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**АНГЛИЙСКИЙ  
ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛИСТОВ •  
МЕЖДУНАРОДНИКОВ**

**ENGLISH  
FOR EXPERTS  
IN INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

*Учебное пособие*

## **Unit I. DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

### **Lead-in**

*Anyone who dreams of a diplomatic career should be aware of the fact that before one is allowed to work in the Foreign Service one should pass an **Entrance Test**.*

*Try to do a sample entrance Foreign Service test to see how professional your present knowledge is.*

*Mark what you consider to be the right answer. Do not get baffled if you can't answer all the questions. After all, you are only half way through with your course of studies.*

- 1. All of the following are necessary attributes of a nation-state except:**
  - occupying a definite territory
  - having an organized government
  - using predominantly a single language
  - possessing internal and external sovereignty
- 2. All of the following circumstances have contributed to the current emphasis on protecting the environment from toxic wastes except:**
  - safe places to store toxic wastes have become scarce
  - research has increased knowledge of the toxicity of many widely used chemicals
  - the amount of wastes of all kinds has grown
  - deregulation has made it easier for the public to purchase and use toxic substances
- 3. Which of the following statements is true about executive privilege?**
  - It protects members of the executive branch from prosecution for any acts committed in the course of performing their jobs.
  - It allows the President to withhold certain information from Congress and the courts.

- 
- c. It is the concept that underlies the President's use of a pocket veto during a session of Congress.
- d. It protects the member of the Cabinet when the President faces impeachment proceedings.
- 4. A distinguishing feature of the parliamentary form of government is that:**
- a. Parliament is the sole repository of legitimacy and may not delegate governmental authority to regional or local units.
- b. No final action may be taken on a bill until all members of parliament have had an opportunity to speak either for or against it.
- c. Members of the government are not allowed to take part in the parliamentary debates that involve appropriations.
- d. Parliament has the power to require the PM to resign or call for an election.
- 5. Which pairs an important person in history with the idea he supported?**
- a. Adam Smith — Wealth is created by the working class.
- b. Mohatma Gandhi — India can free itself from England only by developing its own modernized industry.
- c. Thomas Jefferson — If a government fails to protect the rights of the people, they have the right to change it.
- d. Martin Luther — Only through good works can man attain salvation.
- 6. The country in which the USA and the former USSR confronted one another both in diplomacy and in chess is:**
- a. Cuba
- b. Iceland
- c. Finland
- d. Romania
- 7. Which of the following neither is, nor was, concerned with economic and military aid for Europe?**
- a. GATT
- b. Marshall Plan

- c. NATO
- d. OECD

**8. Gross national product is defined as:**

- a. total goods produced
- b. total goods and services produced
- c. total goods and services produced, less taxes
- d. net national products plus dividends

**9. The “top of the world” is in:**

- a. India.
- b. Bangladesh.
- v c. Nepal.
- d. Bhutan.

**10. In the context of international relations, the term “good offices” is used in connection with the:**

- a. Priority system for assigning floor space to delegation at the UNO.
- b. Selective system for assigning locations to foreign embassies in Washington.
- c. Procedure of mediation of disputes between nations.
- d. Maintenance of liaison between the USA and the former USSR.

*Compare and discuss your marking with those of others in your group. If there are differences give your reasons for marking this or that option as correct.*

## **Exercise 1**

*Can you define or explain the terms that were used in the test? If in doubt consult an English-English dictionary to help you.*

SOVEREIGNTY, DEREGULATION, EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE, POCKET VETO, IMPEACHMENT, TO DELEGATE AUTHORITY, BILL, APPROPRIATIONS, GOOD WORKS, SALVATION, MEDIATION, LIAISON

*Did some of the items puzzle you or take you by surprise? Why? Why not?*

*What do you think of the range of questions included in this test?*

*How well did you do in this knowledge test?*

## **Workshop I. A FOREIGN SERVICE CAREER**

*Now read a newspaper article from the Daily Telegraph to see what some other people think about testing the knowledge of future diplomats.*

### **FUTURE BERLIN ENVOYS FACE “QUIZ SHOW” HURDLE**

German graduates competing to enter the country's poorly paid but respected diplomatic service are having to answer general knowledge questions as difficult as those faced by contenders in the television quiz show *Who Wants to be a Millionaire*.

The prize falls somewhat short of the television bounty: the starting salary for a young diplomat is about £2,000 a month and even senior ambassadors are unlikely to earn more than £80,000 a year.

The questions are aimed at weeding out what Germans call *Fachidioten* — narrow specialists with little worldly understanding — ensuring that Berlin's envoys do not make the kind of gaffes committed by George W. Bush, who failed to name the leaders of India and Pakistan.

The quiz was leaked yesterday and the tabloid press was flabbergasted by what it saw as an immensely highbrow challenge for a less than desirable career. The potential diplomats have to know the three functions of money, when women gained the right to vote and whether Charles Dickens is regarded as a Realist or Naturalist writer.

There are fears in the Foreign Ministry that the quality of the new intake into the diplomatic service may suffer from the competition of new economy companies who promise quick career advancement and big salaries.

Around 1,000 Germans apply each year to sit the Foreign Ministry exams; only 40 are accepted for the two-year training course. They are expected to have graduated with honours and to show a well above-average grasp of political, economic and legal concepts. Fluent English and French are compulsory.

The Foreign Service is going through an upheaval. Money has to be saved and ambassadors are being urged to take lessons in television presentation to equip them for their new role as relaxed public relations spokesmen for Germany. Younger diplomats are being promised faster promotion providing they know their quiz show stuff on film directors and authors.

**Notes:**

- 1) **a highbrow challenge** — is something new, exciting and difficult which one has an opportunity of doing which requires great effort and determination because it deals with serious subjects in an intellectual way;
- 2) **to graduate with honours** — to graduate with a type of university degree, which is of a higher standard than an ordinary degree. Compare CUM LAUDE- Lat.— with praise

**Questions for discussion:**

1. What is your opinion about the kind of questions included in the test for young German diplomats? How do they compare with the questions you have answered earlier?
2. How does the Foreign Ministry of Germany justify the extremely challenging entrance exams for young diplomats? Is the challenge well-founded? Why? / Why not?
3. What do you think the author implies in the last sentence of the article?

**Exercise 2**

*Match the following words with their definitions.*

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| 1. contender for | a. smth that one says or does that is considered socially incorrect |
| 2. bounty        | b. extremely surprised  |

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| 3. to weed out      | c. let the public know a piece of information that is secret |
| 4. gaffe            | d. someone who competes with other people to win smth        |
| 5. to leak smth     | e. the number of people accepted into an organization        |
| 6. flabbergasted at | f. money given as a gift or a reward                         |
| 7. intake to        | g. a big change which causes a lot of trouble and confusion  |
| 8. upheaval         | h. get rid of things useless or unwanted in a group          |

### Exercise 3

*If your matching was correct you should be able to put the words above or their derivatives in the sentences that will make sense.*

1. We will have to reduce this year's \_\_\_\_\_ of trainees.
2. It was a terrible \_\_\_\_\_ when Daddy died.
3. They made the custom popular by offering \_\_\_\_\_ money for the scalps of their enemies.
4. There is no justification for the army's huge emergency \_\_\_\_\_ of soldiers.
5. Everyone was \_\_\_\_\_ at the deceit.
6. At the time great \_\_\_\_\_ were taking place in the USA.
7. Who can object to the plan with this take-over alone providing a \_\_\_\_\_ of more than \$30m?
8. They have brought social \_\_\_\_\_ and violent conflicts into the country.
9. I was absolutely \_\_\_\_\_ when she told me the price.
10. I had no idea of the \_\_\_\_\_ I was committing.
11. He made sure the story was \_\_\_\_\_ in the media.
12. He is a leading \_\_\_\_\_ to succeed the PM.
13. Natural selection had \_\_\_\_\_ out the weakest
14. Who are the main \_\_\_\_\_ for the title?
15. The Ministry denied the possibility of a security \_\_\_\_\_

## Exercise 4

*Translate the sentences using the words mentioned above.*

1. Его больше не считают претендентом на пост президента.
2. За последнее десятилетие наша страна пережила несколько политических переворотов.
3. В этом году прием в институт несколько увеличился, так как требуются специалисты-международники.
4. Правительство подверглось острой критике за утечку информации.
5. Посол объяснил молодым дипломатам, какую оплошность они совершили.

### What does a Foreign Service career involve?

*A. Make up a list of what you consider advantages and disadvantages of a Foreign Service career. Mention at least two points for both options. When you are ready compare and discuss your list with those of other people in your group to try to decide if the Foreign Service is for you.*

ADVANTAGES

DISADVANTAGES

*B. Read the text that follows to see how many of your expectations are true to fact.*

### IS THE FOREIGN SERVICE FOR YOU?

A Foreign Service career is more than a job. It involves uncommon commitments and occasional hardships as well as unique rewards and opportunities. A decision to enter this career must involve unusual motivation and a firm dedication to public service. Foreign Service personnel are committed to support their country's policy publicly, whatever their private views. The Foreign Service is a mobile profession. Personnel must agree to serve at any national diplomatic or consular post abroad, or in any domestic position, according to the needs of the Foreign Service. Personnel spend an average of 60 % of their careers abroad. This imposed mobility presents challenges to family life and raising children not found in more settled careers. Many overseas posts are in small or remote countries where harsh climates, health

hazards, and other discomforts exist, and where many social amenities frequently are unavailable. Overseas service may also involve security risks to personnel and their families.

However, careers in the Foreign Service offer special rewards too: the pride and satisfaction of representing your country and protecting your country's interests abroad; the challenge of working in a demanding, competitive, action-oriented profession; opportunities for change and growth; contact with stimulating compatriots and foreign colleagues in government, business, the press and other professions, frequent travel, and the enriching cultural and social experience of living abroad.

### **WHAT DO FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS DO?**

For centuries, maintaining relationships between nations through the exchange of representatives has been the task of diplomacy. Foreign Service work is on the front line of the process by which nations establish and maintain official contact with one another in pursuing their respective goals, objectives, interests and policies. It embraces the making, implementation, and support of foreign policy at all levels at home and abroad. It involves the functions of representation, administering our overseas establishments, caring for the interests of one's country's citizens abroad; and reporting, communicating, and negotiating on political, economic, consular and administrative affairs.

The growth in the number and importance of international organizations brings new demands for competence in multilateral diplomacy. Hand-in-hand with this development is the growing importance of a range of increasingly technical issues which are global rather than primarily bilateral in nature and which require new skills and better insights into the foreign policy implications of such areas as science and technology, narcotics and refugee affairs. And today a significant portion of a Foreign Service officer's career will be served in the country's capital, participating in the complex process by which national policy is made and supported.

Political officers analyze and report on political matters that affect the national interests of their country. They convey their

government views on political issues to foreign officials, negotiate agreements and maintain close contact with political leaders, third country diplomats and others of influence.

Political work requires an ability to report and interpret events and trends in a variety of cultures and political systems. Officers must persevere in a field in which visible results are not always immediately apparent. They must also be able to communicate rapidly and concisely, and be flexible in handling diverse responsibilities, especially at smaller posts.

Some political officers have more specialized duties. Those who qualify may become area specialists, knowledgeable about the language, history, culture and politics of a nation or region such as the USA, or Latin America. Political officers may also serve as science attaches abroad.

A typical week for a political officer overseas might include: reporting on a foreign election or change of government, seeking support for your country's foreign policy initiative, analyzing a border dispute, briefing or suggesting remarks for a visiting senior official, and perhaps, escorting the official, while handling the daily flow of cables and correspondence relating to the visit.

Success in the Foreign Service requires a strong command of the mother tongue as well as of a foreign language. All Foreign Service officers must be able to speak and write clearly, concisely and correctly. The success of much of their work depends on their ability to speak and write persuasively and to analyze and defend policies and proposals.

## **Exercise 5**

*Suggest the Russian translation for the following word combinations.*

remote countries

harsh climates

health hazards

social amenities

to pursue a goal, objective, interest, policy

to convey the news  
 immediately apparent results  
 to seek support for

### Exercise 6

*Match the following words with their definitions.*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. commitment to   | a. an invitation to test one's strength, skill or ability                         |
| 2. challenge to    | b. include or cover   |
| 3. unavailable     | c. the power of using one's mind to understand the true nature of the situation   |
| 4. to embrace      | d. responsibility or promise to follow a certain course of action                 |
| 5. insight into    | e. give smb instructions or information, in order to prepare them for an activity |
| 6. to persevere in | f. not to be had, obtained, used  |
| 7. to brief smb on | g. continue steadily and with determination in spite of difficulties              |

### Exercise 7

*If you have done the matching correctly, you will be able to place the words or their derivatives in the spaces provided so that the sentences make sense.*

1. If you \_\_\_\_\_ in the task, you will succeed in the end.
2. The \_\_\_\_\_ to authority requires a much more serious consideration.
3. The government has \_\_\_\_\_ itself to improving education.
4. He has given me a(an) \_\_\_\_\_ into British literature.
5. Everyone had to \_\_\_\_\_ and face up to innumerable setbacks.
6. As members of the alliance we must honour our defence \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Climbing Mount Everest presented a \_\_\_\_\_ to the group.

8. The general has repeated his \_\_\_\_\_ to holding elections as soon as possible.
9. Her autobiography gave me a(an) \_\_\_\_\_ into the way government actually works.
10. The ambassador has made himself \_\_\_\_\_ for comment.
11. The extended family \_\_\_\_\_ several generations.
12. The delegation has been well \_\_\_\_\_ on the political situation in the country.
13. The course of studies \_\_\_\_\_ every aspect of the subject.

### Exercise 8

*Translate into English using the active vocabulary.*

1. Дипломатов проинструктировали о том, поддержки каких стран в рамках ООН им следует добиваться для достижения поставленной цели.
2. Работая за рубежом и нередко сталкиваясь с тяжелыми климатическими условиями и отсутствием удобств повседневной жизни, молодые дипломаты проявляют упорство в выполнении своего профессионального долга.
3. Воодушевление молодых дипломатов, получающих назначения даже в самые удаленные государства, объясняется их преданностью интересам своего дела и решимостью смело откликнуться на вызовы нового тысячелетия.
4. Хорошее знание языка и культуры страны пребывания помогает дипломату глубже разобраться в существе национального характера.
5. Работая в государствах, переживающих серьезные внутривнутриполитические потрясения, дипломаты получают, обобщают и направляют в центр крайне ценную и нужную информацию, зачастую рискуя собственным здоровьем, а иногда и жизнью. При этом им приходится мириться с тем, что результаты их самоотверженной работы становятся видны далеко не сразу.

## **Workshop II. THE MULTILATERAL DIPLOMAT**

*Though much of the diplomatic activity is bilateral in character, the new diplomacy puts greater emphasis on the multilateral side of diplomatic practice. Therefore, diplomats have to move from one context to the other no matter where they happen to be posted — at the United Nations in New York or at the Court of St James in London.*

***A. Before reading the text think of the possible answers to the following questions:***

1. What is the difference between the “old diplomacy” and the “new diplomacy”? Do you think the “old and new” types are associated with time or something else?
2. To which of the above mentioned terms does the “French system of diplomacy” belong? From the course of Diplomacy do you remember what the system comprises?
3. In what way were the tasks of the diplomatic profession broadened in the twentieth century?

***B. Read the text below and***

- 1) compare your predictions with the ideas stated by the author
- 2) make up a plan
- 3) write a summary

### **THE EVOLUTION OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY**

**(“Multilateral Diplomacy and the United Nations Today”  
by James P. Muldoon Jr.)**

Diplomacy is the method by which nation-states, through authorized agents, maintain mutual relations, communicate with each other, and carry out political, economic, and legal transactions.

Although the roots of diplomacy reach back to the beginning of organized human society, the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 is generally believed to be the origin of diplomacy as an institution, since it marked the beginning of the European nation-state

system (which initially consisted of twelve well-defined sovereign states) and codified the rules of conduct among sovereign and “equal” states. The Westphalian principles of sovereignty and the territorial state that were established in the seventeenth century are the foundation of today’s multilateral diplomatic system.

The history of diplomacy is commonly divided between the “old diplomacy” that reached its zenith in the nineteenth century and the “new diplomacy” of the twentieth. The “old diplomacy” or “bilateral diplomacy” was dominated for almost three hundred years by the “French system of diplomacy”, which established and developed several key features of contemporary diplomacy—resident ambassadors, secret negotiations, ceremonial duties and protocol, honesty, and professionalism. Old diplomacy was predominantly limited to the conduct of relations on a state-to-state basis via resident missions (embassies), with the resident ambassador being the key actor. The “new diplomacy” that emerged in the nineteenth century and found its fullest expression in the twentieth is distinguished from the “old” by two themes: “First, the demand that diplomacy should be more open to public scrutiny and control, and second, the projected establishment of an international organization which would act both as a forum for the peaceful settlement of disputes and as a deterrent to the waging of aggressive war”.

The vestiges of the “old diplomacy” rapidly faded into the background after World War II, when the “standing diplomatic conference” (or, as it is more commonly known, international organization) and multilateral diplomacy blossomed. By the middle of the twentieth century, the international arena had become too big and too complex for traditional bilateral diplomacy to manage, unleashing the unprecedented drive of the past fifty years to build international and regional organizations with defined rules of procedure, permanent secretariats, and permanently accredited diplomatic missions and gradually shifting the emphasis in diplomatic method from traditional bilateralism to multilateralism. This was a particularly important development in international relations.

As a consequence, the “new” diplomacy, especially as it is manifested in the United Nations, broadened the tasks of the profession, subtly changing how diplomats conduct their trade. Today, the tasks of a diplomat include: (1) formal and substantive representation (the former involves presentation of credentials, protocol and participation in the diplomatic circuit of a national capital or an international or regional institution, while the latter includes explanation and defence of national policies and negotiations with other governments); (2) information gathering (acting as a “listening post”); (3) laying the groundwork or preparing the basis for a policy or new initiatives; (4) reducing interstate friction or oiling the wheels of bilateral or multilateral relations; (5) managing order and change; and (6) creating, drafting and amending international normative and regulatory rules.

Multilateral diplomacy emphasizes diplomats’ public speaking, debating and language skills since communications are conducted principally by means of verbal, face-to-face exchanges rather than in the predominantly written style of bilateral diplomacy. The expansion and intertwining of political, economic, and social issues and concerns on the agenda of multilateral diplomacy have pushed diplomats towards greater specialization, and increased involvement in external affairs of domestic ministries, such as those concerned with agriculture, civil aviation, finance and health. As Sir David Hannay, former permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, points out: “You have to have a reasonable spread of specializations. You now certainly have to have military advice. And on the development side, you have to have people who know something about environment, who know something about population control, who know something about wider development policies”. Also, multilateral diplomacy has overlaid the task of the international system on the diplomats’ traditional function of advancing and protecting national interests within the system.

**Note:**

The quotation is from Hamilton, Keith, and Langhorne, 1995. “The Practice of Diplomacy”

***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. Where can the evolution of diplomacy be traced back?
2. What are the key features of contemporary diplomacy?
3. Why was the emphasis in diplomatic method shifted from bilateralism to multilateralism?
4. What skills does multilateral diplomacy require?
5. What is diplomacy?

**Exercise 9**

*Translate the following word combinations into Russian and recall how they are used in the text.*

to be distinguished from smth by smth

to be open to public scrutiny

to unleash the unprecedented drive to

to shift the emphasis from one thing to another

to involve presentation of credentials

participation in the diplomatic circuit

expansion and intertwining of concerns

*Now use some of the words in the correct form in the following sentences.*

1. Various types of multilateral forums are to \_\_\_\_\_ from the UN's own regional economic commissions.
2. This could \_\_\_\_\_ an alliance between Labour and the Liberal Democrats and might lead to potentially endless coalition government.
3. The task is to transform our political institutions into enabling institutions that are open to \_\_\_\_\_ and that give people and communities the power to change things themselves.
4. The emphasis \_\_\_\_\_ to working through the United Nations system to deal with the growing number of intrastate conflicts and to formulate new definitions of human security.

*Monteagle Stearns is not the only person to criticize modern diplomats. Read an extract from an article by Adam Watson, who tackles the problem somewhat from another angle. Be ready to express your opinion about the extract.*

### WHAT CRITICISMS CAN BE LEVELLED AGAINST MODERN DIPLOMACY

Some criticisms of present — day diplomacy are worth considering, and the debate about them is helping to change diplomatic practice. The most familiar concerns secrecy. Many people feel that secret diplomacy leads to intrigue and war, and that in this democratic century the public has a right to know what is being said in its name.

The media have a vested interest in the maximum of disclosure, and much of the public favours it. Governments, and especially professional diplomats, are less sure. Bargaining between governments, as between business corporations, needs a degree of discretion to succeed. The exploratory diplomacy that feels out the possibilities for a deal between states, or a resolution in the Security Council, has to take place in confidence if it is to realize its potential: especially when a broad package is under discussion, a number of options have to be examined on “what if” basis. In democracies, where every public offer will be criticized by the political opposition and the media, a bargain openly discussed will usually mean no bargain at all. Also, a government that discloses what other governments say to it in confidence will soon find itself excluded from the confidential diplomatic dialogue, to its own serious loss. It is a question of where to draw the line between secrecy and disclosure.

A criticism similar to the distrust of secret diplomacy is that the international relations of a democracy should not be left in the hands of professional diplomats. A diplomatic service, it is argued, is unrepresentative: it is a self-perpetuating body that does its own recruiting. It forms an unelected elite that evolves and keeps alive ideas about “the national interest”, as opposed to the wishes of the democracy, and persuades government minis-

ters, who come and go, to accept these ideas and allow the diplomatic service to implement them. This criticism needs to be taken seriously. The argument that the demos does not know what is wise or prudent in foreign affairs, that it is misinformed by propaganda and the media, and that elected governments are often ignorant and ideologically prejudiced, is an argument against democracy itself. Democracy certainly comes at a price: and that price is mitigated in the foreign field by having a body of professional experts, who determine the long-term national interest in much greater detail than ministers have time or training for, and submit their conclusions as one factor for ministers to take into account.

On the other hand there is a case for ensuring that not only the statesmen who determine and increasingly conduct the democracy's diplomatic dialogue, but also the permanent envoys to some of the most important foreign capitals and international organizations, are political figures identified with the government of the day. The US practice of assigning ambassadorships to people who have contributed to election campaigns has obvious disadvantages, but there is a real gain both to the Administration and to the host government to have an American ambassador who has easy access to the President and knows his mind. It can be argued that for the same reasons "non-career" European ambassadors at posts like Tokyo, Washington and the United Nations tend to be more effective politically than professional diplomats, provided they are supported by an adequate professional staff. But each case needs to be judged on its merits: as so often in diplomacy, there is no hard and fast rule.

***Questions for discussion:***

1. What is your position concerning secrecy in diplomatic matters? What should be open to public scrutiny and what should remain secret?
2. How valid from your point of view is the argument that diplomatic officers constitute an influential elite in modern society?

5. Public opinion polls sometimes portray Britain as a society full of alleged weaknesses and worrying \_\_\_\_\_.
6. These issues \_\_\_\_\_ the everyday importance of public services, jobs and financial security for many people.
7. Britain's \_\_\_\_\_ may have been launched upon foundations that were similar to those of many previous empires, but it reached its zenith and was consolidated under very different ones.
8. Any study of British society that highlights the conflict \_\_\_\_\_ a much distorted picture of the society as a whole.
9. The prime minister made a lot of mistakes: some were only a matter of tone and \_\_\_\_\_, some of substance.
10. Since the early 1970s a new Scottish nationalism has taken root which goes far beyond the ranks of the Scottish National Party, it \_\_\_\_\_ being Scottish and downgrades being British.
11. Without clear programmes, which \_\_\_\_\_ the Conservative party from Labour and other political parties, it will have difficulty in returning to political power.
12. The old left and right were based on class, but class is no longer a \_\_\_\_\_ force in politics.
13. The third way aims to reform the welfare state into the "social investment state", which \_\_\_\_\_ away from spending money on benefits and towards "investment in human capital".
14. Breaking up with new Labour might appal Liberal Democrats who believe that their \_\_\_\_\_ in a Cabinet committee has paid dividends.
15. With neatly pressed denims, gleaming white T-shirt and single gold earring, Wright, flanked by large minders, epitomized the darker forces the Orangemen's protest had \_\_\_\_\_

### Exercise 10

a. Explain the difference between **DISTINGUISHED-DISTINCTIVE-DISTINCT**. Remember to use a dictionary if in doubt.

b. Now make up as many collocations as possible, suggest their Russian translation and use some of them in sentences of your own about diplomacy.

distinguished	feature, smell, possibility, groups, character,
distinctive	politician, ideas, flavour, line, appearance,
distinct	performance, feeling, guest, mark, service

c. Insert one of the studied three words in the following sentences.

1. The Irish, Scots and Welsh are in England in numbers so huge and so intermingled that it hardly makes sense to refer to them as \_\_\_\_\_.
2. The traditional ranking placed the Conservatives roughly on the right of the political spectrum, the Labour Party on the left and the Liberal Democrats in the center, each trying to develop \_\_\_\_\_ political programmes.
3. If, however, the Third Way has any \_\_\_\_\_ characteristic it is the premise that everyone can agree on everything.
4. No political theorist, however \_\_\_\_\_, can act as though the country has no history, as though we can simply start afresh.
5. Commentators maintain that the Liberal Democrats must either remain true to their traditional principles on the center-left of the political spectrum or develop even more \_\_\_\_\_ radical policies.
6. The Union accommodates two \_\_\_\_\_ systems of law, three of education, two established churches, different languages, and many \_\_\_\_\_ traditions.
7. And when, until now, would a \_\_\_\_\_ surgeon, describing a plastic operation, declare that "it is simply like changing the cloth of an armchair"?

*The founding of the United Nations system, its evolution, and its wide-ranging interests and activities have no parallel in human affairs. Two generations of diplomats have had to learn the meaning of this new world reality and to work with it.*

***Before reading the text below say what you think is required of the multilateral diplomat.***

**SOME REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE MULTILATERAL DIPLOMAT TODAY  
(by Ambassador Don Mills)**

What, then, is required of individuals engaged in diplomatic work in multilateral organizations? Brian Urquhart has put the matter as follows: "The art of multilateral diplomacy consists to a large degree in long and intricate negotiations, contacts and conversations. Multilateral diplomacy is usually a laborious and nerve-racking process that requires great stamina as well as intuition, intellect, understanding and negotiating ability".

And what type of person is best suited to this kind of work? Perhaps it ought to be said at the outset that some persons discover, on being sent to the United Nations, that they have a natural aptitude for the multilateral environment, which is different in important respects from a bilateral forum. Of course, some diplomats have worked in both environments, as well as in their own national ministries, and this three-dimensional experience is useful, if not essential, particularly in the matter of coordinating work on specific issues. This coordination is especially helpful to smaller countries with relatively limited resources. It is inevitable that some persons will be posted to work in multilateral organizations without having had much experience in diplomacy in any form. But experience — for example, in government agencies whose work has international dimensions — can be an asset to the new diplomat as well as to the multilateral organization itself.

In the multilateral system, diplomats play multiple roles. First and foremost is their function as the representative and promoter of their country's interests. But the United Nations seeks to serve

the interests of the global community, and its members must also contribute to that broader endeavor.

In some instances regional interests are involved, and this will also demand consideration. Not to be overlooked is the fact that there is often a measure of positive fallout for a country in this process. Johan Kaufmann notes that “a country can build up its influence in the UNO to be used in pursuit of its own objectives in the future”. — whether these objectives are related to UN issues or to matters outside the organization. Another of the multilateral diplomat’s roles is to serve as political adviser to national authorities on particular issues, but the diplomat must at the same time be guided by the instructions of national authorities. On some issues where special knowledge is required, the diplomat must be both student — tutored by the appropriate national ministry on a particular issue — and researcher — able to delve into the subject independently.

The community in which the UN diplomat operates is composed of representatives of other governments, UN staff at all levels, and representatives of the media and of NGOs. Within each group there is great diversity with respect to nationality, culture, race, and interests. And contacts between and among members of this community can take place at any time, formally or informally, in committee rooms or lounges, at receptions, lunches, dinners, and other events.

It would be difficult to develop a profile of the typical diplomat at the United Nations or any other multilateral organization. In fact, they present an infinite variety. But it is possible to list some of the most desirable characteristics for those who aspire to such work. Fluency in a second language, one of the six officially used in the organization, is an important asset for the multilateral diplomat. Even more important, perhaps, is an advanced education and a capacity for continued learning, for there is much to learn in such work. Today, some special knowledge of international economics (including trade matters) can be a very useful asset, as can a background in international law, since there is so much technical content related to these fields in the issues that diplomats sometimes have to address. Then too, since many is-

sues and relationships in the international sphere have long-standing roots, a background in history can be useful. Of course, formal training in international relations offers a good basis for diplomatic work. In an increasingly complex and changing world, all training programmes for diplomats must keep abreast of developments in the UN system. In this respect, training programmes offered by the UN Institute for Training and Research have been of special value.

For work in the United Nations especially, it helps to have an outgoing personality and a capacity to establish strong personal relationships — even with representatives of countries whose positions on important issues are opposed to one's own. These characteristics will also go a long way toward overcoming differences of culture, race, and national interest, and are especially helpful for diplomats who are new to a multicultural milieu. The ability to speak convincingly at meetings and to prepare statements for oneself and for one's seniors is essential for diplomats at the United Nations, as are negotiation and arbitration skills, since these are the dominant activities of multilateral diplomacy today. The UN's seemingly endless series of meetings, committee sessions, working groups, regional caucuses and other encounters are the venue in which these skills are most demanded.

Diplomats have extraordinary opportunities to practice their leadership skills at the highest level in the UNO, because the presidents and chairpersons of the General Assembly, the Security Council, and other bodies, agencies, and committees are drawn from the ranks of member states' representatives. This calls for a sound understanding of structure, workings, and evolution of the organization, as well as a command of its procedures and rules.

The increasing role and presence of NGOs at the United Nations requires diplomats and their governments to understand this dimension of multilateralism: the nature of the participation of such interests at both the national and global levels, their interaction with delegations, and the fact that in some instances individuals from such organizations are included into national delegations. Moreover, NGO-sponsored seminars and conference-

es outside the UNO provide UN diplomats with opportunities to broaden their horizons — and with platforms for expressing their views on particular issues. These venues also provide a chance to correct the public's misconceptions about the United Nations and even, in some cases, about the diplomat's own country.

The fact is that diplomats today will find work at the UNO just as demanding as did yesterday's diplomats. Nevertheless, the experience is a broadening one, which can be of real benefit in the development of a career.

**Notes:**

1. Urquhart, Brian. 1972 "Hammarskjöld", 1995 "The United Nations and Useful Intervention";
2. Kaufmann, Johan. 1980 "United Nations Decision Making".

**Comprehension and discussion questions:**

1. What does the art of multilateral diplomacy consist in?
2. What is understood by the three-dimensional experience of diplomats?
3. What roles do diplomats play in the multilateral system?
4. What kind of knowledge does the diplomat need?
5. What are the most desirable personal characteristics for the multilateral diplomat?
6. What are the dominant activities of multilateral diplomacy today and what skills are related to them?
7. What does the author say about a "second language"? What is meant by the words? What are the UN officially used languages?
8. What is NGOs' influence on diplomats' tasks and work at the UN?

**Exercise 11**

*Translate the following word combinations into Russian and recall how they are used in the text:*

- 1 to be engaged in diplomatic work  
to require great stamina

to have a natural aptitude for  
 in pursuit of one's own objectives  
 to address specific issues  
 negotiation and arbitration skills  
 NGO- sponsored seminars

*Now use some of the words in the correct form in the following sentences:*

1. Although bilateral diplomacy remains the normal form of \_\_\_\_\_, technological progress has led to the expansion of relations and further development of \_\_\_\_\_ skills.
2. The real danger is paramount and \_\_\_\_\_ and a careful and appropriate response.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ the objectives, the organization is authorized to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace.
4. The Middle East Resolution, \_\_\_\_\_ by the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, was also passed at the conference.
5. The foundation of this empire had been the commercial and strategic policies \_\_\_\_\_ by the British state for 250 years.
6. As part of our researches into the prime minister's "third way", we sent somebody to attend a \_\_\_\_\_ of New Labour intellectuals.
7. The Conservatives seem to have taken some heed of such views and \_\_\_\_\_ in consultation exercises throughout the country from 1998.
8. On specific \_\_\_\_\_ that come before the Security Council there is \_\_\_\_\_ to be a "group of friends" or a "contact group" that holds its own consultations.
9. Such views were cited by Thatcherite ministers as evidence that Britain \_\_\_\_\_ a radical change in the climate of ideas.

10. We also need to be a little sceptical in evaluating the effectiveness of the state in its more \_\_\_\_\_ areas of activity.
11. A lively debate followed. I found it hard to work out whether they \_\_\_\_\_ the original question, ignoring it, or, like me, had simply failed to understand it.
12. The peasant farmers showed great courage, patience, and \_\_\_\_\_ during the long years of the war.

## Exercise 12

*a. Explain the difference between **SPECIAL** — **SPECIFIC** — **SPECIALIZED**. Remember to use a dictionary, if in doubt.*

*b. Make up as many collocations as possible, suggest their Russian translation and use some of them in sentences of your own about diplomacy.*

specific 1	treatment, school, wards, statement, offer,
special 2	aim, favour, interest, equipment, order,
specialized	edition, knowledge, correspondent, train, purpose, case, occasion, agent, issue, value

*c. Insert one of the studied three words in the following sentences.*

1. The fact that the UN has had difficulty in coordinating its own multiplicity of agencies (some of them, such as the \_\_\_\_\_ agencies, are essentially autonomous) indicates the enormity of the task.
2. Many British people believe that being one of the oldest democracies of the world and having had the largest empire, the British are somewhat \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The Liberal Democrats could achieve it by appealing to \_\_\_\_\_ constituencies in the population, which are not being served by Labour or the Conservatives.
4. Basic human and political rights in Britain enjoy no \_\_\_\_\_ legal protection, as they do in most other democratic countries.

5. We support the development of \_\_\_\_\_ schools — focusing on languages, technology, sports or art — helping children with interest and talent.
6. More \_\_\_\_\_ evidence suggests that Americans are at least getting something for all the extra money they spend. Survival rates for cancer patients and for those treated in \_\_\_\_\_ units seem to be higher than in Britain.

*Read the text that follows, compare it with the previous one and say what ideas are shared by the authors.*

## NECESSARY QUALITIES FOR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

(by Rienk W. Terpstra)

In order for multilateral diplomacy to function properly, diplomats must possess several qualities. Kaufmann cites ten qualities that he believes are most important. He considers truthfulness and honesty to be of prime importance in diplomacy. This does not mean that diplomats need be open and frank about their tactics or that their positions can never be adjusted. It does require that references to historical, legal, and statistical data be correct and that agreements and pledges made earlier be honored. Although honesty is considered to be an important virtue, its definition has been more than once stretched to the limits. For example, it is not uncommon for apparently solid endorsement of a member state's candidacy for an important position on a UN committee, or for a proposal drawn up in a "non-paper", to suddenly evaporate, sometimes even in the first round of voting. This can lead to only one conclusion — that some of the pledges made were untruthful (or that a delegation "forgot" to inform the sponsors of their withdrawal of support). Because voting procedures in international organizations are never transparent and opinion polls do not exist within the UN (if opinion polls were used, I am certain the number of proposals made and candidacies announced, with all the prestige attached to them, would be

reduced significantly), it is of the utmost importance for all participants to have a thorough understanding of the common diplomatic vocabulary in order to be able to make a sound judgment of the actual support one's proposal or candidate can expect. Indeed, the mere show of sympathy for a certain delegation is often misinterpreted as endorsement of proposals or candidates.

A feel for accuracy is therefore a second important quality every diplomat should have, but especially one involved in multilateral diplomacy. Kaufmann states that "ambiguity and vagueness are probably as frequent in conference diplomacy as precision and single-minded clarity". Hence, effective communication in multilateral forums calls for both active and passive precision. This means the ability to get a message across to delegates who do not necessarily share the same cultural background and are not as proficient in commonly used languages like English or French, and the talent to listen to and interpret material, to judge its merits and report them in both letter and spirit. However, delegates sometimes feign ineptitude in languages or in a particular expertise in order to hide their political objectives or to achieve other gains. Moreover, the fact remains that compromise is still diplomacy's middle name, and accuracy thus remains only an ideal. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that meticulously spelled-out texts are often of little practical use to the people who must implement their instructions, since such detail tends to limit maneuverability.

In order to work in an environment that to an outsider might seem frustratingly intricate, a player in multilateral diplomacy needs the right attitude as well. Kaufmann mentions commendable but sometimes contradictory human qualities like calm, good temper, patience, modesty and zeal. Of course, being overly outspoken will not be an asset to any negotiator, particularly in multilateral diplomacy, but the inability to show any emotion will likewise be a hindrance. Granted, attending meetings of seemingly trivial committees and plenary sessions filled with long, arduous monologues by jaded officials may not be the most appealing activities on a rainy Friday afternoon, but, as Kaufmann

puts it, “exaggerated placidity will provoke its own kind of irritation”; or, in Talleyrand’s words, “surtout pas trop de zèle”. Diplomats need to be able to exercise patience in order to know when to introduce a proposal and when to wait. Since multilateral diplomacy involves a larger audience, some actors develop an inclination toward vanity. Sometimes, this is not restricted to individuals alone; entire delegations can become convinced that every UN member state should be made fully aware of the exceptional vision set forth in their proposals. When other delegations do not share this opinion, irritating and shameful spectacles can result.

Given multilateral diplomacy’s inherent complexity, a diplomat needs to be adaptable as well. This means that one has to be able to work on several problems and in several locations simultaneously. One of the most distinctive features of multilateral diplomacy is the constant mental leaps one has to make in order to determine the reasons why particular representatives adopt certain views — because of national interests, personal convictions, or the need for bargaining chips for negotiations in other forums. Indeed, conference diplomacy often calls for the ability to play chess on different boards at the same time. Yet Kaufmann states that adaptability is perhaps best demonstrated through psychological flexibility, the ability to listen carefully to other delegates while suppressing the usual urge to constantly place oneself at the center of attention.

Language versatility, as Kaufmann calls it, can be considered an important aspect of adaptability. Although English has ousted French as the predominant means of communication in diplomacy, the latter’s use and that of other languages is still very important and useful. The effort to try to address a counterpart in their native tongue can yield instant credit, which might otherwise not be obtained. Moreover, the ability to shift instantly from one language to another gives any person an edge. When colleagues are less capable in this respect, it places them automatically in an intermediary position, which can be subsequently exploited.

The virtues, vices, and qualities outlined above are first and foremost human. The prescribed attitude of diplomats represents the accumulated experience of centuries of civilized conduct between cultured people.

***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. What do truthfulness and honesty when applied to the profession of a diplomat stand for?
2. What is more important in diplomacy ambiguity and vagueness or precision and clarity?
3. Why are such contradictory qualities as patience and zeal necessary for a diplomat?
4. What important aspects does diplomatic adaptability embrace?

**Exercise 13**

*a. Find in the text equivalents of the following words also taken from the text:*

honesty	flexibility
open	correct
to adjust	ambiguity
virtue	thorough
accuracy	cultured
calm	proficiency

*b. Find in the text opposites of the following words also taken from the text:*

transparent	ambiguity
vagueness	zeal
virtue	proficiency

*c. Make up the Adverb + Adjective/Participle collocations as used in the text and suggest their translation into Russian:*

meticulously	intricate
seemingly	used
overly	spelled-out

significantly	outspoken
frustratingly	reduced
commonly	trivial

*d. Make up the Adjective/Participle+Noun collocations as used in the text and suggest their translation into Russian:*

solid	conviction
sound	leap
arduous	procedure
inherent	endorsement
mental	background
psychological	feature
civilized	judgment
bargaining	complexity
cultural	conduct
voting	experience
distinctive	monologue
personal	flexibility
accumulated	chip

### **Exercise 14**

*Translate the following word combinations into Russian and recall how they are used in the text:*

- to adjust one's positions
- to be proficient in languages
- to implement instructions
- to exercise patience
- to adopt views
- to suppress the urge to
- to yield instant credit

*Now use some of the words in the correct form:*

1. The veto provision \_\_\_\_\_ with full awareness that any of the major powers might use it to bloc collective action.

2. Some or all of the members of the organization may be authorized \_\_\_\_\_ decisions of the Security Council.
3. The organization shall take collective measures for the \_\_\_\_\_ of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.
4. When the country has faced economic, social and political challenges, the party has always had to \_\_\_\_\_ on manifold issues.
5. Another source of error has been the tendency to inflate the achievements of feminism, to assume that if women's condition improved, feminism deserves the \_\_\_\_\_.
6. The success of the language means that, around the world, 1.5 billion speak some English. Yet in 1993, parliament \_\_\_\_\_ to pressure for a law to promote the use of Welsh.
7. With energy and \_\_\_\_\_ exhausted by this week's epic negotiations in Belfast, Tony Blair now faces a potentially calamitous weekend.
8. Being British gave us a far larger playing field on which \_\_\_\_\_ our skills and made us part of a greater endeavour with global achievements.
9. Last Tuesday the "Daily Mail" and the "Daily Express" carried leader-page articles \_\_\_\_\_ the English to take greater pride in their national heritage.
10. Although they have often been \_\_\_\_\_ by British notions of superiority, there is a strong undercurrent of pragmatism and ethnic tolerance.

### **Exercise 15**

*Make up sentences to bring out the difference in meaning and usage of the words:*

to distinguish/to differ

to involve/ to engage/ to concern

credentials / qualifications/ characteristics

expansion/ extension

TV

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aptitude/ability/capacity  
objective/objection  
negotiation/arbitration  
presentation/representation

## Exercise 16

*Choose the correct alternative.*

1. The ECOSOC nominally supervises the many **specific/special/specialized** agencies of the UNO.
2. At yesterday's enthronement Mr. Kennedy declared that Liberal Democrats must **differ/distinguish** themselves from Labour.
3. The overwhelming majority was in favour of the treaty's indefinite **expansion/extension**.
4. One of the most **distinguished/distinctive/distinct** features of multilateral diplomacy is that it calls for a(n) **aptitude/ability/capacity** to play chess on different boards at the same time.
5. Critics view the period from 1945 to 1970 as **representing/presenting** the settled "norm" of the British constitution and our political culture.
6. The need for the **negotiation/arbitration** of international disputes influenced Tsar Nicholas II to call for a conference at the Hague.
7. Media interest is focused on only one or two of the many peace-keeping operations in which the UN is **involved/engaged/concerned**.
8. The UN has proven its viability and unique **aptitudes/abilities/capacities** but needs to be adapted to meet the **objectives/challenges** of today.
9. The North-South summit **involving/engaging/concerning** the heads of nearly thirty countries failed to overcome the **objectives/objections** of many industrialized countries.
10. The description of the **credentials/qualifications/characteristics** of a 19th century diplomat by a "Roving English Gentleman" may seem farcical to us today.

11. Labour's **expanded/extended** honeymoon can't disguise the fact that an old Britain and a new one exist side by side.
12. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency determined that its **distinguished/distinctive/distinct** deputy director should chair the daily sessions.
13. The conduct of proceedings in the UN system could generate tensions between the groups of countries **involved/engaged/ concerned**.
14. Even with this **objective/objection** in common, many of the proposals **distinguish/differ** on the **specific/specialized** methods of achieving it.
15. The applicants should not only have the appropriate skills but also a broad enough skills base, appetite and **aptitude/ability/capacity** to keep **expanding/extending** that base.
16. Many children leave school without basic skills and **credentials/ qualifications/characteristics** and are thus unable to get on to the employment ladder.
17. The Labour government has since 1997 attempted to "modernize" Britain and **represent/present** a creative, dynamic image of the country to the world.
18. Although thirty conferences were called, bilateral diplomacy remained the normal form of **negotiation/arbitration**.

## Exercise 17

*Translate the sentences into English using the words from the exercises above.*

1. Он проявил себя на дипломатической службе, выполняя специальные поручения посла.
2. Действия министра иностранных дел подверглись тщательному анализу в прессе.
3. Кандидат обратился к собравшимся с короткой речью, подчеркивая необходимость солидарности и выдержки.
4. Делегацию пригласили принять участие в столичном дипломатическом рауте.
5. Ее инициативы в политической сфере, религиозные убеждения и общественные заботы тесно переплетены.

6. Необходима большая выдержка и упорство, чтобы на протяжении многих лет самоотверженно добиваться назначения на этот высокий пост.
7. Служебные обязанности посла по особым поручениям (специального представителя министра иностранных дел) включают в себя возможность неожиданных и срочных командировок за границу, в том числе в «горячие точки» и на неопределенный период времени.
8. Руководители профсоюза обратились в третейский суд для разрешения спора с правлением компании.
9. Выдвигая проект совместного освоения крупного нефтяного месторождения, руководители двух стран рассчитывают на получение финансовой поддержки банковских кругов и предпринимателей.
10. Полиция расследует его возможную причастность к преступлению.
11. Она предупредила, что решение этого вопроса потребует привлечения специальных знаний, и позаботилась о том, чтобы снабдить нас детальными инструкциями.
12. Специалист по рекламе признал, что целью большинства рекламных кампаний является, прежде всего, представление достоинств конкретного продукта в наиболее привлекательном виде и замалчивание его возможных недостатков.
13. Принимая участие в напряженных переговорах и преследуя при этом цель по защите внешнеполитических интересов своей страны, дипломат нередко бывает вынужден подавлять в себе желание говорить откровенно и прямо высказываться о своих личных убеждениях и политических пристрастиях.
14. В своей работе дипломат обязан проявлять терпение и выдержку. При этом грамотный и хорошо подготовленный дипломат понимает, что поспешность и желание любой ценой добиться незамедлительного результата могут нанести вред интересам дела и погубить его служебную карьеру.

15. Решения, принимаемые руководством, должны быть обязательно выполнены.
16. Быть высокопрофессиональным дипломатом означает не только обладать специальными знаниями в области международных отношений и истории, международного права и экономики, но и в совершенстве владеть несколькими иностранными языками.
17. В Англии глава государства — королева, представляющая страну в международных отношениях, направляет послов и посланников в иностранные государства и аккредитует иностранных послов и посланников.
18. Официальный представитель госдепартамента США вручил срочное послание генеральному секретарю ООН от президента США.

## Exercise 18

*Translate the passage into English using the active vocabulary.*

Дипломатическая служба представляет собой определенный вид государственной службы, отличный от других видов государственной службы своей спецификой. Определить специфику дипломатической службы невозможно без уяснения того, что такое сама дипломатия.

При рассмотрении явлений международной жизни то и дело употребляются понятия: «внешняя политика», «дипломатия», «дипломатическая служба», «дипломат». Нередко эти понятия рассматриваются как совершенно идентичные и не имеющие различия. Понятие «дипломатия» особенно часто употребляется в самых различных значениях, порой очень отдаленных от действительного смысла этого слова. Известный английский дипломат указывает, что «в разговорном языке слово «дипломатия» употребляется для обозначения ряда совершенно разных вещей. Иногда оно употребляется как синоним внешней политики... В других случаях оно обозначает переговоры... Это слово также служит для названия процедуры и аппарата, при помощи которых ведутся переговоры. Оно также употребляется для обозначения загра-

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ничной части ведомства иностранных дел... Наконец, это несчастное слово обозначает особую способность, проявляющуюся в ловкости в хорошем смысле при ведении международных переговоров, а в плохом смысле — в коварстве в подобных делах».

При всем переплетении этих понятий каждое из них имеет свой особый смысл. Однако ни одно из указанных значений не раскрывает понятия «дипломатия».

### **Either in pairs or as a group:**

#### *A. discuss the following statements*

1. There is often a measure of positive fallout for a country in the process of consideration of regional interests.
2. The diplomat must be both student — tutored by the appropriate national ministry and researcher — able to delve into the subject independently.
3. All training programmes for diplomats must keep abreast of developments in the UN system.

#### *B. prove that*

1. Fluency in a second language is an important asset for the multilateral diplomat.
2. Some special knowledge of international economics can be a very useful asset.
3. A background in international law and history can be useful.

*You are ready to develop a profile of the typical diplomat at the United Nations.*

## **PRESENTATION STRATEGY**

### **Gathering Information through Pairwork and Interviews**

#### *A. Working in pairs*

1. Organize your ideas under the following headings:  
Personal Characteristics  
Aptitudes and Abilities  
Training and Knowledge  
Practical Skills

2. Think of a situation where some of the qualities and qualifications can be useful for a diplomat.
3. Discuss if any of your group fit the description you have worked out.

*B. Interviews are one way to gather information from different people. To conduct an interview, you ask questions about a specific topic.*

1. Interview at least two people asking them their views on a profile of the diplomat.
2. Before the interviews, write down the questions that you plan to ask leaving some space between them so that you can quickly take notes. Don't try to write down every word that each person says. Instead, take down the main ideas and key words.
3. Share with your partner the suggestions you have gathered from your interviews and make all the necessary changes in your original ideas.

*C. In a three-minute presentation develop a profile of the typical diplomat.*

*D. As each student gives his or her presentation, write down your thoughts, opinions, reactions, and questions. Discuss some of the ideas with the rest of the class.*

*Which of your class-mates fits the profile best?*

## **Exercise 19**

*Render the following text into the English language using some of the above-mentioned vocabulary.*

### **О ДИПЛОМАТАХ И ПРИЗВАНИИ**

Дипломатом надо родиться и относиться к возможности представлять свою страну и защищать ее интересы как к величайшему подарку судьбы, который надо заслужить и к принятию которого надо готовиться долго и упорно.

Дипломат не может быть равным президентам, премьерам, королям, другим государственным деятелям, на кото-

рых он обязан воздействовать. Отсюда альтернатива: или быть чиновником, исполнителем чужой воли, но этому мешают образование, кругозор, культура, либо продвигаться по служебной лестнице как можно выше, чтобы ощутить себя причастным к делу тех, кто уже вошел в отечественную историю как дипломат высокого класса.

Поэтому стремление начинающего дипломата к карьере, к выдвижению, если это желание не сопровождается какими-то безнравственными действиями, я считаю вполне естественным. Любой настоящий дипломат должен достигать пика своих возможностей, чтобы с наибольшей пользой служить Родине. Больше того, люди беспринципные, непредприимчивые, неинициативные на дипломатической работе не нужны. Поэтому, на мой взгляд, дипломатия — это поприще молодых людей, которые еще не потеряли или не сдали в ломбард свой маршалский жезл.

Это правда, что повседневная деятельность дипломата, на первый взгляд, очень узка (написал, вручил, побеседовал, провел переговоры), а кругозор должен быть чрезвычайно широк. Он обязан мыслить на глобальном уровне, исходя из национальных интересов своей страны. Дипломат — это, прежде всего, аналитик, способный выявлять необходимые данные, обобщать их и делать достоверные, правдивые прогнозы, основанные не на идеологических доктринах, политических предубеждениях, а на постижении реальной жизни.

Если дипломат, а особенно посол, находясь за рубежом, постоянно прибегает к помощи переводчика, то он теряет очень многое, а самое главное — глава государства или правительства, ведущие политики не будут доверительно и откровенно обсуждать с ним важные вопросы в присутствии третьего лица.

### **Workshop III. LANGUAGE OF DIPLOMACY**

*Before you read the article taken from “The USA Today” discuss the following questions:*

1. If diplomacy demands special skills why can any person become an ambassador as practice shows?
2. Can such a newly-minted diplomat do without a second language?
3. What is your opinion about ambassadors who are ignorant of the language of the country they are posted in?
4. What kinds of appointees for diplomatic posts meet minimal standards?

*Check if your opinion coincides with that of the author.*

#### **A DIPLOMAT GETS BY WITHOUT SAVOIR-FAIRE**

(by Walter Shapiro, “The USA Today”)

**WASHINGTON** — Like every would-be diplomat, Howard Leach, a 70-year-old California billionaire, readied himself for his Senate confirmation hearing by enduring a “murder board” in which he was peppered with pesky questions by his State Department prep team.

But the nattily dressed, white-haired agribusiness tycoon did not need to worry. During Thursday morning’s hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, no one brought up the embarrassing gap in Leach’s credentials to serve as the next ambassador to France. Apparently, it would have been impolite to mention that Leach is only now learning to speak French.

Yes, George W. Bush has chosen as his envoy to Paris a generous Republican donor who believes that English is the true language of love and diplomacy. Plum diplomatic postings are awarded in every administration to wealthy business leaders whose ties to the president are mostly financial. But, generally, these political appointees meet minimal standards. And when it comes to the vexing matter of dealing with the French, fluency in the language should not be too much to expect.

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But Leach is unperturbed about his lack of preparation for his posting to Paris. In a brief interview after the hearing, Leach took pains to point out that he has been taking language lessons and that his wife, Gretchen, is fluent in French. "The ambassadors to most countries do not speak the language of those countries," he said. "I do not believe anyone should have diplomatic discussions and negotiations in a foreign language that they are not familiar with, since it is easy to make mistakes or to be misunderstood."

But France is a far cry from Kyrgyzstan. The ambassador to France shouldn't need the help of staff to read the morning newspapers or require a translator to explain the nuances of American foreign policy in a TV interview. In trying to justify his ambitions, Leach uttered a sentence guaranteed to make Parisians cringe: "I believe that as a tribute to French culture and their traditions I should learn the French language." The custodians of French culture will be so flattered.

Leach, who has served for 11 years on the board of regents of the University of California, may in time prove to be an adequate ambassador. It shouldn't be held against Leach that he donated \$226,000 to Republican candidates and committees in the 2000 campaign cycle, plus a thoughtful \$100,000 gift to the Bush-Cheney inaugural committee. Nor is there anything wrong with wanting the title of "ambassador" as the capstone to a long career. But it can be argued that Leach's patriotic yen to serve might have been satisfied by dispatching him to a less linguistically sensitive embassy, such as that in New Zealand.

Now that the Democrats have taken over the Senate, they might have been expected to pose a few tough questions before rubber-stamping Bush's ambassadorial appointees. But such scrutiny wasn't part of the agenda of Thursday hearing, which reviewed the qualifications of Leach and the nominees for the embassies in London, Moscow and Valletta, the capital of Malta. Instead, Joseph Biden, the new chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, kept apologizing that pro-forma confirmations would be delayed by an unrelated dispute over organizing the Senate.

There was no need to quibble over the qualifications of respected career diplomat Alexander "Sandy" Vershbow, who will be the next ambassador to Russia. William Farish, a wealthy patrician Kentucky race-horse breeder whose ties with the Bush family date to the early 1960s and who boasts a friendship with Queen Elizabeth, has the standard establishment pedigree to serve as our representative at the Court of St James. Even Anthony Gioia, the Upstate New York macaroni czar who served as president of the National Pasta Association, probably fits the bill as ambassador to Malta, a Mediterranean island nation that he courageously admitted he has never visited.

Vershbow aside, the other ambassadorial appointees won presidential gratitude for their political generosity. According to figures compiled by the Center for Responsive Politics, Farish contributed \$27,000 to GOP candidates and committees in the last campaign and threw in another \$100,000 for the Bush inaugural. Gioia is a veteran republican fundraiser who hosted a reception for Bush at his Buffalo home that raised \$500,000. But Gioia can be bipartisan in his favours. Introducing the soon-to-be ambassador to Malta to the committee, New York Democratic Rep. John LaFalce teasingly complained, "I'm losing my finance chairman".

During the two-hour hearing, not a single substantive question was directed at Leach. Biden did pointedly urge the nominee to consult with the outgoing ambassador to France, Felix Rohatyn, who learnt French as a Nazi-era refugee in that nation, about overstaffing in the Paris embassy. In response, Leach volunteered his commitment to "right-sizing" embassy personnel. As the session drew to a close, Biden played his guess-who's-coming-to-dinner card. With a broad smile the committee chairman announced, "The bad news, Mr. Farish and Mr. Leach, is that I have to be in Paris and London quite often, and you may see me again".

It turns out that Leach is not the only one in the ambassadorial set who will be calling France home. Because of Britain's rigorous animal-importation laws, Farish's pet dog, a white Maltese named Cotton, is enduring a six-month quarantine in France

before being allowed to cross the English Channel. Talking about Cotton's ordeal after the hearing, Sarah Farish, the wife of the ambassador-designate, joked, "She's learning French." These days, it seems like everybody is, even our next ambassador to France.

**Notes:**

1. the Senate — the smaller and more important of the two parts of the US Congress, the central law-making body in the USA;
2. the State Department — the part of the US government which deals with the US's relations with other countries;
3. the Court of St James — one of the old names of the official home of the British king or queen. Formally, an ambassador who is sent to the UK from a foreign country is called the "Ambassador to the Court of St James";
4. GOP — Grand Old Party, the Republican Party in US politics;
5. to rubber — stamp — to give official approval to a decision without really thinking about it

**Comprehension tasks**

1. **Explain the difference if any between:**
  - the State Department and the Foreign Office
  - the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Bush-Cheney inaugural committee
  - Republican candidates and GOP candidates
  - a soon-to-be ambassador and an outgoing ambassador
2. **Paraphrase the following sequences:**
  - a would-be diplomat
  - a less linguistically sensitive embassy
  - the 2000 campaign cycle

a wealthy patrician Kentucky race-horse breeder  
the standard establishment pedigree  
the Upstate New York macaroni czar  
a veteran republican fundraiser  
a New York Democratic Rep.  
a Nazi-era refugee  
a guess-who's-coming-to-dinner card  
an ambassador-designate

### *Discussion questions and tasks:*

1. Compare the four nominees for the embassies and their qualifications. Are they well-suited to diplomatic work?
2. How did the nominees win presidential gratitude? From your point of view, is there anything wrong with wanting the title of ambassador?
3. How does Howard Leach take his lack of preparation for the posting? Do you approve of this attitude? Why?/Why not?

### **Exercise 20**

*Translate the following sentences from the text, paying attention to the underlined parts.*

1. And when it comes to the vexing matter of dealing with the French, fluency in the language should not be too much to expect.
2. But France is a far cry from Kyrgyzstan.
3. Now that the Democrats have taken over the Senate, they might have been expected to pose a few tough questions before rubber-stamping Bush's ambassadorial appointees.

### **Exercise 21**

*Find the Russian equivalents for the following word combinations:*

Senate confirmation hearing  
generous donor

political appointees  
 to justify one's ambitions  
 nominees for the embassies  
 respected career diplomat  
 to volunteer one's commitment to

## Exercise 22

*Learn the following words and use them in the given sentences.*

- a) to justify — justified — (un)justifiable — justification:**
1. Nothing can be said in \_\_\_\_\_ of the aggressors' actions.
  2. The spokesman was supposed \_\_\_\_\_ the country's activities to the public.
  3. Our actions are \_\_\_\_\_, we are many, and of sufficient passion to make our world a better place in which to live.
  4. At the head of the list of anticipated problems was naked \_\_\_\_\_ aggression by one state against another.
- b) to respect — respected — (dis)respectful — respectable — (ir)respective — (dis)respect — respectability:**
1. The counterparts greeted each other and occupied their \_\_\_\_\_ places.
  2. The delegates listened in \_\_\_\_\_ silence as the speaker gave an opening speech.
  3. The candidate had to admit that he had applied for the job for the sake of \_\_\_\_\_.
  4. He is a man much \_\_\_\_\_ and admired by all his colleagues.
  5. If they had any \_\_\_\_\_ for human life the terrorists wouldn't do such terrible things.
  6. She holds a very responsible and \_\_\_\_\_ position in the firm.
  7. \_\_\_\_\_ for the whole political class has grown as politicians have found it increasingly hard to deliver in office.

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8. The job of a diplomat is on offer to anyone with the right qualifications, \_\_\_\_\_ of their sex.
  9. The hunt for the Third way, which has been going on more or less since Blair announced the birth of New Labour, is in many \_\_\_\_\_ paradoxical.

**c) to commit — committed — commitment — committee:**

1. Representatives of the member-states are to attend a \_\_\_\_\_ meeting.
2. The minister is firmly \_\_\_\_\_ to pursuing the adopted policy and to implementing the programmes.
3. The realization of the programme would not have been possible without the deep \_\_\_\_\_ of the officials to the chosen course.
4. The British government is going \_\_\_\_\_ considerable resources to improving the rail system.
5. The council must move toward \_\_\_\_\_ on the part of arms-producing countries to significantly improve monitoring of arms transfers.

**d) to volunteer — (in) voluntary — volunteer — volunteerism:**

1. The privatization of some old industries concealed the nationalization of new ones; in each case a service formerly performed by the private or \_\_\_\_\_ sector operates under Treasury terms and conditions.
2. We are innovative and pioneering, compassionate and fair-minded, \_\_\_\_\_ to give large amounts to charity.
3. The government has begun to close failing schools and is encouraging private-sector management and \_\_\_\_\_ to get involved.
4. Others claim that we are \_\_\_\_\_ raising a generation of problem children.
5. The American philosophy of \_\_\_\_\_ consists in the idea of improving oneself by helping others.

## Exercise 23

*Bring out the difference in meaning of the following words by making up sentences about diplomacy.*

donor / sponsor / fundraiser

appointee / nominee / refugee

## Exercise 24

*In each blank, write the most appropriate of the words studied earlier or their derivatives.*

1. The President refused to either \_\_\_\_\_ or deny the rumour that Mr. N. would be \_\_\_\_\_ ambassador to New Zealand.
2. The new ambassador, a generous Republican \_\_\_\_\_ presented his \_\_\_\_\_ to the Court of St James. He was not a \_\_\_\_\_ diplomat but his \_\_\_\_\_ for the embassy in London had been \_\_\_\_\_ by the Senate, which, in fact, had agreed to all the other president's \_\_\_\_\_
3. The issue of development in the UNO and in the programmes of \_\_\_\_\_ countries is focused on the problem of poverty.
4. The permanent members should use their position not only in the interest of their \_\_\_\_\_ countries but also in the interest of the international community.
5. The farmers received \_\_\_\_\_ subsidies from the government.
6. Since her \_\_\_\_\_ she has had to deal with two major crises as ambassador. Thanks to her energy and \_\_\_\_\_, she was a success.
7. It was the commercial \_\_\_\_\_ of the Venetian merchants that drove their government to war with Genoa.
8. He came from a less \_\_\_\_\_ background — the illegitimate son of an actress.
9. There can be no \_\_\_\_\_ for using nuclear weapons.

10. The employees have expressed \_\_\_\_\_ anger at being given extra work. All extra work should be done on a purely \_\_\_\_\_ basis.
11. The secretary ordered plane tickets by phone and received \_\_\_\_\_ of the purchase in the mail.
12. The judge did not feel the thief had any \_\_\_\_\_ for breaking the law.
13. As a skilled worker, he earned a very \_\_\_\_\_ wage.
14. It was through the \_\_\_\_\_ of their friends that they were able to keep the farm operating.

### Exercise 25

*Complete each sentence with the correct form of the following words. There is one word too many:*

to address	to confirm	to emphasize	sovereignty
to commit	to nominate	to negotiate (2)	to dispatch
to concern	to urge	to threaten	ambition

1. Mr. Alatas has made it clear that he would not convene talks unless he was convinced of the \_\_\_\_\_ of all the parties \_\_\_\_\_.
2. The latest attempt at \_\_\_\_\_ broke down on Friday after one of Mohawk factions walked out of \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Each country \_\_\_\_\_ one official who did much of the groundwork.
4. D.H. even managed to squeeze in a few hours in Strasbourg, \_\_\_\_\_ the European parliament before arriving in Helsinki.
5. Last night J.D. was accused of sabotaging thousands of British jobs for the sake of personal \_\_\_\_\_.
6. The American Ambassador in Delhi \_\_\_\_\_ that his country \_\_\_\_\_ India and Pakistan to hold talks to try to avert the \_\_\_\_\_ of war over Kashmir.
7. Mr. U. \_\_\_\_\_ the need for a preventive UN force to \_\_\_\_\_ to hot spots before hostilities break out.

## Exercise 26

*Translate the following into English using some of the studied vocabulary.*

Иногда подбор в американские зарубежные представительства доходит до анекдотических случаев. Характерен в этом смысле ставший в 19... году широко известным факт назначения на пост посла США на Цейлоне владельца 129 магазинов женского платья некоего Г. только потому, что он пожертвовал во время избирательной компании 37 тыс. долларов в фонд республиканской партии. Что собой представлял этот американский посол, можно видеть из опубликованной во всех крупных американских и европейских газетах записи беседы этого претендента в сенатской комиссии США.

Для американской практики подбора кадров на такие высшие дипломатические посты, как пост посла, назначение Г., обусловленное внесением с его стороны большой суммы денег в избирательный фонд республиканской партии, представляет собой не единичный случай. Такие послы США, как бывший посол в Англии У., бывший посол в Бонне Б., а также послы в ряде других стран своим назначением были обязаны прежде всего своим взносам в избирательный фонд правящей партии.

Как видно, для дипломатического аппарата США стало характерно назначение на дипломатические должности, особенно послов, представителей крупных монополий, сочетающих дипломатическую деятельность с коммерческими операциями в пользу своих монополий и рассматривающих дипломатические посты как своеобразную награду за поддержку во время избирательной кампании той или иной партии.

### Working in pairs

1. Find as many sentences in the text as you can which clearly mean the opposite to what is felt.
2. Explain what ideas the author wants to convey to us through the sentences you have found.

3. Give your reasons why he uses the ironic style.
4. Try to guess the author's attitude towards the ambassadorial appointees.
5. Discuss the importance of the English and French languages for diplomacy.

*While reading the article by Barbara Crossette taken from the "USA Today" consider the following questions.*

1. Which language is gaining in importance internationally and which is losing ground?
2. Is Howard Leach right in believing that English is "the true language of love and diplomacy"?
3. What is a younger generation's choice?
4. What does Mr. Chamie mean by saying that English is "a very accepting language"?
5. What is Barbara Crossette's position on the subject?

### **AT THE UN FRENCH SLIPS AND ENGLISH STANDS TALL**

UNITED NATIONS, March 23 — For diplomatic New York, no directory is more essential than the "blue book," the comprehensive guide to all foreign missions published about twice a year by the United Nations protocol department. Want to know the name of the Thai ambassador (and his wife), the Australian envoy (and her husband) and their telephone numbers? Which of four names to use to address a military attache? An e-mail address? It is all there. But the newest edition of the book, compiled in December and now a best seller at the United Nations bookstore, has moved into some interesting new trend-watching territory. For the first time, it asked the 189 United Nations member nations to name the language in which all correspondence to their missions should be addressed.

Mon Dieu! If this is any indication, French is fast slipping as the language of diplomacy. Given a choice of French, English or Spanish (the other three official languages, Arabic, Chinese and Russian, cannot be handled by most word processors), an over-

whelming majority chose English. Only one, Canada, chose both English and French. Isolated Myanmar did not answer. "English is creeping up as the main language of the United Nations", said the discreetly anonymous editor of the diplomatic guide, titled simply "Permanent Missions to the United Nations No. 285". But she hastened to add that what happens in New York may not be reflected in capital cities around the world, where the United Nations still tries to address governments in a wider assortment of languages.

Still, with more than 120 countries choosing English, compared with the 40 or so listing French and about 20 choosing Spanish (another language growing in use at United Nations headquarters), the preference seems pretty clear. Moreover, the preference for English was widespread. Among the Europeans, East and West, English is the first choice, except for French-speaking nations like Belgium or Luxembourg, and Romania and Albania. All of the former Soviet republics opt for English. So does the Arab world, except for Lebanon, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. All the Lusophones — the Portuguese-speaking countries, including Brazil — choose English, too.

And look at what has happened in Indochina. Several years ago Boutros-Ghali, the former United Nations secretary general who now heads Francophonie, a spirited group trying to promote (or save) French worldwide, came back from a conference in Hanoi a little gloomy about the future of French outside France and French-speaking Africa. The blue book proves him right. Vietnam, the jewel in the crown of colonial France, wants to operate in English in New York. Cambodia and Laos stayed loyal to French, but diplomats from Southeast Asia think it is only a matter of time before a younger generation changes that. Across Asia, English has become the working language of diplomacy and business. Factoring in China and India, with over a third of the world's people, leads to the conclusion that 97 percent of the global population (or rather the elite of those countries) choose English as their international link language, said Joseph Chamie, who watches numbers and spots trends for the United Nations.

“With modernization and globalization and the dominance of the American educational system and media, English — and American English in particular — is increasingly becoming the mode of communication”, said Mr. Chamie, director of the organization’s population division. An American born in Lebanon, he first spoke Arabic, which he describes as “a very beautiful language with an unbelievably large vocabulary”. Later, he learned English, French, German and Hindi. His daughter is learning Spanish, so he is trying to pick that up, too. “English has certain advantages over other languages”, Mr. Chamie said. “One, it doesn’t have gender; that makes it easier. And it’s a very accepting language in that all the countries have their own varieties and people are willing to tolerate variation in dialect and accent or pronunciation”. And he added: “English doesn’t have any kind of stratification. Other languages do. In other words, a person who has been educated could speak in a way that is very different from the language of the street. In English, we do not evaluate people as much by how they speak as in some of the other languages”. And he said that, politically, it does not have as many overtones as other languages, adding that its evolution from a colonial language to a universal means of communicating has largely stripped it of its stigma. “It’s spoken in India, it’s spoken in Australia, it’s spoken all around the world”, he pointed out.

In other words, it no longer belongs to anyone in particular.

***Challenge or support the following statements:***

1. French is fast slipping as the language of diplomacy.
2. French has become the working language of diplomacy and business.
3. American English is increasingly becoming the mode of communication.
4. English has no advantages over other languages.
5. English is a very accepting language.
6. English doesn’t have any kind of stratification.
7. Politically, it doesn’t have as many overtones as other languages.
8. English no longer belongs to anyone in particular.

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*Have you solved the puzzle of the language priority for diplomatic work?*

### **Exercise 27**

*Look up the Russian equivalents for the following word combinations:*

- comprehensive guide to
- to opt for English
- to tolerate variation in
- to evaluate smb by smth

### **Exercise 28**

*Learn the following words and use them in the given sentences:*

a) **to comprehend — comprehensive — (in)comprehensible — (in)comprehension:**

1. Diplomats have available to them a \_\_\_\_\_ body of literature that \_\_\_\_\_ dissects and analyses the institution and practice of modern diplomacy.
2. Many find it difficult \_\_\_\_\_ how a nation that was on the winning side in two world wars could lose the peace and succumb to the commercial challenge of rivals defeated on the battlefield.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ of this complexity led to building coalitions involving states, non-state actors, and international organizations.
4. In a 1995 report the Secretary-General noted that there have been dramatic changes in the United Nations activities and new and more \_\_\_\_\_ concepts to guide those activities are emerging.
5. Papers written and compiled by diplomats should be immediately \_\_\_\_\_ for their seniors.

**b) to tolerate — (in)tolerant — (in)tolerable — tolerance — toleration:**

1. During the world economic downturn in the 1970s, the relative weakness of the British economy, \_\_\_\_\_ for so long, became increasingly unsupportable.
2. The government's effort to project itself to the world should embody the new reality of a country that is self-confident, creative, \_\_\_\_\_, ethnically diverse and connected to the world.
3. The USA is a country with a reputation for \_\_\_\_\_ towards religious minorities.
4. The authorities discovered that the tenants pursued a scarcely \_\_\_\_\_ existence.
5. The Conservatives would have to win battles over generosity, charity, compassion, \_\_\_\_\_, fairness, social institutions, all areas that new Labour has claimed.

**c) to vary — various — varied — variable — variety — variation — (in)variably:**

1. A \_\_\_\_\_ of comments have been made about the general changes at the United Nations since the end of the Cold War.
2. Over the period of the UN's existence there has been a considerable proliferation of \_\_\_\_\_ types of multilateral forums.
3. At the time the official spoke to NGO disarmament groups who \_\_\_\_\_ wished to discuss the Non-Proliferation Treaty.
4. The politician's views are \_\_\_\_\_ like winds.
5. The group included people whose political opinions were \_\_\_\_\_ and often contradictory.
6. The government plans to introduce ways of raising standards, so that wide regional \_\_\_\_\_ in the cost of medicine and appropriate treatments would be eliminated.
7. Opinions about the contemporary relevance of the organization, and Britain's relationship to it, therefore \_\_\_\_\_ considerably.

d) to value — to evaluate — valuable — invaluable — valueless — valuables — value — (e)valuation:

1. The project has only been in operation for a week, so it's hard \_\_\_\_\_ its success.
2. Years of \_\_\_\_\_ service have taught him the ropes.
3. People might discover as they watch their smaller neighbours that England, not Britain, has things of \_\_\_\_\_ to show the world.
4. In the 1960s and 1970s, one watched the image of Liverpool transformed from that of a great international port to that of a city with aggressively proletarian \_\_\_\_\_ and workshy employees.
5. Appropriate systems must be developed for regular monitoring, \_\_\_\_\_, and dissemination of relevant data.
6. Such background information and exchange could be \_\_\_\_\_ and would enhance the decision-making capacity of the council.

### Exercise 29

*Use the words above in the following sentences.*

1. Their (involve) provides them with information on local conditions, that can be (value) to international organizations.
2. Some international institutions are spending their resources on (value) of the risks associated with doing business.
3. The problems are likely to mobilize a (vary) of interest groups hoping to influence the actions taken.
4. The oriental vegetarian diet is (vary) and highly flavoured.
5. The government is beginning to show more (tolerate), and has finally ordered the disbanding of the secret police.
6. An active social life may make the boredom of work more (tolerate).
7. Newspapers often do not describe events (comprehend). Instead, they give only the main facts.
8. The officer submitted a long, scarcely (comprehend) report written in official language.

**Exercise 30**

*Translate the sentences using the active words.*

1. Представитель президента подтвердил, что комитет сделал щедрое пожертвование на благотворительные цели.
2. Правительству будет трудно оправдать свое решение перед общественностью.
3. Генерал подчеркнул, что его обязательство провести выборы в следующем году остается в силе.
4. Каждая партия выдвинула по одному кандидату для участия во всеобщих выборах.
5. Кандидаты на пост президента, выдвинутые от ведущих политических партий, примут участие в телевизионных дебатах на следующей неделе.
6. Первоначально обвиняемый отрицал свою причастность к ограблению, однако затем признался в совершении преступления, заявив в качестве своего оправдания, что ему были необходимы средства для погашения крупных долговых обязательств.
7. Можно извлечь весьма ценные уроки, просто наблюдая за работой эксперта.
8. Он практически не колебался в выборе профессии и сразу отдал предпочтение работе на дипломатическом поприще, рассчитывая, что это обеспечит ему солидный доход и надежное положение в обществе.  
Кандидат проводит активную избирательную кампанию, добиваясь выдвижения от своей партии.
10. Если бы в школах детей учили более уважительно относиться к взрослым, возможно, такого рода преступления совершались бы реже.
11. Все организации принимают участие в эксперименте на добровольной основе.

## Exercise 31

*Translate the following using the active vocabulary.*

Никто сильно не удивился, узнав, что кандидатура Н., который является уважаемым карьерным дипломатом, с разнообразным опытом дипломатической работы за плечами, была предложена на пост посла в Великобритании. Н. служил в различных отдаленных странах, испытывая неудобства повседневной жизни, страдая от сурового климата и подвергая свое здоровье опасности без каких-либо видимых перспектив. От него требовалась большая выдержка, чтобы настойчиво преследовать свои профессиональные цели, проявляя терпение и демонстрируя гибкость ума. Зачастую ему приходилось подавлять в себе желание высказывать личные убеждения и подстраиваться под позицию правительства в решении сложных внешнеполитических задач. Его точность в работе, усердие и преданность делу неизменно вызывали у коллег мгновенное чувство уважения к нему.

## Exercise 32

*Study the following idioms and make up sentences using them.*

- 1) to know the ropes — to be fully acquainted with the procedures

The president of the organization knew the ropes and quickly taught me my duties.

- 2) a red herring — something that diverts attention from the main issue

(a red herring drawn across a fox's path destroys the scent)

We felt that the introduction of his war record was a red herring to keep us from inquiring into his graft.

- 3) to put the cart before the horse — to reverse the proper order, do things backwards

My assistant was so eager to get the job done that he often put the cart before the horse.

d) stock in trade — the goods, tools, and other requisites of a profession

A quick wit and a warm smile were the salesman's stock in trade.

*Make up a situation using the idioms and the active vocabulary of the unit.*

## **Workshop IV. CRITICISM OF DIPLOMACY**

*Read a passage taken from the book "TALKING TO STRANGERS" by MONTEAGLE STEARNS, a former US diplomat, who is rather critical about American diplomatic service and be ready to express your opinion about the subject.*

*As you read the text try to find the answers to the following questions.*

1. What problems has American diplomacy confronted after the end of the Cold War?
2. What have been the traditional weaknesses of American diplomacy from the author's point of view?  
In what way has the international situation changed in the post Cold War period?
4. Why does the author assess Soviet diplomats as more professional than their American counterparts?
5. What role does the knowledge of a foreign language play in diplomatic work?

### **THE NEW FRONTIERS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY**

The loss of an enemy can be as disorienting as the loss of a friend. The collapse of communism has revealed a world that existed virtually unseen while the attention of Americans was riveted on the superpower confrontation. It is a world as unfamiliar to generations schooled in the cold war as the universe revealed by Copernicus was to generations schooled to believe that the Earth stood motionless at the centre of the universe while other bodies in the Solar System revolved around it. And just as

the heliocentric universe of Copernicus transformed the science of astronomy, so the post-cold war world requires a new approach to international relations and diplomacy.

American diplomacy struggled to meet the needs of the old world. It will require drastic reform to meet those of the new. The United States may be the only remaining military superpower, but in its approach to diplomacy it too often looks like the only remaining banana republic. Ingenuous zeal replaces knowledge of the history and dynamics of other cultures; enthusiasm and frenetic activity replace patience and intelligent skepticism; and the illusion that foreign affairs is a series of excellent adventures replaces the reality that it is a turbulent but flowing process of change and synthesis.

The world emerging from the cold war is characterized by ethnic and cultural nationalism, as well as by economic and social transnationalism. One could add other examples of problems that do not need passports to cross international borders: environmental pollution, including acid rain and depletion of the ozone layer, nuclear and conventional arms proliferation, the transmission of AIDS virus, international terrorism, and the drug trade are a few that come readily to mind. Many of these problems will require states to work together in new ways, investing a large section of their sovereignty in existing or still-to-be-created international authorities that possess the skills, continuity, and scope to address problems unknown to traditional diplomacy or unrecognized by it.

Professionalism is prized in the US in virtually all professions except diplomacy. Our closest allies take diplomacy more seriously than we do. So do our adversaries. In its day, even the Soviet Union, not a state that relied on diplomacy if intimidation was an option, managed its foreign service less cavalierly than do most American administrations. In the training they gave their young diplomats, especially language training, the Soviets were light years ahead of us. Typically, promising candidates were identified in secondary school and, after passing their entry examinations, spent five years in a diplomatic prep-school (the Moscow State Institute for International Relations). The orien

tion training of US Foreign Service officers, including language training, is less than a year.

Effective communication with foreigners requires, as it always has, the ability to speak other languages, to understand other cultures, to see the world through other eyes. Although distinct from it, comprehension of a foreign culture is virtually impossible to achieve without proficiency in the language. Communicating in his or her own tongue, the diplomat will always be on the outside of the culture looking in. Only by knowing what the world looks like from inside will diplomats be able to provide political superiors with a realistic interpretation of the motives of the other governments and a reasonably accurate forecast of their future conduct. There is nothing else that a diplomat does that could not be done by lawyers, businesspeople, or academics, all of whom do, in fact, serve frequently as nonprofessional diplomats.

*Notes:*

- 1) **Copernicus Nicholas** (1473–1543) — a Polish astronomer;
- 2) **banana republic** — a small country in Central or South America that is industrially underdeveloped and dependent financially on support from abroad;
- depletion** — lessening of the amount, diminishing

*Questions for discussion:*

1. Do you think the author is biased or unbiased in his assessment of the US diplomats?
2. Why do you think professionalism in diplomacy is prized so low in the USA?
3. Must a diplomat be a professional from your point of view? Give your arguments for or against.
4. Who can be considered a professional in diplomacy?
5. Why does the author differentiate between **knowing a foreign language** and **comprehending a foreign culture**? What does comprehending a foreign culture mean from your point of view?

3. Should ambassadors be career or non-career diplomats? Should the choice depend on a country where this or that ambassador is assigned? Does a national envoy have to be a personality, an independent thinker or an obedient and disciplined civil servant?

*Read the article below once and try to find answers to the questions that follow:*

1. What does the present system of recruitment into the Diplomatic Service in GB consist in?
2. Who wants to change the system of recruitment?
3. On what grounds is the present system criticized?

## **FOREIGN OFFICE DEFENDS ELITIST SYSTEM**

**By Anthea Hall and Sally Malcolm –Smith**

**The Daily Telegraph**

The old guard at the Foreign Office is mobilizing to fight government plans to abolish one of the principal tenets of Civil Service faith: fast stream entry into the Diplomatic Service.

In the wake of radical proposals that would end what critics condemn as a divisive entry system separating the “officers” from “other ranks”, old hands rallied yesterday to defend the status quo.

Sir Michael Palliser, former head of the Diplomatic Service, said: “The general implication is that elitism is a good thing — as long as entry is open to everybody.”

The present system recruits high-flyers into an A-stream from which virtually all ambassadors are selected. Others, who join the E-stream, can aspire only to top administrative posts.

But while the old guard insists that the streaming has never been rigid and defends the principle of elitism, younger members see the present system as leading to frustration.

Because the FO is oversubscribed, many with first rate qualifications find themselves in the E-stream: “At every level people are overqualified for the grades in which they join”, said an insider.

Viscount Glentworth, the Eton and Oxford educated heir to the Earl of Limerick, who failed to win a case against the FO for constructive dismissal, is a critic of the service. Earlier this year, Lord Glentworth accused the FO of sliding into a “demoralizing decline” caused by its “antiquated culture”.

He wrote in *The Spectator*: “Career diplomats, most of whom join straight from university, are simply not competent to deal with many technical and economic issues arising today; and the notion that diplomacy, like accountancy or law, is a profession demanding special skills is a fiction”.

Last night the Foreign Office denied that any decision had been taken “even in principle” to abolish the selection procedure.

### *Comprehension and discussion questions:*

1. Who does the present system of recruitment favour? Is it fair from your point of view? Why / Why not?
2. Do many or few people want to take up foreign politics as their profession? For what reasons do they want to do it?
3. What has made Viscount Glentworth a critic of the present system?
4. Do you agree or disagree with Glentworth’s opinion concerning professionalism in diplomacy?
5. Why does the British Foreign Office regard streaming as one of the primary tenets of Civil Service faith? Why does the author prefer to use religious terminology?

## **Exercise 33**

*Match the following words and word-combinations with their definitions and learn them.*

TENET OF FAITH, STREAMING, DIVISIVE SYSTEM,  
STATUS QUO, HIGH-FLYERS, FRUSTRATION,  
CONSTRUCTIVE DISMISSAL, INSIDER

- ii. An unusually clever person who has a strong desire to succeed and is regarded by others as likely to gain a high position.

- b. A person who is recognized or accepted as a member of a group esp. someone who has special information or influence.
- c. Grouping of children according to their abilities.
- d. The feeling of annoyed disappointment or dissatisfaction.
- e. A system causing disunity, making people argue amongst themselves.
- f. A principle or belief held by a person or religious group.
- g. The existing state of affairs.
- h. Discharging a person, which can help to improve the whole organization.

*Be ready to suggest their Russian equivalents.*

### **Exercise 34**

*Suggest as many synonyms as you can for the word: RECRUIT (n), (v).*

### **Exercise 35**

*Find all equivalents for the Russian word "СТАРОЖИЛ" used in the article. Can you suggest the English for "НОВИЧОК"?*

### **Exercise 36**

*Explain the difference between ANTIQUE and ANTIQUATED. Complete the sentences to show you understand the difference.*

1. The guide pointed to the \_\_\_\_\_ vase found in Ancient Rome and explained what the design meant.
2. One of the Consul's best friends is an \_\_\_\_\_ dealer in Soho.
3. Though written a few decades ago many of the present laws are quite \_\_\_\_\_ in fact.
4. The mechanic treated my car as a piece of \_\_\_\_\_ machinery.
5. The Royal residence is full of priceless works of art that are \_\_\_\_\_

6. She makes her living by buying and selling \_\_\_\_\_ china.
7. The country's power stations are \_\_\_\_\_ and 10 new ones have to be built.
8. My mother's \_\_\_\_\_ vacuum cleaner still works, believe it or not.  
The typewriter was so old that it was practically \_\_\_\_\_

### Exercise 37

*Look up in a dictionary and explain the difference in meaning between the derivatives of the word "SCRIBE".*

1) SCRIBE, INSCRIBE, PRESCRIBE, PROSCRIBE, ASCRIBE, SUBSCRIBE, OVERSUBSCRIBE

*Use some of them to complete the sentences below.*

1. The way to the embassy was so well \_\_\_\_\_ to us that we found it without any difficulty.
2. Mr. Smith is a member of the \_\_\_\_\_ Nationalistic League, an extreme right-wing party.
3. The words \_\_\_\_\_ above the entrance to the Consulate misled many visitors.
4. The words are mistakenly \_\_\_\_\_ to Plato.
5. In view of the constantly rising prices fewer and fewer pensioners can \_\_\_\_\_ to national periodicals.
6. Having examined the patient the doctor \_\_\_\_\_ a strict vegetable diet to him and \_\_\_\_\_ smoking.
7. "To the author of Main Street" is \_\_\_\_\_ on the tombstone of Sinclair Lewis.
8. She has been arrested for allowing her students to read \_\_\_\_\_ books.
9. The British Horse Guards have always been \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Don't \_\_\_\_\_ to me the words I've never pronounced.

### Exercise 38

*What derivatives of the word "HEIR" do you remember?*

*Use some of them to complete the sentences below.*

1. The King's eldest son is the \_\_\_\_\_ to the throne.
2. He hopes to marry a rich \_\_\_\_\_ and stop working.
3. These old beautiful churches are part of our national \_\_\_\_\_.
4. The government claims it has \_\_\_\_\_ all its difficulties from the previous administration.
5. She dreaded the day when she knew she was to pay the \_\_\_\_\_ tax.
6. His avarice is an \_\_\_\_\_ feature of character.
7. He is not entitled to receive his \_\_\_\_\_ until he is 21.
8. We are very proud of our rich literary \_\_\_\_\_.

### ► WRITING

### Exercise 39

*Write paragraphs to comment on the following quotations.*

1. The test of a vocation is the love of the drudgery it involves. (Logan Pearsall Smith)
2. All diplomacy is a continuation of war by other means. (Chou En-Lai)
3. A diplomat is a person who can tell you to go to hell in such a way that you actually look forward to the trip. (Caskie Stinnett)

### Exercise 40

*Write a discursive essay of about 350 words on one of the following subjects.*

1. A Foreign Service Career Is More Than a Job.
2. Secrecy in Diplomacy.

- 1 The Diplomat I Admire.
- 4 Politics in Diplomacy.
- 5 The International Link Language.

## Workshop V. VOCABULARY PRACTICE

### Exercise 41

*Complete the texts, bearing in mind all the studied words. The first letters of the necessary words are given to help you.*

1. My first p\_\_\_\_\_ in the business world quite met my a\_\_\_\_\_. I had all the right q\_\_\_\_\_ for it. I was hired as a manager in a clothing factory. Unfortunately, many of the workers were a\_\_\_\_\_ to be lazy. Breaches of discipline were widespread. For example, employees often took off days from work for no good reason. Also, they often ignored their assigned chores with no l\_\_\_\_\_. I was not going to t\_\_\_\_\_ such a situation. I had to a\_\_\_\_\_ the problem.

My e\_\_\_\_\_ of the situation was that urgent measures were needed i\_\_\_\_\_ changes mainly in the staff. In p\_\_\_\_\_ of my o\_\_\_\_\_ I had to practise my n\_\_\_\_\_ and a\_\_\_\_\_ s\_\_\_\_\_. Moreover I was determined that the state of affairs be open to p\_\_\_\_\_. I told the employees that they would have to make up for each of the days which they missed. Those who o\_\_\_\_\_ to work, and v\_\_\_\_\_ their c\_\_\_\_\_ to working hard, and who d\_\_\_\_\_ themselves as better than their colleagues would get a b\_\_\_\_\_.

Many of my subordinates did not welcome these changes. Some were very angry, but none of them dared to tell me off. I had to overcome their opposition, which r\_\_\_\_\_ great s\_\_\_\_\_. The changes occurred slowly, but I was full of resolution to see my plans i\_\_\_\_\_. Finally the situation which had seemed so l\_\_\_\_\_ at first became less of a burden. My first job was a success, although it was c\_\_\_\_\_.

2. The d\_\_\_\_\_ of authority and power of s\_\_\_\_\_ states to a multilateral agent can take v\_\_\_\_\_ forms. In one form it consists in f\_\_\_\_\_ the legal c\_\_\_\_\_ set by treaties. By a\_\_\_\_\_ the

UN Charter, for example, UN members are under obligation to settle d\_\_\_\_\_ by peaceful means, to refrain from the threat or use of force...

A second form of d\_\_\_\_\_ of power and authority is a v\_\_\_\_\_ action taken by states i\_\_\_\_\_ in an international d\_\_\_\_\_ or conflict. For instance, in all the three wars fought in the M\_\_\_\_\_ E\_\_\_\_\_ between Israel and the Arab states, the states directly i\_\_\_\_\_, which were members of the UN, eventually accepted the e\_\_\_\_\_ of the United Nations by giving consent to the d\_\_\_\_\_ of UN peacekeeping troops to the fighting areas.

A third form i\_\_\_\_\_ a formal request for UN action by one or more UN member states or by the secretary-general. This is actually a request to the m\_\_\_\_\_ institution to employ the authority and power d\_\_\_\_\_ to it by member states through formal agreements. The member states that raise such requests are also signatories of the agreements, though they may not be the par- ties directly c\_\_\_\_\_.

In any case, what matters most in both m\_\_\_\_\_ diplomacy and m\_\_\_\_\_ institutions is the authority and power of s\_\_\_\_\_ states.

## Exercise 42

*Complete the text with one word only.*

□ 1. As we approach the twenty-first century, \_\_\_\_\_ diplomacy in the post-Cold War United Nations faces some difficult \_\_\_\_\_. The institution of diplomacy, the \_\_\_\_\_ of the international community from 51 \_\_\_\_\_ states in 1945 to 190 today, and the increase of \_\_\_\_\_ issues on the diplomatic agenda, must now find its place in a world where the parameters of the international political environment have \_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_ diplomacy \_\_\_\_\_ the art of building and managing coalitions before, during, and after \_\_\_\_\_ on a particular \_\_\_\_\_. In complex and lengthy \_\_\_\_\_ such as those \_\_\_\_\_ in drafting the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, coalitions must often be formed not only between nations but also within nations. One of the principal \_\_\_\_\_ for those wanting to pass a reso-

lution is to design the \_\_\_\_\_ in such way that they encourage the creation of coalitions \_\_\_\_\_ the agreement and minimize the possibility of coalitions opposing it. Ambassadors \_\_\_\_\_ that \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ skills are the \_\_\_\_\_ activities of \_\_\_\_\_ diplomacy.

□ 2. States also turned to the UN on a range of other \_\_\_\_\_ through a series of international conferences to \_\_\_\_\_ “problems of a global magnitude which member states recognized had grown beyond a state’s \_\_\_\_\_ to solve”. Even though this approach in \_\_\_\_\_ diplomacy has its critics, there is a sense that some \_\_\_\_\_ breakthroughs on important and \_\_\_\_\_ international problems have been achieved through the twelve conferences convened between 1990 and 1996 and \_\_\_\_\_ by the UN. These conferences have been praised for their \_\_\_\_\_ to move from consciousness-raising to agenda-setting. Of course, the UN and other \_\_\_\_\_ institutions need to be reformed in order to act as the effective agents of \_\_\_\_\_ states in the post-Cold War world. Reforming the UN to meet global \_\_\_\_\_ today and in the future will \_\_\_\_\_ that \_\_\_\_\_ states should \_\_\_\_\_ more authority and power to such institutions.

### Exercise 43

*Render the text into English using the active vocabulary.*

#### ПОСТЫ ПОСЛОВ — КАК ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ НАГРАДА

Эти образцы взяты из официальной записи беседы кандидата Г. с сенатором Ф. в Сенатской комиссии по иностранным делам США при назначении Г. послом в Цейлон. Вот выдержки из этой беседы.

С: Сколько Вы пожертвовали республиканской партии при выборах в хххх году?

Г: Сколько? Посмотрим, кажется, я могу сказать — 40 или 50 тысяч долларов всего.

С: Если Вы пожертвовали 50 тысяч, не думаете ли Вы, что Цейлон несколько отдаленный пост за это? Тот, кто был послан в Бельгию, внес только 30 тысяч.

Г: Я не думаю, я не хочу допустить, что это основная причина.

С: Что же, Вы думаете, является основной причиной?

Г: Ну, моя заинтересованность найти что-нибудь в государственной жизни. Я мог бы, так сказать, сделать...

С: Как Вы думаете, какие проблемы на Цейлоне Вы могли бы разрешить?

Г: Одна из проблем там — люди. Я полагаю, я думаю, что я могу установить, если я не достигну чего-нибудь до этого, хорошие отношения и доброжелательность к США.

С: Вы не обратили внимания на недавний доклад комитета Объединенных Наций по Венгрии?

Г: Нет.

С: Вы не читали об этом в газетах?

Г: Я не помню доклада.

С: Вы не обратили внимания, кто в комитете готовил тот доклад? (представитель Цейлона был одним из пяти членов этого комитета).

Г: Нет, сэр.

С: Вы знаете нашего посла в Индии?

Г: Я знаю Д.К., предыдущего посла.

С: Вы знаете, кто премьер-министр Индии?

Г: Да, но я не могу вспомнить его имени.

С: Вы знаете, кто премьер-министр Цейлона?

Г: Его имя немного трудновато, оно необычное, сейчас я не могу назвать его, но, как только я получу от посла К. список всех важных лиц там, я изучу их вместе с ним. И я имею также небольшие биографии и краткие истории стран с мнением К. и...

И... назначение Г. было одобрено сенатской комиссией, и таким образом новый посол родился.

## ► GRAMMAR REVISION

### Exercise 44

*Complete the following passage by putting the time conjunctions from the list below in the correct place. The first one is shown as an example.*

until, when, by the time, before, if, after, while, as soon as, until, once

### MEMORANDUM

From Security Supervisor I.B. Shadow

(1) *Before* the Ambassador arrives, you will have searched the embassy and grounds for anything suspicious. (2) \_\_\_\_\_ he steps out his bullet-proof limousine, you and three of your men will be in charge of his personal safety (3) \_\_\_\_\_ he gets back into his limousine after the meeting. (4) \_\_\_\_\_ he's shaken hands with the British diplomats, one of you will have to stay very close to him (5) \_\_\_\_\_ he greets the well-wishers in the crowd and, remember, (6) \_\_\_\_\_ you see anyone behaving strangely, you'll be expected to act first and ask questions later. (7) \_\_\_\_\_ he goes inside the embassy building with the negotiators, you'll accompany him to the meeting room door and wait outside (8) \_\_\_\_\_ he re-emerges — this could take anything from two to three hours. (9) \_\_\_\_\_ he comes out of the embassy, the crowd will probably have dwindled somewhat but this is the time when you and your men will need to be most vigilant, so keep him covered all the time. (10) \_\_\_\_\_ he gets back in his limousine, he'll be back in the hands of the mobile security unit and you'll be able to breathe a sigh of relief.

### Exercise 45

*Some of the sentences below contain problems in grammar, usage, choice of words, and idiom but no sentence contains more than one error. One sentence is correct. Re-write the incorrect sentences.*

1. In planning your future, one must be as honest with yourself<sup>1)</sup> as possible, make careful decisions about the best course to follow to achieve a particular purpose, and, above all, have the courage to stand by those decisions.
2. The constant rise of prices and wages bring about inflation.
3. If he had had the forethought to arrange an appointment, his reception would have been more friendly.
4. Having studied your report carefully, I am convinced that neither of your solutions are correct.
5. It was agreed by a majority of the signers of the treaty that truth as well as justice was to be there rule of life.
6. When one prepares systematically and diligently for the examination, you can be confident of passing it.
7. None of the diplomats at the conference was able either to comprehend or solve the problem.
8. Irregardless of what people say, I must repeat that these are the facts concerning the requirements for the position.

### Exercise 46

*Restructure the sentences below following the instructions. Include in the new sentence the option that fits best of all.*

1. The special rewards of a Foreign Service career include the pride and satisfaction representing one's country abroad, the challenge of working in an action-oriented profession, and the opportunity for growth and change.

*Begin with Foreign Service careers.....*

- a) include the pride and satisfaction
- b) includes such rewards
- c) are special rewards

- d) are rewarding for their
  - e) offer such special rewards
2. Blame could not be attached to either the diplomats or our President for the fiasco.

*Begin with* Neither the diplomats.....

- a) or our President was to blame
  - b) nor our President were to blame
  - c) or our President was to blame
  - d) nor our President was to blame
  - e) and our President were to blame
3. It is more rewarding to make friends than it is being antisocial.

*Begin with* Making friends.....

- a) than to be antisocial
  - b) than being antisocial
  - c) than to be like an antisocial person
  - d) than it is to be antisocial
  - e) than antisocial
4. Churchill is a famous man in England as well as Russia.

*Begin with* He is.....

- a) not only of fame in England but also in Russia.
- b) also famous in England as well as in Russia.
- c) famous not only in England but also in Russia
- d) not only famous in England but also in Russia.
- e) of a famous reputation in England as well as in Russia.

## **Exercise 47**

*Rearrange the following sentences to make a clear sensible paragraph.*

**A.**

1. Sometimes young people make the mistake of picking a job just because a much-admired relative or friend likes the job.

2. It is risky to choose an occupation just because you admire or are fond of someone who has chosen it.
3. You may admire Joe Montana, Louis Nizer, or a good homicide detective.
4. But this does not mean that you can count on being successful or happy as a professional ball player, criminal lawyer or detective.

**B.**

1. The name generally given to this new spirit of peaceful accommodation was detente.
2. Both were aware that each could severely wound, if not destroy, the other with long-range nuclear missiles.
3. Yet this "balance of terror" produced a kind of mutual accommodation: each country appeared to accept the status quo and to recognize that there was little to gain from building threatening new weapons or from interfering in what the other country viewed as its sphere of influence.
4. In the early 1970s, after more than twenty-five years of Cold War and arms competition between the Soviet Union and the United States, there occurred a noticeable relaxation of tension between the two countries.

**Exercise 48**

*In pairs read a model dialogue about bilateral relations between the two countries. List the words used to indicate good relations / problems with relations. Learn the dialogue by heart.*

- A:** What is the current state of relations between your country and X?
- B:** We continue to place great value on our close ties with X. This has been a difficult year but goodwill remains on both sides.
- A:** How has the violent repression of unrest in the province of W. affected relations with your country?

- B:** W. has been a setback for the process of cooperation between our two countries. We have made this clear in all our contacts with the X government. If the problems there are not resolved properly it could damage future prospects for cooperation.
- A:** But you have stopped short of condemning X government's action.
- B:** Breaking off relations with X now is likely to be counterproductive and would risk damaging the reform process in the country.
- A:** How can you summarize your country's policy towards X?
- B:** We must encourage X. to move in the right direction, without setting unrealistic targets. Our country will continue to do whatever it can to offer assistance.

## Exercise 49

*Read and translate the statement below.*

**“Chechnya has had an adverse effect on Anglo-Russian relations. As a result, Anglo-Russian relations are strained.”**

*Paraphrase this statement each time using one of the following words.*

affect, consequences, impact, damage, deteriorate.

## Exercise 50

*Suggest different ways of saying that*

1. Russian/British relations are in good shape.
2. There are a number of differences between our countries.
3. Our relationship has become exceptionally close since the present ruler came to power.
4. There have been several ministerial visits in the last year.

## Exercise 51

*How would you describe relations in as diplomatic a fashion as possible.*

1. Russia and the USA have been at loggerheads on a number of issues.
2. Russian interests in Cuba are declining.
3. Relations were close until the present regime came to power.
4. Relations will not be normal until X. carries out democratic reforms.

### ► ROLE PLAY

1. **A foreign journalist is interviewing a Russian diplomat about the relations between their countries.**

*Background information for both parties.*

Russia and M. have close relations dating back to the 16th century, extensive defence and trade links, current leaders pro-Russian (educated here), M. has no parliamentary democracy and some human right abuses.

2. **A Russian journalist is interviewing a British diplomat about the relations between Britain and L.**

*Background information for both parties.*

L. has an oppressive military regime with appalling human right record, EU arms embargo, no developmental aid; recent release of prominent political prisoner raises hopes of reforms, potentially healthy trade prospects.

*Here are a few useful phrases to help you in your task.*

**ASKING GENERAL QUESTIONS:**

1. I was wondering if you ...
2. May I ask ...
3. Would you mind if I asked ...

**ASKING FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:**

1. Could you be a little more precise ...
2. I'm sorry but could you explain it in a little more detail...
3. Would you care to elaborate on that?

**PLAYING FOR TIME:**

1. That is a difficult question to answer.
2. You have raised an important point there.
3. I'm sure you will appreciate how complicated this matter is.

**SAYING NOTHING:**

1. I'm afraid I don't have enough information at my disposal to answer that.
2. I'm afraid I'm not in a position to comment on that yet.
3. I don't think we have enough time at our disposal to consider all the consequences of this particular decision.

**► Word List I**

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arbitration  
aptitude for  
appropriations  
to address an issue  
to adjust  
to adopt  
to appoint  
ambition  
bill  
bounty  
to brief  
constructive dismissal  
to comprehend  
career diplomat  
contender for  
to convey

insight into  
to intertwine  
to implement  
insider  
to justify  
liaison  
to leak  
mediation  
negotiation  
to nominate  
to opt for  
objective  
objection  
proficient in  
to participate  
to present credentials

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to commit	pocket veto
concern	to pursue
capacity	to persevere
to confirm	public scrutiny
donor	qualification
deregulation	to represent
to delegate authority	remote country
diplomatic circuit	to respect
divisive system	to recruit
to distinguish	to require
to exercise patience	to subscribe
to engage	status quo
to expand	streaming
to extend	sovereignty
executive privilege	salvation
to embrace	social amenities
embassy	to seek support
to emphasize	to shift
to evaluate	specific
flabbergasted at	stamina
frustration	sponsor
to graduate with honours	to suppress
gaffe	to tolerate
heir	tenet of faith
highbrow challenge	upheaval
harsh climate	unavailable
health hazard	unprecedented drive to
high-flyer	to unleash
to involve	urge
impeachment	to volunteer
intake to	to vary
immediately apparent result	to weed out
	to yield instant credit

## Unit II. THE PRESS

### Lead-in

*Anyone who sees his or her career connected with international relations or politics should make reading of newspapers his or her daily habit.*

*Look at the list of key words connected with the press. Divide them into 4 categories (categories do not contain the same number of words).*

Tabloid, feature, periodical, financial, comment, reporter, home news, editorial, quality, columnist, libel, freedom, photographer, gagging, popular, critic, review, journalist, editor, censorship, daily, paparazzi, contributor, leader, magazine, sub-editor, doorstepping, weekly, politics, sport, foreign, newspaper, broadsheet, monthly, sensationalism, ads, correspondent, journal, supplement, article, obituary, arts, headline, gossip, annual, horoscope, invasion of privacy, caption, weather forecast, scoop, recipe, crossword.

*Compare your lists and explain to your partner the principle of your grouping the words. If necessary, consult a dictionary. Read the text below to see how some of these words are used. Make up 6 questions to the text.*

### THE PRESS IN BRITAIN

#### *National and regional newspapers*

There are 12 daily newspapers and 10 Sunday newspapers in circulation in most parts of the country. National newspapers cater for a wide variety of tastes and interests. They are often described as either “qualities” or “tabloids” depending upon their format, style and content. Quality newspapers, which are broadsheet in format, cater for those readers who want detailed information on a wide range of news and current affairs. The most popular tabloid newspapers tend to appeal to those who want to read

shorter, entertaining stories with more human interest, and they generally contain a larger number of photographs.

At the weekend, some newspapers produce colour magazines and separate sections with features on anything and everything from leisure activities, travel books, food and wine to in-depth news analysis and financial matters.

Newspapers cater for a whole range of political views, but often express a strong standpoint in favour of or against a certain party or policy in their editorial columns.

Certain British newspapers are renowned throughout the world. *The Times* is perhaps the most influential and best known. It was first published in 1785, making it Britain's oldest daily newspaper. *The Observer*, first published in 1791, is the oldest national Sunday newspaper in the world. More recent additions to the market include *The Independent* and its sister paper, *The Independent on Sunday*, and *Today*.

At one time London's Fleet Street was the centre of newspaper industry, but now all the national papers have moved their editorial offices and printing plants to other parts of the capital — many to Docklands, a regenerated area to the east of the City.

A number of large publishing groups own both national and regional newspapers. There are, however, safeguards against the risk resulting from undue concentration of ownership of the media. It is unlawful to transfer a newspaper or newspaper assets to a proprietor whose newspapers have an average daily circulation of 500,000 or more, including that of the newspaper to be taken over, without consent from the Government.

Most towns and cities have their own regional newspapers. These papers mainly include stories of regional and local interest, but the dailies also cover national and international news, often looked at from a local point of view. Some of the best-known papers include the *Yorkshire Post* (Leeds), *The Northern Echo* (Darlington), *The Manchester Evening News* (Manchester). London has its own evening paper, the *Evening Standard*, which provides Londoners with news and features covering events in the capital. Thousands of free newspapers, which are mainly financed by advertising, are distributed to homes every week.

They have enjoyed a rapid growth in recent years and have a total estimated circulation of about 37 million. There are over 100 newspapers and magazines produced by the ethnic minorities in Britain, reflecting the multi-cultural nature of today's society. Numerous newspapers and magazines from overseas are also available.

### Exercise 1

Match the words from the list above with the following definitions.

- 1 An article that gives the paper's opinion about the news of the day \_\_\_\_\_.  
An article about the life of someone who has recently died \_\_\_\_\_  
An especially exciting and exclusive story in a newspaper \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 A photographer who takes pictures with long-lens cameras without the subject's permission \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3 The most important editorial article in a quality newspaper \_\_\_\_\_
- 4 A lie in print that damages one's reputation \_\_\_\_\_.
- 5 Words printed under a picture or a cartoon which explain what it is about \_\_\_\_\_.
- 6 A book or a magazine published once a year \_\_\_\_\_.
- 7 Waiting outside someone's house or office with a microphone or camera in order to question them \_\_\_\_\_.
10. A journalist who writes a regular article for a newspaper or magazine \_\_\_\_\_.

### Workshop 1. TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS

There are a few hints to help you identify the type of newspaper material you will be dealing with.

Popular	Quality
huge, sensational headlines	headlines containing information
comparatively little text on the front page	long, complicated words even in headlines
concern for "human interest" stories.	present news in an objective and rather abstract way
use short words, especially in headlines.	little sensational news
written in conversational, everyday language.	several reports on political affairs
lots of entertaining material.	front page used to inform readers, not to arouse their curiosity
Sentences are short.	sentences are complex with numerous clauses, rather long

*Many journalists say that it is harder to write a short, sharp article for the Sun than a more learned piece for the Times. The shortage of space in a newspaper means that the language must be clear and to the point.*

*Compare the pairs of articles given below. One of them is taken out of a quality newspaper and the other out of a popular paper. Decide which is which. Try to prove your point of view. Remember to consider the importance of the subject covered and compare the number of paragraphs each of the papers devoted to the subject.*

▷ ARTICLE 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
**PRISONER GETS TWO YEARS**

A cleaning company manager who put weedkiller into the drink of a young assistant was jailed for two years yesterday. Peter Tyrell, who had worked blamelessly for 20 years for the Cleenol company in Banbury, Oxon, twice added sodium chlorate and borax to Lorraine Palmer's drinks.

Tyrell, 47, of Chipping Norton, Oxon, denied poisoning her. He was found guilty at an earlier hearing. He was jailed for two years on both poisoning charges with the sentences to run concurrently.

## ARTICLE 2

### LOVE-HATE POISONER IS JAILED FOR TWO YEARS

Boss who had a love-hate relationship with his girl assistant was jailed for two years yesterday for trying to poison her. Peter Tyrell had a "weird preoccupation" with 23-year-old Lorraine Palmer, a court heard. The 47-year-old cleaning company purchasing manager — who has been married for 25 years — named her in his will and showered her with presents.

Defence barrister Michael Fowler could shed no light on his motivation in putting potentially lethal sodium chlorate into Miss Palmer's coffee and squash. There was, however, what he called "a reference to revenge". He told Oxford Crown Court: "The full range of possibilities must include that whoever was responsible had the motive, but not of causing harm, but creating the situation where Miss Palmer needed someone to turn to, someone to confide in. Fortunately, there was no substantial, immediate injury to Miss Palmer".

Judge Richard May told Tyrell: "The reason for committing them is known only to yourself but as you must understand poisoning offences of this kind can only be regarded as very serious" Tyrell, of Hitchman Drive, Chipping Norton, had earlier been found guilty of administering poison with intent to harm, attempting to administer poison and theft. He had denied the charges.

Miss Palmer, of Brackley, Northhamptonshire, was in court with her mother to hear the sentence. Afterwards, she hurried from the building without comment.

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▷ ARTICLE 3

**25 PC OF CHILDREN PUT VIDEO GAMES  
BEFORE HOMEWORK**

A quarter of British schoolchildren are neglecting homework to play video games, according to a survey of youngsters' game playing habits published yesterday.

The study, presented at the British Psychological Society conference in York, classified 75 per cent of children as "heavy players" — devoting more than 20 hours per week to computer games — a smaller number of whom were addicts.

Mark Griffiths of Plymouth University, who presented the research, said it was the third such study and the consistent findings were that three quarters of children played computer games, with a third of those playing every day.

"The surprising thing about this study was that as many as one in four children said they neglected homework to play computer games. Also, contrary to expectations, those who played games were also more likely to be involved in sports outside of school", said Mr. Griffiths.

The survey of 868 teenagers attending two schools in a small Midlands town was carried out by researchers at Nene College Northampton, and found that 77 per cent of children played games, with 14 per cent playing for two hours or more at a time and 60 per cent playing for longer than they wished to. Boys played "significantly more" than girls and were "significantly more likely" to neglect homework.

Mr. Griffiths said further research was being conducted into the 50 or more "heavy players" identified in the survey to see if they were addicted to games.

The tell-tale signs of addiction were playing games daily, neglecting other types of play and homework, evidence of mood changes during and after game playing and evidence of withdrawal if deprived of games.

Mr. Griffiths said video games could provide both "a buzz" and create a tranquilizing effect and had a series of "psychological hooks" designed to keep people playing. "They are components that could create addiction", he added.

Mr.Griffiths urged parents to monitor their children's game playing and to "plug the more educational games rather than the beat-them-up-and-shoot-them ones", but said that he was not anti-computer games.

"They are very popular and for most kids they are not a problem. But for a small subsection it does cause problems. If you are spending more than 20 hours a week playing video games then you are bound to be missing out on other things", he said.

Simon Jobling, head of marketing at Sony Computer Entertainment, insisted that children did not get addicted to the games.

He said: "Addiction is the wrong word. The whole point of entertainment is for the consumer to want more of it. Games are something children enjoy, so they do it a lot. Software today is far more involved in getting children interacting with others and using basic computer skills and reaction times".

#### ▷ ARTICLE 4 \_\_\_\_\_

##### **FIT TO PLAY VIDEO GAMES**

Children who play video games are likely to be keener on sport, a psychologist claimed yesterday. They don't always turn into couch potatoes, Mark Griffiths told the British Psychological Society conference in York. His survey of 868 Northampton schoolchildren showed that 75 per cent played video games, with one in four admitting it caused them to neglect their homework. Only six per cent of youngsters played to "addictive levels".

#### ▷ ARTICLE 5 \_\_\_\_\_

##### **DIY BREATH TEST URGED ON FRENCH**

French motorists are being urged to breath-test themselves in a renewed effort to reduce the 3,000 road deaths a year in which alcohol is a factor, writes Susanne Lawry in Paris.

The permitted level of alcohol in the blood was cut from 0-7 to 0-5 grammes per litre yesterday, and drivers were warned that two glasses is the maximum. The size of the glasses is clearly defined: two wine glasses (12 cl), two "half" glasses of beer or two 4 cl measures of spirits.

Bernard Pons, the Transport Minister, has launched a self-testing kit at the subsidized price of five francs (about 60p). It will be sold at petrol stations and shops. Penalties will be stiff — between 5 and 8 miligrammes, offenders will receive three points on their licences and be fined J100. Above 8 milligrammes they risk losing their licences for up to five years, being fined more than J3,000 and, if in a serious accident, up to two years in jail.

## ▷ ARTICLE 6

### FRANCE SETS TWO-DRINK LIMIT FOR DRIVERS

Paris: French drivers risk heavier penalties if they continue with their traditional drinking habits. Under laws introduced yesterday, more than two glasses of wine, beer or spirits will put motorists over the new limit of 50 mg of alcohol per 100 ml of blood. The previous limit was 70 mg. In Britain it is 80 mg, the same as most European countries.

French authorities say the new limit will cut the risk of a fatal accident by 50 per cent in a nation where drink driving killed 3,000 last year. The new law is accompanied by an advertising campaign, which features the slogan: "After two glasses, everything speeds up". French drivers caught over the limit will be fined J120 and lose three points on their licence. Those who notch up 12 points will have their licence suspended.

### STYLE IN THE TABLOIDS

*You may have noticed already that the language of tabloids is unlike any encountered in other contexts (e. g. conversation or other forms of writing). It is often described as strident, partisan, sleazy, nasty, vicious, and even vindictive.*

*Look at this example and with a partner see what features of tabloid style reporting you can identify.*

Shapely starlet and fun-loving former convent girl Diane Fox, 19, dropped a bomb-shell yesterday. Her whirlwind romance with lean, bronzed lorry-driver, Bert Ford, 26 is off. In an exclusive interview at her hideaway love-nest, Diane said, "He vowed to wed me, but we were living a lie".

Unsung hero of the M6 motorway madness pile-up, Bert swept Diane off her feet during a long, hot summer on the sun-kissed beaches of the island paradise of San-Serife, where she had fled amid mounting speculation that her film career had reached rock-bottom. "My anguish turned to joy. It was like a dream come true. He made me feel like a princess," said Diane, fighting back the tears.

But the dream soon turned into a nightmare when Bert moved into Diane's luxury mansion in leafy Surrey. "He quaffed all my whisky and spent all my crisp banknotes," she said. She knew the writing was on the wall when Bert's mother, battling granny I na Ford, 61, moved in too. That set the alarm bells ringing. It was a recipe for disaster and soon feathers were really flying.

The moment of truth came when Bert's credit card bill dropped with a sickening thud through Diane's letter box. After a lovers' tiff, Bert stormed out. "I'll never be the same again," sobbed Diane. The rest is history.

Speaking from his sleazy, suburban home in Catford, with a mystery girl by his side, Bert was tight-lipped and ashen-faced. "I'm as sick as a parrot," was his exclusive comment to this newspaper.

## Exercise 2

*Suggest words from the article corresponding to the following definitions.*

declare or solemnly promise

unrecognised, not celebrated in poetry or song (formal)

a collision involving several motor vehicles

mere guesswork

very great pain or suffering, esp. of mind

a bad, fearful, or terrible experience

drink in large draughts

fresh, newly made

a low lull sound like that of a blow on smth soft

a slight quarrel

walk out in a very angry or violent manner  
dirty, sordid, disreputable  
weep noisily  
not saying much, grim-looking

### Exercise 3

*Explain the following phrases in English.*

drop a bomb-shell  
a whirlwind romance  
sweep a girl off her feet  
reach rock-bottom  
writing on the wall  
set the alarm bells ringing  
a recipe for disaster  
make the feathers fly  
the moment of truth  
sick as a parrot

### Exercise 4

*Re-write the piece in your own words without leaving out any pieces of information.*

### PROJECT WORK

*Take a newspaper (local or foreign) and find out the following information about it.*

1. What is the name of your paper?
2. How much does it cost and how many pages does it have?
3. Is it a "tabloid" or a "quality" paper?
4. What percentage of the front page is TEXT, not counting the headlines?
5. Where is the "leader" column and what heading does it have? (For example: "Comment", "The Sun Says" etc)
6. How many pages of foreign news does your newspaper have?

7. How many pages of financial news does your paper have? (This is sometimes called "The City" section)
8. How many sports pages does your newspaper have? What kinds of sport does it cover? Can you explain why it covers those?
9. How many cartoons are there in your paper? Are any of them political?
10. Are there any advertisements in your paper? What sort of commodities are advertised? Can you explain why?
11. Approximately what percentage of text does your newspaper have?
12. See if your newspaper has a section dealing with the signs of the Zodiac (Scorpio, Capricorn etc). If so, what is the section called? What does it say for your sign?
13. What other sections does your newspaper have?
14. Would you read it if you lived in Britain/America?
15. Would foreigners living in this country read the paper you have analyzed? Why? / Why not?
16. What kind of people do you think might read this paper?

*Compare and discuss your findings with other students.*

*Now read an article from the PUNCH to check whether your predictions concerning the sort of people who read different kinds of newspapers in Britain were correct.*

## THE INK TEST

They always said *The Times* was read by the people who ran the country, the *Mail* by their wives. What does your paper say about you now? Dan CONAGHAN updates the Fleet Street check off list.

There is a traditional litany about newspapers which runs "*The Times* is read by the people who run the country, *The Telegraph* by the people who own the country" and so on, right up to that famous punch line, "And *The Sun* is read by people who don't care who runs the country, so long as she's got big tits."

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A number of factors have combined to render this analysis old-fashioned. It is incomplete. Not only are there new papers to add to this old list — quite possibly more papers than there are readers, in fact — but there are also new ways of defining newspapers.

We wanted to bring the old chestnut bang up to date. But we also wanted to be accurate. So we spoke to the experts. Advertisers, for example, create detailed pictures of the people who read individual papers, so that they can then target their campaigns at exactly the right markets. We consulted a group of hot-shop hot shots, as they might put it, to get the view of papers' punters.

We also used a "level of agreement" study. This operated as follows: groups of readers were read a number of propositions, which expressed a range of opinions. They were then asked which opinion they agreed with most. From this we, or to be precise, The Decision Shop of 30 Eastbourne Terrace, London W2, could glean a series of Couldn't Agree More statements, which were the statements with which a higher portion of a newspaper's readers agreed than did those of any of the other papers.

Finally we consulted an Expert Witness. In this case "Reg", a newspaper vendor in Piccadilly Circus. Who bought what from him?

We compared all these definitions to see just who reads what. And what you read says about you. We begin with the trad papers. *Sun* readers should ask a friend to explain what it all means.

***The Times* is read by the people who run the country.**

**The admen say:** "Can still claim to reach top people's breakfast tables. Readers are high-achievers but materialistic. Mostly carnivorous and urban. Good upside potential thwarted by obsessive attention to detail".

**Couldn't Agree More:** "I really want to own more expensive cars and jewellery".

**Expert Witness:** "Well-dressed birds mainly".

***The Guardian* is read by the people who would like to run the country.**

**The admen say:** Now read by aspirational mediavores, life-style-conscious but also career-minded. Environmentally-friendly *Guardian* readers have cleaned up their act to become adapters, plotters and intrepid navigators. Cool cucumbers out for the main chance.

**CAM:** "My beliefs are very different from those of my parents".

**EW:** "A stubborn lot. When it changed they stuck with it".

***The Financial Times* is read by the people who own the country.**

**The admen say:** Discreet and doughty, they see themselves as umpires of a large and well-organized football tournament. But can be unscrupulous. The occasional peacock who carries the *FT* for effect.

**CAM:** "People have got to look after themselves — even if it means being dishonest".

**EW:** "A good crowd, very cheerful".

***The Daily Telegraph* is read by the people who want the country to be run as it used to be.**

**The admen say:** Suburban bungy-dwellers. Comfortable, grumbling traditionalists. Worry about gardening, unit trusts and the price of eggs. Favour Terylene trousers.

**CAM:** "It's worth making the financial sacrifice for private health care".

**EW:** "Office workers I should think. Some of them are down-right miserable".

***The Daily Express* is read by the people who think the country is still run as it used to be.**

**The admen say:** Patriotic middlemen, sloggers with dreams of fame and fortune. Express readers are still happy in the world of Rupert Bear and the Gamblos. Some achievers, many aspirers.

**CAM:** "I'm proud of being British".

**EW:** "Men in their middle market".

***The Daily Mail* is read by the wives of the men who run the country.**

**The admen say:** Still a feminine newspaper, with some male readers. Nescafe people with a bright, social outlook. Omnivorous but prone to wacky food fads. Mobile, occasionally dare devil, predominately net-curtain twitchers.

**CAM:** "I really like cats".

**EW:** "Birds, secretaries".

***The Daily Mirror* is read by the people who think they run the country.**

**The admen say:** Caring, but too keen to rally around hopeless causes; Plodders, but there are three million of them. Useful block-vote for Labour Party.

**CAM:** "I worry about unemployment".

**EW:** "It's either that or the Sun for most people".

***The Morning Star* is read by the people who would like another country to run the country.**

**The admen say:** Much less aggressive than they used to be. Readers are more interested in interest rates than revolution. Still a high proportion of wooly plotters.

**CAM:** "I resent the fact that other people have so much more than I do".

**EW:** "Not much call for it round here".

***The Sun* is read by people who don't care who runs the country, as long as she's got big tits.**

**The admen say:** As true as ever. Xenophobic, aggressive plotters and dumbos but excellent sense of humour and sturdy opinions. Vulgar but dogged and basically decent, if often misguided.

**CAM:** "We should bring back hanging for violent crimes".

**EW:** "A national institution, isn't it".

***The Independent* is read by the people who think the country is where you go at weekends.**

**The admen say:** Boring suburban middle-brows compensated for by the sharp-eyed City slickers. Adapters and dynamics mixed with sloggers and the butterfly-minded. Neurotic about money, impatient with a penchant for high-technology.

**CAM:** "Couples should live together before getting married".

**EW:** "Sport's the best. Lots of people in a hurry pick it up".

**Today is read by the people who aren't sure how the country should be run.**

**The admen say:** Oh dear. Wandering in the political wilderness, intellectually dormant with dim memories of mid-Eighties fun and games. Suffering from delusions of adequacy.

**CAM:** "I can't decide".

**EW:** "Oh dear, we don't sell a lot of those".

**The Correspondent isn't read by anyone at all.**

### **General comprehension questions:**

1. Why did the author decide to review the survey of the readership of the leading national newspapers?
2. Who did he consult for advice? Why did he choose those people to help him?
3. Do your predictions about the potential readership of British newspapers coincide with those of the survey?

### **Detailed comprehension questions:**

1. What is "**a punch line**"? Where can one find it?
2. In the phrase: "**... so long as she's got big tits**", who is "**she**"? What has she got?
3. "**We wanted to bring the old chestnut bang up to date**" — Explain in plain English what the author's intention was.
4. Who or what does the author mean by "**a group of hot-shop hot shots**"?
5. What does "**a newspaper vendor**" do?
6. What does the author imply when he says: "**And what you read says about you**"?
7. What are "**trad papers**"?

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*Analyze what is said about each of the leading British national papers. Prepare your questions if there is something in the text that you do not understand.*

## **Workshop II. READING NEWSPAPERS FOR PROFESSIONAL PURPOSES**

*Contemporary multilateral diplomacy takes place in the environment of the “new diplomacy” referred to in Unit One. This “new diplomacy” is much more public than was the “old diplomacy” of preceding centuries. As a consequence, successful contemporary diplomats must master, whether in bilateral or multilateral settings, the skill of dealing with the news media.*

Former Ambassador Sergey Lavrov in his essay “The United Nations through the Eyes of a Russian Ambassador” writes about the importance of working with the press at the UN.

*Before you read the essay discuss the following questions.*

1. Why is it important for diplomats to work with correspondents from different countries?
2. Should diplomats and ambassadors try to avoid the reporters? Why or why not?

### **THE PRESS AND THE UN**

The UN’s work involves not only the delegations of member countries, the intergovernmental bodies under its aegis, and the secretariat, but also the press, or what is known as the “fourth estate.” UN activities are covered by correspondents from many countries, and to a large extent they shape world opinion on many important issues on the UN agenda. It is anything but easy to cultivate good working relations with foreign, especially American, media. At the windup of every SC consultation (to say nothing of every formal council meeting), diplomats are beset in the UN lobby by a crowd of reporters. TV cameramen take close-ups of the ambassadors, ask them to step nearer, thrust out their

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microphones. Of course, it is possible to make a getaway through a side door, as some diplomats have done more than once. Or one can pause to answer the questions that are showered forth — “When does Russia plan to formally propose easing sanctions against Iraq?” “What rights does Russia reserve in the CIS operations in Georgia and Tajikistan?” — the reporters trying to outshout each other in the hope of eliciting answers to their questions.

The very wording of the questions shows that the reporters who ask them want to hear sensational answers. Well, it cannot be helped, because the media are involved in a business enterprise and need a bit of sensational material, a hint of scandal for the front page, to attract readers. (I remember one occasion on which a reporter asked me what the SC had discussed that day. Upon learning that the council had registered a smooth, successful completion of the UN operation in Mozambique, he remarked disappointedly: “Successful? Then there’s nothing to write about!”) Be that as it may, ambassadors should not exit hastily through a side door unless they want the position of their country to be left to the guessers and speculators.

Many delegations attach great importance to working with the press. Some of them even rent premises at UN headquarters where they can give leading media representatives a closed briefing before an important meeting or, right on its heels, offer a frank assessment of the problem at hand or of the reefs on which a solution can founder. This “enlightenment” costs a pretty penny but is undertaken as a necessity. “Do you know why we do this?” asked the press attache of a Western European mission in a moment of frankness as he chatted with his Russian colleague. “You will remember Carl Kraus, a well-known Austrian publisher and journalist of the early twentieth century... who said that diplomats lied to journalists but, on reading the press the following day, came to believe their own lies”. Well, there is some truth in this anecdote, as there is in any other. And it is a fact that diplomats, UN secretariat staff members, and even journalists themselves rely to a large extent on what they read in the press or see on television.

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What I have described and am most familiar with, of course, are the methods that the Russian mission uses in its work — the diplomatic methods that are crucial to the fulfillment of our tasks. These tasks may be broadly defined as promoting Russia’s national interests at the United Nations, just as other countries strive to promote their own. But the unique nature of the United Nations is that one promotes the interests of one’s own country only when they have been harmonized with the interests of others. This requires mutual concessions and compromises, but that’s how multilateral diplomacy works. One cannot hope to introduce a national initiative in the United Nations and see it endorsed by all 185 member states without a single change. There must be changes and modifications to accommodate the interests of others. But the hoped-for result — a consensus among the UN’s members — would be worth much more than any unilateral action, since it promotes a global approach to the solution of the modern world’s inescapably global problems.

***Comprehension tasks:***

1. Decipher the following abbreviations: the UN, the SC, the CIS.
2. Find out what a press attaché does.
3. Find out how many member states there are in the UN now.

***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. What does the UN work involve according to Mr. Lavrov?
2. Why is the press known as the “fourth estate”? What are the other three?
3. Why is foreign media hard to manage?
4. Why is working with the press a necessity for diplomats? Can they rely on the information in the press?
5. What is the way to promote a country’s national interests at the United Nations?

## Exercise 5

*Translate the word combinations below into Russian. Find them in the text and translate the sentences into Russian.*

- to shape world opinion on an issue
- to cultivate good working relations with smb
- to take close-ups of smb/smth
- to elicit answers to the questions
- to attach great importance to smth
- to offer a frank assessment of smth
- to be crucial to the fulfilment of the tasks
- to require mutual concessions and compromises
- to introduce an initiative
- to accommodate the interests of smb

## Exercise 6

*Use the word combinations from the previous exercise in the following sentences.*

1. The inclusion of a sixth principal organ, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), reflected the increasing \_\_\_\_\_ to these issues not only by governments but also by non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
2. Another important skill in multilateral diplomacy is the ability to \_\_\_\_\_ with the media, especially the US media.
3. States are drawn into multilateralism and the construction of interstate institutions or regimes in pursuit of their national and global interests, and the task of the diplomat is thus seen as \_\_\_\_\_ those \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Globalization has gone so far that managing complex issues \_\_\_\_\_ on the part of all those concerned.  
Ambassador L. points out that tactical flexibility is even more \_\_\_\_\_ at the United Nations than in bilateral diplomacy.
6. The only way for anyone to deal with this complexity is by building coalitions and to privately develop an informal con-

- sensus on how to deal with a problem before \_\_\_\_\_ in the formal institutional structures.
7. The Congress of the United Nations has had almost as many views as speeches on the question but it has no prerogative to \_\_\_\_\_ of the United Nations regular budget.
  8. Diplomats in multilateral venues, regardless of their nationality, must pay special attention to the American media, which strives to \_\_\_\_\_ on many important issues.
  9. In the UN lobby reporters elbow their way to \_\_\_\_\_ of celebrities and take pains to \_\_\_\_\_ thrusting out their microphones.

### Exercise 7

*Suggest as many synonyms as you can for the verbs below.*

to cultivate	to compromise
to elicit	to introduce
to assess	to initiate
to fulfil	to accommodate
to shape	to attach

### Exercise 8

*Fill in the gaps with the verbs from the list above.*

1. John always tries \_\_\_\_\_ people who might be able to help him professionally.
2. The terms of the contract must \_\_\_\_\_ exactly.
3. It's too early \_\_\_\_\_ the effects of the new legislation.
4. The union has made every possible effort \_\_\_\_\_ the management.
5. The government \_\_\_\_\_ a ban on the advertising of cigarettes.
6. They refused \_\_\_\_\_ their principles by doing a deal with the terrorists.
7. Their appeal for funds didn't \_\_\_\_\_ much of a response.

- 8 His philosophy \_\_\_\_\_ through solving moral dilemmas.  
It would be unwise \_\_\_\_\_ too much significance to these opinion polls.
10. The government \_\_\_\_\_ a massive new house-building programme.
11. He asked more than the sponsor was willing to pay, so they \_\_\_\_\_ on a price.
12. This company should be able \_\_\_\_\_ our requirements.
13. After much questioning, he \_\_\_\_\_ the truth from the manager.
14. The commission \_\_\_\_\_ the value of the house at J60,000.
15. During the war I \_\_\_\_\_ to the naval college as a gunnery instructor.
16. His sharp remarks \_\_\_\_\_ a note of bitterness into the talks.
17. Peace talks \_\_\_\_\_ in an attempt to avert a full scale war.

## Exercise 9

*Translate the following passage into English using the active vocabulary.*

Как же организуется работа по сбору информации внутри посольства? Первое, что обычно практически делается, что выделяются определенные люди, которые должны внимательно следить за прессой и наладить хорошие рабочие отношения с корреспондентами местных газет, редакторами газет и видными журналистами, которые формируют отношение общественности к различным, актуальным вопросам.

Эти связи позволяют получить ответы на вопросы, которым придается большое значение внутри страны, и представление о которых является ключевым моментом при выполнении дипломатических задач.

Известно, что пресса является очень важным источником информации в странах, где происходит борьба политических партий, где различные группы общества имеют свои

отдельные органы печати, выражающие их мнение по ряду вопросов. Однако в ряде случаев пресса не всегда дает объективную оценку происходящим событиям, так как, либо отражает позицию, которую занимают ее владельцы, либо стремится удовлетворить интересы всех сторон. Поэтому, наряду с анализом прессы, дипломаты обычно стараются путем личного наблюдения и общения собирать более полную информацию, которая точнее показывала бы действительное положение вещей.

*One of the major everyday tasks of a diplomatic officer is reading the press of the country he is assigned to. Reading has to be done quickly. What speeds the process is the skill of comprehending the idea of an article by looking through the headline. One has to remember that popular papers frequently use slang and punning references to the article's content while quality papers tend to provide more information in their headlines. Both types of newspaper, however, use common jargon words to save space.*

## NEWSPAPER HEADLINES

**Here is a brief guide to the "rules" by which English headlines are written:**

1. The articles, personal and demonstrative pronouns and the verb "to be" are omitted.

**MAYOR JACKING HIRES BROTHER** = Mayor Jacking has hired his brother.

**POPE VISITS FLOOD ZONE** = The Pope of Rome has visited a / the flood zone.

2. The present tenses are used to describe something which has happened, is happening, or happens repeatedly.

**HOPES RISE FOR HOSTAGES** = Hopes have risen for some hostages.

**US PRESIDENT ARRIVES IN PERU** = The president of the USA is on a visit in Peru.

3. When the present continuous is used, the auxiliary verb "be" is omitted.

**DEMOCRATS GAINING IN POLLS** = The Democrats are gaining in opinion polls.

**MARINES AWAITING GO-AHEAD** = The Marines are awaiting a go-ahead signal.

4. To refer to the future, the infinitive with “to” is used.

**OPERA COMPANY TO TOUR SWEDEN** = An opera company is to tour Sweden.

**SCHOOL COUNCIL TO BAN VIDEO GAMES** = The school council will ban video games.

5. Passive sentences are written without their auxiliary verbs.

**DEVON VILLAGE TERRORIZED** = A village in Devon has been terrorized.

**ISRAELI GENERAL DISMISSED** = An Israeli general has been dismissed.

6. Acronyms and abbreviations are used for geographical terms and names of organizations.

**REVIVAL PLAN FOR UNO** = There is a revival plan for the United Nations Organization.

**NZ ROW OVER JOBS FOR VETS** = There is a row in New Zealand over jobs for veterans.

7. Honorary titles and ranks are dropped.

**MAGGIE TO LAND IN NY** = Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret is to land in New York.

**BILL FOR MOSCOW** = The President of the USA is planning to visit Moscow.

8. There are a lot of words that are specifically used in headlines as they are short, monosyllabic and sound dramatic.

*Consider the following list:*

**Aid** — assistance

**Aide** — assistant

**Axe** — to dispense with, cut

**Back** — support

**Ban** — prohibition

**Bar** — to prevent smth from happening

**Bid** — offer, attempt

- Blast** — explosion  
**Blaze** — fire out of control  
**Blow** — disappointment, set- back  
**Boom** — sudden large beneficial increase  
**Boost** — lift, impetus  
**Bug** — disease, infection, virus  
**Clash** — argument, conflict  
**Crook** — criminal  
**Curb** — restraint, restriction  
**Cut** — reduce, lower  
**Deal** — agreement, bargain  
**Drive** — campaign  
**Flee** — run away, escape  
**Gag** — censorship  
**Hail** — welcome, praise  
**Haul** — quantity of smth stolen or seized  
**Hit** — affect negatively, reach the top position  
**Hold** — arrest, detain  
**Host** — entertain  
**Hurdle** — obstacle  
**Link** — connection  
**Loom** — approach of smth threatening  
**Mob** — large gang, uncontrolled crowd  
**Net** — capture  
**Nuke** — nuclear weapons  
**Ordeal** — torture, unpleasant experience  
**Peril** — danger  
**Plea** — strong request  
**Pledge** — promise  
**Plunge** — dramatic fall  
**Probe** — investigation  
**Quit** — resign  
**Quiz** — interrogate  
**Rap** — strong criticism, reprimand

**Riddle** — mystery

**Row** — disagreement, argument, quarrel

**Scare** — alarm

**Slam** — criticize viciously

**Smash** — break, destroy

**Snub** — turn down, reject

**Soar** — increase dramatically

**Spark** — cause

**Spur** — move ahead

**Toll** — number of people killed

**Urge** — recommend strongly

**Vigil** — a period of waiting by an ill person's bedside

**Vow** — promise, threat

**Weigh** — consider

**Woo** — try to win the favour of smb

*Of course, the list is much longer, and you will have to build up your own list, as journalists keep coining new flashy words every day. Learning this kind of vocabulary does not come easy to most students and takes a lot of effort. Yet, it is the knowledge of this vocabulary that will distinguish you from thousands of other people who know the English language but do not major in international affairs and politics.*

## Exercise 10

*For each of the following "headline words" on the left find an item on the right with the same meaning.*

BID	fire
QUIZ	close down, dismiss
CLASH	explosion
HIT	reduce, limit
PROBE	strong criticism, reprimand
RIDDLE	conflict, disagreement, fight
TOLL	ensorship

WOO	question, interrogate, interview
AXE	mystery
BLAZE	affect badly
CURB	quantity of something stolen or seized
QUIT	investigate
HAUL	attract, win the support of
GAG	attempt
BLAST	total number of dead
RAP	leave, depart, resign

### Exercise 11

*Explain the following headlines in simple English. Mind all the words above.*

*e. g. UK to send more aid to Ghana.*

*The United Kingdom is going to send more help to Ghana.*

1. Army axes 3 bases, 3,000 men
2. Bid to reach North Pole fails
3. Hotel blast kills 8
4. Animals die in zoo blaze
5. US, Russia clash over arms curbs
6. Tourists hit by pilots' strike
7. Police probe missing woman riddle
8. Top scientist quits UK for US
9. 3 quizzed over boy's kidnap
10. Quake toll reaches 27

### Exercise 12

*For each of the following words find the meaning in the list below. It will help you if you look at the headlines at the foot of the exercise.*

**DRAMA ENVOY POLL SEEK SLASH STORM  
WED CHIEF GEMS SWOOP RIG SPLIT  
LEAK LIFT CALL RESHUFFLE**

a) jewels; b) to falsify; c) director, high-ranking official; d) raid; e) to look for, ask for; f) exciting, dramatic event; g) election, voting, public opinion survey; h) to escape (of secret information); i) diplomat, ambassador; j) to remove restrictions, prohibitions; k) divide, division; l) to demand, appeal; m) angry argument; n) to rearrange; o) to reduce drastically; p) to marry.

### **Exercise 13**

*Express each headline as it would appear in an ordinary news announcement.*

1. 3 SAVED IN FLATS BLAZE DRAMA
2. ENVOY ACCUSED OF SPYING
3. CABINET RESHUFFLE URGED
4. FILM STAR SEEKS DIVORCE
5. AIR FARES SLASHED TO WOO HOLIDAY MAKERS
6. STORM AT UN OVER "SPIES" ACCUSATION
7. ACTOR TO WED FOR FIFTH TIME
8. SERVICE CHIEFS GAGGED: TWO QUIT
9. GEMS HAUL SEIZED IN SWOOP
10. "POLL RIGGED" CHARGES
11. EU SPLIT OVER LIFTING TRAVEL CURBS
12. CABINET LEAK: CALL FOR PROBE

### **Exercise 14**

*Make brief headlines from the following news items.*

1. Eighteen people were killed when the army tried to overthrow the government.
2. A leading diplomat has been mysteriously murdered.
3. The Prime Minister is trying to win the support of the coal miners' trade unions.

4. The Director of British Petroleum has been forced to resign.
5. A Member of Parliament was questioned by the police in an investigation into the use of illegal drugs.

### Exercise 15

*Look at the headlines below and write them out in plain English.*

1. OLDER FARMERS HIT BY CRISIS MAY GET UP TO 40,000 POUNDS TO QUIT LAND
2. DRUG FACTORY RAIDED BY POLICE
3. DUMA DELAYS
4. ALL CANDIDATES FOR TOP HONOURS FACE VETTING
5. STRIKERS BRING ISRAEL TO A HALT
6. ENVOY QUILTS
7. THREE HELD TRYING TO BOARD AIRCRAFT
8. WEST FEARS "LOOSE NUKES" FROM DESPERATE MEN IN COMMAND

*A lot of comprehension difficulties arise when journalists make references to historical events or personalities, quote the Bible or refer to mythology, split proverbs or rephrase well-known advertising slogans. No knowledge of words will help you understand the message of the article unless you are well versed in the culture of the country, have read the right kind of books and keep your eyes open and ears well-attuned to what is going on in the given area. For example:*

**Tory Achilles Heel Is Exposed** — The weakness in the policy of the Conservative party has come to light.

### Exercise 16

*Try to interpret the following newspaper headlines.*

1. "BOSTON TEA PARTY" IN NY TO PROTEST SOARING FOOD COSTS

2. GIVING A XXXX FOR THE TORIES
3. HOBSON AND HOW HE CHOSE 'EM
4. THE TOWER OF BABBLE
5. BEWARE OF TORIES WHO BEAR SCHOOL GIFTS
6. BIG BROTHER IS CREEPING ON US, WARNS TOP LAWYER
7. CLASSROOMS WITH THE WRITING ON THE WALL
8. KEEPING UP WITH THE JONESES
9. ROUBLE-SPEAK NOW RULES THE AIRWAVES
10. IF YOU CAN'T BEAT 'EM

### Exercise 17

*For each abbreviation on the left below, find another on the right, which has something in common with it.*

a. m.	BA
MP	ITV
BR	p. m.
GMT	BC
BBC	PM
AD	BST

### Exercise 18

*Make up groups of three abbreviations, each one taken from a different column. Explain why they belong to one group.*

NHS	ft	WHO
Oz	Rd	Ave
In	GP	PhD
Con.	MA	yd
St	lb	st
BA	Lab.	SDP

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## Exercise 19

*Some abbreviations, like the following, are pronounced as one word. Put each one in its correct place in the sentences below.*

UNESCO    VAT    NASA    AIDS    NATO    OPEC

1. The price is \$87 but it's subject to \_\_\_\_\_, so that will be \$95.70.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ has been described as possibly the most deadly epidemic in the history of the world.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ has announced that the next space shuttle launch will take place in August.
4. The \_\_\_\_\_ nations are to meet in Geneva to decide whether to increase the price of oil.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ military exercises involving American forces will be held in Britain and Germany this winter.
6. An expert from \_\_\_\_\_ produced a report on primary education in underdeveloped countries.

## Exercise 20

*Put each of the following abbreviations in its correct place in the sentences below.*

SOS    TUC    QC    VIP    UFO    IQ    PLO    CND    HQ    DIY

1. The United Nations \_\_\_\_\_ is in New York.
2. Although he was defended by an eminent \_\_\_\_\_, he was found guilty and sent to prison for eight years.
3. He's extremely bright. They say he has an \_\_\_\_\_ of 160.
4. The \_\_\_\_\_ represents the great majority of working men and women in Britain.
5. The aim of the \_\_\_\_\_ is to establish a permanent home for the Palestinian people.
6. Film-stars, prime ministers and other celebrities are entertained in the special \_\_\_\_\_ lounge at the airport.

7. Their \_\_\_\_\_ was picked up on the radio by two other ships and a plane. They were rescued within hours.
8. Some people thought the object in the sky was a \_\_\_\_\_ bringing visitors from another planet but it turned out to be a small plane.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ will support any moves to abolish or reduce nuclear weapons.
10. Now then all you \_\_\_\_\_ fans. Here's an all-purpose tool to help you in a hundred ways to do those home repairs.

### **Workshop III. PROSPECTS FOR THE PRESS**

#### *Subjects for group discussion*

- a. Will newspaper readership increase or continue to decline?
- b. Will the British press maintain its world reputation for excellence?
- c. Will the American press dominate globally?

*Before reading the article by Conrad Black comment on the quotation by the same author.*

**The Internet won't kill off the dailies you like — it will help the good ones thrive.**

*Do you agree or disagree with it? In what ways could the Internet help newspapers?*

### **DON'T WRITE OFF NEWSPAPERS YET** **(by Conrad Black "The Daily Telegraph")**

America Online CEO Steve Case told me recently that the newspaper business was "somewhere between beleaguered and dying". The high priests of the Internet have been predicting the death of the newspaper for some time, often with the affected clinical indifference of the technological Darwinian.

Anyone of consent age in a civilized place would have to be brain dead not to recognize the power of the Internet. Newspaper proprietors who fail to bridge the culture with Internet develop-

ers and users are doomed to a precarious existence in a no-growth industry. But those who recognize the Internet's potential, and the power of a strong newspaper franchise as a platform for Internet operations, will prosper.

It is anachronistic that we should continue to be informed and entertained much as we were a century ago by the distribution through congested city streets of large quantities of newsprint, wrought from distant forests. In newspapers, as in other media, the content is important and there is considerable flexibility to accommodate the preferences of the consumer in matters of delivery. Virtually all newspapers are published on the Internet now.

But there is also a false messianism in the claims of high-tech zealots that the Internet is an antidote to all evils. In this era of overwhelming cascades of information and entertainment from a proliferation of sources, the premium on the editorial function will grow, and the goodwill in the trademarks of authoritative newspapers is a tremendous asset. Properly managed, these franchises are beacons built on solid foundations. Unlike some newer media endeavors, these are not exercises in hucksterism, faddishness and financial flimflam.

### **The Arrogance of Indolence**

Too many U.S. and Canadian newspapers are essentially one-city monopolies, combining the arrogance and indolence that comes from an absence of direct competition with a defeatist attitude to other and newer media. Intimidated first by television and then by the Internet, too many newspaper publishers, instead of making their products more interesting and accessible and marketing them more imaginatively, have cowered behind uneconomically low cover prices.

Canada is as heavily populated with newspapers as the U.S., and when we launched a new nationwide newspaper, the *National Post*, in late 1998, it had an electrifying effect on the Canadian media, almost immediately gaining a paid circulation of 300,000. In part this was because the *National Post* took a different view than the usual soft-left Canadian media preoccupation with rath-

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er trivial distinctions between Canada and the U.S. But mainly its success was because of a sharper, more humorous and more crisply edited style than Canadians are accustomed to from their worthy but not overly rollicking media.

The Internet probably poses a greater direct threat to television than to newspapers. When bandwidth problems are resolved in the next few years, TV and Internet transmissions will have comparable picture definition and will be received on the same screens. Already Internet surfing, along with the steady multiplication of channels, has reduced and atomized TV viewing. The number of television viewers, according to some surveys, has declined by a greater proportion in the past two years than U.S. daily newspaper circulation has since 1970. Yet few people are predicting the demise of television.

The concern most frequently expressed for the commercial viability of newspapers is that they will lose all their classified-advertising revenue. In one sense this is true but intelligent publishers will lose it to themselves. Already all seriously managed newspapers put their classified advertising on the Net, and almost all of them do so in a way that interlinks with other newspapers to make regional or national networks. Our *Chicago Sun-Times* offers advertisers space in the newspaper, on the Web and in a specialty publication called Digital Chicago.

Internet policy of posting classified advertising without charge and calling it content could be somewhat troublesome for newspapers. But either it will lead to such an avalanche of unpaid advertising that would be unwieldy as well as expensive to the service provider, or it will not catch on at all outside a few categories. Resourceful newspaper publishers will successfully defend most of their revenue.

### **Increasing Revenue**

The Internet affords the newspaper publisher the opportunity to expand his circulation vastly, if his product is more than regionally competitive. He will be able to reduce raw-material costs to the extent that people desire the newspaper on their screens rather than on newsprint. He will be able to sell access to

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his archives and generally increase both advertising and circulation revenue if the quality of his product is competitive. For the greater newspapers, it certainly will be.

Anyone will be able to set up on the Internet and compete directly with telecasters and established Internet sites. In this era of overwhelming choice, the central question is: Who can attract the proverbial eyeballs? As the profusion of advertising in the *Wall Street Journal Europe* demonstrates, there is no better platform for launching, promoting, co-branding and joint selling with Internet sites than an authoritative newspaper.

Serious newspapers will offer their loyal readers a range of Internet services as varied as their content. Those that can bridge the newspaper and Internet cultures will have their full share in the rise of the Internet. They will retain a base of goodwill and brand loyalty that other media will rival only with great persistence and difficulty.

***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. What are the options for newspaper business development?
2. Which media actually compete with each other?
3. Do the press and the Internet contradict each other?
4. What problems arise in the era of information from a proliferation of sources? Which mass media function grows in this context?
5. Why did "The National Post" launched in 1998 in Canada thrive?
6. What is the way to increase advertising revenue and not to lose classified advertising revenue?
7. What opportunities does the Internet afford newspaper publishers? What opportunities does an authoritative newspaper give to Internet developers?

**Exercise 21**

*Translate the following sentences from the text, paying attention to the underlined parts.*

1. The high priests of the Internet have been predicting the death of the newspaper for some time, often with the affected clinical indifference of the technological Darwinian.
2. ...too many newspaper publishers, instead of making their products more interesting and accessible and marketing them more imaginatively, have covered behind uneconomically low cover prices.
3. When bandwidth problems are resolved in the next few years, TV and Internet transmissions will have comparable picture definition and will be received on the same screens.

## Exercise 22

*Write a summary of the text.*

## Exercise 23

*Study the collocations with the word "newspaper" and translate them into Russian/English.*

1 ownership		строка
2 proprietor		формат
3 franchise		заголовок
4 circulation		пояснение, титр
viability		читатели
6 space	newspaper	колонка
7 content		раздел
8 business		полоса
9 publisher		редактор
10 consumer		помощник редактора
11 archives		освещение

## Exercise 24

*Explain in English the following words and phrases used in the article.*

- |                     |                            |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. high-tech zealot | 6. financial flimflam      |
| 2. media endeavors  | 7. arrogance of indolence  |
| 3. beacon           | 8. overly rollicking media |
| 4. hucksterism      | 9. Internet surfing        |
| 5. faddishness      | 10. classified advertising |

### **Exercise 25**

*Find in the text the English equivalents for the following pairs of word combinations and make up sentences of your own with them.*

- 1) распределение/раздача печатного материала  
доставка печатного материала
- 2) увеличение количества источников  
увеличение количества каналов
- 3) поток рекламы  
поток информации
- 4) общенациональные газеты  
авторитетные газеты
- 5) кончина телевидения  
рост популярности газет
- 6) процветать (о газетах)  
процветать (о владельцах)

### **Exercise 26**

*Find the word combinations in the text and translate them into Russian.*

- to be doomed to a precarious existence
- to launch a newspaper
- to pose a direct threat to
- to expand the circulation
- to increase advertising and circulation revenue
- to compete directly with smb for smth
- to bridge the cultures
- to retain loyalty to
- to rival smb for smth/in smth

Use them in the following sentences.

1. Governments should make human concerns central to statecraft otherwise we will be \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Though many Britons \_\_\_\_\_ to the government opinion polls in 2000 indicated increasing dissatisfaction by the population with the Labour and some of its programmes.
3. The Conservative party in order to \_\_\_\_\_ with the Labour and to appeal to the electorate is attempting to generate new policy directions and a new image.
4. The Labour Party has in practice embraced and built on many Conservative ideological positions, \_\_\_\_\_.
5. One of the ways for newspaper management to make a profit is to \_\_\_\_\_.
6. The breakthrough to what we think of as the modern press arrived when Lord Northcliffe \_\_\_\_\_ the *Daily Mail* in 1896.
7. This year the newspaper \_\_\_\_\_ and can now \_\_\_\_\_ most authoritative newspapers.
8. Nuclear disarmament remains the ultimate goal as proliferation of nuclear weapons \_\_\_\_\_ humanity.

## Exercise 27

Learn the following words and use them in the given sentences.

- n) to circulate — circular — circulation — circuit —  
to circle — circle
1. Here is the memo he \_\_\_\_\_ on his return from a seminar of New Labour intellectuals.
  2. Crime leads to prison, which leads to unemployment, which leads to crime. It's a vicious \_\_\_\_\_.
  3. The Pepys Estate in Deptford, which had an exceptionally high crime rate in the 1980s, introduced changes including security improvements to flats and lighting, and closed — \_\_\_\_\_ television (CCTV).

4. It is not overly melodramatic to suggest that the continuing gradual fall in the \_\_\_\_\_ of daily newspapers across the world is a potential threat to democracy.
5. The story centers on a beach bum forced to make an exterior \_\_\_\_\_ of an Atlantic City penthouse by his lover's gangster-husband.
6. The spacecraft carrying sophisticated surveillance equipment \_\_\_\_\_ the Earth for several months.
7. The department regularly sends \_\_\_\_\_ to its civil servants.

**b) to advertise — advertising — advertisement  
(ad, advert) — advertiser**

1. The government has a network of more than 200 offices around the world that regularly runs \_\_\_\_\_ campaigns and organized trade shows to sell Britain to the world.
2. When does the new \_\_\_\_\_ campaign begin?
3. Too often the \_\_\_\_\_ have simply reinforced the worst stereotypes about Britain.
4. A small business can only afford \_\_\_\_\_ in the local press.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ publicly inform people about a product or service in order to persuade them to buy it or use it.

**c) to compete — (in)competent — competitive —  
competition — competitiveness — (in)competence —  
competitor**

1. Multilateral institutions combined with the \_\_\_\_\_ dissemination of standardized systems and technologies of production have increased the speed and security with which knowledge flows across national boundaries.
2. According to another \_\_\_\_\_ view globalization has gone so far as to render state structures incapable of managing complex issues.
3. The situation could result in intense \_\_\_\_\_ and rivalry between the Eastern European and Central Asian governments on the one hand and the developing countries' governments on the other.

4. European countries are successfully reforming their economic and labour markets in the areas of business deregulation, job mobility and \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Being a large economy does not mean that the country is one of the leading richest \_\_\_\_\_ in Gross Domestic Product terms.

## Exercise 28

*Make up sentences to bring out the difference in meaning and usage of the words.*

- |                                      |                          |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| to launch/to introduce/to establish  | to thrive/to prosper     |
| to expand/to proliferate/to increase | to compete with/to rival |
| to retain/to preserve/to keep        | to deliver/to distribute |

*Make sure you can choose the correct alternative.*

1. The Red Cross **distributed/delivered** food and medicine to people in the flood area.
2. The victors in each war attempted to **launch/introduce/establish** a system or organization to **retain/preserve/keep** the gains they had achieved and prevent future wars.
3. In Vienna, the victors over Napoleon created the Concert of Europe, an informal agreement to **retain/preserve/keep** the status quo on the continent.
4. The participating countries codified the status and functions of diplomats and **launched/introduced/established** the principle that any member could **launch/introduce/establish** a call for a conference with the others.
5. The president expressed concern about nuclear weapons **proliferating/expanding/increasing** in the world.
6. The next **distribution/delivery** of newspapers will be in two weeks' time in this remote place.
7. "**Retain/Preserve/Keep** America Beautiful" and "**Retain/Preserve/Keep** Britain Tidy" are the two slogans to encourage people of respective countries not to drop litter in the streets.

8. The Prime Ministers and Presidents are more determined than ever that the Commonwealth should continue to **proliferate/expand/increase** its activities.
9. In the 1980s the company was **thriving/prospering** in spite of difficult conditions and high taxes.
10. It was suggested that the employee should send a photocopy and **retain/preserve/keep** a copy of the original version of the letter.
11. Though he has become a prisoner he **retained/preserved/kept** a sense of his own identity.
12. Attempts to **expand/proliferate/increase** the circulation and cut out waste resulted in the **launch/introduction/establishment** of new computerised technology to produce newspapers.
13. The Democratic candidate is going to **rival/compete** the Republican candidate in the presidential election.

### **Exercise 29**

*Fill each blank with one word connected with the press.*

During the 1980s virtually every \_\_\_\_\_ was radically affected by new \_\_\_\_\_ technology. Bitter conflicts were fought between \_\_\_\_\_ and the unions as the new technology was \_\_\_\_\_. Almost every \_\_\_\_\_ left its historic home in \_\_\_\_\_ Street, known colloquially as "the Street of Shame", the centre of the British \_\_\_\_\_ for over a century. Some went to new sites in London's Docklands, while others moved elsewhere. New technology \_\_\_\_\_ the circulation \_\_\_\_\_ of the press, and this in turn allowed the \_\_\_\_\_ of new papers. Some of these flopped. The most important new paper was the *Independent*. \_\_\_\_\_ in 1986, it rapidly seized the centre ground vacated by the *Times*, which had moved to the right following its purchase by Murdoch's News International. In 1990 its \_\_\_\_\_ was only slightly behind its two main \_\_\_\_\_, the *Times* and the

*Guardian*, and it \_\_\_\_\_ with the *Times* as “the \_\_\_\_\_ of the establishment”. News International also acquired the *Sunday Times*, the *Sun* and the *News of the World*, both of which it successfully turned into the two largest \_\_\_\_\_ newspapers. In 1989 it \_\_\_\_\_ the television market by \_\_\_\_\_ a satellite television \_\_\_\_\_, now known as BSkyB Television.

### Exercise 30

*Fill in the blanks with the given nouns and verbs in the correct form.*

to present	contributor
to ensure	objectivity
to feature	placement
to keep	detachment
to impose	ownership
to preserve	bias
to cover	competitive
to misinform	market
to provide	space

The trend toward concentration of \_\_\_\_\_ is defended on the ground that large-scale organizations can \_\_\_\_\_ the funds, know-how, and management in order \_\_\_\_\_ a newspaper profitable and \_\_\_\_\_. But conglomeration raises questions among some social commentators about \_\_\_\_\_. Would marketplace diversity not \_\_\_\_\_ that error and \_\_\_\_\_ would be counterbalanced, and does monopoly not increase the chance that the public may \_\_\_\_\_?

The American press, especially in recent decades, has insisted on \_\_\_\_\_ in news reports, usually \_\_\_\_\_ a more rigorous separation of fact from opinion than do newspapers in other countries. Opinion is excluded from news columns and \_\_\_\_\_ on separate editorial pages, which \_\_\_\_\_

unsigned editorials and include opinions signed by readers, \_\_\_\_\_, and syndicated columnists. Careful effort \_\_\_\_\_ objectivity is made even among monopoly newspapers. The *Washington Post*, for example, which in 1976 had a monopoly in the morning \_\_\_\_\_ in the Washington, D.C., area, \_\_\_\_\_ that year's presidential election by giving equal \_\_\_\_\_ to candidates Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. Even the photographs of the candidates were scrupulously equal in size and \_\_\_\_\_.

### Exercise 31

*Fill in the gaps with the following verbs in the correct form.*

to present	to impose on
to ensure	to comment on
to feature	to print
to cover	to publish
to provide	to distribute
to contribute to	to detach from

1. Politicians and commentators often seem interested in \_\_\_\_\_ the country as a "problem" and suggesting their own remedies.
2. Marxism and feminism can both \_\_\_\_\_ powerful insights, but each also has its blind spots and its limitations.
3. People have to be understood in their own terms: this cannot be done by \_\_\_\_\_ on them some alien ideological agenda form outside.
4. A popular comedy show \_\_\_\_\_ sketches of extraordinary crudity, which seem to strike only foreigners.
5. The next two texts \_\_\_\_\_ on the perceived need to create an economically and socially prosperous Britain.
6. The author believes that Mr. Blair's craving for ceaseless change will eventually \_\_\_\_\_ to his undoing.
7. But even as Disraeli's words were telegraphed to London, \_\_\_\_\_ in newspapers and \_\_\_\_\_ by the

new railway network across the United Kingdom, the ruling class knew that the moment had come to engineer a historic change.

8. Since 1962, when Marshall McLuhan \_\_\_\_\_ his book "Gutenberg Galaxy", people have talked in clichéd terms, about the rise of a "global village".
9. Dr Edwards \_\_\_\_\_ that even if readers don't agree with the Orangemen's stand, at least they may better understand it.
10. The Tories are preparing a preliminary new policy programme, which \_\_\_\_\_ areas such as the constitution, Europe etc.
11. The British people felt that in important areas of our national life we had become \_\_\_\_\_ from the British Way.

### Exercise 32

*Translate the following words into Russian and give the opposites.*

objective	detached
partial	partisan
biased	interested
fair	just
reasonable	balanced
passionate	even-handed

### Exercise 33

*Translate the following into English using the active vocabulary.*

Редакторы авторитетных газет придают большое значение тому, чтобы печатный материал освещал читателям новости объективно и непредвзято. Они особенно внимательно следят за тем, чтобы субъективное мнение было исключено из колонок новостей и представлено на отдельных полосах, где помещены редакторские статьи. Их глав-

ная цель — сохранить объективность и обеспечить равноценные печатные площади. например, политическим соперникам и противоборствующим партиям.

## Exercise 34

*Translate the following text into English using the active vocabulary.*

### АНГЛИЙСКИЕ ЗАГОЛОВКИ

«Дайте мне заголовок, и статья готова», — сказал один известный журналист. Однако многие журналисты расходятся во мнениях относительно заголовков. Несомненно, броские, эффектные заголовки делают газету более привлекательной. Но некоторые журналисты считают, что место на полосе, уделяемое заголовкам, не всегда оправдано.

Размеры заголовков определяются техническими возможностями газеты, а также важностью описанных событий и общим направлением газеты. Некоторые газеты склонны замалчивать одни события и раздувать другие.

Помощник редактора должен представить такой заголовок, который точно соответствует отведенному ему месту на полосе. Он должен точно знать, сколько букв и слов помещается в заданном пространстве.

Необходимость экономии места на полосе привела к тому, что длинные слова стали заменяться более короткими, а некоторые слова опускались совсем. Иногда дело доходило до абсурда: чтобы понять заголовок, приходилось прочесть статью, хотя помощник редактора стремился передать максимум информации, пользуясь минимумом слов.

*Despite competition from radio and television newspapers have survived. But which type of the press has suffered a decline in circulation most and what attempts is it making to recruit new readers and advertisers? You will find the answer to this question in the article below.*

## PASS THE PULITZERS

(“The Economist”)

WASHINGTON, DC. A few years ago, Hollywood produced a film based on the amusing (and not implausible) premise that aliens from outer space had been living on earth for years, particularly in New York. The heroes of “Men in Black” were immigration officers whose job it was to keep an eye on these extra-terrestrials. The only help they had in this difficult task, beyond a fine array of machineguns, was the tireless reporting of the tabloid magazines — “the best investigative journalism in the world,” as one of the characters says.

Back in the real world, the weekly tabloids have this year been responsible for more hot political scoops than any of the mainstream media. In January, the *National Enquirer* broke the story of Jesse Jackson’s illegitimate child. In February, the *Enquirer* vied with Associated Press to be first with the news that Hillary Clinton’s brother, Hugh Rodham, had received \$400,000 for his help with two presidential pardons. Then, with admirable bipartisanship, the *Enquirer* went after the Bush family, chasing the unfortunate Jenna on both drink and marijuana.

There is nothing particularly new about the tabloids being good investigators. They made the mainstream media play catch-up with a series of scoops during the O. J. Simpson trial, producing, for example, a picture of Mr. Simpson wearing a pair of Bruno Magli shoes that he claimed he had never owned. And they have aimed at political targets before: the *Star* took Dick Morris’s scalp in 1996 when it revealed that he was having an affair with a prostitute, and almost torpedoed Bill Clinton’s presidential campaign in 1992 when it unveiled his affair with Jennifer Flowers. But hitherto they have only dipped a toe into the political pond. The latest spate of stories suggests that they are looking at politics with a new seriousness.

Why forsake Martians for politicians? The simple answer is readership. The *Enquirer’s* circulation has sunk from 3.1 m in 1994 to 2.1 m, the *Star’s* from 2.8 m to 1.6m. Supermarket chains

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become nervous about stocking tabloids if their circulation falls below 2 m.

Circulation is down partly because readers seem, quite astonishingly, to mistrust the tabloids' accuracy. Only one out of every eight people who flip through the pages of a tabloid on the way to the checkout counter actually bothers to buy one. Meanwhile, the people who originally got into the habit of buying the tabloids to read about the latest sightings of Elvis are beginning to die off. The mainstream media are invading the tabloids' territory with gossipy entertainment channels and endless chat shows that blur the distinction between speculation and news.

David Pecker, who has run American Media Inc's tabloid empire since 1999, is spending millions in an attempt to recruit new readers and advertisers. He has presided over a dramatic consolidation of the industry, leaving him in control of all the weekly tabloids. He is increasing the amount of firepower his group devotes to investigative journalism: the *Enquirer* set a dozen reporters on to the task of dissecting Mr. Clinton's ten most questionable pardons. And he is dealing with the credibility problem by carefully segmenting his market. The *Enquirer* is aiming at the top end. The paper's delivery vans have the slogan "Get it first. Get it fast. Get it right" printed on the back, and "No Elvis. No aliens. No UFOs" on the side. (The *Weekly World News*, which has led the pack with sightings of Elvis, continues to focus on traditional tabloid fare.)

The tabloids' job is made easier by two things. The first is the blurring of the line between sensationalism and politics. The line was always going to be hard to defend in an era of proliferating news media. But it has been erased by Mr. Clinton's tendencies. The tabloids are arguably the papers of record of the Clinton years.

The second factor is the prissiness of America's broadsheets, still the only form of daily newspaper in most of the country. New York city is the only place with a daily tabloid press that a European would recognise. Many of the country's top journalists think that their job is to analyse "policy"; they do not wish to discuss, in print, tittle-tattle about "personality".

### Interested public, or public interest?

Such high-mindedness may have its merits, but the super-market tabloids do not share it. They say the job of the press is to expose the personal failings of the powerful as well as to discuss greenhouse gas emissions. They instinctively realise that President Bush's tough stance on marijuana makes the question of whether his daughter has ever smoked that weed a compelling news story. (Texas sends people caught with two ounces or less of marijuana to jail for 180 days.)

For the moment the tabloids are on a roll. The issue of the *Enquirer* that broke the Jackson story was one of the paper's most successful. More up-market advertisers have started taking out ads in the paper.

Will this continue? Some speculate that the tabloids' flowering is really just a relic of the Clinton years: a more upright (and less charismatic) president will be the death of them. This seems unlikely. Even supposing they fail to dig up any new scandals, a quick glance at a list of the tabloids' current victims reveals a lot more questions than answers.

And the tabloids still tackle the questions that higher-minded journalists steer clear of in their writing but then spend most of the week discussing at lunch. The latest *Globe* reports that Mr. Clinton plans to tell everything in his memoirs, including the crucial "facts" that he "was a battered spouse who suffered physical abuse at Hillary's hands for years", that he had a secret mental breakdown after telling his daughter about his affair with Monica Lewinsky and, surprise surprise, that he's a sex addict. *New York Times*, please do not copy.

### Notes:

1. the Reverend Jesse Jackson (1941) — a US politician in the Democratic Party, who is also a minister in the Baptist Church and one of the leading black politicians in the US. He was active in the civil rights movement during the 1960s, and is known as a very effective public speaker who has always supported black people and other groups who have been unfairly treated in the past;

2. Hillary Rodham Clinton (1946) — the wife of ex-president Bill Clinton, w the First Lady of the US;
3. Bill Clinton (1946) — the 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the US. He was elect ed President of the US in 1992 and again in 1996. Clinton was a popular President fo most of his period in office, because the US economy was strong;
4. O. J. Simpson (1947) — a US football player, one of the most suc- cessful players of the 1970s, who later be- came an actor. In 1994 he was charged with murdering his wife and her friend. The trial lasted for nine months, and was watched on television by people all over the world. In the end the jury decided that he did not kill her. Later, relatives of the murdered people won a civil court case against him and he was ordered to pay them \$ 8.5 million. Sim- pson is black, and the question of race was important in the attitudes of ordinary pe- ple towards Simpson;
5. Elvis Presley (1935–1977) — a US singer and guitar player, who first became popular as a rock'n'roll singer in the mid-1950s, and became one of the most successful and popular singers ever. He is often called “The King”, and some people say that they do not believe that he is dead;
6. Elvis sighting — an occasion when someone claims that they have seen the dead US singer Elvis Presley. These sightings are usually men- tioned as a joke, but a few people believe that he is still alive;
7. Monica Lewinsky (1973) — a US woman who had a sexual relation- ship with President Bill Clinton. In 1995, Lewinsky worked in the White House as an intern (= a young person who does a job for a short time to gain experience). At first, both

Lewinsky and the President said this was not true, but later Mr. Clinton admitted he had had "an inappropriate relationship" with her

***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. What are the Pulitzers, Associated Press, the UFO?
2. Who is the unfortunate Jenna?
3. What is the distinction between the mainstream media and the weekly tabloids?
4. What does the job of tabloid journalists and that of broadsheet journalists consist in?
5. Which type of newspapers is invading the territory of the other?
6. What makes the tabloids' job easier?
7. What determines the power of tabloids? Do they always concentrate on traditional fare?
8. What are the prospects for the tabloid press?

**Exercise 35**

*Explain in English the following word combinations used in the article.*

- |                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. mainstream media         | 6. prissiness of broadsheets |
| 2. admirable bipartisanship | 7. compelling news story     |
| 3. supermarket chains       | 8. to be on a roll           |
| 4. credibility problem      | 9. up-market advertisers     |
| 5. papers of record         | 10. to aim at the top end    |

**Exercise 36**

*Find in the text the English equivalents for the following Russian phrases.*

- вполне правдоподобная посылка  
 неустанные сообщения  
 журналистское расследование

следить за кем-либо  
 горячие сенсации  
 соперничать с кем-либо  
 наплыв статей  
 отказываться от чего-то ради...  
 сомневаться в правильности  
 сглаживать различие между...  
 стереть границу между...  
 анализировать  
 сплетничать  
 разоблачать недостатки  
 жесткая позиция по...  
 опубликовать сообщение  
 делать предположение  
 избегать вопросов  
 взяться за решение вопросов

### Exercise 37

Choose the more suitable word.

1. The *Listener* is the official *journal/magazine* of the Linguistic Association.
2. The *Sunday News* has the highest *circulation/output* of any newspaper in Britain.
3. A *scoop/circular* is a leaflet delivered free to a large number of people.
4. The introduction to a book written by the author is a *preface/premise*.
5. Our company finds it difficult to *launch/market* products in that part of the world.
6. They are bringing O. Henry's book in a new *edition/publication*.
7. Are newspapers subject to *banning/censorship* in your country?
8. This page looks very crowded and I don't like the *placement/layout*.

9. Mass circulation newspapers usually specialize in *scoop/sensational* stories.
10. Broadsheet newspapers have always *rivalled/vied* with tabloid newspapers.
11. Sometimes reporters *expose/disclose* classified information or pursue investigative *reporting/journalism* to *expose/disclose* corruption within institutions.
12. We are going to *launch/market* the new product at a press conference next month.
13. This newspaper doesn't have very good sports *publication/coverage*.

### Exercise 38

*Choose the most suitable word or phrase to complete the sentences.*

1. The journalist refused to \_\_\_\_\_ his source to the judge.  
a) expose b) propose c) impose d) disclose
2. The Consul hurriedly \_\_\_\_\_ the message on a scrap of paper.  
a) jotted down b) wrote off c) blurred d) erased
3. This article will be continued in our next \_\_\_\_\_.  
a) publication b) page c) issue d) edition
4. The typist paid no attention, as she was completely \_\_\_\_\_ in her paper.  
a) engrossed b) focused c) concentrated d) dominated
5. Here is a report from our political \_\_\_\_\_.  
a) journalist b) editorial c) correspondent d) contributor

### Exercise 39

*I'll each of the blank spaces with one active word in the correct form.*

1. The print and broadcasting \_\_\_\_\_ do not only \_\_\_\_\_ information to the public but also \_\_\_\_\_ public opinion on various \_\_\_\_\_.
2. The tasks that the Russian mission aims to \_\_\_\_\_ may be defined as \_\_\_\_\_ Russia's national interests and \_\_\_\_\_ good relations with the delegations of member countries.
3. The government \_\_\_\_\_ the Press Complaints Commission to \_\_\_\_\_ that newspapers follow a Code of Practice which \_\_\_\_\_ such matters as inaccuracy, \_\_\_\_\_ and harassment.
4. The officials have made inquiries but have been unable to \_\_\_\_\_ information from the witness.
5. Newspapers have had to cope with \_\_\_\_\_ from radio and television, they have suffered a decline in \_\_\_\_\_ from the peak years around the turn of the century.
6. Labour's ill thought-out reforms have \_\_\_\_\_ a danger to the UK and problems to those who would \_\_\_\_\_ the country, not lose it.
7. May 2000 also saw the first directly elected Mayor of London and the \_\_\_\_\_ of a Greater London Assembly to run the capital.
8. Government and media often engage in confrontations where reporters \_\_\_\_\_ classified information or pursue investigative \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_ injustices and corruption.

### Exercise 40

*Complete the text using the words and phrases given below.*

Tabloids, coverage, polarizing, tapped, launched, running stories, niche, cover price, aimed, opposition, readership, rival, boosted, dailies, profitability, feature, circulation, end of the market.

## THE PRESS IN BRITAIN

Of the major newspapers (1) \_\_\_\_\_ in Britain recently the most successful have been *The Independent* at the top (2) \_\_\_\_\_ and *Sunday Sport* at the bottom. Of the three (3) \_\_\_\_\_ at the middle market, two have folded while the third, *Today*, is already into its third proprietor.

*Sunday Sport* has a(n) (4) \_\_\_\_\_ interested in sex-advertising. *The Independent* has (5) \_\_\_\_\_ an intelligent young market, taking readers from *The Times* and *The Guardian*. It is not as strong as other papers on (6) \_\_\_\_\_, that is, those stories that continue for days, if not weeks, but few would fault its design and use of quality pictures. Its (7) \_\_\_\_\_ of some particular issues, such as the Spycatcher story, was much applauded and (8) \_\_\_\_\_ sales.

It is in the middle market that there are limited prospects for growth. Twenty years ago the middle market (9) \_\_\_\_\_ sold 7.5 million copies nationwide, but now the figure is half that. The newspaper market is (10) \_\_\_\_\_ between serious broadsheets and the frivolous (11) \_\_\_\_\_. The problem for the middle market papers is to create their own (12) \_\_\_\_\_. The editor of *The Daily Mail*, who regards *The Times* and *The Telegraph* as his (13) \_\_\_\_\_, says his strategy is to encourage longer news stories, engage quality journalists for the (14) \_\_\_\_\_ pages and introduce a Saturday leisure section in his tabloid paper to (15) \_\_\_\_\_ those of the broadsheet papers. At *The Daily Express* (16) \_\_\_\_\_ has dropped from 4 million in the 1960's to 1,100,000. The editor says, "We have to move a little up market. We have to report in more depth".

Competition is important in determining (17) \_\_\_\_\_. *The Express* and *Daily Mail* are now making money. But things would change if they had to reduce the (18) \_\_\_\_\_ as a result of competition.

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## Exercise 41

*Study the following idioms and make up sentences using them.*

1. **Hobson's choice** — to have no choice at all (Mr. Hobson owned a livery stable but he did not allow the customers to pick their own horses.)  
Despite all the talk about democracy in the family, the father usually gives the rest of the members Hobson's choice.
2. **the writing on the wall** — an incident or event that shows what will happen in the future  
In retrospect he should have seen the writing on the wall when his friend gave him only a cursory greeting on his birthday.
3. **to wash dirty linen in public** — to openly discuss private affairs  
“Let's talk about it privately”, the secretary said, “rather than wash our dirty linen in public”.
4. **by hook or by crook** — any way at all, at any cost  
He had bought a costly but useless thing without any reason; now he had to get rid of it by hook or by crook.

*Make up a situation using the idioms and the active vocabulary of the unit.*

## Workshop IV. DISPUTABLE ISSUES IN THE PRESS

The most contradictory questions about the press have always been the questions of the freedom of the press and state control of the press. Governments that limit press freedom are accused of gagging the press. This may take the form of a voluntary code of practice overseen by a body referred to informally as a watchdog. If this is not enough for the government, it may impose statutory controls. The authorities are then described as cracking down or clamping down on the press. They may also be accused of press censorship.

*Read the information below, which may help you to discuss controversial issues concerning the press. Get ready to explain what the sections mentioned below imply.*

## THE PRESS AND THE LAW

At present in Britain there are no specific press laws. Certain others, however, include sections, which apply to the press. These include:

- the extent of newspaper ownership in radio and TV companies;
- the transfer of newspaper assets;
- restriction on reporting certain court proceedings;
- restriction on publishing material that could incite racial hatred;
- the right of press representatives to be admitted to local authority meetings.

Laws covering contempt of court, official secrets, libel and defamation are of particular relevance to the press. Comments on judicial proceedings, which may prejudice the court's reputation for fairness cannot be published, nor can anything which might influence the result of a trial. Most legal proceedings against the press are libel actions brought by private individuals. There are also restrictions on the publication of certain advertisements for remedies for certain diseases and some prize competitions. Copyright is also protected by law.

The Press Complaints Commission was established to ensure that newspapers and periodicals follow a Code of Practice drawn by newspaper and magazine editors and adopted by the industry. The Code of Practice covers such matters as inaccuracy, harassment, intrusion into privacy and discrimination by the press. The Commission, whose members are drawn from both the public and the press, receives and adjudicates upon complaints about possible breaches of the code. It also gives general guidance to editors on ethical issues. All complaints are dealt with on paper, rather than at a formal hearing. Most complaints are about inaccuracy. The Commission publishes regular reports listing

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every complaint and details of how this is being pursued. The Commission is financed by a levy paid by newspapers and magazines.

***Pre-reading questions:***

1. Should journalists be allowed to write and publish what they like? Why? / Why not?
2. Does the government have the right to censor the press? Under what conditions? To what extent? To what purpose?
3. Does the public have the right to control journalists?

***Now read an essay by Henry Grunwald and compare your feelings about the issue with his.***

## **WHO CARES ABOUT A FREE PRESS?**

**Henry Grunwald, *TIME***

UNESCO has proclaimed May 3 World Press Freedom Day. In the American consciousness this is not likely to rank with Mother's Day, Secretaries' Day, Pharmacists' Day, or even Kiss-Your-Mate Day, but deserves some attention at a time when America is more dissatisfied than ever with its own media.

The exercise brings to mind a 17th century English pamphleteer named John Twyn, who published a defense of revolution. Condemned for treason, he was hanged, cut down while still alive, emasculated, disemboweled, quartered and, presumably to make absolutely sure, beheaded. A great many Americans today feel that this is just about the treatment appropriate to their journalists. Elsewhere in the world, they are in fact treated almost that way.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, democracy seemed to be on the march everywhere, together with an independent press. Much of that promise came true, but lately it has receded again. The Russian press, for example, forcefully criticizes the government in ways undreamed of a few years ago. Russian television has made Chechnya a living-room war. As a result there has been a vehement backlash. All camps — bureaucrats, politicians, the

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military, entrepreneurs and criminals — seem to have declared open season on the press. Within the past months an investigative reporter and a prominent TV personality were assassinated. Reformers believe that the press is the last hope for democracy in Russia.

The situation is similar in some of the old Soviet republics and satellites. Both former communists and former dissidents are fighting daily to maintain or reimpose state control of the media. In Tajikistan, beset by civil war, the government suppressed all independent media. In Armenia police habitually raid editorial offices. In Romania journalists are often under surveillance. In Slovakia a proposed law would provide one-to-five-year jail sentences for journalists who “demean” the country from abroad. In Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary the situation is better, but everywhere governments exert pressure by controlling paper supplies, distribution facilities and especially broadcast licenses.

The battle is not confined to former communist areas. In Turkey, a NATO member, more than 70 journalists were in jail at the end of last year. Despite much progress in Latin America, licensing of journalists and other controls are widespread. Argentina recently threatened to pass a law providing up to 10 years of prison for “dishonoring the name of a politician”.

Many of the world’s governments have enshrined press freedom in their constitutions but feel free to ignore it. A charter drawn up by the World Press Freedom Committee condemns censorship in all its forms and proclaims freedom of expression as an essential human right. But government resistance to the charter’s principles is tenacious. There is the argument from patriotism: nations, especially when in crisis, cannot tolerate destructive criticism. There is the argument from culture: chaotic Western concepts of freedom cannot be applied to societies based on order and stability. There is the argument from economics: undue press attacks undermine development. There is the argument from idealism: an irresponsible press is apt to spread racial and ethnic hatred. All of these assertions contain elements of truth. It is nearly impossible to export the First Amendment of

the American Constitution, for example, to countries without deep roots and habits of freedom. In many parts of the world, journalists lack any tradition of objective reporting. But for the most part, the fight against press freedom comes down to politicians protecting themselves and the status quo.

That is ultimately untenable in a world of instant communications that cross all frontiers. And in a global marketplace the notion that authoritarian rule can be combined with free enterprise — the notion might be called Lee Kuan Yewism, for Singapore's Godfather — cannot work indefinitely.

The US maintains that countries aspiring to membership in NATO, in the European Union or in the wider community of developed nations must respect democracy, free enterprise and human rights. But Washington is notably passive in promoting freedom of the press.

Why should Americans care? Because if there is to be a world in which the US can enjoy a measure of security and prosperity, the spread of democracy is essential. And democracy is impossible without a free press. Free and responsible, of course. But responsibility is not likely to be taught by the Twyn treatment or lesser forms of repression.

Looking at the rest of the world, American journalists have reason to be grateful that the only real threat they face is angry words. And the American public has reason to be grateful that its press, for all its sins, is still the most professional and responsible in the world. Could that mutual recognition produce a glimmer of detente between press and citizens? According to recent surveys, a majority of Americans believe that the media only get in the way of solving problems. But a majority also believe that the press keeps powerful people from becoming too powerful. Perhaps that thought should be the message of World Press Freedom Day, everywhere, including the US.

### ***Comprehension questions:***

1. Does the author provide an answer to the question in the title?

Is the title of the article a question in fact?

- THE PRESS 17
2. How can you describe the style of the article?  
(formal-informal, emotional-neutral, personal-impersonal)  
Quote the article to prove your impression.
  3. What part does the paragraph about John Twyn play in the article?
  4. What repressive measures used against the press throughout the world are mentioned in the article?
  5. What reasons according to the author make the public object to the freedom of the press? How valid are those reasons from his point of view?
  6. Why do most world governments favour censorship of the press?
  7. How does the author describe the relationship between the American citizens and journalists?
  8. What is the role of a free press in a democratic society?

## Exercise 42

*Explain the following points of the text.*

1. **UNESCO** — What do those letters stand for?
2. Why are the names of some days mentioned in the article spelt with capital letters?
3. What is the **First Amendment** about? When was it made? Why?
4. What is the origin of the words: **detente? Status quo?**
5. What do those words mean in plain English?
6. How many different meanings of the word “**godfather**” do you know? In what meaning is it used in the article?

## Exercise 43

*Translate the following sentences into Russian.*

1. It is not likely to rank with Mother's Day.
2. This is just the treatment appropriate to their journalists.
3. Democracy seemed to be on the march.

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4. The American public has reason to be grateful that its press, for all its sins, is still the most professional and responsible in the world.

### **Exercise 44**

*In the text find the English equivalents for the following Russian phrases.*

Приговорить кого-либо к смерти за измену, яростная ответная реакция, объявить сезон охоты на журналистов, быть охваченным войной, совершить налет на редакцию, принижать достоинство страны, увековечить свободу прессы в конституции, мешаться под ногами.

*Use the corresponding English phrases in sentences of your own.*

**Censorship is defined as the practice of officially examining films, books, letters etc. to take out any parts which are considered to be morally harmful or politically dangerous.**

*Read the passage that follows and jot down the pros and cons of censorship.*

### **CENSORSHIP**

Views about censorship are of two main kinds.

Proponents of censorship take the view that the loss of freedom that censorship involves is a necessary evil because there is likely to be a far greater loss of freedom without censorship than with it. Opponents of censorship argue that censorship itself is a far greater threat to freedom, than any of the dangers it supposedly guards against.

Those who favour censorship base their arguments on the view that, if left to their own devices, human beings do not always act in the best interests of their fellow men and women. They need to be protected from themselves by governments in much the same way that parents need to protect their children

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from the consequences of some of their natural instincts. To believe otherwise is seen as at best naive, at worst plain foolish.

Thus, without censorship, supporters of this view argue, it would be impossible for governments to prevent military secrets from reaching a country's enemies. Likewise, unless the government has some control over the media, irresponsible journalists or broadcasters would be free to create unrest by spreading false information. By the same token, it is argued that it is necessary to have laws against matters such as pornography in order to protect the rights of vulnerable groups within society, such as women.

Supporters of this general view believe that the threat to human rights would be much greater without the protection of censorship. The means are seen as justifying the end: it is better to sacrifice a small amount of freedom in the interests of ultimately creating much greater overall freedom. According to their views, there is really no such thing as freedom, merely uncontrolled opportunities for the more powerful and unscrupulous to exploit the weaker and law-abiding.

Opponents of censorship accept that human beings do not always act in the best interests of their fellow citizens. They differ from supporters of censorship, however, in terms of what they see as the remedy. According to their view, the best guarantee of human rights is a society with as few restrictions as possible, much as the role of parents can be seen as not just to control their children but to help them to grow up to be responsible adults. Thus the responsibility for regulating society is seen to belong primarily to the ordinary citizen rather than the government. This view acknowledges human weaknesses, but also recognizes the potential of humanity for self-regulation.

Thus, from this point of view, it is up to the individual citizen to take whatever action the law permits regarding matters such as unfair or inaccurate newspaper, television or media reporting, pornography, and so on. As a first line of defence, citizens have the choice of denying the offending material an audience, simply by switching off or refusing to buy. Beyond this, the argument runs, citizens can use the existing laws of the land

against obscenity, libel, slander and so on, without the need for an extra level of censorship-based legislation. It is also argued by supporters of this view that a responsible citizenry is the best defence against irresponsible behaviour by those set on attempting to exploit their fellow citizens.

Thus, while allowing that there may be times of national emergency, such as war, when censorship is justified, opponents of censorship would argue that it is in general unnecessary, and takes away from ordinary citizens a role that is rightfully theirs, and gives to government one that is inappropriate. Opponents of censorship also point out that its supporters are naive in their assumption that governments are always more benign than the forces they oppose. It is only too easy for the censorship to be exploited as a weapon of oppression by a ruthless government.

In conclusion, censorship can perhaps best be regarded as a mixed blessing. It has the potential to protect society from harmful influences, but, equally, it may act as a harmful influence itself. It may be impossible to say whether censorship is ever totally beneficial or not. Much will depend on the circumstances in which it operates. In a society, which is relatively immature and insecure, it may provide much-needed stability and protection. In other societies, however, it may act as a brake on liberties, or, worst of all, be used as an instrument of repression and terror.

#### PROS

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

#### CONS

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

### DISCUSSION STRATEGY

#### Discussing the Pros and Cons of an Issue

When you consider the pros and cons of an issue, you are looking at the good or strong points (pros) and the bad or weak points (cons) of that issue. By considering both the pros and the cons of an issue, you are better able to understand and discuss it.

1. In small groups, discuss the arguments, giving your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with them. Note that what one person considers a “pro” someone else may consider a “con”.
2. In small groups, consider the problem of censorship. How has censorship affected different cultures around the world and your country? Does censorship have a positive or a negative influence on modern society?
3. Have one member of your group summarize the group’s discussion for the class and point out any conclusions you have reached.

### Exercise 45

*Give the English equivalents for the following Russian words and phrases.*

сторонники

противники

неизбежное зло

вызывать волнения, распространяя дезинформацию

материалы оскорбительного свойства

лишить кого-либо аудитории

точно так же, таким же образом

придерживаться точки зрения, полагать

признавать, что

расходиться во мнении по поводу того, что считается панацеей

проявлять наивность, полагая

несоднозначное явление, палка о двух концах

### Exercise 46

*a) The noun “press” derives the following verbs:*

to press

to depress

to express

to oppress

to suppress

to impress

to repress

to compress

*Find out how some of them are used in the text and make up sentences of your own with the others.*

*b) Use the above verbs or their derivatives in the following word combinations:*

to _____ a newspaper	_____ air
to exert _____	_____ measures
a free _____	to _____ the population
freedom of _____	to _____ one's lips
an instrument of _____	to be _____ for time
under _____ from	to _____ the truth
_____ of a revolt	to be favourably _____
to _____ a report into a page	_____ desires
periods of deep _____	the most _____ results

*c) Fill in the gaps with the above verbs or their derivatives.*

1. Compared with its fairly restricted range of activities earlier in the century, the state gives the \_\_\_\_\_ of intervening in just about every corner of British life.
2. British nationalism — when it is sober and is not paraded around football grounds — is healthy, an \_\_\_\_\_ of Britons' genuine affection for their country.
3. The Government is at the moment under no electoral \_\_\_\_\_: on the contrary, its lead in the opinion polls remains formidable.
4. Such exports would be banned if there was a risk that they might be used for internal \_\_\_\_\_ and the abuse of human rights in that country.
5. Vulgar feminism consists in the idea of powerful men \_\_\_\_\_ helpless, innocent women.
6. During the Great \_\_\_\_\_ many banks and businesses failed, and millions of people lost their jobs in the US and Europe.
7. The editor tried hard to \_\_\_\_\_ his anger and resentment but finally lost his temper.

d) *Make up six Russian sentences with the verbs above for the others to translate into English.*

## **Exercise 47**

*Write a composition on one of the following topics.*

1. The role of the press in a democratic society.
2. When the press is free and every man is able to read, all is safe.

*Thomas Jefferson*

3. A good newspaper is a nation talking to itself.

*Arthur Miller*

*The most frequent accusations against journalists consist in the fact that in search of a scoop they are prone to print insinuations that are not yet proven, that they often violate people's privacy, that they use dishonest means to obtain facts.*

*Alison Boshoff has published her comment on these accusations. Read it and answer the questions that follow.*

### **I'M A JOURNALIST NOT A PROSTITUTE**

**by Alison Boshoff**

*Alison Boshoff is a journalist with the Daily Mail. After Woldingham and A levels she graduated from Oxford with a degree in English and then, following a variety of jobs and training courses she spent two and a half years with the Kent Messenger. She is now Showbusiness Reporter for the Daily Mail.*

Sometimes I get very tempted to lie about what I do for a living. It's not that I don't love my job, but when I tell people what I do the reaction is either of horror, or pity, or both.

I even get asked if my mother minds about the job I do, which is faintly alarming. I used to say: "I'm a journalist, not a prostitute", but the inevitable joke (along the lines that there is not much difference between the two) has put paid to that response.

Sometimes people say: "So, do you make it all up then?" Or worse still, they stop dead in the middle of the story and say:

“I’m not saying any more in front of you”. This is often accompanied by a knowing leer.

In fact, journalists are so hated that I believe we have a lower public approval rating than politicians or estate agents, which is rather a blow. And as someone who has been chased down streets, menaced, elbowed in the face and spat at, I can personally vouch for the fact that we are not always the most popular visitors.

This is why I have decided, in the spirit of self-preservation, to write a comment about the ethics of journalism. And no, you cynical masses, it’s not going to make a very short read.

I have never, ever, made up a story — partly because this is a job stuffed with deadlines and life is far too short to hang around dreaming and sucking the end of your pencil when you could be out there gleaning some facts instead, which is after all what I am paid to do. Another encouragement not to make anything up is the laws of libel, which lean heavily in favour of lawyer-happy types with an eye to a massive payout. I also fail to see what the point is of being a reporter if it is not to dig out the truth and make it available to the public. Neither have I ever put undue pressure on people to tell their stories. I do understand where the impression comes from, as a scrum of reporters outside a court or a building is never a pretty sight. But what people often forget is that the press can play a very beneficial role, even when it is reporting on someone’s personal tragedy.

Yes, my heart sinks when I get sent out to “doorstep” the parents or relations of the victim of a murder, or of a medical accident, or other tragedy. It is often upsetting and depressing to discover the pain behind the stories, and more than once I have been reduced to tears by the testimony of someone who has lost the person they love. But surprisingly often, people want to pay tribute in print to the lovely child, or partner, whom they have lost. And more often still, the huge publicity generated by our sympathetic reporting (take the recent case of the murdered seven-year-old), results in a mass of useful information being presented to the police.

It is also worth remembering that journalists are not actually to blame for what has happened. We are simply associated with

the events because we are there to report them, and that accounts for much of the hostility we encounter.

Recently I was given a new job, which differs slightly from mainstream news reporting — as showbusiness correspondent. Inevitably I have been busy with reporting events which most people would consider to be “private” — the break-up of Adam Faith’s marriage, Michael Barrymore’s troubles and so on. The primary justification for reporting these stories is that they are, quite simply, true. The other justification — and this is where you come in — is that people want to know.

Being struck in the face by one of Michael Barrymore’s burly and overzealous minders as I was recently is not exactly my idea of fun. I do it because it’s my job to find out the facts, which you want to know.

And, incidentally, my mother thinks it’s absolutely wonderful.

***General comprehension questions:***

1. What has made Alison Boshoff write her comment?
2. What is the topic she has written her comment on?
3. How can you describe the style of her comment? (formal/informal, personal/impersonal, neutral/emotional). Quote the article to prove your words.

***Detailed comprehension questions:***

1. How do journalists and politicians compare in the opinion of the public? Why?
2. What are the considerations that prevent most journalists from making up stories according to Alison Boshoff?
3. What does Alison Boshoff see as a beneficial role of the press? Do you agree with her?

***Read the comment once again and explain the following points of the text.***

1. What do you think “**Woldingham and A levels**” are?
2. What does the phrase “**the joke has put paid to the response**” mean?

3. What kind of a look is described as “**a knowing leer**”? Under what circumstances do people leer at others?
4. What do “**estate agents**” do?
5. When do people tend to “**suck the end of a pencil**”?
6. Paraphrase the following “**...laws of libel, which lean heavily in favour of lawyer-happy types with an eye to a massive payout**”.
7. What is “**a scrum**” of reporters? Why does the author use the word?
8. When do people usually pay tribute to others? How do they do it?
9. Who does the author refer to when she mentions Michael Barrymore’s “**minders**”?

### **Exercise 48**

*Look through the text quickly and find the words and phrases the author uses for the following.*

- to pursue smb
- to threaten smb
- to push through the crowd
- to guarantee smth
- to gather facts
- a lie in print
- to display signs of honour
- to explain smth
- to meet smb unexpectedly

### **Exercise 49**

*Suggest the Russian for the following word combinations used by the author.*

- to get tempted to do smth
- to put paid to smth
- to lean in favour of smth

a massive payout  
 to dig out the truth  
 my heart sinks  
 to doorstep smb  
 to generate publicity  
 primary justification

## Exercise 50

*What English phrases does the author use to render the following.*

в духе самосохранения  
 предельный срок  
 доносить правду до широких масс  
 оказывать давление на кого-либо  
 свидетельские показания  
 дюжий охранник

## Exercise 51

*Translate the following sentences into English using the new vocabulary.*

1. В стремлении увеличить свой тираж большинство газет уделяют теперь больше внимания публикациям развлекательного и скандального содержания.
2. Руководство спецслужб фактически объявило сезон охоты на журналистов, которые организовали утечку секретных материалов о проводящихся опытах с запрещенным химическим оружием.
3. Неверно полагать, что в стремлении докопаться до истины журналисты наносят ущерб авторитету страны и принижают ее достоинство.
4. Сотни людей пришли в телецентр отдать последний долг погибшему журналисту.
5. Свободная пресса призвана доносить правду о деятельности правительства до широких масс.

6. Полиция совершила налет на толпу журналистов, подаввших выхода газетного магната, и конфисковала несколько камер.
7. Первая поправка к Конституции США увекочила свободу прессы в этой стране.
8. Либералы признают, что цензура является неизбежным злом, и допускают, что она может вводиться в чрезвычайных обстоятельствах.

## ► WRITING

### Exercise 52

*Write paragraphs to comment on the following quotations.*

1. Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets.  
*Napoleon I*
2. Headlines twice the size of the events.  
*John Galsworthy*
3. As for modern journalism, it justifies its own existence by the great Darwinian principle of the survival of the vulgarist.  
*Oscar Wilde*

### Exercise 53

*Write an essay on one of the following subjects.*

1. A free press can, of course, be good or bad, but, most certainly, without freedom it will never be anything but bad.  
*Albert Camus*
2. Freedom of the press is not an end in itself but a means to the end of a free society.  
*Felix Frankfurter*
3. Journalism is the entertainment business.  
*Frank Herbert*

## Workshop V. VOCABULARY PRACTICE

### Exercise 54

Complete the texts, bearing in mind all the studied words. The first letters of the necessary words are given to help you.

1. My eyes nearly popped out of my head on Monday when I read a c \_\_\_\_\_ by A.N. Wilson, the d \_\_\_\_\_ novelist and j \_\_\_\_\_, in the London *Evening Standard*. Mr. Wilson wanted to get his claws into Peter Mandelson. Six months ago, even so brave a c \_\_\_\_\_ as Mr. Wilson would not have written this. Or, if he had, his e \_\_\_\_\_ would not have p \_\_\_\_\_ it. I do not know where Mr. Hastings, the e \_\_\_\_\_, was on Monday morning, and it is possible that he was absent and that the s \_\_\_\_\_ felt unable to c \_\_\_\_\_ Mr. Wilson's words. But I like to think that Mr. Hastings takes a keen interest in what goes into his p \_\_\_\_\_, and that he judges Mr. Wilson's c \_\_\_\_\_ to be acceptable. What a transformation there has been.

Few politicians have exerted such p \_\_\_\_\_ on the media as Mr. Mandelson. Several other ministers c \_\_\_\_\_ sympathetic newsmen: c \_\_\_\_\_ and r \_\_\_\_\_ Mr. Mandelson's brilliance has been to do all that, but to e \_\_\_\_\_ his grip to e \_\_\_\_\_ and p \_\_\_\_\_. What has changed? Why has he received such a bashing from some n \_\_\_\_\_? Why have there been a series of s \_\_\_\_\_ about his political career? Why have some newspapers l \_\_\_\_\_ a campaign against him? Sentiment has turned against him even among former sympathisers. The *Guardian's* l \_\_\_\_\_ on Tuesday was far from supportive. The *Mirror's* l \_\_\_\_\_ on the same day was helpful, though the paper gave s \_\_\_\_\_ to his r \_\_\_\_\_ to rage against him.

It is conceivable, I suppose, that Peter Mandelson may still one day be F \_\_\_\_\_ S \_\_\_\_\_. The point is that this man, who once instilled awe, even fear, in p \_\_\_\_\_ and e \_\_\_\_\_ and j \_\_\_\_\_, has been cut down to

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size. It is no longer possible for him to have a quiet word with a p\_\_\_\_\_ to soften his newspaper's c\_\_\_\_\_ of the Dome or its c\_\_\_\_\_ of government policy in Northern Ireland. No one would be cowed by him now. He is damaged goods.

2. Over the period of the UN's existence there has been a considerable p\_\_\_\_\_ of v\_\_\_\_\_ types of multilateral forums. The UN's own regional economic commissions, e\_\_\_\_\_ early in the organisation's history are a c\_\_\_\_\_ element in its structure and functions. They must be d\_\_\_\_\_ from the groupings based mainly on geographical considerations, the central aim being to achieve equitable geographical r\_\_\_\_\_ while fairly managing the c\_\_\_\_\_ between countries within a region for the opportunity to serve in leadership positions. The forums and the follow-up activities needed to f\_\_\_\_\_ decisions taken, have i\_\_\_\_\_ new elements into diplomatic practice, they r\_\_\_\_\_ the active interest and i\_\_\_\_\_ of diplomats and governments.

What are the UN's s\_\_\_\_\_ or even unique advantages as a framework for multilateral diplomacy? First, the United Nations brings together l\_\_\_\_\_ of all member states. Second, the UN can s\_\_\_\_\_ world opinion on particularly p\_\_\_\_\_ problems. It can also f\_\_\_\_\_ attention on and e\_\_\_\_\_ global support for countries and peoples who are disadvantaged or facing s\_\_\_\_\_ risks. Third, the UN has e\_\_\_\_\_ the machinery for global response to emergencies. It is the l\_\_\_\_\_ pad for a v\_\_\_\_\_ of activities related to global peace and security. The UN's s\_\_\_\_\_ agencies and other bodies e\_\_\_\_\_ in wide-ranging activities, a \_\_\_\_\_ great importance to such areas as health, natural resource management, population control, education and agriculture.

Even this partial list of activities constitutes an enormous agenda. It would seem that today's vast n\_\_\_\_\_ of inter-governmental bodies and institutions p\_\_\_\_\_ a challenge to governments, especially with r\_\_\_\_\_ to the organiza-

tion and operation of f \_\_\_\_\_ ministries and other government agencies responsible for c \_\_\_\_\_ international relations.

### Exercise 55

*Complete the text with one word only.*

The average 1 \_\_\_\_\_ office receives many times the amount of 2 \_\_\_\_\_ news than it has 3 \_\_\_\_\_ to print. The 4 \_\_\_\_\_ must include or jettison items as he sees 5 \_\_\_\_\_. It is inevitable that his ideas of what the 6 \_\_\_\_\_ wants to know, or should know, are 7 \_\_\_\_\_. Because the newspaper 8 \_\_\_\_\_ do not want to endanger a 9 \_\_\_\_\_ business, there is the constant 10 \_\_\_\_\_ between personal opinion and the desire not to offend too many readers or 11 \_\_\_\_\_. It is essential to the operation of all mass 12 \_\_\_\_\_ that they avoid being 13 \_\_\_\_\_ in their news 14 \_\_\_\_\_ or 15 \_\_\_\_\_.

### Exercise 56

*Translate the following into English using the active vocabulary.*

Содержание газеты изменялось в соответствии с требованиями жизни и с необходимостью удовлетворить запросы всех заинтересованных сторон. Основой любой газеты является свежая, быстро доступная и разнообразная информация, отражающая реальные факты.

Основным элементом газетной полосы является броский, эффектный заголовок, который краток и часто сенсационен. Составление заголовков — одна из основных обязанностей помощника редактора, его профессиональные качества проверяются именно в этой сфере. Другой его обязанностью является построение газетной полосы, содержание которой объективно, непредвзято и беспристрастно и представлено в наиболее сжатой, четкой и выразительной форме.

## Exercise 57

*Read a conversation between two journalists and make note of the infringements on the freedom of the media that one of them found while visiting X.*

- A. How was your trip to X.?  
B. Fine. I was able to meet the people I wanted to.  
A. So what is your impression of the media there?  
B. I wouldn't like to be a journalist in X. All the media, print, electronic, broadcasting, are controlled by the Government.  
A. Are they censored?  
B. Censorship is subtle, but it is clear the newspapers only print what the Government wants people to read. Radio and television are totally under the control of the Government and are not allowed to report the views of opposition political leaders.  
A. So how do they report events in the world?  
B. There's little media coverage of international events at all.  
A. What about foreign journalists?  
B. Any foreign journalist accredited to X. who writes an article even mildly critical of the regime will be taken to task. Either their accreditation is not renewed or in some cases they have been expelled from the country for biased reporting.

## Exercise 58

*Use one of the words from the conversation above, which have to do with the media to complete the sentences below.*

1. Last night's television \_\_\_\_\_ the news of the assassination attempt.
2. The BBC has been accused of being \_\_\_\_\_ against the government
3. The authorities have threatened to impose \_\_\_\_\_
4. The event was not reported in the newspapers and received no \_\_\_\_\_ on television either.
5. The newspaper claims to have given a \_\_\_\_\_ report of the coup.
6. Dissidents are either \_\_\_\_\_ or imprisoned.

## Exercise 59

*Discuss as a class the following issues.*

1. The media has little effect on public opinion.
2. Why doesn't the British Government stop press intrusion into the affairs of the Royal Family?
3. The American press is not impartial.
4. Which of the media provides the best coverage of international news?

### ► ROLE PLAY

*Recent programmes in the BBC overseas service have referred to corruption in government circles, high levels of crime, inefficiency in dealing with ethnic matters.*

*Work in pairs. Change roles and partners. Make use of the conversation patterns.*

**As a spokesman for the Russian Ministry of Information:** protest about biased reporting, if necessary make a hint that similar incidents might affect good relations between our countries.

**As a representative of the British embassy:** stress the independence of the BBC, underline that the issues covered were all newsworthy.

### *Useful phrases*

#### **To express your views emphatically**

1. I particularly want to emphasize the fact that ...
2. It is essential to realize that ...
3. This issue is highly significant.
4. I feel this is a vital issue.
5. I consider the point of the utmost importance.

#### **To challenge**

1. I wonder if this view is justified in the light of ...
2. I don't think you fully appreciate the fact that ...

3. It would be in your own interest to ...
4. I would be inclined to ... if I were you.

### **To interrupt**

1. May I interrupt you for a moment?
2. Sorry to interrupt but ...
3. If I may just interrupt you for a moment, I'd like to ...
4. I don't want to interrupt but ...

### **To come back to a point**

1. As I was saying ...
2. Coming back to what I was saying...
3. Perhaps I could resume ...
4. If I may just go back to the point I was making ...

### **Preventing an interruption**

1. Perhaps I could return to that point later on ...
2. If I might just finish...
3. With your permission I'd rather finish what I was saying...
4. With respect, I should like to finish the point I was making...

### **Offering a compromise**

1. We are prepared to ... on condition that ...
2. I think we could ... provided that ...
3. We are ready to ... on the understanding that ...
4. We are more than willing to ... as long as ...

### **Accepting a compromise**

1. I think that would be perfectly acceptable.
2. We see no objection to that
3. That seems to be a reasonable compromise.
4. To meet you halfway on this, I think we could agree to your condition.

### **Rejecting a compromise**

1. We are not entirely convinced that this is a viable solution to the problem.
2. You leave us with little alternative but to ...

- 
3. In that case, we should very reluctantly have to ...
  4. You put us in a difficult position.

## ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION

*Get ready to discuss the problem of censorship at a round-table conference. Distribute the roles among the participants and do not forget about the role of the chairperson.*

### Chairperson

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I now declare open the round table devoted to the subject "Censorship in the mass media".

On behalf of the University allow me to express our great appreciation for your presence here today and for the contributions you are ready to make to the coming discussion.

The questions to be debated today are highly controversial and allow for a variety of opinions. Yet, all those who assembled here today feel that the young generation needs to know the answers. The questions are as follows:

1. Is there a place for censorship in a democratic society?
2. What kind of information is to be censored? Who should decide what to censor?

I propose a time limit on statement of position of 2 minutes and one minute for all other speakers during the debate.

Is that agreed? Thank you.

Will participants please identify themselves clearly to the Chair if they wish to speak or ask a question.

I call Mr. ...

Mr. ..., thank you for that stimulating speech.

I now welcome Mr. ... Mr. ..., you have the floor.

May I remind the participants please to identify themselves clearly to the Chair if they wish to ask a question or make an objection.

Does anyone else wish to speak?

We can't all speak at once; Mr. ... Would you like to speak first? I shall have to call you to order Mr. ...

To sum up our discussion today, it seems we all agreed that ... I declare the discussion closed. Thank you Ladies and Gentlemen.

*This is your role and stance. Think of three or four arguments or examples to substantiate and illustrate it. Get ready to defend it against criticism.*

## CENSORSHIP

**Representative of the Ministry of Information** — “Censorship does not confine democracy but prevents chaos”.

**Actress** — “We are human beings like everyone else and have the right to privacy. Seeking for a scoop drives journalists and paparazzi crazy and they have to be restrained”.

**Politician** — “Reports from parliamentary sessions must be censored as indiscreet coverage may undermine the trust of the public in social institutions”.

**Journalist** — “Celebrities have no right to hide behind censorship. They serve as role models for other people and should be open to public scrutiny”.

**Civil Rights Activist** — “Censorship is a violation of human rights as it deprives an individual of a chance to decide what to read or watch”.

**Liberal** — “Community that puts up with censorship lacks self-respect”.

**Advertiser** — “Censorship of advertising violates the rules of “fair play” in the free market economy. Besides, without our money the mass media will go bust”.

**Editor** — “The public have the right to know and journalists are obliged to report events. People working in the media are reasonable and self-restriction is enough”.

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**Teacher** — “The young who cannot yet distinguish between what is right and what is wrong suffer the most at the hand of irresponsible media. Censorship is called upon to protect the immature from corruption”.

**Feminist** — “Though compared to the past job opportunities and education opportunities for women have somewhat improved, the way women are shown in magazines and on TV still leaves much to be desired. Editors and producers should be either censored or fined for undeferential treatment of women in the media”.

**War veteran** — “Pro-fascist propaganda, programmes and articles that may incite racial or national strife should be banned”.

**Doctor** — “Many newspapers and fashion magazines promote an unhealthy image of beauty, which is the cause of many eating disorders and anorexia cases especially among young women. Such publications and advertisements should be censored”.

**Student** — “Because of censorship many important issues remain unavailable to the general public while the aim of the media is to inform”.

**Preacher** — “Censorship helps to suppress evil. It serves to protect our life from exposure to sin: pornography, violence and heresy”.

### *Language hints to be used during the round table debate*

#### **Taking the floor:**

1. If no one objects, I'd like to say a few words.
2. Could I come in at this moment?
3. I have a point to make here.
4. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman, may I say something please?
5. With the Chair's permission, I'd like to take up the point about...

**Interrupting:**

1. May I interrupt you for a moment?
2. I don't want to interrupt but...
3. If I may interrupt you for a moment. I'd like to...
4. Sorry to interrupt, but...

**Preventing an interruption:**

1. With your permission, I'd rather finish what I was saying.
2. With respect, I'd like to finish the point I was making...
3. If you would allow me to continue...
4. If you would be so kind as to let me finish...

**Asking questions:**

1. Have you taken into account...?
2. I was wondering if you'd thought of...?
3. Wouldn't it be a good idea to...?
4. Has it occurred to you that...?

**Commenting and challenging:**

1. I don't think you fully appreciate the fact that...
2. I wonder if that view is justified in the light of...
3. It would be in your own interest to...
4. May I just draw your attention to the fact that...
5. Excuse me, but I think it's relevant to add that...
6. Before you go any further, may I point out...
7. I wonder if I could comment on that last point?

**► Word List II**

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to advertise

to assess

to attach

to accommodate

archives

bias

to initiate

libel

loyalty to

layout

leader

to launch

by the same token	to misinform
to break a story	massive output
broadsheet	to menace
beset by	mutual concessions
to bridge the cultures	to mistrust accuracy
to blur the distinction	multiplication of channels
to comment	mixed blessing
to compromise	nonpartisan
column	necessary evil
critic	obituary
copyright	objectivity
to contribute	offending material
caption	opponent
to cultivate relations	ownership
crucial to	proprietor
circulation	publisher
content	page
consumer	to pose a threat to
to cover	to proliferate
to compete	to preserve
to condemn for treason	to prosper
detachment	to provide
doomed to	placement
to disclose	premise
to deliver	to put pressure on
to demean	to put paid to
to distribute	profitability
to dissect	proponent
to doorstep	to pay tribute to
to dig out the truth	to rival
to declare open season on	to report
deadline	readership
to expose	running stories
to elicit	to review

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to erase the line	to retain
to establish	to raid an editorial office
to enshrine press freedom	scoop
to ensure	sensation
to feature	to shape opinion
to fulfill	space
franchise	section
gagging	to speculate
to get tempted	supplement
gossip	to steer clear of
to generate publicity	testimony
to glean facts	to tackle
headline	tabloid
invasion of privacy	to take close-ups
to increase revenue	to thrive
to impose	tough stance on
impartial	up-market
to introduce	viability
investigative journalism	to vie
	vehement backlash

## Unit III. THE CHANGING ENGLISH LANGUAGE

### Lead-in

*Work with a partner. Read the statements below and discuss the questions that accompany them.*

- I. More people speak English as an international language or second language than speak English as their native tongue. In China alone, more people are learning English as an international language than there are people who live in the United States. About 330,000,000 people speak a variety of English as their native language (in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indies), while about 400,000,000 people speak English as a second language (in India, Kenya, the Philippines, and Nigeria).
  1. What is your reaction to these facts?
  2. What are the historical reasons that caused this situation to occur?
- II. English has many varieties — for example, British English, American English, Canadian English, Indian English, Jamaican English, Australian English, and Philippine English. Do you think International English should be one of these varieties or none of them? Why? / Why not?
- III. English is the primary international language used in science, technology, business, air and sea travel, and diplomacy.
  1. Which of these areas is most important for you now?
  2. Will other areas become more important for you as time passes?
- IV. English is used as an official language in forty-four countries, more than any other language. In fact, approximately 80 percent of the information stored in computers is written in English. Approximately 75 percent of the mail, cables, and telexes that are sent around the world are in English.

And about 50 percent of all scientific and technical journals are written in English.

Do these statistics surprise you? Why? / Why not?

**The English language is not a homogeneous “substance”. Its heterogeneous composition can be demonstrated graphically. Look at the chart and try to describe and explain what you see.**

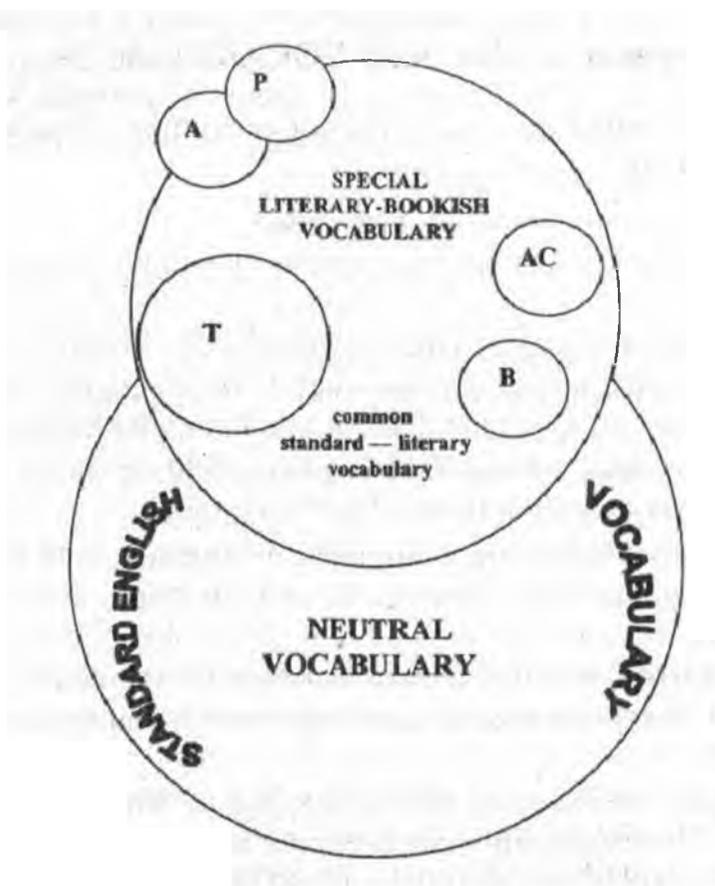
**P** — poetical words

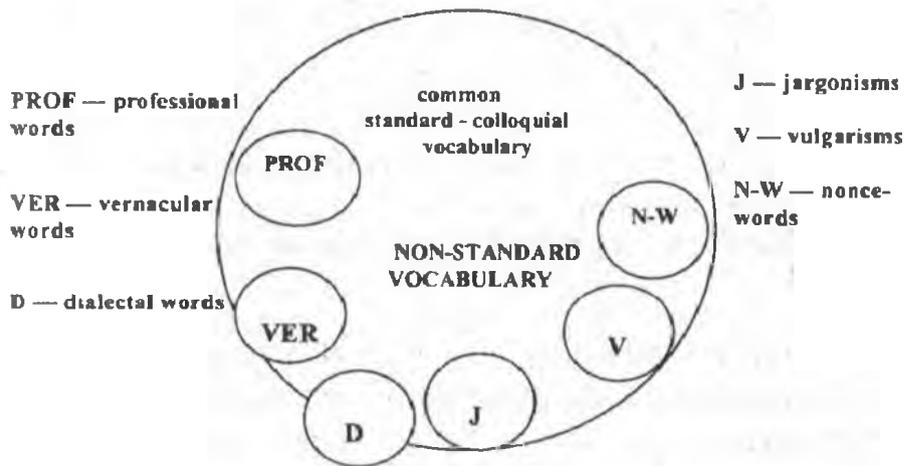
**B** — barbarisms

**A** — archaic and historical words (foreign words)

**T** — terms

**AC** — authors' coinages





## Workshop I. THE NEW VOCABULARY

*Read the text below and work out an outline to highlight its main ideas.*

### LANGUAGE

On January 1, 1800 there were approximately 140 million native speakers of English in the world. Two centuries later that figure has almost tripled to nearly 400 million. Add to them about 100 million who speak English as a second language. Consider how English has become the international language of communication, both conventional and digital. Think, moreover, of the massive increase in literacy since 1900, the legacy of the spread of universal education in the 19th–20th centuries. The English language is in an unprecedented number of hands.

In that same period, the world itself has changed beyond recognition. In 1900, no powered heavier-than-air craft had left the Earth's surface, a hundred years later we started looking in complacency at pictures of the Earth taken from outer space; various forms of electronic communication have brought all corners of the globe into instantaneous touch with each other. The old European colonies have become independent nations, a clash of empires, East and West, has risen and subsided. Sigmund Freud and his successors have delved into the recesses of the human

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psyche. The computer has grown, and shrunk, from a set of winking throbbing cabinets big enough to fill a room to a miniaturized component of everyday life, holding the threat of and the promise of the future in its microcircuits. Given all that, it would be astonishing if the vocabulary of English had not grown substantially. And so it has.

Words are a mirror of their times. By looking at the areas in which the vocabulary of a language is expanding in a given period, we can form a fairly accurate impression of the chief preoccupations of society at that time. The new technology of cars, aircraft, radio and film dominated lexical innovation in the 1900s (aerodrome, wireless, cinema), along with the vocabulary of psychology and psychoanalysis (libido). In the decades of World War I and World War II, they were, not surprisingly, overshadowed by the broad spectrum of military vocabulary (gas mask, shell shock, tank, Blitzkrieg, black-out, gas chamber, kamikaze), but the return of peace brought other concerns to the fore: reconstruction and the nuclear threat (Marshall Plan, superpower, the bomb). The 1950s saw the first significant burgeonings of youth culture (beatnik, teen), which in its various manifestations has continued to be a prolific contributor to the English language. In the 1970s, concerns about the destruction of the environment became a long-term source of new vocabulary (green, global warming), and the language of political correctness and its proponents began to get into its stride (chairperson). The 1980s were the decade of money, typified by the lifestyle terminology of those who made and enjoyed it (yuppie, dinky). The major new player on the 1990s lexical scene was the Internet (cybernaut, web site).

But it is not only the areas of activity characterized by high vocabulary growth that give us clues about the direction the human race is going in. Our changing modes of social interaction have a lexical fingerprint too. Take, for example, the 20th century's rehabilitation of the notorious "four-letter words", formerly so beyond the pale that no dictionary would print them. As their common (and often euphemistic) epithet "Anglo-Saxon" suggests, they have been around a long time, and no doubt have

been used widely in casual speech, but the taboo imposed on them means that printed examples from the 19th century and earlier are quite rare. It appears to have been the great melting pot of World War I, bringing together people of all classes and backgrounds, that encouraged the spread of such words (fuck off). You still ran a great risk if you printed them, though: between the wars, the likes of James Joyce and Henry Miller had their work banned when they tried to, and as recently as 1960 in Britain the use of "Anglo-Saxon words" was one of the main issues in the trial of the Penguin Books edition of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* for obscenity.

What does this revolution in usage tell us about changes in English-speaking society? It certainly seems to be part of a more wide spread tendency to upgrade the status and acceptability of spoken English. Up to at least the 1960s, the notion of "Standard English" was based exclusively on written English, and the colloquial language was regarded as an irrelevant but occasionally embarrassing and annoying offshoot that needed to be kept in its place. Now this is no longer so, and colloquial usages (both lexical and syntactic) are widely accepted in situations (including quite formal writing) where they would once have been considered inappropriate.

On the other hand, there are a good many usages, which we now dare not allow to pass our lips. In the 19th century, it was socially acceptable, if not positively desirable, to be fat, and there was no stigma attached to the word "fat". Now, however, thinness is fashionable, and to call someone fat is a monstrous insult. We have evolved a range of euphemisms, from the colloquial *chunky* to the ponderous *circumferentially challenged*, to avoid the direct accusation.

It sometimes seems as if the 20th century was the century of euphemism. Much of the doublespeak is counterbalanced by areas in which frankness has lately become the rule, but there is no doubt that there are many areas which English speakers have become embarrassed to talk about in the last hundred years. The one with highest profile is probably racial differences. The fragmented history of English words for black people down the de-

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cedes illustrates this. Terms such as *black* and *nigger* fell under a taboo in the middle part of the 20th century. They tended to be replaced by *negro*, but this went out of favour in the 1960s. Back stepped *black*, revived by blacks themselves as a term of pride. In the US it was joined by *Afro-American* and later *African-American*, in Britain by *Afro-Caribbean*. The politically correct lobby enthusiastically revived the 18th century *person of colour*, and added its own rather unwieldy *member of the African Diaspora*. Then in 1980s US blacks subverted the whole process by reclaiming *nigger*, in the assertive new spelling *nigga*.

By what mechanisms did English expand its vocabulary in the 20th century? There are fundamentally five ways in which neologisms are created: by putting existing words to new uses (*mouse* in computers); by combining existing words or word parts and forming what is called blends (*motor* + *hotel* = *motel*); by shortening existing words and forming what is called initials (*GP*, *NHS*) or acronyms (*AIDS*, *NATO*); by borrowing words from other languages, which are known as loan words or barbarisms (*pizza*, *anschluss*, *fuehrer*, *glasnost* and *perestroika*); by coining new words out of nothing (*Teflon*, *quark*). That leaves a tiny residue of strange coinages which sometimes catch the public imagination by their very outlandishness. A famous example of such coinages is the word “*supercalifragilisticexpialidocious*”.

Taken from an introduction written  
by John Ayto to WORDS.

**Notes:**

1. Blitzkrieg — a period of sudden heavy attack especially from the air;
2. The Marshall Plan — a programme established by the US government in 1947 to give economic help to Europe after World War II. It was named after George C. Marshall, who was the US Secretary of State. Thousands of millions of dollars were provided for rebuilding cities, roads, industries;

3. *anschluss* — the taking over of Austria by Hitler's Germany in 1938;
4. *quark* — an extremely small piece of matter that forms the substances of which atoms are made;
5. *beatnik* — in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a person who showed opposition to the moral standards and ways of life of ordinary society. People often think of beatniks as young people with long hair and dirty clothes;
6. *yuppie* — Young Upwardly-mobile Professional, a young person in a professional job with a high income, especially one who enjoys spending money and having a fashionable way of life. In Britain, yuppies are seen as young people who earn a lot of money without necessarily working very hard, they are more concerned about enjoying their lifestyle than having a family or helping others in society. In the US, yuppies are thought of as being slightly older and as being insensitive, ambitious, and too interested in material goods;
7. *dinky* — Double Income No Kids Yet, one of two young married people in professional jobs who do not yet have children and who are both earning quite a lot of money;
8. *supercalifragilisticexpialidocious* — (1949) wonderful, fantastic. The word first appeared, recognizably but in slightly different guise, as the title of a song by Parker and Young. It was made popular by the Walt Disney film *Mary Poppins* in 1964. At the end of the century it was still familiar enough to be adapted punningly in a national advertising campaign in Brit-

ain ("As far as we know, Sainsbury's offer more kinds of alliaceous vegetables (onions, shallots, garlic, leeks and chives) than any other supermarket. Which must make Sainsbury's the most supercalifragilisticexpialidocious supermarket in the country" (1997)

*Working in pairs, compare your outlines and exchange information to decide on the best possible wording of each point.*

**Tasks to the text:**

1. Prove that the English language is in an unprecedented number of hands.
2. Find facts to prove that the world has changed beyond recognition in the past two centuries.
3. Explain what the author means by saying that "words are a mirror of their times". Do you agree with his point of view? Why? / Why not?
4. Explain the difference if any between:
  - a) political vocabulary and the language of political correctness;
  - b) politically correct words and euphemisms.
5. Account for the spread of "Anglo-Saxon words" and colloquial usages.
6. Point out the areas with the highest profile of doublespeak.
7. List the ways in which neologisms are created.
8. Give your own examples of the new vocabulary in the following areas:
  - technological
  - psychological
  - military
  - youth
  - environmental
  - political
  - social
  - the Internet

9. Decipher the following abbreviations: GP, NHS, AIDS, NATO.
10. Find out who/what Sigmund Freud, James Joyce, Henry Miller and D. H. Lawrence were. Prepare short reports about these people to deliver in class.
11. Compare the representatives of different types of youth culture: a beatnik, a yuppie and a dinky.

## Exercise 1

*Reread the text and write a summary of approximately 100–150 words.*

## Exercise 2

*Translate the following sentences into Russian, paying special attention to the italicized structures.*

1. **Given all that**, it would be astonishing if the vocabulary of English had not grown substantially.
2. By looking at the areas in which the vocabulary of a language is expanding **in a given period**, we can form a **fairly accurate impression** of the chief preoccupations of society at that time.
3. **It appears to have been the great melting pot of World War I**, bringing together people of all classes and backgrounds, that encouraged the spread of such words.

## Exercise 3

*Find in the article the words that answer the following definitions.*

### NOUNS

the state of being able to read and write —

something passed on or left behind by someone —

a feeling of satisfaction with oneself or a situation without good reason —

- a broad and continuous range of smth —
- a feeling of shame or dishonour —
- a new stem or branch —

### VERBS

- to make smth or smb appear less important —
- to make smth fit for use again —

### ADJECTIVES

- producing many works —
- widely known for smth bad —
- expressing strong opinions, showing a confident belief in one's own ability —
- difficult to use —

## Exercise 4

*Explain in English the following word combinations related to language. Give their Russian equivalents.*

- conventional and digital language
- lexical innovation
- to have a lexical fingerprint
- casual speech
- to upgrade the status and acceptability of language
- formerly beyond the pale

## Exercise 5

*Translate the word combinations into Russian. In what context are they used by the author?*

- legacy of the spread of universal education
- to rise and subside
- to delve into the recesses of the human psyche
- in various manifestations
- to bring concerns to the fore
- burgeonings of youth culture

to get into the stride  
to subvert the process  
politically correct lobby

## Exercise 6

*Look at the ways of saying that*

1. numbers, amounts, prices **diminish**:  
to decrease, to go down — in general  
o decline, to slide — to diminish gradually  
to fall, to drop, to plunge, to plummet — diminish quickly
2. feelings, qualities become less strong:  
to lessen, to subside, to wane
3. substances become smaller in size:  
to shrink, to shrivel, to recede

*Now use the verbs mentioned above in the following sentences.*

1. My love for the countryside has never \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Exports of oil, cotton and minerals have \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Depending on how quickly political tensions \_\_\_\_\_, aid could begin to flow.
4. The stock market \_\_\_\_\_ 30 points when the news was broadcast.
5. His popularity has \_\_\_\_\_ among the voters but it is still high.
6. The number of candidates \_\_\_\_\_ from 120 to 70.
7. The number of households without a car \_\_\_\_\_ to 12 %.
8. Public interest in World War II could easily \_\_\_\_\_ among the young.
9. The grapes are left in the sun to \_\_\_\_\_ and become raisins.
10. Prices will continue to \_\_\_\_\_ unless production is reduced.
11. During the 1960s, football attendance \_\_\_\_\_ from 1 million per week to 600,000.

12. The editor was concerned about the newspaper profit \_\_\_\_\_
13. As the threat of a nuclear war \_\_\_\_\_ other things began to worry us.
14. If the British were to say: "No, we think war is unjustified", the American people's support for military action would \_\_\_\_\_

### Exercise 7

*In what context was the verb "to subvert" used in the text? Look up in a dictionary the following verbs ending in -VERT.*

### SUBVERT, CONVERT, REVERT, PERVERT, DIVERT, AVERT, INVERT

*Fill in the gaps with these verbs. Translate the sentences into Russian.*

1. An accident \_\_\_\_\_ by his quick thinking.
2. My daughter finally \_\_\_\_\_ me to pop music.
3. The local authorities \_\_\_\_\_ additional government resources to the inner cities.
4. She caught the insect by \_\_\_\_\_ her cup over it.
5. All this violence on TV \_\_\_\_\_ the minds of our young children.
6. He has stopped drinking now, but he may \_\_\_\_\_ to it again.
7. All those on trial had used their official positions to \_\_\_\_\_ the government.

### Exercise 8

*Translate the sentences into English using the studied vocabulary.*

1. Без всякого сомнения, уменьшается количество языков, находящихся в активном употреблении и служащих средством универсального общения, в то же время увеличи-

- вается стремление малых народов сохранить самобытность своих наречий и диалектов.
2. Некоторые слова и выражения прежде находились далеко за пределами общепринятых норм.
  3. Небезынтересно и происхождение терминов: их специальное научное толкование неизменно восходит к значению данного слова в повседневном разговорном языке.
  4. Постепенно исчезающий язык, тем не менее, оставляет лексический след в языке, идущем ему на смену, зачастую даже оказывая влияние на формирование его грамматической основы.
  5. К. в своем трактате «Об ораторском искусстве» писал: «Когда слова, взятые для выражения соответствующих мыслей, хорошо упорядочены и образны, то особое достоинство придает им древность».
  6. Значительно реже взаимодействие двух языков приводит к их полному взаимному вытеснению и появлению совершенно нового языка, имеющего собственные грамматические и лексические особенности.
  7. По мнению лингвистов, особенности красноречия и словарного запаса, а также манеры изъясняться, сокрыты в тайниках человеческой души.
  8. По мнению социологов, одним из проявлений возросшего уровня жизни в стране стал настоящий литературный бум и существенно увеличившийся спрос на книжные издания и другую печатную продукцию.
  9. Представители прессы отметили, что небрежная речь дипломата свидетельствовала об отсутствии у него понимания политкорректности.
  10. Повсеместное укрепление демократии и политических свобод выдвигают на первый план новые задачи, в том числе совершенствование избирательной системы и законодательства о выборах.

## Exercise 9

*Write out and learn the definitions of the following linguistic terms.*

ACRONYM, BLEND, COINAGE, DOUBLESPEAK, EUPHEMISM, FOUR-LETTER WORD, INITIAL, NEOLOGISM, TERM, LOAN WORD

*New technology does not only affect the language but it also changes our speech habits. Read the text below and try to understand what groups of people are concerned about the new language developments.*

### THE COMING GLOBAL TONGUE

**It is, says Jacques Chirac, “a major risk for humanity”. AIDS? The bomb? Over-eating? No: what frightens the president of France is what the Internet may do to language, not least his own country’s language.**

The spectre haunting the president of France is not new. In 1898, when Otto von Bismarck was an old man, a journalist asked him what he saw as the decisive factor in modern history. He replied: “The fact that the North Americans speak English”.

This Bismarckian alarm, says Geoffrey Nunberg, of Stanford University in California, now has a new significance. For the electronic media that bind the world together are essentially carriers of language. To work efficiently they need a common standard. The personal computer (PC) has one: Microsoft’s operating system, Windows. The Internet has another: TCP/IP, its Esperanto or transmission protocol, which allows computers anywhere in the world to hook into it, whether they are PCs or rival Apple Macs. The English language is now the operating standard for global communication.

In fact, electronic communications have affected, and will continue to affect, language in three distinct ways. First, they change the way language is used. Secondly, they have created a need for a global language — and English will fill that slot.

Third, they will influence the future of other languages, which people will continue to speak.

Start with the simplest sort of change: the way English is used in electronic converse. The language of electronic chat is splattered with abbreviations that make it not just faster to type but also impenetrable to the novice. Plenty of activities have vocabularies of their own, badges of identity for the cognoscenti: think of motoring enthusiasts. So, too, with electronics.

Technology is, after all, fertile ground for vocabulary. Technology and science, including medicine, together account for 50–60 % of the new words in the addenda pages of Webster Third New International Dictionary.

Not only is the vocabulary of electronic communication different from ordinary English; so is the way in which it is used. In his magisterial “Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language”, David Crystal argues that broadcasting has already created some novel language forms.

One is for sports: “Because commentary is an oral reporting of ongoing activity, it is unlike other kinds of narrative (which are typically reported in past time)”. Indeed, it is unlike any other kind of speech. A radio commentary is a particularly odd creature. Charles Ferguson, an American linguist, describes it as “a monologue ... directed at an unknown, unseen, heterogeneous mass audience who voluntarily choose to listen, do not see the activity being reported, and provide no feedback to the speaker”.

### **WEIDER YET AND WEIRDER**

Other kinds of speech have been created by electronic communications. The answering machine, or voice-mail, has prompted new versions of the monologue. The telephone itself made common something that had previously been a rarity: a conversation with somebody you cannot see. Like talking in the dark, it encourages speakers to confide. For the listener, concentration on the voice alone, stripped of misleading body language, can be far more telling than a face-to-face conversation. One study found that it was easier to detect when a person was lying in a telephone call than either in a video-call or face-to-face.

Electronic media have created another novelty: the written conversation. Charles Evans of Chyden Net, a company based in Virginia which retails software electronically around the world, describes the style: "There's no social pressure to avoid the broken sentence. The key word is "bandwidth" — which implies that the Internet will collapse if you use flowery language, but really just means "Get to the point". Hence the staccato style of much electronic exchange. And getting it right first time is less important than in a letter or a fax: "The cost of clarifying later is low".

A written conversation has one great advantage over the spoken word: writers can refine their words before "speaking" them. But it also lacks a key quality of speech: the tone of voice that conveys emotion. In electronic mail, says Mr. Evans, "I find we all have a tendency to apologize for the fact that we can't see the other person's expression or hear their tone of voice. You wouldn't do it in a letter. It's because we're thinking of it as a conversation".

At one point, some users solved this problem with the "smiley", a use of punctuation to express delight by J and sorrow by L. Other symbols represent other basic responses. True cyberians now dismiss such typographical fancies.

Being passe on the Internet is a hideous offence, as socially ghastly as speaking with the wrong accent at the Ritz. To help the parvenu avoid insults and attack a whole collection of books offer advice on "netiquette".

To foster such clarity WIRED, a magazine much read by the digerati, recently produced its own style guide, grandly called "Principles of English Usage in the Digital Age". It is rather odd, therefore that the guide seems notably uninterested in being comprehensible to those whose first language is not English — or, indeed, to some of us who had thought that English was our mother tongue.

### A NEW LATIN

But in spite of the best efforts of the geeks to give English "freedom from the shackles of grammar", the development of the Internet will be one more fillip to the development of English

as a world language. The result will soon be extraordinary: a language spoken by more people as a second tongue than a first.

At present, the United States contains four times as many English mother-tongue speakers as any other country. Britain is next. Between them, these two countries have 70 % of the 320 m people whose first language is English. But far more rapid growth is taking place in the number of people who speak English as a subsidiary language. Peter Stevens, a Cambridge don who wrote about the rise of world English, predicted a time when "English will be taught by mostly non-native speakers of the language, to non-native speakers, in order to communicate mainly with non-native speakers".

This is an extraordinary state of affairs. Carl Mills, professor of English at the University of Cincinnati, says nervously: "It will be the first time in the history of the world that the language is not ours any more. If a language is no longer the property of its native speakers, it will change, and it's not clear what the consequences will be".

***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. Why does J. Chirac see the Internet as a major risk to humanity? Do you share his concern?
2. Why was Bismarck worried about the fact that way back in 1898 the North Americans spoke English? Were his premonitions justified?
3. Why are modern British and American linguists not very happy about the developments in the English language? Are there any grounds for their fears from your point of view? Why? / Why not?
4. What are the three distinct ways in which electronic communications affect language according to the article?
5. In what way do electronic means of communication affect speech habits? Do you see the effect as beneficial or pernicious? Why?
6. What may be the consequences of the fact that the English language is no longer the property of its native speakers?

## Exercise 10

*Think of the word, which best fits in each space. Write only one word.*

Through the centuries, people have continued to develop faster and (1) \_\_\_\_\_ efficient ways of communicating. These various methods have developed to the (2) \_\_\_\_\_ that we can communicate with people anywhere in the world at the (3) \_\_\_\_\_ of a button.

In the past, fires or beacons lit on hilltops (4) \_\_\_\_\_ used to warn or signal to others. Pigeons, which can (5) \_\_\_\_\_ depended on to return to their place of origin, were trained to carry messages, and human messengers, (6) \_\_\_\_\_ on foot or on horseback, allowed people to (7) \_\_\_\_\_ in touch with loved ones — or enemies (8) \_\_\_\_\_ were far away. Surprisingly, one of the most reliable (9) \_\_\_\_\_ of communication is also one of the oldest. The postal system, which has existed (10) \_\_\_\_\_ the 7th century B. C., was originally a Chinese creation based (11) \_\_\_\_\_ a system of messengers and couriers. As travel and commerce expanded, so (12) \_\_\_\_\_ the postal system, and advances in transport and technology, (13) \_\_\_\_\_ as the telegraph and airplanes, were utilised.

In this century, the rate of development has increased dramatically, especially with the introduction of the telephone. This has not \_\_\_\_\_ enabled us to speak to each (14) \_\_\_\_\_ in our houses or offices, but has also led to the development of a new generation of communication technology. The fax, the mobile phone and the Internet are all dependent on the telephone system and allow us to communicate instantly, (15) \_\_\_\_\_ we may be.

## Exercise 11

*Render the following article into English.*

Слова имеют огромную власть над нашей жизнью, власть магическую. Мы заколдованы словами и в значительной степени живем в их царстве. Слова действуют, как самостоятельные силы, независимые от их содержания. Мы привыкли произносить слова и слушать слова, не отдавая себе отчета в их реальном содержании и их реальном весе. Мы принимаем слова на веру и оказываем им безграничный кредит. Общественная жизнь отяжелевает от рутины слов. Как много значат и как сильно действуют слова «левый», «правый», «радикальный», «реакционный», и пр., и пр. Мы загипнотизированы этими словами и почти не можем общественно мыслить вне этих ярлыков. А ведь реальный вес этих слов не велик, и реальное их содержание все более и более выветривается. Я слышу, как говорят: это очень «радикальный» человек, подавайте за него голос. А этот «радикальный» человек — адвокат, зарабатывающий 20 000 руб. в год, ни во что не верящий и ничему не придающий цены, за радикальной фразеологией скрывающий полнейшее общественное равнодушие и безответственность. Качества личности вообще у нас мало ценятся, и не ими определяется роль в общественной жизни. Поэтому у нас так много совершенно ложных общественных репутаций, много имен, созданных властью слов, а не реальностью. В общественной жизни совсем почти не происходит естественного подбора личных характеров. А в жизни государственной явно происходит подбор характеров, негодных и недоброкачественных. При помощи условной фразеологии у нас легко превращают людей глубоко идейных, с нравственным закалом характера, чуть ли не в подлцов, а людей, лишенных всяких идей и всякого нравственного закала, высоко возносят. Более всего не терпят людей самостоятельной и оригинальной мысли, не вмещающихся ни в какие привычные рутинные категории.

*/Николай Бердяев «Судьба России»/*

## Workshop II. EUPHEMISTIC CORRECTNESS

**EUPHEMISMS** — are pleasant, innocuous words and phrases, which are used instead of plainer, more direct expressions, which may give offence. Sometimes euphemisms are used out of a sense of politeness, for example, *to pass away* instead of *to die*. Sometimes they are used to make things seem better than they really are, for example, *negotiator* instead of *salesman*; and sometimes they are used to deceive, for example, *air support* instead of *bombing raids*.

### Exercise 12

*Read the selection of sentences below taken from various spheres of human life. Each of them contains a euphemism. Explain what the following phrases mean in plain English.*

1. The boss is slightly **INDISPOSED** and won't be able to attend the meeting.
2. There was a public outcry when the statistics concerning the **HARVEST** of grey whales was made public.
3. We noticed at once, of course, that his sister was **IN A FAMILY WAY**.
4. Only parents of **EXCEPTIONAL** children may count on additional consultations.
5. The Chernobyl **EPISODE** will never be completely forgotten.
6. Following the **DEMISE** of her husband Clare left on a round-the-world trip.
7. The man was reported to have spent six years in a **CORRECTIONAL FACILITY**.
8. Amnesty International strongly objects to **AVERSION THERAPY** practised in some countries.

**Exercise 13**

*Sort out the words given at the end of the text to fill in the gaps.*

Euphemisms substitute a more pleasant word or phrase for one that is, for any reason, objectionable. They express unpleasant things in less harsh and direct ways: \_\_\_\_\_ (1) for die, \_\_\_\_\_ (2) for sweat, \_\_\_\_\_ (3) for corpse, \_\_\_\_\_ (4) for drunk. Most common euphemisms are associated with the basic facts of existence — birth, age, death, sex, the bodily functions — and often seem necessary for politeness or tact. We are more comfortable describing a good friend as one who is \_\_\_\_\_ (5) and likes to drink than as a fat drunk. And in such contexts these terms are harmless.

But the use of euphemisms to distract us from the realities of work, unemployment, poverty, and war is at best misleading and at worst dishonest and dangerous. Today we take for granted such terms as \_\_\_\_\_ (6) for plumber, \_\_\_\_\_ (7) for undertaker, and \_\_\_\_\_ (8) for janitors. Such terms perhaps help protect the feelings of individuals and give them status. But the individuals themselves still have to sweat pipes, prepare bodies for burial, and sweep floors — in short do work that is hard or unpleasant. And if terms make us forget that reality they are misleading. It is a short step further to language consciously intended to deceive. Such language gives us \_\_\_\_\_ (9) for bombing, \_\_\_\_\_ (10) for killing people and destroying their homes, \_\_\_\_\_ (11) for retreat, \_\_\_\_\_ (12) for spying, and \_\_\_\_\_ (13) for lies. Such phrases are downright dishonest. They are created for the sole purpose of distracting us from realities that we need to know about. Slums and ghettos are no less slums and ghettos because we call them the \_\_\_\_\_ (14). And if you're fired, you're out of a job even if you've been \_\_\_\_\_ (15) or \_\_\_\_\_ (16).

maintenance people  
terminated  
pass away  
funeral director

stout  
protective reaction  
visual surveillance  
mortal remains

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strategic withdrawal  
inoperative statements  
deselected  
perspire

pacification  
inner city  
sanitation engineer  
intoxicated

*Euphemisms have become a distinctive feature of the 20th century in general but in matters dealing with international relations and diplomacy they matter more than in any other sphere of human activity.*

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

1. Do you think that you need to learn the culture of a people along with their language to communicate with them? Why or why not?
2. If a Korean businessman is doing business in Germany with a German, and they are using English as their common language, is it important for them to understand American or British culture to communicate? Why or why not?
3. If a Chinese official is negotiating with an American, and they are using a) English b) Chinese as their common language, is it important for them to understand each other's cultures? Which culture?

*As you read the article from the Washington Times (April 16, 2001) try to find the answers to these questions. Suzanne Fields, a columnist for the Washington Times, is nationally syndicated. Her column appears Mondays and Thursdays.*

## **GAME OF DIPLOMACY**

### **China Crisis Required Sensitivity and Subterfuge**

*How refreshing to get a lesson in the nuances of language, and an exercise in the kind of critical thinking that extends beyond what the meaning of the word "is" is.*

Love, as in "love is never having to say you're sorry", is one sappy cliché. It's harmless enough as a staple of the language of puppy love, but big-dog love can require an apology to a loved

one when you're wrong — and often when you're right. You could ask Cupid.

But not in the give-and-take between foreign countries, where love never has anything to do with it. Nevertheless, diplomacy sometimes requires the sensitivity and subterfuge of the language of love. Finding the delicate balance, as in relationships between men and women, is the game of diplomacy.

Some conservatives thought George W. Bush should have used tougher language in the initial stages of the crisis on Hainan Island by calling our pilots "hostages". Many liberals thought he was too tough when he said this accident could undermine our hopes for a "productive relationship".

The speculation quickly changed from who would say what, and when, to something like "he said, he said". The advantage went to whoever got to write the subtitles.

The Chinese quibble endlessly over words, and which shade of purple to say them in. Did the president express enough grief over the death of the Chinese pilot? Was he "feichang wanxi" (very sorrowful) or merely "feichang bao qian" (very sorry)? Imagine the misery of the translator assigned to convert the tortured syntax of George Bush into "feichang" anything. We should be grateful we have a laconic president who doesn't make a big deal over feeling another's pain. (Whatever Bill Clinton would have said, and he would have said a lot, every hour on the hour, no one could have translated it into two or three Chinese words.)

But how refreshing to get a lesson in the nuances of language, and an exercise in the kind of critical thinking that extends beyond what the meaning of the word "is" is. An imaginative teacher could use this linguistic crossfire to stress the complexities and subtleties of language and the different ways language reflects different cultures.

Few scholars any longer study rhetoric, and as a result most of us have a limited knowledge of the infinite shades of gray (or purple) in the art of persuasion and translation. Words, which actually have precise meanings, are often flung about with abandon, even by people who regard themselves as educated. But every language offers a different set of rhetorical possibilities,

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and none are more formidable than the languages of China. *Media Studies Journal*, which examines the media and its impact on society, devotes an entire issue to the specific difficulties in reporting about China.

With 4,000 years of civilization, China has consistently produced leaders and advisers who seem especially artful in using language to their advantage, understanding all too well that cruel and brutal rule must be “glossed over with a soft veneer”, writes Dai Qing, a Chinese dissident and onetime reporter for a Chinese daily.

The Chinese specialize in a technique which they euphemistically call “guiding public opinion”. What they mean is “censorship”. It’s the language equivalent of “saving face” and it’s what the Chinese government tried to impose on the United States with demands for an “apology”.

In China, the government speaks to a reporter in clear and precise language about how that reporter should approach his story. Explains Dai Qing: “Say it this way and not that, for no other position shall be tolerated”, or better yet, “Saying it this way is to your advantage, for if you insist on the opposite, well, then just let’s wait and see”.

This approach sets the parameters for how the Chinese report a story to their own people. “Sorry” was the word they had to have us say so they could tell their people that the United States had apologized. It was less important what we apologized for than that we used a word the government could manipulate. So the United States said it was “very sorry that the entering of China’s space and landing did not have verbal clearance”.

The Chinese wanted us to accept the blame for the collision, but President Bush finally made them understand they weren’t going to get that. Stalling became counterproductive and the Chinese government began to worry that the situation could spin out of control.

“Wisdom”, Confucius might say, “is knowing when to cut bait”, especially when you’ve got other fish to fry.

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### **Tasks to the text:**

**A.**

Make out what happened on April 1, 2001, paying attention to such words and phrases as “hostages”, “the death of the Chinese pilot”, “the collision”.

1. Explain the title and the subtitle.
2. Prove that the president’s statement to the press wasn’t well-balanced.
3. Explain the difference between the English and Chinese languages as understood from the text.
4. Prove that the author is critical of scholars and translators. State if the author is critical or approving of Chinese leaders and advisers.
5. Explain the implication of the last sentence.

**B.**

1. Explain the following idioms: *to save face*, *to cut bait*, *to have other fish to fry*. Find them in the text and translate the sentences into Russian.
2. Recall all the synonyms to the word “*subterfuge*”.
3. Find the sentence in the text with the verb ending in “*vert*”. Paraphrase it.
4. Give examples of tough language.
5. Give examples of euphemisms in the text.

### **Comprehension questions:**

1. Why does the author speak about the language of love and the language of diplomacy? Do they have anything in common? What is it? Who is Cupid?
2. What do the reactions of different groups of people to the president’s statement prove?
3. Why is it challenging to translate into Chinese and to report about China?
4. What are the limitations of modern education according to the article?

5. What is the language of saving face?
6. How did the Chinese authorities manage to bridge the gap between the president's actual words and the sought-for result?
7. What actually propelled the crisis in Sino-American relations?

### Exercise 14

*Translate the following sentences into Russian.*

1. Some conservatives thought George W. Bush should have used tougher language in the initial stages of the crisis on Hainan Island by calling our pilots "hostages".
2. Whatever Bill Clinton would have said, and he would have said a lot, every hour on the hour, no one could have translated it into two or three Chinese words.
3. "Sorry" was the word they had to have us say so they could tell their people that the United States had apologized.

### Exercise 15

*Explain in English the following word combinations related to language. Give their Russian equivalents.*

sappy cliché

sensitivity and subterfuge of language

tough language

tortured syntax

linguistic crossfire

complexities and subtleties of language

infinite shades/nuances of language

clear and precise language

### Exercise 16

*Translate the word combinations into Russian. In what context are they used by the author?*

to find the delicate balance between

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to quibble over words  
the art of persuasion and translation  
impact on society  
to use language to one's advantage  
to guide public opinion  
to gloss over smth with  
to manipulate a word  
to have verbal clearance  
to spin out of control

## Exercise 17

*Use the word combinations from the exercise above in the following sentences.*

1. Politicians skilfully \_\_\_\_\_ and artfully \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ different words when addressing the public.
2. The aim of the mass media is not only to convey information  
but also to \_\_\_\_\_ both inside the country and abroad.
3. Only some scholars possess knowledge of various shades of  
language when exercising \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Communication gap stems from the inability to \_\_\_\_\_  
when arguing about personal matters.
5. The talks aimed at reaching an agreement and preventing the  
situation from \_\_\_\_\_.
6. The war's \_\_\_\_\_ and on the future development of  
the country was tremendous.
7. The authorities demanded that reporters should \_\_\_\_\_  
recent heavy losses and told them how they should approach  
their stories if they wanted to survive.
8. The Chinese authorities \_\_\_\_\_ because they want-  
ed the US to accept the blame for the collision.
9. The plane entered the airspace of a foreign country without  
\_\_\_\_\_ and thus ran the risk of being shot down.

## Exercise 18

*Translate the following sentences into English using the studied vocabulary.*

1. Английский язык, будучи языком германской группы, испытал, начиная с XI века, сильнейшее и многократное воздействие французского. Около 55 % слов в английском — заимствования из французского или из латинского при посредстве французского; весьма сильно влияние французского в синтаксисе и заметно в морфологии.
2. Понятие стиля у римских писателей периода империи было очень развитым и тонким. Оно относилось, кроме всего прочего, к литературной речи.
3. Умелое обращение со словами, знание бесконечных и оттенков и нюансов необходимы дипломату в его искусстве убеждения и перевода.
4. Повсеместное распространение всеобщего образования и грамотности, сглаживание различий между городом и деревней привели к становлению общенационального языка с его бесчисленными оттенками и нюансами.
5. Другой ученый эпохи Буур (Bouhours) писал, что французский язык «нашел секрет, как соединить краткость не только с ясностью и точностью, но и с чистотой и с благовоспитанностью; французский язык прибегает к метафоре только тогда, когда не может без нее обойтись, он ненавидит гиперболу, столь ценимую соседями». (Буур иронизирует над итальянскими и испанскими языками).
6. Как в политике, так и в дипломатии для достижения своих целей необходимо в совершенстве владеть искусством убеждения, умело играть словами, используя их с выгодой для себя.

## Exercise 19

*Consider a new list of phrases containing instances of doublepeak and euphemisms. Explain in plain English what they really mean.*

1. HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES have been used in TECHNICAL SURVEILLANCE for decades.
2. One of my best friends is currently categorized as a DISPLACED HOMEMAKER .
3. Military commanders usually warn soldiers not to FRATER-NIZE with the local population.
4. ARTIFICIAL DENTURES are believed to have inspired people with confidence.
5. Make sure your niece does not bring a DARKEY into the family.
6. The company spent \$12 million on CONTRIBUTIONS.
7. The army BROKE OFF CONTACT WITH THE ENEMY.
8. A true NEW RUSSIAN can hardly do without a LAND-SCAPE ARCHITECT.
9. He took us by surprise in our BIRTHDAY SUITS.
10. The Americans were shocked when they heard about the number of CRIMINAL OPERATIONS performed annually on schoolgirls.

## Exercise 20

*Can you identify the euphemistic expressions in the sentences below? What do they really mean?*

1. At the end of the evening, the minister seemed to be tired and emotional.
2. The president admitted that the statement he had made yesterday was no longer operative.
3. When the lawyer questioned him closely, the civil servant admitted that he may have been economical with the truth.
4. He is no longer in the best of health.
5. A man is helping police with their enquiries.

*To be Politically Correct, PC, means to be correct according to a set of liberal opinions, that black people and women should have equal chances to get jobs, education etc.*

*The newest edition of Random House Webster's College Dictionary boasts more new words than any of its competitors. Besides it has a chapter called "Avoiding Insensitive and Offensive Language", which tells us that we should avoid "emphasizing the differences between people" and think of language as a way "toward rectifying the unequal social status between one group and another."*

**Before reading the text below ponder over the following questions.**

1. Is political correctness always acceptable? What distortions could it cause?
2. Which words could you think of as discriminatory? What examples of gender-neutral language can you come up with?
3. Should language be politicized or not?

### **WINNER AS A DIRTY WORD**

#### **Oscar, Hollywood's Politically Correct Award**

**(by Greg Crosby)**

The Academy Awards show will be on this Sunday (I'm still a little bugged that they changed it from Monday. I don't know why, but it seemed more exciting on Mondays somehow) and last week the Screen Actors Guild had their awards show.

Let's focus on the SAG awards for a second. For quite some time now the Guild has done away with the actress designation preferring to use the more politically correct term, Female Actor. The categories are Best Male Actor and Best Female Actor. If the purpose was to have equal designations, I suppose they could have just as easily gone the other way and made the categories Best Male Actress and Best Female Actress. You know, I actually like that better. They really should have consulted me first.

The fact is, if they truly wanted to address all actors fairly, equally, and politically correctly, then they should do away with the male and female gender labels altogether. Let's be gender nonspecific and just have one Best Acting award given to the one actor, male or female, who brought in the best performance

for that year. Listen, if you want gender equality then let's really have it.

And while we're on the subject, aren't the designations male and female separatist by definition? Men and women, boys and girls, lads and lassies, guys and dolls — all separatist and therefore unequal by their very nature. Why not do away with those sexist terms, not only in acting, but in normal daily life? Just call people persons without any reference to gender at all. No differentiation whatsoever. Instead of the men's room and women's room, there would be one large people's room (or person's room, if you prefer). Clothing would be devoid of any gender references, too — just different sizes and different styles. And let's lose the children labels as well. After all, children are just people that happen to be younger and smaller, right?

For quite awhile now P.C.A.M.P.A.S. (Politically Correct Academy of Motion Picture Arts And Sciences) has used the phrase, "... and the award goes to..." Replace that bad old judgmental term, "... and the winner is..." That way they can have their contest without actually having to refer to the winner of that contest as the winner — even though that is exactly who the award recipient is — the winner. But, you see, the word winner is a negative word because it makes the other four contestants, by process of elimination, losers — even though that is exactly what they become when they don't win.

But getting back to those best acting awards, I believe it's high time that they be completely, utterly 100 percent all-inclusive. Yes, only one Best Acting award a year should be awarded — but that category should not be exclusive to human beings. I think the award should take into account non-human performances also. Remember the drunken horse in "Cat Ballou?" Even Lee Marvin, when accepting his Oscar for that picture, said that the horse really should have gotten the award.

How many times have you seen an animal upstage a human actor in a movie? Plenty. Is it so far-fetched to think that in any one year, perhaps the only creature who would truly deserve the acting award might be an animal? Think of all those great dog actors like Lassie, Rin Tin Tin, Asta, and Beethoven. Think of

Trigger. Gentle Ben. And don't tell me that Johnny Weissmuller's acting was any better than the chimpanzee in those "Tarzan" films.

Why stop with animals? Plants are living things too. Shouldn't Audrey II, the plant in "Little Shop of Horrors," have at least been nominated for an Oscar? Or the field in "Field of Dreams?" After all, the field played a part in that movie every bit as important as the human actors. Heck, it even got the title role. And what about the mashed potatoes in "Close Encounters of The Third Kind?" Deserving of at least a supporting nomination, don't you think?

I don't believe best acting awards should include animated, stop-action, or computer generated characters, however. They aren't real. Besides, you've got to draw the line somewhere — otherwise everything would be eligible for a best acting award. And that just wouldn't be fair.

***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. What do you know about Hollywood, Oscar and the Screen Actors Guild?
2. Why has the Guild done away with the actress designation? What can this kind of reasoning lead to in Academy awards show?
3. How is political correctness viewed in normal daily life?
4. In what spheres of life should people be PC?
5. What examples of PC does the author give besides gender reference?
6. Where does the author suggest drawing the line both in best acting awards and in ordinary life?

**Exercise 21**

*Explain the following words and phrases in English:*

- |                    |                          |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. to be bugged    | 5. award recipient       |
| 2. sexist terms    | 6. all-inclusive         |
| 3. differentiation | 7. far-fetched           |
| 4. judgmental term | 8. supporting nomination |

**Exercise 22**

*Explain in English what the following word combinations mean. Find how some of them are used in the text:*

	difference
	reference
	distinction
gender	labels
	differentiation
	nonspecific
	bias
	equality

**Exercise 23**

*Translate the following word combinations into Russian and look up the sentences which contain them in the text:*

- equal designations
- to be separatist by definition
- to be devoid of references to
- by process of elimination
- to be exclusive to
- to upstage smb in
- to draw the line at/between
- to be eligible for an award

*Now use some of the words in the following sentences.*

1. The young actor who \_\_\_\_\_ a famous star in the performance truly deserves the acting award.
2. The task of any chief executive officer is to ensure that the staff have fair \_\_\_\_\_.
3. How can a person \_\_\_\_\_ humor be employed in the company's public relations?
4. It's a question of finding the mean between too lenient treatment and too severe punishment. One should know where \_\_\_\_\_

5. The police established the identity of the dead man \_\_\_\_\_
6. The luxury suite in the hotel, spacious and decorated in an antique style is \_\_\_\_\_ presidents and high-ranking officials.
7. The two politicians embarked on their political careers pursuing the interests of one and the same party but ended up in the leadership of the parties \_\_\_\_\_.
8. Men and women \_\_\_\_\_ to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in the UN principal and subsidiary organs.

### Exercise 24

*Study the following chains of derivatives and fill in the gaps with them.*

**a) to design — designing — design — designer —  
to designate — designation:**

1. The staff was impressed by the work of the \_\_\_\_\_ whose intricate patterns yielded instant credit to him.
2. As a result of promotion his official \_\_\_\_\_ was the editor of the Daily Telegraph.
3. The \_\_\_\_\_ for the new residence approved, the builders got down to work the next day.
4. The official residence \_\_\_\_\_ for holding receptions and parties and hosting exhibitions and sales conferences.
5. The residence also \_\_\_\_\_ as an emergency centre in the event of an attack or any unexpected upheaval.

**b) to equal — (un)equal — equally — equal —  
(in)equality — to equalize:**

1. Representatives of all social groups and ethnic minorities should get \_\_\_\_\_ pay for \_\_\_\_\_ work.
2. The diplomats chose a neutral country so that they could meet on \_\_\_\_\_ terms.

3. The person who leads a group of people but is not seen as being better or more important than the other members of the group is first among \_\_\_\_\_.
4. New Labour academics think the notion that one in four Britons is living in poverty actually measures \_\_\_\_\_, which has certainly increased, rather than poverty.
5. None of the diplomats can \_\_\_\_\_ the Foreign Secretary's skills and mastery as an orator.
6. The candidate was reported to be competing on \_\_\_\_\_ terms, which caused a scandal.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ disturbing were comments made by Sir H. O., chairman of the Commission for Racial \_\_\_\_\_.
8. The ruling party's policy was \_\_\_\_\_ the tax burden.

**c) to separate — separate — separatist — (in)separable — separation — separatism:**

1. \_\_\_\_\_ minorities from each other is sometimes the only way of preventing riots and clashes.
2. In the case of \_\_\_\_\_ or divorce, it is the children's needs that should come first.
3. It is not clear whether such interests do more harm than good in their emphases on racism, discrimination and a \_\_\_\_\_ agenda.
4. He rejected the validity of a common culture, saying that black children needed to be taught \_\_\_\_\_ and to have a \_\_\_\_\_ curriculum.
5. Some claim that the issue of political correctness is \_\_\_\_\_ from the issue of human rights.
6. Other nations, such as China and Burma have seized the opportunity to link domestic ethnic \_\_\_\_\_ with the terrorist network.

**d) to exclude — exclusive — exclusively — exclusion:**

1. His \_\_\_\_\_ from the negotiations was widely commented on by the press.
2. In an \_\_\_\_\_ interview the Prime Minister dwelled on the economic aspects of the problem.

- 
3. You can't keep going with a society where many \_\_\_\_\_ unless you have gated communities.
  4. This type of activity \_\_\_\_\_ to people who are extremely fit.
  - \*5. He writes \_\_\_\_\_ for the Financial Times.

## Exercise 25

*Use some of the studied words in the sentences below. Put them into the correct form.*

1. Cooking would clearly seem to be a field that lies \_\_\_\_\_ within women's realm, yet the annals of cookery are replete with masculine names.
2. Enrico Fermi \_\_\_\_\_ a device that could eventuate in a chain reaction.
3. Fiction, nonfiction, and poetry are replete with derogatory \_\_\_\_\_ to these creatures.
4. The \_\_\_\_\_ of visual and aural communication tended to vitiate the learning process.
5. The manufacturer had to glean and test many different \_\_\_\_\_ before he accepted the one you see in the array before you.
6. In theory, although conflicts and skirmishes continued between the two countries, the Scots were \_\_\_\_\_ partners with the English and maintained their own legal system.
7. With both sides \_\_\_\_\_ entrenched and fired up after such a week, confrontation seems inevitable this Sunday.
8. Half of the contenders \_\_\_\_\_ from the competition in the first round.
9. Diane Fox, a rising star, \_\_\_\_\_ Best Female Actor at the Academy \_\_\_\_\_ show. In an \_\_\_\_\_ interview Diane said she was in the seventh heaven of delight. She made no \_\_\_\_\_ to the well-known incident.
10. With the scarcity of food and basic commodities, babies were born \_\_\_\_\_ of all hope and lacking in fundamental human rights.

*Read the short article below, which appeared after the tragic events of September 11, and say what the message of the article is.*

### **TOP OF THE WORLD**

#### **Political incorrectness has compensations**

**(The Guardian, November 19, 2001)**

Sometimes political incorrectness produces its own heroes and heroines. Boxing matches and beauty contests are not among our top-10 most favoured spectator sports. But during the weekend there were some compensations after Lennox Lewis (Great Britain) regained his world heavyweight crown in Las Vegas and Agbani Darego (Miss Nigeria) became the first black African to win the controversial Miss World contest. Lennox's win was enhanced by the fact that he gave a (symbolic) black eye to Don King, the maverick US promoter who had lured Hasim Rahman away from his manager with a \$500,000 cash payment. King is no longer king.

Agbani Darego's win, if not more legitimate than previous Miss World contests, was at least more democratic as 50 % of the votes for the 10 finalists came from the TV audience. Loud applause greeted the victory of this computer science student. She beat more than 90 contestants in the South African resort of Sun City. The Miss World contest has become so politically incorrect in recent years that it may well have passed without comment but for the result. Most bets had been on a win for Miss America in the current political climate, but the judges made their choices on merit. Which may be another reason, just this once, for celebrating a bit of political incorrectness.

#### ***Tasks and questions to the text:***

1. Comment on the political climate at the time.
2. Explain the similarity of the two cases described in the article. What choices should the judges have made to remain politically correct?

- 
3. What is paradoxical about PC? What is the relationship between it and fairness of judgment? How are matches and contests judged according to the article?
  4. Should political incorrectness be always denounced? What compensations does it have? Give examples of compensations from the text.

*Sexism is the belief that one sex is not as good, clever etc., as the other, especially when this results in unfair treatment of women by men.*

## SEXIST LANGUAGE

### Strategy of Analysis

1. Divide into pairs or groups to analyze the issue of “Sexist Language”.
2. Introduce the subject. Among other things mention the fact that in recent years many people have taken objection to what is called sexist language: “he” is often used to mean “everyone”, “man” to mean “mankind” (i. e. men and women) — even “men and women” puts men first; why not “women and men”? Look back through the unit or try to remember from your own experience what similarly sexist attitudes you can find or think of.
3. Delve into the subject. Don’t fail to mention that objection has been taken to words like “spokesman” and “chairman”. Analyzing the phenomenon discuss with your partner the questions that follow.

Do you prefer “spokesperson” and “chairperson”? What about “personipulate” instead of “manipulate”, “herstory” instead of “history”, “Personchester” instead of “Manchester”?

Are they only good for a modern laugh, or is there something serious behind them?

Why do you think these questions have arisen in recent years?

What should we do about them — adopt new forms such as Ms instead of Mrs or Miss, or keep to the old ways?

Is there any alternative to he/she which is less cumbersome?

4. Now proceed to areas of usage.

Are there areas which have predominantly masculine or feminine language? Talk about one of the following and try to analyze how “masculine” or “feminine” the language you use is: football, child care, war, cooking, cars, love, diplomacy, newspapers.

Do you agree that “the English language does indeed assume everybody to be male unless they are proved otherwise”? (Angela Carter, “The Language of Sisterhood”).

5. Discuss sexist words as manifestations of negative attitudes, since sometimes they are used in an insulting way. Women have been considered “the weaker sex” (William Alexander) and effeminacy has been considered a fault in men, just as mannishness has been thought of as a fault in women.

Write paragraphs or comment on the following quotations describing these attitudes. Then compare the amount of sexist language you have used with the rest of the class.

“What vain unnecessary things are men.

How well we do without “em”.

(John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, “Draft of a Satire on Man”)

Women get more unhappy the more they try to liberate themselves. (Brigitte Bardot)

6. Work out a conclusion. What is the relationship between sexist language and political correctness?

*Consider the following well-known story taken from Politically Correct Bedtime Stories by James Finn Garner.*

*Choose all instances of **politically-correct vocabulary** and paraphrase them into plain English.*

## LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD

There once was a young person named Red Riding Hood who lived with her mother on the edge of a large wood. One day her mother asked her to take a basket of fresh fruit and mineral water to her grandmother’s house — not because this was wom-

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an's work, mind you, but because the deed was generous and helped engender a feeling of community. Furthermore, her grandmother was NOT sick, but rather was in full physical and mental health and was fully capable of taking care of herself as a mature adult.

Red Riding Hood set off with her basket through the woods. Many people believed that the forest was a foreboding and dangerous place and never set foot in it. Red Riding Hood, however, was confident enough in her own budding sexuality that such obvious Freudian imagery did not intimidate her.

On the way to Grandmother's house, Red Riding Hood was accosted by a wolf, who asked her what was in the basket. She replied, "Some healthful snacks for my grandmother, who is certainly capable of taking care of herself as a mature adult".

The wolf said, "You know, my dear, it isn't safe for a little girl to walk through these woods alone".

Red Riding Hood said, "I find your sexist remark offensive in the extreme, I will ignore it because of your traditional status as an outcast from society, the stress of which has caused you to develop your own, entirely valid, worldview. Now, if you'll excuse me, I must be on my way".

Red Riding Hood walked on along the main path. But, because his status outside society had freed him from slavish adherence to linear, Western-style thought, the wolf knew a quicker route to Grandma's house. He burst into the house and ate Grandma, an entirely valid course of action for a carnivore such as himself. Then unhampered by traditionalist notions of what was masculine or feminine, he put on Grandma's nightclothes and crawled into bed.

Red Riding Hood entered the cottage and said, "Grandma, I have brought you some fat-free, sodium-free snacks to salute you in your role of a wise and nurturing matriarch".

From the bed, the wolf said softly, "Come closer, child, so that I might see you".

Red Riding Hood said, "Oh, I forgot you are as optically challenged as a bat. Grandma, what big eyes you have!"

"They have seen much, and forgiven much, my dear".

“Grandma, what a big nose you have — only relatively, of course, and certainly attractive in its own way”.

“It has smelled much, and forgiven much, my dear”.

“Grandma, what big teeth you have!”

The wolf said, “I am happy with WHO I am and WHAT I am,” and leapt out of bed. He grabbed Red Riding Hood in his claws, intent on devouring her. Red Riding Hood screamed, not out of alarm at the wolf’s apparent tendency toward cross-dressing, but because of his willful invasion of her personal space.

Her screams were heard by a passing woodchopper person (or log-fuel technician, as he preferred to be called). When he burst into the cottage, he saw the melée and tried to intervene. But as he raised his ax, Red Riding Hood and the wolf both stopped.

“And just what do you think you’re doing?” asked Red Riding Hood.

The woodchopper person blinked and tried to answer, but no words came to him.

“Bursting in here like a Neanderthal, trusting your weapon to do your thinking for you!” she exclaimed. “Sexist! Speciesist! How dare you assume that women and wolves can’t solve their own problems without a man’s help!”

When she heard Red Riding Hood’s impassioned speech, Grandma jumped out of the wolf’s mouth, seized the woodchopper person’s ax, and cut his head off. After this ordeal, Red Riding Hood, Grandma, and the wolf felt a certain commonality of purpose. They decided to set up an alternative household based on mutual respect and cooperation, and they lived together in the woods happily ever after.

### **Workshop III. LANGUAGE REGISTERS**

*It was Heraclitus who said, “Nothing is permanent but change”. Neither is language. What reefs might be awaiting the English language? What kind of rescue operation might be launched to save it?*

## THE STATE OF ENGLISH

By Anthony Burgess, the "Sunday Times"

Can our language be protected? It depends on what you mean by the language. Unlike Iroquois and Cherokee, English has leapt out of the confines of its origin, and there is nobody to tell us where true English is to be found. The various forms of American, Australian, South African are as prominent as what is known as Queen's English. In Britain itself the three national forms of English and the innumerable dialects demand our attention because they are in daily use, but to most people "good English" means the language of television newscasters, of up-market commercials, and of the more serious political announcements. In other words, Standard English with "RP", or Received Pronunciation.

Historically this is just one dialect out of many. But a consensus has elevated it to a language, which we think everybody ought to learn. There is, of course, no possible way of making anyone learn it. Our schools and colleges can, in fact, do little. Children speak the language appropriate to a larger cultural area than a mere classroom. Language cannot be enforced. It goes its own way, or the way of its speakers. It is a construct created by human beings for their own use. There was in the 18th century a belief that language could be legislated for, that academics could lay down the law. Jonathan Swift objected to the word "mob", a presumed truncated form of *mobile vulgus*, but "mob" came to stay. The great Doctor Samuel Johnson believed that he had fixed for all time both spelling and pronunciation with his incredible Dictionary (to some extent that was true), but he left out of account those changes in human life and knowledge that demand new words, and the more or less passive phonetic changes which produced new pronunciation.

With his novel, *Nineteen Eighty Four*, George Orwell inflicted on an imaginary totalitarian future a form of English known as "Newspeak", notable for the steady diminution of its vocabulary, the aim being to create a language in which dissident thought could be impossible. "Newspeak" is more of an amusing toy than

a device for securing political orthodoxy. It does not work. If you say “Emmanuel Goldstein is double plus ungood” you can say the same thing about Big Brother. If you are scared of saying this, that has nothing to do with a limitation of language.

In fact, it is very rarely language itself that is at issue when we invoke standards of correctness. Errors in language are often an aspect of the outer social shell, which encloses language. If we want to do any teaching at all, we had better pay attention to what is known as registers. An American professor of nuclear physics will say, “Now we zero in on the real nitty gritty”. This is the wrong register. A year or so ago the speaker of the House of Commons (not the present one) quietly told a member to f\*\*\* off. He was not heard except by the microphones, but it was still the wrong register. To call the Queen Mother “the Queen Mum” to her face is to employ the wrong register.

Choice of the right register is dictated by the need not to give offence. Pronunciation can give offence, too, but we have no sure grounds for legislating for it. A Birmingham accent in Fortnum & Mason may be inappropriate, meaning that it may give offence. Any local accent, once it strays out of the confines of its regional origin, is likely to give offence, unless it carries a Celtic flag. We can do little about this, except foster the common-sense attitude to language, which makes it a sociable rather than an aggressive medium of exchange. MPs who hurl coal-mining accents at the front bench when indulging in a partisan diatribe are doing nobody any good. We need Standard English with RP.

I say we need it, but there is so little solidity in language that we cannot be sure of the forms, the meanings or the sounds we utter. Most people will have noticed that the final stop consonants in substandard speech are disappearing. I mean, for instance, *p*, *t*, and *k*. We are hearing a glottal stop instead. By about 2020 the sound will be signalled in print but will belong to the dead past.

We may weep for this, but we cannot prevent linguistic change from happening. We weep because we believe that English is a beautiful language. There are too many popular books with titles like *The Peerless Gift of Our Native Tongue*. This is non-

sense. English is no better than Esquimo. What it incontestably has is a great literature. This certainly needs protection.

*Notes:*

1. RP — Received Pronunciation, the name used by students of language for the type of pronunciation of British English which is regarded as standard. It is used by middle class and upper class people from all over the UK, especially in the south of England, and it is the form of pronunciation shown in British dictionaries. It is sometimes called “BBC English” as it is the accent used by most people on radio and television;
2. Nineteen Eighty-Four — a novel by George Orwell about a political system in which ordinary people have no power, and are completely controlled by the government. It has had a great influence on the way people think about and write about politics and political systems like that described in the book is sometimes called Orwellian;
3. newspeak — language whose meanings are slightly changed to make people believe things that are not quite true;
4. Big Brother — a character in the novel Nineteen Eighty-Four by George Orwell. Big Brother is the leader of the state, and although no one has ever met him there are pictures of him everywhere with the message “Big Brother is watching you”. People now use the expression “Big Brother” to describe any government or organization that has complete power, allows no freedom, and carefully watches what people are doing;
5. Celt — a member of an ancient people who lived in Britain before the arrival of the Romans

- and whose culture and languages are still found in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland;
6. glottal stop — a speech sound made by completely closing and opening the glottis, which in English may take the place of [t] between vowel sounds or may be used before a vowel sound

***Explain the following cultural phenomena:***

1. What is the difference between the two terms the ACCENT and DIALECT? What are COAL-MINING accents?
2. Who are/were the following people: JONATHAN SWIFT, Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON, GEORGE ORWELL, QUEEN MOTHER, BIG BROTHER, SPEAKER in the HOUSE of COMMONS?
3. What do Iroquois, Cherokee and Esquimo have in common?
4. What is the idea of “a local accent carrying a Celtic flag”?
5. Who has the right to sit on the FRONT BENCH in the House of Commons?
6. What kind of place is FORTNUM & MASON?

***General comprehension questions:***

1. Does the author answer the question that opens the article? What is his answer?
2. What does the author have to say concerning the state of English?
3. What is the author’s attitude to changes that the English language undergoes?
4. In what way has the role and place of the English language in the world changed?
5. What problems do people communicating in English most frequently confront?
6. What are registers? Why are most mistakes made by foreigners register errors? Do native speakers make register mistakes?
7. Do you think your native language needs protection? How can a language be protected?

## Exercise 26

*Translate the following sentences into Russian paying special attention to the underlined structures.*

1. George Orwell inflicted on an imaginary totalitarian future a form of English known as “Newspeak”, the aim being to create a language in which dissident thought could be impossible.
2. Any local accent, once it strays out of the confines of its regional origin, is likely to give offence, unless it carries a Celtic flag.
3. English is no better than Esquimo.

## Exercise 27

- a) *Look back at Exercise 26 sentence 1. Find the Absolute Participle Construction (APC) and translate it into Russian. Why is it called Participle? Revise the forms of Participle I and II.*

Participle	Active	Passive
<b>Simple Participle I</b>	doing	being done
<b>Perfect Participle I</b>	having done	having been done
<b>Participle II</b>	—	done

- b) *Translate the following sentences into Russian. Note the difference in translating the APC.*

### The APC before the main clause

1. With the final stop consonants disappearing, these sounds will be signalled only in print.
2. English having leapt out of the confines of its origin, nobody can tell us where true English is to be found.
3. The common-sense attitude to accents being fostered, there is little progress in this respect.

### The APC after the main clause

1. Choice of the right register is dictated by the need not to give offence, with pronunciation giving sometimes even more offence.
2. Standard English with RP is taught at schools and universities, the various forms of American are no less prominent.

#### *c) Put the verb in brackets into the right form.*

1. With spring (to approach), thousands of birds (to head) to the islands that make up Malta.
2. Political parties (to be unpopular) long, people in Germany (to trust) them more now.
3. The court (to suspend) its hearing until June 8th, he (to give) the extra time to prepare his defence.
4. The president (to oust) more than three years ago, the country (to stagger) through a political crisis.
5. The walls of the college (to cover) with portraits of the Founding Fathers, the dormitories (to name) after their houses — Monticello, Mount Vernon and so on.
6. Brazil (begin) to integrate its public universities, the giant state university of Rio (lead) the way.
7. 46 percent of its 175 million people (trace) their ancestry to Africa, Brazil often (label) the largest black nation after Nigeria.
8. Such acts clearly (have) an impact, many museums (close) temporarily, hurting both the tourism trade and public morale.
9. Millions of dollars (spend) on educational charities, his outlook for inner-city education (seem) bleak.
10. "Lord of the Rings" (contend) for numerous Oscars later this month, the book (investigate) whether the old adage that the movie is never as good as the book still holds true.
11. The young leader (try) hard to end the debate, with the Conservative Party (divide) on Europe as never before.

d) *Translate the sentences into English, using the Absolute Participle Construction.*

1. Поскольку было слишком поздно продолжать дискуссию, поступило предложение отложить обсуждение этой проблемы до следующей встречи.
2. Хотя война в Ираке уже закончилась, США и их союзники настаивают на необходимости своего военного присутствия в этой стране.
3. Расширение НАТО стало объективной реальностью, но стремление Украины присоединиться к Североатлантическому альянсу вызывает наибольшую обеспокоенность России.
4. Так как инфляция представляет собой непосредственную угрозу, многие опасаются, что этой зимой они столкнутся с нищетой и голодом.
5. После того как договор был подписан, судоходное и авиационное сообщение между двумя государствами немедленно возобновилось.

## Exercise 28

*Match the words from the article with their definitions.*

1. a general agreement
2. a concept, an idea formed in the mind by combining pieces of information
3. a long violent attack in speech or writing
4. an advertisement on TV or radio

## Exercise 29

*Find in the text the English equivalents for the following Russian phrases.*

вырваться за пределы своего ареала  
 бесчисленные диалекты  
 поднять до статуса языка  
 силой насаждать язык

решать что законно, а что нет  
не учитывать что-либо  
нанести вред чему-либо  
нестандартное мышление  
нанести оскорбление  
воспитывать отношение  
здравый смысл  
яростная обличительная речь  
лить слезы по чему-либо

### Exercise 30

*Translate the following into English, using the phrases mentioned above.*

1. Правозащитники произносят яростные обличительные речи против цензуры, как метода репрессии.
2. Не стоит лить слезы по поводу смены государственных символов.
3. Правительства некоторых государств бывшего Советского Союза порой пытались силой насаждать местные языки, отказывая многочисленному русскоязычному населению в праве иметь собственные школы, литературу, театр.
4. Бесчисленные диалекты английского языка не мешают англичанам понимать всех, кто говорит на их языке.
5. Здравый смысл помогает воспитывать критическое восприятие печатного материала.
6. Отдельные публикации могут нанести оскорбление целой нации.

*Good monolingual dictionaries always indicate if a word or phrase has a particular register, in other words the type of context it should be used in. Different dictionaries use slightly different labels to indicate register but they all tell you whether the word or phrase is informal, formal, specialized/ technical (e.g. medical, legal, literary, etc.), old-fashioned / dated, slang, etc. Words and phrases with no label are of neutral register.*

### Exercise 31

a) Use a monolingual dictionary to determine the register of the following words and to discover a more common / neutral (near) synonym. An example is given.

Word	Register	Synonym
1) lesion	medical	cut, wound
2) podgy		
3) bananas (adj)		
4) pen (v)		
5) wireless (n)		
6) larceny		
7) pretty (adv)		
8) court (v)		
9) notwithstanding		
10) nosh-up		
11) politic		
12) bamboozle		
13) clavicle		
14) lingo		

b) Make any necessary changes to the underlined words in the sentences that follow. Not all the underlined words are in inappropriate register. The first one has been done for you.

1. Unfortunately, he ended his days in an institution for the criminally bananas. *Insane*
2. Oh no! I think I've put my clavicle out again.
3. Lingo study classes are from 09:00 to 12:15 with options in the afternoon.
4. You are invited to a nosh-up to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the club.
5. It's no good trying to bamboozle me. I'm not going to buy any insurance.
6. She turned out to be a great boss to work for notwithstanding what everybody said about her.

7. It is, to say the very least, pretty regrettable that the Managing Director has decided to resign at this crucial time.
8. Podgy children run a high risk of heart disease in later life.
9. My grandmother never bought a TV. She was quite happy listening to her wireless, as she used to call it.
10. Can you pen a quick shopping list for me? You know how forgetful I am.
11. One feels it may not be politic at this moment to press for an increase in salary.
12. "Hi, Karen. So this is your new boyfriend".  
"Year, we've been courting for about two months now".
13. I'm a bit worried about Harry, Doctor. He's got some nasty lesions on his legs.
14. "I sec Fred Gomm's been arrested again".  
"Oh, what for this time?"  
"The usual — larceny".

*The kind of informal English, which is normal in ordinary conversation but is not considered acceptable in more formal language is called "colloquial". "Slang" is even more informal and consists mainly of particular words and phrases used principally by one group of people, e. g. young children, teenagers, students, professional people, working people etc.*

## Exercise 32

*After each conversation below, first explain each colloquial or slang item listed and then rewrite the conversation in a more formal style.*

E. g. **Alan:** Do you fancy going to the pictures tonight?

**Jill:** Great. Hang on, though. There's something good on telly.

a) Do you fancy b) Great c) Hang on d) Telly

Answer:

a) Would you like to b) Wonderful c) Wait d) Television

**Alan:** Would you like to go to the cinema this evening?

**Jill:** Wonderful. But wait. There's a good programme on television.

1. **Chris:** Do you like your new school?

**Gus:** It's OK.

**Chris:** And the kids in your class?

**Gus:** They're a decent bunch.

**Chris:** And the teacher?

**Gus:** Oh, he's a terrific bloke.

a) OK b) kids c) decent d) bunch e) terrific f) bloke

2. **Fred:** I'm not too keen on this new guy in the office.

**Alex:** Yeah, he's a bit of a big-head. Throws his weight around.

**Fred:** Yeah, if I get any more hassle from him, I'm going to tell him what I think.

**Alex:** Come off it. You haven't got the guts. You'd get the sack.

a) I'm not too keen on b) guy c) yeah d) big-headed  
e) throws his weight around f) hassle g) come off it  
h) guts i) get the sack

3. **Joe:** Posh suit!

**Brian:** My grandparents' 50th wedding anniversary. We're having a bit of a do.

**Joe:** Come and have a drink first. On me.

**Brian:** Just for a jiffy. Mustn't get there plastered.

a) posh b) a do c) on me d) jiffy e) plastered

*Formality in a language is all about your relationship with the person you are speaking or writing to. If you use formal language, it may be because you wish to show respect, politeness, or to put yourself at a distance (for example, "official" language). Informal language can show friendliness, equality or a feeling of closeness and solidarity with someone. You should never use informal language to sound fluent or clever.*

**Exercise 33**

*Read the passage below and underline all instances of informal language. What conclusions can you make about relationship between the two people? Does vocabulary alone help to render the speech informal? What else points to informality? Rephrase the informal phrases in the conversation, using Standard English. The passage has been taken from the film "Educating Rita".*

**Rita:** I read this poem about fightin' death...

**Frank:** Ah — Dylan Thomas...

**Rita:** No. Roger McGough. It was about this old man who runs away from hospital an' goes out on the ale. He gets pissed an' stands in the street shoutin' an' challengin' death to come out an' fight. It's dead good.

**Frank:** Yes. I don't think I know the actual piece you mean...

**Rita:** I'll bring y' the book — it's great.

**Frank:** Thank you.

**Rita:** You probably won't think it's any good.

**Frank:** Why?

**Rita:** It's the sort of poetry you can understand.

**Frank:** Ah. I see.

(Rita begins looking idly round the room.)

**Frank:** Can I offer you a drink?

**Rita:** What of?

**Frank:** Scotch?

**Rita:** (*going to the bookcase*) Y'wanna be careful with that stuff; it kills y'brain cells.

**Frank:** But you'll have one? (*He gets up and goes to the small table.*)

**Rita:** All right. It'll probably have a job findin' my brain.

**Frank:** (*pouring the drinks*) Water?

**Rita:** (*looking at the bookcase*) Yeh, all right. (*She takes a copy of *Howards End* from the shelf.*) What's this like?

(Frank goes over to Rita, looks at the title of the book and then goes back to the drinks.)

**Frank:** Howards End?

**Rita:** Yeh. It sounds filthy, doesn't it? E. M. Foster.

**Frank:** Forster.

---

**Rita:** Oh yeh. What's it like?

**Frank:** Borrow it. Read it.

**Rita:** Ta. I'll look after it. *(She moves back towards the desk.)*  
If I pack the course in I'll post it to y'.

*(Frank comes back to the desk with drinks.)*

**Frank:** *(handing her the mug)* Pack it in? Why should you do that?

*(Rita puts her drink down on the desk and puts the copy of Howards End in her bag.)*

**Rita:** I just might. I might decide it was a soft idea.

**Frank:** *(looking at her)* Mm. Cheers. If — erm — if you're already contemplating "packing it in", why did you enrol in the first place?

**Rita:** Because I wanna know.

**Frank:** What do you want to know?

**Rita:** Everything.

**Frank:** Everything? That's rather a lot, isn't it? Where would you like to start?

**Rita:** Well, I'm a student now, aren't I? I'll have to do exams, won't I?

**Frank:** Yes, eventually.

**Rita:** I'll have to learn about it all, won't I? Yeh. It's like y' sit there, don't y', watchin' the ballet or the opera on the telly an' — an' y' call it rubbish cos tha's what it looks like? Cos y' don't understand. So y' switch it off an' say, that's fuckin' rubbish.

**Frank:** Do you?

**Rita:** I do. But I don't want to. I wanna see. Y' don't mind me swearin', do y'?

**Frank:** Not at all.

**Rita:** Do you swear.

**Frank:** Never stop.

**Rita:** See, the educated classes know it's only words, don't they? It's only the masses who don't understand. I do it to shock them sometimes. Y' know when I'm in the hairdresser's — that's where I work — I'll say somethin' like, "Oh, I'm really fucked", y' know, dead loud. It doesn't half cause a fuss.

**Frank:** Yes — I'm sure...

**Rita:** But it doesn't cause any sort of fuss with educated people, does it? Cos they know it's only words and they don't worry. But these stuck-up idiots I meet, they think they're royalty just cos they don't swear; an' I wouldn't mind but it's the aristocracy that swears more than anyone, isn't it? They're effin' and blindin' all day long. It's all "Pass me the fuckin' grouse' with them, isn't it? But y' can't tell them that round our way. It's not their fault; they can't help it. (*She goes to the window and looks out.*) But sometimes I hate them. God, what's it like to be free?

**Frank:** Ah. Now there's a question.

### Exercise 34

*Read the following information sheet about hiring a car while on holiday in Greece and use the information to complete the numbered gaps in the informal letter to a friend. Use no more than two words for each gap. The words you need do not occur in the information sheet. The exercise begins with an example (0).*

#### GENERAL CAR HIRE CONDITIONS

1. Cars should be booked at the same time as your holiday. If added later, a fax or telex fee may be incurred.
2. A small charge (c. J5 per day) to offset extra insurance costs is made for additional drivers and payable locally.
3. Drivers must be at least 23 years of age for Groups A, B and C, 25 years of age for other groups, and have held a full UK driving licence for 12 months. All drivers should be entered individually on the contract to be completed when collecting the car — you will need passport, driving licence, "Hellas" voucher and a credit card.
4. Damage to the tyres, engine or underside of the car is not covered by insurance in Greece. A credit card imprint or cash deposit of approximately J100 will be required on delivery of the car, returnable at the end of the hire period on condition that the car is returned with no damage to the above.

5. Outside normal office hours (08:00 – 20:00) an out-of-hours delivery charge is payable locally, normally c. J15.
6. Child seats and roof racks are available on request only and at a charge of c. J3 per day payable locally.
7. Cars may be booked for periods of less than 7 days but the daily rate increases — please telephone us for a quote. Car hire prices are calculated on 24 hour periods.

*Dear Fabienne,*

*Sorry it's taken me so long to get back in touch but I've been up to my eyes in work. Anyway, I did manage to find out about hiring a car if you book your holiday with "Hellas". The first thing is to book the car when you pay for your holiday or there'll be some extra (0) charges. If David's going to drive (1) \_\_\_\_\_, you'll have to pay another J5 a day. I know you're both (2) \_\_\_\_\_ twenty-three but have you both (3) \_\_\_\_\_ for more than 12 months? If you haven't, you won't be allowed to drive! Also, don't forget to (4) \_\_\_\_\_ both your names on the contract you sign in Greece. They'll also ask you for a deposit for (5) \_\_\_\_\_ J100 to (6) \_\_\_\_\_ any damage you might do to the car. But don't worry, you'll (7) \_\_\_\_\_ this back so long as you bring the car back in one (8) \_\_\_\_\_! Child seats don't come as standard, so you'll have to (9) \_\_\_\_\_ one for little Rory when you're there. It'll (10) \_\_\_\_\_ you another J3 a day.*

### **Exercise 35**

*Match lines from column "a" with lines from column "b" to form two-line dialogues.*

#### **Column "a"**

1. What a horrible day!
2. I'm going to do it whether you like it or not.

- 
3. I paid the tax bill just in time.
  4. How do you get on with her?
  5. You look very chuffed.
  6. Can you lend me a fiver?
  7. How did you manage to finish the job so fast?
  8. Could you mend this, Dad, and give me a drink of juice?
  9. No, no. This is how you do it.
  10. How was your exam?
  11. Did you buy anything?
  12. I'll ask her what her politics are.
  13. My stomach hurts, I've eaten too much.
  14. Do you think I should try again?
  15. Did you enjoy the party?

### Column "b"

- a. I know, I wasn't born yesterday.
- b. We have our ups and downs.
- c. Just a few bits and bobs.
- d. I blew it.
- e. You dare.
- f. Serves you right.
- g. You might as well. You've got nothing to lose.
- h. You can say that again.
- i. Hang on. I've got only one pair of hands.
- j. It's a good job too.
- k. Piece of cake.
- l. Not half. It wasn't great.
- m. I wouldn't. It's a touchy subject.
- n. No way. Sorry.
- o. Yes, I've just had some good news.

### The monster at No 10

The hideous monster, the Gobbledygook, which has been rampant in Whitehall for years, paid a visit to 10 Downing Street yesterday, courtesy of the Plain English Campaign.

Led in chains, snarling savagely, the Gobbledygook delivered the first copy of the campaign's magazine, Plain English, which aims to persuade writers of forms, leaflets and agreements to write them more clearly.

### Exercise 36

*Try to rewrite the sentences below in Plain English. An example has been done for you.*

**EXAMPLE:** "It is expected that in the foreseeable future further meetings will be arranged with the Trade Union for the purpose of conducting negotiations in relation to a reduction in working hours".

**In Plain English:** "*We will soon be meeting the Trade Union to discuss shorter hours*".

1. If I were asked to give an accurate description of my physical condition at the present moment, the only possible honest reply would be that I am greatly in need of liquid refreshment.
2. People whose professional activity lies in the field of politics are not, on the whole, conspicuous for their respect for factual honesty.
3. Failure to assimilate an adequate quantity of solid food over an extended period of time is absolutely certain to lead, in due course, to a fatal conclusion.
4. It is by no means easy to achieve an accurate understanding of that subject of study, which is concerned with the relationship between numbers.
5. The climatic conditions prevailing in the British Isles show a pattern of alternating and unpredictable periods of dry and wet weather, accompanied by a similarly irregular cycle of temperature changes.
6. I should be grateful if you would be so good as to stop the uninterrupted flow of senseless remarks with which you are currently straining my patience to breaking point.

## Exercise 37

Read the memo from the Director of Studies to the new Health and Safety officer of a language school and use the information to complete the fire notice. Use no more than two words for each gap. The words you need do not occur in the memo.

### MEMORANDUM

To: David

From: Kim

RE: Fire notices for inspection next week.

As you know, we've got the all important inspection coming up next week and we still haven't got any proper fire notices up! Can you put something official-looking together on the computer — don't forget to laminate the notices! Make sure you include the following:

- if you see/smell a fire, set off the nearest alarm
- try and put the fire out if you can but don't get burnt/trapped
- go to the meeting place (behind the library)
- wait for your name to be called out
- if you hear the alarm, get out straight away — don't try to pick up any books, coats, etc.
- go to the meeting place but don't lose control or run
- don't go back into the building until the senior fire officer (that's you by the way!) says it's OK.

Kim

### FIRE NOTICE

On discovering a fire:

1. a) ..... the nearest fire alarm.
2. b) ..... to c) ..... the fire but d) ..... risks.
3. Proceed to the e) ..... point (to the f) ..... the library)
4. g) ..... roll call.

On hearing the fire alarm:

1. Leave without stopping to h) .....
2. Proceed to the library quickly but without i) ..... or running.
3. j)..... outside the building until k) ..... that it is safe l) ..... by a senior officer.

### Exercise 38

*Read this extract from a letter. It is written by a mother to her son who is away from home for the first time and is unable to cook. Change the vocabulary and structures to rewrite the passage in a form that is more appropriate for this task.*

The cooking of an omelette is not a time-consuming project, nor does it necessitate a particularly high degree of culinary skills. The prerequisites in terms of provisions are two eggs, water and butter, and the essential equipment comprises a frying pan and heat source. The procedure is as follows. Initially, the two eggs are broken, and the contents, both egg yolk and white are placed in a bowl, where they are beaten. A small quantity of water or milk is then added and the mixture stirred again. The butter is placed in the frying pan, heated to melting point, and the egg mixture is subsequently added to the pan. The process of cooking is complete in approximately one minute, after which time the omelette is folded in half and served.

### Exercise 39

*If you hear the following lines, can you say precisely who is speaking to whom and in what situation?*

1. Good morning, Matron.
2. I can't hear you, caller.
3. With your Lordship's permission.
4. Penny for the Guy?
5. Excuse me, officer.
6. Take the book in your right hand .....
7. Hear, hear.
8. Good boy, come here.
9. My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, pray silence for .....
10. Mr. Chairman, I object.

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## Exercise 40

Read the following comments from a language school student questionnaire and use the information to complete the numbered gaps in the formal memorandum to staff. Use no more than two words for each gap. The words you need do not occur in the students' comments. The exercise begins with an example (0).

### Typical answers to feedback questionnaire

#### CLASSES

"My teacher was late for class every day except the first Monday!"

"I came to England to study English not to play games — I'm not a child!!!"

#### FACILITIES

"My classroom (A35) is a mess — can't the repairmen fix the cracks in the walls and stick the wallpaper back on? Only one of the lights was working during the whole 4-week course!"

"I liked the books and things in the self-access centre but it's in a bad place right at the top of the library on the fourth floor! Why not put it somewhere students spend more time?"

"The "Munch House Cafe Bar" is OK — I liked the new chairs and tables. Some of the sandwiches were off and they always ran out of coke when it was hot!"

#### FOOD

"I didn't like the food at all — it's always the same — chips, chips, chips!"

"All the food is boring — it has no real taste".

#### ACTIVITIES

"I liked the tour of the city but the sports were terrible, nobody knew where to go or what time to arrive!"

"Tom Shark was very rude to the students and we had to pay for things I thought I'd paid for when I paid for the course — like the BBQ and discos!"

## MEMORANDUM

*To:* All members of EFL staff  
*From:* Jack Boot (Director of Studies)  
*Date:* 16 June  
*Cc:* The Principal

**RE: STUDENT FEEDBACK QUESTIONNAIRE**

I am afraid there were a large number of (0) *complaints* about the school at the end of this course. The following is a summary of the most recurrent comments.

**Lessons**

(1) ..... seems to be a problem with many teachers, in fact one managed to be on time only once during the course. There also seems to be a feeling among students that the lessons weren't (2) ..... and that too many games were played in class. Many of our students find such activities rather (3) .....

**Facilities**

Various students noted that the classrooms are in a (4) ..... of repair and that we need to pay greater and more immediate attention to (5)..... . As regards the new self-access centre, many students praised the wide selection of (6) ..... but commented negatively about its (7) ..... at the top of the library building, which, it seems, makes it somewhat (8) ..... for students. Another more positive element in the school is the "Munch House". Many students commented favourably about the (9) ..... But also pointed out that the sandwiches are often (10) ..... and that soft drinks are frequently in short (11) ..... particularly during hot weather.

**Catering**

The food lacks (12) ..... With a great deal of the same food appearing day after day. It also seems that the food is far too (13) ..... for international students.

**Activities**

There were numerous negative comments in this area. The sports activities seem very (14) ..... organized with students hav-

ing no clear instructions as to where and when to play. Certain members of the activities staff were also described as (15) ..... Finally, it is clear that many students are being charged again for activities they paid for in (16) ....., such as barbecues and discotheques. I propose to hold an emergency meeting to discuss how best to address the most urgent issues outlined above. The meeting will be this Friday 23 June starting at 4.30 pm in the staff room.

**All staff are expected to attend.**

### **Exercise 41**

*Where do you think you would be if you heard the following? Do you think you should reply to any of the phrases — if so how?*

1. Last orders, please.
2. All change. All change.
3. Open wide.
4. Window or aisle?
5. Could you register, please.
6. Would you like to try it on?
7. Dressing?
8. Hold tight.
9. That's only available on prescription, I'm afraid.
10. Say "cheese".
11. Could you endorse it, please.
12. Same again?
13. You are on a double-yellow there, sir.
14. How would you like it done?
15. Say when.
16. 'K you.

### **Exercise 42**

*On November 11, 1998 The Times published a letter that four British boys had written to the Queen. The letter is highly informal and therefore absurdly irreverent.*

**Tasks**

1. In the text of the letter, underline all instances of colloquial usage, write out the informal words and expressions and suggest more formal equivalents.
2. Restructure the letter making it more logical and consistent, re-write the letter using appropriate style and vocabulary.

**POPPING IN TO THE PALACE****DEAR YOUR MAJESTY...**

“A long time ago you gave out OBEs to The Beatles and have since given awards to many famous pop stars, but you’ve had the same band playing outside Buckingham Palace since forever. Well, we are four young lads aged 16 and 17 who form the band ALIVE. In fact, here’s a CD of our music for you to listen to and some information about us. We were recently booked to play a load of concerts with top acts, but the promoter turned out to be a complete conman and we really lost out. We’ve never played in London and would like the chance to perform at Buckingham Palace, possibly inside the gates where the band usually plays to entertain the crowds or inside at a party. It would be a really good gig for us and having the gig on our CV might help us swing a record contract. You will note from the enclosed leaflet that we got support from the Prince’s Trust. They gave us a grant of 480 pounds in January 1997 and we would have asked Price Charles, but as Buckingham Palace is your house, we thought we should ask you first. We’ve put a nice slow song on the CD first cos we thought you wouldn’t be into heavy stuff. By all means give the CD to your grandchildren to listen to but make sure they give it you back. Finally, we are four good lads who don’t do drugs, aren’t scruffy and don’t use foul language (maybe that’s where we’ve been going wrong!) Anyway, if you can give us a break it would be cool. With our love to you and all the Royal Family, Andy, Daz, Martin and Craig XXXXX”.

## Workshop IV. WAYS OF SPEAKING

### WHEN OPENING YOUR MOUTH CAN SAY IT ALL

(Paul Barker)

**To give children the right start, add speaking to the three Rs**

I'm not sure when I lost my Yorkshire accent. I had one as a child in the Pennine valley where I lived until I was 18. But now, after migrating southwards, the Yorkshireness is only a kind of underlay. I still say "uz", for example, meaning us, instead of Southern English "uss".

You can hear it most clearly when I do a radio broadcast. Somehow, the microphone reaches down to intonations the unaided ear may miss. This aural ghost in the machine helps to justify my turning up on Radio 4, from time to time, as a member of the Northern team in Round Britain Quiz.

Would it have mattered if I had carried on speaking broad Yorkshire? Would any schoolboy these days adopt anything like my verbal amalgam?

In "Bad Language", a Penguin paperback out yesterday, two linguists — one Swedish, one English — join forces to argue that it is "undemocratic" for anyone to be discriminated against on the grounds of his or her accent. People should not feel that they have to change. "Accent discrimination", write Peter Trudgill and Lars Andersson, "is an anti-democratic phenomenon, not totally unlike racial prejudice and sexual discrimination".

But there is one obvious difference. It is very hard to change your sex or your skin colour (though many people try). Elocution lessons are less hazardous. Listen to the crystalline accents of non-white news announcers. They did not subject their career prospects to the added risk of accent discrimination. In an ideal world, it would be pleasant if you could agree with Trudgill and Andersson: anything goes. But it doesn't, and you can't. If children are to have the right start to the real world, speaking will have to join reading, writing and arithmetic as a basic skill. ~

Accent has been somewhat of a taboo in recent years, especially among educationists. It was not nice to talk about it. The

taboo was first broken by John Honey in his entertaining sharp-eared survey, "Does Accent Matter?" Honey's answer to his own question was Yes. The *Guardian*, naturally, poured cold water on the book when it first came out in 1989, but that did it no harm. It has since become, unexpectedly, a bestseller.

Studies show that people rank different accents in a strict social pecking order. Top comes the accent that linguists now call Received Pronunciation (RP) — roughly what used to be called BBC English. Then come "educated Scottish" (meaning, perhaps unfairly, Edinburgh, not Glasgow), with educated Welsh and Irish close behind.

In the middle of the pecking order comes a cluster of accents with a rural undertone: my native Yorkshire, for example, as well as the West Country burr.

City accents fare worst. Despite the Beatles, the Liverpool accent jostles with London/Cockney and the West Midlands accent at the bottom of the linguistic pile.

The city-country divide is especially intriguing in the case of Ireland. Notwithstanding the example of John Cole, the BBC political editor, a Belfast voice — urban and hard-edged — is ranked far below the softer, rural-seeming tones of the Republic. It is no accident that chat show hosts such as Terry Wogan have moved across the Irish Sea from the Republic. The southern Irish voice is somehow seen as being outside the British class structure.

It emerges that people read an extraordinary range of messages into accent. RP-speakers are apparently rated highest, by their hearers, for intelligence, ambition, leadership, self-confidence, wealth and status. As if that weren't enough, they are also credited with good looks, tallness, and even cleanliness.

Not everyone takes this lying down. Glaswegians celebrate the fact that they "belong to Glasgae", and no one can beat a Londoner's local pride. *But nobody celebrates the Birmingham accent.* The italics are John Honey's. After his book came out, a Midlands television show asked him to defend himself against a university lecturer with a strong Brummie accent. The discussion collapsed when the lecturer told Honey he thought his ca-

reer had, in fact, been blighted by the reaction to the way he spoke. Yet the flat, persistent voices of both Enoch Powell and Brian Walden retain strong traces of their native West Midlands. I suspect that only those who make a career of outsiderishness can successfully cling to it.

I yield to no one in my pride in Yorkshireness. And I am delighted that time has eroded the force of Bernard Shaw's observation that "It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making another Englishman hate or despise him". I am no defender of snobbism. But, undemocratic or not, the harsh social and linguistic truth remains. If you drop your aitches, you also drop your chances. To be fair to children, teachers and parents cannot ignore this.

#### PAIRWORK

*Answer the following questions:*

1. Read the title of the article. Where are the subject and the predicate of the sentence?
2. Read the subtitle: "To give children the right start, add speaking to the three Rs". What is meant by three Rs?
3. Where does Paul Barker come from? What does he do? Where does he work?
4. What sort of accent has he? How does he feel about it?
5. What is "Bad Language"?
6. How do Peter Trundgill and Lars Anderson feel about changing one's accent? What does Paul Barker think about it?
7. What does "elocution" mean?
8. Does Paul Barker think people should take elocution lessons?
9. Have educationists been discussing the problem of teaching speaking for a long time?
10. When did John Honey's survey appear? How did the press receive it? How did the public receive it? Why did opinions differ?
11. What does the ranking order of accents in Britain look like?
12. What characteristics do listeners attribute to RP speakers?
13. How do Glaswegians and Londoners feel about their accents?

- 
14. Who “won” in the television show discussion between John Honey and a university lecturer from Birmingham?
  15. Is Bernard Show’s remark about accents still valid?
  16. Does Paul Barker support or oppose the idea of speakers changing their accents?

### **Exercise 43**

*Explain or translate the underlined parts of sentences from the text.*

1. In an ideal world, it would be pleasant if you could agree with Trudgill and Anderson: anything goes.
2. The taboo was first broken by John Honey in his entertaining sharp-eared survey. “Does Accent Matter?”
3. City accents fare worst.
4. It emerges that people read an extraordinary range of messages into accent.
5. Not everyone takes this lying down.
6. I am no defender of snobbism.

### **Exercise 44**

*In the text find the words corresponding to the following definitions.*

- 1) something that sells in very large numbers —
- 2) strong social custom forbidding a particular word or behaviour —
- 3) to gradually wear away or destroy —
- 4) the art of good clear speaking in public —
- 5) one’s social or professional rank —
- 6) to travel so as to change one’s place of living especially for a limited period —
- 7) appear from being hidden —
- 8) a combination or mixture of different things —

**Exercise 45**

*In the text find the English equivalents for the following Russian phrases.*

- 1) невооруженное ухо
- 2) появиться на радио
- 3) объединять усилия
- 4) на основании чего-либо
- 5) очевидное различие
- 6) подвергать риску свою будущую карьеру
- 7) основной навык
- 8) нарушить запрет
- 9) несмотря на что-либо
- 10) городской, сельский акцент
- 11) наделять кого-либо какими-то качествами
- 12) цепляться за что-либо
- 13) уступать кому-либо в чем-либо

**Exercise 46**

*Translate the following sentence into Russian paying special attention to the underlined structure.*

Accent discrimination is an anti-democratic phenomenon, **not totally unlike** racial prejudice.

*Using the given pattern, form word combinations, making the adjectives below negative and adding NOT to them. Translate them into Russian.*

**FAVOURABLE, FREQUENT, ATTRACTIVE, NATURAL, RESPONSIVE, MINDFUL, LIKE, COMMON, INTERESTING**

*Translate the sentences into English using the pattern given above.*

1. Новый советник-посланник произвел весьма благоприятное впечатление на дипломатический персонал посольства.

2. В наши дни собственный персональный компьютер уже стал чем-то вполне обычным и имеется практически в каждом доме.
3. Премьер-министр распорядился о проведении внеочередного заседания правительства и, ничуть не забывая о своей ответственности за принятие окончательного решения, призвал собравшихся министров высказаться по существу проблемы.
4. Внезапные бури довольно часто случаются в этих отдаленных местах.
5. Небезынтересно, что премьер-министр даже не пытался отрицать свою причастность к инциденту.
6. Выбор дипломатической карьеры был вполне естественным для него.
7. Вполне вероятно, что они победят на выборах.
8. На него это очень похоже — сомневаться во всем и не быть уверенным ни в чем.
9. Я нахожу перспективу дипломатической карьеры весьма привлекательной и ваше предложение достаточно заманчивым.
10. Она хорошо разбирается в нюансах английского языка и неплохо понимает французскую речь.

## Exercise 47

*Write a summary of Paul Baker's point of view concerning accents.*

*Before reading the text below explain what the expression «to read between the lines» means.*

### HOW TO READ BETWEEN THE ENGLISH LINES

By Janet Daley, the *Independent*

There was a certain irony to all those shock-horror headlines over the Fayed affair. "Lies, lies, lies!" screamed the tabloids, to which anyone with an outside perspective on English social mores might have responded, "So, what's new?"

Duplicity is so embedded in the British way of life that foreigners could perhaps be forgiven for getting hold of the wrong end of the stick about the acceptability of untruth. The deception which is freely practised is the sort that is designed to avoid unkindness. But one person's tact is another's hypocrisy.

Social lies can be understood as the price of civilized life. The English obsession with avoiding the hurtful remark (even in its most indirect forms) is a trait for which I am always grateful, coming as I do from a country where compulsive truth-telling is developed to the point of sadism. But deception is a dangerous skill which has been cultivated as a recreation by the laid-back classes, whose ethos dominates national life.

Deliberately falsifying one's feelings and motives may become so ingrained a mannerism that sincerity becomes unrecognizable. True, one learns to allow for this in ordinary social exchange — to understand that words, "How lovely to see you", however gushingly delivered, are not to be taken literally but are simply a polite reflex like the rhetorical question, "How do you do?"

But there is a terrible price paid for this Byzantine code of opaque communication. Duplicity is the great English disease (the Celts are mystified by it as foreigners), more debilitating than lethargy, with which it is often in league. It does offer some compensations, of course. It is generations of perfected duplicity which allow the English to produce the world's greatest actors (as well as some of its most notorious spies) and which gives a distinctive texture to its literature. As a novelist, I am constantly thankful for the fact that every English conversation has three levels of meaning: what you think, what you say and what you wish to be understood as saying. What we lose in the confusions of everyday life may to some extent be regained in the rich subtlety of ambiguous conversation.

The question is, how much lying is done to avoid unkindness (perhaps laudable) and how much to avoid unpleasantness (merely cowardly)? And how often does the cowardice become criminally irresponsible, as in promising fulsome support to a colleague when you have no intention of voting his/her way at the meeting,

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or assuring an underling that he/ she is a valued employee when you are planning to sack him/her.

I offer an illustrative anecdote from the world I know best: Giles Mumblebotch, a chronically incompetent speaker, gives a guest lecture at Withit Polytechnic's trendy media department. His delivery is inaudible, his slides are in the wrong order and the content of his talk is mind-deadening. When he asks for questions at the end, the students sit in stupefied silence.

Giles shuffles apologetically off the lecture platform to be greeted by beaming Alex Silk-Smooth, the head of department.

"Super, Giles", he murmurs fervently, "great talk".

Giles brightens. "Really?" he asks eagerly.

"Spot on", affirms Alex, "just the sort of thing they need".

"But they didn't ask any questions", Giles says doubtfully.

"Oh, no, they never do", Alex bumbles. "A shy lot, they are. We call them the Silent Generation".

Giles is glowing by now. "Well, if you think they'd be interested — I've got a whole lecture series on graphic art of the late nineteenth century".

"Have you?" breathes Alex, as if all his birthdays had come at once. "Well, well. We'll have to plan on that next term. Absolutely".

Alex will now spend the next three months avoiding Giles's persistent telephone calls, hoping that Mumblebotch will get the message that he is never going to be asked back to Withit Poly.

Not only will Giles be subjected to a humiliating run-around by the department secretary, but he will eventually come to realize how inept his pestering appeared. But, I can hear you say, surely Mumblebotch was naive to take Silksmooth's words as a serious undertaking. He was *just being kind*.

But if we must assume that even the most apparently honest exchange is, in fact, some kind of cipher which is not what it presents itself as being, then we really have passed through the looking glass into a realm where reality is difficult to grasp.

Many years ago, I was invited on to an advisory panel at a well-known architecture school. I attended the first meeting but at the time of the second was suffering from a heavy cold and so rang up to beg off.

Weeks went by and I was invited to no further meetings. I rang the supervising professor's office. Did he not wish me to continue on the panel? Oh. Yes, indeed he did. He had simply assumed that my pulling out of the second meeting meant that I 'wanted out'.

It would have been pointless to tell him that had I wanted out, I would have said so, that my quaint American standards of professionalism would have decreed that I write a letter of apology for such a decision. He would have been amazed and probably offended.

If misunderstanding and failed communication become endemic — as indeed they have in industrial relations — then even the simplest transactions will become entangled not only by misconception but by the more shaming fear that one will have been caught out in a gauche misjudgement. Not knowing how to read the signals is, after all, a dead giveaway of social inexperience.

Deceit is a game which you learn to play early in life — not to know its forms and rules marks you as an outsider. Or, in industrial relations, as being from the Other Side which does not understand that this is a sport, at all.

## PAIRWORK

*Answer the following questions:*

1. Where is Janet Daley from? What does she do?
2. Why does the author feel more comfortable when she speaks to an Englishman than when she speaks to an American?
3. Why does Janet Daley whose native language is English find her intentions misunderstood by English people at times?
4. What does the author understand by "social lies"? How does she differentiate between "lies" and "social lies"?
5. Is the attitude of the author to social lies negative or positive? Give facts from the text to prove your point of view. What is your attitude to social lies?
6. What examples of misunderstanding and failed communication does the author give? What do those examples serve to prove?

7. Who does Janet Daley hold responsible for English corrupt social mores? Do you agree with her? Why? / Why not?
8. What dangers may the duplicity of the English involve?
9. What advantages according to the author have the English as a nation gained through the constant practice of deception?
10. What might be the possible consequences of not knowing the rules of the game?
11. What does the author mean by referring to "industrial relations" in the last two paragraphs of the article? Who is "the Other Side"?
12. What from your point of view may enable foreigners to overcome communication gaps that so many foreigners confront in dealing with the English?
13. Is the problem relevant to your native language?

### **Exercise 48**

*Find words corresponding to the following definitions.*

- 1) customs, manners, social behaviour
- 2) deceit, hypocrisy, doubledealing
- 3) smth fixed firmly and deeply
- 4) morbid persistence of an idea in the mind, craze
- 5) the ethics, set of ideas, or beliefs of a person or a community
- 6) intentionally, on purpose
- 7) a peculiar way of behaving or speaking that has become a habit
- 8) to take into consideration
- 9) tending to make weak
- 10) clearly marking a person or thing as different from others
- 11) ingenuity, inventiveness
- 12) praiseworthy
- 13) greater than what is normal or necessary, insincere
- 14) fashionable
- 15) absurdly inappropriate, fatuous
- 16) annoy continually

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- 17) natural, innate
  - 18) clumsy, awkward, tactless
  - 19) odd, unusual

### **Exercise 49**

*Give the meaning of the following phrases.*

- 1) to get hold of the wrong end of the stick
- 2) compulsive truth-telling
- 3) the laid-back classes
- 4) the Byzantine code of opaque communication
- 5) in league with
- 6) fulsome support
- 7) to get the message
- 8) dead giveaway

### **Exercise 50**

*Find words in the text similar in meaning to those given below.*

DUPLICITY, EMBEDDED, TRENDY

### **Exercise 51**

*Say which sentences in the text may be said to have been patterned on the following proverbs.*

1. One man's meat is another man's poison.
2. What one loses on the swings one makes up/gains on the roundabouts.

### **Exercise 52**

*Write a summary of the article.*

### **Exercise 53**

*Study the following idioms and make up sentences using them.*

- 1) to split hairs — to make fine distinctions  
The mother and child spent a great deal of time arguing about the hair-splitting question of whether “going to bed” meant lights out or not.
- 2) straight from the shoulder — in a direct, open way  
I took the wind out of his sails by telling him straight from the shoulder what I thought of it.
- 3) to break the ice — to make a start by overcoming initial difficulties, to overcome stiffness between strangers  
All after-dinner speakers break the ice by telling a story or joke at the start of their speeches.
- 4) a pretty kettle of fish — a messy situation, a problem  
He thought it was an innocent white lie, but it got him into a pretty kettle of fish.

*Make up a situation using the idioms and the active vocabulary of the unit.*

### READING PASSAGE ON LANGUAGE

The language spoken in each society is a reflection of its own particular culture. The type of language spoken by each individual within a society is a symbol of his personality, background and status. People, therefore, classify each other according to the way they speak, as is well illustrated in the following extracts from *THE COLLECTOR* by John Fowles. In this novel, a young man obsessed with a girl much higher up in the social scale, kidnaps and imprisons her. The first extract describes the thoughts of the man, Frederick, and the second those of the girl, Miranda.

*Note that “D and M’s class” means “Daddy and Mummy’s class” and that Caliban is Miranda’s name for Frederick. In Shakespeare’s THE TEMPEST, Miranda is the cast-away heroine, Caliban the island’s monster.*

She often went on about how she hated class distinction, but she never took me in. It’s the way people speak that gives them away, not what they say. You only had to see her dainty ways to

see how she was brought up. She was not la-di-da, like many, but it was there all the same. You could see it when she got sarcastic and impatient with me because I could not explain myself or I did things wrong. Stop thinking about class, she'd say. Like a rich man telling a poor man to stop thinking about money.

I do not hold it against her, she probably said and did some of the shocking things she did to show me she was not really refined, but she was. When she was angry she could get right up on her high horse and come in over me with the best of them.

There was always class between us. What irritates me most about him is his way of speaking. Cliche after cliche after cliche, and all so old-fashioned, as if he has spent all his life with people over fifty. At lunch-time today he said, I called in with regard to those records they have placed on order. I said, Why don't you just say, "I asked about those records you ordered?" He said, I know my English isn't correct, but I try to make it correct. I didn't argue. That sums him up. He's got to be correct, he's got to do whatever was "right" and "nice" before either of us was born.

I know it's pathetic, I know he's a victim of a miserable Non-conformist suburban world and a miserable social class, the horrid timid copycatting genteel in-between class. I used to think D and M's class the worst. All golf and gin and bridge and cars and the right accent and the right money and having been to the right school and hating the arts. Well, that is foul. But Caliban's England is fouler.

***Choose the best option to complete the sentences below.***

1. According to Frederick
  - a. He knew the girl was really a snob because she didn't fall for him.
  - b. It was the girl's accent that showed she was upper class.
  - c. His inability to express himself brought out the girl's class consciousness.
  - d. It is typical of the rich to tell you to stop thinking about class distinctions.

2. When the girl was angry
  - a. She really laid into speaker.
  - b. She made it plain he was her social inferior.
  - c. She ganged up with her social equals against him.
  - d. She would go off riding and leave him.
3. The girl objected to the man's remark about the records because
  - a. It was unnecessarily complicated.
  - b. It was a cliché.
  - c. It was an old-fashioned remark.
  - e. It was grammatically correct.
4. The man's obsession with being "correct" sums him up in the girl's eyes because
  - a. It is the right thing to be.
  - b. It is a nice thing to be.
  - c. It is pathetic.
  - d. It is typical of his class.
5. The comparison with "D and M's class" shows that the girl
  - a. Regards speaking the right sort of language as a virtue.
  - b. Prefers the lower middle class to the upper middle.
  - c. Prefers the upper middle class to the lower middle.
  - d. Regards aping the middle class as worse than belonging to it.

### Exercise 54

*Can you complete these well-known proverbs?*

1. Better to be safe than ...
2. Strike while the ...
3. It's always darkest before ...
4. You can take a horse to the water but ...
5. Don't bite the hand that ...
6. No news is ...
7. A miss is as good as ...

8. You can't teach an old dog new ...
9. If you lie down with dogs , you'll ...
10. Love all , trust ...
11. The pen is mightier than the ...
12. An idle mind is ...
13. Where there's smoke there's ...
14. A penny saved is ...
15. Two's a company, three's ...
16. Don't put off till tomorrow what ...
17. None are so blind as ...
18. Children should be seen and not ...
19. When the blind leads the blind ...

### Exercise 55

*Fill in the appropriate word.*

Learning to (1) \_\_\_\_\_ a computer is not as difficult as many people think. Computers can be expensive to buy, but you can often get comprehensive packages containing all the equipment you need at a (2) \_\_\_\_\_ from big companies. Some companies will even (3) \_\_\_\_\_ the system for you. Your system will also include various kinds of (4) \_\_\_\_\_ such as word-processing and game programmes, all stored on disks. When you put the disk into the computer, the programme or information can be displayed on the (5) \_\_\_\_\_. Many computer (6) \_\_\_\_\_ go on the Internet. This is a system that links computers, making it possible to (7) \_\_\_\_\_ information from one system to another in a different place (8) \_\_\_\_\_ the telephone. This can (9) \_\_\_\_\_ problems, because addicts who use their computers all the time can (10) \_\_\_\_\_ the phone circuits, meaning that other people cannot make (11) \_\_\_\_\_ telephone calls.

## ► WRITING

### Exercise 56

*Write paragraphs to comment on the following quotations.*

1. English usage is sometimes more than a mere taste, judgment, and education — sometimes it's sheer luck, like getting across a street.

*E. B. White*

2. Slang is a language that rolls up its sleeves, spits on its hands and goes to work.

*Carl Sandburg*

3. I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations.

*Samuel Johnson*

### Exercise 57

*Write an essay on one of the following subjects.*

1. Accent is one of the biggest barriers to social equality in Britain.
2. Much unhappiness has come into the world because of bewilderment and things left unsaid.

*F. Dostoyevsky*

3. Language is the archives of history. Language is fossil poetry.

*Ralph Waldo Emerson*

## Workshop V. VOCABULARY PRACTICE

### Exercise 58

*Complete the texts, bearing in mind all the studied words. The first letters of the necessary words are given to help you.*

1. As negotiations to end the standoff p\_\_\_\_\_ the White House r\_\_\_\_\_ offers of help from the Rev. Jesse Jackson, though there were i\_\_\_\_\_ conversations with f\_\_\_\_\_ President George Bush and his national security adviser, officials say.

Another central player was General Powell, whose S \_\_\_\_\_ Department took c \_\_\_\_\_ of negotiations, and who was the first to publicly use the c \_\_\_\_\_ and p \_\_\_\_\_ phrases “sorry” and “sorrow” and find the d \_\_\_\_\_ b \_\_\_\_\_. Reviewing the last-minute flurry of diplomacy that led to the agreement today, Gen. Powell, who was in Paris on his way to the Balkans, said the United States had nothing to a \_\_\_\_\_ for.

“With r \_\_\_\_\_ to “regret”, “sorry”, “very sorry” — they were related to very s \_\_\_\_\_ things”, he said. “To the loss of the young Chinese pilot’s life. The death of anyone d \_\_\_\_\_ us all in some way, and so we were e \_\_\_\_\_ the fact we were “sorry”, “very sorry”, “regret” the loss of his life”.

The second thing that these words related to, he said, c \_\_\_\_\_ the question of the American plane i \_\_\_\_\_ Chinese airspace.

“We entered their airspace without v \_\_\_\_\_ c \_\_\_\_\_,” he said. “But the young pilot was f \_\_\_\_\_ with a crisis, his plane had s \_\_\_\_\_ out of c \_\_\_\_\_. He had to get on the ground. The n \_\_\_\_\_ and formalities were u \_\_\_\_\_ to him at that moment”.

Gen. Powell said the pilot did a t \_\_\_\_\_ job of getting the plane on the ground. “He landed without c \_\_\_\_\_”, he continued, “and we’re very sorry — but we’re glad he did”.

2. Diplomacy is an art form, the art of p \_\_\_\_\_ and t \_\_\_\_\_, a s \_\_\_\_\_ construct of gestures and words, body language and r \_\_\_\_\_ carefully arranged and skillfully m \_\_\_\_\_ for a single purpose: to p \_\_\_\_\_ another country to behave the way you want. Tone is the hardest thing to get right. How do you c \_\_\_\_\_ your views so they’re c \_\_\_\_\_ and p \_\_\_\_\_, firm and forceful without putting the other side’s back up?

George W. Bush is in the p \_\_\_\_\_ of finding out. As a youthful candidate who wanted to be taken seriously despite his inexperience in f \_\_\_\_\_ a \_\_\_\_\_, he struck a t \_\_\_\_\_-guy p \_\_\_\_\_, compensating for shallow knowledge by a \_\_\_\_\_ the combative tone of a cold war-

rior. G\_\_\_\_\_ by advisers, Candidate Bush s\_\_\_\_\_ to contrast his hard-eyed "realism" with a Clinton-Gore idealism. The easiest way to mark the d\_\_\_\_\_ was to take up Russia and China as nations with nukes that p\_\_\_\_\_ a t\_\_\_\_\_ to American interests; Bush would treat them not as the friends or strategic partners of Clinton's dreams but as c\_\_\_\_\_

Last week President Bush found himself a\_\_\_\_\_ both those countries for real, and the words and gestures he used seemed d\_\_\_\_\_ to show that the candidate hadn't been kidding. Though White House s\_\_\_\_\_ A. F. used "realism" a dozen times last week to explain, defend and j\_\_\_\_\_ the Administration's rhetoric, Bush's focus on differences may make it harder to b\_\_\_\_\_ them.

Some hard-line b\_\_\_\_\_ are evident, and certain to have an i\_\_\_\_\_ on foreign affairs. National Missile Defense, the 21st century S\_\_\_\_\_ W\_\_\_\_\_ is coming, and Bush's message to all critics is, Deal with it. Europe, Russia and China are starting to c\_\_\_\_\_ that this will be a long d\_\_\_\_\_, p\_\_\_\_\_ and military wrangle. North Korea, which Clinton drew into negotiations as a "state of c\_\_\_\_\_", has been downg\_\_\_\_\_ again to "rogue state" by Bush. The Administration has taken a decidedly hands-off stance toward peace-making, i\_\_\_\_\_ in the M\_\_\_\_\_ E\_\_\_\_\_. In talks with China's Vice Premier, Bush bluntly said Washington would sell whatever arms it chose to Taiwan.

If Bush a\_\_\_\_\_ the sale, Beijing's anger could s\_\_\_\_\_ human rights p\_\_\_\_\_ and nonp\_\_\_\_\_ efforts. But some say the t\_\_\_\_\_ language could be necessary for a c\_\_\_\_\_. There's certainly room for straight talk and firmness in US diplomacy. Bush's c\_\_\_\_\_ could inspire sounder policy. To k\_\_\_\_\_ the t\_\_\_\_\_ talk constructive, though, Bush will need perfect pitch. How will Washington get c\_\_\_\_\_ to "work with us when we're poking them in the eye"? Bush may find that t\_\_\_\_\_ talk is not all there is to smart d\_\_\_\_\_.

## Exercise 59

*Complete the text with one word only.*

It's apparent that no member of a speech community can \_\_\_\_\_ anything he wants to, in any \_\_\_\_\_ he cares to use, on any occasion. even though he may be \_\_\_\_\_ in the sound system and the \_\_\_\_\_ of the particular language he is speaking. And no visitor to a foreign speech community — \_\_\_\_\_ of the amount of instruction he has \_\_\_\_\_ in the grammar — is ever prepared for the \_\_\_\_\_ he will find in the way the language is used by its \_\_\_\_\_ speakers. Even a child born into that foreign speech community, and who thereby uses his \_\_\_\_\_ tongue effortlessly, nevertheless still has not learned the \_\_\_\_\_ use of his language in various \_\_\_\_\_. By the age of five, the child can utter a wide \_\_\_\_\_ of grammatical sentences, but he is still \_\_\_\_\_ which of these sentences to use at a \_\_\_\_\_ time. Only as he matures within his speech community does he \_\_\_\_\_ the ability to make statements \_\_\_\_\_ for any situation and to \_\_\_\_\_ the \_\_\_\_\_ of the statements made by others.

## Exercise 60

*Translate the following into English using the active vocabulary.*

### Язык и мышление

Взаимосвязь языка и мышления обнаружена давно. Общезвестный факт — речь людей плохо образованных, не владеющих логикой мышления (cognitive operations), совсем иная в сравнении с речью людей образованных. У образованного человека шире запас слов, он употребляет усложненные грамматические конструкции и максимально использует все средства родного языка. Он лучше мыслит, и потому лучше говорит, и наоборот.

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## ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION

Get ready to discuss the **PROBLEM OF DRUGS** at a round-table conference. Resort to euphemisms and politically correct words to avoid direct accusation. Distribute the roles among the participants and do not forget about the role of the chairperson. Make use of the hints given in Unit 2 *The Press*.

**Policeman** — Drug-taking breeds all kinds of crime and should be banned.

**Diplomat** — Drug trafficking has become a global problem. Illegal drug laws should be made much stronger the world over. World governments should conduct joint campaigns against drugs.

**Clergyman** — The war on drugs can never be won on an international level. It must be won locally.

**Human rights activist** — The level of crime will be reduced if light narcotics like marijuana, are made legal and the governments give them to addicts free of charge.

**Writer** — Drug addiction is no worse than alcohol addiction, and people in a democratic society should be free to decide for themselves whether or not to take drugs.

**Doctor** — Drugs have always been used in medicine to relieve pain, and it will be inhuman to deprive those who are terminally ill of narcotics.

**Teacher** — People who develop drug problems should have their children taken away from them.

**Mother and housewife** — It is our children who are the first to fall victims of drug pushers and die of overdose.

**Pop singer** — Drugs are a blessing for most pop stars as they both stimulate our creative activity, and help many hard working pop stars cope with stressful situations which are plentiful in our profession.

**Cross-country skier** — Drug taking has become common practice among professional sportsmen. Our health is often sacrificed for the sake of national prestige and financial gains.

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**► Word List III**

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to award	in league with
acceptability	innumerable dialects
amalgam	to inflict
to bring to the fore	legacy
burgeonings of	linguistic crossfire
beyond the pale	laudable
to break a taboo	to legislate
clich�	to leave out of account
confines of origin	literacy
construct	lexical fingerprint
complexity	lexical innovation
conventional	to manifest
clear and precise	to manipulate
to cling to	mannerism
compulsive truth-telling	to migrate
to credit	nuance
common sense	notorious
complacency	offshoot
consensus	to overshadow
commercial	on the grounds of
to delve into	obsession
to design	opaque communication
digital	politically correct
to diminish	persuasion
delicate balance between	to pester
deliberately	partisan diatribe
to define	prolific
duplicity	ponderous
dead giveaway	to quibble over
devoid of	quaint
to draw the line at	to rise
dissident thought	recesses of the human psyche

to eliminate  
to equal  
to erode  
to exclude  
eligible  
embedded  
ethos  
to emerge  
endemic  
to enforce  
to elevate  
far-fetched  
fulsome support  
to foster an attitude to  
to get into the stride  
to guide public opinion  
gauche  
to give offence  
to get hold of the wrong end  
of the stick  
to get the message  
to gloss over  
infinite shades  
impact on  
inept

to refer to  
rural  
to subvert  
sensitivity  
to subside  
subterfuge  
subtlety  
to spin out of control  
to separate  
to subject to risk  
spectrum  
social mores  
stigma  
spread of universal education  
tough language  
tortured syntax  
trendy  
to upgrade the status  
to use to one's advantage  
  
to upstage  
unaided ear  
urban  
verbal clearance  
to weep for  
to yield to

## **Unit IV. NATIONAL IDENTITY**

### **Lead-in**

*Not long ago the article below appeared in a national daily.*

*Read it quickly and say what section of the paper it could have been published in.*

### **THE WEALTH OF A NATION**

During the past few weeks my three children and I have been waiting for an important letter from the Home office. It will bring us news — we hope — which will change the children's status for the rest of their lives.

When I married a German national 17 years ago, I never dreamed, that, one day, my children could be British nationals through me. They were born in Germany and until last year only children of British fathers or those, who were born to British mothers in Britain, had a right to British nationality. Now a British woman can be given permission to pass on her nationality to her children even though the family lives abroad.

Some may ask, why when my children have perfectly good German nationality, we should also want to be British. Anyone who has spent an indefinite period outside Britain will understand what a blessing and a privilege it is to be British. Without wanting to sound jingoistic, being British isn't merely being a certain nationality. So far as I'm concerned, it is still best — even though, in the face of Britain's declining economic strength and political importance in the world, those of us, who follow in the footsteps of the men and women, who made Britain great, ought to be conscious of our mission to retain the respect of the outside world for the country they made great.

Those British who stay at home all their lives are naturally not conscious of how right many British priorities are. Germany, on the face of it, is an extremely successful country. Its economy is thriving. Yet, it is still experiencing growing pains in getting priorities right. Here, the effort, a child puts into his schoolwork,

does not count: only his achievement is of any consequence. A hard working child can easily have his enthusiasm swiftly nipped in the bud when all his school tests are marked low.

Germany is the prime example of a country where money maketh man. There is little admiration for a person with humour and generosity or an interesting hobby if he is not also successful in his career.

Why be glad of being British? Because our society is light years ahead of any other, whatever its shortcomings. I hope, one day my children can contribute a little towards building that society for the future.

**Notes:**

1. Home Office — The British government department under the control of the Home Secretary, responsible for justice and controls on people entering Britain (министерство внутренних дел);
2. jingoistic — unreasonably enthusiastic about the supremacy of a particular country, especially in support of a war against another country (ура-патриотический);
3. to nip in the bud — to stop something before it has properly started (пресечь в корне);
4. to retain — to keep possession of, avoid losing (сохранить).

**Answer the following questions:**

1. What is the message of the article in one sentence?
2. Why is the woman glad to be British?
3. Does she believe that Britain has no faults?
4. Which of the following best summarizes her attitude to Germany?
  - a. Successful in Germany usually means economically successful.
  - b. Priorities in Germany are not the same as in Britain.
  - c. There is no sufficient individuality in Germany.

*As a group discuss the following questions:*

1. Is the article in any sense nationalistic?
2. Are you sympathetic to the author's point of view?
3. Are you proud of your nationality?

*Now read an article published recently and compare it to the one you have read before.*

## ONE THIRD ARE ENGLISH, NOT BRITISH

### The Times

A third of people living in England now see themselves as more English than British, *the British Social Attitudes* survey says today. That proportion has risen from a quarter two years ago. The survey, which concludes that a "modest English backlash" is taking place, comes a month after a Runnymede trust report suggested that the word "British" was tainted with racism and called for a rethinking of national identity.

*Notes:*

- 1) backlash — a strong but delayed feeling of opposition or a sudden strong reaction (ответная реакция);
- 2) taint — to be regarded with a lack of trust, to spoil, undermine, besmirch (запятнать, опозорить, подорвать репутацию).

*In pairs discuss the questions:*

1. What could have happened to the British nation, and why do some people prefer to see themselves as more English rather than British?
2. Can the words "English" and "British" be used interchangeably?
3. How can you explain the difference between the two if there is any?
4. Can the words «русский» and «российский» be used interchangeably?
5. How can you explain the difference between the two if there is any?

## Exercise 1

Write a letter to the editor of the *Times* that published the note above to say what you think of the attempt undertaken by politicians to force people to rethink their identity (Approximately 250–300 words).

## Exercise 2

Fill in the gaps with the appropriate phrases in the correct forms, using the reading notes to both articles.

1. The rebels are fighting \_\_\_\_\_ some independence.
2. The resignation of three key Ministers was seen as a \_\_\_\_\_ against the Prime Minister's usurpation of power.
3. The unfortunate incident \_\_\_\_\_ his political career.
4. CNN broadcast numerous scenes of Palestinians singing \_\_\_\_\_ songs, waving flags when Americans were mourning the victims of the terrorist attack.
5. Only four members of the original Cabinet \_\_\_\_\_ next year.
6. The chairman was convicted of corruption and his reputation \_\_\_\_\_ forever.
7. The rise of the Hippie movement was a \_\_\_\_\_ against the war in Vietnam.
8. The report \_\_\_\_\_ heavily with racism.
9. The country managed \_\_\_\_\_ some degree of dignity in defeat.
10. It is much better \_\_\_\_\_ problems \_\_\_\_\_ as soon as they arise, than let them escalate into something serious.

## Exercise 3

Translate into English.

1. Даже находясь в плену, ему удалось сохранить чувство собственного достоинства.

2. Активные действия полиции спровоцировали яростную ответную реакцию местного населения.
3. Среди избранных депутатов нет ни одного, чья репутация была бы запятнана.
4. Правительство полно решимости подавить в зародыше недовольство экономическими реформами.
5. Если Вы желаете сохранить у себя оригинал документа, пожалуйста, пришлите нам его копию.
6. Категорически выступая против любых проявлений расовой дискриминации, некоторые политические партии, тем не менее, пытаются представить ряд обоснований резких нападков на выходцев из африканских стран.
7. Руководство запятнало себя связями с мафией.

## Exercise 4

*Render the following passage into the English language.*

Все говорят о национальной идентичности. Этот термин производит на публику впечатление некой теоретической весомости, научной добротности. Он, между прочим, приглянулся (go down well with) и современному политическому истеблишменту.

Те, кто в эпоху империи не очень пеклись (fret about) о чистоте своей национально-культурной идентичности, в эпоху демократии отождествляются с маской (assume the mask) представителя той или иной «коренной» нации. Один нашел себя украинцем, другой — чувашем, третий — русским. Для этого надо отделить себя от Другого (another), увидев его в качестве изначально и неисправимо Чужого (alien). Эту роль в русском случае успешно играет воображаемый еврей, в украинском — столь же воображаемый русский.

Фигура Чужого — всегда конструкт. Нет Чужого самого по себе — без того, для кого он чужой. Нельзя быть чужим, им можно только представляться. Чужое не только лицезреют, его показывают, демонстрируют. Феномен чужого часто оказывает вредное влияние. Так «поверхностный» и «легко-

мысленный» француз, будучи не чем иным, как образом, созданным англичанами и немцами, (именно так представлявших себе француза) в определенный момент начинает активно представляться таким.

Так же как и французы в свое время не смогли противостоять данному им описанию, русские согласились принять на свой счет характеристику «варвар» (barbarian). «Да, скифы мы»... Пытаясь постоять за (fend for) себя, мы превратили «Русского медведя» из неуклюжего зверя в простоватого силача (hulk) — или добродушного медвежонка, ставшего символом Олимпийских игр 1980, но образ начал функционировать как заместитель «русского». «Чужим» становятся незаметным для себя образом.

## **Workshop I. IDENTITY CRISIS IN GREAT BRITAIN**

*Like with so many phenomena, the media has turned out to be most sensitive to the new social tendencies.*

*Scan the article to find answers to the following questions*

1. How serious is the problem raised in the article from the point of view of the author? Can you prove your opinion?
2. What is the attitude of senior BBC journalists to new editorial policy?
3. What has made Philip Harding impose a taboo on the word "British"?

### **REVEALED: the nation that dare not speak its name**

The British Broadcasting Corporation has decided, that "British" is an offensive word. The corporation, whose own motto has for more than 65 years been "Nation shall speak peace unto nation", now also deems the word "nation" to be insulting.

Top BBC news presenters and correspondents were informed last week which words and phrases can be used as devolution takes hold, and those that are forbidden.

At a series of seminars, they were instructed that "British" can no longer be used to describe the generality of people living

in the British Isles because it might cause offence among the Scots and Welsh.

“When we talk about things affecting the “whole nation” ... those phrases can mean different things to our audiences in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland”, explains a style book, called “Changing UK”, which was issued at the seminar. In place of “nation”, it urges presenters to use United Kingdom.

The use of the word “British” is acceptable only in established commercial contexts, such as British Broadcasting Corporation and in description of “British” forces — even if they include Scots and Welsh.

The word “welsh” when used in the context of “welshing on an agreement”, is out. The Welsh are also very touchy about their image as simpletons.

BBC executives insist the Scots are upset that football hooligans are often called “British hooligans” on news bulletins. There are only “English” hooligans, according to the style book.

Several senior BBC journalists regard the changes — brainchild of Philip Harding, controller of editorial policy — as “political correctness run amok”. It is, one said, the revenge of the Scots and Welsh for not being given their own Six O’ Clock News.

## Exercise 5

*Define the following terms used in the article. Use an English-English dictionary if necessary. Find the Russian equivalents.*

MOTTO, DEVOLUTION, IMAGE, BRANCHILD,  
POLITICAL CORRECTNESS, REVENGE

## Exercise 6

*Suggest the Russian translation for the following English phrases.*

- 1) to cause offence; 2) to affect a nation; 3) to issue a book;
- 4) to welsh on an agreement; 5) to run amok

## Exercise 7

*Fill in the gaps with the appropriate phrase from exercises 5 and 6.*

1. If public spending \_\_\_\_\_ our money will lose its value.
2. The press secretary considered \_\_\_\_\_ a press release about the border incident.
3. Will the strike \_\_\_\_\_ the price of oil?
4. The publication of photographs of wounded soldiers \_\_\_\_\_ to their relatives.
5. The ministry had to conceal plans to \_\_\_\_\_ government bonds.
6. When their team lost the match the fans \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Unfortunately, the new government policy will hardly \_\_\_\_\_ smugglers.
8. The visit of the dictator is likely to \_\_\_\_\_ to many people.
9. Charismatic leaders have a tendency to \_\_\_\_\_ delivering speeches at political rallies.
10. The government is expected to \_\_\_\_\_ a statement about the crisis.
11. A remark, that is considered humourous in one culture, can \_\_\_\_\_ in another.
12. Taken by surprise by the paparazzi, the President really \_\_\_\_\_ with his body-guards.
13. It is easier now to see the ways in which computers \_\_\_\_\_ our lives.
14. The BBC received a number of complaints about the remark made during the interview that \_\_\_\_\_ to the listeners.

## Exercise 8

*Fill in the gaps with the English phrases instead of the Russian ones, given in brackets.*

1. The party think-tank should have envisaged that the new (лозунг) would (нанесет оскорбление) to the party loyal supporters.
2. (Передача) of power to regional assemblies is sure to (повлиять на) the whole country.
3. As was to be expected, once he started speaking on his (замысел) he immediately (стал как одержимый).
4. On the eve of the elections a book was (выпущена). It promoted a completely new (образ) of the party leader.
5. No amount of (политкорректности) can conceal the (оскорбление) to patriots that was (нанесено) by the permission for the neo-nazis to hold a rally in the centre of the town (выданное) by the local authorities.
6. It was the unusual (лозунг) of the insurance company that had helped them to (надуть) their clients.
7. The (месть) was too unexpected for them to give proper resistance.

## Exercise 9

*Render the following passage into the English language, using the following words and phrases in the correct forms.*

self-identification	to taint
common	to register
collapse	to cause offence
vulnerable	to retain
to take smth for granted	resilient

Можно бесконечно иронизировать над политической корректностью, изобличая ее лицемерность или указывая на очевидную комичность профессиональных борцов с hate-speech. Но сколь бы уязвимой для критики политкорректность ни была, она принесла очевидные плоды и оказалась устойчивым понятием. Быть заподозренным в расистских предрассудках — значит запятнать репутацию.

Национальность у нас часто определяется не по культуре и не по самосознанию, а по крови. Нация в расхожем по-

нимании — это не гражданское, а именно кровнородственное сообщество. Клише расистского мышления настолько распространены в наших средствах массовой информации, что их просто перестают замечать, когда телекомментаторы и репортеры не понимают, что наносят оскорбление своему народу, когда делят противоборствующие стороны на «наших» и «чужих».

После краха советской идеологии многие русские почувствовали себя «обворованными», лишенными этнической идентичности, единственным народом, всерьез поверившим в возможность советской идентичности и поэтому оставшимся ни с чем, тогда как их нерусские сограждане сохранили свою идентичность и в результате оказались в выигрыше.

*As a group discuss the following questions:*

1. How did people come to think of themselves as **British** (Britons) rather than Englishmen, Scotsmen, or Welshmen?  
**Americans** rather than Indians, Italians, or Irishmen?  
**Soviet** rather than Russian, Ukrainian, or Georgian?
2. Did those processes differ from nation to nation or did they follow a pattern?
3. What holds multinational states together?

*In the article below Don Carleton talks to Linda Colley about what constitutes “Britishness”.*

*Read the introduction to the article to understand what provoked Linda’s interest in “Britishness”.*

## FORGING THE NATION

**Linda Colley** at first sight looks like an establishment figure, she is Leverhulme Research Professor at the European Institute, London School of Economics. She was previously a Professor at Yale University; she was the first female Fellow at Christ’s College Cambridge; and she became a best-selling author (of Britons, about how the British came to think of themselves as British).

She has just delivered two of the most prestigious series of lectures in her field.

“I began by looking at what patriotism meant in the 18th century. It soon became clear to me that patriotism was not enough. It was too confining. There was something else going on. I began to be struck by the number of times terms like “Britishness” and “Briton” were mentioned. I asked myself: how did people come to see themselves as “Britons” rather than Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen and, to a lesser extent, Irishmen? It took me ten years to find and publish the answers”.

*Now read the review of the book Linda has written and do the tasks that follow before discussing it with your group.*

*Britons* became a world-wide best-seller and Linda Colley’s ideas have fascinated politicians, journalists and ordinary people alike.

In *Britons* she talks about the triumph of a pre-democratic, pre-industrial and pre-imperial Britain. Britain forged the greatest empire the world had ever seen, became a great trading and manufacturing nation. It created or invented the symbols, by which it could live and thrive and draw the allegiance of its citizens: the National Anthem, the Union Jack, and love and respect for the monarch.

In *Britons* she points out that one important part of that invention began in 1809 when a Shropshire housewife, a Mrs. Biggs, wrote to the Lord Chamberlain suggesting a jubilee or celebration of the King’s 50th birthday. It had been a bad year for the Royals. In 1809 the Prince and Princess of Wales were living apart, the Duke of York was caught up in a sex scandal, and there was alleged corruption in the sale of honours. The press were having a field day when Mrs. Biggs made her suggestion.

The jubilee, the first of its kind, was a great success. Like so much of “Britishness” it was not the production of a political elite. It was “a people’s jubilee”, a symbol that this was indeed a united kingdom.

Linda Colley was among the first to recognize the importance of such events. Nations, she says, need a kind of spinal

narrative; a story, which gives them a structure shaped by history and geography.

“The USA is far too big geographically. It has massive economic inequalities within it. Yet its citizens can see it as a “top nation”, because it has an effective story. They can believe in the “melting pot”, in the “land of opportunity” and in the “American Dream”. The dream works because the reality is successful”.

According to Colley, it is when nations do not succeed that they begin to question their identity. Many Britons in the 18th century saw themselves as free men and their prosperous land as an island of liberty. They were not, as they believed the French were, priest-ridden and the prey of tyrants. The point was not that these notions were true. For the most part they were simply widely-held prejudices. What was important was that they were vital parts of the story by which Britons lived and for which they died.

Linda Colley says, “Britain has lost its story-line. It can no longer think of itself as the unique land of liberty, a second Israel, a chosen people. The challenge for Mr. Blair is to find a new story. We have seen the fading away of old beliefs, and the role of global powers, not just the European Union or other large confederations but the rise of global business with companies like Microsoft”.

Linda Colley thinks that, despite steps taken to devolution and smaller-scale assemblies, the Government will necessarily have to be unionist, that is “British”, to keep the United Kingdom together. It will have to be informed by historians about the other constitutional changes. Historians can’t tell ministers in detail what to do about, say, the reform of the House of Lords.

She says, “We can tell them why such reforms have failed in the past. History can illuminate; it cannot prophesy. History and politics are about ordinary people getting on with their ordinary lives”.

*Britons* shows that it was what ordinary people thought and did that ultimately became the nation’s history in the 18th century. They muddled through to a concept called “Britishness” which proved to be resilient and effective.

What comes next? Linda Colley says she does not know. But maybe that's some reason why she is currently fascinated by how ordinary people in the past coped with being captives, how they adapted to the new cultures forced upon them and yet retained what was essential in their own. The future may be about how we cope with being an outsider, a stranger, the other in a new world. And we may need this fascinating outsider to guide our understanding with the lessons of history.

*The University of Bristol Magazine*

*Notes:*

1. Shropshire — a county in W England near the border with Wales. Its local government is based at Shrewsbury;
2. chamberlain — an important official who manages the affairs of a king's or nobleman's court with regard to cleaning, cooking, buying food etc;
3. Microsoft — a US company which is one of the world's largest and most important producers of computer software. It is known especially for its Windows operating system, which is used on most personal computers, for Microsoft Word, a popular word-processing program, and for Internet Explorer, a popular program for searching the Internet. The company was started by Bill Gates, who is still its chief director;
4. the House of Lords — the less powerful of the two parts of the British parliament. Its members are not elected: they either belong to old noble families, whose right to be in the House of Lords can be passed down from father to son, or they are life peers, who have been given a special title because of their important achievements, which cannot be passed on to their children

***Explain the following:***

1. What kind of institutions are: the London School of Economics, Yale University, Christ's College Cambridge?
2. Who can be considered an "establishment figure"? Does Linda Colley belong to the Establishment? Why? / Why not?
3. What is the Union Jack? Do you know the nick-name for its American counterpart?
4. What kind of message does the author try to convey by making a reference to "a second Israel, a chosen people"?
5. What kind of crime does the author mean by mentioning "alleged corruption in the sale of honours"? What was being sold?
6. What did the author mean by the phrase: "the press were having a field day"?

***General comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. What kind of myths held the British Empire together? The Russian empire? The Soviet Empire?
2. Do you agree with the author that "nations need a story which gives them a structure shaped by history and geography"? How do political elites contribute to national mythology?
3. How long do national myths and symbols usually last?
4. What threatens the old mythology in GB?
5. What does Linda mean by saying: "History can illuminate, it cannot prophesy"?
6. Can anyone predict the future for GB? Is the author optimistic or pessimistic about the future of GB?
7. Does the author's attitude have anything to do with the fact that her book has become a best-seller?

**Exercise 10**

*Translate the following words and add more to every line to complete the collocations:*

- 1) to forge — to create, to establish  
to forge a nation/an alliance...

- 2) allegiance — loyalty, duty, obedience  
to pledge/renounce... allegiance  
unflinching/enthusiastic... allegiance
- 3) to question — to doubt, to challenge  
to question a decision/the truth...
- 4) resilient — elastic, quickly recovering from  
resilient rubber/person

## Exercise 11

*Find in the text the English equivalents for the Russian phrases below.*

*Use them in sentences of your own.*

- 1) прочитав лекцию; 2) в меньшей степени; 3) создавать империю; 4) добиваться поддержки со стороны граждан; 5) якобы существующая коррупция; 6) ставить под сомнение что-либо; 7) глобальные силы; 8) устойчивое понятие

## Exercise 12

*Fill in the gaps with the appropriate word.*

1. All efforts to \_\_\_\_\_ unity in the party have fallen flat.
2. He showed his \_\_\_\_\_ to the President by writing an article about his great qualities.
3. Nowadays, women in many countries \_\_\_\_\_ their traditional role in society.
4. The accident has been a terrible shock, but she is very \_\_\_\_\_ and will get over it soon.
5. The US did its best to \_\_\_\_\_ an alliance to fight against world terrorism.
6. You are challenging my competence as a teacher and I \_\_\_\_\_ your right to do it.
7. The Opposition leaders have proclaimed their \_\_\_\_\_ to the new Government.
8. Democratic political structures have proved remarkably \_\_\_\_\_

9. We need to \_\_\_\_\_ an alliance between the employers and the workers.
10. In a civil war \_\_\_\_\_ are usually divided.
11. I would never \_\_\_\_\_ his integrity.
12. The concept was put forward for discussion to check how \_\_\_\_\_ it was.
13. The results of the recent presidential elections are still being \_\_\_\_\_.
14. Despite occasional lapses, his popularity as a leader proved to be lasting and \_\_\_\_\_.

### Exercise 13

*Translate into English using the word combinations you have learnt.*

1. Государственных служащих часто обвиняют в якобы существующей коррупции в их рядах. Их честность ставится под сомнение, и, несмотря на отсутствие доказательств этих обвинений, образ чиновника-взяточника устойчиво сохраняется.
2. Не сумев заручиться поддержкой влиятельных профсоюзных лидеров, партия проиграла выборы.
3. Великобритания не раз заявляла о своей верности принципам Североатлантического альянса, однако в отличие от Германии официальный Лондон явно в меньшей степени обращает внимание на вопросы лидерства в НАТО.
4. Несмотря на закрытие ряда независимых газет, журналистское стремление вести расследование случаев коррупции остаётся неизменным.
5. В краткие сроки США создали коалицию стран, готовых бороться с терроризмом.

### Exercise 14

*In writing support or refute Linda's thesis: "It is when nations do not succeed that they question their identity".*

**Exercise 15**

*Render the text below into the English language using the prompts in brackets:*

to acknowledge

socio-ethnic

level of consciousness

spiritual

the way people conceive

resiliency

community

values

entity

to adjust

to enhance alienation

oversensitive reaction

to give rise to

political turmoil

unique character

means of defence

**НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ САМОСОЗНАНИЕ** — уровень представлений, характеризующий освоение людьми, принадлежащими к той или иной национальной общности, ее идеалов, культурных норм, традиций, бытовых стереотипов, а также понимание ими интересов и положения данной социально-этнической группы в обществе в целом.

Национальное самосознание формируется у отдельных людей по мере признания ими уникальности и устойчивости национальных ценностей в целях идентификации, социализации и адаптации к общественным условиям. Одновременно национальное самосознание может увеличивать отчужденность людей от окружающей политической среды. Например, чувство национальной гордости может спровоцировать обостренное отношение к положению своей этнической группы в многонациональных государствах, инициировать политические беспорядки против режима, породить сепаратистские движения.

На уровне нации национальное самосознание формируется на той стадии эволюции ее духовной жизни, когда она складывается как общность, обладающая статусом и средствами его социальной защиты.

*Here is yet another point of view of a former British citizen, who immigrated to the USA, but still takes interest in his mother country.*

*Read the article and compare the author's attitude to Britain and being British with that of the British woman who married a German person and now lives in Germany.*

## GOODBYE TO ALL THAT

(by Andrew Sullivan)

My home town was a kind of ground zero for Englishness. Almost a national synonym for middle-class ennui, East Grinstead was the last stop on a railway line south of London, the first place outside the metropolis that wasn't actually metropolitan, a welter of disappointment and understatement and yet also of a kind of pride.

When I grew up it was a commuter-belt development of 20,000 but also a place of its own. Its Victorian railway station and Elizabethan main street, its unique mix of local butchers, bakers, hardware stores and bookshops, vegetable allotments and rugby pitches, — they made it a place in itself, a place to stay and grow up in, a place that knew itself and knew where it stood.

But 15 years later, it is a place I almost fail to recognize. The old railway station has been replaced by a concrete terminus. The new *de facto* town center, a cavernous aircraft hangar of a supermarket, has displaced almost every local shop in the town. The main street is now a ghostly assortment of real estate offices and charity shops, banks and mortgage companies.

The main road now leads swiftly on to the new M25 that circles London. Trucks with Belgian and Italian licence plates clog the artery, on their way to the Channel Tunnel. And I click past dozens of German channels to watch Larry King.

This wasn't quite the script I had imagined when I left in 1984. Every emigrant to America likes to think of his home country as a repository, of the old and the quaint, of unchanging stability and backward thinking. So it is an adjustment to find the suburban England I had once seen as an edifice of nostalgia,

class and passivity, become the kind of anonymous exurb I once associated with America, and to feel what such a transformation has clearly brought about.

By transformation, I mean the loss of national identity itself. For in a way perhaps invisible to outsiders and too gradual for insiders to fully acknowledge, the combined forces of globalization, political reform and the end of the cold war have swept through Britain in the past two decades with a force unequalled in any other country in the western world. As the century ends, it is possible to talk about the abolition of Britain without the risk of hyperbole.

The UK's cultural and social identity has been altered beyond any recent prediction. Its very geographical boundaries are being redrawn. Its basic constitution is being gutted and reconceived. Its monarchy has been reinvented. Half its parliament is under the ax. Its voting system is about to be altered. Its currency may well soon be abandoned. And its role in the world at large is in radical flux.

Some of this change was organic and inevitable. But much of it is also the legacy of three remarkable prime ministers, who have successfully managed in very different ways to revolutionize Britain's economy, society and constitution in a way that promises to free the people of the island from the past that long threatened to strangle them.

It is part of the genius of Britain's undemocratic democracy that this transformation has taken place with such speed and thoroughness. A British Prime Minister commands a largely unitary state with almost unchecked power for the indefinite tenure. With a solid majority in Parliament, he or she can do almost anything, and come from almost anywhere.

Walk through central London today and within a few blocks, you hear Arabic and Italian, Urdu and German. Australian accents are almost as common as American ones.

The distinct class dialects I remember from my youth — the high vowels of aristocracy, the rough, broad edges of Cockney, the awkward flatness of mid-England — are far less distinct. Even the BBC is a cacophony of regional accents, with Scottish

brogue and Welsh lilt more common than the Queen's English of my teens.

Elsewhere, there is a kind of sonorous merging, the rise of a new accent that seems to have absorbed East End vowels with a southern English blandness. It is classless but at the same time fashionably downmarket. Tony Blair's voice captures it: he swings in one sentence from solid English propriety to sudden proletarian slang.

Think of what Britain once meant and a handful of clichés come to mind. Bad food. Crooked teeth. Good manners. Pragmatism. Free speech. Theatre. Class. Monarchy. Poor heating. Sexual awkwardness. Sentimentality to animals. Looking at this list today, only a handful survive: theatre, free speech and the pet fixation. A modern list of "Britishness" would look altogether different. Designer furniture. Public relations. Sarcasm. Excessive drinking. Fast driving. Mobile phones. Tabloids. Sexual ease.

Tony Blair's real radicalism has turned out to be constitutional rather than economic or social. He embarked on perhaps the most far-reaching series of reforms ever tried by a modern British government.

Of the dozens of conversations I had in London about the future of the UK, no one I spoke to believed Scotland would be a part of Britain in 10 years' time. The Welsh, too, voted in favour of their own assembly.

When I left for America, the clear simple symbol of England was the Union Jack. It is now increasingly the bare emblem of St George, a red cross on a white background. You see it in soccer stadiums and emblazoned into the skulls of East End skinheads.

The repercussions of this are a little hard to envisage. They extend from the possibility of a bitter if peaceful split-up — a kind of Yugoslavia with cups of tea — to more far-reaching questions such as Britain's place in the UN Security Council. Will England deserve a seat — with a population of merely 49 million, on barely two-thirds of a small island? No one seems to know.

It has become a rallying cry for all those suddenly fearful of the symbolic end of a nation that has, in truth, already ended. It

is a symbol of a reality the English have accepted but not yet acknowledged.

Loss is the central theme of modern Britain: loss of empire, loss of power, loss of grandeur, loss of the comfort of the past. When Churchill called his countrymen to the immense task of 1940 by calling the Battle of Britain his nation's "finest hour", he was perhaps unaware of the burden that phrase would impose on future generations. How do you envisage a future in a country whose greatest moment has been indisputably centred in the past?

The British have finally stopped seeking a role and started getting a life. It is a typically pragmatic improvisation. By quietly abolishing Britain, the islanders abolish the problem of Britain. For, there is no "Great" hovering in front of Scotland, England or Wales. These older deeper entities come from a time before the loss of empire, before even the idea of empire. Britain is a relatively recent construct, cobbled together in the 17th century in the Act of Union with Scotland, over-reaching in Ireland and America in the 18th and finally spreading as an organizing colonial force across the globe in the 19th.

Like the Soviet empire before it, although in an incomparably more benign way, this contrived nation experienced a cathartic defeat-in-victory in the Second World War, and after a desperate, painful attempt to reassert itself, has finally given up. Before very long, the words "United Kingdom" may seem as anachronistic as "Soviet Union", although they will surely be remembered more fondly.

But unlike Russia's future, Britain's is far from black. London is Europe's cultural and financial capital. The ruddy faces and warm beer may be receding, but the rowdy cosmopolitanism that was once typical of the islanders under the last Queen Elizabeth seems clearly on the rebound.

Perhaps England's future, then, will be as a Canada to the EU's United States, with Scotland playing the role of Quebec.

### *Notes:*

1. Victorian — used to describe the style of buildings and furniture, and the way that houses were deco-

- rated, during the Victorian period (1837–1901). Victorian buildings are typically made of red brick and often decorated on the outside;
2. Elizabethan — from or typical of the period when Elizabeth I was queen of England (1558–1603);
  3. Cockney — the way of speaking English that is typical of Cockneys, people who come from the East End of London, especially someone who is working class and who has an accent which is typical of this area. Only someone “born within the sound of bow bells,” the bells of a church in the city of London, is considered to be a real Cockney;
  4. the Queen’s English — a name sometimes used for good correct English, as written and spoken in the UK, when a king is ruling instead of a queen, it is called the “King’s English”;
  5. Sir Winston Churchill (1874–1965) — a British politician in the Conservative party who was Prime Minister during most of World War II and again from 1951 to 1955. He is famous for the many speeches he made during the war. He is also known for making the V sign to show his belief in a British victory in the war;
  6. the Battle of Britain — the name used for the fights between German and British aircraft during the summer and autumn of 1940. The bombing was stopped at the end of 1940, and British people considered this to be a great victory;
  7. the Act of Union — the agreement that joined the parliaments of England and Scotland in 1707 as well as the agreement that ended the Irish parliament in 1800 and made Ireland part of the United Kingdom in 1801;
  8. ennui — tiredness and dissatisfaction caused by lack of interest (скука, томление, тоска);

9. exurb — (short for exurbia) settlements not far from cities (поселки, где живут работающие в больших городах);
10. a cathartic defeat-in-victory — a serious unexpected defeat (поражение, в том, что казалось победой)

### *General comprehension questions:*

1. Which features of his native town did the author use to associate with “Englishness”?
2. How does the author describe the typical attitude of emigrants to their native country? Why do most of them not want their native country to change?
3. What factors according to the author served to transform the UK beyond recognition?
4. How has the structure of the state changed?
5. What is happening to the state symbols?
6. What consequences can the current reforms lead to in the future according to the author? What do you think?
7. How do different groups of people react to the changes? Why do most people show little concern?
8. What advantages can be gained by England if Britain is abolished from the point of view of the author? Do you agree?
9. Why does the author feel very pessimistic about the future of Russia? Are his apprehensions justified?
10. Do you think our country also faces a national identity crisis? How does it manifest itself? How long do you think it will take the Russian people to overcome it?

## **Exercise 16**

*Translate the following sentences from the text into Russian.*

1. Almost a national synonym for middle-class ennui, East Grinstead was the last stop on a railway line south of London, the first place outside the metropolis that wasn't actually metropolitan, a welter of disappointment and understatement and yet also of a kind of pride.

2. Tony Blair's real radicalism has turned out to be constitutional rather than economic or social.
3. They extend from the possibility of a bitter if peaceful split-up — a kind of Yugoslavia with cups of tea — to more far-reaching questions such as Britain's place in the UN Security Council.
4. Before very long, the words "United Kingdom" may seem as anachronistic as "Soviet Union".

### **Exercise 17**

*What do those sell?*

butchers, bakers, hardware stores, supermarkets, bookshops, charity shops, green-grocers

### **Exercise 18**

*In pairs, sort out those words into concept groups. Explain your reason for grouping the words in a particular way to your partner:*

metropolis, cosmopolitanism, terminus, cliché, tenure, commuter-belt development, grandeur, sarcasm, globalization, exurbia, nostalgia, hyperbole, radicalism, edifice, unitary state, emigrant, repository, legacy, mortgage companies, pragmatism, entity, real estate offices, pragmatism, rugby pitches, vegetable allotments

### **Exercise 19**

*In the text of the article find the opposites for the following words:*

- 1) de juro
- 2) overstatement
- 3) immigrant
- 4) upmarket
- 5) jingoism
- 6) conformism
- 7) idealism
- 8) harmony (in music)

## Exercise 20

*Explain the difference between the following words.*

ACCEPT — ACKNOWLEDGE

ALTER — TRANSFORM

DISPLACE — REPLACE

ABANDON — GIVE UP

## Exercise 21

*Choose the right word.*

1. He **displaced/replaced** a bone in his knee while playing sports.
2. Reputable scholars have **abandoned/given up** the notion.
3. They have **altered/transformed** themselves into permanent city-dwellers.
4. The former President of the Philippines refused to **accept/acknowledge** the authority of the court.
5. Thousands of people in the region have been forced to **abandon/give up** their homes to enemy troops.
6. The astronaut **accepts/acknowledges** danger as being part of the job.
7. We've **displaced/replaced** the adding machine with a computer.
8. At a certain stage of its development Britain **abandoned/gave up** such foundations, merging its future irrevocably with the wider world economy.
9. Britain since the war has been **altered/transformed** from a society of hierarchy to a multi-layered, multi-dimensional society.
10. It is also legitimate to consider whether the old Establishment has indeed been **displaced/replaced** by new power-centers.
11. In housing, tower blocks (high-rise blocks of flats) are universally **accepted/acknowledged** as a human disaster.
12. Tensions do not **alter/transform** the fact that there is still a political union called the United Kingdom.

## Exercise 22

*Fill in the gaps with the right word.*

1. The terrorists refused to \_\_\_\_\_ the court.
2. America must radically \_\_\_\_\_ its traditional economic policy.
3. After five unsuccessful attempts, the mountaineers have \_\_\_\_\_ their bid to climb Everest.
4. The indigenous population was soon \_\_\_\_\_ by the settlers.
5. An area of sandy pastures can be \_\_\_\_\_ into a barren landscape in two or three years.
6. She is \_\_\_\_\_ as an expert on the subject of politics.
7. Arabic script was \_\_\_\_\_ with the Roman alphabet in official documents.
8. The company decided to \_\_\_\_\_ the project in view of the ever rising cost.
9. He \_\_\_\_\_ having made a mistake.
10. In only 20 years the country has been \_\_\_\_\_ into an advanced industrial power.
11. He was registered as a \_\_\_\_\_ person.
12. Getting that new job has completely \_\_\_\_\_ her.
13. These resources can easily \_\_\_\_\_ nuclear power.
14. The immigrants showed an increasing unwillingness to \_\_\_\_\_ bad working conditions.
15. We shall never \_\_\_\_\_ the freedom that we have won.
16. In fact, most women have \_\_\_\_\_ their role in the family and in society.

## Exercise 23

*Translate the following sentences into English.*

1. Несмотря на появление тревожных симптомов в экономике страны, в том числе заметное падение произ-

- водства и рост безработицы, большинство экономистов отказываются признавать наличие кризиса.
2. Незадолго до проведения всеобщих выборов партия заявила о своих претензиях на завоевание большинства в парламенте, а ее лидеры обещали, что, в случае прихода к власти, будут стремиться к радикальному улучшению (радикальному изменению к лучшему) жизни простых людей.
  3. По утверждению профсоюзных активистов, после того, как требования трудящихся будут признаны работодателями в качестве основы для нового коллективного договора, угроза бессрочной забастовки практически будет сведена к минимуму.
  4. Появившиеся сообщения о подавлении вооруженного мятежа резко изменили обстановку в парламенте — паника и растерянность, еще совсем недавно охватившие депутатов, сменились на настроения эйфории и воодушевления.
  5. Принято считать, что овладение в совершенстве любым иностранным языком невозможно без понимания особенностей психологии людей, являющихся его носителями.
  6. По оценке политологов, правительство неоконсерваторов уже в ближайшее время будет смещено, так как откровенный популизм и отсутствие реальной программы действий самым пагубным образом сказываются на его популярности.
  7. По причине резкого ухудшения погодных условий группа спасателей была вынуждена временно отказаться от поиска пропавших альпинистов.
  8. Российский руководитель распорядился изменить программу своей поездки с тем, чтобы иметь возможность встретиться с известным писателем.
  9. Сенатор признал, что уровень безработицы неуклонно растет, и у правительства нет ясной программы по повышению занятости трудового населения страны.

10. Город нисколько не изменился с тех пор, как я побывал тут в последний раз, хотя прошло почти четверть века.
11. Нельзя исключать, что пострадавший обратится с соответствующим иском в суд, однако крайне сомнительно, что понесенные им в результате пожара убытки будут возмещены страховыми кампаниями.

### Exercise 24

*Match the following adjectives and nouns to form word combinations as they appear in the text. Suggest the Russian translation for the resulting phrases:*

- |                           |              |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| 1) backward               | 1) change    |
| 2) contrived              | 2) cry       |
| 3) cultural and social    | 3) drinking  |
| 4) excessive              | 4) identity  |
| 5) indefinite             | 5) majority  |
| 6) organic and inevitable | 6) nation    |
| 7) proletarian            | 7) power     |
| 8) rallying               | 8) slang     |
| 9) solid                  | 9) stability |
| 10) unchanging            | 10) state    |
| 11) unchecked             | 11) system   |
| 12) unitary               | 12) tenure   |
| 13) voting                | 13) thinking |

### Exercise 25

*Complete the sentences below using the appropriate word combinations from the exercise above.*

- The reason for sacking most of the workers by the new management lay in the workers' \_\_\_\_\_.
- The success of the bank is due to the \_\_\_\_\_ of its performance in the most critical periods of the nation's history.

3. The opposition strongly objects to what it sees as \_\_\_\_\_ of Prime Minister.
4. The first disputes about the state language in multinational states gave rise to concerns about \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The traditional conservatism of Civil Service stems from bureaucrats' political caution rather than \_\_\_\_\_.
6. As usual on the eve of the election party leaders addressed the rank and file with \_\_\_\_\_.
7. The question of reforming the British \_\_\_\_\_ has been discussed by both Houses of Parliament.
8. Most of the former Soviet republics embraced changes as \_\_\_\_\_.
9. The public opinion is strongly against the \_\_\_\_\_ of the regional leaders.
10. Czechoslovakia has often been regarded as a \_\_\_\_\_ because Czechs and Slovacs have never properly mixed into one nation.
11. The pro-President parliamentary groups have a \_\_\_\_\_ in the State Duma.
12. The Russian language of the 1930s abounded in \_\_\_\_\_ and other forms of informal language.
13. Like Britain, Sweden and Denmark are also \_\_\_\_\_, which have a single constitution for the whole country.

## Exercise 26

*Learn the following verbs:*

- 1) to revolutionize
- 2) to command
- 3) to embark on
- 4) to extend
- 5) to impose on
- 6) to abolish
- 7) to spread
- 8) to recede
- 9) to envisage

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*Complete the sentences below using the verbs above.*

1. Once the Royal Navy \_\_\_\_\_ the seas.
2. The railways are about to \_\_\_\_\_ on a major programme of modernization.
3. The important discovery has \_\_\_\_\_ our understanding of the Universe.
4. Most of those who voted for independence did not \_\_\_\_\_ war as the eventual outcome.
5. There have been calls for the monarchy to be \_\_\_\_\_.
6. The more society \_\_\_\_\_ conformity on its members the more people want to rebel.
7. Who has been \_\_\_\_\_ malicious rumours about me?
8. As the fear of famine \_\_\_\_\_, other things began to worry us.
9. His radicalism did not \_\_\_\_\_ to the sphere of economics.
10. We do not \_\_\_\_\_ a general election for at least another two years.
11. The new technology is \_\_\_\_\_ the way music is played and composed.
12. A huge tax burden was \_\_\_\_\_ upon people of incomes.
13. There is a new drive in Britain to \_\_\_\_\_ fox hunting.
14. Already the memory was \_\_\_\_\_.
15. Peru has \_\_\_\_\_ on a massive programme of reform.
16. The city has \_\_\_\_\_ in all directions.
17. The bank has \_\_\_\_\_ very strict conditions for the repayment of debt.
18. For many years in the USA civil rights did not \_\_\_\_\_ to Negroes and women.

## Exercise 27

*Translate the sentences using the verbs above.*

1. Составители закона не смогли предусмотреть всех возможных негативных последствий его применения и признали, что он потребует серьезных изменений и дополнений.
2. Открытие нового лекарства коренным образом изменило методы лечения многих болезней.
3. Как в России крепостное право, так и в США рабство было отменено в 19 веке.
4. Надежда на быстрое спасение постепенно убывала.
5. Несмотря на предостережения коллег и собственные сомнения, он решил взяться за лечение больного, чье психическое состояние внушало явные опасения.
6. Против Ирака были введены экономические санкции.
7. Никто не мог предвидеть такого мощного извержения вулкана.
8. Опасность заразных болезней состоит в том, что они быстро распространяются и тяжело переносятся людьми с ослабленным здоровьем.
9. Власть накладывает чувство ответственности на тех, кто избран представлять интересы народа.
10. Как только угроза затопления ослабела, городские власти немедленно взялись за укрепление набережной и морской дамбы.
11. Новые таможенные правила не распространяются на определенную категорию товаров, прежде всего на предметы роскоши.

## Exercise 28

*Render the following passage into the English language:*

entity

cease to be

to rock the boat

ethnic strife

confusion

to interpret as

misconception  
to speculate about

a multitude of minor sovereigns  
national sovereignty

1991 год, год распада СССР, повлек за собой не только чудовищные межэтнические распри, но и чудовищную мировоззренческую дезориентацию. Одним хотелось бы преобразовать это государство в русское. Другие, наоборот, раскачивают и без того не слишком устойчивую федерацию, используя девиз о предоставлении самостоятельности. Разрешимо ли это противоречие? Думается, что разрешимо.

Отсутствие демократической традиции имело своим печальным результатом смещение в значении понятий: нацию у нас привыкли понимать не как сообщество граждан, а как некую культурную (или, того хуже — этническую) целостность. Вместо того, чтобы вести речь о единой нации россиян, объединенных одним общим и прошлым и будущим, мы говорим о существовании под крышей одного государства различных наций. Российское государство из единственного носителя суверенитета превращается во вместилище множества суверенов. Проблема культурного самоопределения подменяется проблемой этнического самоопределения. Между тем в большинстве демократических стран эти вещи строго разведены.

Так, в бывшей Австрийской империи, забота словенцев о сохранении своей этнокультурной самобытности, отнюдь не означает, что они перестают быть австрийцами. Принадлежность особому этническому сообществу не мешает им принадлежать к общей для них с чехами, хорватами, словаками, евреями австрийской нации.

Вера в то, что государственно-политическая общность прочна лишь тогда, когда опирается на этнокультурную однородность — один из самых вредных предрассудков XX века.

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## **Workshop II. REASSESSMENT OF BRITISHNESS**

*The three texts below deal with the problematic question of national identity and the alleged tensions between the peoples of the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland).*

*As you read them try to find answers to the following questions.*

1. Is there a British nation, a British national identity or something called “Britishness” and how long have these been in existence?
2. Are there only mutually exclusive national identities in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland?
3. Or are there dual nationalities, e.g. English and British or Welsh and British?

*What is Britain today? The empire has disappeared and Britain has experienced a reduced world role since 1945. As the country has become more multicultural and multireligious a sense of British national confidence and cohesion has allegedly declined, to be replaced with confusion. Arguably, a re-assessment of Britishness is required.*

### **WHAT IS BRITAIN?**

**(Richard Jay, “Political Ideologies: an Introduction”)**

The orthodox image of Britain is that of a long-established political identity, focused upon the supremacy of the Westminster Parliament as the forum of the nation, and recognising the diversity of nationalities and cultures represented within the unity of the Kingdom. Different party ideologies may view this differently: Liberals emphasise diversity and decentralisation; Conservatives the elements of continuity, authority and unity; Labour those of working-class solidarity and the capacity of the central state to deliver uniform economic and social benefits throughout the Union.

These images, however, are not exhaustive, nor without their complications. Those on the (significantly termed) “Celtic fringe”

would argue that much of the traditional sense of Britishness derived from images of Englishness — standard pronunciation, a literary canon, sights of the white cliffs of Dover, honey for tea, and the crack of leather on willow on an English summer's afternoon. A succession of Romantic and neo-Romantic movements have imbued the national culture with rural nostalgia, feudal longings and reverence for tradition. England's green and pleasant land, however, was built on the economic foundations of commerce, financial speculation, and industrial muscle. And modernising movements, like the National Efficiency movement early in the twentieth century, which have sought to update Britain's scientific and entrepreneurial skills, to replace the aristocratic culture of leisure and amateurishness with one of professionalism and drive, have faced an uphill battle.

The Union, too, was always, in a sense, a Protestant union forged against external Catholic powers, and the subversive potential of Catholicism within. Not only, in the end, did this mean that Catholic Ireland fled the British family of nations, but secularisation has left traditional national institutions like the Church of England in an increasingly anomalous role. Finally, the Union went hand in hand with empire, images of British martial spirit and military success, and a faith in the British as a governing race, dispensing the benefits of political liberty, civilisation, and culture. Most of these traditional conceptions are under threat. The end of empire has undermined much of the instrumental rationale for maintaining the Union. As in France and Germany, immigration has established black minorities which challenge traditional identities. Is Britishness tested by possession of British citizenship, or, as Lord Tebbit once suggested, by which side you cheer for in the test match?

These trials indicate two different directions for the future. One, which has had the higher profile over the last two decades, and has been driven by the Conservative right represented by Enoch Powell, Lady Thatcher, and John Major, is towards a tighter and narrower definition of Britishness. This involves reinvigorating an idea of conservative nationhood — one built around the revival of "Victorian values" of traditional family morality,

economic freedom, pre-war educational standards, law and order, defence of the Union, and patriotic resistance to foreign bullies, not least to Brussels and the idea of a federal Europe. The other view challenges the antiquated nature of British institutions, its emphasis on centralisation, unity and orthodoxy rather than equality and diversity, which looks to partnership not national solidarity, and outwards towards participation in a wider Europe rather than backwards to the relics of a dead imperial culture. Which will prevail remains to be seen.

### *Notes:*

1. The Romantic Movement — a group of writers, artists, etc who followed their feelings and emotions rather than logical thought or reason, and who preferred wild, natural beauty to things made by man. It first became popular in the late 18th century;
2. Lord Tebbit — a British politician in The Conservative Party. He had several important positions in M. Thatcher's government and was known for his strong criticism of left-wing politicians and their ideas;
3. test match — a cricket or rugby match played between teams of different countries;
4. Enoch Powell — a British politician in the Conservative Party, who was a government minister in the early 1960s, and later left the party and became an MP in Northern Ireland. Although some people admired him for his intelligence, his patriotism, and his opposition to the EU, he was greatly criticized for the speech he made in 1968 in which he said that if the UK allowed too many black people to come, there would be fighting and "rivers of blood" in the streets

### *Comprehension questions:*

1. Who are those on the "Celtic fringe"?
2. Which nations within the British family made up a Protestant union?
3. What are the main parties of Great Britain?

- 
4. Who / What are or were the following people: Lady Thatcher, John Major?
  5. What is implied by "Victorian values"?
  6. What do Brussels and federal Europe stand for?
  7. What is the Westminster Parliament?

***Discussion questions and tasks:***

1. What is the orthodox image of Britain? What do different political parties emphasize in the image and why?
2. Do those on the Celtic fringe embrace the British identity? How do they substantiate their position?
3. Expand on the images of Englishness the author lists. What complications do they contain?
4. What changes has the Union undergone in terms of religious, military and social developments?
5. What challenges traditional conceptions and identities?
6. What did Lord Tebbit suggest? Is his idea worthwhile?
7. What are the two directions towards the definition of Britishness? Prove that the two approaches are completely opposite.

**Exercise 29**

*Explain the following in English:*

- |                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) standard pronunciation | 4) financial speculation  |
| 2) literary canon         | 5) industrial muscle      |
| 3) rural nostalgia        | 6) instrumental rationale |

**Exercise 30**

a) *Add nouns to the participles given and translate the phrases into Russian:*

- |                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| long-established | short-lived    |
| long-standing    | short-handed   |
| long-awaited     | short-staffed  |
| long-anticipated | short-tempered |
| long-lasting     | short-sighted  |

b) *Translate the phrases and make up sentences with them:*

to go hand in hand with	from head to foot
to see eye to eye on	hand-to-hand combat
to run neck and neck with	foot-and-mouth
to stand shoulder to shoulder on	cheek by jowl with
to stand back to back	hand in glove with
to live from hand to mouth	
to bind hand and foot	

### Exercise 31

*Match the following nouns with their definitions:*

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| 1) supremacy       | a) uninterrupted connection  |
| 2) diversity       | b) the state of being joined, or in agreement together                       |
| 3) continuity      | c) making guesses, talking about a matter without having the necessary facts |
| 4) authority       | d) removal from the control or influence of the church                       |
| 5) unity           | e) the highest position with regard to power, importance, or influence       |
| 6) succession      | f) the act of following one after the other                                  |
| 7) reverence       | g) generally or officially accepted ideas or opinions                        |
| 8) speculation     | h) the condition of being different, variety                                 |
| 9) amateurishness  | i) great respect and admiration mixed with love                              |
| 10) secularisation | j) the ability, power, or right to control and command                       |
| 11) revival        | k) bringing back into use or existence, renewal                              |
| 12) orthodoxy      | l) lack of experience or skill in a particular activity                      |

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## Exercise 32

*Translate the following phrases into Russian and recall how they are used in the text:*

- to deliver, dispense benefits
- to imbue the culture with
- to seek to update skills
- to face an uphill battle
- to forge a union
- to have a high profile
- to reinvigorate an idea

*Now use some of the words above in the following sentences.*

1. These liberal and republican ideas soon \_\_\_\_\_ within the Catholic political classes, and shaped the formation of popular national politics over the following century.
2. Protestant leaders increasingly argued that, irrespective of nationalist claims, this would \_\_\_\_\_, equipped with symbols alien to British Protestant culture.
3. In the inter-war period, the post-revolutionary leadership of the new Irish Republic \_\_\_\_\_ a political culture for the state and \_\_\_\_\_ it with new national symbols.
4. The new political culture \_\_\_\_\_ the Irish scientific professional skills to replace the cultural and economic dependence of the colonial past by creating an economically self-sufficient state.
5. The attempts in recent years to reconstruct images of Irish nationhood \_\_\_\_\_: instead, complex patterns of conflict and collaboration emerge.
6. Women's rights and individual freedoms rather than traditional moral values were to have \_\_\_\_\_ in the reformed culture.
7. In 1990, the election of the liberal barrister as President appeared to mark the advent of a new Ireland and was expected to \_\_\_\_\_ throughout the country.

## Exercise 33

*Translate the sentences into English using the studied words and phrases.*

1. Многообразие языков, на которых говорят в этой стране, показывает весь спектр национальностей, проживающих здесь.
2. Культура этой страны пропитана колоритом целого ряда отдельных национальных культур.
3. Авторитет и влияние старой культуры основываются на уважении к ее традициям, которые прошли испытание временем.
4. В последнее время средства массовой информации уделяли большое внимание проблемам Европейского Союза и, в частности, проблеме единой валюты.
5. Идея господства одной нации в стране оказалась недолговечной.
6. Давно укоренившаяся ортодоксальность идей на официальном уровне не мешает молодому поколению экспериментировать как в моде, так и в музыке.
7. Несмотря на разные подходы к проблеме войны и мира, в целом оба государства одинаково смотрят на ситуацию в этой арабской стране.
8. Президент страны заявил, что появившиеся в прессе сообщения о возможности его переизбрания на второй срок явились не более чем пустым домыслом.
9. Сторонники единой Европы подчеркивают, что союз принесет несомненную выгоду европейским народам как в политической, так и в экономической областях.

*The next text examines whether Britishness exists any longer, either in its arguable former state or in changed form. It emphasizes the tensions inherent in such a concept.*

## BRITISH UNITY IN DIVERSITY (Mary Ann Sieghart, the “Times”)

What is Britishness? Is it more than the sum of its parts — or less? Many Scots and not a few Welsh believe that Britishness is no more than a disguised version of Englishness. Exploring the questions of national identity for the BBC, I have just visited three towns with the same name — one each in Scotland, Wales and England — to try to discover whether there is an overarching sense of identity that it still makes sense to call British.

Nobody in Newport, Shropshire [England], had a problem with Britishness. In Newport, Gwent [Wales], some of the Welsh felt British, though others prefer to call themselves European. But it was in Newport-on-Tay, near Dundee [Scotland], that we found the greatest reluctance to sign up to a common identity of Britishness.

Here is Billy Kay, a local writer: “The British identity that I’m supposed to feel part of I see as being first of all an imperial identity through the Empire and then an identity which has been forced by the idea of people coming together to fight two world wars. I don’t think that’s a healthy identity to carry into the 21st century”.

This is a common complaint — that Britishness is something from the past that has little relevance today. When the Act of Union uniting England, Wales and Scotland was signed in 1707, people had to be persuaded to attach an extra loyalty to their long-standing allegiance to region or nation. Successive governments used the common religion of Protestantism as a propaganda weapon to encourage the English, Scottish and Welsh to unite around a common flag — and against Catholic enemies. The Empire — which was always the British, not the English Empire — was also a unifying force. It drew heavily on the expertise of the Scots and Welsh as doctors, traders, explorers and administrators. Then there was the monarchy. Queen Victoria [1819–1901] perhaps perfected the art of being monarch to all of Britain and the Empire. Meanwhile, successive wars have brought Britons together in defence of the Empire and the Union.

It was the Battle of Britain, not the Battle of England, that took place over the Channel and southern counties.

But history is history; the Empire has gone, the Church no longer binds us, the Armed Forces are shrinking and the monarchy is troubled. Some people feel that the glue of nationhood has dried up. Alex Salmond, leader of the Scottish nationalists, no longer wants to be attached to what he sees as a Britain in decline. He looks to Europe as Scotland's new stage. So do a surprising number in Newport, Gwent. Alan Richards, a sales director, has found that doing business with Europe has changed his outlook. "I see our future very much as being linked to Europe as a whole; that includes England. I see England merely as part of Europe".

But he is still unusual: probably a majority of the Welsh still think of themselves as British too. We are all capable of overlapping loyalties and identities — Britishness need not detract from Welshness. And as a nation we have a surprising amount in common. We are good at winning wars together. We are all good explorers, travellers, traders, philanthropists and inventors. We share a sense of fair play, and probity in public life. We respect the law.

These British values and ways of thinking that we all share have been somewhat eclipsed by Scottish and Welsh strivings for national identity. So frustrated are they by English political domination that they have allowed themselves to forget how much the nations of Britain still have in common.

Some people see the devolution of power to Scotland and Wales as a threat to the Union. But it could be that, by venting their differences through politics, the Scots and Welsh would feel more comfortable as part of the joint enterprise called Great Britain.

### ***Comprehension questions:***

1. What is Protestantism and in what countries do people belong to this religion?
2. Within what time framework did the British Empire exist?
3. In what way did the country develop when Queen Victoria ruled?

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4. When did the Battle of Britain take place?  
5. What are the aims of Scottish nationalists?  
6. What is understood by the Union and who supports it?  
7. When was the transfer of political power from Westminster to self-governing national assemblies effected?

***Discussion questions:***

1. What was the aim of the author's visit to the three towns of Britain? What conclusions did he come to?
2. What does a sense of identity imply?
3. Why are people reluctant to sign up to an identity and to the British one in particular?
4. What forces have brought the English, Scottish and Welsh together? Why are these factors no longer as strong as they used to be?
5. What can save and what can ruin the Union?
6. What is Britishness?

**Exercise 34**

*Write a summary of the text above.*

**Exercise 35**

*Explain in English the following sequences. In what context are they used by the author?*

disguised version of Englishness  
overarching sense of identity  
to attach an extra loyalty to  
glue of nationhood  
political domination

**Exercise 36**

*Find in the text the words used with the adjective COMMON, the noun IDENTITY, the noun LOYALTY. Translate the collocations into Russian.*

**Exercise 37**

a) *Look up synonyms or equivalents for the following words used by the author.*

reluctance	probity
relevance	outlook
loyalty	striving
glue	devolution

b) *Match each verb on the left with the four synonymous verbs, one from each group, on the right.*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| 1) to detract from | 1) to upstage<br>to improve<br>to connect<br>to annoy<br>to impair        |
| 2) to eclipse      | 2) to spoil<br>to bug<br>to relate<br>to enhance<br>to outstrip           |
| 3) to perfect      | 3) to associate<br>to damage<br>to exasperate<br>to refine<br>to outshine |
| 4) to link         | 4) to irritate<br>to bind<br>to upgrade<br>to outdo<br>to mar             |
| 5) to frustrate    |   |

*Now use some of the verbs in the following sentences in the correct form.*

1. Although opinions differ about the nature and success of Thatcherism, the term \_\_\_\_\_ with policies such as

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free-market economics, the attempt to cut taxation and public spending.

2. The decline in world power and the relative decline in economic performance \_\_\_\_\_ inextricably.
3. The \_\_\_\_\_ of British military power by the United States and Russia was widely forecast as early as the 1840s because of the much greater human and physical resources they could command.
4. The deficiencies of British life often \_\_\_\_\_ to the mentality and behaviour of Establishment institutions.
5. The commentary \_\_\_\_\_ from the significance of the events that had just occurred.
6. The task is to establish a new democratic settlement between politics and people, \_\_\_\_\_ the quality of representation, \_\_\_\_\_ influence over taxation and spending.
7. Our inheritance from the Conservatives is quite \_\_\_\_\_ it includes almost 300 schools which have been inspected and found to be failing.
8. This may be a good thing for the people who live in that country, but it is a source of \_\_\_\_\_ for those who study it and try to understand it.

### **Exercise 38**

*Give the Russian equivalents for the following collocations and recall how they are used in the text.*

to sign up to a common identity

to feel part of an identity

long-standing allegiance to

to draw heavily on the expertise of

to be in decline

identities overlap

strivings for national identity

devolution of power to

to vent differences through/on

*Use the above collocations or parts of them in the following sentences.*

1. The end of empire and the relative \_\_\_\_\_ of Britain has made Scots question the Union. They no longer \_\_\_\_\_ the British identity.
2. Sometimes people unfairly \_\_\_\_\_ their feelings on the nearest and dearest and later regret doing it.
3. Others, however, argue that a collective sense of Britishness was already in existence before the eighteenth century, \_\_\_\_\_ the common characteristics and values.
4. There is a growing tendency nowadays showing people reluctant \_\_\_\_\_ a particular identity.
5. It is precisely the feeling that central government ignores Scottish opinion that has given rise to the strong support for \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Their deep-rooted and \_\_\_\_\_ nation brought the people together in defence of the country.
7. Despite our national identity crises and Scottish and Welsh \_\_\_\_\_ identity, style is still something Britain possesses in abundance, to the continuing admiration and envy of other races.
8. The English were our allies, our fellow citizens in the great British nation; and \_\_\_\_\_ and loyalties we \_\_\_\_\_ a whole which was greater than the sum of its parts.

### **Exercise 39**

*Fill in the gaps with the words and phrases given below, putting the verbs into the correct form.*

- |                 |                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| to decline      | to imbue the culture with        |
| to maintain (2) | to feel part of                  |
| to forge        | to draw heavily on the expertise |
| to enhance      | to vent differences on           |
| to accept       | to sign up to                    |

supremacy	reverence	long-standing allegiance
union (2)	cohesion	strivings for national identity
speculation	revival	reassessment of Britishness
secularization	difference	overlapping identities

Some historians argue that there is still a Britain with a \_\_\_\_\_ to British identity composed of \_\_\_\_\_, characteristics and values. Before 1707, the history of the geographical British Isles is arguably not about Britishness or Britain. It is about Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland, which were different countries, often hostile and \_\_\_\_\_ one another. Britain, as a political unit is a relatively recent \_\_\_\_\_ of three older nations. The United Kingdom \_\_\_\_\_ only in 1801.

Historical developments, common institutional structures and alleged values have \_\_\_\_\_ this inherently unstable \_\_\_\_\_. The growth of a British identity, for some historians, began largely in the eighteenth century and was conditioned by Protestantism in England, Scotland and Wales, and the expanding empire, which \_\_\_\_\_ of these nations.

One side of the debate \_\_\_\_\_ that Protestantism in England, Wales and Scotland promoted a sense of \_\_\_\_\_ from the Catholicism of most of continental Europe. European military victories in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries helped the British to create a worldwide empire with no one to challenge Britain's \_\_\_\_\_. The establishment of foreign markets expanded trade and \_\_\_\_\_ job opportunities, promoted wealth and economic strength and increased a sense of national identity, making people \_\_\_\_\_ it. The English, Scots, Welsh and (partly) the Irish all \_\_\_\_\_ the notion of a British Empire and \_\_\_\_\_ a British identity.

But, for some historians, the ties of this common British identity have weakened. The empire has disappeared and Britain has experienced a reduced world role since 1945. Protestant belief and strength \_\_\_\_\_ in modern Britain as \_\_\_\_\_ has increased and as the country has become more multicultural and multi-religious. A sense of British national confidence and \_\_\_\_\_ has also declined, to be replaced with confusion,

and \_\_\_\_\_. Arguably, a \_\_\_\_\_ within Europe is required. The \_\_\_\_\_ is that the current movement is away from Britishness and towards a renewal of the identities of the four ancient nations within a European and global context. It points to a potential \_\_\_\_\_ of Englishness and its strengths, as well as indicating the difficulties in defining what is meant by a “nation”. It also suggests nationalist reactions to a globalization of economics, \_\_\_\_\_ international features and \_\_\_\_\_ for all foreign and the easy assumption that global effects are inevitable and overpowering.

*The following text deals with the findings of the public opinion poll taken of the population's attitude to national identity.*

*Read it and do the tasks that follow.*

**“CONFIDENT CELTS PUT ENGLAND IN SHADE:  
WELSH AND SCOTS FIND NEW PRIDE  
AS ENGLISH FACE IDENTITY CRISIS”**

**(Mark Henderson, the Times)**

The English are a dull, petty and insecure people who are increasingly reviled by their proud Celtic neighbours, according to a survey into national identity published today.

While devolved Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are emerging as confident nations with a strong sense of local identity, Englishness is in crisis, the report by the brand consultants Springpoint says. The [English] national character is seen at best as quaint and boring and at worst vulgar, materialistic and loutish. It is summed up by football hooligans, staid City gents and “people just talking about nothingness”, and is disdained by the rest of the United Kingdom. The English find none of the inspiration that Scots, Welsh and Irish derive from their nationhood and are often “dumped with all the least desirable traits and characteristics of Britishness, including the less attractive colonial ones”. Positive aspects of Englishness — tolerance, the Royal Family and fine public services such as the health service — are now seen as part of a new British identity that embraces Scots, Welsh and Irish as well.

The report, *I? UK — Voices of Our Times*, finds an affinity for a wide range of national symbols, such as fish and chips, Wimbledon and Big Ben, but these “do not add up to a national identity that connects with people, feeds and inspires them and makes them feel proud”. Instead, there is widespread insecurity and self-consciousness. The English see themselves as “people just talking about nothingness” in Laura Ashley sitting rooms, who are “petty, envious, obsessed with money, small-minded, divided”. They feel that “Englishness is increasingly irrelevant as a notion, and something from which they distance themselves”. The traits are most marked in the South East, which attracts opprobrium both from the Celtic fringe and the North [of England]. Those from the North of England have a strong regional identity, which they often place ahead of an Englishness they can find alien and embarrassing. Many feel closer to the other nations than the English of the South.

The report concluded: “Combine the energetic defiance and criticism of the English and England from newly confident Scottish and Welsh; some English people’s own insecurity and defensiveness about their own identity; the possible fragmentation of the United Kingdom through devolution; and hints of a more positive, emerging identity for Britain which co-opts some of the positive values of England — and you have a recipe for a “crisis of Englishness”.

The research involved in-depth interviews with a socially representative range of adults in regional centres across the United Kingdom. Fiona Gilmore, managing director of Springpoint, said the “crisis of Englishness” was a thread that ran through the 77-page report. “I was amazed at its strength”, she said. “The English are seen — and see themselves — as insular, restrained, pompous and obsessed with money. Their positive qualities are shared by Scots, Welsh and Northern Irish, but these nations have lots of particular qualities as well”.

Scots felt by far the strongest separate national allegiance. They have a clear idea of who they are — “tough and hardy, outdoor, friendly, warm”. They are enthusiastic about their history and traditions, and their identity is well-understood and re-

spected outside Scotland. The success of the film *Braveheart* and impending devolution have helped to fuel a burgeoning sense of nationhood that “can provide an emotional uplift, an inspiration, even spiritual feelings”.

Wales is less aggressive in its national feeling, and its people are more vague about how they identify it. Even so, there is a strong underlying sense of common identity. The Welsh emphasize the strength of communities, a friendly, welcoming character and a sense of social responsibility. “In some ways this can be difficult to pin down, but it seems to be about genuineness and integrity, a real sense of caring”, the report found. Many Welsh felt their country was re-emerging after years in England’s shadow, as the language revives and devolution and economic regeneration progress. “We’re rediscovering ourselves through the language and culture, the beauty of the country”, one Cardiff respondent said.

Northern Irish identity was also distinct, both from Irishness and the rest of the United Kingdom, though the bulk of the research focused only on Ulster Protestants. They had an easy-going and down-to-earth character, a hardworking streak and a love for “good crack”. Others said they identified neither with the “shamrocks and leprechauns” of the Republic nor “Brits” from the mainland.

Britishness was picked out as an increasingly powerful concept that encompassed opportunity, respect, tolerance and supportiveness, as well as some sense of national decline. The notion of being British has become acceptable to Celts and ethnic minorities as well as the English — indeed such groups get intensely annoyed by the continuing English tendency to try to appropriate its qualities for themselves. Britain is seen to have “nicer connotations” than England: it has shed its imperialist image and is seen as a force for progress and decency, in contrast to the insularity and conservatism of England. It “adds up to an inclusive identity”, the report found.

Europe, however, scarcely gets a look-in. British people of all backgrounds gave little communitaire spirit, and most saw it as “distant and not part of their everyday lives”.

*Notes:*

1. "I? UK — Voices of Our Times" (1999) London: Springpoint;
2. Laura Ashley — a company producing mainly chintzy fabrics;
3. Braveheart — a film loosely based on William Wallace (1274–1305), Scottish knight and champion of the independence of Scotland;
4. good crack — talk, gossip and entertainment;
5. shamrock — the national emblem of Ireland: a clover-like plant with three leaves on each stem;
6. leprechaun — in Irish folklore, a fairy in the shape of a little old man

*Comprehension questions:*

1. When did Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland vote for devolution from the British government?
2. Why does the author mention Wimbledon and Big Ben? What do they represent?
3. What is Cardiff? What are the capitals of the parts of Great Britain?
4. What does the author mean saying: "Europe, however, scarcely gets a look-in"?

**Exercise 40**

*Who or what does the author speak about using the following participles?*

reviled	disdained	obsessed	restrained
published	dumped	divided	shared
devolved	widespread	marked	respected

*Translate the resulting collocations into Russian.*

**Exercise 41**

*Make up sentences of your own with*

a) *the noun IDENTITY and the following verbs*

**identity**

to encompass	to embrace
to derive from	to distance oneself from
to emerge	to shed
to connect with	to add up to
to assume	to appropriate

b) *the following collocations with the noun IDENTITY*

**identity**

inclusive	distinct	imperial
umbrella	local	alien
common	regional	emerging

c) *the following derivatives of the noun IDENTITY*

to identify — identical — identification

**Exercise 42**

*What does the prefix RE- mean? Translate the following verbs and make up sentences with them about national identity.*

to re-emerge	to regenerate
to revive	to rediscover

*Make up more verbs with the prefix.*

**Exercise 43**

*Fill in the chart with the traits of character of each given nation using*

- 1) the conclusions of the survey
- 2) your own background knowledge

## NATIONAL CHARACTER

Nation		Positive Traits	Negative Traits	Stereotypes
The English	1			
	2			
The Scottish	1			
	2			
The Welsh	1			
	2			
The Northern Irish	1			
	2			

### *Discussion questions*

1. Is the notion of Britishness changing? What connotations is it developing?
2. Why do the English appear to be confused about who or what they are? Why do the other nations of the UK seem to be confident?
3. What constituents make up a “crisis of Englishness”? What does the crisis of Englishness mark?
4. Does the author prove the statement which is the title of the text?

### **PAIRWORK**

*In pairs discuss the possible ways the situation in the UK could develop in.*

1. The nations embrace Britishness as an umbrella identity.
2. The British identity breaks up and a new society emerges.
3. Englishness is reinvented and tensions grow.
4. Society moves towards a renewal of the identities of the four ancient nations within a European and global context.

## Exercise 44

*Study the following idioms and make up sentences using them.*

- 1) to keep a stiff upper lip — to be courageous in the face of trouble  
It was admirable to see how the British managed to keep a stiff upper lip in spite of the German bombing.
- 2) a feather in one's cap — something to be proud of  
If she could get the movie star's autograph, she knew it would be a feather in her cap.
- 3) a bitter pill to swallow — a humiliating defeat  
It was a bitter pill to swallow for the famous billiard player to be overwhelmed by an amateur.
- 4) ivory tower — isolated from life, not in touch with life's problems  
Many artists have been said to be living in an ivory tower.

*Make up a situation using the idioms and the active vocabulary of the unit.*

## Workshop III. GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

*Question for discussion: "What is the loss of national identity fraught with for a given nation?"*

*Read the headline of the article and say what you expect to find in the article below.*

### IDENTITY CRISIS HAS JAPAN IN TURMOIL

If it had not been for the protesters, a passer-by might have mistaken the annual conference of the Liberal Democratic Party in Tokyo yesterday for a mass funeral. Coaches and limousines

disgorged thousands of mostly elderly men in dark suits, who pressed with an air of preoccupation into the Budokan martial arts hall. Their sense of unease, frustration and pessimism was palpable — and understandable.

As elderly grandees and regional delegates slowly filed in, the Nikkei average of the Tokyo stock exchange was plunging to 16-year lows, the yen was weakening to levels not seen since early 1999 and the opposition party was submitting a censure motion in parliament against the Prime Minister.

This conference had been billed as the last hurrah for the unloved premier, who signalled his intention to resign. But as Japan slipped closer to economic and political turmoil, many delegates acknowledged that it could also be the swan song for a party that has ruled Japan for all but one of the 46 years since it was formed.

“I think this will be the last convention of the LDP, unless we open up”, said Taro Nakayama, a former foreign minister. “We’ve held on to power for too long. The whole nation is suffering from system fatigue”.

The growing sense of self-loathing in the LDP reflects a national crisis of confidence that has built up over the past 10 years of economic stagnation — a period widely referred to as “the lost decade”.

In part, that anxiety is the product of globalization as foreign firms take over domestic giants like Nissan and Yamaichi Securities, while new sounds, images and ideas flood into the country through the Internet and satellite channels. Equally, though, Japan could be described as a victim of its own success. Having spent more than 150 years trying to catch up with the west, the economic bubble of the 1980s suddenly propelled Japan to superpower status. When that bubble burst, so did the national aspirations.

“Japan simply lost its way”, says Ryu Murakami, one of the country’s most influential novelists. “We never thought about what we’d do after we achieved our goal”.

For a nation that has long put a heavy priority on the need to teach a “way” for everything from *bushido* (the way of the

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warrior) to *chado* (the way of tea), the sudden loss of direction has been traumatic and liberating.

Most of the losers are those who were once closely associated with the LDP. Office workers at large firms, who were once revered as corporate warriors and rewarded with jobs for life, now fret about *resutora* (restructuring) and falling social prestige.

Unemployment is at a record high of 4.9 %, bankruptcies are surging and the suicide rate among middle-aged men is alarming.

A growing number of young graduates are shocking their parents by taking up part-time work that gives them more freedom.

The past few years have seen a rash of scandals surrounding bureaucrats who gave favours in return for trips to hostess bars, surgeons who killed patients by leaving implements inside their bodies, and police who continued with drinking parties rather than respond to urgent calls for assistance.

Confusion and turmoil have been more apparent in education. Amid record levels of violent juvenile crime, teachers are warning of a breakdown in classroom discipline and falling academic standards.

Psychologists say that up to a million teenagers are withdrawing from society, holing up in their rooms where they feel more comfortable relying on their parents and playing with a computer than making friends and fending for themselves.

In response to such concerns, the LDP has flip-flopped in the past five years between pushing for more individualism and creativity — seen as crucial if Japan is to adapt to fast-moving global trends — and reviving the pre-war aim of nurturing social morality and group consciousness — to counter what is often depicted as the pernicious influence of the west.

Women have the most to gain from the changes taking place in Japan. Under traditional Confucian values, they were expected to obey their fathers and husbands and in the workplace they were often relegated to the status of “office flowers” whose primary purpose was to be decorative.

In recent years, however, they have put off marriage and children and been more inclined to divorce. As a result, Japan’s birth

rate has plunged to 1.34 per each woman, one of the lowest levels in the world. The gerontocracy of the LDP have been slow to realize that women's bargaining power has increased sharply because Japan needs them to make up the gap in the workforce and to have more children.

Like Japan after the climax of its economic growth drive, the LDP is struggling to find a Plan B. One elderly regional delegate who declined to give his name said: "We've become a powerless people with no one to follow. Eventually Japan will fix itself, but it'll take 20 or 30 years".

*By John Watts in Tokyo*

### **Comprehension questions:**

1. Have your predictions come true?
2. In what way does identity crisis manifest itself in Japan?
3. What has caused the present identity crisis in Japan?
4. Who suffers the most in the crisis in Japan? Why?
5. What are the signs of the crisis?
6. What measures have been taken by the country's authorities to alleviate the crisis? Did they work? How? / Why not?
7. Who has benefited by the crisis in Japan? How?
8. Do the Japanese see the situation as pessimistic or optimistic? Why?
9. What policy is it wise to pursue for Japan from your point of view?

### **Exercise 45**

*Find in the text the English equivalents for the following Russian phrases and words:*

- 1) выдвинуть вотум недоверия
- 2) лебединая песня, последнее выступление
- 3) последнее «прощай»
- 4) волноваться о чем-либо
- 5) постоять за себя
- 6) геронтократия (власть стариков)

**Exercise 46**

*Match the following adjectives with nouns as they appear in the text:*

- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1) bargaining  | a) arts        |
| 2) corporate   | b) aspirations |
| 3) economic    | c) crime       |
| 4) juvenile    | d) influence   |
| 5) martial     | e) power       |
| 6) national    | f) rate        |
| 7) pernicious  | g) stagnation  |
| 8) political   | h) status      |
| 9) suicide     | i) turmoil     |
| 10) superpower | j) warrior     |

**Exercise 47**

*Match the Russian word combinations with their English equivalents:*

- 1) боевые искусства
- 2) политические беспорядки
- 3) экономический застой
- 4) положение великой державы
- 5) устремления нации
- 6) борцы за интересы корпораций
- 7) уровень самоубийств
- 8) детская преступность
- 9) вредное влияние
- 10) позиция на переговорах

**Exercise 48**

*Use the word combinations to complete the sentences below.*

1. The Russian President is a master of \_\_\_\_\_.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ inevitably leads to unemployment.
3. Russia has almost lost its \_\_\_\_\_.

4. Frustration and disappointment boosted the \_\_\_\_\_ among college graduates.
5. The statistics of \_\_\_\_\_ are stunning.
6. The government propaganda is indistinguishable from that of the rebels and its \_\_\_\_\_ is equally \_\_\_\_\_.
7. By raising the civil right issues, the Liberals contributed to women's \_\_\_\_\_ with the employers.
8. The President's assassination threw the country into \_\_\_\_\_
9. The \_\_\_\_\_ of fascist Germany were fraught with extermination of other nations.
10. Permissive society stimulates \_\_\_\_\_.

### Exercise 49

*Open the brackets using the English equivalents for the given Russian words.*

1. Some time ago the authorities tended to close down sports sections teaching (боевые искусства).
2. New tax measures led to (экономический застой).
3. China's (национальные устремления) are aimed at achieving (положение великой державы).
4. There is a connection between a rising rate of unemployment and a rising (уровень самоубийств).
5. (Детская преступность) is an increasing problem in urban areas.
6. Young and old suffer from the (вредное влияние) of drugs.
7. Consolidation helps to increase the workers' (позиция на переговорах).

### Exercise 50

*Learn the following verbs: to plunge, to take over, to reverse, to surge, to nurture, to counter.*

*Paraphrase the underlined parts of the sentences using the verbs from the previous exercise.*

1. They were accused of wasting public money, but they refuted this charge with the claim that they had wide public support.
2. Once again the military took control.
3. The growing hostility between the two parties is threatening to throw the country into civil war.
4. When the scale of corruption was revealed they turned against the leader they had once highly respected.
5. During those long years in exile the revolutionaries cherished hope of return.
6. The price of oil dropped to a new low.
7. To oppose the football hooligans the police equipped themselves with riot shields and tear gas.
8. The TV station was occupied and held for a few hours.
9. More recent barriers are designed to give way if spectators push forward too violently.
10. The Prime Minister has cherished the idea of restructuring Parliament for at least 4 years.

## Exercise 51

*Fill in the gaps with the words from the list above.*

1. He was one of the best negotiators and was \_\_\_\_\_ by his colleagues.
2. Demonstrators \_\_\_\_\_ through the gates, demanding the President's resignation.
3. The Chinese still \_\_\_\_\_ the memory of their great leader.
4. Ideas that are \_\_\_\_\_ at universities later \_\_\_\_\_ the minds of the nations.
5. They moved two destroyers into the area to \_\_\_\_\_ the threat from the enemy battleship.
6. Unprecedented \_\_\_\_\_ in demand took the manufactures by surprise.
7. She \_\_\_\_\_ bravely into debate.
8. Who will \_\_\_\_\_ now that the governor is dismissed?

9. War produced a \_\_\_\_\_ of patriotic enthusiasm throughout the country.
10. He is a \_\_\_\_\_ public figure among the country's ethnic minorities.

## Exercise 52

*Write a discursive composition on one of the following topics.*

1. "Will all countries eventually lose their national identities and turn into the nations of the world?"
2. "Does globalization mean Americanization?"

*Globalization affects all nations, large and small, even the most remote ones, of which the rest of the world traditionally knows little.*

*Read the article to answer the question about the causes of the national identity crisis in New Zealand.*

### KIWI IDENTITY

Nicholas Tarling,

#### The Essential Pocket Kiwi

Kiwi writers have started looking for identity. If you have to do that, it suggests a crisis. The Kiwis put themselves through a punishing series of changes in the 1980s, associated with "Rog-ernomics" (after Roger Douglas, the Minister of Finance) and the process, though slowed down, still continues. What they wrote of themselves and what others wrote of them, even as recently as 1960s, may no longer be true. Perhaps, as a result, they are more uncertain of themselves than they were. Is it still Godzone (god's own country)? Or is it chasing after false gods? They were always rather uncertain and so prone both to imitate others and consider themselves superior, both to fawn and condemn.

The mind's eye of the English can capture a New Zealand that is loyal, monarchist, living by the values they themselves admire all the more for having themselves abandoned them. The Kiwis were more English than the English themselves, home and

colonial, if one may talk shop: "The brighter Britain of the South" that Mary Sinclair extolled. Are they still? The Prime Minister has raised the question of a Republic, but few have backed him.

Egalitarianism they derive from their colonial past. You might well be glad to leave a class-conscious Britain. You might hope to find better opportunities. You might not want to see the old rigidities recreated. Some, however, did. They had not left to avoid but to emulate. The gentry of the South Island did just that. They had grown rich from land and spent their wealth in an attempt to recreate a foreign culture. They turned their land into power and status.

New Zealand is a small place. It is a land without heroes. It encourages compliance. Claims to egalitarianism are, of course, likely to conceal real inequality. In 1979 Dale Williams wrote of a Kiwi class system: "We are up to our terry-towelling beach hats in one". It was a question of keeping up with the Joneses and knowing which Jones to keep up with. Those who in 1980s attacked the welfare state of 1930s took full advantage of this weakness. It suited the middle class to see New Zealand as equal. They benefited most and others could hardly be thought to exist. Overthrowing the system has, however, helped those at the top. Those at the bottom it has made more numerous.

Conformity to fashionable thinking is more worrying than conformity to fashionable dressing. New Zealand in the 1980s saw a period of widespread reform. The main thought was not whether what was done was the right thing or even whether it was being done in the right way. Rather: it's your or my turn next.

Nor did the Kiwis take full advantage of their internationalism. Often the fashions in thinking, like those in dressing, come from overseas. Perhaps it is part of being modern. If others think you are still in the 19th century, you need to persuade them, or at least yourselves, that you are virtually in the 21st.

Culture means many things to many people. It can be high, it can be pop; it can be elite, it can be mass. Sometimes it is a word of admiration or a mode of justification. It is a way of signalling difference, it is also a way of indicating what is shared. Apply one meaning to New Zealand and you will find a high culture

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that is "Western", reflecting the inheritance of Britain and the contact with it, but also the impact of the United States and Australia.

Western culture in New Zealand is fragmented in more than one way. As elsewhere, there is a gulf between the elite and the pop. That does not stop members of the elite savouring the pop, even taking it seriously. Nor does it stop the reverse, though more inhibitions stand in the way. In a small country like New Zealand, the sense of national pride in a singer like Kiri Te Kanawa may help to bring elite and mass together. The same may be true of other achievements that the whole country can celebrate: in rugby, in round the world yachting. Small countries like New Zealand run the risk of being culturally submerged.

In the late 19th century the Kiwi, elite and otherwise, reacted by an assertive imperialism: they were British, but rather better British than the British themselves. Lonely and remote, they were independent, but wanted to be distinctive. And not only would they play a role on Britain's imperial stage; they could have their own empire in the South Pacific.

A different kind of nationalism sought to make New Zealand culture distinctive in a more distinctive way. That concern was felt by the intellectuals of the depression and post war years. Was there a distinctive voice in New Zealand literature or music? What was clearly distinctive was the possession of Maori culture. Whose possession was it, however? Clearly it was the possession of the Maori people. They had fought the wars with the settlers with courage and resource, but at the end of the past century when social Darwinism prevailed, they were thought to be a dying race. Certainly, their culture was undervalued. The official aim was assimilation. They survived even so. The political system gave them some opportunities and they produced some remarkable leaders. What became important for them as they moved into towns, was to take a fuller role in the professions, in education and government. At the same time, Maori traditions could be reasserted or built upon as a spur to such an endeavour. It did not need imported biculturalism to send New Zealand society down this track. Where the track leads is still

unclear. Maori and Pakcha live together and indeed are much intermarried. How will they preserve and develop their cultures? The Maori tradition helps to make New Zealand distinctive but borrowing it only as the trappings of an essentially monocultural society will no longer be acceptable. It will savour of tokenism and paternalism. Logos are not enough.

The Maori were in a sense honorary whites, certainly superior to other coloured races. Seeking a Kiwi identity, Europeans were tempted to find it in Maoridom. There was a risk that the rituals of Maori society would become not merely a display for visiting dukes but titillation for tourists. The syllabus in Maori schools was assimilated to that in the state schools. Maori was not taught but relegated to a rural folk language. After the World Wars the relationship changed. The reform of the 1980s changed the position of the Maori, as of everyone else. In particular the role of the Waitangi Tribunal was expanded, with the task of redeeming the pledges of the Treaty. Assimilation was replaced by biculturalism. Some called the country New Zealand / Aotearoa.

*Notes:*

1. kiwi — a New Zealander;
2. welfare state — a system of social help provided by the state, especially one which gives money to people who are poor or unemployed, provides medical treatment etc;
3. Maori — a member of the race of people who lived in New Zealand before Europeans arrived there, and who now form only a small part of the population. In the 19th century, the Maoris fought wars with Europeans who wanted their land, and as a result their numbers were greatly reduced and much of their old way of life was destroyed;
4. Aotearoa — the Maori name for New Zealand

*Answer the questions:*

1. Are New Zealanders asking themselves questions about their identity for the first time in their history?
2. In what way did the British immigrants define their identity when they first settled down in New Zealand?
3. What was the attitude of other nations to New Zealanders in the 18–19th centuries?
4. What kinds of qualities were typical of New Zealanders in the 18–19th centuries?
5. In what way did New Zealanders try to imitate the British?
6. How did New Zealanders treat the indigenous population? What is social Darwinism?
7. What role do the Maori play now (politically, socially, culturally)? What effect does it have on the whole nation? What is tokenism and paternalism?
8. Should New Zealanders be afraid of biculturalism? Why? / Why not? What about European nations? What about Russia?
9. Have New Zealanders assumed a new identity?

**Exercise 53**

*Write a summary of the article of about 250–300 words to bring out the main arguments of the author.*

**Exercise 54**

*Render the following passage into the English language using the following words and phrases:*

longstanding

de facto

to fret about

to imply

term

subject of public discourse

to perceive

diversity

highly indicative

to question

to retain the identity

to hamper the discussion

martial arts

to fend for

to assume the identity

to raise the issue

Мы жили и продолжаем жить в мультикультурной стране. Однако этот термин не часто звучит в наших беседах. Чем это объяснить? Среди факторов, блокирующих постановку и обсуждение вопроса о России как мультикультурном обществе, можно выделить исторические, социо-культурные и политические факторы. В политическом плане это, очевидно, нежелание руководства беречь раны. Зачем шуметь о плюрализме в ситуации, когда все плюрализировалось так, что впору говорить о развале? Не проще ли сделать вид, что мы живем в единой стране?

Не способствуют обсуждению и исторические обстоятельства, а именно многовековая традиция недемократического общества. Российская монархия, в общем, не особо беспокоясь о религиозном и культурном разнообразии подвластного ей пространства, молчаливо подразумевала, что государственность, существующая на данной территории, есть государственность русская. Если кто-то в приватной форме и позволял себе оставаться лютеранином (балтийские немцы), мусульманином (татары), католиком (поляки), то в публичной сфере он должен был выступать как русский. В этом смысле положение, сложившееся при большевиках, было во многом сходным.

Поздравляя соотечественников с победой во Второй мировой войне, Сталин говорил о героизме не советского, а русского народа. В высшей степени симптоматично, что извне советское воспринималось не иначе, как синоним русского. Европейцы и американцы боялись русских, а не советских ракет; Джеймс Бонд, используя навыки боевых искусств, обезвреживал русских, а не советских агентов; в концертных залах и операх исполняли русскую, а не советскую музыку, совершенно не задумываясь об этническом происхождении Дмитрия Шостаковича или Арама Хачатуряна.

Когда капитан команды «Арагат», выигравшей в гостях у британцев товарищеский матч, прочел в газете, что «русские забили в ворота «Глазго» два мяча», он пытался постоять за команду: «Извините, но это не русские, а армяне забили в ворота «Глазго» два мяча».

Иначе говоря, исторически сложилось так, что фактический, культурный плюрализм не получил адекватного выражения в языке. Ситуация на сегодняшний день такова, что реальное многообразие не существует на дискурсивном уровне.

## ► WRITING

### Exercise 55

*Write paragraphs to comment on the following quotations.*

1. Identity is what you can say you are according to what they say you can be.

*Jill Johnson*

2. Just as you inherit your mother's brown eyes, you inherit part of yourself.

*Alice Walker*

3. Don't imagine I regard foreigners as inferior — they fascinate me

*Harold Wilson*

### Exercise 56

*Write an essay on one of the following subjects.*

1. I have no country to fight for: my country is the earth, and I am a citizen of the world.

*Eugene V. Debs*

2. The strength of a nation is derived from the integrity of its homes.

*Confucius*

3. A man's feet must be planted in his country, but his eyes should survey the world.

*George Santayana*

**Workshop IV. VOCABULARY PRACTICE****Exercise 57**

*Complete the text bearing in mind all the studied words. The first letters of the necessary words are given to help you.*

**INVENTING NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Over a century ago the French historian Ernest Renan e\_\_\_\_\_ the d\_\_\_\_\_ of nations in Europe. "Nations are not e\_\_\_\_\_. They had a beginning and they will have an end. And they will probably be r\_\_\_\_\_ by a European confederation". His prophecy would be about to come true, were it not for an inherent c\_\_\_\_\_ in European politics. Just as the maturing European U\_\_\_\_\_ is beginning to r\_\_\_\_\_ the n\_\_\_\_\_ -state, the banner of n\_\_\_\_\_ is being r\_\_\_\_\_ all over the continent.

Nations are much younger than their official histories would have us believe. No nation in the modern, that is political, sense of the word existed before the ideological r\_\_\_\_\_ that began in the 18th century and c\_\_\_\_\_ political power "on the people". But in 1800 we were still in the first stages of f\_\_\_\_\_ what Benedict Anderson has called "imagined communities". The c\_\_\_\_\_ model for the generation of national identities was f\_\_\_\_\_ by European intellectuals in the course of the 19th century through a p\_\_\_\_\_ of mutual observation, imitation and transfer of ideas and e\_\_\_\_\_. From that time on, the nation was conceived as a broad c\_\_\_\_\_ united by a l\_\_\_\_\_ different in nature both from a\_\_\_\_\_ to the same monarch and from membership of the same religion or social estate. The nation no longer d\_\_\_\_\_ from the ruler. This powerfully subversive concept opened the way for entry into the age of democracy; but if it was to succeed, the future had to be j\_\_\_\_\_ in terms of l\_\_\_\_\_ to the past.

In order to move from a Europe of kings to a Europe of nations, d \_\_\_\_\_ population groups had to be convinced that despite their obvious d \_\_\_\_\_ they s \_\_\_\_\_ an identity that was the basis for a collective interest. This was no easy matter. In 1800 the c \_\_\_\_\_ identity of a Prussian landowner and a Bavarian craftsman, for example, was far from self-evident. It was, in any case, far less certain than identities based on social s \_\_\_\_\_, religion or a \_\_\_\_\_ to a fairly restricted local area. To produce Germans, Hungarians or Italians, it was necessary to postulate a c \_\_\_\_\_ of birth and community of filiation through the ages.

We have become used to d \_\_\_\_\_ between two o \_\_\_\_\_ concepts of the nation: the French concept, based on free, rational a \_\_\_\_\_ of the individual to a political collectivity, and the German concept of objectively determined membership of an organic body. However, the construction of European nations has always i \_\_\_\_\_ a mix of both of these concepts, even if the proportions have v \_\_\_\_\_ with the political and social context. For generations of French schoolchildren, the teaching of civic rights and duties has always gone h \_\_\_\_\_ in h \_\_\_\_\_ with the rote learning of a unified national history starting from the Gauls that ignores or g \_\_\_\_\_ over wide d \_\_\_\_\_ in regional experience.

## Exercise 58

*Complete the text with one word only.*

In his \_\_\_\_\_ September 1997 Conference speech, Tony Blair \_\_\_\_\_ the British nation like this: "We are by our \_\_\_\_\_ and tradition innovators, adventures, pioneers". Yet Mr Blair's \_\_\_\_\_ words have gone \_\_\_\_\_. The nation which \_\_\_\_\_ globalization and \_\_\_\_\_ the industrial revolution remains stubbornly \_\_\_\_\_ to any involvement in the multi-global-

ism and the space-industrial revolution of the near future. I find this is a \_\_\_\_\_ insult to my \_\_\_\_\_ British identity, and can only suppose that our British genius for \_\_\_\_\_ the future has fled the country and emigrated to America.

I believe that our \_\_\_\_\_ character would best be expressed by taking \_\_\_\_\_ of the tremendous opportunities for \_\_\_\_\_ space-oriented growth which face us. Britain should \_\_\_\_\_ its historic \_\_\_\_\_ role rather than wait for other countries to take the \_\_\_\_\_. Will we be as \_\_\_\_\_ of our national destiny as were the \_\_\_\_\_ of the Empire? Or will we try to pretend that we are no more than a province of the Unholy Belgian Empire, with no greater destiny than to \_\_\_\_\_ endlessly among ourselves about our internal bureaucracies and no \_\_\_\_\_ of any universe greater than what lies immediately in front of our \_\_\_\_\_? Will our most \_\_\_\_\_ and energetic "innovators, adventures, pioneers" have in future to \_\_\_\_\_ US citizenship in order to \_\_\_\_\_ their dreams? Or will we be proud to be British? The question is very much one of our \_\_\_\_\_ of our national destiny.

## Exercise 59

*Translate into English using the active vocabulary.*

Европа черпает свою силу и мощь в многообразии. Однако это не должно подталкивать к превратному выводу о том, будто бы она должна оставаться неединой. В объединенной Европе следует не устранять различия, а объединять многообразие. Мирный порядок и ценностная ориентация Европы не должны подменить идентичность европейских народов и наций. Они должны создать возводимое над старыми нациями дополнительное *европейство*. Однако, так как лишь большая Европа может быть конкурентоспособ-

ной и жизнеспособной — причем под жизнеспособность подразумевается не прозябание, а реализация руководящей роли в мире, — то точно так же и европейские нации и народы с их культурами могут выжить лишь внутри более крупной объединенной Европы. Только в рамках большой Европы могут и дальше процветать сегодняшние культурные нации и региональные элементы во всем их многообразии.

## ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION

Get ready to discuss the problem of skinheads in Russia at a round-table conference. Distribute the roles among the participants and do not forget about the role of the chairperson. Make use of the hints given in Unit 2 *The Press*.

### Skinheads in Russia

**Asian student** — Skinheads are dangerous juvenile delinquents and should be imprisoned.

**Psychologist** — Skinheads are sick young people suffering from xenophobia who need medical treatment.

**Preacher** — Skinheads are physically mature but spiritually retarded young men in need of re-education.

**Nationalist** — Skinheads are true Russian patriots.

**Hair-stylist** — Skinheads are like punks and hippies — only a passing fashion.

**African diplomat** — Skinheads are puppets in the hands of closet racists in Russia.

**Politician** — There is no place for skinheads in a democratic society.

## ► Word List IV

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to alter  
to acknowledge  
to affect  
allegiance  
alleged corruption  
to accept  
to abandon  
to appropriate  
to abolish  
authority  
amateurishness  
to assume identity  
backlash  
brainchild  
bargaining power  
backward  
to cause offence  
cosmopolitanism  
to counter  
cacophony  
to command  
continuity  
contrived nation  
to derive from  
devolution  
de-facto  
to displace  
diversity  
to dispense benefits  
to detract from  
to draw on the expertise of  
decline

image  
jingoistic  
long-established  
long-standing  
to link  
motto  
martial arts  
national aspirations  
to nurture  
to nip in the bud  
orthodoxy  
to overlap  
to plunge  
to perfect  
pragmatism  
pernicious influence  
to question  
to replace  
radicalism  
to run amok  
revenge  
resilient  
to revolutionize  
to recede  
reverence  
revival  
to reinvigorate  
short-lived  
supremacy  
stagnation  
succession  
speculation

to distance oneself from  
to embark on  
to envisage  
emigrant  
to eclipse  
to encompass  
to forge  
to face an uphill battle  
to frustrate  
global powers  
to give up  
high profile  
to imbue with  
to issue  
inevitable

secularisation  
to sign up to  
strivings for  
superpower  
to shed  
to surge  
to taint  
turmoil  
to transform  
to take over  
to a lesser extent  
understatement  
unity  
to update  
to vent differences through  
to welsh on an agreement

## Unit V. PUBLIC SPEAKING

**Aristotle defined persuasion as the faculty of discovering all the available means of influence. Everything you say involves persuasion. No matter what you're speaking about or whom you're speaking to, the ability to use words to influence others is at the heart of any public speaking effort.**

### Workshop I. THE DECLINING ART?

*Speeches are designed to influence an audience. They should be inspirational. Unfortunately, according to Simon Jenkins, modern public oratory leaves much to be desired. Read his article and answer the questions that follow.*

#### LAMENTABLE AS I AM AT PUBLIC SPEAKING...

By Simon Jenkins, the "Times"

The climax of the dining season has come, and with it another crisis for the Society for the Protection of Victims of Speeches. The news from the front is bad. The public speaking epidemic continues to pollute social occasions.

On Wednesday night we heard Lord Jenkins of Hillhead give a short address to an audience of the University of London. Though still convalescing from illness, his five — minute speech was a model of gracious wit. The few sentences were effortlessly turned to evince a ripple of laughter. He judged the gathering perfectly and his words of thanks were never trite. Glancing seldom at his notes, he never lost the eye of his audience. Lord Jenkins is of the old school. He knows the proprieties of oratory and how to respect them.

Modern political oratory, once excellent under the influence of the debating chamber, is now awful. Too many of those who are allowed to speak in public are simply no good at it. Why do we let them do it? Why do we not heckle, jeer or walk out?

Speech is not spoken text. The purpose of a speech, said Hazlitt, “is not to inform but to rouse the mind”. Mr. Blair has become like an American President, enslaved to his speech writers. Such men should talk only to cameras. The public speech used to be a glory of British politics. Under Mr. Blair it has degenerated into mere body language.

What is to be done? We can only reassert the rules. A formal speech is a contradiction in terms. Informality is the essence of dialogue and dialogue the essence of rhetoric. Humour is the key to engaging an audience, laughter a sign of “message received”. Nobody is ever thanked for keeping an audience from its food, drink and conversation.

Inspirational speaking is, like singing, a talent possessed by few. But competence can at least be taught. It does not come ex officio with being a best man, corporate executive, politician, artist or journalist. Speakers, like surgeons, should be certified as competent before they assault the ears of the public.

The ancients had no qualms over this. Rhetoric was taught and practised with pride. To Aristotle, the pursuit of rhetoric (persuasion) was set against the pursuit of philosophy (truth). These two formed the dialectic of human intercourse.

### ***Comprehension questions:***

1. What is the author’s opinion as regards the standards of modern political oratory?
2. What has helped British politicians to keep up high standards of public speaking for many years?
3. Why is Mr. Blair compared to an American President?
4. What makes the author think that American and British leaders should talk only to cameras?
5. What are the most typical pitfalls for public speakers?
6. What are the attributes of good public speaking according to the author?
7. What message is the author trying to convey to the readers in his article?

## Exercise 1

*Interpret the following lines and answer the questions.*

1. "The news from the front is bad". Which front? Why does the author use a military term?
2. "The purpose of a speech is not to inform but to rouse the mind". Whose phrase is it?
3. "The public speaking epidemic continues to pollute social occasion". What does the author refer to as "epidemic" and "social occasion"?
4. To Aristotle, the pursuit of rhetoric was set against the pursuit of philosophy.

## Exercise 2

*Explain or paraphrase the following:*

- 1) the dining season
- 2) the Society for the Protection of Victims of Speeches
- 3) a best man
- 4) the debating chamber

## Exercise 3

*Define the meaning of the following:*

- 1) climax
- 2) enslaved to
- 3) gracious
- 4) to degenerate into
- 5) ex officio
- 6) intercourse
- 7) epidemic

## Exercise 4

*Match the words in Column A with their definitions in Column B.*

Column A	Column B
1) lamentable at	a) the ability to make clever connections in the mind and express them well
2) to convalesce from	b) a small wave
3) wit	c) causing one to be dissatisfied
4) ripple	d) an uncomfortable feeling of uncertainty before doing something
5) evince	e) unoriginal, said too often to be interesting
6) trite	f) to show clearly (a feeling or a quality)
7) propriety	g) to interrupt a speaker with disapproving or unfriendly remarks
8) to heckle	h) to get well after an illness
9) to jeer at	i) rightness of social and moral behaviour
10) to reassert	j) to laugh or shout disrespectfully
11) qualms	k) to show forcefully the existence of smth

### Exercise 5

*Find in the text the English equivalents for the following Russian word combinations:*

- 1) изящное остроумие
- 2) банальные слова
- 3) обратиться с речью к кому-либо
- 4) найти контакт с аудиторией
- 5) не уметь делать чего-либо

### Exercise 6

A. *Match the words in column A with their definitions in column B and with their translation in column C. Consider the distinctions between the words and find out how some of them are used in the text.*

A	B	C
oratory	the art of good clear speaking in public	искусство выступать перед публикой
rhetoric	ability to express ideas in very clear, beautiful language, especially in a way that persuades people to agree with you	ораторское искусство
elocution	the art of making good speeches	риторика
public speaking	the art of speaking or writing in a way that is likely to persuade or influence people	красноречие
eloquence	the activity or art of making speeches in public	дикция

*B. Find the sentence in the text with the verb "to judge" and translate it into Russian. Paraphrase the sentence using the following patterns.*

- |                       |                               |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1) to judge what/who  | 4) to judge it expedient      |
| 2) to judge that      | 5) to judge smb on the merits |
| 3) to judge smb to be | 6) to judge by the expression |

*C. Find the sentence in the text with the noun "public". Study the collocations with this word, translate them into Russian/English and make up sentences with them.*

concern	public	деятель
spirit		скандал
housing		мнение
access		порядок
affairs		достояние
enemy		расследование
utterance		давление
house		служащий
relations		фонды
service		библиотека
office		праздник
spending		позор

*D. Compare and translate into Russian.*

in public — in private

public bill — private bill

public law — private law

public school — private school

public sector — private sector

## **Exercise 7**

*Translate into English using the new words and expressions.*

**A.**

1. Во время визита президент обратился с краткой речью к студентам столичного университета.
2. Нечаянная оговорка во время выступления вызвала смехи в зале.
3. К сожалению, он не отличался ни остроумием, ни умением налаживать контакт с аудиторией, и на его лекциях присутствовало мало людей.
4. Оратор, очевидно, не испытывал никаких угрызений совести по поводу того, что приводимые им в качестве аргументов откровенно банальные слова и идеи не соответствовали теме дискуссии и явно раздражали его оппонентов.
5. Председателю с трудом удалось закончить свое выступление, так как присутствовавшие в зале делегаты съезда вступили с ним в пререкания. Некоторые явно не скрывали своей иронии и откровенно насмехались над его предложениями относительно повестки дня съезда.
6. Судя по реакции аудитории, которая, зажав дыхание, внимала словам оратора, можно было сделать вывод, что выступавший произвел на нее весьма благоприятное впечатление. Он прекрасно владел приемами ораторского искусства и явно держал под своим контролем ход дискуссии.
7. Умение выступать перед большими аудиториями приобретается не сразу. Выступление перед публикой требует серьезного обучения и постоянной практики.

**B.**

Русские ораторы вписали яркие страницы в историю мирового красноречия. Блестящие речи политиков и деятелей культуры прошлого и настоящего, многочисленные выдающиеся работы по теории риторики — наше наследие, наше национальное богатство, достижение нашей цивилизации. Лучшие произведения ораторского искусства не знают старения. Они продолжают участвовать в жизни человека и воздействуют на нас.

**Exercise 8**

*Refute or support the statements below.*

1. Speech is not spoken text.
2. Rhetoric can't be taught.
3. A formal speech is a contradiction in terms.
4. The purpose of a speech is not to inform but to rouse the mind.
5. Informality is the essence of dialogue and dialogue is the essence of rhetoric.
6. Humour is the key to engaging the audience.
7. Inspirational speaking is ... a talent possessed by few.
8. Modern politicians should talk only to cameras.

*Read the article below to compare it with the article by S. Jenkins along the following lines:*

- a) *what the authors think about modern standards of oratory*
- b) *how the authors account for the decline in public speaking skills*
- c) *what the authors think of the future of public speaking*

**PUBLIC SPEAKING**

**by Brian MacArthur**

Oratory has always been a declining art. Every generation judges contemporary speakers unfavorably against the giants of the past. According to Peggy Noonan, author of some of Ronald

Reagan's most memorable oratory, the irony of modern speeches is that as our ability to disseminate them has exploded, their quality has declined.

Why? Lots of reasons, including that we as a nation no longer learn the rhythms of public utterance from Shakespeare and the Bible. When young Lincoln was sprawled in front of the fireplace reading Julius Caesar — “The abuse of greatness is, when it disjoins remorse from power”, — he was, unconsciously, learning to be a poet. You say, “That was Lincoln, not the common man”. But the common man was flocking to the docks to get the latest installment of Dickens off the ship from England.

Modern politicians don't really know what “the common man” thinks any more, they forget that we've all had at least some education and a number of us read on our own and read certain classics in junior school and high school. The guy at the gas station read *The Call of the Wild* when he was fourteen, and sometimes thinks about it. Moreover he has imagination. Politicians forget. They go in for the lowest possible denominator — like a newscaster. Speeches today are prepared only for the “sound bites” demanded by television.

However, oratory still flourishes but the style of oratory is changing. The sense of drama, that still attends a major speech, is captured by Peggy Noonan. “A speech is a soliloquy”, she says, “one man on a bare stage with a big spotlight. He will tell us who he is and what he wants and how he will get it and what it means when he does or does not get it... He looks up at us in the balconies and clears his throat. “Ladies and gentlemen...” We lean forward, hungry to hear. Now it will be said, now we will hear the thing we long for. A speech is part theatre and part political declaration; it is personal communication between a leader and his people; it is art, and all art is a paradox, being at once a thing of great power and great delicacy. A speech is poetry: cadence, rhythm, imagery, sweep! Speeches are important because they are one of the great constants of our political history. They have been not only the way we measure public men, they have been how we tell each other who we are... They count. They more than count, they shape what happens.”

Amidst the lazy illiteracy of so much modern speech, eloquent words still have power to make audiences stop and think and sometimes even wonder. Our political leaders still search for the writers who can gild their prosaic visions.

***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. What is Peggy Noonan famous for?
2. Who does the author mean by using pronouns “we” and “you” in the second paragraph of the article?
3. Why is oratory art? In what direction is it going?
4. How important are political speeches in American political history? Why?
5. How important are political speeches in British and Russian political history? Why?

**Exercise 9**

*Explain who/what the people mentioned in the article were:*

William Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, Abraham Lincoln, Charles Dickens, Ronald Reagan.

*What are they famous for?*

*Who wrote “The Call of the Wild”? What is it about?*

**Exercise 10**

*Interpret the following.*

1. But the common man was flocking to the docks . . .
2. They go in for the lowest possible denominator — like a newscaster.
3. Speeches today are prepared only for the sound bites.
4. Our political leaders still search for the writers who can gild their prosaic visions.

**Exercise 11**

*In the article find the antonyms for the following words. Think of the synonyms.*

- 1) flourishing, rising
- 2) to collect, pick up, assemble
- 3) outstanding, distinguished
- 4) to unite, merge
- 5) senior, elder
- 6) to degenerate into, decline
- 7) learning, education

## Exercise 12

*Translate into English using the new words and phrases.*

1. Русская православная церковь, находившаяся в упадке еще несколько лет назад, сейчас процветает.
2. Политическая проницательность Линкольна была подтверждена всем ходом американской истории.
3. Защитники окружающей среды используют каждую возможность, чтобы распространять свои идеи.

## Exercise 13

*Write a composition: "The attributes of a competent public speaker".*

## Workshop II. ANALYZING RHETORIC

*Read the following, sum it up and explain how you can make your speech convincing.*

### ORATORY TECHNIQUES 1

(by Michelle Lowe and Ben Graham, abridged)

Language has some control over our thoughts because it is so powerful. You have to look at the way language is used to manipulate. Think of the sway a great public speaker can have over his audience. There are many techniques that are used by public speakers to interest their audience and make their argument convincing. Max Atkinson, who has studied these devices

in depth, calls them “**CLAPTRAPS**”, because speakers use them to get the audience participating by clapping, cheering, booing, etc.

The most effective **claptraps** he identified are:

1. **List of three:** “The past with its crimes, its follies, and its tragedies...”  
“These cruel, wanton, indiscriminate bombings”. “Killing large numbers of civilians, and women and children..”
2. **Contrastive pairs:** “you do your worst, and we will do our best ...”
3. **Positive evaluation of us:** “The people of this mighty imperial city ...”  
“Little does he know the spirit of the British nation, or the tough fibres of the Londoners”.
4. **Negative evaluation of them:** “The Nazi war machine with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty expert agents fresh from the cowing and trying down a dozen countries... the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery”.

But there are literally hundreds of other devices, many of which have been used, written about and studied since classical times. Although they may not all draw applause, they do contribute to making the speaker more believable, authoritative and persuasive. They make a speech / piece of writing more powerful.

Here is a small selection:

1. **Repetition of words for effect:** “*We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air*”.
2. **Alliteration:** “The *dull, drilled docile* brutish masses of the Hun soldiery”.  
“We will *mete* out to the Germans the *measure*, the *more* than the *measure*, that they have *meted* to us”.
3. **Onomatopoeia:** “... the Nazi war machine with its *clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers*...”
4. **Metaphor:** “What he has done is to kindle a fire in British hearts, here and all over the world... He has lighted a fire,

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which will burn with a steady and consuming flame until the last vestiges of Nazi tyranny have been burnt out of Europe.

5. **Simile:** “The Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts...”
6. **Highly emotive language:** “German troops *violated* the frontiers ...”  
“He hopes ... that he will *terrorize* and *cow* the people of this mighty imperial city”.
7. **Rhetorical questions:** “You ask, what is our policy? I will say: it is to wage war by sea, land and air”. “You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: it is victory...”
8. **Use of negatives and double negatives:** “From this *nothing* will turn us — *nothing*. We *will never* parley, we *will never* negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang”. “We ask *no favours* of the Enemy. We seek from them *no compunction*”.

***Here is a speech for you to analyze. Try reading it aloud. See, which of the above-mentioned rhetorical devices are used in the speech.***

WINSTON CHURCHILL

London, 18 June 1940

### **“THIS WAS THEIR FINEST HOUR”**

*The crumbling French resistance could not be maintained much longer. On 10 June, the government left Paris; on 16 June Marshal Petain formed a new government. The next day France sued for peace. As Churchill predicted in this House of Commons speech, the Battle of France was over and the battle of Britain had begun. Britain, he declared, was now resolved to fight on alone.*

*The defiant words were heard by millions, when the speech was broadcast and it is probably the best remembered Churchill speech of the war.*

We do not yet know what will happen to France or whether the French resistance will be prolonged, both in France and in the French Empire overseas. The French Government will be

throwing away great opportunities and casting adrift their future if they do not continue the war in accordance with their Treaty obligations, from which we have not felt able to release them. The House will have read the historic declaration in which, at the desire of many Frenchmen — and in our own hearts — we have proclaimed our willingness at the darkest hour in French history to conclude a union of common citizenship in this struggle. However matters may go in France or with the French Government, or other French Governments, we in this island and in the British Empire will never lose our sense of comradeship with the French people. If we are now called upon to endure what they have been suffering, we shall emulate their courage, and if final victory rewards our toils they shall share the gains, aye, and freedom shall be restored to all. We abate nothing of our just demands; not one jot or tittle do we recede. Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians have joined their causes to our own. All these shall be restored.

What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour".

*Here is another speech, delivered by the MP for Chesterfield and former Cabinet minister Tony Benn.*

### **MPs MUST GUARD AGAINST PRESIDENTIAL POWER**

I was elected 49 years ago this month and have fought 17, and won 16, contested elections, which the House of Commons library tells me is a record equalled only by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Churchill. The library also told me that 432,622 people had voted for me, and it is on their behalf that I want to speak. The debate is about the oldest issue of all — the relationship between the government and the governed.

I want to be clinical so as to avoid being controversial, but I think that, without any announcement of any change being made, this country is moving from a parliamentary to a presidential system. It appears to me that, increasingly, all effective power comes from No 10 Downing Street.

I understand that the current Prime Minister has twice as many advisers as his predecessor. That is not a new development — I had two advisers when I was Secretary of State for Industry and for Energy — but it is new in the sense that it is now becoming apparent to many people that the real cabinet is now in No 10 Downing Street and that policy announcements made have been discussed within that cabinet. However, that cabinet has not been elected, nor have its members been through the rigorous selection process applied to the civil service. It is far more like the American system. The Cabinet is no longer the centre of real decision making.

There are no effective checks and balances in our new presidential system comparable to those in the United States. As we know from recent history, an American president has to think about the House of Representatives, the Senate and the Supreme Court, but the president of this country does not have to think about any of those things. Those are facts — although I hold strong views, I make no comment. Every prime minister can do what he likes, and the current one certainly does.

My concern is the quite different question of how the House of Commons should respond. I shall set out what I take to be obligations of members of the House of Commons. We have obligations to our political parties. I am well aware that I would have never become a member of Parliament or a minister had I not been a member of the Labour Party. I joined the Labour Party on my birthday in 1942 and I intend to die in it — but not quite yet. We are all committed to the manifesto that brought us here. It seems quite reasonable that, if the party promises something, we, as individual members, have an obligation to support it. We are also committed to the electors who choose us. They employ us, they can dismiss us and we must speak for them. We are also responsible to our consciences and convictions, because the only image that matters is the image in the mirror when one shaves in the morning.

No other image matters; we have to live with ourselves.

However, we — I am speaking of whoever happens to be a Government backbencher — are not required to take orders from the Government when a policy has not been in the manifesto, has not been put before us and has not been the subject of consultation. On welfare reform, I did not vote against the Government; I voted for disabled people. I greatly resent the current personalization of media coverage — the references to the “awkward squad”, “mavericks” and “rebels”.

This place is elected to give a judgement on the measures or motions brought before it. Our duty is to speak and vote as we believe to be right. We must defend our Speaker from any attempt to remove her. We must control the select committees. I also believe that there should be more free votes. I believe that members of Parliament must reassert their role, and that the Government must accept it.

I hope that this will not be the last speech I shall make in the House of Commons, but the House will understand that I should not be sorry if it was remembered. It has expressed my deep convictions and my determination that the new tendency towards centralization should not obliterate the very thing of which we boast most proudly.

**I. Answer the questions:**

1. How would you define the topic of the speech?
2. Does Tony Benn approve of the increase in the number of Prime Ministers advisers? Why? / Why not?
3. Why is, according to Tony Benn, the Cabinet no longer the centre of real decision- making?
4. What makes Tony Benn think that Great Britain is on its way to a Presidential Republic?
5. Does Tony Benn speak against Prime Minister's grip on power?
6. What does he suggest the members of the House of Commons should do about the Prime Minister's growing role in decision- making?
7. According to the speaker, what should MPs be guided by in their decisions?

**II. Paraphrase or explain:**

1. "It appears to me, increasingly, all effective power comes from No 10 Downing Street". What does Downing Street stand for?
2. What "real cabinet" does the speaker have in mind in the phrase "... it is now becoming apparent to many people that the real cabinet is now in No 10 Downing Street and that policy announcements made have been discussed within that cabinet"?
3. "... although I hold strong views, I make no comment". What views does Tony Benn hold? Why does he make no comment?
4. "I greatly resent the current personalization of media coverage — the references to the "awkward squad", "mavericks" and "rebels". What does the term "media coverage" mean? In what way do the media "personalize" their reports? Are "awkward squads", "mavericks", "rebels" terms of abuse? Who is referred to in this way?
5. "It has expressed my deep convictions and my determination that the new tendency towards centralization should not obliterate the very thing of which we boast most proudly". What is it they boast proudly of? What does "obliterate" mean?

### III. What means of emphasis are used in the speech?

1. Find examples of:
  - a) emphatic structures
  - b) inversion used for emphasis
  - c) emotionally charged vocabulary
  - d) rhetorical doubles or triples.
2. What features of overt power are there in the speech?

### IV. What softening or mitigating devices are used in the speech?

1. Find examples of humour
2. Find uncertainty markers, like “I suppose...”
3. Find euphemistic expressions or examples of understatement.

### V. Talking points

1. In what way is the presidential power restricted in the USA? What are the prerogatives of the Prime Minister in the UK?
2. “The debate is about the oldest issue of all — the relationship between the government and the governed”. What relationship is the MP talking about?

## INVERSION

**Public speaking, which is an example of formal language, makes use of inversion (changing the order of words in a sentence) for rhetorical effect.**

### *Inversion takes place:*

- 1) after negative adverbials such as:  
never, nowhere, not for one minute, nor, never again, never before, not since, not until;
- 2) in certain established sentence patterns:  
hardly/scarcely ... when, no sooner ... than;
- 3) after expression with “only” and “no”:  
not only ... but also, at no time, in no way, on no account, under no circumstances, on no condition, only if/after/when.
- 4) instead of “if” in conditional sentences
- 5) after adverbs: so/such ... that, rarely, seldom, little, hardly

***Let's practice inversion.***

## Exercise 14

*Decide which sentences are inappropriate in the context given.*

1. **Guest to host:** "So nice was that pudding, that I would like to have some more".
2. **Witness to court:** "No sooner had I turned out the light, than I heard a noise outside".
3. **Newsreader:** Such was the force of the earthquake, that whole villages have been devastated".
4. **Parent to child:** "Should you fancy a pizza, let's order one now".
5. **Friend to friend:** "Never before have I seen this film".
6. **Politician to audience:** "Seldom has the country faced a greater threat".
7. **Celebrity to interviewer:** "Were I to have the time, I'd go climbing more often".
8. **Victim to police officer:** "Scarcely had we been introduced when he punched me for no reason".
9. **Printed notice:** "Under no circumstances is this control panel to be left unattended".
10. **Colleague to colleague:** "Should you change your mind, just let me know".
11. **Friend to friend:** "Had you arrived earlier, you would have seen it".

## Exercise 15

*Rewrite the following sentences, inverting the subject and verb, and using one of the patterns mentioned above.*

A.

1. The President will never give in to public pressure.
2. As soon as the meeting started, skinheads began heckling the orator.
3. None of those present could suspect the general of complicity in the crime for one moment.
4. I have never been so upset in all my life.

5. You will not find craftsmanship of such quality anywhere.
6. I will never tolerate such behaviour again.
7. They disclosed the information to the media only when they were certain of the outcome.
8. Good brandy is ready for consumption only after it has matured for ten years.
9. This government has deceived the public, and it has deceived itself.
10. These papers should not be left unattended under any circumstances.
11. The values of our society are at risk, and the very survival of the nation is threatened.
12. Philosophers are rarely appreciated while they are still alive.
13. Children little realize that their world of innocence soon disappears.
14. I did not intend to deceive you at any time.
15. If I ever told you a lie, I wouldn't be able to look you in the eye.
16. I respect her opinion, and I admire her character greatly as well.
17. If you require any further information, do not hesitate to contact me.

**B.**

1. The speaker ascended the stage and the audience immediately gave him a welcoming round of applause.
2. The audience had never seen such a professional performance before.
3. The speaker wrote out his introduction and edited it into its best form.
4. If something weird happens, it must be addressed in the introduction. If you hadn't ignored this lesson you wouldn't have lost your credibility and your audience.
5. The noise subsided only after the speaker used an intriguing fact in his introduction.
6. The speaker shouldn't play with the microphone when delivering his speech.

7. Don't admit on any account that you've given the identical speech a million times for other audiences.
  8. I have failed to deliver a really good speech just once or twice.
- C.
1. The measures were such that they helped ease both the resentment and the arrogance.
  2. If Britain left the community, the EU would be knocking on its door the next day.
  3. As soon as America said goodbye to Ronald Reagan it started saying hello to Bill Clinton.
  4. Washington will consider lifting all its sanctions only when the instalments have been made.
  5. When I arrived in Chengdu I at once went to the local registry of motor vehicles to renew my driver's license.
  6. There are too many inexperienced drivers, the police don't enforce traffic laws and nobody wears seat belts.
  7. If I were on a desert island I would certainly have to have an Abba album.
  8. Only after 1972 Barry Manilow gained popularity when he played Carnegie Hall the first time as pianist for the burgeoning cabaret star Bette Midler.
  9. The political will to undertake such a project can be summoned only when some crisis makes the need for it apparent to all.
  10. The virus research group decoded a virus once it had been detected.
  11. If hackers were motivated not by loneliness or greed, but by malice, we would face a global cybercrisis.
  12. Italy's Health Ministry until recently didn't take measures to bar alcohol advertising targeting young people.
  13. The law severely restricted advertising and sport sponsorship by alcohol manufacturers and it added a series of alcohol taxes.
  14. Europe won't face a brighter future until governments or parents come up with a way to convince teenagers that drinking is evil.

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## Exercise 16

Complete each sentence with a suitable word or phrase.

### A.

1. Scarcely \_\_\_\_\_, when the pilot had to make an emergency landing.
2. Little \_\_\_\_\_ what has been going on in her absence.
3. No sooner \_\_\_\_\_ than I realized that I'd left my notes on the platform.
4. Only when \_\_\_\_\_ on the light did we notice that the hall was packed to capacity.
5. Not until I asked a passer-by \_\_\_\_\_ where I was.
6. Seldom does \_\_\_\_\_ below freezing at this time of the year.
7. Hardly \_\_\_\_\_ his speech, when the minister was interrupted.
8. On no account am \_\_\_\_\_ while I am in a meeting.
9. Rarely has \_\_\_\_\_ in this university written a better composition.
10. In no way \_\_\_\_\_ bear responsibility for injuries to passengers.
11. Were life on other planets ever \_\_\_\_\_ there would still be problems with communication.

### B.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I been so impressed by a piece of music.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ half a century ago has there been such a fair.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ leaked information to the press did the full story emerge.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ he walked into the hall than he was met by a storm of applause.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ I settled down in a chair with a book and a cup of tea when the telephone rang.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ you find that the ride is smooth but you will hardly hear the engine.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ to come on time we would be able to finish the work tonight.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ could I persuade her to accept the reward.

## EMPHATIC STRUCTURES

Experienced orators make use of special structures, which together with stress and intonation help to emphasize a part of a sentence and make the whole speech more emotional.

*For example*

1. What really annoys me about ... is ...
2. What is most surprising is the way/fact ...
3. It is the way some people ... that ...
4. What most people do not realize is the fact that ...
5. Censorship is what ...

### Exercise 17

*Restructure the following statements in three different ways to make them more emphatic. Use the patterns above.*

**A.**

1. We doubt his words.
2. I admire her beautiful voice.
3. He hates working at weekends.
4. His decision on the matter is important.
5. Her forgetfulness is annoying.
6. You should go to Britain to improve your English.
7. Everybody likes winning.
8. Historical places of London attract tourists.

**B.**

1. Speakers tell jokes to make the audience relax.
2. Statistics tend to put people to sleep.
3. Harsh antiterrorism laws have been adopted.

### Exercise 18

*Prepare to talk for one minute on one of the topics below. Try to use inversion and some of the patterns for emphasis.*

Swearing in public places  
Political censorship  
Bureaucracy  
Politics  
Football fans  
TV commercials  
Compulsory conscription  
The world of fashion

## **Workshop III. TEACHING AND PRACTISING RHETORIC**

*Read the following, sum it up and explain how you can make your introduction next to perfect.*

### **ORATORY TECHNIQUES 2** **(by Malcolm Kushner, abridged)**

Have you ever had a sip of apple juice after someone told you it was water? Did you spit it out even though it was perfectly good juice? That reaction isn't uncommon. Our expectations often influence our perceptions. And that's particularly true with public speaking. That's why a good introduction is crucial — it influences how the audience perceives the speaker.

#### **□ 1. Why the Introduction Is the Most Important Part of Your Speech**

Basic psychology tells us that the way we perceive things is highly affected by what we've been led to expect. The classic example is Tom Sawyer and the fence from Mark Twain's novel "Tom Sawyer". When Tom asks his friends to help him paint the fence — it has to be done just right and not just anyone can do it — they beg him for an opportunity. By the end of that scene, Tom's friends are paying him for the privilege of painting the fence. It was all in the setup — how the fence-painting was introduced.

That's why the introduction is the most important part of your presentation — it sets the audience's expectations. It determines

how the audience interprets and reacts to everything else you say. And it's your best chance to shape the audience's reaction in your favour. There are great introductions and poor ones. Let's look how you can handle the situation.

## ❑ 2. Controlling How You're Introduced

The master of ceremonies arrived at the podium. He called the meeting to order and introduced the featured speaker. Here's what he said:

Our speaker today has an interesting background. He is an attorney who created his own profession. He trains managers, professionals, and executives in how to use humor in their work. His clients include AT&T, Baxter Healthcare, Hewlett-Packard, Aetna, Motorola, and the IRS. He has a master's degree from the University of Southern California and a law degree from Hastings College of the Law. He has been featured in *Time* magazine, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The New York Times*. He's appeared on *The Larry King Show*, and his book, *The Light Touch: How to Use Humor for Business Success*, has been translated into five languages. But he says his most important accomplishment is that he was on *The Gong Show* — without being gonged.

He also said I'd get at least two laughs if I read this introduction word for word, exactly the way he wrote it.

Please give a warm welcome to Mr. N, America's Favorite Humor Consultant.

And here's what the speaker felt:

I wanted to die of embarrassment. Yes, I'd written the introduction, but he didn't read it exactly the way I wrote it. He added the line saying that I'd written the introduction and asked him to read it word for word. So instead of making the audience feel that it would hear an exciting, well-credentialed speaker, the introduction made them anticipate a raging egomaniac. (Fortunately I thought of a quip to handle the situation — "I also wrote that line about telling him to read it the way I wrote it".)

### ▶ 1. Have some bridge lines ready.

A bridge line is a transition from the introduction you've received to the introduction you're now going to give yourself. Here are a few lines to keep in mind:

*“What he really meant to say was...”*

*“The notes that I forgot to give her said...”*

*“Let me add a little bit to that...”*

*“One of the things I didn’t get a chance to tell him was...”*

After that just reintroduce yourself.

## ▶ 2. Refer to a previous introduction.

Want to be diplomatic? Compliment the person introducing you for the “great” introduction. Then contrast it with an introduction you’ve received in the past.

*“Thanks for that great introduction. I am always glad when I get a good introduction. “It reminds me of an introduction I got last year when the person introducing me said...”*

Then do the introduction you wish that you’d received.

## □ 3. Great Ways To Begin

### 1. Material-Based Introduction

#### A. JOKES, STORIES OR ANECDOTES

If you can tell them, you’ve got a powerful skill at your disposal.

Here’s how Alexandra York, founder and President of the American Renaissance for the Twenty-First Century, used a personal anecdote to begin a speech about American culture:

What is the current state of our culture? By way of a short answer, let me relate a true, personal experience.

A few years ago, while recovering from a tennis injury, I worked out regularly with a personal trainer. At that time, the new Broadway musical casually named “Les Miz” had reawakened interest in Victor Hugo’s immortal book, “Les Miserables”, on which the play was based. New Yorkers were reading or re-reading the book with fervor — on subways and buses, on bank lines, in doctors’ offices, and even on exercise bikes. One day at my “very upscale” gym, the woman next to me warmed up on her bike reading a paperback of that great, classic novel which she had propped up on the handlebars while she cycled. A trainer wandered by — a male in his mid-30s with a B. S. degree — and noted the reading material with visible surprise. He stopped short

and asked in wonderment, "They made a book of it already?" So may we ask in wonderment, "What is the state of a culture where such a question can be asked by a college graduate?"

### B. HISTORIC EVENTS

An historic event that relates to your topic is always a good way to begin. Historical references make you look smart and put your topic in perspective.

Julia Hughes Jones, former Auditor of Arkansas, used this device in a speech about women and equality:

Why is a vote important? Many times, a single vote has changed the course of history. More than a 1,000 years ago in Greece, an entire meeting of the Church Synod was devoted to one question: Is a woman a human being or an animal? It was finally settled by one vote, and the consensus was that we do indeed belong to the human race. It passed, however, by just one vote. Other situations where one vote has made a difference:

In 1776, *one vote* gave America the English language instead of German.

In 1845, *one vote* brought Texas and California into the Union.

In 1868, *one vote* saved President Andrew Johnson from impeachment.

In 1923, *one vote* determined the leader of a new political party in Munich. His name was Adolf Hitler.

In 1960, *one vote* change in each precinct in Illinois would have defeated John F. Kennedy.

### C. TODAY

Any fact about the date you're speaking can be used to open your presentation. Is it a holiday? Is it a famous person's birthday? Is it the day the lightbulb was invented? This device is closely related to the historical event opening, but it's not identical. You're not looking for an historic event related to your topic. You're looking for an event that occurred on this date. (When you find it, then you relate it to your topic.)

John V. R. Bull, as Assistant to the Editor, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, used this device in a talk called "Freedom of Speech: Can It Survive?"

Today is marked on my calendar as “Traditional Columbus Day,” which seems a particularly good time to take stock of our legacy from that adventure of 500 years ago. A consequence of that journey was the creation of the United States of America, a nation that *Time* magazine last week called “a daring experiment in democracy that in turn became a symbol and a haven of individual liberty for people throughout the world”. But today as we survey — and presumably celebrate — that “daring experiment”, there are strong indications that we may have failed to create a lasting monument to freedom, for those very blessings of liberty that we thought were enshrined forever as inviolate constitutional guarantees — freedom of speech, press, and assembly — are under attack as seldom before in our nation’s 215-year history.

#### D. QUOTATIONS

Quotations make good openings for several reasons: they’re easy to find; they’re easy to tie into your topic; and they make you sound smart.

Here’s how Warren Manshell, as an investment banker with Dreyfus Corporation and a former ambassador to Denmark, opened a speech about the Constitution:

*“The Constitution is an invitation to struggle for the privilege of directing foreign policy”.*

That is Edwin Corwin’s famous description of the Constitution, and the history of executive-congressional interplay in the area is replete with examples to prove his point.

#### E. RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Asking questions is an effective way of introducing a topic. A rhetorical question involves the audience as it mentally answers.

### 2. Audience-Centered Introductions

You can also build your introduction around the audience members. In this type of opening, you involve them by making specific references to them, asking them to do things, or trying to elicit an emotional reaction from them.

### ***A. Provoke or compliment them***

The compliment must be honest and specific. The more specific you make it, the more effective it will be. Eric Rubenstein, as Board Chairman and President of the Single Room Operators Association, complimented his audience in a speech to Job Resources, Inc.:

I am delighted to be here. Let me compliment your fine organization, Job Resources, on having counseled and job-trained more than 7,000 individuals, and having also obtained permanent employment for over 2,000 men and women since 1979. Clearly much of your success is due to the hard work and dedication of your founder and Executive Director, Ms. Michael Rooney. Job Resources' track record is especially impressive because you only assist disabled individuals, economically disadvantaged people, and displaced workers. Your nonprofit agency truly helps needy people train for and obtain jobs, and this is appreciated.

### ***B. Show your knowledge of them and develop a common bond***

Anytime you can show how you have something in common with the audience, that's good. John Rindlaub, Chairman and CEO of Scafirst Bank, used this type of opening in a speech to an insurance industry conference:

I appreciate the invitation to be here ... since I've always had a warm spot in my heart for the insurance industry. I know that's hard to believe. But there's a reason.

My father was Controller of American Re-Insurance ... and one of the founders, and an Executive Vice President of the Municipal Bonds Insurance Association.

For 20 years, around the dinner table, I heard stories about the insurance industry. So it's a pleasure to be here today with insurance professionals.

### ***C. Emphasize the importance of your subject***

Here's how former U. S. Surgeon General Antonia C. Novello referred to the occasion in the opening of a speech at the regional meeting for Universal Salt Lodization Toward the Elimi-

nation of Iodine Deficiency Disorders in the Americas, held in Quito, Ecuador:

It is a pleasure to be here. More than a pleasure, it is a thrill. If that sounds dramatic, I need remind you of why we are here. This is evolution, human history in the making. There is a palpable sense of progress in this room, at this conference, in many of the rooms and buildings I have visited while traveling throughout Latin America over the past several months. There is the power of knowledge in this room, the excitement of knowing that a momentous decision about the future of humankind is ready for the taking. We have made the slow ascent up the learning curve of Iodine Deficiency Disorders, and now we are nearing its peak: There is no more pressing need for research or investigation into the problem, and it is no longer necessary to search for solutions. We are ready to act.

### Tasks

1. Introduce the Speaker Today, saying kind or controversial words about him/her. Let the Speaker reintroduce him/herself if necessary.
2. Write an introduction to your speech to make the audience focus its full attention on you and hang on your every word. Resort to the categories of the openings.
3. Listen to the speakers and choose the most effective introductions.

### Exercise 19

*Fill in the gaps in the following introduction with one word only.*

#### Introductory Speech

Good evening ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for 1 \_\_\_\_\_. It 2 \_\_\_\_\_ me great 3 \_\_\_\_\_ to 4 \_\_\_\_\_ our guest 5 \_\_\_\_\_ for this evening, Dr Claire Tomlinson, who is going to 6 \_\_\_\_\_ us on the subject of international diplomacy — a topic she knows a great deal about.

Dr Tomlinson began her highly successful 7 \_\_\_\_\_ as a/an 8 \_\_\_\_\_ working at the British 9 \_\_\_\_\_ in Rabat, Morocco, where she worked in the Cultural 10 \_\_\_\_\_ until 1985. She then took up the 11 \_\_\_\_\_ of First 12 \_\_\_\_\_ at the 13 \_\_\_\_\_ in Cairo and remained in Egypt for eight years. In 1993, she moved to Amman where she became the first woman 14 \_\_\_\_\_ to Jordan, the 15 \_\_\_\_\_ which she currently 16 \_\_\_\_\_.

Dr. Tomlinson is a/an 17 \_\_\_\_\_ in the Middle East affairs, and a/an 18 \_\_\_\_\_ interest of hers is the highly topical 19 \_\_\_\_\_ of hijacking. She has been directly 20 \_\_\_\_\_ in the delicate 21 \_\_\_\_\_ that take place between governments over international 22 \_\_\_\_\_ of this kind, and her talk will 23 \_\_\_\_\_ on the role of 24 \_\_\_\_\_ in 25 \_\_\_\_\_ such crises.

May I take this 26 \_\_\_\_\_ of 27 \_\_\_\_\_ you, Dr Tomlinson, for giving up your 28 \_\_\_\_\_ time to be here with us this evening and for agreeing to give us the benefit of your long 29 \_\_\_\_\_.

I 30 \_\_\_\_\_ Dr. Tomlinson is going to speak for about one hour, and will leave about half an hour for 31 \_\_\_\_\_ and 32 \_\_\_\_\_. So, 33 \_\_\_\_\_ you please 34 \_\_\_\_\_ tonight's 35 \_\_\_\_\_, Dr Claire Tomlinson.

*Read the text below and make up a list of all possible tricks and tips for improving your presentation. Think of what else you can add to the list.*

### ORATORY TECHNIQUES 3

(by Malcolm Kushner, abridged)

#### *The Role of Nonverbal Communication*

Nonverbal Communication is said to account for as much as 93 percent of a speaker's message. The numbers usually cited are 38 percent for vocal qualities and 55 percent for facial expressions, gestures, and movements. Only 7 percent of the messages is attributed to the words that are actually spoken.

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However there is another point of view: Nonverbal communication is very important but its importance is overrated. You can give a successful presentation without having perfect gestures, eye contact and body language. The secret lies in matching your message to audience needs. Let's say you are a Nobel Prize-winning cancer researcher speaking to a group of cancer patients. You tell them that you've just discovered the cure for cancer and that you will present it to them. You know what? Those cancer patients don't care if you gesture or make eye contact. They don't care if you mumble. They don't care if you face the wall and spit wooden nickels. Just tell them the cure.

Nonverbal communication is important especially if you can't make an exact match between your topic and the needs of your audience, or if you don't have a lot of credibility. Then your delivery becomes critical. The way you carry yourself and project your message has a big effect on how that message is received. If the speaker droned from a script and never looked at the audience, made a gesture, or changed position, you probably disliked the experience — if you stayed awake. If the speaker was dynamic — moved around, made dramatic gestures, engaged the eyes of the audience — you may have enjoyed the speech despite your lack of interest in the topic. When you have to give a talk that you don't want to give, that's a command performance. When you give it and get the audience to pay attention, that's a commanding performance. The difference between the two comes down to one word — enthusiasm. If you're enthusiastic, your audience will be too. Enthusiasm is contagious. And it's communicated nonverbally.

Body language refers to the messages you send through facial expression, posture, and gesture. A smile indicates happiness. A frown means disapproval. Leaning forward means active engagement in the discussion. What's not as obvious is how you employ body language. Nonverbal cues can affect your credibility. A common mistake speakers make is presenting nonverbal messages that undermine the believability of what they're actually saying. A classic example occurred during a presidential campaign debate between George Bush and Bill Clinton. Although

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George Bush spoke about how important certain issues were for the American people, he kept looking at his watch. He gave the impression that he was bored and couldn't wait for the debate to end. Many observers felt that this action undermined his credibility. He didn't look like he thought the issues were very important. Another classic example is former President Jimmy Carter. He used to punctuate his sentences with smiles. Every time he finished a sentence, he'd beam a big warm smile at the audience. While the smiles revealed his warm, compassionate nature, they were often disconcerting. He'd be talking about nuclear war and the need for disarmament and the threat of global annihilation, and he'd smile after each sentence. In fact, inappropriate smiling can undermine your entire message. Try a little experiment. Tell someone to meet you for lunch while shaking your head "no". Your verbal and nonverbal messages conflict. Which will your listener believe? The answer is: you won't be having a companion for lunch today. When verbal and nonverbal messages conflict, we believe the nonverbal.

Another thing to keep in mind is eye contact.

a. Do look at individuals. As you gaze around the room, make eye contact with as many individuals as possible. A common myth is to pick out a friendly face and look at it. That gets weird fast. This poor person wonders why you're staring at him or her, and so does the rest of the audience. Look at a variety of individuals. Remember, you want to be a search light, not a laser beam.

b. Do establish eye contact at the end of a thought. Allen Weiner, President of Communication Development Associates, says eye contact is most effective at the end of a thought. People will nod their heads under the pressure of your gaze and that's a big plus. For example, a speaker says, "I think what we really need is a change around here". Allen explains that the "I think what we really need" is just setup. It's the "change around here" that requires the eye contact. In other words, you force people to nod when you make a point. That nodding doesn't automatically mean that they agree with you, but it subconsciously forces the audience in that direction.

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The last but not the least tip is pauses. A common mistake among inexperienced and nervous speakers is to speak without pausing. They just rush through their speeches, one thought merging into another. The audience listens to a lot of words but doesn't hear a thing. They become clogged with information. The pause is a vital part of the communication process. "It leaves time for the meaning of what's been said to sink in", explains speech guru Jim Lukuszewski. "And it clears the way for the importance of what comes next". He also notes that pausing before a change of subject, major point, or interesting fact creates an impression of confidence. Pausing also highlights the point. Lloyd Auerbach, a corporate trainer for Lexis-Nexis, as well as a professional magician, believes a pause should always precede an important point. In fact, he suggests actively looking for opportunities to build pauses into your presentation.

## **Exercise 20**

*Now write your own speech. You can choose one of the following topics, or one of your own.*

- English is the worst language to act as a world language.
- The case for being a pacifist.
- There should be no commercials promoting beer on TV.
- Cigarettes should be banned in public places.
- The vote should be given to all people from the age of 16.
- People below the age of 17 should not be admitted to university.
- Those who go in for politics should not be allowed to do business.
- All people should retire at 50.

*Deliver your speech to the class. Remember to address your audience properly and don't forget a vote of thanks at the end.*

*When you have finished, the class should take a vote to see if they support you or not!*

***Here are two examples of public speaking, which any public figure may be called upon to pronounce one day.***

***Analyze their strong points and weaknesses.***

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**SPEECH BY THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS, BARONESS SCOTLAND OF ASTHAL, TO THE LONDON CONSULAR CORPS**

Ladies and gentlemen,

Every speech that a Minister gives starts with a sincere expression of delight at having been invited. I wouldn't want to disappoint you, so let me start by saying how delighted I was to be invited to have lunch with you today. But, and I'll let you into a secret here, on this occasion that delight is genuine. I have been rather canny. I managed to get a portfolio that I really love when I first became a Minister seven months ago. And I was particularly delighted to be given the Consular portfolio. Let me explain why.

I was drawn to consular work for the same reason that I became a family lawyer. Because it is about people. Because it is about helping people, when they most need our help — when they are vulnerable, alone and have nowhere else to turn.

So I am delighted to be with you today. I am delighted to be among consuls, and full of admiration for the work they do. I am glad you are our guests in London, and hope your nationals are behaving themselves and not causing too much work for you. I also hope that you are getting the same cooperation from our authorities as we get — most of the time — from yours.

And I am glad there is clearly such a friendly consular community in London. It is natural enough that consular staff should have a lot in common. There is a spirit of shared endeavours, hardship and frustration. Because we do see people at their lowest. Our customers aren't always the people we would naturally want to help. They certainly aren't the sort of people that our diplomatic colleagues in political sections come into contact with very often.

But we soldier on, because the hallmarks of our trade are infinite patience, unlimited tact and endless creativity. So I want our staff to ask in every case "how can we possibly help?"

I want every one of our Ambassadors to feel that protecting our nationals is as much their responsibility as the consul's.

I want every distressed British national who walks through any of our consular doors around the world to be met with understanding, patience and sympathy.

All around the world, consular staff are working out more effective ways to help people. We need to share our innovations, and pool our creativity. Because unlike in some other areas of diplomacy, we are not in competition. Ours is a common mission, and should be a joint endeavour.

So the last reason I am so pleased to be with you this afternoon is because I want us to learn from you.

Now, I am conscious that consular lunches are not the occasions for lengthy speech-making. And since I stopped being a practicing lawyer I am no longer paid by the word. So I shall close, by proposing a toast.

To consuls, everywhere.

## **REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT DURING FIRST HUNDRED DAYS CONGRESSIONAL LUNCHEON RECEPTION**

### **The Rose Garden 11:45 A.M.**

Ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you all. Thank you for coming. I appreciate you bringing such nice weather. It's good to see members of my Cabinet who are here. Mr. Secretary, thank you for being here.

Today marks our hundredth day of working together for the American people. We've had some good debates. We've made some good progress. And it looks like we're going to pass some good law.

I've now met with most of you, and here's what I think. I think America is lucky to have such distinguished citizens coming to Washington to represent them. I've been impressed by the caliber of the person; I've been impressed by the conviction that you brought to the Oval Office.

Oh, I know we always don't agree. But we're beginning to get a spirit here in Washington where we're more agreeable; where we're setting a different tone. So when good folks of this coun-

try look at our nation's capital, they see something they can be proud of.

I want to thank you all very much for your service to the country. I want to thank your families for the sacrifice they make. I also want to thank you for the constructive spirit in which we've conducted the people's business. I know this, that whatever your views on a particular issue are, that we share a common goal; and that is to serve our country. And it's okay some times to share a meal, and that's why we're here.

So I want to thank you for being here. If you will join me in the East Room, I think we've got some pretty good food for you.

Thanks for your service. God bless.

11.47 A.M.

## DELIVERING SPEECHES

*Write a three-minute speech to deliver in front of the class on one of the topics offered. Make use of Oratory Techniques 1, 2, 3.*

### A.

Draft a speech for the Ambassador to give at the opening of the national film festival. In his speech the Ambassador wants to:

- 1) thank the local organizers of the festival
- 2) promote advances in your country's cinematographic achievements
- 3) suggest that cultural exchanges should be regular and not only in cinematography
- 4) suggest that cooperation of men of art is vital for facilitating better mutual understanding of the two nations
- 5) wish all those connected with the festival every success

### B.

You have been asked to give a speech at the Russian–New Zealand Trade Group dinner. The Chairperson who is a New Zealander is retiring and you wish to thank him/her for all the hard work that has been put in for the last few years. Draft your speech including the following:

- 1) the improvement in Russian-New Zealand trade contract during recent years is because of:
  - a) bilateral trade fairs
  - b) technological co-operation, resulting in technological advances for both countries
- 2) the efforts of the Chairperson to achieve these improvements
  - a) often devoting personal time — evenings, weekends
  - b) personally intervening to encourage local companies to cooperate
- 3) on personal level, Chairperson very pleasant/helpful to work with; very much enjoyed working with him/her
- 4) thank the outgoing Chairperson warmly

### C.

As a candidate for the President of the Student Union draft a speech

- 1) explain who you are
- 2) say what is wrong with the acting President
- 3) explain what reforms you are planning to introduce to improve the students' life
- 4) ask all those present to vote for you

## Workshop IV. GENUINE DEBATE

### THE POWER OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

*America may be the only surviving superpower, but Yanks still can't debate like Brits.* By Derrick Hill.

The United Kingdom and the United States may share a common political tradition and a common language — but when Americans try to speak about this political tradition, they sound illequipped. Simply put, American politicians cannot debate.

There are a handful of grand counterexamples: US President Ronald Reagan in Berlin saying “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!” or besting his political opponent with the line “there you go again”. And so on. But Mr. Reagan is an exception. President George Bush was perpetually tangled up in verb tenses the way

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President Gerald Ford was tripping over his own feet. President Bill Clinton could give an emotionally powerful speech, but it always had a forced and cloying quality to it — but he never soared to the rhetorical heights the way Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy did.

America's most recent political debates only confirm the rise of poor speakers to the highest debating stage in the USA. The problem, as with most American debates, is that candidates appear to be effective by seeming to be in command of the high moral ground. In debating terms, the debate is not exactly Socratic.

So why do debates resemble not so much a clash of intellects and ideas, but a dialogue of the deaf, with each candidate delivering prepared canned speeches and sound bites? The reason is quite straightforward: practice.

The British system makes more demands on those aspiring to high office — to become a cabinet minister if not prime minister — and among them is the ability to put an argument forcefully and the ability to think on one's feet.

And the House of Commons, for all the changes it has undergone in recent decades, is still the area that both tests and refines the ability to speak and debate.

Every new member of Parliament sets off for Westminster nurturing a hope to be prime minister. The Commons chamber is the cockpit that establishes whether he has the right stuff to rise in British politics.

Those, who can command the attention and respect of the House of Commons through their debating skills, are almost unvaryingly marked for promotion by their appropriate party managers. Those less gifted in speech are left on the back benches. The British political system actually puts a premium on public speaking ability, while the American system rewards mediocre speakers who know how to skillfully cut deals in caucus rooms.

But even these days, when television increasingly undermines the House of Commons' once pre-eminent position in British political life, debating skill is vital. News of debating success

may make fewer column inches in the press than previously, but a party leader who scores in debate cheers up the parliamentary troops. Conversely, one who is consistently bested is likely to have only a demoralized and restive force at his back. Indeed, the only bright spot for the Tories was Mr. Hague's ability to discomfit Mr. Blair regularly in their once-weekly joust at prime minister's question time.

Of course, Mr. Hague is a man who made headlines as a precocious 16-year-old for a sickeningly well-assured and rousing speech from the floor of the Conservative Party's annual conference. Soon after, he went to Oxford University, where, inevitably, he joined one of the two great elite houses of political debating skill in Britain, the Oxford Union. The other is its Cambridge equivalent, the Cambridge Union.

Successive generations of British cabinet ministers have had their first real training as debaters in one or the other. Indeed, such an apprenticeship has long been considered a requirement for any undergraduate with political ambitions.

Another factor that keeps the spirit of political debate more vibrant on this side of the Atlantic is the aggressive interviewing techniques of broadcast journalists. All the leading news and current affairs programs boast rottweiler-like interrogators, for whom roughing up politicians has become a veritable sport. Ministers and senior opposition politicians who venture before a mike or camera know they are in for a hard time and need to be at their argumentative best if they are to escape with dignity and reputation intact.

Genuine debate remains an inextricable part of a politician's life, in a way that is no longer seen in the USA — particularly in a forum like the US Senate, where the urge to find consensus is markedly more pronounced than in the British House of Commons.

So the British remain the best English-speaking debaters. But for how much longer? British politicians, too, prefer the sound bite to genuine argument — they are easier and less nerve-racking, after all, than the cut and thrust of debate. Meanwhile, the importance of the House of Commons is diminishing rapidly as

Westminster loses power to Brussels. So if you want real political debate by all means look to Britain. But you had better be quick.

*Mr. Hill is a leader writer for the Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday in London.  
Taken from the Wall Street Journal*

**Tasks to the text:**

1. The text mentions many American Presidents of different historical periods. Prepare a political profile of one.
2. Explain the difference between “*a minister*”, “*a cabinet minister*”, and “*prime minister*”.

**Exercise 21**

*Interpret the following lines and answer the questions.*

1. “Ronald Reagan... besting his political opponent with the line “*there you go again*”. What does the phrase mean? Why did it help Ronald Reagan to best his opponent?”
2. “In debating terms, the debate is not exactly *Socratic*”. Who is Socrates? What are the characteristic features of Socratic debate?”
3. “The Commons chamber is the *cockpit* that establishes whether he has the right stuff *to rise* in British politics”. What kind of metaphor does the author create using the words “cockpit” and “rise”?”
4. “A party leader who scores in debate cheers up *parliamentary troops*”. What does the military term mean in this context?”
5. “Indeed, the only bright spot for the Tories was Mr. Hague’s ability to *discomfit* Mr. Blair regularly at their once-weekly *jousts at prime minister’s question time*”. What is the prime minister’s question time? What does the author refer to as “jousts”? How does the choice of the word characterize the attitude of the author to both people? What did Mr. Hague do to discomfit Mr. Blair?”

6. "All the leading news and current affairs programs boast *rottweiler-like interrogators*, for whom *roughing up* politicians has become *a veritable sport*". Who does the author mean by "rottweiler-like interrogators"? Can you explain his comparison? What do those people do when they are roughing up politicians? Why do they look upon the activity as sport?
7. "The importance of the House of Commons is diminishing rapidly as *Westminster loses power to Brussels*". What does the author mean by this remark?
8. How long is a decade? An inch? A foot? A yard? A mile?

## Exercise 22

*Translate the following sentences into Russian, paying attention to the underlined parts.*

1. So why do debates resemble not so much a clash of intellects and ideas, but a dialogue of the deaf, with each candidate delivering prepared canned speeches and sound bites?
2. And the House of Commons, for all the changes it has undergone in recent decades, is still the area that both tests and refines the ability to speak and debate.
3. Ministers and senior opposition politicians who venture before a mike or camera know they are in for a hard time and need to be at their argumentative best if they are to escape with dignity and reputation intact.

### *Questions for discussion:*

1. Do you agree with the author's explanation of the reason why debates resemble "a dialogue of the deaf" rather than "a clash of intellects"? Can you think of any other reasons?
2. Why does "being in command of high moral ground" help candidates during debates?
3. How important is the skill of public speaking in a political career?  
Does the Russian political system put any premium on public speaking ability? Why? / Why not?
4. Have you joined a debating club yet?

5. Is the author impartial or biased in his judgement of the debating skills of the British and the Americans? Do you agree with his point of view?

### **Exercise 23**

*Write a summary of the text.*

### **Exercise 24**

*Define the following words in English:*

- 1) mediocre
- 2) caucus rooms
- 3) joust
- 4) consensus
- 5) apprenticeship
- 6) forum

### **Exercise 25**

*Find the English equivalents for the following Russian words and phrases:*

- 1) быстро соображать
- 2) питать, лелеять надежду
- 3) иметь необходимые качества
- 4) смущать кого-либо, доставлять неудобства
- 5) с достоинством выйти из трудной ситуации
- 6) сохранить репутацию безупречной

### **Exercise 26**

*Give the Russian equivalents for the following word combinations and recall how they are used in the text:*

- 1) to soar to the rhetorical heights
- 2) to be in command of the high moral ground
- 3) to best one's political opponent

- 4) clash of intellects and ideas
- 5) to deliver prepared canned speeches
- 6) to aspire to high office
- 7) to test and refine the ability to speak and debate
- 8) to rise in politics
- 9) to command the attention and respect of
- 10) to put a premium on public speaking ability
- 11) rousing speech

*Use the above combinations in the following sentences.*

1. The speakers and candidates in the USA should be in \_\_\_\_\_ if they are to \_\_\_\_\_ in politics.
2. The ability to deliver \_\_\_\_\_ rather than \_\_\_\_\_ speeches is practically lost nowadays.
3. Recent US presidents with few exceptions never \_\_\_\_\_ heights. US President Ronald Reagan gifted in speech could \_\_\_\_\_ of his audience. But all the rest who \_\_\_\_\_ office — to become a cabinet minister or prime minister — failed to have a fingerprint in American political debate.
4. Though the United Kingdom and United States share a common political tradition the UK \_\_\_\_\_ speaking ability while the US rewards skillful dealers of non-Socratic type.
5. MPs have a possibility to test and \_\_\_\_\_ to speak and debate, nurturing a hope to \_\_\_\_\_ in British politics.
6. Modern debate is no longer a \_\_\_\_\_ but an unemotional exchange of opinions between the opponents.
7. Among the demands made by the British system on politicians is the ability to put an argument forcefully to \_\_\_\_\_ opponent and the ability to \_\_\_\_\_ speeches to \_\_\_\_\_ and admiration of an audience.
8. A party leader who is able \_\_\_\_\_ opponent cheers up his fellow-MPs, and the one who fails \_\_\_\_\_ heights is likely to discourage his party members.
9. It is the House of Commons that is still the area that puts \_\_\_\_\_ ability.

## Exercise 27

*Look at the ways of saying that something increases*

1. gradually over a period of time: **to rise, to go up, to grow**
2. greatly: **to multiply** — to increase greatly in number  
**to double** — to become twice as much/many  
**to proliferate** — to increase quickly in the number of examples of smth
3. very quickly or suddenly: **to soar, to rocket, to spiral** (uncontrollably)

*Now use the verbs mentioned above in the following sentences.*

1. Income tax is due to \_\_\_\_\_ from 20 percent to 25 percent.
2. New public libraries have \_\_\_\_\_ in the UK, the USA and elsewhere.
3. Opportunities for crime have \_\_\_\_\_ in recent years.
4. Industrial unemployment \_\_\_\_\_ to 40 percent.
5. The divorce rate has \_\_\_\_\_ steadily since the 1950s.
6. Gold prices have \_\_\_\_\_ to their highest level since 1983.
7. The population is expected to \_\_\_\_\_ by 20 percent in the next ten years.
8. The country was close to economic collapse as inflation \_\_\_\_\_ out of control.
9. The actual number of women managers in major banks \_\_\_\_\_ from 104 to 208.

## Exercise 28

*Look up the following verbs in the dictionary and study the difference between them. Then do the exercise, using the verbs in the correct form.*

**to rise / to raise / to arise / to arouse / to rouse**

1. People's hopes \_\_\_\_\_ by a report that peace talks had begun.
2. The whole audience \_\_\_\_\_ to cheer the speaker.

3. The speaker tried \_\_\_\_\_ the listeners from their apathy.
4. The journalist's long absence \_\_\_\_\_ doubts about his safety.
5. A serious problem \_\_\_\_\_ which will take time to solve.
6. He eventually \_\_\_\_\_ to an important position in the firm.
7. When the management \_\_\_\_\_ ticket prices, attendance dropped.
8. The rival didn't want \_\_\_\_\_ their suspicions that he might be interested in taking over the business.
9. Spending on education \_\_\_\_\_ by about 4 billion since the government came into power.
10. The head of the expedition \_\_\_\_\_ the travelers at six in the morning to set out in search of the settlement.
11. The number of people out of work \_\_\_\_\_ lately.
12. The resignation of the president is certain \_\_\_\_\_ fears about the future of the country.
13. Increased Sales Tax \_\_\_\_\_ prices all around.
14. The prime minister's remarks \_\_\_\_\_ expectations of tax cuts.

## Exercise 29

*Study the following derivatives and complete each sentence with the correct form of the words.*

**to politicize — politics — policy — politician — political — politic — politically**

1. Even the most resolutely untheoretical parties, movements and \_\_\_\_\_ reflect concepts, assumptions and principles.
2. The public servant decided it would be \_\_\_\_\_ to agree with his boss on every point.
3. The relationship between \_\_\_\_\_ ideas and public \_\_\_\_\_ is complex and often two-way.

4. Market research was employed to enable \_\_\_\_\_ parties to deliver what the voters wanted.
5. The \_\_\_\_\_ of privatization pursued by the Thatcher governments clearly reflected a belief in the virtues of the free market.
6. Modern \_\_\_\_\_ has often seemed to reflect the ideas of leading economists rather than \_\_\_\_\_ thinkers.
7. The ideas that influence public \_\_\_\_\_ are not just the ideas of leading \_\_\_\_\_.
8. Criticizing the activities of the organization soon became \_\_\_\_\_ unacceptable.
9. How to solve this problem is still a matter for debate, however, it should not \_\_\_\_\_ too much.

### Exercise 30

*Fill each of the blanks with a word from the list, putting the verbs into the correct tenses.*

prosperity (2)		to drop
idealism	opportunity	to raise
concerns	rise	to rise
service	tolerance	to diminish
persuasion	trust	to stand
eloquence	literacy	to provide
ethics		to pursue

### George Bush's Nomination Acceptance Speech

It seems to me the presidency I \_\_\_\_\_ an incomparable 2 \_\_\_\_\_ for "gentle 3 \_\_\_\_\_".

I hope to 4 \_\_\_\_\_ for a new harmony, a greater 5 \_\_\_\_\_. We've come far, but I think we need a new harmony among the races in our country. We're on a journey to a new century...

Some people who are enjoying our 6 \_\_\_\_\_ have forgotten what it's for. But they 7 \_\_\_\_\_ our triumph when

they act as if wealth is an end in itself. There are those who  
8 \_\_\_\_\_ their standards along the way, as if 9 \_\_\_\_\_  
were too heavy and slowed their 10 \_\_\_\_\_ to the top...

But you see, I believe public 11 \_\_\_\_\_ is honourable.  
And every time I hear that someone has breached the public  
12 \_\_\_\_\_ it breaks my heart. I wonder sometimes if we  
have forgotten who we are. But we're the people who sundered  
(разделять) a nation rather than allow a sin called slavery —  
we're the people who 13 \_\_\_\_\_ from the ghettos and the  
deserts...

The fact is, 14 \_\_\_\_\_ has a purpose. It is to allow us  
15 \_\_\_\_\_ "the better angels" to give us time to think and  
grow. It means taking your 16 \_\_\_\_\_ and making it con-  
crete by certain acts of goodness. It means helping a child from  
an unhappy home learn to read — and I thank my wife Barbara  
for all her work in 17 \_\_\_\_\_...

I learned early that 18 \_\_\_\_\_ won't draw oil from the  
ground. I may sometimes be little awkward, but there's nothing  
self-conscious in my love of country. I am a quiet man — but  
I hear the quite people others don't. The ones who 19 \_\_\_\_\_  
the family, pay the taxes, meet the mortgage. I hear them and  
I am moved, and their 20 \_\_\_\_\_ are mine.

## Exercise 31

*Translate the sentences into English using the active vocabulary.*

1. Соперник не хотел возбуждать каких-либо подозрений относительно искренности своих намерений.
2. Политика приватизации, проводимая правительством, отражала общий курс на рыночную экономику.
3. Оратор произнес воодушевляющую речь и заслужил бурю аплодисментов.
4. Именно в парламенте Великобритании политики испытывают и совершенствуют свои способности выступать и дебатировать.

5. Умело подготовленное выступление оратора, содержащее шутки и остроумные замечания, вызвало уважение и восхищение слушателей.
6. Прорывающаяся коррупция и взяточничество в подвластном ему регионе помешали губернатору сохранить свою репутацию безупречной.

## Exercise 32

*Translate the texts into English using the active vocabulary. Use inversion where possible.*

A.

Если вы хотите услышать настоящие, а не посредственные политические дебаты, подлинные шедевры ораторского искусства, а не заранее подготовленные речи, стать свидетелями столкновений умов и идей, обратите свой взор к Великобритании и наблюдайте истинно рыцарские поединки между политиками. Именно политическая система Великобритании поощряет способности к публичным выступлениям. Именно в парламенте Великобритании каждый депутат делает надежду прославиться и подняться в политике.

Чтобы одержать верх над противником, английский политик должен иметь необходимые качества для искусного ведения дебатов, уметь соображать на ходу, знать, как смутить оппонента и как самому с достоинством выйти из затруднения, сохранив репутацию незапятнанной. Поэтому ему необходимо постоянно подвергать испытанию и совершенствовать свои способности выступать и дебатировать, чтобы в спорах найти истину, позволяющую прийти к единому мнению.

B.

Оратору с самого начала удается завладеть вниманием аудитории. Он мало касается холодных, материальных фактов. Не на них расцветает красноречие. Этот оратор стремится произнести воодушевляющую речь, создать подъем, затронуть сердца, зажечь чувства. И вот в заключение он

переходит к вопросам, вызывающим эмоции. Взлетая к высотам риторики, он превозносит Филадельфию как «подлинную колыбель американской свободы». Свобода! Волшебное слово, слово, полное чувства, слово, за которое миллионы людей отдали свои жизни. Эта фраза хороша сама по себе, но она делается в тысячу раз лучше, когда оратор подкрепляет ее конкретными ссылками на исторические события и документы, вызывая уважение и восхищение своих слушателей.

Но как ни хороша речь с точки зрения композиции, она все же могла не произвести никакого впечатления, если бы она была произнесена равнодушно, без воодушевления, вяло и если бы оратор не пользовался высокой моральной репутацией. Но он произнес ее так же, как он ее построил, — с чувством и подъемом, порожденными глубочайшей искренностью. И не должно удивлять то, что именно он заслужил больше всех аплодисментов и получил первую премию.

### Exercise 33

*Render the following passage into English using the prompts in brackets.*

#### ЧЕСТНОЕ ЛЕНИНСКОЕ

##### Апология (in support of) политического косноязычия

Сегодня в отечественной публичной политике доминируют (prevail) два типа красноречия (eloquence), восходящие, (trace to, ascend to) соответственно, к ленинской и сталинской манерам. Исключения редки. Борис Немцов — один из российских политиков, способный (master the skill) выступать на публике. Поэтому он так выигрывает на фоне прочих: они большей частью либо ригористичны (rigorous), как Явлинский, либо простецко-невняты (gambling), как Черномырдин. На первый взгляд, массовое косноязычие (verbal clumsiness) наших лидеров — факт огорчительный. Но наиболее успешные отечественные политические ораторы XX века — Ленин и Сталин — принесли стране и ее гражда-

нам ни с чем не сравнимый вред (to do irreparable harm). Поэтому сегодня те, кто способен «говорить красиво» (talk glibly), в частности Жириновский и Лукашенко, уже самой этой способностью вызывают сомнения.

В Ленинс впервые в XX веке, и с ослепительной яркостью, воплотился (to embody the type brilliantly) особый тип харизматического вождя.

Собственно, понаблюдав за Жириновским, можно сделать кое-какие выводы касательно природы ленинской способности увлекать толпу (inspire and captivate) и воздействовать на людей. Первое свойство лидеров этого типа есть мощная интуитивная способность сообщать (convey the messages) аудитории именно то, что она желает слышать в данный момент. Второе, не менее важное — умение не слышать ничего, что данный оратор не мог бы немедленно использовать к своей выгоде (use to one's advantage). Скандал, включающий в себя определенные недопустимые действия — выплескивание (to hurl smth at one's antagonist) сока в лицо оппонента, с оскорбительными выкриками — есть самая благоприятная среда (a blessing) для политиков ленинского типа. Там, где обыкновенный человек, привыкший соблюдать какие-то нормы поведения, теряется (be at a loss), шизоидный полемист только и обретает почву под ногами (be at ease). Секрет ленинского воздействия на людей заключался в безоглядном, безумном напоре (crazy onslaught upon), в отсутствии сдерживающих факторов.

На роли российского диктатора Ленина сменил (follow) Сталин — лидер противоположного типа. Сталин выдавал афоризмы, завораживая (mesmerize) собеседников тяжелой семинаристской лаконичностью (Clumsy scholastic short-cut phrases). Бессмысленность фраз вроде «жить стало лучше, жить стало веселей» не могла быть замечена (register). Величие контекста (dominate) было таково, что текст обретал сакральную силу (a sacred power).

В советской, а затем российской публичной политике возобладала (gained the upper hand) сталинская школа. Самым ярким носителем (graphic embodiment) сталинской ора-

торской стилистики являлся Александр Лебедь: долгие паузы, рубленые фразы (*clipped sentences*), своеобразная неповоротливость интонаций. По идее, такая манера общения должна создавать у собеседника ощущение, что говорящий вещает с высот (*beyond the reach*), простому смертному (*an ordinary mortal*) заведомо недоступных.

Так или иначе, ленинский энтузиазм до Жириновского не наследовал никто из заметных действующих лиц российского политического спектакля. К счастью для нас, Жириновский, в отличие от Ленина, оказался не бескорыстен и не лишен обычных человеческих потребностей, желаний (*vices and desires*) и, соответственно (*which go hand in hand with*), слабостей.

Можно, конечно, сетовать (*regret*) на то, что нынешние лидеры России косноязычны (*tongue-tied*), не способны увлечь массы, как-то чересчур заурядны (*mediocre*). Но разумней порадоваться их обыкновенности и отсутствию у них артистической одаренности (*gift of the gab*): может быть, на этот раз удастся обойтись без приключений, в которые ввергли страну одержимые пассионарии (*charismatic leader*) и даровитейший из них — Ленин.

## Exercise 34

*Study the following idioms and make up your own sentences with them.*

- 1) to have cold feet — to hesitate because of fear or uncertainty  
He was all set to join the paratroops, but at the last moment he got cold feet.
- 2) to keep the pot boiling — to see that interest doesn't die down  
The writer kept the pot boiling by ending each chapter on a note of uncertainty and suspense.
- 3) to steal one's thunder — to weaken one's positions by stating the argument before that person does  
I had planned to be the first to resign from the association, but my friend stole my thunder.

4) to wash dirty linen in public — to openly discuss private affairs

“Let’s talk about it privately”, his opponent said, “rather than wash our dirty linen in public”.

*Make up a situation with the idioms using the active vocabulary of the unit.*

*Despite all criticism aimed at the inability of many contemporary American politicians to rouse the soul, the American political history can boast a few speeches that have survived decades and even centuries.*

### THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS ABRAHAM LINCOLN

*With the possible exception of the Declaration of Independence, no document in American history is as famous as Lincoln’s speech dedicating the national cemetery at Gettysburg. The battle of Gettysburg was fought in the rolling countryside of southeastern Pennsylvania during the first three days of July 1863. We now know that it was the turning point of the American Civil War. Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865), one of the most beloved of all presidents, delivered his now famous speech at the Gettysburg battlefield on November 19, 1863. Since then millions of Americans have memorized it, countless others have quoted it or imitated its rhetoric for their own various purposes. It is illuminating to look again at the familiar words with their original context in mind to see how they served Lincoln’s purpose, his sense of the occasion, and his larger sense of the nation’s history and destiny.*

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place

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for those who here gave their lives so that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work, which they who fought here have thus so far nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolved that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that **government of the people, by the people, for the people**, shall not perish from the earth.

*Questions for study and discussion:*

1. To what issue of the Civil War is Lincoln referring in his two opening sentences?
2. What specifically did the country's founders do 87 years before the Gettysburg Address? What purpose is served by linking the Civil War with the acts and intentions of the founders of the USA?
3. Lincoln's diction in the opening paragraph is calculated to achieve a certain effect on the listeners or readers. Discuss the nature of this effect by comparing the opening paragraph to the following one: "Eighty seven years ago our ancestors formed a new North American nation based on liberty and the idea that all men are created equal".
4. In the first sentence of p.3 Lincoln uses the words DEDICATE, CONSECRATE, HALLOW. Why do you think Lincoln placed them in this particular order? In your opinion, why has the Gettysburg Address endured? What about this speech that makes it live on in the collective American memory? What relevance does it have in the new millennium?

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JOHN F. KENNEDY

*John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917–1963), the thirty-fifth president of the USA, was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. Kennedy, the youngest man ever elected president, was known both for the youthful and hopeful image he brought to the White House and for the eloquence of his speeches. In his inaugural address Kennedy used powerful rhetoric to urge people both to become involved in their country's affairs and to join the fight against the spread of communism.*

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom, symbolizing an end as well as a beginning, signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary belief for which our forebears fought is still at issue around the globe, the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans, born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge — and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do, for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom, and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period required, not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge: to convert our good words into good deeds, in a new alliance for progress, to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. Let all our neighbours know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support: to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective, to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak, and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course — both sides over-burdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew, remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belabouring those problems, which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms, and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah to "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free". And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again — not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are; but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”, a struggle against the common enemies of men: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility; I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it, and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world, ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history that final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God’s work must truly be our own.

### *Questions for study and discussion:*

1. Kennedy’s second paragraph begins with the statement, “The world is very different now”. How does Kennedy intend this remark?
2. The president’s speech makes promises to several groups, not only the citizens of the USA, but to groups outside the country as well. Is it clear which groups Kennedy means? See if you can identify a few of these groups; then explain what Kennedy gains by not “naming names”.

3. Give several examples of parallel structures used by Kennedy. Does this rhetorical device add to the strength of the speech?
4. In paragraph 22 Kennedy asks two rhetorical questions. What is the purpose of asking these questions?
5. In paragraph 7, what figure of speech does Kennedy use? What does it mean? Why do you suppose he uses it?
6. In his speech, Kennedy addresses other nations. How would you characterize his tone in addressing each group? Why do you suppose he changes his tone in this way?

### Exercise 35

*Both Lincoln and Kennedy were presidents renowned for the eloquence, simplicity, and brevity of their speeches. Write an essay in which you compare and contrast Lincoln's Gettysburg Address with Kennedy's Inaugural Address.*

## ► WRITING

### Exercise 36

*Write paragraphs to comment on the following quotations.*

1. True eloquence consists in saying all that should be said, and that only.

*Francois De La Rochefoucauld*

2. I sometimes marvel at the extraordinary docility with which Americans submit to speeches.

*Adlai Stevenson*

3. What orators lack in depth they make up to you in length.

*Baron de Montesquieu.*

### Exercise 37

*Write an essay on one of the following subjects.*

1. If you haven't struck oil in your first three minutes, stop boring!

*George Jessel*

2. A thing said walks in immortality if it has been said well.

*Peter Pindar*

3. Nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm.

*Ralph Waldo Emerson*

## Workshop V. VOCABULARY PRACTICE

### Exercise 38

Complete the text bearing in mind all the studied words. The first letters of the necessary words are given to help you.

#### SCHOOLBOY POLITICS

##### *Bush hits the wrong note at the UN*

As his 80 % job a \_\_\_\_\_ ratings continue to show, George Bush knows how to talk to Americans. Two months after the t \_\_\_\_\_ attacks, most Americans still want their president to tell them that they are the world's good guys, and Mr Bush is not the kind of man to want to d \_\_\_\_\_ them on that, as last week's Atlanta s \_\_\_\_\_ proved. But Mr Bush and his s \_\_\_\_\_ are far less e \_\_\_\_\_ talking to the rest of the world, as the president's weekend s \_\_\_\_\_ to the UN General Assembly showed.

Mr Bush a \_\_\_\_\_ the nations of the world as though they were a bunch of disobedient schoolkids. The time for a \_\_\_\_\_ had arrived. Leaders around the world "must now carefully consider their r \_\_\_\_\_ and their future". Every regime that s \_\_\_\_\_ terrorism would have to pay a price. There could be no exceptions to this comprehensive c \_\_\_\_\_. It was time for the United Nations to prove itself.

It doubtless went down well with the US television a \_\_\_\_\_. But Mr Bush said almost nothing about any of the other i \_\_\_\_\_ that actively matter to the rest of the world. Nothing about p \_\_\_\_\_ and d \_\_\_\_\_. Nothing about the n \_\_\_\_\_ weapons or the a \_\_\_\_\_ trade. Nothing about g \_\_\_\_\_ w \_\_\_\_\_. There was a brief r \_\_\_\_\_ in favour

of combating Aids and not much more than a passing r \_\_\_\_\_ to the Middle East. Frankly, it was all a bit rich.

Mr Bush was right to call on all nations to s \_\_\_\_\_ the US against the t \_\_\_\_\_ threat. But to talk as though this is the unique i \_\_\_\_\_ of importance in the world, or as though everyone needs to change except the United States, was both insulting and alarming. It is insulting because Mr Bush l \_\_\_\_\_ a party and a n \_\_\_\_\_ that until September 11 have been cavalier, to put it mildly, in its s \_\_\_\_\_ for the UN, for m \_\_\_\_\_ agreements and even, in some perspectives, for the fight against terrorism. It was alarming because, beneath its apparent multilateralist shell, Mr Bush's s \_\_\_\_\_ was still conspicuously unr \_\_\_\_\_ to any agenda other than that of the US itself.

There have been suggestions that September 11 may d \_\_\_\_\_ Bush to a more m \_\_\_\_\_ path. The UN speech r \_\_\_\_\_ big doubts about that. It was undoubtedly d \_\_\_\_\_ from the one the president would have d \_\_\_\_\_ if America had not been attacked. But it was not the speech of a l \_\_\_\_\_ who appears willing to e \_\_\_\_\_ with the world, except when it a \_\_\_\_\_ his own interests. Perhaps that was why Mr Bush's s \_\_\_\_\_ was heard, until the end, in silence.

### Exercise 39

*Translate the words in brackets into English.*

#### A POLITICAL SHOW

There are few forms of entertainment more enjoyable than watching (как речистый политик баллотируется на пост). Most (политики произносят заранее подготовленные речи. касающиеся основных вопросов) of the day. They can maintain a (пылкий поток риторики) for hours at a time. In each locality where he is to (обратиться с речью к аудитории), the advance work is prepared by a clique of (надежные помощники). In preparation for the (выступление), they have (распространить) leaflets, put up posters and send out cars and trucks with loudspeakers.

ers to (превозносить красноречивые качества своего кандидата). Soon the crowd gathers to (услышать, как выступающий взлетает к высотам риторики). (Верные партийные функционеры) come forward to shake the hand of their mentor. Now with the (поспешные решения сложных проблем) carefully memorized, he is ready to (произнести воодушевляющую речь). One moment (шутливый), the next moment (проникновенный), the candidate works to convince the incredulous among the voters.

## Exercise 40

*Translate into English.*

### Как строили свои речи знаменитые люди

Бывший сенатор Альберт Дж. Беверидж написал небольшую, очень полезную книжку, озаглавленную «Искусство говорить публично».

«Оратор должен владеть темой, — пишет этот заслуженный политический деятель. — Это означает, что все факты должны быть собраны, систематизированы, изучены, переварены, причем они должны освещать явление не только с одной стороны, а со всех сторон. Надо быть уверенным в том, что это действительно факты, а не предположения или недосказанные утверждения. Ничего не принимайте на веру.

Поэтому надо проверять и уточнять все данные. Это, безусловно, означает необходимость тщательной исследовательской работы, ну и что из того? Разве вы не намерены информировать, обучать своих сограждан, давать им советы? Разве вы не хотите стать авторитетом?

Собрав и осмыслив факты по тому или иному вопросу, решите для себя, на какой вывод они наталкивают. Тогда ваша речь приобретет оригинальность и силу воздействия — она будет энергичной и неотразимо убедительной. В ней будет отражена ваша личность. Затем изложите свои мысли письменно как можно яснее и логичнее».

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**► Word List V**

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apprenticeship  
to aspire to high office  
to best an opponent

to command the attention  
to convalesce

climax

caucus rooms

a clash of intellects

to disseminate

to disjoin

to discomfit

to deliver canned speeches

to degenerate into

to engage an audience

to escape with dignity

to evince

epidemic

elocution

enslaved to

eloquence

ex officio

to flourish

forum

gracious wit

to give an address

genuine

to heckle

to have the right stuff to

illiteracy

intact reputation

intercourse

in command of the high moral  
ground

to invert

joust

to jeer at

to judge

junior

lamentable at

mediocre

to nurture a hope

no good at

oratory

propriety

to politicize

public speaking

to put a premium on

qualms

rousing speech

to rise in politics

ripple of laughter

to refine

to reassert

rhetoric

to soar to the rhetorical heights

trite words

to think on one's feet

to test the ability

veritable

## Unit VI. LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP

### Lead-in

#### THE POLITICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

*Think of three most important qualities to describe political leaders whose work you think much of.*

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

*Think of three most shameful qualities to describe political leaders whose work you disapprove of.*

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Compare your list with those of other people in your group. Explain to others why you have listed the qualities in a particular sequence. If your lists differ much, try to negotiate a consensus list positioning the positive and negative qualities from the most important to the least important.

Translate into Russian the following definition of leadership given by the Penguin Dictionary of Politics by David Robertson, 1993.

**Leadership** is a quality, which in theory signifies the ability of a person or a group of people to persuade others to act by inspiring them and making them believe that a proposed course of action is the correct one.

**Political leadership** is generally thought to be a desirable property, except when a leader becomes too conscious of his or her position and refuses to acknowledge their **accountability** to the rank and file of their party or to their electorate. Leadership may, in certain romantic or fascist philosophies, take on a special role, but in normal democratic politics it is seen as a routine feature of the political process.

*What qualities usually contribute to success in a political career? Do they show on your consensus list?*

## Workshop I. TYPES OF LEADERS

*Now read the article below and compare the results of your discussion with the following point of view.*

### IF YOU'RE A LIAR, A BULLY OR A CHEAT, THEN YOU TOO COULD BE A GREAT WORLD LEADER

Tracy McVeigh, the *Observer*

If you want to get ahead, be egotistical, stubborn and disagreeable. And a bit of untidiness will help too.

At work look out for the people with the messy desks and the reputation for being underhand and manipulative, the bullying ones who never listen to your advice, and the colleague who tells blatant lies. They are the ones destined to triumph.

These are the findings of an in-depth exploration of greatness which reveals that a person's personality type is a clear indicator of success.

The research presented yesterday to the American Psychological Association conference in Washington, examined the traits of the most successful men in the US history — all 41 Presidents — and compared them to more average individuals.

The truth is that being nice gets you nowhere — not to the White House or Number 10 or even on to a parish council.

The researchers discovered that the great Presidents were low on straightforwardness, vulnerability and order. "The very characteristics which mark people out as an unattractive choice as a spouse or a neighbour make them successful as leaders", said Rubenzer. "One real surprise was that people who are a little disorganized do a bit better. Abraham Lincoln was notoriously untidy, and it certainly seems to be an asset".

The psychologists asked 100 biographers and historians to help them fill in questionnaires and then scored them on different characteristics. Forcefulness, the willingness to flatter and manipulate, egotism and assertiveness all seemed to help push Presidents up the ladder of greatness.

Rubenzler and his team believe that the same applies to success in all walks of life. The completed personality profiles showed strong links between the characters of the great, and common traits among the bad.

“As far as UK goes, Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher fit right into our model. Stubborn, assertive and socially often obnoxious — just the right stuff to make them great figures in history. This research can equally be applied as a measure of who will succeed in the world of business and the workplace”, said Rubenzler.

The team further categorized the Presidents into eight personality types — innocents, autocrats, good guys, introverts, actors, philosophers, extroverts and maintainers. **Innocents**: too nice for their own good, these people make it to the top through a fluke. In Britain John Major and the late Alec Douglas-Home, a Tory Prime Minister in the sixties, are in this category. **Autocrats**: the disagreeable, bossy bullies. Using the rules applied by the researchers, Margaret Thatcher, Winston Churchill and the US Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Richard Nixon are in this group. **Introverts**: erratic, anxious and tense, like British PMs Ramsey MacDonald and Anthony Eden, and US President Herbert Hoover. **Extroverts**: publicity-hungry, assertive, dominant, but somehow low on organizational skills. Bill Clinton — destined for the history books if only for his sex life, say researchers — and Tony Blair are examples. **Actors**: similar to extroverts but less open. They have low concentration. Ronald Reagan and Harold Macmillan are examples. **Philosophers**: their interests are wide and they are not afraid of change — like Clement Attlee, Labour’s post-war election victor. **Maintainers**: traditional, holding family values and not open to new experiences. George Bush and Harry Truman are in this group.

### Notes:

1. Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) — a US politician in the Republican Party who was President of the US from 1861–1865. He spoke against slavery, which made him unpopular in the Southern states, where

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slaves did most of the farm work. The American Civil War started soon after he became President, when the Southern States decided to leave the US. He also gave a famous speech known as the Gettysburg Address in 1863. After the war he was shot in a theatre by an actor called John W. Booth. He is one of the greatest US presidents and was sometimes called “Honest Abe” because everyone admired his honesty;

2. Margaret Thatcher (1925) — a British politician in the Conservative Party, sometimes called Maggie in the newspapers. She became leader of her party in 1975, and in 1979 became the UK’s first woman Prime Minister, a position she held until 1990. Her ideas, which have become known as Thatcherism, have influenced politicians in other countries. Politics in the UK became much more right-wing under her leadership, she reduced taxes, took away power from trade unions, started a programme of privatization. She was seen as a strong and determined leader and was sometimes called “the Iron Lady”;
3. John Major (1943) — a British politician in the Conservative Party, who became PM when Margaret Thatcher was forced to leave this position in 1990, and was elected again in 1992. During his period as leader he had the difficult job of trying to settle disagreements in his party about the UK’s position in the EU. He is thought by many people as a pleasant man, but rather “grey” (= boring) and not a strong leader;
4. Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) — a US politician in the Republican Party who was US President from 1901 to 1909. He became famous during the Spanish-Ame-

- rican War of 1898, when he formed a group of soldiers called the “Rough Riders” in Cuba. He is remembered for having a large moustache and for saying things were “bully” when he liked them. He described US foreign policy using the phrase “Speak softly and carry a big stick”. He was informally called Teddy Roosevelt;
5. Richard Nixon (1913–1994) — a US politician in the Republican Party who was President of the US from 1969 to 1974. He helped to end the Vietnam War and improved the US’s political relationship with China. He is most famous for being involved in Watergate. He was thought to be dishonest and was sometimes called “Tricky Dicky”;
  6. Ramsey Macdonald (1866–1937) — a British politician in the Labour Party, who became the first Labour PM in 1924. He was later PM of a “National Government” during the period of economic difficulty and high unemployment of the 1930s;
  7. Sir Anthony Eden (1897–1977) — a British politician in the Conservative Party, who was PM from 1955–1957. He gave up this position after the Suez Crisis;
  8. Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) — a US politician in the Republican Party who was the President of the US from 1929 to 1933, during the first years of the Great Depression;
  9. Ronald Reagan (1911) — a US politician in the Republican Party who was President of the US from 1981 to 1989. He is remembered for reducing taxes, increasing military spending, and improving the US’s relations with the USSR. He was known as “The Great Communicator” because of his ability to make speeches in a way that made people trust him. Before his presidency he was a film actor;

10. Harold Macmillan (1894–1986) — a British politician in the Conservative Party, who was PM from 1957–1963. He made two expressions popular in the UK, when he told people “You’ve never had it so good”, meaning that they had a better life than ever, and when he talked about “the winds of change” blowing though Africa, meaning that African countries were becoming independent;
11. Attlee Clement (1883–1967) — a British politician in the Labour Party who was PM from 1945 to 1951. His government established the UK’s National Health Service and the modern welfare state;
12. George Bush (1924) — the 41st President of the USA from 1989–1993. He is remembered for promising before the election that he would not increase taxes and saying “Read my lips — no new taxes”. But after he became President, he increased some taxes;
13. Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) — a US politician in the Democratic Party who was President of the US from 1945 to 1953. He took the decision to drop nuclear bombs on Japan in 1945, and helped to establish NATO. He also organized the Marshall Plan, and began US involvement in the Korean War 1950

***Discussion questions and tasks:***

1. What do you know about Winston Churchill, Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, George W. Bush?
2. Do you think a similar list of categories can be used to describe Russian political leaders? If so, think of at least two names to fill in each of the categories. Discuss your list with another student in your group.
3. What inferences can be made on the basis of the text about the positive qualities, which distinguish the world leaders?

## Exercise 1

Look up adjectives and participles for the following verbs: *to agree, to attract, to tidy, to manipulate, to organize, to dominate*.

Use them in sentences of your own.

## Exercise 2

Match the English adjectives with their Russian equivalents.

- |                |                                  |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1) egotistical | 1) неровный, беспорядочный       |
| 2) underhand   | 2) напряженный                   |
| 3) stubborn    | 3) явный, вопиющий               |
| 4) obnoxious   | 4) беспокойный, волнующийся      |
| 5) bossy       | 5) эгоцентричный, себялюбивый    |
| 6) erratic     | 6) противный, несносный          |
| 7) anxious     | 7) упрямый, упорный              |
| 8) tense       | 8) закулисный, тайный            |
| 9) blatant     | 9) командирский, распоряжающийся |

## Exercise 3

Open the brackets using the appropriate words.

1. She was supremely (самолюбивая) at heart.
2. Speculations about the crisis of Christian civilization are nothing but (неприкрытая) propaganda of Islam.
3. Mind you, I'll really not tolerate such (отвратительный) behaviour.
4. People showed (упорное) resistance to the plans for a nuclear power station in their town.
5. Success makes a person (самовлюбленный).
6. The provocation was so strong and so (неприкрытый) that it was amazing there was not a riot.
7. He is known to treat his colleagues in a (командирский) manner.
8. We wondered which (тайный) dodges our adversaries would attempt this time.

9. There was a (напряженное) silence as the police waited for the terrorist's next move.
10. Older children are less (себялюбивый) than younger ones, and are more willing to accept other people's ideas.
11. With (явный) discourtesy the reporters continued to harass the bereaved family.
12. The government is (беспокоится о том, чтобы) to reassure everyone that the situation is under control.
13. He managed to win the elections by using (закулисные) methods.
14. His writings are brilliant but (беспорядочный).
15. She charged the firm, which had rejected her, with (явный) sex discrimination.

#### Exercise 4

*Fill in the gaps with the appropriate adjective.*

1. I'd hate to be her secretary — she's such a/an \_\_\_\_\_ woman.
2. Heating was difficult because of \_\_\_\_\_ supplies of gas and electricity.
3. The negotiations became increasingly \_\_\_\_\_ as the weeks went by.
4. The defenders put up \_\_\_\_\_ resistance but were eventually defeated.
5. The government's policy of cutting taxes is a/an \_\_\_\_\_ and irresponsible attempt to buy votes.
6. He was a well-respected figure in the town, who would never have been involved in anything \_\_\_\_\_.
7. In his private life X. was considered \_\_\_\_\_ by his friends as he had an extremely high opinion of himself and his talents.
8. The embassy received a lot of \_\_\_\_\_ inquiries from relatives of those on board the crashed plane.
9. Don't take notice of him — he's just a/an \_\_\_\_\_ little man.

## Exercise 5

*Translate the sentences below using the following adjectives: blatant, underhand, egotistical, obnoxious, bossy, erratic, anxious, tense, stubborn.*

1. У него масса отвратительных черт: но он надежный человек.
2. Атмосфера в комнате ожидания была чрезвычайно напряженной.
3. Властная натура посла и склонность отдавать распоряжения командирским голосом заставляли его подчиненных трепетать.
4. Взволнованные кандидаты с нетерпением ожидали результатов голосования.
5. Бессистемная деятельность компании вызывает беспокойность ее акционеров и деловых партнеров.
6. Несмотря на упорное сопротивление военного лобби президенту удалось назначить нового министра.
7. Посол счел поведение первого секретаря вопиющим неповиновением.
8. Он был человеком несомненно талантливым, но себялюбивым, и с ним было трудно поддерживать деловые отношения.
9. Путем закулисных маневров и вероломных интриг ему удалось взять под контроль всю компанию.
10. Население оказало упорное сопротивление планам правительства по строительству атомной электростанции.

## Exercise 6

*Write a composition to cover one of the following topics.*

1. The politician I admire.
2. The politician I detest.

*To which type of leaders could you refer George W. Bush?*

George W. Bush is claimed to be practising a new style of leadership — a management style with President being the chief executive officer.

*Before reading the next article decide whether the president-as-CEO is the best way for a leader to act. Compare your conclusion with those of the rest of the students in your group. As you read the text try to understand what Gloria Borger thinks about it.*

## ANOTHER KIND OF LEADER

(by Gloria Borger, US News & World Report)

**Will Bush's CEO-style management work in Washington?**

**"Well, if he [George W. Bush] is chairman of the board, he's also the chief executive officer, without question... He's a great boss. He gives you an objective and then turns you loose on it, holds you accountable for your performance. I think it'll make him a very effective executive".— Vice President Dick Cheney, on CBS's Face the Nation.**

It's a management style that the new president himself happily describes. "Accountability" is a favourite word; so is "delegate", as in "I understand how to". His staff speaks of a leader who focuses on the big stuff, leaving the details to others. He manages his time well, they say, and the contrast with the ex-president could not be more stark: If Bill Clinton belonged to the Bluto school of chaos management, George W. Bush is the first president with an M.B.A. from Harvard. As such, he promises the country he will be a "good executive".

Which is all well and good. Order is a good thing when it comes to running a complex bureaucracy. Management skills, says presidential scholar Charles O. Jones, also come in handy during transitioning and budgeting. No panicky presidential all-nighters and midnight pizza deliveries as this White House reads its first budget blueprint. The era of ad-hoc government is over; the era of managerialism has begun.

But is the president-as-CEO the best way to go? No, at least according to some skeptical chief executives. First, the obvious: Corporate managers and national leaders are vastly different entities. Presidencies are about the generation of ideas, not the management of institutions. "A lot of CEOs come to Washington and think they can function in some of the same ways, with the same command and control", says one CEO with government experience. "They learn they can't. So will Bush".

**Pink slips.** Think of it this way: Presidents have less authoritarian power than your average CEO. If Colin Powell misbehaves, for instance, what's Bush going to do? Fire him? If his attorney general drives him crazy, will he fire him, too? Alas, cabinet members often come with their own power bases — and this group has more power than most. So how will this team spirit work? "Trying to shoehorn a group of top-level executives into a team can be frustrating. More important, it can be pointless". This, from the *Harvard Business Review*.

Next, think of the president's self-image as head honcho: He's the delegator-in-chief, a concept that makes some CEOs squirm. (All squirming offered way off the record, of course.) "It's OK to be hands-off, so long as you've defined your ideas", says one corporate CEO. Even the most laissez-faire executives need to "give their team a strategic vision and culture", says another. "Otherwise, it's hands-off without a head". What about compassionate conservatism as a guiding principle? "Too squishy", he says. "No bottom line". Ronald Reagan, they all say, was different. He elevated the art of delegation to a new level of disengagement, yet he's remembered for his leadership. Why? "No one ever had any doubt what his point of view was", says a New York-based chief executive. Government? Cut it. Taxes? Cut them. Military? Spend more. Reagan was the architect of a political movement; Bush has no such grounding. The danger for Bush is that his delegated authority may look like authority ceded. As in: Meet Dick Cheney, prime minister.

So how much is too much? If you don't delegate enough, you become Bill Clinton, debating the finer points of climate-change policy late into the night. If you delegate too much, the

suspicion is that you are not there at all. In fact, some CEOs argue that the vision-only CEO is an urban myth, anyway — and that Bush had better catch up. “I guarantee you that [General Electric chief] Jack Welch can tell you about the current workload of his plant in China”, says one. Bush staffers say their boss will study details when he has to; ex-Clinton aides promise that will be more often than he thinks. “At some point, you have to really dig in”, says Gene Sperling, Clinton’s chief economics adviser. “If not, you’re delegating the presidency”.

Then there’s the matter of those pesky clients in Washington, known as members of Congress. They’re needy, they’re active — and they’re competitors. Clinton had two main modes of dealing with Congress: sweet-talk and cave-in. Bush believes he can use his charm to attract support. But charm alone won’t cut it. Besides, Clinton will undoubtedly be there to second-guess him all the way. Can CEO Bush force his predecessor to sign a noncompete clause? Or maybe move out of town?

To be fair, Bush’s obsession with his M.B.A. skills is his way of saying other things: that he is not a chaotic Clinton, nor a micromanager like Jimmy Carter. It also says he understands the virtues of organization; he intends to get things done. So how about leaving it at that? After all, what great presidential leader is remembered for his management style?

Exactly.

### ***Comprehension tasks:***

1. Find out who/what the following people are: Dick Cheney, Bill Clinton, Colin Powell, Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter.
2. Find out what the following institutions are: Harvard, Congress, the White House.

### ***Discussion questions:***

1. Will Bush’s management style work in Washington?
  - a) according to the Vice President
  - b) according to a presidential scholar
  - c) according to a chief executive with government experience

d) according to the author

Give their reasons.

2. Which president appears at a disadvantage in his management style: R. Reagan, B. Clinton, G.W. Bush, J. Carter?
3. How much is too much concerning the act of delegation?

## Exercise 7

a) Read the following sentence and underline the relative clause.

His staff speaks of a leader who focuses on the big stuff.

What kind of relative clause is it? Why is there no comma? Why is the relative pronoun “**who**” used to introduce the clause? Can the pronoun “**that**” be used instead?

b) Now study the following charts to revise the relative clauses.

### Defining Relative Clauses (no commas)

	Person	Thing
Subject	who (that)	that (which)
Object	—— (that)	—— (that)

Jack Welch can tell you about the current workload of his plant which/that is in China.

### Non-Defining Relative Clauses (commas)

	Person	Thing
Subject	, who ...,	, which ...,
Object	, who ...,	, which ...,

George W. Bush, who is the first president with an M. B. A., promises the country he will be a “good executive”.

Cabinet members often come with their own power bases, which is important and should be taken into account.

c) Put in the relative pronouns, commas and prepositions where necessary.

## A.

1. A school \_\_\_\_\_ makes active children sit at desks studying mostly useless subjects is a bad school. It is a good school only for those uncreative citizens \_\_\_\_\_ want docile, uncreative children \_\_\_\_\_ will fit into a civilization \_\_\_\_\_ standard of success is money.
2. I spoke to NGO disarmament groups \_\_\_\_\_ invariably wished to discuss the NPT, and I worked on Security Council Resolution 984 \_\_\_\_\_ provides security assurances for non-nuclear weapons states party to the NPT.
3. As a Scot \_\_\_\_\_ practises law in England, I too value the bonds of friendship, common history and common interest \_\_\_\_\_ keep our two countries together and \_\_\_\_\_ will always be there.
4. A man \_\_\_\_\_ I was talking to recently told me a joke \_\_\_\_\_ was very funny but \_\_\_\_\_ I have unfortunately forgotten.
5. Who is attracted to such cults? Generally it has been young people with low self-esteem \_\_\_\_\_ have done poorly at school. Joining a gang is a means of defying the conventional world \_\_\_\_\_ they have been defined as failures. For example, "heavy metal" is the music of failure, and the fact that it is widely despised by those \_\_\_\_\_ enjoy pop, reggae or soul, is its appeal. The capital of heavy metal is Birmingham \_\_\_\_\_ is one of Britain's least loved cities... On the other hand, by the late 1980s many blacks were wearing totally different clothes \_\_\_\_\_ had no connection at all with reggae or with black America but \_\_\_\_\_ were Italian "designer label" suits.
6. Besides colleges and universities \_\_\_\_\_ offer degrees in traditional fields of scholarship, there are also small arts colleges \_\_\_\_\_ grant degrees to students \_\_\_\_\_ concentrate in specialized fields such as ballet, film-making.
7. Last night I went to a corporation banquet \_\_\_\_\_ was unusual for me because I never go to them. There I met Justin \_\_\_\_\_ I work and he introduced me to his wife \_\_\_\_\_ I had never met before.

**B.**

Further education has been characterized by vocational courses for those \_\_\_\_\_ leave school at the age of 16 but \_\_\_\_\_ need to acquire a skill \_\_\_\_\_ lies in the manual, technical or clerical field.

Oxford and Cambridge \_\_\_\_\_ were founded in the 13th and 14th centuries respectively are easily the most famous of Britain's universities. Today Oxbridge \_\_\_\_\_ refer to both universities educate less than 1/20th of Britain's total student population. Both universities grew gradually, as federations of independent colleges most \_\_\_\_\_ were founded in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.

There is also a highly successful Open University \_\_\_\_\_ provides every person in Britain with the opportunity to study for a degree without leaving their home. It is designed for adults \_\_\_\_\_ missed the opportunity for higher education earlier in life and \_\_\_\_\_ are willing to fill in the gap. Its classes \_\_\_\_\_ are conducted through correspondence, radio and television are sometimes conducted through local study centers \_\_\_\_\_ is extremely convenient.

**Exercise 8**

*Consult an English-English dictionary and explain the following phrases:*

- budget blueprint
- ad-hoc government
- to shoehorn smb into smth
- head honcho
- to be hands-off
- laissez-faire
- to sweet-talk
- to cave-in
- to second-guess

## Exercise 9

*Explain what the following people are and translate the nouns into Russian:*

chairman	cabinet member
chief executive officer	delegator-in-chief
boss	architect
executive	staffer
vice president	aide
ex-president	chief economics adviser
scholar	member of Congress
corporate manager	competitor
national leader	predecessor
attorney general	micromanager

## Exercise 10

*Translate the sentence.*

The danger for Bush is that his delegated authority may look like **authority ceded**.

*Compare the following verbs ending in -cede/-ceed, translate them into Russian and fill in the gaps with these verbs in the correct forms.*

- to cede
- to accede
- to concede
- to secede
- to precede
- to recede
- to succeed
- to proceed
- to exceed

1. Israel declared its support for the US policy of not \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ to terrorists' demands.
2. The government \_\_\_\_\_ defeat as soon as the election results were known.

3. The speaker paused to consult his notes, and then \_\_\_\_\_ with his questions.
4. Hopes for their safety \_\_\_\_\_ fast.
5. A recent poll puts the former Economics minister ahead of the sitting president in a first - round election that would \_\_\_\_\_ a likely runoff with the socialists.
6. One of the states \_\_\_\_\_ from the federation.
7. After the First World War Germany \_\_\_\_\_ a lot of territory to her neighbours.
8. The expense of the project \_\_\_\_\_ all the expectations.
9. By the terms of the treaty, a third of their territory \_\_\_\_\_ to France.
10. In the end the committee \_\_\_\_\_ to the request.
11. He \_\_\_\_\_ his speech with a few words of welcome to the special guests.
12. When the king dies, his eldest son \_\_\_\_\_ to the title.
13. The chairman gave an account of what had happened and then \_\_\_\_\_ to the main business of the meeting.

## Exercise 11

*Find in the text the English equivalents for:*

ставить перед кем-либо задачу

давать кому-либо свободу действий

требовать у кого-либо отчета

обсуждать тонкие детали

концентрироваться на главном

управлять сложной бюрократической системой

навыки управления

совершенствовать искусство распределения полномочий

авторитарная власть

выработка идей

достоинство

## Exercise 12

*Learn the following derivatives and use them in the given sentences.*

**a) to account — (un)accountable — accountability — accountant — account**

1. Those institutions receive increasingly less amid acrimonious debates about allegedly \_\_\_\_\_ bureaucratic waste.
2. Should the government be more \_\_\_\_\_ to the public?
3. The defendant couldn't \_\_\_\_\_ for the fact that the jewelry was found in his house.
4. Their estimate of the cost takes no \_\_\_\_\_ of inflation.
5. There are demands for an increase in the ministers' \_\_\_\_\_ to Parliament.
6. He couldn't run the department on \_\_\_\_\_ of his health problems.

**b) to manage — manageable — (mis)management — manager — managerial — managerialism**

1. He assumed \_\_\_\_\_ responsibilities, being accountable for the organization's day-to-day running.
2. The company's failure was mainly due to \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The rate of inflation has been brought down to a more \_\_\_\_\_ level.
4. The Republican campaign \_\_\_\_\_ was anxious to use the media to his advantage.
5. The unions have agreed to talks with the \_\_\_\_\_ over the introduction of new machinery.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ and technical expertise are often in short supply.
7. The family business has been skillfully \_\_\_\_\_ for at least a century.

**c) to authorize — authorization — authority — authorities — authoritative — authoritarian**

1. The official didn't have the necessary \_\_\_\_\_ to make this sort of decision.

2. The civil servant couldn't spend the money without \_\_\_\_\_ from Head Office.
3. The department \_\_\_\_\_ the payment of the bill.
4. The people were not allowed to criticize their country's \_\_\_\_\_ government.
5. The expert's \_\_\_\_\_ history of the area will tell you all you need to know.
6. The \_\_\_\_\_ would not allow illegal immigrants to remain in the country.
7. Only Congress can \_\_\_\_\_ the President to declare war.
8. This decision was the President's first display of his \_\_\_\_\_ over Congress.
9. Whoever is in \_\_\_\_\_ around here is unable to maintain discipline.

### Exercise 13

*Translate the sentences using the vocabulary from the above exercises.*

1. Президент должен выполнять свои предвыборные обещания и отвечать за проводимую им политику перед избирателями.
2. Должен ли президент концентрировать свое внимание на главном или вдаваться во все тонкие детали своего политического курса?
3. Политик, который стремится к карьерному росту, непременно должен уметь планировать свое время, а также обладать организаторскими способностями.
4. Необходимы определенные навыки управления, чтобы руководить сложной бюрократической системой государства.
5. Планирующие голосовать за того или иного кандидата наделяют образ идеального с их точки зрения политика массой необходимых качеств и достоинств, которые, однако, в реальной жизни крайне редко сочетаются в одном человеке.

6. У кандидата на пост президента обязательно должен быть опыт управления.
7. Наряду с образованностью и эрудицией, лидер должен обладать способностью выдвигать идеи, принимать правильные решения, выступать перед публикой, давать интервью.
8. Лидер нового типа ставит перед вами задачу, затем предоставляет вам свободу действий, но в результате в обязательном порядке требует с вас отчета за ее выполнение.
9. Президента хотят видеть волевым, но не жестоким или авторитарным человеком. Жестокость, агрессивность, авторитарность — качества, которыми не должен обладать идеальный президент.
10. Наибольшие опасения у граждан вызывают такие качества, как жестокость, непорядочность и некомпетентность. По мнению большинства, президент может передавать другим полномочия решать вопросы, в которых требуется применение специальных знаний, выходящих за рамки его компетенции.

## Workshop II. LEADERS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

*Read the text below to find answers to the questions.*

1. How old is the institution of the Prime Ministers in Britain?
2. What qualities mark Gladstone as an outstanding leader of the 19th century?
3. Whom does the author consider to be the most distinguished PM in Britain in the 20th century?

### GLADSTONE — A LEADER WITHOUT EQUAL

**Lord Jenkins assesses the fortunes  
of Britain's 51 Prime Ministers, the *Times*.**

Britain has had 51 Prime Ministers during the quarter of the millennium for which this office existed. The term Prime Minister has never been precisely defined and was not used in a formal

document until the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. Nonetheless, it has been generally recognized as the head of the executive and the essential hinge between Sovereign and Parliament. In the early days the name itself was more one of reprobation, implying excessive power rather than respect. To have referred to Sir Robert Walpole, who began the long line with a reign of 21 years, as "Prime Minister" was rather the equivalent of calling Tony Blair "presidential".

Over the nearly three prime ministerial centuries the average longevity of premiership has been incredibly constant. The relevant 79 years of the 18th century required 14 Prime Ministers, with an average span of five years and seven months. The full 19th century required 18, with an average span of five years and six months. And in the 20th century 19 occupants of the office had an average of five years and three months.

Yet, like most averages, the figures conceal discrepancies. The 18th century picture was distorted by the two long premierships of Walpole and the Younger Pitt at either end, standing like two firm posts, holding up a fairly soggy clothesline of intermediate laundry. Walpole and Pitt were seen as skilful financiers, combining the Chancellorship of the Exchequer with the premiership. Walpole looked much more to his own finances, as well as those of the country, than did Pitt, and left in Houghton one of the most sumptuously accoutred mansions in East Anglia. Pitt left debts, but his name resonated down the 19th century. Both Peel and Gladstone were in the habit of referring with great respect to the principles and policies of "Mr. Pitt", making him almost a contemporary.

Nonetheless, I find it difficult to make sensible comparison between the 18th century Prime Ministers and their more recent successors. Their powers, their relationship with their Sovereigns, the style of parliamentary oratory, and indeed Parliament itself, were so different, I think it better to begin the game of ranking Prime Ministers from the Great Reform Bill. It is a game long played (with Presidents) in the US, but only recently seeping across the Atlantic, and like all games more a pastime for the participants than a source of judgments of Jehovah-like value.

Of the 19th century Prime Ministers I see Gladstone as clearly pre-eminent, although sustained aloof, like a Pope on his palanquin, by three powerful but different supporters, none of whom would have been pleased to be thought of in this role. The first was Robert Peel, Gladstone's intellectual equal, although without either his multi-faceted energy or his longevity. He and Gladstone were close but he was benevolently patronizing of Gladstone, who was 22 years his junior, and would have found it very difficult to conceive of his own role in history as being that of a runner up to his impetuous young protege. Peel was not charismatic, but he left a tremendous imprint upon both British government and British prosperity

On substance as opposed to form, Peel's 1841-46 Government transformed Britain from an indirect tax maze, with most of the revenue going either to sustain sinecures or to pay the interest upon the debt incurred in the Napoleonic wars, into the leading free market economy of the world. This led the way from the sullen Britain of the Chartists riots into the prosperous third quarter of the 19th century, relatively Britain's most successful period.

Disraeli was a brilliant adventurer, courageous, impudent, a gambler of the highest nerve, whose feat of making himself the leader of the party of English country gentlemen, even if most of his time it was in an impotent minority bunker, was unsurpassed. But as a constructive statesman he was greatly inferior to Gladstone. Salisbury, the third upholder of the palanquin, spent most of his leadership in opposition to Gladstone, but in fact he was much more hostile to the whole style and performance of Disraeli. Such are the exigencies of party politics. He had no respect for popular views, but with cynical skill he adjusted to the extensions of the franchise by making himself the architect of "villa Conservatism" which by delivering the burgeoning suburbs to the Tories sustained them for most of the 20th century.

Gladstone's preeminence was a function of the width of his interests, the force of his energy, and the power of his oratory. No one else has been Prime Minister four times. No one else would have devoted half of his last day in office to translating an ode of

Horace. No one else could have held by the sheer physical force of his personality great provincial audiences for an hour and forty minutes of orations way above their heads, infused neither by Disraeli's wit nor by Palmerston's blow-hard chauvinism.

Just as Gladstone was pre-eminent in the 19th century, so was Churchill in the 20th century, and for some, but not all, of the same reasons. Their intellectual energy was about equal. Churchill, however, did not have Gladstone's classical or theological knowledge or interest, although he balanced this by having much better narrative power than Gladstone and a lively command of the history of the past three centuries. He was a much less spontaneous orator than Gladstone, although with heavy preparation he delivered far more immortal phrases than Gladstone.

In private discourse he was at least as self-centred, although a greater master of wit and pith than Gladstone. And he fought and won a great war, which would never have been Gladstone's forte.

So did Lloyd George, who had before the war been engaged in a radical partnership with Churchill under Asquith. The more perplexing question is which of these last two Liberal Prime Ministers to put second to Churchill in the 20th century stakes, the one not chosen obviously occupying the third position. Lloyd George had a streak of political genius in him, which the sceptical and highly rational Asquith obviously did not possess. He had Celtic imagination, which occasionally led him to be economical with the truth, and he had an ability to communicate spontaneously with great crowds which put him in a class with Gladstone and with no other Prime Minister, although Lloyd George addressed them more demotically than did the Grand Old Man.

On the other hand Asquith was a more constructive and consistent statesman. As a peacetime Prime Minister he was comparable to Peel in the 1840s. He was not a good war leader, partly because he was too fastidious to pretend to an enthusiasm for the squalor and slaughter of battlefields which he did not feel. And he would certainly never have besmirched his record with the squalid maneuverings, lack of principle and even touches of corruption which marked the peacetime coalition of 1919-22. By a whisker, I therefore put Asquith second and Lloyd George third.

Which have been other successes? Obviously, it is too early to make a judgment about Tony Blair, and almost the same could still be said about Margaret Thatcher, although if only by virtue of her length of office, forthrightness of style and being the only woman among the 51, hers must be accounted a major premiership.

For my own part I would rate John Major in the stark category of failure. (I regret Major's position here for I think it was considerably a result of bad luck, but luck is necessarily always a substantial element in political success or failure).

### *Notes:*

1. Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745) — a British politician in the Whig party, who is usually regarded as the first British PM, a position which did not previously exist, and which he held from 1721 to 1742;
2. William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898) — a British politician in the Liberal Party, who was PM four times (1868–1874, 1880–1885, 1886, 1892–1894). He established a system of primary education for all children, and also introduced secret voting rights for most males;
3. Robert Peel (1788–1850) — a British Conservative politician who established the first official British police force and introduced freedoms for Roman Catholics. He was PM from 1834 to 1835 and 1841 to 1846;
4. Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881) — a British politician in the Conservative Party who was PM of the UK in 1868 and from 1874 to 1880;
5. David Lloyd George (1863–1945) — a Liberal politician whose parents were Welsh and who was PM from 1916 to 1922. He was against increasing the British Empire and in favour of political change. He introduced pensions and national insurance;
6. Herbert Henry Asquith (1852–1928) — a British Liberal politician and PM from 1908 to 1916

**General comprehension questions:**

1. How does the institution of Prime Ministers compare in longevity with that of Parliament?
2. What do Robert Walpole and Tony Blair have in common from the point of view of Lord Jenkins?
3. Which of the 20th century prime ministers can be compared to Robert Peel of the 19th century? Explain.
4. What contribution did Robert Peel make to Britain's well-being?
5. What qualities essential in a statesman did Gladstone, Churchill and Lloyd George share?
6. Why does the word "presidential" serve as a term of reprobation in British politics?
7. Why is the ranking of PMs considered to be a game or a pastime?
8. What gave Jenkins the right to compare Gladstone to a Pope?
9. Discuss under what sort of circumstances Churchill might have said the following. What made those words memorable?
  - a) Saving is a very fine thing. Especially when your parents have done it for you.
  - b) I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.
  - c) Politics are almost as exciting as war, and quite as dangerous. In war you can only be killed once, but in politics many times.
  - d) It has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.

**Exercise 14**

*Translate the following sentences from the text into Russian. Pay attention to the sentence structure.*

1. To have referred to Sir R. Walpole as "Prime Minister" was rather the equivalent of calling Tony Blair "presidential".

2. He and Gladstone were close but he was benevolently patronizing of Gladstone, who was 22 years his junior, and would have found it very difficult to conceive of his own role in history as being that of a runner up to his impetuous young protege.
3. This led the way from the sullen Britain of the Chartists riots into the prosperous third quarter of the 19th century, relatively Britain's most successful period.
4. Disraeli was a brilliant adventurer, courageous, impudent, a gambler of the highest nerve, whose feat of making himself the leader of the party of English country gentlemen, even if most of his time it was in an impotent minority bunker, was unsurpassed.
5. Just as Gladstone was preeminent in the 19th century, so was Churchill in the 20th century, and for some, but not all, of the same reasons.
6. The more perplexing question is which of these last two Liberal Prime Ministers to put second to Churchill in the 20th century, the one not chosen obviously occupying the third position.
7. ... almost the same could still be said about M. Thatcher, although if only by virtue of her length of office, forthrightness of style and being the only woman among the 51, hers must be accounted a major premiership.

## Exercise 15

a) *Define the following terms. Consult a dictionary.*

### ECONOMIC

- 1) indirect tax
- 2) revenue
- 3) sinecure
- 4) interest
- 5) free-market economy

### POLITICAL

- 1) runner-up
- 2) protege
- 3) franchise
- 4) chauvinism
- 5) premiership

b) *Explain the following cultural references:*

1. the Great Reform Bill
2. Jehovah-like value
3. Chartist Riots
4. Disraeli — the leader of the party of English country gentlemen. Which party is it?
5. Salisbury — the architect of “villa Conservatism”
6. an ode of Horace
7. Lloyd George had Celtic imagination which led him to be economical with the truth

c) *Explain the following metaphors:*

1. PM — the essential HINGE between the Sovereign and Parliament.
2. Walpole and the Younger Pitt standing like two firm POSTS holding a fairly soggy CLOTHESLINE of intermediate LAUNDRY.

## Exercise 16

*Match the words from the text with their explanation.*

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 1. bunker     | 1. a period of one thousand years   |
| 2. gambler    | 2. a metal part that joins two objects together and allows the first to swing around the second |
| 3. hinge      | 3. a person with the highest power in the country   |
| 4. mansion    | 4. a large house  |
| 5. maze       | 5. a vehicle like a box with a seat or bed inside for one person to be carried on poles         |
| 6. millennium | 6. a system of twisting and turning paths leading to a central point                            |
| 7. oration    | 7. a crowd of people shouting, fighting   |
| 8. palanquin  | 8. a risky player who bets money in the game  |
| 9. riot       | 9. a strongly built shelter   |
| 10. sovereign | 10. a formal speech made in public  |

## Exercise 17

*The following words have more than one meaning. Mark the meaning in which they are used in the text.*

COMMAND	a) ability to control and use b) order
DISCOURSE	a) a serious speech b) a serious conversation c) language
FORTE	a) a strong point in a person's character b) a piece of music played loudly
STREAK	a) a thin line b) a limited period c) a quality of character different from other or usual qualities

## Exercise 18

*Suggest the Russian for the following English phrases and use them in sentences of your own:*

excessive power

to look to one's own finances

multi-faceted energy

exigencies of party politics

forthrightness of style

to leave an imprint on

to have a streak of political genius

immortal phrases

conceive of one's own role

besmirch one's record

## Exercise 19

*Write the following in English using the word combinations above.*

Обладая неиссякаемой энергией и прямолинейностью, он легко стал одним из лидеров в своей партии. Другие члены партии понимали, что он обладает задатками гениального политика, который уже произнес несколько фраз, ставших бессмертными. Многие были уверены, что под его

руководством партия **оставит свой след в истории** страны. Однако, **требования партийной политики** таковы, что старшинство и коллегиальность имеют значение, и **чрезмерная власть** одного человека, особенно молодого, чревата авторитаризмом. Кроме того, став единственным лидером, он мог бы начать **заботиться о своем собственном благополучии** и таким образом **запятнать свою репутацию**

## Exercise 20

*Match the nouns with adjectives as they appear in the text:*

average	discourse
bad	economy
burgeoning	energy
free-market	longevity/span
immortal	luck
indirect	orator
multi-faceted	phrases
narrative	power
popular	tax
private	suburbs
spontaneous	views

## Exercise 21

*Fill in the gaps with the appropriate word combinations from the above.*

1. \_\_\_\_\_ has recently been pursuing him.
2. Recession has hit the \_\_\_\_\_ of major industrial cities.
3. Catering to \_\_\_\_\_ is a sure guarantee to success in the coming elections.
4. The state budget is mostly replenished through \_\_\_\_\_.
5. It's a crying shame that the \_\_\_\_\_ of Russian citizens keeps diminishing.
6. Students crowded in the lecture hall as the professor had the reputation of an excellent \_\_\_\_\_.

7. Like planned socialist economy, \_\_\_\_\_ has its advantages and disadvantages.
8. Jefferson's \_\_\_\_\_ are frequently cited by public orators all over the world.
9. His gift of \_\_\_\_\_ has saved him more than once in the most desperate situations.
10. One can't but admire the \_\_\_\_\_ of the young royals.

## Exercise 22

*Translate the sentences into English.*

1. Видимым результатом успехов рыночной экономики стали быстро растущие коттеджные поселки вокруг столицы.
2. Дар рассказчика и популистские взгляды явились гарантией успеха известного политика.
3. В развитых странах средняя продолжительность жизни постоянно растет.
4. Крайне сдержанный в личном общении, на публике он давал волю своей неиссякаемой энергии и мог часами говорить без бумажки. Многие из его фраз стали бессмертными.

## Exercise 23

*Combine verbs with nouns as they appear in the text.*

to be engaged in	discrepancies
to besmirch	the picture
to conceal	one's finances, defence, health
to conceive of	one's own role
to distort	an imprint upon
to have	debts, losses, expenses
to incur	a streak of political genius
to leave	interest on
to look to	partnership
to pay	one's record

## Exercise 24

Fill in the gaps with the appropriate phrase from the exercise above.

1. No amount of statistics could \_\_\_\_\_ in his various accounts.
2. Withheld pieces of evidence will obviously \_\_\_\_\_ of the crime.
3. It's only fair that in time of crisis people should \_\_\_\_\_.
4. He could not \_\_\_\_\_ of a father-in-law.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ of her foot in the moist clay gave her a feeling of being a celebrity.
6. The final reward will more than compensate for any \_\_\_\_\_ you may \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Children have a \_\_\_\_\_ of cruelty.
8. You will have to \_\_\_\_\_ on your mortgage.
9. She's been \_\_\_\_\_ with two of the other local lawyers.
10. Like many other leaders he showed readiness to discredit and \_\_\_\_\_ of those who stood in his way.

## Exercise 25

Open the brackets using the English phrases for the Russian ones.

1. In ancient times the world (представлялся) as flat.
2. A 400 year long Tartar-Mongol yoke (оставило след) upon the history of Russia.
3. The company (понесла тяжелые потери) in its first year.
4. To avoid the epidemic you should (позаботиться о своем здоровье).
5. The chief of the police is doing his utmost (чтобы скрыть вопиющие разночтения) between the crime rates of different cities.
6. Staring at the canvas the critics tried to imagine what it had looked like before the vandals (повредили картину).
7. He borrowed a large sum of money knowing that he will have to (заплатить проценты).

## Exercise 26

*Translate the sentences using the new word combinations.*

1. У него блестящий послужной список, который ему бы не хотелось запятнать.
2. Прошедшие десятилетия наложили отпечаток на всех нас.
3. Подайте в суд на компанию за все расходы, которые вы понесли во время командировки.
4. Я всегда знала, что у него есть здатки гениального политика.
5. Сегодня трудно вообразить жизнь без газет.
6. Осажденные в крепости согласились на временное прекращение огня и проведение переговоров, однако надеялись использовать эту передышку для того, чтобы позаботиться о своей обороне и восстановить крепостные сооружения.
7. Газеты представили искаженную картину событий, сопутствовавших забастовке работников высших учебных заведений страны.
8. Мы были партнерами в течение пяти лет.

## Exercise 27

*Write a comment on the following:*

**“Luck is always a substantial element in political success or failure”.**

*Here is a text about the founding fathers of the United States of America, revered, praised and honoured by the American public. However the author of the text below examines the founding era from the point of view of competitiveness and rivalry between the groups of politicians.*

***Before reading the text answer the following questions:***

1. What do you know about the Founding Fathers of the USA? Name them.
2. Did they succeed in accomplishing their mission?

3. What used to be and what are the two main parties of the USA?  
What is the main legislative body in the USA, what does it comprise?
4. What do the following officials do: the Vice President, the Secretary of State and the Treasury Secretary of the USA?  
What is a Republican ticket?

*While reading the text try to understand why the author called it "Founding Rivalries" and why he referred to the Founding Fathers as "squabbling brothers".*

## FOUNDING RIVALRIES

**More like squabbling brothers than "fathers",  
how did they succeed?**

**(Jay Tolson, US News & World Report, abridged)**

Intrigue, duplicity, back-stabbing, and character assassination. Think it sounds like American politics today? Try the 1790s, a decade that saw Thomas Paine — famous pamphleteer for the revolutionary cause — denounce President George Washington as a "hypocrite in public life" for signing a treaty with England. And earlier in the same decade, you'll find the recently retired Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, telling his crony James Madison to get busy destroying the good name of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton. Yes, the same Hamilton whom Madison had collaborated with only a few years before in writing the famous articles in support of the Constitution.

And back-stabbing? Well, there's the fine case of Ben Franklin penning a secret missive to Congress accusing fellow emissary John Adams of behavior "improper and unbecoming" for refusing to truckle to ally France's every whim. Not nasty enough? Try Vice President Jefferson telling a French diplomat that President Adams is "a vain, irritable, stubborn" man. If that's not quite treasonous, then what about the same vice president urging the French to drag their heels on signing a treaty that his president is earnestly trying to conclude? Given such a climate of slander and treachery, should we be surprised at the 1804 duel

between the vice president of the United States and the former Secretary of the Treasury, a duel in which the latter was killed? More is the mystery that Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton were the only two Founders who came to such a deadly impasse.

Americans who think they live in politically divisive times might do well to look back at the first decades of their republic's history. And many are already doing just that. Benefiting from a surge of new writing and thinking about the founding generation, they are discovering that the period from 1776 through the early 1820s was racked by political disagreements and rivalries that make ours today look picayune. While denying that they were engaged in anything so divisive as partisan politics, leaders of what came to be the Federalist and Republican parties strained the bonds of the new union over a number of issues, including the role of the central government, states' rights, foreign policy, the handling of the debt, and slavery.

Earlier versions of the founding era presented a very different picture. Both the romantic histories of the 19th century and the more scientific, Progressive histories of the 20th century endowed the founding enterprise with an air of inevitability.

To some degree, that picture reflected the vision of Thomas Jefferson. Convinced that the march of history was inevitable and that he and his fellow Republicans were in step with it, he managed through both his political successes and his rhetorical power to insinuate his view into many of the subsequent historical interpretations of his era. Not surprisingly, it cast him in a very favourable light, in part because the moralistic categories that shaped all his political thinking fit perfectly the romantic formula that history writing seemed to require.

America's leaders knew they were bringing about social as well political change when they broke loose from the English monarchy and created a republic. They also believed that a principled, disinterested leadership was essential to a true republic. But the founders' dream that the national government might serve as a bulwark of disinterestedness against the powerful tide of interest-group was soon dead by the realities of politics, including clashes among the Founders' own interests. Having decried

factionalism that they saw rampant at the state level, they created it at the national level. Indeed, almost as soon as the Congress met, profound differences emerged. And by the mid-1790s, these differences were fueling a two-party struggle for power.

Not that anyone would admit it. For it was a peculiar politics of denial and indirectness that the founders practiced, in which politicians denied that they were interested in office-holding, denied that they belonged to a party, or even denied that their party was a party. These politicians were also skilled in disguising what was really at stake in the positions they took, particularly if it was their own interests or ambition. They used assaults on their opponents' character, reputation, and honor as a back-handed means of pursuing their highly partisan goals. George Washington grew so fed up with character assassination, that he begged his cabinet members and others to put an end to the wounding suspicions, and irritating charges.

Just as important as the political style, though, is the role of personality and character, because it was the human element that gave this peculiar politics its messy, improvised quality — and, in the end, made the founders' achievement all the more remarkable. “It was the way they collided and found characterological checks and balances, instead of killing each other off, they worked through their differences and constructed institutions”.

George Washington's character made him something of an exception to the dominant political style. He held more truly to the ideal of disinterested, principled, and nonpartisan leadership than any other founding brother. (Maybe, in his case, the sobriquet of *father* is just.) This Virginian of little formal schooling made the formation of character the core of his self-education, having copied out the 110 “Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company and in Conversations” at age 16. Although he could be stern, hot tempered, and unforgiving, as deserters from the Continental Army learned with their lives, he was unfailingly a man of principle. And though his own experiences and inclinations aligned him with the Federalist faction, the party championing strong central government, his adherence to nonpartisanship remained firm.

Before Washington sought a second term, Jefferson, his secretary of state, urged him on, saying, "North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on". But Jefferson was already doing more than his share to stoke the flames of partisanship that would singe even Washington. It was around this time, that Jefferson, Madison, and other allies provocatively began "calling themselves Republicans, thus implying that Federalists were not, but rather monarchists, or monocrats, as Jefferson preferred to say".

Jefferson has long been recognized as the great idealist among the founders, the man whose soaring republican rhetoric was ideally suited to crafting the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson's rivalry with his nemesis, Hamilton, is well known. Washington's brilliant former aide-de-camp, the first Secretary of the Treasury, and the highest of High Federalists, Hamilton stood for everything Jefferson despised, including a powerful central government and English sympathies. Jefferson, the devout Francophile who became more avid after the French Revolution of 1789, even condoned the massacres of France's Reign of Terror, identifying the Jacobins with America's "Republican patriots". But what we now appreciate more clearly is how ruthlessly Jefferson advanced his own ambitions, even when that meant undercutting the two presidents, Washington and Adams, in whose administrations he served. Jefferson was a master of the politics of denial, planting gossip, writing anonymously in newspapers, or having others — Madison or the journalist Philip Freneau — engage in the dirty business of character assassination for him. To get at Hamilton, for instance, he ordered Madison to "take up your pen, select the most striking heresies, and cut him to pieces in the face of the public". He would orchestrate similar campaigns against Adams while serving as vice president.

Jefferson, in fact, did such a good job of depicting Adams as a monocrat and reactionary, that historians have been slow to give Adams his due. Adams's accomplishments were legion: fearless advocate of independence in the Continental Congress; author of the Massachusetts Constitution; ambassador at large in Europe during the Revolutionary War; loyal vice president during both of Washington's terms.

Adams made mistakes, during his presidency, none worse than supporting the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which, among other things, made criticism of the government a crime. But perhaps his most self-destructive mistake was honorably intended: Trying to maintain the nonpartisanship that Washington had upheld, he lost the steady backing of many of his natural political allies in the Federalist faction. That would have made things hard enough, but Adams had to run an administration with Jefferson as his vice president. (With a vice president like that, one might say, who needed enemies?) Adams appreciated Jefferson's virtues and had long considered him a friend. But even during Washington's first administration, Adams came to see Jefferson's treachery, ambition, and fierce partisanship. Shortly after Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State at the end of 1793, Adams wrote to Abigail, his wife and wisest political adviser, "Jefferson went off yesterday, and a good riddance of bad ware".

But the bad goods would return from Monticello in 1797, when Adams was elected president and Jefferson, as runner-up, the vice president. Instead of supporting the president, Jefferson fed the opposition press and even covertly counseled the French to draw out peace negotiations as long as possible, a delay that probably ended up costing Adams the next election. If that weren't mischief enough, after the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed, Jefferson secretly wrote the Kentucky Resolutions arguing that states had a right to nullify federal actions.

With rivalrous back-stabbing such as this, how *did* the nation hold together?

Personal attacks in pamphlets, broadsides, and newspaper articles, political gossip, and duels (most of which did not end in shooting) were all ways in which, "the founders used the code of honor to regulate their political combat on the national stage".

The only duel that resulted in fired shots and a founder's death was a duel over honorability itself. Hamilton, made a minor career of dueling, having been involved in 10 other "affairs of honor" before the last one with Burr. But the last was the only one that concluded with what was euphemistically called an "interview", or actual shootout — and a death. Hamilton was pushed to this

drastic end because he could not in good faith take back what he believed: that Burr was a man without real principles. Many have tried to rehabilitate Burr, pointing out that he was an abolitionist and a profeminist, among other things. But what Hamilton (also an abolitionist) meant by unprincipled was that Burr was a creature of unveiled ambition who would do whatever suited him, including changing parties, to attain power. In other words, he behaved not like a politician of the founding era but a politician of the Jackson era and beyond — a true democratic politician. That behavior inspired Hamilton to do everything in his power to block his ascent. In fact, when the election of 1800 was thrown into the House of Representatives because of a tie between Burr and Jefferson, who were both on the same Republican ticket, Hamilton got his Federalist allies to back Jefferson, despite his abhorrence of Jefferson's ideas. Supporting Burr was inconceivable.

Hamilton's death would destroy Burr's career, and so one could say that the famous duel of 1804 resolved in Hamilton's favor. But the duel would not stop the direction of American politics. Burr's time — if not Burr himself — was arriving.

### *Notes:*

1. Each American state had its own government and behaved like an independent country. The problem was to join the quarrelsome little countries into one united nation. The agreement for the states to cooperate with one another was called the Articles of Confederation. It began to operate in 1781. But for the US to survive there would have to be changes in the Articles. In 1787 Congress asked to send delegates to a convention known as the Constitutional Convention. The purpose was to revise the Articles but the delegates did more than this — they set out the plan for a new government in a document called the Constitution of the US. Before the new system of Government set out in the Constitution could begin, it had to be approved by a majority of the citizens in at least 9 of the 13 states. People made speeches and wrote newspaper articles both for and against the Constitution. In June 1788, the assembly of the state of New Hampshire voted to

accept or ratify the Constitution. It was the 9th state to do so. The Constitution went into effect in March 1789. In 1791 10 amendments were made to it. They are known as the Bill of Rights. J. Madison helped write the state constitution of Virginia. He was twice elected as member of the state legislature and was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention. In the writing of the federal Constitution and in the struggle over its ratification, Madison reached the peak of his public achievement. He earned the title “Father of the Constitution”. No man did more to perfect the instrument itself or to obtain its acceptance.

2. Articles of Confederation — an agreement made in 1781 by the 13 original colonies of the US which established a government for the US and which was used as the basic law of the country until the Constitution of the United States was written and agreed in 1789.
3. Federalist Papers — a political programme in support of the principles of the Constitution of 1787. The papers were written by A. Hamilton, J. Madison and J. Jay in response to the anonymous articles of the Constitution opponents. The aim was to convince the citizens of the state of New York of ratifying the Constitution. They were first published on October 27, 1787.
4. Constitutional Convention — the meeting of representatives in 1787 in Philadelphia that led to the writing of the Constitution of the US. It officially came into use in 1789. It consists of 7 articles and 27 amendments.
5. Continental Congress — a group of politicians who represented the original 13 American colonies, and met between 1774 and 1789. They made laws for the colonies, and later formed the government of the US. The Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence, and its members are often called “The Founding Fathers”.
6. Declaration of Independence — the document written in 1776, in which the 13 British colonies in America officially stated that they were an independent nation and would no longer agree to be ruled by Britain. The Declaration was formally

accepted in Congress on July 4, 1776, the people of the US celebrate that day as their national holiday, called the fourth of July or Independence Day.

***Comprehension questions and tasks:***

1. What treaty did G. Washington sign with England? Why did Thomas Paine call him a hypocrite?
2. What were the famous articles in support of the Constitution written by Hamilton and Madison?
3. What did B. Franklin accuse J. Adams of?
4. What is one of the most important political documents in the American history? What did it officially state?
5. Look up the information about the Massachusetts Constitution and the Revolutionary War, the Alien and Sedition Acts.
6. Explain what the author means by saying that A. Burr behaved like “a true democratic politician”.

***Discussion questions:***

1. Can we compare American politics today with that of the founding generation? What examples of dirty politics does the author give?
2. What issues did the political leaders argue about?
3. What used to be the traditional versions of the founding era? Who initiated the romantic vision of the period?
4. What undermined the founders' dream to create a disinterested strong national government? What kind of politics did they practise and why?
5. Why is G. Washington claimed to have been an exception to the dominant political style of the times?
6. What kind of politician was T. Jefferson? Was he a master or a slave of politics, a president's friend or enemy?
7. How did T. Jefferson undercut Treasury Secretary A. Hamilton and the two presidents, Washington and Adams?
8. Why did Hamilton support Jefferson in the election of 1800?
9. What is the main difference between a politician of the founding era and that of the later era? What direction was American politics taking?

**Exercise 28**

a) *Look at the following nouns and explain what kind of people or professions they refer to. Translate them into Russian:*

pamphleteer	republican
hypocrite	federalist
crony	monarchist
fellow emissary	monocrat
ally	nemesis
founder	aide-de-camp
doubter	reactionary
historian	ambassador at large
politician	adviser
opponent	runner-up
deserter	abolitionist
advocate	protofeminist

b) *Look at the list of features typical of political life or ways of handling politics. Translate them into Russian. Add to the list:*

intrigue	denial
duplicity	indirectness
back-stabbing	assaults
character assassination	backhanded means
slander	planting gossip
treachery	partisanship
rivalry	pamphlet
disinterestedness	broadside
factionalism	duel
undercutting	changing parties

**Exercise 29**

*Make the following words negative with the help of negative prefixes and suffixes. Find the sentences in the text where these words are used and translate them into Russian. Speaking about which politician does the author use the words?*

proper	partisan
becoming	fearful
agreement	veiled
consistency	conceivable
interested	directness

### Exercise 30

*Write a summary of the text.*

### Exercise 31

*Fill each of the blanks with a word from the list, putting the verbs into the correct forms:*

leadership independence to win to honour to serve (2)  
 direction resistance to defeat to choose to participate  
 distinction success to negotiate to learn to result

### JOHN ADAMS (1735–1826)

John Adams was one of the most 1 \_\_\_\_\_ of the public men of his day. Upon graduation from Harvard College he 2 \_\_\_\_\_ the law for his career. In 1764 he married Abigail Smith, who, in her own right, became one of the famous characters of American History. Noteworthy 3 \_\_\_\_\_ came to John Adams in law and in civic affairs. In the troubled time of 1771 he 4 \_\_\_\_\_ a seat in the Massachusetts Assembly. Deep concern about Colonial grievances inspired his 5 \_\_\_\_\_ against the mother country. No one saw more clearly than he that the logical outcome of 6 \_\_\_\_\_ would be war and 7 \_\_\_\_\_. The fervent patriotism of John Adams gave 8 \_\_\_\_\_ to the Continental Congress, certainly to the Declaration of Independence — and 9 \_\_\_\_\_ in his selection to represent the United States abroad. He 10 \_\_\_\_\_ a loan from Holland, 11 \_\_\_\_\_ in making a favourable peace, and 12 \_\_\_\_\_ as the first minister to Great Britain. In 1788 John Adams returned from Europe in time to have his ability, 13 \_\_\_\_\_, and achievement rewarded

with the vice-presidency of the United States, the first man to be so 14 \_\_\_\_\_. As a candidate of the Federalist Party, he 15 \_\_\_\_\_ Thomas Jefferson in 1796, and became the only man 16 \_\_\_\_\_ eight years as Vice-President and then to become President.

### Exercise 32

*Find out some more information about the politicians to add it to what you have learned about them from the text. Now complete the following entries.*

1. Alexander Hamilton — a self-made man, energetic, forthright and blunt to the point of arrogance, he was physically and intellectually bold, and extremely loyal...
2. Thomas Jefferson — idealistic and ideological, he saw himself as the guardian of the revolutionary spirit. Politically cunning, he was backhanded and ambitious...
3. Benjamin Franklin — clever, industrious, and witty, he was also a ladies' man and bon vivant who championed the abolitionist cause near the end of his life...
4. John Adams — a shrewd judge of character, he was a hands-on committeeman. Though more practical than Jefferson, he also wanted to be seen as a gentleman...
5. Aaron Burr — the most self-assured and aristocratic of the founders, he was also the most like a modern politician, openly working for his own interests...
6. George Washington — solid, principled, and loyal, he was an officer and a gentleman. A confident delegator, he was also a stern and sometimes unforgiving leader...

### Exercise 33

*Prepare a 5-minute talk about one of the American Founding Fathers.*

### Exercise 34

*Read the following sentences and*

a) *mark all the words relating to leadership:*

1. Most countries align themselves with a major power whose policies they agree with.
2. The more powerful countries are often accused of bullying the smaller countries into voicing agreement with their policies.
3. Her resignation is irrevocable now, another person has already been hired to replace her.
4. The tyrannical rule of the family over the country ended when its most important members were assassinated.
5. She is known for her astuteness in business matters; that is one reason why she is a boss.
6. Everyone admired his ingenuity in solving the problem.
7. The president presides over the House of Representatives in that country.
8. The people feared that their conquerors would impose a system of totalitarianism.
9. The government tried to subjugate the opposition party.
10. The members of the nobility used to hold all the power in that country, but now the common people are gaining power.
11. The overthrown government leaders are now living in exile.
12. The party is reactionary and resists all change.
13. He is at the pinnacle of his career right now.
14. A good manager delegates responsibility to his employees, he does not try to do everything himself.
15. The central authority in a federation is sometimes called the federal government.
16. Bureaucrats have a reputation for being inflexible.
17. Spain was a very conservative country during the regime of Francisco Franco.
18. Students with outstanding academic records may win scholarship.
19. Someone who supports moderate politics wants change to occur a little at a time; someone who supports radical change wants to see changes made all at once, often through violent means.

20. Train service in Japan is said to be exceptionally efficient.
21. Supporters of the war said that its unfavourable public image was created by the media.
22. The boss does not treat his subordinates very well.
23. The supervisor must assess the job performance of each worker to decide whom to promote.
24. She merits a rise in pay, but the company seniority system may prevent her from getting it.
25. The new owner's utopian ideas about how to run the factory soon changed when he saw the realistic problems.
26. A good judge must act with integrity at all times and not be guilty of unethical behaviour.
27. Emulation of a hero is common among teenagers.
28. He showed a lot of enterprise when he founded that company.
29. The companies had gained such power that they were very formidable opponents.
30. In the struggle for world power, both countries would like to be dominant.

*b) group the marked words under the three headings and translate them:*

noun      verb/verb combination      adjective

*c) match each verb with its equivalents:*

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| 1) to align with | a) to acquire, obtain, secure, attain, win         |
| 2) to bully into | b) to govern, run, be in power, reign, hold office |
| 3) to resign     | c) to file, store, register, document, chart       |
| 4) to hire       | d) to sanction, give permission, permit            |
| 5) to replace    | e) to oust, get rid of, dispose of, purge, topple  |
| 6) to rule       | f) to estimate, evaluate, appraise, sum up         |
| 7) to subjugate  | g) to deserve, earn, have by right                 |

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| 8) to oppose     | h) to monopolize, control, regulate, govern  |
| 9) to gain       | i) to oversee, manage, run, be in charge, lead   |
| 10) to overthrow | j) to unite, combine, join forces, come together                                       |
| 11) to exile     | k) to upgrade, elevate, advance  |
| 12) to resist    | l) to succeed, change, substitute for, take over                                       |
| 13) to authorize | m) to carry out, execute, implement, accomplish  |
| 14) to record    | n) to defeat, make obedient, subordinate   |
| 15) to supervise | o) to fight against, stand up to, hold out against                                     |
| 16) to assess    | p) to copy, imitate, follow suit, do likewise, jump on the bandwagon, model oneself on |
| 17) to perform   | q) to leave, quit, retire  |
| 18) to promote   | r) to advocate, back, side with, throw your weight behind                              |
| 19) to merit     | s) to regard with disapproval, object to, voice opposition to, be against              |
| 20) to emulate   | t) to put pressure on, pressurize into, browbeat into                                  |
| 21) to dominate  | u) to banish, expel, deport, extradite, repatriate, evict                              |
| 22) to support   | v) to employ, engage, appoint, recruit, take on  |

*d) add words to every line to complete the collocations:*

to hold/gain/...power

major/world/...power

federal/conservative/...government

## Exercise 35

*Translate the following text into English using the active vocabulary.*

Политический лидер — личность, оказывающая постоянное преобладающее (omnipotent) влияние на все общество или на отдельное (single) политическое объединение, организацию. Политическое лидерство, как правило, прямо связано с должностью в общественной иерархии (social hierarchy), с обладанием (wield) властью. В этом проявляется его первая сторона. Вторая неформальная сторона политического лидера выражена в выдающихся или, по крайней мере, неординарных, индивидуальных качествах человека, его способности повести за собой других людей, в признании (acknowledge) за ним права на руководство со стороны общества.

Лидерство имеет сложную природу, и теория черт (theory of features) определяет природу (essence) лидерства выдающимися качествами личности: умом, волей, энергией, организационными способностями, компетентностью, готовностью взять на себя (assume) ответственность. Существуют разнообразные классификации политического лидерства. Широко распространено предложенное М. Вебером деление политических лидеров на **традиционных** (вожди племени, монархи), чей авторитет основан на обычаях, традиции; **рутинных** — это лидеры, избранные демократическим путем; и **харизматических**, наделенных (endowed with), по мнению масс, особыми выдающимися качествами и способностями к руководству.

## Workshop III. "INTERESTING" LEADERS

*Discuss the following: Which is better for a country to have a routine leader or a charismatic one? Why?*

*Read the article below and do the task that follows it.*

## AMAZING GREYS (abridged from Punch)

*Peter Freedman champions the politicians  
who dare to be dull.*

When a government committee, set up during the last war, asked Oswald Mosley why he had made such frequent visits to see Mussolini in the thirties, Mosley replied: "Because he's the most interesting man in Europe".

When Sue Lawley, during an interview for Desert Island Discs asked Mosley's widow Diana why she had been such an admirer of Adolf Hitler, the aged fan of the fascists cooed: "He had so much to say ... he was so interesting, fascinating".

The Mosleys, of course, never met Ivan the Terrible, Pedro the Cruel or even Vlad the Impaler, who was, by all accounts, a real card and great value at bring-an-impaler parties. Had they done so, however, they would doubtless have been too busy being interested to notice one great lesson of history, which is this: beware an interesting politician. He's only going to get you into trouble.

On the other hand, if it's wealth and happiness you're after, vote dull. Life may not be quite so thrilling. But it will be a lot more comfortable.

Dean Acheson, American Secretary of State under president Truman, said: "The first requirement of a statesman is that he be dull". Who, for example, is the leader of the third great economic superpower, Japan? By the same token, name the leader of Switzerland. Well, how about one Swiss leader in living memory? Dead memory? It does not matter, nobody in Switzerland can remember either. But the country seems to get by.

The only British politician in the Grey Super League is, of course, the suede-brained former chancellor, Sir Geoffrey Howe-dull-can-you-get (and how dreary of me to mention it). Howe is the dullest figure of his generation and the dullest cabinet minister of any generation. He has all the sparkle and panache of a pair of Hush Puppies — not by chance his favourite footwear — and his greatest sporting achievement was a notable second-best loser prize in an army boxing competition.

His name has become a byword for British dullness and the power for positive plodding. Some politicians' speeches set their audiences alight; Howe's seemed to be made of asbestos. The list of books with which to launch a sure-fail publishing company would be headed by one called *The Years of Restraint: Geoffrey Howe's Collected Budget Speeches, 1979–1983*. Yet, Howe is not the only survivor of Mrs. Thatcher's original 1979 Cabinet but probably the single least-disliked politician in the country — the man, at any rate, who Maggie dared not sack because he, more than anyone else, embodies the dullness that is our national strength and foundation of our democracy.

Going back into British history, this century's most charismatic politicians have undoubtedly been Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. Lloyd George was finally toppled by Andrew Bonar Law, the driest Scot you could imagine, and Churchill inspired the nation during World War II only to end up on the wrong end of a landslide victory. The man who replaced him is the inspiration for all small, mousey men — Clem Attlee.

Attlee overcame desperate economic circumstances to transform society in a way few leaders have been able to manage. His Government created the National Health Service and supervised Indian independence. Yet he was said to have the charisma of a building society branch manager. Orwell said that Attlee reminded him of “nothing so much as a dead fish before it has had time to stiffen”. Winston Churchill vented his bitterness on his lacklustre opponent in a variety of savage taunts. “An empty taxi drew up at N 10 Downing Street”, reported Churchill on one occasion, “and Clement Attlee got out”. He also called Attlee “a sheep in sheep's clothing”.

The only leader America has — until now — produced in the same league of dullness as Clement Attlee was Calvin Coolidge, the Republican president from 1923–1929. As the writer H. L. Mencken put it, “Nero fiddled while Rome burned, But Coolidge only snores”. Until Reagan, in fact, Coolidge held the record for White House snoozing, piling up eleven hours a night and two to four hours an afternoon. Indeed, his first executive decision on becoming President was to move a rocking chair out

onto the White House stoop, whereupon he could laze away the Washington evenings.

Even while awake, Coolidge was a man of few words. The story was told of a woman who cornered him at a party, saying: "I made a bet that I could get more than two words out of you". "You lose", he replied. But those words he did speak, he made count. He is said to be the only president who could get four syllables in the word "cow".

On retiring from office Coolidge became a newspaper columnist. He was responsible for such epigrammatic insights as "Raising taxes does not now seem popular"; "The future may be better or worse"; and, best of all, during the Great Depression, "The final solution for unemployment is work". But the final verdict on Coolidge was, of course, Dorothy Parker's response to the news of his death — "How can they tell?"

If only Parker had felt the need to ask the same question of either of the two men who so captivated the Mosleys. If only, indeed, the old Chinese curse, "May you live in interesting times", had been restated as "May you have an interesting leader".

### *Notes:*

1. Sir Oswald Mosley (1896–1980) — a British politician with extreme right-wing ideas. He was a Member of Parliament from 1918 to 1931, but in 1932 he started a new politician group called the British Union of Fascists (BUF). Mostly admired Mussolini and Hitler;
2. Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) — an Italian leader who established the system of fascism and ruled Italy as a dictator from 1925–1943. He fought with Germany in World War II, but because of the failures, he was forced to give up power in 1943. After the war he was shot by Italian partisans;
3. Desert Island Discs — a British radio programme in which famous people talk about their lives and choose the eight records they would like to have with them if they were left alone on a desert is-

- land. They are also allowed to choose one book and one luxury;
4. George Orwell (1903–1950) — the pen name of Eric Blair, a British writer, best known for his novels “Animal Farm” and “Nineteen Eighty-Four”;
  5. Downing Street — the street in central London that contains the official houses of the British PM, at number 10, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer at number 11;
  6. Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933) — the President of the USA from 1923–1929;
  7. Dorothy Parker (1893–1967) — a US writer of poetry and short stories, who also wrote reviews of books and plays. She is remembered for her many clever and funny sayings in which she criticized US society and well-known people

## Exercise 36

*Choose the most appropriate variant:*

1. In Peter Freedman’s opinion, dull politicians
  - a) are more successful than interesting politicians
  - b) do more for their voters than interesting politicians
  - c) do less harm than interesting politicians
2. Mr. Geoffrey Howe’s greatest sporting achievement was
  - a) he won a prize in an army boxing competition
  - b) he lost a prize in an army boxing competition
  - c) he took the last but one place in an army boxing competition
  - d) he was second-best in an army boxing competition
3. Geoffrey Howe’s speeches
  - a) produced a mesmerizing effect on his audiences
  - b) astounded his audiences
  - c) invigorated his audiences
  - d) produced a lulling effect on his audiences
  - e) produced no impression on his audiences

4. Attlee Clement
  - a) inspired all small mousey men
  - b) was able to inspire all small mousey men
  - c) could have inspired all small mousey men
  - d) inspires all small mousey men
5. Calvin Coolidge
  - a) made people count his words when he spoke
  - b) counted every word he spoke
  - c) chose his words carefully when he spoke

***Discuss in groups***

*What leaders have ruled Russia in the past century? What imprint have they left on the history of Russia? What effect does the personality of a leader have on the destiny of a nation?*

*Read how John Humphrys accounts for the public attitude to the choice of a politician. Do you find his arguments convincing? / inadequate? Why? Sum up his point of view in writing.*

**BETTER A TRICKY DICKY  
THAN A GREY MAN IN A GREY SUIT  
By John Humphrys, the *Sunday Times*  
(abridged)**

If you list, as I have been doing, all the many and various scandals that have dogged our politicians during the past decade it is true that you will have no trouble filling a couple of closely typed pages. There is a spot of expenses fiddling and influence peddling, the odd conflict of interest and abuse of power, a touch of corruption here and off-limits canoodling there, and a great deal of economy with the truth. The names involved total something more than three dozen, some of them admitting their sins, others not. A shameful record? Possibly. Surprising? I doubt it.

There are 36 Honourable Members on that list of dishonour. Allowing for new arrivals and departures, that suggests that approximately 2 per cent of them have occasionally strayed from the straight and narrow — some much further than others.

You may say that politicians should be different from the rest of us — and perhaps that is true. But take a look at those men and women who end up with their backsides on the green leather benches of the debating chamber. They are not, by and large, the sort of people who would otherwise have opted for a satisfying career as deputy bank manager or senior clerk with a gold watch at the end of it. Most of them are egoists, most are often ambitious to a fault, and many are chancers or, at the very least, risk takers. All the successful ones — without exception — are capable of ruthlessness. What is more, we know damn well that is what they are when we elect them. It is often the reason why we elect them.

We ask a lot of our politicians. We want them to be entirely honest—except when we ask them to lie on our behalf as they negotiate with Johnny Foreigner. We do not call it lying, of course; any more than we call it cheating when we berate them for obeying the rules, then demand to know why they can't play those twisters across the Channel at their own game. We want them to be humane, concerned, charitable human beings — except when they are ordering our pilots to bomb the bejesus out of Dresden or to fly at 15,000ft over Yugoslavia lest one of Our Boys be blown out of the skies ... and to hell with worrying about where their bombs may fall.

So the qualities we look for in a politician are not necessarily those we would seek in a prospective son-in-law. Winston Churchill may have done things that most of us would blanch at, but he won the war. Richard Nixon had earned his sobriquet "Tricky" many times over when he ran for president, but he was elected anyway. Even though he proved to be a foul-mouthed paranoiac who would stop at nothing to destroy his enemies and was forced to resign in disgrace, most Americans have a sneaking regard for him to this day. "Yes sir, he sure had the measure of those commie bastards".

Compare Nixon's place in American folklore with that of Jimmy Carter. You could not get more honest and moral and straight than good ol' Jimmy but, boy, did he let other folk walk over him. Or so they say.

The lesson for any aspiring politician seems to be that we don't mind if you are a bastard, just so long as you are our bastard. The other thing it seems that we do insist on is that we can trust you and be certain that you are acting in our interests. Once that is settled we want you to have a mind of your own.

Now this is where there is a problem. The way modern politics operates, it is increasingly difficult for us to divine the real character of a politician. Party discipline and the mania for control at every move deny politicians the ability to show us that they have minds of their own. The growing dependence of politicians on the image manipulators means that we are increasingly distrustful of the image that is created.

There are lessons in this for every one of us who worries about voter apathy. The more we perceive our politicians to be sharp operators concerned only with their own survival, the more inclined we shall be to stay at home on voting day — and no amount of jazzing up the voting system with booths in supermarkets will tempt us out.

The more the image manipulators deny us the chance to see behind the glossy exterior, the more suspicious we shall become. We want to use our own judgment on our own behalf and if we are frustrated by not being able to see the real character then we shall be tempted by the extremes.

**Note:**

1. Jimmy Carter — the 39th President of the US from 1977 (1924) to 1981. He helped arrange the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel called the Camp David Agreement

**Comprehension and discussion questions:**

1. What kind of misdemeanors are politicians most frequently blamed for?
2. What makes politicians commit sinful acts according to the author?
3. Why do ordinary people elect dishonest politicians to represent their interests?

4. To what extent is the general public to blame for the fact that politics has turned into a dirty game?
5. Why is it difficult for the general public to get to know who they really vote for?
6. What effect may political image building have on the public according to the article?
7. Why does the author find voter apathy dangerous? Do you agree with him? Why? /Why not?

### **Exercise 37**

*Explain the following references.*

1. They are not, by and large, the sort of people who would otherwise have opted for a satisfying career as deputy bank manager or senior clerk with a gold watch at the end of it.
2. We do not call it lying, of course; any more than...
3. We want them to be humane, concerned, charitable human beings — except when they are ordering our pilots to bomb the bejesus out of Dresden or to fly at 15,000 ft over Yugoslavia lest one of Our Boys be blown out of the skies ... and to hell with worrying about where their bombs may fall.
4. Compare Nixon's place in American folklore with that of Jimmy Carter.
5. The other thing it seems that we do insist on is that we can trust you and be certain that you are acting in our interests.
6. Once that is settled we want you to have a mind of your own.
7. There are lessons in this for every one of us who worries about voter apathy.

### **Exercise 38**

*Explain in plain English what the following euphemisms stand for:*

expenses fiddling  
influence peddling

off-limits canoodling  
economy with the truth  
stray from the straight and narrow  
debating chamber  
Johnny Foreigner  
American folklore  
image manipulators  
sharp operators

### **Exercise 39**

*Write an essay to support or refute the following statement.*

“Politicians can forgive almost anything in the way of abuse: they can forgive subversion, revolution, being contradicted, exposed as liars, even ridiculed, but they can never forgive being ignored”.

### **Workshop IV. POLITICAL AMBITION**

*Without looking into a dictionary write a definition of the word “AMBITION”. Compare your understanding of the word with those of other students in the group. Do you think it is good or bad to be ambitious?*

*Now read attentively an essay by Joseph Epstein, who is a professor of English at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.*

*Get ready to bring out the main idea of the essay.*

#### **THE VIRTUES OF AMBITION**

**By Joseph Epstein**

Ambition is one of those Rorschach words: define it and you instantly reveal a great deal about yourself. Even that most neutral of works, Webster's, gives itself away, defining ambition first and foremost as “an ardent desire for rank, fame, or power”. Ardent immediately assumes a heat incommensurate with good sense and stability, and rank, fame, and power have come under fairly

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heavy attack for at least a century. One can, after all, be ambitious for the public good, for the alleviation of suffering, for the enlightenment of mankind, though there are some who say that these are precisely the ambitious people most to be distrusted.

Surely ambition is behind dreams of glory, of wealth, of love, of distinction, of accomplishment, of pleasure, of goodness. What life does with our dreams and expectations cannot, of course, be predicted. Some dreams, begun in selflessness, end in rancor; other dreams, begun in selfishness, end in large-heartedness. The unpredictability of the outcome of dreams is no reason to cease dreaming.

To be sure, ambition, the sheer thing unalloyed by some larger purpose than merely clambering up, is never a pretty prospect to ponder. As drunks have done to alcohol, the single-minded have done to ambition — given it a bad name. Like a taste for alcohol, too, ambition does not always allow for easy satiation. Some people cannot handle it; it has brought grief to others, and not merely the ambitious alone. Still, none of this seems sufficient cause for driving ambition under the counter.

What is the worst that can be said — that has been said — about ambition? Here is a partial list:

To begin with, it, ambition, is often antisocial, and indeed is now out-moded, belonging to an age when individualism was more valued and useful than it is today. The person strongly imbued with ambition ignores the collectivity; socially detached, he is on his own and out for his own. Individuality and ambition are firmly linked. The ambitious individual, far from identifying himself and his fortunes with the group, wishes to rise above it. The ambitious man or woman sees the world as a battle; rivalrousness is his or her principal emotion: the world has limited prizes to offer, and he or she is determined to get his or hers. Ambition is, moreover, jesuitical; it can argue those possessed by it into believing that what they want for themselves is good for everyone — that the satisfaction of their own desires is best for the commonweal. The truly ambitious believe that it is a dog-eat-dog world, and they are distinguished by wanting to be the dogs that do the eating.

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From here it is but a short hop to believe that those who achieved the common goals of ambition — money, fame, power — have achieved them through corruption of a greater or lesser degree, mostly greater. Thus all politicians in high places, thought to be ambitious, are understood to be, ipso facto, without moral scruples. How could they have such scruples — a weighty burden in a high climb — and still have risen as they have?

If ambition is to be well regarded, the rewards of ambition — wealth, distinction, control over one's destiny — must be deemed worthy of the sacrifices made on ambition's behalf. If the tradition of ambition is to have vitality, it must be widely shared; and it especially must be esteemed by people who are themselves admired, the educated not least among them. The educated not least because, nowadays more than ever before, it is they who have usurped the platform of public discussion and wield the power of the spoken and written word in newspapers, in magazines, on TV. In an odd way, it is the educated who have claimed to have given up on ambition as an ideal. What is odd is that they have perhaps most benefited from ambition — if not always their own then that of their parents and grandparents. There is a heavy note of hypocrisy in this; a case of closing the barn door after the horses have escaped — with the educated themselves astride them.

Certainly people do not seem less interested in success and its accoutrements now than formerly. Summer homes, European travel, BMWs — the locations, place names and name brands may change, but such items do not seem less in demand today than a decade or two years ago. What has happened is that people cannot own up to their dreams, as easily and openly as once they could, lest they be thought pushing, acquisitive, vulgar. Instead, we are treated to fine pharisaical spectacles, which now more than ever seem in ample supply: the revolutionary lawyer quartered in the \$250,000 Manhattan condominium; the critic of American materialism with a Southampton summer home; the publisher of radical books who takes his meals in three-star restaurants; the journalist advocating participatory democracy in all phases of life, whose own children are enrolled in private schools. For such people and many more perhaps not so egregious, the

proper formulation is, "Succeed at all costs but refrain from *appearing* ambitious".

The attacks on ambition are many and come from various angles; its public defenders are few and unimpressive, where they are not extremely unattractive. As a result, the support for ambition as a healthy impulse, a quality to be admired and inculcated in the young, is probably lower than it has ever been in the USA. This does not mean that ambition is at an end, that people no longer feel its stirrings and promptings, but only that, no longer openly honoured, it is less often openly professed. Consequences follow from this, of course, some of which are that ambition is driven underground, or made sly, or perverse. It can also be forced into vulgarity, as witness the blatant pratings of its contemporary promoters. Such, then, is the way things stand: on the left angry critics, on the right obtuse supporters, and in the middle, as usual, the majority of earnest people trying to get on in life.

Many people are naturally distrustful of ambition, feeling that it represents something intractable in human nature. Thus John Dean entitled his book about his involvement in the Watergate affair during the Nixon administration *Blind Ambition*, as if ambition were to blame for his ignoble actions, and not the constellation of qualities that make up his rather shabby character. Ambition, it must once again be underscored, is morally a two-sided street. Place next to John Dean Andrew Carnegie, who, among other philanthropic acts, bought the library of Lord Acton, at a time when Acton was in financial distress, and assigned its custodianship to Acton, who never was told who his benefactor was. Need much more be said on the subject than that, important though ambition is, there are some things that one must not sacrifice to it?

But going at things the other way, sacrificing ambition so as to guard against potential excesses, is to go at things wrongly. To discourage ambition is to discourage dreams of grandeur and greatness. All men and women are born, live, suffer, and die; what distinguishes us one from another is our dreams, whether they be dreams about worldly or unworldly things, and what we do to make them come about.

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It may seem an exaggeration to say that ambition is the linchpin of society, holding many of its disparate elements together, but it is not an exaggeration by much. Remove ambition and the essential elements of society seem to fly apart. Ambition, as opposed to mere fantasizing about desires, implies work and discipline to achieve goals, personal and social, of a kind society cannot survive without. Ambition is intimately connected with family, for men and women not only work partly for their families; husbands and wives are often ambitious for each other, but harbour some of their most ardent ambitions for their children. Yet to have a family nowadays — with birth control readily available, and inflation a good economic argument against having children — is nearly an expression of ambition in itself. Finally, though ambition was once the domain chiefly of monarchs and aristocrats, it has, in more recent times, increasingly become the domain of the middle classes. Ambition and futurity — a sense of building for tomorrow — are inextricable. Working, saving, planning — these, the daily aspects of ambition — have always been the distinguishing marks of a rising middle class. The attack against ambition is not incidentally an attack on the middle class and what it stands for. Like it or not, the middle class has done much of society's work in the USA; and it, the middle class, has from the beginning run on ambition.

It is not difficult to imagine a world shorn of ambition. It would probably be a kinder world: without demands, without abrasions, without disappointments. People would have time for reflection. Such work as they did would not be for themselves but for the collectivity. Competition would never enter in. Conflict would be eliminated, tension become a thing of the past. The stress of creation would be at an end. Art would no longer be troubling, but purely celebratory in its functions. The family would become superfluous as a social unit, with all its former power for bringing about neurosis drained away. Longevity would increase, for fewer people would die of heart attack or stroke caused by tumultuous endeavour. Anxiety would be extinct. Time would stretch on and on, with ambition long departed from the human heart.

Ah, how unrelievedly boring life would be!

There is a strong view that holds that success is a myth, and ambition therefore a sham. Does this mean that success does not really exist? That achievement is at bottom empty? That the efforts of men and women are of no significance alongside the force of movements and events? Now not all success, obviously, is worth esteeming, nor all ambition is worth cultivating. Which are and which are not is something one soon enough learns on one's own. But even the most cynical secretly admit that success exists; that achievements count for a great deal; and that the true myth is that the actions of men and women are useless. To believe otherwise is to take on a point of view that is likely to be deranging. It is, in its implications, to remove all motives for competence, interest in attainment, and regard for posterity.

We do not choose to be born. We do not choose our parents. We do not choose our historical epoch, the country of our birth or the immediate circumstances of our upbringing. We do not, most of us, choose to die; nor do we choose the time or conditions of our death. But within all this realm of choicelessness, we do choose how we shall live: courageously or in cowardice, honorably or dishonorably, with purpose or in drift. We decide what is important and what is trivial in life. We decide that what makes us significant is either what we do or what we refuse to do. But no matter how indifferent the universe may be to our choices and decisions, these choices and decisions are ours to make. We decide. We choose. And as we decide and choose, so are our lives formed. In the end, forming our own destiny is what ambition is about.

### *Notes:*

1) enlightenment of mankind — просвещение человечества  
to enlighten — cause to understand deeply and clearly by  
making free from false beliefs

Enlightenment — 18th century philosophical theory in Europe  
teaching that science and the use of reason could improve  
the human condition

2) Jesuitical ambition — иезуитские, коварные амбиции

- Jesuit — a Roman Catholic, who lives a religious life and does a lot of missionary work; one who uses clever and cunning arguments to prove that he is correct in what he says
- 3) ipso facto (Lat) — by the fact itself — по самому факту
- 4) pharisaical spectacles — лицемерные представления, спектакли
- Pharisees — Jews who believe in strictly obeying the laws of Judaism; people who pretend to be moral and religious
- 5) philanthropic acts — акты покровительства  
a philanthropist — a person who helps the poor with money
- 6) benefactor — a person who helps others by giving money — благодетель

***Vocabulary to help you understand the text:***

- 1) incommensurate with — несовместимый с
- 2) the sheer thing unalloyed by — чистая вещь, без примесей
- 3) commonweal — общее благо
- 4) astride a horse — верхом на лошади
- 5) accoutrements of success — обстоятельства, сопутствующие успеху
- 6) the blatant prating — вопиющее пустословие
- 7) the linchpin of society — стержень общества
- 8) domain — владения, сфера деятельности

***Questions for general comprehension and discussion:***

1. According to the author, what are some of the negative aspects of ambition?
2. What can cause ambition to be well-regarded?
3. What has caused ambition to be less regarded in the USA in recent years?
4. The author states that “ambition... is morally a two-sided street”. What does he mean?
5. To a great extent the author believes that “ambition is the linchpin of society”. How does he support that belief?
6. What would characterize a world without ambition according to Epstein? Do you agree with him? Why? / Why not?

7. Does the author believe that the quality of life would be improved without ambition? Explain.

## Exercise 40

*Translate the following sentences from the text paying special attention to the structures of the sentences.*

1. The person strongly imbued with ambition ignores the collectivity; socially detached, he is on his own and out for his own.
2. Thus all politicians in high places, thought to be ambitious, are understood to be, ipso facto, without moral scruples.
3. What has happened is that people cannot own up to their dreams, as easily and openly as once they could, lest they be thought pushing, acquisitive, vulgar.
4. The attacks on ambition are many and come from various angles; its public defenders are few and unimpressive, while they are not extremely unattractive.

## Exercise 41

*As you can see for yourself, the essay is written in a highly bookish, literary style. Look through the essay to find the formal words in the text that in plain English mean as follows.*

### paragraphs

- 1 — easing of suffering
- 2 — hostility
- 3 — satisfaction
- 5 — filled with
- 8 — blatant, especially bad
- 9 — a) fix in the mind by repeating, b) thick, slow
- 10 — a) awkward, problematic, b) morally unacceptable
- 12 — a) very different, b) inseparable
- 13 — a) effort, b) attempt

## Exercise 42

*What does the author suggest in English for*

устаревший

угрызения совести

получить выгоду от чего-либо

быть зачисленным в частную школу

в достаточном количестве

преуспеть в жизни

время для размышления

продолжительность жизни

незаконно захватить

держат в руках, пользоваться властью

открыто заявить о чем-либо

подчеркнуть

воздержаться от поступка

## Exercise 43

*Open the brackets using the English equivalents for the Russian phrases.*

1. After the revolution the Communist Party (пользовалась огромной властью).
2. The president has (признался, открыто заявил) his enthusiasm for the project.
3. This very difference (подчеркивает) our break with past traditions.
4. Although there was a lot more to say, he (воздержался) from further questions.
5. The next morning the Ambassador had (время для размышлений) on the strange conversation he had had.
6. This position enables a person to (незаконно присваивать себе) power and privilege.
7. We've got to study much to (добиться чего-либо) in life.
8. Opportunities for promotion were in (достаточном количестве).

9. As an employer, he (не страдал от угрызений совести), employing children to work at night.
10. It's an expensive investment but it will (получит выгоду) in the long run.
11. The government's (устаревшие) attitudes are dragging the whole country back into the 19th century.

## Exercise 44

*Fill in the blanks with the appropriate phrase.*

1. After the resignation he had plenty \_\_\_\_\_ the events of the past few weeks.
2. It is still a rich nation, which \_\_\_\_\_ in the modern world.
3. They both \_\_\_\_\_ direct association with the President.
4. Richard III \_\_\_\_\_ by using underhand methods.
5. Many public figures have \_\_\_\_\_ disgust at the use of weapons.
6. The urgency of doing something \_\_\_\_\_ by a wave of horror stories about rape and muggings.
7. The old professor tried to inculcate his \_\_\_\_\_ beliefs in his students.
8. If it were the only way to get my son set free, I would act without \_\_\_\_\_.
9. Small business firms \_\_\_\_\_ the fall in interest rate.
10. The documents provide evidence of his guilt in \_\_\_\_\_.
11. He read as much about economics as he could knowing that it would help him to \_\_\_\_\_ in life.
12. The Vice President is trying to \_\_\_\_\_ the President's authority.
13. Leaders \_\_\_\_\_ in manipulating people.
14. Despite the \_\_\_\_\_ by the generals, they were unable to maintain order and discipline in the army.
15. Everyone \_\_\_\_\_ from a new medical service.

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## Exercise 45

*Translate into English.*

1. В ее руках сосредоточено большое политическое влияние.
2. У коррумпированных руководителей совсем нет совести, они думают только о власти и деньгах.
3. Лекции некоторых профессоров отражают устаревшие концепции и идеи.
4. Фирма получила выгоду от внедрения его идей.
5. Европейские государства предложили пострадавшей от наводнения стране гуманитарную помощь и медикаменты в достаточном количестве.
6. Некоторые недоучившиеся студенты пытаются незаконным путем присвоить себе квалификацию учителя, претендуя на получение работы в школах и даже университетах.
7. Председатель открыто признал, что не знал о намерениях своего секретаря.
8. Его уход в отставку подчеркивает неодобрение им принятого на съезде решения.
9. Во время полета воздержитесь от курения.
10. Мне предоставили три дня для размышлений.
11. Вам может и не нравится необходимость во всем соглашаться с начальником, но только так и можно чего-то добиться в жизни.
12. Слушатели были поражены его устаревшими взглядами.
13. У профсоюзов сейчас гораздо меньше власти, чем раньше.
14. Хаос, возникший после отключения электроэнергии, только подчеркнул, насколько мы стали зависимы от компьютеров.

*Exploring ideas in pairs:*

1. The concluding statement of the essay observes that “forming our own destiny is what ambition is about”. Do you agree or disagree? Give your reasons.

2. Do you think that people are hypocritical about ambition? If so, in what ways?
3. Do you agree with the author that ambition holds society together?
4. How does ambition manifest itself in our society?

***Statements for debating in a group:***

1. "Surely ambition is behind dreams of glory, of wealth, of love, of distinction, of accomplishment, of pleasure, of goodness".
2. "To discourage ambition is to discourage dreams of grandeur and greatness".
3. "Ambition, as opposed to mere fantasizing about desires, implies work and discipline to achieve goals, personal and social, of a kind society cannot survive without".

**Exercise 46**

*Summarize the essay to substantiate the statement:*

"Individuality and ambition are firmly linked".

**Exercise 47**

*Write a composition.*

"The unpredictability of the outcome of dreams is no reason to cease dreaming".

*Now that the world has entered the era of globalization where leadership over a wide spectrum of human affairs such as environment protection, drug trafficking, terrorism, etc. is required, do you think the world needs a different type of leaders? What qualities do you think they should possess? Is the idea of the world government practicable from your point of view? Why? / Why not?*

***Read the text below to find answers to the following questions.***

1. What makes most of the acting leaders and public figures inadequate for fulfilling the role of world leaders?

2. What effect does the absence of international leadership have on the world nations?
3. Where can one look for potential sources of world leadership?
4. What are the reasons for the shortage of leaders on major international issues today?
5. What are to be the major objectives for the leaders of the future?

## **THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP**

**The world needs leaders made strong by vision,  
sustained by ethics, revealed by political courage  
that looks beyond the next election.**

Whatever the dimensions of global governance, however renewed and enlarged its machinery, whatever values give it content, the quality of global governance depends ultimately on leadership.

As the world faces the need for enlightened responses to the challenges that arise in the new century, we are concerned at the lack of leadership over a wide spectrum of human affairs. At national, regional, and international levels, within communities and in international organizations, in governments and in non-governmental bodies, the world needs credible and sustained leadership.

It needs leadership that is proactive, not simply reactive, that is inspired, not simply functional, that looks to the longer term and future generations for whom the present is held in trust. It needs leaders made strong by vision, sustained by ethics, and revealed by political courage that looks beyond the next election.

This cannot be leadership confined within domestic walls. It must reach beyond country, race, religion, culture, language, lifestyle. It must embrace a wider human constituency, be infused with a sense of caring for others, a sense of responsibility to the global neighbourhood. Vaclav Havel gave it expression when addressing the US Congress in 1990 he said:

Without a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness, nothing will change for the better in our being as humans,

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and the catastrophe towards which our world is headed... will be unavoidable. We are still incapable of understanding that the only backbone of all our actions — if they are to be moral — is responsibility...

The impulse to possess turf is a powerful one for all species; yet it is one that people must overcome. In the global neighbourhood, a sense of otherness cannot be allowed to nourish instincts of insularity, intolerance, greed, bigotry, and, above all, a desire for dominance. But barricades in the mind can be even more negative than frontiers on the ground. Globalization has made those frontiers increasingly irrelevant. It is the task of leadership to bring the world to this higher level of consciousness.

The need for leadership is widely felt, and the sense of being bereft of it is the cause of uncertainty and instability. It contributes to a sense of drift and powerlessness. A neighbourhood without leadership is a neighbourhood endangered.

International leadership is a quality easy to identify by its presence or its absence, but extraordinarily difficult to define, and even more difficult to guarantee. Political differences and conflicts between states, sensitivity over the relationship between international responsibility and national sovereignty and interest, increasingly serious national domestic problems, and somewhat disorderly nature of the international system of organizations and agencies — all these constitute considerable obstacles to leadership at the international level.

Such leadership can come from a number of possible sources and in many different forms. Governments, either singly or in groups, can pursue great objectives. The American-led post-war planning that produced the new international system based on the United Nations was a classic example of such leadership. Individuals can put their reputation on the line for international innovation, as Lester Pearson of Canada did for UN peacekeeping. Specific governments can create a constituency for an international initiative — Sweden on the environment, or Malta on the Law of the Sea.

In the UN itself, international leaders may also emerge. Ralf Bunche pioneered trusteeship and decolonization and set up a

new standard for international mediation and, indeed, for international civil service in general. Maurice Pate and Henry Labouisse spearheaded the drive to make the world's children an international concern. Halfdan Mahler led the World Health Organization into a vital international role.

Leadership does not only mean people at the highest national and international levels. It means enlightenment at every level — in local and national groups, in parliaments and in the professions, among scientists and writers, in small community groups and large national NGOs, in international bodies of every description, in the religious community and among teachers, in political parties and citizens' movements, in the private sector and among large international corporations, and particularly in the media. NGOs can be of crucial importance in developing support and new ideas for important international goals. Recent examples have included the environment, women's rights, and the whole broad area of human rights world-wide.

At the moment, political caution, national concerns, short-term problems, and a certain fatigue with international causes have combined to produce a dearth of leadership on major international issues. The very magnitude of global problems such as poverty, population, or consumerism seems to have daunted potential international leaders.

A great challenge of leadership today is to harmonize domestic demands for national action and the compulsions of international cooperation. It is not a new challenge, but it has a new intensity as globalization diminishes capacities to deliver at home and enlarges the need to combine efforts abroad. Enlightened leadership calls for a clear vision of solidarity in the true interest of national well-being — and for political courage in articulating the way the world has changed and why a new spirit of global neighbourhood must replace old notions of adversarial states in eternal confrontation.

The alternative is too frightening to contemplate. In a final struggle for primacy — in which each sees virtue in the advancement of national self-interest, with states and peoples pitted against each other — there can be no winners.

In a real sense the global neighbourhood is the home of future generations; global governance is the prospect of making it better than it is today. But that hope would be a pious one were there not signs that future generations come to the task better equipped to succeed than their parents were. They bring to the next century less of the baggage of old animosities and adversarial systems accumulated in the era of nation-states.

The new generation knows how close they stand to cataclysms unless they respect the limits of the natural order and care for the earth by sustaining its life-giving qualities. They have a deeper sense of solidarity as people of the planet than any generation before them. They are neighbours to a degree no other generation on earth has been. On that rests the hope for the global neighbourhood.

## Exercise 48

*Translate the following sentences from the text into Russian:*

*a) paying attention to the underlined parts:*

1. Whatever the dimensions of global governance, however renewed and enlarged its machinery, whatever values give it content, the quality of global governance depends ultimately on leadership.
2. But that hope would be a pious one were there not signs that future generations come to the task better equipped to succeed than their parents were.

*b) paying attention to the infinitive structures:*

1. We are still incapable of understanding that the only genuine backbone of all our actions — if they are to be moral — is responsibility.
2. International leadership is a quality easy to identify by its presence or its absence, but extraordinarily difficult to define, and even more difficult to guarantee.
3. The very magnitude of global problems such as poverty, population, or consumerism seems to have daunted potential international leaders.

4. And yet without courageous, long-term leadership at every level — international and national — it will be impossible to create and sustain constituencies powerful and reliable enough to make an impact on problems that will determine, one way or another, the future of the human race on the planet.
5. A great challenge of leadership today is to harmonize domestic demands for national action and the compulsions of international co-operation.
6. The alternative is too frightening to contemplate.

## Exercise 49

*Without looking into the text try to insert prepositions where necessary.*

1. As the world faces the need \_\_\_\_\_ enlightened responses \_\_\_\_\_ the challenges that arise \_\_\_\_\_ the new century, we are concerned \_\_\_\_\_ the lack of leadership \_\_\_\_\_ a wide spectrum of human affairs.
2. It needs leadership that looks \_\_\_\_\_ the future generations for whom the present is held \_\_\_\_\_ trust.
3. This cannot be leadership confined \_\_\_\_\_ domestic walls.
4. It must reach \_\_\_\_\_ country, race, religion, etc.
5. It contributes \_\_\_\_\_ a sense \_\_\_\_\_ drift.
6. It is \_\_\_\_\_ the heart \_\_\_\_\_ the tendency everywhere to turn inward.
7. Ralph Bunch set \_\_\_\_\_ a new standard \_\_\_\_\_ international mediation.
8. NGOs can be \_\_\_\_\_ crucial importance \_\_\_\_\_ developing support and new ideas \_\_\_\_\_ important international goals.
9. Enlightened leadership calls \_\_\_\_\_ a clear vision \_\_\_\_\_ solidarity \_\_\_\_\_ the true interest \_\_\_\_\_ national well-being.

## Exercise 50

*Find in the text the English equivalents for:*

- мировое сообщество
- возглавить движение
- истинный стержень/основа действий
- политическая осторожность
- преодолеть стремление к обладанию территорией
- согласовывать/совмещать требования
- государственная служба
- охватывать широкий круг вопросов/людей
- просвещенное руководство/власть
- воспитывать чувства
- ясное видение чего-либо
- старая вражда
- государства-соперники
- вечное противостояние
- борьба за верховенство/первенство
- основываться на этике

## Exercise 51

*Find in the text equivalents for the following words also taken from the text:*

- |               |             |           |
|---------------|-------------|-----------|
| to care for   | goals       | vital     |
| the lack of   | to include  | moral     |
| broad area of | to frighten | limits of |
| community     |             | cataclysm |

## Exercise 52

*Write out all the phrases beginning with "a sense of..." and translate them into Russian.*

### Exercise 53

Make the following adjectives and nouns negative, find them in the text and translate them into Russian. Add to the list any having the same negative prefixes or suffixes:

tolerance	powerful
relevant	avoidable
certainty	capable
stability	orderly

### Exercise 54

Study the word combinations, find them in the text and translate into Russian:

credible and sustained leadership	a desire for dominance
to hold in trust	to make an impact on
human consciousness	prospect of
unavoidable catastrophe	to constitute obstacles

### Exercise 55

Learn the following words and use them in the given sentences.

a) **to (dis)credit** — **(in)credible** — **creditable** — **credit** — **creditor** — **credibility** — **creed** — **credo** — **credence** — **credentials**

1. Their claim is rather hard \_\_\_\_\_
2. If we don't keep our promise, we'll lose \_\_\_\_\_ with the public.
3. The public does not give much \_\_\_\_\_ to the government's promises.
4. He left the country to run away from his \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The new ambassador is to present his \_\_\_\_\_ next week.
6. It seems hardly \_\_\_\_\_ that the government should have started caring about the poor.
7. Do you place any \_\_\_\_\_ in the minister's story?

8. The company welcomes applications from people of every race, \_\_\_\_\_ and colour.
9. It's highly \_\_\_\_\_ that you've been able to cope with the work.
10. His \_\_\_\_\_ was to never give up.

**b) to sustain — sustained — sustainable — sustenance — sustainability**

1. To avoid catastrophes the new generation should care for the earth and \_\_\_\_\_ its life-giving qualities.
2. The population was undernourished and badly in need of \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The knowledge that a rescue team would be searching for them \_\_\_\_\_ the travelers.
4. The body's new purpose is to work toward the achievement of the highest \_\_\_\_\_ economic growth and employment.
5. Reports so far say as many as ninety people may \_\_\_\_\_ serious injuries.
6. The \_\_\_\_\_ of the empire's overseas profits depended on having at its disposal armies and administrators.
7. Hungry for education, for help in \_\_\_\_\_ development, and for access to the new technology, the Commonwealth looks to Britain for practical assistance.

**c) to (dis)trust — trustful — trustworthy — truthful — trust — trusteeship**

1. My colleagues will have to take the statement on \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Politicians rarely give \_\_\_\_\_ answers to questions.
3. He always \_\_\_\_\_ his solicitors with his affairs. She always \_\_\_\_\_ her affairs to her secretary.
4. The firm was looking for a dedicated and \_\_\_\_\_ manager.
5. They are no longer \_\_\_\_\_ of the government's promises.
6. The \_\_\_\_\_ Council, one of the UN's six principal organs, played an important role in the post-war process of decolonization.

d) **(un/sub)conscious — consciousness — conscience — conscientious**

1. The aging Minister died under the anaesthetic without regaining \_\_\_\_\_.
2. He was a man of strong social \_\_\_\_\_, giving all his money to the poor of the city.
3. He suddenly became \_\_\_\_\_ of a sharp change in his listeners' attitude.
4. The civil servant had a guilty \_\_\_\_\_ about letting the group down.
5. His previous employer recommends him highly and refers to him as hard-working and \_\_\_\_\_.
6. They were found in a state of \_\_\_\_\_ and immediately taken by ambulance to the nearest hospital.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ thoughts or feelings are not fully known or understood by the \_\_\_\_\_ mind.

e) **to constitute — constitutional — constituent — constituency — constitution**

1. The minister's \_\_\_\_\_ feel that he does not spend enough time dealing with their problems.
2. The Court will determine whether the warders' action \_\_\_\_\_ an abuse of the prisoner's human rights.
3. Everyone has a \_\_\_\_\_ right to speak out against the country's involvement in the war.
4. It is sometimes difficult to believe that the different groups living within the borders \_\_\_\_\_ a single nation.
5. The siting of the new missile base in the \_\_\_\_\_ caused protests.

f) **to dominate — dominant — domineering — domination — dominance**

1. Peace was the \_\_\_\_\_ theme of the conference.
2. The committee work well, although sometimes the chairman tends \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Rival parties struggled for \_\_\_\_\_ of the community.
4. The election campaign \_\_\_\_\_ by the issue of unemployment.

5. A handful of multinational companies \_\_\_\_\_ the economy.
6. The manager was arrogant and \_\_\_\_\_ and never listened to anyone.
7. Gradually, television has become the \_\_\_\_\_ form of leisure activity.
8. Their \_\_\_\_\_ of the market is seriously threatened by the new product.

## Exercise 56

*Learn the following pairs or chains of words and use them or their derivatives in the given sentences.*

### a) **impact / influence / effect / affect**

1. The experience had a profound \_\_\_\_\_ on me.
2. Gagarin's space flight had an immediate \_\_\_\_\_ on US scientific policy.
3. Health education programmes \_\_\_\_\_ people's eating habits.
4. The \_\_\_\_\_ of the strike was felt right across the country.
5. Darwin's ideas have had a profound \_\_\_\_\_ on our view of the world.
6. The book describes the revolution and its immediate \_\_\_\_\_ on the lives of ordinary people.
7. But problems, such as interest rates, inflation, industrial performance and productivity, unemployment have always periodically \_\_\_\_\_ the British economy.
8. Both sides recognize that the \_\_\_\_\_ of policy may be very different from those intended.
9. The \_\_\_\_\_ of the Blair agenda will make people strangers in their own land — with an alien voting system and Parliament.
10. Advocates press for reforms that have the \_\_\_\_\_ of promoting checks and balances against the government of the day.
11. Serious instability in one area may quickly \_\_\_\_\_ others and agreed international intervention may be necessary.

**b) prospect / perspective**

1. He doesn't particularly like the \_\_\_\_\_ of working in a remote country.
2. The \_\_\_\_\_ for improved relations between the countries are poor.
3. You must keep things in \_\_\_\_\_ - the overall situation is rather misleading.
4. A recurrence of a terrorist act is a \_\_\_\_\_ which terrifies New Yorkers.
5. Due to its geographical position Britain's \_\_\_\_\_ on the situation is different from that of other European countries.
6. There is every \_\_\_\_\_ of an economic recovery next year.
7. The new evidence put an entirely different \_\_\_\_\_ on the case.
8. We can trust the essay as it is written from an expert's \_\_\_\_\_
9. The \_\_\_\_\_ of putting weapons in space is frightening to many people.
10. The loss of \_\_\_\_\_ depressed the employees. They realized there were no \_\_\_\_\_ of success.
11. There's been a shift in his \_\_\_\_\_ on life since the tragic events.

**c) to avoid / to evade**

1. The best interviewers make it impossible for politicians \_\_\_\_\_ their questions.
2. One can't continue \_\_\_\_\_ the responsibilities.
3. Take whatever precautions you can \_\_\_\_\_ being involved in an accident.
4. Cunning businessmen often manage \_\_\_\_\_ taxes.
5. You may be able \_\_\_\_\_ paying income tax on the money that you save.
6. The minister tried \_\_\_\_\_ their questions by giving vague answers.

## Exercise 57

*Choose the right alternative.*

Government's own preferred blueprint/imprint for a reformed Upper House remains opaque [неясный], the Labour Party's stance to date has leant towards a wholly dominated/nominated chamber. Directly elected politics/politicians should form two thirds of the membership. A continuing independent element would widen the consensus/debate and contribute/constitute to a less partisan /nonpartisan atmosphere. The use of PR for those elected to the Upper House would make single-party domination/nomination all but possible/impossible.

Inevitably, a second chamber with legitimacy and credence/credibility would be more troublesome. Making the second chamber more legitimate enhances/strengthens MPs by increasing their ability to make ministers accountant/accountable. Special roles are suggested in relation to constitutional/constituent developments and the human/humane rights legislation, as well as enhanced/strengthened European scrutiny. Underlying all these activities is the important difference/distinction that the fate of the Government does not hang on the result. It should continue to be reflected in the authorities/powers of the two Houses. The second chamber should be able to assert its perspectives/prospects but not prevent the Government from proceeding/preceding with public/social business. The Parliament Acts should be applied in the event of prolonged agreement/disagreement between the two chambers, with a conciliation process to pursue/promote consensus/debate.

## Exercise 58

*Translate the sentences into English using the active vocabulary.*

1. Народ отдает предпочтение руководителям, способным доминировать в политике и последовательно отстаивать свои цели и принципы, так как считает, что это способ-

ствуется стабильности в обществе и является предпосылкой устойчивого экономического роста в стране.

2. Просвещенная власть характеризуется такими качествами, как порядочность, профессионализм, компетентность, честность. эрудиция, образованность.
3. Лидер, заслуживающий доверия, должен быть человеком, у которого слово не расходится с делом.
4. Невыполнение президентом предвыборных обещаний, а также авторитарный стиль правления могут привести к потере доверия к нему у народа.
5. В сознании людей идеальный лидер — это человек последовательный, терпимый, которому можно верить, на которого можно положиться, и к тому же не лишенный чувства юмора.
6. Единственное, что поддерживало веру в народе — это возможность перемен к лучшему после выборов.
7. Сложная ситуация в стране создаст препятствия для успешной реализации экономических программ.
8. Вступление новых государств в Европейский Союз, возможно, окажет влияние на его экономическую политику.
9. Лидеру не стоит избегать общения с людьми, поскольку «общительность» может увеличить его популярность.
10. Бывший сенатор А. Дж. Беверидж писал: «Ничего не принимайте на веру. Проверяйте и уточняйте все данные. Решите для себя, имеют ли они отношение к теме и на какой вывод наталкивают. Тогда ваша речь приобретет оригинальность и силу воздействия — она будет энергичной и неотразимо убедительной».

## Exercise 59

*Write a comment on the following:*

“Barricades in the minds can be even more negative than frontiers on the ground”.

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## Exercise 60

*Study the following idioms and make up your own sentences with them.*

- 1) to put the cart before the horse — to reverse the proper order  
The civil servant was so eager to get the job done that he often put the cart before horse.
- 2) through thick and thin — in spite of all sorts of difficulties  
He decided to remain loyal to his beliefs through thick and thin.
- 3) the die is cast — an unchangeable decision has been made  
The die was cast when he decided to run for president.
- 4) to go up in smoke — to come to no practical result  
The governor's plans to seek reelection for a third term of office went up in smoke.

*Make up a situation with the idioms using the active vocabulary of the unit.*

## ► WRITING

### Exercise 61

*Write paragraphs to comment on the following quotations.*

1. Any American who is prepared to run for President should automatically, by definition, be disqualified from ever doing so.

*Gore Vidal*

2. Authority has every reason to fear the skeptic, for authority can rarely survive in the face of doubt.

*Robert Lindner*

3. Glory is largely a theatrical concept. There is no striving for glory without a vivid awareness of an audience.

*Eric Hoffer*

**Exercise 62**

*Write an essay on one of the following subjects.*

1. The real leader has no need to lead — he is content to point the way.

*Henry Miller*

2. The basis of effective government is public confidence.

*John F. Kennedy*

3. Politics are now nothing more than a means of rising in the world.

*Samuel Johnson*

**Workshop V. VOCABULARY PRACTICE****Exercise 63**

*Complete the text, bearing in mind all the studied words. The first letters of the necessary words are given to help you.*

□ 1. P\_\_\_\_\_ often like to think that e\_\_\_\_\_ are won through a mixture of p\_\_\_\_\_ big ideas and an appealing i\_\_\_\_\_. The truth is simpler. All these are but ingredients of a larger point: t\_\_\_\_\_. Most people are not very interested in p\_\_\_\_\_. They decide either that they t\_\_\_\_\_ an i\_\_\_\_\_ government so little that they kick it out, or that they t\_\_\_\_\_ a party enough to put or keep it in. Small wonder that Tony Blair has played mercilessly on his clean, open, t\_\_\_\_\_ nature, in his massive e\_\_\_\_\_ victories. Which is why it is a huge wonder that, a mere six months since his latest and greatest win, he is choosing to put that very t\_\_\_\_\_ at risk.

But in p\_\_\_\_\_, t\_\_\_\_\_ is relative. Voters expect p\_\_\_\_\_ to exaggerate, and even to be a bit u\_\_\_\_\_. Mr. Blair's advantage has been that he and his team looked more t\_\_\_\_\_ — and certainly more c\_\_\_\_\_ — than the main alternative, the C\_\_\_\_\_. It is that relative advantage that he is now in danger of destroying.

□ 2. In the face of it, Mr. Blair's approach is working. He remains miles ahead in the o\_\_\_\_\_ p\_\_\_\_\_. Although some p\_\_\_\_\_ say that L\_\_\_\_\_ is now c\_\_\_\_\_ to be sleazier even than the T\_\_\_\_\_, this has not yet a\_\_\_\_\_ the government's overall ratings. Moreover, barring the apocalypse, there are at least three-and-a-half years to go before the next g\_\_\_\_\_ e\_\_\_\_\_. Nevertheless, the approach is dangerous. For a start, it puts in danger Mr. Blair's own a\_\_\_\_\_ to hold a referendum on British a\_\_\_\_\_ of the euro. To s\_\_\_\_\_ in that, he needs the public to t\_\_\_\_\_ his recommendation, and to a\_\_\_\_\_ the temptation to make the referendum simply a protest vote against the a\_\_\_\_\_. In the longer t\_\_\_\_\_, though, it could put in danger his very survival. It is reminiscent of the recent troubles of Marks & Spencer. The retailer seemed to be coasting along on its fine r\_\_\_\_\_. But, bit by bit, customers began to doubt that its products were as good as it was c\_\_\_\_\_. Suddenly, its brand and its business tumbled. The same could well happen to the Tony Blair brand.

T\_\_\_\_\_ in p\_\_\_\_\_, to repeat a point, is relative. Mr. Blair could prove vulnerable in two ways. One is that it is plainly going to be difficult for his g\_\_\_\_\_ to bring about noticeable i\_\_\_\_\_ in health, t\_\_\_\_\_ and e\_\_\_\_\_ which he and his m\_\_\_\_\_ have promised. At that point, relative t\_\_\_\_\_ may be all he has left. The second is that, for once, his o\_\_\_\_\_ look well placed to exploit a tumble. The L\_\_\_\_\_ D\_\_\_\_\_ stand ready to exploit any disillusionment with his r\_\_\_\_\_ on p\_\_\_\_\_ s\_\_\_\_\_. And by sheer chance, the T\_\_\_\_\_ look well placed to exploit both a referendum defeat and, most important, a loss of t\_\_\_\_\_.

## Exercise 64

*Translate the words in brackets into English.*

### A MUSICAL WORLD

Music (достичь вершин своего развития) in the nineteenth century. (Каждая передовая страна) produced its share of great composers. There was a bewildering array of national schools

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and musical styles as the once obscure musician (подняться в музыке). Music became a widespread and democratic art. As the century progressed, the Germans (начать доминировать) in orchestral and symphonic music. The growth of German music can be said to have culminated with Ludwig van Beethoven.

Beethoven was able to free music (от традиционных ограничений) that had tended to constrict it. He was a child prodigy (который занимал важную должность придворного музыканта) at the age of 14. He (преуспел как пианист, играя на концертах), but when his health began to fail he turned to composing. Some of his later compositions reflect his sadness with his physical condition, but (в них также проявляется торжество человека и самой жизни).

(Пресмник) Beethoven was Johannes Brahms. Also a prodigy, he was (предмет несносных атак со стороны) other composers because of the individuality of his work. They heaped (обличительная речь) upon him for the intensely emotional quality and Germanic style of his writings. However, it was impossible (запятнать его репутацию и таланты) for long, and he was soon one of the most popular composers in Europe. (В своей личной жизни) Brahms was considered by his friends (самолюбивый). He had an extremely lofty opinion of himself and his talents and a rather (однобокий взгляд на общественную жизнь). Brahms was (закоренелый домосед). Cambridge University conferred an honorary degree upon him but he was (непреклонный в своем решении оставаться дома) and did not go to receive the honor.

## **Exercise 65**

*Translate into English.*

### **Качества, которыми должен обладать идеальный президент**

Независимый исследовательский центр РОМИР в рамках электорального проекта провел серию дискуссий с россиянами, посвященных выяснению особенностей восприя-

тия наследием кандидатов на пост Президента РФ, а также ожиданий и требований, связанных с властью. В рамках данного проекта рассматривались как имиджи отдельных кандидатов в президенты, так и образ идеальной власти, модель идеального лидерства.

Как показали результаты исследования, на выбор качеств идеального президента влияют не столько социальные характеристики респондентов, сколько их политические ориентации. Планирующие отдать свои голоса Н. видят в образе идеального президента юриста, решительного человека, способного идти на компромиссы, хорошего оратора, физически крепкого и здорового человека. Странники М. на первый план выдвигают такие качества, как понимание нужд простых людей, зрелый возраст (человек с большим опытом управления). Странники Л. наделяют образ гибкостью, эмоциональностью, видят в нем яркую харизматическую, талантливую личность, странники К. — высокую нравственность/мораль, техническое образование.

Наиболее важными качествами оказались: порядочность, здоровье, дееспособность, патриотизм, забота об интересах народа, компетентность, профессионализм, ум, эрудиция, образованность.

## ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION

*Get ready to discuss the problem of patriotism at a round-table conference. Distribute the roles among the participants and do not forget about the role of the chairperson. Make use of the hints given in Unit 2 The Press.*

## A SALUTE TO PATRIOTISM?

**Atheist** — Patriotism is like religion; those who believe in it view the rest of us as sinners, condemned to purgatory — or at least to an uncozy predicament in the here and now.

**Pacifist** — Patriotism and nationalism are identical twins. They infect people with a feeling of superiority, of bellicose pride, that translates into war slogans easy as apple pie.

**Politician** — Still, we are implored to embrace patriotism. The only way to survive is to get on that wave. We must be more patriotic than our right/left-wing neighbours. No matter the duplicity involved, if we want to effect political change and gain the support of our unenlightened fellow citizens, we should wrap ourselves in the flag.

**Patriot** — The concept of patriotism — as distinct from nationalism — transports us from petty individualistic concerns to an awareness of a greater, nobler identity that is communal. Individuals do not exist in a vacuum but in a social framework of family, community, and country. Our identities are entwined with these institutions and, to some extent at least, owe them an obligation.

**Civil Rights Activist** — The notion that one owes an obligation to one's country is absurd. Free will and individual liberty are forsaken in this repressive philosophy, which denies the individual the right to create and develop his own identity. It wants us to believe that inanimate objects — mere social sandboxes — deserve to command our respect, love, and loyalty.

**Cosmopolitan** — Our obligations should be to ourselves and our fellow living beings, not to some bloodless concoction of bygone rulers. Our identities should be of our own making, not imposed by an ancient cartographer. And our loyalties should not stop at the border.

**Historian** — It's not just a home-grown affliction. Always a dutiful and willing servant, patriotism has carried the body bags for every modern ruler from Napoleon to Hitler, Stalin to Pol Pot.

**Sociologist** — Patriotism is the most primitive of passions. It's been around for thousands of years, and these days the sentiment is transmitted in the home, the classroom, the assembly hall, the athletic field, as well as on the radio waves and television screens. No day passes without our being bombarded by some patriotic message or symbol.

**Prime Minister** — We are forging a new patriotism focused on the potential we can fulfill in the future. For me, this is not about being “cool” or keeping up with the current trends in pop music. It is about being modern and forward — thinking and believing in the future.

## ► Word List VI

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art of delegation	generation of ideas
anxious	to get on in life
to authorize	genuine backbone
to account	global neighbourhood
assaults	to harmonize demands for
animosity	hands-off
to avoid	immortal phrase
adversarial	indirectness
to besmirch one's record	in ample supply
back-stabbing	to look to one's own finances
bully	to leave an imprint on
to benefit from	longevity
bereft of	to manage
bossy	multi-faceted
blueprint	to nourish instincts
backhanded means	to overcome an impulse
blatant	obnoxious
to conceive of	outmoded
chief executive officer	obstacle
character assassination	perspective
consistency	prospect
civil service	to profess
catastrophe	political caution
clear vision	to possess
to credit	to run a complex bureaucracy
to constitute	to refrain from

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conscious  
to debate the fine points  
disinterestedness  
discourse  
denial  
to dominate  
enlightened leadership  
egotistical  
effect  
to evade  
excessive power  
to enroll  
ethics  
exigencies of  
erratic  
eternal confrontation  
to focus on the big stuff  
forthrightness of style  
factionalism

reflection  
streak of genius  
scruples  
stubborn  
to succeed  
slander  
to spearhead the drive to  
struggle for primacy  
to sustain  
tense  
to trust  
to turn loose on  
treachery  
to usurp  
undercutting  
underhand  
to underscore  
virtue  
to wield power

## Unit VII. THE CIVIL SERVICE

In Britain the standard definition of a civil servant is that of “a servant of the Crown employed in a civil capacity who is paid wholly and directly from the money voted by Parliament”. In April 1994 this definition covered about 533,000 permanent staff. Twenty per cent of all civil servants work in London, a further 16 per cent in the rest of South East England and 64 per cent in other parts of the country.

We are concerned mainly with the civil servants who work directly for Ministers (popularly known as “Whitehall” after the street in the centre of London in which a number of Government Departments have their headquarters and who are closely involved in policy work.) We are therefore considering the administrative elite at the heart of British central Government.

Civil servants are recruited largely in their twenties on the basis of their personal qualities and general academic attainments rather than by any specialist skills. This influences both the character and the quality of the service at every level and there are three principal reasons for it.

Firstly, as the civil servants are to advise, assist and to some extent influence those who are set over them from time to time, no particular value has been placed upon the possession of specialist skills. Except the skills of public administration and of working effectively with Ministers, which are considered best acquired mainly by experience in the job.

Secondly, there has traditionally been a disdain for technical expertise and a civil servant was regarded as someone “who knows how and where to find reliable knowledge, can assess the expertise of others at its true worth, can spot the strong and the weak points in any situation at short notice, and can advise on how to handle a complex situation”. As the saying goes, the experts are supposed to be on tap but not on top.

Thirdly, there has been a traditional tendency for the young recruits into the administrative grades to come disproportionately from middle-class family backgrounds and to have arts degrees from Oxford or Cambridge. However, in recent times the

Civil Service Commission has been making great efforts to recruit people from universities other than Oxbridge, more women and more people from ethnic minorities. Yet the character of top civil service is likely to change only slowly.

*Answer the following questions:*

1. Which branch of power does Civil Service belong to?
2. When does a person have his best chance to join the Civil Service?
3. What qualities of the candidates are appreciated most highly by the members of the Civil Service Commission, who recruit new members? Why?
4. What does the duty to be always on tap mean?
5. What are the new tendencies visible in the work of the Civil Service Commission?

## **Exercise 1**

*Suggest the Russian for*

- |                                     |                                    |                          |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) civil capacity                   | 2) administrative elite            | 3) academic attainments  |
| 4) to recruit                       | 5) disdain for technical expertise | 6) reliable knowledge    |
| 7) to assess smth at its true value | 8) at short notice                 | 9) to spot strong points |
| 10) to be on tap                    | 11) arts degree                    | 12) ethnic minority      |

## **Exercise 2**

*Complete the sentences using one of the expressions above.*

1. When the soldiers returned home, the government found it hard to employ them in \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Top Civil Servants are known as \_\_\_\_\_.
3. He began to speak evasively, ashamed to admit that he had never been a diligent student when questioned about his \_\_\_\_\_.

4. Only if you participate in the experiment will you be able to \_\_\_\_\_.
5. It's impossible to negotiate an agreement \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Doctors seldom stay long in emergency wards because of the necessity to \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Eskimos belong to Canadian \_\_\_\_\_.
8. Faced with the serious crisis they regretted the fact that their firm had always showed \_\_\_\_\_.
9. Success at the exam requires a lot of luck and \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Seeing his name at the top of the list he realized that at last he \_\_\_\_\_.

### Exercise 3

*Translate into English using the appropriate phrases.*

1. В отличие от секретных служб, государственная служба берет на работу людей в их гражданском качестве.
2. Нередко политики проявляют пренебрежение к знаниям технических деталей.
3. Хороший секретарь всегда под рукой у начальника.
4. Мне поставили задачу срочно определить сильные и слабые стороны проекта.
5. Торговые фирмы предпочитают набирать персонал из людей, имеющих дипломы по гуманитарным наукам.
6. В административную элиту входят, как правило, те, кто имел высокую академическую успеваемость в годы учебы в университете.
7. Даже если приходится срочно набирать новый персонал, необходимо убедиться, что кандидаты обладают надежными знаниями.
8. Академические успехи отдельных представителей национальных меньшинств наконец-то были оценены по достоинству.

*Try to find answers to the following questions while reading the text below.*

1. Where do Civil Servants get the information that they filter and interpret for Ministers?
2. What kind of written documents are Civil Servants expected to compose regularly in the course of their work?
3. What part do Civil Servants play in the formulation of government policy?
4. In what way does the behaviour of Civil Servants change depending on the surroundings when they act as representatives of Ministers?
5. In what way are Civil Servants expected to manage public resources?

### **MAIN FUNCTIONS OF CIVIL SERVICE**

The civil service in Britain today has at least five distinct but interconnected functions to perform. These are the analysis of policy issues, the formulation of policy under Ministerial direction, the implementation of decisions once taken by Ministers, the delivery of services to the general public, and the management of public resources.

Civil servants are the main source of information and advice for Ministers. When Ministers need to know something or have to prepare a meeting, make a speech, answer questions in Parliament or on the media, it is the civil servants in their own Departments who provide the necessary information and advice. Usually this is provided in writing in the form of background briefs or other internal memoranda. It is often supplemented by oral information or advice given at internal Departmental meetings, since this can be quicker in an emergency and some Ministers prefer to be briefed in this way. Civil servants, therefore, act essentially as filters and interpreters of existing information and advice which they derive mainly from Departmental sources and accessible outside experts whose discretion can be trusted.

Civil servants help Ministers to formulate policy and to make decisions by presenting them with option papers which usually encompass a range of possibilities and policy recommendations. They also provide most of the information and advice against

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which Ministers can test the soundness or otherwise of their own ideas and their party political commitments.

Civil servants carry out the administrative tasks of central Government in accordance with the political guidelines laid down in Ministerial decisions. If it is not possible in certain cases when new situations arise, reference is usually made to the appropriate Minister for further policy instructions. Although the administration of policy can be as important as the actual decisions made by Ministers, civil servants are supposed to avoid action or inaction which embarrasses Ministers or prejudices Ministerial decisions. On the whole they seek faithfully to carry out the policies and decisions which they have helped Ministers to produce.

Civil servants have an important role as representatives of Ministers at meetings in Whitehall or elsewhere. These may be meetings with officials from other Departments, with the spokesmen of various pressure groups or with members of the general public. On such occasions civil servants may speak on behalf of Ministers within the carefully defined limits of established policy — for example, when giving evidence to a Select Committee or taking part in an inter-Departmental committee — and they write numerous letters, memoranda and circulars on behalf of the Ministers for whom they work. Normally there is a clear distinction between the latitude allowed to them in the privacy of internal Whitehall meetings with Ministers and other civil servants, and the orthodox and cautious way in which they are supposed to reflect Government policy in meetings or written communications with outsiders.

Finally, there is the very important function of senior civil servants, namely that of seeing that the machinery of central government is managed in an efficient and cost-effective way.

***Note:***

Select Committee — a committee of the British parliament that is appointed for a certain length of time to consider a particular matter

## Exercise 4

*Explain in English what the following documents are used for and suggest Russian equivalents for them.*

- 1) background briefs
- 2) internal memoranda
- 3) option papers
- 4) circulars

## Exercise 5

*Who or what are the following?*

- 1) a spokesman
- 2) a pressure group

## Exercise 6

*Learn the following words and word combinations:*

to implement decisions	to brief smb	to trust discretion
to speak on behalf of smb	a cost-effective way	in an emergency
to lay down guidelines	to give evidence	to manage public resources

encompass a range of possibilities

## Exercise 7

*Paraphrase the underlined parts of the sentences and use the phrases from the exercise above.*

1. The President only shapes the general directives, which his administration later works out in detail.
2. The book covers all aspects of world terrorism.
3. Diplomats in their work tend to rely on tact and caution of their foreign counterparts.

4. As his country's envoy he used to speak in the name of his people.
5. Some high ranking authorities have been summoned to testify in court.
6. After the Duma has voted, it is up to the Government to carry out its decisions.
7. Even in an unexpectedly difficult situation the ambassador can't lose his head.
8. The press secretary regularly informs the media about the President's schedule.

## Exercise 8

*Translate the sentences using the above mentioned word combinations.*

1. Госслужащие играют важную роль в принятии и выполнении политических решений.
2. Государственная служба в Великобритании имеет высокую репутацию, т. к. она не подвержена коррупции, политически нейтральна и эффективно управляет общественными ресурсами.
3. Желание госслужащих защитить своего министра от критики в парламенте ведет к чрезмерной осторожности и сопротивлению переменам.
4. Госслужащий должен всегда находиться в распоряжении руководства.
5. Большинство людей, поступающих на государственную службу после окончания университета, готово следовать принципам, положенным в основу государственной службы.
6. Осмотрительность государственного служащего — это главное, на что министр всегда может положиться.

## Exercise 9

*Write an answer to the following question.*

“Which oral and written skills should be professionally practised and constantly perfected in training candidates for the Civil Service? Why?”

*Read the article below to answer the following questions.*

1. Which of their functions do Top Civil Servants tend to neglect?
2. Who does a Civil Servant owe obedience to? What effect does strictly vertical hierarchy have on the efficiency of Civil Service?
3. How does the author explain the high efficiency of the British Civil Service?
4. On what grounds is the British Civil Service traditionally criticized nevertheless?

## **CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES OF CIVIL SERVICE**

There are several key issues in the continuing debate about the civil service in Britain today which influence the development of the British political system. The civil service in Britain works within established conventions which have shaped its practices for many years. Foremost among these are: support of Ministers both individually and collectively; accountability through Ministers to Parliament; integrity and objectivity in advice and service delivery; political impartiality at all times; equitable treatment of citizens under the law; and selection and promotion on merit without political patronage or interference.

Top civil servants tend to see their main role and duty as the support of Ministers in those areas of Departmental business to which Ministers attach importance. This means that they tend to give a higher priority to servicing the needs of their Ministers on matters of policy and assisting them in their dealings with Parliament, the media and the public than to meeting the managerial requirements of running their Departments. The task of bureaucratic management and control tend to be seen as rather tedious and unattractive chores by most of the talented officials who have reached the top of the civil service over the years.

Another well established convention is that civil servants should take their instructions only from their superiors in their Departments or sometimes directly from Ministers, but not from anyone else. This means that the lines of authority and reporting are strictly vertical and that to get anything new done in a Department of central Government it is usually necessary for Ministers, either directly or through officials, to give the initial policy instructions, or at least to indicate to civil servants that a possible alternative policy can be examined. This tends to put considerable burdens on the Ministers themselves and upon the officials working most closely with them in their Private Offices. It means that if the Minister concerned is not an innovator or is very cautious, quite senior officials elsewhere in the Department can be lightly employed for considerable periods. It also underlines the fact that without a clear and decisive lead from Ministers, Departments are not usually very good at shaping a new agenda or responding to events speedily or with imagination.

Another well established convention is that the administration of policy should be carried out according to the highest standard of probity and equity, while at the same time avoiding any form of political embarrassment for Ministers. This last consideration has often put a premium upon a rather defensive and cautious approach to policy and decision making with particular emphasis laid upon avoiding risk and trying to see that neither Parliament nor the media get too many opportunities to identify shortcomings or failures in government policy which could turn the public against the party in office.

Another fundamental convention in Whitehall is that the Government of the day should at all times have a coherent and defensible position on every policy issue with which it has to deal. This is regarded as the minimum requirement for satisfactory Cabinet government, which has to be based upon the principle of collective responsibility. It means that a great deal of civil service time and effort is spent upon producing agreed positions with which all Departments can concur. Notwithstanding the sometimes Herculean efforts of the most influential civil servants

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to formulate agreed policy positions to which all Ministers can adhere, there are times when the pressure of events becomes too great for coherence and unity to be maintained.

The British civil service has both strengths and weaknesses which stem from the nature of British Parliamentary government and the people involved in it. One obvious strength is the intellectual and administrative ability of those in the higher grades of the civil service. This reflects the high entry and selection standards for this group, and the continuing attractions of the administrative grades for many of the ablest students from the universities. In general, the result of this recruitment policy has been the formation and renewal of a small cadre of clever and competent people who become skilled practitioners in the art of public administration and whose main strengths are the ability to advise Ministers on policy and to carry out Ministerial decisions effectively. On the other hand it has been argued that this elite group has smooth and generalist qualities which are not necessarily the most appropriate for tackling the challenges of Government in the modern world.

Another strength of the British civil service has been the tradition of political impartiality and the ability to work satisfactorily for Ministers of very different political persuasions. Although individual civil servants retain their own political views, in their professional lives they have to carry out the policies of the Government of the day without complaint or obstruction (as long as the Ministers act lawfully). Resignation from the civil service on policy or political grounds are therefore very rare, although a number of civil servants do leave the public service every year for the different challenges and often higher financial rewards of the private sector. On the other hand, there have been critics of the British civil service who have interpreted this acknowledged political impartiality as tantamount to patient and practised obstruction of the more radical purposes of democratically elected Governments.

As for the most complete absence of corruption in the British civil service, this must obviously be regarded as a virtue by any measurement. With very few exceptions British civil servants

have demonstrated over the years that they are people of the highest personal integrity who do not succumb to the temptations of bribery and corruption that damage the reputation of Governments in many other countries.

## **Exercise 10**

*Write a summary of the text.*

## **Exercise 11**

*Find the English equivalents for the following Russian phrases and translate the sentences where they are used into Russian.*

- 1) подотчетность парламенту
- 2) политическая беспристрастность
- 3) равное обращение со всеми гражданами
- 4) повышение по службе по заслугам
- 5) руководить отделом
- 6) возлагать тяжесть на чьи-либо плечи
- 7) настроить общественность против правящей партии
- 8) иметь четкую позицию по любому политическому вопросу
- 9) принцип коллективной ответственности
- 10) соглашаться с решениями
- 11) придерживаться согласованных позиций
- 12) сохранять приверженность политическим взглядам
- 13) отсутствие коррупции и взяточничества
- 14) поддаться искушению

## **Exercise 12**

*Translate the following sentences into English using the active vocabulary.*

1. Случай коррупции и взяточничества, о которых сообщает пресса, настраивают общественность против бюрократов.
2. Несмотря на взятое обещание придерживаться согласованных позиций во время съезда, лидеры отдельных

фракций поддались искушению оказаться в составе центрального руководства партии.

3. Наличие у административной элиты четких позиций по любым политическим вопросам не исключает ее подотчетности министру и парламенту.
4. Как только он начал руководить отделом, стало понятно, что его повысили по службе по заслугам.
5. Многие политически беспристрастные общественные деятели выступали против принципа коллективной ответственности руководства КПСС.
6. Даже в ссылке Герцен сохранил свои политические взгляды и продолжал давать объективную оценку деятельности царского правительства.
7. Обещания, розданные национальным меньшинствам во время избирательной кампании рядовыми членами его партии, возложили дополнительную тяжесть на плечи нового лидера.
8. Умение государственных служащих быстро определить сильные и слабые стороны выдвигаемого проекта высоко ценится начальством.
9. Только студенты, имеющие высокую академическую успеваемость, имеют шанс попасть на работу в Министерство иностранных дел.

## PRE-READING TASKS

*What do the words below have in common?*

ANARCHY — OLIGARCHY — MONARCHY

*What other systems of governing a country do you remember?*

## Exercise 13

*Can you match the following terms with their definitions?*

DEMOCRACY — TOTALITARIANISM —  
DICTATORSHIP — TYRANNY — MONARCHY —  
OLIGARCHY — POLICE STATE

- 1) government by a small group of people, often for their own interests
- 2) government by the people or the elected representatives of the people
- 3) a country in which most activities of the citizens are controlled by secret political police
- 4) a political system in which every citizen is subject to the power of the state, which exercises complete control
- 5) a system ruled by someone with complete power, especially if that power was gained by force
- 6) the system of rule by a sovereign
- 7) the use of power cruelly or unjustly to rule a country

*Learn the following words of foreign origin before reading the text below*

Words of French origin:

Eminence grise = secret counsellor

Grands corps = great bodies (organizations)

Conseil d'Etat = state council

The Cour de Comptes = Court of Auditor's

Aux armes = to arms

Words of Latin origin:

Inner sanctum = a holy place inside a temple

*Now read the article and explain what the word **ENARCHY** means.*

## **ENARCHY**

“An omnipotent caste cut off from reality ... more talented in flattery than decision-making ... politically correct [ouch] ... responsible for a crisis in French society without equal since the end of the Fourth Republic [in 1958].” Jacques Chirac, mayor of Paris and Gaullist presidential candidate, does not seem to like

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the French elite in general and, in particular, its post-graduate university training-ground, the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA). He has made the malign influence of elitism one of his main campaign themes.

Which is strange, considering he is a prime example of its products. He, the central figures of his campaign team, and his two main political supporters (Philippe Seguin, the president of the National Assembly, and Alan Juppe, the foreign minister), are all *enarques*. So is Eduard Balladur, his presidential rival and for many years *eminence grise*; so is Lionel Jospin, the Socialist candidate; and so are two other candidates.

More than in any other western democracy, power in France is concentrated in the hands of a tiny elite. Every year, ENA takes in fewer than 100 graduates, 0.01 % of school-leavers. They spend 27 months there and, on graduation, take up life-long employment in one of the *grands corps* (such as the Inspection de Finances, the Conseil d'Etat, the Cour des Comptes). From these institutions — the inner sanctum of the French state — the *enarques* fan out to run the civil service, state-owned industries, banks, the arts and, of course, politics. Four of the past six French prime ministers have been *enarques*. What is more, as France's state-owned banks, insurers, oil companies and manufacturers have been privatized, the *enarques* who were running them have become captains of private sector industry too. *Enarques are just about everywhere.*

Well, it might be argued, so are the products of the Ivy League colleges in America or Oxbridge in Britain. Yes, but even in comparison with those, ENA is tiny. They turn out more graduates in a year than ENA has done in 50 years of its existence (around 5,000 in all). *Enarques*, the critics say, form a tiny, incestuous confraternity whose members know each other, speak alike, think alike and protect one another.

It is this that makes many French people worry about the elite — the worry that Mr. Chirac is responding to. "The elite has turned in on itself", complains Charles Million, the (non-*enarque*) leader of the centre-right parliamentary group, and a Chirac supporter. "It has become a caste, a nomenklatura".

France has the reputation for having one of the most efficient bureaucracies in the world. In good times, it just gets on with running the country. In not so good times (as now), it is blamed for the country's ills. Mr. Chirac's desire to end the technocrats' "monopoly of power" goes down well with the electorate. But he has not suggested reforming ENA or said he will get rid of the technocratic elite around him. Strange.

*The Economist.*

### **Comprehension questions:**

1. What kind of institution is ENA? Who does it train?
2. Where are ENA's graduates later employed?
3. What does ENA have in common with OXBRIDGE in Britain and the IVY LEAGUE colleges in the USA? How does it differ from them?
4. What distinguishes French bureaucracy from many of its western counterparts?
5. Why do critics describe ENA as "an incestuous confraternity"?
6. Why has Jacques Chirac chosen criticism of elitism as one of his main election campaign themes?
7. Why does the author end his article with the word "strange"?
8. Why does the author use the exclamation OUCH in brackets?
9. What does the author mean when he describes the French elite as "politically correct"?

### **Exercise 14**

*Compare the terms.*

**TECHNOCRAT — BUREAUCRAT — ARISTOCRAT**

*What does "CRAT" mean?*

*In pairs discuss the difference between the following terms.*

**ELITE — CASTE — NOMENCLATURA — BUREAUCRACY**

*Try to define the following terms: ELITISM , MONOPOLY.*

*Compare your definitions with those given in English-English dictionaries.*

## Exercise 15

*Compare the words.*

OMNIPOTENT — OMNIPRESENT — OMNISCIENT —  
OMNIVOROUS

*Consult the dictionary if necessary and explain the meaning of the prefix OMNI used in all those words.*

*Fill in the gaps below with the suitable word.*

1. The fear of failure was \_\_\_\_\_ among the candidates waiting for the examination results.
2. Most Christians believe that God is eternal and \_\_\_\_\_, and fear punishment for the sins they occasionally commit.
3. One reason why people try to avoid living in mining areas is the \_\_\_\_\_ coal dust.
4. The woman goes as a patient to an \_\_\_\_\_ professional.
5. The man is a rather \_\_\_\_\_ newspaper reader.
6. In a totalitarian regime the government power is \_\_\_\_\_.
7. He became an \_\_\_\_\_ reader of classics.
8. In the comic strips there was a cruel and \_\_\_\_\_ villain.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ eaters find the dietary laws in some hotels to be too restrictive.

## Exercise 16

*The English phrasal verbs TAKE IN and TURN OUT have several different meanings. Find the meaning in which they are used in the article.*

### TAKE IN

- 1) put smb up for the night
- 2) deceive
- 3) employ or recruit
- 4) understand what you see, hear
- 5) alter a dress

### TURN OUT

- 1) it happens in that way
- 2) move the switch
- 3) force smb to leave
- 4) throw out, empty
- 5) produce

## Exercise 17

*Explain the meaning of phrasal verbs as they appear in the following sentences and translate them into Russian.*

1. The elite has turned in on itself.
2. In good times bureaucracy just gets on with running the country.
3. Mr Chirac's desire to end the technocrats' "monopoly of power" goes down well with the electorate.

## Exercise 18

*Fill in the blanks with the correct phrasal verb from the list.*

TAKE IN, TURN OUT, TURN ON SMB, GET ON WITH, GO DOWN WELL WITH.

1. Though I had failed to inform the embassy of my arrival, they agreed to \_\_\_\_\_.
2. To save time you'd better \_\_\_\_\_ the task at once.
3. Without a warning they \_\_\_\_\_ me, accusing me of all mortal sins.
4. He always \_\_\_\_\_ to be at the right place at the right time.
5. Civil Servants generally \_\_\_\_\_ the day-to-day business of government.
6. In the past decade our college has been \_\_\_\_\_ more and more students, but the Ministry has been \_\_\_\_\_ less staff.
7. Overt flattery doesn't \_\_\_\_\_ new management.
8. The jacket is too loose, it needs \_\_\_\_\_.
9. The idea of the freedom of the speech seldom \_\_\_\_\_ authorities.
10. Those who fail to pay the rent in time may be \_\_\_\_\_ of their apartments.
11. He refused to be \_\_\_\_\_ by her kindly words.
12. I can't quite \_\_\_\_\_ what you're driving at.

13. Voters \_\_\_\_\_ in extraordinary numbers for the election.

## Exercise 19

Write the following text in English using the phrasal verbs where possible.

Когда институт выпустил моего брата с дипломом бакалавра, брат не мог взять в толк, почему он и его друзья оказались не нужны в министерстве, в то время как зарубежные фирмы охотно соглашались приютить их. Они тогда не знали, что необходимость доучивать их за свой счет была не по вкусу бюрократам в министерстве. Однако, вместо того чтобы сказать им правду о причинах отказа в работе, чиновник из отдела кадров набросился на них, критикуя их одежду и советуя ушить брюки, которые якобы не соответствуют принятой форме одежды. Немного погрузив, ребята занялись поиском работы в других местах.

## ► Word List VII

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administrative elite	elitism
academic attainments	to go down well with
arts degree	to get on with
at short notice	to give evidence
to adhere to	internal memoranda
agreed positions	in an emergency
anarchy	impartiality
aristocrat	to lay down guidelines
at its true value	monarchy
to be on tap	monopoly
background briefs	nomenclatura
bribery	option papers
bureaucrat	oligarchy
civil capacity	omnipotent

---

circular  
citizen  
cost-effective way  
collective responsibility  
coherent position on  
to concur with  
corruption  
caste  
disdain for  
democracy  
discretion  
dictatorship  
ethnic minority  
enarchy  
to encompass a range of  
equitable treatment of

promotion on merit  
party in office  
to put burdens on  
police state  
reliable knowledge  
to run a department  
to spot strong points  
spokesman  
to speak on behalf of  
to succumb to temptation  
technical expertise  
to turn the public against  
totalitarianism  
tyranny  
technocrat  
to take in  
to turn out/on

## Unit VIII. WAR AND PEACE

### Lead-in

“Your Country Needs You” said the recruiting poster in 1914. In response, the 11-year-old Eric Blair came up with these verses, first read out aloud in class, and published a month later in the *Oxfordshire and Henley Standard*.

### AWAKE! YOUNG MEN OF ENGLAND

Oh! Give me the strength of the Lion  
The wisdom of Reynard the Fox  
And then I'll hurl troops at the Germans  
And give them the hardest of knocks.

Oh! Think of the War lord's mailed fist,  
That is striking at England today:  
And think of the lives that our soldiers  
Are fearlessly throwing away.

Awake! Oh you young men of England,  
For if when your country's in need,  
You do not enlist by the thousand  
You are truly cowards indeed.

### *Questions for discussion:*

1. What message does the poet try to convey in his poem?
2. What is his attitude to British soldiers?
3. How can you describe his attitude to his country?
4. Do you think when he grew older his attitude to war changed? Yes/ How? No/ Why?
5. In later years the boy who wrote the poem became a well-known English writer and assumed a pen name, which has become far more famous than his true name. Do you know it?
6. In wartime the enemy is often “dehumanized” by the media, being described as monsters or animals, for propaganda purposes. How does this poem present the enemy?

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*Match the following statements about war with their source, and give your interpretation of the statements.*

GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR

HERBERT HOOVER

KARL von CLAUSEWITZ

MARTIN LUTHER

OSCAR WILDE

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

ARAB PROVERB

1. "War is the continuation of politics by other means".
2. "In war trivial causes produce momentous events".
3. "War is the greatest plague that can afflict humanity; it destroys religion, it destroys states, it destroys families. Any scourge is preferable to it".
4. "Older men declare war. But it is youth that must fight and die".
5. "An army of sheep led by a lion would defeat an army of lions led by a sheep".
6. "As long as war is regarded as wicked, it will always have its fascination".
7. "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind".

## **Workshop I. UNDERLYING MOTIVES**

*As you read the article below try to find answers to the following questions.*

1. Does the article give an answer to the question in the title? If it does, is the question answered positively or negatively? Find proof in the article to substantiate your answer.
2. Why is the question in the title asked in the Subjunctive mood?

## **Would Today's Young Britons Still Die for Their Country?**

When I was a child my father told me exactly why, in September 1914, he had run away from school, lied about his age (he was 16 and said he was 19) and joined Kitchener's Army to fight the Germans. His father was too old for military service: his older brothers had volunteered, and he felt that if he, too, did not fight to protect his mother and sisters from the Hun he had no right to expect anybody else to. He was not unusual in having such values. Of course, there are people with other reasons for fighting — my father, in the diary he kept contrary to King's Regulations, also recorded that he had joined up "with the intention of going abroad, and being young and headstrong like every other lad at that age".

**But there was a higher consideration for such young men, above their thirst for adventure and their sense of family responsibility. They had grown up in the sunlit Edwardian age and it had been drilled into them that Britain was a country worth fighting for and had a way of life worth protecting.**

It is, perhaps, in respect of such noble ideals that the traffic stopped on Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, and for which estimated 75 pc of the population will keep silent at the same time tomorrow morning, on the 80th anniversary of the end of "the war to end all wars". We are overawed not just by the ability that their generation had to make such sacrifices, but by the fact that they could see so clearly why it was right for them to do so.

### **Enthusiasm**

The knowledge we have of what happened in the Great War — almost a million British soldiers dead and many more wounded — causes us to be cynical about the idealism of 1914. Some even find the enthusiasm young men showed for the adventure of war offensive. However, it was just the same spirit that had to be harnessed in 1939 against Hitler. And should this country ever face a foreign threat again, we might well need to call upon the same reserves of strength from among ordinary people to defend our country.

It is then that the full force of our cynicism would come into play. Do we, for a start, all identify with this country in the profound and natural way that our fathers and grandfathers did in 1914 or 1939? Do we value its way of life, and what we feel Britain stands for? Do we care about the history of sacrifice and service to humanity that was embodied by the fighting men of the two world wars — and, indeed, by the endurance of the battered civilian population during the Blitz?

That we care about the past, and respect what our forebears did in those wars, is happily apparent from the lengths to which we now, rightly, go to commemorate not just Remembrance Day, but also the anniversary of the Armistice. Whether we could convince ourselves that the country for which so many died in two world wars is still worth fighting for is another matter, and less clear cut.

My father's generation believed in their country so unquestioningly that they endured the most terrible hardship under fire without complaint. Describing his first excursion through the barbed wire into no-man's-land in the spring of 1915, aged 17, my father simply noted: "This is not a pleasant job". A year later, caught in a gas attack on the Somme, he recorded afterwards that he had to stay on duty despite "feeling awfully ill — had to get down to it". He becomes ever more matter of fact about the carnage: "More men killed and wounded. It is said that no regiment expects to leave here without leaving a fresh line of graves in the cemetery. We have six in already and two in the mortuary".

It was idealism that kept that generation going, and an instinctive belief that Britain embodied so much that was right and good in civilisation.

### **Unhappy**

It was why, marching up to the front line on the day after the great offensive was launched in July 1916, nobody in my father's company shirked despite "the sad sight of the rows of dead waiting to be buried with a chaplain reading the burial service over them".

Today, we are a country conditioned to expect others to make sacrifices for us. A half-century of the corrupting influence of the welfare state has made it normal and acceptable for people to

want others to take the responsibility for the security of themselves and their children. A sense of community has broken down. There is no longer, in many places, any perception of a common culture or of any social coherence. Despite prosperity and freedom from disease and poverty that the men of 1914 would never have dreamed of, the country is unhappy and divided, with classes unable to comprehend each other, and with a common currency only of resentment.

You often hear men and women of the generation that fought the last war observe that, if this country faced a threat, it would never be able to raise a force to defend itself. It is not just that the people are too selfish and unpatriotic to participate: it is that we are no longer a military country and lack the basic understanding of what skills and sacrifices would be required to survive.

Yet we should all take hope from the renewed mass observance of Remembrance Day and Armistice Day. What, in the end, should convince us that ours is a country, and a way of life, worth preserving is that overwhelming evidence of the fundamental decency of the British. We may not be so coherent a nation as we were in 1914 or 1939. But however cynical we are, we know we enjoy freedoms and privileges that were made possible not least by the fact that many millions of young men believed, within living memory, that their lives were not as important as the freedom of their country.

### **Decency**

That is why we should believe that, if it had to, the present generation of young men — and women — would make such sacrifices as their forebears were willing, selflessly and instinctively, to make. The bravery and decency of the British spirit is not destroyed that easily, or that quickly.

What we still have left, and it is the first thing we should feel we could fight for, is the pride we can take in ourselves as a decent, Christian, fair and tolerant people. However much it is fashionable to ignore or hate our history, that is one of the main values our history and our experience teach us. We must hope our resolve to defend such values is never put to the test. If we ever did fail to fight for them we would be finished as a nation; and, if that was so, it would probably be just as well.

**Notes:**

1. Horatio Kitchener (1850–1916) — a British army officer who fought in the Boer war. During World War I he was responsible for building up the British army, and his picture appeared on a famous poster with the words “Your country wants YOU, join your country’s army, God save the King”;
2. the Somme — a river in France, which is connected in people’s minds with the terrible waste of life in World War I. The biggest battle there began in July 1916, when 60,000 British soldiers were killed or injured on the first day of the battle

***Discuss your answers with the other students of your group. Try to achieve a consensus.***

***Comprehension questions and tasks:***

1. What was the attitude of young Britons to war at the beginning of the century?
2. How had their attitude changed by the end of the 20th century?
3. What explanation does the author suggest for the change in their attitude?
4. What are the author’s feelings concerning the change? Optimistic or pessimistic?
5. Is the style of the article neutral or emotional? Give examples from the text to prove your answer. Explain what makes the English language emotional.

***Detailed comprehension questions:***

1. What or who is “the Hun”?
2. What are King’s Regulations?
3. What period of time is referred to as “the sunlit Edwardian age”? Why is it described in this way? What was happening in Britain then?
4. Why is the First World War referred to as the Great War?

5. What is the difference if any between the Armistice and Remembrance Day?
6. What is "the Blitz"? What is the origin of the word?
7. What is meant by "no-man's-land"?

***Topics for discussion:***

1. Compare the attitude to the past wars of your grandparents, your parents, and your own. Do they differ? How?
2. What factors have affected the attitude to war of the young generation in your country?
3. Would the young of your country still die for their Motherland? Under what circumstances?

**Exercise 1**

*Suggest the Russian equivalents for the following word combinations:*

headstrong lads  
thirst for adventure  
battered population  
forebears  
barbed wire  
welfare state  
social coherence  
overwhelming evidence  
fundamental decency  
sense of community

**Exercise 2**

*Find in the text the English equivalents for the following Russian phrases:*

вести дневник  
вбивать в голову  
приносить жертвы  
воплощать, содержать в себе  
выносить лишения

начать выступления  
увеливать от обязанностей  
подвергнуть испытанию  
резня, кровавая бойня  
идти на все

*Do you know what nick-names are used to refer to*

the Irish, the Welshmen, the Englishmen, the Americans?  
(Tommy, Paddy, Yankee, Taffy)

### **Exercise 3**

*Write a plan of the article to bring out the author's main ideas.*

*Class discussion:*

1. "Make Love, Not War" was a popular expression during the Vietnam War. What does it mean? Why do you think the author gave the article this title?
2. What do you think were the beliefs of the people who used this phrase?
3. What is aggressive behaviour?
4. What do you think causes aggressive behaviour?
5. Do you think aggression is part of human nature? Why or why not?
6. Is aggressive behaviour innate to all species of animals?
7. How can the environment affect aggressive behaviour?
8. What kind of aggressive stimuli cause aggression?

*Now read the article and see if the author offers similar answers to the questions you have discussed.*

## **MAKE LOVE NOT WAR**

**By Alfie Kohn**

Sigmund Freud tried to cure Viennese women of their neuroses, and Konrad Lorenz made his reputation studying birds, but the two men shared a belief that has become lodged in the popular consciousness. The belief is that we have within us, naturally

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and spontaneously, a reservoir of aggressive energy. This force, which builds up all by itself, must be periodically drained off — say, by participating in competitive sports — lest we explode into violence.

This is an appealing model because it is easy to visualize. It is also false. As animal behaviorist John Paul Scott, professor emeritus at Bowling Green State University, has written: “All of our present data indicate that fighting behavior among higher mammals, including man, originates in external stimulation and that there is no evidence of spontaneous internal stimulation”. Clearly, many people — and, in fact, whole cultures — manage quite well without behaving aggressively, and there is no evidence of the inexorable buildup of pressure that this model would predict.

In 1986, a group of eminent behavioral scientists met in Seville, Spain, to discuss the roots of human aggression and concluded not only that the model is inaccurate but, more generally, that there is no scientific basis for the belief that humans are naturally aggressive and warlike. That belief, however, has not been easily shaken. Among the arguments one sometimes hears are these: Animals are aggressive and we cannot escape the legacy of our evolutionary ancestors; human history is dominated by tales of war and cruelty; and certain areas of the brain and particular hormones are linked to aggression, proving a biological basis for such behavior.

Animals are not even as aggressive as some people think — unless the term “aggression” is stretched to include killing in order to eat. Organized group aggression is rare in other species, and the aggression that does exist is typically a function of the environment in which animals find themselves. When we turn to human history, we find an alarming amount of aggressive behavior, but we do not find reason to believe the problem is innate.

Aggression, in any case, is nowhere near universal. Anthropologist Ashley Montagu has edited a book entitled *Learning Non-Aggression*, which features accounts of peaceful cultures. It is true that these are hunter-gatherer societies, but the fact that

any humans live without violence would seem to refute the charge that we are born aggressive. In fact, cultures that are “closer to nature” would be expected to be the most warlike if the proclivity for war were really part of that nature. Just the reverse seems to be true.

Just as impressive as peaceful cultures are those that have become peaceful. In a matter of a few centuries, Sweden has changed from a fiercely warlike society to one of the least violent among industrialized nations. This shift — like the existence of war itself — can more plausibly be explained in terms of social and political factors rather than by turning to biology.

The presence of some hormones or the stimulation of certain sections of the brain has been experimentally linked with aggression. But after describing these mechanisms in some detail, physiological psychologist Kenneth E. Moyer emphasizes that aggressive behavior is always linked to an external stimulus. So important is the role of the environment that talking of an “innate” tendency to be aggressive makes little sense for animals, let alone for humans.

Regardless of the evolutionary or neurological factors said to underlie aggression, “biological” simply does not mean “unavoidable.” In the case of aggression, where the existence of such a drive is dubious to begin with, our ability to choose our behavior is even clearer. Even if genes are fixed, the same does not necessarily follow for their behavioral effects. And even if “people are genetically disposed to react aggressively to unpleasant events”, says psychologist Leonard Berkowitz, “we can learn to modify and control the reaction”.

All of this concerns the matter of human aggressiveness in general. The idea that war in particular is biologically determined is even more farfetched. “When one country attacks another country, this doesn’t happen because people in the country feel aggressive toward those in the other”, explains Harvard University biologist Richard Lewontin. “If it were true, we wouldn’t need propaganda or a draft. All those aggressive people would sign up right away. State “aggression” is a matter of political policy, not a matter of feeling”.

The evidence, then, seems to indicate that we have the potential to be warlike or peaceful. Why, then, is the belief in a violent "Human nature" so widespread? And what are the consequences of that belief?

The mass media play a significant role in perpetuating outdated views on violence. Because it is relatively easy to describe, and because it makes for a snappier news story, reporters seem to prefer explanations of aggression that invoke biological necessity.

Psychologist Leonard Eron of the International Society for Research on Aggression observes, "TV teaches people that aggressive behavior is normative, that the world around you is a jungle when it's actually not so". In fact, research has shown that the more television a person watches, the more likely he or she is to believe that "most people would take advantage of you if they got a chance".

The belief that violence is unavoidable, while disturbing at first glance, actually holds a curious attraction for many people, both psychologically and ideologically. It also allows us to excuse our own acts of aggression by suggesting that we really have little choice. "If one is born innately aggressive, then one cannot be blamed for being so", says Montagu. By assuming we are bound to be aggressive, we are more likely to act that way and provide evidence for the assumption.

People who believe that humans are naturally aggressive may also be relatively unlikely to oppose particular wars or get involved in the peace movement. Based on his own research during the Vietnam War, sociologist Donald Granberg says, "If a war broke out tomorrow, the people protesting it would probably be those who did not believe that war is inevitable and rooted in human nature". Those who do believe this are "more likely to accept the idea [of war] or at least unlikely to protest when a particular war occurs".

The evidence suggests, then, that we do have a choice with respect to aggression and war. To an extent, such destructiveness is due precisely to the mistaken assumption that we are helpless to control an essentially violent nature.

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### ***Fact-finding task***

*Read the passage once. Then read the following statements. Check whether they are true or false. If a statement is true, leave it as it is. If the statement is false, rewrite the statement so that it is true. Then go back to the passage and find the line that supports your answer.*

1. Most people believe that aggression is natural. T / F
2. No cultures exist without aggressive behaviour. T / F
3. Animals are more aggressive than some people. T / F
4. There is no scientific basis for the belief that aggressive behaviour is innate. T / F
5. Sweden became one of the least violent societies as a result of biological factors. T / F
6. Psychologist Kenneth E. Moyer believes that aggressive behavior is always connected to the environment. T / F
7. People are capable of being either peaceful or warlike. T / F
8. People who believe that aggression is part of human nature are more likely to oppose war. T / F

### ***Discussion questions and tasks:***

1. Do you think aggression is innate, or do we learn to be aggressive as we grow up? If aggression is biological, do you think we can control it? Give reasons and examples.
2. This article states that many cultures, which are closer to nature, are more peaceful than more highly developed cultures. What do you think might be some reasons for this?
3. How would you describe your culture? Is it peaceful or aggressive? Compare your culture with the culture of the United States.

### **Exercise 4**

*Write a summary of the article.*

## Exercise 5

a) *What do the following people do?*

behaviorist, anthropologist, psychologist, biologist, sociologist

Think of other nouns ending in -ist.

b) *to the following words give:*

**synonyms**

to predict

eminent

legacy

ancestor

to stretch

innate

to be disposed to

to modify

draft

outdated

**antonyms**

to drain off

eminent

warlike

ancestor

to stretch

innate

dubious

to modify

drive

outdated

c) *the text is abundant in adverbs; translate the following adverbs into Russian and look up some more in the text:*

naturally

spontaneously

periodically

aggressively

plausibly

necessarily

biologically

relatively

actually

psychologically

ideologically

innately

## Exercise 6

*Find in the text the English equivalents for*

разделять убеждения

заложить убеждение в массовое сознание

состязательные виды спорта

притягательная модель

профессор на пенсии

происходить от/из  
 наращивание военной мощи  
 обеспечить основу  
 опровергнуть обвинение  
 не говоря уже о  
 увековечить  
 в какой-то мере

## Exercise 7

*Find the Russian equivalents for the following word combinations:*

to explode into violence  
 to originate in external/internal stimulation  
 roots of human aggression  
 to escape the legacy of the evolutionary ancestors  
 proclivity for war  
 just the reverse  
 to perpetuate outdated views on  
 to provide evidence for the assumption

*Now use the phrases in the following sentences:*

1. In Africa, in the early 1990's, Somalia \_\_\_\_\_, which \_\_\_\_\_ stimulation that caused great starvation.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ war is a part of the human tragedy that is as resilient and dominant now as it was during the time of the ancients.
3. The events of the 20th century \_\_\_\_\_ that mankind is disposed to aggressiveness.
4. There has been a long quest in the study and analysis of \_\_\_\_\_ ancestors to try to identify a single primary cause of war.
5. Optimists believe that \_\_\_\_\_ do not lie in human nature on the basis of humankind being naturally non-violent.
6. Pessimists believe \_\_\_\_\_. War can only be removed if violence is itself employed to stop people from attacking each other.

7. Some modern writers \_\_\_\_\_ violence, arguing that aggression \_\_\_\_\_ in human nature.

## Exercise 8

*Learn the following words and use them in the given sentences:*

**a) to violate — (non)violent — violence — violation — violator**

1. Conversionists believe that human nature is flawed by a tendency to use \_\_\_\_\_ but can be converted to a state in which people become naturally \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Actions in a wide range of areas were rejected by the Strasbourg court as \_\_\_\_\_ of basic rights.
3. A death in a front garden, panic in a Job Centre: is anywhere safe in \_\_\_\_\_ Britain?
4. One disquieting feature is the age of some recent assailants and \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Though traffic laws are becoming stricter people continue \_\_\_\_\_ them.
6. A fresh wave of \_\_\_\_\_ in the past week has showed that the insurgency is ever-deadly.

**b) to originate — original — origin — originality — originator**

1. The author in his overview of the \_\_\_\_\_ of wars argues that the assumption can lead the scholar up something of a blind alley.
2. His case is not \_\_\_\_\_ just as human nature leads to the declaration of war, it leads to periods of peace.
3. The academic is the \_\_\_\_\_ of the idea of three levels at which it might be useful to study the causes of war.
4. Some believe that warlike tendencies \_\_\_\_\_ in the particular way in which some cultures have developed.
5. Some writers concentrate on something as \_\_\_\_\_ as the business cycle and a relationship between its progress and the incidence of war.

6. The \_\_\_\_\_ of such views confused many readers.
7. Criticisms as contrasting as these and \_\_\_\_\_ from such different quarters can only lead to cautiousness.
8. In any event, member states can always express reservations to part of the totality of the documents \_\_\_\_\_ at a UN conference.
9. Despite the loss of its \_\_\_\_\_ purpose, the IMF has regained some relevance as a crisis manager because of several unanticipated events.

**c) to reverse — (ir)reversible — reversion — reversibility — reversal-reverse**

1. The states may well \_\_\_\_\_ the situation to the point of war if they believe they can prevail without too great a cost.
2. "Quite the \_\_\_\_\_" means the opposite, the other way round.
3. This appears to be a complete \_\_\_\_\_ of government policy.
4. The possibility of a \_\_\_\_\_ to anarchy has arisen in the region.
5. Though the situation seems \_\_\_\_\_ it is always worth trying to change it for the better.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ of time is an eternal dream of many inventors and writers.
7. It might be misleading to view these trends as \_\_\_\_\_, but UN conferences held in recent years are illustrative of this dual evolution.

**d) to assume — assumed — assuming — assumptive — assumption**

1. One of its most misleading \_\_\_\_\_ is that women were nothing but victims.
2. Another source of error has been the tendency \_\_\_\_\_ that if women's condition improved, feminism deserves the credit.
3. She contributes articles to such popular women's magazines as "Woman" and "Best" under a (an) \_\_\_\_\_ name.

4. \_\_\_\_\_ that peace in the region is endangered the Council should ask the parties to reach agreement by peaceful means.
5. The \_\_\_\_\_ conclusion is that our proposal will be accepted.
6. Denmark also \_\_\_\_\_ responsibility for all costs directly linked to the organization and administration of the conference.
7. This brief description of the different roles \_\_\_\_\_ by the IMF reveals an institution that has undergone several transformations.
8. Sanctions are premised on implicitly democratic \_\_\_\_\_ but are normally leveraged upon authoritarian regimes.

## Exercise 9

*Fill each of the gaps in the following passage with one suitable word.*

It has only recently been discovered that \_\_\_\_\_, which used to be regarded as a characteristic that animals were particularly \_\_\_\_\_ to, is not what it appeared to be.

\_\_\_\_\_ studying chimpanzees have long observed that every so often fights break out, sometimes becoming an almost daily routine. What they have now discovered is that making \_\_\_\_\_ after a \_\_\_\_\_ is, more often than not, a skill cultivated with quite as much attention. When \_\_\_\_\_ and subordinate chimpanzees are observed hour after hour as individuals and not just as species, they are seen to be engaging with almost monotonous \_\_\_\_\_ in angry or \_\_\_\_\_ confrontations, but within forty minutes, no less than half of them are kissing and stroking their former \_\_\_\_\_. It is not uncommon for a crowd of them to gather around to watch the \_\_\_\_\_ and even, from time to time, applaud the kiss. This does not mean they are not \_\_\_\_\_, for without the \_\_\_\_\_ there would be no \_\_\_\_\_, nor that they will make \_\_\_\_\_ in the same way day in day out.

The males, after \_\_\_\_\_ amongst themselves, \_\_\_\_\_ to make \_\_\_\_\_ twice as quickly as females who

have \_\_\_\_\_ females, as though power, for males, depends on forming \_\_\_\_\_ which are rarely if ever permanent. Females, however, have a \_\_\_\_\_ to distinguish much more sharply between friend and \_\_\_\_\_ and are \_\_\_\_\_ to hang onto their grievances for longer.

## Exercise 10

*Translate the passages below using the active vocabulary.*

1. Я не разделяю убеждения в том, что призыв в армию устарел. Учитывая, что именно вооруженные силы составляют основу безопасности любой страны, а наши противники продолжают наращивать военную мощь, те, кто считает себя гражданином, обязан отслужить в армии своей страны. Правда, необходимо в какой-то мере изменить сроки службы и предоставить призывникам возможность альтернативной службы.
2. Внимательно изучая картины русских баталистов, вполне можно предположить, что наши предки в бою вели себя крайне агрессивно, т.к. на картинах много крови и трупов. Это, однако, не означает, что агрессивность — врожденное качество русских солдат. Необходимо помнить, что боевой дух русских солдат берет начало в осознании того, что они защищают свою землю. А любой человек, сражающийся за правое дело, имеет предрасположенность к самопожертвованию, когда чувство долга подавляет страх перед смертью.  
 Более того, многие художники увекочили весьма притягательные сцены милосердного отношения солдат победителей к побежденным, не говоря уже об отношении к детям врагов. Общеизвестно, что заботливое отношение к детям на протяжении веков закладывалось в массовое сознание русских людей.

## Exercise 11

*Write a piece of prose about the effects of war.*

1. Imagine you are one of the army veterans who went back home physically or psychologically damaged by the experiences of the war. On returning home you found it very hard to readjust and to integrate back into civilian life.
2. Imagine you are a war refugee who was lucky enough to survive and was taken in but faced serious problems of cultural adaptation and integration.
3. In wartime the enemies are often “dehumanized” by the media. Is it right?

## **Workshop II. WARS AND CONFLICTS**

War is defined as organised violence between political units, which either are state governments, or which aspire to establish, or to be, state governments. This means that wars can be conducted between states, or between states and guerrilla or terrorist organisations, or between guerrilla or terrorist organisations.

*What wars were waged in the 20th century?*

*Which of them can be identified as full-scale, total local, civil, guerrilla, Cold, conventional, and nuclear?*

*What are the causes of war?*

The First World War had profound and lasting effects on the belligerents, beyond any dreamed of when the first armies were cheered on their way, to battle. The immediate effects were for the most part only too evident, and were particularly noticeable in Britain, where a small regular army was transformed into a massive conscript force and where the state came to involve itself directly in many areas of daily life. Contemporaries by adopting phrases like “The Great War” and “the war to end war” indicated that the events of 1914 marked an end and a new beginning.

*What were the possible effects of the war upon British politics, on its economy and social structure, on the status of women etc.?*

## **THE WAR, CHANGE, AND CONTINUITY**

### **“The First World War in British History”**

**by Edward Arnold**

The idea that war might be the “motor of history” is not exactly new. The organisation of states for the purposes of war may be regarded as at least one characteristic of many societies since antiquity. Moreover, the consequences for historical change of winning and losing battle have been a subject of comment by contemporary observers in all ages and cultures, and by later academic historians. The notion that triumphant as well as disastrous war could mark discontinuities in historical evolution appears to be well respected. Much writing on many periods is greatly concerned with the impact of war.

However, it has been argued that the First World War was qualitatively different from previous international conflicts in that it was the first “total” war. The war which broke out on 28 July 1914 in the Balkans and which drew in Great Britain on 4 August developed into the first prolonged conflict between modern industrial nations. The fifty-one months that followed, it is suggested, made unprecedented demands upon the resources of the conflicting nations, largely because of the size of the armed forces involved, the weapons they employed, the duration of the conflict and to a lesser degree its geographical spread. As the scale of the war developed and the months and then years elapsed, so the needs of the armed services drew increasingly upon the human and material resources of each nation, upon the technical, organisational and political skills of governments, upon the talents and energies of administrators, labour forces and employers, and even upon those collective values and social resources which were necessary to sustain the effort and to tolerate the cost. Early in the twentieth century, it seemed, war had taken on new characteristics and exerted new demands.

Not surprisingly, contemporaries were often inclined to view the First World War as “catastrophe”. Here was an unexpected and intolerable experience which was self-evidently destructive, of lives, of material assets, even of moral and cultural values. The

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First World War was an offence, a shocking affront to those sharing the liberal ethic that had interpreted European (and more generally Western) history as a progressive evolution from destructive barbarism to constructive civilisation. Many writers in the 1920s and 1930s could see only the cost of war, and they were often motivated not least to warn, in vain, against a repetition.

It took perhaps a more bruised later generation after the Second World War to reinterpret the impact of total war in the light of a revitalised optimism stimulated by 1940s progressivism. "Catastrophe", it was recognised, might sweep away the inappropriate and dysfunctional; challenge might lead to constructive response. Sociological theory recognised how other catastrophes such as natural disasters might be followed by community rebuilding on more fitting social foundations, and this theory was adapted to the notion that total war by its peculiar nature might be especially conducive to constructive consequences. In particular it was argued that certain social groups (especially manual workers and women) whose status was formerly lowly found enhanced value and greater rewards when the demands of total war called upon their participation to an unprecedented extent. Total war, it seemed, valued "even" the services of social under-classes. As a result, it was suggested, negotiated improvements in status and rewards accrued not only for the duration of periods of total war but also — and this was crucial — with lasting benefits in post-war society either directly, for example in wider and better-paid employment, or by enhanced and better-targeted public services.

It is recognised that the study of history requires the breaking up of the past into periods, but the phases which historians adopt can affect, even distort, their perceptions and their explanations of historical change. Oddly, many historians of both centuries disregarded the war years. However, some of them, while not denying remaining continuities, generally regard the First World War as marking a discontinuity in British history. Its legacy was to affect much of the country's subsequent historical evolution — until the Second World War arrived to exert a still greater impact.

### *Comprehension and discussion questions:*

1. When did World War I break out? Why did Britain enter the war?
2. What do academic historians recognize in relation to war?
3. How was the First World War different from the previous conflicts?
4. What demands did the war make upon the conflicting nations?
5. Why could the First World War be viewed as catastrophe?
6. Why was the First World War a shocking affront to many interpreters of European history?
7. How was the 40s interpretation of the impact of total war different from that of the 20s?
8. In which sphere were the consequences of war most apparent?
9. What does the study of history require? How can a periodisation of history affect our perception of historical change?

### **Exercise 12**

*Write a summary of the text.*

### **Exercise 13**

*Translate the sentences from the text into Russian, paying special attention to the underlined parts.*

1. As the scale of the war developed and the months and then years elapsed, so the needs of the armed services drew increasingly upon the human and material resources of each nation... which were necessary to sustain the effort and to tolerate the cost.
2. Many writers in the 1920s and 1930s could see only the cost of war, and they were often motivated not least to warn, in vain, against a repetition.
3. It took perhaps a more bruised later generation after the Second World War to reinterpret the impact of total war in the light of a revitalised optimism stimulated by 1940s progressivism.

4. In particular it was argued that certain social groups whose status was formerly lowly found enhanced value and greater rewards when the demands of total war called upon their participation to an unprecedented extent.

### Exercise 14

- a) Find in the text synonyms for the following words also taken from the text:

spread	to view smth as
offence	to make demands
disaster	to affect
material resources	constructive
destructive	fitting

- b) How was the word *perceive* or its derivative used in the text? Make up sentences about war using the words with the same ending *-ceive*, for example, *conceive*, *deceive*, *receive*.

- c) Add words to every line to complete the collocations.

to win/lose... battle
triumphant/disastrous... war
war breaks out/draws in/develops into...
industrial/conflicting... nations
human/material... resources
technical/organizational... skills
moral/cultural... values
to make/employ... weapons

### Exercise 15

Make up as many *Adjective/Participle + Noun* collocations as possible (at least 2 with each noun) and translate them into Russian. Consult the text if necessary:

nation	evolution	assets	conflict	services
historian	war	demands	experience	resources
consequences	forces	disaster	benefits	values
ethic				nature

historical	armed	collective
academic	natural	intolerable
triumphant	labour	destructive
disastrous	public	constructive
international	human	material
industrial	liberal	progressive
conflicting	moral	contemporary
unprecedented	lasting	prolonged

## Exercise 16

*Translate the word-combinations into Russian and learn them:*

- to be a subject of comment by contemporary observers
- to mark discontinuities in historical evolution
- to be concerned with the impact of war
- to develop into a prolonged conflict
- to make unprecedented demands upon
- to draw upon the human and material resources
- to sustain the effort
- to be a shocking affront to
- to be adapted to the notion
- to be conducive to constructive consequences
- to enhance value
- lasting benefits
- to affect and distort perceptions of historical change

*Now use some of the above words in the following sentences:*

1. The war made \_\_\_\_\_ upon the resources of the conflicting nations.
2. The First World War was regarded by \_\_\_\_\_ as "catastrophe".
3. European history was interpreted as a progressive \_\_\_\_\_ from destructive barbarism to constructive civilisation.
4. The academic, who was \_\_\_\_\_ total war on Britain, was the most influential historical contributor to the subject.

5. The \_\_\_\_\_ effect of the war has long been a(an) \_\_\_\_\_ by academic historians.
6. Nobody expected the war \_\_\_\_\_ conflict, \_\_\_\_\_ the human and material resources of each nation.
7. Great resources, organizational and political skills were required \_\_\_\_\_ of waging the war.
8. The notion that total war might be \_\_\_\_\_ is not shared by all historians.
9. The way historical \_\_\_\_\_ is divided into periods can \_\_\_\_\_ of historical change and \_\_\_\_\_ reality.
10. The demands of total war called upon the participation of certain groups to a(an) \_\_\_\_\_ extent.
11. For the 723000 British soldiers killed in the fighting, not to mention Empire contingents, the war marked the ultimate \_\_\_\_\_ in their personal history.
12. Historians have addressed the \_\_\_\_\_ on still larger social units, however problematic the terms and fragmented the data.
13. Not only might the war \_\_\_\_\_ different social classes in different ways and to different degrees, but relations between social classes might also be disturbed.
14. Other historians, and especially those \_\_\_\_\_ Britain's relative economic decline, have depicted the \_\_\_\_\_ on central government as counter-revolutionary.
15. The academic complained that some historians \_\_\_\_\_ their conclusions to the commonly accepted \_\_\_\_\_
16. The theme which the historian elaborated upon in several notable works was that of \_\_\_\_\_ of total war.
17. A series of bitter and bloody conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990s was a \_\_\_\_\_ to modern Europeans.

## Exercise 17

*Learn the following words and use them in the given sentences:*

**a) to continue — continuous — continual — continuation — (dis)continuity**

1. Central heating provides instant warmth and a \_\_\_\_\_ supply of hot water.
2. Several underground organizations \_\_\_\_\_ to operate in secret during the war.
3. There is no justification for the \_\_\_\_\_ of the war.
4. The deadline was getting closer and we were under \_\_\_\_\_ pressure to reach our targets.
5. There has been a \_\_\_\_\_ improvement in the standard of the spoken English.
6. We cannot assume that \_\_\_\_\_ or change at the level of the state is a perfect reflection of socio-economic conditions.
7. The tricky issue is whether the First World War should be regarded as marking a \_\_\_\_\_ in British history.
8. The boom of 1919–1920 saw the \_\_\_\_\_ of high employment and labour shortages.

**b) to concern — concerned — concerning — concern**

1. For any details \_\_\_\_\_ a particular country you should check with the embassy.
2. The material published in the newspaper \_\_\_\_\_ events which happened a decade ago.
3. In his book the politician was \_\_\_\_\_ with social discrimination against women.
4. Trade Unions are becoming increasingly \_\_\_\_\_ about the rising level of unemployment.
5. There is \_\_\_\_\_ for the hostages, who have been moved to an unknown location.
6. The committee passed on the comments to the people \_\_\_\_\_

7. Much writing \_\_\_\_\_ with the situation in the Middle East.
8. The international community can turn its attention away from traditional security \_\_\_\_\_ in favour of global issues.

**c) to precede — preceding — unprecedented — precedent — precedence — predecessor**

1. The war that followed made \_\_\_\_\_ demands upon the resources of the conflicting nations.
2. During the \_\_\_\_\_ days and months the USA had sent nearly half a million troops into the war zone.
3. Churchill was a much stronger leader than the man who \_\_\_\_\_ him.
4. The officer in charge suggested dealing with the questions in order of \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The intervention in another nation's affairs has set a \_\_\_\_\_
6. From the early 1950s, the world's output grew at a historically \_\_\_\_\_ rate.
7. Kennedy inherited the Cuban problem from his \_\_\_\_\_ President Eisenhower.
8. Although private capital flows are still moving unevenly across borders, they are moving with unparalleled intensity and \_\_\_\_\_ coverage.
9. He must reject calls to reverse the policy of his \_\_\_\_\_, who sought to bring back veterans from the army and police.

**d) to benefit — beneficial — beneficiary — benefit**

1. There is much scope for mutually \_\_\_\_\_ trade with other parts of the developing world.
2. Whatever conclusions are reached about the extent to which the war may have undermined the Liberals and helped Labour, there can be little doubt that the prime \_\_\_\_\_ were the Conservatives.
3. The proposals included universal adult suffrage for men, a drastic reduction in plural voting, from which the Conservatives \_\_\_\_\_, and the partial enfranchisement of women.

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4. There are several \_\_\_\_\_ one can claim if unemployed.
  5. States are not necessarily free to choose the path they consider most \_\_\_\_\_ to their country's well-being.

### **Exercise 18**

*Make up sentences to bring out the difference in meaning and usage of the words:*

modern/contemporary  
development/evolution  
academic/academician  
lasting/prolonged  
impact/influence  
effect/affect  
challenge/affront  
to maintain/to sustain  
advantage/benefit  
to improve/to enhance

### **Exercise 19**

*Choose the correct alternative:*

1. The conflict developed/evolved into the first lasting/prolonged war between the European nations.
2. Modern/contemporary observers have commented on the impact/influence of war in all ages and cultures.
3. The phrases which historians adopt can effect/affect their explanation of historical development/evolution.
4. The rewards for social under-classes resulted in lasting/prolonged benefits in post-war society.
5. World War I was a(n) challenge/affront to those who believed that European history was a progressive development/evolution.
6. As the world became increasingly secular and modern/contemporary, the old forms of knowledge and authority began to wane.

7. These protest groups merely “meddle” with the system rather than try to challenge/affront the underlying assumptions of liberal democracies.
8. In a wide-ranging article he details the lack of response of the modern/contemporary intelligentsia in regard to the Gulf War.
9. Three years of maintained/sustained economic growth brought about the long-awaited results.
10. Adolescents, women, and elderly men might take advantage/benefit of the general shortage of labour, and their contribution to the income of a household was likely to be improved/enhanced.
11. The introduction of a comprehensive scheme of unemployment relief held special advantages/benefits for the lower-paid.
12. The advantages/benefits of economic expansion were especially obvious in Western industrial countries.
13. Given that so many nongovernmental actors are increasingly involved in assisting, safeguarding, and improving/enhancing the security of people and value of human life, it is only logical that their role be fully acknowledged.
14. The Charter empowers the Security Council to use both military and nonmilitary measures to maintain/sustain or restore international peace and security.
15. A clear position by the council would have a number of advantages/benefits.
16. There is no “ideal type” for UN conferences, as they have developed/evolved from highly differentiated organizational and planning models.
17. The international community should highlight the reality that outside of the sovereign state there is little that can really be done to improve/enhance the situation dramatically.
18. The author maintains/sustains that states will act in their own interest — maximizing advantages/benefits while minimizing threats and costs.

**Exercise 20**

*Learn the following pairs or chains of words and use them or their derivatives in the given sentences.*

**a) to precede / to proceed**

1. We can now \_\_\_\_\_ to the main business of the meeting.
2. The negotiations which \_\_\_\_\_ the signing of the treaty took place a number of years ago.
3. He paused to consult his notes, and then \_\_\_\_\_ with his questions.
4. He \_\_\_\_\_ his speech with a few words of welcome to the special guests.

**b) humanitarian /(in)humane /(in)human**

1. Continued development in nuclear warfare could seriously affect the future of the \_\_\_\_\_ race.
2. Computers can use and enhance \_\_\_\_\_ skill and ingenuity.
3. Imprisonment is not a \_\_\_\_\_ form of punishment.
4. Amnesty International is protesting against the \_\_\_\_\_ treatment of these political prisoners.
5. Most people think that apartheid is a totally \_\_\_\_\_ system.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ activities are concerned with trying to improve people's lives.
7. We need to develop policies and instruments to make sanctions more \_\_\_\_\_ and at the same time more effective.
8. We are prepared to act on the basis of values and vision rooted in the belief that \_\_\_\_\_ beings can find solutions to seemingly insoluble problems.
9. Nongovernmental actors are also involved in \_\_\_\_\_ relief, thus helping to increase the chances of conflict resolution.

### c) to adopt / to adapt

1. The theory was \_\_\_\_\_ to the notion that total war by its peculiar nature might be conducive to constructive consequences.
2. The phrases which historians \_\_\_\_\_ can affect their perceptions of historical change.
3. The Japanese \_\_\_\_\_ their products to the needs of their customers.
4. After hours of consideration the committee \_\_\_\_\_ the suggestions.
5. The playwright approved the \_\_\_\_\_ of his play for radio.
6. The council should \_\_\_\_\_ a resolution approving a set of humanitarian standards and practices.
7. The incredible pace of global economic activity is outstripping the rate at which international policy regimes can \_\_\_\_\_ to these changes.

### Exercise 21

*Translate the following sentences using the active vocabulary.*

1. Шестилетняя война, которой предшествовал небольшой конфликт, привела к серьезным разрушениям в стране.
2. Воюющие страны договорились провести переговоры, которые положили бы конец затянувшемуся конфликту.
3. В странах коалиции было немало людей, обеспокоенных агрессивными действиями этого государства.
4. На протяжении всей польской интервенции австрийские земли служили главным источником пополнения людских и материальных ресурсов вооруженных сил страны.
5. Многие остаются неясным в запутанной внешней политике государств Восточной Европы в годы, непосредственно предшествовавшие Смоленской войне.
6. Таким образом, страна рассматривалась как плацдарм наступления на Германию, так как здесь можно было найти все необходимые для этого материальные и людские ресурсы.

7. К двадцатым годам торговля приобрела столь большое значение, что современники стали видеть в ней один из важнейших источников экономической мощи страны.
8. Невиданные потери Советского Союза в Великой Отечественной войне явились следствием целенаправленно проводившейся нацистами установки на тотальное уничтожение российской государственности и российского народа.
9. Потеря флагманского корабля эскадры была настоящей трагедией для русского флота и тяжело отразилась на дальнейшем ходе боевых действий.
10. В ходе боевых действий сказались и большие людские потери, понесенные армией во время предшествующих кровопролитных боев, и несогласованность действий командования.
11. Участие в невиданной по своим масштабам войне вызвало сильнейшее напряжение всех ресурсов России, существенно отразилось на состоянии ее экономики, обострило социальные противоречия и, в конечном итоге, привело к разрастанию в стране острого политического кризиса.
12. Неудачный ход боевых действий и плачевное положение дел на фронте стали ошеломляющим вызовом правительству, которое столкнулось с необходимостью проведения коренных реформ в армии и военном производстве.
13. Условия содержания беженцев в лагерях для перемещенных лиц были бы невыносимы, если бы не решение международных неправительственных организаций об оказании им срочной гуманитарной помощи.
14. Несмотря на то что на командующего оказывалось давление со стороны правительства и депутатского корпуса, ему удалось настоять на принятии выработанного им решения.
15. Диктаторский режим сознательно принял решение о проведении агрессивного внешнеполитического курса по отношению к соседним государствам.

## Exercise 22

*Render the text into English using the active vocabulary where possible.*

Вопросы войны и мира издавна так или иначе затрагивают коренные интересы человечества. Их обсуждение на уровне как политического, так и философского мышления имеет многовековую традицию. Человечество давно мечтает вырваться из железных тисков общественных противоречий, необходимым следствием которых вот уже в течение тысячелетий были большие и малые, всеобщие и локальные войны, истреблявшие цвет многих поколений. Война наносила непоправимый ущерб человеческой цивилизации и отбрасывала культуру на десятилетия назад.

Проекты «вечного мира» также имеют давнюю историю. Начиная с Гераклита, античные философы искали решение этого извечного вопроса. Они то склонялись к мысли о неустранимости войны как «естественного» средства разрешения международных споров и конфликтов между людьми, то искали способов — подчас наивных — «отмены» войны. Античные мыслители подметили, что не только война, но и подготовка к ней несут с собой необратимые деструктивные последствия, деформируя сложившийся механизм общественных отношений и даже вовсе разрушая его, особенно при завоевательных войнах. Древние философы и историки, осуждая войну и использование военной силы для достижения честолюбивых политических целей, ценили, как правило, понятия высокой морали, призывали к уважению человеческого достоинства, блага и справедливости как во внутренней, так и во внешней политике.

Идеологи 17–19 вв., осознавая катастрофические для общественного благополучия и развития последствия войн, которые в то время не только не прекратились, но приобрели еще более зловещий размах, излагали основания и возможности «вечного мира». Традиции такого мира были известны и по политической практике: воюющие стороны, истощив свои материальные и человеческие ресурсы, под-

писывали «вечный мир», который обычно держался не дольше следующего поколения если не нарушался раньше. Тем не менее философы-просветители рисовали радужные перспективы всеобщего благоденствия, которое наступит в случае принятия и проведения в жизнь их предложений касательно международных отношений. Руссо, как и многие последующие романтики и утописты 18–19 вв., полагал, что трудности решения проблем войны и мира невероятны, но много зависит от исторически значительных личностей, которые силой своей политической воли и незаурядного интеллекта сумеют продвинуть вперед дело взаимопонимания народов и добьются высшей цели — всеобщего мира и благоденствия народов.

*Read the following text and answer the question asked in the title. How does the author answer this question?*

### **CAN WAR BE ABOLISHED?**

Is it possible to persuade mankind to live without war? War is an ancient institution which has existed for at least six thousand years. It was always wicked and usually foolish, but in the past the human race managed to live with it. Modern ingenuity has changed this. Either Man will abolish war, or war will abolish Man. For the present, it is nuclear weapons that cause the gravest danger, but bacteriological or chemical weapons may, before long, offer an even greater threat. If we succeed in abolishing nuclear weapons, our work will not be done. It will never be done until we have succeeded in abolishing war. To do this, we need to persuade mankind to look upon international questions in a new way, not as contests of force, in which the victory goes to the side which is most skilful in massacre, but by arbitration in accordance with agreed principles of law. It is not easy to change age-old mental habits, but this is what must be attempted.

There are those who say that the adoption of this or that ideology would prevent war. I believe this to be a profound error. All ideologies are based upon dogmatic assertions which are, at

best, doubtful, and at worst, totally false. Their adherents believe in them so fanatically that they are willing to go to war in support of them.

The movement of world opinion during the past years has been very largely such as we can welcome. It has become a commonplace that nuclear war must be avoided. Of course very difficult problems remain in the international sphere, but the spirit in which they are being approached is a better one than it was years ago. It has begun to be thought, even by the powerful men who decide whether we shall live or die, that negotiations should reach agreements even if both sides do not find these agreements wholly satisfactory. It has begun to be understood that the important conflict nowadays is between Man and the H-bomb.

From *Science and Religion*  
by Bertrand Russell

### Exercise 23

*Explain what the underlined words mean.*

1. It was always wicked and usually foolish, but in the past the human race managed to live with it.
2. Modern ingenuity has changed this.
3. It is nuclear weapons that cause the gravest danger.
4. It will never be done until we have succeeded in abolishing war.
5. It is not easy to change age-old mental habits.
6. I believe this to be a profound error.
7. Their adherents believe in them so fanatically that they are willing to go to war in support of them.
8. ... the spirit in which they are being approached is a better one than it was years ago.

## Exercise 24

Give synonyms to the following words taken from the text:

mankind	age-old
to manage	assertion
to abolish	adherent
threat	commonplace
to look upon	to approach
contest	adoption
massacre	conflict

## Exercise 25

In pairs support or refute the following statements.

1. It is possible to persuade mankind to live without war.
2. Either Man will abolish war, or war will abolish Man.
3. If we succeed in abolishing nuclear weapons, our work will be done.
4. It is not easy to change age-old mental habits.
5. The adoption of this or that ideology would prevent war.
6. All ideologies are based upon dogmatic assertions which are doubtful.
7. War can be abolished.

Analyze the address, given by the US president on Memorial Day. Say, which of the rhetorical devices are used in the speech and translate all the words and phrases in bold type into Russian.

### RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE NATION

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Most Americans are enjoying a three day weekend this Saturday, and I hope you are enjoying yours. I also hope you'll find the time to share in our nation's observance of Memorial Day, when we pause to reflect on the cost of the free lives we live today.

I will be **marking the day** with **military veterans** gathering at the White House, who knew and remember the people who never came back from our nation's wars. I will then go to Arlington National Cemetery, **to lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknowns**. It will be a high honor and I will be there on behalf of all the people of the United States.

Later that day, I will join with veterans in Arizona for a **commemoration and national moment of remembrance**. Most of us know **war veterans**; I had the privilege of being raised by one. Usually, they are reticent about their experiences. It is often difficult for them **to think back on** those names and faces, on the ones who never lived to be called veterans.

But on Memorial Day, we accept our obligation to do just that. We will remember **the heroism, the hardship, the national gain and personal loss our wars have brought**. America has been given so much, but of all our assets, resources and strengths, none have counted for more than **the courage of young soldiers in the face of battle**.

When war has come, the great decisions were made here at the White House. But when the orders went out and were received half a world away, victory has always come down to the people **flying the planes, manning the ships, carrying the gun and the pack**. They're the ones who have cleared the seas, crossed the rivers, charged the hills and covered the skies. They have **defended us**. They have **died for us**. They have never disappointed us. We **are in their debt**, more than a lifetime of Memorial Days could ever repay.

With their **sacrifice** comes a duty that will go on through the generations **to honor them** in our thoughts, in our words and in our lives.

Every Memorial Day we try **to grasp the extent of this loss** and the meaning of this sacrifice. But it always has seemed more than words can convey. In the end, all we can do is be thankful; all we can do is remember and always **appreciate the price that was paid for our own lives and our own freedom**.

Thank you for listening.

### ***Comprehension and discussion questions:***

1. What is the subject of the speech? Which victory does the president speak about?
2. What does he underline in the introduction?
3. What is the president's official schedule for the day?
4. What words of praise does he say about war veterans and all those who died for the country?
5. How does the president end his speech?
6. How does the US nation observe Memorial Day?
7. How does the Russian nation commemorate Victory Day? How did it mark the 60th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War and the Allied defeat of Nazi Germany in May 1945?

### **Exercise 26**

*Imagine you are a journalist who is to make a report on the president's address to the nation. Speak for about 2 minutes highlighting all the points of the speech and write a newspaper report in about 150 words, making use of the words and phrases in bold type.*

### **Exercise 27**

*Study the following idioms and make up your own sentences with them.*

- 1) the sword of Damocles — any imminent danger  
Although the CEO seemed quite secure, he always complained that there was a sword of Damocles hanging over his head.
- 2) Pyrrhic Victory — a too costly victory  
In heavy fighting the knights managed to capture the castle, but it could only be considered a Pyrrhic victory.
- 3) a bitter pill to swallow — a humiliating defeat  
It was a bitter pill to swallow for the champion chess player to be beaten by the 15-year-old boy.

4) to bury the hatchet — to make peace

After ignoring each other for a year, the colleagues decided to bury the hatchet.

5) the fat is in the fire — the mischief is done

The delegation understood that the fat was already in the fire and it would be hard to put things right.

6) the die is cast — an unchangeable decision has been made

The die was cast when he decided to run for President.

*Make up a situation with the idioms using the active vocabulary of the unit.*

### **Workshop III. WAR, POLITICS, AND DIPLOMACY**

Here is an extract from “America and the World: Principles and Pragmatism” by Henry Kissinger, where he defines America’s inescapable tasks and speaks among other things about peace.

*Find out some facts about H. Kissinger, say what the main objectives in the nuclear age are and if peace is the only goal of a country.*

#### **AMERICA AND THE WORLD**

America — and the community of nations — today faces inescapable tasks:

- We must maintain a secure and just peace.
- We must create a cooperative and beneficial international order.
- We must defend the rights and the dignity of man.

Each of these challenges has both a moral and a practical dimension. Each involves important ends, but ends that are sometimes in conflict. When that is the case, we face the real moral dilemma of foreign policy: the need to choose between valid ends and to relate our ends to means.

Peace is a fundamental moral imperative. Without it, nothing else we do or seek can ultimately have meaning. Averting the danger of nuclear war and limiting and ultimately reducing destructive nuclear arsenals is a moral as well as a political act.

In the nuclear age, power politics, the struggle for marginal advantages, the drive for prestige and unilateral gains must yield

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to an unprecedented sense of responsibility. History teaches us that balances based on constant tests of strength have always erupted into war. Common sense tells us that in the nuclear age history must not be repeated. Every President, sooner or later, will conclude with President Eisenhower that “there is no alternative to peace”. But peace cannot be our only goal. To seek it at any price would render us morally defenseless and place the world at the mercy of the most ruthless. Mankind must do more, as Tacitus said, than “make a desert [and] call it peace”.

There will be no security in a world whose obsession with peace leads to appeasement. But neither will there be security in a world in which mock tough rhetoric and the accumulation of arms are the sole measure of competition. We can spare no effort to bequeath to future generations a peace more hopeful than an equilibrium of terror.

In the search for peace we are continually called upon to strike balances — between strength and conciliation; between the need to defend our values and interests and the need to consider the views of others; between partial and total settlements.

America’s second moral imperative is the growing need for global cooperation. We live in a world of more than 150 countries, each asserting sovereignty and claiming the right to realize its national aspirations. Clearly, no nation can fulfill all its goals without infringing on the rights of others. Hence, compromise and common endeavors are inescapable. The growing interdependence of states in the face of the polarizing tendencies of nationalism and ideologies makes imperative the building of world community...

Our third moral imperative is the nurturing of human values. It is a tragedy that the very tools of technology that have made ours the most productive century in history have also served to subject millions to a new dimension of intimidation, suffering and fear. Individual freedom of conscience and expression is the proudest heritage of our civilization. All we do in the search for peace, for greater political cooperation and for a fair and flourishing international economy is rooted in our belief that only liberty permits the fullest expression of mankind’s creativity...

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John Updike once cautioned: «An old world is collapsing and a new world arising; we have better eyes for the collapse than for the rise, for the old one is the world we know» (Carnegie endowment 1992, 1).

*In the Third Millennium we continue to witness brutal conflicts in many parts of the world and are challenged to seek new ways to address them, not only in their aftermath but in their warning of what is yet to come if we do not find mechanisms of prevention.*

**Ponder over the following questions before reading the text:**

1. What used to be the ways to settle conflicts and how have they changed?
2. Where did the latest military operations take place?
3. What arguments can be used to prove that war is closely connected with politics and diplomacy?

## **THE POLITICS OF WINNING MODERN WARS**

**(by Fareed Zakaria, *Newsweek*)**

**Critics say Bush has politicized  
the antiterror campaign.**

**Tell that to FDR, Churchill and Lincoln.**

The Pentagon will have to take note of the new rule for fighting America's wars — you have to win in one month. Actually, three weeks. Last week, about 25 days into the campaign, Washington's punditocracy decided that America was losing the war. (This bold conclusion was based on virtually no evidence, but that didn't stop anyone.) The liberal *New Republic* and the conservative *Weekly Standard* — which seem interchangeable these days — argued that the military operation was obviously doomed and that the only way to salvage it was an invasion of Afghanistan with U.S. ground forces. All this because three weeks into the war the Taliban had not collapsed!

In fact, the campaign in Afghanistan is an uphill fight: it's a tough assignment coupled with hellish logistics. Remember that the war against Iraq in 1991 was preceded by a six-month buildup, using state-of-the-art military bases in neighboring Saudi

Arabia, and was fought over flat land against an identifiable foe. Kosovo was in NATO's backyard. Both places had military and industrial targets that could be bombed. We have become conditioned to believe that American military operations should have amazing, instant success — and if not, something must have gone terribly wrong.

For the critics, it was the diplomacy that was all wrong. A week into the war they began complaining that Secretary of State Colin Powell's coalition-building was crippling the campaign, forcing us to make bad military decisions for political reasons. In fact, the diplomats have no incentive to slow down the military operations. "Powell understands that nothing would help our diplomatic efforts more than military success", a senior American official told me. "It would encourage coalition members to support us more strongly and produce defections from within the Taliban. The war began slowly because we first went after air defenses, then bombed other strategic targets and finally closed in on troops. The real problem is that we have no bases close by from which to fly and our allies on the ground are weak".

A retired military officer with ties to the Pentagon was more blunt: "All these guys claiming we should have been bombing more from the start haven't a clue what they're talking about. Our aircraft are flying for several hours before they bomb, often being refueled twice in the air. That's why we're flying fewer sorties than we did in Kosovo or the Persian Gulf".

More important, the idea that political considerations should be excluded from military strategy is absurd. The central insight of Clausewitz's "On War" — perhaps the most influential book on the subject — is that war is an extension of politics by other means. The great wartime statesmen like Churchill, Roosevelt and Lincoln understood this. Consider, for example, Roosevelt's decision to enter World War II with the campaign against the Nazis in North Africa. FDR did it — partly in deference to the British — but mostly because he wanted to get U.S. troops bloodied fighting against Germans. It was a political decision that had little military logic. Churchill spent much of the war's end making military choices largely to shape the postwar political settlement.

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Consider the current war. We need the support, intelligence, troops or bases of key Muslim states in the region — Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Turkey — and these regimes are all fearful of public unrest. So we have been careful to minimize civilian casualties, launched a humanitarian effort and are drawing a sharp distinction between Islam and terrorism. Is this so stupid?

Or take the efforts to help create a post-Taliban regime. It may look like altruistic nation-building but in fact it's smart strategy. The nightmare scenario for Washington is that the Pashtuns — who make up 40 percent of the country, dominate the south and don't like the Northern Alliance — coalesce around the Taliban to prevent an alliance victory. If the Taliban stays strong in the south, Al Qaeda will stay hidden. So we are encouraging the Northern Alliance to adopt a "no reprisals" policy against the Pashtuns and other Taliban supporters. We are also trying — with some success — to persuade the Pashtuns that they will have an important place in a post-Taliban regime, as well as offering up some economic aid. "We would be crazy not to worry about all these political considerations", the American official told me. "If we help on the political front it makes our military strategy easier".

Getting this mix right, amid a fog of information and misinformation, is slow and difficult. If the pundits don't see that, Clausewitz did. "A general in time of war is constantly bombarded by reports both true and false", he wrote. "He is exposed to countless impressions, most of them disturbing, few of them encouraging... If a man were to yield to these pressures, he would never complete the operation. Perseverance in the chosen course is the essential counterweight... It is steadfastness that will earn the admiration of the world and of posterity". I think that means not losing faith in the third week.

**Notes:**

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt — a US politician in the Democratic party, who was the President of the US from 1933–1945. He tried to give support to the allies without getting the US involved in World War II,

- but when Japan attacked the US in 1941 he was forced to join the war. He is the only person who has ever been elected President of the US four times;
2. the Pentagon — the five-sided building near Washington, D. C., which contains the offices of the US Department of Defense, and from which the armed forces of the US are directed;
  3. Colin Powell (1937) — a US military leader who became famous during the Gulf War and who was the first black person to become Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

***Comprehension questions:***

1. What are the Pentagon, the Taliban, Al Qaeda?
2. How did the war against Iraq in 1991 end? What do you know about the war of 2003?
3. How did Americans do in Kosovo and the Persian Gulf?
4. What happened in North Africa during World War II?
5. What do the following abbreviations stand for: NATO, FDR?
6. What are the aims of “the current war”?
7. Who is the US Secretary of State at present?
8. What do you know about such wartime statesmen as Churchill and Lincoln?

***Discussion questions:***

1. What is important in modern warfare strategies?
2. Why did the three-week military campaign seem a defeat?
3. What makes Americans believe that the military operations should be instantly successful? Which campaigns does the author compare?
4. How do diplomacy and politics affect the expansion of military operations? Are the relationships between them reciprocal?
5. What political considerations are taken into account in the Afghan campaign?

What is implied by a “no reprisals” policy against Taliban supporters?

6. What is Clausewitz’s vision of war in general and what does his political shrewdness concerning the Afghan war consist in?

## Exercise 28

*Explain or comment on the following:*

1. We have become conditioned to believe that American military operations should have amazing, instant success.
2. The central insight of Clausewitz’s “On War” — is that war is an extension of politics by other means.
3. Churchill spent much of the war’s end making military choices largely to shape the postwar political settlement.
4. So we have been careful to minimize civilian casualties, launched a humanitarian effort and are drawing a sharp distinction between Islam and terrorism.
5. It may look like altruistic nation-building but in fact it’s smart strategy.
6. Critics say Bush has politicized the antiterror campaign. Tell that to FDR, Churchill and Lincoln.

## Exercise 29

*Translate the sentences from the text into Russian, paying special attention to the underlined parts:*

1. For the critics, it was the diplomacy that was all wrong.
2. Our aircraft are flying for several hours before they bomb, often being refueled twice in the air.
3. If a man were to yield to these pressures, he would never complete the operation.
4. It is steadfastness that will earn the admiration of the world and of posterity.

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### **Exercise 30**

*Consult an English-English dictionary and explain:*

*a) the following words*

1. punditocracy
2. logistics
3. coalesce

*What other words having the same endings do you remember?*

*b) the following word-combinations*

1. to be doomed
2. to be coupled with
3. to get the mix right
4. an uphill fight

*c) give all the possible synonyms and antonyms to the word **posterity**.*

### **Exercise 31**

*Translate the word-combinations into Russian and learn them.*

identifiable foe

to produce defections from

to exclude political considerations from

in deference to

to shape the postwar political settlement

to launch a humanitarian effort

to draw a sharp distinction between

to be exposed to countless impressions

to yield to pressures

perseverance in the chosen course

to earn the admiration of posterity

to politicize the antiterror campaign

*Now use the word-combinations in the following sentences.*

1. The great works of Michelangelo, an Italian painter, sculptor, and architect, \_\_\_\_\_ of his contemporaries and of posterity.

2. The civilian population was \_\_\_\_\_ air attacks but wouldn't \_\_\_\_\_ the military pressures, demonstrating extreme \_\_\_\_\_ the chosen course and earning the admiration of the whole world.
3. Some societies \_\_\_\_\_ the status of an unmarried woman and a married one.
4. After bombing Afghanistan the USA \_\_\_\_\_ parachuting food and medicine to the Afghan people.
5. Grave conflicts and sharp differences coupled with a six-month military buildup preceded the war, \_\_\_\_\_ from within both camps.
6. The book focuses on the problem of war, its main emphasis being that political \_\_\_\_\_ from military strategy.
7. Now that the war was over the military chiefs gathered in a secluded place to \_\_\_\_\_.
8. The prominent public figure totally agreed with the government's policy aimed at \_\_\_\_\_ campaign.
9. As distinct from the previous campaign where the troops had to fight against a(an) \_\_\_\_\_ the current one is a tough assignment.
10. The US entered World War II for political reasons: \_\_\_\_\_ to the British and to get the troops bloodied fighting against Germans.
11. Every military leader's aim is to become famous and to \_\_\_\_\_ of posterity.

### Exercise 32

*Learn the following words and use them in the given sentences.*

**a) to identify — identical — (un)identifiable — identification — identity**

1. \_\_\_\_\_ patterns are becoming more complex, as people assert local loyalties but want to share in global values and lifestyles.
2. He is too closely \_\_\_\_\_ with the previous administration to be given a job in the current one.

3. The accused men gave \_\_\_\_\_ stories about where they had been that night.
4. After years of research scientists have \_\_\_\_\_ the virus that is responsible for the disease.
5. Health Officers are working hard on the \_\_\_\_\_ of the source of the food poisoning.
6. Some women find that getting married reduces their sense of \_\_\_\_\_ and self-esteem.
7. The study \_\_\_\_\_ more than twenty groups and actors participating in UN conferences.
8. There has been a long quest in the study of war to try and \_\_\_\_\_ a single primary cause from which all other causes derive.
9. Both wars against Iraq were preceded by a military buildup and fought against a(an) \_\_\_\_\_ enemy.

**b) to terrorize — terror — terrorism — terrorist**

1. The arrest, which came on the heels of another counter-\_\_\_\_\_ triumph last month, begged a question: how big a threat does Osama bin Laden's band of \_\_\_\_\_ remain?
2. Few \_\_\_\_\_ attacks have been carried out since then that can indisputably be pinned to Mr. Bin Laden's inner circle.
3. The \_\_\_\_\_ acts that have been accredited to al-Qae-da have been more loosely linked to the group.
4. Since October 2001, Pakistan has sent over 70,000 troops into this border area to hunt for \_\_\_\_\_.
5. In the past year, it claims to have killed or captured several hundred Central Asian, Afghanistan-trained militants involved in \_\_\_\_\_.
6. It is unclear yet whether any of the Arabs brought into government have the weight within their own community to persuade many of the insurgents, \_\_\_\_\_ the region, to lay down their arms.
7. The Americans stepped up demands that Mr. S. be extradited on \_\_\_\_\_ charges, in connection with the kidnapping of an American in India.

**c) to consider — considered — considering —  
(in)considerable — (in)considerate — consideration(s)**

1. \_\_\_\_\_ the strength of the opposition, we did very well to score two goals.
2. My \_\_\_\_\_ opinion is that she is not suitable for the job.
3. Before you decide to leave your job, \_\_\_\_\_ the effect it will have on your family and life style.
4. A \_\_\_\_\_ number of people object to the government's attitude to immigration.
5. Political rather than economic \_\_\_\_\_ influenced the location of the new factory.
6. People expect to be \_\_\_\_\_ treated by the police.
7. One of the amendments under \_\_\_\_\_ proposes that all European countries reduce pollution levels by 30 %.
8. The number of voters who changed their minds at the last minute was \_\_\_\_\_.

**d) to impress — (un)impressed — (un)impressive —  
impressionable — impression — impressionism**

1. Her speech made quite an \_\_\_\_\_ on the audience.
2. The audience was \_\_\_\_\_ by the lecturer's grasp of the politics of the Middle East.
3. However, under this seemingly simple structure is an \_\_\_\_\_ set of intergovernmental bodies charged with managing different aspects of the agreement.
4. They were some moderately interesting speakers but nobody really made an \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The Director seemed suitably \_\_\_\_\_ and the delegates left feeling sure that he would agree to the proposals.
6. The Russian sprinter won the race by an \_\_\_\_\_ five metres.
7. It's wrong that \_\_\_\_\_ young minds should be subjected to this sort of propaganda in college.
8. When you think how much has been spent on this research, the results are sadly \_\_\_\_\_.
9. The police were examining the house, looking for the burglar's prints and other marks and \_\_\_\_\_.

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## Exercise 33

*Study the following list of "war" phrases from the text,*

*a) add words to every line to complete the collocations:*

to fight / lose / win / ... a war

antiterror / ...campaign

to complete / salvage / ... a military operation

*b) give equivalents to the following:*

to collapse

buildup

intelligence

unrest

casualty

coalition

steadfastness

invasion

*c) give opposites to the following:*

on the front

allies

defense

information

*d) give situations from the text with the following:*

invasion of smth with ground forces

state-of-the-art military bases

to bomb strategic targets

to close in on troops

## Exercise 34

*Read the following sentences and*

*a) mark all the words relating to war:*

1. They belligerently refused to withdraw the large military force that stood waiting at the border.
2. The cowed defenders laid down their weapons and surrendered.

3. The raid on the capital was an infringement of our national pride.
4. He is a martyr in the eyes of the nation because he died in the struggle against the invaders.
5. Their intent was the obliteration of the native culture in the lands that they had conquered.
6. The onslaught of the enemy army began at dawn.
7. The partisans are based in the mountains outside of the town.
8. The officers' quarters on this base are much nicer than those for the enlisted personnel.
9. The privates saluted the approaching colonel who was an expert in military tactics.
10. Almost half of the ambushed soldiers were killed or wounded.
11. The camouflaged troops were not visible to the enemy.
12. There were several hundred casualties in that battle; we need some replacement troops.
13. The civilians felt safe because there was a large garrison at the edge of their town.
14. There is a lot of hostility toward the occupation army; several of the troops have been killed when they went out of their barracks alone.
15. Their army is filled with mercenaries because their own civilians do not want to serve in the military.
16. The raid on the garrison by the rebels was successful; they captured all of the weapons and ammunition held there; then they tried to seize the capital.
17. The government wants to retaliate quickly against the guerrillas.
18. The explosion of the bridge was an act of sabotage by the guerrillas.
19. They plan to besiege the city for as long as it takes to force the residents to give up.
20. The signing of the truce ended the five-year war between the two countries.
21. The guards patrolled the fort walls to make sure no prisoners escaped.

22. The people in the war-torn country found refuge in the neighbouring countries.
23. The countries were so hostile that they finally declared war on each other.
24. Their strategy of attacking from the rear proved to be successful.
25. The enemy completely wiped out our troops and occupied the country until the war ended.
26. They held out against the enemy for a week but finally gave up when their ammunition ran out.
27. Our attack repulsed the enemy; they could not gain any more territory.

b) *group the marked words under the three headings and translate them:*

noun    verb/verb combination    adjective/adverb/participle

c) *match each word with its synonym:*

enemy	to encroach, trespass
guard	to capitulate, cede, hand over, relinquish
hostility	adversary, foe
raid	armistice, cease-fire, reconciliation
retaliation	foray, incursion
to surrender	to rout, vanquish
truce	reprisal
belligerent	to de cease, perish
to cow	to daunt
to defeat	bellicose, combative, contentious
to die	animosity, enmity, rancor
to infringe	sentry

## Exercise 35

*Fill in the gaps of the passage with some of the "war" vocabulary.*

In many countries when the \_\_\_\_\_ do not agree with the group in power, they plan a revolution to \_\_\_\_\_ the gov-

ernment. The \_\_\_\_\_ between the groups grows until it develops into a conflict that is actually a \_\_\_\_\_ against the group in power. In such a case, it is not uncommon to hear of \_\_\_\_\_ attacking government \_\_\_\_\_ by surprise and seizing and after that \_\_\_\_\_ government buildings to try to gain control.

The government, in the meantime, tries to halt the \_\_\_\_\_ attacks. \_\_\_\_\_ go out in search of the \_\_\_\_\_. Generals experienced in military \_\_\_\_\_ plan \_\_\_\_\_ to fight against the \_\_\_\_\_ and to deal with the help that they might receive from outside sources, that is, help from other countries that send \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and other equipment to the \_\_\_\_\_ or that might train them in \_\_\_\_\_ warfare and \_\_\_\_\_.

As with any type of conflict, there are many \_\_\_\_\_ who are caught in the middle. They look for \_\_\_\_\_ away from the blasts of the \_\_\_\_\_ and the \_\_\_\_\_ acts of war. Many try to avoid the \_\_\_\_\_ between the \_\_\_\_\_ and the government forces by looking for \_\_\_\_\_ in areas of their own country. Others leave the country entirely to \_\_\_\_\_ the horrors of the conflict.

If the \_\_\_\_\_ win the war, they \_\_\_\_\_ all the positions of importance in the government or \_\_\_\_\_ the old system completely and institute a new one. The new government must have its \_\_\_\_\_ well thought out so that it can enforce new laws without creating \_\_\_\_\_ among the people.

### Exercise 36

*Translate the sentences using the active vocabulary and the reviewed war vocabulary.*

1. Угроза произвела на руководство страны сильное впечатление, но эффект ее получился обратный тому, на который рассчитывал агрессор.
2. Губернатор разрешил полковнику свободно и беспощадно осуществлять транспортировку наемников и продовольствия, а также провозить военное снаряжение.

3. На оккупированных территориях планомерно проводилась политика экономического ограбления и беспощадного террора.
4. Народы нашей страны, внесшие решающий вклад в победу над гитлеровской коалицией, навсегда завоевали восхищение и благодарность потомков.
5. На Ялтинской и Потсдамской конференциях в центре внимания находилось обсуждение принципов послевоенного устройства мира.
6. Крепость выдержала осаду, так как ее гарнизон, имея достаточно вооружения и боеприпасов, проявил стойкость и отразил несколько штурмов.
7. Впоследствии комендант крепости под давлением общественного мнения был вместе с другими виновными в сдаче города привлечен к военному суду.
8. Поддавшись давлению, правительство США вынуждено было согласиться на созыв общеевропейского совещания для пересмотра принципов торговли сельскохозяйственной продукцией.
9. По мере своего продвижения на восток армия Наполеона была вынуждена оставлять гарнизоны в захваченных городах, что, наряду с многочисленными потерями в результате боевых действий и дезертирством, серьезно ослабляло ее и подрывало боевой дух солдат и офицеров.
10. Солдаты патрулировали город, чтобы гражданское население чувствовало себя в безопасности.
11. Безграмотность командования и его неумение воспользоваться законами военной тактики и стратегии привели к тому, что значительная часть войск оказалась под угрозой окружения и уничтожения.
12. Правительство приняло решение возвести монумент в честь ветеранов, сражавшихся во время войны.
13. Необходимо уметь проводить четкое различие между освободительной и захватнической войнами.
14. Гражданское население единодушно выступило против нарушения новым правительством основных демократических прав и свобод и не поддалось давлению властей.

15. Стойкость гарнизона при осаде города, его готовность мужественно переносить голод и лишения позволили выиграть время и продержаться до прихода подкрепления.
16. Генерал исключил наличие каких-либо политических соображений в основе решения об участии воинских подразделений в спасательной операции.
17. Хотя генерал подвергался бесконечному воздействию со стороны заинтересованных группировок, он сумел принять единственно правильную на то время военную стратегию.

Here is an article from the *Guardian's* section *Comment and Analysis* dealing with the war against terrorism. The author is skeptical about the ways to tackle the problem, criticizing the US and UK actions and statements.

***Find all the criticisms in the article, say whether the arguments are relevant and well-founded or controversial and disputable. What way to fight terrorism does the author suggest?***

## TACKLE TERROR AT ITS ROOTS

(Tony Benn, the *Guardian*)

The war against terrorism, the prime minister tells us, could last for years and it has been made clear that any country which is suspected of harbouring terrorist groups could be attacked. President Bush has said, that "those who are not with us are against us" which defines the enemy even more broadly.

Initially these operations were described as a "crusade", but we are now told that this is not a "holy war" against Islam, although the Archbishop of Canterbury, on his visit to the Middle East, has pronounced it to be a "just war" that good Christians can and should support.

Osama bin Laden has been named as the man behind the atrocity in New York but there is no question of him being brought to trial because the United States is opposed to any international war crimes tribunal, which would have the authority to try US citizens. In any case, ex-president Clinton and President Bush have already ordered that he be assassinated on sight.

It is easy to see why the US does not want Bin Laden brought to court. In his own defence he would, no doubt, point out that he was armed and financed by the CIA as a freedom fighter (or terrorist) to oust the Russians when they invaded Afghanistan.

Apart from a UN Security Council resolution condemning terrorism, the procedures for dealing with threats to peace under the UN charter have been set aside. By invoking Article 5 NATO did not absolve itself from the responsibilities laid down in the NATO treaty to abide by the provisions of the UN charter.

People, who have been campaigning against the bombing at massive demonstrations all over the world, have been compared to those who appeased Hitler, or accused of lacking moral fibre (a wartime phrase used to describe cowardice in the face of the enemy), or of somehow having forgotten the horrific scenes in New York that day.

Paul Marsden, in his remarkable but wholly credible account of his meeting with the Labour chief whip, was apparently told that opposition to war was not accepted as a matter of conscience. Strenuous efforts were made to prevent any vote against the war from taking place in the House, and the government has so far refused to seek a positive vote for its policy in the Commons.

Meanwhile B-52s are carpet bombing the Taliban lines in the hope that the Northern Alliance will seize the opportunity thus created to break through and save the lives of US troops who might otherwise be sacrificed in battle — a questionable strategy which would create huge political problems were the Northern Alliance to take over the whole country.

Despite all the war-like statements emerging every day from No 10, Britain's military role has been minuscule, apparently limited to firing a few missiles from a submarine, providing logistic support and keeping some British soldiers on standby.

The real value to Washington of the prime minister's involvement is that he is providing political cover for whatever the president wants to do, thus breathing life into that popular phrase the "international community" which helps to divert attention from the fact that this is not a UN war.

Perhaps we should be asking ourselves whether by our silence, we may be acquiescing in the perpetration of crimes against humanity in that those who have already suffered so much are now suffering even more because their land is urgently needed for a pipeline to get oil to the US market.

Some people, who are very unhappy about all this, do ask the question: "what would you do?" But if terrorism is ever to be eliminated it must be tackled at its roots, by forcing Israel to accept a Palestinian state, ending the bombing of Iraq and the killing of its citizens by sanctions, withdrawing US forces from Saudi Arabia and establishing a truly international court of justice able to deal with terrorism. Bush's recent actions mean Washington is not serious about a settlement.

Perhaps the most important lesson of all is that our best hope of building a safer and more peaceful world lies in reconstructing our policy around the UN and authorising it to control the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organisation and the multinational corporations which now dominate the global economy and expect the Pentagon to step in to defend their interests from any national liberation movements that might threaten their profits.

*Do you agree with the author's comments on the situation around terrorism?*

*Does he express the official position on the issue?*

*Compare his and your standpoint on the problem of terrorism.*

## ► WRITING

### Exercise 37

*Write paragraphs to comment on the following quotations.*

1. The quickest way of ending a war is to lose it.

*George Orwell*

2. Soldiers usually win the battles and generals get the credit for it.

*Napoleon*

3. How different the new order would be if we could consult the veteran instead of the politician.

*Henry Miller*

## Exercise 38

*Write an essay on one of the following subjects.*

1. When peace has been broken anywhere, the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger.

*Franklin Roosevelt*

2. There is no such thing as an inevitable war. If war comes it will be from failure of human wisdom.

*Law*

3. Peace is the one condition of survival in this nuclear age.

*Adlai Stevenson*

## Workshop VI. VOCABULARY PRACTICE

### Exercise 39

*Complete the text, bearing in mind all the studied words. The first letters of the necessary words are given to help you.*

- 1. Anyone who has visited Angola can see why the w \_\_\_\_\_ - t \_\_\_\_\_ country desperately needs p \_\_\_\_\_. It has been at w \_\_\_\_\_ since before most Angolans' parents were born. Its fertile soil bristles with m \_\_\_\_\_, its population is b \_\_\_\_\_. A quarter of Angolans have f \_\_\_\_\_ their homes to avoid being s \_\_\_\_\_ or c \_\_\_\_\_. A whole generation has grown up in the stinking r \_\_\_\_\_ camps that surround its large cities.

The late leader of the UNITA r \_\_\_\_\_ was not the sole cause of Angola's c \_\_\_\_\_ w \_\_\_\_\_, but he was the main reason why it has d \_\_\_\_\_ into a prolonged conflict. With his energy, his t \_\_\_\_\_ brilliance and his utter b \_\_\_\_\_, he was the soul of the g \_\_\_\_\_ army he led.

Making p \_\_\_\_\_ will not be easy; past attempts have always failed. Fortunately, most of UNITA's t \_\_\_\_\_ are sick of fighting. If they are to l \_\_\_\_\_ down their a \_\_\_\_\_, however, the Angolan government needs to call an immediate c \_\_\_\_\_ and offer an amnesty to all who s \_\_\_\_\_. All this will need to be monitored by outsiders: since the government's s \_\_\_\_\_ habitually kill their p \_\_\_\_\_, UNITA's men will need some reassurance. A t \_\_\_\_\_ would allow the president to set a date for elections. The government says it is willing to work for "national r \_\_\_\_\_", but several senior ministers and g \_\_\_\_\_ have reasons not to push too hard for p \_\_\_\_\_. For this reason, it is essential that the outside world puts p \_\_\_\_\_ on the president. America would have by far the most influence, if it chose to wield it. Not only is it Angola's biggest trading partner; it is also the source of most of its s \_\_\_\_\_ military t \_\_\_\_\_. Without surveillance e \_\_\_\_\_ from America and its a \_\_\_\_\_ Israel, the Angolan army could probably not have tracked down and killed UNITA's leader.

George Bush met Angola's president this week and urged him to e \_\_\_\_\_ the war. But he stopped short of demanding that he should d \_\_\_\_\_ a unilateral c \_\_\_\_\_. That is not good enough. Americans are more c \_\_\_\_\_ with their oil supply than with Angola's domestic politics. But Mr. Bush can surely twist arms without jeopardising that supply.

□ 2. Nervously, Sri Lanka has entered a period of p \_\_\_\_\_ that it hopes will end 19 years of c \_\_\_\_\_ w \_\_\_\_\_. Like gunslingers unable to break the habit of k \_\_\_\_\_, two sides f \_\_\_\_\_ right up to February 23rd, the date a "permanent" c \_\_\_\_\_ came into operation. Assurances were given that a b \_\_\_\_\_ going on between the n \_\_\_\_\_ and boats of the Tamil Tigers would soon be over and would not compromise the c \_\_\_\_\_; and anyway there were no more c \_\_\_\_\_, only one navy man had died. It may well be that in a w \_\_\_\_\_ that has cost more than 60,000 lives, one more death hardly made a difference except to the v \_\_\_\_\_'s family, embittered that he was caught by the final b \_\_\_\_\_.

It was the final one. Sri Lankans are split over whether a l\_\_\_\_\_ p\_\_\_\_\_ is in prospect, with pessimists probably in the majority.

### Exercise 40

*Complete the text with one word only.*

The \_\_\_\_\_ might be regarded as a \_\_\_\_\_ event. By this assessment, the requirements of \_\_\_\_\_ war were \_\_\_\_\_ and its consequences were \_\_\_\_\_. The impact might be wholly negative and \_\_\_\_\_ or it might have led to positive and \_\_\_\_\_ responses. The war would then be regarded as innovatory and would mark a major \_\_\_\_\_ in British history.

Even if it were accepted that most of the innovations demanded by war were \_\_\_\_\_ subsequently, it could be argued that knowledge of wartime practices could not be eliminated. \_\_\_\_\_ had been established which might be employed on some later occasion when Great Britain was again \_\_\_\_\_ to stress with the \_\_\_\_\_ in 1939 of another \_\_\_\_\_ war.

This last \_\_\_\_\_ suggests one final interpretive approach. There may be something problematic about \_\_\_\_\_ the First World War as a major turning-point in British history if the Second World War is also to be so \_\_\_\_\_.

We cannot \_\_\_\_\_ that \_\_\_\_\_ or change at the level of the state is a perfect reflection of socio-economic conditions. In its own terms, the \_\_\_\_\_ of the war upon the state is a \_\_\_\_\_ of necessary importance, but it would be unwise to \_\_\_\_\_ that even \_\_\_\_\_ changes in government marked \_\_\_\_\_ in other aspects of national experience.

### Exercise 41

*Translate the following into English using the active vocabulary.*

Участие в невиданной по своим масштабам войне вызвало сильнейшее напряжение сил России, существенно отразилось на состоянии ее экономики, обострило социальные отношения в стране, а к концу войны привело и к политическому кризису. За время войны было мобилизовано около 15 млн. человек. Война особенно тяжело отразилась на состоянии сельского хозяйства. В сфере промышленности большинство предприятий в начале войны сокращало производство. Впоследствии происходило падение производства в легкой и рост его в тяжелой промышленности, работавшей на войну. Война потребовала громадных финансовых затрат, которые достигли 39 млрд. рублей.

Охвативший в начале войны все слои населения шовинистический угар скоро сменился разочарованием и недовольством политикой правящих кругов. Нарастание революционного и либерально-оппозиционного движения в стране вылилось зимой 1916–1917 гг. в общенациональный кризис. В преддверии революции произошло резкое обострение социальных и политических противоречий, усугубленных долгой и изнурительной мировой войной. Порожденная войной экономическая разруха и, как следствие ее, обострение нужды и бедствий народных масс вызвали острую социальную напряженность в стране, рост антивоенных настроений и всеобщее недовольство политикой самодержавия.

## ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION

*Get ready to discuss the problem of war at a round-table conference. Distribute the roles among the participants and do not forget about the role of the chairperson. Make use of the hints given in Unit 2 The Press.*

## THE NATURE OF WAR

**Housewife** — Women will always fear war more than men because they are mothers. A woman will always have a baby, her own or her children's, in her arms. She will always be

tormented by fear for her children, the fear that one day she might be a witness to their own deaths.

**Feminist** — Men love war because it allows them to look serious. Because it is the one thing that stops women laughing at them.

**Warmonger** — War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to face it.

**Doctor** — War is not an adventure. It is a disease. It is like typhus.

**Politician** — War is the unfolding of miscalculations.

**Psychologist** — All wars are boyish, and are fought by boys.

**Statesman** — Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind.

**Pacifist** — You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake.

**War veteran** — I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine... War is hell.

**Woman-politician** — If women ruled the world and we all got massages, there would be no war.

**General** — To lead an uninstructed people to war is to throw them away.

## ► Word List VIII

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ancestor

appealing model

to assume

assets

advantage

to adapt

armed forces

to appreciate

hostility

to improve

innate

to identify

to infringe upon

to lodge a belief in

let alone

to lay a wreath at

ally	to launch an offensive
battered population	lasting benefits
barbed wire	logistics
belligerent	material resources
carnage	to make sacrifices
to concern	to make demands upon
contemporary	to modify
to commemorate	to maintain
continue	military build-up
conducive to	to mark
constructive consequences	national gain
to consider	overwhelming evidence
countless impressions	to observe
chosen course	outdated view
casualty	to originate in
dubious	on the front
to develop	to predict
to defend	to perceive
to drill into	popular consciousness
to draw upon	to perpetuate
disposed to	proclivity for war
to distort	prolonged conflict
draft	to precede
disaster	to proceed
to drain off	punditocracy
to destroy	to produce defections from
defeat	postwar settlement
deference	posterity
to draw a distinction between	to refute a charge
to embody	roots of human aggression
external stimulation	to reverse
to endure hardships	to regard as
eminent	replacement troops
to employ weapons	retaliation

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to enhance  
to explode  
evidence  
exposed to  
to earn the admiration  
fundamental decency  
forebears  
foe  
to go to any lengths  
to grasp the loss  
guerillas  
headstrong lad  
to honour  
humanitarian effort  
historical evolution

to reflect on  
rebel  
refuge  
shocking affront to  
to surrender  
social coherence  
to stretch  
to shirk responsibilities  
to share a belief  
sense of community  
triumphant  
thirst for adventure  
to terrorize  
truce  
to violate  
war veteran

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