

Political Science English Reader

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II year

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2013

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1.1 Look at the news cycle picture and discuss with your partners the role of news in the age of the internet. Take some notes here:

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Notes:

What kinds of news are most important to society? Which are least important?

Manchester beats Cardiff 5 to nil	“It’s a boy!!!”
Teen crime on the rise	Interest rates to rise as economy recovers
New great depression	Local roads in bad conditions
Headless body found in bar Sickening day for justice	Apple managers confirm: new iPhone soon
Mars rover to be deactivated	Miller wins in close race
Prime Minister: “We will restore faith into Britain”	Five held hostage in violent rampage Disaster on construction site
Hero fire man still in critical condition	Parents distrust new school policies
Stock markets in an uproar	Obama’s tribute to Bush
Mother of five wins the lottery	Man kills wife in fury
Ancient skeleton found in China	Earthquake in Haiti
Experts: Vegetarians live longer	Outrageous: Gucci copies Prada
Lion eats zookeeper	Fatherhood is bliss
“And the Oscar goes to...”	Crisis to hit European banks

1.2 News Sources

	broad-sheet	tabloid	supple-ment	journal	maga-zine	news-letter
intended audience						
main content						
publication dates						
format, layout						
quality, reputation						
advantages						
disadvantages						

	blog	pod-cast	Twitter	TV	radio	Digg
intended audience						
main content						
publication dates						
format, layout						
quality, reputation						
advantages						
disadvantages						

What does it mean to be a “citizen journalist”?



1.3 Tabloid tactics



By Brendan O'Neill

How does a reporter get a **scoop**? Nurturing contacts, wearing out shoe leather, poring over documents. And for some, the toolkit may include phone hacking, honeytraps and covert recording.

When the News of the World's royal reporter Clive Goodman was jailed in 2007 for illegally hacking into royals' mobile phones, his bosses emphasised that this was a one-off.



The Sunday tabloid is a past winner of Newspaper of the Year awards

But the Guardian says such tactics are common at the Sunday tabloid, and claims its journalists routinely employ private investigators to hack into the mobile phone voicemails of hundreds of politicians, celebrities

and sportspeople. It also claims reporters on other papers, among them the Daily Mail and the Observer, employ private investigators to obtain information about private phone numbers and addresses.

For the tabloids, and sometimes the broadsheets too, have long used various tricks to find a fact or uncover a story.

And for some, these dark arts - dressing up, following people, eavesdropping, **fibbing** - add a frisson of John Grisham-style excitement to the job.

A former reporter on one of the red-top papers - who wishes to remain anonymous - says it can certainly be thrilling.

He followed public figures for days on end, eavesdropped on their conversations, even booked himself into adjacent hotel rooms. "There was a thrill, of course. It felt dangerous. You could be sniffed out at any moment."

He remembers how 10 years ago, tabloid reporters paid for the illegally obtained phone bills of the famous, in order to see who they were talking to - an early, lower-technology version of hacking into their phones.

"But then I thought: what am I doing? I didn't get into journalism for this. It started to get silly."

Tessa Mayes, who has worked as an investigative journalist for newspapers and TV shows, says editors have asked her to flirt to win someone's confidence, lie in order to penetrate the **inner sanctum** of a drugs gang, and fake documents in order to get work in a company under investigation. She has also worked undercover as a receptionist in a brothel.

"If I had said no, I wouldn't have got to work on those stories. It's not unknown for journalists to sleep with their sources in order to meet a deadline. As it happens I haven't needed or wanted to do that."

Sting in the tale

Laurie Manifold, a former investigations editor for the People who is described by media commentator Roy Greenslade as “the father of modern popular paper investigative journalism”, pioneered the use of **subterfuge** in the 1960s and 70s.

He trained his reporters in covert tape-recording techniques and would even set up fake companies to carry out stings.

One of Manifold’s most famous stories was the revelation in 1972 that the then head of the Flying Squad, Commander Kenneth Drury, had been on holiday with a pornographer. The story ballooned and led to revelations of corruption in the police force. Ninety officers were suspended and 13 were convicted of offences.

One of the most frequently employed dark arts is the **sting**, where a reporter assumes a fake identity in order to **coax** or **cajole** a public figure into saying something interesting or incriminating.

The most famous is the News of the World’s own “fake sheikh”, Mazher Mahmood, its investigations editor. He has regularly posed as a member of the House of Saud, donning a white robe and Rolex watch to meet public figures and secretly record what they say.

Over the past 10 years he has taken in Sophie Wessex (who described Cherie Blair as “horrid” and Gordon Brown’s Budget as “a load of pap”), Princess Michael of Kent (who labelled Princess Diana “nasty” and “strange”), and Newcastle United chiefs Freddy Shepherd and Douglas Hall (who described footballer Alan Shearer as “boring”).

He also claims to have brought 232 criminals to justice - including arms dealers and immigration racketeers - by conning them with his disguise.

In disguise

In 2003, Daily Mirror reporter Ryan Parry used false references to get a job as a footman in Buckingham Palace. His aim was to uncover **security lapses** at the Palace in the run-up to President George W Bush’s visit.

He revealed details of the President's bedroom as well as the Queen's breakfast habits. Eventually the Queen won a court order preventing the Mirror from revealing any more.

And it is widely claimed that in 1994 Rebekah Wade - then a News of the World reporter, now editor of the Sun - dressed as a cleaner and hid in a toilet for two hours in order to nab an early copy of the Sunday Times. The Sunday Times, housed in the same building as the News of the World, was serialising a biography of Prince Charles, and NoTW editor Piers Morgan wanted to know what it said. John Witherow, editor of the Sunday Times, is alleged to have shouted at Morgan: "Theft isn't journalism."

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, a character call "Benji the Binman" - real name: Benjamin Pell - would scour the bins of the rich and famous for anything interesting that a newspaper might buy. He caused a storm with Elton John's flower receipts. In 2000 Philip Gould, Tony Blair's then pollster, suspected Benji of obtaining his discarded memos for papers such as the Times and the Sunday Times.

Are such dark arts - whether illegal or not - justified? "These were important stories, so it was worth it," says Tessa Mayes. "Investigative journalists sometimes need to break the rules, and even the law, in order to get a good story.

"We are not above the law and can go to prison. But even the law recognises journalists can have a public interest defence to justify their methods in certain situations."

2.1 Youth crime commissioner Paris Brown stands down over Twitter row



Paris Brown announcing that she will stand down from her role as youth crime commissioner after a row over her Twitter messages. Photograph: Gareth Fuller/PA

Britain's first youth crime commissioner resigned from the £15,000-a-year **post** today, less than a week after her **appointment** was announced because of a row over her Twitter postings.

Paris Brown 17, from Sheerness in Kent, said bravado had led to her statements on Twitter, which had **offended** many people. She said she was resigning from her post as the youth police and crime commissioner for Kent after police announced they were investigating whether her comments amounted to a criminal offence.

Critics claimed the comments were racist, homophobic and **condoned** violence and drug-taking. Brown pleaded to be left alone now that she was **standing down**.

Ann Barnes, the police and crime commissioner for Kent, admitted the tweets of her chief youth aide had not been **vetted** before the appointment, but said the role, which had been one of her main manifesto commitments, was a good idea and she would look for another candidate.

In her statement, Brown said: "I accept that I have made comments on social networking sites which have offended many people. I am really sorry for any offence caused.

"I strongly reiterate that I am not racist or homophobic. I have fallen into the trap of behaving with bravado on social networking sites. I hope this may stand as a learning experience for many other young people.

"I now feel that in the interests of everyone concerned - in particular the young people of Kent who I feel will benefit enormously from the role of a youth commissioner - that I should stand down as I feel that the recent media furore will continue and **hamper** my ability to perform the job to the level required.

"I ask for the time and space to recover from what has been a very difficult time and to allow me to move on."

The tweets, posted when Brown was aged 14 to 16, have now been deleted from her Twitter account.

Barnes said the idea of a youth crime commissioner was a good one "to reduce the gap between younger people and the authorities, particularly the police".

Barnes said: "I was not recruiting an angel, and I was not recruiting a police officer. I was recruiting a young person, **warts and all**. I think it would have been absolutely impossible to have found a young person who had not made a silly, foolish or even perhaps a deeply offensive comment during their short lifetime.

"I'm sure everyone has said or written something they regret - I certainly have. Unfortunately, today we live in an internet world where many people **air** their **views** in the **public domain**."

Barnes praised Brown as “an extraordinary young person with exceptional skills and a proven **track record** with working with young people” who had “turned down the position of a lifetime”.

The vetting of Brown had followed normal police procedures, Barnes said, but had not covered the teenager’s social media contributions: “We used Kent police’s vetting procedures, which do not normally involve **scrutiny** of social networks for this grade of post.”

Barnes, who said she would not be quitting her role as police and crime commissioner, said Brown had impressed the interview panel, which included a former chief constable and a serving officer: “We worked with the best of intentions but, sadly on this occasion, it hasn’t worked out.”

Barnes said the media should not put **intolerable** pressure on the 17-year-old, whom she praised for facing the cameras after the furore broke: “It is their job to break stories. However, particularly in the shadow of Leveson [the report into media abuses], I do not believe it is their job to break people - particularly when they as young as Paris.”

Barnes is now advertising for a chief of staff. Applicants **may be wise to** check their social media writings before applying.

Vocabulary (match the terms to their definitions on the right)

condone	withdraw or resign from a position
vet	accept and allow behaviour that is considered offensive
hamper	including features or qualities that are not attractive
stand down	make a careful examination of something
warts and all	hinder or impede the movement or progress of

2.2 Manning given 35 years for leaks

A military court in the US has sentenced Bradley Manning, the former intelligence analyst who leaked hundreds of thousands of documents to Wikileaks, to 35 years in prison. The judge at the court martial in Fort Meade also ruled he should be dishonourably discharged from the US army. The BBC's Rajini Vaidyanathan **reports**.

Bradley Manning showed little emotion when his sentence was read out, as some of his supporters in the room **burst into tears**. The former intelligence analyst was convicted last month of 20 **counts** including espionage, computer fraud and theft, after leaking more than 700,000 classified government documents, military battle plans and diplomatic cables to the Wikileaks website.

Bradley Manning's lawyer David Coombs said his client was a **whistleblower** who was exposing truths about US foreign policy, and called on President Obama to **pardon** him. He said Bradley Manning could be **eligible for parole** in as little as seven years.

The sentence will be a disappointment for military **prosecutors** acting on behalf of the US government, who argued the leaks threatened national security and pushed for a minimum sentence of 60 years to act as a **deterrent** to others.

words	definitions
leak	intentionally disclose
counts	particular crimes a person is accused of
whistleblower	person who works in an organisation and informs an authority about illegal or dishonest activity
pardon	official forgiveness and end to punishment for a crime
eligible for parole	allowed to be considered for early release from prison, depending on good behaviour
deterrent	discouragement

2.3 Wikileaks soldier reveals why he shared secrets

The US soldier accused of giving large numbers of secret documents to Wikileaks has admitted he is guilty to 10 of the 22 charges against him. But as Steve Kingstone reports from Washington, he denied a more serious charge of aiding the enemy.

We now have a **first-hand account** of what **compelled** Bradley Manning to carry out the biggest **leak** of government secrets in American history.

He told the military court he'd been appalled by the "**bloodlust**" of a helicopter mission in Iraq - video of which he passed on to Wikileaks. He said that while serving in Iraq, he'd become depressed at what he called America's "obsession" with capturing and killing human targets. And that the American people should know the "true costs of war".

As for the leaked State Department **cables**, Private Manning said they "documented backdoor deals and criminality" **unbecoming** of a superpower, and insisted his conscience was clear.

The military judge accepted the defendant's **plea** of guilty to 10 of the 22 counts. But Bradley Manning denies the most serious charge of aiding America's enemies - a charge which potentially carries a **life sentence**. Prosecutors have indicated that they plan to **push ahead** with a full **court martial** in the summer.

first-hand account	a written or spoken report about something given by somebody who was involved
compelled	forced, caused
leak	release and deliberate sharing of secret information with the public
bloodlust	the enjoyment of and desire to see violence
cables	messages sent by cable (a length of wire, often covered with plastic)
backdoor	secretive and often dishonest or illegal
unbecoming	inappropriate or unacceptable (of behaviour)

plea	statement given in court in response to being accused of a crime
life sentence	punishment of being put in jail for a long time or until death, depending on the laws of the country
push ahead with	continue doing something difficult or unpleasant
court martial	(a trial in) a military court which examines accusations against members of the armed forces

Background story: Bradley Manning's disrupted family life

BBC News Magazine

The trial of Bradley Manning has cast light on how he came to leak thousands of classified documents, and on his troubled childhood in a family splintered by divorce and alcoholism.

Susan Manning liked vodka - it was easier to hide. "If you put vodka in certain drinks, you can't really smell it," said her daughter, Casey Major, in a courtroom in Fort Meade, Maryland, last week. She also liked rum and beer - and, really, whatever was in the house. When she got pregnant for the second time, friends and family had mixed feelings. One relative, Debra Van Alstyne, testifying in court, said: "At first I said, 'Oh great.' Then I thought, 'Oh no.'"

At the time, Major was 11. Sitting in the witness stand, Major, now 36 and a homemaker who lives in Oklahoma City, counted on her fingers - adding up the weeks that her mother was pregnant - and drinking. She put her hands in her lap.

"At least through the first trimester," she said. Her brother weighed about 6lb (2.7kg) when he was born.

Pte First Class Bradley Manning, 25, showed signs of foetal alcohol syndrome, said Capt David Moulton, a clinical psychiatrist, who testified in court that day. Moulton described Manning's facial features that characterised the syndrome, such as his smooth, thin upper lip, and looked over at him in the courtroom.

Manning has been found guilty of 20 charges, including multiple counts of espionage, theft of government data and computer fraud. He will be demoted to E1, a lower rank of private and the lowest rank in the military.

On Tuesday he was sentenced to 35 years, significantly less than the 90 that he could have spent in prison.

It is not clear to what extent, if any, the testimony about his upbringing affected the decision of the military judge, Denise Lind.

By then, she may have had a good idea what she planned to do. As retired military judge Gary Solis explained, she had already "heard the facts and the arguments from both sides".

Nevertheless, the stories about his upbringing leave an impression.

And regardless of the impact they may have had on the judge, this testimony helps to flesh out Manning's story, revealing what his childhood and adolescence in Oklahoma and Wales were like.

His mother naturally played a role in shaping him during those years. The descriptions of her life and her role as a parent help to show how he became the person he is today - for some, a traitor; to others, a hero. Whether he is seen as cowardly or courageous, he is known around the world. For most of the controversy over the past three years, however, his mother has remained off stage.

Susan Manning, 59, who lives in Wales, gave an interview to the Daily Mail earlier this month, but otherwise has said little or nothing to journalists.

Efforts to reach her through friends and family for this article have been unsuccessful.

For Tim Price, author of *The Radicalisation of Bradley Manning*, who has had tea at her house, she is "just a Welsh mum who loves her children very much".

This was not the picture painted of her in the courtroom.

Susan Fox, as she was known before her marriage, is from Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, in south-west Wales. She grew up with eight brothers and sisters. In the 1970s, Brian Manning, a US Navy man, was stationed at nearby Cawdor Barracks.

One day in the early to mid-1970s, she was shopping at Woolworths and met Brian. They fell for each other and eventually decided to move to the US.

She had grown up in a noisy, crowded house and lived near cousins and other relatives in Wales. Suddenly she found herself in rural Oklahoma, with no close family, and in many ways cut off from the world around her.

Brian Manning worked as a project manager for Hertz, and they lived on five acres of land outside Crescent, a town in Logan County. They had a pond, a swing, two horses and a dog, recalled Major in court.

The nearest neighbour lived a quarter of a mile away, and her mother did not know how to drive.

In addition, it is not clear if she was fully literate. "I know she can read," said Major. "I'm not too sure about the writing part."

She talked with friends and family on the phone - and drank. When she was pregnant, she continued to drink, "but not as much", said Major. After her son was born, she went back to her routine.

She was "very friendly" when she started drinking in the middle of the day, her daughter recalled. "As the evening wore on, she would become sad. She would drink until she passed out or went to bed. In the morning she was mean, very mean. She would yell from the other room to get her cigarettes or to make her a cup of tea."

Major took care of her brother when he was a baby, bringing him milk at night when he cried. Her mother did not get up.

As Major testified about their childhood, her brother's face, marked with pimples, was expressionless. He fiddled with a ballpoint pen, his hands bony and pale.

Bradley had been a "happy kid", she told the court. "He had little trucks that he played with in the dirt."

As a photo of him as a child was shown on an overhead screen, a smile flickered across his face. He clicked his pen. Major choked up and reached for a tissue.

Their parents' marriage started to crumble in the 1990s, and one night her mother hit a low point.

"My mom took a full bottle of Valium and then she woke me up in the middle of the night and told me she had done it to kill herself," Major said.

She called 911 and was told it would take too long for the ambulance to arrive. She helped her mother into the back seat of the car and told her father to sit with her and make sure she was breathing. He climbed in the front.

"Unfortunately my 12-year-old brother had to get in the back and make sure our mother was still alive," she said.

The couple separated in 2000, and afterwards their mother moved back to Haverfordwest with her son.

Manning joined the US Army in 2007 and was sent to Iraq, where he floundered.

At one point, he was found on the floor of a supply room, "curled up in a ball with a Gerber knife", said Moulton. In May 2010, he released the classified material to Wikileaks and was arrested.

Two years ago, his mother sent a letter to UK Foreign Secretary William Hague, asking consular officials to visit him in a military jail in the US. In her letter, she said she had travelled to Quantico, Virginia, to see him. During the sentencing hearings last week, however, she was not in court.

3.1 Croatia enters the European Union (1 July 2013)

Match the words to their definitions:

the promised land	financial success / having lots of money
a diplomatic fig-leaf	official song of a particular country or organisation
an ode to joy	having positive and negative feelings at the same time
ambivalence	battleground during war
anthem	a place where people expect to find complete happiness
prosperity	a political idea or action that covers up an embarrassing issue
combat zone	a song about happiness (also, the title of the European Union anthem)

Use the words from the table above to complete the text

The European Union now has 28 member states. Croatia officially joined on Monday after a process that lasted almost a decade. Thousands of people attended a special event in the capital Zagreb to mark the occasion. But the new era has been greeted cautiously by both locals and foreign officials.

Guy De Launey reports for the BBC:

As the clock struck midnight, the _____ of the European Union rang out across Zagreb's main square and at last Croatia completed its journey from _____ of the former Yugoslavia to member of Europe's biggest club.

But this was not entirely _____. Zagreb's main square was hardly packed for most of the coming-out party. And that reflects the _____ many people here now feel about membership. After

the prolonged economic crisis, the EU no longer looks like the _____ Croatia applied to join a decade ago.

Likewise, the new member's own economic troubles have caused concern among the other 27 states. Visiting foreign ministers stressed the EU's role as a builder of peace rather than _____. A good point, bearing in mind Croatia's recent past. But also, perhaps, a _____.

Your Notes:

3.2 Turkey protests

Turkish protesters have clashed with police in Istanbul overnight, in some of the worst violence since protests started on Friday. BBC correspondent James Reynolds reports:

The **demonstrations** overnight in Istanbul were the most **dramatic** so far. Protesters in the Dolmabahce neighbourhoods built **barricades** and tried to reach the prime minister's office.

Witnesses say they got hold of a **digger** and drove it at police lines. Demonstrators also tried to march on the prime minister's office in the capital Ankara. They were met by the police who fired **tear gas** and water cannon.

The government has reacted angrily to the continuing protests. The prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has dismissed accusations that he acts in an **authoritarian** manner.

Erdogan has insisted that a **controversial** plan to **redevelop** Gezi Park in Istanbul, the issue which **sparked** the initial protests on Friday, will still go ahead.

words	definitions
demonstrations	public protests
barricades	structures which stop movement through an area or a road
tear gas	gas that makes eyes uncomfortable and people cry; often used by police in riots to control crowds
authoritarian	describes a government where individual freedom is second to the power or authority of the state
redevelop	to improve a building or area, which may include bringing parts of it back to their original condition
sparked	started; caused to start

3.3 Tear gas guidelines not the public's business

Police Guidelines regulating the use of tear gas in protest interventions, particularly the instructions received by police during the Gezi Park unrest, are not open to the public as the issue only concerns the police's own staff, the Turkish police authorities have stated.

A demand submitted by the Hurriyet Daily News on July 18 to access the "Gas Circular," a critical guideline used by the police at the Gezi protests, which was also used as evidence in a European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) decision, was rejected on Aug. 21. The rejection was based on the grounds that it is "beyond the scope of right to information."

The "Gas Circular," dated Feb. 15, 2008 ("EGM Genelge No: 19"), was sent to all security services by the Interior Ministry, whose circulars are usually open to public. It was also provided to the ECtHR to strengthen Turkey's position in the "Yasa vs. Turkey" case referred to the court, in which Turkey was later found guilty. The guideline is known to have been valid during the peak of the Gezi protests, and the Interior Ministry published a renewed guideline on June 27.

"In line with Article 25 of the Law on Information stating that 'Information and documents of institutions and organizations about regulations that do not concern the public opinion and are only about practices for its own staff and institution, is outside the scope of right to information. However, the institution in question reserves the right to inform its own staff who are affected by the regulation,' your demand on the 'Gas Circular' dated Feb. 15, 2008 has not been met," the police department's answer to the HDN read.

Yusuf Alataş, a veteran lawyer who has represented clients at the ECtHR on many occasions, stated that keeping the guidelines from the public eye was not lawful.

"Normally, such circulars cannot be closed to public. This is not a state secret. The practices of the police, how the police are instructed, and how tear gas will be used, must be known, so that civil society organizations and the people are aware of the limits while exercising freedoms. It is a right to know after which point the actions of the police are against the law," Alataş told the HDN on Aug. 22.

“These are orders about how the police will act when confronted by the people. In particular, it is everybody’s right to know how and under which circumstances they can use this substance, which is very harmful to human health. This is not ‘internal business,’” he added.

“These things are hidden from public opinion. If they weren’t, it would be easier for everybody to know under which circumstances the police can use gas, and to criticize the actions of the police. They [the police] do not want people to substantiate [their criticism] with official documents” Alataş said.

Despite the fact that such a circular served in Turkey’s advantage during the Yasa vs. Turkey case, and despite the fact it is not very different from the more recent circular that was widely reported by the media in light of sections published by the ECtHR, the police department chose not to disclose the document.

“We have a habit, which is to see oneself above the people and not to inform while governing. A reflex of rejection,” Alataş said.

According to the ECtHR case file, among other instructions, the latest police guideline states the following: “Before using tear gas, the crowd must be notified aloud that in the event of non-dispersion, tear gas will be resorted to. Tear gas cannot be fired targeting the human body. Tear gas, under no circumstances, can be used against those who prevented resistance or aggression. In addition, the escape routes of people affected by the gas should not be blocked. If escape routes are blocked, the crowd may become more aggressive.”

<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/tear-gas-guidelines-not-the-publics-business-police.aspx?PageID=238&NID=53056&NewsCatID=341>

3.4 Switzerland limits immigration

Switzerland is to restrict immigration from European Union member states. It will introduce new **quotas** and limit long-term work permits available to EU citizens. Although Switzerland is not a member of the European Union, some EU officials have already criticised the move. BBC correspondent Imogen Foulkes reports:

Switzerland's high salaries, low unemployment, and stable currency are a magnet to Eurozone countries. Since the Swiss agreed to free movement of people, immigration from EU members has risen sharply, especially from Spain and Portugal, where unemployment is at crisis levels.

In Switzerland, there is tension. The right wing People's Party claims Swiss jobseekers are losing out; the Green Party says immigration is putting too much pressure on housing and public transport. Now the Swiss government has called a halt: being outside the EU means Switzerland has some flexibility, and from next month permanent work permits for EU citizens will be strictly limited.

Brussels has reacted angrily: EU officials have always told Switzerland it cannot **cherry pick** only those parts of European policy it likes best. Now, its possible other deals the Swiss really need with Europe, on trade perhaps, could be in danger. Meanwhile, sceptical members of the European Union, like Britain, where many would like a less rigid relationship with the EU, will be watching Switzerland's move with interest.

Eurozone countries	sixteen nations which use the Euro as their currency
immigration	the permanent movement of non-native people into a country
called a halt	put a stop to it
work permits	written certificates allowing someone to work in a country
cherry pick	here: choose only the things that it likes
sceptical (US: skeptical)	lacking trust or confidence in something

Figures

The limits on the eight newer EU member states were first introduced last year. From 1 May, the number of long-term residence permits granted to immigrants from those countries will be capped at a total of 2,180 for 12 months. The states concerned are Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and the Czech Republic. From the same date, long-term residence permits for the 17 older EU states will be capped at 53,700 for 12 months. Immigration to Switzerland from Bulgaria and Romania - the two newest EU states - is severely restricted, and may remain so for years to come.

Statement by Catherine Ashton

In a statement from her office, EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton said the new quotas disregarded "the great benefits that the free movement of persons brings to the citizens of both Switzerland and the EU".

Explain the following terms from the text in English:

English	definition	SCBM
refugee		
persecution		
asylum		
immigrant		
emigrant		
migrant		
forcibly displaced		

4.1 Refugees and asylum seekers

Since 1951, the word ‘**refugee**’ has had a precise meaning in international law, under the Geneva Convention of that year. An applicant for refugee status must be outside his or her own country, have a well-founded **fear of persecution** there **on grounds of** race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, and be unable to return home.

Once admitted with refugee status, a person has the right not to be sent back to their former country. Refugees have other important rights, too, including rights of access to education, health treatment and housing.

An ‘asylum seeker’ is a person who has lodged a claim for asylum (protection from danger) and is awaiting a decision. Some ask for asylum immediately on arrival (which they have to do if they are to

qualify for benefits), but others, fearing instant refusal, may enter as visitors or students, hoping to change their status later.

Worldwide, the number of people seeking refuge from danger has increased enormously over the last 25 years, from about 16 million in 1980 to over 200 million in 2006. Some 40 million have been forcibly **displaced**. Many do not satisfy the Geneva Convention's rules for seeking asylum; they are often fleeing civil wars, failed states, or environmental crises such as floods or droughts. Most refugees are from poor countries experiencing conflict and abuse of human rights, and most are admitted by other poor countries. Attitudes hostile to refugees and asylum-seekers influence the general public and are difficult to counter.

4.2 Migrants, emigrants and immigrants

A **migrant** is a person who moves from one country to another, intending to settle temporarily or permanently in the place of destination. An **emigrant** is one who leaves a country intending to settle elsewhere, while an immigrant is a person arriving in a country, intending to settle temporarily or permanently.

4.3 Social exclusion

People are excluded when they are not part of the networks which support most people in ordinary life - networks of family, friends, community and employment. Among many others, poor people, ex-prisoners, homeless people, people with AIDS, people with learning disabilities or psychiatric patients might all be said to be at risk of exclusion. This is a very broad concept: it includes not only **deprivation** but problems of social relationships, including **stigma**, social isolation and failures in social protection .

In practice, the idea of exclusion is mainly used in three contexts. The first is financial: exclusion is identified with poverty and its effect on a person's ability to participate in normal activities. The second is exclusion from the labour market: exclusion is strongly identified with long-term unemployment. Third, there is exclusion in its social sense, which identifies exclusion partly with alienation from social networks, and partly with the circumstances of stigmatised groups.

4.4 Read the description of lives of two refugees. Answer the questions:

- 1 - Why did they have to flee their native country?
- 2 - How did they get to Britain?
- 3 - Who helped them to settle in the new country?

Ali is a 22-year-old youth worker with asylum seekers.

“The bad times started in January 2002. My brother had joined the Liberation Army and the police were searching for him. They took me to the police station and asked me to tell them where he was. They didn't give me any food for three days, just water. They slapped me, hit me, punched me in the head. After eight days they let me go.

I hid for more than a year, until March 2003. The police and army were killing people so I decided to get out.

I walked for nearly two days with a lot of other people to the border. We had to cross late at night when the army weren't around. I had some money that my father and my uncle had given to me in 2002, and I used this to pay an agent. I didn't know him at all. I just met him in the night. I was afraid, thinking I might lose my money.

I had to pay him about 5,000 Euros and he arranged for me to get into a lorry. I didn't know where it was going. The agent just told me: ‘This will get you out; it may go to Switzerland, Germany or somewhere else.’

We were in the lorry for maybe four days. They were difficult, horrible days. I was tired, scared and didn't sleep at all.

The next place I saw was London. The lorry had stopped at a factory. It must have been about 4 or 5 am and about two or three hours passed. When it didn't move, I thought: Maybe this is it, the final destination. I opened the canvas a little and looked out. I didn't know where I was.

I was the first one to leave the lorry, as most people were sleeping. I saw some people, a girl and a man with high shoes and strange clothes. They must have come from some club or something, because their hair was sticking up, and they had lots of rings in their ears. My god, I thought, I am on another planet.

I was scared to ask them where I was, but there was no one else. I couldn't speak English so I asked by pointing, saying 'Where is this? Where I am?' They said, 'This is England, London.' I was amazed. And then I asked for the train station. 'Train, train,' I said, just like that. A man in a tie and suit told me to go with him because he was going to London.

I was very lucky. They gave me the address of a solicitor. I went there, and the next day he took me to the Home Office. The Home Office sent me to the Refugee Council who were very kind to me.

They found accommodation for me in a hostel. It wasn't very good, but I was just glad to have a roof over my head. Nearly 1,000 refugees in one hostel using the same kitchen, and so on, was difficult. I was there for nearly a year, I couldn't wait to get out.

The Council helped me get into a college to learn English, and about a year after, I stopped living on benefits, when I got a job with the Council. From then, I could do everything for myself - pay rent, buy food and clothes. I still worried about what I had left behind. I just worry that my parents might die and I won't see them. I don't have contact with them, but I keep my phone on 24 hours a day in case they call me. I don't send money back to them because I don't have an address, but I put a little aside every month to save for them.

I have been an asylum seeker all this time. I applied for leave to remain and, after seven months, they gave me one year. When that ran out I applied for an extension but after two months they refused. I applied again and on 21st May this year they called me for an interview. I think I surprised them because they had never interviewed someone who didn't need an interpreter. But I haven't heard yet.

I feel like I belong in London now. This country has been good to me in many ways. The people are very friendly, I've never had any prejudice. I have learned a lot from working with young people from many

different nations. There are some people who treat asylum seekers badly. I have seen it a lot, but it hasn't affected me personally."

Robert, who died aged 80 in 2005 was a Jewish Refugee.

"I came to Britain in December 1938 from Vienna when I was 14. I was on the second of the Kindertransport trains organised by people in Britain, who persuaded the Home Office to allow 10,000 children to be brought to this country.

I can still remember feeling terribly disturbed, but, as a 14-year-old, to some extent the excitement of going to a different country outweighed the sense of foreboding. Some 65% of the so-called Kinder transportees lost their parents. I was one of those, although I had lost my father when I was 10, and I had no brothers or sisters either.

We arrived at Harwich from the Hook of Holland. When we trooped onto the deck, there were immigration officials waiting to deal with us. Hundreds of us were put on a train to a disused holiday camp near Lowestoft. It was December and we were in these wooden chalets, with the North Sea wind howling at us. Scarlet fever broke out and, of course, I caught it. So, I spent the next six weeks in an isolation hospital in Colchester. Then I was sent to a convalescence home in Walton and from there to another refugee children`s home in Clacton.

I had a grounding in English because I had been to a grammar school in Vienna. There was a job advertised which said someone with a fair knowledge of English could be trained as a chauffeur, to look after the car and work as a handyman around the house and garden. I took the job, but it was a disaster. I was 15, thrown in the deep end, and I didn't make a good job of it. Within three weeks, I was kicked out. I was described to the refugee committee as indolent and insolent, a nice alliteration but not very pleasant.

The one good thing was that I was told about a house where a Zionist committee had established a training farm. I used to go there to relax and meet fellow refugees. One Sunday they had an open day for wellwishers and supporters and I got talking to some people from London. They were very kind, working- class East Enders, Jewish people. When they heard my story, they took me in, and I lived with them in Hackney for the next eight years. That was a real stroke of luck,

otherwise God knows what would have happened to me, psychologically.

The family was in the tailoring trade. So I went into that. But I wasn't very good at it and in the war I retrained as an engineer, working for two firms making products for aircraft.

I got married at 23 and we lived in a sort of slum near Stamford Hill, there was a grievous housing shortage. Eventually, I decided to study and I went to Birkbeck, and then to King's College, London, to take a history degree. I became a teacher and, after several years, a writer of history books.

I became a British citizen in 1949. I had some friends who went back to Austria, but I never really thought about going back, because I discovered how the Austrians had behaved during the war. I did think about going to Israel at one point, but I am too much of a well, I wouldn't say coward, but it would take such an effort to take root again in a totally strange environment and learn a new language.

I'm not sure how much at home or settled I feel here, even now. Although I am hugely interested in British literature, history and politics, there are parts of the British way of life that are barriers. I am not at all interested in sport and I hate drinking beer, so they are two fairly huge social handicaps.

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- What difficulties can people have when settling in another country?

- Discuss the crime of trafficking in human beings

Explain the following expressions from the text in English:

exclusion

stigma

deprivation

alienation

social isolation

social network

Your Notes:

Answer the questions:

1. What are the “costs and benefits” of migration and diversity?
2. What is multiculturalism and why was this concept criticised?
3. What is the difference between assimilation and inclusion?
4. Why was the concept of assimilation criticised and finally left?
5. Name the three components of inclusion and explain them.
6. Why do EU countries try to prevent immigration?
7. What prejudices do people in Montenegro have against people from other races and nations?

5.1 Ex-Prime Minister Thatcher dies 08 April 2013

Study the words below:

baroness	here: the title given to Margaret Thatcher by the Queen, as a reward for her work.
stroke	a sudden change in blood supply to the brain, often causing the loss of ability to speak or move
to hold the post	to have the job or position
MP	short for Member of Parliament
retired	stopped working because of old age
House of Commons	the part of Parliament in the UK where politicians are chosen by the people to represent different parts of the country
general elections	occasions when people in a country vote to choose their political representatives
privatised	sold industries from government into private ownership

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has died. The BBC's Neil Edgeller reports.

The former British Prime Minister **Baroness** Thatcher has died at the age of 87 following a **stroke**.

Her spokesman Lord Bell said: "It is with great sadness that Mark and Carol Thatcher announced that their mother Baroness Thatcher died peacefully following a stroke this morning."

Baroness Thatcher, who was the leader of the British Conservative Party, served as prime minister from 1979 to 1990.

She was the first woman **to hold the post**.

Baroness Thatcher, who was born Margaret Roberts, became the Conservative **MP** for Finchley in north London in 1959. She **retired** from the **House of Commons** in 1992.

She won **general elections** in 1979, 1983 and 1987.

Baroness Thatcher's government **privatised** several state-owned industries. She was also in power when the UK went to war with Argentina over the Falkland Islands in 1982.

5.2 Thatcher's legacy

Behind the smile, a tough leader.

With steely determination, Margaret Thatcher sent a task force to re-take the Falklands, or the Malvinas, from Argentina in 1982.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev described her as 'a woman of conviction'.

Her softer side saw her chatting amicably with Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping and, with Ronald Reagan, strengthening the special relationship between Britain and the US.

But her belligerent attitude to Europe may prove to be the Iron Lady's most enduring legacy.

Vocabulary:

steely determination = refusing to stop trying to do something

conviction = strong belief or opinion

amicably = pleasantly and in a friendly way

belligerent = always unfriendly and wanting to argue

enduring = long-lasting

Exercise:

Use one of the words or phrases below to complete each of these sentences from news reports.

Note that you may have to change the form of a word to complete the sentence correctly.

steely determination / conviction / amicably / belligerent / enduring

1. Last week, German Chancellor Angela Merkel urged Chinese and European authorities to resolve the matter _____ by holding talks. But she called for more transparency from Beijing about incentives given to the sector.
2. There is undoubtedly _____ interest in the Titanic story - Belfast and Southampton both opened museums dedicated to the liner during the centenary year.
3. Mr Farage has defended UKIP as being different from other parties after Prime Minister David Cameron said some of its members were "pretty odd people". He said UKIP did have "some eccentrics" but this was healthy and he was an unusual party leader in that he was a _____ politician.
4. Correspondents say Iran's clerical leadership is showing a _____ to keep control amid the controversy, and urging people to unify in the face of western enemies.
5. The North Korean media are full of images of military preparedness, he adds, intended to rally people behind the leadership. Many observers say that North Korea's _____ rhetoric appears intended for a domestic audience and at shoring up the position of Kim Jong-un, who came to power after his father's death in December 2011.

5.3 Secret taxi driver

Taxi!

Behind the sunglasses and uniform is no ordinary cabbie...

It's actually Norway's Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg, working incognito in Oslo. He said taxis were the best place to hear the views of ordinary Norwegians. Passengers were astonished when they discovered who was driving. But, he is unlikely to moonlight again; Stoltenberg hasn't driven for eight years, so his skills are a little rusty.

Vocabulary:

cabbie	=informal word for 'taxi driver'
incognito	=avoiding being recognised by changing appearance
astonished	=shocked and surprised
to moonlight	=to work at an extra job
rusty	= (of a skill) needing practice

Exercise:

Use one of the words or phrases below to complete each of these sentences from news reports. Note that you may have to change the form of a word to complete the sentence correctly.

cabbie / incognito / astonished / to moonlight / rusty

1. Mr Hughes said he had been _____ by the reaction to the film, which received 110,000 hits on YouTube in the first week after it was posted.
2. First broadcast in 2004, Veronica Mars told of a high-school student who moves on to college while _____ as a private investigator.

3. As Londoners will know some of the capital's _____ are not shy about sharing their views on everything from politics to the latest fashions.
Now one driver, Michael Dennis, has started reciting his own poetry to passengers.

4. Jean Moulin was the former prefect who, in January 1942, was sent by General de Gaulle to organise the anti-German underground. For a year- and-a-half, he travelled _____ around occupied France, using the pseudonyms Rex then Max.

5. Question: Do you get nervous playing your new singles for the first time and why?
Robbie Williams: Yes because I haven't done anything for three years. You just feel a bit _____.

5.4 Ma Ying-jeou wins Taiwan election

Taiwan's president Ma Ying-jeou has been re-elected to a second four-year **term in office**, a vote seen as reaffirming his policy of establishing closer economic ties with China.

In spite of polls depicting a close race, Mr Ma won 51.5 per cent of the final tally on Saturday, comfortably beating opposition candidate Tsai Ing-wen, who had 45.6 per cent. More than four-eligible voters turned



per cent. James Soong, received only 2.7 per fifts of Taiwan's 18m out for the election.

The **ruling** retained its majority elections, although by a narrower margin than the previous election. It won 64 out of 113 seats in the Legislative Yuan, versus 40 for the DPP.

Kuomintang **party** in the parliamentary

Addressing supporters in the pouring rain in front of his campaign headquarters, Mr Ma described his victory as "a vote for clean government, peace, and prosperity for Taiwan."

"You have told me, in the clearest voice possible, to continue on my current path," he added.

Mr Ma's victory will probably be welcomed by Beijing and Washington because he has promised to maintain peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait. During his first term in office, Mr Ma engineered a dramatic **turnaround** in relations and greatly reduced tension with China.

For decades since 1949, Taiwan had been a military flashpoint because Beijing claims sovereignty over democratic Taiwan and threatens the use of force should the island declare independence.

The US White House said: "We hope the impressive efforts that both have undertaken in recent years to build cross-Strait ties continue. Such ties and stability in cross-Strait relations have also benefited US-Taiwan relations."

Mr Ma said he would use his second term to finish crucial reforms he had started, including "broad, structural reforms for the economy", with a goal of joining the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a new trade bloc spearheaded by the US, within the next decade.

Over the past four years, Taiwan has established travel and investment links with China, and signed its first-ever **trade deal** with Beijing in 2010, but some have complained of not enough progress in areas such as banking liberalisation and attracting Chinese investment to the island.

Mr Ma also **extended an olive branch** to his political opponents, saying that there was still much work to be done in **narrowing the wealth gap** and creating employment opportunities for young Taiwanese - issues that formed the central plank of Ms Tsai's campaign.

Analysts say it was business' approval of Mr Ma's economic policies, coupled with broad criticism of Ms Tsai's China policies, that decided the election in favour of Mr Ma.

In the run-up to the election, dozens of company chiefs, including Terry Gou, chairman of Hon Hai, the world's biggest contract electronics manufacturer, and Cher Wang, chairwoman of smartphone maker HTC, all either publicly endorsed Mr Ma or spoke out against the cross-Strait policies of Ms Tsai.

Annette Lu, former DPP vice-president from 2000 to 2008, said the DPP had expected a closer race because none of the pre-election polls took into account the votes of Taiwanese working in China. An estimated 200,000 such Taiwanese, most of whom support Mr Ma, returned to Taiwan to **cast** their **ballot**.

In conceding defeat, Ms Tsai told her supporters that “we came very close to the top of the mountain this time, but fell just one step short”. She added that she would resign as party chairwoman to take responsibility for the electoral defeat.

terms and phrases	
term of office	
ruling party	
turnaround	
trade deal	
extend an olive branch	
narrow the wealth gap	
cast ballot	

5.5 Policies - Political parties in the USA

In the United States of America (USA), there have always been two main parties. Since the 1860's these two main parties have been the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. The current President of the United States Barack Obama is a Democrat and the Democrats are also the largest party in the Senate. The Republican Party has the most seats in the House of Representatives.

<p>Democratic Party</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Many support a progressive income tax (rich people paying at higher rates than poor people). 2 Many are pro-choice (meaning that they believe women have the right to have an abortion). 3 Many support stem-cell research to cure sickness. 4 Many support withdrawing U.S. troops out of Iraq. 5 Many support more government funding for education and infrastructure (road building). 6 Many consider minority groups (such as women and blacks) disadvantaged. 7 Many support gun control (which means that there should be strict rules about who can own guns and where they can use them) 8 Many believe in global warming and want the government to do something about it. 9 Many believe in health care reform (some believe in universal health care) 10 Many believe that the economy should be regulated more. 	<p>Republican Party</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Many believe abortion should be illegal. 2 Many are against gun control 3 Many support the death penalty, rather than a life sentence (which sentences people to death if they do big crimes). 4 Many support the U.S. having a strong military. 5 Many support the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. 6 Many are against illegal immigration. 7 Many want the government to control the economy less. 8 Many want the government to spend less money. 9 Many want taxes to be lowered. 10 Many oppose health care which is run by the government. 11 Many support a school voucher system (the government giving money to parents who send their kids to private school). 12 Many believe the federal government should have less power over the states.

Which American party would you fit into? Check yes/no and count your points	yes	no
1. A strong military is very important.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
2. Healthcare for everyone is important, even if I have to help pay for it.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
3. High taxes are okay because they help pay for roads, schools, social security, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
4. A woman should be allowed to have an abortion.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
5. Gays and lesbians should be allowed to marry.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
6. People without jobs should receive money from the government, even if I have to help pay for it.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
7. Environmental protection is very important.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
8. The war in Iraq was the right decision.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
9. Fighting terrorism is more important than fighting cancer.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
10. Marijuana should be legal.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
11. The government should have greater control over economic issues (ie taxes, business, employment, worker's rights).	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
12. The government should have greater control over moral issues (ie abortion, religion, sexuality, drugs).	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
13. The government gives too much money to poor people.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
14. My country is more important than other countries in the Asian region.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
15. Immigrants should be allowed to live and work in my country.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
16. The death penalty is an acceptable form of punishment.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
SCORING: 0 – 6 Democrat, 7 – 9 Undecided, 10 – 16 Republican		

Your reaction:

.....