

Г. Я. Тарасова

ENGLISH

ПОЛИТОЛОГИЯ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

Практикум
по английскому
языку



ФЛИНТА



МПСИ

РОССИЙСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ
МОСКОВСКИЙ ПСИХОЛОГО-СОЦИАЛЬНЫЙ ИНСТИТУТ

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Для студентов, аспирантов и преподавателей вузов.

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ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Практикум предназначен для работы с оригинальной литературой на английском языке, для развития навыков языкового и информационного анализа, расширения словарного запаса и использования английского языка как инструмента профессионального общения. Книга может послужить и источником информации по политической, экономической и культурной жизни стран Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона (АТР). Тексты практикума представлены в трех разделах:

1. Азиатско-Тихоокеанские страны. Вопросы политики, экономики, культуры.

2. Англоговорящие страны Тихоокеанского бассейна. Вопросы политики, экономики, культуры.

3. Россия. Вопросы политики, экономики и культуры в переходный период.

Каждый текст снабжен предтекстовыми и послетекстовыми заданиями. Диапазон заданий и вопросов включает развитие умений прогнозирования (предтекстовые задания), определения основной идеи, последовательности изложения основных и иллюстрирующих фактов, поиск сравнений, причинно-следственных связей. Другие вопросы и задания требуют более высокого уровня владения языком и когнитивных усилий. Это — реорганизация текста, собственные выводы на основе изложенных фактов, оценка информации, полученной в процессе чтения.

Пособие может использоваться как для работы в аудитории, так и для самостоятельного чтения. Для удобства работы с текстовым материалом абзацы пронумерованы. Уровень трудности заданий определяется преподавателем в зависимости от уровня подготовки конкретных студентов.

Автор приносит благодарность доктору филологических наук, заведующей Кафедрой теории и практики перевода Института иностранных языков Дальневосточного государственного университета (ДВГУ) З.Г. Прошиной, внимательно прочитавшей пособие и внесшей интересные методические предложения; кандидату филологических наук, заведующей Кафедрой иностранных языков ДВО РАН Е.В. Тереховой за моральную и организационную поддержку; выпускникам 2002 и 2003 гг. Владивостокского института международных отношений (ВИМО ДВГУ), принимавшим участие в сборе материалов и в апробировании практикума и, наконец, О.Д. Корниенко за огромную техническую работу, выходящую за рамки простого набора текста на компьютере, за ее кропотливый труд.

Unit I. ASIAN PACIFIC COUNTRIES. POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL ISSUES

TEXT 1

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the following story and think about:

- a) the role of Constitution in the life of a country;
- b) the role of Emperor in Japan.

Write down your ideas.

2. Read the story “The Constitution and the Emperor” and compare your ideas with the information of the text.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE EMPEROR

1. In Japan’s Constitution, which was promulgated on November 3, 1946, and took effect on May 3 the following year, the Japanese people pledge to uphold the high ideals of peace and democratic order. The preamble of the Constitution states: “We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time... We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth.”

2. The Constitution differs in many important respects from the Meiji Constitution of 1889. Some of its key provisions are as follows:

— The Emperor is the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people. Sovereign power rests with the people.

— Japan renounces war as a sovereign right. It also renounces the threat or the use of force as means of settling disputes with other nations.

— Fundamental human rights are guaranteed as eternal and inviolable.

— The former House of Peers is replaced by the House of Councilors, whose members, like those of the House of Representatives, are elected as representatives of all the people. The House of Representatives has preeminence over the House of Councilors.

— Executive power is vested in the cabinet, which is collectively responsible to the Diet.

— Local self-government is established on an extensive scale.

— The Emperor has no powers related to government; he performs only those acts of state that are stipulated in the Constitution. Thus, for example, he appoints the prime minister and the chief justice of the Supreme Court. The prime minister, however, is first designated by the Diet, and the chief justice by the cabinet. The Emperor also performs such acts on behalf of the people as promulgating laws and treaties, convoking the Diet, and awarding honors, all with the advice and approval of the cabinet.

The Japan of Today

Post-reading

Read the text again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. On the basis of the text do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Find the line describing the Emperor's authority stated by the Constitution of 1889.
2. Recall the preamble of the Constitution of 1946. What does it state?
3. List some basic provisions of the Constitution of 1889.
4. Could you say anything about people's promises, in accordance with the Constitution of 1946?
5. Do you agree that if the Emperor's authority were broader (not symbolic), it would be better for Japan in general and facilitate governing the country?
6. Do you like the provisions of the Constitution of 1886? Why?

TEXT 2

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the following text and try to recall the names of political parties of Japan. Write them down. Use the Internet as a resource.

2. Read the story and compare your ideas with the information of the text.

POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Japan's first political party, the Public Party of Patriots (Aikoku Koto), was formed in 1874 and immediately presented the Government with a paper calling for the establishment of a representative legislature. The country's first general election was held 16 years later, on July 1, 1890, and the first session of the Diet was opened on November 29 of the same year. Japan's Diet was the first national legislature to be established in Asia.

2. The role of political parties in national affairs grew in the following decades, but the ascent of militarism in the period leading up to World War II forced a decline in the influence of the parties and ultimately their temporary dissolution.

3. The five major political parties in Japan now are the Liberal Democratic Party, the New Frontier Party, the Social Democratic Party (formerly the Japan Socialist Party), New Party Sakigake, and the Japanese Communist Party.

4. After monopolizing power for 38 years, the LDP, weakened by defections, lost its parliamentary majority in the summer of 1993 and was subsequently replaced by a coalition government backed by all of the former opposition parties (excluding the JCP) and led by Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro. Although the Hosokawa Government managed to secure passage of legislation to reform Japan's political system, the subject of long-running national debate, it resigned after only eight months in office. Following a two-month stint by a minority coalition headed by Hata Tsutomu, a tripartite coalition formed by the LDP, SDP and Sakigake elected SDP Chairman Murayama Tomiichi to the premiership. In January 1996 the ruling coalition chose LDP President Hashimoto Ryutaro as prime minister to replace Murayama after his resignation.

5. The LDP was formed in November 1955 through the merger of two conservative parties founded after World War II and governed Japan without interruption until 1993. In its charter the LDP pledges to protect civil liberties, to be an open and democratic party, and to make a positive contribution to world peace, human prosperity, and preservation of the global environment. At the heart of the LDP's

foreign policy platform is support for cooperative relations between Japan and the United States, based on the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. The party also stresses the importance of Japan's playing an active role in the international community. The basic planks of this foreign policy have been retained by the coalition governments that have come to power since the end of LDP single-party rule in 1993.

6. The SDP was formed in November 1945 through a merger of different proletarian parties of prewar days. For nearly four decades the SDP supported unarmed neutrality and condemned both the Self-Defense Forces and the security treaty binding Japan and the United States. Shortly after forming a coalition government with the LDP in June 1994, however, the party formally agreed to revise its platform, recognizing the constitutionality of the SDF and pledging to support the security arrangements with the United States. Sakigake is a small conservative party established by breakaway LDP politicians in the summer of 1993*.

7. The NFP, Japan's second largest party, came into being in December 1994 when most of the conservative and moderate opposition parties I (with the exceptions of the SDP and Sakigake) that had constituted the coalition government that ended 38 years of LDP rule in June 1993 decided to come together in a merger in order to hasten

* Political Strengths in the National Diet (as of January 21, 1996).

	House of Representatives	House of Councilors
Liberal Democratic Party	207	111
New Frontier Party	170	68*
Social Democratic Party	63	36
New Party Sakigake	23	3
Japanese Communist Party	15	14
Minor parties	14	18
Independents	5	2
Vacancies	14	0
Total	511	252

* This figure represents the seats held by the NPF-dominate parliamentary group Heiseikai.

Japan's transition to a two-party political system. Pledging "ceaseless reform" and "responsible politics," the NFP was formed by nine parties, including Shinseito (Japan Renewal Party), the Japan New Party, Komeito (Clean Government Party), and the Democratic Socialist Party. Shinseito, like Sakigake, had been founded by a group of conservative politicians who left the LDP in the summer of 1993 to advance their agenda of political reform. The Japan New Party was another relatively new conservative party, organized in 1992 by Hosokawa. Komeito was formed in 1964, originally as the political arm of the Soka Gakkai, a lay body of the Nichiren Shoshu sect of Buddhism. In 1970 the party declared independence from Soka Gakkai. The DSP was a moderate party founded in 1960 by a group of ex-socialist parliamentarians.

8. The JCP came out into the open as a legal party after World War II. It aims at the realization of a communist society in Japan through "a democratic revolution of the people followed by a socialist revolution."

The Japan of Today

Post-reading

Read the text again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. On the basis of the text do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Show how the process of Japan's major political parties' establishment was going.
2. Please, tell how and when Japan's Diet was founded.
3. Classify differences and resemblances in Japan's parties' Charter. If we assume that JCP managed to realize its idea of communist society, what might be changed in the country?
4. Do you believe that all these parties will be able not only to promote, but to realize their aims? Why?

TEXT 3

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline and predict the subject-matter of the text below. Write down your prognosis.

2. Read the story and compare your ideas with the information of the text.

TOLERANCE, BEIJING-STYLE

1. Standing before the altar at the Church of St. Ignatius in downtown Shanghai, where roughly 6,000 people attend Mass each Sunday, Brother Bai says China is inching towards greater religious freedom. "There is a Communist government in China which is atheist, but in society there are more and more people who believe in Christ."

2. The huge church, used for years as a state warehouse, reopened for services held by the official Patriotic Catholic Church in 1980. Since then, the stained-glass windows destroyed during the Cultural Revolution have been replaced by panes of frosted glass, the nave has been refurbished to seat a growing congregation and an expansive residence for the bishop is under construction. "There are still restrictions, but this is a period of relaxation," says Brother Bai.

3. This may well be true for state-sanctioned believers in China. It will certainly help Beijing's leaders project the image of a more tolerant society to President Bill Clinton when he visits next week. But, beyond government-blessed religion, Beijing still makes life uncomfortable for the faithful. A skeptical American public will not be so easily convinced that religious persecution is a thing of the past.

4. American public concern over this issue could weigh increasingly heavily on Sino-US relations. In the past year, China has successfully punctured some of America's indignation over human rights abuses by releasing a couple of high-profile political prisoners. But when it comes to disagreements over religious freedom, the clash between American and Chinese values has, if anything, intensified "Religious persecution and the non-assistance of religion is even worse than last year," says Joseph Kung, president of the Cardinal Kung Foundation. The US-based organization, which campaigns for the freedom of "underground" Roman Catholics in China, claims there are nearly 40 "prisoners of religious conscience" being held by China's authorities. "As long as they keep arresting bishops, as long as they keep harassing Catholics, that does not suggest the religious situation is improving."

5. China's roughly 10m Catholics are in two camps. The official church has 4m members and is approved by Chinese government,

though not the Vatican; with the “underground” church, which claims to have more than 6m devotees, it is the other way round.

6. Chinese officials say the rift with Rome is a matter of politics, not theology. The Vatican state has not recognized the People’s Republic of China, but has diplomatic relations with Taiwan, the island Beijing regards as a renegade province.

7. But Roman Catholics are not the only victims of China’s regime of religious control. Conspicuous by his absence is the eight-year-old Panchen Lama — recognized by the Dalai Lama — Tibet’s leader in exile, but spirited away by the Chinese authorities in favor of their own appointee. His case has only served to focus mounting US attention on the prickliest issue surrounding China’s record on religious freedom: Tibet.

8. In the three decades after 1959, when the Chinese People’s Liberation Army “liberated” Tibet, hundreds of Buddhist temples and monasteries were destroyed and thousands of monks and nuns were detained or “disappeared.” In the past 10 years, the destruction and detentions are said to have eased. But some fear that a more methodical, modernizing administration is constructing a velvet coffin for Tibet’s religion and heritage — eroding the local culture by swamping the indigenous population with Han people relocated from China, controlling the appointment of leading Buddhist clergy, and bulldozing old areas of Lhasa, the capital.

9. The Communist leadership in Beijing will brook no discussion about China’s sovereignty in Tibet. Neither is international indignation letting up. Two Hollywood movies in the past year about the Dalai Lama have fuelled a growing Tibet lobby in the US.

10. Yet China’s grip on religious organizations in Tibet is only a pronounced extension of the systemic state control of religion. The government sanctions five official religions — Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism — and requires them to register sites and activities. Those denominations not on the list cannot practise their faith in public.

11. At the Religious Affairs Bureau in Shanghai, Ma Dinghua, the deputy director (who says he is a devotee of Marx not God), suggests that state management of religion may be foreign to westerners. But it is simply a question of cultural perspective, he says. “In the US or Europe, a man is innocent before being proven guilty. In China, sometimes we consider a man guilty before being proven innocent.”

12. History helps explain Beijing's suspicion of religion. Just over 150 years ago, a rural Chinese man called Hong Xiuquan declared himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ. He led a crusade to establish a Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping) in China, and established control over large parts of China. The ensuing civil war cost at least 20m lives.

13. Today, the leader of the Shanghai Catholic community that includes the Church of St. Ignatius is a far more modest man. Bishop Aloysius Jin also likes to put religion in China in an historical perspective. Having spent more than 20 years in prison because of his beliefs, he is now the government-approved bishop for the diocese in Shanghai. He makes a distinction between religious tolerance, which he says is the current official policy, and religious freedom, which still eludes the people of China. "By comparison with Chairman Mao's time, we have more freedom. But, compared with the US, we have less."

Financial Times

Post-reading

Read both texts again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. On the basis of the text do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. List facts proving that today China has more religious freedom.
2. Describe the situation around Roman Catholics in China.
3. Contrast religious freedom in US and China.
4. List the so-called official religions (sanctioned by the Chinese government).
5. What would the consequences be if the Chinese government had completely forbidden religion?
6. Suppose that in China's history there was no episode of ensuing civil war initiated by Hong Xiuquan. Could it somehow have changed the today's religious situation?
7. Do you agree that state management of religion is the best way of religious control?
8. What part of the story best describes Tibet-China relations?
9. What did you think when you read the words of Ma Dinghua who said that he was a devotee of Marx, not God?
10. Does it appeal to you that Sino-US relations depend on Chinese religious policy?

TEXT 4

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline and the sub-headline and think about the subject-matter of the story. What historical facts could be used by the author?
2. Read the story and compare your ideas with the information of the text.

FREE RIDER

South Korea's Dual Dependence on America Executive Summary

1. The Republic of Korea is finding the transition to political and economic maturity difficult, and the government of newly elected president Kim Dae Jung faces daunting challenges. Nevertheless, South Korea's long-term future is bright, and Washington should insist on a new political and strategic relationship.

2. The ROK remains militarily underdeveloped and dependent on the United States, even though Seoul has overtaken its northern antagonist by almost every measure of power. And with security dependence has now come financial dependence. A prominent argument used by the Clinton administration to justify the \$57 billion international bailout of the ROK economy is that failure to do so might destabilize the peninsula and put the American troops stationed there in the middle of a new Korean war.

3. The United States will ultimately be more secure if capable democratic countries take charge of problems in their own regions. Thus, Washington should begin withdrawing its forces from South Korea and transfer primary responsibility for North-South relations to Seoul.

4. There is no reason for South Korea to continue being Washington's ward-much less to broaden and deepen that dependence. Seoul and Washington should negotiate a termination of America's force presence and the "mutual" defense treaty. Only then will South Korea's transformation from political child to adult be complete.

Introduction

5. The world may have become a friendlier place for democracy, but the Republic of Korea is nevertheless finding the transition tempestuous. South Korea has encountered severe economic turbulence, as Seoul pays the price for decades of crony capitalism. Political discord has arrived with the election of Kim Dae Jung as president. Kim, the ultimate political outsider, confronts an opposition-dominated assembly, which has forced him to negotiate the first hostile leadership transition in modern Korean political history. He must deal with an economy bedeviled by structural weaknesses, political favoritism, and unfinished reforms and implement an unpopular foreign bailout directed by the International Monetary Fund.

6. Nevertheless, this stormy passage represents something crucial: the ROK's maturation from adolescent to adult. A mere decade ago Seoul was ruled by amilitary dictatorship. Steady economic growth had pushed South Korea past communist North Korea economically, but mass street protests were necessary to force elections in 1987. That contest was won by Roh Tae Woo, a former general favored by the ruling establishment. Onetime dissident Kim Young Sam was elected five years later, but as a candidate of the ruling party, which had merged with his own. Kim purged the military and eventually prosecuted his two predecessors for their corrupt political practices and involvement in the coup d'etat that brought the military to power in 1980. At the same time, Kim discovered the fickleness of democracy. His popularity collapsed amid administration blunders and corruption charges. Even the ruling party candidate, Lee Hoi Chang, turned on him during the 1997 campaign, threatening him with prosecution. But for the first time the prospect of the election of Kim Dae Jung, the perennial dissident of Korean politics (running in his fourth campaign), generated no threat of a coup. A onetime leftist, Kim allied himself with Kim Jong Pil, former head of the Korean intelligence agency, and Park Tae Joon, a leading industrialist. Kim Dae Jung won by only a razor-thin margin in a vote that was badly splintered by region. But he quickly moved to reassure Korean voters and foreign investors alike. Although politics will almost certainly remain highly fractious in coming years, the ROK no longer seems unstable.

7. Economic progress has been even more impressive. Years of double-digit growth have moved the South into the lower ranks of industrialized

states. Although the ROK's per capita gross domestic product still trails those of Hong Kong, Japan, and Taiwan, Seoul has jumped ahead of most of its neighbors. South Korea's recent economic travails actually highlight its long-term success: it has become a major participant in the global economy. The ROK has simply paid the price of extensive government subsidies to the major *chaebols*, or industrial conglomerates. (The *chaebols* used cheap credit to dominate national economic life. That discouraged creation of venture capital start-ups like those in Silicon Valley, which have given the United States such an economic edge.)

8. The crisis, though serious, has made possible reforms that were until now politically inconceivable. The collapse of overextended enterprises, as well as the banks that underwrote them, will be costly, but Korea will not be the first country to withstand severe economic problems. Indeed, indicative of the South's continuing underlying strength was the rapid reentry of some foreign investors into the South Korean stock market.

9. Despite its economic and political growth, however, Seoul remains underdeveloped internationally. Militarily, South Korea is essentially where it was in 1953 dependent on the United States. Washington maintains a Mutual Defense Treaty that is mutual in name only, stations 37,000 soldiers on the peninsula, and backs up its commitment with forces throughout the Pacific and at home. All told, Americans spend as much to defend the ROK, about \$15 billion annually, as the South Koreans spend.

South Korea's Metamorphosis

10. The genesis of Washington's Korean commitment was the messy conclusion of World War II and the ensuing Cold War. Artificially divided between U.S. and Soviet occupation forces, the Korean peninsula in 1950 erupted into civil war-a-war that quickly became internationalized. Three years of combat left the borders largely unchanged, but the armistice was never turned into a peace treaty and the two Koreas remain formally at war. American forces have since acted as the ultimate guarantor of the ROK's security. South Korea also languished economically, only beginning to escape abject poverty during Park Chung Hee's dictatorship in the 1960s.

11. There were two keys to Seoul's eventual economic success. The first was the move in a broadly market-oriented direction. ROK economic

policy was never *laissez faire*, but South Korea generally relied on private entrepreneurship and export-driven growth. That contrasted sharply with Pyongyang's autarchic policy of *juche*, which has led to near economic collapse.

12. Almost as critical was the South's decision not to respond to the North's military buildup. The Ministry of National Defense of the ROK acknowledges that Seoul did not begin its "force improvement program" until "twelve years later than North Korea." Why? The ROK "concentrated on its economic and social development." In short, despite a dire military threat, the South chose butter over guns, as it continues to do today.

13. That strategy worked. All estimates of North Korea's economic output are dubious, but the International Institute for Strategic Studies figures the ROK has about 24 times the GDP of the North. South Korea has twice the North's population, the ability to borrow-heavily, as we have recently seen-in international markets, and extensive high-tech industries. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea welts on its international debts, has been suffering through several years of negative growth, and cannot feed its own people. Indeed, people in the North are literally starving.

14. Equally significant, Seoul has lured away North Korea's allies. Russia is paying off its debts to the South with military equipment; China has far more trade with and investment in the South than the North. Pyongyang is even losing the allegiance of the Korean community in Japan, which has long provided the North with much of its hard currency. (Those remittances are estimated to have fallen by 90 percent since 1990.) The matchup between the two Koreas looks like the German battleship *Bismarck* versus a minor Chinese junk.

15. South Korea continues to be an American defense dependent even though Seoul possesses a potent military, and the DPRK's military deficiencies are legion. Central Intelligence Agency director George Tenet told the U.S. Senate, "The [North Korean] military has had to endure shortages of food and fuel, increased susceptibility to illness, declining morale, often sporadic training and a lack of new equipment." However, the North possesses a significant numerical edge, and the simple weight of numbers could lead to the destruction of the city of Seoul, which is just 30 miles from the border, even if North Korea ultimately (indeed, quickly) lost the war. Moreover, deficiencies tied to reliance on American forces, such as inadequate air-to-ground attack

capability, would prevent the ROK from taking full advantage of North Korean weaknesses.

16. Such problems do not bother officials in either Seoul or Washington as long as the United States protects the South. Most analysts believe that the combined U.S. — ROK forces would achieve a quick victory in any war. However, foreign subsidies come at a high price. Although the Combined Forces Command is no longer under the control of an American general, long an insult to South Korea, the United States remains the dominant defense partner. When discussing defense decisionmaking for the peninsula, William Taylor of the Center for Strategic and International Studies recommended that we should “get an agreement fast with our ROK ally on who pays what share for the systems required to protect/limit damage to Seoul,” as if the protection of a foreign capital was normally a subject of bilateral negotiation.

<http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-308.htm>

Post-reading

Read the texts again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Find in the text the meaning of the word “*chaebols*.”
2. Paraphrase the expressions: “tempestuous transition,” “international bailout,” “autarchic.”
3. Point out the prominent argument used by the Clinton administration to justify the \$57 billion international bailout of South Korean economy.
4. Read the line depicting that a mere decade ago Seoul was ruled by a military dictatorship.
5. Speak about elections in 1987 and 1992.
6. Describe the activities of the President Kim Dae Jung.
7. Could you describe two “keys” to Seoul’s eventual economic success?
8. Compare the economic policy of Seoul with Pyongyang’s autarchic policy.
9. What part of the story best describes the Mutual Defense Treaty?

10. Do you agree that the industrial conglomerates used cheap credit to dominate national economic life? Why?
11. In your opinion, why does Washington insist on a new political and strategic relationship with South Korea?
12. Do you agree that after Seoul and Washington negotiate a termination of America's force presence and the "mutual" defense treaty, only then South Korea will have a complete transformation from political child to adult?
13. Do you believe that the combined U.S. — South Korea forces would achieve a quick victory in any war?

TEXT 5

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline and the sub-headline of the text and give your prognoses on:
 - a) the subject-matter of the story;
 - b) possible areas considered;
 - c) possible facts presented.Write down your prognoses.
2. Read the text and find the information:
 - a) similar to your prognoses;
 - b) different from your prognoses.

A TIGER STUMBLES

Indonesia's Corruption, Once Kept in Decent Bounds, Threatens Stability

1. Thirteen men in sarongs, long-sleeved shirts and *peci*-the-black Muslim caps that symbolize Indonesian nationalism-file quietly under the portico and sit cross-legged in a semicircle. For an hour, accompanied by crickets singing loudly in the tropical evening air, beneath petitions signed with bloody thumb prints, amidst the scent of clove-spiked cigarettes, they chant prayers in Arabic for the woman at home inside

who symbolizes Indonesia's current political hopes. Dozens of friends and supporters traipse through the front gate, joining the nightly vigil on mats spread beneath palm trees on the grass.

2. This is the democratic revolution, Indonesian style. In the three months since being ousted as leader of the small, opposition Democratic Party of Indonesia (DPI) in an Army-orchestrated maneuver, Megawati Sukarnoputri has become an unlikely magnet for Indonesia's discontents. A modest, self-described housewife who drifted into politics without purpose, Megawati refuses even to label herself as "opposition." Her commitment to democratic reform is vague. Her major claim to fame — that she is the daughter of Sukarno, the nationalist firebrand who led the country to independence in 1950 — inspires instant name recognition but little reason to view her as the spearhead of a revolt against decades of authoritarian rule that began with her father and continued under President Suharto, who came to power in 1966.

3. **Price of unity.** Discontent is tempered by the unforgettable fact that in that last transfer of power, hundreds of thousands were killed in purges of suspected communists, many of whom happened to belong to the nation's economically dominant but politically besieged minority of ethnic Chinese. And most Indonesians, Megawati included, have accepted Suharto's overwhelming authority as the price for unity and stability, under which Indonesia has pulled itself up from abject poverty. Suharto's appointment of a surprisingly independent-minded Human Rights Commission in 1994 also has worked to defuse some of the growing anger over the regime's iron rule; the commission has issued stinging indictments of abuses in the military and is about to issue a report blaming the government for inciting recent riots. "The commission has made the government much more aware of its public image and created a sense of greater accountability," says Marzuki Darusman, deputy chairman of the commission.

4. Gluing a nation together out of a disparate sprawl and making it prosper was an astonishing feat. Like many African and Asian nations, Indonesia owes its borders to accidents of colonial rule. Its expanse of territory is larger than America. Yet, after chopping out the watery parts, dry land accounts for only 20 percent, and even that is parceled out across a mountainous archipelago of 17,000 islands. Its population of roughly 200 million makes it the fourth-largest nation on Earth. And while Bahasa Indonesia is the national language, and 90 percent of Indonesians are nominally Muslim, this veneer of uniformity masks staggering diversity. Indonesians speak nearly 500 languages, and religious

practices are nearly as abundant, from the mystic Hinduism of Bali to the radical Islam of Aceh, in northern Sumatra.

5. Suharto's success in making the economy grow quickly for 30 years has been an impressive result of resolute macroeconomic policy. Jakarta's streets are lined with gleaming office towers. In spite of conspicuous consumption that has aggravated social tensions, absolute poverty in Indonesia has dropped from 70 percent of the population in 1970 to under 15 percent today. Villages have roads and schools. Real industrial wages have doubled in five years. Farmers and a growing middle class alike have a stake in the system and are loath to jeopardize it.

6. **Blunders.** Yet with Suharto at 75 years old, in uncertain health and with his judgment increasingly questioned, even his long-time supporters are losing faith. His decision to send in troops to oust Megawati's supporters from DPI headquarters in July triggered the worst rioting in 20 years; it not only made a martyr of Megawati but was seen by many as an unusual political blunder. Suharto's recent bid to shore up his Islamic credentials also misfired, with the country's largest Islamic organization charging the leader with a crass attempt to politicize religion—and with non-Muslims deeply suspicious of Suharto's support for the Moslem Intellectuals Society of Indonesia (ICMI), which has sponsored Islamic banks and schools. "They don't say it, but ultimately ICMI wants to have an Islamic state, like Iran," says Kwik Gwan Kie, a close adviser to Megawati and a member of the Chinese minority that has the most to lose from a turn to Islamic rule.

7. Yet the dark blotch on Suharto's record that truly accounts for Megawati's soaring popularity is the spectacular rise of nepotism and gross corruption. Megawati has attracted not only longstanding dissidents like labor activists, secessionists and intellectuals to her side but, increasingly, middle-class businessmen who fear that Suharto's economic miracle is going down the drain of corruption. A taxi driver crawling in slow traffic through Jakarta's financial district sourly points out businesses owned by Suharto's children. They are worth billions and cover every conceivable industry from aviation to toll roads to banking. Suharto has proudly bestowed exclusive licenses and government contracts on his children and friends, like a feudal king awarding fiefs to loyal knights.

8. Some Indonesians dismiss favoritism as inevitable, and some credit Suharto's children with prying industries, like broadcasting and telecommunication, away from state bureaucrats. Yet even apologists

were dismayed in March when Suharto's son Tommy won an exclusive license for a tax-exempt national-car project. When Tommy could not meet ambitious local-content requirements, he won permission to import his "national" cars fully assembled from Korea and sell them free of import duty and luxury tax. Without generating a single local manufacturing job, the tax breaks give Tommy's imports a 50 percent price advantage over cars made in Indonesia by companies like Toyota and General Motors. "Who's kidding who?" asks Donald Sullivan, GM's president for Asia-Pacific operations. GM has scaled back investment plans, as have Ford and Chrysler.

9. Meanwhile, the "economic nationalism" schemes of Suharto crony and possible presidential successor B. J. Habibie, minister for research and technology, have poured billions of dollars into dead-end projects like a domestic aircraft industry. "Habibie is delusionary, not visionary," says one Jakarta critic. Explains economist Anwar Nasution: "We don't have the skill or the industrial base to support an aircraft industry."

10. Potentially more explosive is anger over expropriation of land by development companies connected to the president's family. Stories of thugs evicting tenants and forcing property sales at below-market prices are widespread. The World Bank recently warned Indonesia to clean up its land transactions.

11. "If Suharto were to step down, a lot of people would forget and forgive," says Marzuki Darusman. "But the longer he holds out, the closer we get to a point of no return where we will have a backlash." Unfortunately, with Suharto's family sitting on billions in dubious wealth, with rebellion on the streets and open political and moral defiance, many believe the point of no return already has passed.

U.S. News & World Report

Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. What political leaders are mentioned in the text?
2. What organizations played their role in the political process in Indonesia?
3. On the basis of the text describe Megawati Sukarnoputri as a political figure.

4. Find the part of the text devoted to the geography and demography of Indonesia.
5. What were the signs of economic growth in Indonesia?
6. What were the signs of corruption in the country?
7. What is the political situation in Indonesia at present?
8. Do you agree that corruption was the key factor in Indonesian revolution? Give your arguments.

Unit II. ENGLISH-SPEAKING PACIFIC COUNTRIES. POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL ISSUES

TEXT 1-A

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the story below and think of:
 - a) what sphere of activity the story deals with;
 - b) what politicians could be involved in the events under consideration;
 - c) what country the story could concern;
 - d) what professional words could be used in the story (about 10 words).

Write down your ideas.

2. Read the whole story and compare your prognoses with actual facts.

WHO POLICES POLITICIANS AFTER COUNSEL LAW EXPIRES?

1. In December 1992, Theodore B. Olson, who had been an assistant attorney general in the Reagan administration, threw a party to celebrate the demise of the independent counsel law. But unfortunately for Olson, who was one of the earliest officials targeted under the law and remains one if its most vociferous critics, the festivities proved premature; the law was revised and reinstated a year-and-a-half later.

2. Now Olson has reason for another fete. The 1994 version of the independent counsel law (PL 103—270) lapses on June 30. “And this time,” Olson says with considerable satisfaction, “I think it will stick.”

3. Olson appears justified in his optimism, even in light of his previous disappointment. Unlike the last time — when reauthorization was quietly blocked by Senate Republicans just before Republican President George Bush stood for re-election — this time the opposition appears to be as bipartisan as it is vocal and widespread. Sentiment

against the law has been fueled by the low standing in public opinion polls of the most famous independent counsel ever, Kenneth W. Starr; by the public's opposition to the impeachment of President Clinton that grew from Starr's inquiry; and by the roster of exonerations, acquittals and mistrials that dominates the legal score-card of cases brought during the 20 independent counsel investigations made public in the past 21 years. (*List, this page*)

4. This time, too, the law's expiration appears to be part of a broader trend in Washington away from hewing to inflexible mechanisms for policing the conduct of public officials. Two years ago, the House rewrote its ethics procedures in an attempt to streamline them and make them more bipartisan. Two months ago, the Supreme Court narrowed the grounds for alleging corruption of federal officials.

5. Some lawmakers and congressional experts see the demise of the independent counsel law as heralding a more civil era of political battle. Republicans and Democrats are not about to call a truce, they say, but may be signaling a willingness to unilaterally disarm themselves of a powerful weapon for settling their differences.

6. "It isn't that partisanship is going to be any less," said Rep. Howard L. Berman of California, the ranking Democrat on the ethics committee and a member of the Judiciary Committee that turned Starr's findings on Clinton into four articles of impeachment last year. "It's just that we are trying to fence off certain areas."

7. "I think that we have asked more than we should have from our criminal justice system," Chairman Fred Thompson, R-Tenn., of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee said June 21. "You know, a lot of things you just can't cure until the next election."

8. Thompson has unveiled his own proposal for replacing the independent counsel law. Other options have been put forward by the independent citizens' lobbying group Common Cause and by a bipartisan commission convened by the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). All three call for a return to something like the special prosecutor system in place before the first counsel law (PL 95—521) was enacted. (1978 *Almanac*, p. 835)

9. Only a proposal emerging from a bipartisan group of four on Thompson's committee — Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn.; Carl Levin, D-Mich.; Arlen Specter, R-Pa.; and Susan Collins, R-Maine — would retain the law's most controversial aspect, that independent counsels are chosen by federal judges and are thereafter insulated from almost

all Justice Department oversight. That makes their plan the least likely to succeed, a wide variety of lawmakers say. (*Current law*, 1994 *Almanac*, p. 295)

10. "I think that the idea of an independent counsel, appointed by a three-judge panel, is done," said Rep. Asa Hutchinson, R-Ark. "I think we're looking in another direction."

11. "I don't see anything like the current statute ever being reauthorized," said Rep. Bill Delahunt, D-Mass., like Hutchinson a member of the Judiciary Committee.

'Decriminalizing' Politics

12. Allowing the law to expire would help in the "decriminalization" of the political process, many of its opponents say, because under the statute many inquiries became political weapons even when they had mixed results in policing corruption.

13. "We have been so intent on writing detailed rules about political ethics, we have lost sight of what it means to actually have ethics," said Norman Ornstein, resident scholar at AEI. "Now the system, I think, is finally adjusting, and trying to strike a better balance."

14. Even some lawmakers who want to revive the law say politics has become too much of a blood sport. "It seems like we have criminalized politics," Lieberman said in an interview June 11. "And criminal investigations have become politics by another name. I just wish we didn't have to let the statute lapse to realize this."

15. Members of the public have been in front of lawmakers on the issue of independent counsels, registering their opposition in polls and a series of verdicts. A Washington Post poll of 1,010 people in February, just after Clinton's impeachment trial acquittal, found 59 percent with an "unfavorable" view of Starr to 27 percent "favorable."

16. Federal juries in the last three trials prosecuted by independent counsels all declined to convict. Former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy was acquitted Dec. 2 of taking illegal gratuities; former Clinton business partner Susan McDougal was acquitted April 12 of obstruction of justice, while the jury deadlocked on other counts; and a mistrial was declared May 7 in the obstruction of justice trial of Julie Hiatt Steele, who questioned the validity of assertions that Clinton groped former White House volunteer Kathleen Willey.

17. The public mood, the spate of recent verdicts and a halt to new independent counsel inquiries will help Washington tone down its

attack politics, predicted Stanley M. Brand, who specializes in defending federal officials charged with ethical lapses or public corruption.

18. “We’re certainly scaling back to what I think is a more reasonable regime,” said Brand. “We’ve over-criminalized a lot of conduct. There is some sense in the country that this is contrary to good government.”

19. Brand suggested this trend would be supported by the unanimous Supreme Court ruling of April 27 in *U.S. v. Sun-Diamond Growers of California* rejecting the expansive interpretation of the illegal gratuities law (PL 87–849) that Independent Counsel Donald C. Smaltz had used to prosecute an agricultural cooperative that had given gifts to Espy.

20. One group that does not think these developments constitute a healthy trend is the Congressional Accountability Project, a non-profit group focused on making sure federal officials obey campaign finance and ethics laws. The group is concerned about letting the independent counsel statute lapse but is even more troubled by a change two years ago in House ethics rules, which now bar non-members from filing complaints with the ethics committee. The Government Accountability Project had used the old rules to force several inquiries by the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. (1997 *Almanac*, pp. 1–32)

21. The group’s executive director, Gary Ruskin, also criticizes Speaker J. Dennis Hasten, R — 111., for naming as that panel’s chairman Lamar Smith, R-Texas, who cast the only vote on the panel in 1997 against the punishment the House ultimately levied against Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga. (1979–99.) “He is the icon of liberal permissiveness in the ethics process,” Ruskin said of Smith.

22. So far this year, the committee has opened just one new inquiry, into allegations against Rep. Corrine Brown, D-Fla. (1999 *CQ Weekly*, p. 1387)

23. “The bottom line for all of this,” Ruskin said in an interview June 7, referring both to ethics changes and the lapse of the counsel law, “is that it will lead to a climate where public corruption is increasingly possible.”

Few Convictions

24. Independent counsels were major distractions for Presidents Bush and Ronald Reagan. And the Clinton presidency has been forever altered by Starr’s probe.

25. But for all the prosecutorial power granted to independent counsels in the past two decades, their efforts have resulted in few lasting convictions of senior executive branch officials — even though the law was designed to enhance the scrutiny of those officials. Most of the lasting convictions have been of people who were subordinate or peripheral to — and whose malfeasance was tangential to — the stated targets of the independent counsels’ efforts.

26. In 11 of the 15 investigations that have been formally concluded, no charges were tiled at all. In three of those cases, the names of the onetime targets have been kept sealed. In another, Independent Counsel Joseph E. diGenova wrote a letter apologizing to the people he was called on to investigate.

27. At the same time, critics of the law say, dozens of secondary players have been prosecuted — and hundreds of innocent people have seen their lives turned upside down and their bank accounts emptied out — only because they had the misfortune of having some tangential connection to a line of inquiry being pursued by an independent counsel with officially unfettered curiosity. (Representative inquiries, 1999 *CQ Weekly*, pp. 1523—1526)

28. Former Associate Attorney General Webster L. Hubbell and former Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, D-Ark., are the highest-ranking officials to be convicted by independent counsels, and both were on the margins of Starr’s probe of the Arkansas real estate investments of Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton. Tucker’s case is still on appeal. Michael K. Deaver, who was Reagan’s deputy chief of staff, is the highest White House official who stands convicted under an independent counsel inquiry, because the convictions of two top presidential aides connected to the sales of arms to Iran that generated funds for the anticommunist contra rebels in Nicaragua, Rear Adm. John M. Poindexter and Marine Lt. Col. Oliver L. North, were overturned on appeal.

29. The work of Starr and four other independent counsels investigating alleged wrongdoing by Clinton administration figures — including five Cabinet secretaries — may continue under a grandfather clause written into the 1994 law. (1999 *CQ Weekly*, p. 473)

30. One case, David M. Barren’s prosecution of Henry G. Cisneros for allegedly lying to the FBI to ease his Senate confirmation as Housing and Urban Development secretary, is scheduled to go to trial this fall. Starr’s latest case against Hubbell is set for trial in August, although he suggested to the Senate this spring his work is otherwise nearing an

end. He also joined those labeling the independent counsel law not worthy of renewal. (1999 CQ *Weekly*, p. 884)

Return to Past System

31. Before there was an independent counsel law, executive branch scandals generally were addressed by special prosecutors hired from outside the Justice Department and given objectives by the attorney general. This system will be revived when the counsel law lapses, and Attorney General Janet Reno said June 24 that the Justice Department is working on guidelines — in consultation with Congress — for how she will appoint special prosecutors and oversee their work.

32. Until Watergate, the belief was that public pressure — exerted by Congress or through the media — guaranteed fairness. That belief dissipated quickly after the “Saturday Night Massacre,” during which President Richard M. Nixon ordered the firing of Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor who was investigating the Watergate scandal. (1973 *Almanac*, p. 1007)

33. That Nixon gained no lasting peace from that action — public outrage prompted him to pick Leon Jaworski to complete the job — was not seen by Congress as evidence that the system of reliance on public pressure had worked, but that it almost failed. “It pays to remember how thin a thread our justice system hung on from the time between Cox’s firing and Jaworski’s hiring,” Lieberman said.

34. The 1978 law, and the three reauthorization since, all were premised on the belief that an administration could not be trusted to investigate itself. So, to minimize Justice Department discretion, each law set a mechanism under which appointment of counsels was automatic under certain circumstances.

35. The initial version of the law was used just twice, and the initial reauthorization (PL 97—409) occurred with minimal fanfare. (1982 *Almanac*, p. 386)

36. It was in the Reagan administration that the law began to attract serious opposition, as a string of officials — including three Cabinet secretaries — became targets with the help of vigorous public pressure applied by congressional Democrats. Reagan was pressed by Olson — ultimately cleared in 1989 after a three-year, \$2.1 million probe of whether he had lied to a House subcommittee — to veto the reauthorization. But, at a time when the Iran-contra scandal was in full bloom, Reagan signed the legislation (PL 100—191).

37. Five years later, Republican resolve against the measure was strong enough to kill it. Had a reauthorization come to a vote, sponsors asserted, it would have passed. But Bob Dole, R-Kan. (1969–1996), then the Senate minority leader, bottled the measure up in the waning days of the 102nd Congress. (1992 *Almanac*, p. 315)

38. “We may rue the day that we presided over the final rites of this legislation should there be a Democratic president,” said Sen. William S. Co-hen, R-Maine (1979–1997), now the Defense secretary, and when Clinton was elected the next month, Republican opposition soon began to fade.

39. What distinguishes the mood of 1999 from that of 1992 is that, by now, both Democrats and Republicans have been bloodied by independent counsels. Until Clinton’s election, the statute had been written mostly by Democratic Congresses and used mostly against Republican administrations, in a type of a political corollary to Mark Twain’s adage that “nothing so needs reforming as other people’s habits.”

40. But during the Clinton administration the Democrats’ handiwork was turned against them, culminating in a presidential impeachment that grew out of Starr’s scrutiny of a sexual affair that had not even begun when he was named to investigate a completely different matter. (1998 *Almanac*, p. 12–3)

41. “Democrats got a good object lesson in reality versus theory,” said Berman. “We were all very imbued with the attractiveness of independent counsels. A lot of that came from Richard Nixon, and a lot of it came from 12 years of Republican rule. There was a theoretical attractiveness to the statute. But it met our partisan interests as well.”

New Proposals

42. Lieberman says his group’s plan — still being drafted the week of June 21 — would maintain the procedure for three judges appointing a counsel independent of the Justice Department. But their proposal would place a number of limits. Only the president, the vice president, Cabinet secretaries and maybe a few others would be subject to such a probe, although the attorney general could seek appointment of a counsel in other cases. The proposal would eliminate the requirement that an independent counsel file a final report. It would also attempt to limit a counsel’s role in spawning an impeachment and make it more difficult to expand the scope of an investigation.

43. Thompson's proposal is more in line with the sentiment on the rest of his committee. He would clarify that the attorney general has the power to appoint a special prosecutor, and he would have the Justice Department's rules on when to appoint one subjected to congressional approval. Thompson said he will likely submit his plan as an amendment to the fiscal 2000 appropriations bill (S 1217) for the departments of Justice, Commerce and State.

44. In the House, a minimalist approach is expected this year. Lawmakers feel little motivation to act and doubt whether they could have a constructive debate any time soon, given that the Judiciary Committee is still reeling with bad feelings. "I think we're all so burned out by impeachment that nothing will happen any time soon," said Lindsey Graham, R-S.C. "But hopefully we will find a way to get back into this."

45. Common Cause recommends handing allegations of executive branch malfeasance to the Justice Department's criminal division. The group would try to insulate the assistant attorney general in charge by making it more difficult for senior officials to overrule his or her decisions.

46. The commission assembled by AEI and Brookings recommends an almost complete reversion to the old system. Decisions on whom to investigate and how to do so would be left to the attorney general under departmental guidelines on when a special prosecutor should be appointed. If a special prosecutor were appointed, the attorney general would be able to terminate the probe at the end of two years, or annually subsequent to that. At other times the prosecutor could be fired for good cause.

CQ Guide to Current American Government

Post-reading

1. Find in the story the references to the two political parties of the USA. How can you tell the party affiliation of American politicians?
2. Try to paraphrase the word combination 'independent counsel.' Use an English — English dictionary for support.
3. What is the history of the independent counsel law? What political party introduced it?
4. List the independent counsel trials referred to in the story.

5. Compare the attitudes of the two political parties to the law in question.
6. Find in the text the lines contrasting theory and practice in government issues.
7. What are the implications of the counsel law expiration for the American government?
8. What part of the story best describes the ineffectiveness of the independent counsel law?
9. In your opinion, would it be possible to introduce similar rules of ethics and legal instruments for scrutinizing the Russian government?
10. Summarize the new proposals by law-makers and scholars.

TEXT 1-B

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the story below and think of:
 - a) time and place of the story;
 - b) possible professional areas it deals with;
 - c) 10 words connected with the above professional areas.Write down your ideas.
2. Read the story and compare your prognoses with actual facts.

LATEST SUPREME COURT RULINGS REINFORCE THE FEDERALIST TREND

1. Arguably the most significant impact of the Supreme Court headed by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist is its steadfast determination to rein in the powers of Congress and to bolster those of the states. Dramatic evidence to support this contention was furnished by the court June 23, the final day of its 1998—1999 term, when it issued three more in a series of rulings that reconfigure the parameters of federalism.

2. The three cases — the most notable of which was *Alden v. Maine*, a case limiting the reach of a federal labor law that has been on the

books for 61 years — all centered on the question of whether a federal law may be used by a private citizen to sue a state in state courts. With the court sharply but identically divided 5—4 in each, it said no.

3. In *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida* three years ago, the same five-justice majority blocked similar suits from the federal courts. The cumulative effect of the 1996 and 1999 rulings is to severely restrict citizens who want to invoke a federal law to seek damages from any state in any court.

4. More broadly, the *Alden* ruling highlights the question of how far the court will take its crusade for federalism — the term now used in legal circles to describe devolving power away from the national government and to the states, not the other way around as it was when the Constitution was drafted.

5. In a series of sweeping rulings since 1992, the court has cut back congressional powers in the name of states' rights and state sovereignty. Perhaps as early as the next term, the court could signal whether it intends to curtail congressional power for its own sake, outside the context of enhancing state prerogatives. (*Recent cases, this page*)

6. In the long term, some constitutional experts see the potential for a host of federal civil rights laws to be struck down. That would undercut one of the main reasons why Congress has expanded the reach of federal legislation in the past four decades: to countermand states when they insisted on their right to carry out their own views of civil rights.

7. On its face the *Alden* case affects a relatively small group of people — those citizens, generally state employees, who have labor gripes with a state government and do not think that their home state laws sufficiently address their grievances. But the decision's impact on both current and future federal laws cannot be overestimated.

8. Already, legal experts say, the decision could throw into question the enforceability of a bill designed to enhance religious liberties (HR 1691) that the House Judiciary Committee approved the same day as the Supreme Court ruling. Ironically, that measure is an attempt to salvage some federal enforcement of First Amendment rights of religious expression in the wake of a Supreme Court ruling two years ago that struck down a previous religious liberties law as having exceeded congressional authority. (*Religious liberties, 1999 CQ Weekly*, p. 1555)

9. The *Alden* ruling also raises questions about future enforcement of several other laws. The court is expected to accept for arguments in

the next term a federalism challenge to a portion of the 1994 anti-crime law (PL 103—322) designed to combat violence against women. And it has already agreed to decide federalism challenges to the Equal Pay Act (PL 88—38), the False Claims Act (PL 97—258) and the Americans With Disabilities Act (PL 101—336), the scope of which was limited by the Supreme Court on June 22. (*Crime law*, 1994 *Almanac*, p. 273; *disabilities law*, 1999 *CQ Weekly*, p. 1556)

10. In these instances, the laws may not be declared unconstitutional. But if the justices hold to their recent trend, all the statutes could be largely neutralized by greatly limiting citizens' rights to force the laws' application.

11. Already, the *Alden* case has spawned an expression among legal scholars for what they think the Supreme Court is saying that Congress may confer on its constituents: "Rights without remedies."

12. The case not only cuts away at congressional power, but it also seems to preclude any possibility that Congress could find a clever legislative route around these new limitations, said Jonathan R. Siegel, a law professor at George Washington University.

13. "What the Supreme Court said to Congress is: 'No, no, no, we're not interested in your schemes. We really mean it. The states have immunity,'" he said.

14. For the Republicans who control Congress, the precedent presents something of a double-edged sword. While many conservative lawmakers advocate a devolution of federal power to the states, they still have come to expect that whatever legislation they do pro-more could be used by their constituents to redress grievances in the courts.

11th Amendment

15. The majority in *Alden* — Rehnquist, Anthony M. Kennedy, Antonin Scalia, Sandra Day O'Connor and Clarence Thomas — based their decision on an expansive reading of the 11th Amendment, which prohibits the federal courts from adjudicating cases brought against a state by citizens of another state or another country. From this amendment, as well as from various arguments said to be implicit in the structure of the Constitution, Kennedy wrote an opinion that constructed a doctrine of "sovereign immunity" from lawsuits.

16. Writing for the majority, Kennedy cited the established principle in English law at the time of the writing of the Constitution that the sovereign could not be sued. He also turned to various writings of the

Founding Fathers. And he placed great weight on the deference given to states in the Constitution — particularly by the 10th Amendment, which limits federal powers.

17. “The generation that designed and adopted our federal system considered immunity from private suits central to sovereign dignity,” said Kennedy.

18. In an impassioned dissent, Justice David H. Souter dismissed that notion. “There is no evidence that the 10th Amendment constitutionalized a concept of sovereign immunity as inherent in the notion of statehood,” he said.

19. In a statement delivered from the bench, Justice John Paul Stevens went even further. He said that in *Alden* and other recent rulings the court was heading back to the period from 1781 until the ratification of the Constitution in 1789, when the nation was little more than a loose affiliation of states under the Articles of Confederation.

20. The *Alden* case involved a group of state probation officers and juvenile caseworkers who sued in Maine’s state courts to be paid overtime under the Fair Labor Standards Act (PL 75—718), enacted in 1938 and extended in 1974 (PL 93—259) to explicitly cover state workers — a law upheld by the Supreme Court 14 years ago. (1974 *Almanac*, p. 293; 1985 *Almanac*, p. i6-A)

21. The other cases decided June 23, *Florida v. College Savings Bank* and *College Savings Bank v. Florida*, invalidated twin laws (PL 102—560, PL 102—542) that permitted lawsuits against state agencies alleging violations of federal patent and trademark laws. (1992 *Almanac*, p. 303)

22. These rulings are particularly dramatic in the context of those on federalism in the past seven years. “When you put these together, what you do is substantially limit the power of the federal government, and expand the power of states to escape the federal system,” said Elliott Minberg of People for the American Way, a liberal public advocacy group.

23. Such liberal legal experts say the court is engaging in a new type of judicial activism, and in doing so curbing the powers of the legislative branch in the name of a brand of federalism not explicitly cited in the Constitution.

24. Conservative groups, such as the Pacific Legal Foundation in Sacramento, Calif., welcomed the latest advancement in that direction.

25. “I’m pleased. I honestly didn’t think the court would make such a strong statement on federalism and the original intent of the Founding

Fathers,” Anne M. Hughes, an attorney with the foundation who drafted a friend of the court brief in the *Alden* case, said in an interview June 25.

Congress’ Powers

26. From the New Deal until the 1990s, the Supreme Court has generally upheld broad federal laws and policies even in light of 10th Amendment admonition to the federal government to stick to the enumerated powers granted it by the Constitution.

27. Congress has generally used three avenues for broadening its reach. The first is the power to regulate interstate commerce granted in Article I of the Constitution, perhaps the broadest and most vaguely enumerated power. So inclusive had the court’s interpretation of this power been that in *Wickard v. Filburn*, in 1942, it upheld a law regulating crops grown for home consumption. If someone raises his own crops, the court reasoned, he affects overall demand, and by extension interstate commerce. Huge sections of the U.S. Code are built on this concept, including the Fair Labor Standards Act.

28. The second is Section 5 of the 14th Amendment, ratified after the Civil War to explicitly give Congress the right to enact legislation to protect citizens. This serves as the basis for numerous civil rights laws.

29. The third is to make federal funding to the states conditional on their taking certain actions. Until it was repealed in 1995, a national motorcycle helmet requirement was not a federal law but a precondition on states receiving highway funding. (1995 *Almanac*, p. 3—60)

30. In its recent rulings, the Supreme Court has narrowed the scope of the interstate commerce clause and the 14th Amendment. It has not gotten into the federal funding question. More important, it has not had much to say about Congress’ use of the commerce clause and the 14th Amendment in instances that do not directly involve state prerogatives.

31. That may be about to change. On March 5 the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, based in Richmond, Va., ruled unconstitutional the Violence Against Women Act, which gives victims of sexual assault the right to sue in federal court. That court’s rationale, which relied heavily on the Supreme Court’s 1995 decision in *U.S. v. Lopez*, is likely to be reviewed by the Supreme Court in the next year. That illustrates the snowballing effect of court rulings: The more they chip away at congressional power, the more new challenges are

brought to federal laws — and the more cases come back to the Supreme Court.

REINING IN CONGRESS

Since 1992, a Supreme Court with a majority of justices nominated by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush has curbed the power of Congress, ruling in these key cases that lawmakers have exceeded the powers given them by the Constitution.

- ***New York v. United States 1992***

By 6—3, struck down a portion of a federal law (PL 99—240) making the states liable for nuclear waste created by commercial reactors. (1992 *Almanac*, p. 329).

- ***United States v. Lopez 1995***

By 5—4, said Constitution’s “commerce clause” was exceeded in part of a crime law (PL 101—647) that created gun-free zones within 1,000 feet of schools. (1995 *Almanac*, pp. 6—40).

- ***Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida 1996***

By 5—4, cited the 11th Amendment in blocking law (PL 100—497) that allowed tribes to file federal suits when states failed to negotiate gambling compacts. (1996 *Almanac*, pp. 5—51).

- ***City of Boerne v. Flores 1997***

By 6—3, said Congress exceeded its 14th Amendment powers with a law (PL 103—141) barring states from enacting laws interfering with citizens’ First Amendment rights of religious expression, unless states had a “compelling interest.” (1997 *Almanac*, pp. 5—23).

- ***Printz v. United States, and Mack v. United States 1997***

By 5—4, struck down that portion of the Brady Act (PL 103—159) ordering local sheriffs to check the backgrounds of gun buyers. (1997 *Almanac*, pp. 5—21).

CQ Guide to Current American Government

Post-reading

Read the text again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. What are the three most recent rulings of the Supreme Court? What is their impact?

2. What is the structure of the text? Does every part have close connection with the next one? What are the links?
3. Please, find in the article all legal terms. What is the difference between:
 - a) “to rule” and “to rein;”
 - b) “power” and “authority;”
 - c) “law” and “legislation.”
4. In what circles is the term “federalism” used?
5. Compare the 10th and the 11th Amendment. How is the 10th Amendment different from the 11th Amendment?
6. What documents is the Constitution of the USA based on?
7. Since what time has each Congress used three avenues for broadening its reach?
8. What part of the article best describes a Supreme Court that has curbed the power of Congress?
9. What is the main idea of the article?
10. In your opinion, is there the same situation in Russia concerning regional and federal courts?

TEXT 1-C

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the story and think of possible facts to be considered in it. Write down your ideas.
2. Read the whole story and compare the facts in it with your prognosis.

COURT SCRUTINIZED FOR SUPREME INTERVENTION

Law: The Florida recount is long over. But its legal legacy lives on in academia and in books.

1. WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court's Bush vs. Gore ruling may have brought a quick end to the disputed presidential election of 2000, but the legal battle lives on, fought out in the pages of six books coming out this year.

2. Most are written by law professors, who remain sharply split over whether the high court was right to halt the Florida recount.

3. "Constitutional law professors form a different breed, with longer memories and deeper resentments," said University of Chicago law professor Richard A. Epstein in introducing a book of 11 essays, called "The Vote: Bush, Gore and the Supreme Court."

4. At least a half-dozen books focusing on the Bush vs. Gore case will be out by fall, most published by university presses. While hardly classic beach-reading fare, two of the books have hit the bestseller lists this summer. And several more are due out by year's end. They will find a ready market in law schools and political science departments, some professors say.

5. "If you teach constitutional law, you can't avoid teaching Bush vs. Gore," said New York University law professor Richard Pildes, co-author of "When Elections Go Bad." "It's clearly one of the momentous decisions in the court's history. And students are interested in hearing about it."

6. Said Georgetown University law professor Mark Tushnet: "Everybody is using the case, either to talk about the role of the court or to focus on equal protection. I plan to use the University of Chicago book this fall. It's a good way to talk about the role of the court in a democracy."

7. Both best-selling books, one by Harvard law professor Alan M. Der-showitz and the other by former Los Angeles prosecutor Vincent Bugliosi, are scathing attacks on the court's five conservative justices—William H. Rehnquist, Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony M. Kennedy — painting them as lawless and partisan.

8. In "Supreme Injustice," Dershowitz argues that the court's 5 — 4 decision to halt the Florida recount was an egregious error of a special sort. The ruling is "the single most corrupt decision in Supreme Court history, because it is the only one that I know of where the majority justices decided as they did because of the personal identity and political affiliation of the litigants." Had George W. Bush been the one trailing by a few hundred votes and seeking a recount, the

conservative justices certainly would not have intervened to stop it, he writes.

9. Bugliosi is the outspoken former Los Angeles deputy district attorney best known for prosecuting cult murderer Charles Manson. More recently, he wrote in “Outrage” that O.J. Simpson got away with murder.

10. This year, he is calling the five conservative justices “criminals” for their decision that ended Al Gore’s recount quest and effectively put Bush in the White House.

11. “The stark reality is that the institution Americans trust the most to protect its freedoms and principles committed one of the biggest and most serious crimes this nation has even seen — pure and simple, the theft of the presidency,” Bugliosi writes in “The Betrayal of America.”

12. On Dec. 9, the day after the Florida judges ordered a statewide hand count of the untabulated paper ballots, the Supreme Court, on a 5—4 vote, issued an emergency order to stop the counting. Late on Tuesday, Dec. 12, the court handed down an unsigned opinion ruling that, because the state had no precise standards for deciding what is a legal vote, its recount violated the Constitution’s guarantee of “equal protection of the laws.”

13. The surprising success of Dershowitz’s and Bugliosi’s books may signal a new publishing phenomenon. Over the last decade, the bestseller lists have regularly featured books by conservatives that pilloried various liberals — their favorite targets, Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton, and anyone associated with them. But these new bestsellers suggest there are plenty of angry liberals willing to buy books that roast conservatives.

14. The academic books are more reserved in tone, and many of the law professors engaged in a type of soul-searching.

15. The conservative professors, while agreeing with the court’s decision, admit that they had to struggle to defend its reasoning. For the liberal professors, who think the court erred, the struggle was determining the effect of its decision on the court itself and the rule of law. Was this a onetime mistake, prompted by an extraordinary sequence of events, or does it prove, as Dershowitz contends, that the Rehnquist court is an “activist, right-wing Republican court” not worthy of trust?

16. Harvard law professor Frank Michelman takes a middle ground in an essay titled “Suspicion.” The court will remain on probation in

the minds of many for its actions in December, he said. “A great many Americans suspect that a certain five justices of the Supreme Court ... were prompted in their actions by a prior personal preference for a Bush victory,” he said.

17. Elizabeth Garrett, a dean for academic affairs at the University of Chicago, said the high court should have followed the law and allowed politicians in the Florida Legislature and Congress to resolve the dispute. A presidential race had been deadlocked before, she pointed out.

18. After the disputed Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, Congress passed the Electoral Count Act, which set rules for resolving such disputes. States were given deadlines for finalizing their slates of electors, and disagreements were to be decided in the House and Senate. The law’s sponsor, Sen. John Sherman, was adamant in saying that the Supreme Court should play no role.

19. “It would be a very grave fault indeed and a very serious objection to refer a political question in which the people of the country are aroused ... to this great tribunal,” Sherman said on the Senate floor in 1887. “It would tend to bring that court into public odium of one or the other of the two great parties.”

20. Ironically, Sherman’s law was used but his advice ignored last year. On Nov. 24, the Supreme Court cited the Electoral Count Act as its legal basis for intervening in the Florida election dispute.

21. The conservatives offer different defenses of the court’s ruling. Epstein, a free-market conservative, said the majority’s conclusion that the hand recount violated the “equal protection” clause of the Constitution is a “non-starter at best, which deserves much of the scorn that has been heaped on it.” Instead, he said it was the “sorry performance” of the Florida Supreme Court that justified the Rehnquist court’s action.

22. In “Breaking the Deadlock,” Judge Richard A. Posner of Chicago, a Reagan appointee also known for his free-market conservatism, argues that the court’s ruling can be best defended as % “pragmatic” decision, not a legal one. It saved the nation from a “looming political and constitutional crisis.”

23. Because the Florida judges had “butchered” their state law to order recounts, the justices were justified in reversing them, Posner adds. “What the court wrought was a kind of rough justice.”

24. Still another defense is offered by University of Utah law professor Michael McConnell. He says the court’s equal-protection

ruling was “both sensible and persuasive.” There is no justification for using different standards to count legal ballots, he says.

25. But McConnell then argues that the high court should have allowed the hand recount to continue. “I think the decision to halt the recount was incorrect as a matter of law,” he writes in an essay that first appeared in the Wall Street Journal and appears in expanded form in a University of Chicago book.

26. “The 5—4 split created the appearance — whether or not justly tied — that the Court voted its politics instead of the law,” he writes.

27. He also faulted Bush’s lawyers in Florida for resisting hand recounts. Using fair and uniform rules, Bush would have prevailed in the recount, he says. “If Bush’s position had been a little more accommodating, he might have obtained a more secure mantle of leadership.”

28. McConnell’s candor was not held against him, however. When President Bush announced his first round of 11 judicial nominees — May, McConnell was there, selected to sit on the U.S. Court of Appeals in Denver.

BOOKS ON BUSH VS. GORE CASE

- ***“Bush vs. Gore: The Court Cases and the Commentary”***

Edited by E.J. Dionne Jr. and William Kristol. Brookings Institution Press, Washington. A source book that includes the various court decisions and newspaper opinion pieces.

- ***“When Elections Go Bad: The Law of Democracy and the Presidential Election of 2000”***

By Samuel Issacharoff, Pamela Karlan and Richard Pildes. Foundation Press, New York. A textbook for law classes.

- ***“Supreme Injustice: How the High Court Hijacked the Election”***

By Alan M. Dershowitz. Oxford University Press. Bestseller.

- ***“The Betrayal of America: How the Supreme Court Undermined the Constitution and Chose Our President”***

By Vincent Bugliosi. Paperback by Thunder’s Mouth Press, New York. Bestseller.

- ***“The Vote: Bush, Gore and the Supreme Court”***

Edited by Cass Sunstein and Richard A. Epstein. University of Chicago Press. Essays by 11 law professors. To be published in October.

- ***“Breaking the Deadlock: the 2000 Election, the Constitution, and the Courts”***

By Richard A. Posner. Princeton University Press. To be published in September.

- ***“The Votes That Counted: How the Court Decided the 2000 Presidential Election”***

By Howard Gilman. University of Chicago Press. A USC political science professor offers a step-by-step account, analysis of the Florida election dispute. To be published in October.

- ***“The Unfinished Election of 2000”***

Edited by Jack Rakove, a Stanford University historian. Basic Books. Essays by law professors and historians. Due out this year.

- ***“The Longest Night: Polemics and Perspectives on Election 2000”***

Edited by Arthur Jacobson and Michel Rosenfeld. University of California Press. Essays by law professors. To be published next year.

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Post-reading

Read the text again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Recall Senator John Sherman’s statement on the role that the court should play in elections.
2. Read the line that states what kind of effect it will cause if the court intervenes in political questions.
3. Find in the text what may cause a new publishing phenomenon of Dershowitz and Bugliosi’s books.
4. How different are the opinions of all the lawyers and professors named in the text?
5. Divide the text into logical parts.
6. In your opinion, what would the consequences be if the Supreme Court didn’t interfere in the hand recount?
7. Do you agree with the author Bugliosi that the Supreme Court committed the “theft of presidency?” Why?
8. In your opinion, would Bush prevail in the recount should fair and uniform rules be used?
9. Did any statements in the article correspond to your personal opinion. Why?

TEXT 2-A

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the text below and think of Canada's recent economic trends. Write down your ideas.
2. Read the whole text and compare its information with your prognosis.

HOW HIGH CAN IT FLY?

A TIME panel of experts ponders the future of Canada's soaring economy and the best ways to face global competition.

1. In the first year of the new millennium, Canada has blasted ahead like an economic ballistic missile, targeted on a new era of stellar good times. Economic growth for the 12 months that ended in August hit 4.4% (it's currently expected to reach 4.7% for the year 2000); the national unemployment rate had fallen to 6.6% by June; and inflation, the toxin most likely to kill off long-term growth, was a manageable 2.7% for the 12 months that ended in September. Next year promises more of the same: growth of 3.5% (higher than projected for the powerhouse U.S.), unemployment that dips to 6.3%, and inflation only marginally higher than now.

2. Finally, after years of fiscal pain, there seems to be money to burn — at least during election time. The slender Liberal Party platform Red Book unveiled by Prime Minister Jean Chretien last week may have been short on new ideas, but it significantly untied the purse strings. Along with calling for \$4.3 billion in additional federal spending over the next four years, it affirmed the government's intention, if re-elected, to cut capital-gains and income taxes to the tune of \$65 billion over the next five years while continuing to retire the national debt. If a Canadian Alliance government emerged (last week that looked unlikely, with the party's support at 29%, vs. the Liberals' 42%), taxpayers could expect even more largesse. Meanwhile, budget surpluses seem to stretch as far as a Treasury Board official's eye can see.

3. As if any more proof were needed that Canada has become one of the world's most export-oriented nations, its sales of goods and services abroad were also on a spectacular trajectory. Exports for the first eight months of the year grew 15.7%, compared with the same period in

1999, and exports as of June made up 45.5% of gross domestic product, vs. 42.3% a year earlier. In the process, trade ties with the U.S. grew even stronger: exports to the U.S. through August of this year were 15.8% higher than the same period last year, making up 86% of Canada's total.

4. Could anything get any better than this? More important, could it get worse? What steps should the country be taking to guarantee its prosperity and place in the budding new century? As the political parties sketched in their opposing plans and policies, TIME last week convened a special panel of economic experts from Europe, Asia, Canada and the U.S. to consider Canada's domestic and international prospects in the months and years ahead. Our Forum on Canada's Future was convened in TIME's Toronto offices; for 3½ hours the five members of the panel debated short-term issues raised in the campaign battle and a long-term agenda for the fiercely competitive era that they are convinced is inevitable. On one point the panel was unanimous: there is no room for complacency in the tough global environment that looms after the political skirmishing is over. Among the highlights of the deliberations:

5. Canada has made a "fantastic improvement," in the words of Kenneth Courtis, vice chairman for Asia at the Goldman Sachs investment firm, in the economic fundamentals that put it gravely at risk in the early 1990s. And the latest promises to cut income and capital-gains taxes are a further step in an agenda of reform that can improve the country's international competitiveness. In that sense, Canada may have reached some kind of watershed. But at the same time, the threat of losing fiscal discipline is rising fast; that discipline needs to be maintained, and the tax incentives for a risk-taking, entrepreneurial culture need to be further strengthened.

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Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. What is Canada compared with?
2. Please, recall the components of Canada's economy that are described in the article.

3. Please, find the names of the magazines mentioned in the article.
4. Analyze the figures given in paragraph 4.
5. Please think, what the consequences would be if Canada's trade ties with the US were not so strong?
6. When will Canada face global challenges?
7. What practical steps should Canada take to guarantee its secure position as one of the developed countries?
8. Do you agree with the statement that Canada has made a fantastic improvement? Why?
9. In what way is the author objective concerning Canada?
10. How can studying more facts about Canada help?

TEXT 2-B

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline and the first sentence and think of:
 - a) time and place of the story;
 - b) possible economic trends in Canada of today;
 - c) 10 words connected with the professional sphere the story deals with.Write down your ideas.
2. Read the whole story and compare your prognoses with actual facts.

WHERE THE ECONOMY IS HEADED

BMO Nesbitt Burns economist Sherry Cooper joined us Nov. 9 to discuss where Canadian economy is headed. Read the transcript.

1. While public-sector finances are in better shape than in the recent past, corporate- and individual-debt levels have risen dramatically, meaning that good times are still highly vulnerable to a downturn. Canada's stock-market boom has been too brief, especially when compared with the surge in the U.S., to change that condition.

“There isn’t a whole lot of cushion there,” observed Sherry Cooper, Toronto-based chief economist for the BMO Nesbitt Burns investment firm.

2. Too much of the current upswing still depends on a cheap dollar, especially in relation to the U.S. greenback. But with the U.S. economy slowing down from its previous superheated pace, such dependence is risky and a sign of some unhealthy underpinnings (see box).

3. Despite its embrace of high technology, Canada still lags far behind the U.S. in the extent to which high-productivity industries — advanced machinery and electrical and electronic products — dominate manufacturing. In the long run, the panel affirmed, this kind of manufacturing, rather than pure high tech, is the basis for the economy of the future. “In the U.S., industries with high-productivity growth have grown from 14.5% to 29% of manufacturing since 1989, whereas in Canada they have gone from 11.9% to 13.9%,” observed Joshua Mendelsohn, chief economist for the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.

4. Canada has fallen away from its important role as a leader in global-trade negotiations, which gives it international standing beyond its economic power and helps create trading rules that work to the country’s advantage. “Canada has no visibility whatsoever in Europe,” observed Alan Rugman, Thames Water fellow in Strategic Management at Templeton College, Oxford. “It is exercising no leadership or influence.”

5. The bottom line is that Canada needs to concentrate more than ever on shoring up the fundamentals that support increased international competitiveness. That is especially true in fields like permanent education, but also in areas like competition policy, which should allow Canadian firms to grow to the size needed to take on international behemoths. But that should not be done by keeping competition out. “How good would Wimbledon be if only British players were allowed?” quipped Robert Hormats, Manhattan-based vice chairman for Goldman Sachs International. At the same time, Hormats laid particular responsibility for educational performance on the private sector. The business community, he said, needs “to put a lot more emphasis on making sure that educational standards are high and are adhered to in the various states and provinces in North America.”

6. In the back of the panelists’ minds was a possible future deterioration in the economic climate. “The world is a very dangerous place,” observed

Courtis. Internationally, debt loads are running at record levels, he pointed out, and despite the balanced budget in the U.S., its “financial position is more precarious today than it was at the beginning of the ’90s,” owing to its astronomical current account trade imbalance. At some point, the U.S. economy is liable to soften — more than people currently expect, Hormats concurred — and then, Courtis asked, “what the hell is going to happen to trade, our exports, government revenues?” Meanwhile, the process of globalization will probably strip away remaining layers of protectionism, “and this country has got to prepare for that.”

7. Cooper was slightly more sanguine about the U.S. economy but concerned at the volatility in stock markets that could help dampen Canada’s expansion. “There are a lot of risk factors out there that are beginning to have an impact.”

8. In that context, panelists agreed, continuing to pay down substantial portions of the national debt is important. And, politically sensitive as the topic might be, future governments need to look at further capital-gains and income-tax cuts as a means of stimulating competitiveness and risk taking. “I am pleasantly surprised that we have seen two reductions in the capital-gains-tax rate just in the past year,” Cooper said. “Mind you, the rest of the world is also aggressively reducing corporate- and income-tax rates, so I am not sure if we are really improving all that much in those areas, but it is a beginning.”

9. The most pessimistic expert was Oxford’s Rugman, who felt that political resistance to a competitive agenda is liable to remain strong in Canada. He noted acerbically that Canada’s cheap currency has created an “artificial sense of competitiveness in the country.” In reality, he said, “we have cheap labor, like Mexico.” That created strong temptations for highly skilled Canadians to leave for places like the U.S. where wages are higher. Cooper agreed: “American firms are aggressive in recruiting at Canadian universities. To be fair, we cannot compete with the compensation levels that are offered.”

10. Large sections of the national economy in services, such as health care, education and public administration, Rugman continued, are less likely to suffer from worker migration. These sectors have been exempted from international competition, and their workers “still don’t believe that their productivity and their competitiveness affect Canada’s productivity.” On that account, Rugman is worried that Canada might not be able to muster the national will to face a tough international

climate. “I don’t see the old-style protectionist agenda disappearing,” he said.

11. “We can change at whatever pace we want,” Mendelsohn commented in turn. “But the rest of the world will not wait on the sidelines. And catching up will be that much more difficult.” Hormats noted that the very terms of international competition have changed radically. “We used to look at national competitiveness from the point of view of trade,” he noted. “Now we are really talking about competing for capital, competing for people with new ideas, competing to provide a strong entrepreneurial environment.”

12. No challenge will be greater for Canada, Courtis observed, than coming to grips with a U.S. that is in permanent search of greater advantage in all those areas. Canada — U.S. economic integration has reached a new threshold that will require even more harmonization of policies in the future. “We will not have the time or the wherewithal to work through the traditional legislative process to deal with issues,” he said. “That will involve our coming to agreement on a lot of things. Questions about public-procurement policies, integration of financial markets and labor movement will have to be dealt with as we move through the next decade. As a small player, Canada has to prepare now, so that it can help drive that agenda rather than having the agenda imposed on it.”

13. Hormats felt that such challenges could be met, in large part because of the common pragmatic background of Canada and the U.S. As North America becomes more integrated, he noted, “we are going to have a higher degree of engagement among regulatory authorities, among ministers, across the board. There will not be one big negotiation. It is going to have to involve virtually every government ministry. And if we can do it, we set a very interesting and very constructive precedent for other parts of the world.” Even in competitive matters, cooperation can help.

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Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Identify the main difficulties of Canadian economic system.
2. Recall the most pessimistic and the most sanguine (optimistic) expert’s observations.

3. Outline the large section of Canada's economy and its problems.
4. List the main areas which Canada needs solving.
5. What do you think, what might have happened with Canada's economy, if the U.S. economy were crashed with crisis?
6. If we assume, that all those experts' comments were absolutely objective, what might the Canadian economic development measures be?
7. In your opinion, do the conclusions of experts in this article contain more objective facts or subjective personal opinions?
8. Do you believe it or not, and why, that the Canada — U.S. economic integration will bring more harmonization of policies in future?
9. Did you like the program of cooperation, which Hormats offers in conclusion?
10. Did you dislike the negative emotions, which the experts expressed in their notes and why?

TEXT 2-C

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the story and think of:
 - a) time and place of the story;
 - b) possible professional area of the story;
 - c) 10 words connected with the above professional area.Write down your ideas.
2. Read the story and compare your prognoses with actual facts.

MISTER RIGHT?

1. The groundwork for the Canadian Alliance leadership race was laid in Calgary. But former Alberta treasurer Stockwell Day, 49, was crowned as leader of the new national party amid cheers and hoopla at the Regal Constellation Hotel in suburban Toronto. The site, at the

edge of the conservative population belt that surrounds Ontario's capital, was no accident. Ontario holds about one-third of the 301 seats in Parliament, 157 of them in Liberal hands. The province will be the major battleground of the next federal election, whenever it may be. The newly formed Alliance that Day leads can claim only 57 seats of its own, all in Western Canada. The strategic implication is clear. "Ontario," Jason Kenney, Day's campaign manager, proclaimed after the July 8 vote, "is the central focus of the Alliance."

2. It will also be the proving ground for Day, the telegenic and controversial conservative who is the new Mister Right for Canada — or so the Alliance hopes. After his accession, Day pointedly forayed to the Quebec side of the Ottawa River to underline his intention to be a leader for all parts of the country, and a fresh and youthful alternative to Prime Minister Jean Chretien, 66, who has been in federal politics for most of the past 37 years and has run the country for the past six. "Jean Chretien and his liberals seem tired, arrogant, disrespectful and unresponsive to the people," Day declared on victory night. "It is no cliché to say that it is time for a change." Simply by wresting leadership from Preston Manning, leader of the now defunct Reform Party, Day had altered the balance of political power in unforeseeable ways and driven some Liberals to wonder whether their own leader had become too much a symbol of the status quo.

3. But will Day sweep the country, as his strategists hope, or polarize it? With his strong views on abortion, capital punishment and gay rights, he presents an appealing target for the Liberals and the dwindling rump of Progressive Conservatives huddled around leader Joe Clark. Day's critics suggest the new Alliance leader would use his power to impose an extreme agenda on the country, and linked those stands to Day's strong Pentecostal faith. Day has denied all such charges repeatedly. Rod Love, Day's interim chief of staff, points out that his boss "has a 14-year record in the Alberta legislature of not imposing his personal views." But if the charges stick, Day could become like Manning in another way: bottled up politically in the West, unable to build a base in Ontario, handcuffed into opposition.

4. To unite the right, the Alliance will have to deal with Clark — by finding some way to cooperate with him or by making him irrelevant. Clark has watched from the sidelines — with occasional bravado but little action — as members and former leaders of his party, such as Tory Senator Gerry St. Germain, flirted with or joined the Alliance. Yet Clark still expects that Day's rising-star image will fade. "I think

more attention will attach to more substantial questions now that the easy reporting of a leadership campaign is out of the way,” he says.

5. In the wake of Day’s victory, the Alliance took a momentary collective breather. But party leaders are not about to take the summer off. Day’s efforts in the coming months will be aimed at the vigorous base building his eastward strategy requires

<http://www.canoe.ca/TimeCanada/>

Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. What provinces are listed in the article?
2. Please, recall the main political figures that are mentioned in the article.
3. Why do the Liberals and the Conservatives criticize Stockwell Day’s political program?
4. Outline the major difference between Prime Minister Jean Chretien and Stockwell Day.
5. What would happen if Stockwell Day became a new leader?
6. Do you think political competition is a new category or does it have roots?
7. In your opinion, does Canada need a liberal or a conservative prime minister?
8. What part of the story best describes the spirit of the new political party?
9. Why do you think the author takes one of the opposing parties’ side?
10. Recall some examples of political fight that you know.

TEXT 3-A

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the story below and give your prognosis on the facts considered in it.

2. Read the whole story and compare your prognosis with the actual facts.

BRIBERY TIME

The Government Bids to Stay in Power

1. AFTER five years in power, and with an election looming this year, Australia's conservative coalition government led by John Howard is looking decidedly shaky. Fissures opened up in its ranks a few weeks ago when an explosive document, written by a top official in the Liberal Party, which Mr Howard leads, was leaked to the media. It described the government as "mean, tricky and out of touch," unintentionally giving the opposition Labor Party a raft of ready-made slogans for the coming campaign.

2. When Peter Costello, the finance minister, presented the last budget of the government's term to Parliament on May 22nd, he was faced with a choice: to continue the coalition's steady run of mounting surpluses, bolstering its claim to be a more responsible economic manager than Labor, or to raid the coffers in a bid to buy its way back to power. Not surprisingly, he chose the latter.

3. The government has never really recovered politically from the introduction a year ago of a new tax system, whose centerpiece was a tax on most goods and services in exchange for lower income and corporation taxes. The reforms were overdue, but the government bungled the way some aspects of the system were introduced. Small businesses complained about the high costs of complying with it. Elderly Australians on fixed incomes felt left out of the prosperity being enjoyed by younger wage-earners.

4. Both disaffected groups have tended to support the Liberal Party, and many of their members live in marginal constituencies along the urbanized east coast, where Labor needs to snatch only a handful of seats to take power. Throw in farmers and town-dwellers who have turned against the National Party, the coalition's junior partner, whose power-base lies in regional Australia, and the government has had to concentrate on survival at all costs.

5. The main cost has been its reputation as a market-driven, low-spending administration that produced fat surpluses. In this week's budget, the surplus was whittled down to just A\$ 1.5 billion (\$780m).

Spending on new measures rose to almost A\$ 4 billion. A big chunk of this went towards trying to win back the grey vote by compensating older Australians for their higher living costs under the new tax system. It offered more than 2m cash payments of A\$300 each before the financial year ends in June, and income-tax breaks likewise designed to take effect in the current financial year. The budget also committed more money to help the owners of small businesses to buy cars, the unemployed to find jobs and people in the countryside to get health care. With the negligible surplus, Mr Costello has left the Labor leader, Kim Beazley, little room to offer big promises in the election. There has even been talk that, if voters like the budget, Mr Howard will call a snap election around July instead of waiting until November, as he has said he would. But this would be a gamble. Mr Howard would not want to risk missing a planned visit to Washington to offer personal support for President George Bush's missile-defence plans, or playing host to a meeting of Commonwealth leaders due in Brisbane in October. When it comes to election timing, ego may trump opportunism.

The Economist

Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Locate in the text the lines describing the type of government Australia had.
2. Please recall the strategy chosen by the finance minister in presenting the budget.
3. What caused the government's shaky situation?
4. List the steps of the tax reform and its effects.
5. What groups of population are potential supporters of the Labor Party and why?
6. Paraphrase the expression "to raid the coffers."
7. What are the implications of the spending on new measures?
8. What would be the consequences if the government did not commute money to help different groups of population?

9. In your opinion, does the Labor Party has good chances in the coming election? Why?
10. What did you think when you read about the Australian government's manipulations with the public opinion?

TEXT 3-B

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline below and think of possible facts considered in it. Write down your ideas.
2. Read the whole story and compare your prognosis with the actual facts.

ELECTION AHOY

1. NAURU, a Pacific island near the equator, has a number of unusual features. It is one of the smallest countries, with no official capital. About 20 years ago, its 11 000 people were among the world's richest from the proceeds of the phosphate that made up most of Nauru's structure. Most of the phosphate is gone, Nauru is no longer rich and the Australian mining companies have been replaced by Russian money-launderers. Now Nauru is about to add an even more bizarre chapter to its story as an unwitting pawn in the re-election plans of John Howard, Australia's prime minister.

2. Nauru is one destination (New Zealand is the other) to which Mr Howard has sent 433 refugees, most of them Afghans, who tried to land on Christmas Island, an Australian dependency with a population of 2000. They were adrift in a leaking craft after each paying people-smugglers in Indonesia up to \$20,000 to get them to Australia. A Norwegian freighter, the *Tampo*, rescued them on August 26th after being alerted to their plight by an Australian coastal surveillance aircraft. But the asylum-seekers never set foot in Australia. This week they were aboard an Australian naval ship heading for PapuaNew Guinea, before going on to Nauru or New Zealand, where their applications for

asylum will be processed. Those categorised as “genuine” refugees are then to be resettled in a number of countries, including Australia. Mr Howard proclaimed this a “Pacific solution.” Some others saw it differently.

3. Australia’s first boat people were British convicts who in 1788 landed where Sydney is now. Waves of arrivals have built modern Australia since; the most recent were refugees from Vietnam and China. Each wave has sparked debates over an old fear, embedded deep in the Australian psyche, about “invasion from the north.” Asylum-seekers from Afghanistan and Iraq account for the biggest number of refugees arriving by boat in the past two years. The Afghans have received most sympathy, escaping from a regime whose harshness was evident this week as eight foreign aid workers (two of them, as it happens, Australian) faced possible execution if found guilty of trying to convert Muslims to Christianity. However, whatever the sentiment attached to the refugees, all have gone, at least at first, to isolated detention centres in the outback.

4. When the *Tampa* picked up the latest lot and ignored Australia’s request to return them to Indonesia, Mr Howard saw an opportunity to beat the drum about his government’s determination to stop the human tide supposedly invading Australia’s northern coast. His coalition government faces an election for a third term by December. At the outset of the Tampa drama, the government was behind the opposition Labor Party in the opinion polls. The Liberal Party, which Mr Howard leads, was involved in a scandal over allegations about some of its branches cheating on tax returns. The *Tampa* story wiped that off the front pages. Mr Howard’s political judgment appears to have been correct. According to an opinion poll this week, 77% of Australians approve of his refusal to allow the *Tampa*’s human cargo to land in Australia, even though much of the media have condemned him for it.

5. Outsiders, too, have been critical. But as long as the polls continue to favour his coalition, any such criticisms are unlikely to trouble Mr Howard very much. He will, however, be anxiously awaiting the outcome of an application by civil-liberties groups to the Federal Court in Melbourne. They claim Australia acted illegally by refusing to accept the refugees. The court’s decision was not expected until September 7th at the earliest.

The Economist

Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for the detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Who are the refugees?
2. In what connection were Nauru and New Zealand mentioned in the text?
3. Who is John Howard and what is “Pacific solution?”
4. How do the Australians treat the government policy concerning the refugees?
5. Compare the so-called before-TAMPA and post-TAMPA periods in the political and social life.
6. For what purpose did John Howard beat the drum about “invasion from the north?” (social effect)
7. Why was the article called “Election Ahoy?”
8. In your opinion, what can be done about refugees invasion to Australia?
9. Does Russia face the same problem of refugees invasion?
10. What do you know about “Australian multiculturalism?”

TEXT 3-C

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the story below and, on its basis, give your prognoses as to:
 - a) the subject matter of the story;
 - b) possible political events covered in it.Write down your ideas.
2. Read the whole text and compare your ideas with actual facts.

AUSTRALIA'S POPULIST BITES BACK

1. MOST Australians thought they had heard the last of Pauline Hanson, the gritty-voiced political populist who sprang to prominence two years ago when her party, One Nation, started capturing seats. She opposed Asian immigration, attacked welfare for aborigines, demanded an end to foreign aid and called for a fair go for "ordinary Australians." Then it all came apart. Mrs Hanson fell out with her party's inner circle, and lost her own seat in the federal Parliament at the 1998 election. Australia's chattering classes, and its main political parties, breathed a collective sigh of relief. How wrong they were. At two state elections this month, Mrs Hanson stunned everyone by reappearing, fielding candidates and causing havoc with the results. She has ignited Australia's political landscape once again, and cast a pall over the future of John Howard, the prime minister, who himself must face the voters later this year.

2. At a state election in Western Australia on February 10th, the opposition Labor Party defied predictions and unseated the conservative coalition government of the Liberal and National parties. There was a swing of almost 8% against the conservative parties. Labor won with the help of second votes from One Nation candidates under Australia's preferential voting system; in some rural seats, One Nation captured almost one-fifth of the vote. A week later in Queensland, that state's Labor Party swept back to power in a landslide. One Nation won only three seats compared with 11 at the previous election; but it took votes from the conservative parties. Labor is likely to hold 66 of the 89 seats in the Queensland parliament, leaving the National Party with 12 and the Liberals with just three.

3. Mrs Hanson, basking in media attention, crowed that the results showed "people are fed up with Johnny Howard." The prime minister, who leads the federal Liberal Party, retorted defensively that the results had more to do with state issues than national ones. But it is hard not to see both state polls as reflecting widespread volatility working against the coalition, with Mrs Hanson acting as a catalyst for discontented people on outback farms, and in poor country towns and fringe suburbs, who feel they have been left behind by the country's economic boom and by its cultural and social transformations centered in the big cities.

4. It so happens that the political upheavals come as Australians are marking the centenary of the country's formation, when its six former

British colonies created a federation in January 1901. Mr Howard visualized coasting to victory for a third term in the federal election due by November, buoyed partly by a sense of national unity after a year of celebrations over Australia's achievements. But the vision is turning into a political nightmare. If the latest national mood is any guide, Australians seem to be more fractured than ever over the questions that drew them together 100 years ago: their economic well-being and their place in the world.

5. Mr Howard has himself partly to blame for this. Over the past 20 years, Australia's two main political groupings, Labor and Liberal-National, have embarked on a bipartisan process of change. On the economic front, it involved abolishing protectionism and exposing Australia to the competition of a global economy. Culturally, it saw the notorious "white Australia" policy replaced by multiculturalism, and a bid to right past wrongs to Australia's indigenous people.

6. When Mrs Hanson first hit the headlines five years ago with her maiden speech to Parliament, in which she complained that Australia was being "swamped by Asians", she hit a nerve with those Australians who felt uncomfortable with the pace of change. She also voiced a brand of xenophobia and racial intolerance that existed at the time of federation, when Australia saw itself as a white British country in the Pacific coveted by Asian hordes.

7. Donald Home, author of "The Lucky Country," believes the divisions that Mrs Hanson has unleashed reflect a sense of loss among some Australians over a once guaranteed share of the national wealth, and a return to bits of the old faith: white Australia and the British connection. "If you judge it by its immediate effects," says Mr Home, "Pauline Hanson's speech in 1996 may have been the most effective maiden speech ever made in the Australian parliament."

8. Mr Howard's initial response to Mrs Hanson then was silence. Partly he hoped her star would quickly fizzle out. But she also echoed his own intolerance of political correctness and his empathy with the anxieties of the "typical Aussie battler" who sees the old social fabric changing. In their own ways, both she and he see the country divided into what Mr Home describes as two main classes: mainstream Australia and minority interests. On social issues, Mr Howard's government has moved further right, embracing a brand of what looks like "soft Hansonism." It has cut back immigration and abandoned Mr Howard's former pledge to achieve "true reconciliation" with Australia's aborigines by the centenary of federation.

9. Yet Mr Howard's flirting with Mrs Hanson's ideas as a means of accommodating the politically disenchanted seems to have backfired. At a federation ceremony on January 1st in Centennial Park, Sydney, the mainly urban audience booed the prime minister in protest at his refusal to offer a national apology to aborigines. The celebrations that he hoped to make a center piece of his prime ministership have not captured a popular wave of enthusiasm. Mr Howard's critics say this is because there is little new to celebrate, as there would have been if Australia had begun its second century as a republic. The prime minister successfully campaigned in 1999 against a referendum that aimed to end the anomaly that Australia's head of state is a monarch who lives in Britain. Thomas Keneally, an author and former chairman of the Australian Republican Movement, says, "A republic would have given federation a modern focus it doesn't have. Instead, it's like attending a birthday party in a vacuum."

10. Where does the government go from here? Two opinion polls this month gave the Labor Party, headed by Kim Beazley, enough support to win a federal election in a landslide. As the *Australian*, a national newspaper, said this week, Mr Howard will need a miracle to survive the next election. In rural Australia, Mrs Hanson is having a field day exploiting discontent with the government's market policies, which have hurt farmers and small business people. These include encouraging inter-state competition, which has wiped out many dairy farmers, and plans to sell the government's remaining share of Telstra, the country's biggest telecom company, besides a new consumption tax and heavier fuel taxes.

11. Mrs Hanson means business. She wants to get back into the federal parliament. Her great threat to the Howard government is to split the conservative vote three ways. Already she has spooked the National Party, the junior partner in the coalition, whose members are talking of doing deals with One Nation on swapping preference votes to save their political skins.

12. If Mr Howard buckles and allows Liberal Party members to do similar deals, there would be a flight of moderate Liberal voters to Labor in disgust. Miracles have come Mr Howard's way before in his 27-year political career; but the omens have rarely looked as forbidding as they do in this centenary year.

The Economist

Post-reading

Read the whole text again using a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Identify the political position of Pauline Hanson.
2. What caused her failure at the 1998 federal Parliament election?
3. Summarize the results of state elections in February 2001.
4. What sentiments of discontented population does Ms Hanson express?
5. Compare Mr. Howard's plans as to the then coming elections and reality.
6. What have been the political implications of the economic and cultural change in the past 20 years?
7. Do you agree that Ms Hanson's maiden speech in 1996 'may have been the most effective maiden speech ever made in the Australian parliament'? Why?
8. What is there in common between the political views of Mr. Howard and Pauline Hanson?
9. In your opinion, would republic be a proper status for Australia versus federation? Give your grounds.
10. Do you like the political strategy of Ms Hanson? Why?

TEXT 4-A

Pre-reading

1. What do you know about New Zealand's geography and history? Write down your ideas.
2. Read the text and see what role the local people play in the history of New Zealand.

NEW ZEALAND — A BRIEF HISTORY

1. The first Polynesian settlers arrived in New Zealand (the Maori name is Aotearoa) around the 10th century. By the 12th century, there were scattered settlements in favored parts of the country.

2. In 1642, the Dutch navigator Abel Tasman sighted Aotearoa and gave the land the name New Zealand after a region in the Netherlands. He mapped parts of the west coast but did not land here.

3. In 1769, British naval captain James Cook and his crew became the first Europeans to set foot on New Zealand soil. Eventually sealers and whalers began to arrive, quickly followed by missionaries, and settlements began to be established.

4. By 1840, the Maori population was estimated at about 100,000. Scattered around the coast were about 2000 European settlers (called “pakeha” by the Maori). New Zealand had no national government or national leaders. Maori and pakeha groups asked Britain to provide some sort of protection and law and order.

5. In 1840, New Zealand was established as a colony under the British Crown. Chiefs of the Maori tribes of New Zealand Signed the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840, an agreement between the Maori people and the British Crown. It is recognized as the founding document of our nation.

6. The Treaty gave the settlers the right to stay in New Zealand. It also promised the Maori people that they would continue to own their lands, forests and fisheries for as long as they wished. It said Maori people would make their own decisions about the land and the way they lived, and promised to set up a government so there would be peace and order for all. The Treaty also promised the rights of British subjects.

7. After the signing of the Treaty, more people began to arrive and settle in New Zealand. Most went to the South Island, which offered excellent land for farming and the prospect of gold in Otago and the West Coast. Since the turn of the century, however, the North Island has become more populated than the South Island.

8. By the 1880s, the population had increased to half a million, and railways and roads began to be built. Settlers established the farms that have become the backbone of New Zealand’s economy. In 1893 New Zealand became the first country to give the vote to women.

9. Britain was still a very important part of the New Zealand culture, and was often referred to as the “home country.” Thousands of New

Zealanders fought on Britain's behalf in World War I; by 1918, more than half of those who fought were killed or injured.

10. In 1935, New Zealand elected a Labor government, which introduced sweeping social reforms, including the 40-hour working week and a state-funded health and welfare system. When World War II started, New Zealand again sent troops, with nearly 10 percent of the population leaving to fight overseas. When the war finished, New Zealand's agricultural products were in demand and the 1950s saw a boom time of full employment and considerable industrial growth.

According to Maori tradition, the first storm happened when Tawhiri-Matea, god of the winds, attacked Tangaroa, god of the ocean, and Tane, god of the forest.

11. New Zealand's economy deteriorated through the 1970s and 1980s owing to our reliance on imports (especially oil) and continued dependence on exports of meat, dairy and wool. After the UK entered the European Community in the early 1970s. New Zealand started to lose its traditional export markets, and unemployment and social problems started to increase.

12. In the mid to late 1980s, a Labor government initiated wide-ranging reforms, with new monetary policies, industry deregulation, the removal of subsidies and the privatization of many government departments. Since then the economy has gradually begun to recover and unemployment to fall. In the 1996 World Competitiveness Report, New Zealand was ranked third overall in the world.

The Treaty of Waitangi

13. The Treaty of Waitangi is in two texts, one in English and one Maori, and one is not an exact translation of the other. The Treaty is made up of a preamble followed by three articles and an epilogue. Most Maori signed the Maori version and it is this version that has authority (mana) among most Maori.

14. Today the Treaty continues as a "living document" and is the subject of much debate on race relations in New Zealand. In 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal was set up — its role is to listen to grievances from Maori who feel the government has allowed something to happen that goes against the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Tribunal

listens to the claim, then writes its findings in a report, which sometimes includes recommendations for government action.

15. The Treaty now has an important position in many government activities. The Ministry of Maori Development (Te Puni Kokiri) is the government's principal adviser on the relationship with Maori.

16. When you apply for a job, you could be asked about your understanding of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Marae

17. The marae is a special place for Maori. It is a spiritual place where the dead are mourned, guests are housed, feasts are held and weddings and reunions are celebrated. In rural New Zealand the local marae has been the "family home" for generations. The local iwi (tribe) has the responsibility of looking after the marae for the generations to come.

18. However, many Maori are moving away from their tribal areas into the cities. Some still go "back home" for holidays and tangi (funerals), while others have lost contact with their iwi marae and instead identify with the marae where they live. Urban marae are often set up by groups of people from many tribal areas, and they include modern as well as traditional carvings and decorations.

19. Marae kawa (protocol) varies from iwi to iwi. There are two main forms:

- **Paeke**, where all speakers from the tangata whenua (people who belong to the marae) speak first, then the speakers from the manuhiri (visitors follow).
- **Tuu mai, tuu atu or tau utu**, where a tangata whenua speaks first, then a manuhiri, then a tangata whenua. All speak in turn, finishing with a tangata whenua.

20. If you're invited on to a marae, check out the kawa of the iwi first. Here's one model of protocol that is usually followed on a marae. It will vary by iwi area.

- **The tangata whenua stand at the front or side of the whare nui (meeting house).**
- **The manuhiri wait at the gate until a woman calls them on to the marae-area (area between the whare nui and the gate) with a karanga (welcome call).**

- A woman from the manuhiri returns the karanga.
- Each group honors the other, saying who they represent and perhaps why they are there.
- The manuhiri walk slowly across the marae with their heads bowed. They pause for a short time, in memory of the dead.
- Tangata whenua sit and manuhiri sit opposite them to the right of the whare nui. Men usually sit in the front rows with the women behind.
- Men are usually the speakers during the powhiri (welcome) outside.
- Each korero (speech) from either side is followed by a waiata (song).
- The last speaker for the manuhiri places a koha (donation) on the ground in front of the tangata whenua.
- The last korero is always made by the tangata whenua and then the manuhiri are invited to come forward and hariru (handshake) and hongiri (touch noses).

MARAE RULES:

- *Go on to the marae in silence.*
- *Take off your shoes before entering the whare nui.*
- *Do not sit on pillows in the whare moe (sleeping house) or whare nui.*
- *Never walk directly in front of a speaker.*
- *Never sit on a table in the whare kai (dining room).*

Welcome to New Zealand

Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Show the line where the signification date of the Treaty of Waitangi is given.
2. What caused the signification of the Treaty?
3. Define the reasons of NZ economic deterioration in 1970s and 1980s.
4. What are the main forms of marae kawa?

5. Suppose that you are the last speaker for the manuhiri. What would be your responsibilities?
6. If the Treaty of Waitangi hasn't been signed would it be possible for Great Britain to control Maori population legally?
7. So you agree that in rural New Zealand the local marae can still be the "family home" for generations? Why?
8. Why, in your opinion, does one of the rules state that you should go on to marae in silence?
9. Don't you think that New Zealand still depends on Great Britain in economic and political respects?
10. What do you think about the situation when to get a job in New Zealand you have to understand the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi?

TEXT 4-B

Pre-reading

1. What do you know about the geography and wildlife of New Zealand? Write down your ideas.
2. Read the text and compare your prognosis with actual facts. Find the information peculiar only to New Zealand.

NEW ZEALAND'S GEOGRAPHY & WILDLIFE

1. New Zealand lies in the southern Pacific Ocean, 1600 kilometers east of Australia. It is made up of the North and South Islands and a number of smaller islands, with a total land area of 270 500 square kilometers. The main North and South Islands are separated by Cook Strait.

2. Mountain ranges and hill country dominate New Zealand's landscape — one of the most striking physical features is the Southern Alps. These, along with fiords, glaciers and lakes, and the coastal

plains of Canterbury and Southland, add to the variety of the South Island scenery. In the North Island, the volcanic interior contains New Zealand's largest lake Lake Taupo, and most of the country's active volcanoes — Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro — all usually quiet, although Ruapehu has been active since September 1995. Hot springs, geysers and mudpools also form part of the volcanic system centered around Rotorua.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTS

<i>Highest mountain</i>	<i>Mount Cook (3754 meters)</i>
<i>Deepest lake</i>	<i>Lake Hauroko (462 meters)</i>
<i>Longest river</i>	<i>Waikato River (425 kilometers)</i>
<i>Largest glacier</i>	<i>Tasman Glacier (29 kilometers long)</i>

3. New Zealand is very lucky to have no snakes, no scorpions and only one native spider that has a poisonous bite (the katipo).

4. Most insects are harmless. Bees and wasps will sting, and wasps can be particularly numerous in some parts of New Zealand, especially in summer. If someone you know is stung by an insect and does not feel well, we recommend they see a doctor. If they have a particularly severe reaction, call an ambulance (dial 111).

Climate

5. New Zealand's seasons are opposite to the northern hemisphere's — January and February are the warmest months, and July is the coldest. This can take some getting used to. The climate is temperate, with averages ranging from 8°C in July to 17°C in January. However, summer temperatures reach the low 30s in many places.

6. The mountain ranges that extend for most of New Zealand's length act as a barrier to weather approaching from the west. This means there is a lot of difference in climate between regions east and west of the mountains.

7. The average annual rainfall varies from 300 millimeters in Central Otago to about 13 000 millimeters in the Southern Alps. Northland and Auckland have a subtropical climate, and most of the country experiences at least 2000 hours of sunshine a year. In the West Coast of the South Island and much of inland Canterbury, Otago and Southland, winter is the driest season. Some areas, particularly the mountainous areas and the south of the South Island, experience heavy snowfalls in the winter.

No part of New Zealand is more than 128 kilometers from the sea.

8. Sometimes the Desert Road (part of the main north/south route in the North Island) is closed in winter because of snow.

A GUIDE TO NEW ZEALAND'S CLIMATE

These figures on temperature, sun and rain should be a useful guide to normal conditions in each of the cities. Don't be surprised though if you find days that are hotter or colder.

	<i>FEBRUARY</i>				<i>AUGUST</i>			
	<i>Max in day (°C)</i>	<i>Min at night (°C)</i>	<i>Sun (hours/ month)</i>	<i>Rain (days/ month)</i>	<i>Max in day (°C)</i>	<i>Min at night (°C)</i>	<i>Sun (hours/ month)</i>	<i>Rain (days/ month)</i>
Auckland	25.5	14.0	200.5	6.4	16.1	7.3	145.8	12.6
Hamilton	27.8	7.6	193.2	6.5	16.4	0.8	141.2	14.2
Palmerston North	25.2	9.2	186.7	6.6	15.1	3.2	121.9	12.2
Wellington	22.7	10.4	204.0	6.9	13.7	4.3	134.0	13.3
Christchurch	23.9	8.2	188.6	5.1	14.4	0.2	147.9	8.2
Dunedin	22.5	6.0	160.2	8.2	13.5	-1.3	120.5	8.0

°C — Degrees Celsius

Max — Maximum average daily maximum

Min — Minimum average daily minimum

Sun — Average hours

Rain — Average wet days (1 mm of rain per day or more)

Note: The rain figures are for significantly rainy days per month. In all cities listed there will be three to five more days with a little rain.

Source: National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research Ltd

9. During the summer, New Zealand sun is especially fierce between 11am and 4pm, when harmful UV rays are at their strongest. On clear days it's a good idea to avoid being in the sun between these times. If you do go out, make sure you are well covered and wearing sun screen.

Preparing for a Disaster

10. New Zealand is prone to some forms of natural disasters, such as earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, floods and storms.

11. Each city, district and regional council is responsible for having a civil defense organization. They deal with any disasters that happen in their area. The Ministry of Civil Defense helps them to do this. When an emergency happens, the authorities may need to declare a "state of emergency." In a state of emergency, extra resources can be brought into the area to deal with the disaster.

12. It's a good idea to make sure you are prepared for a disaster, as you may not have any power, water, gas or medical assistance for some time. You should be able to look after yourselves and your neighbors for up to three days. The Yellow Pages has special pages that tell you what you should do to prepare for a disaster. Please read them -they provide very valuable information.

13. Civil Defense recommends that your family has a "disaster survival kit" that includes emergency supplies such as food and water, blankets and hygiene items, clothing, a first aid kit, important family documents and, most importantly, a radio (powered by batteries) and a torch. You should also have a "disaster plan" for your family, for your workplace and even for your street. You can get more information on this from Civil Defense at your local council.

IN A DISASTER:

- *stop, think and respond positively*
- *listen to your local radio station*

In an earth quake ... take cover and hold on

In a tsunami ... go to higher ground

In a volcanic eruption ... stay inside

In a cyclone ... stay inside

In a flood ... get up high

In an industrial or chemical accident ... stay inside unless you are asked to evacuate.

Earthquakes

14. New Zealand lies on an earthquake faultily. This means that about 200 earthquakes are felt in New Zealand each year, and thousands of very small ones are recorded. However, compared with other countries such as Japan and Chile, earthquakes in New Zealand are moderate and most do not cause any damage-Earthquakes can be frightening if you have never experienced one before. The important thing is to keep calm. If you are inside, take shelter under a table or desk, or stand in a strong doorway. If you are in a city street, take cover in a doorway, but stay clear of windows. If you are driving, you are unlikely to feel an earthquake — if you do, pull over to the side of the road and stop. Stay in the vehicle.

15. Earthquakes can be followed by “aftershocks,” so you need to take special care. Aftershocks are smaller, less severe earthquakes.

Storms, Cyclones, Floods and Volcanic Eruptions

16. Some parts of New Zealand are affected by strong winds, especially in late winter or early spring. The Meteorological Service of New Zealand (the “Met Service”) issues storm warnings when wind speed is higher than 70 kilometers per hour.

17. New Zealand is also sometimes affected by tropical cyclones, causing heavy rain and very strong winds. Severe storms or heavy rainfall sometimes cause flooding and landslides. The Met Service usually gives advance warning, so you can be prepared.

18. New Zealand has seven active volcanic centers, all in the North Island. Occasionally one erupts.

19. The Yellow Pages contain some important information on preparing for storms, cyclones, floods and volcanic eruptions. If they happen, listen to your local radio station for instructions on what to do.

Welcome to New Zealand

Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. What is the New Zealand ambulance telephone number?
2. List the supplies included in a “disaster survival kit.”

3. According to the figures given, tell us which city has the hottest temperature in New Zealand?
4. Classify the natural disasters that New Zealand is prone to. Characterize them.
5. If there were no mountain ranges in the country, how would it reflect on its climate?
6. Suppose that during the earthquake you were clambering in the Southern Alps. What would you do?
7. Do you believe that UV rays can severely damage you between 11 a.m. and 4 p.m.? Prove your point.
8. Do you agree that “disaster plans” can really help citizens avoid extra panics and casualties? Support your opinion with real facts.
9. Would you go to New Zealand considering that there are about 200 earthquakes a year there? Why?
10. What do you think about New Zealand’s nature?

TEXT 4-C

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline below and prognose a few facts of the story. Write down your prognosis.
2. Read the text to see if your prognosis was correct.

NZ SWEEP BY “LORD OF THE RINGS” MANIA AT PREMIERE

1. WELLINGTON, Dec 20 (Reuters) — New Zealand was swept up in “Lord of the Rings” mania on Thursday after several thousand fans turned out to cheer the New Zealand-born director Peter Jackson at the film’s Australasian premiere in Wellington.

2. The country’s main newspapers splashed photographs of Wednesday night’s red carpet event across their front pages, with

pictures of Elijah Wood (who stars as hobbit Frodo), and fellow hobbits Dominic Monaghan and Billy Boyd.

3. “They said that it was going to be massive... Suddenly I feel like a rock star or something... London was huge but this blows London out of the water,” Wood told Wellington’s Evening Post newspaper, which had renamed itself “Middle Earth Post” in honour of the occasion.

4. The Australasian premiere of the first movie in the Lord of the Rings trilogy followed screenings of the epic in London, Los Angeles and New York in the past week.

5. Celebrities attending included actor Sam Neill, Prime Minister Helen Clark and a host of sporting heroes including golfer Michael Campbell, Team New Zealand yachting skipper Dean Barker and former All Black rugby union captain Sean Fitzpatrick.

6. But the crowd saved its biggest cheers for Wellington-based director Jackson, waving signs such as “Take a Bow, Mr Jackson. You fully deserve one.”

7. The crowd was entertained by a marching display of armed Gondorian soldiers, children dressed as hobbits and the evil Ringwraiths on horseback.

8. The J.R.R. Tolkien trilogy that attracted at least 100 million readers over the last half century has been turned into three movies costing \$270 million and taken Jackson 18 months to film with a cast of 2,400.

9. The government has even appointed a Minister for Lord of the Rings in order to ensure the South Pacific nation of 3.8 million people capitalizes on its links with the trilogy.

New Zealand Eyes Rings Movie Role Spin-Off

10. WELLINGTON (Reuters) — As moviegoers watch heroic hobbit Frodo Baggins trek through the mountains and forests of Middle Earth, New Zealand will be looking to cash in on its own role in the latest fantasy blockbuster to hit the screens.

11. Kiwi film director Peter Jackson’s opening offering in the “The Lord of the Rings” trilogy, “The Fellowship of the Ring,” opens on worldwide general release on Wednesday — in good time for the Christmas and New Year holidays.

12. The second and third films in the series will follow after one-year gaps.

13. New Zealand, where the films were shot, is already spending millions of dollars promoting itself as a movie makers’ paradise.

Entrepreneurs are busily tempting fans of J.R.R. Tolkien's classic fantasy trilogy down under to see for themselves where the movies were filmed.

14. "New Zealand is Middle Earth," says actor Elijah Wood, who plays Frodo. "It has every geological formation and geographical landscape you can imagine... and some you couldn't."

15. The challenge for Pete Hodgson, New Zealand's Minister for Lord of the Rings, is to ensure the stunning backdrops in the movie lure both tourists and movie makers to follow in Frodo's footsteps.

16. "Some films have a good link with their origin and some films haven't... Most of the world didn't know that Star Wars was made in Morocco," Hodgson told Reuters.

17. AOL Time Warner's New Line Cinema is spending nearly \$300 million to re-create in three movies the story of Frodo, who sets out on a quest to destroy the all-powerful ring created by Dark Lord Sauron.

18. New Zealand has had moderate success in the movie industry, through films such as haunting period love story "The Piano" (1992) and the graphically violent "Once Were Warriors" (1994).

19. It was also home to cult television show "Xena, Warrior Princess."

20. But the Rings trilogy is a huge leap forward for a country that spent just \$6.5 million making feature movies the year before Jackson — typically bare foot in baggy shorts — began working on Middle Earth in an nondescript warehouse that is his studio in suburban Wellington.

Middle Earth Down Under

21. Hodgson is mounting a blitz of promotional projects — from a NZ film Internet portal to old-fashioned tinsel-town schmoozing parties — using a share of \$6.7 million in venture promotion spending the government will split between the movie and the next America's Cup regatta in 2002/03.

22. The government minister, with other more weighty responsibilities in energy, fisheries, forestry and science, has yet to find the time to read *The Lord of the Rings*.

23. But he knows there are millions of people who ardently follow Tolkien's dream of a land 7,000 years ago where elves and dwarfs join the hairy-footed hobbits and humans to battle evil.

24. The New Zealand promotional effort builds on the dreams of Jackson, a self-taught movie maker who began with the tongue-in-cheek blood and gore of splatter movies.

25. He read “The Lord of the Rings” as a teen-ager and sold a major Hollywood studio on the idea that he could bring to life one of the world’s most-loved stories.

26. Jackson found plenty of room in New Zealand — a country with 3.9 million people spread over a land the size of Great Britain — to film scenes ranging from volcanic Mount Doom to the gently rolling green countryside of Frodo’s home in Hobbiton.

Tourists with Imaginations Sought

27. Voted the story of the 20th century in some millennium polls, Lord of the Rings has a fanatical following with 100 million books sold since it was written in the 1950s.

28. Travel entrepreneur Vic James, from Red Carpet Tours, is out to grab a share of the potentially lucrative tourism spin-off from the movie, as Tolkien fans seek to follow Frodo’s progress through 35 filming locations.

29. Up to 300 Singaporean fans may be the first to follow the movie’s call, with James booking bus trips in February to see “mysterious forests where magic still lingers,” as he describes it. However the fans will need to bring their imaginations with them.

30. “All of the movie sets have been dismantled but what they’re going to be seeing is the exact spot where the different shots were filmed,” James told Reuters.

31. “A lot of it is the natural scenery anyway and particularly the genuine fans, they’ll want to come to that particular area because it will be like hallowed ground to them,” he predicts.

32. But the bigger focus is on New Zealand as a movie location, and not just because of the glistening snowy mountains that Frodo and his fellowship of ring-bearers must cross on their trek.

33. The Lord of the Rings has been a leap forward for New Zealand’s small film sector, advancing skills ranging from computer graphics to wardrobe, says Ruth Harley, the chief executive of promotional agency Film New Zealand.

Not Just Sheep and Scenery

34. A 30 percent fall in the New Zealand dollar in the past four years has made it much cheaper to film there and Harley is setting out

to change a perception that New Zealand is a beautiful but quiet rural backwater overrun with sheep.

35. “It’s an issue for New Zealand in general and I think this film gives us an opportunity to change that image in a way that no other single opportunity existed,” she adds.

36. As the hype around the movie’s launch hits top gear, Harley says she is already getting calls from people wanting to travel to New Zealand to make films.

37. “It is more possible for New Zealand film makers to say to (U.S.) studios. ... “Of course it can be done in New Zealand” and people now have got a reason to believe that that is so.”

38. For Jackson—who says his only goal is to make movies that people like — the hype seemed to be all a bit much on the eve of the film’s release.

39. “The movie’s been delivered to the studio so it’s kind of gone now, the baby is out in the world waiting to be released, so you’re in this sort of strange head space now of waiting to see what people’s response is going to be,” he said.

<http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nznews/>

Post-reading

Read the story again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Read the lines that tell us where the film “Star Wars” was made.
2. List the most famous films created in New Zealand.
3. Summarize the main positive results of creating “Lord of the Rings” in New Zealand.
4. Classify the factors that helped New Zealand become a base for making the movie.
5. Suppose that there were no mountains in New Zealand, what would the film director do considering that computer graphics still cannot compete with original landscapes?
6. What do you think, could Peter Jackson make this movie in Primorsky Krai if he would like to? Why?

7. Do you believe that magic still lingers somewhere? Support your point with facts.
8. Do you agree that New Zealand will really advance its film industry after “Lord of Rings” mania?
9. Did you like the authors’ attitude towards the movie? Support your arguments with the facts from the text.
10. What did you think when you read that the New Zealand government appointed a Minister for the Lord of the Rings?

Unit III. RUSSIA. ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, CULTURAL ISSUES OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

TEXT 1

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline and the first lines of the story bellow and think if it deals with:
 - a) politics;
 - b) economics.Write down your answer.
2. Read the whole text and find the facts that:
 - a) confirm your ideas;
 - b) disprove your ideas.

COMRADE PUTIN KNOWS BEST

DEMOCRACY IN DOUBT: The NTV takeover was only the Russian president's latest move toward a Soviet-style state. Funny thing is, he's more popular than ever.

1. **AMID THE CLUTTER OF** a makeshift studio, Marianna Maksimovskaya, one of Russia's best-known TV anchors, is getting ready for her evening newscast. But tonight she's not wearing her regular gray suit; she's dressed in black pants and a turtleneck, looking somewhat like a guerrilla broadcaster — which she's just become. Only hours before, allies of President Vladimir Putin evicted Maksimovskaya and dozens of her colleagues from one of the country's leading broadcast stations, NTV, in a hostile takeover. Now the rebellious journalists are on the run. A friendly station with a small viewership has given them a temporary home, and Maksimovskaya is furiously typing a script. "OK, let's stop messing around here," she snaps to her skeleton crew when it can't find news reports. The show starts 15 minutes late, Maksimovskaya misses some cues, but she projects

an air of professionalism. “Last night, on the eighth floor of our TV building, the takeover finally took place,” she tells viewers in bland anchorese. Behind the camera, however, Grigory Krichevsky, another ousted journalist, is more opinionated. “They’ve finished off democracy in Russia,” he says.

2. If so, many Muscovites seem not to care. Last week Gazprom, a natural-gas monopoly controlled by the Kremlin, replaced Maksimovskaya and her NTV colleagues with a more government-friendly team effectively silencing Russia’s only remaining independent national broadcast station. Gazprom-appointed management also took over a major newspaper and magazine (following story). But the response from the public was, for the most part, a big shrug. “All these programs and publications keep shouting that they are the only independent voices,” said Galina Moshkova, a psychologist in Moscow.

3. “It’s all propaganda.” As far as she’s concerned, NTV was just the mouthpiece for a self-interested tycoon, Vladimir Gusinsky. Lots of other Russians evidently feel the same way. In a recent poll, 57 percent said that they approved of restoring censorship. And these days there are even plenty of Russian journalists — many of them fans of Putin’s strong leadership — who interpret freedom of the press as the freedom to fawn all over the government. “The only real taboo at RTR [Russia’s main state-owned TV network] is that we don’t say bad things about the president” as NTV sometimes did, says RTR host Aicksandr Gurnov. “A journalist may think he’s bad, but you’re not allowed to say that. It’s like Hyde Park Corner — you’re not allowed to say bad things about the queen.”

4. Actually, what’s happening in Russia today resembles something much closer to home — the old Soviet Union. A little over a year after Putin’s election Russia is undergoing an extraordinary’ revival of Soviet-era habits, reflexes and rhetoric. What’s being selectively salvaged from Soviet days is the idea of an authoritarian state with leaders who decide what’s “best” for the people — a state whose interests seem to take precedence over pluralism and press freedom.

5. Putin’s prescription for Russia’s many ills is the “strengthening of the state.” Internally that translates into a political system organized tightly around the president, his powerful Kremlin administration and custom-tailored Unity political party, and a new power elite drawn largely from the old KGB and the military. Externally it means the pursuit of policies to undercut American dominance and reassert Russia’s

great-power status. The leader of the liberal Yabloko party, Grigory Yavlinsky, says: "Putin is creating a bureaucratic police state." If so, he's doing it with public consent: his popularity ratings still hover at around 70 percent, higher than George W. Bush's.

6. In many ways it's a paradoxical undertaking. Few Russians really believe their country is headed for a wholesale restoration of totalitarianism. No one talks seriously about bringing back Marxist ideology, central planning or the all-encompassing welfare state. "Most of the country has changed dramatically," argues Andrei Kortunov, a Moscow political analyst. New economic choices, wider access to information and the freedom to travel have all left their mark. And unlike the Soviet days, people can still speak out without fear of being thrown into the gulag. Indeed, Putin tries to combine his strong-state rhetoric with plenty of upbeat talk about democratic values and press freedom.

7. Still, Putin and the country's political elite clearly believe that freedom is overrated. Last week the Unity Party, Putin's political organization, announced that it was merging with three other parties — a move that critics say amounts to the creation of a "new Politburo." The media also display fewer alternatives in programming. "Watching TV in Russia is becoming a Soviet experience again," says Aleksei Venediktov, another opposition journalist. "The main difference is that now there are commercials" Putin's supporters say that he's simply following a popular longing for stability, and polls seem to confirm that. The vast majority of Russians consistently express regret for the breakup of the U.S.S.R., as well as enduring respect for leaders such as Leonid Brezhnev or Vladimir Lenin. (In a recent survey, 79 percent said that they regret the collapse of the U.S.S.R.) That's one reason that Gurnov, the journalist at Russian state TV, recently decided to revive a Soviet-era program on foreign affairs. "International Panorama' for Russians is like a household name" says Gurnov. "I chose the name primarily because of nostalgia. It's like Volkswagen making the new Beetle."

8. But there's more at work here than a mere longing for the past. Putin is exploiting an angry backlash against the West's often heavy-handed attempts to make Russia over in its open, democratic image in the 1990s. Today, amid the debris of those hopes, many Russians consider Western prescriptions — from free markets to free speech — to have been a malign plot.

9. Perhaps the most unnerving throwback to Sovietism is the budding Putin personality cult. Putin enthusiasts around the country have been printing up songs and poems glorifying his mighty deeds. Viktor Yurakov, the self-described “ideology chief” of the Petersburg chapter of the Unity Party, published 10,000 copies of a pamphlet for schoolchildren that included a heroic portrait of Putin. Little Vladimir, the pamphlet explains, “wasn’t afraid of anyone and never tricked anyone.” Yurakov is unapologetic. “We tell them about the tasks of the party, where it’s going, what it wants to do.”

10. Nostalgia for the U.S.S.R. has been widespread in Russia for years. But while Putin’s predecessor, Boris Yeltsin, generally tried to hold it in check, Putin has made the nostalgia act part of his program. Especially when it comes to another favorite theme — the hints of a revived cold war with Washington. Last week a security-police spokesman accused a leading member of the Chechen separatist movement of being a “CIA agent”.

11. Ultimately, it’s unclear whether the retro trend is a resumption of old national habits, or merely a temporary lurch backward. Yuli Rybakov, a liberal deputy in the Parliament, argues that 10 years of democracy can’t be expected to overcome 70 years of Bolshevism and centuries of czarist autocracy before that: “The totalitarian mind-set is still an organic part of public consciousness” On the other hand, he says, his recent visit to Cuba also gave him perspective. “It gave me the shivers. It made me realize what foreigners must have felt in the old days when they came to the U.S.S.R. Despite everything, we still live in a free country compared to Cuba.” A pause. “For the time being, at least.”

Newsweek

Post-reading

Read the text again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Find the attitude of the public toward the NTV takeover.
2. Describe the position of plenty of Russian journalists.
3. How is internal different from external understanding of Putin’s “strengthening of the state?”

4. Paraphrase the following: “NTV was just the mouthpiece for a self-interested tycoon, Vladimir Gusinsky.”
5. What might happen if Russia underwent an extraordinary revival of Soviet-era habits, reflexes and rhetoric?
6. What would the consequences be if all independent media be taken over?
7. Do you believe that Russia really resumes old national habits?
8. What part of the story compares Putin’s presidency and a Soviet-style state?
9. Do you know any evidence of Putin personality cult, any songs or poems glorifying his mighty deeds?
10. Did you like the style of the article? Why?

TEXT 2

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline and the first lines of the story below and guess the meaning of the words “popular,” “magazine,” “corporate.” Write down your definitions of the words.
2. Read the whole text and find examples with the above words.

PUTIN WILL GET AWAY WITH IT

DEATH OF A DREAM: The co-creator of a popular magazine tells what it was like to be fired by corporate forces allied with the president.

1. OUR MAGAZINE WAS gone, and Boris Zhukov, our science and ecology correspondent, did not *even* know it. Last Monday he went to cover the spring floods in a rural region south of Moscow. He took our best photographer, and we planned to give the story four full pages. But when we came to work on Tuesday, security men downstairs would not let us in. We were informed that we were all fired — down to the last proofreader and fact checker.

2. The publisher did not come out to talk to us. He sent two of his associates to explain that the publishing house had been reorganized and there was no place for our magazine anymore. We were being thrown out. “Personnel cuts” was the excuse, but nobody believed it. Sure enough, a few hours later the publisher announced that Itogi would continue to come out. It has a whole new staff and a new editor.

3. We knew this would happen. The new, sanctioned Itogi team — whom we nicknamed The Strikebreakers — had been training for a few weeks before they decided they were ready. They were no strangers. Our publisher, Dmitry Biryukov, who once backed us but recently has curried favor with the Kremlin, recruited them from his daily paper, *Sevodnya*, a few weeks before he closed it. They worked two floors above us, using our format and design. It’s impossible to hide an operation like this. We shared some of the equipment and the computer network, and every now and then we would come upon a sketch, a list of new staffers, a perfectly recognizable laid-out dummy page. It looked exactly like our page except we hadn’t produced it.

4. We knew our fate was sealed as soon as the Kremlin finally silenced NTV, the only independent national TV channel in Russia. After a year of attacks, the government’s surrogates finally took it over. NTV, as well as *Itogi* and *Sevodnya*, all belonged to the same media conglomerate. It was run by Vladimir Gusinsky, a tycoon whom the Kremlin regards as its worst enemy. His media incurred the governments wrath by not supporting Vladimir Putin for president, criticizing the war in Chechnya and resisting the drive to stamp out diversity of opinion.

5. We created *Itogi*, Russia’s first news magazine, six years ago. It was just the two of us at the beginning, Editor in Chief Sergei Parkhomenko and myself. We were sitting in a little room in Gusinsky’s office building inventing a magazine. We knew *NEWSWEEK* might be interested, so we tried a similar format. (*NEWSWEEK* pulled out of its partnership with *Itogi* as soon as we were fired.) We picked the journalists we liked and launched *Itogi* in March 1996. After a few months we had our first scoop, reporting that Boris Yeltsin would undergo heart surgery. Soon *Itogi* was a profitable and well-known magazine.

6. When the Kremlin began its campaign against NTV, we sympathized with our television colleagues and wrote about their

ordeal. The Kremlin wanted NTV, we thought, because it was a powerful dissenting voice (and pictures!) that reached 100 million people. Having a circulation of 85,000, we didn't worry. Why would the Kremlin care about the handful of liberal intellectuals who read us? But our publisher, Biryukov, who once was Gusinsky's junior partner, turned against him as the political winds shifted. Soon a third partner appeared. Gusinsky's creditor Gazprom got a share of his publishing empire. Biryukov joined ranks with Gazprom and eagerly eradicated the last remains of Gusinsky's media empire, including our magazine.

7. We suddenly found ourselves making news instead of covering it. Herds of correspondents, Russian and foreign, gathered outside our building to cover the Itogi lockout. A couple of independent newspapers offered space on their pages so that at least some of our reporters could have their stories published. Radio Ekho Moskvyy, one of the last survivors of Gusinsky's media group, invited us to do a radio version of Itogi.

8. But the Kremlin already appears to be preparing a similar takeover of Radio Ekho Moskvyy. Some Russians don't like this assault on the free press, but the majority is indifferent. The powerful democratic drive that changed Russia 10 years ago has faded, and Putin will get away with further crackdowns if he needs to. Two weeks ago we ran a letter to our readers, signed by all our staffers, warning of a possible takeover. We said that any subsequent issues we didn't put out ourselves would be "fakes." The headline read: ITOGI IS WHEREVER WE ARE. But even though we hope to start a new, independent magazine, we don't know where we'll end up. I'm afraid the government will interfere. Right now all we have is a radio version of Itogi. Boris Zhlikov will have to turn his story into a radio script. But we can't use photographs on the radio.

Newsweek

Post-reading

Read the text using a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Describe how the staff of Itogi was fired.
2. Find the reasons why the Kremlin regarded Gusinsky as its worst enemy.

3. List all the media that was run by Vladimir Gusinsky.
4. Paraphrase the following: “His media incurred the government’s wrath.”
5. What would the consequences be if the government finally took all the independent media over?
6. What are the implications of such government’s behavior?
7. Is it right that the majority of correspondents supported Itogi?
8. What part of the story best describes the assaults on free press in Russia?
9. Do you know any similar events in other countries?
10. Did you like former Gusinsky’s media (NTV, Itogi)?

TEXT 3

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the story below and think of the differences and similarities of Eastern and Western worlds. Write down your ideas.
2. Read the whole story and find facts confirming or contradicting your ideas.

EAST AND WEST: FACE TO FACE

1. As the Bush administration develops a harder-line policy toward Russia — a move that threatens to substitute greater prejudice for more objective analysis — some observers have argued that Western analysts are guilty of hypocrisy stemming from Russophobia.

2. Among the most prominent accusers is Anatol Lieven, who — in a recent article in the *World Policy Journal* — condemns Western observers for using double standards in their criticism of Russia. Lieven charges foreigners with unfairly censuring Russia while failing to acknowledge similar problems in their own countries. To rectify that

situation, he says, the Soviet collapse in general and the Chechen war in particular must be seen “in the context of European and North American imperialism, decolonization and neocolonialism.”

3. But in his appeal against Russophobia — a seemingly blanket psychological disorder afflicting such scholars as Richard Pipes and Zbigniew Brzezinski, who have in fact contributed much insight into Russian history and politics in their respective specialities — Lieven commits the cardinal mistake of failing to take his own advice.

4. Comparative study of history and politics is usually valuable for outlining differences rather than similarities. Perhaps nowhere is that clearer than in the case of Russia and Western Europe. Unlike Western countries, Russia never had a Renaissance. It never experienced Enlightenment. It didn’t even have feudalism in the Western sense.

5. In fact, Russian political culture is genuinely unique, the product of a highly successful practice of preserving the stability of political elites through a system of closed, conspiratorial rule in which many outward institutions and policies have obscured the real goings-on. As Harvard Professor Edward Keenan argues, that system arose in medieval Muscovy, and remains essentially unchanged today. Even Soviet communism was a uniquely Russian product; the post — 1930 regime mirrored the tsarist state in many telling ways.

6. Indeed, the old debate over whether Russia is Western or Eastern is essentially moot because it is neither. Rather, the Russian political system has been very good at adopting outside influences and using them to perpetuate its own traditional practices.

7. If Western observers are guilty of anything, it’s closer to the opposite of Lieven’s accusation. Over the last decade, many have given Russia too much credit for an ability to change because they’ve looked at Russian policy and institutions from a Western-centric perspective. While some change did indeed seem possible during the Yeltsin years, it has been clear for some time that Russia is going back to its basics — a practice that usually ensues after a period of instability such as the Soviet breakup.

8. Witness the brief furor before it became clear that it would result in nothing — over the arrest earlier this year in New York of former Kremlin household affairs manager Pavel Borodin, accused of accepting bribes from Swiss-based construction firms.

9. The matter instantly shot to the top of Moscow’s agenda. Nationalist Liberal Democratic Party ideologue Alexei Mitrofanov

claimed Pal Palych — as Borodin’s called — should be released because he holds special status. “He knows the wiring in every Kremlin office,” Mitrofanov said in televised comments.

10. Russian prosecutors then backed away from similar claims and toward another line of argument. That case was put forth by “businessman” Sergei Mikhailov, who reasoned that Borodin should be released not because he’s special, but because he’s “one of us.”

11. Mikhailov, known as Mikhas, is notorious as an alleged criminal gang leader, and his stated views would be laughable if they weren’t so widespread. Security Council chief Sergei Ivanov starkly put the matter as an affront to Russian *chest*, or honor. Such remarks are telling. For centuries, honor has been a consideration of utmost importance for Russia’s political elites. Accordingly, Moscow sees Borodin’s arrest not as a matter of rule of law and standard legal procedure. Rather, the controversy is presented as a case of honor, because, as Mikhailov said, Borodin’s “one of us.”

12. Borodin has immunity in Russia because, despite his demotion last year, he’s still an honorary member of the ruling political oligarchy with knowledge of the Kremlin’s dirty secrets. A key member of Yeltsin’s coterie, Borodin was also responsible for bringing President Vladimir Putin to Moscow from St. Petersburg in 1996. If such an important personage can be arrested, then any official with government protection — of which political outsiders such as media magnate Vladimir Gusinsky could only dream — would potentially be under threat. Under those circumstances, questioning Borodin’s innocence is a matter not of burden of proof, but of blasphemy. Borodin is indeed both “special” — as a man with secrets — and “one of us,” one of many oligarchs in Moscow’s kleptocracy.

13. In these myth-spinning times, it’s becoming increasingly wondrous that any dissent is possible at all. That it still is was demonstrated last week when a small group of Muscovites gathered in Pushkin Square to protest the Chechen war. The meeting, the first of its kind in recent times, was not reported on the evening television news shows that night, not even on still-independent NTV.

14. However, some reporters did go to a news conference announcing the event earlier in the week where a reporter for Kommersant, once the country’s most respected newspaper, angrily and loudly denounced a group of human rights advocates for daring to propose immediate negotiations with Chechen leader Aslan Maskhadov. Reporters for

Smi.ru and Ren-TV joined in. “The Chechen disease has to be exorcised,” the Kommersant reporter hissed. “One side had to win.” It’s these kinds of spreading attitudes — in this case, a deliberate antagonism toward dissenters — that sets the country apart from the West, and Lieven fails to acknowledge that.

15. The war in Chechnya and antagonism toward the West are both in part the products of a domestic public relations campaign by politicians exploiting a poverty stricken population smoldering in the anguish of Russia’s post-superpower status.

16. Talk about phobias: Mainstream politicians fan the discontent by routinely calling for the arrest of United States citizens, saying the West in general and the United States in particular are threats to Russian security. But by taking such poses at face value, observers run the risk of failing to understand the political elite’s overarching goal of maintaining its own ascendant status, which comes at the expense of such Western values as individual liberty and freedom of speech.

17. Of late, most of the threats and insults that fly between Moscow and Washington have originated in the former, not the latter. That doesn’t mean the Bush administration should perpetuate old antagonisms by confirming Moscow’s accusations and stooping to counterproductive hard-line displays such as U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld’s recent snubbing of the Security Council’s Ivanov in Munich. Still, that doesn’t answer the larger question.

18. A truly comparative view of Russian history and politics — that Lieven rightly advocates — shows that the West should do a lot more to address the Kremlin’s current behavior.

19. That’s not Russophobia. That’s the promotion of values such as democracy that all Russian citizens deserve to enjoy.

The Moscow Times

Post-reading

Read the text using a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. How do you understand the term *Russophobia*? In the text, find examples with this word.
2. List the differences in the history of Russia and Western Europe.

3. Please describe the Russian political culture as presented by the author.
4. Find in the story the three examples supporting the author's ideas of Russian political culture.
5. What part of the story explains the root of the war in Chechnya and antagonism toward the West?
6. Do you agree that no dissent in Russia is possible at all?
7. Suppose you take part in a political dispute on Russia, would you support Anatol Lieving or Richard Pipes?
8. Does it appeal to you that a reporter for Kommersant denounced a group of human rights advocates for daring to propose immediate negotiations with Aslan Maskhadov? Why?
9. Do you believe that foreigners fail to acknowledge problems similar to Russian ones in their own countries?
10. What did you think when you read that Bush administration developed a harder-line policy toward Russia?

TEXT 4

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the text and give a prognosis on its subject-matter. Write down your ideas.
2. Read the whole story and compare your ideas with the information presented by the author.

COMMUNIST COUP TARGETED GORBACHEV; YELTSIN FOILED IT

1. MOSCOW — It was a sleepy Sunday night, and Moscow had emptied out for the summer. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was away, too, summering on the Black Sea.

2. He was due back in Moscow the next morning to sign a treaty aimed at giving the Soviet republics more say in their political life and heading off their drive for full independence.

3. Gorbachev never returned that Monday, and the next three days would send the Soviet Union into a free-fall from which it did not recover.

4. Silently, throughout the summer, a group of senior Communist Party officials had plotted to seize power in a last-gasp attempt to roll back Gorbachev's reforms and save the Soviet Union from collapse.

5. Backed by senior military, KGB and Interior Ministry officials, they put Gorbachev under house arrest at his Black Sea summer house. Just before dawn on Aug. 19, the radio reported sinister news: a coup.

6. Tanks streamed into Moscow and by midmorning had taken up key positions: near the Kremlin, the mayor's office, the White House where the Russian parliament meets.

7. Boris Yeltsin, the popular Russian Federation president, got the news at his dacha west of Moscow. He quickly drafted an appeal to the Russian people to resist. According to his memoirs, an arrest squad was waiting for him in the woods, but he was able nonetheless to drive into the capital and reach the parliament building.

8. There, he climbed on one of the tanks and read his appeal aloud. By nightfall tens of thousands of people had answered his call. They started building barricades around the parliament. Tension built throughout Tuesday, another hot day, and late that night three young people were killed when soldiers fired on angry crowds surrounding their vehicles.

9. The coup plotters' supporters started backing away. As international condemnation spread, the soldiers appeared increasingly uncertain, and the crowds grew.

10. On Wednesday the tanks withdrew. Some of the coup plotters fled, but all ultimately were arrested. It was over.

11. Gorbachev flew back to Moscow and that Thursday he and Yeltsin addressed the crowds together at the White House.

12. Gorbachev never recovered his political authority. The age of Yeltsin was at hand. Four months later, on Christmas Day 1991, Gorbachev resigned, and the 74-year-old Union of Soviet Socialist Republics disbanded.

THE PLOTTERS: WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

Where Soviet officials implicated in failed August 1991 coup are now (positions at time of coup in parentheses)?

- **Valentin Pavlov** (prime minister) headed commercial bank, later turned to economic research.
- **Dmitry Yazov** (defense minister) is a part-time consultant for Russian Defense Ministry.
- **Vladimir Kryuchkov** (KGB chief) wrote memoir, lives in seclusion.
- **Boris Pugo** (interior minister) killed himself as he was about to be arrested after coup's defeat.
- **Gennady Yanayev** (vice president) wrote book, lives quiet life of pensioner.
- **Oleg Baklaitov** (deputy head of State Defense Committee) works for private bank.
- **Alexander Tizyakov** (president of association of state enterprises) runs private business.
- **Vasily Starodubtsev** (chairman of Soviet Farmers Union) recently won second term as governor of Tula province.
- **Anatoly Lukyanov** (Soviet parliament speaker) heads committee in Russian parliament.
- **Oleg Shenin** (member of Communist Party's Politburo) leads small communist group.
- **Gen. Valentin Varennikov** (first deputy chief of Soviet general staff) served as lawmaker, now heads veterans group.
- **Valery Boldin** (Gorbachev's chief of staff) wrote memoir, retired.

The Denver Post

Post-reading

Read the text with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Identify the purpose of the senior Communist Party officials' plot.
2. What was the first response of Boris Yeltsin to the news?
3. What reaction did the appeal trigger?

4. Read the lines on Gorbachev's resignation.
5. Compare the reactions of Yeltsin and Gorbachev to the coup.
6. Suppose the coup were successful, what would be the next scenario?
7. What would be the consequences of the former Soviet Union survival?
8. Is it right that the age of Yeltsin was at hand?
9. What do you think about the fates of the plotters?
10. Is it right that a handful of Party officials are trying to define the destiny of a big nation?

TEXT 5

Pre-reading

1. Read the headline of the story below and, on its basis, give your prognoses as to:
 - a) the historical events covered in it;
 - b) the periods of Russian history to which the events belong.Write down your ideas.
2. Read the whole story and compare your prognoses with actual facts.

RUSSIA'S FREEDOM A MIX OF WEALTH, PAIN

1. ZVENIGOROD, Russia — Along a road that winds through forests and meadows, wealthy Russians speed to their country mansions in BMWs and SUVs with tinted windows, past men cutting grass with scythes and women sweeping gutters with homemade brooms.

2. Babushkas peddle buckets of potatoes and bundles of firewood by the road to add a few rubles to the family budget.

3. But there are also garden centers offering Japanese maples, lawn chairs and hammocks — the must-haves of today's upwardly mobile Russia.

4. All along the 24 miles of two-lane highway from Moscow to Zvenigorod, garish new villas in red brick clash with tumbledown wooden huts, some built before the 1917 Communist revolution.

5. Russia in the summer of 2001, year 10 of the post-Soviet world, is a panoply of raw consumerism and new wealth jostling with age-old images of ingrained poverty.

6. In a country where communism allocated housing and allowed virtually no travel abroad, billboards along the road trumpet the change.

7. Holidays to Greece. Japanese restaurants. Private schools. Designer clothes. Fitness clubs.

8. It was a decade ago, on Aug. 19, 1991, that Boris Yeltsin hauled his large frame onto a tank, faced down a coup by Communist die-hards and gave the world a defining image of the end of an era.

9. The following Christmas Day, the 74-year-old Union of Soviet Socialist Republics disbanded, and those 15 republics spun off on independent trajectories.

10. The aftershocks are still felt in sputterings of civil war from Chechnya to Central Asia, and in diplomatic corridors from the White House to Beijing.

11. What was once a Communist monolith stretching across 11 time zones is now a jarring patchwork with a thin layer of very rich people, a wide swath of very poor and a vulnerable middle class.

12. It's the opposite of the egalitarian society communism set out to build and a very long way from the prosperous democracy Russia yearns to be.

13. Many look back at the early 1990s as the high point of freedom and civil peace. Already by 1993, Yeltsin had turned to force, sending in the army to bring defiant lawmakers to heel, then into Chechnya to crush a rebellion.

14. Meanwhile, a few bankers and businessmen with government connections became fabulously wealthy. They snapped up villas on the French Riviera and stuffed money in offshore accounts.

15. The rich sent their kids to expensive private schools in Europe, filled their homes with crystal and silverware, hired servants and traveled with armed bodyguards.

16. The new middle class holidayed abroad, updated their wardrobes and renovated their apartments.

17. But few people paid taxes, corruption ran rampant and Western investors were turned off. The state soon ran out of money.

18. Nuclear submarines were shut down because the Defense Ministry couldn't pay its bills. Teachers, doctors and soldiers went unpaid. Pipes burst, factories rusted, winter killed. AIDS, tuberculosis and drug abuse spread.

19. In August 1998, the bubble burst. The ruble was devalued, and thousands lost their money. Banks folded, businesses collapsed and Russia's credit rating sank.

20. Current economic development is uneven. Oil, natural gas and weapons account for most of Russia's exports. Russia doesn't manufacture much that the world needs.

21. The stress has taken its toll, particularly on Russian men. Their life expectancy was 59.8 years in 1999. In the United States it's 74.2. And the population is shrinking — by 3 million since 1993, to 145.6 million.

22. The average monthly wage is 2,200 rubles, or \$78. Pensions are half that.

23. Since succeeding Yeltsin as president in 1999, Vladimir Putin appears to have made some progress. The tax rate has been slashed to 13 percent, most workers appear to be paid on time and Putin is resisting opposition from old-guard communists to badly needed land reform.

24. But Russian liberals worry about their judo-loving president. A former officer of the once-feared KGB secret police, he's accused of hounding opposition media, chided for allowing the new Russian anthem to revert to the melody of the old Soviet one. Human rights advocates say Russian tactics in Chechnya have become even more brutal under Putin.

25. There are many who long for the simple certainties of the Soviet era, when living conditions for all but the Communist elite were about the same.

26. A poll earlier this year by the Public Opinion Foundation said 79 percent of Russians now regret the demise of the Soviet Union, up from 69 percent in 1992.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE PAST DECADE

Events that shaped Russia's history over the past 10 years:

- **Aug. 19–21, 1991:** Hard-liners announce they are replacing Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and declare state of emergency. Boris Yeltsin, president of Russian Federation, rallies resistance; coup collapses. Gorbachev returns, politically weakened; Yeltsin emerges as country's most popular politician.
- **Dec. 8, 1991:** Yeltsin and leaders of Ukraine and Belarus declare formation of new commonwealth.

- **Dec. 25, 1991:** Gorbachev resigns. Soviet Union ceases to exist. Russian flag raised over Kremlin.
- **January 1992:** Price controls lifted. Prices soar. State bank tightens money supply. Cash shortage develops. Inflation rages,
- **Sept. 21—Oct. 4, 1993:** Yeltsin orders disbanding of parliament. Lawmakers vote to impeach Yeltsin, who sends in tanks. About 140 people die in two days of fighting.
- **Dec, 11, 1994:** Russia sends troops into Chechnya to crush republic's independence bid. War brings heavy casualties.
- **July 3, 1996:** Yeltsin re-elected for second term after campaigning hard on promises to prevent Communist comeback.
- **Aug. 18, 1998:** Russia hit by worst economic crisis since Soviet collapse. Ruble plummets, stock prices collapse, banks freeze private accounts.
- **September 1999:** Russia again sends troops into Chechnya.
- **Dec. 31, 1999:** Yeltsin resigns, six months before second presidential term expires, names Prime Minister Vladimir Putin his successor.
- **March 26, 2000:** Putin, former KGB agent, wins presidential election by landslide, popularity driven by aggressive handling of war in Chechnya.

The Denver Post

Post-reading

Read the story again using a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions to the text.

1. Find the paragraphs describing the contrast between the wealthy and the poor in Russia.
2. Recall the author's definition of the early 1990s.
3. Paraphrase the word 'aftershocks'.
4. List the consequences of the former Soviet Union disbanding.
5. What would have happened if there had been no ruble devaluation in August 1998?
6. What are the implications of the economic crisis for the population of Russia?

7. Do you agree that Vladimir Putin has made some progress? Why?
8. In your opinion, do the Russian liberals have any grounds for worry?
9. What do you think about the “equality” of living conditions in the Soviet era? Why?
10. Compare the sentiments of the Russian people in August 1991 and in 2001.

TEXT 6

Pre-reading

1. Name the basic components of corruption. Write your ideas down.
2. Read the story below and compare your ideas with the facts in it.

CLEANING UP RUSSIA’S CULTURE OF CORRUPTION

Putin targeting all who “feed off” small business

1. MOSCOW — Dmitri Velichkin is just the kind of entrepreneur that experts say is key to Russia’s economic salvation. In the past five years, he transformed a run-down pavilion that once heralded the feats of Soviet workers into a computer and digital technology business that employed more than 100 people. That is, he *was* that kind of entrepreneur. Then he ran afoul of the police. Velichkin, 40, said that after he refused to pay a police major a \$20,000 bribe in March, the major and three other officers returned with a group of men and took six truckloads worth of computers and computer parts from his storeroom. That was the last he saw of inventory worth \$100,000, he said — and probably the last of his business, at least for now. “Entrepreneurs are not forgiven for such things in Russia,” said Velichkin, who managed to get the police major fired but has not been able to retrieve his goods. “Entrepreneurs are expected to pay and to beg. I’ve been in business for 10 years, and I simply got tired of paying.”

2. Suddenly, the Kremlin also seems tired of business being done under the table. As part of his campaign to reform Russia’s economy.

President Vladimir Putin has declared that corrupt and overlapping bureaucracy is choking the growth of small businesses, which breathed life into other post-communist economies. "Our hope that small business would become the engine of reform and would take its proper place in the economy has not yet come to pass," Putin said earlier this month. He laid the blame squarely on the government, especially on permit-givers, inspectors and regulators "who feed off small business at every stage of its development" and who limit the growth of businesses by "constant extortions."

3. The Kremlin is also worried about other obstacles to small businesses, including high taxes and banks that run oil companies but don't make loans. This year Putin pushed through parliament most of a plan to create a Western-style banking system, although experts question how quickly or vigorously the new rules will be enforced. Putin's finance minister, Alexei Kudrin, also promises new tax measures to help small business. But Putin's biggest challenge, small-business experts say, will be to alter the culture of corruption. Alexander Ioffe, who co-chairs a small-business lobby group, said most small and medium-size businesses pay bribes in one form or another. Instead of simply handing over envelopes of cash, though, they might now be instructed to buy fire extinguishers from a certain firm, or hire a particular company for advice on sanitation control, he said.

4. "There is essentially a state racket at work," said Ioffe, of the Russian Entrepreneurial Organization's Union and who with other lobbyists discussed the problems of small businesses with Putin earlier this month. "The president has sent a signal that the attitude of the government is changing," he said. "But what lies ahead will be very difficult, very painstaking work because it will mean depriving officials who are financially doing pretty well." At issue, many say, is nothing less than the future of the Russian economy. In Poland and Hungary, entrepreneurs rushed to fill the void left when the communist system of state-owned factories and centrally run economics collapsed. Russia was different: Entire industries, from oil fields to nickel mines, passed almost seamlessly from the state into the hands of relatively few barons.

5. The barons have the political muscle to cut through a smothering state bureaucracy. Russia's small-business owners, on the other hand, are at its mercy. Putin's economic adviser, Andrei Illarionov, recently held up a chart on national television depicting the more than 500 steps that are legally required to start a business here. Hundreds more agencies then regulate almost every aspect of business life, he said.

Each step in the bureaucratic chain presents an opportunity to extract a fee, a gift or a gratuity from a businessman or woman whose existence depends on government approval.

6. According to government statistics, Russia has fewer small businesses than it had in 1994. That is no doubt an exaggeration, because many businesses hide their existence to avoid taxes. But financial experts say it is nonetheless true that a far smaller percentage of Russia's population is employed in small to medium-size businesses than in Western countries. Alexei Moisseev, a financial analyst for the Renaissance Capital brokerage house, said about 17 percent of Russians work in small business, compared with 54 percent of Americans. Putin calls the state of Russian small business "alarming." Yuri Perepelkin co-owns a Moscow sauna that is so busy that people must make weekend appointments several days in advance. The sauna is open 24 hours a day, advertises on cable television and takes in about \$5,500 a month.

7. On paper, though, it is simply a private sauna for other workers in the building, operated by an employee named Perepelkin. The building owner doesn't want Perepelkin to operate officially because the owner would have to follow suit — and that would mean paying taxes on the rent he collects, Perepelkin said. The tax inspectors apparently haven't caught on yet, but police officers and fire inspectors make regular visits. It's a rare day, said Perepelkin, when the police don't reserve a few free hours at the sauna. He estimates their visits cost his business \$200 to \$350 a week, depending on how long they stay. The fire inspector comes less often and is more easily dispatched. When he showed up last summer, Perepelkin said, his partner whisked him into his office and gave him \$200. "Everything was settled in a matter of minutes," said Perepelkin.

8. Christian Courbois, an American who runs an express mail service in St. Petersburg, said he does not pay bribes — at least not what he calls bribes. He does pay, he acknowledges, "fines" that go to certain people. And he pays the police department \$200 a month to protect his firm from criminals. The firm is equipped with an alarm system, and the police are supposed to come in three minutes if he pushes the panic button. "If you look at it from a Western point of view, you should never have to pay the police to get protection from criminals," he said. "But they've created a whole system to get money out of you, and you don't have a choice."

9. The owner of a toy factory outside Moscow said he once kept a lawyer on staff to negotiate such deals. Then he decided he was a

better bargainer himself. Sergei, who asked that his last name not be used, said he gave a sanitation inspector about \$200 for a tool that measures air quality, but asked him not to show up again for at least 12 months. He gave the fire inspector \$330 to host a dinner for his boss, with the same proviso. A criminal gang that offered protection extorted the most money. Sergei said he gave them \$1,000 a month for eight years until he paid people in the government to get rid of them. In the end, though, Sergei said he saves money through graft. Even if he tried to insist on aboveboard dealings, he said, “I would still have to pay. You cannot escape without payment.”

10. This is what everyone tells Velichkin, the owner of the computer business. He would have been better off giving the police the \$20,000 they demanded than to risk his entire business, which has annual sales of \$8 million to \$10 million.

11. Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov has apparently taken the side of the police. An article published this month in the mayor’s office newspaper said that Velichkin’s inventory was seized because he was selling unlicensed goods. The article accused Velichkin of slandering and threatening honest police officers. But the local prosecutor seems to have sided with Velichkin. He refused to charge the businessman with a crime and instead began a criminal inquiry into the actions of the police. In addition to the police major who was fired, three officers were demoted or disciplined. Nonetheless, Velichkin is all but out of business. His staff of more than 100 is down to seven people, all of whom work on his legal complaints. He figures his business lost about a half-million dollars. Only a fifth of the equipment the police seized is still in the government’s warehouse. The rest of it was stolen, according to both Velichkin and the police. What he has salvaged, by standing up to his extorters, is his pride, Velichkin said. “I am not afraid of being poor,” he said. “I am afraid of not having respect for myself, of no longer being proud of what I am doing in life.”

Washington Post

Post-reading

Read the text again with a dictionary, for detailed comprehension. Do the following tasks and answer the questions.

1. Identify the key facts of this story.
2. What does the expression “the culture of corruption” mean, in your opinion?

3. Compare the situation in small business in Russia and in the United States.
4. Summarize the obstacles to small business in this country, on the basis of the story.
5. What might have happened if all businessmen refused to pay fines and bribes?
6. Why is state bureaucracy so powerful in Russia ?
7. Do you agree with President Putin's economic strategy?
8. In your opinion, is it possible to create a Western-style banking system in Russia?
9. Do you know anyone like Dmitri Velichkin? What would you do being in the same situation?
10. What did you feel when you read about business problems of Russia in a foreign source?

Use the materials of Unit III and the Internet sources to write a *project* (in a team or individually) for a comparative analysis of current political, economic and cultural situation in Russia with that of the 1990's and early 2000s. Discuss it in class.

Write similar team or individual *projects* on the basis of the materials, studied in Unit I and Unit II. Involve current Internet sources for relevant comparison. Discuss your projects at a mock conference.

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