

Національний університет «Острозька академія»

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**ПОРАДНИК  
З АНГЛІЙСЬКОЇ МОВИ**  
для студентів 3–5 курсів  
спеціальності «Політологія»

*Навчальний посібник*

Острог  
Видавництво Національного університету «Острозька академія»  
2021

УДК 811.111(075.6)  
ББК 81.2  
Б 72

*Рекомендовано до друку вченою радою  
Національного університету «Острозька академія»  
(протокол № 12 від 28 травня 2021 року)*

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Б 72      Порадник з англійської мови для студентів 3–5 курсів спеціальності «Політологія» : навчальний посібник. Острог: Видавництво Національного університету «Острозька академія», 2021. 152 с.

DOI 10.25264/28.05.2021

Навчальний посібник «Порадник з англійської мови» призначений для студентів факультету політико-інформаційного менеджменту, зокрема студентам спеціальності 052 Політологія, а також всім, хто прагне формувати професійно орієнтовані мовленнєві компетентності для ефективного спілкування в професійному середовищі.

**УДК 811.111(075.6)**  
**ББК 81.2**

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Навчальний посібник «Порадник з англійської мови для студентів 3–5 курсів спеціальності «Політологія» призначений для українських студентів III–V курсів немовних факультетів, які вивчають англійську мову як другу іноземну; студентам, які мають намір чітко висловлюватися про широке коло питань що стосуються сфери інтересів, політологічних зокрема. Навчально-методичний посібник базується на сучасній тенденції спеціалізованого навчання англійської мови як іноземної.

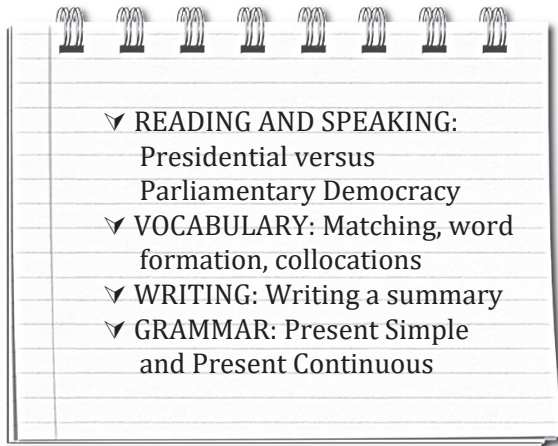
Метою видання навчального посібника «Порадник з англійської мови для студентів 3 – 5 курсів спеціальності «Політологія» є формувати у студентів мовну, мовленнєву та комунікативну компетенції, необхідні для впевненого та ефективного спілкування у академічному та діловому середовищі, та використовувати функціональний підход до вивчення англійської мови як іноземної.

Англійська мова – це мова міжнародного спілкування, володіння якою покращує кар’єрні перспективи у будь-яких сферах. Навчальний посібник для спеціальності 052 Політологія спрямований на формування у студентів загальних та професійно орієнтованих комунікативних мовленнєвих компетенцій для забезпечення їхнього ефективного спілкування в повсякденному, академічному та професійному середовищі. Передбачає розвиток навичок читання, говоріння та письма до наміченого рівня (C1 за шкалою Ради Європи). Посібник містить завдання на читання адаптованих та неадапованих текстів, підкріплення низкою вправ, спрямованих на засвоєння нових та закріплення вже вивчених лексичних одиниць, практикування у використанні граматичних структур, відповідних наміченому рівню, дискусії у межах запропонованих тем, що реалізуюватимуться засобами індивідуальної, парної та групової роботи, рольових ігор, ситуацій, максимально наближених до реального життя. За результатами навчання слухачі курсу здобудуть такі вміння і навички як брати участь у діалозі з достатнім ступенем невимушеності й спонтанності, так щоб відбулася

природна інтеракція з носіями мови; брати участь у дискусії у знайомих контекстах, викладаючи й захищаючи свою точку зору (свої погляди); виконувати широку низку мовленнєвих функцій і реагувати на них, гнучко користуючись загальноживаними фразами.

Ступінь складності граматичних вправ відповідає вимогам Міністерства освіти України до вивчення іноземних мов у вищих учбових закладах, програмі навчання англійської мови як другої іноземної для студентів факультету Політико-інформаційного менеджменту Національного університету Острозька академія.

# UNIT 1.



## READING AND SPEAKING

**Discuss the following questions before you read the text**

1. Is Presidential better than parliamentary?
2. What is the difference of presidential and parliamentary?
3. What are the disadvantages of a presidential system?
4. What are the pros and cons of a parliamentary system?
5. Which country is the best example of a presidential government?

**Read the text and compare your ideas with those expressed in the text**

### Comparing Parliamentary Systems with Presidential

The Parliamentary system vs. Presidential system is a frequently debated topic, and often the debate is based on which system brings about the most success. Unarguably, the success rate of a system

is an adequate way of measuring its right to be implemented. However, 'success' is broken down into many components, and one of the most vital elements of success is stability. The question here is: what makes a stable system? Stability consists of political security, how well public demand is met, the difficulty level of being overthrown, the economic state of the country, and as a source simply put it "a stable political system is one that survives through crises without internal destruction". These are just a few of the criteria points from a vast array of fundamentals which construct the definition of 'stable'.

In the case of the UK and the US governmental systems, comparing both democracies, it becomes obvious that they share the same values and virtues to a certain extent. Perhaps one of the most stand-out similarities shared amongst the two systems is the responsibility they have for the people. Similarly the citizens ruled under these two different democracies are provided with the same, laws, rules and rights. However, there are several crucial differences between these two liberal democracies which make them so distinct.

The election process of the two diverse governmental systems is one of the key differences which make them incomparable to each other. While within a presidential system the voters vote directly for the president, within the parliamentary system such as in Britain, the prime minister is elected indirectly; constituents essentially vote for a representative, a member of parliament to represent them in parliament; the leader of the majority party which wins becomes the prime minister. This is seen to be undemocratic in comparison to the election process of presidential systems which is seen to be more direct as it is directly voicing the voters' opinions on who they want to lead the country.

However, there are many advantages to a parliamentary system in comparison to the presidential system. For example, with the parliamentary system of government, it is fairly easy and more rapid to pass legislation through. However, there are other factors which can play a role in the power of these systems, for example if



a party has a majority in parliament it will become easier to pass legislation through. In the case of the UK, this was the situation with Labour in 1997 under Tony Blair, "Tony Blair's New Labour had gained a staggering 179-seat overall majority in the Commons as the Conservatives were tossed aside by the voters." The 'Sweet and Maxwell' research shows that "In total Tony Blair's administration was the most prolific, introducing a total of 26,849 new laws over his entire premiership." This argues that, majority leadership within parliament is a factor which leads to legislation passed through much faster. So, "A government with a secure majority can ensure its legislation process" this supports the claim that there are other factors which play a role into guaranteeing that legislation passes through, such as the majority in parliament or other elements which include an emergency or unseen events such as an economic crisis. An example of this is the "Northern Ireland Act 1972, which took only seven hours and eleven minutes to reverse the effects of a court decision that undermined the powers of the armed forces in Northern Ireland." Additionally, within a parliamentary system, the public is being represented while passing laws; as the House of Commons is a body which consists of representatives elected by constituents. If it is the case that, the House of Commons defy their constituents and try to pass a law through which is not in the interest of their constituents, they will get hassled by the media and pressure groups that have an immense influence on parliament. This is another factor and a very important one as it verifies that the parliamentary system is stable as it is a struggle to pass legislation through if it is not in the interest of their constituents. RSPA is an example of a pressure group which influenced legislation; "The Animal Welfare Act 2006 came about as a result of campaigning by animal welfare groups such as the RSPCA".

Conversely, within a presidential system which has been adopted by countries such as USA, the elaborate system of checks and balances within the presidential system makes it very challenging to pass legislation through as it often leads to gridlock. This is due to different parties controlling different branches within

the presidential system, as it could be the case that legislation is controlled by one party and the presidency is controlled by the other. The paper, 'Divided government and the Legislative productivity of Congress' states that, "Divided government is thought to lead to gridlock, paralysis, and legislative slumps." This supports the claim that the presidential system is unstable as it leads to negative outcomes such as gridlock and paralysis where nothing gets solved making it an unstable system due to the fact that it is a struggle to pass legislation even if it is in the benefit of the people.

On the other hand, the checks and balances within a presidential system also have its gains as, "Each branch of the government can check, or control, some parts of what the other branches do. This creates a balance of power in which no one person or group can become too powerful." However in the case of a parliamentary system, the easiness of passing legislation through can also mean that a government is unstable as, "legislation made in haste can result in problems. For example, terrorists were able to avoid having their photographs and DNA taken because of faulty (hasty) drafting of legislation".

Perhaps it is safe to say that semi-presidentialism is a more stable governmental system rather than the two discussed throughout this essay as it is a combination of both systems. Also, "Semi presidentialism is an increasingly popular form of constitutional government." If more and more countries are adjusting themselves to this particular system, it is fair to say that this might be a more stable system than the presidential or parliamentary systems.

Though, in the book, 'Parliamentary versus Presidential Government' the author quotes, "Parliamentarism is the most widely adopted system of government..." This supports the claim that, Parliamentarism must be very popular if it is the most widely adopted system of government, if it is that widespread it must have good features to it which make it so popular. So, when reaching a conclusion regarding which system is more stable, taking into account all the advantages and disadvantages, I believe it is justifiable to say that the parliamentary system can be considered

as more stable than the presidential system. However, it all depends on what the country considers as a stable government. As some may argue that both of these systems have become unstable as sovereignty is lost. In the case with Britain and its parliamentary system, the European system overlaps the parliamentary system and can enforce its own laws onto Britain. However, in theory Britain could always withdraw from the EU. Nonetheless, the UN and the power it has, undermines both systems. Therefore, it really depends on a country itself, and what it considers as a stable system.

(Essays, UK. (November 2018). Comparing Parliamentary Systems with Presidential. Retrieved from <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/politics/parliamentary-systems-more-stable-than-presidential-systems-politics-essay.php?vref=1>)

### **Points for discussion**

1. What makes the parliamentary and presidential system stable?

2. What are the differences between those two liberal democracies?

3. A government with a secure majority can ensure its legislation process. True or false?

4. Do you agree that parliamentarism must be very popular if it is the most widely adopted system of government?

5. Explain in what way the presidential or parliamentary system might be unstable.

## **VOCABULARY**

### **Look through the words and provide their meanings:**

– Government \_\_\_\_\_

– Parliamentarism \_\_\_\_\_

– Legislation process \_\_\_\_\_

– Gridlock \_\_\_\_\_

– Paralysis \_\_\_\_\_

– Legislative slumps \_\_\_\_\_

- Liberal \_\_\_\_\_
- Prime Minister \_\_\_\_\_
- Voters \_\_\_\_\_
- Conservatives \_\_\_\_\_

**Write the missing forms**

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
_____	avoid	_____
government	_____	_____
_____	adopt	_____
popular	_____	_____
voter	_____	_____
_____	undermine	_____
presidentialism	_____	_____
_____	_____	unstable
globalization	_____	_____
majority	_____	_____
destruction	_____	_____
_____	_____	popular
implementation	_____	_____
governance	_____	_____
_____	stable	_____
control	_____	_____

**Put an appropriate prefix in front of the following words:**

- Stable \_\_\_\_\_
- Popular \_\_\_\_\_
- Challenging \_\_\_\_\_
- Different \_\_\_\_\_
- Controlled \_\_\_\_\_

Productive \_\_\_\_\_  
Argue \_\_\_\_\_  
Seen \_\_\_\_\_  
Adequate \_\_\_\_\_

**Create sentences of your own using the following collocations:**

- struggle to pass legislation
- presidential system
- parliamentary system
- pressure groups
- political security
- stand-out similarities/differences
- legislation process
- vital elements of success
- to be tossed aside by

## GRAMMAR REVIEW

### Present Simple and Present Continuous

#### Present Simple

We use present simple to talk about:

1. habitual actions

*She usually stays at the Hilton, but it was fully booked.*

2. permanent situations

*He works in the Personnel Department of a large multinational company.*

3. things which are generally

true *Metals expand when heated.*

## Present Continuous

We use the present continuous to talk about:

1. actions happening around the time of speaking

*Angela's in London at the moment. She is staying at the Hotel International.*

*We are expanding our operations in the Far East.*

2. temporary situations

*I am working in a bookshop during the summer holidays.*

Some verbs are not normally used in a continuous form.

*I know London. (NOT I am knowing)*

*I like my job. (NOT I am liking)*

These are the so-called stative verbs: They include:

A. verbs of feeling: *like, dislike, love, hate, want, prefer, appreciate*

B. verbs of thinking: *know, understand, think (=have an opinion), believe, forget, remember, recognise, realise, mean*

C. verbs of senses: *taste, smell, hear, feel*

D. other verbs: *belong, own, be, have (= possess), consist of, contain, include, exist*

**This is a part of a report that a personnel manager wrote after interviewing a candidate for the position of Director of Software Development. Put the verbs in brackets into the present simple or present continuous tense:**

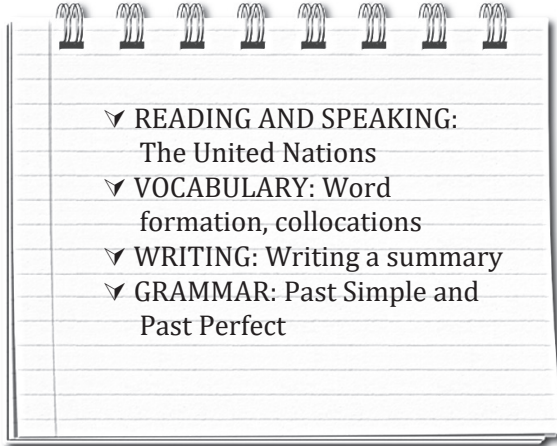
Articulate and well presented, Paul Sutherland is an excellent candidate for the post of Director of Software Development. He \_\_\_\_\_ (want) to leave his present employer, a small computer company, because he \_\_\_\_\_ (feel) that he \_\_\_\_\_ (not use) his knowledge of software engineering

to the full. He \_\_\_\_\_ (look for) a more challenging position where his field of specialisation can be exploited in a more stimulating environment. He \_\_\_\_\_ (realise) that our company \_\_\_\_\_ (grow) rapidly, and that he would be expected to contribute to that growth. He is familiar with our existing range of software and regularly \_\_\_\_\_ (read) our publications.

Although at present he \_\_\_\_\_ (live) in the south, he \_\_\_\_\_ (say) that he is willing to go wherever we \_\_\_\_\_ (decide) to send him. He occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ (travel) to various European countries for trade fairs and exhibitions and \_\_\_\_\_ (enjoy) meeting people of different nationalities. At the moment he \_\_\_\_\_ (attend) a training course at the Goethe Institute in order to perfect his German.

J. Hargreaves  
Personnel Manager  
27th January 2004

## UNIT 2.



### READING AND SPEAKING

**Read the text below and say whether the following statements are true (T) or false (F).**

1. States are still the most important organisations in the world. \_\_\_\_\_
2. Intergovernmental organizations have an increasingly important role. \_\_\_\_\_
3. Nongovernmental organizations still do not play an important role in world politics. \_\_\_\_\_
4. UN membership is larger than any other IGO. \_\_\_\_\_
5. Preserving peace and quality of life are not as important for UN nowadays as they used to be. \_\_\_\_\_
6. UN conferences are an important tool in preventing conflicts and dealing with a wide range of world issues. \_\_\_\_\_



## The United Nations

The history of world politics for the past 350 years has largely been a chronicle of interactions among states that remain the dominant political organizations in the world. States' interests, capabilities and goals significantly shape world politics. However, the supremacy of the state has been severely challenged in recent years. Increasingly, world affairs are being influenced by intergovernmental organizations that transcend national boundaries – global international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and regional organizations such as the European Union (EU). In addition, there exist many ways that individual people band together as coalitions of private citizens in groups to play influential roles in international affairs. Religions, nationalities based on ethnic and linguistic heritages, and multinational corporations are examples of nongovernmental organizations.



There are two principal types of nonstate actors: **intergovernmental organizations** (IGOs), whose members are states, and **nongovernmental organizations** (NGOs), whose members are private individuals and groups.

The United Nations (UN) is the best-known global organization. What distinguishes it from most other IGOs is its nearly universal membership, including today 190 independent states from every region. In principle, any sovereign state accepting the UN's

regulations and principles can join, but the great powers have often let realpolitik political considerations dictate what countries were admitted.

In addition to its nearly universal membership and its pervasive politics mirroring world politics, the UN is also a multipurpose organization. As Article 1 of the UN Charter states, the objectives are to:

- Maintain international peace and security
- Develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples
- Achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all
- Function as a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends

The UN has sought from its birth to combine the dual goals of preserving peace and improving the quality of life for humanity. These twin missions have carried the UN into nearly every corner of the complex network of interstate relations. The UN's conference machinery has become permanent: it has provided a mechanism for the management of international conflict, and increasingly the UN has become involved in a broad range of global welfare issues.

The history of the UN reflects the fact that both rich countries and developing countries have successfully used the organization to promote their own foreign policy goals, and this proud record has bred hopes throughout the world that the UN will be able to manage an ever changing and growing agenda. The UN Millennium Summit attended in September 2000 by 150 world leaders, which led to the ratification of nearly 300 treaties and conventions, made explicit the UN's ideology expressed in its eight millennium goals: (1) Eradicate extreme poverty & hunger, (2) Achieve universal primary education, (3) Promote gender equality and empower women, (4) Reduce child mortality, (5) Improve maternal health, (6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, (7) Ensure

*UNIT TWO:  
THE UNITED NATIONS*

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environmental sustainability and (8) Develop a global partnership for development.



Since 1970s, the organization has been asked to sponsor a wide array of world conferences on population, food, women, human settlements, basic human needs, water, disarmament, racism and racial discrimination, agrarian reform and rural development, science and technology, new and renewable sources of energy, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, prevention of crime and treatment of offenders, drug abuse and illicit trafficking in drugs, protection of children, environment and economic development, internationally organized crime, social development, housing, human rights, global warming, international trafficking of children for prostitution, principles for world order and many others.

Retrieved from <https://study-english.info/topic-un.php>

**Discuss the following**

1. Are NGOs important both on the local and international level?
2. What is the role of NGOs in Montenegro?
3. Do you think that the UN is as influential as the authors of the text claim?
4. There are eight millennium goals that the UN has defined. Do you think they are well formulated or would you add any other?
5. In the last paragraph a lot of problems that the world is facing nowadays are listed. What are the most serious ones on the global level?
6. Which of the listed problems most affect Montenegro?

## VOCABULARY

Write the missing forms

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
_____	_____	dominant
challenge	_____	_____
_____	influence	_____
_____	accept	_____
_____	admit	_____
_____	improve	_____
_____	maintain	_____
_____	develop	_____
_____	interact	_____
_____	_____	growing
_____	promote	_____
_____	ratify	_____
prevention	_____	_____
discrimination	_____	_____
protection	_____	_____
government	_____	_____

Make adverbs from the following adjectives and check whether there is a change in meaning:

large \_\_\_\_\_  
significant \_\_\_\_\_  
severe \_\_\_\_\_  
increasing \_\_\_\_\_  
near \_\_\_\_\_

**Add a suffix to form an adjective:**

agriculture \_\_\_\_\_

peace \_\_\_\_\_

house \_\_\_\_\_

universe \_\_\_\_\_

race \_\_\_\_\_

renew \_\_\_\_\_

economy \_\_\_\_\_

**Fill the sentences below with an appropriate form of the word in brackets:**

1. The organization is committed to AIDS \_\_\_\_\_ and education. (prevent)

2. This part of the country is mainly \_\_\_\_\_. (agriculture)

3. John was \_\_\_\_\_ in persuading the producers to put money into the film. (influence)

4. Many countries have now \_\_\_\_\_ the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. (ratification)

5. \_\_\_\_\_, there is a pressure on the council to make a decision as soon as possible. (increase)

6. The minister has announced that there will be no change in \_\_\_\_\_ policy (govern).

7. I've \_\_\_\_\_ finished that book you lent me. (near)

8. Music companies have profited from the \_\_\_\_\_ of CDs over vinyl records. (dominant)

9. Round-the-clock police \_\_\_\_\_ is given to all senior politicians. (protect)

10. \_\_\_\_\_ cooperation is a very important issue in the Balkans. (region)

**Fill the blanks with the appropriate word to make collocations:**

\_\_\_\_\_ politics

\_\_\_\_\_ years  
\_\_\_\_\_ affairs  
\_\_\_\_\_ organizations  
\_\_\_\_\_ corporations  
international \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ relations  
\_\_\_\_\_ rights  
\_\_\_\_\_ respect for human rights  
fundamental \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ policy goals  
extreme \_\_\_\_\_  
gender \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ HIV/AIDS  
environmental \_\_\_\_\_  
global \_\_\_\_\_  
crime \_\_\_\_\_  
organized \_\_\_\_\_  
world \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ range of issues  
\_\_\_\_\_ end

**Fill the gaps with the missing words**

NAME	ADJECTIVE	PERSON
Albania		
Algeria		
Argentina		
Australia		
Austria		
Belarus		
Belgium		
Bosnia-Herzegovina		
Brazil		
Bulgaria		
Canada		

Croatia  
Cuba  
Cyprus  
Denmark  
England  
Egypt  
Estonia  
Greece  
Hungary  
Iceland  
Italy  
Japan  
Mexico  
Morocco  
New Zealand  
Norway  
Papua New Guinea  
Ukraine  
Singapore

## GRAMMAR REVIEW

### Past Simple and Present Perfect

#### Past Simple

We use past simple to talk about actions and events which happened in a finished period of time in the past.

*Pasteur made important medical discoveries.* (when he was alive)

*Did you go to the meeting yesterday?*

*She worked in Paris for five years before moving to Rome.*  
(e.g. 1994 – 1999, not now)

## Present Perfect

We use Present Perfect:

A. for an action that started in the past and continues to the present time:

*He has been in the army for two years.* (He is still in the army)

*She has lived here all her life.* (She still lives here)

Compare the above sentences with:

*He was in the army for two years.* (He is not in the army now)

*She lived here all her life.* (Presumably she is now dead)

B. for past actions whose time is not mentioned:

*I have read the instructions but I don't understand them.*

*Have you had breakfast? – No, I haven't had it yet.*

Compare with:

*I read the instructions last night.* (time is given, so simple past)

*Did you have breakfast at the hotel?* (i.e. before you left the hotel, so simple past)

C. for actions occurring in an incomplete period which may be indicated by *today* or *this morning/afternoon/evening/week, month/year/century*.

Compare the following sentences:

*Tom has rung up three times this morning already.*

*Tom rang up three times this morning*



Note that the present perfect can be used with *this morning* only up to about one o'clock, because after that this morning becomes a completed period and actions occurring in it must be put into the simple past.

D. for a recently completed action (usually with *just*).

*He has just gone out.*

Adverbs that frequently appear with Present Perfect are also *already, lately, recently, since, for, ever, never, several times* etc.

### **Put the verbs in brackets into Present Perfect or Past Simple**

1. I hope you \_\_\_\_\_ (not wait) for me yesterday.
2. Come to see what I \_\_\_\_\_ (buy) for you.
3. We \_\_\_\_\_ (get) the information when we were at the station.
4. They \_\_\_\_\_ (leave) five minutes ago.
5. He \_\_\_\_\_ (already book) the seats.
6. I \_\_\_\_\_ (not be) to the National Library yet.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ (you arrive) late last night?
8. Where \_\_\_\_\_ (you spend) your holiday last summer?
9. We \_\_\_\_\_ (be) friends for years.
10. I \_\_\_\_\_ (not be) to Rome yet, but I \_\_\_\_\_ (be) in Venice last year.
11. Mary \_\_\_\_\_ (just get) a letter from her friend.
12. Mary \_\_\_\_\_ (not see) him since June.
13. Helen \_\_\_\_\_ (see) Tom in the theatre last night.
14. This term we \_\_\_\_\_ (be busy) preparing for our exams.
15. I know that Jane is ill, but I \_\_\_\_\_ (not visit) her yet.

## WRITING

### **Application for a job**

There are basically three kinds of job applications that you can make:

- an application for a specific advertised position
- an application to a recruitment consultant to register your details in case a suitable position arises
- an unsolicited application – i.e. a general application to a firm in circumstances where no specific position has been advertised.

The kind of letter you write will depend on the kind of application you make, but in all cases you should:

- Find out whether the application must be made on a special application form or by sending your curriculum vitae and a covering letter.

- Find out the name and job title of the person to whom you should send your application. Many job applications are disregarded because they are not addressed to a particular person. Many big firms nowadays have personnel departments (also called human resources departments) which deal with job application. If it is not clear to whom an application should be addressed, phone the personnel department to find out.

- Do your research. Find out as much as possible about the firm or organisation you are applying to before sending your application. In this way you can (1) save yourself the trouble of sending out any applications which are highly unlikely to be successful, and adapt your application to the needs of the particular firm or organisation to which you are writing.

### **Application for a specific advertised position**

Your letter should have a beginning, middle and end. Generally, the terms *vacancy*, *post*, *position* or *appointment* are used instead of the word *job* in advertisements.

In the beginning of your letter, explain what you are applying for and mention any documents that you have enclosed. For example:

*I wish to apply for the vacancy for a commercial lawyer advertised in this month's edition of Legal News. I enclose a copy of my curriculum vitae OR the relevant application form duly completed.*

Use the middle of the letter to state what appeals to you about the position you are applying for and why you think that you would be particularly well-suited to it. You can use this part of the letter (1) to demonstrate knowledge about the firm or organisation to which you are writing, and (2) to give some indication of your expertise and experience. For example:

*This position is of particular interest to me since I note that your firm is well-known for its work for IT companies. I have had over three years of experience in IT law in my present position and am keen to develop my expertise in this area further.*

At the end of the letter, offer to supply more information if necessary:

*I look forward to hearing from you. However, if there is any further information you require in the meantime, please let me know.*

### **Application to a recruitment consultant to register details**

The main purpose of this letter is to indicate what kind of position you are seeking and what kind of previous experience you have. However, it is important to make a good impression on the recruitment consultant to whom you write since the consultant is only likely to put your name forward to firm looking for new employees if he or she has confidence in your abilities.

In your initial letter, state what kind of position you are looking for, the geographical area in which your ideal job should be located, the salary range you are seeking and mention any documents that you have enclosed. For example:

*I am looking for a position as an assistant commercial lawyer, mainly specialising in company commercial matters, in a large commercially oriented law firm. Ideally, I would like to remain in the London area, but would be prepared to consider relocating for an exceptional position. I am looking for a salary in the region of £45,000 – £55,000 per annum.*

You should then state any particular qualities or experience you have that will make you especially attractive to employers. For example:

*I have had over five years of experience in the field of company commercial law and also have significant experience in IT law. I am fluent in German and spent one year during my current employment working at the firm's branch office in Munich, where I headed the company commercial department.*

At the end of your letter, you should indicate that you will be proactive in pursuing your job search. A suitably worded ending will communicate to the recruitment consultant that you are a serious applicant worthy of being strongly marketed to prospective employers. For example:

*If there is any further information you require, please let me know. I am keen to pursue this matter vigorously, and will telephone your Ms Smith on Friday, June 12, to discuss progress. I can be contacted at any time on my mobile, number 07339 873192.*

### **An unsolicited application**

When sending an unsolicited application, you should start by asking whether the firm you are writing to might have a vacancy that you could fill. For example:

*I am writing to enquire whether you might have a vacancy in your company commercial department for an assistant lawyer. I enclose a copy of my CV.*

You should then explain why you are applying to the firm – state what it is about the firm that particularly attracts you and why you would be a suitable employee for the firm. For example:

*I am particularly interested in the possibility of working for your firm since I note that you have strong expertise in the field of intellectual property. I have three years post-qualified experience working in the commercial department of my present firm, and have primarily focused on patent and industrial design rights. I am keen to further my expertise and experience in this area.*

At the end of the letter, offer to supply more information if necessary:

*I look forward to hearing from you. However, if there is any further information you require in the meantime, please let me know.*

**Below you will find details from Fiona Scott's letter of application. Look at the outline of the letter and indicate where the information from the next page should go**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

Fiona Scott

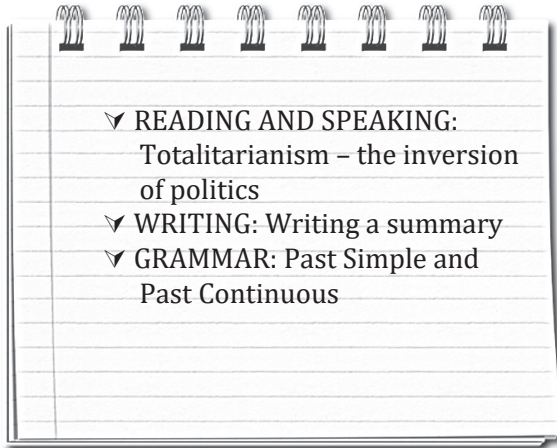
10

- A.** Although I am presently employed by a non-profit making organisation, it has always been my intention to work in a commercial environment. I would particularly welcome the chance to work for your company as I have long admired both the quality of the products that it provides and its position as a defender of environmental causes. As you will notice on my enclosed CV, the job you are offering suits both my personal and professional interests.
- B.** I would be pleased to discuss my curriculum vitae with you in more detail at an interview. In the meantime, please do not hesitate to contact me if you require further information. I look forward to hearing from you.
- C.** Dear ms Baudoin
- D.** 8th January 2000
- E.** I am writing to apply for the position which was advertised last month in *The Independent*.
- F.** 52 Hanover Street  
Edinburgh  
EH2 5 LM  
UK
- G.** Nathalie Baudoin  
Patagonia Gmbh  
Reitmorstrasse 50  
8000 Munich 22  
Germany

- H. My work experience has familiarised me with many of the challenges involved in public relations today. I am sure that this, together with my understanding of the needs and expectations of sport and nature enthusiasts, would be extremely relevant to the position. Moreover, as my mother is German, I am fluent in this language and would definitely enjoy working in a German-speaking environment.
- I. Fiona Scott
- J. Yours sincerely,

**Imagine you want to apply for a vacancy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They look for young graduate students of political science and diplomacy who are keen to learn about the job of a diplomat and who are fluent in foreign languages. Write an application form.**

## UNIT 3.



### READING AND SPEAKING

**Discuss the following questions before you read the text**

1. Totalitarianism: pros and cons.
2. What are the traits of totalitarianism?
3. What is totalitarianism in simple terms?

#### **Totalitarianism: The Inversion of Politics**

Historians increasingly see the term totalitarian as polemical, used more to discredit governments than to offer meaningful analyses of them.

The terms totalitarian and totalitarianism have a winding history. In 1922 King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy appointed Benito Mussolini, leader of the Italian fascist party, as prime minister. In subsequent years, Mussolini established an authoritarian government that provided a roadmap for other twentieth century dictators, including Adolf Hitler, and made the term fascist an enduring descriptor of right-wing authoritarianism. A year



after Mussolini's appointment, Giovanni Amendola, a journalist and politician opposed to fascism, used the term *totalitario*, or totalitarian, to describe how the fascists presented two largely identical party lists at a local election, thereby preserving the form of competitive democracy (i.e., offering voters a choice), while, in reality, gutting it. Other writers soon took up the idea and it became a more generic descriptor of the fascist state's dictatorial powers. Mussolini himself eventually adopted the term to characterize his government, writing that it described a regime of "all within the state, none outside the state, none against the state." In the next two decades, the terms began to circulate internationally. Amendola used them in 1925 to compare Mussolini's government and the young Soviet regime in Moscow. Academics in the English-speaking world began to employ them in the 1920s and '30s in similar comparative contexts.

In a sign of how much the meaning of the words drifted, however, those who later adopted them into political philosophy did not necessarily consider fascist Italy to have been totalitarian. Hannah Arendt, for instance, dismissed Mussolini's movement: "The true goal of Fascism was only to seize power and establish the Fascist 'elite' as uncontested ruler over the country." Even now, scholars point to the survival of pre-fascist government and bureaucratic structures, as well as lower levels of terror and violence directed against the populace, as evidence that Mussolini's Italy was not genuinely totalitarian.

Instead, Arendt considered totalitarianism to be a way of understanding fundamental similarities between Stalinism and Hitlerism, despite their diametrical opposition on the political spectrum. This archetypal comparison remains the bedrock of studies of totalitarian dictatorship. In *Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt laid out what she saw as its internal dynamic:

Totalitarianism is never content to rule by external means, namely, through the state and a machinery of violence; thanks to its peculiar ideology and the role assigned to it in this apparatus of coercion, totalitarianism has discovered a means of dominating and terrorizing human beings from within.

This state of affairs, which Arendt diagnosed as the result of an increasingly atomized society, bears a striking resemblance to the state described in George Orwell's *1984* (another bestseller in the Trump era). Airstrip One, as Orwell renamed Great Britain, is dominated by an omniscient Big Brother who sees, hears, and knows all. Through a reform of language, Airstrip One even tries to make it impossible to think illegal thoughts. Newspeak, it is hoped, "shall make thoughtcrime literally impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it." Orwell and Arendt considered the obliteration of the private and internal life of individuals to be the ne plus ultra of totalitarian rule.

Of course, what Arendt and Orwell described are systems of government that have never actually existed. Neither Nazism nor Stalinism succeeded in controlling or dominating its citizens from within. Moreover, while later scholarship has partially borne out Arendt's analysis of National Socialism, her understanding of Stalinist rule has proved less insightful.

The other classic account of totalitarianism is *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, published in 1956 by Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski. In it, the political scientists developed a six-point list of criteria by which to recognize totalitarianism: it has an "elaborate ideology," relies on a mass party, uses terror, claims a monopoly on communication as well as on violence, and controls the economy. Like Arendt, Friedrich and Brzezinski believed totalitarianism to be a new phenomenon – to take Gessen's words, an invention of the twentieth century. Their goal was to understand structural similarities between different modern dictatorships.

If the obliteration of the wall between public and private is the defining characteristic of totalitarianism, can any contemporary society be described as other than totalitarian?

This brings us back to current usage. The problem is that the term totalitarian fulfills two quite different purposes. The first, as just discussed, is taxonomic: for scholars, it has helped frame an effort to understand the nature of various twentieth-century regimes. And in this function, it finally seems to be reaching the end of its useful life.

But the term's other purpose is ideological and pejorative, the outgrowth of a Cold War desire to classify fascist and communist dictatorships as essentially the same phenomenon. To catalog a state as totalitarian is to say it is radically other, sealed off from the liberal, capitalist, democratic order that we take to be normal. When we call a state totalitarian, we are saying that its goals are of a categorically different sort than those of our own government – that it seeks, as Gessen suggests, to destroy human dignity.

The ideological work that the term totalitarian performs is significant, providing a sleight-of-hand by which to both condemn foreign regimes and deflect criticism of the regime at home. By claiming that dictatorship and democracy are not simply opposed but categorically different, it disables us from recognizing the democratic parts of dictatorial rule and the authoritarian aspects of democratic rule, and thus renders us less capable of effectively diagnosing problems in our own society.

We love to denounce foreign dictatorships. George W. Bush invented the “Axis of Evil,” for example, to provide a ready supply of villains. These “totalitarian” regimes – Iran, Iraq, and North Korea – we were told, all threatened our freedoms. But the grouping was always nonsensical, as the regimes bore few similarities to one another. While Iran, in particular, is authoritarian, it also bears hallmarks of pluralistic democracy. Pointing out the latter does not diminish the former – rather it helps us understand how and why the Islamic Republic has shown such tenacity and staying power. To simply call such regimes totalitarian not only misses the point, but also whitewashes American complicity in creating and propping up authoritarian regimes – Iran not least of all. Indeed, the United States supported a number of the past century's most brutal right-wing dictatorships.

Moreover, by thinking of totalitarianism as something that happens elsewhere, in illiberal, undemocratic places, we ignore the ways in which our government can and has behaved in authoritarian ways within our own country. Black Americans experienced conditions of dictatorial rule in the Jim Crow South and under slavery, to name but the most prominent examples.

The language of totalitarianism thus obscures how dictatorship and democracy exist on the same spectrum. It is imperative that we come to a clearer understanding of the fact that hybrid forms of government exist which combine elements of both. These managed democracies, to take political theorist Sheldon Wolin's term – from Putin's Russia, to Viktor Orbán's Hungary, to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Turkey – have hallmarks of democratic republics *and* use a combination of new and old methods to enforce something akin to one-party rule. These states are certainly not totalitarian, but neither are they democracies.

Retrieved from <http://bostonreview.net/politics/samuel-clowes-huneke-end-totalitarianism>

### Points for discussion

1. Totalitarianism is considered to be a way of understanding fundamental similarities between Stalinism and Hitlerism, despite their diametrical opposition on the political spectrum. Why/Why not?
2. Provide the defining characteristic of totalitarianism, can any contemporary society be described as other than totalitarian?
3. Can dictatorship and democracy exist on the same spectrum?
4. What is the difference between totalitarianism and fascism?
5. Which characteristics are typical of a leader of a totalitarian state?
6. What are examples of totalitarian rule?

### Complete the sentences with missed words from the article above

1. The terms totalitarian and \_\_\_\_\_ have a winding history.
2. In a sign of how much the meaning of the words drifted, however, those who later adopted them into political \_\_\_\_\_ did not necessarily consider fascist Italy to have been totalitarian.
3. The true goal of Fascism was only to seize power and establish the Fascist 'elite' as \_\_\_\_\_ ruler over the country.

4. Totalitarianism is never content to rule by external means, namely, through the state and a machinery of \_\_\_\_\_.

5. Neither Nazism nor Stalinism \_\_\_\_\_ in controlling or dominating its citizens from within.

6. Like Arendt, Friedrich and Brzezinski believed totalitarianism to be a new \_\_\_\_\_.

7. When we call a state totalitarian, we are saying that its \_\_\_\_\_ are of a categorically different sort than those of our own government.

8. Pointing out the latter does not diminish the former – rather it helps us understand how and why the Islamic Republic has shown such \_\_\_\_\_ and staying power.

9. Black Americans \_\_\_\_\_ conditions of dictatorial rule in the Jim Crow South and under slavery, to name but the most prominent examples.

10. The language of totalitarianism thus obscures how \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ exist on the same spectrum.

**Make adverbs from the following adjectives and check whether there is a change in meaning:**

former \_\_\_\_\_  
dictatorial \_\_\_\_\_  
prominent \_\_\_\_\_  
dominating \_\_\_\_\_  
bruta \_\_\_\_\_

**Add a suffix to form an adjective:**

democracy \_\_\_\_\_  
true \_\_\_\_\_  
ideology \_\_\_\_\_  
nature \_\_\_\_\_  
criteria \_\_\_\_\_  
politics \_\_\_\_\_  
function \_\_\_\_\_

## GRAMMAR REVIEW

### Past Simple and Past Continuous

The Past Continuous is chiefly used for past actions which continued for some time.

However, there are some varieties in its use.

A. When it is used without a time expression it can indicate gradual development:

*It was getting darker.*

*The wind was rising.*

B. It is used for an action going on at a specific time in the past:

*At eight he was having breakfast.*

C. It is also used for an action that was going on when another action happened:

*When I arrived, Tom was talking on the phone.*

Compare this combination with a combination of two simple past tenses, which normally indicates successive actions:

*When he saw me he put the receiver down.*

D. Past continuous is also used in descriptions. Note the combination of description (past continuous) with narrative (simple past):

*A wood fire was burning on the hearth, and a cat was sleeping in front of it. A girl was playing the piano and was singing softly to herself. Suddenly, there was a knock on the door. The girl stopped playing. The cat woke up.*

E. Past continuous is used for two parallel actions going on in the past. Sometimes, the adverb *while* is used:

*While I was reading, she was watching the news.*

F. Note that continuous tenses are used only for apparently continuous uninterrupted actions. If we divide the action up or say how many times it happened, we must use the simple past:

*I talked to Tom several times.*

**The forms in italics are in past continuous and past simple tenses. Underline the correct forms.**

1. She *worked/was working* quietly at her desk when suddenly the door *opened/was opening* and her daughter *rushed/was rushing* in.

2. He *stood up/was standing up, walked/was walking* across the room, and *closed/was closing* the window.

3. A strange man *walked/was walking* into the room. He *wore/was wearing* red trousers and a pink shirt.

4. *Didn't you meet/Weren't you meeting* your wife while you *worked/were working* in Chile?

5. I *saw/was seeing* you in the park yesterday. You *sat/were sitting* on a bench with your arm round Tom.

6. As soon as I *walked/was walking* into the room, he *handed/was handing* me the letter.

7. His father was really angry with him because he *listened/was listening* to music while he *did/was doing* his homework.

8. Why *didn't they visit/weren't they visiting* me while they *stayed/were staying* in London?

9. As he *passed/was passing* the bank, a man in a mask *knocked/was knocking* him onto the ground.

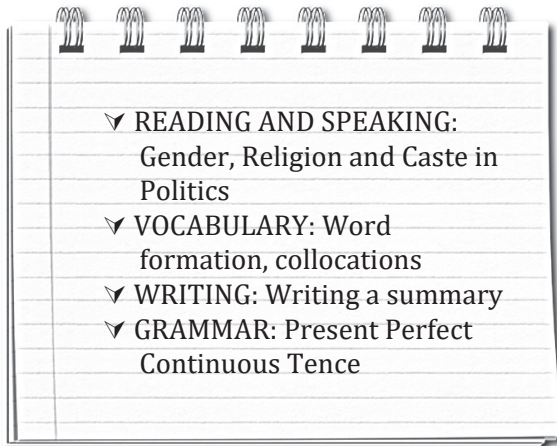
10. What *did you write/were you writing* when you computer *crashed/was crashing*?

## **WRITING**

Write a short review on Totalitarianism, providing an information on how it got its name, its principles and features, the difference of totalitarianism and other regimes and explain what is totalitarianism in simple terms.



# UNIT 4.



## READING AND SPEAKING

**Discuss the following questions before you read the text**

1. What is the role of gender in politics?
2. How can we reduce gender inequality?
3. What is the role of religion in social and political change?
4. What is the relationship between religion and politics class 10?
5. What is the role of caste?

**Read the text and compare your ideas with those expressed in the text**

### Gender, Religion and Caste in Politics

It is often said that in politics nothing happens by accident. To garner votes, politicians use every arrow in their quiver. Some bases on which they deploy vote bank tactics are gender, religion and even caste. Let us see how all these factors play a big part in politics.

## **Gender and Politics**

There is never any doubt that men and women are different on the basis of biology. And this differentiation also carries through to our society as various stereotypes. But one field which is often ignored when it comes to gender bias is that of politics. In the current political scenario of the world, and especially of India women are very poorly represented.

The problem really stems from the role women play in India's patriarchal society. Education of women is not a priority for most families in India. Their role is considered to be of household work and raising children. This is unpaid invisible work, and our society is a culprit of ignoring this work that women do.

Unfortunately, due to this perception of women, the participation of women in politics of the country also suffers. Did you know that the number of women in the central government crossed the barrier of 10% representation for the first time in 2009? Even today compared to other developing countries of the world, India's gender gap in politics is one of the worst in the world.

Steps have been taken to remedy the situation. In our lower level of governments, i.e. the panchayats and the municipalities there is a reservation of one-third seats for women. This ensures that women have their representative and a chance of their voices being heard. But the same needs to be done at the state and central levels. A bill proposing this has been pending for almost a decade.

## **Religion and Politics**



The Indian Constitution very clearly states that India does not have an official religion. We are a “secular state”. People of all religions in India have the right to practice any religion they may choose. And there can be no discrimination based on these rights. But in reality, religion plays a huge part in Indian politics.

It starts with the idea of Communalism. The idea behind communalism is that one religion or ethnic group will consider itself superior to another. And the members of this religion will always align with their own party, rather than think about the wider society. As you can imagine this feeling of communalism perpetuates easily.

Ever since the introduction of political parties in our country, this communalism has been exploited to gain political power. For them, it is a way to gather votes on the basis of religion. And more often than not they bring up the issues of majority versus minority religions, to stoke the fires of communalism. This creates separation among the people, rather than a uniting spirit.

Surprisingly forming a political party on the religion or caste is not illegal in India. Freedom to practice any religion gives them the right to assemble such groups and parties. But in the name of protecting the interests of their members, at times these parties spread intolerance and communal bias. And we as alert citizens should not fall into this trap.

### **Caste and Politics**

Just like religion, caste to plays a big part in Indian politics. But this aspect is actually quite unique to our country. Nowhere else in the world is caste and casteism so deeply embedded in the society and politics of a country.

Our caste system, which has prevailed since the ancient times, was so rigid and widespread it has been difficult to eradicate it completely. We have made progress due to urbanization and modernization, but we have not been successful in eradicating it completely. While it is almost non-existent in major cities now, the caste system still somewhat prevails in villages and towns.

Political parties take advantage of the fact that people from one caste tend to vote alike. They choose a candidate based on his caste rather than his qualifications. You will notice during an election, if the demographic is largely comprised of people from one particular caste, all political parties will field candidates from the same caste. This could be at the expense of more qualified candidates.

One positive effect of this has been that people from the so-called lower caste or suppressed caste now have a voice at the policy level. They have representatives from among their own, who understand their struggles and problems. Because these people and their votes are important to the political parties, they finally have a say in our countries politics.

Caste and politics also have a reverse effect. Politics also affects caste in our country. One major change it has brought about is that many smaller castes and sub-castes unite for political reasons. They realize that they will have strength in numbers, and form alliances within themselves. There is also a further segregation happening according to political powers enjoyed by the group. We often see tags attached such as backward caste groups or forward class groups.

Retrieved from <https://www.toppr.com/guides/political-science/gender-religion-and-caste/gender-religion-and-caste-in-politics/>

### **Points for discussion**

1. What should be done to raise the presence of women in the current political scenario?
2. The role of women is considered to be of household work and raising children – do you agree or disagree with the statement from the passage?
3. Can politics live without religion?
4. Why do political parties choose a candidate based on his caste rather than his qualifications?
5. What is the reverse effect of cast and politics?

## VOCABULARY

**Look through the words and provide their meanings:**

society \_\_\_\_\_  
 stereotypes \_\_\_\_\_  
 political scenario \_\_\_\_\_  
 representative \_\_\_\_\_  
 religion \_\_\_\_\_  
 discrimination \_\_\_\_\_  
 political parties \_\_\_\_\_  
 lower caste \_\_\_\_\_  
 sub-castes \_\_\_\_\_  
 alliances \_\_\_\_\_  
 segregation \_\_\_\_\_

**Write the missing forms**

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
religion	_____	_____
government	_____	_____
_____	caste	_____
discrimination	_____	_____
alliance	_____	_____
_____	_____	unique
segregation	_____	_____
_____	_____	qualified
alliance	_____	_____
urbanization	_____	_____
communalism	_____	_____
_____	exploited	_____

culprit	_____	_____
governance	_____	_____
_____	vote	_____
accident	_____	_____

**Create sentences of your own using the following collocations:**

- ancient times
- particular caste
- bring up the issues
- uniting spirit
- voices being heard
- factors play a big part
- various stereotypes
- the right to practice sth

## GRAMMAR REVIEW

### Present Perfect Continuous Tense

**Present Perfect Continuous** is used for an action which began in the past and is still continuing:

*I've been waiting for an hour and he still hasn't turned up.  
I'm sorry I'm late. Have you been waiting long?*

Remember that a number of verbs are not normally used in the continuous form, but some of these can be used in this form in certain cases. We can therefore say:

*Tom has been seeing Mary for some time now.  
I've been thinking it over.*

An action which began in the past and is still continuing can, with certain verbs, be expressed by either the present perfect simple or the present perfect continuous. Verbs which can be used in this way include *expect, learn, lie, live, rain, sleep, sit, snow, stand, stay, study, teach, wait, want, work etc.*

*How long have you learnt English?*

*How long have you been learning English?*

*He has slept for ten hours.*

*He has been sleeping for ten hours.*

*It has rained for a long time.*

*It has been raining for a long time.*

There is, however, a difference between a single action in the present perfect simple and an action in the present perfect continuous.

*(a) I've polished the car. (The job has been completed)*

*(b) I've been polishing the car. (This is how I've spent the last hour.)*

**Put the verbs in brackets into either Present Perfect Simple or Present Perfect Continuous.**

1. The committee \_\_\_\_\_ (try) to find an adequate solution for days, but they \_\_\_\_\_ (not do) it yet.

2. The two girls \_\_\_\_\_ (chat) for hours and hours, and still they \_\_\_\_\_ (not tell) one another all they wanted.

3. I \_\_\_\_\_ (write) the report on the given topic all morning, and yet I \_\_\_\_\_ (not write) even a half of it.

4. He \_\_\_\_\_ (not make) any progress although he \_\_\_\_\_ (work) in this firm for three months.

5. These two teams \_\_\_\_\_ (play) for 35 minutes already, but neither \_\_\_\_\_ (score) a goal.

6. The prices \_\_\_\_\_ (go up) since last year, what \_\_\_\_\_ (they do) to stop it?

7. This film \_\_\_\_\_ (run) for months already, but I \_\_\_\_\_ (not see) it yet.

8. I \_\_\_\_\_ (drive) this car for years and I \_\_\_\_\_ (not have) any trouble with it.

9. I \_\_\_\_\_ (think) it over for weeks and still I \_\_\_\_\_ (not reach) any firm decision.

10. He \_\_\_\_\_ (paint) Jim's portrait for quite a long time, but I believe he \_\_\_\_\_ (not finish) it yet.

## WRITING

### Curriculum Vitae (CV) or Resume

There are a number of ways of presenting information in a CV. Traditionally, the sequence was name, address, contact details, marital status, education, qualifications, work experience, referees and interests. However, it is now more common to begin with brief personal details, followed by a short profile or description of yourself (sometimes also called career summary). After that, the most important information is recent employment history and skills and qualifications. In the interests of completeness, you should account for all years since leaving schools, but if the information is irrelevant to the position you are applying for or is some years old, you should summarise it as briefly as possible.

These days, it is generally unnecessary to mention marital status, children, age, health or current salary unless specifically asked to do so, but this will vary according to the law and customs in different countries. Similarly, the order in which different events are present may vary. The relative importance of extracurricular activities and of references will also vary with national culture.

Much depends on the methods of recruitment. For example, there is a current trend in using recruitment consultants, who invite prospective employees to e-mail CVs direct or advertise themselves on the Internet. In some fields, CVs have recently changed radically



by abandoning the traditional chronological development through education and experience, in favour of setting out personal skills acquired in order to entice prospective employers.

**Here is a typical CV for an experienced commercial lawyer. Study it carefully, paying attention to how the information is presented.**

### **Ronald Hamilton**

**Address** 33 Ardley Street  
Oxford OX4 9PT  
**Telephone** 01865 774091  
**Mobile** 07329 761459  
**E-mail** ronald.hamilton@elt.com

### **Qualifications**

1997 Diploma of Legal Practice, College of Law  
1996 LLB, University of Bristol

### **Profile**

- Four year's qualified commercial lawyer with wide experience in company commercial and IT law
- Experience of supervising and coordinating a team of lawyers
- Excellent communication and client skills
- Analytical, innovative, self-motivating, confident
- Fluent in German and Spanish
- Computer literate

### **Employment**

2000 - present **Clifford and Boodle**

- Assistant lawyer, commercial department
- Caseload comprised company commercial and IT matters
- Worked on several large merger cases under the supervision of the partner in charge of the department

– Helped build up the IT law practice and was personally involved in supervising, coordinating and training a team of junior assistant lawyers

1998 – 2000            **Bradley, Jones & Peters**

– Trainee  
– Undertook training contract, gaining experience in company commercial, commercial property, commercial litigation and criminal litigation departments. Co-authored article “Recent developments in IT law” published in the June 1999 edition of Legal News

**Fiona Scott decided to apply for the job at Patagonia. Study her CV carefully to see how she has presented the information about herself. Where do you think each of the following headings should be placed?**

References	Activities	Personal Details
Education	Skills	Professional Experience

1. \_\_\_\_\_

Fiona Scott  
52 Hanover Street  
Edinburgh EH2 5LM  
Scotland  
Phone: 0131 449 0237  
E-mail: [fiona.scott@caledonia.net](mailto:fiona.scott@caledonia.net)

2. \_\_\_\_\_

1991 – 1992      London Chamber of Commerce and Industry  
Diploma in Public Relations  
1988 – 1991      University of London  
BA (Honours) in Journalism and Media Studies  
(Class II)

UNIT FOUR:  
GENDER, RELIGION AND CASTE IN POLITICS

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1981 – 1988 Broadfield School, Brighton  
A levels in German (A), English (B), History (B)  
and Geography (C)

3. \_\_\_\_\_

1991 – present Public Relations Officer, Schottish Nature Trust  
Responsible for researching and writing articles  
on all aspects of the Trust's  
activities and ensuring their distribution to the  
press  
Editor of the Trust's monthly journal  
In charge of relations with European  
environmental agencies

1992 – 1995 Press Officer, Highlands Tourist Board  
Preparation of promotional materials and  
brochures  
Co-ordination of media coverage

Summary of The Glasgow Tribune newspaper  
1990 and 1991 Two three-month training periods as assistant to  
the Sports Editor  
Arranging and conducting interviews  
Preparation of articles covering local community  
sports events

4. \_\_\_\_\_

IT Office 2000 and Widnows NT, Excel, Internet,  
Powerpoint  
Languages Fluent German and proficient in French  
Additional Driving license (car and motorcycle)

5. \_\_\_\_\_

Cross-country, skiing, rock climbing and swimming  
Ski Instructor (grade II)

Secretary of the local branch of “Action”, an association organising sports activities for disabled children

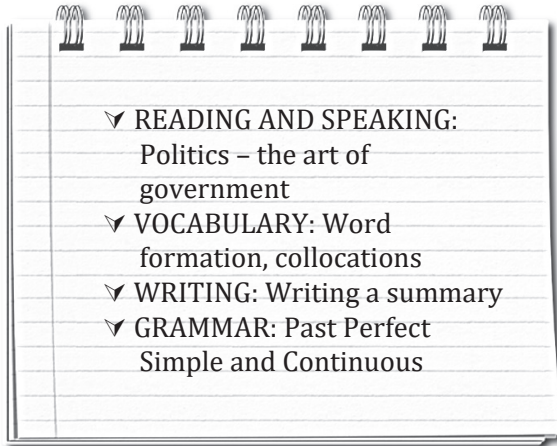
6. \_\_\_\_\_

Geoffrey Williams  
Professor of Journalism  
University of London

Brenda Denholm  
Sports Editor  
The Glasgow Tribune

**Write Your own CV.**

# UNIT 5.



## READING AND SPEAKING

**Discuss the following questions before you read the text**

1. Why is government important as an art of governing?
2. What is the actual meaning of politics?
3. What is government as an act of governing?
4. What are the functions of government?

**Read the text and compare your ideas with those expressed in the text**

### Politics – the art of government

“Politics is not a science ... but an art”, Chancellor Bismarck is reputed to have told the German Reichstag. The art Bismarck had in mind was the art of government, the exercise of control within society through the making and enforcement of collective decisions. This is perhaps the classical definition of politics, developed from the original meaning of the term in Ancient Greece. The word

“politics” is derived from polis, meaning literally city-state. Ancient Greek society was divided into a collection of independent city-states, each of which possessed its own system of government. The largest and most influential of these city-states was Athens, often portrayed as the cradle of democratic government. In this light, politics can be understood to refer to the affairs of the polis – in effect, “what concerns the polis”. The modern form of this definition is therefore “what concerns the state”. This view of politics is clearly evident in the everyday use of the term: people are said to be “in politics” when they hold public office, or to be “entering politics” when they seek to do so. It is also a definition that academic political science has helped to perpetuate. In many ways, the notion that politics amounts to “what concerns the state” is the traditional view of the discipline, reflected in the tendency for academic study to focus upon the personnel and machinery of government. To study politics is in essence to study government, or, more broadly, to study the exercise of authority. This view is advanced in the writings of the influential US political scientist David Easton (1979, 1981), who defined politics as the “authoritative allocation of values”. By this he meant that politics encompasses the various processes through which government responds to pressures from the larger society, in particular by allocating benefits, rewards or penalties. “Authoritative values” are therefore ones that are widely accepted in society, and are considered binding by the mass of citizens. In this view, politics is associated with “policy”: that is, with formal or authoritative decisions that establish a plan of action for the community. However, what is striking about this definition is that it offers a highly restricted view of politics. Politics is what takes place within a polity, a system of social organization centred upon the machinery of government. Politics is therefore practised in cabinet rooms, legislative chambers, government departments and the like, and it is engaged in by a limited and specific group of people, notably politicians, civil servants and lobbyists. This means that most people, most institutions and most social activities can be regarded as being “outside” politics. Businesses, schools and other educational institutions, community groups, families and so on are

in this sense “nonpolitical”, Polis: (Greek) City-state; classically understood to imply the highest or most desirable form of social organization. Polity: A society organized through the exercise of political authority; for Aristotle, rule by the many in the interests of all because they are not engaged in “running the country”. By the same token, to portray politics as an essentially state-bound activity is to ignore the increasingly important international or global influences upon modern life, such as the impact of transnational technology and multinational corporations.

In this sense, this definition of politics is a hangover from the days when the nation-state could still be regarded as an independent actor in world affairs. Moreover, there is a growing recognition that the task of managing complex societies is no longer simply carried out by government but involves a wide range of public and private sector bodies. This is reflected in the idea that government is being replaced by “governance”. This definition can, however, be narrowed still further. This is evident in the tendency to treat politics as the equivalent of party politics. In other words, the realm of “the political” is restricted to those state actors who are consciously motivated by ideological beliefs, and who seek to advance them through membership of a formal organization such as a political party. This is the sense in which politicians are described as “political”, whereas civil servants are seen as “nonpolitical”, as long as, of course, they act in a neutral and professional fashion. Similarly, judges are taken to be “nonpolitical” figures while they interpret the law impartially and in accordance with the available evidence, but they may be accused of being “political” if their judgment is influenced by personal preferences or some other form of bias.

The link between politics and the affairs of the state also helps to explain why negative or pejorative images have so often been attached to politics. This is because, in the popular mind, politics is closely associated with the activities of politicians. Put brutally, politicians are often seen as power-seeking hypocrites who conceal personal ambition behind the rhetoric of public service and ideological conviction. Indeed, this perception has become

more common in the modern period as intensified media exposure has more effectively brought to light examples of corruption and dishonesty, giving rise to the phenomenon of anti-politics. This rejection of the personnel and machinery of conventional political life is rooted in a view of politics as a self-serving, two-faced and unprincipled activity, clearly evident in the use of derogatory phrases such as “office politics” and “politicking”. Such an image of politics is sometimes traced back to the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli, who, in *The Prince* (1961), developed a strictly realistic account of politics that drew attention to the use by political leaders of cunning, cruelty and manipulation. Such a negative view of politics reflects the essentially liberal perception that, as individuals are self-interested, political power is corrupting, because it encourages those “in power” to exploit their position for personal advantage and at the expense of others. This is famously expressed in Lord Acton’s (1834-1902) aphorism: “power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely”. Nevertheless, few who view politics in this way doubt that political activity is an inevitable and permanent feature of social existence. However venal politicians may be, there is a general, if grudging, acceptance that they are always with us. Without some kind of mechanism for allocating authoritative values, society would simply disintegrate into a civil war of each against all, as the early social-contract theorists argued. The task is therefore not to abolish politicians and bring politics to an end, but rather to ensure that politics is conducted within a framework of checks and constraints that ensure that governmental power is not abused.

Retrieved from <https://lingualeo.com/es/jungle/politics-as-the-art-of-government-493557>



## VOCABULARY

Write the missing forms.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
_____	derived	_____
_____	_____	evident
essence	_____	_____
_____	_____	social
_____	involve	_____
_____	interpret	_____
_____	conceal	_____
_____	reflect	_____
_____	allocate	_____
_____	_____	political
perception	_____	_____
value	_____	_____

**Fill each gap with one of the forms from above:**

1. The word “politics” is \_\_\_\_\_ from polis, meaning literally city-state.
2. The view of politics is clearly \_\_\_\_\_ in the everyday use of the term: people are said to be “in politics” when they hold public office.
3. To study politics is in \_\_\_\_\_ to study government, or, more broadly, to study the exercise of authority.
4. Politics is what takes place within a polity, a system of \_\_\_\_\_ organization centred upon the machinery of government.
5. Moreover, there is a growing recognition that the task of managing complex societies is no longer simply carried out by government but \_\_\_\_\_ a wide range of public and private sector bodies.

6. Judges are taken to be “nonpolitical” figures while they \_\_\_\_ the law impartially and in accordance with the available evidence.

7. Politicians are often seen as power-seeking hypocrites who \_\_\_\_ personal ambition behind the rhetoric of public service and ideological conviction.

8. Such a negative view of politics \_\_\_\_\_ the essentially liberal perception that, as individuals are self-interested, political power is corrupting.

9. Without some kind of mechanism for \_\_\_\_ authoritative values, society would simply disintegrate into a civil war of each against all, as the early social-contract theorists argued.

10. Polity is a society organized through the exercise of \_\_\_\_ authority; for Aristotle, rule by the many in the interests of all because they are not engaged in “running the country”.

**Make your own sentences using the following collocations:**

- political life
- personal preferences
- social activities
- cradle of democratic government
- personal ambition
- public office
- authoritative values
- the exercise of authority
- the larger society
- political leaders

## WRITING

Read a short abstract and write a short review on the article, providing an information on how the government is formed, its principles and features, the difference of the structures of government and what defines it. What is the role of government and its responsibilities.

## **Responsiveness, support, and responsibility: How democratic responsiveness facilitates responsible government**

### **Abstract**

Representative democracy entails governments that are both responsive and responsible. Mair argued that political parties find it increasingly difficult to balance these two tasks. With an increase in international commitments and interdependence, governments cannot always follow the wishes of their citizens but need to be responsible instead. Our study examines the responsiveness–responsibility link from the angle of citizen perceptions. We argue that when governments are seen as responsive they build a “buffer” of support, allowing them to make decisions that are not necessarily responsive but possibly responsible. By being responsive, governments build a reservoir of goodwill, which they can use to survive more difficult periods. Using data from the 2012 European Social Survey, we test whether perceived responsiveness feeds into this reservoir and whether this reservoir consequently increases perceived responsibility. We find support for this link, suggesting that responsiveness and responsibility do not need to be trade-offs but can complement each other.

## **GRAMMAR REVIEW**

### **Past Perfect Simple and Continuous**

1. **Past perfect** is the past equivalent of the present perfect.

Present: *Ann has just left. If you hurry you'll catch her.*

Past: *When I arrived Ann had just left.*

The present perfect can be used with since/for etc. for an action which began in the past and is still continuing or has only just finished. The past perfect can be used similarly for an action which began before the time of speaking in the past and

- (a) was still continuing at that time, or
- (b) stopped at that time or just before it. But notice that the past perfect can also be used
- (c) for an action which stopped some time before the time of speaking.

Examples of types (a), (b) and (c):

*(a) Tim was in uniform when I met him. He had been a soldier for ten years and planned to stay in the army till he was thirty.*

*(b) Peter, who had waited for an hour, was very angry with his sister when she eventually turned up.*

*(c) He had served in the army for ten years: then he retired and married.*

The past perfect is also the past equivalent of the simple past tense and is used when the narrator or subject looks back on earlier action from a certain point in the past:

*He met her in Paris in 1977. He had last seen her ten years before. Her hair had been grey then; now it was white. Or*

*He met her in 1967 and again ten years later. Her hair, which had been grey at their first meeting, was now white.*

But if we merely give the events in the order in which they occurred, no past tense is necessary:

*He met her first in 1967 when her hair was grey. He met her again in 1977. Her hair was now white.*

**2. The past perfect continuous** bears the same relation to the past perfect as the perfect continuous bears to the present perfect.

When the action began before the time of speaking in the past and continued up to that time, or stopped just before it, we can often use either form:

*It was now six and he was tired because he had worked since dawn.*

*It was now six and he was tired because he had been working since dawn.*

A repeated action in the past perfect can sometimes be expressed as a continuous action by the past perfect continuous:

*He had tried five times to get her on the phone.*

*Ha had been trying to get her on the phone.*

But, there is a difference between a single action in the past perfect simple and an action in the past perfect continuous:

*By six o'clock he had repaired the engine.* (This job has been completed).

*He had been repairing the engine* tells us how he had spent the previous hour/half hour etc. It does not tell us whether or not the job was completed.

Another difference is that an action in the past perfect continuous continues up to, or beyond, the time of speaking in the past. An action in the past perfect may occur shortly before the time of speaking, but there could be quite a long interval between them:

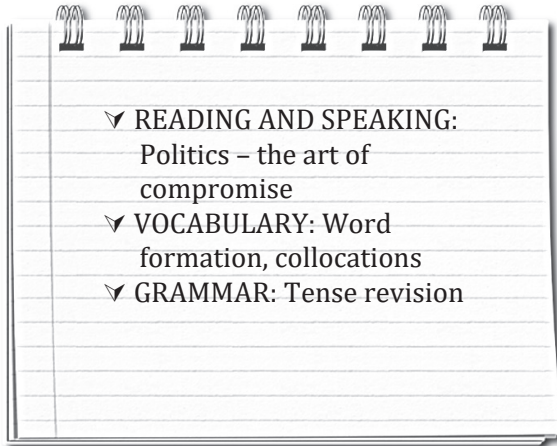
He had been painting the door. (The paint was probably still wet)

*He had painted the door.* (Perhaps recently, perhaps some time ago)

**Put the verbs in brackets into the Past Perfect Simple or Past Perfect Continuous:**

1. The hotel that Peter \_\_\_\_\_ (recommend) was small but pretty.
2. I was very tired; I \_\_\_\_\_ (walk) for six hours without resting.
3. He was busier than he \_\_\_\_\_ (ever be) in his life.
4. John knew that they \_\_\_\_\_ (wait) for him since two o'clock.
5. He hoped no one knew what \_\_\_\_\_ (happen) to him.
6. We \_\_\_\_\_ (walk) for hours before we saw anybody.
7. When I arrived at the theatre the play \_\_\_\_\_ (already begin).
8. I thought of the girl I \_\_\_\_\_ (meet) the day before.
9. His father was sure that he \_\_\_\_\_ (give) the right advice.
10. When I \_\_\_\_\_ (lock) the door I went to bed.
11. When I entered she got up from the chair on which she \_\_\_\_\_ (sit) for two hours.
12. I \_\_\_\_\_ (write) for hours when I remembered that I had an appointment at the dentist's.
13. When I called at his house he \_\_\_\_\_ (already go).
14. After she \_\_\_\_\_ (do) her homework the girl went skating.
15. When I came in, I noticed that somebody \_\_\_\_\_ (leave) a parcel in the hall.
16. Before he \_\_\_\_\_ (read) even half of the book, he insisted he didn't like it.
17. When I reached the station, the train \_\_\_\_\_ (leave) already.
18. When they returned they told us what they \_\_\_\_\_ (see) in London.
19. What \_\_\_\_\_ (you do) before you came here?
20. He \_\_\_\_\_ (spend) some years in that place, so he could give us all the necessary information.

# UNIT 6.



## READING AND SPEAKING

**Discuss the following questions before you read the text**

1. Is it necessary for a good politician to possess a good ethics of compromise?
2. What place should compromise be given in democracy?
3. What are the good reasons for studying compromise?
4. Is a bad deal really worse than no deal at all?

### Politics - the art of compromise

Political parties are essential to modern democracy, contrary to some popular opinion. Parties organise democracy and prevent voters from having to choose from among scores of candidates. Parties in a broad sense stand for a particular view of the role of government. Party identification is the best predictor of how people vote. Compromise between the parties has been and will remain vital for the functioning of democracy. These political compromises reflect the collective behavior of the nation. In the 2018 general

elections, no party has managed to achieve a simple majority. Now is the time for compromises and conciliation.

One cannot be a successful politician if one sticks to his ideals and convictions. If a politician is rigid and inflexible in his thoughts and approach, he will be isolated from the masses. Politics knows no code of conduct or ethics. If there is any field in which ends justify the means, politics is certainly one of them. One who is very conscious of the promises made on various occasions to the voters cannot progress in politics as one cannot fulfil many of the promises that are made and should be prepared to compromise on this score. True, to some extent politicians do fulfill some of the promises made during election campaigns, but by and large, assurances in political manifestos are ignored both by the masses and the parties themselves, with old promises yielding position to new. One cannot afford to take a firm stand on any issue in politics. The politician should be flexible enough to accommodate new thoughts, ideas and suggestions as the emerging situations demand. After all, there is a famous saying that politics is the art of compromise.

Politicians are bad at compromise not only because the electorate votes based ideology, but also because politics artificially and unnecessarily limit the number of bargaining parties. Thus, describing politics as the art of compromise is misleading. Because the value to interest groups of using the political process depends on the inability of other groups to organise effectively and join in the political bargaining, politics may just as accurately be described as the art of confining compromise: organised interest groups have incentives to confine the number of parties sitting at the political bargaining table. The result is that the interests of the general, unorganised public typically are compromised by political compromise.

It is a hallmark of our democracy that no candidate for office is ever able to deliver on all of her or his campaign promises. That is because of the way our system of government works. In dictatorships, it is a different matter of course. There, laws have nothing to do with the arena of public discourse or what the people want.



No one gets everything they want. Half a solution is better than no solution at all. To a hungry man, half an apple is much preferred to an empty stomach. More importantly a stubborn, rigid position even if it is sometimes the right one will often do more harm than good. Is a bad deal really worse than no deal at all? Sometimes, but not all the time.

Politics is the art of compromise. This does not mean that you have to surrender your personal convictions and always level the decision-making process to the lowest common denominator. This does not mean everyone is unhappy because they only get half a solution. But it does mean that effective leaders have to keep an open mind and be able to identify the greater good and the lesser of two bad solutions, and then make a timely choice, in good faith, to the best of their ability. Yes, the PTI leadership will have to face blackmail in the name of political compromise, and it will have to be very careful because the opposition is quite strong.

Negotiated solutions are almost always preferred to unilateral ones. Democracy is a messy process. But it is the best one we have. Let's help it work better going forward and demonstrate statesmanship and the art of compromise in pursuit of a truly democratic culture.

Politicians need to be able to compromise and be good at bargaining with other elected officials. One reason is that in order to get what is important to them, they must be willing to negotiate with others who also want support. It is a trade off in which one party wants support for their cause and in turn, must support someone else's cause. They must engage in this bargaining in order to win enough support to get the votes necessary to form a government. In other words, without compromise, nothing will be achieved and as a result the official will likely not hold office for very long.

Politics by its very nature is the exercise of power to reach certain objectives. Political decisions affect people from diverse backgrounds and it is often very difficult to make a decision that will entirely satisfy all the people since they have varied needs. So the role of the skilful politician is to find common ground make

compromises to effect a plan of change towards the meeting of societal goals.

Politicians have ripped this word out of the dictionary, twisted it, and demonized the process. To them, compromise no longer means putting aside your differences and working together. It no longer means sacrificing a little to gain something greater. No, instead it means selling your soul to the devil and stabbing the people in the back. The problem is the people who call and write letters and E-mail their politicians regularly are the people most passionate about certain specific issues.

It has been said “a good compromise is when both parties are dissatisfied”, but I think that paints the wrong type of picture. People misuse the word compromise when they treat it like a lose-lose outcome. The perception of political compromise should be that both sides leave with something to be happy about and something be achieved that serves the country. Compromise prevents rapid radical swings in government policy that could have many unintended consequences, so I support them even if they do not have everything I want because they keep Pakistan stable in the long term. Absolutism in government has become very difficult.

Our trust in previous governments has faded, but we are not free from blame either. After all, it was we the people who elected our representatives. If we wish to see our government function again, we must be willing to back down from our absolutist stances.

Retrieved from <https://dailytimes.com.pk/277075/politics-the-art-of-compromise/>

**Answer the following questions:**

1. What is the present goal of the political parties towards modern democracy?
2. Compromise between the parties has/hasn't been and will/will not remain vital for the functioning of democracy, why/why not?
3. Why do some politicians fulfill some of the promises made during election campaigns?

4. Are politicians good or bad at compromise?
5. Comment on the following: effective leaders have to keep an open mind and be able to identify the greater good.
6. Why is it important to be willing to negotiate with others who also want support?
7. Based on the article – what is the role of the skilful politician?
8. Does a good compromise dissatisfy both parties?
9. Do you support the idea that compromise prevents rapid radical swings in government policy that could have many unintended consequences?

## VOCABULARY

**Put the proper preposition after each of the following verbs:**

go	_____	consist	_____
arise	_____	be aimed	_____
replace	_____	be vested	_____
be dominated	_____	be in charge	_____
be based	_____	be specialized	_____
have confidence	_____	be responsible	_____
be resented	_____	derive	_____

**Fill the blanks with the appropriate words that collocate**

Politics knows no code of \_\_\_\_\_ or ethics. If there is any \_\_\_\_\_ in which ends justify the means, politics is certainly one of them. One who is very conscious of the \_\_\_\_\_ made on various occasions to the voters cannot progress in politics as one cannot \_\_\_\_\_ many of the promises that are made and should be prepared to compromise on this score.

No one gets everything they want. Half a \_\_\_\_\_ is better than no solution at all. To a hungry man, half an \_\_\_\_\_ is much preferred to an empty stomach. More importantly a stubborn, rigid position

even if it is sometimes the right one will often do more harm than good. Is a bad deal really \_\_\_\_\_ than no deal at all? Sometimes, but not all the time.

Politics by its very \_\_\_\_\_ is the exercise of power to reach certain objectives. Political decisions affect people from \_\_\_\_\_ backgrounds and it is often very difficult to make a decision that will entirely satisfy all the people since they have varied needs. So the role of the \_\_\_\_\_ politician is to find common ground make compromises to effect a plan of change towards the meeting of \_\_\_\_\_ goals.

### Match the words below with their explanations

**election party democracy compromise statesmanship  
government blackmail representative consiliation campaign  
passionate background promise engage sacrifice**

- a. the action, treated as a criminal offence, of demanding payment or another benefit from someone
- b. a formally constituted political group that contests elections and attempts to form or take part in a government
- c. an agreement or settlement of a dispute that is reached by each side making concessions
- d. a formal and organized choice by vote of a person for a political office or other position
- e. an organized course of action to achieve a goal
- f. the group of people with the authority to govern a country or state
- g. a declaration or assurance that one will do something or that a particular thing will happen
- h. the action of stopping someone being angry
- i. a system of government by the whole population
- j. consisting of people chosen to act and speak on behalf of a wider group
- k. give up (something valued) for the sake of other considerations
- l. having, showing, or caused by strong feelings or beliefs
- m. skill in managing public affairs
- n. participate or become involved in

## GRAMMAR

### TENSES REVISION

#### Simple Present

<b>Affirmative</b>	She drinks.
<b>Negative</b>	She does not drink.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Does she drink?
<b>Form</b>	I, you we they play   he, she, it plays <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action in the present taking place once, never or several times</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• facts</li><li>• actions taking place one after another</li><li>• action set by a timetable or schedule</li></ul>

#### Present Progressive

<b>Affirmative</b>	He is reading.
<b>Negative</b>	He is not reading.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Is he reading?
<b>Form</b>	To be (in the simple present) + verb + ing <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action taking place at the moment of speaking</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action arranged for the future</li></ul>

#### Simple Past

<b>Affirmative</b>	I cried.
<b>Negative</b>	I did not cry
<b>Interrogative</b>	Did I cry?
<b>Form</b>	Regular verbs: Verb + ed   Irregular verbs: forms differ and should be learned by heart. This is a list of irregular verbs
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action in the past taking place once, never or several times</li><li>• actions taking place one after another</li></ul>

### Past Progressive

<b>Affirmative</b>	He was driving.
<b>Negative</b>	He was not driving.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Was he driving?
<b>Form</b>	to be (in the simple past) + verb + ing
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action going on at a certain time in the past</li><li>• actions taking place at the same time</li><li>• action in the past that is interrupted by another action</li></ul>

### Present Perfect Simple

<b>Affirmative</b>	They have slept.
<b>Negative</b>	They have not slept.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Have they slept?
<b>Form</b>	Have / has + past participle (past participle of regular verbs: verb + ed   Past participle of irregular verbs: forms differ and should be learned by heart. This is a list of irregular verbs)
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• emphasis is on the result (not the duration)</li><li>• action that started in the past &amp; is still going on</li><li>• action that stopped recently</li><li>• finished action that has an influence on the present</li></ul>

### Present Perfect Progressive

<b>Affirmative</b>	He has been thinking.
<b>Negative</b>	He has not been thinking.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Has he been thinking?
<b>Form</b>	have or has + been + verb + ing <a href="https://www.myenglishpages.com/english/grammar-lesson-list-irregular-verbs.php">https://www.myenglishpages.com/english/grammar-lesson-list-irregular-verbs.php</a>
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• putting emphasis on the course or duration (not the result)</li><li>• action that recently stopped or is still going on</li><li>• finished action that influenced the present</li></ul>

### Past Perfect Simple

<b>Affirmative</b>	She had won.
<b>Negative</b>	She had not won.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Had she won?
<b>Form</b>	had + past participle (past participle of regular verbs: verb + ed   Past participle of irregular verbs: forms differ and should be learned by heart. This is a list of irregular verbs) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action taking place before a certain time in the past</li><li>• sometimes interchangeable with past perfect progressive</li><li>• putting emphasis only on the fact (not the duration)</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	

### Past Perfect Progressive

<b>Affirmative</b>	He had been waiting.
<b>Negative</b>	He had not been waiting.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Had he been waiting?
<b>Form</b>	had + been + verb + ing <a href="https://www.myenglishpages.com/english/grammar-lesson-list-irregular-verbs.php">https://www.myenglishpages.com/english/grammar-lesson-list-irregular-verbs.php</a> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action taking place before a certain time in the past</li><li>• sometimes interchangeable with past perfect simple</li><li>• putting emphasis on the duration or course of an action</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	

### Future Simple

<b>Affirmative</b>	I will open the door.
<b>Negative</b>	I will not open the door.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Will you open the door?
<b>Form</b>	will + verb <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• We use the simple future for instant decisions.</li><li>• We use the simple future when we predict a future situation</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	We use the simple future in conditional sentences type one. (More on conditional sentences here)

### Future Plan (going to)

<b>Affirmative</b>	He is going to clean the car.
<b>Negative</b>	He is not going to clean the car.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Is he going to clean the car?
<b>Form</b>	to be (in the simple present) + going + to + verb • to express the future when we intend to do something or have decided to do something but did not arrange it. It is just an intention. • predictions in the future
<b>Uses</b>	

### Future Plan (Present Progressive)

<b>Affirmative</b>	He is traveling to Egypt next week.
<b>Negative</b>	He is not traveling to Egypt next week.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Is he traveling to Egypt next week?
<b>Form</b>	to be (in the simple present) + verb + ing • when we say what we have planned and arranged to do at a specific time in the future. These are fixed plans with definite time and/or place.
<b>Uses</b>	

### Future Progressive

<b>Affirmative</b>	She will be listening to music.
<b>Negative</b>	She will not be listening to music.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Will she be listening to music?
<b>Form</b>	will + be + verb + ing • action that is going on at a certain time in the future • action that is sure to happen in the near future
<b>Uses</b>	

### Future Perfect

<b>Affirmative</b>	He will have spoken.
<b>Negative</b>	He will not have spoken.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Will he have spoken?



<b>Form</b>	will + have + past participle (past participle of regular verbs: verb + ed   Past participle of irregular verbs: forms differ and should be learned by heart. This is a list of irregular verbs)
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action that will be finished at a certain time in the future</li></ul>

### Future Perfect Progressive

<b>Affirmative</b>	You will have been studying.
<b>Negative</b>	You will not have been studying.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Will you have been studying?
<b>Form</b>	will + have + been + verb + ing <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action taking place before a certain time in the future</li><li>• putting emphasis on the course of an action</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	

### Conditional Simple

<b>Affirmative</b>	We would relax.
<b>Negative</b>	We would not relax.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Would we relax ?
<b>Form</b>	would + verb <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action that might take place</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	

### Conditional Progressive

<b>Affirmative</b>	He would be writing.
<b>Negative</b>	He would not be writing.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Would he be writing?
<b>Form</b>	would + be + verb + ing <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action that might take place</li><li>• putting emphasis on the course / duration of the action</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	

### Conditional Perfect

<b>Affirmative</b>	He would have written.
<b>Negative</b>	He would not have written.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Would he have written?

<b>Form</b>	would + have + past participle (past participle of regular verbs: verb + ed   Past participle of irregular verbs: forms differ and should be learned by heart This is a list of irregular verbs)
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action that might have taken place in the past</li></ul>

### Conditional Perfect Progressive

<b>Affirmative</b>	She would have been sleeping.
<b>Negative</b>	She would not have sleeping speaking.
<b>Interrogative</b>	Would she have been sleeping?
<b>Form</b>	would + have + been + verb + ing <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• action that might have taken place in the past</li></ul>
<b>Uses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• puts emphasis on the course / duration of the action</li></ul>

# APPENDIX 1

## POLITICAL IDIOMS

1. **Amnesty** – The term given to any measure, decision, policy or law that would permit US residents who are not in the country legally or with valid authority rights, either to stay, work and/or have a path to obtaining legal US residency or citizenship. Such a move would require forgiving behavior or instances of overstaying their visas or coming into the country across borders without legal authorization.

2. **Anchor Babies** – A derogatory term for children born in the United States of parents who are in the country without proper authorization or who may have arrived into the nation across the US/Mexico border without legal permission. Current US law provides US Citizenship to any baby born on US Soil. Those babies are afforded rights and benefits of all US Citizens that some say their parents then use to provide an anchor or basis to remain in the United States indefinitely. The term is used widely by opponents of illegal immigration especially among those in border states (states along the US/Mexico border).

3. **BIG Government** – Federal social programs and other government spending characterized as wasteful

4. **Bipartisan** – Supported by both sides of the political aisle.

5. **Black Lives Matter** – A social activism loosely-formed organization that works to advance causes of concern to the black American community, mainly around social justice, equality and police-involved shootings and killings of unarmed African American and black people. The movement is controversial and has opponents who call it “anti-police”, violent, a “hate group” and believe the term is stating that “only” black lives matter when, in fact, the movement was started out of concern that collectively, the black community, feel that their lives do not and have not mattered in many aspects of society in America It is useful to add “too” to the

end of the term given many people presume it is a declaration that “Black Lives Matter only”.

6. **Budget Deficit** – Act of government spending beyond income being brought in via taxation or the selling of public goods and services. It also refers to the amount of money the government has to raise by borrowing, taxing or cutting expenditures.

7. **Caucus** – A meeting of the members of a legislative body who are members of a particular political party, to select candidates or decide policy. Example: The Blue Dog Democrats, Congressional Black Caucus, the Nevada Caucus etc.

8. **Citizens United** – That is the name of a party to a US Supreme Court case decided in 2010 which essentially gave corporations the same First Amendment speech rights as individuals in the United States and ushered in a new era for **SuperPACs**, political action committees that are heavily funded sometimes by anonymous donations from heavily-funded corporations. The term is used often when referencing political advertising on TV and/or the web that is funded by SuperPACs that have gotten significant donations from corporations.

9. **Civil Servant** – A person who works for the government

10. **cis** – short for **cisgender**, a term for people who have a gender identity that matches the sex that they were assigned at birth.

11. **Cognitive Dissonance** – This is the feeling of uncomfortable tension which comes from holding two conflicting thoughts in the mind at the same time. Often times in politics, the term is brought up in response to a person who argues a point against his/her own personal interest in blind favor or support for a particular party, position or elected official.

12. **Constituency** – a body of voters in a specified area who elect a representative to a legislative body. This term refers to the people or citizens that an elected official represents. Politicians work on behalf of the needs, concerns and interests of their constituents who elected them.

13. **Crony capitalism** – This is a term describing an economy in which success in business depends on close relationships between

business people and government, or a situation whereby those in power in government confer special benefits, or government contracts to friends and donors after bypassing official processes like competitive bidding, for example. The contract given to solar panel energy company **Solyndra** is accused as being an example.

14. **Cultural Appropriation** – is the adoption or temporary use of elements of one culture by members of another culture, usually as a fashion trend, and often given a brand new hip name; as a costume, and without fully acknowledging, accepting and celebrating the history, origins and/or background of the elements; and often without recognition that the same cultural elements are not as celebrated when the originators use them in their original context (For example, cornrows being accepted and seen as trendy and hip when worn by European fashion models but seen as dangerous, counterculture, “ghetto” or unprofessional when worn by black Americans) (Also: Often times, people/groups who allege that others have culturally appropriated elements of their culture resent that the wearer/appropriators are also notably absent in defending or representing themselves as allies to the challenges, issues and concerns of group whose culture is appropriated)

15. **Demagogue** – A political leader who seeks support by appealing to popular desires and prejudices rather than by using rational argument.

16. **DREAMERS** – The term for young children of undocumented and illegal immigrants brought to the country as children who would be eligible for rights to stay, work or obtain legal residency and citizenship should a law called the **DREAM Act** pass. The law would create a path to citizenship for certain young children of immigrants once they attend college or perform military service.

17. **Electorate** – All the people in a country or area who are entitled to vote in an election.

18. **Electoral College** – This is the 538 people who cast the vote for the President of the United States. A majority of 270 *electoral* votes is required to elect the President. Each state has a number equal to the number of US Senators and House of Representative members it has in Congress. Every citizen who votes in a presidential

election casts a vote the president (popular vote) and a person to represent them at the Electoral College.

19. **Entitlement Programs** – This is the term given to social programs (government safety nets) like Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, Welfare, Food Stamps, Unemployment compensation, Federal employee and military retirement plans, agricultural price support programs and Veterans' Administration programs. Once a citizen meets a certain requirement (having contributed to social security during years working, falling below an income bracket or being disabled and unable to work, for example), they are entitled to have the government provide financial benefit, goods or services, sometimes for an indefinite period of time.

20. **Enthusiasm Gap** – This term applies to the difference in excitement and interest in voting between two main parties, for example. *As in: It is said that the Enthusiasm Gap between the Republican and Democratic voter base could spell disaster if the Democrats do not turn out more than expected at the polls this November 6.*

21. **Exit Poll** – A poll of people leaving a polling place, asking how they voted; Traditionally, TV news stations use the results of these polls to “call” or announce early which candidate may have won a particular district or state as the election goes on during the election day.

22. **Filibuster** – A strategy employed in the United States Senate, whereby a minority can delay a vote on proposed legislation by making long speeches or introducing irrelevant issues. A successful *filibuster* can force withdrawal of a bill. *Filibusters* can be ended only by cloture.

23. **Fiscal Conservative** – A perspective preferring that the government spends tax payer dollars in a manner that does not include too much expenditure that will further increase an existing deficit. *As in: Several candidates up for elections are touting themselves as being Fiscal Conservatives who question the money earmarked for several social programs.*

24. **FLOTUS** – Short for First Lady of the United States.

25. **Front Runner** – The political candidate that is in a leading position in a race or other competition: the front runner for the presidential nomination.

26. **Gaffe** – Pronounced (Gaf), it is the term for a faux pas or a socially inadequate statement or mention. *As in: Since assuming the position as chief of the party, the leader has made a series of unfortunate gaffes that have made the headlines.*

27. **Get out the vote or GOTV** – Describes two types of political campaigns, both aimed at increasing the voter turnout in one or more elections.

28. **Gerrymandering** – The manipulation of the district or municipal boundaries of (an electoral constituency) so as to favor one party or class.

29. **G.O.P.** – This term stands for Grand Old Party, a euphemism for Republicans.

30. **Illegal Immigrant** – The term for an immigrant who is in the US without proper authorization or whose previous authorization (visa) has expired and has not been renewed or re-authorized. It is a politicized word that is not used by supporters/sympathizers of immigrants in the country without authorization.

31. **Incumbent** – An official or party that is currently holding office. If someone challenges the Incumbent, he/she is trying to take away the seat of the existing office-holder.

32. **Inclusion** – the action or state of including or other groups previously not represented in a job, work culture, school environment or other social or political group.

33. **Inside the Beltway** – This phrase references the name for the highway that encircles the geographic location of the District of Columbia and areas surrounding the Nation's Capitol. It has come to signify a clear distinction and/or disconnect between those who live and work within those boundaries and who create laws and policy; and the rest of the country, the majority that do not. *As in: There is a general sense of frustration among the electorate that Inside the Beltway politicians running the country are clueless about their main concerns.*

34. **Judicial Activism** – It is a view that the US Supreme court justices and even lower court federal judges can and should creatively use their personal background, consideration of needs of contemporary society when interpreting the US Constitution. It is the opposite of **judicial restraint**, the act of applying and interpreting laws based on a strict reading of the US Constitution and the intent of the framers of the founding fathers.

35. **Intersectionality** – This is a term first coined in 1989 by American civil rights advocate and leading scholar of critical race theory, Columbia and UCLA law professor Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, which is the study of overlapping or intersecting social identities and related systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination. Put more simply, it is about constituent groups that are part of larger advocacy group that feel that they are invisible, not included and erased from the discussions, concerns and advocacy of the main group that claims to also represent their interest. For example, women of color issues about racism not being defended among mainstream feminist groups; violence against LGBTQ people of color not recognized among mainstream Gay Rights groups; the needs of girls not considered in policy discussions about the school-to-prison pipeline that often focuses on boys, etc.

36. **Lame Duck** – the last part of a term or year of an elected official after a successor has been elected (or is about to be elected); usually a time when there is little effort or interest in adopting their policies of proposals and therefore, during this period the outgoing official is relatively ineffectual. The period of time during a legislative session is called the **Lame Duck Session**.

37. **Left Wing/Liberals/Liberalism** – Political ideology grounded in tolerance and advance of a broad interpretation of civil liberties, promotion of widespread popular participation and support for a stronger and active role of government in regulation and manipulation of private activities for a perceived greater good of spreading and supporting equality.

38. **LGBTQ** – short for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer, a term that replaced “gay community” to be more inclusive of more diverse groups within that community.



39. **Margin of Error** – That is the statistical term for the percentage points by which a poll could be off or incorrect. Therefore, for example, even if a candidate is losing on an issue according to a certain poll of likely or registered voters, if the percentage point differences are close, that margin of error could provide comfort to the candidate with the lower percentage that he or she may still be within a position to overtake the lead.

40. **Midterm Election or Midterms** – A type of **election** where the people can elect their representatives in the middle of the term of the executive or of another set of members. Or the Election that occurs in the middle of a presidential election. For example, the last two Presidential elections occurred in 2008 and 2012. The Mid term elections were in 2010 and 2014 because the president was not up for re-election those years. Traditionally, voter turnout is lower during mid-terms elections.

41. **MSM** – An acronym for Mainstream Media, the members of the established press and the organizations they work for which make up much of the sources where Americans receive information from online, television, radio or in newspapers. They include CNN, Washington Post, the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Huffington Post, NBC News, etc. Conservatives, Republicans and those on the political right, often accuse MSM of having a bias towards liberals and Democrats.

42. **Messaging** – This term is used to describe a series of short descriptive terms related to a particular policy, initiative, explanation or communications that is meant to be reiterated, recited, almost verbatim to an audience usually in addresses, letters, speeches etc. *As in: That candidate was not clear in messaging his position to the voters which is one of the reasons he did not get reelected.*

43. **Monetary Policy** – An administration's ability to manipulate, elevate or improve money stock, interest rate levels and health of an economy using rules and policies.

44. **Neocon**- Short for Neoconservatism, this term references a political movement born in the United States during the 1960s among Democrats who became disenchanted with the party's

foreign policy; or a former liberal espousing political conservatism.

45. **Obamacare** – This term, usually framed in a derogatory context, references the Health Care Reform Act pushed by President Barack Obama and the White House and passed into law in 2010. It has since been embraced by and used by the White House and the president in an attempt to deflate the once toxicity level of the term.

46. **Partisan** – This term refers to a fervent, sometimes militant support of a party, cause, faction, person, or idea, usually within the context of equally fervent opposition to an opposing party. *As in: The governor went into office promising the people that he would be non-partisan, but as of late has been engaging in partisan politics slamming the other party and turning off the independents in the process.* **Non Partisan** – Not favoring any party

47. **Patriotism** – is an emotional attachment to a nation which an individual recognizes as their homeland. This attachment, also known as national feeling or national pride, can be viewed in terms of different features relating to one's own nation, including ethnic, cultural, political or historical aspects.

48. **Poll** – A questioning/survey, usually via telephone call, of a sample of people for their feelings on a particular issue, such as what they think of a **political** party or a commercial product.

49. **P.O.T.U.S** – This is an abbreviation for Politics of the United States or President of the United States (compare: **SCOTUS** referenced the Supreme Court of the United States); **FLOTUS** is First Lady of the United States.

50. **Primaries** – a preliminary election to appoint delegates to a party conference or to select the candidates for a principal, especially presidential, election.

51. **Pundit** – A person who offers to mass media his or her opinion or commentary on a particular subject area (most typically political analysis, the social sciences, technology or sport) on which he or she is knowledgeable (or can at least appear to be knowledgeable), or considered a scholar in said area.

52. **Private Sector** – Goods and services provided by private business enterprises and not by government or bureaucracy. It is different from the **public sector** or the **nonprofit sector**.

53. **Progressives** – This word refers to a political attitude favoring or advocating changes or reform.

54. **Read out** – This term applies to analysis or interpretation of information or data on a particular political position. *As in: What is the White House's read out on the public outcry from the oil spill?*

55. **Referendum** – This word references the overwhelming majority vote by the public on an issue or a candidate. It is evidence of a strong and definitive acceptance or rejection of status quo when a party in office is voted out by a significant majority. *Should Hillary Clinton not be elected, it will be a referendum on his failed policies of President Obama, GOP Nominee Donald Trump says.*

56. **Reach Across the Aisle** – A term for making an effort to negotiate or mediate differences with those who are on the other side of the political spectrum in the spirit of compromise. It references the actual physical aisle that divides the legislative halls where members of the two parties sit on opposite sides. *As in: In order to garner support for his measure, the Senator had to do reach across the aisle and work with Senators of the other party.*

57. **Rhetoric** – language designed to have a persuasive or impressive effect on its audience, but often regarded as lacking in sincerity or meaningful content.

58. **Right to Work Laws/States** – Laws in a state which make it illegal for labor unions and employers to enter into contracts which mandate that only union members can be employed in jobs under the contract. It was the subject of an unsuccessful attempt to recall Wisconsin governor Scott Walker when he implemented a law and impacted unionized workers in that state.

59. **Right Wing** – Term for conservative political thought which emphasizes values of patriotism, individual responsibility, and acceptance of wealth inequities (and ergo limited government intrusion or manipulation of wealth inequities) status and privilege with caveat that success is built upon work without the need of that success to be shared evenly across socioeconomic class.

60. **Road to 270** – To elect a US President, the first to obtain 270 electoral college votes win. Unlike the popular vote, based on individual votes cast by each citizen, under the current electoral

college system. In addition to voting for the person of choice, voters also vote for delegates who have certain number of votes that they can cast in their state. Each state has a certain number of delegate votes depending on the population in that state. The road to 270 refers to the various scenarios that a presidential candidate has in order to realize that needed 270 votes.

61. **SCOTUS** – Short for the 9 members of the **Supreme Court of the United States** who are elected to lifetime terms by the sitting president. The court is usually balanced conservative or liberal. The judges are called Justices. There is a Chief, who currently is **John Roberts**. The others judges are called Associate Justices and include three women: **Elena Kagan**, **Sonia Sotomayor** ( both **Barack Obama** appointed) and **Ruth Bader Ginsburg** (appointed by **Bill Clinton**); and all liberal; joining them as liberal-leaning is **Stephen Breyer** (also appointed by **Bill Clinton**). The more conservative leaning Associate Justices along with Roberts are **Clarence Thomas** (the only African American justice, and appointed by **George H.W. Bush**), **Anthony Kennedy** (appointed by **Ronald Reagan**) and **Samuel Alito** (appointed by **George W. Bush**)

62. **Social Justice Warrior** – Commonly abbreviated SJW, is a pejorative term for an individual promoting socially progressive views; including feminism, civil rights, multiculturalism, political correctness, and identity politics.

63. **Social moderate** – A position that is neither conservative nor liberal on mainstream social issues but represents a more tolerant position on controversial cultural debates and matters including abortion, gay marriage, legalization of marijuana etc.

64. **Spin** – Can be used as a verb or noun, a favorable perspective or slant to an item of news, or potentially unpopular policy. *As in: After a controversy erupts and the media gets a hold of it, there is a right and wrong way to spin it to your advantage.*

65. **SuperPAC** – The name for political action committees which, after the Citizens United case (see above) would be receive even more funding than usual and tradition.

66. **Surrogate** – A campaign surrogate is a term used to describe a person who acts on the behalf of a candidate running for some sort

of political office. The campaign surrogate often appears at public events that the candidate cannot make it to, or may simply appear to bolster the image of the candidate in a certain demographic

67. **Stumping** – campaigning or attending a political rally on behalf of and to garner support for another candidate running for office. *As in: The President was in Ohio today stumping for the candidates up for congressional elections.*

68. **Talking Heads** – A pundit is a person who offers to mass media his or her opinion or commentary on a particular subject area (most typically political analysis, the social sciences, technology or sport) on which he or she is knowledgeable (or can at least appear to be knowledgeable), or considered a scholar in said area.

69. **Talking Points** – a set of briefing notes or summaries on a particular topic that are recited, nearly verbatim, whenever the topic is broached. *As in: The mayor veered off his talking points and made some off the cuff remarks that were not received well when they were reported in the media.*

70. **Tolerance** – the ability or willingness to tolerate something, (or people or culture) in particular the existence of opinions or behavior that one does not necessarily agree with, or are comfortable associating with

71. **Undocumented** – The term for an immigrant who is in the US without proper authorization or whose previous authorization (visa) has expired and has not been renewed or re-authorized.

72. **Voter Bloc** -A group of voters that are strongly motivated by a specific common concern or group of concerns to the point that such specific concerns tend to dominate their voting patterns, causing them to vote together in elections. It can be defined by age, race, region, or interests.

73. **Welfare State** – A government which spends a lot of money on directly providing personal benefits to families or qualifying individuals versus on national defense, law enforcement, transportation and administering public lands.

74. **White Privilege**- The benefit of the doubt of being honest, credit-worthy, trustworthy, credible, competent and qualified given to people of the white race (or groups that identify white

or “honorary white” like Asians and Asian American); Benefiting from a society where the history, beauty aesthetics and ideals, culture and heritage taught mainly in schools, and that are elevated as superior to others are of the white or Anglo-Saxon culture, race, history or racial identity; Also, refers to the ability to not be aware (or aloof ) to other cultures, and their exclusion in film, media, and other esteemed positions, generally; and the general predisposition to presuppose that one is authorized and able to articulate and determine what is best for people of color and the non-privileged; and that when one, as a member of the privileged race, does pontificate a position, it will carry more weight and granted superior deference, generally, in discourse.

75. **Xenophobia/Xenophobic**-intense or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries; or from other cultures.

# APPENDIX 2

## NEWS HEADLINES

### UKRAINE:

- «Certain member states» blocking extension of OSCE SMM mandate in Ukraine – MFA  
Read more on UNIAN: <https://www.unian.info/politics>
- Ukraine to take all measures toward restoring territorial integrity in Crimea – MFA  
Read more on UNIAN: <https://www.unian.info/politics>
- Foreign Ministry approves Ukraine’s communication strategy – Kuleba  
Read more on UNIAN: <https://www.unian.info/politics>
- Kravchuk names condition for resumption of water supplies to Crimea  
Read more on UNIAN: <https://www.unian.info/politics>
- Ukraine’s government outlines three priorities for rapprochement with NATO  
Read more on UNIAN: <https://www.unian.info/politics>
- Ukraine PM offers Germany to exchange experience in cybersecurity  
Read more on UNIAN: <https://www.unian.info/politics>
- Zelensky: Ukraine’s accession to EU «not a dream out of science fiction»  
Read more on UNIAN: <https://www.unian.info/politics>

**WORLD:**

– U.S. Senate Democrats aim to undo Trump-era shareholder voting rights rule

Read more on REUTERS: <https://www.reuters.com/article>

– Theresa May: A British authoritarian?

Read more on <https://edition.cnn.com/>

– Emmanuel Macron: From political novice to president

Read more on <https://edition.cnn.com/>

– India wants to seal its borders with Pakistan and Bangladesh

Read more on <https://edition.cnn.com/>



# APPENDIX 3

## LISTENING

### **Part 1. President Biden – Remarks Anniversary Coronavirus Shutdown.**

On the first anniversary of the shutdown due to Covid-19, President Joe Biden gives his first prime-time televised address to the American people. He remembers all the losses of the past year and the more than 500,000 people who died from Covid. He touts the efforts to vaccinate all Americans throughout the country, pledging «all adult Americans will be eligible to get a vaccine no later than May 1.» He also mentions the American Rescue Plan, an historic piece of legislation that he signed to deliver immediate relief to millions of people.

#### **Questions:**

1. According to President Biden, the year was different for everybody, but there was something that the US citizens have lost. What is that?
2. Biden did have to make concessions along the way to appraise moderate democrats like Sens. Joe Manchin and Kyrsten Sinema. What was the reason?
3. To sum up, what does all his speech add up to?

### **Part 2. President Barack Obama – Remarks to the People of Cuba.**

President Obama delivers an address to the people of Cuba in the Gran Teatro de la Habana in Havana, Cuba.

#### **Questions:**

1. Why has the President Obama, during his speech, decided to focus on the period when the Cuban people fought for their independence from Spain?

2. Explain what is the importance of political freedom for the Cubans?
3. President Obama calls for change and freedom in Cuba, why?
4. Was a visit to Havana based on the defense of the democracy?

### **Part 3. President Barack Obama – Address to the British Parliament.**

President Obama delivers an address on the relationship between the US and the United Kingdom to members of the UK's Parliament in Westminster Hall.

#### **Questions:**

1. According to the President Obama, the United States and the United Kingdom share special relationship. Was the purpose of his visit to reaffirm one of the strongest alliance the world has ever known?
2. What did Mr. Obama mean when he said that the path of the two countries has never been perfect?
3. The new threats, the President was talking about, what are they?
4. Explain the quote: "The nature of our leadership will need to change with the times".

### **Part 4. Queen Elizabeth Speech – UK's Brexit Commitment.**

LONDON – Queen Elizabeth II formally opened Parliament on Monday and promptly found herself in the thick of Britain's roiling Brexit drama, setting out a legislative agenda for Prime Minister Boris Johnson's government that began with his vow to leave the European Union by the end of this month.

**Questions:**

1. What is the new economic plan of the Queen's Government?
2. The Queen announced changes in the justice system. What are they and what new sentencing laws await the Britains?
3. What is an overall plan, assigned by the Queen, should the Ministers implement by the end of Brexit?
4. Is it possible, according to Her Majesty, for the Britain to become a world-leader in science and technology?

**Part 5. Boris Johnson Speech - First Speech as Prime Minister**

Listen to this famous **Boris Johnson Speech**. Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson is a British politician, serving as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party since July 2019. He has been Member of Parliament for Uxbridge and South Ruislip since 2015 and was previously MP for Henley from 2001 to 2008. *It is easy to make promises. It is hard work to keep them* – Boris Johnson quote.

**Questions:**

1. In his speech Boris Johnson said that the time has come to act, to take decisions and to change the country for the better. What did he mean by saying that?
2. According to Mr. Johnson, what values does the English flag represents?
3. Boris Johnson has mentioned such a thing as "my job". So what is his job being a Prime Minister?
4. Why is it so important for England to make a deal with it's neighboring countries about the border checks?

## **Part 6. Martin Luther King – I Have A Dream**

Martin Luther King Jr. was an American Christian minister and activist who became the most visible spokesperson and leader in the Civil Rights Movement from 1955 until his assassination in 1968. Enjoy our Speeches with big English subtitles and keep your English learning journey.

*Darkness cannot drive out darkness: only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate: only love can do that* – Martin Luther King Jr. quote.

### **Questions:**

1. What is the message of I have a Dream by Martin Luther King?
2. How did Martin Luther King's speech changed the world? Is it still relevant today?
3. Explain King's analogy of the bad check.
4. How does Martin Luther King want to fulfill his dream? Does he asks his activists to be very calm and civilized in the process of the protest?
5. To what extent does the King's personal authority lend power to his words?

# APPENDIX 4

## GRAMMAR REVISION TEST

Innovations in transportation \_\_\_\_ permitted space to be traversed more rapidly and were crucial to the industrial expansion of the North.

- in the 1800s
- in 1800ing
- the 1800

The rapid extension of rail mileage enabled the railroads significantly to reduce their costs for shipping freight and carrying passengers, thus enabling them to price their services \_\_\_\_ and competitively.

- more cheapest
- more cheaply
- cheaper
- more most cheap

Poor Liam! He looked so \_\_\_\_ when his mum called.

- embarrassing
- embarrass
- embarrassed
- to be embarrassed

I entered the office and looked around. Most people were working at their desks, but Jane \_\_\_\_ of the window and pretending to write something at the same time.

- was staring out
- was out
- was stared out
- was coming out

By the end of the month, \_\_\_\_\_ for this firm for a year.  
I was been working  
I'll have been working  
I'll been working  
I'll have working

In August Gordon will have been at his company for 25 years,  
and he's getting for a bonus of \_\_\_\_\_.  
three week paying holiday  
paid holiday three weeks  
three weeks holiday paid  
three weeks paid holiday

According to the latest forecast, the tunnel \_\_\_\_\_ in the East of  
the country.  
is finishing next year  
will be finished next year  
will finished next year  
is become finish next year

We have run out of fuel. \_\_\_\_\_?  
What we are going to do now?  
What we have do now?  
When we can going to do now?  
What have we doing now?

I'll be back \_\_\_\_\_.  
in a few minutes  
after a few minutes  
some minutes  
any minutes

I'll \_\_\_\_\_ what I can do.  
come  
see  
have  
be

\_\_\_ I got to the station, the train had left.

Behind the time

Up the time

By the time

In the time

The whole place was deserted, but it was obvious that someone \_\_\_ had been cooking in the kitchen for a start, and they hadn't bothered to clear up the mess.

had cooking

had be cooked

had been cooking

have been cooking

\_\_\_ I'd read the manual, I found I could use the computer easily.

Once

Afterwards

Whenever

At one thing

I can't believe it, Inspector. You mean that Smith \_\_\_ money from the till all this time!

stole

can stolen

has been stealing

was stolen

The price of petrol \_\_\_ by 15% over the past year.

has risen

has been rising

have to rising

have rising

There have been signs of \_\_\_\_\_ at Otley Hall at various times  
over the last 200 years time.

- paranormally active
- paranormal activity
- paranormalty activity
- unparanormalty

My purse was found by \_\_\_\_\_.

- of the one
- one of the cleaners
- the cleaners one of
- one of the cleaned

Bicycles are widely used in the city \_\_\_\_\_ public transport.

- instead of
- instead in
- increase
- until

A lot of homes in the area \_\_\_\_\_ by burglars.

- have been being broken into
- have been broken into
- have being into
- have came into

The criminal \_\_\_\_\_ in hiding in the London area.

- is clean to be
- 
- is thought to be
- been

The living room had been decorated \_\_\_\_\_ flowery wallpaper.

- with
- from
- on
- behind



APPENDIX 4.

Grammar revision test

---

The dentist is going to take out two of my \_\_\_\_ tomorrow.

teethes

teeth

tooth

team

Well, \_\_\_\_, we've done it again – another election victory. The last four years of office has been a wonderful time for the party, a tale of adversity overcome

ladi and gentleman

ladys and gentlemen

ladi and gentlemenn

ladies and gentlemen

I \_\_\_\_ like this film! It's really great!

do

does

has

have

You can't complain. It's your \_\_\_\_ fault, isn't it?

known

own

the

a

Do you think I had \_\_\_\_ catch the earlier train?

better

later

keep

make

Under \_\_\_\_ you are leave the hospital.

no resulting

no mean

no circumstances

circumstances no

I thought Jim would say something about his new job. But he  
\_\_\_ it.

- didn't mention
- didn't make
- didn't declared
- didn't take

It has been announced that for \_\_\_ third consecutive month  
there has been \_\_\_ rise in the number of people unemployed, rather  
than \_\_\_ fall that had been predicted.

- a the - the
- the a - - the
- the a the - the
- the - - - the

The word processor and the calculator are without a shadow  
of doubt here to stay, and in \_\_\_ many respects our lives are the  
much richer for them.

- the
- 
- a
- an

By 4.30, \_\_\_\_, nearly all the paintings had been sold.  
which was almost closing time  
which closing time almost  
which almost closing time  
which almost closing time was

I stopped in Maidstone, where \_\_\_\_.  
owns a shop my sister  
my sister owns a shop  
sister owns a shop my  
owns sister my a shop

There was nobody left on the train, which made me.  
suspiciously  
suspiciousness  
suspicion  
suspicious

\_\_\_ their scarves and shouting, the fans ran onto the pitch.  
Waving  
Do waving  
To waved  
Waves

Having just spent three weeks of my life sitting on an uncomfortable saddle, pounding the roads of France, I am in no fit state \_\_\_ anything except sit and write, which suits me fine.  
that to do  
to do  
what to do  
to done

Midway through the second half City scored their fourth goal, at \_\_\_ point United gave up completely.  
which  
whatever  
before  
where

The train we eventually caught \_\_\_ at each station.  
was that stops one  
one was that stops  
was one that stops  
that stops was one

I don't like to disturb \_\_\_ at home.  
colleagues  
colleag  
colleagueses  
collages

I remembered that I had to pay \_\_\_\_.  
the phone will  
the phone bill  
the phone number  
the phone call

Have you tried -windsurfing? \_\_\_\_  
It's tasty!  
It's!  
It's great!  
It's heat!

She \_\_\_\_ working even though it was late.  
went on  
went by  
went at  
went till

We regret \_\_\_\_ you that your application has been unsuccessful.  
to informed  
to inform  
to information  
to informative

The baby has stopped \_\_\_\_ during the night now.  
waking up  
making up  
waking again  
waking by

Being an athlete \_\_\_\_ regular training.  
involve  
involving  
involvement  
involves

Yukie Hanue is considered by many \_\_\_\_ the finest violinist of her generation – and she’s still in her early twenties.

- to be
- to steel
- to been
- to being

I had a difficult time last year with my health. For several months I was \_\_\_\_ from periodic headaches and almost constant nausea that’s why I made several visits to my GP, who attributed my headaches to migraine and provided me with medication.

- suffere
- suffering
- snufferies
- kidding

Tonny panics \_\_\_\_ with a crisis.

- when faced
- what faced
- face
- when smile

We get on very well with our \_\_\_\_ neighbours.

- door next
- next-goal
- next seals
- next-door

Well, welcome to the class everybody. I’m sure you’re all dying to show me exactly what you’re \_\_\_\_.

- capable of
- capably over
- capable under
- unbelievable

Where \_\_\_\_ all this time?  
did you be  
you were  
have you been  
you have been

\_\_\_\_ I would like to thank you.  
On behalf of my colleagues  
On belief of my colleagues  
On behalves of my  
On my colleagues

David Peters, the Scottish long-jumper, has been awarded a  
knighthood in \_\_\_\_ his services to charity and the world of athletics.  
recognition of  
recognition before  
recognise  
recognition upon

The small resort of Palama \_\_\_\_ rather in the 1990s, as the  
tourists flocked to the more obvious attractions of the nearby  
resorts of Calapo and del Mare.  
missed out  
can be  
has missed out  
miss out

You'd be hard-pushed to find a more comfortable drive – \_\_\_\_  
makes for an easy ride over bumpy roads, although the performance  
is somewhat let down by the handling round corners.  
the superb suspension systems  
the superb suspension system  
the superb suspensions systems  
the superb suspensions system

Telesales have become the bane of my life. Recently I have been so inundated with them that I now refuse to answer the phone \_\_\_\_\_ in the evenings.

- between 6 and 9
- 6 and 9
- 6 between and 9
- 6 and 9 between

Meetings which take up too much \_\_\_\_\_ are being blamed for inefficiency and lost revenue, according to a report from the Institute of Managerial Affairs.

- of managers time
- of managers' time
- manager time
- of managers's time

It looks as if the front door lock \_\_\_\_\_ with.

- has been tampered
- have been tampered
- has be tampered
- has be tamper

\_\_\_\_\_ a collision on the motorway between a bus and a lorry.

- There was
- There were
- There has
- There are

The three publishers who rejected this fantastic first novel must be kicking \_\_\_\_\_.

- themselves
- themsef
- themselve
- theirselves

We've had a letter from a Mr Scott, \_\_\_\_\_ a rather violent scene which upset his children, on one of our programmes, 'Murphy's Run'.

- complaining about
- complain about
- complain about it
- was complained about

The TV Standards Authority often checks children's programmes, and \_\_\_\_\_ with the scene you didn't like.

- were happy
- has happy
- be happy
- be able to happy

\_\_\_\_\_ the obvious dangers, there was the weather to be considered.

- As well as
- As well so
- So well as
- So well so

They've got a terrible record over tax and education. \_\_\_\_\_, I still think the Democrats will win the election.

- Nevertheless
- On the hand
- Never
- On the second hand

Starting your own business could be the way to achieving financial independence. \_\_\_\_\_ it could just as well land you in debt for the rest of your life.

- On the other hand
- On hand
- On the other
- Other hands



It is an accepted part of everyday nostalgia to assume that in the past food was somehow better \_\_\_\_ it is today.

- than
- then
- so
- that

The common cold, as it is \_\_\_\_ known, still resists the efforts of science to control and cure it, and has given rise to a rich popular mythology.

- technically
- technicalness
- technicality
- technic

Last summer my husband and I had two Italian students to stay at our house in London. It was a kind of exchange, with our two children off to Rome this summer, giving me, incidentally, an interlude of peace in which to write this \_\_\_\_, among other things.

- newspaper column
- newspaper column's
- column newspaper
- newses column

Well Martin, pleased to meet with you, and congratulations on getting the job. I'm going to show you round the department, so that you know \_\_\_\_ before you will start work next week. I gather you're coming with me to the Paris conference.

- a bit more
- a more
- a bit
- more and bit

A study into family health conducted in California comes up with some interesting conclusions, though these might not be acceptable to \_\_\_\_.

- everybody
- no everybody
- body
- every day

The term 'drugs' covers many kinds of chemical substance which \_\_\_\_ by the body, the majority being medicines designed to cure illnesses.

- are absorbed
- absorbed
- are absorb
- absorbe

These are not your books, they are \_\_\_\_.

- mine
- your
- my
- him

Recently \_\_\_\_ about the proper functioning of the English legal system, after several well-publicised cases in which police evidence was eventually shown to be suspect, but only after the wrongful conviction of the accused.

- there have been doubts
- there has been doubts
- there have be doubts
- there has be doubts

She came home late. \_\_\_\_?

- When she came home?
- When came she home?
- When did she came home?
- When did she come home?

Don't be silly! It \_\_\_\_ Sally. She's in Scotland.  
can't have been  
can have be  
have can't been  
have be

It is now generally recognised that stress is a major cause of heart disease, and contributes to many \_\_\_\_.  
other illnesses  
other illness  
other ill  
other illness's

Very few popular spectator sports today remain amateur in any sense of the word. In the past, even in cases where payment to players or athletes\_\_\_\_, many sports tolerated what became known as 'shamateurism', and even the sports governing associations turned a blind eye to such acts as the paying of 'expenses'.  
was forbidden  
was forbid  
forbidden  
forbid

\_\_\_\_ were built long before the heyday of the private car. As a result they rarely have enough space for moving traffic or parked vehicles, and long queues of stationary vehicles are a common sight.  
Most big cities  
Most big city  
Most big citi's  
Most big city's

I am writing to express my \_\_\_\_\_ with the pictures, recently published in your newspaper, of the soap actress Kathy Walter, shown sunbathing, topless on a beach in the Mediterranean.

- dissatisfaction
- satisfy
- dissatisfactions
- hobby

Can I add some comments to your debate about the value of television? Your readers \_\_\_\_\_ that some of my views reflect exactly of their own experience in this matter.

- may find
- may be find
- may fond
- may finded

# APPENDIX 5

## The SCRIPTS for the LISTENING part

### **Part 1. President Biden – Remarks Anniversary Coronavirus Shutdown.**

Good evening, my fellow Americans.

Tonight, I'd like to talk to you about where we are as we mark one year since everything stopped because of this pandemic.

A year ago, we were hit with a virus that was met with silence and spread unchecked.

Denials for days, weeks, then months that led to more deaths, more infections, more stress, and more loneliness.

Photos and videos from 2019 feel like they were taken in another era. The last vacation. The last birthday with friends. The last holiday with the extended family.

While it was different for everyone, we all lost something. A collective suffering. A collective sacrifice. A year filled with the loss of life – and the loss of living for all of us. But, in the loss, we saw how much there was to gain in appreciation, respect, and gratitude.

Finding light in the darkness is a very American thing to do. In fact, it may be the most American thing we do.

And that's what we've done. We've seen frontline and essential workers risking their lives – sometimes losing them – to save and help others. Researchers and scientists racing for a vaccine. And so many of you, as Hemingway wrote, being strong in all the broken places. I know it's been hard. I truly know.

As I've told you before, I carry a card in my pocket with the number of Americans who have died from COVID to date. It's on the back of my schedule. As of now, the total deaths in America: 527,726. That's more deaths than in World War One, World War Two, the Vietnam War, and 9/11 combined. They were husbands, wives, sons and daughters, grandparents, friends, neighbors – young and old. They leave behind loved ones unable to truly grieve or to heal, even to have a funeral.

But I'm also thinking about everyone else who lost this past year to natural causes, by cruel fate of accident, or other diseases. They, too, died alone. They, too, leave loved ones behind who are hurting badly.

You know, you've often heard me say before, I talk about the longest walk any parent can make is up a short flight of stairs to his child's bedroom to say, "I'm sorry. I lost my job. We can't be here anymore." Like my Dad told me when he lost his job in Scranton.

So many of you have had to make that same walk this past year.

You lost your job. You closed your business. Facing eviction, homelessness, hunger, a loss of control, and, maybe worst of all, a loss of hope. Watching a generation of children who may be set back up to a year or more – because they've not been in school – because of their loss of learning. It's the details of life that matter most, and we've missed those details.

The big details and small moments. Weddings, birthdays, graduations – all the things that needed to happen but didn't. The first date. The family reunions. The Sunday night rituals. It's all has exacted a terrible cost on the psyche of so many of us. For we are fundamentally a people who want to be with others – to talk, to laugh, to hug, to hold one another.

But this virus has kept us apart. Grandparents haven't seen their children or grandchildren. Parents haven't seen their kids. Kids haven't seen their friends. The things we used to do that always filled us with joy have become the things we couldn't do and broke our hearts. Too often, we've turned against one another. A mask – the easiest thing to do to save lives – sometimes it divides us.

States pitted against one other instead of working with each other. Vicious hate crimes against Asian Americans, who have been attacked, harassed, blamed, and scapegoated. At this very moment, so many of them – our fellow Americans – they're on the frontlines of this pandemic, trying to save lives, and still – still – they are forced to live in fear for their lives just walking down streets in America. It's wrong, it's un-American, and it must stop.

Look, we know what we need to do to beat this virus: Tell the truth. Follow the scientists and the science. Work together. Put

trust and faith in our government to fulfill its most important function, which is protecting the American people – no function more important. We need to remember the government isn't some foreign force in a distant capital. No, it's us. All of us. "We the People." For you and I, that America thrives when we give our hearts, when we turn our hands to common purpose. And right now, my friends, we are doing just that. And I have to say, as your President, I am grateful to you.

Last summer, I was in Philadelphia, and I met a small-business owner – a woman. I asked her – I said, "What do you need most?" I'll never forget what she said to me. She said – looking me in the eye, she said, "I just want the truth. The truth. Just tell me the truth." Think of that. My fellow Americans, you're owed nothing less than the truth. And for all of you asking when things will get back to normal, here is the truth: The only way to get our lives back, to get our economy back on track is to beat the virus.

You've been hearing me say that for – while I was running and the last 50 days I've been President. But this is one of the most complex operations we've under- – ever undertaken as a nation in a long time.

That's why I'm using every power I have as President of the United States to put us on a war footing to get the job done. It sounds like hyperbole, but I mean it: a war footing. And thank God we're making some real progress now. On my first full day in office, I outlined for you a comprehensive strategy to beat this pandemic. And we have spent every day since attempting to carry it out.

Two months ago, the country – this country didn't have nearly enough vaccine supply to vaccinate all or near all of the American public. But soon we will. We've been working with the vaccine manufacturers – Pfizer, Moderna, Johnson & Johnson – to manufacture and purchase hundreds of millions of doses of these three safe, effective vaccines. And now, at the direction and with the assistance of my administration, Johnson & Johnson is working together with a competitor, Merck, to speed up and increase the capacity to manufacture new Johnson & Johnson vaccine, which is one shot.

In fact, just yesterday, I announced – and I met with the CEOs of both companies – I announced our plan to buy an additional 100 million doses of Johnson & Johnson vaccines. These two companies – competitors – have come together for the good of the nation, and they should be applauded for it. It's truly a national effort, just like we saw during World War II.

Now because of all the work we've done, we'll have enough vaccine supply for all adults in America by the end of May. That's months ahead of schedule. And we're mobilizing thousands of vaccinators to put the vaccine in one's arm. Calling on active duty military, FEMA, retired doctors and nurses, administrators, and those to administer the shots.

And we've been creating more places to get the shots. We've made it possible for you to get a vaccine at nearly one – any one of nearly 10,000 pharmacies across the country, just like you get your flu shot. We're also working with governors and mayors, in red states and blue states, to set up and support nearly 600 federally supported vaccination centers that administer hundreds of thousands of shots per day. You can drive up to a stadium or a large parking lot, get your shot, never leave your car, and drive home in less than an hour. We've been sending vaccines to hundreds of community health centers all across America, located in underserved areas. And we've been deploying and we will deploy more mobile vehicles and pop-up clinics to meet you where you live so those who are least able to get the vaccine are able to get it. We continue to work on making at-home testing available.

And we've been focused on serving people in the hardest-hit communities of this pandemic – Black, Latino, Native American, and rural communities. So, what does all this add up to? When I took office 50 days ago, only 8 percent of Americans after months – only 8 percent of those over the age of 65 had gotten their first vaccination. Today, that number is [nearly] 65 percent. Just 14 percent of Americans over the age 75, 50 days ago, had gotten their first shot. Today, that number is well over 70 percent.

With new guidance from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention – the CDC – that came out on Monday, it means simply



this: Millions and millions of grandparents who went months without being able to hug their grandkids can now do so. And the more people who are fully vaccinated, the CD [CDC] will continue to provide guidance on what you can do in the workplace, places of worship, with friends, and as well as travel.

When I came into office, you may recall, I set a goal that many of you said was, kind of, way over the top. I said I intended to get 100 million shots in people's arms in my first 100 days in office. Tonight, I can say we are not only going to meet that goal, we're going to beat that goal. Because we're actually on track to reach this goal of 100 million shots in arms on my 60th day in office. No other country in the world has done this. None. Now I want to talk about the next steps we're thinking about.

First, tonight, I'm announcing that I will direct all states, tribes, and territories to make all adults – people 18 and over – eligible to be vaccinated no later than May 1. Let me say that again: All adult Americans will be eligible to get a vaccine no later than May 1. That's much earlier than expected. Let me be clear: That doesn't mean everyone's going to have that shot immediately, but it means you'll be able to get in line beginning May 1. Every adult will be eligible to get their shot.

To do this, we're going to go from a million shots a day that I promised in December, before I was sworn in, to maintaining – beating our current pace of two million shots a day, outpacing the rest of the world.

Secondly, at the time when every adult is eligible in May, we will launch, with our partners, new tools to make it easier for you to find the vaccine and where to get the shot, including a new website that will help you first find the place to get vaccinated and the one nearest you. No more searching day and night for an appointment for you and your loved ones.

Thirdly, with the passage of the American Rescue Plan – and I thank again the House and Senate for passing it – and my announcement last month of a plan to vaccinate teachers and school staff, including bus drivers, we can accelerate the massive, nationwide effort to reopen our schools safely and meet my goal,

that I stated at the same time about 100 million shots, of opening the majority of K-8 schools in my first 100 days in office. This is going to be the number one priority of my new Secretary of Education, Miguel Cardona. Fourth, in the coming weeks, we will issue further guidance on what you can and cannot do once fully vaccinated, to lessen the confusion, to keep people safe, and encourage more people to get vaccinated.

And finally, fifth, and maybe most importantly: I promise I will do everything in my power, I will not relent until we beat this virus, but I need you, the American people. I need you. I need every American to do their part. And that's not hyperbole. I need you.

I need you to get vaccinated when it's your turn and when you can find an opportunity, and to help your family and friends and neighbors get vaccinated as well. Because here's the point: If we do all this, if we do our part, if we do this together, by July the 4th, there's a good chance you, your families, and friends will be able to get together in your backyard or in your neighborhood and have a cookout and a barbeque and celebrate Independence Day. That doesn't mean large events with lots of people together, but it does mean small groups will be able to get together. After this long hard year, that will make this Independence Day something truly special, where we not only mark our independence as a nation, but we begin to mark our independence from this virus.

But to get there, we can't let our guard down. This fight is far from over – from order – from over. As I told the woman in Pennsylvania, "I will tell you the truth." A July 4th with your loved ones is the goal. But a goal – a lot can happen; conditions can change.

The scientists have made clear that things may get worse again as new variants of the virus spread.

And we've got work to do to ensure everyone has confidence in the safety and effectiveness of all three vaccines.

So my message to you is this: Listen to Dr. Fauci, one of the most distinguished and trusted voices in the world. He has assured us the vaccines are safe. They underwent rigorous scientific review. I know they're safe. Vice President Harris and I know they're safe. That's why we got the vaccine publicly in front of cameras so – for

the world to see, so you could see us do it. The First Lady and the Second Gentleman also got vaccinated.

Talk to your family, your friends, your neighbors – the people you know best who’ve gotten the vaccine.

We need everyone to get vaccinated. We need everyone to keep washing their hands, stay socially distanced, and keep wearing the masks as recommended by the CDC.

Because even if we devote every resource we have, beating this virus and getting back to normal depends on national unity.

And national unity isn’t just how politics and politicians vote in Washington or what the loudest voices say on cable or online. Unity is what we do together as fellow Americans. Because if we don’t stay vigilant and the conditions change, then we may have to reinstate restrictions to get back on track. And, please, we don’t want to do again.

We’ve made so much progress. This is not the time to let up. Just as we are emerging from a dark winter into a hopeful spring and summer is not the time to not stick with the rules. I’ll close with this. We’ve lost so much over the last year. We’ve lost family and friends. We’ve lost businesses and dreams we spent years building. We’ve lost time – time with each other.

And our children have lost so much time with their friends, time with their schools. No graduation ceremonies this – this spring. No graduations from college, high school, moving-up ceremonies. You know, and there’s something else we lost.

We lost faith in whether our government and our democracy can deliver on really hard things for the American people.

But as I stand here tonight, we’re proving once again something I have said time and time again until they’re probably tired of hearing me say it. I say it foreign leaders and domestic alike: It’s never, ever a good bet to bet against the American people. America is coming back. The development, manufacture, and distribution of the vaccines in record time is a true miracle of science. It is one of the most extraordinary achievements any country has ever accomplished.

And we also just saw the Perseverance rover land on Mars. Stunning images of our dreams that are now a reality. Another example of the extraordinary American ingenuity, commitment, and belief in science and one another.

And today, I signed into law the American Rescue Plan, an historic piece of legislation that delivers immediate relief to millions of people. It includes \$1,400 in direct rescue checks – payments. That means a typical family of four earning about \$110,000 will get checks for \$5,600 deposited if they have direct deposit or in a check – a Treasury check.

It extends unemployment benefits. It helps small businesses. It lowers healthcare premiums for many. It provides food and nutrition, keeps families in their homes. And it will cut child poverty in this country in half, according to the experts. And it fi – and it funds all the steps I’ve just described to beat the virus and create millions of jobs.

In the coming weeks and months, I’ll be traveling, along with the First Lady, the Vice President, the Second Gentleman and members of my Cabinet, to speak directly to you, to tell you the truth about how the American Rescue Plan meets the moment. And if it fails at any pa-, I will acknowledge that it failed. But it will not.

About how after a long, dark years – one whole year, there is hope and light of better days ahead.

If we all do our part, this country will be vaccinated soon, our economy will be on the mend, our kids will be back in school, and we will have proven once again that this country can do anything – hard things, big things, important things.

Over a year ago, no one could’ve imagined what we were about to go through, but now we’re coming through it, and it’s a shared experience that binds us together as a nation. We are bound together by the loss and the pain of the days that have gone by. But we’re also bound together by the hope and the possibilities of the days in front of us.

My fervent prayer for our country is that, after all we have been through, we’ll come together as one people, one nation, one America. I believe we can and we will. We’re seizing this moment.

And history, I believe, will record: We faced and overcame one of the toughest and darkest periods in this nation's history – darkest we've ever known.

I promise you, we'll come out stronger with a renewed faith in ourselves, a renewed commitment to one another, to our communities, and to our country. This is the United States of America, and there is nothing – nothing – from the bottom of my heart, I believe this – there is nothing we can't do when we do it together.

So God bless you all. And please, God, give solace to all those people who lost someone.

And may God protect our troops. Thank you for taking the time to listen. I look forward to seeing you.

## **Part 2. President Barack Obama – Remarks to the People of Cuba.**

President Castro, the people of Cuba, thank you so much for the warm welcome that I have received, that my family have received, and that our delegation has received. It is an extraordinary honor to be here today.

Before I begin, please indulge me. I want to comment on the terrorist attacks that have taken place in Brussels. The thoughts and the prayers of the American people are with the people of Belgium. We stand in solidarity with them in condemning these outrageous attacks against innocent people. We will do whatever is necessary to support our friend and ally, Belgium, in bringing to justice those who are responsible. And this is yet another reminder that the world must unite, we must be together, regardless of nationality, or race, or faith, in fighting against the scourge of terrorism. We can – and will – defeat those who threaten the safety and security of people all around the world.

To the government and the people of Cuba, I want to thank you for the kindness that you've shown to me and Michelle, Malia, Sasha, my mother-in-law, Marian.

“Cultivo una rosa blanca.” (Applause.) In his most famous poem, Jose Marti made this offering of friendship and peace to both his

friend and his enemy. Today, as the President of the United States of America, I offer the Cuban people *el saludo de paz*.

Havana is only 90 miles from Florida, but to get here we had to travel a great distance – over barriers of history and ideology; barriers of pain and separation. The blue waters beneath Air Force One once carried American battleships to this island – to liberate, but also to exert control over Cuba. Those waters also carried generations of Cuban revolutionaries to the United States, where they built support for their cause. And that short distance has been crossed by hundreds of thousands of Cuban exiles – on planes and makeshift rafts – who came to America in pursuit of freedom and opportunity, sometimes leaving behind everything they owned and every person that they loved.

Like so many people in both of our countries, my lifetime has spanned a time of isolation between us. The Cuban Revolution took place the same year that my father came to the United States from Kenya. The Bay of Pigs took place the year that I was born. The next year, the entire world held its breath, watching our two countries, as humanity came as close as we ever have to the horror of nuclear war. As the decades rolled by, our governments settled into a seemingly endless confrontation, fighting battles through proxies. In a world that remade itself time and again, one constant was the conflict between the United States and Cuba.

I have come here to bury the last remnant of the Cold War in the Americas. (Applause.) I have come here to extend the hand of friendship to the Cuban people. (Applause.)

I want to be clear: The differences between our governments over these many years are real and they are important. I'm sure President Castro would say the same thing – I know, because I've heard him address those differences at length. But before I discuss those issues, we also need to recognize how much we share. Because in many ways, the United States and Cuba are like two brothers who've been estranged for many years, even as we share the same blood.

We both live in a new world, colonized by Europeans. Cuba, like the United States, was built in part by slaves brought here from

Africa. Like the United States, the Cuban people can trace their heritage to both slaves and slave-owners. We've welcomed both immigrants who came a great distance to start new lives in the Americas.

Over the years, our cultures have blended together. Dr. Carlos Finlay's work in Cuba paved the way for generations of doctors, including Walter Reed, who drew on Dr. Finlay's work to help combat Yellow Fever. Just as Marti wrote some of his most famous words in New York, Ernest Hemingway made a home in Cuba, and found inspiration in the waters of these shores. We share a national past-time – La Pelota – and later today our players will compete on the same Havana field that Jackie Robinson played on before he made his Major League debut. (Applause.) And it's said that our greatest boxer, Muhammad Ali, once paid tribute to a Cuban that he could never fight – saying that he would only be able to reach a draw with the great Cuban, Teofilo Stevenson.

So even as our governments became adversaries, our people continued to share these common passions, particularly as so many Cubans came to America. In Miami or Havana, you can find places to dance the Cha-Cha-Cha or the Salsa, and eat ropa vieja. People in both of our countries have sung along with Celia Cruz or Gloria Estefan, and now listen to reggaeton or Pitbull. (Laughter.) Millions of our people share a common religion – a faith that I paid tribute to at the Shrine of our Lady of Charity in Miami, a peace that Cubans find in La Cachita.

For all of our differences, the Cuban and American people share common values in their own lives. A sense of patriotism and a sense of pride – a lot of pride. A profound love of family. A passion for our children, a commitment to their education. And that's why I believe our grandchildren will look back on this period of isolation as an aberration, as just one chapter in a longer story of family and of friendship.

But we cannot, and should not, ignore the very real differences that we have – about how we organize our governments, our economies, and our societies. Cuba has a one-party system; the United States is a multi-party democracy. Cuba has a socialist

economic model; the United States is an open market. Cuba has emphasized the role and rights of the state; the United States is founded upon the rights of the individual.

Despite these differences, on December 17th 2014, President Castro and I announced that the United States and Cuba would begin a process to normalize relations between our countries. (Applause.) Since then, we have established diplomatic relations and opened embassies. We've begun initiatives to cooperate on health and agriculture, education and law enforcement. We've reached agreements to restore direct flights and mail service. We've expanded commercial ties, and increased the capacity of Americans to travel and do business in Cuba.

And these changes have been welcomed, even though there are still opponents to these policies. But still, many people on both sides of this debate have asked: Why now? Why now?

There is one simple answer: What the United States was doing was not working. We have to have the courage to acknowledge that truth. A policy of isolation designed for the Cold War made little sense in the 21st century. The embargo was only hurting the Cuban people instead of helping them. And I've always believed in what Martin Luther King, Jr. called "the fierce urgency of now" – we should not fear change, we should embrace it. (Applause.)

That leads me to a bigger and more important reason for these changes: *Creo en el pueblo Cubano*. I believe in the Cuban people. (Applause.) This is not just a policy of normalizing relations with the Cuban government. The United States of America is normalizing relations with the Cuban people. (Applause.)

And today, I want to share with you my vision of what our future can be. I want the Cuban people – especially the young people – to understand why I believe that you should look to the future with hope; not the false promise which insists that things are better than they really are, or the blind optimism that says all your problems can go away tomorrow. Hope that is rooted in the future that you can choose and that you can shape, and that you can build for your country.



I'm hopeful because I believe that the Cuban people are as innovative as any people in the world.

In a global economy, powered by ideas and information, a country's greatest asset is its people. In the United States, we have a clear monument to what the Cuban people can build: it's called Miami. Here in Havana, we see that same talent in cuentapropistas, cooperatives and old cars that still run. El Cubano inventa del aire. (Applause.)

Cuba has an extraordinary resource – a system of education which values every boy and every girl. (Applause.) And in recent years, the Cuban government has begun to open up to the world, and to open up more space for that talent to thrive. In just a few years, we've seen how cuentapropistas can succeed while sustaining a distinctly Cuban spirit. Being self-employed is not about becoming more like America, it's about being yourself.

Look at Sandra Lidice Aldama, who chose to start a small business. Cubans, she said, can “innovate and adapt without losing our identity...our secret is in not copying or imitating but simply being ourselves.”

Look at Papito Valladeres, a barber, whose success allowed him to improve conditions in his neighborhood. “I realize I'm not going to solve all of the world's problems,” he said. “But if I can solve problems in the little piece of the world where I live, it can ripple across Havana.”

That's where hope begins – with the ability to earn your own living, and to build something you can be proud of. That's why our policies focus on supporting Cubans, instead of hurting them. That's why we got rid of limits on remittances – so ordinary Cubans have more resources. That's why we're encouraging travel – which will build bridges between our people, and bring more revenue to those Cuban small businesses. That's why we've opened up space for commerce and exchanges – so that Americans and Cubans can work together to find cures for diseases, and create jobs, and open the door to more opportunity for the Cuban people.

As President of the United States, I've called on our Congress to lift the embargo. (Applause.) It is an outdated burden on the Cuban

people. It's a burden on the Americans who want to work and do business or invest here in Cuba. It's time to lift the embargo. But even if we lifted the embargo tomorrow, Cubans would not realize their potential without continued change here in Cuba. (Applause.) It should be easier to open a business here in Cuba. A worker should be able to get a job directly with companies who invest here in Cuba. Two currencies shouldn't separate the type of salaries that Cubans can earn. The Internet should be available across the island, so that Cubans can connect to the wider world – (applause) – and to one of the greatest engines of growth in human history.

There's no limitation from the United States on the ability of Cuba to take these steps. It's up to you. And I can tell you as a friend that sustainable prosperity in the 21st century depends upon education, health care, and environmental protection. But it also depends on the free and open exchange of ideas. If you can't access information online, if you cannot be exposed to different points of view, you will not reach your full potential. And over time, the youth will lose hope.

I know these issues are sensitive, especially coming from an American President. Before 1959, some Americans saw Cuba as something to exploit, ignored poverty, enabled corruption. And since 1959, we've been shadow-boxers in this battle of geopolitics and personalities. I know the history, but I refuse to be trapped by it. (Applause.)

I've made it clear that the United States has neither the capacity, nor the intention to impose change on Cuba. What changes come will depend upon the Cuban people. We will not impose our political or economic system on you. We recognize that every country, every people, must chart its own course and shape its own model. But having removed the shadow of history from our relationship, I must speak honestly about the things that I believe – the things that we, as Americans, believe. As Marti said, "Liberty is the right of every man to be honest, to think and to speak without hypocrisy."

So let me tell you what I believe. I can't force you to agree, but you should know what I think. I believe that every person should be equal under the law. (Applause.) Every child deserves the dignity

that comes with education, and health care and food on the table and a roof over their heads. (Applause.) I believe citizens should be free to speak their mind without fear – (applause) – to organize, and to criticize their government, and to protest peacefully, and that the rule of law should not include arbitrary detentions of people who exercise those rights. (Applause.) I believe that every person should have the freedom to practice their faith peacefully and publicly. (Applause.) And, yes, I believe voters should be able to choose their governments in free and democratic elections. (Applause.)

Not everybody agrees with me on this. Not everybody agrees with the American people on this. But I believe those human rights are universal. (Applause.) I believe they are the rights of the American people, the Cuban people, and people around the world.

Now, there's no secret that our governments disagree on many of these issues. I've had frank conversations with President Castro. For many years, he has pointed out the flaws in the American system – economic inequality; the death penalty; racial discrimination; wars abroad. That's just a sample. He has a much longer list. (Laughter.) But here's what the Cuban people need to understand: I welcome this open debate and dialogue. It's good. It's healthy. I'm not afraid of it.

We do have too much money in American politics. But, in America, it's still possible for somebody like me – a child who was raised by a single mom, a child of mixed race who did not have a lot of money – to pursue and achieve the highest office in the land. That's what's possible in America. (Applause.)

We do have challenges with racial bias – in our communities, in our criminal justice system, in our society – the legacy of slavery and segregation. But the fact that we have open debates within America's own democracy is what allows us to get better. In 1959, the year that my father moved to America, it was illegal for him to marry my mother, who was white, in many American states. When I first started school, we were still struggling to desegregate schools across the American South. But people organized; they protested; they debated these issues; they challenged government officials.

And because of those protests, and because of those debates, and because of popular mobilization, I'm able to stand here today as an African-American and as President of the United States. That was because of the freedoms that were afforded in the United States that we were able to bring about change.

I'm not saying this is easy. There's still enormous problems in our society. But democracy is the way that we solve them. That's how we got health care for more of our people. That's how we made enormous gains in women's rights and gay rights. That's how we address the inequality that concentrates so much wealth at the top of our society. Because workers can organize and ordinary people have a voice, American democracy has given our people the opportunity to pursue their dreams and enjoy a high standard of living. (Applause.)

Now, there are still some tough fights. It isn't always pretty, the process of democracy. It's often frustrating. You can see that in the election going on back home. But just stop and consider this fact about the American campaign that's taking place right now. You had two Cuban Americans in the Republican Party, running against the legacy of a black man who is President, while arguing that they're the best person to beat the Democratic nominee who will either be a woman or a Democratic Socialist. (Laughter and applause.) Who would have believed that back in 1959? That's a measure of our progress as a democracy. (Applause.)

So here's my message to the Cuban government and the Cuban people: The ideals that are the starting point for every revolution – America's revolution, Cuba's revolution, the liberation movements around the world – those ideals find their truest expression, I believe, in democracy. Not because American democracy is perfect, but precisely because we're not. And we – like every country – need the space that democracy gives us to change. It gives individuals the capacity to be catalysts to think in new ways, and to reimagine how our society should be, and to make them better.

There's already an evolution taking place inside of Cuba, a generational change. Many suggested that I come here and ask the people of Cuba to tear something down – but I'm appealing to the

young people of Cuba who will lift something up, build something new. (Applause.) El futuro de Cuba tiene que estar en las manos del pueblo Cubano. (Applause.)

And to President Castro – who I appreciate being here today – I want you to know, I believe my visit here demonstrates you do not need to fear a threat from the United States. And given your commitment to Cuba’s sovereignty and self-determination, I am also confident that you need not fear the different voices of the Cuban people – and their capacity to speak, and assemble, and vote for their leaders. In fact, I’m hopeful for the future because I trust that the Cuban people will make the right decisions.

And as you do, I’m also confident that Cuba can continue to play an important role in the hemisphere and around the globe – and my hope is, is that you can do so as a partner with the United States.

We’ve played very different roles in the world. But no one should deny the service that thousands of Cuban doctors have delivered for the poor and suffering. (Applause.) Last year, American health care workers – and the U.S. military – worked side-by-side with Cubans to save lives and stamp out Ebola in West Africa. I believe that we should continue that kind of cooperation in other countries.

We’ve been on the different side of so many conflicts in the Americas. But today, Americans and Cubans are sitting together at the negotiating table, and we are helping the Colombian people resolve a civil war that’s dragged on for decades. (Applause.) That kind of cooperation is good for everybody. It gives everyone in this hemisphere hope.

We took different journeys to our support for the people of South Africa in ending apartheid. But President Castro and I could both be there in Johannesburg to pay tribute to the legacy of the great Nelson Mandela. (Applause.) And in examining his life and his words, I’m sure we both realize we have more work to do to promote equality in our own countries – to reduce discrimination based on race in our own countries. And in Cuba, we want our engagement to help lift up the Cubans who are of African descent – (applause) – who’ve proven that there’s nothing they cannot achieve when given the chance.

We've been a part of different blocs of nations in the hemisphere, and we will continue to have profound differences about how to promote peace, security, opportunity, and human rights. But as we normalize our relations, I believe it can help foster a greater sense of unity in the Americas – todos somos Americanos. (Applause.)

From the beginning of my time in office, I've urged the people of the Americas to leave behind the ideological battles of the past. We are in a new era. I know that many of the issues that I've talked about lack the drama of the past. And I know that part of Cuba's identity is its pride in being a small island nation that could stand up for its rights, and shake the world. But I also know that Cuba will always stand out because of the talent, hard work, and pride of the Cuban people. That's your strength. (Applause.) Cuba doesn't have to be defined by being against the United States, any more than the United States should be defined by being against Cuba. I'm hopeful for the future because of the reconciliation that's taking place among the Cuban people.

I know that for some Cubans on the island, there may be a sense that those who left somehow supported the old order in Cuba. I'm sure there's a narrative that lingers here which suggests that Cuban exiles ignored the problems of pre-Revolutionary Cuba, and rejected the struggle to build a new future. But I can tell you today that so many Cuban exiles carry a memory of painful – and sometimes violent – separation. They love Cuba. A part of them still considers this their true home. That's why their passion is so strong. That's why their heartache is so great. And for the Cuban American community that I've come to know and respect, this is not just about politics. This is about family – the memory of a home that was lost; the desire to rebuild a broken bond; the hope for a better future the hope for return and reconciliation.

For all of the politics, people are people, and Cubans are Cubans. And I've come here – I've traveled this distance – on a bridge that was built by Cubans on both sides of the Florida Straits. I first got to know the talent and passion of the Cuban people in America. And I know how they have suffered more than the pain of exile – they also know what it's like to be an outsider, and to struggle, and to

work harder to make sure their children can reach higher in America.

So the reconciliation of the Cuban people – the children and grandchildren of revolution, and the children and grandchildren of exile – that is fundamental to Cuba’s future. (Applause.)

You see it in Gloria Gonzalez, who traveled here in 2013 for the first time after 61 years of separation, and was met by her sister, Llorca. “You recognized me, but I didn’t recognize you,” Gloria said after she embraced her sibling. Imagine that, after 61 years.

You see it in Melinda Lopez, who came to her family’s old home. And as she was walking the streets, an elderly woman recognized her as her mother’s daughter, and began to cry. She took her into her home and showed her a pile of photos that included Melinda’s baby picture, which her mother had sent 50 years ago. Melinda later said, “So many of us are now getting so much back.”

You see it in Cristian Miguel Soler, a young man who became the first of his family to travel here after 50 years. And meeting relatives for the first time, he said, “I realized that family is family no matter the distance between us.”

Sometimes the most important changes start in small places. The tides of history can leave people in conflict and exile and poverty. It takes time for those circumstances to change. But the recognition of a common humanity, the reconciliation of people bound by blood and a belief in one another – that’s where progress begins. Understanding, and listening, and forgiveness. And if the Cuban people face the future together, it will be more likely that the young people of today will be able to live with dignity and achieve their dreams right here in Cuba.

The history of the United States and Cuba encompass revolution and conflict; struggle and sacrifice; retribution and, now, reconciliation. It is time, now, for us to leave the past behind. It is time for us to look forward to the future together – un futuro de esperanza. And it won’t be easy, and there will be setbacks. It will take time. But my time here in Cuba renews my hope and my confidence in what the Cuban people will do. We can make this journey as friends, and as neighbors, and as family – together. Si se puede. Muchas gracias.

### **Part 3. President Barack Obama – Address to the British Parliament.**

“My Lord Chancellor, Mr Speaker, Mr Prime Minister, my Lords, and Members of the House of Commons:

“I have known few greater honours than the opportunity to address the Mother of Parliaments at Westminster Hall. I am told the last three speakers here have been the Pope, Her Majesty the Queen, and Nelson Mandela, which is either a very high bar or the beginning of a very funny joke.

“I’ve come here today to reaffirm one of the oldest, one of the strongest alliances the world has ever known. It has long been said that the United States and the United Kingdom share a special relationship.

“And since we also share an especially active press corps, that relationship is often analysed and over-analysed for the slightest hint of stress or strain. “Of course, all relationships have their ups and downs. Admittedly, ours got off on the wrong foot with a small scrape about tea and taxes. “There may have also been some hurt feelings when the White House was set on fire during the War of 1812. But fortunately, it’s been smooth sailing ever since!

“The reason for this close friendship doesn’t just have to do with our shared history, our shared heritage; our ties of language and culture; or even the strong partnership between our governments. Our relationship is special because of the values and beliefs that have united our people through the ages.

“Centuries ago, when kings, emperors, and warlords reigned over much of the world, it was the English who first spelled out the rights and liberties of man in the Magna Carta.

“It was here, in this very hall, where the rule of law first developed, courts were established, disputes were settled, and citizens came to petition their leaders.

“Over time, the people of this nation waged a long and sometimes bloody struggle to expand and secure their freedom from the crown. Propelled by the ideals of the Enlightenment, they would ultimately forge an English Bill of Rights, and invest the power to govern in an elected parliament that’s gathered here today.



“What began on this island would inspire millions throughout the continent of Europe and across the world.

“But perhaps no-one drew greater inspiration from these notions of freedom than your rabble-rousing colonists on the other side of the Atlantic. As Winston Churchill said, the “...Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and English common law find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence”.

“For both of our nations, living up to the ideals enshrined in these founding documents has sometimes been difficult, has always been a work in progress.

“The path has never been perfect. But through the struggles of slaves and immigrants; women and ethnic minorities; former colonies and persecuted religions, we have learned better than most that the longing for freedom and human dignity is not English or American or Western – it is universal, and it beats in every heart.

“Perhaps that’s why there are few nations that stand firmer, speak louder, and fight harder to defend democratic values around the world than the United States and the United Kingdom.

“We are the allies who landed at Omaha and Gold; who sacrificed side by side to free a continent from the march of tyranny, and help prosperity flourish from the ruins of war. And with the founding of Nato – a British idea – we joined a transatlantic alliance that has ensured our security for over half a century.

“Together with our allies, we forged a lasting peace from a Cold War. When the Iron Curtain lifted, we expanded our alliance to include the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, and built new bridges to Russia and the former states of the Soviet Union. And when there was strife in the Balkans, we worked together to keep the peace.

“Today, after a difficult decade that began with war and ended in recession, our nations have arrived at a pivotal moment once more. A global economy that once stood on the brink of depression is now stable and recovering.

“After years of conflict, the United States has removed 100,000 troops from Iraq, the United Kingdom has removed its forces, and

our combat mission there has ended. In Afghanistan, we have broken the Taliban's momentum, and will soon begin a transition to Afghan lead. "And nearly 10 years after 9/11, we have disrupted terrorist networks and dealt al-Qaeda a huge blow by killing its leader – Osama bin Laden. "Together, we have met great challenges. But as we enter this new chapter in our shared history, profound challenges stretch before us. "In a world where the prosperity of all nations is now inextricably linked, a new era of co-operation is required to ensure the growth and stability of the global economy.

"As new threats spread across borders and oceans, we must dismantle terrorist networks and stop the spread of nuclear weapons; confront climate change and combat famine and disease. And as a revolution races through the streets of the Middle East and North Africa, the entire world has a stake in the aspirations of a generation that longs to determine its own destiny.

"These challenges come at a time when the international order has already been reshaped for a new century. Countries like China, India, and Brazil are growing by leaps and bounds. We should welcome this development, for it has lifted hundreds of millions from poverty around the globe, and created new markets and opportunities for our own nations.

"And yet, as this rapid change has taken place, it has become fashionable in some quarters to question whether the rise of these nations will accompany the decline of American and European influence around the world. Perhaps, the argument goes, these nations represent the future, and the time for our leadership has passed.

"That argument is wrong. The time for our leadership is now. It was the United States and the United Kingdom, and our democratic allies, that shaped a world in which new nations could emerge and individuals could thrive. And even as more nations take on the responsibilities of global leadership, our alliance will remain indispensable to the goal of a century that is more peaceful, more prosperous and more just.

"At a time when threats and challenges require nations to work in concert with one another, we remain the greatest catalysts for global action.

“In an era defined by the rapid flow of commerce and information, it is our free market tradition, our openness, fortified by our commitment to basic security for our citizens, that offers the best chance of prosperity that is both strong and shared. As millions are still denied their basic human rights because of who they are, or what they believe, or the kind of government that they live under, we are the nations most willing to stand up for the values of tolerance and self-determination that lead to peace and dignity.

“Now this doesn’t mean we can afford to stand still. The nature of our leadership will need to change with the times. As I said the first time I came to London as president, for the G20 Summit, the days are gone when Roosevelt and Churchill could sit in a room and solve the world’s problems over a glass of brandy – although I’m sure Prime Minister Cameron and I would agree that some days we could both use a stiff drink. In this century, our joint leadership will require building new partnerships, adapting to new circumstances, and remaking ourselves to meet the demands of a new era.

“That begins with our economic leadership.

“Adam Smith’s central insight remains true today: there is no greater generator of wealth and innovation than a system of free enterprise that unleashes the full potential of individual men and women. That is what led to the Industrial Revolution that began in the factories of Manchester.

“That is what led to the dawn of the Information Age that arose from the office parks of Silicon Valley. And that is why countries like China, India and Brazil are growing so rapidly – because in fits and starts, they are moving toward market-based principles that the United States and the United Kingdom have always embraced.

“In other words, we live in a global economy that is largely of our own making. And today, the competition for the best jobs and industries favours countries that are free-thinking and forward-looking; countries with the most creative, innovative, entrepreneurial citizens.

“That gives nations like the United States and the United Kingdom an inherent advantage. From Newton and Darwin to Edison and Einstein; from Alan Turing to Steve Jobs, we have led

the world in our commitment to science and cutting-edge research; the discovery of new medicines and technologies.

“We educate our citizens and train our workers in the best colleges and universities on Earth. But to maintain this advantage in a world that’s more competitive than ever, we will have to redouble our investments in science and engineering, and renew our national commitments to educating our workforces.

“We’ve also been reminded in the last few years that markets can sometimes fail. In the last century, both our nations put in place regulatory frameworks to deal with these challenges – safeguards to protect the banking system after the Great Depression, for example, and regulations were established to prevent the pollution of our air and water during the 1970s.

“But in today’s economy, such threats of market failure can no longer be contained within the borders of any one country. Market failures can go global, and go viral, and demand international responses. A financial crisis that began on Wall Street infected nearly every continent, which is why we must keep working through forums like the G20 to put in place global rules of the road to prevent future excesses and abuse. No country can hide from the dangers of carbon pollution, which is why we must build on what was achieved at Copenhagen and Cancun to leave our children a planet that is safer and cleaner.

“Moreover, even when the free market works as it should, both our countries recognize that no matter how responsibly we live our lives, hard times or bad luck, a crippling illness or a layoff, may strike any one of us. And so part of our common tradition has expressed itself in a conviction that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security – health-care if you get sick; unemployment insurance if you lose your job; a dignified retirement after a lifetime of hard work. That commitment to our citizens has also been a reason for our leadership in the world.

“Having come through a terrible recession, our challenge today is to meet these obligations while ensuring that we’re not consumed with a level of debt that could sap the strength and vitality from our economies. That will require difficult choices and different

paths for both of our countries. But we have faced such challenges before, and have always been able to balance the need for fiscal responsibility with the responsibilities we have to one another.

“I believe we can do it again. As we do, the successes and failures of our own past can serve as an example for emerging economies – that it’s possible to grow without polluting; that lasting prosperity comes not from what a nation consumes, but from what it produces, and from the investments it makes in its people and infrastructure.

“Just as we must lead on behalf of the prosperity of our citizens, so must we safeguard their security.

“Our two nations know what it is to confront evil in the world. Hitler’s armies would not have stopped their killing had we not fought them on the beaches and the landing grounds; in the fields and on the streets. We must never forget that there was nothing inevitable about our victory in that terrible war – it was won through the courage and character of our people.

“Precisely because we are willing to bear its burden, we know well the cost of war. That is why we built an alliance that was strong enough to defend this continent while deterring our enemies. At its core, Nato is rooted in the simple concept of Article Five: that no Nato nation will have to fend on its own; that allies will stand by one another, always. And for six decades, Nato has been the most successful alliance in human history.

“Today, we confront a different enemy. Terrorists have taken the lives of our citizens in New York and in London. And while al-Qaeda seeks a religious war with the West, we must remember that they have killed thousands of Muslims – men, women and children – around the globe. Our nations will never be at war with Islam. Our fight is focused on defeating al-Qaeda and its extremist allies. In that effort, we will not relent, as Osama Bin Laden and his followers have learned... As we fight an enemy that respects no law of war, we will continue to hold ourselves to a higher standard – by living up to the values and the rule of law and due process that we so ardently defend.

“For almost a decade, Afghanistan has been a central front of these efforts. Throughout those years, you, the British people, have

been a stalwart ally along with so many others who fight by our side. Together, let us pay tribute to all of our men and women who have served and sacrificed over the last several years – for they are part of an unbroken line of heroes who have borne the heaviest burden for the freedoms that we enjoy. Because of them, we have broken the Taliban’s momentum.

“Because of them, we have built the capacity of Afghan security forces. And because of them, we are now preparing to turn a corner in Afghanistan by transitioning to an Afghan lead. During this transition, we will pursue a lasting peace with those who break free of from al-Qaeda and respect the Afghan constitution and lay down arms. And we will ensure that Afghanistan is never a safe haven for terror – but is instead a country that is strong, sovereign, and able to stand on its own two feet.

“Indeed, our efforts in this young century have led us to a new concept for Nato that will give us the capabilities needed to meet new threats: threats like terrorism and piracy, cyber attacks and ballistic missiles. But a revitalized Nato will continue to hew to that original vision of its founders, allowing us to rally collective action for the defence of our people, while building upon the broader belief of Roosevelt and Churchill that all nations have both rights and responsibilities, and all nations share a common interest in an international architecture that maintains the peace.

“We also share a common interest in stopping the spread of nuclear weapons. Across the globe, nations are locking down nuclear materials so they never fall into the wrong hands. Because of our leadership, from North Korea to Iran, we have sent a message that those who flaunt their obligations will face consequences – which is why America and the European Union just recently strengthened our sanctions on Iran, in large part because of the leadership of the United Kingdom and the United States. And while we hold others to account, we will meet our own obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and strive for a world without nuclear weapons.

“We share a common interest in resolving conflicts that prolong human suffering, and threaten to tear whole regions asunder. In

Sudan, after years of war and thousands of deaths, we call on both North and South to pull back from the brink of violence and choose the path of peace. And in the Middle East, we stand united in our support for a secure Israel and a sovereign Palestine.

“And we share a common interest in development that advances dignity and security. To succeed, we must cast aside the impulse to look at impoverished parts of the globe as a place for charity. Instead, we should empower the same forces that have allowed our own people to thrive – we should help the hungry to feed themselves, and the doctors who care for the sick; we should support countries that confront corruption, and allow their people to innovate; and we should advance the truth that nations prosper when they allow women and girls to reach their full potential.

“We do these things because we believe not simply in the rights of nations, we believe in the rights of citizens. That is the beacon that guided us through our fight against fascism and our twilight struggle against communism. And today, that idea is being put to the test in the Middle East and North Africa. In country after country, people are mobilising to free themselves from the grip of an iron fist. And while these movements for change are just six months old, we have seen them play out before – from Eastern Europe to the Americas; from South Africa to Southeast Asia.

“What that means is more cash and trade and aid for Tunisia and Egypt – which many diplomats think the west has neglected since their regimes were overturned. What it means for Syria – which he did not mention by name – is some kind of undefined ‘sanction’.

“History tells us that democracy is not easy. It will be years before these revolutions reach their conclusion, and there will be difficult days along the way. Power rarely gives up without a fight – particularly in places where there are divisions of tribe and divisions of sect. We also know that populism can take dangerous turns – from the extremism of those who would use democracy to deny minority rights, to the nationalism that left so many scars on this continent in the 20th Century.

“But make no mistake: what we saw, what we are seeing in Tehran, Tunis and Tahrir Square is a longing for the same freedoms

that we take for granted here at home. It was a rejection of the notion that people in certain parts of the world don't want to be free, or need to have democracy imposed upon them. It was a rebuke to the world view of al-Qaeda, which smothers the rights of individuals, and would thereby subject them to perpetual poverty and violence. Let there be no doubt: the United States and United Kingdom stand squarely on the side of those who long to be free.

"Now we must show that we will back up those words with deeds. That means investing in the future of those nations that transition to democracy, starting with Tunisia and Egypt – by deepening ties of trade and commerce; by helping them demonstrate that freedom brings prosperity. And that means standing up for universal rights – by sanctioning those who pursue repression, strengthening civil society, supporting the rights of minorities.

"We do this knowing that the West must overcome suspicion and mistrust among many in the Middle East and North Africa – a mistrust that is rooted in a difficult past. For years, we have faced charges of hypocrisy from those who do not enjoy the freedoms that they hear us espouse. To them, we must squarely acknowledge that yes, we have enduring interests in the region – to fight terror, sometimes with partners who may not always be perfect, and to protect against disruptions in the world's energy supply. But we must also insist that we reject as false the choice between our interests and our ideals; between stability and democracy. Our idealism is rooted in the realities of history – that repression offers only the false promise of stability; that societies are more successful when their citizens are free; and that democracies are the closest allies we have.

"It is that truth that guides our action in Libya. It would have been easy at the outset of the crackdown in Libya to say that none of this was our business – that a nation's sovereignty is more important than the slaughter of civilians within its borders. That argument carries weight with some. But we are different. We embrace a broader responsibility. And while we cannot stop every injustice, there are circumstances that cut through our caution – when a leader is threatening to massacre his people, and the international



community is calling for action. That is why we stopped a massacre in Libya. And we will not relent until the people of Libya are protected, and the shadow of tyranny is lifted.

“We will proceed with humility, and the knowledge that we cannot dictate every outcome abroad. Ultimately, freedom must be won by the people themselves, not imposed from without. But we can and must stand with those who so struggle. Because we have always believed that the future of our children and grandchildren will be better if other people’s children and grandchildren are more prosperous and more free – from the beaches of Normandy, to the Balkans, to Benghazi. That is our interest and our ideal. And if we fail to meet that responsibility, who would take our place? And what kind of world would we pass on?”

“Our action – our leadership – is essential to the cause of human dignity. And so we must act – and lead – with confidence in our ideals, and an abiding faith in the character of our people, who sent us here today.

“For there is one final that quality that I believe makes the United States and the United Kingdom indispensable to this moment in history. And that is how we define ourselves as nations.

“Unlike most countries in the world, we do not define citizenship based on race or ethnicity. Being American or British is not about belonging to a certain group; it’s about believing in a certain set of ideals – the rights of individuals, the rule of law. That is why we hold incredible diversity within our borders. That is why there are people around the world right now who believe that if they come to America, if they come to New York, if they come to London, if they work hard, they can pledge allegiance to our flag, and call themselves American. If they come to England to make a new life for themselves, they can sing God Save the Queen just like any other citizen.

“Yes, our diversity can lead to tension. Throughout history, there have been heated debates about immigration and assimilation in both our countries. But even as these debates can be difficult, we fundamentally recognise that our patchwork heritage is an enormous strength – that in a world which will only grow smaller

and more interconnected, the example of our two nations says it is possible for people to be united by their ideals, instead of divided by their differences; it is possible for hearts to change, and old hatreds to pass; that it's possible for the sons and daughters of former colonies to sit here as members of this great Parliament, and for the grandson of a Kenyan who served as a cook in the British Army to stand before you as President of the United States.

“That is what defines us. That is why the young men and women in the streets of Damascus and Cairo still reach for the rights our citizens enjoy, even if they've sometimes differed with our policies. As two of the most powerful nations in the history of the world, we must always remember that the true source of our influence hasn't just been the size of our economies, the reach of our militaries, or the land that we've claimed. It has been the values that we must never waver in defending around the world – the idea that all human beings are endowed by our Creator with certain rights that cannot be denied.

“That is what forged our bond in the fire of war – a bond made manifest by the friendship between two of our greatest leaders. Churchill and Roosevelt had their differences. They were keen observers of each other's blind spots and shortcomings, if not always their own, and they were hard-headed about their ability to remake the world.

“But what joined the fates of these two men at that particular moment in history was not simply a shared interest in victory on the battlefield. It was a shared belief in the ultimate triumph of human freedom and human dignity – a conviction that we have a say in how this story ends.

“This conviction lives on in their people today. The challenges we face are great. The work before us is hard. But we have come through a difficult decade, and whenever the tests and trials ahead seem too big or too many, let us turn to their example, and the words that Churchill spoke on the day that Europe was freed:

“In the long years to come, not only will the people of this island but the world, wherever the bird of freedom chirps in human hearts,

look back to what we've done, and they will say 'do not despair, do not yield...march straight forward'"

"With courage and purpose; with humility and with hope; with faith in the promise of tomorrow, let us march straight forward together, enduring allies in the cause of a world that is more peaceful, more prosperous, and more just. Thank you very much.

#### **Part 4. Queen Elizabeth Speech – UK's Brexit Commitment.**

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons.

My Government's priority has always been to secure the United Kingdom's departure from the European Union on 31 October. My Government intends to work towards a new partnership with the European Union, based on free trade and friendly cooperation.

My Ministers will work to implement new regimes for fisheries, agriculture and trade, seizing the opportunities that arise from leaving the European Union. An immigration bill, ending free movement, will lay the foundation for a fair, modern and global immigration system. My Government remains committed to ensuring that resident European citizens, who have built their lives in, and contributed so much to, the United Kingdom, have the right to remain. The bill will include measures that reinforce this commitment.

Steps will be taken to provide certainty, stability and new opportunities for the financial services and legal sectors. My Government's new economic plan will be underpinned by a responsible fiscal strategy, investing in economic growth while maintaining the sustainability of the public finances.

Measures will be brought forward to support and strengthen the National Health Service, its workforce and resources, enabling it to deliver the highest quality care. New laws will be taken forward to help implement the National Health Service's Long-Term Plan in England, and to establish an independent body to investigate serious healthcare incidents.

My Government will bring forward proposals to reform adult social care in England to ensure dignity in old age. My Ministers will continue work to reform the Mental Health Act to improve

respect for, and care of, those receiving treatment. My Government is committed to addressing violent crime, and to strengthening public confidence in the criminal justice system. New sentencing laws will see that the most serious offenders spend longer in custody to reflect better the severity of their crimes. Measures will be introduced to improve the justice system's response to foreign national offenders. My Government will work to improve safety and security in prisons and to strengthen the rehabilitation of offenders. Proposals will be brought forward to ensure that victims receive the support they need and the justice they deserve. Laws will be introduced to ensure that the parole system recognizes the pain to victims and their families caused by offenders refusing to disclose information relating to their crimes.

A new duty will be placed on public sector bodies, ensuring they work together to address serious violence. Police officers will be provided with the protections they need to keep the population safe. They will also be awarded the power to arrest individuals who are wanted by trusted international partners. My Government will bring forward measures to protect individuals, families and their homes. Legislation will transform the approach of the justice system and other agencies to victims of domestic abuse, and minimize the impact of divorce, particularly on children. My Ministers will continue to develop proposals to improve internet safety, and will bring forward laws to implement new building safety standards.

My Ministers will ensure that all young people have access to an excellent education, unlocking their full potential and preparing them for the world of work. My Government will take steps to make work fairer, introducing measures that will support those working hard. To help people plan for the future, measures will be brought forward to provide simpler oversight of pensions savings. To protect people's savings for later life, new laws will provide greater powers to tackle irresponsible management of private pension schemes.

To ensure that the benefits of a prospering economy reach every corner of the United Kingdom, my Ministers will bring forward a National Infrastructure Strategy. This will set out a long-term vision

to improve the nation's digital, transport and energy infrastructure. New legislation will help accelerate the delivery of fast, reliable and secure broadband networks to millions of homes. An aviation bill will provide for the effective and efficient management of the United Kingdom's airspace Air Traffic Management and Unmanned Aircraft Bill. Proposals on railway reform will be brought forward.

A white paper will be published to set out my Government's ambitions for unleashing regional potential in England, and to enable decisions that affect local people to be made at a local level.

My Government is committed to establishing the United Kingdom as a world-leader in scientific capability and space technology. Increased investment in science will be complemented by the development of a new funding agency, a more open visa system, and an ambitious national space strategy. My Ministers remain committed to protecting and improving the environment for future generations. For the first time, environmental principles will be enshrined in law. Measures will be introduced to improve air and water quality, tackle plastic pollution and restore habitats so plants and wildlife can thrive. Legislation will also create new legally-binding environmental improvement targets. A new, world-leading independent regulator will be established in statute to scrutinize environmental policy and law, investigate complaints and take enforcement action.

Proposals will also be brought forward to promote and protect the welfare of animals, including banning imports from trophy hunting. The integrity and prosperity of the union that binds the four nations of the United Kingdom is of the utmost importance to my Government. My Ministers will bring forward measures to support citizens across all the nations of the United Kingdom.

My Government remains committed to working with all parties in Northern Ireland to support the return of devolved government and to address the legacy of the past.

My Government will take steps to protect the integrity of democracy and the electoral system in the United Kingdom. My Government will continue to invest in our gallant Armed Forces. My Ministers will honor the Armed Forces Covenant and the NATO

commitment to spend at least two per cent of national income on defense. As the United Kingdom leaves the European Union, my Government will ensure that it continues to play a leading role in global affairs, defending its interests and promoting its values. My Government will be at the forefront of efforts to solve the most complex international security issues. It will champion global free trade and work alongside international partners to solve the most pressing global challenges. It will prioritize tackling climate change and ensuring that all girls have access to twelve years of quality education.

Members of the House of Commons. Estimates for the public services will be laid before you.

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons. Other measures will be laid before you.

I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon your counsels.

### **Part 5. Boris Johnson Speech – First Speech as Prime Minister**

Good afternoon. I have just been to see Her Majesty the Queen who has invited me to form a government and I have accepted.

I pay tribute to the fortitude and patience of my predecessor and her deep sense of public service. But in spite of all her efforts, it has become clear that there are pessimists at home and abroad who think that after three years of indecision that this country has become a prisoner to the old arguments of 2016 and that in this home of democracy we are incapable of honouring a basic democratic mandate.

And so I am standing before you today to tell you, the British people, that those critics are wrong. The doubters, the doomsters, the gloomsters – they are going to get it wrong again. The people who bet against Britain are going to lose their shirts because we are going to restore trust in our democracy and we are going to fulfil the repeated promises of parliament to the people and come out of the EU on October 31 no ifs or buts. And we will do a new deal, a better deal that will maximise the opportunities of Brexit while

allowing us to develop a new and exciting partnership with the rest of Europe based on free trade and mutual support.

I have every confidence that in 99 days' time we will have cracked it. But you know what – we aren't going to wait 99 days because the British people have had enough of waiting.

The time has come to act, to take decisions, to give strong leadership and to change this country for the better and though the Queen has just honoured me with this extraordinary office of state my job is to serve you, the people because if there is one point we politicians need to remember it is that the people are our bosses.

My job is to make your streets safer – and we are going to begin with another 20,000 police on the streets and we start recruiting forthwith.

My job is to make sure you don't have to wait 3 weeks to see your GP and we start work this week with 20 new hospital upgrades, and ensuring that money for the NHS really does get to the front line.

My job is to protect you or your parents or grandparents from the fear of having to sell your home to pay for the costs of care and so I am announcing now – on the steps of Downing Street – that we will fix the crisis in social care once and for all with a clear plan we have prepared to give every older person the dignity and security they deserve.

My job is to make sure your kids get a superb education wherever they are in the country and that's why we have already announced that we are going to level up per-pupil funding in primary and secondary schools.

And that is the work that begins immediately behind that black door. And though I am today building a great team of men and women, I will take personal responsibility for the change I want to see.

Never mind the backstop – the buck stops here. And I will tell you something else about my job. It is to be Prime Minister of the whole United Kingdom and that means uniting our country, answering at last the plea of the forgotten people and the left-behind towns by physically and literally renewing the ties that bind us together, so that with safer streets and better education and fantastic new road

and rail infrastructure and full-fibre broadband we level up across Britain with higher wages, and a higher living wage, and higher productivity, we close the opportunity gap, giving millions of young people the chance to own their own homes, and giving business the confidence to invest across the UK.

Because it is time we unleashed the productive power not just of London and the south east but of every corner of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland; the awesome foursome that are incarnated in that red white and blue flag who together are so much more than the sum of their parts and whose brand and political personality is admired and even loved around the world for our inventiveness, for our humour, for our universities, our scientists, our armed forces, our diplomacy for the equalities on which we insist – whether race or gender or LGBT or the right of every girl in the world to 12 years of quality education and for the values we stand for around the world.

Everyone knows the values that flag represents. It stands for freedom and free speech and habeas corpus and the rule of law and above all it stands for democracy. And that is why we will come out of the EU on October 31 because in the end Brexit was a fundamental decision by the British people, that they wanted their laws made by people that they can elect and they can remove from office and we must now respect that decision and create a new partnership with our European friends – as warm and as close and as affectionate as possible.

And the first step is to repeat unequivocally our guarantee to the 3.2 million EU nationals now living and working among us and I say directly to you – thank you for your contribution to our society, thank you for your patience and I can assure you that under this government you will get the absolute certainty of the rights to live and remain.

And next I say to our friends in Ireland, and in Brussels and around the EU: I am convinced that we can do a deal without checks at the Irish border, because we refuse under any circumstances to have such checks, and yet without that anti-democratic backstop and it is of course vital at the same time that we prepare for the



remote possibility that Brussels refuses any further to negotiate and we are forced to come out with no deal not because we want that outcome, of course not, but because it is only common sense to prepare.

And let me stress that there is a vital sense in which those preparations cannot be wasted and that is because under any circumstances we will need to get ready at some point in the near future to come out of the EU customs union and out of regulatory control fully determined at last to take advantage of Brexit because that is the course on which this country is now set with high hearts and growing confidence we will now accelerate the work of getting ready.

And the ports will be ready and the banks will be ready and the factories will be ready and business will be ready and the hospitals will be ready and our amazing food and farming sector will be ready and waiting to continue selling ever more not just here but around the world.

And don't forget that in the event of a no deal outcome we will have the extra lubrication of the 39 billion pounds and whatever deal we do we will prepare this autumn for an economic package to boost British business and to lengthen this country's lead as the number one destination in this continent for overseas investment.

And to all those who continue to prophesy disaster I say yes – there will be difficulties, though I believe that with energy and application they will be far less serious than some have claimed.

But if there is one thing that has really sapped the confidence of business over the last three years it is not the decisions we have taken, it is our refusal to take decisions.

And to all those who say we cannot be ready, I say do not underestimate this country. Do not underestimate our powers of organisation and our determination because we know the enormous strengths of this economy in life sciences, in tech, in academia, in music, the arts, culture, financial services.

It is here in Britain that we are using gene therapy, for the first time, to treat the most common form of blindness, here in Britain that we are leading the world in the battery technology that will

help cut CO2 and tackle climate change and produce green jobs for the next generation. And as we prepare for a post-Brexit future it is time we looked not at the risks but at the opportunities that are upon us.

So let us begin work now to create freeports that will drive growth and thousands of high-skilled jobs in left behind areas, let's start now to liberate the UK's extraordinary bioscience sector from anti genetic modification rules and let's develop the blight-resistant crops that will feed the world. Let's get going now on our own position navigation and timing satellite and earth observation systems – UK assets orbiting in space with all the long term strategic and commercial benefits for this country.

Let's change the tax rules to provide extra incentives to invest in capital and research and let's promote the welfare of animals that has always been so close to the hearts of the British people and yes, let's start now on those free trade deals because it is free trade that has done more than anything else to lift billions out of poverty.

All this and more we can do now and only now, at this extraordinary moment in our history and after three years of unfounded self-doubt it is time to change the record, to recover our natural and historic role as an enterprising, outward-looking and truly global Britain, generous in temper and engaged with the world.

No one in the last few centuries has succeeded in betting against the pluck and nerve and ambition of this country. They will not succeed today. We in this government will work flat out to give this country the leadership it deserve and that work begins now. Thank you very much.”

### **Part 6. Martin Luther King – I Have A Dream**

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to

millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free; one hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination; one hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity; one hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land.

So we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was the promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note in so far as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we have come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now.

This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism.

Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy; now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice; now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood; now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children. It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment.

This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content, will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the worn threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protests to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy, which has engulfed the Negro community, must not lead us to a distrust of all white people. For many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of Civil Rights, "When will you be satisfied?"

We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality; we can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities; we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one; we can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "For Whites Only"; we cannot be satisfied as

long as the Negro in Mississippi cannot vote, and the Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.

No! no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until “justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.”

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality.

You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi. Go back to Alabama. Go back to South Carolina. Go back to Georgia. Go back to Louisiana. Go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream.

It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed, “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.”

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today! I have a dream that one day down in Alabama – with its vicious racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification – one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able

to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today! I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low. The rough places will be plain and the crooked places will be made straight, “and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.” This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brother-hood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. And this will be the day.

This will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with new meaning, “My country ’tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my father died, land of the pilgrim’s pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.” And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire; let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York; let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania; let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado; let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that.

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia; let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee; let freedom ring from every hill and mole hill of Mississippi. “From every mountainside, let freedom ring.”

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

“Free at last. Free at last. Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.”

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*Навчальне видання*

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**ПОРАДНИК З АНГЛІЙСЬКОЇ МОВИ  
ДЛЯ СТУДЕНТІВ 3-5 КУРСІВ  
СПЕЦІАЛЬНОСТІ «ПОЛІТОЛОГІЯ»**

*Навчальний посібник*

**Комп'ютерна верстка** *Наталії Крушинської*

Формат 42x30/4. Ум. друк. арк. 8,84. Зам. № 49-21.  
Наклад 50 пр. Папір офсетний. Друк цифровий. Гарнітура «Cambria».

Оригінал-макет виготовлено у видавництві  
Національного університету «Острозька академія»,  
Україна, 35800, Рівненська обл., м. Острог, вул. Семінарська, 2.  
Свідоцтво суб'єкта видавничої справи РВ № 1 від 8 серпня 2000 року.

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