one group of assets with another at different points in time (it was perhaps apropos that these models were known as "Monte Carlo simulations"). It's not too difficult to imagine SEC staffers being paid five figures having a hard time keeping up with such high finance. "There are a lot of things that the SEC is good at, but that wasn't one of them," says Professor John Coffee, a securities-law expert at Columbia University. "The market for complex securities was growing too fast for them to keep up." (Coffee believes that regulation of such complex models is ultimately better left to the bankers at the Federal Reserve, which will
be in charge of regulating banks such as Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley going forward.)

House prices, which had shot up between 2001 and 2005, plummeted, exposing poor credit standards (it didn't help that the credit agencies were paid by the companies they were supposed to rank). The bubble burst. The dominoes fell.

And now Americans are left wringing their hands about the cost of a bailout package that would seem to reward the greed that created the mess to begin with.

"Much of the anger over the past week has not been about the fact that the government has produced this massive safety net, but that the people who will receive it are the Wall Streeters who've made out like bandits in the past few years," notes Robert Reich. Meanwhile, average Joes are scared (a point worked to effect by both presidential candidates in the U.S.), and basic dreams like homeownership seem to be slipping away for many. Experts like Coffee predict that with the demise of securitized mortgages, the overall mortgage market in the U.S. will contract to one tenth its current size. The sort of Depression-era scenario of a one-lender town painted in movies like "It's a Wonderful Life" no longer seems so far away.

While it's unclear yet how much help average Americans will get from the government's bailout package once details are finalized, what is clear is that the extremely free-wheeling capitalism of the past two decades is changing—if not into an entirely new ideology, then into a more moderate version of itself. For starters, old-school investment banks as we knew them are finished. Policed by the Fed, their ability to leverage themselves into big deals will shrink massively.

"I think it's going to be back to basics," says Morgan Stanley's Roach. "More advice giving and less highly leveraged trading. Deals will be driven by the strategic needs of the clients—not the intermediaries—and we'll see deals themselves that are more strategic rather than financial."

Bankers' pay may even be capped (in the U.S., Reich and many others are calling for pay pegged to five-year rolling performance targets to help curb undue shortterm
risk-taking, in Europe there are plans to legislate delays in the vetting of options. Meanwhile, the complex derivative markets that made the bankers so rich are also liable to be constrained. In the U.S., there are calls for a clearinghouse that would make trades more transparent. In Europe, plans to regulate derivatives are already moving forward: last week, the EC drafted a proposal that would ban or limit CDOs and other banking magic tricks that turned risky debt into triple A securities.

German Finance Minister Steinbrück has even launched an official campaign to "civilize" financial markets. "Unrestrained capitalism like the kind we're experiencing right now with all its greed will in the end devour itself," he proclaimed, referencing Marx in a speech in an interview with a German weekly. Steinbrück is gunning for higher cash reserves for banks, prohibitions on short selling, bonus caps, and no more off-balance-sheet vehicles, among other things. "It must be clear that returns of 25 percent can't be attained without unreasonable risk or intentionally damaging other market participants," Steinbrück told the Bundestag last week.

Of course, it's worth remembering that some of the most highly leveraged deals in recent memory were done by state-regulated German banks rather than Wall Street giants. More government oversight itself is no guarantee that all will turn out well—regulations must be well crafted, well enforced, and to some extent, flexible. George Soros, for example, a strong critic of Wall Street excesses, advocates not lowering leverage ratios to a set rate, but giving the Fed the flexibility to raise and lower the rates as market conditions dictate.

It's also worth asking whether political proclamations can actually stop people from trying to make 25 percent returns. Can capitalism itself ever really be hobbled? Or will its more buccaneering side always re-emerge after periods of repression? Hedge funds, wounded by recent losses, may be heading for the hills (they've parked some $100 billion in money market funds in recent weeks). But there are currently no major proposals to regulate them, and at some point, their
thrusting managers will be back, ready to take on the risk that investment bankers will no longer hold. Likewise, sovereign wealth funds and new emerging markets powers are flush with cash—Asian central banks alone have reserves of more than $4 trillion dollars, enough to fund several Paulson plans. This growing wealth was a major driver of financial innovation over the past several years. Now, all that money will inspire a new kind of creativity focused on circumventing any new regulations. Investors and the people who service them will seek ever more creative ways to dodge the rules.

A good chunk of the new money will undoubtedly end up in Western markets. And while that will certainly increase the power and political clout of emerging powers, and further catalyze the shift to a more multipolar world, it won't mean the wholesale demise of the free-market system. While China has used the crisis on Wall Street as an opportunity to tout its own authoritarian capitalism, the "Chinese model" resulted in market losses of 66 percent this year, and massive wealth destruction among ordinary people—hardly a comparative success.

Europeans, despite their schadenfreude, don't really have anything better to offer than Anglo-style capitalism, either. Their own regimes simply tend to follow the Anglo-American lead, albeit with resentment, a few years later, and with a lot of brakes put on by the state.

That said, the world as it enters this new economic era may in fact end up looking more like Europe. "We will muddle through and complain a lot, with no major growth surges, but no disasters, either," says Bob McKee, chief economist at London-based Independent Strategy. We will once again be savers rather than investors. A culture of thrift will reign, as credit continues to be tight in the short term. And then, at some point, the money will flow again. New bubbles will be formed. Where they will be—in energy, or green technology, or space—is anyone's guess. But regardless of bailouts and new laws, they will come again.

And when they do, everyone will have forgotten that the world almost came to an end in 2008.
Joe Biden was so disciplined during the vice presidential debate, so brief (under five minutes!) in his speech bidding farewell to his son Beau and other members of his Delaware National Guard unit heading to Iraq, that his inner self sought some release, some way of saying, "Hey, the old Joe's still alive." "The very thing people like best about me at home is that I don't have to pick every word and parse everything," he says the day after the debate, at a Wilmington, Dela., coffee shop. "And if I say something politically incorrect, they know my motive is good."

His tone is wistful as he explains how the new 24/7 coverage is draining all spontaneity from politics: "It's a shame. It requires you to withhold." So he doesn't, and proceeds to spill on subjects ranging from the demands he made before agreeing to go on the ticket, to his feelings about Barack Obama and John McCain, to a confession and Bidenesque rationalization of his own weaknesses. No gaffes, but the level of detail won't thrill the Obamaniacal control freaks in Chicago.

He was happy with the St. Louis debate, of course, and trying to be gracious: "I liked her [Sarah Palin]. When our families met, it was congenial, with none of the tension that's sometimes in the air." But he doesn't think the event was terribly relevant. "The real issue is John and Barack."

About that catch in his throat: in the moment, he "could picture Beau in the bed" after the 1972 car accident that killed Biden's first wife, Neilia, and their baby girl and critically
injured his young sons. Now Beau, the 39-year-old attorney general of Delaware, was off to war, a judge advocate general traveling to obscure regions of Iraq, where the road isn't exactly the safest place to be. The memory of being a single parent mixed with worries about Beau to create "a lot of bundled emotions. It surprised me. I was hoping nobody noticed." Only 70 million or so did.

Biden compares running for vice president to being a "cicada," in which the only time you surface publicly (if you're not Sarah Palin) is when chosen, at the debate and if you win. His description of his reluctance to accept Obama's offer to go on the ticket is unconfirmable because the Democratic presidential candidate isn't talking. But it goes like this:

When Obama phoned in June to tell him he wanted to vet him, Biden said OK, but that he might well decline. He consulted with longtime advisers Ted Kaufman and Ron Klain and went back and forth on whether the vice presidency was really the best place for him to have influence with an Obama administration. It helped that all spring Obama had called him every other week or so to get his thinking on varied matters (like how to question Gen. David Petraeus when he testified). They both knew that the role of the veep under Obama would not be like Dick Cheney's, but the terms remained to be worked out.

At a secret meeting in mid-August at the Graves 601 Hotel in St. Paul, Minn., that lasted two to three hours, Obama told him it wouldn't work unless Biden viewed the vice presidency as "the capstone" of his career, not a step down. "Not the tombstone?" Biden joked.

"Will this job be too small for you?" Obama asked, with a deft appreciation of the art of flattery.

"I said no, as long as I would really be a confidant. I told him, 'The good news is, I'm 65 and you're not going to have to worry about my positioning myself to be president. The bad news is, I want to be part of the deal'."

Biden, who had stayed neutral in the Democratic primaries after dropping out in January, told Obama that he was "ready to be second fiddle" and sought no specific portfolio—but
only if he got a guaranteed hourlong, one-on-one session with the president every week (like Al Gore's lunches with Bill Clinton, and George H.W. Bush's with Ronald Reagan) and a presence at all important meetings. Obama said yes, that he wanted him for his judgment and for his help in enacting a big legislative agenda. And so the job was defined: "My role will be to say, 'Boss, here's the way I'd go about it'."

Biden says Obama reminds him of Bill Clinton in his "confidence, cognitive ability, judgment" and intellectual security—that he can listen and absorb advice without having to prove he's the smartest person in the room, a critical leadership skill. He says he experienced an "epiphany" during a recent conference call on the bailout bill with Bob Rubin, Paul Volcker, Warren Buffett, Paul O'Neill, Joseph Stiglitz, Larry Summers and Laura Tyson. "He [Obama] comes on the call and says, 'Well, folks, sorry I'm late. I've got four questions.' He was in total frigging command! Here's a 47-year-old guy in one of the most complicated economic dilemmas anyone has had to face since 1929 to '33. And it was like, 'Bang! Bang! Bang!' I called him afterward and said, 'You sold me, sucker!'"

Would the relationship prosper over time? The history in Democratic White Houses is mixed. JFK grew weary of the needy narcissism of LBJ, who felt patronized by the Camelot crowd. Clinton and Gore fell hard for each other, then fell out over the Lewinsky scandal. Biden expresses no doubts about this one. He says he and his wife, Jill, have bonded with the Obamas. "I know that he knows I would never, ever undercut him." The words are emphatic and carefully enunciated: "I have never undercut anyone in my life. And I'm comfortable enough in my own skin that I don't need to be recognized."

Biden's friends say that he is, indeed, more mature, philosophical and oblivious to criticism that once would have wounded him. Even if he still occasionally inhabits the stereotype of a Senate blowhard, his effusive decency and hard work have always made him exceptionally popular with his colleagues on both sides of the aisle (while still in command of his faculties, the late Sen. Strom Thurmond instructed his wife that Biden should give the eulogy at his funeral). "The reason I got so much done in the Senate was that I could say, 'This ought to be your idea'," Biden says. In other words, he wants some credit for not being a credit hog.
Biden readily acknowledges he has had a problem zipping his lip. As a former chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee (he now chairs Foreign Relations), he took hits for his talky and sometimes peevish handling of the confirmation process. His own mom called in 2005 after his tough questioning of chief justice nominee John Roberts to say, "Joey, he's such a nice young man." This is not a story most senators would tell about themselves.

When he puts himself on the couch, Biden finds that he has what he describes as a Reaganesque habit of occasionally telling stories that are true in a larger sense but "might not be totally accurate" (the 1987 plagiarism from British politician Neil Kinnock fit into this category). Throughout his life, he says, he gets in trouble when he gets angry, even if it's for the right reasons. He finally concluded that what sets him off (whether it was punching another kid in the old neighborhood who pushed his sister or losing control in a hearing room) is the same thing that has animated his public passions (civil rights at the beginning of his career, the Violence Against Women Act, confronting genocide in Bosnia). It's Joe Biden's unified theory of himself: "Everything about my faith and family has centered on this notion of abuse of power. Where I end up crossing the line is related to people being taken advantage of."

The righteous anger connects Biden to John McCain. He says the two men often confided in each other. "Some, including in my own family, think I'm being too protective of an old friend," Biden says. He doesn't think McCain has sold out his principles because he was never a maverick to begin with: "When you cut through the marginal stuff, he's a very serious economic conservative and always has been. And his disagreements with Bush on foreign policy have all been about tactics, not strategy." McCain's politics, he says, are "visceral," "personal" and "moral." Certain issues "prick his conscience and emotions on an ad hoc basis" that Biden describes as "incoherent."

Biden is far from cocky about the outcome of the election. He says he has plenty of work to do even around his birthplace of Scranton, Pa., to make Democrats and independents more comfortable voting for Obama. But he's comfortable going down the stretch, with his campaign, his new "boss" and with himself.
Along with some of Wall Street's most storied firms, a certain vision of capitalism has collapsed. How we restore faith in our brand.

By Francis Fukuyama | NEWSWEEK
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The implosion of America's most storied investment banks. The vanishing of more than a trillion dollars in stock-market wealth in a day. A $700 billion tab for U.S. taxpayers. The scale of the Wall Street crackup could scarcely be more gargantuan. Yet even as Americans ask why they're having to pay such mind-bending sums to prevent the economy from imploding, few are discussing a more intangible, yet potentially much greater cost to the United States—the damage that the financial meltdown is doing to America's "brand."

Ideas are one of our most important exports, and two fundamentally American ideas have dominated global thinking since the early 1980s, when Ronald Reagan was elected president. The first was a certain vision of capitalism—one that argued low taxes, light regulation and a pared-back government would be the engine for economic growth. Reaganism reversed a century-long trend toward ever-larger government. Deregulation became the order of the day not just in the United States but around the world.

The second big idea was America as a promoter of liberal democracy around the world, which was seen as the best path to a more prosperous and open international order. America's power and influence rested not just on our tanks and dollars, but on the fact that most people found the American form of self-government attractive and wanted to reshape their societies along the same lines—what political scientist Joseph Nye has labeled our "soft power."

It's hard to fathom just how badly these signature features of the American brand have been discredited. Between 2002 and 2007, while the world was enjoying an
unprecedented period of growth, it was easy to ignore those European socialists and Latin American populists who denounced the U.S. economic model as "cowboy capitalism."

But now the engine of that growth, the American economy, has gone off the rails and threatens to drag the rest of the world down with it. Worse, the culprit is the American model itself: under the mantra of less government, Washington failed to adequately regulate the financial sector and allowed it to do tremendous harm to the rest of the society.

Democracy was tarnished even earlier. Once Saddam was proved not to have WMD, the Bush administration sought to justify the Iraq War by linking it to a broader "freedom agenda"; suddenly the promotion of democracy was a chief weapon in the war against terrorism. To many people around the world, America's rhetoric about democracy sounds a lot like an excuse for furthering U.S. hegemony.

The choice we face now goes well beyond the bailout, or the presidential campaign. The American brand is being sorely tested at a time when other models—whether China's or Russia's—are looking more and more attractive. Restoring our good name and reviving the appeal of our brand is in many ways as great a challenge as stabilizing the financial sector. Barack Obama and John McCain would each bring different strengths to the task. But for either it will be an uphill, years-long struggle. And we cannot even begin until we clearly understand what went wrong—which aspects of the American model are sound, which were poorly implemented, and which need to be discarded altogether.

Many commentators have noted that the Wall Street meltdown marks the end of the Reagan era. In this they are doubtless right, even if McCain manages to get elected president in November. Big ideas are born in the context of a particular historical era. Few survive when the context changes dramatically, which is why politics tends to shift from left to right and back again in generation-long cycles.

Reaganism (or, in its British form, Thatcherism) was right for its time. Since Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s, governments all over the world had only grown bigger and bigger. By the 1970s large welfare states and economies choked by red tape were proving highly dysfunctional. Back then, telephones were expensive and hard to
get, air travel was a luxury of the rich, and most people put their savings in bank accounts paying low, regulated rates of interest. Programs like Aid to Families With Dependent Children created disincentives for poor families to work and stay married, and families broke down. The Reagan-Thatcher revolution made it easier to hire and fire workers, causing a huge amount of pain as traditional industries shrank or shut down. But it also laid the groundwork for nearly three decades of growth and the emergence of new sectors like information technology and biotech.

Internationally, the Reagan revolution translated into the "Washington Consensus," under which Washington—and institutions under its influence, like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—pushed developing countries to open up their economies. While the Washington Consensus is routinely trashed by populists like Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, it successfully eased the pain of the Latin American debt crisis of the early 1980s, when hyperinflation plagued countries such as Argentina and Brazil. Similar market-friendly policies are what turned China and India into the economic powerhouses they are today.

And if anyone needed more proof, they could look at the world's most extreme examples of big government—the centrally planned economies of the former Soviet Union and other communist states. By the 1970s they were falling behind their capitalist rivals in virtually all respects. Their implosion after the fall of the Berlin Wall confirmed that such welfare states on steroids were an historical dead end.

Like all transformative movements, the Reagan revolution lost its way because for many followers it became an unimpeachable ideology, not a pragmatic response to the excesses of the welfare state. Two concepts were sacrosanct: first, that tax cuts would be self-financing, and second, that financial markets could be self-regulating.

Prior to the 1980s, conservatives were fiscally conservative—that is, they were unwilling to spend more than they took in in taxes. But Reaganomics introduced the idea that virtually any tax cut would so stimulate growth that the government would end up taking in more revenue in the end (the so-called Laffer curve). In fact, the traditional view was correct: if you cut taxes without cutting spending, you end up with a damaging deficit.
Thus the Reagan tax cuts of the 1980s produced a big deficit; the Clinton tax increases of
the 1990s produced a surplus; and the Bush tax cuts of the early 21st century produced an
even larger deficit. The fact that the American economy grew just as fast in the Clinton
years as in the Reagan ones somehow didn't shake the conservative faith in tax cuts as the
surefire key to growth.

More important, globalization masked the flaws in this reasoning for several decades.
Foreigners seemed endlessly willing to hold American dollars, which allowed the U.S.
government to run deficits while still enjoying high growth, something that no
developing country could get away with. That's why Vice President Dick Cheney
reportedly told President Bush early on that the lesson of the 1980s was that "deficits
don't matter."
The second Reagan-era article of faith—financial deregulation—was pushed by an
unholy alliance of true believers and Wall Street firms, and by the 1990s had been
accepted as gospel by the Democrats as well. They argued that long-standing regulations
like the Depression-era Glass-Steagall Act (which split up commercial and investment
banking) were stifling innovation and undermining the competitiveness of U.S. financial
institutions. They were right—only, deregulation produced a flood of innovative new
products like collateralized debt obligations, which are at the core of the current crisis.
Some Republicans still haven't come to grips with this, as evidenced by their proposed
alternative to the bailout bill, which involved yet bigger tax cuts for hedge funds.

The problem is that Wall Street is very different from, say, Silicon Valley, where a light
regulatory hand is genuinely beneficial. Financial institutions are based on trust, which
can only flourish if governments ensure they are transparent and constrained in the risks
they can take with other people's money. The sector is also different because the collapse
of a financial institution harms not just its shareholders and employees, but a host of
innocent bystanders as well (what economists soberly call "negative externalities").

Signs that the Reagan revolution had drifted dangerously have been clear over the past
decade. An early warning was the Asian financial crisis of 1997-98. Countries like
Thailand and South Korea, following American advice and pressure, liberalized their
capital markets in the early 1990s. A lot of hot money started flowing into their economies, creating a speculative bubble, and then rushed out again at the first sign of trouble. Sound familiar? Meanwhile, countries like China and Malaysia that didn't follow American advice and kept their financial markets closed or strictly regulated found themselves much less vulnerable.

A second warning sign lay in America's accumulating structural deficits. China and a number of other countries began buying U.S. dollars after 1997 as part of a deliberate strategy to undervalue their currencies, keep their factories humming and protect themselves from financial shocks. This suited a post-9/11 America just fine; it meant that we could cut taxes, finance a consumption binge, pay for two expensive wars and run a fiscal deficit at the same time. The staggering and mounting trade deficits this produced—$700 billion a year by 2007—were clearly unsustainable; sooner or later the foreigners would decide that America wasn't such a great place to bank their money. The falling U.S. dollar indicates that we have arrived at that point. Clearly, and contrary to Cheney, deficits do matter.

Even at home, the downside of deregulation were clear well before the Wall Street collapse. In California, electricity prices spiraled out of control in 2000-2001 as a result of deregulation in the state energy market, which unscrupulous companies like Enron gamed to their advantage. Enron itself, along with a host of other firms, collapsed in 2004 because accounting standards had not been enforced adequately. Inequality in the United States rose throughout the past decade, because the gains from economic growth went disproportionately to wealthier and better-educated Americans, while the incomes of working-class people stagnated. And finally, the bungled occupation of Iraq and the response to Hurricane Katrina exposed the top-to-bottom weakness of the public sector, a result of decades of underfunding and the low prestige accorded civil servants from the Reagan years on.

All this suggests that the Reagan era should have ended some time ago. It didn't partly because the Democratic Party failed to come up with convincing candidates and arguments, but also because of a particular aspect of America that makes our country
very different from Europe. There, less-educated, working-class citizens vote reliably for socialist, communist and other left-learning parties, based on their economic interests. In the United States, they can swing either left or right. They were part of Roosevelt's grand Democratic coalition during the New Deal, a coalition that held through Lyndon Johnson's Great Society in the 1960s. But they started voting Republican during the Nixon and Reagan years, swung to Clinton in the 1990s, and returned to the Republican fold under George W. Bush. When they vote Republican, it's because cultural issues like religion, patriotism, family values and gun ownership trump economic ones.

This group of voters will decide November's election, not least because of their concentration in a handful of swing states like Ohio and Pennsylvania. Will they tilt toward the more distant, Harvard-educated Obama, who more accurately reflects their economic interests? Or will they stick with people they can better identify with, like McCain and Sarah Palin? It took an economic crisis of massive proportions from 1929 to 1931 to bring a Democratic administration to power. Polls indicate we may have arrived again at that point in October 2008.

The other critical component of the American brand is democracy, and the willingness of the United States to support other democracies around the world. This idealistic streak in U.S. foreign policy has been constant over the past century, from Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations through Roosevelt's Four Freedoms to Reagan's call for Mikhail Gorbachev to "tear down this wall."

Promoting democracy—through diplomacy, aid to civil society groups, free media and the like—has never been controversial. The problem now is that by using democracy to justify the Iraq War, the Bush administration suggested to many that "democracy" was a code word for military intervention and regime change. (The chaos that ensued in Iraq didn't exactly help democracy's image either.) The Middle East in particular is a minefield for any U.S. administration, since America supports nondemocratic allies like the Saudis, and refuses to work with groups like Hamas and Hizbullah that came to power through elections. We don't have much credibility when we champion a "freedom agenda."
The American model has also been seriously tarnished by the Bush administration's use of torture. After 9/11 Americans proved distressingly ready to give up constitutional protections for the sake of security. Guantánamo Bay and the hooded prisoner at Abu Ghraib have since replaced the Statue of Liberty as symbols of America in the eyes of many non-Americans.

No matter who wins the presidency a month from now, the shift into a new cycle of American and world politics will have begun. The Democrats are likely to increase their majorities in the House and Senate. A huge amount of populist anger is brewing as the Wall Street meltdown spreads to Main Street. Already there is a growing consensus on the need to re-regulate many parts of the economy.

Globally the United States will not enjoy the hegemonic position it has occupied until now, something underscored by Russia's Aug. 7 invasion of Georgia. America's ability to shape the global economy through trade pacts and the IMF and World Bank will be diminished, as will our financial resources. And in many parts of the world, American ideas, advice and even aid will be less welcome than they are now.

Under such circumstances, which candidate is better positioned to rebrand America? Barack Obama obviously carries the least baggage from the recent past, and his postpartisan style seeks to move beyond today's political divisions. At heart he seems a pragmatist, not an ideologue. But his consensus-forming skills will be sorely tested when he has to make tough choices, bringing not just Republicans but unruly Democrats into the fold. McCain, for his part, has talked like Teddy Roosevelt in recent weeks, railing against Wall Street and calling for SEC chairman Chris Cox's head. He may be the only Republican who can bring his party, kicking and screaming, into a post-Reagan era. But one gets the sense that he hasn't fully made up his mind what kind of Republican he really is, or what principles should define the new America.

American influence can and will eventually be restored. Since the world as a whole is likely to suffer an economic downturn, it is not clear that the Chinese or Russian models will fare appreciably better than the American version. The United States has come back from serious setbacks during the 1930s and 1970s, due to the adaptability of our system.
and the resilience of our people.

Still, another comeback rests on our ability to make some fundamental changes. First, we must break out of the Reagan-era straitjacket concerning taxes and regulation. Tax cuts feel good but do not necessarily stimulate growth or pay for themselves; given our longterm fiscal situation Americans are going to have to be told honestly that they will have to pay their own way in the future. Deregulation, or the failure of regulators to keep up with fast-moving markets, can become unbelievably costly, as we have seen. The entire American public sector—underfunded, depprofessionalized and demoralized—needs to be rebuilt and be given a new sense of pride. There are certain jobs that only the government can fulfill.

As we undertake these changes, of course, there's a danger of overcorrecting. Financial institutions need strong supervision, but it isn’t clear that other sectors of the economy do. Free trade remains a powerful motor for economic growth, as well as an instrument of U.S. diplomacy. We should provide better assistance to workers adjusting to changing global conditions, rather than defend their existing jobs. If tax cutting is not a path to automatic prosperity, neither is unconstrained social spending. The cost of the bailouts and the long-term weakness of the dollar mean that inflation will be a serious threat in the future. An irresponsible fiscal policy could easily add to the problem.

And while fewer non-Americans are likely to listen to our advice, many would still benefit from emulating certain aspects of the Reagan model. Not, certainly, financialmarket deregulation. But in continental Europe, workers are still treated to long vacations, short working weeks, job guarantees and a host of other benefits that weaken their productivity and will not be financially sustainable.

The unedifying response to the Wall Street crisis shows that the biggest change we need to make is in our politics. The Reagan revolution broke the 50-year dominance of liberals and Democrats in American politics and opened up room for different approaches to the problems of the time. But as the years have passed, what were once fresh ideas have hardened into hoary dogmas. The quality of political debate has been coarsened by partisans who question not just the ideas but the motives of their opponents. All this
makes it harder to adjust to the new and difficult reality we face. So the ultimate test for the American model will be its capacity to reinvent itself once again. Good branding is not, to quote a presidential candidate, a matter of putting lipstick on a pig. It's about having the right product to sell in the first place. American democracy has its work cut out for it.

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في النظام الرأسمالي الألغوسياسوني يبرز التفكير الاقتصادي الذي ساد خلال ثلاثة عقود من أن الأسواق قادرة على ضبط نفسها، لكن فيما أن السياسيون الأمريكيون يدعون للخطط الشعبي إزاء فكرة إنفاق نحو تريليونات دولار من أمورهم التي جنوها بعرق جبينهم لإفادة أسباب التبادل في العالم الذين بدأوا وأهمهم لم يقوموا بإرسال شيء ذي قيمة حقيقة (بل العكس هو الصحيح في الواقع)، أن واضحا أن النكرة القائمة "ما هو ولمتصلة عقول ستريت هو أيضا لمصلحة الشعب" لم تتطلبت على ذلك الوضع.

بالنسبة إلى تأثير أيدولوجية ريجيان وانتشار أمام أعيننا، ثمة حس ملحوظ بأننا نتخاطب عصراً ذهبياً ساد فيه الأسواق الحرة وهسولة الحصول على قروض، والصفقات عالية الخطورة، والمكافآت الكبيرة، ودمج عصراً جديداً يصعب فيه الحصول على قروض وكتل فيه القوانين الصارمة ونقل فيه المضارعية ويتبادل التنافس الحكومي في الأسواق، السياسيون في آل مكان، والتفاوت لإعداد فرض نفسه، يدفع إلى اعتقاد قوانين جديدة و"إصلاح" النظام المالي. في عضوين ذلك، فإن الدول الاستبدادية الرأسمالية مثل الصين، فضلاً عن الدول الديمقراطية الإنشائية مثل ألمانيا وفرنسا، رحبت بالأزمة بموقف برازو بين الارتياح ووافلة "حذرتكم من ذلك". أتاهوا فنا تطابق النموذج الألغوسياسوني، ولكن لأنواص مختلفة. أزمة وول ستريت تعني الآن أن نموذجوهما ليسا قابلين على الاستمرار فحسب بل على الازدهار أيضا. في فرنسا، بخطط رئيس ساروزي لإقامة منتدى عالمي "إعادة النظر في الرأسمالية"، معلنا أن "الشريعة تدخل الوقوع العامة في عمل النظام المالي لم تعد موضوع نقاش". وقد قالت أفغليا ميرال الألمانية الأسبوع الماضي: "قبل وضع سنوات، أن من الشائع القول إن الحكومات ستنداد ضعفاً مع انتشار العولمة. لكن رأي أس مخافة". وأضافت إن الأمريكيين والبريطانيين هم الذين رفضوا دعواتها إلى إقرار المزيد من القوانين المالية خلال قمة الدول الصناعية الكبرى الثمانية. وزير ماليتها، بير شتاينبروك، ذهب أبعد من ذلك، قائلا إن الأزمة ستؤدي إلى "نهضة أمريكا قوة مالية عظمى.

"وفيما يعود سلقي الترحيب بلا شك في روسيا، حيث بوتين مائش على لوم "العدو الأسبوعي" على الاضطرابات في سوقنا المالية، أما سيت الترحيب به أيضا في أمريكا اللاتينية حيث يعلن رحيلًا ببدء من هو غور تشافيغ وصولاً إلى أريستينا فرنانديز دي أرمان وأيغو موراليس أن الليبرالية الجديدة انتهت. وقد تبجي رافيل أوريا الإوادي الأسبوع الماضي قائلا إن" النموذج الاقتصادي الأمريكي بحاجة من المواد أن مشاعر الثمانية إزاء انهيار وول ستريت سائدة الآن. لكن فضلا عن ذلك، يسود حس حتى بين الكثير من اللاعبين المهمين في المجتمع المالي بأن الأمور تختلف الحدود بالفعل. يقول المستمر والمحن جورج سوروس، وهو أحد أوائل الذين حذروا من ظواهر عرض آل شلي للبيع بشكل أسهم معدلات الترباد، بدءاً من القروض السكنية وصولاً إلى فواتير بطاقات الائتمان: "انهيار نموذج العولمة وازالة القيود، وهذا ما سيب الأزمة الحالية في الأساس. نحن نشهد الآن نهاية هذه الإيديولوجية. ويشير سوروس إلى المستقبل سيكون "أثر تساالأ، وأقل ترايحاً على المضاربة وستنخفض الديون وتعرض المزيد من القروض على الفوضى. نحن في خضم عملية ضخمة تخفيض الديون."
في الواقع، السنوات الـ20 الماضية التي سادت فيها إزالة القيود وتحرير النظام المالي مهدت لحقبة وصلت فيها ديون البنوك إلى نسب قياسية بلغت 33 إلى 1 في بنك "مورغان" و28 إلى 1 في "غولدن سাস" و"ميريل لينش". عندما ازدادت أعداد الأسهم المعقدة مثل المشتقات المالية المدعومة بالقرود المتباينة لرفع أرباحها إلى مستويات قياسية. الآن، وبعدما أصبحت القيود أثر صارمة على هذه البنوك، ستنخفض ديونها، وذالك أرباحها.

هؤلاء أخيراً سهنة، ليس فقط للبنوك، بل للاقتصاد عموما، خلال السنوات القليلة الماضية، أتت أرباح المؤسسات المالية تشكل ريع أرباح آل المؤسسات التجارية في الولايات المتحدة. وتقلص أرباحها سيعود إلى حد أبعد.

الدخل الوطني للبلد

غير أن هذا الصرء تحقق بواسطة نظام أصبح معقدا وغير شفاف لدرجة أن الكثير من الناس الذين آنوا يتشرون.

هذه المشتقات المالية لم تكن لديهم أي فكرة عن القيمة الحقيقية للأصول التي يشتورونها. يقول ستيفن روش، رئيسي مورغان ستانلي في آسيا: "ما يجب أن يتأتي في النهاية من هذه الأزمة هو إدارة أثر حكمة لرؤوس الأموال ومشتقات مالية ومؤسسات أثر شفافة، وبالتالي نظام ينتمي بشكل أفضل مع الاقتصاد الحقيقي الذي آن يفترض أن يخدمه أولاً. النظام المالي ابتكر أثيراً عن روابطه بالإنتاج الحقيقي.

لم يحدث ذلك بين ليلة وضحاها. منذ أواخر سبعينيات القرن الماضي، أثرت سلسلة من التغييرات القانونية والتكنولوجية، فرحت القيود على النمو وعلى إمكانية جني الأرباح التي آنوا مفروضة على المؤسسات المالية، فقد سمح لصندوق التقاعد بالاستثمار في أسواق الأوراق المالية، وأصبح بإمكان المساهم عرض بيع أسهم في الصناديق الاستثمارية المشتركة، وسمح لأنواع مختلفة من البنوك بالانسجام ودخول مجالات تجارية جديدة، وأدى استعمال آلات الصرف الآلي وبرمجيات النظام الأساسي إلى خلق شبكة مالية إلكترونية تعمل على مدار الساعة.

من سبعينيات القرن الماضي وحتى عام 2005، ارتفعت نسبة الأمريكيين الذين يملكون أسهماً من 16 بالمائة إلى أكثر من 50 بالمائة. أما يشير روبرت رايخ، وزير العمال السابق في إدارة الثومن، في آتباه الرأسمالية المفرطة (Supercapitalism)، حصول تغيير جذري في نظرية الإدارة إلى الصناديق الاستثمارية.

ولتحول المدخرون إلى مستثمرين، وأصبح المستثمرون ناشئين.

والولايات الامريكية الذين آنوا يبحثون في أعماق حقبة فولكر التي تميزت بمعدلات تضخم متدنية، عن طرق جديدة لجني أرباح تفوق الـ10 بالمائة، انها الممكن وراء الـ10، وتزامنت الاكتشافات المالية بمصاف السياسيين المشجعين للسوق، لاسيما رونالد ريغان ومارغريت تانشر. وقد تشكلت تلك الأمم من الازدهار المفرط، هل تدارون أنماذب بنوك الأذخار والأوقاف؟ هذه أسئلة متكررة. وخلال تسعينيات القرن الماضي، استمر رفع القيود، وانت إحدى أهم نقاط التي تعكس هذا التغيير إبتسال قانون غلاس ستيغل الذي يفرض الفصل بين البنوك التجارية والبنوك الاستثمارية.

استغلت البنوك اقتصاد العرض والطلب المتاحي من ذلك (ويفول البعض إنها استغلت تضارب المصالح) لتمو}
أثر، وتبرم صفقات دمج ضخمة متامانية الأرباح وعرض أسهمها في الأسواق بشكل مريح جدا، إيطال ذلك القانون أتاح للبنوك التي تقدم خدمات مصرية للأفراد مثل "سيتي غرووب" وغيره دخول سوق المشتقات الإثليمية المريحة (التي تضمنت إمكانية الاستثمار في أسهم مدعومة بقرود سكنية والأوراق المدعومة بأصول، التي تشكل خليطا من قروض متنوعة، وهي من النسبية الأساسية لازمة الحالية). وأصبح الوالدان الاستثماريون أنفسهم من مدخلي السيجار، ويسعون أخر أصحاب الميا وياتروا نماذج تجسيم الرواء بتكليفهم في الكثير من الكتب والافلام في تلك الحقبة. انتشر التداول بالسنادات طوال تلك العقد، وترقيت وترامدي الشركات الذين كانوا يعملون لمصلحتهم، مما صعب في الوقت نفسه تحديد القمة الحقيقية للصفقات. معظم الناس ينحوون الآن إلى أن الساعدين مجتمعين شكلا خليطا مؤديا. يقول جوزف ستيفانز المهاج جانش نويل: "من خلال السماح للبنوك التجارية بدخول هذا المضارع الأثر طفيف، وتشجيع توزيع السندات المالية بدلًا أتعاب، أصبح هناك ترايز قصير الأمد على جني الأرباح بسرعة، مما خلق تفاقة قائمة على المقامرة.

طبعا، أن الاقتصاد قد تغير عام 2001، مما صعب جني الأرباح، ولكن فضل تدني معدلات القائدة (بنك الاحتياطي الفيدرالي) لخفض معدل القائدة إلى 1 بالمائة عام 2003 في حقبة آلان غرينسبان، بقيت القروض سهلة المال.

تدني معدلات القائدة أدى أيضا إلى ازدهار سوق المشتقات المالية القائمة على القروض، أي الأوراق المالية التي تشكل مزيجا من القروض والتي تسببت بالازمة المالية، فيما أن يبحث المصرفيون عن وسائل لزيادة أرباحهم في حقبة القوانين المدنية. بين عام 2000 وفترة الذروة الصيف الماضي، ارتفعت قيمة سوق المشتقات المالية القائمة على القروض المتخلفة، وهو نوع المشتقات المالية الأساسي، من 100 مليار دولار إلى 62 تريليون دولار. وفي حين عبر العقلاء أمثال وارن بافيت (الذي وصف هذه المشتقات بأنها "أسلحة دمار شامل مالية") والمؤسسات مثل "بنك فور إنترناشونال سيتيمانت" عن قلقهم، أصر آخرون مثل غرينسبان على أنها تلعب دورًا مهمًا في الحد من المخاطر من خلال توزيعها.

المخاطر التي تم توزيعها أثناء أثرًا، لاسيما بعد عام 2004، عندما أدى تغيير قانوني جديد إلى رفع مخاطر اللعبة. لجنة مراقبة عمليات الائتمان في الولايات المتحدة، بعد فرض سيطرتها على الشركات التي تملك البنوك الاستثمارية (التي أئت تنظيمها)، نخلت عن الحد الأقصى المقروض على الدائن الذي أئت نسبته 12 إلى 1 في صنف جمهورية، متعحة للبنوك قبل رهنات المستثمرين مما أئت أثرًا. من ناحية، بدأ هذا الخطوة 1 منطوية، لأن الشركات الأم أئت عادة هي التي نعطي رهنات المشتقات المالية المدعومة بالقرود الغربية التي أئت تقلل الناس بشكل متزايد. نتيجة لذلك، لم يعد لمنظمته لجنة مراقبة عمليات الائتمان معلومات مالية واضحة بدلًا من ذلك، توجهت عليه دراسة مفتوحة شديدة "يتعلقون إلى الصمود عند تقدير قدرة البنوك على الوفاء بجميع الدين، التعقيد للمقارنة بين قيمة مجموعة من الأصول ومجموعة أخرى في أوقات مختلفة رياً أن من الملمع وصف هذه النماذج بأنها "محاولة لكازينو موتني آلولو"). ليس من الصعب جدا تصور أن موظفي لجنة مراقبة عمليات الائتمان الذين يفتقدون أجورًا زهيدة نسبا، عانوا مشكل في فهم مسائل مالية معقدة. يقول الأساتذة جون
أوفي، وهو خبير في قانون الأوراق المالية في جامعة أوبورن: "لجنة مراقبة عمليات البورصة تجهد الكثير من الأوراق المالية، لكنها لا تجد التعامل مع هذه المسائل. أنت سوق الأوراق المالية المعقدة الترايب تنمو بسرعة توقع قدرة اللجنة على مجاريها". (يعتقد أوفي أنه يستحسن ترك تنظيم هذه التحاليف المعقدة للمصرفين في تلك الاحتياطي الفيدرالي، الذي سيكون مسؤولا عن تنظيم بنوك مثل غولدمان ساوس ومورغان ستانلي من الآن.)

انهارت أسعار المنازل، التي أنت قد ارتفعت بشكل حاد بين عامي 2001 و2005، أنشطة سوق العقارات الاحترافية في بقية العالم. ومع ذلك، فالمرشحين الرئيسيين، مثل غوغل وآمازون، الذين جدوا أرباحا طائلة خلال السنوات القليلة الماضية، في غضون ذلك، فإن المواطنيين العاديين خائفون (وهي نقطة استطلاع آنالستاتش، الأمر الذي سيكون من ذلك عملهم في وول ستريت أنفسهم). إن الأمل الأساسي، مثل ملكية المنازل، الذي جدوا أرباحا طائلة خلال الفترة الحالية. السيناريو الرئيسي، الذي قد يحدث، هو أن الأسئلة التي جدو أنعوا على مستوى العالم، المقاضاة بписыва، وصولا إلى أوراق مالية تداولها بكثافة.

من الجدير بالذكر أن ألوان الوصول إلى إيدولوجيا جديدة بالكامل، فهي تصريح أثر اعتدالاً في العديد من المناصب، بدأ تتغير، وإن لم تكن تحتاج إلى إيدولوجيا جديدة بالكامل، فهي تصريح أثر اعتدالاً.. وأولاً، البنوك الاستثمارية التقليدية، أما نعرفها ولد إلى غير رجعة، فقد فازت بملجة بنك الاحتياطي الفيدرالي، فإن قدرتها على تغطية استثمارات أثيرة ستعطى إلى حد كبير. يقول رونالد، من مورغان ستانلي: "أن أن علينا العودة إلى الأمس. توفير المزيد من النصائح وتقليل التداعيات بالأسمم الشديد الخطرة، ستكون الصفقات الناتجة عن الخوارزمية في الولايات المتحدة، مثل دعوات إنشاء دار مقاضاة تجعل عمليات التأمين بالأسمم أكثر شفافية. وفي أوروبا، بدأ المخططات لتنظيم الإجراءات بالمنظمات المالية تأخذ مجارها: الأموال المعاوضة، صاغ الاتحاد الأوروبي مشروع قانون يحظر أو يضع قيودا على الأسهم المدفوعة بالقروض وغيرها من الجرائم المصرفية التي حولت القروض الخطرة إلى أوراق مالية تم التداول بها بكلفة عالية.

تذكر بأفكار، وهو رياض في الأوراق المالية، بدأ بغيره بعد أقدمه. وربما يتم وضع حذافير أفور لاجراء المصرفين (في الولايات المتحدة)، بطلب راي وآليسون غيره بعد أقدمه. وربما يتم وضع حذافير أفور لاجراء المصرفين (في الولايات المتحدة)، بطلب راي وآليسون غيره بعد أقدمه.
وقد أطلق وزير المالية الألماني شتاينبروك حتى حملة رسمية ل"تمديد" الأسواق المالية. وأعلن، مقتبسا خطابًا لمارس في مقابلة مع مجلة أسبوعية ألمانية: "الرأسمالية غير المفيدة والجشعة مثل تلك التي تشهدنا الآن ستستلم نفسها في النهاية". يسعى شتاينبروك لإحبار البنوك على زيادة مخزوناتها الاحتياطي من السيولة وعظر المضاربة بالأسهم بغية تخفيض أسعارها، وضع حد لأقصى للعوارض، وعظر العمليات المالية التي لا تظهر في الميزانية العومية، وغيرها من الخطوات. وقال لصحيفة بوندستاغ الأسبوع الماضي: "يجب أن يكون واضحا أن أرباح بنسبة 25 بالمائة غير ممكن من دون مخاطر غير معقولة أو من دون إهداء المشاريع الأخرى في الأسواق بشكل متسدّع.

طبعا، يجدر النظر أن بعض الصفقات الأخرى خطورة في الدائرة الحديثة، فالمثل بها بنوك ألمانية تخضع لرقابة الدولة ولن ينفع بنوك وول ستريت المعاكفة. زيادة الرقابة الحكومية تحديدا لا تعني أن الأمور ستكون على ما برم، يجب أن تحاول البنوك بشكل جيد وأن يتم تطبيقها بشكل جيد وأن تكون مسألة نوضغ. جورج سوروس، وهو من أشد منتقدا إسرائيلات وول ستريت، لا يدعو إلى تخفيض نسبة الإقراض إلى مستوى محدد بل إلى جعل بنك الاحتياطي الفيدرالي يتعامل بالمرونة اللازمة لرفعة معدلات الفائدة وتخفيضها حسب ما يلائم ظروف السوق.

يجد التساؤل أيضا إن أنت الخطط السياسية الفائدة لردع الناس عن محاولة تحقيق عوائد بنسبة 25 بالمائة. هل يمكن تقسيم الرأسمالية بعد ذاتها حقا أو هل سيعود جانبها الآثار تهورا إلى الظهور مجددا بعد فترات من أبه؟ ربما تسعى صناديق الاتجاه، التي تضررت بسبب الخسائر الأخيرة، لحماية نفسها (الذي استمرت نحو مليار دولار في صناديق مالية أمنة في الأسابيع الأخيرة). لكن حاليما ما من اقتراحات مهمة لتنظيمها، وفي مرحلة ما، سيعود مدروها الطموحون، مستعينين لإتخاذالخطار والاستثمار في الأسهم التي أصبح المصروفون البنك «يتجنيونها».تلك فإن صناديق الاستثمار السيادية والقوى الصاعدة اقتصادية لديها فائض من السيولة المزاجية الأوروبية وبحدها لديها مخزون احتياطي فوق أربعة تريليونات دولار، ما يكافئ دعم خطط إنقاذ هذا الثراء المتاح. إن فجرا أساسيا للانكشافات المالية خلال السنوات الماضية، الآن، ستؤدي آل هذه الأموال إلى نوع جديد من الانفلاذات التي تهدف إلى الافتراب على أي قواعد جديدة. وسيبحث المستثمرون والأشخاص الذين يعملون لمصلحتهم عن طرق أكثر إبداعا لتفادي القوانين.

سيتيهي المطاف بجزء أكبر من الأموال الجديدة في الأسواق العربية بلا شك. وفي حين أن ذلك سيزيد من النفوذ السياسي للقوى النامية، ويعزز بشكل متزايد الانتقال إلى عالم متعدد الأقطاب، فإن هذا لا يعني انهيارا أملا لانظام السوق الحر. مع أن الصين استغلت أزمة وول ستريت للتغلب بمدفوعها الخاص من الرأسمالية الاستبدادية، فإن المذود الصيني أدى إلى خسائر في الأسواق بنسبة 66 بالمائة هذا العام، وخسارة هائلة لمحتارمة عامة.

الشعب، بالكاد يمكن تصنيف ذلك نجاح مقارنة بالمذود الغربي. فالاوروبيون، وبالرغم من شماتتهم، لا يملكون نموذجا أفضل من الرأسمالية الإنجليزية. وانظمتهم ستميل بكل بساطة إلى الاقتداء بالمذود
الأنغلوساؤثوي، ولو على مقصد بعد بضع سنوات، بالرغم من القيود التي تفرضها الدولة.

هذا يعني أن العالم، عند دخوله هذه الحقبة الاقتصادية الجديدة، قد يبدأ في الحقيقة شبيها بأوروبا. يقول بوب مالى، أبير الخبراء الاقتصاديين في شرطة "إنديثنتس استراتيجي" في لندن: "سن玷بخ وتندم أثراً ولن نشهد قترات نمو سريع مهمة لنا لن نشهد أثاراً أيضاً". سنصبح من جديد منظرين بدلاً من مستمرين، ومستودم.

ذهبية التقشف، مع استمرار صعوبة الحصول على قروض على المدى القصير. ثم في مرحلة ما، ستتنقل الأموال من جديد. وستتشكل فقاعات جديدة. في أي قطاعات ستكون الطاقة أو التكنولوجيا البيئية أو القضاء لا أحد يعرف. لحسن النظر عن خطط الإنفاق والقوانين الجديدة، فإن الأموال ستتنقل من جديد وحينذاك، سيكون الجميع قد نسوا أن نهاية العالم انت تحل عام 2008.

بابين أما براه بابين

في مقهى بمدينة ويلمينغتون فتح المرشح الديمقراطي لمنصب نائب الرئيس فمه وتحدث عن دون قيد أو رش.

أتيب: جوناثان التر

تميز المرشح الديمقراطي لمنصب نائب الرئيس جو بابين بقدر أثير من الاضطباب في مناظرة نائبي الرئيس الأسبوع الماضي، وقد أظهر انتصابة جداً (تحدث لأقل من خمس دقائق) في أمته التي ودع فيها ابنه بوب وغيرها من أعضاء وحدة الحرس الوطني في ولايته دبلور التي آتى تستعد للمغادرة إلى العراق إلى حد أن ذاته الداخليه بحثت عن بعض المستفيض، عن طريقة ما لقول "سمعوا لي. إن جو القديم مازال حياً. إن الشيء الذي يحبه الناس جداً في مسقط رأسه هو أنني لا أضطر إلى اختيار أن المئة أقولها بعناية ولا أضطر إلى تحليل وتمحور ال شيء أطعه به". هذا ما قاله بعد يوم من مناظره في مقهى بمدينة ويلمنغتون في ولايته دبلور. وأضاف: "إذا قلت شيئا لم يكن من المناسب سياسيا لي أن أقوله، فإنه يعرف أن دافع ذلك هو دافع طبيب.

آنت نغمة جديده تتم بنوع من التحرر فيما أن شرح الكيفية التي أدت بها الاغتيال الإعلامية على مدار الساعة إلى استياء آل نواحي الخفية في العمل السياسي الأمريكي. وقال: "له أمر معب. إن هذا يتطلب منك التتحكخط على أشياء تزيد قولها". وهكذا فهو لم يتحفظ، وواصل الحديث بإطلال عن قضايا تراوحت بين المطالب التي وضعها قبل أن يوافق على أن يكون مرشحاً لمنصب نائب الرئيس على البطاقة الانتخابية الديمقراطية.
وبيّن مشاعره تجاه باراك أوباما وجوبرالك وجوفر، وصولاً إلى اعترافٍ وترقبٍ عقلانيٍ بابنٌ الصبيّة لضعفه هو بالذات. لم تكن هناك هبات، ولكن مستوى التفاصل الذي تحدث به لن تسأ قلوب المجهولين بالسيطرة والإنتساب الأوليّين في مقر حملة أوباما في شيكاغو.

أني سعيداً بالمناظرة التي أجرتها في مدينة سانت لويس، بالطبع، وأنا بحث أن يكون أنيّاً وليقفي في حدثٍ عن منافستها. وقال: "أحببتها [مرشحة نائب الرئاسة عن الحزب الجمهوري سارة بالين]، حيث التقت أسراً، وإن ذلك كان دفناً، ورغب عنه ذلك النوع من التوتر الذي يكون حاضراً، ولكنه لا يمكن أن يعترف، ولكن لا يمكن أن يعترف أن الحديث عنهما كان مهماً جداً. وقال: "القضية الأساسية هي جون وباراك.

وأنا سعيداً بالمناظرة التي تندمج فيها صوتها وبداً أني بكي أثناء المناظرة. ففي تلك اللحظة، "تصبر أبنا بوي في سريرهimbus" بعد حادث السيارة عام 1972 الذي أسفر عن وفاة زوجة بالأولى نيليا وابنها الصغير.

الصغيرة إلى إصابات خطيرة لحقت بأولاده الصغير حينذاك. أحدهم أبو النبل من العمر 39 عاماً، وهو المدعى العام لولاية ديلوير حالياً المتجه إلى العراق للخدمة العسكرية هناك، إذ سيتوجه إلى مناطق نائية مجهولة من العراق كونه عضواً في هيئة محامي الدفاع والمدعرين العاميين العسكريين في القوات الأمريكية هناك، حيث الطريق ليس المكان الأفضل الذي يمكن أن يوجد المرء فيه. أجرى نفيس نفسه أباً وجدًا بعد وفاة زوجته في الحادثة ابتسمت على أباه بعد موجبة في ذلك كله من المشاعر المتكئة معاً في ذئابي. لقد فاجأني ذلك. أنت ألم لا يلاحظ أحد ذلك. فقط 70 مليون شخص أو نحو ذلك شاهدوا تلك اللحظة.

ويقارن باديون بين خوضه الانتخابات للفوز بمنصب نائب الرئيس بعبارة "يرش الحصاد" (إن لم تكن سارة بالين) التي لا تظهر علانية على العالما إلا بعد أن يطلب إليها ذلك. في المناظرة، وحين تقول فيها. وصفي لتردها في قول: "عشق أبيا باني يهتمه البطاقة الانتخابية الديمقراطية هو وصف ليس من السهل ثبت من صحته لأن: الرشخ الديمقراطي الرئاسي لا يحدث عن ذلك، ولكن صفي ذلك على النحو التالي:

حين أصلته بأودميا في يومي الماضي لبيته أن حملته ستبحث في خلفيته ليكون في قائمة الرشحين لمنصب نائب الرئيس. على بطاقة، رُد عليه باديون بأنه يوافق على ذلك، ولكن قد يرفض العرض قد نقم إليه في النهاية وقد قام بعد ذلك باستشارته مستشاره منذ زمن بعيد تد أووماد ورون. وفقاً على ما إذا كان منصب نائب الرئيس هو المكان المناسب له ليوفر تفاؤله من خلاله في إدارة أودميا. وقد ساعد على اتخاذ تلك القرار أن أودميا دمج طوال فصل الربيع الماضي خلال الانتخابات التمهيدية على الاتصال بمولة بن آسر على تقيباً لاستشارته بسبب عدد متزايد من القضايا (مثل آيف سيتشين الجنرال ديفيد باتريوس حين يهدم أمام الكونترتس عن وضع حرب العراق). هو وأودميا يعرفان جيداً أن دور نائب الرئيس في إدارة أودميا لن يكون ضياعاً لدور الذي مارسه ديك تشيني. في إدارة بويش، إلا أن الشروط المفصّلة لذلك ظلت عالمة حتى يقتفها عليها لاحقاً غير أنه في اجتماع سري في منتصف شهر أغسطس في فندق غريفس 601 في مدينة سانت بول بولاية مينيسوتا استمر بين ساعات وثلاث ساعات، أبلغه أودميا أنه لن ينجح في اختياره لمنصب نائب الرئيس إلا إذا بدأ...
باعتبار ذلك على أنه "الزهو" لمسيرته السياسية، وليس درجة أدنى من المنصب الذي هو فيه حالياً. وقال بايدن
"نراها "ليس أشاد القبر
وسأل أوباما، بإيقافه الحادٍ لقن المطالبة، "هل ستكون هذه تخفيفاً لمربكة الاحادية بالنسبة إليك؟"؟
فقلت، لا، أما ذلك سأعتبر فعلًا مستشعرًا مؤثراً. وقال لي إن الأخبار السارة هي أنتي أبلغ من العمر 65 عامًا.
ولكن يكون عليك أن تقلق بشأن قيامي وأنت في هذا المنصب بتيتك نفسه لخصوصة الانتخابات الرئاسية. ولكن
"الأتي السينة هي أنتي أريد فعلًا أن أكون جزءًا حقيقياً من هذه العملية بكليتها
بايدن، الذي يظل حيادياً في الانتخابات التمهيدية بعد إنهاء حملته الانتخابية، وأبلغ أوباما أنه "مستعد
لأمور الكمين الثاني في فرقة الموسيقية" وأنه لا يسعى إلى منصب بمسرحاً معينة. شرطته أن يتم التعهد له بأن
يعد اجتماعاً أسبوعياً شعبياً يستغرق أكثر من ساعة مع الرئيس (مثل تناول الغذاء الذي الآن يقوم به الغاز).
مع بيل الننتون وجورج بوش الأب مع رونالد ريغان) وبحضر أن الاجتماعات المهمة. وقال له أوباما إنه يوافق
على ذلك، وبه يرد من أجل مشوارته ومن أجل مساعدته على تنفيذ أهداف تشريعية ألمهرة. وهنا تم تحدد
سبيدي، هنا ينبغي لنا أن نسير "الروبية:  "سنكون دوري هو القول".
وقال بايدن إن أوباما ذاره ببيل الننتون لنعحية "نقاته بنفسه، وقدراته العملية التحليلية، وقدره على إصدار
الأحكام"أمنه الفكري، أي أنه يستطيع أن يصغي ويوسوغ النصيحة من دون أن يحاول الإثبات أن الشخص
الأدائي في القاعة، وهي مهارة قيادية حاسمة. وقال إنه جرب "حالة ألمية" من هذه أخيراً خلال اتصال هاتفي
مشترك شارك فيه مجموعة من مستشاري أوباما الاقتصاديين لبحث مسألة صناعة الاقتصاد العالمي ومهمه بوب
روبين، وويل فواد، ووارين بايفيت، وويل أوئن، وجوزيف ستريغليتز، ولاري سامرز ولورا تايلر. وقال بايدن
حسناً يا جماعة، أسف لتأخر عنكم. إن لدي أربعة أسئلة "وأضاف ما حديث: "نضم أوباما إلى الاتصال وقال.
"آن مسيراً بالكامل! أن هذا رجلاً يبلغ من العمر 47 عاماً وقد وجه نفسه في واحدة من أشد المعضلات
الاقتصادية صعبه التي يواجهها أي رئيس منذ فترة ما بين عامي 1929 و 1933. وشاركت عملية الاستشارة
بصورته منظمة، سواء في آخر، أنشأت به بعد ذلك وقته لمنفده ومحاولاً "الان تجربة في بيبي ما تريد أن تبيعه
"لي أواها المزار
هل ستزدهر هذه العلاقة مع مرور الوقت؟ تاريخ علاقات الرئيس، فيما يتعلق بأوباما، هو تاريخر مختلف.
جون أنيدي سمى التراجسية المفرطة لنانو ليونن، الذي أنتي يشعر بأنه أن تتعامل معه بتجارب من قبل جمهورية أميليوت) مجموعة المقربين من الرئيس أنيدي حينئذ. الننتون وغير شعر به بالفعل، في
علاقة أن منهما تجاو آخر، ولكنها اختفأ بعد قضية لويسن. بايدن لم يفصص عن أي شكك بشأن هذا النوع
من العلاقة. وقال إنه ورؤيته جيل، شعر بها علاقة قوية بحمة مع أوباما وفوقته. وأضاف: "أدرك تماماً أنه
يبي أنتي لن أخليه أبداً." وتابع بكلمات شد عليها ولفظها بصورة واضحة مثالية: "لم أتخ أي أحد ممن هي
حياته. وأنا مرتاح بما يكفي من أنا بحيث لا أشعر بالحاجة إلى الاعتراف والتقدير.
ويقول أصدقاءه إنه فعلا رجل أثر نضجا ولفلسفة وtainا للانتقاد، وهو أمر أن سابقا يشعره بالأذى والجرح.

وحتى مع أنه لايزال بين الفتنة والأخرى يعود إلى دوره السابق أحد أعضاء مجلس الشيوخ المتعاونين والمتغطرسين وأثيري الكلام، فإن حلمه أن يتم عن إنتقاد القلب وأده في عمله جعلته عضو أونغرس شعريا بصورة استثنائية في الحزبين (السيناتور العجوز ستروم)، حين لايزال متمعنا بقوة العلمية أمر زوجه بأنه يكون السيناتور بابن هو الذي يوجهه في جدارته. ويدع أونغرس أن السيناتور الذي ساعدوني على تحقيق ينبغي أن تكون هذه فكرتك. هذا القدر من الإنجاز في مجلس الشيوخ أنني كنت قادرًا على القول لأهديهم.

كلمات أخرى، يريد أن يعرف بالفعل له في أنه لم يكن دائمًا بحثًا أن يعزى الفضل له في آل شيء ينجزه.

بادين يعرف بسهولة بأنه يعاني مشكلة الإثار من الكلام. فحين أن الرئيس السابق للجامعة (وزير إدارة) جون روبرتس الذي كان الرئيس يسند عليه في منصب رئيس المحكمة العليا لتقول له موبخة: "جوي، حرام عليك، إنه شاب طيب، طيبせるه.

نيستلة أخيرا أن ما يثير غضبه (سواء كان حادثة لطم صبي آخر في حي طفولته بعد أن قام ذلك الصبي بدفع أخته أو فقدان أفراحه في قاعة الاستماع إلى الشهادات في الكونغرس) هو الأمر ذاته الذي يشعل نزعة محاربه (الحقوق المدنية في بداية حياته السياسية، قانون العنف ضد النساء، التصدي للمجازر الجماعية في البوسنة).

إنها نظرية جو بادين الواعدة لنفسه: "الشيء في معهن وعائلتني تراز على هذه القدرة الفعالة بإساءة استعمال السلطة والقوة، النقطة التي أنتبه فيها متجاوزا الخط المسموح به وأفقد أعصابي هي متعلقة دائما.

يشعوري بأن أبداً يعاني الاستغلال وإساءة المعاملة.

هذه الغضب الواقف على الحق يربط بين بايدن وجون ماليين. وهو يقول إن إحدى الرجلين غالبًا ما ينسر للأخر بمكانة نفسه. ويقول بايدن: "البعض، حتى ومنهم عائلي، يعتقدون أنني مفرط في حمايا صديقي القديم." هو لا يعتقد أن مالين باغ مبادأ لأنه لم يكن شخصًا مغردًا خارج سيرته أصلًا: "حين تسبعت الأشياء الهامشية من سجله، فذلك جدي أنه محافظ جدي من الناحية الاقتصادية وهو أن نذك دائماً واختلافاته مع بوش حيال السياسة آلت نادماً حول التكتيكات، وليس حول الاستراتيجية. "ويقول إن "معتقدات مالين السياسية غريبة وشخصية واخلاقية". ويضيف إن هناك قضية معينة "تستثير ضميره ومشاعره بصورة غير منتظمة" وهي قصة سفهاء.
"بايدن بأنها "غير متماسكة أو ثابتة". بايدن بعد أن الابعد عن الشعور بالثقة الزائدة جعل الفائدة التي تسببت إليها الانتخابات. وهو يقول إن لديه الكثير من العمل ليقوم به حتى في البلاد التي ورد فيها في ولاية ناسقانتانا، سكارلتون، لجعل الديمقراطيين وكالبقية يشعرون بقدر أكبر من الارتباك في تصويتهم لأوباما. ولكنه مرتاح في المسرة التي يسير بها الآن، مرتاح للحملة التي يخوضها، ومرتاح ل"رئيسه الجديد"، وهو قبل شيء مرتاح مع نفسه.

إنهيارة الاقتصاد الأمريكي مع تداعي بعض أشهر الشركات في وول ستريت، تداعت أيضا النظرة العامة للرأسمالية. أيه يمكننا إعادة ترميم الثقة باقتصادنا.

أدب: فرانسيس فوامبا تداعي أشهر البنك الاستثمارية الأمريكية. وخسارة أثر من تريليون دولار من قيمة سوق الأسهم في يوم واحد. وفرض فاتورة بقيمة 700 مليار دولار على داعي الضرائب الأمريكيين: حجم انهيار وول ستريت. برع قد يكون أضخم من ذلك. لكن في حين أن الأمريكيين يتساءلون لماذا عليهم أن يدفعوا مبالغ ضخمة هؤلاء لمنع اقتصادهم من الهبوط، فإن قلة منهم تناولت أفكار غير ملموسة لكن أب رمبا سنا على الولايات المتحدة أن تدفعها، وهو الضرر أمريكيا، "لمدة " الذي يسبب باهالي الأفكار هي إحدى أكبر صادراتنا. وهناك فكرتنا أمريكتنا طغنا على التفكير العالمي منذ أوائل ثمانينيات القرن الماضي عندما انتخب رونالد ريغان رئيسا. الأولى تجربة عن نظرة معينة للرأسمالية. قوامها أن الضرائب المنخفضة والقيادة الخفيفة والحكومة الصغيرة ستحفز النمو الاقتصادي. وقد عكست فلسفة ريغان الاقتصادية نزعة إلى توسيع الحكومة دامت قرنا. وأصبحت إزالة القيود النزعة القانونية، ليس فقط في الولايات المتحدة بل في علم العالم.

الفكرة الثانية الكبيرة هي أن أمريكا داعة ونائرة للديمقراطية الليبرالية في العالم، وهو ما أن يعتبر السبيل الأفضل إلى نظام دولي أكثر ازدهارا وانفتاحا. لم تكن قوة وقوف أمريكا مرتبطة ببداياتها وعملتنا فحسب، بل يُوقّع أن معظم الناس أثروا منجذبين إلى نموذج أمريكا في الإدارة الحكومية وأرادوا أن يعودوا مجتمعاتهم بطريقة مشابهة، وهو ما أطلق عليه العالم السياسي جوزيف ناي اسم "القوة الناعمة.

يصعب تصور الكيفية التي سقطت بها مصداقية هذه اللصقات الأساسية للنموذج الأمريكي. بين عامي 2002
و 2007، فيما أن العالم يتمتع بفترة غير مسبوقة من النمو، أن من السهل تجاهل هؤلاء الاشتراكيين الأوروبيين والشبعيين الأمريكيين اللاتينيين الذين أنوا يتبدّلون بالنموذج الاقتصادي الأمريكي واصفين إياه ب"رأسمالية رعاة البقر". لكن مركز هذا النمو، أي الاقتصاد الأمريكي، خرج الآن عن سلكه، ويبدو بجر بقية العالم إلى الهاوية معه. والسؤال في ذلك أن الخطأ يقع على النموذج الأمريكي نفسه: فواشونطن التي ابتعت شعار الحكومة الصغيرة، فشلت في تنظيم القطاعات بشكل مناسب وأقتاتت أن يلحق ضرراً آباؤها ببقية المجتمع.

أما الديمقراطية فقد تطّغت سمعتها قبلاً ذلك. حالماً ثبت أن صدام لا يملك أسلحة شاملاً، سعت إدارة بوش فجأة تغيّر الديمقراطية سلحاً أساسياً لتغيّر حرب العراق من خلال ربطها ب"اليمة حربها" أوسع نطاقاً في الحرب ضد الإرهاب. وبالنسبة إلى الكثير من الناس في أنحاء العالم، أصبح الخطاب الأمريكي عن الديمقراطية يبدو بشكل متزايد أخطر لتعزيز الهيمنة الأمريكية.

الخبر الذي نواجهه الآن يعدّ خطة الإقراض الكبير، أو الحملة الانتخابية الرئاسية. فلسفة أمريكا تحت المجهر في وقت تبدو نماذج أخرى سواء أن النموذج الصيني أو الروسي أثراً جاذباً. إن استعادة سمعتانا الطلابية وإعادة إحياء جانبيّة نموذجاً تشكلان، لأسباب أخرى، تحدياً أبريًا يوازي تحرير الاستقرار في قطاعاً مالياً. بارك أو وباه، ورجع عالم سجينان معهما ميزات مختلفة لمكافحة الأزمة. لكن المسألة ستكون صعبة على أيهما وسيستغرق حلاً منها. ولا يمكننا حتى اليوم بإصلاح الأمور قبل أن نفهم جيداً ما الذي حدث، ما هي الميزات الحساسة للنموذج الأمريكي، وما هي الميزات التي أسس تطبيقها وثليّة التي يجب التخلي عنها بالكامل.

أشار الكثير من المعطّلين إلى أن انهيار وول ستريت شكل نهاية حقبة ريغان. وهم محلون في ذلك بلا شك، حتى وإن تم انتخاب مالين رئيسي في نوفمبر. الأفكار العظيمة ولدّة إطار حقبة تاريخية معينة. وقلة من هذه الأفكار يمكنها الاستمرار عندما يغيّر الآب لحد أبّ، وهذا هو السبب انطلاق النزاهات السياسية من اليسار إلى اليمين.

والعكس بالعكس في دورات تدوم جيلاً.

فسلفة ريغان أو بشكلها البريطاني، فلسفة تانشر) أنت صاحبة في زمنها. منذ الخطة الاقتصادية الجديدة التي اقترحها فرانكلين روزفلت في ثلاثينات القرن الماضي، توسعت الحكومات في أنحاء العالم أكثر فأكثر. وبحلول سبعينات القرن الماضي، تبين أن الأنظمة التي تقدم خدمات اجتماعية واسعة لمواطنيها وأنظمة ذات الاقتصادات الكبيرة التي تفرضها الديموقراطية غير فعالة. أينما كان الاحتكار على خطوط هائلة أمراً مكلفاً وصعباً، والسفر بالطائرات من وسائر الظروف المحسورة بالغوية، وأين معظم الناس يضعون مدخاراتهم في حسابات مصرفية ذات فوائد متكننة تجدها الدولة. وانت برنامج مثل" برنامج مساعدة العائلات ذات الأولاد" تشجع العائلات القفيرة على عدم العمل وعدم المحافظة على الزواج، وتفكّرت العائلات، ثورة ريغان تأثرت سهّلت استخدام وصرف العمال، مسببةً ما أبريًا مع تقلص الصناعات التقليدية أو إقلاعها. لكنها مهدت سبيل أخرى لـ "يقارب ثلاثة عقود من النمو وليبرز قطاعات جديدة مثل قطاع تكنولوجيا المعلومات والتقنيات الحيوية على الصعيد الدولي، تراجعت ثورة ريغان إلى "إيجاعواشنطن" الذي حث واشنطن بموجبه. وبالتالي، المؤسسات التي تقع تحت سيطرتها، مثل صندوق النقد الدولي والبنك الدولي البلدان النامية على تحرير اقتصاداتها.
حين يتم انتقاد إجماع واسع النطاق باستمرار من قبل الشعبيين أمثال هوغو تشافيز رئيس فنزويلا، فقد نجح في تخفيض الأزمات المتفاقمة في أميركا اللاتينية في أوائل ثمانينات القرن الماضي، عندما أنت شاهد مثال الأوروبيين مثل الأرجنتين والبرازيل تعاني تضخمًا مفرطًا. والممارسات.warning.تنتسب إلى السياسات النقدية المدعومة للأزمات الحرة التي حولت الصين والهند إلى قوتي اقتصادييين آبائيتين اليوم.

وإذا أين أحد الحاجة إلى المزيد من الدلالات، ما عليه سوى النظر إلى النماذج الأثر تطرا في الحكومات الكبيرة، الاقتصاديات القائمة على تخطيط مرازي في بلدان الاتحاد السوفيتي السابق وغيرها من الدول الشيوعية. بحلول سبعينيات القرن الماضي، انت مخلطًا عن غريمانها الرأسمالية في آل النواحي تقريباً. إنهاره بعد سقوط جدار برلين آد أن مثل هذه البلدان التي تفتقر في تقديم الخدمات الاجتماعية لسكانها أصبحت من الماضي.

على غرار حل الحوارات التغييرية، فإن ثورة ريجان ضمنت طريقها لأنها أصبحت بالنسبة إلى الكثير من مؤيديها إيديولوجية لا يمكن التشكيك فيها، ولم تعد ردة فعل برامجية على إفراطات دول القمع الاجتماعي. آن هنالك مفهوم مدقسن: أولًا، أن التخفيضات الضريبية تولت نفسها بنفسها، ثانياً، إن الأسواق المالية قادرة على تنظيم نفسها بنفسها.

قبل ثمانينات القرن الماضي، أنت المحافظين محافظين ضريبياً، أي إنهن أتوا غير مستدرين لتفاقم أثر مما تدره الضريبات. لكن فلسفة ريجان الاقتصادية أعلنت أن التخفيض ضريبي سيحفز النمو لدرجة أن الحكومة ستجني أموالًا أثر في النهاية (وهو ما يعني بنفسه أخر). واقتصادياً، النظرة التقليدية آنثت هي الصادرة: إذا خفضت الضيروات من دون تخفيض الإنفاق، فسيسوي ذلك إلى عجز موزع. لذلك أدت التخفيضات الضريبية في عهد ريجان في ثمانينات القرن الماضي إلى عجز أبل وأدت زيادة الضيروات في تسعينات القرن الماضي في عهد ألتون إلى فائض: أما أن تخفيضات بوش الضريبية في أوائل القرن ال 21 أدت إلى عجز أبل، غير أن نمو الاقتصاد الأمريكي بسرعة نفسها في عهد ألتون وريغان لم يزعزع ثقة المحافظين بأن التخفيضات الضريبية هي مفتاح النمو.

والآخرين من ذلك أن الجمهور أخطأك عيب هذا التفكير طوال عقود. بدأ الأجانب مستدعون لاقتنا الدولارات الأمريكية إلى ما لا نهاية، مما أتاح للحكومة الأمريكية أن تعزى عجزاً مالياً وتساءر في التحكم ببعض نمو عالٍ وهو أمر لا يمكن لأي بلد نام مباشرته. لهذا السبب، يزعم أن نائب الرئيس ديك تشيني قال للرئيس بوش في مرحلة مبكرة أن الدروس المستفادة من ثمانينات القرن الماضي هو أن "العجز لا يهم". المفهوم المدقسن الثاني في عهد ريجان وهو إزالة الفيودالية حصل على الدعم من قبل تحالف غير متوقع من المؤمنين الحقيقيين به ومؤسسات وول ستريت، وبحلول سبعينيات القرن الماضي اعتبره الديمقراطيون أيضاً أمراً مقاماً. جاءت بأن القوانين التنظيمية القديمة مثل قانون غلاس ستيل الذي يعد إلى حقبة الراؤود (والذي فصل بين البنوك التجارية والبنوك الاستثمارية) آلت تفوق الإدماج والتتسامحية المؤسسات المالية الأمريكية. آنها محذوفة، فإنها الفيودالية هي التي أدت إلى ابتكار ضمانات مالية جديدة مثل الأسهم المدعومة بفرض، التي هي السبب الأساسي للأزمة المالية. بعض الجمهوريين لم يستوعبا هذا الأمر بعد، وهذا جلي من خلال البديل الذي
الدلال على أن ثورة ريجان انخرفت بشكل خطير عن مسارها بدت جلية خلال العقد الماضي. أحد المؤشرات التحذيرية أن الأزمة المالية الأوروبية عامي 1997 و 1998. فبعض البلدان مثل تايلاند وأوروبا الجنوبية امتدت للنماذج والضغط الأمريكي، وحررت أسواقها المالية في أولى تسهيلات القرن الماضي. وبدأ الكثير من الأصول بالتدفق بسرعة إلى الاقتصادات، مما أدى إلى اضطرابات مالية، لتعود هذه الأصول وتسحب منها عدوى أول مؤشر إلى حدوث مشكلة. هل يبدو ذلك مألوفًا؟ في غضون ذلك، آلت بلدان مثل الصين ومالزيا التي لم تتمثل في النشاطة الأمريكية وألبنت أسواقها المالية مغلفة أو خاضعة تنظيم صارم تجدر بها أقل عرضة بكثير للضرر. والإشارة التحذيرية الثانية تتمثل في تفاهم العجز الأمريكي. لقد بدأت الصين وعدة بلدان أخرى بشراء الدولارات الأمريكية بعد عام 1997 أجزاء من استراتيجية متعددة لتخفيض قيمة عملاتها وإبقاء معاملتها شغالة وعي أن بإمكاننا وحماية نفسها من الاستضرابات المالية. هذا أدى مناسباً لأمريكا بعيد هجمات 11 سبتمبر تخفيف الضرائب وتمويل إفراط الاستهلاك ودفع ألف حرب بالي غالي من دون حل مشكلة العجز في الوقت نفسه. العجز التجاري الهائل والمزيد المتناثر من ذلك 700 مليار دولار سنويا بحلول عام 2007 عاجلاً أم أتأخر أن الآلاف سيقرون أن أمريكا ليست تلك المكان «أن يوقع قرناً على الاحتمال بشكل واضح المثالي لإعداد أموالهم. وانخفاض معر صرف الدولار الأمريكي يشير إلى أننا وصلنا إلى هذه النقطة. من الواضح أن العجز أهمية، بشكل ناقص رأي تشياني. حتى في الداخل، آلت هناك مساواة واضحة لإزالة القيود قبل انهيار وول ستريت وقت طويل. في أوروبا، ارتفعت تعرفة الكهرباء بشكل خارج عن السيطرة عامي 2000 و 2001 نتيجة لرفع القيود في سوق الطاقة في الولاية، وهذا ما استغلته شركات عديدة مثل "إرنون" لجني الأرباح. إنزون نفسها، فضلا عن مجموعة من الشركات الأخرى، أفسست عام 2004 لأنه لم يتم تطبيق معايير المحاسبة بشكل جيد. وازداد التفاوت الاجتماعي في الولايات المتحدة خلال العقد الماضي، لأن الأرباح المتناسبة من النمو الاقتصادي ذهبت للأمريكيين الآخرين وأعداد الناس تعلم بشكل غير متكافئ، في حين أن مناخ الطبقة العاملة شهد تراجعًا. وأخيرًا، اشتد احتلال العراق بشكل أخر ورد الفعل على إعصار أنتيرينا الضعف الكامل للقطاع العام، نتيجة لفقدان مورد من التمويل غير الكافي والمكانتة المدنية للموظفين الحكوميين بدأ من عهد ريجان وصولًا إلى الفترة الحالية. آل هذا يشير إلى أن عهد ريجان أن يجب أن ينتهي قبل الآن، لكنه بقي قائماً جزئياً بسبب الحزب الديمقراطي.
الذي فشل في تقديم مرشحين متقعين وحجة منطقة، لكن أيضاً بسبب جانب خاص بالولايات المتحدة يجل بينما يتمكنا أثيراً عن أوروبا. هناك، المواطنون الأقل تعليمًا من الطبقة العاملة يصوتون لأحزاب اشتراكية وشيوعية وغيرهم من الأحزاب ذات الصيغة اليسارية، وفقاً لمصالحهم الاقتصادية. في الولايات المتحدة، يصوتون إما لليسار أو اليمين. فقد شكلوا جزءاً من التحالف الديمقراطي الكبير الذي أقام روزفلت خلال حقبة الخطة الاقتصادية الجديدة، وهو تحالف يقيناً خلال حقبة "المجتمع العظيم" في ظل حكم ليندون جونسون في ستينيات القرن الماضي. لكنهم بدأوا يصوتون لمصلحة الحزب الجمهوري خلال سنوات كينسون وريغان، وانتقلوا للتصويت للكلنتون في تسعينيات القرن الماضي، ومن ثم عادوا لتأيد الحزب الجمهوري في عهد جورج ديلو بوش. إنهم يصوتون للحزب الجمهوري عندما تتغلب مسائل تلقائية مثل الدين والوطنية والقيم العائلية وحق اقتسام الأسلحة على المخاف الاقتصادي.

هذه المجموعة من الناشئين ستقرر نتيجة انتخابات نوفمبر، لا سيما أنها مرأزة في حفنة من الولايات المتحدة. مثل أوهيو وبنسلفانيا، هل سيمبوز إلى أوباما الذي نرى في جامعة هارفارد، لا يشارهم الكثير من هماساتهم. لكنه يعكس بشكل أدق مصالحهم الاقتصادية؟ هل سيبوزون أشخاصاً يشعرون بأنهم أقرب إليهم، مثل مالين وسارة بالين؟ تطلب الأمر أزمة اقتصادية ضخمة من عام 1929 وحتى عام 1931 لإصدار إدارة ديمقراطية إلى الحكم. وتشير استطلاعات الرأي إلى أننا ربما وصلنا إلى نقطة مماثلة في أكتوبر 2008.

المكون الأساسي الآخر لنموذج الأمريكي هو الديموقراطية واستخدام الولايات المتحدة لتأييد الدول الديمقراطية الأخرى في أنحاء العالم. هذه النزعة المثالية في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية بقيت ثابتة خلال القرن الماضي، بدأ من عصبة الأمم في عهد وودرو ويلسون وصولاً إلى الحريات الأربع في عهد روزفلت وانتهاء بحالة "ريغان معخال غورباشيف ب"هدم هذا الحلف".

نشر الديموقراطية من خلال الدبلوماسية وتقديم المساعدة للمجموعات الاجتماعية المدنية وتحرير الإعلام وما شابه لم يكن فقط موضوع جدل. المشكلة الآن هي أن من خلال استغلال الديموقراطية تثير حرب العراق، أوقفت إدارة بوش للكثيرين أن "الديموقراطية" هي ألمة السر للتدخل العسكري وتغيير الأنظمة. (النفوذ التي تبعت غزو العراق لم تساعده على الحفاظ على صورة الديموقراطية أيضا). الشرق الأوسط بشكل حيال نظماً أغلب لأي إدارة أمريكية، لأن أمريكا تدعم حلفاء غير ديمقراطيين مثل السعوديين، وترفض العمل مع مجموعات مثل حزب الله وحزب الله وصلت إلى الحكم من خلال الانتخابات. مصادقنا مشكوك فيهما عندما ندعو إلى تحقيق "أجندة الحرة".

لقد تم تطبيق النموذج الأمريكي إلى حد أثير أيضاً بسبب استعمال إدارة بوش لوسائل الإعلام بعد هجمات 11 سبتمبر، برهن الأمريكيون بشكل مثير على أنهم مستعدون للتحلي بحقوقهم الدستورية من أجل أيّ منهم. وقد حل خليج غوانانتامو والسجناء الذين وضعتهم قلقوا على أوب غريب مكان تمثل الحريات آبوز لاميركا في نظر الكثير من غير الأمريكيين.

أياً أن الفائز في الانتخابات الرئاسية بعد شهر، فسيكون الانتقال إلى دوراً جديداً من السياسة الأمريكية والعالمية.
قد بدأ من المرجح أن الآثارك التي يتمتع بها الحزب الديمقراطي في مجلس النواب والشيوخ ستزيد أعدادها.

الغضب الشعبي عارضه بانتشار تداعيات انهيار وول ستريت التي نالت تطور حالة عامة الشعب. ولهذا إجماع

متزايد على ضرورة إعادة تنظيم أقسام أثرية من الاقتصاد.

عالمياً، لن تتمتع الولايات المتحدة بموقعها الاستبديدي الذي أخجلته حتى الآن، وغزو روسيا لجورجيا في 7 آب.

نوعيّت تنضج قدرة أميركا على توفير مسار الاقتصاد العالمي من خلال معايير تجاربية وعبر صندوق النقد الدولي، والبنك الدولي، وكذلك مستندات مواردنا المالية. وفي مناطق أثرية من العالم،

ستحظى الأفكار المشروعة الأمريكية وحتى المساهمات الأمريكية بمستقبل أكبر حافة مما هو عليه حالياً.

في ظل ظروف أبعد من هو المرشح الذي سيكون في موقع أفضل لإعادة تعزيز صورة أميركا؟ من الواضح أن

باراك أوباما هو الأقل ارتباطا بالأحداث الأخيرة، ويعني بأسلوبه غير الحزبي إلى تخفيف التفتيقات السياسية

الحالية. في صميمه، يبدو واقعياً وليس إيديولوجياً. لكن سيتي استناد قدراته على تشغيل التفتيقات عندما يبين

الوقت لتخليد خيارات صعبة، وعلى أن يتلقى ليس فقط الجمهوريين بل الديمقراطيين المتطرفين أيضاً. مايلين من

جهته تكلم مثل تيدي روزفلت في الأسابيع الأخيرة متهماً على وول ستريت وعندما استلمت آريس أواس

رئيس لجنة مراكبة عمليات الورشة. قد يكون الجمهوري الوحيد القادر على نقل حزب على مضت إلى حقيقة ما

بعد ريغان. لكن يخير للمرء أنه لم يقرر بعد أي نوع من الجمهوريين هو حقاً أو ما هي المبادئ التي ستستد

أمريكا الجديدة.

يمكن استعادة نفوذ أميركا، وهذا ما سيحدث في النهاية. بما أن العالم يشمله سيغاني على الأرجح اينهياراً

اقتصادياً، ليس واضحاً أن أن مستقبل النموذج الصيني أو الروسي سيكون أفضل بكثير من النموذج الأمريكي.

لقد استعادت الولايات المتحدة عافيتها بعد انتكاسات خطيرة خلال ثلاثينيات وسبعينيات القرن الماضي بسبب قدرة

نظامنا على التأقلم ومرورنا شعبنا

مع ذلك، فإن احتمال استعادة عافيته يوقف على قدرتنا على القيام بكثيرات أساسية. لا علينا أن نتخلى عن

مبادئ ريغان المتعلقة بالضرائب والقوانين التنظيمية. المظاهرات الضرورية تتغير بمسيرتها لا تحز

نظرنا إلى وضعنا المالي الطويل الأمد، سعيتين إعلام الأمريكان بسحارة «النمو بالضرورة» أو تسد آقتها بنفسها

أن عليه أن يتحملوا نفقات مستقبليهم بأنفسهم. إزالة الفرد أو عجز المنظمون عن محاربة الأسواق السريعة التغير

يمكن أن يكون عادي في اللعبة أما راينا. إن القطاع العام الأمريكي بكمه الذي لا يحظى بتمويل آف ويفترق إلى

الخبرات المهنية والمحفظة بحاجة إلى أن تستعيد بانها وإعادة تعزيز أبترتها. هناك مهام معينة لا يمكن

إتمامها إلا من قبل الحكومة.

فيما نسعى إلى إحداث هذه التغييرات، يبرز خطر الأفراط في تصنيع مجري الأمور. إن المؤسسات المالية بحاجة

إلى رقابة صارمة، لكن من غير الواضح أن أتت قطاعات أخرى من الاقتصاد بحاجة إلى ذلك أيضاً. لا تزال

التجارة الحرة محفزة قوية للنمو الاقتصادي وهي أيضاً أداة تستعمل في الدبلوماسية الأمريكية. علينا أن نقدم

معونة أفضل للعمال الذين يتأملون من الظروف العالمية المتغيرة بدلاً من أن ندافع عن وظائفهم الحالية. إذا لم


The chairman of the Federal Reserve and the treasury secretary give Congress a gloomy prognosis for the economy, and propose a drastic remedy.

**The doctors’ bill**

*Sep 25th 2008 | WASHINGTON, DC*

The chairman of the Federal Reserve and the treasury secretary give Congress a gloomy prognosis for the economy, and propose a drastic remedy.

*AP*

American congressmen are used to hyperbole, but they were left speechless by the dire scenario Ben Bernanke, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, painted for them on the night of September 18th. He “told us that our American economy’s arteries, our financial system, is clogged, and if we don’t act, the patient will surely suffer a heart attack, maybe next week, maybe in six months, but it will happen,” according to Charles Schumer, a Democratic senator from New York. Mr Schumer’s interpretation: failure to act would...
cause “a depression”.

Mr Bernanke and Hank Paulson, the treasury secretary, had met congressional leaders to argue that ad hoc responses to the continuing financial crisis like that week’s bail-out of American International Group (AIG), a huge insurer, were no longer sufficient. By the weekend Mr Paulson had asked for authority to own up to $700 billion in mortgage-related assets. By the time The Economist went to press, Congress and Mr Paulson appeared to have agreed on the broad outlines of what is being called the Troubled Asset Relief Programme, or TARP.

However, passage was not assured as rank-and-file congressmen, in particular Republicans, balked. Uncertainty over the outcome rattled credit markets: three-month interbank rates jumped and Treasury yields fell on September 24th. In a prime-time address that evening to rally support, George Bush warned of bank failures, plummeting house values and millions of lost jobs if Congress did not act.

Both the crisis and the authorities’ response have been called the most sweeping since the Depression. Yet the differences from that era are more notable than the similarities to it. From the stockmarket crash of 1929 to the federally declared bank holiday that marked its bottom, three and a half years elapsed, and unemployment reached 25%. This crisis has been under way for a little over a year and unemployment is just over 6%, lower even than in the wake of the last, mild recession. More than 4% of mortgages are now seriously delinquent (see chart 1), but the figure topped 40% in 1934.

The scale of the American authorities’ response reflects both the violence with which this crisis has spread, and the determination of the American authorities, most importantly Mr Bernanke, to learn from the mistakes that made the Depression so deep and long.

In responding with such speed and vigour, they run several risks. One is that they overdo it, paying far too much for assets, sending the deficit into the stratosphere and triggering a run on the dollar. The risk of underdoing it may be even greater. Politicians, determined not to be seen as doing favours for Wall Street, might blunt the programme’s effect in the name of protecting the taxpayer. Then there’s the logistical nightmare of fixing a market whose very complexity is central to the crisis.
Experience, at home and abroad, is a poor guide. In past episodes authorities have typically not committed public money to their financial systems until bank failures and insolvency have become widespread. The first wave of savings-and-loan failures came in the early 1980s; the Resolution Trust Corporation was not created to dispose of their assets until 1989. Japan’s banks began to fail in 1991, but a mechanism for taking over large, insolvent banks was not set up until 1998. Mr Paulson and Mr Bernanke are attempting to prevent the crisis from reaching that stage. “The firms we’re dealing with now are not necessarily failing, but they are contracting, they are deleveraging,” Mr Bernanke told Congress. They are unable to raise capital and are refusing to lend, and that, he said, is squeezing the economy.

One risk with such a pre-emptive bail-out is that to congressmen the benefits are hypothetical whereas the fiscal and political costs, five weeks before an election, are all too real. In polls voters waver between opposition and support depending on how the question is asked.

In spite of these risks, the odds seem to be in favour of both political passage and success. America has owned up to its mistakes with exceptional speed, and pulled out the stops to correct them.

After the crisis first broke in August last year, the Fed pursued a two-pronged strategy. The first element was to lower interest rates to cushion the economy. The second was to use its balance sheet to help commercial and investment banks finance their holdings of hard-to-value securities and avoid fire-sales of assets. Behind this approach lay the belief of “endism”, that the economy and the financial system were basically solid. Yes, too many houses had been built and prices were too high, but a return to more normal levels would be manageable if stretched over a few years. And banks in aggregate had entered the crisis in good shape, with much more capital this June than in 1990. The Fed saw their problem essentially as illiquidity, not insolvency. The Bush administration broadly shared this diagnosis—and an aversion to using public money to help overextended borrowers.

The intensification of the crisis came not from the banks but the “shadow banking
system”: the finance companies, investment banks, off-balance-sheet vehicles, government-sponsored enterprises and hedge funds that fuelled the credit boom, aided by less regulation and more leverage than commercial banks. As home prices fell and loan losses mounted, more of the shadow system became insolvent.

Insolvency cannot be cured with more loans, no matter how easy the terms. It requires more capital, which in deep crises only the government can provide. Mr Bernanke’s groundbreaking paper on the Depression, published in 1983, noted that recovery began in 1933 with large infusions of federal cash into institutions, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and households, through the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation. They were, he wrote, “the only major New Deal programme which successfully promoted economic recovery.”

A month ago Mr Bernanke and his closest aides began to think something similar might now be needed. The Fed and the Treasury had already drawn up contingency plans, thinking it would be months before a need arose. Then the financial hurricane blew up over the weekend of September 13th and 14th. That is when Mr Paulson, Mr Bernanke and Tim Geithner, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, decided not to commit any public money to a bail-out of Lehman Brothers. They reasoned, wrongly, that the financial system was adequately prepared. The company’s failure, coupled with the near-bankruptcy of AIG, threw the safety of all financial institutions into doubt, causing their stocks to plunge and borrowing costs to soar.

Several money-market funds that held Lehman debt reported negative returns, sparking a flight of cash to the safety of Treasury bills that briefly pushed their yields close to zero. On September 18th companies could no longer issue commercial paper. Banks, anticipating huge demands from companies seeking funds, began hoarding cash, sending the federal funds rate as high as 6%. That week, no investment-grade bonds were issued, for the first time (holidays aside) since 1981.

Conceivably, the Fed could have contained the damage by supplying lots of cash. But that would have meant ever greater and more creative use of its balance sheet. By September 17th it had grown to $1 trillion, up by 10% in a fortnight, with most of it tied
up in loans to banks, investment banks, foreign central banks, AIG and Bear Stearns (see chart 2). It was becoming the lender of first resort, not last.

Such steps were also courting political risk. After the rescue of AIG, Nancy Pelosi, speaker of the House of Representatives, demanded, “Why does one person have the right to grant $85 billion in a bail-out [to AIG] without the scrutiny and transparency the American people deserve?” Mr Bernanke later acknowledged that the Fed wanted to get out of crisis management, for which it lacked authority and broad support. “We prefer to get back to monetary policy, which is our function, our key mission,” he told Congress this week.

The Fed chairman told Mr Paulson on September 17th that the time had come to call for a big injection of public money. By the next day Mr Paulson was in agreement and the two men, after getting Mr Bush’s approval, approached Capitol Hill.

Mr Paulson’s first proposal left Democrats cold: it would give the Treasury virtually unchecked authority for two years to spend up to $700 billion on mortgage assets or anything else necessary to stabilise the system. It looked like a power-grab. Democrats countered with several conditions: troubled mortgages would be modified where possible to keep homeowners in their homes; an oversight board would watch over the programme; taxpayers would share any gains for participating companies via shares or warrants; and executives’ compensation would be capped. By September 24th, Mr Paulson seemed to be bending to all these conditions. For its part, the finance industry is ready to yield to all of these conditions in order to get something done. “It was a gargantuan abyss that we faced last week,” says Steve Bartlett, chairman of the Financial Services Roundtable, which represents about 100 big financial firms.

Assuming it comes into existence, there are still numerous risks surrounding the TARP. The first is that it does too much. At $700 billion, the amount allocated to it easily exceeds the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation’s (FDIC) estimate of roughly $500 billion of residential mortgages seriously delinquent in June, out of a total of $10.6 trillion, though that figure will rise. The Treasury has sought broad authority to buy not just mortgage securities but anything related to them, such as credit derivatives, and if
necessary equity in companies weakened by their bad loans.

The arithmetic of crisis

When the loans to AIG and Bear Stearns assets are added in, the gross public backing so far approaches 6% of GDP, well above the 3.7% of the savings-and-loan bail-out in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see chart 3). That would still be much less than the average cost of resolving banking crises around the world in the past three decades, which a study by Luc Laeven and Fabian Valencia, of the IMF, puts at 16%. One reason why bail-outs, especially in emerging markets, have been so costly is inadequate safeguards against abuse, says Gerard Caprio, an economist at Williams College. “There was a lot of outright looting going on.”

The Congressional Budget Office had pegged next year’s federal budget deficit at more than $400 billion, or 3% of GDP. Private estimates top $600 billion. Tack on $700 billion and various other crisis-related outlays and the total could reach 10% of GDP, notes JPMorgan Chase, a level last seen in the second world war. On September 22nd the euro made its largest-ever advance against the dollar on worries that America might one day inflate its way out of those debts. Such fears are compounded by the expansion of the Fed’s balance sheet. Some even think that the burden of repairing a broken financial system could place the dollar’s status as the world’s leading reserve currency in jeopardy.

The consequences will probably not be so far-reaching. The true cost to taxpayers is unlikely to be anywhere near $700 billion, because many of the acquired mortgages will be repaid. The expansion of the Fed’s balance sheet reflects a fear-induced demand for cash, which drove the federal funds rate above the 2% target.

It is more likely that the programme will not go far enough. Conscious of the public’s deep antipathy to anything that smacks of favours for Wall Street, politicians from both parties have insisted that the protection of the taxpayer be paramount. Yet the point of bail-outs is to socialise losses that are clogging the financial system. If taxpayers are completely insulated from losses, the bail-out will probably be ineffective. “The ultimate taxpayer protection will be the market stability provided,” Mr Paulson argues.

This is especially critical in deciding how the government will set the price for the assets
it purchases. An impaired mortgage security might yield 65 cents on the dollar if held to maturity. But because the market is so illiquid and suspicion about mortgage values so high, it might fetch just 35 cents in the market today. Recapitalising banks would mean paying as close to 65 cents as possible. Those that valued them at less on their books could mark them up, boosting their capital. On the other hand, minimising taxpayer losses would dictate that the government seek to pay only 35 cents. But this would provide little benefit to the selling banks, and those that carried them at higher values on their books could see their capital further impaired.

To some, that would be fine. “If they choose to fail rather than sell their debt at its real market value and record the loss on the books, they should be free to take that option,” said Michael Enzi, a Republican senator from Wyoming. The failure of smaller regional banks may be tolerable. The FDIC offers a proven system for coping with failed entities (although it too may need a loan from the taxpayer) and other banks are keen to snap up their deposits. But the final result of big-bank failures would be a deeper crisis and a bigger cost in lost economic output.

Similarly, requiring participating banks to give the government warrants or cap their executives’ salaries might make them less willing to take part. Veterans of the emerging markets crises of the 1990s say their effectiveness would have been crippled had their ability instantly to deploy cash as they saw fit been compromised. “There is far more risk that the authorities will have too little flexibility…than there is risk that they will have too much authority,” says Lawrence Summers, a former treasury secretary.

A more serious criticism is that buying assets is an inefficient way to recapitalise the banking system. Better, many argue, to inject cash directly into weakened banks. A dollar of new equity could support $10 in assets, reducing the pressure to deleverage. Moreover, since the price of banks’ shares are less arbitrary and more homogeneous than those of illiquid mortgage securities, the process would be far more transparent, says Doug Elmendorf of the Brookings Institution. But banks might not volunteer to sell equity to the government before they reach death’s door; and the prospect of share dilution could discourage private investors. In any event, the Treasury plan could be flexible enough to
permit such capital injections.

But will it work?

ReutersTime to mend the market

There have been several false dawns since the crisis began in August of last year. This could be another. The TARP may address the root cause, namely house prices and mortgage defaults, but the crisis has long since mutated. “The same underlying phenomenon that we saw in housing we’re seeing in auto loans, in credit-card loans and student loans,” says Eric Mindich, head of Eton Park Capital Management, a hedge fund. The crisis could claim another institution before the TARP’s effect is felt.

The TARP could conceivably slow the resolution of the crisis by stopping property prices and home ownership falling to sustainable levels. Some homeowners who are up-to-date with payments but whose home is worth less than their mortgage may stop paying, betting the federal government will be a more forgiving creditor. The Treasury is considering using the TARP to write down mortgages to levels that squeezed homeowners can afford. But in the meantime, buyers might be reluctant to step in while a big inventory of government-owned property hangs over the market. That’s one reason Japan’s many efforts to bail out its banks failed to revitalise its economy: the institutions that took over the loans were hesitant to dispose of them for fear of pushing insolvent borrowers into bankruptcy, says Takeo Hoshi of the University of California at San Diego.

All the same, the TARP is likely to mark a turning-point. “It promises to break the vicious circle of deleveraging in the mortgage market,” predicts Jan Hatzius, an economist at Goldman Sachs. This does not mean the economy will soon rebound, but it does suggest the worst scenarios will be averted. If the TARP helps banks and investors establish reliable prices for mortgage securities, it could restart lending and help bring the housing crisis to an end.

This will not come without a price. The unprecedented intrusion of the federal government into the capital markets seems certain to be accompanied by a heavier regulatory hand, something on which both Barack Obama and John McCain now agree.
Even without new rules, more of the system will be regulated because so much of it has been absorbed by banks, which are closely overseen. Sheila Bair, chairman of the FDIC, thinks this is a good thing. Banks were relative pillars of stability because of their insured deposits and the regulation that accompanied it. Although some banks have failed, she notes that other banks, not taxpayers, will pay the clean-up costs. Now that institutions like money-market funds are caught by the federal safety net even though that was never intended, they can expect to pay for it.

Yet predictions of a sea change towards more invasive government are premature. The Depression witnessed a pervasive expansion of the federal government into numerous walks of life, from trucking and railways to farming, out of a broadly shared belief that capitalism had failed utterly. If Mr Paulson and Mr Bernanke have prevented a Depression-like collapse in economic output with their actions these past two weeks, then they may also have prevented a Depression-like backlash against the free market.

American finance
And then there were none
Oct 18th 2008 | NEW YORK
What the death of the investment bank means for Wall Street
Illustration by S. Kambayashi

THE radical overhaul of the City of London in 1986 was dubbed the Big Bang. The brutal reshaping of Wall Street might be better described as the Big Implosion. The “bulge-bracket” brokerage model—the envy of moneymen everywhere before the crunch—has collapsed in on itself. Even more humiliating for the Green Berets of the markets, the new force in finance is the government.

The last remaining investment banks, Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley, sought safety by becoming bank holding companies after last week’s run on the industry, which sent Wall Street scrambling for loans from the central bank (see chart). After Lehman Brothers collapsed, the markets could no longer stomach their mix of illiquid assets and unstable wholesale liabilities. Both will now start gathering deposits, a more stable form
of funding. Signing up strong partners should also help. Mitsubishi UFJ Financial Group (MUFG), a giant Japanese bank, will buy up to 20% of Morgan (see article). Goldman has gone one better, coaxing $5 billion from Warren Buffett (see article).

Mr Buffett, no idle flatterer, describes Goldman as “exceptional”. But some doubt that it will be able to adapt and thrive. As a bank, it faces more supervision from the Federal Reserve, tougher capital requirements and restrictions on investing. Universal banks, such as Citigroup and Bank of America, long dismissed as stodgy, argue that their vast balance sheets and wide range of businesses, from credit cards to capital markets, give them an edge in trying times. The head of one bank suggests that the golden years of risktaking enjoyed by investment banks in 2003-06 were an “aberration”, fuelled by the global liquidity glut.

Private-equity firms and hedge funds spy opportunity, too. Blackstone’s Stephen Schwarzman is keen to take advantage of Wall Street’s disarray. Kohlberg Kravis Roberts, a rival, has ambitions to create a financial “ecosystem”. The buy-out barons got good news this week, when the Fed relaxed its rules on their ownership of banks. One of them, Christopher Flowers, bought a small lender in Missouri, which he may use to hoover up other troubled financial firms. Citadel, a hedge-fund group that is already an options marketmaker, is reportedly mulling a move into the advisory business. Hedge funds have stepped up their financing of mid-tier firms that cannot get loans from Wall Street.

These investors are also going after the “talent” in investment banks. Morale there is not high. One executive admits that becoming a bank “does little for our cachet”. Hedge funds will be particularly keen to get their hands on cutting-edge risk-takers, particularly the Goldman crowd who used to thrive on leverage.

Power may shift in two other directions: abroad and, to a lesser extent, to boutique investment banks. MUFG will be joined by others. After a brief wrangle in the bankruptcy courts, Britain’s Barclays has taken over Lehman’s American operations and quickly put its logo on the fallen firm’s headquarters. “Global financial power is becoming more diffuse,” says Andrew Schwedel of Bain & Company, a consultancy.
Merger boutiques, such as Lazard and Greenhill, will emphasise their stability to pick up business. Their shares have done relatively well this year.

But all is not lost for the former investment banks. For one thing, they may not have to cut leverage by as much as feared. Though their overall leverage ratios are high, their risk-adjusted capital ratios under the Basel 2 rules are stronger than those of most commercial banks. They acknowledge, however, that they may have to raise these even higher for a while to assuage market concerns about hard-to-sell assets.

Brad Hintz of Sanford Bernstein, an asset manager and research firm, reckons regulatory shackles will cut Goldman’s return on equity by four percentage points over the cycle. The bank disputes this. Either way, even if it is forced to tone down its in-house proprietary trading it can make up for this by, for instance, launching more hedge funds. And it faces no immediate pressure to sell its large private-equity or commodities holdings. It will continue to co-invest in projects alongside clients, a key Goldman strategy.

Moreover, there are some advantages to becoming a bank. Goldman and Morgan should be able to amass deposits cheaply and easily, because dozens of regional lenders are expected to fail. Almost one-fifth have less capital than regulators consider a safe minimum. However, the new banks will be under scrutiny to ensure they do not put those deposits at great risk.

As sharp distressed-debt investors, they will also be looking to buy assets from the government’s giant loan-buying entity when it gets going. This is likely to be more helpful to them than to commercial banks, which have marked down their mortgage assets less and will not benefit as much when clearing prices are set.

Given the acute stress that remains in money markets, however, the accent for the time being is still on survival. Morgan Stanley’s debt with a maturity of four months was trading to yield as much as 37.5%. Maybe it should consider using credit cards instead.

Financial firms fear further fallout from the recent, potentially catastrophic run on money-market funds, after several of the supposedly ultra-safe vehicles saw their net asset values slip below the sacrosanct $1 level at which investors break even. Only when
the government stepped in to guarantee that no more funds would “break the buck” did a semblance of calm return. But “prime” money funds, which are big buyers of corporate debt, are still pulling away from anything deemed risky. This is a big problem for banks, since some $1.3 trillion of their short-term debt is held by such funds, and they may have to turn to longer-term (and dearer) sources.

You might just miss us

Once markets stabilise, Wall Street will start to wonder if it is better or worse off without its stand-alone investment banks. Some think they were no more worth saving than Detroit, another once-iconic industry caught up in its own battle for a public rescue. Perhaps even less so: the securities Wall Street packaged were the financial equivalent of slick-looking cars with no brakes. But they may leave a hole. As broker-dealers, regulated more lightly by the Securities and Exchange Commission, they were free to put large dollops of capital to work, providing liquidity, making markets and assuming risk. As banks, they may find the Fed takes a more restrictive view.

It seems implausible that the investment bank will make a comeback, given the speed with which it has unravelled. Yet, 75 years after the legal separation of commercial and investment banking, America has made a full return to the one-stop-shop model practised by John Pierpont Morgan. Another black swan in 2083, and who knows?

Data mining
Know-alls
Sep 25th 2008

Electronic snooping by the state may safeguard liberty—and also threaten it

Kobal Collection

IF A Muslim chemistry graduate takes an ill-paid job at a farm-supplies store what does it signify? Is he just earning extra cash, or getting close to a supply of potassium nitrate (used in fertiliser, and explosives)? What if apparent strangers with Arabic names have wired him money? What if he has taken air flights with one of those men, with separate reservations and different seats, paid in cash? What if his credit-card records show
purchases of gadgets such as timing devices?

If the authorities can and do collect such bits of data, piecing them together offers the tantalising prospect of foiling terrorist conspiracies. It also raises the spectre of criminalising or constraining innocent people’s eccentric but legal behaviour.

In November 2002 news reports revealed the existence of a big, secret Pentagon programme called Total Information Awareness. This aimed to identify suspicious patterns of behaviour by “data mining” (also known as “pattern recognition”): computer-driven searches of large quantities of electronic information. After a public outcry it was dubbed, perhaps more palatably, Terrorism Information Awareness. But protests continued, and in September 2003 Congress blocked its funding.

That, many people may have assumed, was that. But six of TIA’s seven components survived as secret stand-alone projects with classified funding. A report in February by America’s Department of Homeland Security named three programmes it operates to sniff out suspicious patterns in the transport of goods. Similar projects have mushroomed in, among other countries, Britain, China, France, Germany and Israel.

Civil-liberties defenders are trying hard to stop data-mining becoming a routine tool for the FBI to spy on ordinary Americans. They say that the administration is racing in its final months to formalise in law programmes that have run solely under authorisation from the White House that bypasses Congress. One pending change would authorise more intelligence sharing between federal and local officials. In a federal court filing made public on September 20th, America’s attorney-general, Michael Mukasey, sought legal immunity for telecoms firms which have provided details on international phone calls. What happens in practice, and what the law permits, is a hot and unresolved issue.

Last month, after a briefing by the Department of Justice about a secret data-mining plan for the FBI, a group of American lawmakers wrote to Mr Mukasey complaining that the plan would allow the FBI to spy on Americans “without any basis for suspicion”. The proposed project could be made public in coming weeks.

No similar pan-European data-mining programme is operating, at least to public knowledge. Yet under an agreement signed in July last year airlines flying from the
European Union to America have had to provide the authorities there with reservations
data, as well as information obtained by airport-security screeners. This can include
passengers’ race, religion, occupation, relatives, hotel reservations and credit card details.
Internet service providers and telecoms firms in the EU must now keep for up to two
years, though not automatically hand over, data on websites visited and phone calls made
and received (but not the content of conversations).

Fast company

FAST, a Norwegian company bought by Microsoft this year for $1.3 billion, collects data
from more than 300 sources (including the web) for national data-mining programmes in
a dozen countries in Asia, Europe and North America. In April British members of
Parliament learned that almost a year earlier the home secretary, Jacqui Smith, had
secretly authorised the transfer of licence-plate data recorded by roadside cameras to
foreign intelligence agencies. In June the Swedish Parliament voted into law a datamining
programme strongly backed by the defence ministry. From January 1st it will
provide sweeping powers to monitor international electronic messages and telephone
traffic.

The staggering, and fast-growing, information-crunching capabilities of data-mining
technology broaden the definition of what is considered suspicious. In June America’s
Departments of Justice and Homeland Security and a grouping of American police chiefs
released the “Suspicious Activity Report—Support and Implementation Project”.
Inspired in part by the approach of the Los Angeles Police Department, it urges police to
question people who, among other things, use binoculars, count footsteps, take notes,
draw diagrams, change appearance, speak with security staff, and photograph objects
“with no apparent aesthetic value”.

Companies, and especially credit-reporting firms, generally enjoy more latitude than
government bodies do in making personal information available to third parties. They
find intelligence agencies are eager clients. Chris Westphal, head of Visual Analytics, a
firm in Poolesville, Maryland that operates data-mining software for security and
intelligence agencies, says the data provided by such firms is “very significant”.

Narayanan Kulathuramaiyer, an expert in data mining at UNIMAS, a Malaysian university, says companies are selling database access to intelligence and lawenforcement agencies “at a level you would not even imagine”.

Legal challenges to governments’ use of personal information held by companies have reached high courts in many countries, including America’s Supreme Court. Rulings, however, have for the most part frustrated privacy advocates. Suzanne Spaulding, a former legal adviser to the Senate and House intelligence committees, says improvements in data-mining technology have enabled intelligence agencies to milk favourable court rulings in ways that exceed judicial intent. For example, such cases typically concern permission to use data from a single source, such as a phone company’s billing records. When different databases are mined simultaneously, the value of information increases exponentially.

Spies are increasingly snooping on private internet use. Katharina von Knop, a datamining expert at the University of German Federal Armed Forces in Munich, says many systems remotely analyse the content of web pages people visit. A man who has travelled to, say, Peshawar, a stronghold of Islamist extremism in Pakistan, is considered more dangerous if he also reads the blog of an extremist Muslim cleric. If the cleric lives in Peshawar, the man’s suspicion score rises further. Data-mining software develops profiles by taking into account all web pages visited by a computer user; if a suspect visits a stamp-collecting website, the suspicion score is lowered.

Such profiling increasingly relies on “sentiment analysis”. Hsinchun Chen, head of the Artificial Intelligence Lab at the University of Arizona says this technique, which he performs for American and international intelligence agencies, is an emerging and booming field. The goal is to identify changes in the behaviour and language of internet users that could indicate that angry young men are becoming potential suicide-bombers.

For example, a person who exhibits curiosity by visiting many Islamist websites and asking numerous questions in online forums might be flagged by sentiment-analysis software if he shows signs of resentment and eventually turns to “radicalising” others by, say, justifying violence and providing links to militant videos. Mr Chen says intelligence
agencies in the United States, Canada, China, Germany, Israel, Singapore and Taiwan are customers for this technique.

Does it work?

Donald Tighe, vice-president for public affairs at In-Q-Tel, a non-profit investment outfit that helps the CIA stay abreast of advances in computing, says that data mining is now so powerful it has become “essential to our national security”. But campaigners for privacy have many worries. One fear, prevalent in Britain after incidents in which officials lost huge quantities of confidential personal information, is that the state may be even more careless with data than private firms are. Another is that innocents are flagged for further investigation or added to “watch-lists” that may impede air travel, banking and gaining jobs in places where radioactive materials are used, such as hospitals. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a lobby, says the list maintained by the Terrorist Screening Centre at the FBI now has more than 900,000 names, with 20,000 more every month. Being removed is tricky.

Data-mining may be bad for national security as well as for civil liberties. The software is often modelled on the fraud-detection applications used by financial institutions. But terrorism is much rarer. So spotting conditions that may precede attacks is harder. Mike German, a former FBI agent who now advises the ACLU, says intelligence agencies too readily believe in the “snake oil” of total information awareness, which drains effort from more useful activities such as using informers and infiltrators.

AFP Explosive data

Abdul Bakier, a former official in Jordan’s General Intelligence Department, says that tips to foil data-mining systems are discussed at length on some extremist online forums. Tricks such as calling phone-sex hotlines can help make a profile less suspicious. “The new generation of al-Qaeda is practising all that,” he says.

Last year two pattern-detection programmes, ADVISE and TALON, run respectively by America’s Department of Homeland Security and the Pentagon, were shut down following privacy concerns and irregularities. Privacy advocates, however, say that other programmes continue—and many are operated, with minimal oversight, by the National
Security Agency. The NSA insists that it does keep Congress informed. It also vigorously defends data mining, saying that if today’s systems were in place before the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001, some of the hijackers would have been identified.

In July, after fierce debate, Congress imposed new limitations on government wiretapping when it renewed the expiring Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) sought by President George Bush after September 11th. The main law governing data mining, this has provided the administration with broad and unprecedented electronic spying powers. But civil-liberties lobbies such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch say the renewed, restricted law leaves largely untouched far-reaching secret “black” programmes, run by the NSA, which crunch data on great numbers of people, including millions of Americans. Much of that is personal financial information collected by the Treasury.

Mr Bush says that FISA helps protect citizens’ liberties “while maintaining the vital flow of intelligence”. Several hours after the president signed the bill into law, the ACLU filed a federal lawsuit, on the grounds that the executive branch’s expanded wiretapping powers violated the constitution.

In 2001 American-led forces routed the Taliban in Afghanistan, destroying al-Qaeda training camps there. Berndt Thamm, who advises Germany’s armed forces on terrorism, says that in retreat the Islamists left valuable clues about their online communications and electronic plotting. It is in following up these leads that data mining and pattern analysis can, and should, be used. Such techniques, says Mr. Thamm, are “the only answer” to jihadist extremists. That is the argument which the strenuous objections of civil libertarians need to overcome.
VITA

Sinan Gailan Hameed was born on June 11, 1978, in Baghdad, Iraq. He was educated in local public schools and graduated from Tariq Bin Ziad High School in 1996. He, then, accompanied his parents to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya where he graduated from Misurata University in 2002. His degree was a Bachelor of Arts in English Language and Literature.

Mr. Hameed had his first post in Libya as a cooperative teacher of English grammar in 2001 at Um Al-Qura Secondary School for Girls. In 2003, he moved to the United Arab Emirates and worked as an Executive Secretary and personal Assistant at ITEICO Green Building Investments L.L.C. in Dubai. In 2006, Mr. Hameed began a master’s program in Translation and Interpreting at the American University of Sharjah. He was awarded the Master of Arts degree in Translation and Interpreting in 2009.