

**AMALIA BABAYAN**

**SUSANNA BAGHDASARYAN**

# **DEBATES & INTERVIEWS**



**YEREVAN 2011**

Երաշխավորված է ԵՊՀ Միջազգային հարաբերությունների  
ֆակուլտետի գիտական խորհրդի կողմից

Խմբագիրներ՝ պատմ. գ. թ. Նուբար Չալըմյան  
Մարինա Մկրտչյան

Գրախոսներ՝ ք. գ. թ. Տիգրան Միքայելյան  
ք. գ. թ. Աննա Պապոյան

*«Բանավեճեր և հարցազրույցներ» ձեռնարկը ներկայացնում է միջազգային հասարակական-քաղաքական կյանքում առտնին թեմաների շուրջ զրույցներ և քննարկումներ ականավոր քաղաքական գործիչների, դիվանագետների և գիտնականների հետ: Նպատակն է բնօրինակ նյութի ուսումնասիրության միջոցով ուսանողներին սովորեցնել դիվանագիտական խոսքին բնորոշ մասնագիտական հաղորդակցման հմտություններ: Դասերի կառուցվածքը և վարժությունների համակարգը միտված են հատկապես զարգացնելու մասնագիտական ոլորտում ուսանողի ինքնուրույն և ազատ շփվելու կարողությունները:*

*Ձեռնարկը նախատեսված է միջազգային հարաբերությունների, ինչպես նաև ժուռնալիստիկայի ֆակուլտետի մագիստրատուրայի և բարձր կուրսերի ուսանողների համար:*

# ԱՌԱՋԱԲԱՆ

*Միրելի՛ ընթերցող,*

*Ձեզ ենք ներկայացնում, Բանավեճեր և հարցազրույցներն ձեռնարկը, որի հիմնական նպատակն է սովորողին ծանոթացնել խոսքային այս ռեզիսորի սահմաններում մերօրյա դիվանագետների, բարձր պաշտոնյաների և գիտնականների օգտագործած անգլերենի լեզվա-ռճական առանձնահատկությունների հետ, որոնց ուսումնասիրությունը կնպաստի սովորողի հաղորդակցական լեզվի հմտությունների մշակմանն ու զարգացմանը:*

*Գրքում դուք կգտնեք սկանավոր մարդկանց հետ վերջին մի քանի տարիների ընթացքում անցկացրած պաշտոնական բանավեճերի և հարցազրույցների բնօրինակ արձանագրությունների կրճատ ներկայացրած տարբերակները՝ քաղված համացանցից:*

*Նյութը նախատեսված է 100-120 ժամ ուսուցման համար՝ յուրաքանչյուր դասին նպատակահարմար է հատկացնել 10-12 ժամ:*

*Ձեռնարկի վարժությունների համակարգը միտված է ակտիվացնելու, ուսուցանելու և զարգացնելու սովորողի խոսքային շփման հմտությունները: Յուրաքանչյուր բանավեճին կամ հարցազրույցին նախորդող հարցերը զրույցի են հրավիրում փոխյա թեմայի շուրջ:*

*Լեզվական միավորների զուգադրության վարժությունը սովորեցնում է խոսել փոխյա արտահայտության, բարի կամ երևույթի մասին:*

*Բանավեճին կամ հարցազրույցին հաջորդող վարժությունները սովորողին խրախուսում են նյութի ուսումնասիրության ընթացքում սովորած լեզուն ակտիվորեն կիրառել: Անուղղակի խոսքով շարադրած վարժությունը հրավիրում է դերախաղով ներկայացնել փոխյա թեման՝ օգտագործելով անմիջական ուղիղ խոսքը:*

*Արտահայտիչ քո կարծիքն սրեղծագործական աշխատանքը ուսանողներին առաջարկում է խմբային աշխատանքով շարադրել և ապա՝ դերախաղով ներկայացնել բանավեճեր, հարցազրույցներ, զեկույցներ, էլոյթներ, հեռախոսազրույցներ, կլոր սեղաններ, աշխատանքային զրույցներ և այլն: Այս վարժությանը կից տրված է*

հաղորդակցական լեզվի բառապաշարի ցանկ, որը կնպաստի հանձնարարված աշխատանքն ավելի արդյունավետ կերպով կատարելուն:

Ձեռնարկում ներկայացված են բանավեճի և հարցազրույցի մոդելներ, որոնց օրինակով առաջարկվում է սովորել, թե ինչպես, ինչ ձևաչափով և եղանակով կարելի է վարել դրանք: Ուշադրություն է դարձվում խոսքային ժամանակի սահմանափակման և այն ճիշտ բաշխելու խնդրի վրա:

Ձեռնարկը նախատեսված է միջազգային հարաբերություններ, դիվանագիտություն, քաղաքագիտություն, միջազգային իրավունք, հասարակագիտություն, ժուռնալիստիկա մասնագիտությունների մագիստրատուրայի և բարձր կուրսերի ուսանողների համար:

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# UNIT 1

## *Debate*

### **THE UNITED NATIONS: STILL RELEVANT AFTER ALL THESE YEARS?**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What global challenges does the United Nations address?
2. How effective are the UN undertakings throughout the world?
3. In what particular cases does the universality of the UN become relevant?
4. Do you think there is one single country which would like and/or would be able to deal with the myriad of problems emerging in the world daily?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. to be embedded in               | a) felt very strongly and difficult to change  |
| 2. problems without passports      | b) to be busy or totally occupied with someone or something                          |
| 3. day in and day out              | c) the feeling of a time when you have to make a difficult decision about something  |
| 4. the sense of a fork in the road | d) a professional evaluation of a colleague's work which criticizes it very severely |
| 5. diplomatic dodge                | e) troubles which cross all frontiers uninvited                                      |
| 6. to hazard an opinion            | f) a clever and dishonest trick played to avoid something                            |
| 7. to have one's hands full with   | g) to show or express yourself self-confidently, so that people take                 |

- you more seriously and listen to your ideas and opinion
8. to concede the relevance h) to put a viewpoint at risk
9. to project power i) to acknowledge how pertinent, connected, or applicable something is to a given matter
10. a scathing peer review j) regularly, all of the time

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*12, June, 2006*

**Chair – Joanne Myers**

**Joanne Myers** - *Director of the Carnegie Council's Public Affairs Programs*

**James Traub** - *a contributing writer for The New York Times Magazine*

**Ruth Wedgwood** - *a Senior Research Scholar in Law at Yale Law School, Professor of International Law and Diplomacy at Johns Hopkins University*

**Shashi Tharoor** - *an Indian politician and an MP*

## **THE UNITED NATIONS: STILL RELEVANT AFTER ALL THESE YEARS?**

### **Introduction**

**Joanne Myers:** Good afternoon. I'm Joanne Myers, Director of Public Affairs Programs. *On behalf of the Carnegie Council, I'd like to thank you all for joining us as we welcome this illustrious panel* which will shortly be discussing the relevancy of the United Nations.

*Critics and supporters of the United Nations have sometimes seemed worlds apart. As an organization that represents 191 nations, it is asked to accommodate the wishes of the most powerful countries while giving a voice and acknowledging the needs of smaller*



*nations*. As it struggles to maintain peace in a world where violence and warfare *are, unfortunately, still the norm*, we wonder whether it can continue to address the challenges of our world today.

To debate this issue, we have gathered together a “dream team” of panelists—a pundit, a pandit, and a professor—to discuss whether in the sixth decade of its founding, the United Nations is still relevant after all these years. James Traub, Shashi Tharoor, and Ruth Wedgwood are seated beside me, and they are eager to begin.

Please join me in giving these exceptionally knowledgeable and gifted speakers a very warm welcome. It is a pleasure to have you all here.

**James Traub:**

The format of this evening—or so I’ve been told—is that I, kind of, referee while the two of them engage in edifying battle for your benefit. I will count on you to make my job easier by sharpening your own differences.

Our subject tonight is UN reform, but I would like to begin by asking Shashi and Ruth a few questions that have to do with the U.S.-UN relationship, because, frankly, practically everything winds up turning on this question. I have to say that as I have learned more about the UN, *I have been surprised at how dense is the weave of relations that binds Washington, how indispensable the one is to the other. I do want to push on this question.* That is, do you think it does relatively little *to advance American interests?* And if that’s so, is that unfair? Does that, in part, rest with the unwillingness of policymakers to actually speak truthfully about this nuanced, if *incredibly vexed, relationship?*

**Ruth Wedgwood:** If it's feckless—if you Google the phrase “Security Council,” in *The New York Times* or even in the Omaha paper, you discover “Security Council” pops up at least once or twice or three times a day, as you use the Council for various crises, whether it's Darfur or Iran or *the wonderful work that's being done* on the Harari investigation and to try to free Lebanon from Syria's dominance.

*So it may well be that* the readers are less interested in the instrument. If you ask the question, “Does the normal reader of an American newspaper care about the Senate Appropriations Committee?” No. They care about the issues that the Senate Appropriations Committee is addressing, *whatever instrument is effective.*

**Shashi Tharoor:** That's an excellent point, *if I may chip in right there*, because I think *Ruth has put her finger on it*. People don't care about the Senate Appropriations Committee; they care about the expenditures that the Appropriations Committee is authorizing and so on. But that's precisely because in the United States you take the Senate for granted. No one is threatening the existence or the funding of the Senate. *No one is essentially concerned about the future of the institution. It's embedded in the Constitution. It's taken for granted.*

The problem in the United States is that the UN is still up for debate. There are still *people who challenge the very utility of the institution* that is *delivering all these goods.*

One of the things that Americans surely haven't allowed themselves to forget is the indispensable role the UN played during the Cold War. *It was a vital factor in ensuring the Cold War didn't turn hot.*

Why? Because *it provided a roof under which* the two superpower adversaries could meet and engage, *instead of coming to blows*. It was actually a place where they could talk and work together. *Through the amazing invention of peacekeeping*—a concept not even found in the Charter—*you had a mechanism to prevent local and regional conflicts* around the world from *igniting a superpower clash* and a third world war.

So the UN did all of that. Now we have gone past the Cold War phase. *We have an opportunity to make much more of a difference*. This globalizing world is full of, what we like to call, “*problems without passports,*” *problems that cross our frontiers uninvited*, everything from terrorism, climate change, human rights, drug trafficking—*you can pick your issue*—problems that no one country or even one group of countries, no one coalition, can be rich enough or strong enough or powerful enough to solve on their own. These are, by definition, *problems you need the whole world to come around on*.

Therefore, it’s unthinkable that it wouldn’t be of use to the United States to have a United Nations to deal with all these problems. And *day in and day out*, the UN does.

I think it’s important to remember that the UN is indispensable for all this.

**James Traub:**

Shashi, certainly the view inside the institution, which I know the Secretary General shared, was that Washington had essentially *pushed the institution beyond the limits whereby it could function*, and did provoke a structural crisis — thus, *the sense of a fork in the road*.

**Shashi Tharoor:** I'll tell you what did happen. In fact, in the summer of 2003, just after the war, the Pew organization, a respected organization, conducted a poll in twenty countries around the world about the UN. They discovered the UN's image had gone down in all twenty. It had gone down in the United States because the UN had not supported the U.S. administration on the war. It went down in the nineteen other countries because the UN had been unable to prevent the war.

So, you see, we got hit from both sides of the debate. We disappointed both sets of expectations. Do you want to describe that as an impossible position for the institution to be in? Sure, it was pretty impossible.

But then, as Yogi Berra said, *when you come to a fork in the road, take it*. And we took it.

**James Traub:** *That was another diplomatic dodge there. Should I infer that these are directions I just shouldn't push you in too far, because it would be foolish for you to hazard an opinion?*

**Shashi Tharoor:** The topic that you advertised here is: Is the United Nations still relevant after all these years? I think so. I remember, in 2003, giving a dozen interviews a day ...

**Ruth Wedgwood:** It sounds like a Cole Porter song. (Laughter)

**Shashi Tharoor:** You can sing it, Ruth, I'm sure. ... I think it's clear that, *as on many occasions, the UN is often irrelevant to a decision about a war*. In fact, the UN has really only been involved in about two-and-a-half decisions to authorize war in its entire sixty-one years of existence. *But it's extremely relevant to the ensuring peace* and to all sorts of

other disastrous and important situations around the world, other than war. Right now, for example, we have *had our hands full with* disaster after disaster in Asia. We have had *to deal with the tsunami and its aftermath*, the earthquake in Kashmir, most recently the Indonesia earthquake and then the violent volcano eruption.

These are the sorts of things for which, competitive multilateralism or no ... Ruth, *there is simply no competition for the UN.*

*There is, again, one very sound reason where the universality of the UN becomes so relevant here. No one government likes to be second-fiddle to any other. Lots of governments are giving aid and assistance, but no one wants to do it under the umbrella of another government. But if the UN goes in there and the blue flag is flying, it means the whole world is taking charge. It means that humanity is responsible, not one government. In that process, the universality of the United Nations gives you a mechanism to actually deliver effective results.*

**Ruth Wedgwood:** There's a reason why the founding fathers in Philadelphia rejected the idea of a collective executive. They thought that it would be very hard to actually take a decision if you had to get a huge number of people to do it —so it depends, in part, whether you think inactivity is a better state of existence than activity ...

**Shashi Tharoor:** I don't think there's been much inactivity in all these humanitarian disasters.

**Ruth Wedgwood:** There are occasions when one has to move forward.

*I will concede the relevance of the UN, and stipulate*

*it—relevance.* Monopoly? No, because, indeed, the very premise of the collective security system broke down in the first years, and the UN can't demand, can't legally require—at least it chooses not to legally require—that any country, in fact, donates troops.

**James Traub:**

*Let me move this in a slightly different direction.* Ruth, you made the point that the premise broke down in the initial years—that is to say, that these five powers could collectively police the world, because they had a collective interest in world order.

**Ruth Wedgwood:**

This was supposed to be a worldwide NATO.

**James Traub:**

A worldwide NATO, that's right. They were created more or less at the same time.

**Shashi Tharoor:**

No, no. It was created earlier than NATO. The UN was the original treaty organization. It was when the Cold War started that NATO was ...

**James Traub:**

Yes. I meant approximately. *But let me try to move forward here.*

So then, clearly, that proves to be false, because the Cold War line went straight down the middle of the Security Council. The Cold War ends. Then there's the hope that now, finally, the dream of 1945 can be realized.

Is what we're seeing now, in part, an actual re-creation of the Cold War division of the Security Council, where, in most cases, you have Russia and China on one side, *on a whole range of issues*, and the U.S., the U.K., and France on the other side, such that you have a kind of new version of that old paralysis?

**Ruth Wedgwood:** It's sort of a fractal cold war, with lots of different factions. Where the French will be, you have to predict, and the Germans, obviously, if they become permanent members of the Council, might be quite at odds with us on the need to intervene in various situations.

**Shashi Tharoor:** I have just been through the very interesting exchange in *The New York Times* letters pages not too long ago. After a rather idealistic column deploring the UN's failure to solve Darfur, I wrote in saying that the things that the world was prepared to do about Darfur were: First, humanitarian aid, sending in humanitarian workers, both in Darfur and across the border in Chad. Second, trying to do the very best we could at "boots on the ground"—in this case, African Union boots on the ground, because that's all the government was prepared to accept. Where these African Union soldiers were deployed, their presence did make a difference. But there are 7,000 of them in a country the size of Texas. Third, of course, was *pressure on all sides to come to a peace agreement* in Abuja to end the conflict, so that then a peace could be kept. Then, of course, a UN peacekeeping force could go in.

I said, "This is really what we were trying to do, and now the pressure must be on the government of Sudan to accept a robust UN peacekeeping force and let an assessment team go in so we can plan for such a force."

There was a very nice but anguished letter from a rabbi the next day or two days later, saying, "But if the UN isn't able to impose itself on Darfur, then the UN has failed".

**James Traub:** But, Shashi, I don't think it's only this anguished rabbi who might feel that way.

**Shashi Tharoor:** But that’s exactly the point I’m making in response to Ruth’s about expectations.

**James Traub:** Let me ask it in this way. Let me ask Ruth this question. Two things: One, should we say that the Security Council’s behavior in regard to Darfur... should we call that a failure?

**Shashi Tharoor:** No, no. Wait a minute. The point I’m trying to say is, if the UN didn’t exist tomorrow ...

**James Traub:** That was part two of my question to Ruth.

**Shashi Tharoor:** ...is there any country on earth that is actually prepared to go to war to impose peace on Darfur?

**James Traub:** You may answer both or either of those questions.

**Shashi Tharoor:** There isn’t. We have to make do with the best we can.

**Ruth Wedgwood:** *Rhetoric actually matters*, and when you talk about the world or mankind or humanity, it sounds so much more efficacious than when you talk about *a collection of member states that have very different agendas*. Actually, since I’ve known Shashi for a good long time, whenever something goes bad, it’s, “Don’t forget, we’re only a collection of member states.” When something goes well, it’s mankind speaking. (Laughter)

You have to watch him, because he has a rhetorical fork in his road—much as I love him.

**Shashi Tharoor:** And you have a fork in your tongue, my dear. (Laughter)

**James Traub:** I told you this wouldn’t require any encouragement from me. Continue.

**Ruth Wedgwood:** The great tragedy is that *there is, if you will, a surprisingly modest limitation on usable democratic military*



*power in the world.* One of the great tragedies of Europe's demilitarization, though they don't expect to go to war amongst themselves—is that they can't *project power*. They have a very *limited ability to deploy ready-reaction forces*. We are still waiting for the 50,000 corps that the European Union is supposed to have. They have all had bad peacekeeping experiences.

**James Traub:** So back to Darfur, let's say that ...

**Ruth Wedgwood:** The problem there is the absence of countries willing to put themselves in the middle of a very difficult conflict.

**Shashi Tharoor:** So it's not the UN's fault. It's that no country will do it.

**Ruth Wedgwood:** And on the other side, some of the rebel groups won't at the moment compromise. So it's a very difficult peacekeeping situation. Very few countries are willing to risk the actual deaths ...

**James Traub:** So there is no different architecture, *there is no reform that would make the UN a more effective instrument when it comes to these kinds of atrocities?*

**Ruth Wedgwood:** The UN has *to go around with its begging bowl*, just as everybody else does, *to try to put together a coalition force*. One should not have any over-expectation of the willingness of democracies *to put their troops at hazard*, particularly in areas where the kind of war you are fighting is so difficult to game.

**James Traub:** Now that we've sort of begun to verge on the reform — are we running out of time here, Joanne?

**Joanne Myers:** About five more minutes. *We want to open it up.*

**James Traub:** Okay. Let's talk about some of these reforms. The Human Rights Council has now come into existence. The United States chose not to join it because it felt that this is not what we had in mind.

Ruth, do you think that was the right decision? Could there have been a much more effective human rights council that, alas, did not come into being?

**Ruth Wedgwood:** My fear, which I hope will not be realized, is that the same folks that brought you the Human Rights Commission are going to bring you the Human Rights Council. The pressures on countries to conform in their voting behavior are still there.

**Shashi Tharoor:** *One of the fundamental reasons why I disagree with Ruth's point about it being just like the commission is that, in the commission, which had become an over-politicized body, you had a lot of bizarre merchant business going on where countries got themselves elected to the commission to prevent scrutiny of their human-rights records. They would indeed say, "I'll vote to prevent your human rights being examined if you vote to prevent my human rights being examined" ...*

**James Traub:** So why can't they do that now?

**Shashi Tharoor:** They can't do that now because the founding document and the resolution creating the council explicitly *mandates a universal peer review*. Every country on the council, the day they are elected, guarantees that their human-rights records will be examined.

**James Traub:** Assuming that the peer review is so scathing that Cuba is going to be forced to leave the Human Rights Council?

**Shashi Tharoor:** *We'll see how honestly they conduct it. Obviously, the proof of the pudding is always in the eating.* But we actually have a recipe that can work.

**James Traub:** The huge obstacle that the institution is facing now, which could be leading to quite a train wreck, is this question of management reform. The White House has said that if the UN can't prove that it can run itself effectively, then we are going *to use the budget as a lever to force it to do so.*

**Ruth Wedgwood:** I think Kofi Annan has rightly said to the membership at large, "It's crazy. The stuff we're doing is largely to help you guys." Here I'm going to sound like Shashi Tharoor. Most of what the UN does, apart from security crises, are things that are aimed at helping the less developed countries. Not wasting money, having procurement that actually purchases goods at a market price, not having sinecures where people sleep—I have a lot of students at Johns Hopkins who want to join the UN and I take these kids around. I think the best way for them to see it is the field operations.

**James Traub:** Let me stop, because I think we want to turn it over to the audience.

Briefly, I would like each of you to say whether we should feel, as a result of all this, that, yes, this institution is capable of adaptation and things are moving in a positive direction, or, no, the real meaning is the limits of what it can do and things are not moving in a positive direction.

Just a couple of sentences from each of you on that, and then we'll turn it over to the audience.

**Shashi Tharoor:** To some degree, I've answered that question, so I won't take away more time from the audience. But let me add that fifty years ago, when the UN was being criticized, Dag Hammarskjold *put it perfectly when he said* the UN was not created to take mankind to paradise, but to save humanity from hell. Sometimes we can prevent ...

**Ruth Wedgwood:** In a cost-efficient way.

**Shashi Tharoor:** But the point, I think, that's important to note is that the United Nations has adapted, can adapt, must adapt. But at the same time, it remains this one indispensable global institution in this globalized world of ours. It's the one place where we can get every country together to leverage their sovereignty collectively for the common goals, the common purposes that all countries agree upon.

**James Traub:** Ruth, a couple of sentences on your part.

**Ruth Wedgwood:** First, Shashi said "can," "must." You didn't say "will." *So this was a cautious statement.* If you want to engage the public, treat them like adults. In a democracy, voters expect to have a great deal of information about what their delegates and agents do, not just what you put out in a public information campaign, to be able to scrutinize and critique. That's why someone invented the GAO (US Government Accountability Office) and the Congressional Budget Office and IGs (Inspectors General) in every department of the U.S. government. It's a lesson that I think the UN still hasn't taken. They seem to suppose too often that transparency is the enemy, that this has to be controlled.

**Joanne Myers:** I'd like to thank you, Jim, Ruth, and Shashi. *I think we've all benefited from your banter and discussion.*

*(abridged from the transcript of Carnegie Council – The Voice for Ethics in International Affairs)*

**Task 4. a) Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**b) Think of your own version about the further development of the events.**

**Joanne Myers** introduces herself, greets the panellists and the audience for joining them and gets down to debating the issue about the relevancy of the UN.

**James Traub** begins the debate by asking Shashi and Ruth questions that have to do with the US-UN relationship. He agrees with the widespread perception in the country that the UN is a kind of feckless organization which gets itself into trouble and does little to advance American interests.

Opposing Traub **Ruth Wedgewood** doesn't think it is an ineffectual organization.

Supporting Ruth's ideas **Shashi Tharoor** takes the importance and utility of the UN for granted adding that it really played an indispensable role during the Cold War.

**James Traub** reminds the panellists about the view that the secretary general shared, i.e. Washington had essentially pushed the institution beyond the limits it could function.

**Shashi Tharoor** tells the audience what happened (*recall the facts from the debate*). He thinks that if it is often irrelevant to a decision about a war, it is extremely relevant to the ensuing peace and disastrous situations around the world. He assures that there is simply no competition for the UN. Though governments don't like to be second-fiddle to any other government, they can't deny the universality of the UN with effective results. Speaking about the UN's so-called failure to solve Darfur problem, he doesn't consider it to be its fault (*add motivating details from the debate*).

**James Traub** thinks that the huge obstacle the institution is facing now is the question of management reform.

**Ruth** thinks that most of what the UN does, apart from security and crises issues, is things that are aimed at helping the less developed countries and not more.

**James Traub** is sure things are not moving in a positive direction.

In defence of this argument **Shashi** cites Dag Hammarskjold's words that the UN was not created to take mankind to paradise, but to save humanity from hell.

**Joanne Myers** thanks everybody and thinks they have all benefited from the discussion.

### Have your say!

You are a group of outstanding journalists from The Guardian, The New York Times, Le Monde, Zeitungen, Коммерсант, Вестник and The Economist, who have been invited to a panel discussion on the following topic: 'Should the EU grant membership to a **certain** country (choose the country yourselves), and, in case of either acceptance or rejection, what are the procedures to follow?'

Look at the country's candidacy from multiple facets, referring to its present state of domestic and foreign affairs, the major events in its history and their impact on the country's contemporary life, the readiness of the country to give up certain privileges to comply with the conditions set by the EU laws and regulations, etc.

Before starting the panel discussion, write down your key arguments. Turn to the language box below for prompts and help.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

As we welcome this illustrious panel ... <i>Critics and supporters of ... have sometimes seemed worlds apart.</i> ... are/is, unfortunately, still the	day in and day out <i>to the ... beyond the limits whereby it could function</i> When you come to a fork in the road, take it.
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<p>norm.  <i>It is a pleasure to have you all here.</i>  I do want to push on this question.  <i>There is a widespread perception that ...</i>  to advance ...'s interests  <i>incredibly vexed relationship</i>  the wonderful work that's being done  <i>So it may well be that ...</i>  whatever instrument is effective  <i>if I may chip in right there</i>  ... has put her finger on it  <i>No one is essentially concerned about the future of ...</i>  It's embedded in the ...  <i>It's taken for granted.</i>  It was a vital factor in ensuring ...  <i>to provide a roof under which ...</i>  We have an opportunity to make much more of a difference.  <i>So this was a cautious statement.</i></p>	<p><i>another diplomatic dodge</i>  There is, again, one very sound reason ...  <i>to do ... under the umbrella of ...</i>  to be second-fiddle to ...  <i>Let me move this in a slightly different direction.</i>  But let me try to move forward here.  <i>on a whole range of issues</i>  But that's exactly the point I'm making in response to ...  <i>Rhetoric actually matters.</i>  to project power  <i>One of the fundamental reasons why I disagree with ...'s point about it is that...</i>  Obviously, the proof of the pudding is always in the eating.  ... <i>put it perfectly when he said ...</i>  I think we've all benefited from your banter and discussion.</p>
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## *An interview with*

### **THE PRESIDENT OF ARMENIA SERZH SARGSYAN AND THE NATO SECRETARY ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What do you know about the Armenia-NATO cooperation?
2. What does Individual Partnership Action Plan imply?
3. In your opinion, what kind of army should Armenia have?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. emergency management   | a) to repeat something that you have already said, especially to emphasize it  |
| 2. to reiterate           | b) to have a strong desire to achieve or become someone/something  |
| 3. to aspire to something | c) increase the amount, value, size, etc. of something   |
| 4. to augment             | d) the organization of resources and responsibilities for dealing with all aspects of emergencies, particularly preparedness, response, evacuation, etc. |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*25 May, 2010*  
**NATO Press point**

**Serzh Sargsyan** - *the third President of Armenia*

**James Appathurai** - *Canadian journalist and a NATO spokesperson*



**Anders Fogh Rasmussen** - a Danish politician, and the 12th and current Secretary General of NATO

**James Appathurai:** Ladies and gentlemen, the Secretary General and the President will each *make opening statements* and then we have time for some questions. Secretary General.

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen:** Good afternoon. It's indeed a great pleasure to welcome President Sargsyan here in Brussels today.

I have just had a very good discussion with the President about a variety of issues: our operations, especially in Afghanistan; the NATO-Armenia relationship; and regional issues.

The Alliance is grateful for Armenia's support to our operations and missions in Afghanistan and in the Balkans. In Afghanistan we are very much focused right now on the future transition to Afghan lead responsibility. *To that end* we need to train and educate Afghan soldiers and Afghan police, so resourcing the NATO training mission remains a priority.

We either generate more trainers to support the Afghan Security Forces and underpin NATO's transition strategy or we prepare ourselves to stay longer in Afghanistan.

So every offer of dedicated trainers and mentors makes an important contribution to the success of the overall ISAF mission.

A few words on the NATO-Armenia cooperation. I can inform you that Armenia is successful in implementing its Individual Partnership Action Plan, but *there is more work ahead*. Defence reforms are progressing well, but they must go hand-in-hand with political

reforms and democratic institution building.

I have to say that NATO is very much interested in maintaining *strong links with all countries* of the region and we are very much interested in deepening the cooperation with Armenia in the framework of the Individual Partnership Plan.

**Serzh Sargsyan:**

Thank you, Mr.. Secretary General. Thank you for the interesting meeting. *I attach great importance to this meeting. It is the first one since the Secretary General assumed his current office. We bilaterally highly appreciate the continuing dialogue between Armenia and NATO. Such regular meetings give us opportunities to discuss all the aspects and spheres of the Armenia-NATO cooperation, as well as regional issues and challenges.*

The 2009 *positive assessment report on IPAP* indicates Armenia's progress achieved during the past year, especially in the fields of defence and security, as well as reforms in other sectors.

The defence and security system improvements and modernization is also aimed at *ensuring interoperability* or high degree of interoperability *with the defence and security systems* of the advanced nations. Armenia recognizes the importance of a need for *international joint efforts* in overcoming the present-day international threats. Armenia attaches great importance to her participation in the *NATO-led peace operations* and the operation in Afghanistan, where Armenian peacekeepers participate.

*We're satisfied to note significant improvement in our cooperation with the Alliance in emergency management. The Armenia 2010 natural disaster consequence elimination training drill* in one of the regions of

Armenia in September of this year will be another example of effective cooperation in this area.

We discussed with Mr.. Rasmussen the current process of normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey. We presented how the Turkish side continuously comes up with preconditions and *engages in a practice of delaying, gaining time, eventually failing the process*, which left Armenia no option but to *suspend the process of ratification of the protocols*.

*I presented to the Secretary General our views on this process, and I told him that even this step has not sobered up Turkey, being well aware that the Armenian side would never allow Ankara to get engaged or to interfere with the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. They, nonetheless, continue on a daily basis to make the Armenian-Turkish normalization process fail completely and utterly.*

During the meeting I also emphasized the need and importance *for a balanced approach by NATO to the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh process*. I expressed hope that future statements about NATO and documents of NATO on Nagorno-Karabakh will be in keeping with the ministerial statement of the OSCE issued in December 2009, *which evenly represents all three of the key underlying principles*.

In conclusion, *I want to reiterate Armenia's willingness to continue engaging in this mutually beneficial cooperation. Thank you, Mr.. Secretary General.*

**James Appathurai:** Actually recently at the meeting with the representatives of NATO the Minister of Defence of Azerbaijan, Safar Abiyev, said that Azerbaijan can attack all the territories of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia in particular.

So my question is, what special measures does NATO have to take to prevent any new aggression from Azerbaijan?

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen:**

As I said before, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict remains, of course, a matter of serious concern to NATO, and it must be resolved peacefully. But NATO seeks no role for itself. We support the efforts of the OSCE Minsk Group and we *hope these efforts will come to fruition*. Soon.

And I hope to see a continuation of the *frequent high-level meetings between Armenia and Azerbaijan within and outside the Minsk* process.

**James Appathurai:**

Yes. Pascal Mallet, Agence France-Presse.

**Pascal Mallet (journalist):**

My question is for President Sargsyan. If, as the Secretary General has said, once or twice just now, if NATO has no role in solving the Nagorno-Karabakh question, what do you expect from NATO though, knowing that you will never be a member before this is solved, because of the Turkish position. As we know other bilateral problems might force a country to wait before she can be a member, as it is in the case of Macedonia as well.

**Serzh Sargsyan:**

*You are right in that we do not aspire to NATO membership*. But I did not hear anyone say now, or I have not heard anyone before say that NATO has nothing to do with ... or in connection with the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, if all of a sudden there were military actions.

The OSCE Minsk Group is engaged with the conflicts of Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenia and Azerbaijan are both members of the Council of Europe. European organizations are engaged with the resolution process and the normalization of all relations. As far as I understand

NATO is also responsible for security in Europe. As far as I understand Europe has no other armed forces.

Now if there were a military conflict in the future I do not mean that NATO would certainly *come and engage in the region*. My point is also clear, I think. By cooperating in the framework of an IPAP we benefit and *we multiple ... we augment our expertise and capacity*. For security this is a key factor.

**James Appathurai:** My question is to the President. Armenia is a member state of the Collective Security Treaty Organization. It also cooperates with NATO. Also trains instructors and officers in NATO member states and supplies a model that is similar to some allies. What is the model of the Armenian army currently, after all of this?

**Serzh Sargsyan:** The Armenian army has *the victorious army model*. It is an army capable of combat. An army that is well organized as an institution. And it's *ready to accomplish any task given to it*. The Armenian army has types of ammunition that countries ten times the size of Armenia would dream of having. The professional capacity of our officers is well known to our colleagues in the West and in the East when we engage in joint operations or drills.

*Our army was born and baptized in the battlefield* and the core of the Armenian officers, top officers, led by the Minister and the Army Chief of Staff, have *a wealth of experience of warfare* and it's a positive experience, a successful experience. With all of this our army is an army that *is under democratic control, that operates transparency*.

It's an army that cooperates with NATO, yes, and it's an army that cooperates with the Collective Security Treaty Organization member states, Armed Forces. Let

me reiterate, it's an army that is ready to accomplish any task.

We're proud of our army. But, on the other hand, we dream of the day when in our region there will not be huge or oversized armies relative to the capacity of our states.

#### **Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion.**

NATO Spokesman **James Appathurai** conducts an interview with Secretary General of NATO **Anders Fogh Rasmussen** and President of Armenia **Serzh Sargsyan**. They discuss a variety of issues: operations in Afghanistan, the Armenia-NATO relationship, regional issues.

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen** says the Alliance is grateful for Armenians' support to their operations and missions in Afghanistan and in the Balkans. He mentions that they are training soldiers for the Afghan Security Forces and assist in promoting NATO's transition strategy. He informs that Armenia is successful in implementing its individual Partnership Action Plan, the defense reforms are progressing well but they must go hand-in-hand with political reforms and democratic institution building. He adds that NATO is very much interested in maintaining strong links with all countries of the region, and they are very much interested in deepening the cooperation with Armenia in the framework of the Individual Partnership Plan.

**Serzh Sargsyan** thanks Mr.. Secretary General for the meeting and says that the 2009 positive assessment reports on IPAP indicate Armenia's progress achieved during the previous year, especially in the field of defense and security as well as reforms and other sectors. He mentions that the defense and security system, improvements and modernization are also aimed at ensuring interoperability or high degree of interoperability with the defense and security systems of the advanced nations. He adds that Armenia attaches great importance to its participation in the NATO-led peace operations and the operation in Afghanistan where the Armenian gatekeepers participate. He assumes that they are satisfied to note significant improvement in their cooperation with the Alliance in emergency management. He notes that even the fact that the Armenian side would never allow Ankara to get engaged or to interfere with the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict

hasn't sobered up Turkey. In conclusion he adds that he wants to reiterate Armenians' willingness to continue engaging in that mutually beneficial cooperation.

**The interviewer asks** what special measures NATO can take to prevent any new aggression from Azerbaijan.

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen** answers that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict remains a matter of serious concern to NATO and it must be resolved peacefully. He adds that they support the efforts to come to fruition.

**The interviewer asks** president Sargsyan what he expects from NATO on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh.

**President Sargsyan** answers that the OSCE Minsk Group is engaged in the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Besides, Armenia and Azerbaijan are both members of the Council of Europe. According to him NATO is also responsible for the security in Europe, as Europe has no other joint armed forces.

In answer to the interviewer's second question about the model of the current Armenian army **Serzh Sargsyan** answers that the Armenian Army has the victorious army model. It's an organized army capable of combat and ready to accomplish any task given to it. He adds that their army was born and baptized in the battlefield, and the core of it has a wealth of experience of warfare and, at the same time, is under democratic control. He proudly says that their army cooperates with NATO, the Collective Security Treaty Organization member states, Armed Forces.

### **Have your say!**

You are the Foreign Minister of a country hosting a team of international experts who have arrived on a friendly mission to build up collaborative working groups on certain fields of mutual interest. You greet them cordially in the Reception Hall of the Ministry and invite to discuss the topics stipulated in the initial agenda.

Work in a group, plan and conduct a lively discussion, offer your format of the activities, state your goals and means to attain them. You may discuss any set of questions from setting up a joint scientific research centre of advanced technologies to rural development programmes. The range of issues may be as diverse as your imagination craves.

## *An interview with*

### **THE PRESIDENT OF ARMENIA SERZH SARGSYAN given to Laura Davidescu from Euronews**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. Can you trace back the history of the recognition of the Genocide of Armenians in the US?
2. Why do Armenians turn to the international community with the appeal to recognize the Genocide of 1915?
3. Can genocides be prevented?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. to acclaim something               | a) to signify the finish, the conclusion of something                            |
| 2. to spell the end of something      | b) to be a necessary feature of a particular experience, which cannot be avoided |
| 3. to be part and parcel of something | c) to praise or welcome something publicly                                       |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*19, March, 2010*

**Euronews:** President Sargsyan, with 23 votes *in favour of the resolution* and 22 against, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States' House of Representatives has decided to declare that the 1915 massacre of over one million Armenians by the Ottoman Turks was genocide. Why



do you think the committee has voted the resolution now?

**President Serzh Sargsyan:**

Discussions on the recognition of the Armenian genocide are not new in the political life of the United States of America.

Several times at least in the past 10 years, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives has tried to vote on the resolution.

Forty-two states in the US have recognized the events as genocide, so the resolution on the 4th of March is neither a surprise nor a new thing for us.

**Euronews:**

*Do you think of any particular reason for them voting it now, in this particular context of Turkish-Armenian reconciliation?*

**Sargsyan:**

We are currently in discussions with Turkey on the issue of re-establishing our relations. This should be done without any preconditions, and I think that Turkey has no moral right to blame us about anything or *to impose any conditions*. Re-establishing relations without preconditions means we are not under any obligations *to stay away from any of the possible topics*.

Let's say that, *by some miracle*, the Turkish Parliament ratifies the protocols, the Armenian Parliament does the same, we re-establish our relations and a third country, which is against us re-establishing our relations, on purpose takes up the genocide issue. Will the Turks, therefore, use this as a pretext and *break off relations*?

**Euronews:**

If Armenia's major problems now are unemployment, economic isolation and long-running disputes with Turkey and Azerbaijan, can these problems be more easily solved now?

**Sargsyan:** Our difficulties with Turkey did not begin yesterday. For 17 years, Turkey has *kept the Armenian border under blockade*. Was there such a resolution 17 years ago? We fully understand that Turkey is a big country — in terms of population, territory and power ... vastly bigger than Armenia. And if we *lived apart from each other* we would [also] understand. But since Armenia and Turkey are part of the international community, and the United States, France and the European Union are too, then the international community must assess the developments and situations as they unfold.

**Euronews:** I would go back to the recognition of the Armenian genocide. If this *issue is of paramount concern* for Armenians both at home and in the Diaspora, could you please tell us why Yerevan State University awarded an honorary degree to the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2007? The Iranian president denies the Holocaust.

**Sargsyan:** You know, we cannot oblige our neighbours to think as we do. One should not narrow things down to a single person. *To bestow upon* the leader of a country an *honorific reward* signifies an *expression of gratitude and recognition towards* the people of that country. The Iranians have been our neighbours for centuries and they are very important to us.

**Euronews:** Would you call Yerevan State University's decision Armenian "realpolitik"?

**Sargsyan:** I would consider it as a particular approach by Yerevan State University towards a particular issue, an approach quite current in Europe and in the democratically developed countries of the world.

**Euronews:** You are quoted as having said in London, in February, that Nagorno-Karabakh was never a part of independent

Azerbaijan. Well, the international community seems to have another opinion, another assessment.

**Sargsyan:** The international community does not have a different vision. History is well-known ... Nagorno-Karabakh was not a part of independent Azerbaijan. It was the Caucasus Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which attached Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan.

Why did the international community *acclaim the collapse of* the Soviet Union and not consider Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan *part and parcel of the* Soviet Union? Still saying Karabakh is an integral part of Azerbaidjan? It is not logical, is it?

**Euronews:** What kind of compromises are you willing to make in order to achieve a peaceful resolution of this conflict?

**Sargsyan:** One cannot *eliminate the consequences of this conflict* without *addressing its causes*. And when speaking about the causes ... we talk about recognizing the Nagorno-Karabakh's people's *right of self determination* ... the recognition of this right and its implementation. The other problems will be solved rapidly after that. The Armenian parts of this conflict - Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh - are *profoundly interested in a swift resolution of* this conflict. But *a sustainable resolution that would allow for peace and security in the region, as opposed to giving Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh, which would spell the end of its existence*.

**Euronews:** Azerbaijan states very clearly that it will never ever accept Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent entity. They will never let it go.

**Sargsyan:** *What does the international community propose to us? To*

solve this conflict on the basis of three principles of international law: firstly, self-determination; secondly, territorial integrity; and thirdly, the non-use of force. I propose, through you, the media, to appeal to Azerbaijan to sign an agreement not to use force. This would instill trust in the Armenian people of Karabakh and Armenia. And under these conditions of trust we would begin the negotiations for a settlement. We Armenians know very well what Azerbaijan's territorial integrity means. We've talked about it openly several times. The Azerbaijanis ... can they say what the right of self-determination means for the people of Nagorno Karabakh?

When we *issue a joint declaration* about the right of self-determination, Azerbaijan is not talking about the Armenian people's right to self-determination but of the right of the main player in the conflict ... the people of Nagorno Karabakh.

(2011Euronews)

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**Laura Davidescu** from **Euronews** announces the fact that with 23 votes in favour of the resolution and 22 against, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States' House of Representatives has decided to declare that the 1915 massacre of over one million Armenians by the Ottoman Turks was genocide. Euronews wants to know president Sargsyan's opinion why the committee has voted the resolution after all these years.

**Sargsyan** points out that the discussions on the recognition of the Armenian Genocide are not new in the political life of the USA, adding that forty-two states in the US have recognized the events as genocide, so the resolution on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March is neither a surprise nor a new thing (*remember the next 2 questions given to Sargsyan by Euronews and the answers given by the president*).

**Sargsyan** affirms that Turkey has kept the Armenian border under blockade for 17 years. He also adds that Armenia and Turkey are part of the international community, and the US, France and European Union are too, then the international community must access the developments and situations as they unfold.

**In reply to Laura Davidescu's question** why Yerevan State University awarded an honorary degree to the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2007, if he does not recognize the Holocaust, **Sargsyan** comments that the Iranians have been their neighbours for centuries.

**Euronews** reminds Sargsyan about the fact that when in London he, opposing the international community, quoted that Karabakh has never been a part of Azerbaijan, assuming that the history of Armenia is well known to everybody.

**Euronews** wonders what kind of compromises they are willing to make in order to achieve a peaceful resolution of the conflict. **Sargsyan** affirms that one cannot eliminate the consequences of this conflict. Besides, they should think about the rights of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to **Euronews** Azerbaijan states very clearly that it would never accept Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent entity.

While **Sargsyan** is sure that the conflict can be solved on the basis of three principles of international law: self-determination, territorial integrity, the non-use of force. And under these conditions of trust they would begin the negotiations for a settlement.

### **Have your say!**

You are a journalist writing an account of the summit you were assigned to cover. Relate the key events and topics of the meetings, speak on their key players and comment on the final resolution passed. Refer to the interviews you have managed to conduct with several country leaders.

Do not restrain your imagination. Your account can be realistic, futuristic, with an ironic tint or pessimistic.

Present your account to the class.

# UNIT 2

## *Debate*

### **RUSSIA DEBATE**

#### **Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What conditions are required for a country to become a global player?
2. How would you modernize and diversify a country's social, political and economic life in the present times?
3. What are the major issues in the US-Russia dialogue?

#### **Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. prickly relationship               | a) a group of experts who provide advice and ideas on political, social and economic issues   |
| 2. to rest the case here              | b) living conditions in which someone has only as much food and money as they need in order to stay alive                                       |
| 3. a green agenda                     | c) a different and less welcome aspect of something   |
| 4. the flipside of something          | d) ways of contact difficult to deal with because of very different ideas   |
| 5. a considerable international clout | e) the ability to obtain what one wants through attraction, neutralizing or winning over, by assimilating into the established group or culture |
| 6. to hone one's attitude             | f) significant international power and  |

- |    |                    |  |
|----|--------------------|--|
|    | towards            | influence  |
| 7. | a think tank       | g) to stop discussing the matter                               |
| 8. | soft power         | h) issues of the protection of the environment                 |
| 9. | subsistence levels | i) to develop and improve one's approach over a period of time |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

**19 March, 2010**  
**Chair - Natalia Leshchenko**

**Margot Light** - *Professor Emeritus of International Relations at the Department of International Relations of the London School of Economics and Political Science*

**Roger Munnings** - *currently the UK Government Special Representative for Trade and Investment between the UK and Russia*

**Alex Bertolotti** - *a Partner of PricewaterhouseCoopers Moscow and leader of the PricewaterhouseCoopers Insurance and Pension Services in Russia and CIS*

**Sam Greene** - *freelance journalist based in Moscow since 1999*

**Jonathan Stern** - *a business journalist and investigative reporter*

## RUSSIA DEBATE

**Chair:** Welcome to Russia Debate. *The purpose of tonight's debate is to help the audience form and hone their own attitude towards Russia. On the stage, we have an impressive array of top-level experts on Russia in the fields of diplomacy, academia, business, civil society, energy, and the media. In the audience, we have city professionals, policy advisors, members of the diplomatic corps, members of think tanks, and also students – in other words, today's and tomorrow's decision-makers. Let's begin.*

**Chair:** *Is Russia a global player?*

**Margot Light:** In many ways, Russia is a global player. It is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, it is a member of G8, or G20, it is a nuclear power, it is a member of the Middle East Quartet Process. It is a key producer and exporter of energy, *which gives it tremendous leverage over transit countries and over consumer countries.* So in all those ways you can say Russia is already a global player. However, *Russia has tremendous demographic problems which are likely to become more acute.* It has a very small GDP compared to other global players in the world, *it is heavily dependent on the export of raw materials,* mainly energy, and it therefore has *an economy that resembles more a third-world economy* than the economy one might expect of a global player. It has *no reliable friends in the international system.* *In fact, it strikes me as significant that not even its near abroad states have followed Russia in recognising Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and that I think signifies that it cannot rely on any of its allies to support it in any international endeavour.* *Russia lacks soft power,* particularly in terms of being able *to offer an attractive mode of development to other countries.* Many of the *social indices* in Russia, for example the mortality rate, the infant mortality rate, the proportion of the population *living on subsistence and sub-subsistence levels* are far higher than one expects from a global player. *So we have a peculiar situation here.* I was at a seminar for the last two days where *Russia was called both a rising and a declining power,* and I think this is a very good characterisation. *What it needs to do* is to become a truly global player *in the fullest meaning of that term that it needs to address these deficiencies* which at the moment make it a global player more in form than in substance.

**Chair:** What should Russia do to acquire soft power?

**Margot Light:** What it can do is turn itself into a more transparent country, in which the government is more accountable and *in so doing it will immediately become more attractive to the people.* It could *participate more actively and productively in international fora* and *become a more*



*cooperative player*, and by becoming a more cooperative player it would have a greater ability to influence the international outcomes rules and norms.

**Chair:** *Is it possible for a country to be a global player whilst having considerable economic problems?*

**Margot Light:** I think they can. As Edward has pointed out we know countries like Britain that have enormous economic problems and yet still a *considerable international clout*. What is terribly important in relation to Russia however is that *it needs to diversify its economy so that it is not so reliant on raw resources*.

**Chair:** Can one do business in Russia? What are the Russian ways of doing business and how different are they from the Western rules? You are both smiling.

**Roger Munnings:** The method of governance is very different in Russia, and all us Westerners who moved down there learned very quickly that all the things that a Western company does a Russian company does as well, but in a different way.

**Alex Bertolotti:** It's a very big question that Roger and I can spend next two days talking about. The quality of people in the business I saw in Russia was as high as the quality of people in the *comparable areas in this country*. *When it comes to corruption*, there is corruption, there is bureaucracy. There is also increased transparency. My time, when I was there in 2003 to 2008, was the time for capital markets, *the growth of consumer lending*, and what comes with capital markets is increased transparency and reporting and challenge. I've audited companies down there, and I've seen what goes inside those companies, and *you need to keep an eye on it*.

**Chair:** How susceptible are the Russian people to working according to Western values?

**Roger Munnings:**

*To me this is an enormously complex issue* and for me it lies at the bottom of some of the issues between Russia and the West at the moment. To move Russia from where it was in the mid-1980s to where the leading people want to take it is an enormously complex question. It is clear that the president and the prime-minister want to modernise and to diversify and ultimately, to my belief, have a system of modern democracy in their country. But all of those things take an enormous amount of time, and that's because you are dealing with people. Some of those people will *adopt new ideas quickly*, others will always *yearn for the old system*. But there is a very positive force to move the country from one state to another state. To give an example, when we started in Russia we had about 130 staff 50% of whom were Russian. When I *handed over the business* we had some 3500 staff, of whom 90% were Russian from the age of 21 to 38. Those people are amongst our best people anywhere in the world, in terms of performance, in terms of motivation, in terms of what we in our business call the green agenda, in terms of social conscience and working with charities, they are absolutely among top quality people. To say a couple of words on corruption, *yes there is pretty deep bureaucratic corruption*. Yet the president has said very clearly that he is being against corruption, and I think it is very important that the West supports that and the Western businesses do.

**Chair:**

Would you still do business in Russia?

**Roger Munnings:**

Yes, of course. In fact, it wouldn't be so much fun if all those obstacles were not there. It's been great for all our businesses.

**Chair:**

Is US-Russia dialogue still defining for international relations?

**Sam Greene:**

*The crux of the problem for the Russia-US relations is that* Russia does need to work with the United States to face the problems it faces. *American cooperation is needed in terms of security issues*, in terms of NATO expansion, the WTO entry. *The flipside of this is that the US* does not need much from Russia. The US agenda towards Russia consists of a number of points: one is to replace the START treaty if

possible so that they can move forward with a bigger agenda on nuclear disarmament, and second, to keep Russia as much as possible out of the way. There is a large degree of recognition that Russia cannot be all that useful in Iran, *it can be marginally useful on North Korea, it can provide some opportunities in terms of helping out with Afghanistan*, but maybe not as much as has been thought. But Russia *can cause problems on a global scale*, so the agenda is to keep Russia out of the way.

**Chair:** Are Russian pipelines a threat to Europe?

**Jonathan Stern:**

It is a very British way of phrasing the question. Of course there is nothing new in that. We *analyse this from an energy, contractual perspective*, and we *look at a lot of this* largely ideological work *with some scepticism*. *Not that we discount the political element* in Russian *energy trade*, there is definitely a political element. However, when you look at the importance of energy for Russian foreign earnings, it is really one of the more worrying things for the Russian economy. That dependence has made Russians, and before them the soviets, very cautious about jeopardizing what I think is about 80% of their foreign currency earnings. Undoubtedly, in the former Communist countries of Europe, the dependence on Russian energy, in particularly gas, *has been viewed as a threat and something that should be lessened*. However, for these countries to get alternative gas supplies is actually very difficult and very expensive. Russians know perfectly well that if these countries can buy energy and gas from somewhere else, they will. It is very clear that if the Nabucco pipeline is a reality, Russians cannot stop it.

The key thing about January 2009 episode [with Ukraine] is that in much of the European press *it was hailed as Russia waging an energy war against Europe and everybody else*. In Russian press, this was seen as proof that Ukraine was *a completely unreliable transit country and the need to diversify from Ukraine that carries 80% of Russian gas transit to Europe, in order to secure reliable gas supply to Europe*.

The Nord Stream pipelines *will ensure that the largely big concern will dissipate*. Just one of these pipelines will mean that even if the transit is interrupted through Ukraine, unless it is interrupted for months, Europe ought to be able to manage with its alternative supplies. I also think that Nord Stream II will go. I also think that South Stream will eventually go, too. Interestingly how you phrase the question if these should be seen as a threat. But I think most countries see these pipelines as removing the principal threat to security of Russian gas supply in Europe, which is transit arguments with Ukraine.

Couple of final comments. *There is a serious lack of appreciation of January 2009 of the huge financial and reputational losses that Russia has suffered. Gazprom lost conservatively in the region of US \$100 million a day* for at least seventeen days. Transit CIS countries know *they hold a huge amount of power* as they know that *foreign public opinion would almost certainly take their side* despite whatever the objective facts of contracts and prices and debts. *None of that really matters*. What I think is important is that European countries and the EU Commission in particular have got to pay much more attention to these transit countries, particularly Ukraine, and also Belarus and Moldova. I am reasonably confident that the Streams will assist energy security of Europe, although in many European capitals, especially the new member states, they will be viewed the opposite way.

### Questions from the Audience

**Question:**

*Professor Light, you suggested that Russia has to be more cooperative with international agencies, and I'm wondering what you mean by that. Russia has quite good relations with many states. In fact, some 75% of the states vote with Russia and China in the United Nations. Everyone would agree that China is a global player, but it can hardly be called cooperative. The same is true of the United States. **Why does Russia need to cooperate internationally even more?***

**Margot Light:** I was answering a slightly different question to the one you

thought I was. I was answering the question of how Russia could increase its soft power. I had in mind the institutions it could improve its relationship with, and *with OSCE the relationship has been particularly sticky*. I could refer as well to its relationship with NATO in the NATO-Russia council. *It is a particularly prickly relationship*, and Russia's representative to NATO is a particularly prickly individual, and I can go on *but I think I can rest my case here*. I think the fact that so many countries vote with Russia and China in the UN on the issues to do with human rights is an interesting way of using soft power.

**Question:** **How do you reconcile attempts at modernisation with the creation of a strong hierarchical system of power?**

**Roger Munnings:** In business terms, if you want to change something, *you must first gain control over it to later release it*. You can't do it if you are not in control, for example, across the regions of the country. Perhaps, *that's where the vertical of power comes in*. *When you have established that measure of control, and you've established the values and the vision of the future*, then you can start to release control. At least from the business perspective.

**Question:** **Can you do business in Russia without knowing Russian?**

**Roger Munnings:** I don't speak Russian, I wish I did, but it is possible to do business without speaking the language, but less and less so. I think if you want to go there and do business, then learn Russian.

**General Question to All Panelists:** **What advice would you give to the British public and to the Russian public on bilateral relations?**

**Roger Munnings:** *Be open-minded and try to understand the differences.*

**Sam Greene:** I'd say it in Russian, *надо чаще встречаться*. More integration, more visits, more communication.

**Mary:** To the British: *Get out there and learn Russian*. To the

**Dejevsky:** Russians: get yourself the same PR company that the Georgians have.

**Margot Light:** To both: *make it easier for visas to be obtained.*

**Jonathan Stern:** To the British: Avoid stereotypes. To the Russians: Get better publicity.

**Chair:** Thank you.

*(abridged from the LSE, INSTID Russia Debate)*

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the notes in brackets.**

**The chair** welcomes everybody introducing the day's debate, the decision makers and suggests starting the debate on the topic whether Russia is a global player.

**Margot Light** says that Russia is a global player being the member of the UN Security Council, of G8 or G20, it is a nuclear power, member of the Middle East Quartet Process. She mentions that she was at a seminar where Russia was called both a rising and a declining power. She admits that Russia lacks soft power.

**The chair** asks her what Russia should do to acquire soft power.

**Margot Light** answers that... *(find the answer from the debate)*

**Roger Munnings** believes that the method of governance is very different in Russia.

**Alex Bertolotti** thinks the quality of people in the business he saw in Russia is very high.

Then **the chair** asks how susceptible Russian people are to working according to Western values and whether he would still do business in Russia.

**Roger Munnings** answers positively, taking into consideration the intentions of the president and the prime-minister to modernize and diversify the country and have a system of modern democracy there.

**The chair** wants to know whether US-Russia dialogue is still defining for international relations.

**Sam Greene** answers that American cooperation is needed in terms of security issues, in terms of...(continue the idea from the debate)

**The chair** asks whether Russian pipelines are a threat to Europe.

**Jonathan Stern** answers that it is one of the worrying things for the Russian economy, and in case the Nabucco pipeline is a reality, Russians can't stop it. Most countries see these pipelines as removing the principal threat to the security of Russian gas supply in Europe. He concludes saying that EU countries have to pay much more attention to transit countries, particularly Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.

**A person from the audience asks** Mr.s. Light why Russia needs to cooperate internationally even more.

**Margot Light** answers that many countries vote with Russia on the issues of human rights as an interesting way of using soft power.

**In reply to the audience's question** whether he can do business in Russia without knowing Russian, **Roger Munnings** considers it possible but advises them to learn Russian.

At the end all the panelists are asked to give advice to the British and Russian public on bilateral relations. **Roger Munnings** wants public to be open-minded, **Sam Greene** offers more integration, more visits, **Mary Dejevsky** suggests learning Russian and getting themselves the same PR company that the Georgians have. **Margot Light** advises to make it easier for visas to be obtained. **Jonathan Stern** wishes the British to avoid stereotypes, while the Russians - to get publicity. The **Chair** thanks everybody.

### **Have your say!**

The motion under debate, which you are going to conduct, is "Chinese will oust English as a language of international communication in 30 years' time".

The moderator will invite the guests to speak for or against the motion. Then he/she will throw the question open to the audience. In the end you will vote on the motion.

Choose the moderator and the keynote speakers and ask them to prepare their speeches. Decide on a 5-minute time limit. Meanwhile prepare your questions to the speakers. The language box below will help you. After you have made the preparations, role-play the debate.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

The purpose of tonight's debate is to  
 ...  
 ...*problems which are likely to become more acute*  
 it is heavily dependent on ...  
*In fact, it strikes me as significant that*  
 ...  
 ... able to offer an attractive mode of development  
*So we have a peculiar situation here.*  
 What it needs to do is to ...  
*in the fullest meaning of that term*  
 it needs to address these deficiencies  
*in so doing it will immediately become more attractive to the people*  
 When it comes to...  
*You need to keep an eye on it.*  
 To me this is an enormously complex issue.

to yearn for the old system  
*The crux of the problem for ... is that*  
 ...  
 The flipside of this is that ...  
*It can be marginally useful.*  
 It can provide some opportunities in terms of ...  
*Not that we discount the ... element,*  
 ...  
 None of that really matters.  
*Foreign public opinion would almost certainly take their side.*  
 But I think I can rest my case here.  
*Get out there and learn.*  
 Be open-minded and try to understand the differences.



## *An Interview with*

### **THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER S. LAVROV**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What is the role of Russia in the world politics today?
2. What does the integration of CIS countries imply?
3. What are the similarities and differences between EU and CIS unions?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. with the advent of ...     | a) to last tens of years  |
| 2. on the sidelines of ...    | b) watching something but not actually involved in it   |
| 3. a zero sum game            | c) with the coming of an important event  |
| 4. the ball is in one's court | d) to be responsible for the next move in some process  |
| 5. to span decades            | e) a situation in which a participant's gain or loss is exactly balanced by the losses or gains of the other participant(s) |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*7 July, 2010*  
**MIR Television and Radio Company, Moscow**

**Question:** This year, the year of Russia's CIS chairmanship, quite a lot of *important and significant events have occurred in the Commonwealth space*; for example, *the establishment of the Customs Union*, adoption of the Customs Code, which has recently *entered into force*, the Ukrainian

elections and *the ensuing fairly successful bilateral agreements providing arguably a breakthrough* in Russian-Ukrainian relations, as well as the change of power in Kyrgyzstan. Tell us what do you think are *the main development trends* among the Commonwealth countries at present?

**S. Lavrov:**

*In the questions that you have asked, the trends are already delineated. Although ambiguous and multi-vector trends, they are still positive in the majority. I am convinced of this and feel them in the work within the various entities of the Commonwealth of Independent States. This is primarily reflected in the CIS leaders' grasp that to jointly tackle the tasks facing our countries is much more efficient than individually. The adoption in the last couple of years of fundamentally important documents, such as the CIS Further Development Concept, the Implementation Action Plan and the Strategy for Further Development of the CIS to 2020, emphasizes the focus on the maximally substantive work of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Russia is trying its utmost to maintain this trend.*

In the Commonwealth, indeed, there has appeared an additional, very important, and stimulating, I would say, trend following the coming to power in Ukraine of the current president and the government formed by him. *With the advent of the new government* I am convinced that more active and effective participation by Ukraine in the various Commonwealth structures will undoubtedly contribute to its strengthening and *will benefit all its member states.*

You have mentioned the revolution in Kyrgyzstan. It makes nobody happy. *First and foremost*, we certainly think about the Kyrgyz people. This is a friendly people to us, the people of a state ally of the Russian Federation.

*We are doing everything possible to alleviate the humanitarian situation in Kyrgyzstan, and support efforts to return the situation to the legal framework. We closely follow developments there so as to provide if necessary, at the request of the Kyrgyz side, all possible assistance in preventing new outbreaks of violence.*

Of course, *some conflicts still linger in the Commonwealth space, above all, those of Nagorno Karabakh and Transnistria, the settlement of which we are actively trying to facilitate.* On Karabakh, *quite a long path has been traveled.* Most recently, in St. Petersburg, *on the sidelines of the economic forum*, the sixth meeting of Russian President Dmitry Medvedev with his Armenian and Azerbaijani counterparts took place. Following that meeting, additional instructions have been given. We expect that on the sidelines of an informal event – the OSCE Ministerial Council – to be held in Almaty in mid-July, we will again meet with the Armenian and Azerbaijani foreign ministers. We, I mean Russia, France and the United States as co-chairs of the so-called Minsk Group.

*Concluding the answer to your question, I would say that, in my opinion, unifying tendencies prevail in the Commonwealth space. This is largely due to the fact that at the present stage, most recently, the tasks of modernizing the economy have become a priority for all of us. Modernization is the slogan of the day for all.* Everyone is beginning to see that, given the centuries of shared history, the common economic and other infrastructure created over those long decades and centuries and the common cultural, civilizational space, by working together, *we are to gain additional competitive advantages in today's world, where competition is high as never before.* So I am optimistic about the future of the Commonwealth.

**Question:**

A variety of extra-regional players, both countries and *interstate groupings*, are quite actively promoting their interests in the CIS countries today. Tell me with which of them Russia has common goals and objectives in the CIS area, and which are nevertheless its competitors?

**S. Lavrov:**

The *commonality of goals* in this space is not determined by who particularly works there, but by the *specificity of the goals pursued*. If they *seek to help stabilize the political and economic situation*, and to help the solution of humanitarian problems and the full integration of the countries within the Commonwealth space into the global economy *on fair terms, we actively share these goals* and are ready to cooperate with all who are guided by them in this space. Naturally, we want to see those *goals being realized by transparent methods*.

We understand why many of our partners, including the United States and Europe, are actively interested in this region. Here, in addition to geopolitical tasks and processes, efforts to suppress drug trafficking and various extremist, *terrorist groups spilling over from Afghanistan* and other states are very important. Central Asia *is subject to the relevant risks in one way or another*. *Incidentally*, the routes of existing and future pipelines also run here. Future energy development worldwide, more specifically, in questions of hydrocarbon supply to the various markets depends largely on this. Therefore, *the interest in the region is quite understandable and natural*. The chief thing is that *the methods used to promote these interests, the relevant objectives should be lawful and legitimate*.

I appreciated Europe and America's reaction to the new nature of Russian-Ukrainian relations. However, I have information that in direct contacts with their Ukrainian

colleagues our Western partners have *expressed dissatisfaction* with this. *If this is confirmed, and I very much hope that this will not happen*, it will be a very big disappointment for me, because once again we will *become witnesses of a double standard and the logic of zero sum game*.

**Question:**

Charter flights have been renewed between Tbilisi and Moscow recently. Already two airlines sought permission for such flights, which suggests that citizens of both Russia and Georgia do not want to lose connection with each other; they want to go to see each other or just travel, after all. Nevertheless, *a diplomatic pause exists* between Russia and Georgia. How long can it still last? What fruit does this kind of policy bear?

**S. Lavrov:**

*This kind of policy bears no sweet fruit – only bitter.* Hopefully, the Georgian leadership will understand it one day. We did not sever diplomatic relations with Tbilisi. This was done by Mikhail Saakashvili after *his criminal military adventure* had been crushed in August 2008. The independence of the peoples of Abkhazia and South Ossetia has since then been firmly secured by their allied relations with the Russian Federation. We recognized these two new republics. We had no choice because only thus was it possible in the face of the present Georgian regime *to ensure not only the security, but also the very survival* of the South Ossetian and Abkhaz peoples. We were not going to break off diplomatic relations, *knowing full well that* the regime of Mikhail Saakashvili does not personify the Georgian people, but is an anomaly which, in general, does not grow from within the Georgian society but was brought there from outside. Those who watched the situation understand this perfectly well. But even in the absence of diplomatic relations, when Switzerland represents the interests of Russia in Georgia

and of Georgia in Russia, *we are nonetheless open to normal contacts, primarily in the belief that our people are interested in this, Georgian citizens among them. We, I repeat, want to strongly encourage people-to-people contacts.* We do everything possible *under the current circumstances* for such contacts to develop. We are ready for *resumption of regular flights between Moscow and Tbilisi*, if the Georgian side shows interest in that, as well as for many other things that will help restore the artificially severed ties between our peoples and between the economic operators. *So the ball is in Tbilisi's court.*

**Question:**

I would like to once again return to the theme of the Customs Union. How do you assess its prospects? How serious are the trends for its expansion by drawing in the other members of the EurAsEC? How in principle can difficulties be overcome in the creation of the Customs Union, for example, in Russia-Belarus relations?

**S. Lavrov:**

The Customs Union is a very specific thing, *a process which involves a calculation of benefits, some concessions and their costs, the price of the appropriate steps in one direction or another.* Therefore, the harmonization of these things always takes a long time. I can honestly say *we did it in a record time.* In the EU, for example, *similar processes span decades.* To this day in the European Union, which is a structured alliance, not even an organization but a community of states with *a vast number of supranational functions concentrated in Brussels*, this process still continues. But *even with such considerable successes* many problems arise in the European Union, *whereas we have gone through the prior stages of integration much faster than they had in Europe.* And not because we somehow want to artificially speed up these processes. We want them to speed up because otherwise *we'll fall behind the trends of*

*globalization and integration; we wish for their acceleration to ensure our competitive advantages. With such a high-speed motion, we, of course, pay great attention to detail and so do our Kazakh and Belarusian partners. It was only natural that quite heated debates would flare up, as it concerns particular economic and financial matters. As you know, the presidents have approved the results of the work done. The relevant documents were signed in Astana on July 5. The Customs Code has entered into force. But most importantly, the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus have agreed on the tentative timetable for creating a single economic space. That will be an even more profound degree of integration. At the same time, the door is open for all wishing EurAsEC countries. The presidents of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have announced that they are seriously considering the possibility of joining the Customs Union. So, those who in their time wrote the Charter of the CIS were right when in 1992 they decided to formulate the possibility of various-speed multi-vector movements towards integration. CIS, EurAsEC, Customs Union – these are examples that characterize well the vitality of this design.*

*(abridged from the Moscow Interview on 7 July, 2010)*

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the notes in brackets.**

**The interviewer** asks S. Lavrov about the main development trends among the Commonwealth countries at present.

**S. Lavrov** answers that the trends, although ambiguous and multi-vector, are already delineated. This, primarily reflected in fundamentally important documents such as the CIS Further Development Concept, Implementation Action Plan and the Strategy for Further Development of the CIS 2020, emphasizes the focus on the maximally substantive work of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Besides, there is an additional, very important trend

following the coming to power in Ukraine of the current president and the government formed by him. He is sure that Ukraine's participation in the Commonwealth structures will be strengthening. As for the revolution in Kyrgyzstan, they are doing everything possible to alleviate the humanitarian situation and to prevent the outbreaks of violence.

**S. Lavrov** also mentions still lingering conflicts between Nagorno-Karabakh and Transnistria in the Commonwealth space and says that they are actively trying to facilitate the resolution of these problems. He optimistically concludes that modernization is the slogan of the day for all, and they are to gain additional advantages in today's competitive world.

**In response to the Interviewer's question** with which countries and interstate groupings Russia has common goals and objectives in the CIS area, **S. Lavrov** answers that ...*(find the answer from the debate)* The chief thing is that the methods used should be lawful. Lavrov adds that their Western partners have allegedly expressed dissatisfaction with the Russian–Ukrainian relations. In case it is confirmed, he will be disappointed as they will witness the logic of the zero sum game.

**The interviewer** wants to know how long the diplomatic pause between Russia and Georgia will last and what fruit it bears.

**S. Lavrov** thinks that in spite of Saakashvili's criminal military adventure, they are, nonetheless, open to normal contacts, strongly encouraging people- to-people contacts.

**The interviewer** asks S. Lavrov's opinion about Customs Union's prospects, its seriousness and Russian–Belarus relations.

According to **S. Lavrov**, Customs Union is a long lasting process, which involves a calculation of benefits. He honestly mentions that they are better than the European Union, as they have gone through the prior stages of integration in a record time. They want to speed up in order not to fall behind the trends of globalization and integration. He adds that the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus have agreed on creating a single economic space, which is open for all wishing EurAsEC countries. Besides, Tajikstan and Kyrgyzstan have announced that they are seriously thinking of joining the Customs Union.

### **Have your say !**

You have to present a report at the parliament of your country on the work of your group of representative at an international convention on border regulation issues of landlocked countries.



Write the draft of the report referring to the common border-line problems, their political, economic, ethnic and cultural impact. Draw comparisons, as well as single out certain peculiarities of the problems for your country. Present the final resolution your group has adopted.

Write down several questions you will most likely be asked after the presentation.

Present your report to the parliament – the class.

Answer the questions of the parliamentarians – your classmates.

Use the collocations and conversation gambits from the box below.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

To enter into force <i>the main development trends</i> this is primarily reflected in <i>the adoption of fundamentally important documents</i> ... is trying its utmost to ... <i>with the advent of</i> ... will benefit all its member states <i>first and foremost</i> We are doing everything possible to alleviate the humanitarian situation. <i>We closely follow developments there ...</i> at the request of ... <i>Quite a long path has been traveled.</i> on the sidelines of the economic forum <i>Concluding the answer to your question, I would say that ...</i> This is largely due to the fact that at the present stage ... <i>Modernization is the slogan of the day for all.</i> the commonality of goals	the specificity of the goals pursued <i>on fair terms</i> we actively share these goals <i>the interest in the region is quite ...</i> understandable and natural <i>If this is confirmed ...</i> I very much hope that this will not happen. <i>the logic of zero sum game</i> This kind of policy bears no sweet fruit – only bitter. <i>to ensure not only the security, but also the very survival of ...</i> We want to strongly encourage people-to-people contacts. <i>So the ball is in ...'s court.</i> We did it in a record time. <i>Even with such considerable successes ...</i> It was only natural that quite heated debates would flare up. <i>they are seriously considering the possibility of ...ing sth</i>
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# UNIT 3

## *Debate*

### **HEAD TO HEAD DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY WITH DAVID MILIBAND AND WILLIAM HAGUE**

**Task 1. Discuss the following.**

1. What elections were held in Britain on May 7, 2010?
2. What parties were going head to head then?
3. Name some of the priorities in the foreign policy of Great Britain that the incoming British administration had to deal with.
4. What challenges does the British government face at present?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. to go head to head                            | a) to behave in accordance or in agreement with the obligation or the pledge to do something in the future                         |
| 2. come to terms with the fact that              | b) to gain as much as possible from the use of combined forces   |
| 3. to make the most to use the collective weight | c) to insult especially by ignoring  |
| 4. to snub one's nose at                         | d) to enter into a tough competition; to face each other directly in order to decide the result of a disagreement or a competition |
| 5. to come in to compliance with                 | e) the central and the most important issue, stage, moment   |
| 6. to conform to the commitment                  | f) to begin to accept and deal with a difficult or unpleasant reality  |
| 7. the pivot point                               | g) to obey rules or requests made by the authority   |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*21 March, 2010*  
**Moderator - Tim Marshall**

**William Jefferson Hague** /heig/- *a British Conservative politician*

**David Wright Miliband** - *a British Labour Party politician*

**Tim Marshall** - *Foreign Affairs Editor for Sky News*

### **HEAD TO HEAD DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY WITH DAVID MILIBAND AND WILLIAM HAGUE**

**Tim Marshall:** Paula, thank you. The war in Afghanistan, an Iranian nuclear bomb, the special relationship – just some of the key issues facing the next government and with weeks to go until the next general election, what will the future of the British foreign policy be? Well, joining me now is the Foreign Secretary, David Miliband, in north London and his Conservative counterpart, William Hague, a very good morning to both of you.

*If I can start with you, Mr. Hague, you are both going head to head, and the two parties of course are going head to head pretty shortly. Without counting your chickens or your votes, it is May 7th, potentially you've won, on foreign policy what do you change?*

**William Hague:** Well, *one of the most important things to change is the way we make decisions about foreign and defence policy working together. The National Security Council, a proper National Security Council and not the pale imitation of the government, have recently tried to establish, chaired by*

the Prime Minister or in his absence by the Foreign Secretary that these decisions *are made in the round*, as well as make the right decisions about the *deployment of our armed forces*. We can also have a distinctive British foreign policy, so that we can say *we will elevate our links with particular countries in the world* – they may be in the Gulf, in South Asia, some of the countries in South America – and *do so in a systematic and sustained basis, given the need to extend and maintain British influence in the world*. So some quite important things would change pretty quickly with a change of the government.

**Tim Marshall:** Mr. Miliband, do you need to change anything if you win on the 7th?

**David Miliband:** I think that any government wants to *meet new challenges*. *The truth is, the danger is that there is a decade of deadlock ahead* as the United States *comes to terms with the fact that there are new rising powers in the world*. *It's vital that we have a British government that is influential in Europe, influential with our traditional allies in the Commonwealth and influential with the new power like China, where I was this week*. William Hague has promised that his big idea is to set up a committee that already exists and to have it chaired by the Prime Minister, but the Prime Minister already chairs it. The truth is that the British influence is needed around the world, so are ideas and so are our armed forces, our diplomats and our intelligence services, and we are absolutely determined to deploy them to meet the big challenges. *You have listed some of them, most notably in the Middle East but also in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. I think it is also very, very important that we continue to recognise that in countries like Brazil and China, that are going to have not just votes

on the UN Security Council but *increasing economic influence, we are the people who extend the hand of friendship* from Europe and I think that is a *very important basis on which to tackle the big problems*.

**Tim Marshall:** Couldn't Mr. Hague have said most of those things that you just said, other than the fact that you think there is already a form of National Security Council? Couldn't he have said all that you just said?

**David Miliband:** No, I think that William Hague would agree that *there is a fundamental difference* between the parties *when it comes to how we exercise influence through* the European Union and that ...

**Tim Marshall:** Okay, let me put that to Mr. Hague – sorry Foreign Secretary – is that the fundamental difference between the two parties, Europe?

**William Hague:** Well there are some differences over Europe. We believe, since referendum was promised to the people at the last election, there should have been a referendum.

**Tim Marshall:** But you promised one, you promised a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty and then you broke your promise.

**William Hague:** No, of course we didn't break our promise, we voted for it in Parliament, but you can't *have a referendum on a treaty that is now in force*, that is now part of the other treaties of the European Union so ...

**Tim Marshall:** You could have *a referendum on getting out of it*.

**William Hague:** ... there are some differences on Europe ... No, we are certainly not going to have a referendum on getting out of

**Hague:**

it. However, David Miliband is wrong to say that we're not in favour of using Europe's influence in the world. I had an excellent meeting in Berlin with the German Foreign Minister just this week, last week David Cameron had an excellent meeting with President Sarkozy a few days before. We are very much in favour of *Europe using its collective weight in the world*, and *to some extent doing so to a greater extent to stop new problems arising in the Balkans, to work together on Iran's sanctions, to have a common approach to energy security* – that is very, very important and *in the interest of all the countries of the EU*, so I hope other parties will not pretend that the Conservative Party isn't going *to make the most of Europe's collective weight in the world*, but we *will be skeptical of more and more centralization and loss of democracy in this country*, of course.

**Tim Marshall:**

Well, let's go on to policy then, starting with you Mr. Miliband on Iran. Some people say the biggest *single foreign policy challenge facing any government pretty much anywhere* in the Western world. The Defence Secretary of the United States said weeks not months to sanctions, now that was months ago, you seem to be no nearer to any sanctions, you *don't seem to have very many cards left to play on the Iranian issue*.

**David  
Miliband:**

*It is certainly the case that the Iranian issue has become much more complex over the last year*, demonstrations on the streets of Teheran and other cities have shown a *leadership divided from its own people* and also there are increasing divisions within the regime in Teheran. What I think is very important is that *we develop a two track policy*, first of all *promising engagement*, which we continue to do with the United States, but *also raising the*

*pressure to show that the world is not willing to put up with the situation where Iran snubs its nose at the UN Security Council and defies the International Atomic Energy Authority. I think it is important that we proceed with the sanctions track alongside the engagement track, those sanctions need to target the particular parts of the regime and the particular parts of the nuclear infrastructure that are key. It also needs to make absolutely clear that if Iran comes in to compliance those sanctions are reversible. Now I believe that China does not want to isolate itself on this issue and it certainly would be quite wrong if they did so given their previous support for sanctions and other resolutions. We do need to move forward and that's why ...*

**Tim Marshall:** Mr. Miliband, forgive me, I am aware that we *are running out of time* and *there are all these big issues to get to*. I need Mr. Hague to be able to come in here. Is there a wafer between the two of you on policy, on Iran and would you support *crippling sanctions*, as Hillary Clinton said?

**William Hague:** Well, we certainly support strong sanctions and I think it is very important actually that a *united message goes out from this country* so we shouldn't be looking for differences on issues like this and ...

**Tim Marshall:** *You have both made that clear*, in that case let's move to the Middle East because it's clear, that on that issue and others there is not that much between you, and you say *Europe is one of the battlegrounds*. What about the Middle East, can either of you say that you absolutely support what Ban Kee Moon, the UN Secretary General, said yesterday about Israel and the Palestinian situation? Quote: "Let us be clear, all settlement activity is illegal anywhere

in occupied territory and must be stopped." Do either of you disagree with that statement? Mr. Hague?

**David Miliband:** That's a true statement ... sorry.

**Tim Marshall:** No, go ahead Mr. Miliband.

**David Miliband:** That's a true statement and it is also *one that closely conforms to the commitment* that Israel made when it *signed up to the so-called road map* earlier in this decade, and it *is vital that there continues to be robust international statements and actions on this issue*. I think *what is clear to me* is that we are going to need a renewed multilateral effort. Obviously our general election is not *the pivot point* for Middle East discussions but the Americans are trying very hard *to restart the so-called proximity talks*. What is clear to me is that if we are to deliver the two year deadline that the quartet have *set for the conclusion of negotiations*, there is going to have to be renewed international multilateral engagement through the UN Security Council, through organisations like the European Union, through the mobilisation of Arab countries to support the Arab peace initiative that would recognise Israel and normalise relations with it in return for the creation of a Palestinian state. I think there are few things more important *to counter radicalisation around the world* as well as it being in the interests both of Palestinians and Israelis for reasons of justice and security.

**Tim Marshall:** Mr. Hague, all settlement activity is illegal, is that going to be your policy in power?

**William:** Well that is, as David Miliband says, *that is a true*



**Hague:** *statement* and Israel halting settlement activity is very, very important in order to *get meaningful negotiations underway*. There are requirements on the other side too, *the quartet principles are accepted and observed ...*

**Tim Marshall:** *Will you take a tougher line?* Sometimes the Arab world say this government has not taken a tough line at all with Israel, do you think you would be tougher than this current administration?

**William Hague:** Well I hope we would all be tough about that but as I say, it is not just a question of being tough on one side, it does require Palestinians too, Hamas of course is a great difficulty here in Gaza, *to accept the right of Israel to exist* and to accept the previous agreements. One of the key things here is the work of the United States. They have a very good envoy, George Mitchell, working in the Middle East. *They are really in the lead on the Middle East peace process* but I think the European nations, including Britain, have to do a great deal in the coming couple of years to help them *press this forward*, because if there *isn't a two state solution*, a secure Israel and a viable Palestinian state, in the next few years, then I fear that the two state *solution is going to slip away*. So this subject, along with Iran that you were asking about and Afghanistan, that trio of subjects, are really the most important issues and problems for any *incoming British administration* in foreign policy.

**Tim Marshall:** [Well], gentlemen, *it's very good of you to come on head to head like this* and thank you for your time. We look ahead to the leaders' debate on foreign policy, thank you both very much.

*(abridged from the SKY NEWS Transcripts)*

## Have your say !

Two diplomats from neighbouring countries are negotiating on environmental issues of the common coastline they share. The problems of the chemical waste disposal and the financing of the new lines of research to minimize the poisonous impact of the industrial waste on the coastline waters are talked over. The acute problem is the decline of fishery in the borderline waters, which causes serious economic problems for the coastal fish industry and food market. This problem should be addressed in the nearest future, otherwise the country inflicting the trouble will have to pay big fines.

Develop the theme adding other environmental problems that could be discussed with the neighbouring country. Try to reach mutual agreement without stepping down from your initial position.

Use the language material from the box below.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

If I can start with you ...	in the interest of all the ...
<i>Without counting your chickens ...</i>	<i>to make the most of ...</i>
to do so in a systematic and sustained basis	It is certainly the case that ...
<i>to come to terms with the fact that</i>	<i>The issue has become much more complex over the last year.</i>
It's vital that ...	to develop a two track policy
<i>To extend the hand of friendship.</i>	<i>to be willing to put up with the situation</i>
a very important basis on which to tackle the big problems	to snub its nose at
<i>There is a fundamental difference between ...</i>	<i>It also needs to make absolutely clear that ...</i>
When it comes to how ...	to be running out of time
<i>to have a common approach to ...</i>	<i>the pivot point for</i>
the solution is going to slip away	That is a true statement.
<i>It's very good of you to come on head to head like this.</i>	<i>to take a tougher line</i>
	to press this forward
	<i>given the need to ...</i>



## *An Interview with*

### **ASSISTANT SECRETARY PHILIP GORDON**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What is the role of Russia in the conflict resolution in the Caucasus?
2. What are the prospects of the development of Georgia as a sovereign and independent state?
3. What interests does the US pursue in South Caucasus?

**Task 2. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*6 July, 2010*

**An Exclusive Interview**

**Question:** Thank you very much for this opportunity. Yesterday Prime Minister Putin made a comment about Secretary Clinton's visit to Georgia. He advised Georgia should not *seek the solution of their problems* in the United States; it's better for them *to engage* directly Abkhazia and South Ossetia *in a dialogue*. What is the role of Russia in conflict resolution of this region?

**Philip Gordon:** First of all, let me say that I am delighted to be back in Tbilisi. *On the question* of Prime Minister Putin's *comments*, I think it's no secret that we have a different point of view from Russia on the issue of Georgia, on the issue of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. We believe in Georgia's *sovereignty and territorial integrity*, Russia clearly doesn't. That's been clear and we've been clear with Russians about it. President Medvedev was just in Washington. President Obama raised this issue and clearly laid out our views *as we've done both publicly and privately*. *As for the idea of* dealing with the South Ossetians and Abkhaz directly, we

agree that it needs to be a dialogue. We participate actively in the Geneva process which has been set up for that purpose, *to try to sort these differences out peacefully and pragmatically*. Georgia has a *reintegration strategy* that we support, because *it's based on the notion that the conflict cannot be settled through military force; it can only be settled as Georgia develops itself as a strong democracy, a prosperous country, and it does need to be a direct dialogue between all of the parties as we move forward*. So we agree on that, we just have fundamental differences on the basics.

**Question:** Security is a serious concern for us as Russian *tanks are deployed* within several kilometers from Tbilisi. Is it correct to say that when Georgians start talking about *defense arms purchase* your administration does not *view that with enthusiasm*? Are there serious guarantees that Russian tanks will not move to other parts of Georgia, or there will be no development of Kyrgyz style scenario when government backed by Russia *comes to power* ?

**Philip Gordon:** We are very *concerned about the security situation* in Georgia. Obviously it was less than two years ago that we had a war, invasion, violent conflict, tragedy. We are very concerned about it. We are very clear there's not and should not be an *arms embargo* on Georgia. As a sovereign and independent state it has the right to defend itself and *secure means to do so*, but *we are also very clear that there is not a military solution to this problem and we have security cooperation with Georgia*.

**Question:** I don't know if this issue was discussed within the committee of President Saakashvili or Secretary Clinton ... On the other hand Georgia, a WTO member, has problems with Russia, like wine and mineral water embargo. Can you discuss this issue and how do you see the future of this?

**Philip Gordon:** *We are focused on the WTO issues*. You saw in the meeting in Washington when President Medvedev was in

town, economics was the main issue. We made a clear interest in getting Russia into WTO. It would be good for Russia, for world trade and investment, and good for the United States, and the economy, that certainly needs all the help it can get these days. And we are also conscious that Georgia has its own issues with Russia. They will need to be resolved in order to succeed in this common goal of getting Russia to the WTO. At present there are other obstacles, so *we haven't completely tackled that problem*, but we're aware that we'll actively work together when the time comes.

**Question:** **Another issue which is linked to Ukraine. As you know, Ukraine stopped membership process with NATO. How can it affect Georgia and its aspiration to join NATO, and what happens if Georgian membership and *accession to NATO* is postponed?**

**Philip Gordon:** We have a very clear view that NATO's doors should remain open to all countries that are interested in joining, and when there is the consensus of all NATO members, and when the country is ready, they should join the alliance and that applies to Georgia, Ukraine and other potential candidates. Also, I want to say that every country is individual, and needn't rely on other cases. It's up to the Ukrainians whether they are interested in joining NATO, just as it's up to the Georgians. We strongly support Georgia's aspirations, we work closely with Georgia, with the NATO-Georgia commission, and if the Ukrainians decide that they are not interested in pursuing this, then it's not going to have an impact on the Georgian case.

**Question:** **Another issue which is related to regional security actually. Armenia sees possible the privatization of the gas pipeline. Georgians worry that it can be Russian Gazprom that can purchase the pipeline. Did you discuss this issue and what is your position?**

**Philip Gordon:** Energy did come up on the meetings. It is an important

issue and Ambassador Richard Morningstar, who was special envoy for Eurasian energy, was with Secretary Clinton with the delegation throughout the Caucasus, and we discussed it on every stop. *We have a strong vision of energy diversity in Europe and that depends on the Southern corridor, which means all of the Caucasus countries' involvement, and this has been something that we've been committed from the start. Georgia played a key role for years and will continue to, and this is another reason why we work so hard on the disputes between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and between Turkey and Armenia. We would like to open up this region for a flow of energy as an alternative to relying so heavily on a sole supply.*

**Question:** **I know that Secretary of State had meetings with Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Do you think that situation in Nagorno-Karabakh will intensify?**

**Philip Gordon:** We are concerned about the situation in Karabakh. It has been frozen for too long. I don't need to tell the Georgians, that an unstable but frozen conflict can quickly become something much worse than that, and so we are not satisfied with an uncomfortable status quo, and the Secretary of State wanted to see the region and understand the dynamics and see how we can help. We are very actively engaged with the Minsk Group process which is the way we believe this can be best negotiated, should be negotiated, must be negotiated, based on Helsinki principles, and that would be better for both sides than the presence of conflict in the region.

**Question:** **And in conclusion to our talk, let us get back to Georgia, about the Georgian democracy, development of democracy in Georgia. What should be the focus here? What kind of problems do you see?**

**Philip Gordon:** Well, the development of democracy in Georgia in general is very important to the United States and to this administration. Secretary Clinton had a speech on how important it is to have an open society, free media, NGOs.

She stressed it in Armenia and Azerbaijan, where they have big challenges on the development of democracy as well. In each case she met with opposition and/or civil society groups, and she did so in Georgia as well, as a strong sign that we believe that the path for Georgia's development is an open society based on free and fair elections, rule of law, free media, independent judiciary. We profoundly believe that [democracy] is the best path forward for Georgia, for its economic development, prosperity, for the reintegration of its territories, and its role as a model for other countries throughout the world.

*(abridged from the Transcripts of the US Embassy in Georgia)*

**Task 3. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets**

**The interviewer asks** Philip Gordon what the role of Russia in the conflict resolution of Abkhazia and South Ossetia is.

**Ph. Gordon** comments that they have different points of view from those of the Russians concerning the issues of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. They believe in Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, while Russia does not. He agrees that it needs a dialogue, adding that Georgia has a reintegration strategy which is based on the notion that the conflict cannot be settled through military force. So they agree on that, it is only that they have fundamental differences on the basics.

**The interviewer** asks whether there are serious guarantees that Russian tanks will not move to other parts of Georgia and there will be no development of the Kirgiz scenario style when the Russian politics dominate.

**Ph. Gordon** answers that they are very much concerned about the security situation in Georgia and assures that there are no arms embargoes on Georgia. He adds that there is no military solution to this problem and, besides, they have security cooperation with Georgia.

**The interviewer** asks Mr. Gordon's opinion about the problems of Georgia-Russia relationship.

**Ph. Gordon** answers that they have a clear interest in getting Russia into WTO which will be good for Russia, for the world trade and investment. He



consciously mentions that Georgia has its own issues with Russia, which need to be resolved in order to succeed in that common goal of getting Russia into the WTO. Besides, there are other obstacles, so they have not completely touched that problem.

**The interviewer** mentions that Ukraine has stopped the membership process with NATO and asks whether it can affect the process of Georgia's joining NATO.

**Ph. Gordon** is sure that NATO's doors are open for all countries. He thinks that Ukraine's case cannot have any impact on the Georgian case.

**The interviewer** wonders whether they have discussed the issue of the gas pipeline, the problem of energy and what his position is.

**Ph. Gordon** answers that they have discussed it with Ambassador Richard Morningstar and ... (*Who else was there with them and what was the result of the discussion ?*)

In reply to **the interviewer's** question whether the situation in Nagorno Karabakh will intensify because of the meetings of Secretary of State with the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan, **Ph. Gordon** answers that they are concerned about the situation in Karabakh and ...(*expand on the answer, please*)

Getting back to Georgia **the interviewer** asks about the problems that can occur in the process of development of democracy in Georgia.

**Ph. Gordon** thinks that the development of democracy in Georgia is very important to the US. He also mentions Clinton's positive approach to that issue. He believes that democracy is the best path forward for Georgia, for its economic development, prosperity, reintegration of its territories and its role as a model for other countries throughout the world.

### **Have your say !**

In a group write down and role-play a press conference with the newly appointed Prime Minister. Let the Prime Minister present the main guidelines of his future domestic and foreign policy to you, speak about the changes and novelty his newly formed government is planning to put into effect.

Prepare and ask many challenging questions, trying to corner the Prime Minister about certain domestic and foreign policy issues. Questions of private character are also permitted, as the Prime-Minister is trying to build up a populist profile.

The language box below will help you to cope with some communicative problems.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

to seek the solution of the problems

*to engage directly in a dialogue*

As we've done both publicly and privately ...

*As for the idea of...*

to try to sort these differences out peacefully and pragmatically

*It's based on the notion that ...*

We are also very clear that ...

We are focused on ...

*We haven't completely tackled that problem.*

We have a strong vision of ... diversity.

*It has been something that we've been committed from the start.*

to play a key role

*to rely so heavily on*

# UNIT 4

## *Debate*

### **INTERNET - AN INSTRUMENT TO FOSTER DEMOCRACY**

**Task 1. Discuss the following.**

1. Speak on the advantages and disadvantages of the global network.
2. How can the Internet be used for political and diplomatic purposes?
3. How can the Internet affect political and diplomatic processes?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. co-moderator                        | a) to yield the opportunity to speak or present to another person   |
| 2. to give or to pass the floor to sb. | b) to be cautious or watchful about something   |
| 3. triptych                            | c) a fellow worker, associate   |
| 4. inferno                             | d) hell   |
| 5. to be wary enough about sth.        | e) a picture that is painted on three pieces side by side, especially one over an altar in a church                                       |
| 6. to strike the middle course         | f) over a period of time  |
| 7. to tip one's hat to                 | g) to consider the alternatives and choose the adequate acceptable settlement to accommodate various sides or approaches                  |
| 8. to go to the terrain of             | h) members of the public playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information |
| 9. the shared ideas of the populace    | i) a trend of the mass information means to become very similar   |

- |     |                                     |    |   |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----|---|
| 10. | to deliberate messages              | j) | the use of conditions attached to a loan, bilateral aid, membership of international organizations by the international financial institutions or donor countries |
| 11. | over the long run                   | k) | to think about and discuss carefully pieces of information before making a decision   |
| 12. | convergence of the media            | l) | general perceptions of the common people  |
| 13. | citizen journalism                  | m) | to acknowledge or show respect, to honor  |
| 14. | co-worker                           | n) | to move to the area of  |
| 15. | conditionality on the circumstances | o) | a person, who together with the moderator, manages events and forums  |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

**15 September 2010**  
**Moderator – Evaldas Ignatavicius**

## **INTERNET - AN INSTRUMENT TO FOSTER DEMOCRACY**

**Evaldas Ignatavicius** - *a diplomat, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania*

**Philip L. Verveer** – *a United States Coordinator for International Communications & Information Policy*

**Bertrand de la Chapelle** - *a member of the Board of Directors at ICANN and a Program Director at International Diplomatic Academy*

**Almira Ousmanova** - *professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the European Humanities University*

**Dunja Mijatović** - *the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media*

**Evaldas  
Ignatavicius:**

*Good afternoon to everyone in this hall. It's good to have you here, starting the discussion on the Internet, an instrument to foster democracy.*

It's really good to have such important panelists around this table, and first of all I would like to welcome ambassador Philip Verveer, *co-moderator of this special session. And I welcome all the speakers of the conference. Today we have a very special day, international day of democracy and now we will hear about some aspects of democracy related to the Internet world and to the global network of information exchange.* We all are aware that the Internet has become not just an instrument of communication, but also an instrument of policy all around the world, and not just the civil societies. Democracies are using the Internet, but also the authoritarian areas are using the Internet for control.

So we will analyze the use of the Internet for the Democratic cause and we will discuss the possibilities that the Internet provides for our Democratic governments and societies.

So my colleague, Ambassador Philip Verveer, is the US Coordinator for International Communications and Information Policy.

And I'm Vice *Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic* of Lithuania. *I'll be moderating the discussion, so you have a trans-Atlantic team for moderating this event. And we will be using modern technologies also for this discussion, to spread around this location. So this was for the start of the conference and now I give the floor to Ambassador Philip Verveer, please.*

**Philip Verweer:**

*It's an honour to have the opportunity to participate. I should begin by expressing the thanks of the United States to Lithuania for hosting this very important meeting. And as I said, I'm honoured to be co-moderating with Vice Minister Evaldas Ignatavicius. This panel, as he said, is about the ability of the Internet to transmit Democratic principles and to practice democracy. And we're very fortunate to have as our first speaker and scene setter a very distinguished diplomat, Bertrand de La Chapelle, who is with the Foreign Ministry of France, a special envoy for Internet and related affairs. So, Bertrand.*

**Bertrand de La Chapelle:**

*Thank you, Mr.. Ambassador. Thank you Mr.. Vice Minister for giving me the opportunity to participate in this panel.*

*I would like to start with something that some of you know. Who in the room is familiar with the famous triptych the "Garden of delights"? Can you raise hands. It's a wonderful painting. The central piece is very interesting. But the most interesting parts are the two side pieces. One describes a wonderful future and the other one describes basically the inferno. So it's a super paradise on the left and a super inferno on the right. I want to use this metaphor because when we talk about the Internet and its impact on the society, *we can be lured to look too much at one side and not be wary enough about the other side, in order to strike the middle course.**

The left panel basically shows a wonderful world in the future, where the lion is kissing the lamb, and so on. This is great. And it would be great if it were the truth. This is not going to happen by magic on its own. There is a trend towards more understanding.

But the other side of the painting is a potential fear. If you think about social network, it's *a great common space*. At the same time, you see the emergence of more and more focused social networks, which is good, because people gather around their topics of interest. The problem is that when your topic of interest is basically bashing another community, you might have *a good tool to plan an attack on this community*, to organize a rally, to lynch people. So when we talk about democracy, the *first challenge is to deal with a paradox*. The paradox is as follows: The more the Internet spreads to the whole population of the world, the more the diversity of the cultural, religious and political values of the people on the Internet grows. Therefore, the more *we need to have common rules to manage this coexistence*.

We have to think about the rules we design for the future of the Internet, as rules for coexistence not only unite, but also indicate the sub parts, the so-called virtual territories that are beginning to emerge. And this is the second paradox: the part of the diversity and the acceptance of the diversity that sub groups may have different, slightly different rules.

*I would like to go quickly beyond those two paradoxes*, because we need to leave time for discussion, to raise three elements, very quickly.

The first one is, once we have discussed the need for overall principles, it is very interesting to see how you can formulate that in a universal manner. And here, *I want to really tip my hat to the work that has been done in the framework of IGF by the Dynamic Coa-*

lition on rights and principles.

The second thing I want to say is, when we're talking about democracy, it's very interesting to ask ourselves what we mean by democracy. Because a democracy we are practicing is actually a very specific form of democracy, which is a representative democracy. And within the framework of representative democracy, we have very different implementation, very different governance frameworks. The way we do representative democracy, even the election rules, are completely different between England and France. We are both democracies. But one is a Monarchy, the other one is a presidential system.

And so when we talk about democracy and the Internet fostering democracy or even democracy leveraging the Internet, we can ask ourselves whether the Internet *is not having a dual impact*. And another very important question. Are we as governments and citizens doing all we can to make the processes of decision-making as participatory as possible? I think the *spirit of the multi-stakeholder approach is to establish the right for every actor, every individual, to participate in an appropriate manner in the governance processes related to the issues it deals with*.

Finally, I'm already too long. I want to say very briefly that France and the Netherlands, as some of you may know, have initiated ... have launched an initiative on freedom of expression on the Internet.

And the second point *is to look at constraints that companies experience*, when some governments or



regimes are asking them to *reveal some privacy data* or to  *censor some content*. How can they react or provide equipment that has surveillance? How can they react? And the two last elements are cyber incidence.

*Thank you very much for the opportunity. I know I've been long. But I hope I started the debate in a positive manner. Thank you.*

**Evaldas  
Ignatavicius:**

Thank you for the instructive presentation. And now we turn to Mr.. Dan Baer, who is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, responsible for matters having to do with human rights.

**Dan Baer:**

*Let me add my thanks to our hosts for putting on such a great conference. It's been wonderful and a great introduction to Lithuania for me, and I'm grateful to you and thank you for chairing this panel. Welcome to the students. We can see you on the screen, so don't do anything silly. (Laughter)*

I knew that I was going to be following Bertrand, so I knew I had to talk big thoughts even if it's in a smaller way. The topic, the Internet as an instrument to foster democracy, I think is a helpful topic. *Part of what we're all trying to do is figure out how to respond to this thing called the Internet.* One of the things that is helpful is to figure out what it's for or what it can do. So I'd like to start with the idea of the purpose. And I think the title of this panel *triggered some immediate associations, the familiar associations of people using the Internet as a way to demand political change.* I want to submit that while that has proven to

be a powerful use of the Internet, that is not the only part of the Internet's role in fostering democracy. *In brief, my message is that the Internet is not just a tool for supporting democracy, but it's also a space. And that we should keep in our focus both of those purposes of the Internet and fostering democracy. I'll go to the terrain of 20th century German social theory. If you are familiar with the work of Yarker Yagermas, you know that he talked about the rise of the public sphere as we associated with the beginnings of modern western democracy. Partly because of the need for mercantile classes for information to conduct their trade, partly because of the urbanization that accompanied them, there were new social spatials where citizens could interact, discuss, could constitute themselves as a people, could introduce criticisms of the government, and so on. While the ideas were important fuel for those conversations, the space for those conversations was an important part of the rise of democracy. And that is where the title of my brief address comes from, in terms of the Internet as a coffeehouse.*

So, in these social spaces, these public spheres, you had the consolidation of public opinion in a rich sense, not just a sense of 'what do you think, what do you think, what do you think?', but the shared ideas of a populace that were affordable for holding governments accountable.

So there is a question of what does this mean for the Internet and democracy? And I guess I would submit that it means that we should adapt our mindset or widen our mindset. The Internet's great function, if you could choose one thing that it does really incredibly, is that it reduces the transaction costs on information, on transmitting information and on sto-

*ring information.* And we have seen that *has dramatic effects on political movements* and the political tasks of organizing, of protesting, et cetera.

But I think it also has great potential for creating *new public spheres, new social spaces in which public opinion can be debated, criticized,* et cetera. And so that means that while we see the Internet as a mechanism for *delivering messages to oppressive leader,* we should also see it as having a capacity to give us a space *to deliberate the messages that we want to deliver to our leaders.*

And just as we see it as a mechanism for persons to cry oppressive government, we should see it as a mechanism by which persons collectively become a people, a people with shared understandings of what government is responsible for, *shared understandings of what human beings are entitled to,* and those kinds of things to which governments can be held accountable. *This is a shift from the way that many of us have understood democracy* in terms of democracy and the Internet. There was for a while something that was criticized recently, this idea that the Internet was *an inevitable revolutionary force that would precipitate democracy.* And I think that perhaps *over the long run we will come to see it* even more importantly as *a kind of durable evolutionary force* that can help sustain democracy by creating these new public spheres. And *I'll leave it at that.* Thank you.

**Philip Verveer:**

Thank you very much, Dan.

**Evaldas**

**Ignatavicius:**

And now we *will move to kind of a more political issue. Empowerment of citizens through the Internet.* And I'd like to give the floor to Antti Peltomaki.

**Almira  
Ousmanova:**

Thank you for the introduction. *I'm privileged to be here.*

The subject of the topic of my talk is a bit different, maybe, in nature. *More specifically*, the topic of my talk is *political communication online* and the case of local elects in Belarus.

*So, here I'm focusing more on a very specific case of the political process, namely local elections* which were held in April of this year. And the use and the role of the online media, such as blogs in this political process. [The story of the elections in Belarus.]

...I would probably keep many other details about which you know, the usage of the blogs by the candidates and so on. *Just let me say that, in general*, they were, of course, *very important tools for communicating the biography of the candidate*, the information about other candidates, information about the tutorial unit where the candidates were running. *They included updates about the campaigning* and the communication with other supporters.

They also had media materials like a photo gallery, media interviews and all kinds of other possible digital media that you can have on your blog. So, maybe to conclude this very brief overview, I would say that blogs indeed serve a very important communication function for the independent candidates. *They have certain tactical significance. They make possible certain visibility of the candidate*, and they do make certain convergence of the media. They relate with other independent online media.

However, talking about, you know, grass-root activities and political communication, *we have to be cautious about* thanking the kind of impact of this political

communication on the overall political process. And namely, that the political process, the electoral process does not really change much because of these attempts, because of this new technology.

*So there is a strong tension between the traditional political process and system and the new technologies, which provide new opportunities but they do not really challenge that much of the system.*

Thank you very much for your attention.

**Evaldas  
Ignatavicius:**

Thank you for giving lovely examples from the political life from Belarus. *And now a short command by Aiste Zilinskiene.*

**Aiste Zilinskiene:**

Good afternoon. My relationship with the Internet is from working in online media for ten years. And these ten years I'm observing how online media readers are *becoming from passive readers to very active participants in creating venues and sharing venues.* So *I want to say my short comment on one Internet feature, interconnectivity, which lets direct communication among the users and the creators of the Web Pages. Interactivity empowers people through the online media to act online and to act in real life.* Online media readers can react to events posted in the press. They can post their commands, their opinion, what they think on one or another story.

They share their opinions. And nowadays, it's popular that even politicians often go to the readers' comments column to check whether their one or another idea will be well taken by the audience if they share it in the government and the Parliament. *So people are communicating in the comments column on online media and*

sharing their minds. This empowers them to act in real life also.

*Various petitions on different subjects* are now very popular on the Internet, in online media, *where people support one another's ideas.*

And now, every day, we see hundreds of such petitions, which receive the quick reaction of the audience and have been printed and given to the government, to the Parliament, or to the court or to the businessman to show the opinion of the citizens, that they think differently. People can create their own media channels easily on the Internet.

A lot of Web sites have the platforms for the blogs, and there are Web sites where everyone can post the short video from his real life.

So media reacts to these posts.

That is why *citizen journalism is now one of the main trends of all online media.* All news portals all around the world now are *asking citizens to be a coworker to the media,* to work together with journalists, to be the sources of journalists, to give them the news and they are even given prizes - the media is giving prizes to people for telling them the news.

So the Internet and interactivity changes the forces so that not only the journalists now can control the politician and the public sphere. People are becoming very important - every one of us is becoming a very important controller of the public sphere.

*So in conclusion I'd like to see* the Internet feature such as interactivity, using which we can play a very important role in the communication process in the public life.

Thank you.

**Philip Verweer:** Thank you very much for your comment. Now, dear audience, *if you give us an opportunity to bring ourselves closer to our appointed schedule*, it will not necessarily be a bad thing as well. *So without then any further delay, why don't we go ahead* and introduce the next speaker.

**Evaldas Ignatavicius:** Now we are moving to the limits of Internet freedom and I would like to introduce Dunja Mijatovic.

**Dunja Mijatovic:** I'm very happy to be here.  
...So let me start with the first. Internet freedom. *So very dear to me.*  
Naturally, I can only suggest *an answer that reflects findings and experience obtained in the course of my work and professional experience.* And I'm afraid that my answer might be very disappointing to you for being very simple. So Internet freedom is not different to freedom of expression, to *the rights to seek, receive and impart information beyond national and administrative borders.*  
Like traditional media, the Internet *exposes truth* and information which is *in the public interests*, but the Internet can just, as traditional media, *deliver unverified or wrong information.* The Internet just like all media is *a mirror of our combined societies.* It seems that many regard it as another world. It seems to be often associated with the unknown, the darker part of the society, *where evil, unlawful and immoral exchange takes place.* Yes, this is true like all new platforms. The Internet exposes both the positive and negative in human association or connection.  
The question should not be how to transform the

Internet into a platform that would only allow or support legitimate or socially agreed content. The question should be how to deal with all of the unwanted content and whether dealing with it should be fundamentally different to how we deal with unwanted content in all media, all in the offline world.

With the volume of available information data, facts and misinformation, careful evaluation and selection becomes a skill which needs to be acquired and trained. Internet freedom, and with it freedom of expression, *is under continuous pressure by governments*. I was appointed recently, some five months ago, for this unique office, the OFC, *the only intergovernmental media watch dog in the world*. What I noticed by now is that it doesn't look like something we should be proud of.

Accordingly, *there are tools and ways certain governments are trying to restrict and to block their citizens of certain information*. As soon as the government, and I'm talking about governments that do not represent Democratic governments, as soon as they realize that *the Internet challenges secrecy and censorship corruption, they start imposing controls*. In many countries the effects are visible and they *threaten the potential for information to circulate freely*. This is one of the reasons why I said at the beginning that there is a certain concern when we talk about limits. Because limits could be understood in many ways.

*The digital age offers the promise of a truly Democratic culture of participation and interactivity*. Rallying that is the challenge of our times.

In my view, *rather than talking about limits, we should*



*find the best ways to spread access to the Internet, so that the whole world can benefit from what it can offer rather than increasing the gaps of those who have access to information and those who do not. I emphasized on many occasions, that the way a society uses the new communications technologies and how it responds to economic, political and cultural globalization will determine the very future of that society. Restrict access to information and your chances will become restricted. Open up the channels for communication and society will find a way to prosper.*  
Thank you very much.

**Philip Verweer:** *Thank you for the very strong set of statements about the importance of freedom on the Internet.*

**Evaldas Ignatavicius:** Thanks to all of the panelists. We had a lot of different views, due to the same aspects of Internet freedom and the limits drawn by the democracy and the rule of law. *And now I would like to turn finally to the social network of students sitting in the Ministry of Foreign affairs and listening attentively to the views expressed. We have a chance to have a real Internet discussion between this student audience there and our audience in this room.*  
*So I would like now to pass the floor to the moderator of this remote discussion, Gustina, Vice President of The student society in the Institute of International Relations and Political Science of the Vilnius University. So if you hear us, the floor is yours.*

*(abridged from IGF 2010, Vilnius, Lithuania, 1400, Session 93)*

## Have your say !

In a group you are going to hold a round-table discussion on the topic “Protecting your history and national identity”. Choose a chair, who will invite the speakers one after another to deliberate on the themes of their choice. The participants of the round-table discussion are both from Armenia and Diaspora. They speak about: a) the importance of the nationwide care for the architectural monuments of our past and present, b) concluding international agreements to protect Armenian monuments from destruction in the areas outside its present-day borders, c) the conditions and the present potential capacity of different museums in the country, d) the possibility of acquiring specimens of the Armenian culture from private collections and overseas museums for the National History Museum and the National Gallery, e) the importance of coordinated and planned research pursuing the same goals, f) the latest excavations carried out on the territories of Armenia and Artsakh, the need to acquire more advanced technical equipment for them to promote research, the significance of their findings, etc...

Use the language material from the box below.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

It's good to have you here. <i>Today we have a very special day.</i>	I would like to go quickly beyond those two paradoxes, ...
So this was for the start of the conference. <i>I give the floor to ...</i>	<i>I want to really tip my hat to the work that has been done in the framework of...</i>
It's an honour to have the opportunity to participate ... <i>And as I said, ...</i>	To have a dual impact on... <i>the spirit of the multi-stakeholder approach is ...</i>
We're very fortunate to have as our first speaker and scene setter ... <i>I would like to start with something that some of you know.</i>	to reveal some privacy data <i>Thank you very much for the opportunity.</i>
We can be lured to look too much at	Let me add my thanks to our hosts for putting on such a great

one side and not be wary enough  
about the other side, ...  
*in order to strike the middle course*  
We need to have common rules to  
manage this coexistence.  
*In brief, my message is that ...*  
We should keep in our focus both of  
those purposes.  
*We should adapt our mindset or  
widen our mindset.*  
to have dramatic effects on political  
movements  
*I'm privileged to be here.*  
Here I'm focusing more on a very  
specific case of ..., namely ...  
*Just let me say that, in general, ...*  
So, in conclusion I'd like to ...  
*without then any further delay*  
Thank you for the very strong set of  
statements about ...  
*I'd like to share a bit of what I see as  
concerns.*

conference.  
*Part of what we're all trying to do is  
figure out how to respond to this  
thing called ...*  
It triggered some immediate  
associations ...  
*the ideas were important fuel for  
those conversations*  
to have the consolidation of public  
opinion  
*over the long run*  
I'll leave it at that.  
*we have to be cautious about ...*  
I want to say my short comment on  
...  
*Why don't we go ahead ...*  
I would just like to raise several  
issues, ...  
*I would like to highlight a few ways  
in which A and B are related.*  
Now I would like to turn finally to  
the ...  
*I know I've been long.*  
This is a shift from the way that  
many of us have understood as ...  
*So, in rounding up ...*  
Last but not least, ...  
*in order to be able to practice what  
we preach ...*

## *An Interview with*

### **A FOREIGN POLICY ANALYST MICHAEL FULLILOVE ON THE WIKILEAKS DANGERS**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What do you think about the contradiction between the public's right to know and the protection and control of information?
2. Is there a balance between transparency and confidentiality of information?
3. Do the benefits of information disclosure always outweigh the risks?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. in tandem with                | a) a conflict of advantages  |
| 2. competing interests           | b) not clearly formulated or not well organized attitude   |
| 3. incoherence of one's approach | c) drawn out or extended in time   |
| 4. an open slather on            | d) to disagree with and argue  |
| 5. scoops                        | e) to secretly encourage somebody to do something that they should not do  |
| 6. in the long run               | f) a person, team, country, etc. that is thought to be in a weaker position than others, and therefore not likely to be successful |
| 7. deleterious consequences      | g) news stories, particularly connoting new or developing stories with aspects of importance and excitement                        |

- |     |                               |    |   |
|-----|-------------------------------|----|---|
| 8.  | completely nuts               | h) | harmful and damaging results, effects                             |
| 9.  | to egg something on privately | i) | to avoid carrying out one's duties, especially in a dishonest way |
| 10. | to be at odds with            | j) | a free-for-all situation with no limits or constraints            |
| 11. | underdog                      | k) | totally crazy, insane   |
| 12. | to dodge one's responsibility | l) | working together with   |
| 13. | redaction                     | m) | a soldier of the lowest rank in the army                          |
| 14. | a private                     | n) | act of reducing, compressing                                      |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

**7 January, 2011**  
**Australian Broadcasting Corporation**

**Michael Fullilove** - *Director of the global issues program, foreign policy analyst at the Lowy Institute in Sydney*

**Tracy Boweden,**  
**Presenter:**

*The release of confidential diplomatic cables by WikiLeaks has prompted heated debate about the public's right to know versus the protection and control of information.*

*Critics argue that the leaks are jeopardizing national security and placing sources at risk.*

Supporters say it's a lack of government transparency and accountability that costs lives.

One of those concerned about the impact of WikiLeaks is Michael Fullilove, *foreign policy analyst* at the Lowy Institute.

Michael, you say the release of these documents by WikiLeaks will *create evil consequences*. What do you mean by that?

**Michael Fullilove:** Well, I think if you release or you propose to release a quarter of a million cables, then that will have good consequences but also evil consequences. I think *the randomness and incoherence and sloppiness of WikiLeaks' work* don't give me a lot of faith in their processes.

**Tracy Boweden:** You actually did say that a quarter of a million had been dumped, that's not the case. So far it's only 2,000 and they were released *in tandem with* a group of the world's most respected newspapers.

**Michael Fullilove:** But they're proposing to release a quarter of a million. They've released that quarter of a million to the newspapers, including 'The Guardian', and I have every expectation that at some point those documents will all be released. *Their emphasis is disclosure.* Their view is that people aren't entitled to secrets, *transparency is king*, and I guess my approach is *there are competing interests.*

There is a need for transparency because without transparency bad things can happen, but in society there is also a need for confidentiality because without confidentiality, nothing can happen, and I don't think WikiLeaks is good at balancing those competing interests.

**Tracy Boweden:** As you would be aware, there was some care or responsibility, as far as Julian Assange is concerned. They say that there was several months of discussions before they released the documents, that they went to the State Department to talk about redactions and there was every effort they say to ensure that *vital American contacts were not exposed.* *Does that comfort you?*

**Michael Fullilove:** Actually, *all the recent reporting goes the other way.* There is an article in the current edition of 'Vanity Fair' which reveals some of the discussions between 'The Guardian' and Mr. Assange which paints WikiLeaks in a very bad light, I think.

Also, when you look at some of the email conversations between Mr. Assange and his subordinates, you *don't get the sense that* this is a substantial organisation with robust internal decision-making processes, it feels much more like an organisation, *organised around a personality cult* and I think that's dangerous.

Again, I'm not saying that none of these documents are valuable. I think some of them are interesting, some of them indeed fascinating and important, but just like a sick tree can bear fruit, just because some of these cables are interesting and important, doesn't mean that WikiLeaks is admirable or credible or trustworthy.

**Tracy Boweden:** *It sounds like you're questioning his motives as much as anything?*

**Michael Fullilove:** Well, *I don't want to go to his motives. I try to judge him, I think, on his actions* and I just think he is not showing a lot of care in those actions, *given what's at stake.*

**Tracy Boweden:** Now, the cables show - one thing they do show is that *the public has been lied to before and during the Iraq war.* Isn't that information that people should have and as a foreign policy analyst, isn't that information that concerns you?

**Michael Fullilove:** Look, I think this information is important and obviously for a foreign policy analyst, it's good for business and I'm not saying none of this information should come out. *I guess I'm critiquing the incoherence of WikiLeaks' approach.* In other words there is a difference between a whistleblower saying, 'I have a particular piece of information about an abuse of power or about a dishonesty or lie that needs to surface'. There is a difference between that and dumping thousands or tens of thousands of documents in the case of the Afghanistan/Iraq war that deal with all sorts of topics from all over the world and just saying, "go for broke." I think society, organizations, whether it's 'The 7:30

Report' or the Lowy Institute or the US Government, *have a requirement for confidential information*, and just sort of calling open slather on information in the way that WikiLeaks does I think is dangerous.

**Tracy Boweden:** So are you saying that information about the lies told about Iraq, *problems connected with the weapons of mass destruction* ... are you saying it's fair enough to release that information?

**Michael Fullilove:** Well, it's not clear to me that *there were scoops in relation to that*. I mean, we all know that there were no weapons of mass destruction; we all know that *intelligence turned out to be flawed*. So it's not clear to me that anything in particular was gained with that disclosure.

**Tracy Boweden:** So, in terms of your concerns about these evil consequences, another issue has been the security of some of the sources. Is there any evidence yet that anyone has suffered as a consequence of these documents being released?

**Michael Fullilove:** I think there is lots of evidence that people have suffered. Careers have been damaged; people have been humiliated and embarrassed for doing their jobs.

I think if you look at a lot of the documents that have come out of countries like China, I think you would say, although we don't know what the evidence is, but you would have to say that *security services who are not as fussy about human rights* as, say, the FBI or the Justice Department will be able to look at that information and work out who some of those sources were.

But I think, Tracy, *the consequences are broader than that*, broader than individual cases. I think *this will have a chilling effect on the willingness of civil society members in authoritarian countries to talk to foreign diplomats*. Already diplomats in countries like China,



Russia and Iran are saying they are finding it harder to encourage people to talk to them honestly and openly and I think that *in the long run*, it will have *deleterious consequences*.

**Tracy Boweden:** The US Defense Secretary Robert Gates has said that he thinks that *that was a little overstated* and he has actually admitted that America's security in relation with these documents was a bit slack.

**Michael Fullilove:** I think America's security in relation to the documents was hopeless. I think it's unbelievable to me that a private could have access to so many documents and be able to copy them. *I think it's completely nuts*, but that doesn't change WikiLeaks' responsibility for *putting the documents out in the public domain*.

**Tracy Boweden:** So essentially, you're saying that *the benefits* that might come out of the WikiLeaks *are outweighed by the risks?* The right of people to know, is not significant enough?

**Michael Fullilove:** No, I think there are competing interests and I think that it's incumbent upon anybody releasing information to try to balance those interests and to say: "There is a particular wrong here we're trying to expose and therefore it makes sense to release this information." Journalists do this every day. Every day journalists exercise that sort of judgment, that's entirely different from just proposing to dump thousands or tens of thousands of documents that could have all sorts of unintended consequences.

**Tracy Boweden:** Would you feel more comfortable if some of this information was about, for example, the Chinese Communist Party?

**Michael Fullilove:** Well, I think it would be useful *if the playing field that WikiLeaks was establishing was more level*. I think because it's easier to steal information from open democratic societies, therefore, *the vast preponderance*

*of material* that we've found to date has been American in origin.

We haven't seen the same - nearly the same level of documents from China or Russia or Iran and North Korea.

*Interestingly, notwithstanding that, I think actually the Americans don't come out of this as badly as Mr. Assange probably hoped, because if you squint your eyes and you look at the totality of information that has come out so far from the State Department leaks, what you find is that the problems that America complains about ritually, for example, the Iranian and North Korean nuclear programs, are serious, they're serious problems taken very seriously by governments all around the world.*

*And yet, whereas American diplomats are out there every day trying to resolve these problems, other governments might egg them on privately but publicly won't do so. So in a funny sort of way Mr. Assange has done America a favour.*

**Tracy Boweden:** Finally, 59 percent of Australians support the release of the cables. I guess *you're at odds with them?*

**Michael Fullilove:** Well, I think Australians like an *underdog* and Mr. Assange is taking it up to the most powerful country in the world, but Australians also don't like people who *dodge their responsibility*. So we'll see how public opinion goes on that in the future.

**Tracy Boweden:** Michael Fullilove thanks for speaking to us.

**Michael Fullilove:** Thank you.

*(abridged from the transcript of Australian Broadcasting Corporation)*

## Have your say !

You are a diplomat working at the Foreign Office. Your country is involved in clandestine activities of selling state-of-the-art weapon to a third-world country in return for the control packet of shares in their gold-mining industry. You are actually cooperating with a state which is one of the main rivals of your international allies. Through the worst of luck the papers of your secret negotiations have been stolen, exposed and published in one of the Wikileaks's releases.

Write an e-mail to your close friend, who is also on diplomatic service, but at a Ministry of Foreign Affairs of an allied country, trying to explain and substantiate the activities of your country, telling about your role in those negotiations and asking for personal and professional advice.

Refer to the language material in the box below.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

the release of confidential diplomatic cables	If you squint your eyes and you look at the ...
<i>jeopardizing national security</i>	<i>So, in a funny sort of way ...</i>
in tandem with	I guess, you're at odds with them?
<i>Transparency is king.</i>	<i>to dodge one's responsibilities</i>
There are competing interests.	Interestingly, notwithstanding that, I think actually ...
<i>Does that comfort you?</i>	<i>Are the benefits outweighed by the risks?</i>
I try to judge him on his actions.	I think it's completely nuts.
<i>given what's at stake</i>	<i>That was a little overstated.</i>
security services who are not as fussy about human rights as	in the long run
<i>The consequences are broader than that.</i>	<i>This will have a chilling effect on ...</i>

## *An interview with*

### **THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA ON WIKILEAKS**

#### **Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What do you think of unauthorized release of diplomatic papers?
2. How should a diplomat react to an unauthorized publication of a diplomatic content?
3. Should a consul support the citizen of his/her country irrespective of what criminal offence the latter has committed?

#### **Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. an abrasive control freak | a) a simple type of a person  |
| 2. a cocktail circuit        | b) an assertion of something to have happened or to be true, when this might not be the case  |
| 3. water off a duck's back   | c) an over-aggressive person who tends to abuse power   |
| 4. a purported claim         | d) a formal social occasion, usually in the early evening, at which the same people take part |
| 5. a great scoop             | e) the latest information about something, especially details that are not generally known    |
| 6. a down home sort of guy   | f) not to be affected by criticism by the slightest   |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

**8 December, 2010  
Channel 7 , World News**

**Kevin Rudd** - *Australia's Foreign Minister*  
**David Koch** - *an Australian television presenter*

**David Koch:** Kevin Rudd, good morning to you.

**Kevin Rudd:** Good morning, Kochie, *how are you this morning?*

**David Koch:** Oh, good. Were you an abrasive control freak, as painted in these US cables?

**Kevin Rudd:** Well, you know something, Kochie, our policy, I think, *from day one, as far as WikiLeaks is concerned ...* we just don't talk about the content of the unauthorised release of diplomatic communications whether they are nice about us, whether they are nasty about us, and we apply that to any cable about any politician at home or abroad.

**David Koch:** Okay, but ...

**Kevin Rudd:** On the general question of diplomatic reporting, though, I can just say, Kochie, I'm sure much worse has been written about me in the past and probably much worse will be written about me in the future, but frankly, mate, I don't care. *My job's just to act in Australia's national interest as Australia's Foreign Minister.*

**David Koch:** Okay. Are you offended by the descriptions by the US diplomats though? You know, you go on the cocktail circuit with the US Ambassador ...

**Kevin Rudd:** Not faintly, Kochie, *not faintly*.

**David Koch:** ... and he's writing about you.

**Kevin Rudd:** Can I just say, Kochie, diplomats do this around the world. I mean, you know, journalists write things, which are pretty interesting from time to time. Guess what, diplomats do this as well and I don't, frankly, give a damn about this sort of thing. *You just get on with it.*

I mean, are we waiting for a diplomatic cable which says Kevin Rudd is a... you know, a witty, charming, relaxed, down home sort of guy who is constantly cracking jokes and does everything we want him to do? Well, of course not. *Things are of a different type when it comes to diplomatic reporting.* So, frankly, mate, *it's water off a duck's back.* These things get said all the time but, as I said, *these are general remarks about the general nature of diplomatic reporting.* We don't go to the detail of any particular purported claim in a purported cable.

**David Koch:** What do you think of WikiLeaks, though? Do you think they are a threat to diplomacy? Are they a threat to national security? Or is it just telling us what we should know? *If it came through a normal media channel we'd see it as a great scoop.*

**Kevin Rudd:** *I was asked this question the other day in the Middle East.* By the way, these questions are being asked all over the world, as we speak, because there's a quarter of a million of these cables kicking around the world at the moment.

As I said it over there, look, the *important thing is just to get on with the job*, because the real challenges of diplomacy are here today as they were yesterday: maintaining peace in the Middle East, *dealing with the challenges we face.*

But there is a serious point here and that is about Mr. Assange's legal rights. I'm the Foreign Minister of Australia and *I'm responsible for the consular wellbeing of all Australians* and, therefore, *I just want to make it absolutely clear that*, first of all, Mr. Assange has contacted the Australian Consul-General in London and *asked for consular support. We have confirmed that we'll provide that, as we'd do for all Australian citizens.*

Secondly, *consular officials attended his appearance in court yesterday* and, thirdly, we'll be providing him with a letter soon which indicates we'll be prepared to provide consular visits and any other level of *consular support concerning his wellbeing and his legal rights. That is the proper thing to do for any Australian citizen.*

**David Koch:** Okay, so you're really supporting him?

**Kevin Rudd:** Absolutely. He's an Australian citizen. He's obviously been the subject of legal action in the United Kingdom and from the Kingdom of Sweden, but *what we do with Australians in strife* anywhere in the world is that we take the view that our responsibility *is to ensure the consular rights and legal rights of all Australians abroad are protected and that includes Mr. Assange ...*

**David Koch:** Okay.

**Kevin Rudd:** ... and that's what we'd apply to your son or any other ...

**David Koch:** Yep.

**Kevin Rudd:** Any other person abroad.

**David Koch:** So, so you're happy with the fact that he actually did surrender to Scotland Yard overnight, he's done the right thing?

**Kevin Rudd:** Well, he'd been acting on the basis of his lawyers. That's a matter for him. All I'm saying is that our job, which we'll continue to provide and to offer, through the consular services of Australia's diplomatic missions abroad, is to make sure that his wellbeing is guaranteed, to make sure that he has consular visits from Australian consular officials and *what we normally do also is to make sure that he has proper legal representation* and we do that with any Australian abroad, and *Mr. Assange is no different*.

**David Koch:** Okay. Kevin Rudd, thanks for joining us. Good to see you.

**Kevin Rudd:** Thanks, Kochie.

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**David Koch** greets **Kevin Rudd** and asks right away whether he was an abrasive control freak as painted in those US cables.

**Kevin Rudd** introduces their policy and prefers not to talk about the content of the unauthorized release of diplomatic communications, no matter what kind of information it was. His job is just to act in Australia's national interest as Australia's Foreign Minister and he does not care what they write about him.

**David** asks whether he is offended by the descriptions given by the US diplomats.

**Kevin Rudd** answers...*(Remember the details from the interview)*.

**David** wants to know Kevin's idea about Wikileaks and whether they are a threat to diplomacy and to national security.

**Kevin Rudd** thinks...*(Remember the details from the interview)*. As a Foreign Minister of Australia he is much concerned with Mr. Assange's legal rights, as he feels responsible for the consular wellbeing of all Australians abroad. He adds that Mr. Assange has contacted the Australian Consul-General in London and asked for consular support. He confirms that they are ready to provide the support and that is the proper thing to do for any Australian citizen.

**David** asks in amazement whether he is really going to support him.



**Kevin Rudd** confirms it and adds that it is their responsibility to ensure their citizens' consular rights, and that legal rights of all Australians abroad are protected.

In reply to **David Koch's** question whether he is happy with the fact that Mr. Assange actually did surrender to Scotland Yard overnight **Kevin Rudd** answers that their job is to make sure that his wellbeing is guaranteed and he has proper legal representation. He adds that they do it with any Australian abroad and Mr. Assange is not different.

**David** thanks him for joining them.

### Have your say !

The Head of the Department of International Affairs is sending you abroad (choose the place yourself) to negotiate an important deal on economic cooperation (state the area and targets yourself).

Write your dialogue with the Head of the Department, stating your ideas, suppositions and fears on the subject. The Head of the Department is sure you can succeed in bringing the other side in to giving you significant concessions. At the same time he is adamant in stating the framework and the limits to the conditions and terms beyond or below which you cannot go. It is a tough task. Try to persuade him to give you a free hand at the negotiations (mention the areas or problems).

The language material below will help you a lot.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

From day one ...

*as far as ... is concerned, ...*

My job's just to act in ...'s national interest.

*not faintly*

You just get on with it.

*That is the proper thing to do ...*

... is no different.

Things are of a different type when it comes to ...

*It's water off a duck's back.*

These are general remarks about the general nature of ...

*I was asked this question the other day...*

dealing with the challenges we face

*I just want to make it absolutely clear that ...*

# UNIT 5

## *Debate*

### **SHOULD DIPLOMATS ENJOY IMMUNITY FROM LOCAL JURISDICTION?**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. While in diplomatic service, would you like to enjoy immunity from local jurisdiction?
2. If yes, what concerns could be the reason of your wish to have diplomatic immunity?
3. Should foreign diplomats be subject to the same laws as the local people?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. a staple for international relations | a) to consider something as suitable for something                          |
| 2. unenticing                           | b) to be free from an obligation or a liability to which others are subject |
| 3. under the guise of                   | c) appearing in a way that hides or conceals the true nature of something   |
| 4. to deem fit                          | d) a large and important issue for international affairs                    |
| 5. to be exempted                       | e) not attractive or tempting   |

# SHOULD DIPLOMATS ENJOY IMMUNITY FROM LOCAL JURISDICTION?

**THE TASK:** Choose a moderator. Using the information from the following statements, role-play the debate. Decide on the professions/posts of the participants.

**YES, THEY SHOULD**

## **Richard Grant**

Diplomats SHOULD enjoy immunity as after all, they belong to and represent the country from where they come from. This means that the country from which they come from *should be responsible for their misconduct or misbehavior*. This would also prevent diplomats from getting into 'nonsensical trouble', because the country they are in very often has laws which are disagreeable with those of their own country. And since they represent the country they are from, *it is only right that they be prosecuted and held responsible* by the jurisdiction from that country and not the one they are in.

## **David Miller**

Diplomats should enjoy immunity from local jurisdiction, but *under certain circumstances*, they are still *subject to the law*, only of their sovereign nation. Should they be able to kill? No.

## **Sophie Wilder**

I believe diplomats should enjoy immunity from local jurisdiction. However, the condition is that diplomats and ambassadors should respect this privilege and

accept full responsibility for their actions. Diplomat immunity has come a long way, thousands of years from the past and has been staple for international relations. The main purpose of diplomat immunity is to ensure the processes of diplomacy are appropriately carried out. When this privilege is abused, it should be taken away from the person. In Dr Ionescu's case, I believe he should not enjoy immunity from local jurisdiction. He has not taken responsibility for his actions by drink-driving, resulting in a fatal accident in Singapore. Furthermore, he had hit and run and has even denied the accusations against him even after many have testified against him. Thus, the privilege should be taken away from him because of his irresponsibility! In other cases, diplomats should have the privilege of diplomat immunity as long as they respect it.

### **Olivia Simon**

The diplomats are citizens of another country, so to subject them to the local laws is not fair on them.

They are not there on holiday or touring or because they love the country they're working in (they may well love that country but that's not the reason why they're there). They may even hate the country they're working in (but they have the necessary skills that make them ideal for the job). *They've been posted there to be a service to their country* and should still be protected by and be subjected to the laws of their own country. *Otherwise this will make the job of a diplomat very unenticing, especially* if they are from a free country and are being asked to go to a country run by a dictatorship.

### **Morris Lyall**

I quote: *A holiday-goer would not enjoy immunity from the local jurisdiction if they have committed an offence. Diplomats should not be given this special privilege because it would send out the wrong signal that some are above the country's law and its enforcement.*

Sure, a holiday-maker wants to visit the country and pays to get there. There are millions of holiday-makers. So, yes, the local laws should apply to them to maintain law and order.

While diplomats, on the other hand, are not there for holiday. Their country sends them there and pays them to do a job because they are good at it. And, they *are only a handful*, so they're not going *to affect the balance of law and order wherever they work*.

### **Mike Pearce**

Diplomats are given immunity *so that they can perform their duties with freedom and security*. *Diplomatic immunity should not be meant to benefit individuals personally*. However, this privilege may be abused by diplomats where they escape from punishment when they commit a crime in another country. As a representative of another country, he/she *should respect and abide to the law of the country he/she is visiting* and should be held responsible for his/her own actions.

**NO, THEY SHOULD NOT**

### **John Foster**

*It is difficult to judge whether diplomats should have diplomatic immunity. On the one hand, diplomatic immunity allows diplomats to avoid prosecution for their crimes. On the other hand, however, diplomatic immunity serves to protect diplomats from being detained by the host country due to political reasons, under the guise of the diplomat having been convicted of a crime. This is especially so when the two countries are in conflict.*

However, I am more inclined to think that diplomats should not enjoy immunity, as there have been many examples throughout the years of the immunity being abused by diplomats when they manage to escape prosecution even for heinous crimes such as murder. *Perhaps the most fair way to deal with the situation is for the United Nations to have an international court to try diplomats who have been suspected of committing crimes.*

### **Ben Harrison**

No they should not. As diplomats they are leaders of our country. *They should be the model citizen that everyone looks up to.* If they can do whatever they want *and get away with it*, the laws that these diplomats create would be meaningless. *People would then have the perception that breaking the law is fine.* Thus diplomats should *face equal local jurisdiction to citizens.*

### **Andy Stanley**

I personally think that *diplomats should not be conferred immunity* from local jurisdiction. *Regardless of the position the diplomats are holding in their country*, when they *set foot onto another country*, they will *have to abide by the laws of the country*. The government has the responsibility to protect his citizens, while the citizens have the right to be protected. And this is usually *done through the implementation of laws*. If diplomats are above the law, on the basis that they are not citizens of the country, and thus the local government has no right to convict them, then what is the law for? Furthermore, the notion of not having *to face the consequences only* encourages the diplomats *to act in a way they deem fit*. What about the victims? To whom they look for to be accounted. *The recent incidence of the hit and run accident as well as the assault by a top Saudi Arabian diplomat clearly underlies this problem.* When there is nothing the local government can do about those who go against the law, *the people are rendered helpless*. I feel that *the locals are in no way inferior to the diplomats* and thus the diplomats should not enjoy such immunity.

## **Judy Brummer**

I believe that the local *jurisdiction is created for the purpose of maintaining law and order in a country*, hence nobody should be given the opportunity to abuse it. If anybody *is allowed immunity from it*, regardless of how important the person is, it would create many problems for the law system of the country as we have to consider many different *groups of people to be exempted*, like heads of state. *This would defeat the purpose of having a jurisdiction in the first place*, since, if diplomats enjoy immunity, *law and order would be second in priority to their power*.

## **Diana Hensher**

Diplomats should not enjoy immunity from local jurisdiction. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 7, states that *all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law*.

Though diplomats are not local citizens, they should be accountable under the law of the land as every individual should be responsible for their actions. Furthermore, being representatives of their country in a foreign place, *diplomats should exhibit proper conduct* and should not cause unnecessary trouble.

## **Shirley Hudson**

I think that diplomats should not enjoy immunity from the local jurisdiction. This is because some diplomats may abuse this power given to them. In my opinion, diplomats should be held accountable for whatever wrong they did, even if they have committed crimes in other countries. *Since the diplomatic immunity was developed to allow for the maintenance of government relations*, including the during periods of difficulties and even an armed conflict, I think that *it is all the more important that the diplomats are still liable to prosecutions*, because if they themselves have committed a crime in a country which they are supposed to maintain friendly ties with, then their

role as a diplomat would probably be ineffective as they have *lost their credibility as a diplomat*. As they know that they will not be charged for committing crimes, they would probably *take fewer precautions of their actions*. Thus, this probably leads to the many crimes diplomats commit. Thus, I think that diplomats should not be given immunity as they may abuse this power given to them.

As diplomats, *they should be more conscious of their actions* and ensure that their actions do not go against the host country's law. *Being highly educated, they are expected to know how to differentiate between right and wrong*.

*(abridged from CREATE DEBATE transcripts)*

### **Have your say !**

You are a diplomat visiting a country in the Middle East to negotiate the oil prices of a special delivery for your country, according to the agreement signed by the two governments several months ago. However, because of the public unrest in that country, your job is being delayed. The local officials explain it by the discretion of the government, which is trying to take all measures not to incite public anger.

Write a telephone conversation between you and your superior explaining the situation.

### **Conversation gambits and collocations**

It is only right that they be...  
*under certain circumstances...*

However, the condition is that...  
*...as long as they respect it...*

It would send him/her the wrong  
signal.

*It is difficult to judge whether...*  
to act in a way one deems fit

Perhaps the most fair way to deal  
with the situation is to...

*...regardless of the position...*

.... (this) clearly underlies this  
problem

*It is all more important than...*

Being highly educated, one is  
expected to...



**Task 3. Write an interview of your own. Try to use the language stock from the box above.**

## *An interview with*

### **DAVID HAMBURG, the author of the book 'Preventing Genocide: Practical Steps toward early Detection and Effective Action '**

**Task 1. Discuss the following questions.**

1. What socio-economic or political reasons can lead to a genocide?
2. What is the role of the international community in genocide-related matters?
3. What measures are taken globally to prevent genocides?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. first-hand knowledge      | a) lower than the limit or the level at which an arrangement changes  |
| 2. humanicide                | b) progress treating everyone in a fair and reasonable way  |
| 3. mass atrocities           | c) to cause trouble or suffering to somebody  |
| 4. pillars of prevention     | d) the inevitable extinction of humanity because of human nature  |
| 5. to be exacerbated         | e) to be made worse   |
| 6. preventive diplomacy      | f) comprehension or expertise of something obtained or experienced yourself   |
| 7. ubiquitous human conflict | g) strong supporters or important members of the society who have the particular quality of stopping something bad from happening |

- |     |                                      |    |   |
|-----|--------------------------------------|----|---|
| 8.  | below the threshold of               | h) | special skills and knowledge intended to try to stop something that causes problems |
| 9.  | equitable socio-economic development | i) | cruel and violent large-scale acts  |
| 10. | scourge                              | j) | ever-present hostilities and disagreements  |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*1 May, 2008*  
**Open Minds Interviews, Washington, D.C.**

**Eric:** Today we're interviewing Dr. David Hamburg, the author of *Preventing Genocide: Practical Steps toward early Detection and Effective Action*. You originally trained as a psychiatrist, so how do you go from psychiatry to preventing genocide?

**David:** I grew up in the shadow of the Holocaust. My grandfather came to this country about 1900, fleeing from severe pogroms in Latvia, and devoted his life to bringing relatives who were subject to violent anti-Semitic behavior from Eastern Europe to America. It was *first hand knowledge* how brutal people could be even in Europe, which we regarded as advanced. *I had a personal experience* later as a doctor in the Korean War. *From beginning to end* I took care of badly injured patients. That strongly reinforced my inclination to do biomedical research on stress-hormonal responses, cardiovascular responses, and psychological responses. And, of course, that involves anxiety, depression and anger. When I established a laboratory for that purpose at Stanford University I called it the Laboratory of Stress and Conflict, thereby *pulling out conflict for special attention*. I was struck by the importance of conflict in human experience.

We were awakening to the fact that there's a lot of apparatus in the human brain and hormones that supports or mediates aggressive behavior. We also have strong inclination towards attachment and very positive relationships with one another. That's the way we protect each other in the natural habitat.

Nuclear confrontation is too dangerous. No matter how good your leaders are, the likelihood is that you cannot *survive one nuclear confrontation* after another. We just had to have the good sense, in our own personal and national interest, *to keep back a few steps from the brink of a nuclear confrontation.*

**Eric:** Which would be the ultimate form of a holocaust or genocide.

**David:** That's right, if you think in terminology like 'genocide'. I have come myself to speak about humanicide: there's a real possibility that a nuclear war would eliminate the entire human species. The danger was so fantastic that more and more people – certainly in the *scientific community* and, to some extent, in the *political community* – began to talk about nuclear weapons not as useful weapons of war but as *weapons of mutual massive total suicide.*

**Eric:** *When you got to the point of nuclear weapons, you were really talking about instant genocide, which was never possible before in history.*

**David:** In addition to that, technology has provided means of communication that could *incite hatred and violence rapidly and intensely.* We now see the dark side of the Internet, all kinds of hate sites, also all kinds of weapon sites. Technological capabilities in weaponry and communications made the whole situation much more dangerous and it's continuing to get more dangerous.

**Eric:** You make the point in your book that experts can *predict* even *decades in advance* that a genocide is going to occur. Explain a little about that, because most people don't understand that.

**David:** We've learned some things from scholarship on genocide. As long as history has been recorded there have been genocides, over and over again. We also know from Darfur that genocides have not gone away. Obviously that hasn't happened. Even in Europe it hasn't gone away. If we want to prevent it, it has to be *a deliberate effort based on knowledge, skill and best practices*.

*It has been my privilege to stimulate* and participate in research to understand, to build a body of knowledge. One part of it is that every genocide goes back a number of years. It's always years and usually decades. In the Armenian case Dr. Herant Khachadourian of Stanford told us about how his grandfather died in the 1894 massacre, the so-called "Sultan's Massacre" of thousands of Armenians. Now why is that important? Because the textbooks said, until very recently, that the genocide was from 1915-1917, hence, [during] World War I, in which the norms that constrain killing had eroded. It's true that *it reached a peak in 1915-1917*, but the pattern was going back 30-some odd years. Small massacres, medium massacres, big massacres and then gigantic massacres in 1915 to 1917. And that is one important thing to realize. They're mostly mass killings, and, related to that, hate speech.

There is no genocide in modern times that hasn't used mass media over and over again. *You can't just do it overnight*. From a more or less peaceful civilized people like the Germans until you get the Holocaust, it takes years of over and over and over again, using mass media to stir hatred. So hate speech in *a variety of contexts* and outbursts of killing are the most vivid and *dangerous warning signals*. There are a lot of others, but the point is, it's not something like a tsunami that happens just like that. Many political leaders

say that you can't tell until the last minute and then it's too late to do anything except to fight a big war. No, that's wrong. But let's say you have years of warning time. What can you do with that?

International organizations or all democratic organizations like the EU or possibly some future worldwide organization of democracies would have the values that are prepared for alertness to genocide or any kind of mass murder well in advance. *That's an important point, by the way. You can't be sure when you see periodic growing massacres or hate speech that they're going to end up in genocide. They may end up in a civil war, they may end up in interstate wars. But it's very likely to be some kind of mass atrocity, some kind of mass murder - and that's all that you need to know. You want to be able to anticipate and do something.*

**Eric:** You pointed out in your book that the Armenian massacres could have been stopped. Hitler could have been stopped, but he wasn't. Similarly Rwanda. And then you refer to what you call the pillars of prevention. Explain that.

**David:** That's absolutely crucial and that's what was largely lacking, even though Woodrow Wilson recognized it through Henry Morgenthau and others in the Armenian case, and some European leaders recognized it, chiefly through Churchill, before the Holocaust occurred. But they didn't know an awful lot about what to do and they didn't have much institutional strength. We know a lot more now about what to do. It's not easy, it's not simple, but we know a lot more about what to do about who can do it.

*The point of prevention or what to do, stated very briefly, is first, proactive help to countries in trouble. Inter-group tensions are often exacerbated by economic downturns or freefalls or depressions, by social disorganizations that exacerbate the inter-group tensions and increase the danger of mass slaughter. So, when the democracies of the world and organizations like the UN and the EU see that coming,*

*at an early stage* they should *reach out a helping hand* and one form of that *is preventive diplomacy*. *Waiting to settle a war - that's conventional diplomacy*. It's very difficult and prolonged and often fails. [Preventive diplomacy is] early on, *as you see the signs of trouble brewing*, to reach out a helping hand, to be creative about finding a mutual accommodation, a compromise way *of settling the differences*. In the past decade for the first time there are systematic programs for training mediators and negotiators. In 10 to 20 years, every county in the world will have a cadre of people who are skillful in mediation, meaning *neutral informed third parties bringing the adversaries together* or direct negotiations where the adversaries are negotiating with each other.

[Example of the UN mediation in Kenya election case.]

[Success in Kenya] created a basis for hope and pride that they, as a country, could solve their problems in their own way. And *so far that is holding*. So, **preventive diplomacy** is *an important component of proactive help* to countries in trouble. *That's the first pillar of prevention*. It leads naturally into building democratic attitudes, practices and institutions. It flows toward democracy. It's not automatic, but democracies, on the whole, have mechanisms for keeping *ubiquitous human conflict below the threshold of mass violence* – independent judiciary, non-governmental organizations, that are very good at conflict resolution, and on and on, even just the habits of learning in school or being in a pluralistic society, where you mix with different people of different backgrounds in a tolerant way. There are many things about a democracy that don't always work, and it takes a long time for a democracy to consolidate; but constructing democratic institutions is a very important sort of outflow from preventive diplomacy, and it's the second pillar of prevention, **building and promoting democracy**. The international community for the first time in history is doing that deliberately, it's putting money into it, putting skill into it, learning how to do it. We have a long way to

go, but we are way beyond where we were at the time of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust.

So democracy comes next, and, closely related to it, development - not just general economic growth, but equitable socioeconomic development, fairly shared prosperity and some social safety nets. A vision of shared prosperity early on gives hope to a troubled country.

**Eric:** The other thing is, who can do it? Who can prevent genocide? You talk about what international institutions like the United Nations, European Union, new centers that are being set-up on prevention of genocide and even individuals or NGO's can do. Let's talk about that.

**David:** That's extremely important. You need a worldwide movement to support the prevention of genocide or other mass murder. You need political will, but political will depends on a constituency. Even very good leaders in democratic countries need to know that there are a lot of people out there who would support them. We don't have that now, but we could have it. All this is very new in the United Nations. There are many obstacles to overcome.

The European Union, 27 cooperating democracies, has a great moral commitment. You have a Europe-wide movement to support building the pillars. They've done more to build the pillars of democracy and development than anybody else already and now they are getting better at early help to countries in trouble, not only in Europe but beyond Europe. That movement is relatively recent, and they are learning, and they are in some ways groping. But they have very good, very dedicated people. There are organizations like the World Health Organization, or UNICEF for children. UNDP now builds conflict resolution into [its] development programs. And a number of other agencies also have dedicated professionals who know a lot and care a lot about the countries and regions where they are working. They have not been tapped into for the



purpose of preventing mass violence and now that's what they are trying to do as well.

Non-governmental organizations are where individuals can really get together with other like-minded people, particularly in democracies. Non-democracies tend to suppress or eliminate non-governmental organizations. They want total governmental control. But in the democracies, and there are more democracies throughout the world than ever in history, people can join an NGO that is preventing genocide.

**Eric:** What you are really saying here is that this is the first book that has not just said never again, but has pointed out ways to prevent genocide from ever happening again.

**David:** I think it will take decades and generations, but *it can become a reality for our grandchildren. We are getting to the point where we know enough and have enough institutional and other strength to apply the knowledge* that could really overcome this dreadful scourge.

*(abridged from the transcript of the interview: Stanford University, California)*

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**Eric** is interviewing Dr. David Hamburg, the author of '*Preventing Genocide*', who has originally trained as a psychiatrist. Eric is interested in how David has gone from psychiatry to the job of preventing genocide.

**Dr. David Hamburg** believes that it comes from his grandfather, who devoted his life to helping people. Then he also experienced it as a doctor in the Korean War, where he took care of badly injured patients. That strongly reinforced his inclination to do research on stress, so he established a laboratory, called it a 'Laboratory of stress and conflict'. In other words, he has been struck by the importance of conflict in human experience.

**The interviewer** wants to know what the ultimate form of a holocaust or genocide would be.

For **David** there is a real possibility that a nuclear war would eliminate the entire human species. The danger is so fantastic that people have begun to talk about nuclear weapons not as useful weapons of war but as weapons of massive total suicide. In addition to that David thinks that technologies have provided means of communication that could incite hatred and violence and this is the dark side of the Internet.

Observing in David's book the statement that experts can predict genocide, **the interviewer** asks him to explain it.

**David** says... (*Give his explanations*). He denies the viewpoint of many political leaders who say that they can't foretell the occurrence of genocide or war until the last minute. He assures that in these cases they have years of warning time.

**Eric** asks David to explain his point of view that the Armenian Genocide could have been prevented or that Hitler could have been stopped. He also asks him to interpret what a pillar of prevention is.

**David** explains that ... (*Give David's explanation*).

**Eric** wants to find out who can prevent genocides - international institutions like UN and EU or individuals.

**David** points out that both are very important. They should have a political will, as well as democratic views. In fact, there are many obstacles that people should overcome. And organizations like EU, UN, UNICEF, UNDP, different NGOs, where like-minded people come together can aim at preventing violence, which can be of great help to mankind. He hopes that people will eventually learn to prevent genocides.

### **Have your say !**

The relations between your country and country X are going from bad to worse. In diplomatic circle(s) many foresee a military resolution of the standing conflicts (name the conflicts, give the reasons, track the history and speak about the steps taken to settle it/them). The Ministry of Defence have set up a group of secret agents who work in the X country under disguise collecting relevant information. You are the leader of the group. After

several months of hard work, you are reporting to a panel of high-rank military officials about your findings. You also answer their questions.

In a group role-play this situation.

The phrases and collocations from the box below will help you in translating your thoughts into spoken language.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

first hand knowledge	You can't just do it overnight.
<i>to have personal experience</i>	<i>dangerous warning signals</i>
from beginning to end	That's an important point, by the way.
<i>to keep back a few steps from the brink of a ... confrontation</i>	<i>But it's very likely to be some kind of ...</i>
weapons of mutual massive total suicide	Stated very briefly ...
<i>When you get/got to the point of ...</i>	<i>to reach out a helping hand</i>
to incite hatred and violence rapidly and intensely	to see the signs of trouble brewing
<i>to predict decades in advance that ...</i>	<i>And so far that is holding.</i>
It has been my privilege to ...	That's the first pillar of prevention.
<i>It reached a peak in ...</i>	<i>It can become a reality for our grandchildren.</i>
	We are getting to the point where ...

# UNIT 6

## *Debate*

### **THIS HOUSE BELIEVES EDUCATION IS WORTHLESS WITHOUT FREEDOM OF SPEECH**

#### **Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. Do all states restrict information? Yes/No- why?
2. How does the education system relate to changes in the socio-political life of the country?
3. What are the essential components of any education?
4. What does education require on the part of the learner?
5. Are there any guidelines for freedom of speech and if yes, who sets them, who defines its matrix?
6. How would you evaluate the role of education in the society?

#### **Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Associate Dean                             | a) an unfair comment; an illegal punch   |
| 2. Graduate Studies                           | b) full Professor  |
| 3. Affiliate scholar                          | c) to observe something through direct personal experience   |
| 4. to make the case for ...                   | d) to change the rules or conditions for something repeatedly  |
| 5. to witness something first-hand            | e) an academic working for particular universities   |
| 6. icing on the cake                          | f) an unsure, hesitant reply   |
| 7. a wavering answer                          | g) something extra or not essential to an already good situation or experience that makes it even better |
| 8. to shift the goalposts over and over again | h) to give good arguments for  |

9. a low blow i) a school that awards advanced academic degrees (i.e. master's degree, Ph.D.)

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

**December 06 2010**  
**Moderator - Tim Sebastian**

## **THIS HOUSE BELIEVES EDUCATION IS WORTHLESS WITHOUT FREEDOM OF SPEECH**

**Tim Sebastian** - *a television journalist, former presenter of BBC's HARDtalk, Chairman of the Doha Debates*

**Dennis Hayes** - *Professor of Education at the University of Derby and a visiting professor in the Westminster Institute of Education at Oxford Brookes University*

**Nagla Rizk** - *Associate Professor of Economics at the American University in Cairo*

**Tariq Ramadan** - *a philosopher, theologian, television presenter, academic, poet and writer*

**Kevin Watkins** - *director of UNESCO's Education for All Global Monitoring Report*

### **Introduction**

**Tim Sebastian:** Ladies and gentlemen, *a very good evening to you* and welcome to *the latest in our series* of Doha Debates. Despite what they say in some cultures, school isn't always the happiest time of your life. Instead *of being encouraged to explore*, question and innovate, young people can often *be fed hatred and prejudice*; their learning restricted by censorship and government propaganda. *Such is the reality* in many parts of the world and here, too, in the Middle East. *When it comes to free speech, there are of course no absolutes.* All states restrict information, but what we're asking tonight is this: where do governments censor educational material for political reasons or *to push a particular ideology* or a distorted version of history; where are the key facts consistently omitted because they're inconvenient or *deemed sensitive*; where is the criticism of rulers, or ruling parties, stifled: can this type of education have any

value at all? Well, *our motion tonight: This House believes education is worthless without freedom of speech*, and, as usual, our panellists come at the topic from very different points of view. Speaking for the motion, Dennis Hayes, Founder of 'Academics for Academic Freedom', Professor of Education at the University of Derby in the UK. And with him is Tariq Ramadan - Professor of Contemporary Islamic Studies at Oxford University. Speaking against the motion - Nagla Rizk, *Associate Dean for Graduate Studies* and Research at the School of Business at the American University in Cairo. She's also *Affiliate Scholar* at the Yale Law School, and with her, Kevin Watkins. He's director of the 'Education for all global monitoring report' led by UNESCO and *a senior visiting research fellow* at the Global Economic Governance Programme at Oxford University. A lot of titles there. Ladies and gentlemen, that's our panel. And now let me start by asking Dennis Hayes to speak for the motion.

## Speaking for the motion

**Dennis Hayes:** When you're listening to *discussions on freedom of speech*, the important thing is to listen for the small words. The word I would advise you to look for is 'but'. You'll always hear this sentence: "I'm in favour of freedom of speech but ..." and then will come a list of people whose freedom of speech you don't want to hear, and this will be as extensive as the people you're talking to, whether they include racists, fascists, Islamic extremists, homosexuals, homophobes, *not so long ago it was* women who joined that list as people who weren't able to discuss, or they didn't want to hear their views. Because I often tease students in British universities with the statement that it's easier to find a defender of Al Qaeda, *at times, particularly at times of panic* in British universities than it is to find your defender of free speech, and *I want to make the case for free speech in a way you*

*may not have heard before.* Free speech has to be defined, and when we talk about free speech we're talking about rational speech, the ability to argue, probe, question, criticise, that's what free speech means. Free speech is just not one freedom amongst other freedoms. It's the foundational freedom. *It's about having confidence in you as human beings to make up your own mind* and not be told what to think by anybody in authority or by anybody on this panel. It's a great faith in human beings, and *I have utter faith* in your ability to be rational and to make a decision that is based on the evidence on what you've heard. *What I don't want to do is* not allow you to hear and not to make up your own mind, because education that takes place like that is not education. When education begins, it begins by trying to *get people to be critical from the first moment.* If that doesn't happen, then it's not education you have, it's training.

**Tim Sebastian:** Dennis Hayes, thank you very much indeed. Where is this dreamland, this Utopia, where free speech exists and where you don't have to battle for it, where there are no 'buts'? Not in Britain, surely.

**Dennis Hayes:** It's certainly not in Britain. *The price of free speech is constant vigilance, you have to constantly fight the battle ...*

**Tim Sebastian:** So why are you engaged in this worthless educational process in Britain, if there's no free speech there. Why don't you resign now and give it up?

**Dennis Hayes:** I'm sure that's what my *vice chancellor* might say: "*Why do you keep raising objections?*" Because someone has to do this Socratic job. Remember the case of Socrates: there is a model to us all ...

**Tim Sebastian:** No, *but my point is*, it's a battle everywhere, isn't it?

**Dennis Hayes:** Of course.

**Tim Sebastian:** All right, Dennis Hayes, *we have to leave it there*, thank you very much indeed. Could I ask now Nagla Rizk please to speak against the motion.

### **Speaking against the motion**

**Nagla Rizk:** Thank you. This is not about defending freedom of speech. *At this end of the table* we are *as committed to freedom* of speech as anyone in this audience or on the panel. *This is about* the worthiness of education or *absolute total lack thereof* in the absence of free speech. *It is not even about the* extent of worthiness. Education is either worthy or worth zero, in the absence of freedom of speech and that is why I am on this side of the motion. I am here to defend education. I am here because of *my* education. I come from Egypt: I was born and raised in Egypt. I come from a family of doctors who were educated in Egypt and for years they have been treating women, men and children of their ailments. You want to tell me that this education is worthless? Some of the members of this very audience, many come from repressive societies: has their education been worthless? *I argue that education is at the heart of* planting the seed that will indeed *bring about an intellectual capital and reservoir of knowledge and human will*, that will turn to change things around, and that will create the very freedoms that they see around them restricted. Education is a *catalyst of change*. Where do Egyptian bloggers come from? What about Tunisian techies who break the rules of internet censorship and find uncensored sites and share it with the world - through the education that they have learnt, and through this, democratising technologies that are everywhere around us. What about women who learn to read and write and as they do that, learn *to speak up against their abusers* in the Egyptian society and *I witness this first-hand*. You



want to tell me that their education has been worthless? *Indeed, what's wrong with training that helps somebody find a job, provide for his or her basic needs, make a living for the family, promote dignity and self-esteem, indeed bringing to life development as freedom. Is this education worthless? What's wrong with that?* Education creates freedoms and promotes human development.

**Tim Sebastian:** *Would you come to a close please?*

**Nagla Rizk:** In Africa 22 million people are living with HIV AIDS. *In that situation, freedom of speech is worthless without education for alleviating poverty and treating ailments. Voting for the motion is not defending freedom of speech. In fact voting against the motion is indeed congruent with freedom of speech. Thank you.*

**Tim Sebastian:** Nagla Rizk, thank you very much indeed. You seem to believe that free speech *is a sort of optional extra*, you can *manage* without it in education *somehow*, but *what's the message to people* here that: "It's okay, you have a good education but actually the free speech is *a little bit of icing on the cake.*"

**Nagla Rizk:** Well, you have a good education and the value of education is the belief in the *innate capacity of people to turn things around.*

**Tim Sebastian:** In your report you say: "An education system rejecting change, creativity and innovation is still valuable." How is that possible?

**Nagla Rizk:** Given the education, given everything around them, people will change. This is not living in some 'la-la land', this is reality and these are people exposed to the technologies around them and they will bring change.

**Tim Sebastian:** And the philosopher A. C. Grayling who said: "Without free speech there cannot be genuine education and research," you reject that, do you?

**Nagla Rizk:** Well, another philosopher said that education creates freedom.

**Tim Sebastian:** So it's your philosopher against my philosopher, is it? An educational system rejecting change, creativity and innovation, you still think that's a valuable system.

**Nagla Rizk:** I still think *given other things being constant*, promoting freedom will promote worthiness of education. Freedom of speech is neither necessary nor sufficient to bring worthiness of education.

**Tim Sebastian:** All right. Nagla Risk, thank you very much indeed. Now could I ask please Tariq Ramadan to speak for the motion.

### **Speaking for the motion**

**Tariq Ramadan:** Yes. I'm supporting this motion exactly because I think that this *black-and-white attitude* by saying: "Oh, it's not worthless because it's not zero" is problematic. We have to ask ourselves what are the objectives of education, and this is the main discussion here, the objective of education is to promote knowledge, and knowledge is part of the freedom. The second thing is understanding, because knowledge without understanding is something which is problematic. Do we want autonomous beings, being able to think for themselves, to be autonomous and *to act in the name of* the knowledge that they are gaining? *At the end* critical thinking is to be able to speak, is to be able to criticise, is to be able to question, is to be able to contest and to say: "I am free to say whatever I want," so *the very essence of* education should protect this dimension. If not, it's a distorted education, and it could be counter-productive, producing parrots and sheep following the system. *So this is the problem, it's not black-and-white*, it's

something which comes to the essence of education, to freedom of expression which is the means for me to be free to be dignified, to be a human being, and this is where I can change the society. Because at the end, what we want is really this, to be educated, to be dignified, and to change the society, to reform the society for the better ...

**Tim Sebastian:** *Would you wrap it up please?*

**Tariq Ramadan:** ... not an education that is supporting the system: out of all the education that you can promote with this system is a lack of courage. You know what we need today: having autonomy and courage to challenge the opinions of even the government.

**Tim Sebastian:** Tariq Ramadan, *thank you very much indeed.* No autonomy and courage among the students out here? You don't find that anywhere, the students that you teach?

**Tariq Ramadan:** I want them to be more courageous and I want them to be ... all of us, you and me, we have to be much more courageous, *to be able to stand for our thoughts* and then to promote ... *At the end of the day*, it's not by criticizing and being passive with the system that we are going to change it; *it's to be involved within it ...*

**Tim Sebastian:** Is it any better in the West? I mean, people who think they're getting the whole truth and nothing but the truth in the West, they wake up disappointed to find actually it wasn't any truer than anywhere else.

**Tariq Ramadan:** No, because *with your question we are in a black-and-white attitude.* We have many things to reform in the West.

**Tim Sebastian:** So education's pretty bad everywhere?

**Tariq Ramadan:** No, no, no... I'm saying that education could be better everywhere, which is not exactly the pessimist attitude ...

**Tim Sebastian:** And better with what? *What's the message to people out here* who have to live with restrictions in this region, what's your message?

**Tariq Ramadan:** The message for every one of us is in being involved in education by reforming the system and helping the students to be able to speak and to speak out and to be free to speak out. This is the very essential education.

**Tim Sebastian:** Tariq Ramadan, thank you very much indeed. And now let me please ask Kevin Watkins to speak against the motion.

### Speaking against the motion

**Kevin Watkins:** Well, I'm starting off by wondering whether Dennis and Tariq have turned up for the wrong debate. *The proposition that we're discussing is* that education is worthless without the freedom of speech. Bear that word in mind, 'worthless'. It means no value, worth nothing. If something is worthless, you can just give it up, somebody can take it away from you. Now, I say to all of you in this audience who are studying, maybe in countries that don't have freedom of speech: is your education worthless? Would you give it up? Does it mean nothing to you? Because if it means something to you, *you reject this nonsense*. This isn't about better education or worse education. The proposition is that education is worthless. Now, I want to give you a few reasons why you should reject it. Point 1: You're being offered false goods here. The argument that our opponents want to put to you is that unless you've got freedom of speech, your education doesn't mean anything. This is the meaning of the word 'worthless'. *What I say to you is* demand both of them. Demand your freedom of speech and demand your right to education because they're both in the universal declaration of human rights, they're both *your entitlement*, you don't

give one up because someone wants to sell you false goods. Nelson Mandela said: "Education is the most powerful tool that you've got to change the world." If you don't like your education system, if you don't like your government, use your education to go and change it. Another point: this word 'worthless'. I work on Africa mainly, I work on education in Africa. The difference in child death rates in Africa between women with secondary education and women with no education is a factor of four. Raising the level of education of everyone, of all women in Africa, to get to secondary level would save 2 million lives. Worthless? I don't think so. That depends on a value you put on a life, the price you put on human dignity, the price you put on ambition. Here's the last reason I want you to reject this motion. In the last month I've spoken to people in a slum in Nairobi called Kibera, I've spoken to kids in North Kivu in the Democratic Republic of Congo. These aren't societies where people have freedom of speech. But those parents and those kids are struggling every single day to get their kids into school.

**Tim Sebastian:** Could you wrap up, please?

**Kevin Watkins:** Now I will put to you, you don't vote for a motion that would deny to other people precisely the right to education that you secured in your own life. *That would be hypocrisy.* You need to reject this motion. Thank you very much.

**Tim Sebastian:** Kevin Watkins, thank you very much indeed. Isn't it all very well for you to say: "Demand your freedom and demand your education" at the same time, easy for you to say, not so easy for them, is it?

**Kevin Watkins:** *Well, people do fight for their rights.*

**Tim Sebastian:** All right, Kevin Watkins, thank you very much indeed. *I'm going to throw this open now.* It's time for you, the

audience, to put your questions: "This House believes education is worthless without freedom of speech" - that's the motion we're discussing tonight. Lady in the front row. We'll get a microphone to you, please. If you could say where you are from, please.

### **Audience questions**

**Audience (F):** I'm from Qatar and my question is for those who are for the motion. So you seem to have a problem with the word 'worthless' ... So if there is no freedom of speech should we shut down all schools and universities?

**Tim Sebastian:** Dennis Hayes, no freedom of speech, shut down the universities?

**Dennis Hayes:** The university has a particular role in every society. It's the lighthouse that says the state of free speech in that society. So that's the really important thing about universities. I think it's unfortunate that there is lack of free speech in lots of societies, not just in Middle Eastern or oppressive societies around the world, but in Western societies as well, and I think *it was the case* that *universities were the beacon of free speech*, but now you find that even in universities, free speech is not allowed. Thinking the unthinkable and saying the unsayable and being creative is no longer allowed.

**Tim Sebastian:** She was asking a straight question, do you shut them down?

**Dennis Hayes:** No, you don't shut them down because shutting down is just another form of banning. *You win the arguments* in universities to allow freedom of speech for all students, because that's the place we should have them.

**Audience (F):** I still don't think you're answering my question.

**Dennis Hayes:** The answer's 'No'.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, I want to hear from you before you sit down. Do you think you should shut down the universities? Do you want to shut them down?

**Audience (F):** No, obviously not, but they keep arguing that if there's no freedom of speech, then the education is worthless. I think we should still keep the universities open, there can be hope for better educated people and from there we can promote freedom of speech.

**Tim Sebastian:** How much hope do you have?

**Audience (F):** A lot.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, let's take a question from the gentleman in the front row.

**Audience (M):** I'm from Qatar. It's a really interesting topic for everyone. However, *going to the point of* education, I look at education as the cake and the freedom of speech as just a cherry on the cake. Why I'm telling you this, because the cake will feed you. However, the cherry on the top will only make it look nice. At the same time ...

**Tim Sebastian:** That's your view, is it?

**Audience (M):** It's only my point of view.

**Tim Sebastian:** Can you come to a question?

**Audience (M):** The question is, who defines the matrix of freedom of speech? Once upon a time there was a mosque, which told us to do this and that. Now the freedom of speech: who says what's right, what's wrong, *who sets the guidelines?*

**Tariq Ramadan:** Well, I think it's a good question. At the end of the day, freedom of speech is one of the objectives, so if you *miss the objectives*, you have to ask yourself: "What are you doing with the means [the education]?" This is the point. It's not a cake. When we don't have an objective; we don't want to change the society.

**Tim Sebastian:** The young man is disagreeing with you. I'm going to Nagla Rizk. Okay, Nagla Rizk, *you had a point you wanted to make*.

**Nagla Rizk:** Tariq, we are sitting here in Qatar and we are talking about freedom of speech. If you were in Africa, if you were a parent of children who are dying of AIDS, if you had children you cannot feed and somebody talks to you about freedom of speech, you would either laugh or be offended. This is a reality, this is not an ideal world. Yes, freedom of speech is wonderful and we debate it. I am talking from the real world, a world of mothers and children who are dying of hunger and of disease. You cannot advocate freedom of speech, worthy as it is - it's a different argument.

**Tariq Ramadan:** Nagla, I'm sorry, I'm sorry. We are talking about evaluating education in a society. Are we going for just one? I'm going to put my kid in school; or I'm going to change the system for my kids not only to get money but to be free, because at the end of the day, to survive is a basic right, but to think is a novel right, and I want novelty, I don't want only basic rights.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, all right. I'm going to take a question from the lady in the second row.

**Audience (F):** Hello. I'm from Bahrain. I have a question for Mr.. Ramadan. The West has freedom of speech. But how is education worth more with freedom of speech when the teaching can be *manipulated to fit the views of government* or institutions?



**Tariq Ramadan:** Yes, I think it's a good point. What I said... I'm not idealising the Western systems. You know, I have been teaching for years in the West, so I think that yes, when you have students being able to question, being able to criticise, being able to challenge the system, this is where we have to value a system. Is it perfect? It's not perfect. Should we reform it? We should reform it. When we speak about freedom of speech, freedom should go with knowledge. What we are sometimes promoting even in the West is a sense of superficial freedom with no knowledge of history and philosophy, so I'm critical.

**Tim Sebastian:** She doesn't look very impressed by what you're saying.

**Audience (F):** I'm asking do you think it's worth more.

**Tariq Ramadan:** *On that field, yes, on the field of critical thinking* and being able to challenge the system, yes, and I think that in Africa, in the Middle East, we should go much more in this direction of critical thinking towards the system and towards the government and towards thoughts and creativity, yes.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, gentleman in the second row, you have a question, you sir.

**Audience (M):** I'm a neurologist. I want to make a couple of statements and a question. Point one is that studies show that lack of education would make one prone to develop Alzheimer's disease, so if you are more educated, you're actually prevented from having Alzheimer Disease. Point two: over 50 percent of the world's population suffer from lack of freedom, I mean, lack of freedom of speech, and education is the healing balsam or medicine for their lack of freedom of speech. Now, the question is ...

**Tim Sebastian:** I think this is kind of a specialist topic. Can we get to a point within the competence of our speakers please?

**Audience (M):** Yes, okay, and with that background, *you can't have it both ways*, so *I'm going to give you two options*. Education without freedom of speech, one, or freedom of speech without education, which one *would you take?*

**Dennis Hayes:** There is no education without freedom of speech.

**Audience (M):** Pick one: education without freedom of speech, or freedom of speech and being ignorant.

**Dennis Hayes:** There is no education without freedom of speech. *That is just the case, that's what education is*. Anything else is just training or learning a job.

**Audience (M):** *That's a wavering answer*. I want one option. I give you two options. You can't have it both ways.

**Tim Sebastian:** You can't force him to answer it your way. He's got to have freedom of speech to answer the way he wants to answer.

**Audience (M):** You see, you have to be educated in order not to abuse your freedom of speech.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, thank you very much. Kevin Watkins, you have a point.

**Kevin Watkins:** Actually, I think this is a really serious point and because I completely respect the freedom of speech, I sit here and allow Tariq and Dennis *to shift the goalposts over and over again to keep it away from the motion* we're actually supposed to be discussing. Now there's a certain gentleman who lived a couple of centuries ago, Thomas Jefferson, who I think nobody in this room would argue was not *a very fierce advocate of the freedom for speech*. The other thing he did which is less known, is he insisted on putting in the constitution of New England *the right to*

*public education*, and he did that because he believed fervently *that the two things went together*. Imagine the reality, if you will, of a society that followed the model that you just said, a society that had perfect freedom of speech but perfect illiteracy. What sort of debate would we have in that society? It's an absurd proposition, *I grant you*, but that is precisely the sort of absurdity that your argument is taking us towards, because these two things have to go together.

**Tariq Ramadan:** I'm sorry. It's not education that is the problem, it's the quality of education, and the quality of education. If you don't give them the means to challenge the social environment, you are not going to change. What you are promoting here is, in the name of education, let's go for education whatever the result is. I say, no, the result is very challenging here. *We need to assess the quality of the education that we are promoting*.

**Kevin Watkins:** That is what we call in the trade *a low blow*. Nobody on this side of the table *has argued for sub-standard inferior education*. The purpose of education, and we should all be working towards this, is the reform of curricula, the reform of teaching, the training of critical minds.

**Tariq Ramadan:** Freedom of education, freedom to be critical. Exactly, this is what I wanted to hear.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, all right. I would like to go on much longer *but we're running out of time*. I'm going to ask each of the panellists for one sentence, 15 seconds, *summing up their views before we get to vote on the motion*. Dennis, would you like to start? 15 seconds, no more please.

**Dennis Hayes:** Education is about your right to make up your own mind. If you vote against this motion, you're voting against yourself and your own ability to make up your own mind, so we want a hundred percent vote for the motion.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, Tariq Ramadan.

**Tariq Ramadan:** Yes, I think it's a very important motion. We can play with words and say: "Okay, the motion is about worthless or not." This is not the point. The point is about the quality of education and this education should have objectives and the objective is freedom of speech and to challenge the system and the opinions of the people.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, Kevin Watkins.

**Kevin Watkins:** Well, you vote against the motion and you vote for us - you get two things in one. You get everything they're asking for, which is freedom of speech, a hundred percent commitment to critical thinking in education ...

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay.

**Kevin Watkins:** ... but you get one additional thing ...

**Tim Sebastian:** You don't get an additional sentence. Nagla Rizk.

**Nagla Rizk:** The motion is not about the quality of education. The motion is very clear about the worthlessness of education in the absence of freedom of expression. Defending freedom of expression does not mean that you vote *for* the motion.

## Vote result

**Tim Sebastian:** *Okay, one sentence, that's it.* Okay, that's it, thank you. *We've come to the point where we're going to vote on the motion:* "This House believes education is worthless without freedom of speech." Would you please take your voting machines, *let me just explain to you, if you want to vote for the motion*, that's the side represented by

those on my right, it's button one, the YES button. If you want to vote *against* the motion, that's the side represented by those on my left, it's button two, the NO button. *Whichever button you want to press, please do it now.* You only have to press once. Thanks to the wonders of modern science your vote will be communicated to the computers. We should have the vote for you in about 10 seconds' time.

All right, there it is. 53 percent for the motion, 47 percent against. *The motion has been carried.*

*All that remains for me to do is to thank our distinguished speakers, thank you very much indeed, and thank you to you, the audience as well, for your participation.*  
Good night.

*(abridged from the BBC, The Doha Debates 2011)*

## **Have your say !**

In a group, engage in a coffee-house discussion. You are students, professors and friends spending a creative evening in your favourite coffee-house, having drinks and sandwiches and discussing the subject of education in Armenia, namely – the latest developments, tendencies and projects for promoting education in schools and higher educational institutions.

Discuss what kind of education you wish to give to your children and why. Try to ground your arguments with sound facts, specific information, details and examples.

The box below will be of help in your efforts to shape your ideas.

## Conversation gambits and collocations

A very good evening to you. <i>Such is the reality.</i>	It can be manipulated to fit the views of ...
When it comes to ... <i>... there are of course no absolutes</i>	<i>You can't have it both ways.</i>
...	I'm going to give you two options. <i>Which one would you take?</i>
not so long ago <i>At times, ...</i>	That is just the case, when ... <i>That's a wavering answer.</i>
I want to make the case for ... <i>make up your own mind</i>	to shift the goalposts over and over again <i>a very fierce advocate of ...</i>
I have utter faith in ... <i>What I don't want to do is ...</i>	Imagine the reality, if you will. <i>a low blow</i>
to get people to be critical from the first moment <i>Why do you keep raising objections?</i>	But we're running out of time. <i>summing up their views before we get to ...</i>
but my point is, ... <i>We have to leave it there.</i>	Okay, one sentence, that's it. <i>We've come to the point where ...</i>
I argue that ... <i>... is at the heart of ...</i>	Let me just explain to you. <i>All that remains for me to do is to ...</i>
Indeed, what's wrong with....? <i>Would you come to a close please?</i>	... is a sort of optional extra <i>What's the message to people?</i>
In that situation, ... <i>Thank you very much indeed.</i>	a little bit of icing on the cake <i>innate capacity of people to turn things around</i>
At the end of the day, ... <i>a black-and-white attitude</i>	Given other things being constant, ... <i>Would you wrap it up please?</i>
What's the message to people out here? <i>The proposition that we're discussing is that ...</i>	I'm going to throw this open now. <i>You win the arguments.</i>
You reject this nonsense. <i>What I say to you is ...</i>	If we don't come with a radical view ... <i>going to the point of ...</i>
That would be hypocrisy. <i>Well, people do fight for their rights.</i>	Speak your mind. <i>I'm going to take a question from ...</i>
Who sets the guidelines?	to act in the name of ... <i>You miss the objectives.</i>

## *An Interview with*

### **MR. DOUGLAS JOHNSTON ON DIPLOMACY AND RELIGION IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

#### **Task 1. Discuss the following.**

1. Is there any relation between diplomacy and religion?
2. What is the place of religion in the political strategy and diplomacy?
3. Can you guess or do you know what the objectives of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy are?
4. 'Tolerance', 'respect', 'love', 'compassion', hospitality'... Add your values of virtues and comment on the following in relation to the religious outlook.
5. What do you think about incorporating religious considerations into the practice of international politics?

#### **Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. a below-the radar project      | a) a group of experts who provide advice and ideas on political, social and economic issues                               |
| 2. a think tank                   | b) the process of learning something by repeating it until you remember it rather than by understanding the meaning of it |
| 3. when push comes to shove       | c) to ignore or refuse to listen to somebody  |
| 4. rote memorization of something | d) undetected and unnoticed, illegal or semi-registered programme   |
| 5. an easy prey                   | e) an event or a point of time that marks a period of change  |
| 6. to be on a roll                | f) to promote or boost the behaviour or attitudes that are based on being loyal to a social group                         |

- |     |                               |    |  |
|-----|-------------------------------|----|--|
| 7.  | to tap into something         | g) | a convincing, viable response  |
| 8.  | to turn a deaf ear to         | h) | a person who is harmed or tricked by somebody, especially for dishonest purposes   |
| 9.  | the thrust of something       | i) | a point in time or a situation from which you consider something, especially the past; a position from which you watch something |
| 10. | to trump tribalism            | j) | to make use of knowledge, etc. that already exists   |
| 11. | to get a credit for something | k) | when all the easy solutions to a problem have not worked, and something must be done   |
| 12. | a vantage point               | l) | the main point of an argument, a policy, etc.  |
| 13. | a watershed moment            | m) | to be experiencing a period of success at what you are doing   |
| 14. | a credible answer             | n) | to get praise or approval for what has happened  |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*January 3, 2008*  
**Moderator – K. Tippet**

## DIPLOMACY AND RELIGION IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

**Krista Tippet** - *a broadcaster, journalist and author*

**Douglas Johnston** -*President and Founder of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy (ICRD)*

**Krista Tippet,**  
**host:**

I'm Krista Tippet. This is a public radio's conversation on "Diplomacy and Religion in the 21st Century." My guest, Douglas Johnston, has been *developing strategic, below-the-radar projects and contacts* in places like Iran, Sudan, and Pakistan. He says *the diplomacy of the future must*



*engage religion* as part of the solution, even and especially where it seems a source of conflict. Douglas Johnston *has classic military and strategic credentials*. He's commanded a nuclear submarine. He's worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the president's *Office for Emergency Preparedness*. He founded and directed Harvard's Executive Program in National and International Security. And for 12 years, he was *executive vice president* of one of *the top foreign policy think tanks* in Washington, the Center for Strategic and International Studies. But as the Cold War world unraveled, Douglas Johnston saw that world affairs and the work of diplomacy were about to be radically changed. *He co-authored a groundbreaking book based on case studies* from Africa, Latin America and Europe, titled *Religion, The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, which *was required reading* for several years for entering U.S. diplomats.

**Mr.. Douglas Johnston:**

You know, we're one of the most religious nations in the world today, and yet we've let our separation of church and state, which I would not suggest that we change at all, but we've let that become a crutch for not *doing our homework* on how religion *informs the worldviews and political aspirations of others*.

**Ms. Tippet:**

When I look at '*Religion, The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*', this book that emerged... that was it published in 1994?

**Mr.. Johnston:**

That's right.

**Ms. Tippet:**

In any case, before 9/11. I was struck as I read that even then in the early '90s, you were saying that with the decline of the East-West confrontation, which in fact restrained a lot of regional conflicts, the clashes now were going to have to do with *communal identity* and that religion would play a critical role in that. I wonder if your *colleagues in foreign policy circles* already then were seeing that.

**Ms. Tippet:** Right.

**Mr.. Johnston:** *So it's not been on the policymakers' screen for many decades. We also have some very real operational constraints that cause people to shy away from making any sort of investments or moves on the religious side.*

**Ms. Tippet:** What are you thinking about when you say that - operational constraints?

**Mr.. Johnston:** *Modest investments, for example. In fact, while the war was still going on in Iraq, as brief as it was, we received a message from CENTCOM, which was conducting the war, asking us if we could put a team together to come over to train senior military chaplains in how to handle localized conflict having religious content. So we got a team, a really terrific team, together, all set to go, but the funding never came through. And the funding in this case was \$50,000 from start to finish.*

**Ms. Tippet:** Which is just nothing, yeah.

**Mr.. Johnston:** That was pretty ... nothing, *lost in the rounding there.* But, you know, *when push comes to shove*, it is the case that *more often than not* in government and even in industry, when people hear the word "religion," *they run for the hills.*

**Ms. Tippet:** Yeah ...

**Mr.. Johnston:** And what we didn't realize is, you know, the people, say, of Iraq don't *feel loyalty to a nation-state*; they feel *loyalty to their religion.* You know, when Iranian Ayatollahs would come over to Iraq shortly after the war was finished, they were *treated like gods.* I mean, it was just amazing.

**Ms. Tippett:** But as you've written widely about, we Americans would have to completely re-examine not just some of our ideas, but some of our instincts. I mean, when you say that Iraqis would pay much more attention to religious leaders, I think Americans, you know, instinctively feel, 'Well, they shouldn't.'

**Mr.. Johnston:** Right. Yeah, we *sort of play to our own comfort zone, which is largely irrelevant to the situation* over there, I'm afraid. You know, we're currently involved in Pakistan, you know, I think, *in a meaningful way*. We've been there for over three years, reforming the madrassas, the religious schools that, among other things, gave birth to the Taliban. And what most people don't understand is the history of these madrassas. Back in the Middle Ages, these were *the absolute peaks of learning excellence in the world...*

**Ms. Tippett:** Right, right.

**Mr.. Johnston:** ... and then it was only *European exposure to them* that led to the creation of our university system. Take little things like, you know, *founding a chair in a given discipline* or *tassels you wear on your head at graduation*, all of that came out of madrassas.

**Ms. Tippett:** Really?

**Mr.. Johnston:** Yeah. And then over the years, under the impact of colonialism and the like, *they just regressed to where they are today - they're really about rote memorization of the Qur'an* and the study of Islamic principles. And the problem with this is, for example, in Pakistan, you'll find youngsters as young as the age of 12 who have memorized the Qur'an from cover to cover *and haven't a clue as to what it means*, because their first language is Urdu ...

**Ms. Tippett:** Right.

**Mr.. Johnston:** ... and they're not given enough Arabic to be able to ...

**Ms. Tippett:** And they're learning it in Arabic, Qur'anic Arabic.

**Mr.. Johnston:** Exactly. And then what happens is a *local militant* comes along and *misappropriates pieces of scripture, which all religions are prone to do* from time to time, to recruit them to his cause, and *these kids are just easy prey*. They're totally without any ability to challenge or question. So we've got two objectives there. One is to expand the curriculums to include the physical and social sciences with a special emphasis on human rights, particularly women's rights and religious tolerance. And the second, which I think is even more important, is to transform the pedagogy *to develop critical thinking skills among these students. And thus far, we have really been on a roll*, because all of these madrassa leaders seem to share a real concern for the fact that they're not doing well by their students. They seem to care about that.

**Ms. Tippett:** Which is what teachers care about in any culture.

**Mr.. Johnston:** Yeah, that's right. And they themselves were victims of this same approach, you know, *so we really tap into a lot of deep feelings in this process*.

**Ms. Tippett:** So, Douglas, we're exploring the changing place of religion in political strategy and diplomacy. The projects and staff of your International Center for Religion and Diplomacy are multi-religious and multi-regional, addressing conflicts that contain Christian, Hindu, Muslim, and Jewish dynamics. You are, an Evangelical Protestant, but you work most intensely these days on conflicts with an Islamic interface, describing *your center's grassroots work* to help reform Pakistani religious schools, madrassas. So, why did Pakistani educators

choose to partner with your center based in Washington, D.C.

**Mr.. Johnston:** Well, it was because I had a personal relationship with the executive director of that institute.

**Ms. Tippett:** OK.

**Mr.. Johnston:** He knew me. We trusted one another. I started out by saying, 'Look, we're not a government organization nor have we ever received funding from our government.' I said, 'While the United States has clearly *made some mistakes of late*, you must not forget the times it's intervened on behalf of Muslims in Bosnia, Kosovo, Somalia. In Somalia, for example, over a 100,000 Somali *lives were saved as a result of that humanitarian intervention.*' I said, 'And while you can also fairly *criticize us for operating with a double standard* in the Middle East, because of our strategic relationship with Israel,' I said, 'so, too, do the Arab countries operate with a double standard *who complain mightily over Israeli mistreatment but turn a deaf ear to pleas from the Palestinians for even humanitarian assistance.*' So I said, 'Everywhere you look, there's double standards and it's driven by perceived national self-interests.' Then *I would lay on them several verses from the Qur'an* that I'd committed to memory and ...

**Ms. Tippett:** And did you commit them to memory in Arabic?

**Mr.. Johnston:** No, no, *I'm not that good.*

**Ms. Tippett:** OK, all right

**Mr.. Johnston:** But I did in English, and they understood English.

**Ms. Tippett:** OK.

**Mr.. Johnston:** The thrust of them *was something to the following effect:* 'Oh, mankind, God could have made you one if He had willed, but He did not. He made you the separate nations and tribes so that you could know one another, cooperate with one another, and *compete with one another in good works.*' And I said, 'And that's why we are here today. We want to open the competition in good works.' Well, when you reach that point, the rage disappears, because they know that *we care enough to learn about their scripture* to be able to engage with them on that basis, and *it gets past the business of tolerance.* Tolerance means you'll put up with somebody. But *you get to respect.* It shows you care enough about them to understand their values and how they think and operate. *Makes a huge difference.* And *that's one of the things I think in our American foreign policy we just are missing the boat on ...* in so many ways.

**Ms. Tippett:** There's even something more. These *virtues of hospitality and compassion* and ...

**Mr.. Johnston:** Right.

**Ms. Tippett:** ... seeing others as children of God is much more powerful than, than just the ideal of tolerance.

**Mr.. Johnston:** Just to give you an example, when I mentioned that I was in Pakistan at these different madrassas, in one workshop, one of the madrassa leaders came up to me afterwards and he had his hand over his heart, smile on his face, smile in his eyes, and he said, 'You have made me so very, very happy.' He said, 'We thought all Americans hated us.' Well, another one — *this one really is a grabber.* Another one came up and said that he had a situation in his village where a young woman had been caught talking on her cell phone at two in the morning to a young man in an

adjacent village in whom she had an interest. And the village elders felt that this violated their sense of honor, and the consequences were to be that she was to lose her life, her mother was to lose her life, her sister was to lose her life, the boy's mother was to die, and the boy was to lose his nose and his ears. And this madrassa leader said ordinarily, you know, this sort of thing happens a lot, but based on the discussions that we'd been having about human rights, he now felt compelled to go back and confront this and to do so on religious grounds. *And it was with some trepidation — he feared for his own life in this process as well*, but he went back and he did this. He pointed out to the elders how there was nothing in the Qur'an that prohibited a woman from talking to a man, and *he also made reference to verses that encouraged the peaceful resolution of differences*, and he was able to resolve it with no one getting harmed. And, you know, *that's a situation where religion trumped tribalism in a context where it's very difficult to know where one begins and where the other ends*, you know.

**Ms. Tippet:** Right. Where it's often hard to tell the difference.

**Mr.. Johnston:** Exactly, you know, and our hope is, of course, that *this can be a precedent for years to come* in that village and perhaps spread to other villages. But it's not always a given that religion's going to always triumph because, as some of these folks will tell you, say, 'Look, my tribal customs date back 3,000 years. Islam's only 1400 years.' So ...

**Ms. Tippet:** And do people *dismiss this as naive or as isolated examples* which cannot *be fit into national policies?*

**Mr.. Johnston:** No. I'm pleased to say that that's not the case. When we first started out in 1999, *there was sort of tepid acknowledgement* at the State Department. *Now there's downright enthusiasm*, both at State, at Defense, and at

the CIA.

**Ms. Tippett:** For this work you're doing.

**Mr.. Johnston:** Exactly. Because they realize that, you know, this probably is one of the answers.

**Ms. Tippett:** Well, Douglas, let's come to Sudan. I know that your center has played a key role behind the scenes in an improved relationship between the governing Islamic north and the Christian and tribal south of Sudan. The two civil wars between the north and the south claimed over 2 million lives. A peace agreement was reached in January 2005, but ongoing crisis in the Darfur region, an inter-Muslim conflict, has continued to capture world attention.

**Mr.. Johnston:** *I'm no apologist for the government of Sudan, but they've done some things that deserve recognition and to be applauded, and never get any credit for it. When we came to Sudan we wanted to get at cause rather than symptoms. So we deliberately went to the north and pursued a strategy of establishing relationships of trust with the Islamic regime, and from that vantage point, trying to inspire them to take steps toward peace that they wouldn't otherwise take.*

And about a year and a half into this process, we *had a watershed moment* in November of 2000, when we brought together 30 religious leaders and scholars from both the Christian and the Muslim communities. The scholars are important, by the way, because within Islam ... *it's the scholars that really have the wider impact.*

**Ms. Tippett:** Right.

**Mr.. Johnston:** So, but we had 10 prominent Sudanese Christian religious leaders, 10 prominent Sudanese Muslim religious leaders, and 10 internationals from both faith communities.



And the Christians were totally disillusioned. They'd been beat over the head so long. And I told them, I said, 'Look, you have no option. You see, you're Christian. You're called to be peacemakers. This is about making peace. You have to come whether you want to or not.' *So they came with their heels dragging.* But after the first day, the Christian leaders came up to me with smiles on their faces. And they said, 'You know, this is the first time we've ever been heard.'

And after it was all over, an elder statesman took me aside — again a Muslim who had been a diplomat all his life — and he said two things. He said, 'You know, this is the first time in the history of our country that northerners and southerners *have spoken to one another from the heart.*' Secondly, he said he had never before *seen, in a single meeting, as much intellectual horsepower as existed in that meeting* on the Muslim side.

And that was not by accident. *It was by design,* because we weren't there to overthrow the regime. We weren't there to abolish sharia. We were there to answer a very simple question. And that's, what steps can an Islamic government take to alleviate the second-class status of non-Muslims in a sharia context? And if we could *come up with credible answers* — and we had highly credible Muslim figures around the table — *this could resonate in other parts of the world,* like Nigeria and Indonesia, where you have the same kinds of tensions.

**Ms. Tippet:**

But what was different about your gathering that hadn't happened before, hadn't been possible before?

**Mr.. Johnston:**

Well, what it was, was an exercise in *what I call faith-based diplomacy.* *Very simply put, just to define that in the larger picture,* it means *incorporating religious considerations into the practice of international politics.* But even more simply put, it means making religion part of the solution to some of these *intractable conflicts that exceed the grasp of traditional diplomacy.* So, this one was

a real exercise in faith-based diplomacy.

**Ms. Tippet:** Right. OK.

**Mr.. Johnston:** And they'd come in from the sides, listen to what was going on, and then decide what needed praying for, and go out and pray. Well, the combination of all these things really caused people to rise above themselves. And while the Christians *bared their grievances just as baldly as you could hope, it was all done in a cordial tone.*

And at the end, we had a genuine breakthrough in communications between the two faith communities, 17 *consensus recommendations*. We acted on about six of those. And one of them that we *put into effect* was *to form an interreligious council* that meets monthly and brings the top religious leaders from the Christian and Muslim communities together to surface and resolve their problems.

**Ms. Tippet:** Right.

**Mr.. Johnston:** And when I would have my conversations with the foreign minister of Sudan or the first vice president who ran the country, these were *realpolitik kinds of discussions*, you know, trying to persuade them that *what we were suggesting was in their own best interest to do.*

**Ms. Tippet:** OK.

**Mr.. Johnston:** And looking for a convenient opportunity to make a helpful reference to the Qur'an, or how the Prophet Mohammed dealt with this, or what Jesus might have to say about it, they opened up. They opened up, when you reach out in this faith-based way, they really respond, and they respect that and they like it a lot, and *that ultimately pays off.*

**Ms. Tippett:** Well, Douglas Johnston's 1994 book '*Religion, The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*'. Mr.. Johnston, as you see it, *the disconnect between the West and Islam is not a matter of religious rivalry, but of speaking different languages*. The West, you say, speaks the language of separation between religion and politics, while Islam speaks the language of integration. This disconnect was one reason, you believe, that the U.S. *was taken off guard* by the Iranian revolution of 1979. And you say *it hinders effective statecraft and solutions in Iran and in places like Iraq today*.  
And I think another place where you've *had unusual perspective* is Iran, Mr.. Johnston ...

**Mr.. Johnston:** ... And one thing in terms of new ideas that I think is terribly important *is to create a position of religion attaché in the U.S. Foreign Service*, you know?

**Ms. Tippett:** Yes. Mm-hmm.

**Mr.. Johnston:** And what happens now typically is you have a cultural officer, a political officer, maybe even the ambassador that's *tasked with dealing with religious issues*. But *typically, they get pushed aside by more pressing business*. And they're often complicated and difficult to understand. *We've looked hard at this*. In just a stable of 30, a cadre of 30 of these religion attachés posted in those U.S. missions *in countries where religion has particular salience*, could make a huge difference, you know, because they would be trained to understand these kinds of things and how to deal with them.

*(abridged from the transcripts of the American Public Media Programs)*

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**Krista Tippett** conducts an interview with **Mr.. Douglas Jonston**, a person who has been developing strategic, below-the-radar projects and contacts in places like Iran, Sudan and Pakistan. (*Describe Mr..Johnson's personality as the interviewer does.*)

**Ms. Tippett** asks whether their colleagues in foreign policy circles see the clashes that have to do with communal identity.

**Mr.. Douglas Jonston** believes the diplomacy of the future must engage religion as part of the solution, especially where there seems a source of conflict. Mr.. Jonston says it's not been on the policy makers' screen for many decades. He adds that they also have some very real operational constraints that cause people to shy away from making any sort of investments. By saying operational constraints Mr.. Jonston means modest investments. He tells that while the war was still on Iraq they were asked to get a team to support them but the funding never came through. He adds that people of Iraq don't feel loyalty to a nation-state, they feel loyalty to their religion. He is amazed by the fact that after the war Iranian Ayatollahs were treated like Gods.

**Ms. Tippett** agrees with Mr.. Jonston that most people don't understand the history of madrasses that gave birth to the Taliban. Mr.. Jonston confirms the European exposure to them led to the creation of the European university system. However, today the madrassa schools are all really about rote memorization of the Qur'an and the study of Islamic principles. He says the same problem exists in Pakistan where youngsters who have memorized the Quran from cover to cover haven't a clue as to what it means as their first language is Urdu. (*Report the rest of the interview in short, choosing the most important questions and answers of your own accord.*)

**Have your say !**

You are an international team, whose goal is disseminating and fostering democratic ideas through education at school levels. You see religion as a strongest tool in your task, as you believe that by revealing and teaching the commonalities of humanistic principles deep-set in every

religion, you can tap into the minds and souls of children, who will then grow into freedom-loving, humane and active citizens.

In a group, decide upon the countries, religions and strategies you are going to pursue. Say what, when and how you are going to organize. Envisage the end results. Do not forget to use the language material from the box below.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

developing strategic, below-the-radar projects

*to be required reading*

to do one's homework on ...

*as brief as it was/is*

from start to finish

*when push comes to shove*

more often than not

*they run for the hills*

to play to one's own comfort zone

*in a meaningful way*

from that vantage point

*to have a watershed moment*

this could resonate in other parts of the world

*very simply put, just to define that in the larger picture, ...*

to be taken off guard by ...

*But typically, ...*

They just regressed to where they are.

*Haven't a clue as to what it means.*

So we really tap into a lot of deep feelings in this process.

*to turn a deaf ear to pleas from ...*

I'm not that good.

*We care enough to learn about ...*

... which makes a huge difference ...

*We just are missing the boat on ...*

This one really is a grabber.

*This can be a precedent for years to come.*

... dismiss this as naive or as isolated examples

*to pursue a strategy of establishing relationships of trust*

It was all done in a cordial tone.

*to put into effect*

That ultimately pays off.

*We've looked hard at this.*

# UNIT 7

## *Debate*

### **SECURITY COUNCIL IMPOSES SANCTIONS ON IRAN**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What are the concerns of the international community about Iran's nuclear programme?
2. What effects and consequences will the implementation of the sanctions against Iran ensue?
3. Should Iran comply with the requirements of IAEA and if yes/no – why?
4. Why have the negotiations with Iran about the nature and breadth of its nuclear programme born no fruit so far?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. to play into the hands of someone       | a) to be interpreted as  |
| 2. juncture                                | b) a point in time, especially a critical one  |
| 3. to be construed as                      | c) to make stronger the management of the limitation of the production of nuclear and chemical weapons |
| 4. suspension of sanctions                 | d) to make the attempts less clear and more difficult to understand                                    |
| 5. to revert to its national capacity      | e) an unambiguous answer   |
| 6. to obfuscate the efforts                | f) to make people have less respect for  |
| 7. to bolster the non-proliferation regime | g) to make it easy, possible or likely to attain steadiness  |

- |     |                              |    |  |
|-----|------------------------------|----|--|
| 8.  | to be conducive to stability | h) | the act of delaying the penalization for a period of time, until a decision has been taken |
| 9.  | an unequivocal response      | i) | to return to an earlier topic  |
| 10. | to demean                    | j) | to give someone an advantage one person believes another should not have                   |

**9 June 2010**

## **SECURITY COUNCIL IMPOSES SANCTIONS ON IRAN**

**Maria Luiza Ribeiro** - *the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations*

**Ertuğrul Apakan** - *the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations*

**Susan Rice** - *an American diplomat*

**Mark Lyall Grant** - *a British diplomat*

**Gérard Araud** - *the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations*

**Ruhakana Rugunda** - *the Ugandan Permanent Representative to the United Nations*

**Vitaly Churkin** - *the current Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations*

**Yukio Takasu** - *the Permanent Representative to the United Nations for Japan*

**Thomas Harting** - *an Austrian diplomat, the current Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations*

**Li Baodong** - *a Chinese diplomat*

**Nawaf Salam** - *a Lebanese diplomat, academic, and jurist*

**Raff Bukun-Oluwole Onemola** - *The Deputy Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations*

**Ivan Barbalić** - *a Bosnian and Herzegovinian diplomat serving as a Permanent Representative to the United Nations*

**Claude Heller** - *Mexico's Ambassador to the United Nations and acting President of the Security Council*

**Mohammad Khazaei** - *the new Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations*

Expressing deep concern about Iran's lack of compliance with its previous resolutions on ensuring the peaceful nature of its nuclear programme, the Security Council imposed additional sanctions on the country today,

expanding an arms embargo and tightening restrictions on financial and shipping enterprises related to proliferation-sensitive activities.

Adopting Resolution #1929 (2010) by a vote of 12 in favour to 2 against (Brazil, Turkey), with 1 abstention (Lebanon), the Council also requested the Secretary-General to create a panel of experts to monitor implementation of the sanctions.

Speaking today were the representatives of Brazil, Turkey, Iran, Lebanon, the United States, France, Uganda, Russian Federation, Japan, Austria, China, Nigeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Mexico.

**THE TASK: The following are their statements. Guided by the information provided in the statements, role-play the UN Security Council Session.**

### *Statements*

#### **MARIA LUIZA RIBEIRO VIOTTI (Brazil)**

*speaking before the action*, said her delegation would *vote against the draft resolution to honour* the Tehran Declaration signed by her own country as well as Turkey and Iran on 17 May. Brazil also opposed the text because it *did not see sanctions as effective in* the present case. They would lead to the suffering of the Iranian people and *play into the hands of those on all sides who* did not want a peaceful resolution of the issue. Furthermore, adopting sanctions *at the present juncture ran contrary to the efforts of Brazil and Turkey to engage with Iran on a negotiated solution*, she added.

Describing the Tehran Declaration as *a unique opportunity that should not be missed*, she went on to point out that it had been approved by the highest Iranian officials as well as Parliament. The Declaration provided for the use of nuclear energy and set out ways to verify fully its peaceful purposes. The only possible way to further that collective goal was *to achieve Iran's cooperation through dialogue and negotiations*. Indeed, the Declaration showed that



dialogue could do more than sanctions, she said, expressing the Brazilian Government's deep regret that the document had neither received the recognition it deserved, nor been *given time to bear fruit*.

Also of concern was the fact that the Council's permanent members, together with a State that was not a member, had *negotiated behind closed doors* for a month. Brazil *reaffirmed the imperative to carry out all nuclear activity under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)*, and Iran's activities were no exception, she emphasized, adding that the Tehran Declaration was "sound policy" that should be pursued. The resolution would delay rather than accelerate or ensure progress, and concerns about Iran's nuclear programme would not be resolved until a dialogue began. By adopting sanctions the Council was adopting one of the two tracks to solving the question, and in Brazil's opinion, it had *chosen the wrong track*.

#### **ERTUĞRUL APAKAN (Turkey)**

*also speaking before the vote*, said his country *was fully committed to all its non-proliferation obligations* and, as such, *was a party to all major relevant international instruments and regimes*. Indeed, the development of nuclear weapons by any country would make it even more difficult to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. Turkey also wished to see a restoration of international confidence in the *exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear programme*.

*To that end, seeing no viable alternative to a diplomatic and peaceful solution*, Turkey had signed, with Brazil and Iran, the Tehran Declaration, which aimed to provide nuclear fuel to the Tehran Nuclear Research Reactor. It had created "a new reality" with respect to Iran's nuclear programme, he said, adding that the agreement was designed as a confidence-building measure, which, if implemented, would contribute to the resolution of substantive issues relating to that nuclear programme *in a positive and constructive atmosphere*. "In other words, the Tehran Declaration provides

a new and important window and opportunity for diplomacy,” he said, stressing that sufficient time and space should be allowed for its implementation.

Turkey *was*, therefore, *deeply concerned that* the adoption of sanctions would *negatively affect the momentum* created by the Tehran Declaration and the *overall diplomatic process*.

He went on to say that his delegation’s vote against the resolution should not be construed as indifference to the problems emanating from Iran’s nuclear programme. “There are serious question marks within the international community regarding the purpose and nature of [that] programme, and those need to be cleared up.” Iran should be absolutely transparent about its nuclear programme and demonstrate full cooperation with IAEA in order to restore confidence. Turkey supported a diplomatic solution.

However, the resolution’s adoption should not be seen as an end to diplomacy, he emphasized, *expressing his firm belief that*, after the adoption of the text, *efforts towards* finding a peaceful solution *must be continued even more resolutely*.

### ***Action on Draft Resolution***

#### **SUSAN RICE (United States)**

*speaking after the vote*, said the resolution was a response to the threats to peace and security arising from Iran’s *refusal to comply with the requirements of IAEA* and the demands of the Council. “Words must mean something,” she said, stressing that the sanctions were not aimed at Iran’s right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, but squarely at concerns that it had ambitions to develop nuclear weapons. *The measures were tough, smart and precise*, she added.

Recalling the diplomatic openings that the United States had made to Iran, she said it *had shunned successive opportunities to assure* the international community of its peaceful purposes, in addition to announcing

its intention to further enrich uranium and *revealing undeclared sites*. The resolution offered Iran *a clear path to the suspension of sanctions* and reaffirmed the willingness of the United States and other countries to continue diplomacy for that purpose. She praised the work of Turkey and Brazil, but said their proposal did not respond to the very real concerns about Iran's nuclear programme. "This resolution does," she said, emphasizing that respect for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons must *remain at the centre of efforts to control nuclear weapons*.

### **MARK LYALL GRANT (United Kingdom)**

*speaking on behalf of* the Foreign Ministers of China, France, Germany, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and the United States ("E3+3"), reaffirmed their determination and *commitment to seek an early negotiated settlement* to the Iranian nuclear issue.

He said the aim of the ministerial efforts was to achieve a comprehensive and long-term settlement, which would restore international confidence in the peaceful nature of Iran's programme, while *respecting its legitimate right* to the peaceful use of atomic energy. "*We are resolute in continuing our work to this purpose. We also welcome and commend all diplomatic efforts in this regard, especially those recently made by Brazil and Turkey on the specific issue of the Tehran Research Reactor,*" he added.

He went on to say that the Ministers were prepared to continue the dialogue and interaction with Iran *in the context of implementing the understandings reached during their meeting* in Geneva on 1 October 2009. They had asked Baroness Ashton, European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, to *pursue that dialogue* with Saeed Jalili, Secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council, at the earliest opportunity. "We expect Iran *to demonstrate a pragmatic attitude* and to respond positively to our openness towards dialogue and negotiations," he added.

*Reverting to his national capacity, he recalled efforts to resolve the problem diplomatically, saying he regretted that they had not come to fruition and stressing that Iran had followed up with programmes that were even more provocative. He acknowledged the good-faith efforts of Turkey and Brazil, but recalled that Iran had pulled out of a previous agreement, noting that the United Kingdom could not allow it to use the new agreement to justify its defiance of IAEA and the Council. Today's resolution had been made necessary by Iran's own actions, he said, pledging his country's readiness to resume talks while confirming its equal readiness to respond robustly if Iran continued to flout its responsibilities.*

### **GÉRARD ARAUD (France)**

*welcomed the adoption of the text, saying it had been carried out with a balanced representation and that such unity was a response to Iran's clandestine nuclear programme. Since its discovery, Iran had continued to obfuscate the efforts of IAEA and ignore successive Security Council resolutions. There was no doubt about what was going on: Iran had built a clandestine military facility that was far too small for civilian purposes, and had also begun to enrich its uranium to 20 per cent, bringing it "dangerously close" to military grade. Given all that, it was no surprise that IAEA had recently reported that it was impossible to ensure that Iran's nuclear programme was for peaceful purposes.*

He said *the Council had arrived at today's decision after a long and earnest diplomatic push to negotiate with Iran on the nature and breadth of its nuclear programme. While France welcomed the initiative by Turkey and Brazil as an important confidence-building measure, it appeared that Iran was avoiding the substance of the agreement by continuing to enrich uranium. It was using the Tehran Declaration as an alibi to avoid discussing the programme with the E3+3, and to buy time for continued enrichment, he said, adding that Iran was using it to ignore the will of the wider international community. Indeed, the heart of the problem was the true nature of the Iranian nuclear programme, he emphasized.*

*With all that in mind*, the Security Council had adopted a text that would slow down the progress of Iran's nuclear programme and allow diplomacy more time, he continued. The text was aimed at addressing Iran's continuing attempts to *"ride a train for which it does not have a ticket"*, not directed at the Iranian people. Adopting it was "the very least the Council could do" in its efforts to reassure the wider international community about the nature of Iran's nuclear programme. The Council *also sought to prevent a regional nuclear arms race* and to prevent *a conflict that could have disastrous consequences* in an already unstable region.

*The door to dialogue and diplomacy, as always, remained open*, he said. France, United Kingdom, United States and the Russian Federation had written to IAEA seeking a discussion of *all issues of concern regarding the tripartite agreement*. Those countries were also willing to discuss other measures as set out in the resolution. However, such measures could not be taken by others alone, and the Iranian leadership "must *take the hand that is being offered*" rather than *continue its dangerous pursuit of regional supremacy*. Rather than a path to isolation, Iran must choose *to be brought into the fold of the international community*, he added.

## **RUHAKANA RUGNDA (Uganda)**

*said* his delegation had voted in favour of the text because it fully supported the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty's aims. Indeed, the *Treaty set out the provisions for safeguarding and verifying all nuclear activity*, and it was important that all the nuclear activities of parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty *were in compliance with relevant safeguards*. The recent IAEA report raised *a number of questions about* the purposes of Iran's nuclear programme, he said. Uganda commended the recent initiative by Turkey and Brazil, which *was vital to confidence-building efforts*. All future efforts must respect Iran's right to peaceful use of nuclear energy, also ensuring that Iran adhered to Non-Proliferation Treaty safeguards and cooperated with IAEA in a full and transparent manner.

## VITALY CHURKIN (Russian Federation)

*said* his vote in favour had been guided by *his country's consistent position on the need* to resolve through dialogue all questions involving Iran's nuclear programme. Hopefully Iran would see the resolution as an appeal to launch substantial negotiations to clarify all issues and to fulfil its responsibilities towards IAEA and the Security Council. The Russian Federation would continue to make significant efforts to promote dialogue and the resolution of all such problems.

Thus far, Iran had not opened the road sufficiently to allow it fully to master the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, thanks to its lack of cooperation with IAEA, he said. *Sanctions*, forceful measures that must be used in a balanced and proportional way, *were aimed exclusively at bolstering the non-proliferation regime* and not at the well-being of the Iranian people, he stressed, welcoming the efforts of Brazil and Turkey.

**YUKIO TAKASU (Japan)** *affirmed* the importance of efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the *responsibilities implied by the right* to develop *nuclear energy for peaceful uses*, stressing that Iran had not fulfilled its responsibilities *in that regard*. Japan *paid tribute to the efforts of* Brazil and Turkey, but regretted that the resulting Declaration did not *address core issues*, including Iran's continuing enrichment of uranium to high levels. Japan also *supported the dual-track approach to resolving the* Iran nuclear *issue through dialogue as well as pressure*, he said, noting that the resolution contained a targeted and balanced approach along those lines, *while in no way closing the doors to diplomacy*.

## THOMAS MAYR-HARTING (Austria),

*noting* that his delegation had voted in favour of the text, said a decision of that kind was never to be taken lightly. From the time when IAEA had revealed Iran's programme in 2003, Austria had hoped that the issue could be resolved through negotiations, but even after five Council resolutions, the

nature of the programme remained unclear. Indeed, a clandestine nuclear facility had been discovered just a few months ago, he said, emphasizing his country's continuing commitment to a dual-track approach.

While Austria believed the current resolution was necessary, it *still stood behind the two packages proffered by the international community* in 2006 and 2008, he said, highlighting also the fact that today's text stressed the willingness of the E3+3 to continue and enhance diplomatic dialogue and consultations.

### **LI BAODONG (China)**

*said* that, like previous texts, the current one reflected international concerns as well as the desire of all parties to resolve the matter through dialogue and negotiations. China therefore called on all States *to implement the resolution fully and effectively*. However, any actions undertaken must *be conducive to stability* in the Middle East, must not affect the daily lives of the Iranian people, must *be commensurate with Iran's actual practice in the nuclear field*, and must *respect all international norms on nuclear matters*.

He said the adoption of the current text did not mean the door was closed to diplomatic efforts. Indeed, it *was an attempt to bring Iran back to the table*, since the sanctions it outlined could be suspended, or even lifted, if Iran *complied with its IAEA obligations*. Over the years, China had worked hard to ensure a negotiated settlement of the issue, and welcomed the tripartite agreement between Brazil, Turkey and Iran. *It was to be hoped that Iran would use the momentum generated by the Tehran Declaration to build the international community's confidence*.

**NAWAF SALAM (Lebanon)**, *stressing* the importance of *ridding* the Middle East and *the world of nuclear weapons*, said his country had been one of the first parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, adding that the recent Review Conference had reaffirmed the importance of a nuclear-weapon-free Middle East. Israel was the only country in the region that held

nuclear weapons, he said, emphasizing that it should allow IAEA inspection of its nuclear facilities, and *that enforcement of the Non-Proliferation Treaty regime should not be selective.*

Iran had a right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, as well as an obligation to adhere to the safeguards regime, he said. *The fuel swap deal negotiated* by Turkey and Brazil provided a road towards resolving the problems that had arisen, he said, adding that the agreement was still a gateway to confidence-building measures. *The solution to the overall issue would come about through dialogue and not pressure.* The sanctions regime represented a painful failure of diplomatic efforts, he said, while *stressing his refusal to give up on such efforts* and calling for a reinvigorated, flexible and constructive dialogue.

#### **RAFF BUKUN-OLU WOLE ONEMOLA (Nigeria)**

*said* the *Non-Proliferation Treaty remained the best framework for guaranteeing the right to peaceful nuclear programmes* while preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, and for that reason his country was cooperating with IAEA in its efforts to meet its people's energy needs. In that context, Nigeria could not understand why Iran was not cooperating with the Agency if its goals were peaceful. *It was incumbent on that country to dispel doubts about its nuclear programme,* he stressed, calling on Iran to respond positively to diplomatic efforts, and welcoming the dual-track approach. Nigeria applauded the efforts of Brazil and Turkey in that context, he said.

#### **IVAN BARBALIĆ (Bosnia and Herzegovina)**

*said* his delegation had once again been among those that *had nourished hopes* that the issue could be *solved* through negotiations and *in a satisfactory manner for all concerned.* "However, *we find ourselves confronted by further aggravation regarding a comprehensive solution to the nuclear capacity development in the Islamic Republic of Iran,*" he said, adding that his own country, as a State party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty,



was fully committed to implementing the Treaty, which *represented an irreplaceable framework for promoting security* and preventing nuclear proliferation. The IAEA safeguards agreements which could ensure that nuclear energy was used in a safe and responsible manner.

The right of all States to the peaceful use of nuclear energy was also important and must be fully respected and protected, he stressed. “Iran *is no exception to that rule*. It should be made clear, nevertheless, that the scope and objectives of any nuclear programme, including Iran’s, *have to remain in accordance with international rules* and must *be subjected to a verifiable and transparent inspection regime* by the International Atomic Energy Agency.” The Council had adopted resolutions calling on Iran to comply with the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to extend full cooperation to IAEA inspectors, yet, according to the most recent reports, the international community had not received a clear and unequivocal response from Iran, *which had brought the Council to the present stage*.

*Bearing in mind the importance of restoring confidence* in the *strictly peaceful nature* of the Iranian nuclear programme, he urged Iran to comply with all resolutions of the Security Council and the IAEA Board of Governors, and to implement the Additional Protocol. *A negotiated settlement, based on mutual trust and respect, was the best option*, and in that regard, Bosnia and Herzegovina welcomed the recent efforts by Turkey and Brazil “as a significant confidence-building measure”. The resolution adopted today was tough, but it did not close out the option of further diplomatic efforts towards an ultimate negotiated solution, he said, calling upon the various parties directly involved to explore all possible means to pave the way for a peaceful solution.

**Council President CLAUDE HELLER ( Mexico),**

*speaking* in his national capacity, emphasized that his country was firmly committed to nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation and peaceful use of nuclear energy. However, Mexico was concerned that the actions being

taken weakened those three pillars of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and were of particular concern when carried out in *a region already rife with instability and mistrust*. Iran's "controversial" nuclear programme was not a new issue for the Council, he said, stressing that the country must comply with all requests by IAEA to ensure the peaceful nature of its programme. It must also comply with Security Council resolutions and *ensure transparency regarding its nuclear activities*.

"It is Iran that must gain the confidence of the international community, not the Security Council," he declared, expressing Mexico's support for dialogue and negotiations *as the way forward*. The sanctions and other measures adopted by the Council did not punish the people of Iran, but focused only on its nuclear activities. *Recent diplomatic initiatives were insufficient* because they addressed neither international concerns about the nature of Iran's programme nor the issue of enrichment. Today's text did not close the door to diplomatic negotiations, but left room for heightened diplomatic efforts, he said, adding that the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East should be pursued to ensure the security and stability of all States in that region, including a future Palestinian State. Mexico would continue to pursue the path of dialogue and reject the use of force, he emphasized.

### **MOHAMMAD KHAZAEI (Iran)**

*said* that his *nation had endured unfair pressures* for many years due to the aggression of some of the same countries that supported today's resolution. *He pointed specifically to a suit by the United Kingdom* which had claimed that the nationalization of Iran's oil *endangered international peace*, and the subsequent *United States-supported coup, mounted under a similar pretext of maintaining international peace*, which had reinstated the dictatorship of the Shah. The clear message was that no one should be allowed *to endanger the vital interests of the capitalist world*, he asserted.

The similarity of those efforts was that the United States and United Kingdom were then as now, *trying to deprive Iran of its absolute right to achieve energy self-sufficiency*, he said. However, the difference was that today Iran was more powerful and enjoyed greater support among its people, who had enjoyed three decades of political experience, a scientific, cultural and industrial renaissance and the support of the overwhelming majority of nations.

He said that Iran was committed to strengthening the Non-Proliferation Treaty, while remaining determined to exercise its right to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

He said there was robust cooperation with IAEA, with more than 4,500 person-day inspections permitted since 2003. But even so, a few Western countries *continued their provocative behaviour, exemplified by the politically motivated reactions* to the deal for the supply of fuel for the Tehran Research Reactor. However, Iran still responded positively to the efforts of Turkey and Brazil, which had *pursued that deal in good faith*, leading to a declaration on the exchange of fuel. But instead of welcoming that agreement, the hostile Powers had immediately introduced the current resolution.

*The Council had been turned into the tool of a few countries* which did not hesitate to abuse it, he said. Those countries should provide answers about their behaviour, including their *threats of force against Iran*. *Iran would never bow to hostile actions and pressures on the part of a few Powers*, and would continue to defend its rights, he vowed.

**Mr.. LYALL GRANT (United Kingdom)**

*said* in response that Iran’s “distorted account of history and personal attacks against my country” only demeaned that representative. In fact, his statement seemed to be an attempt not to respond to the concerns of the international community and the specific concerns set out in Council resolutions about

Iran's *nuclear ambitions*. The Iranian delegate's attacks were an insult to the Council and all those who had sought a negotiated settlement over the past four years. "I hope that on more sober reflection, Iran will respond honestly to the questions asked by the Council over the past four years about its nuclear programme [and] will engage more positively with the Council."

*(abridged from the Security Council SC/9948 Transcript of Resolution: Department of Public Information. News and Media Division. New York)*

### Have your say !

You are a UN official dealing with the Middle East issues. Write a report to be presented at the session of your Division on the perilous situation in several countries in the Region. Try to explain the reasons and the line of actions the conflicting sides have taken. Comment on the Western military aid, its purposes and factual consequences. Give your forecast on future developments. Conclude by presenting a set of recommendations. Think of and put down several questions you are likely to be asked. After you have written your report, present it to the meeting of your Division – the class. The Division will show lively interest in different aspects of the problems you are speaking on and try to find out more by putting numerous questions.

Refer to the language box below for help.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

to play into the hands of <i>a unique opportunity that should not be missed</i>	to flout its responsibilities <i>Given all that, ...</i>
to be given time to bear fruit <i>to negotiate behind closed doors</i>	a long and earnest diplomatic push to negotiate
to chose the wrong track <i>exclusively peaceful nature of ...</i>	<i>an important confidence-building measure</i>
to that end, ... <i>seeing no viable alternative to ...</i>	to avoid the substance of the agreement <i>the heart of the problem is ...</i>
in a positive and constructive	to buy time for ...

atmosphere  
*to be deeply concerned that ...*  
... must be continued even more  
resolutely  
*The measures were tough, smart and  
precise.*  
in the context of implementing the  
understandings reached during the  
meeting  
*to demonstrate a pragmatic attitude*  
to acknowledge the good-faith  
efforts  
*to dispel doubts about ...*  
... is no exception to that rule  
*to pursue a deal in good faith*  
I hope that on more sober reflection  
...

*With all that in mind, ...*  
to “ride a train for which it does not  
have a ticket”  
*The door to dialogue and diplomacy,  
as always, remains open.*  
to take the hand that is being offered  
*continue its dangerous pursuit of  
regional supremacy*  
vital to confidence-building efforts  
*in that regard*  
comply with its ... obligations  
*It is to be hoped that ...*  
The solution to the overall issue  
would come about through dialogue  
and not pressure.

## *An interview with*

### **HENRY KISSINGER**

**Task 1. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. a terminal date           | a) officer-in-charge of a large geographic area in which military operations are coordinated          |
| 2. attrition of the opponent | b) increasing the number of troops in order to provide security                                       |
| 3. a troop surge             | c) the fundamental, major statement or an idea that forms the basis for a reasonable line of argument |
| 4. a theatre commander       | d) a process of making your rival weaker by repeatedly attacking him or creating problems for him     |
| 5. the basic premise         | e) time limit; the final date   |

**Task 2. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*25 June 2010*  
**Financial Times**

**Dr Henry Kissinger**, US Secretary of State *under Presidents* Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford and *informal adviser to subsequent occupants of the White House*, spoke to the Financial Times on June 25 about the war in the Afghanistan *in the wake of* Barack Obama's decision to accept the resignation of Gen Stanley McChrystal as commander of the NATO and US-led forces.

Dr Kissinger supports Mr. Obama's goals in Afghanistan, but says current plans to begin *handing over responsibility to Afghan forces* in July 2011 – and to begin drawing down the US troops at that time – are unrealistic.

While he calls for Gen David Petraeus, Gen McChrystal's *prospective replacement in the field, to look at that strategy anew*, he says the Afghan commander should do so discreetly, rather than *initiating a protracted high profile review* of the sort that President Obama chaired last year.

***Financial Times:*** Can, *in any conventional sense of the word*, Petraeus win this war in Afghanistan?

**Dr Kissinger:** In the traditional sense of *fighting against an adversary* with whom it is possible *to make an enforceable agreement*, no. In the sense of *gradually defeating the insurgency and reducing it to impotence*, theoretically yes, but it would take more time than the American political system would permit.

***Financial Times:*** So what are the prospects?

**Dr Kissinger:** *To announce a terminal date* when the *attrition of the opponent* is one of the elements of the strategy. Let the adversary *regulate his own intensity of combat* and give him a deadline. It seems to me an *unwise procedure*.

***Financial Times:*** So is there *an urgent need for Obama to rethink the strategy*?

**Dr Kissinger:** There's a need for him to rethink the deadline and there is a need to rethink the way it has been designed. It has been designed to turn over the responsibility for security to an Afghan government on a national basis. That, I think, would be very difficult, at least *within the stated time limits*.

***Financial Times:*** So you're saying that you need less ambitious, less *centralised goals* and more time?

**Dr Kissinger:** Right, but I don't want my views to be considered an attack on the president's general view. I agree with the *objective he has stated* both in his West Point speech [announcing a 30,000 *troop surge* to Afghanistan last December] and when he dismissed Gen McChrystal.

***Financial Times:*** But the manner in which it is being implemented, the strategy, is something that is in imminent need of being rethought?

**Dr Kissinger:** It needs *adaptation to realities*.

***Financial Times:*** Does Obama need *to take a firm hand* of this effort, with the article revealing the difficult relations between McChrystal and people like US Ambassador Karl Eikenberry and special envoy Richard Holbrooke?

**Dr Kissinger:** *It's essential that* there is a strategy that is carried out by the civilian and military elements together. Holbrooke *is being unfairly attacked*. I don't think he's ever *had any significant authority with respect to* Afghanistan. He is a somewhat challenging personality but he *has performed admirably in every previous job*, so I think he is not, in terms of his abilities, an obstacle.

***Financial Times:*** And Eikenberry, whose *memo doubting some of the fundamentals of the strategy* has become so public?

**Dr Kissinger:** It would be essential that the ambassador and *the theatre commander have parallel views*. You can't *throw the execution of policy open to permanent debate* at that level. It should be debated before the *policy is established*, but *the execution of it cannot be subject to a monthly debate*. So *my basic attitude is to be supportive of the overall effort* administration and to support the objectives that the president stated in his relief of General McChrystal.

*But I do think that the basic premise that you can work*



*towards a national government that can replace the American security effort in a deadline of 12 months provides a mechanism for failure. On the other hand, if we are willing to pursue the stated objective, the public must be prepared for a long struggle. This is a choice that needs to be made explicitly or else we should look for intermediate objectives.*

### Have your say !

Write a farewell speech of a President of a country, who has decided to retire from politics. Sum up your years of presidency, your achievements and failures. Draw a line of what has been done. Lay down your vision of the country's development in the future. State the priorities in the foreign policy, give guidelines for the reorganization of the economy and agriculture, speak about your considerations on the reforms in the educational system, etc. Thank your people (decide yourself for what) and express your wishes for their well-being.

Present your farewell speech to the class. Use the language material from the box below.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

in the wake of	within the stated time limits
<i>to hand over responsibility to</i>	<i>adaptation to realities</i>
to look at that strategy anew	troop surge
<i>in any conventional sense of the word</i>	<i>to take a firm hand of ...</i>
to make an enforceable agreement	It's essential that ...
<i>to announce a terminal date</i>	<i>... has performed admirably in ...</i>
So my basic attitude is to ...	to throw the execution of policy
<i>to be willing to pursue the stated objective</i>	open to ...
	<i>a permanent debate</i>

# UNIT 8

## *Debate*

### **THIS HOUSE WOULD PREFER MONEY TO ELECTIONS**

#### **Task 1. Discuss these questions**

1. What would you prefer to money and why?
2. Can economic reforms take place without political reforms?
3. What are the benefits and disadvantages of the political stability in a country?
4. What are the necessary conditions in a country to develop democracy?

#### **Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. a motion            | a) a thing or action that is not interesting in itself but is a way of achieving something else                 |
| 2. Honorary Fellow     | b) a way of dealing with a problem by beginning at the highest conceptual level and working down to the details |
| 3. an admission        | c) on the whole; generally speaking; all things considered  |
| 4. a means to an end   | d) Liberty, equality, fraternity (brotherhood) (the national motto of France)                                   |
| 5. to come to a close  | e) to be something that has never happened, been done or been known before                                      |
| 6. per capita income   | f) the rich and the poor  |
| 7. to be unprecedented | g) a statement in which somebody  |

- admits that something is true, especially something wrong or bad that they have done
- |     |  |    |  |
|-----|--|----|--|
| 8.  | to be tailored for                     | h) | a person with a university degree given to him/her as an honour  |
| 9.  | enlightened autocracy                  | i) | profits or gains for each person   |
| 10. | by and large                           | j) | to be made or adapted for a particular purpose or person   |
| 11. | to address a concern                   | k) | to think about a problem or a situation and decide how to deal with it   |
| 12. | the haves and have-nots                | l) | to make the effect of a political change less severe, damaging or hurtful  |
| 13. | in the long run                        | m) | systems based on a fuller recognition of the role of knowledge and technologies with extra features giving them competitive edge |
| 14. | to throw a question open               | n) | a formal proposal that is discussed and voted on at a meeting  |
| 15. | value-added, knowledge-based economies | o) | to come up with an important development that may lead to an agreement or achievement  |
| 16. | a top-down approach                    | p) | to draw near the concluding passage or conclusion or the end   |
| 17. | liberte, fraternite, egalite           | q) | more civilized, illuminated government system ruled by one person  |
| 18. | to make a breakthrough                 | r) | after a very lengthy period of time  |
| 19. | to cushion a political change          | s) | referring to something on its own rather than in connection with other things  |
| 20. | per se                                 | t) | to make the question or the discussion available for others  |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*10 November, 2010*  
**Moderator - Tim Sebastian**

## **THIS HOUSE WOULD PREFER MONEY TO ELECTIONS**

### **Introduction**

**Tim Sebastian** - *a television journalist, former presenter of BBC's HARDtalk, Chairman of the Doha Debates*

**N.Janardhan** - *a Political Analyst*

**Mani Shankar Aiyar** - *a former Indian diplomat*

**Jean-François Seznec** - *Visiting Associate Professor at Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies*

**Wael Abbas** - *an internationally renowned Egyptian journalist, blogger, and human rights activist*

**Tim Sebastian:** *Ladies and gentlemen, a very good evening to you and welcome to the latest in our series of Doha Debates. We all know that money and politics go hand-in-hand, but in many parts of the world people are told they have only one choice: take the money but stay out of politics. That message has gone out to millions in China, Russia and here in the Middle East: that you can be free to make your fortune but don't expect anything much in the way of democracy. It's the subject of our debate tonight and the motion before us. This House would prefer money to free elections. Well, the two sides of our panel disagree fundamentally on this issue. Speaking for the motion, Dr. N. Janardhan, a political analyst based in the UAE and with him Jean-Francois Seznec who is both an academic and a businessman. Against the motion, Mani Shankar Aiyar, a former Indian government minister, outspoken commentator and MP, and now Honorary Fellow at Cambridge University. And with him Wael Abbas, well-known in this region as a political blogger, democracy*

*advocate* and journalist. A native Egyptian, he's often been critical of his government and its *human rights record*. Ladies and gentlemen: our panel. [Applause] So now let me ask Narayanappa Janardhan to speak for the motion, please.

### **Speaking for the motion**

**N. Janardhan:** *Thank you, Tim, and hello everyone. I begin my argument in favour of the motion with an admission. I'm making my case as an ordinary and practical person, not as an intellectual. This distinction is important because very few intellectuals would trade their freedom for money, so put aside your intellectual hats and put on your common man's caps. I also want to frame my arguments by widening the canvas to a larger question: which is more important - political reforms or economic reforms? The world has always been a place where economic sense is viewed as commonsense. Money which represents food, shelter, clothing and dignified life is certainly more important than the political system for most ordinary people - and the majority of the people in this world are ordinary. An example that establishes my point that economy drives politics is the recent US elections. The reason for the Democrats' loss was not because Obama is black or Muslim. It was triggered by the news of 15 million Americans being unemployed. Will another round of free elections solve the crisis? No. To borrow Clinton's slogan, "It's the economy, stupid". People want more money, more jobs, more benefits. So free elections are a means to an end, not an end in itself. This is why more than 80 percent of citizens in most of the Gulf countries express strong satisfaction with the way they live, even without significant political power. Will political reform take away their money? Maybe. These countries point to the chaos, lack of growth and divisiveness that elections have brought about in Kuwait, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Bahrain, to name a few. The question then is: can economic reforms take place*

without political reforms? Yes. It is only in the American experience that democracy and capitalism developed simultaneously. In Europe, capitalism came before democracy. South Korea reformed economically first, as did many South American countries. China, Singapore and the Gulf countries are still *pursuing economic reform over political reforms*.

**Tim Sebastian:** Could you come to a close?

**N. Janardhan:** Someone once said: "It's hard to even preach to an empty stomach." Finally, while money is a necessity, free elections are a luxury. *It is like the sixth sense that makes it possible to enjoy the other five.* Thank you. (Applause)

**Tim Sebastian:** Narayanappa Janaardhan, thank you very much indeed. So you just take the money and run then, that's all you're interested in - no development in the society, no community development, just take the money, take the money and run?

**N. Janardhan:** Well, all that comes only if there is enough money that is put into the society, right, I mean, what is the point of just having elections?

**Tim Sebastian:** And what guarantees that you can keep your money when you've got it ... laws?

**N. Janardhan:** *Once you become economically empowered, you also become politically empowered. It also brings about some kind of social empowerment ...*

**Tim Sebastian:** That's what they thought in Russia, didn't they? That's what the oligarchs thought in Russia. They're hugely rich and what do they find now? They're raided, they're pursued, they're mown down, they're put in jail for years. What did their money do to protect them?

**N. Janardhan:** *It does, to a large extent.* I mean, people don't have any ...

**Tim Sebastian:** But it hasn't, has it? Look at the facts. How many of them have been put in jail? The largest businessman in Russia - jailed.

**N. Janardhan:** I'm sure more people are in jail today who are poorer than those who are rich.

**Tim Sebastian:** You think so?

**N. Janardhan:** I think so.

**Tim Sebastian:** And you think that money protects you?

**N. Janardhan:** Well, to a certain extent. It's more than protection - it at least gives you a chance to survive. If I don't survive, what use is freedom? And I think only money helps me survive.

**Tim Sebastian:** And *what are the guarantees that help you survive?* I mean, you look at the Arab Human Development Report, it says year after year: 'only a well governed, accountable *and responsive state ruled by just laws* can provide essential rights, freedom and opportunities without discrimination' - opportunities without discrimination. You trust an unelected government to give you those?

**N. Janardhan:** No, well, opportunities today means education, jobs, and unless they get that, they're not going to do well in life at all, and I think that comes first to them. An ordinary person will definitely believe that economic freedom is more important than any sort of political freedom.

**Tim Sebastian:** And *never mind those who don't have it*, never mind the poor, just take your money and run? *It's pretty selfish, isn't it?*

**N. Janardhan:** That is not selfish.

**Tim Sebastian:** Oh, that's news to me. Narayanappa, thank you very much indeed. Mani Shanker, would you like to speak against the motion please?

### **Speaking against the motion**

**Mani Shanker Aiyar:** Well, as a Member of Parliament, I have fought six free elections and I know that you can't fight free elections without money, so *I'm not quite sure what the contradiction is that we are presented with. The fact of the matter is that* almost all countries which have a high *per capita* income are countries which hold free elections, and almost all countries which have a low *per capita* income are those that don't hold free elections. There doesn't seem to be any guarantee that even prosperity under a dictatorship can be sustained. For the Soviet Union *underwent the fastest rate of growth ever* under Stalin in the 1930s, and today the Soviet Union is history, whereas the United States for example, which has been through several crises in the last 220 years or so, has survived them because *democracy throws up answers which dictatorships attempt to suppress*. It is true that



China has demonstrated remarkable rates of growth without free elections, but *you can see the simmering anger. According to one estimate*, there were about 70,000 demonstrations against the rulers in China over the course of the last year, and the emphasis now being placed by them on harmony is an indication of how the kettle is boiling and the lid is jumping, and *so long as the steam is allowed to go out, as happens in a democracy, you'll be able to keep the pot boiling*. But if you don't, then there'll be an explosion - an explosion that has taken place in countries for example like Iran, *where the prosperity under the Shah was unprecedented* and yet, were people happy? No, they *overthrew that regime*. It's possible that they are still not very happy but I am certain that the more Iran democratizes, the more prosperity is likely to grow.

**Tim Sebastian:** Could you come to a close, please?

**Mani Shankar Aiyar:** Pardon?

**Tim Sebastian:** Could you come to a close, please?

**Mani Shankar Aiyar:** Yes, so *there I would come to the basic conclusion that* in fact it is free elections that promote prosperity and sustain prosperity. You can have prosperity without free elections, but that is not a mixture that can be sustained over any very considerable period of time.

**Tim Sebastian:** All right, Mani Shankar Aiyar, thank you very much indeed. [Applause]. Now please let me ask Jean-Francois Seznec to speak for the motion please.

### **Speaking for the motion**

**Jean-Francois Seznec:** Well, this motion is really a choice between wealth and democracy today and my *remarks are really tailored for the Gulf* because I know the Gulf a little better than many other places, but I'm not against democracy. It

works in the US where I live. But *democracy cannot be imposed from outside. It must naturally come from within, or else it creates havoc.* I mean, the Gulf States are basically *enlightened autocracies today*, but they create stability and wealth by using their God-given oil, gas and industrial power. Democracy in the Gulf today would guarantee instability and poverty by bringing extremist groups to power. In fact, *wealth can only happen through stability.* Of course the enlightened rulers are not perfect. There are many *issues of financial abuse and human rights*, but *by and large* many of these concerns are known and *some are addressed, albeit not fast enough.*

**Tim Sebastian:** Don't you ever think how much better this region might be if it was democratic? *You talk about the gains and the progress it's made.* Maybe the gains would have been much more, under democracy.

**Jean-Francois Seznec:** *I doubt it very much* because the people who have the ability today to get elected in 'free' elections are not necessarily people that would *commit to have a long-term freedom for everybody ...*

**Tim Sebastian:** But at least you can get them out once they're in. That's the advantage, isn't it? You can get them out.

**Jean-Francois Seznec:** You hope that's the case, yes.

**Tim Sebastian:** Jean-Francois Seznec, thank you very much indeed. Now could I ask please Wael Abbas to speak against the motion?

### **Speaking against the motion**

**Wael Abbas:** Yes. *This might sound a little bit cliché, but I'm on this side basically because* I believe that democracy is a basic human right and a basic human need, whether a person

knows that or not. I can trust no leader, no matter how wise he might be, with taking *decisions that will affect my life and the future of my children*. We've seen leaders of rich and powerful countries leading them to war and ending empires in ruins. Money in my opinion goes well with dictatorship. You can easily buy a newspaper and kick out its editor-in-chief, just like what happened in Egypt recently. The *only time that I saw money work in harmony with elections was when candidates bribed voters with cash or one kilo of rice*. Thank you.

**Tim Sebastian:** Wael Abbas, thank you very much indeed. What would free elections do for you in Egypt? Same as in India - create a generation, new *generation of haves and have-nots*, more have-nots than haves?

**Wael Abbas:** No, I believe that it will enable people who had no voice before to participate in the decision-making process, which is the most important thing I feel.

**Tim Sebastian:** They'd have a voice, but it doesn't mean they're going to participate in the decision-making process, does it?

**Wael Abbas:** *They will if we let them*, if we enlighten them about it, if we allowed the media to work freely, if we allowed a civil society to work freely and to have access to people - which is not the case in Egypt at the moment.

**Tim Sebastian:** It doesn't happen in lots of countries. I mean, you look at the United States, it's only the people with money that get listened to. You go and knock on the door of your congressman and senator and the first question they ask you is: "Are you a contributor?" If you're not, forget it. That's your *access to democracy*.

**Wael Abbas:** At the moment we have new tools, like we have the Internet. We have people who were nobodies and nobo-

dy heard of them before, and now they are speaking out on the Internet. They have blogs, they have Facebook ...

**Tim Sebastian:** *Speaking out and having no influence whatsoever.*

**Wael Abbas:** They have.

**Tim Sebastian:** What is the influence, tell me?

**Wael Abbas:** In my country we were able, for example, to expose torture at police stations and we were able to take some officers for the first time in our history, our recent history, to court and send them to jail. We were able to expose sexual harassment, we were able to ...

**Tim Sebastian:** It doesn't change the government though, does it.

**Wael Abbas:** It doesn't but it puts pressure on it and it *enlightens people who are, in the long run*, who are going to take action against this government and change it.

**Tim Sebastian:** And again, *whichever state you're in*, it's the people with money who are going to be the people who have influence, isn't it? Whether you have free elections or not, *there's no getting away from that. It's money that buys you options and freedoms.*

**Wael Abbas:** It is, it is, but once you have influence ...

**Tim Sebastian:** Alright, Wael Abbas, thank you very much indeed. *We're going to throw the question open.* The motion is open to the audience now: *This House would prefer money to free elections.* There's a gentleman in the first row, *we'll take your question please*, we'll get a microphone to you. Thank you.

## Audience questions

**Audience (M):** Good evening. My question is to ...

**Tim Sebastian:** Could you tell us where you're from please?

**Audience (M):** I'm from Qatar. My question is to Mr.. Francois. You said that oil brought us wealth and wealth brought us prosperity, right? So what will happen when the oil finishes in the next 70 years - *all hell breaks loose?*

**Jean-Francois Seznec:** Well, it's a most important point and I think everyone is aware of it. It might take two or three generations, but it will be there. I think *there's a major effort to change the economies very, very quickly to value-added economies* and as the King of Saudi Arabia says, *knowledge-based economies* in order *not* to depend on oil any more. Whether it will be successful I don't know, but a very *large percentage of the GDP is already going into* these kinds of industries, so yes, I think in the long run the Gulf, will succeed into moving away from oil.

**Tim Sebastian:** Do you believe that?  
(to questioner)

**Audience (M):** No.

**Tim Sebastian:** What do you believe, that you need some democracy to cement ...?

**Audience (M):** Yes, I think that we need more, more democracy, *to provide more space for human development.*

**Tim Sebastian:** And democracy and free elections, are you in favour of those?

**Audience (M):** Yes.

**Tim Sebastian:** Now?

**Audience (M):** Now.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, thank you very much. [Applause]. All right, okay. Gentleman in the second row please.

**Audience (M):** Good evening. I'm a Qatari national. *My question goes out to either panel.* The question is, *does democracy add value if it's there for the sake of it?* What would democracy bring to Qatar now as opposed to 70 years later?

**Tim Sebastian:** Wael Abbas, *would you like to take that?*

**Wael Abbas:** No, *I'll pass. I'm not very familiar with the situation in Qatar so ...*

**N. Janardhan:** I strongly believe that *the conditions are not yet right.* I mean, *democracy should be something that grows from below, it should not be a top-down approach.* People have got used to a certain standard of living, a certain welfare mechanism, which is not always true in all the other developed countries or democracies. *I mean, as you move on,* you will have a situation where things will develop, where there *may be some amount of discontent,* dissatisfaction among the people because of a growth in population.

**Tim Sebastian:** You seem to be promoting a nanny state here. "We'll tell you when you're right, we'll tell you when you're ready, somebody else will tell you. You're not right yet but you can have it in a couple of weeks or a couple of years."

**N. Janardhan:** Democracy didn't come first in Europe, capitalism came in first. I mean, there was a ground that was prepared for democracy to come in to most parts of the world except

in America where both came about simultaneously.

**Mani Shankar  
Aiyar:**

I'm afraid your history is wrong. Democracy came to the United States while the white people there were stealing somebody else's land, killing all those who were *resisting the taking over of that land*, and *enslaving another continent in order to promote their development*. But they did talk about life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in their constitution, and it is equally true that *liberte, fraternite, egalite* came in a country that was extremely backward at that time. *So democracy itself promotes prosperity, it's not the other way round.*

**Jean-Francois  
Seznec:**

I think one of the problems we have forgotten when we talk about history is that most of these democracies *came out of bloodbaths* where people killed each other for years and years and years. Even in the United States there was a revolutionary war, which was not pleasant. The French Revolution *came out of the most amazing violence* and if the only way to get democracy is through violence, this is really a big problem. I think what the advantage of the Gulf today is that they can move slowly because they have the wealth to do that.

**Tim Sebastian:  
(to questioner)**

I want to go back to the questioner and ask him whether, I don't think anybody has really answered your questions about what it would do for Qatar, did they?

**Audience (M):**

No, not really.

**Tim Sebastian:**

What do you think it would do for Qatar - democracy?

**N. Janardhan:**

Well, when there's a price to pay for democracy, and I'm sure it's easy to say: "Yes, we will pay that price for democracy..." but I'm not sure that the people in the region are yet ready to pay that price.

- Tim Sebastian:** Wael Abbas - a price to pay for democracy?
- Wael Abbas:** Of course there's a price to pay for democracy but *people should be given awareness first before they are given democracy and this awareness should be through freeing, making breakthroughs in the media and in the civil society, and enlightening people about the values of freedom and democracy and stuff like that*, so people will start embracing and understanding that democracy is going to help them.
- Tim Sebastian:** Alright. I'm going to take a question from the lady up there, yes, you. Could you tell us where you're from please.
- Audience (F):** I'm from Sudan, and *my question is directed to the proposition*. So in non- democratic states, it is perhaps the stability that allows for the *sustainable economic policies that you argue translate into prosperity*. My question is, what if the people are not happy with socio-economic or socio-political aspects of their living? I mean, isn't that also *a factor that you're disregarding in your debate?*
- N. Janardhan:** No, the point is that, you know, you have to *have the necessary conditions on the ground for you to promote political change* and I think economic prosperity brings about those conditions to a large extent. I mean, I think it's *far more easy to cushion any kind of political change once you've had economic reforms*, once you have a prosperous society.
- Tim Sebastian:** Mani Shankar Aiyar, *you don't look convinced by any of this*.
- Mani Shankar Aiyar:** *I'm totally unconvinced*, because while he talks about the price for paying for democracy, *what about the price you pay for prosperity without democracy?* It was Jean-



Francois who suggested that the Saudis want a knowledge-based economy. If they get a knowledge-based economy, then people are going to demand on the basis of that knowledge that there'd be a major political change ...

**N. Janardhan:** We agree with that ...

**Mani Shankar Aiyar:** But if there's going to be *resistance from the oil classes to the knowledge classes* then there's going to be a lot of trouble ... You've seen that democracy operates in very poor countries, it also operates in the rich countries, but *I've never seen a dictatorship lasting whether in a prosperous country or a weak one*. I mean, dictatorship itself does not ensure either prosperity or poverty. Even again, Germany getting rich under Hitler, where does it go? It goes into war.

**Tim Sebastian:** Let him come back.

**Jean-Francois Seznec:** This is not ... you're saying the choice is either democracy or dictatorship, *we're not in dictatorships per se here*. It's not totally an absolute dictatorship as we have seen in many other places. I called it in my statement at first 'enlightened autocracies' and this is what it is. The people for the last 250 years around here, they have been ruling almost by consensus and it takes an awful long time to get any decisions, but decisions sometimes get made.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, alright. *I'm going to take some questions for this side of the argument*, please. Gentleman over there, you, sir.

**Audience (M):** Good evening. I'm Mohammed from Yemen. My question is for the opposition. *What good is a free election* when you, as an example, participate in the policy-making process, feel very good about yourself, but

later the *government does not perform as well as expected economically and financially* and so for the rest of the year you're broke?

**Mani Shankar Aiyar:**

No, no, no, you have another election then. The whole point of democracy is that *if they don't perform, you kick them out*. [Applause]. See, the lovely thing about democracy is that you don't respect your leaders. We politicians are regarded as awful, and that's the great thing about democracy.

**Tim Sebastian:**

You are talking yourself out of any future job here.

**Mani Shankar Aiyar:**

I'm out of a job at the moment, so it's alright.

**Audience (M):**

I'm sorry, but I do respect my politicians because I would not elect them in the office if I don't, but I'm saying, just like that, you know, sometimes we don't know what the government's going to do before we elect them and when we do, they might do a good job, they might not, whatever happens, happens later.

**Mani Shankar Aiyar:**

But that's what Winston Churchill said: "Democracy is a very bad form of government, but it's better than any other form of government." *There is no guarantee that an election will produce a good result*, but it will produce a result which can be changed, whereas if you don't have elections, you may have to live with whatever the system is, indefinitely, however long it harms you.

**Jean-Francois Seznec:**

That is assuming that you have sides which will *play fair, to a certain extent*. There is not really great fairness in politics, but if you have sides that come into power and then refuse to leave, or start oppressing the other groups, then you have a major problem.

**Wael Abbas:** But you have a system and institutions and a constitution that control that, it's not about playing fair.

**Mani Shankar Aiyar:** The only answer to a free election which produces a bad result is another free election and if you don't have that free election, it means that there's not a system of free elections, so a *system* of free elections is not only good for people, it's also good for prosperity, so the contradiction that is sought to be placed by you before us, that it's either money or free elections is the wrong choice. In fact, if you have free elections, the chances are that you'll get more money.

**Tim Sebastian:** Alright. I'm going to move on to a question from the lady in the second row, please.

**Audience (F):** Hi. My name is Noor from the United States. You know, my question is for the panel against the motion. I'm wondering, do you think democracy is feasible, sustainable and beneficial if it leads to the withdrawal of foreign support, especially monetary foreign support?

**Mani Shankar Aiyar:** *Democracy is feasible wherever the mind is free* and the mind is free everywhere. I don't think the mind becomes less free or more free *depending upon circumstance*. The mind is free and it chooses. I'd be very surprised if a foreign influence can overthrow where I stand. Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi said: "I want all the doors and the windows of my house to be open so that the winds of the world can blow about inside it, but *I refuse to be swept off my feet*," so *in that sense* every society is always ready for democracy and almost no society ever actually wants autocracy except for the autocrats who rule that society. That is why *democracy is going to eventually prevail everywhere* and it'll prevail whether it is a prosperous growing country or whether it is *a stagnant, poor country*. Democracy will win in the end. [Applause].

## Vote result

**Tim Sebastian:** Alright. Ladies and gentlemen, *we've come to the point in the proceedings, we're going to vote now on the motion that This House would prefer money to free elections.* If you just take your voting machines, if you want to vote for the motion, you press button 1. If you want to vote against the motion, it's button 2. Whichever button you want to press, would you do it now. We'll get your vote on the screen in about 15 seconds ...  
Here we are, there is the vote. There is the vote: 37 percent for the motion, 63 percent against. *The motion has been resoundingly rejected. All I have to do now is to thank our eminent speakers, thank you very much for coming. Thank you to you, the audience, for your questions. Till then, from all of us on the team, have a safe journey home. Good night, thanks for coming, thank you.*

*(abridged from the BBC, The Doha Debates 2011)*

### **Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**Tim Sebastian** greets everybody present and introduces both the subject matter of the debate and the participants.

**N.Janardhan** is asked to speak in favour of the motion. Thanking Tim and greeting everybody, he gets down to the topic. He is sure money which presents food, shelter and dignified life is more important than the political system for most ordinary people. He thinks money is the sixth sense that makes it possible to enjoy the other five. He adds that once a person becomes economically empowered, he also becomes politically empowered. Having money brings about some kind of social empowerment as well.

Speaking against the motion **Mani Shankar Aiyar** says that almost all countries which have a high *per capita* income hold free elections and countries with a low *per capita* income don't hold free elections. Coming to a close he concludes that, in fact, it is free elections that promote and sustain prosperity.

A man from the audience asks a question to **Mr. Francois**. Citing the latter's words that oil brought them wealth and prosperity he wonders what will happen when the oil finishes.

**Mr. Francois** thinks that there is a major effort to change the economies very quickly to value-added economies and, as the king of Saudi Arabia says, knowledge-based economies will allow them not to depend on oil any more.

**The man from Qatar** thinks more democracy provides more space for human development.

**Another Qatari** by nationality asks a question to either panel about what democracy would bring to Qatar as opposed to 70 years later./in 70 years' time.

**N.Janardhan** thinks that in Europe there was certain ground prepared for democracy to come in, which was a common formula for most states of the world except for America.

**Mani Shankar Aiyar** disagrees with N.Janardhan saying that at the time when democracy came to America the country was extremely backward. Thus democracy itself promotes prosperity, it's not the other way round.

**J. Francois** reminds that most democracies came out of bloodbaths, where people killed each other for years.

**Tim Sebastian** goes back to the questioner, sharing the latter's opinion that nobody has really answered his question.

**Another man from the audience** greets, introduces himself and asks a question to the opposition doubting that free elections are a good thing, because people take part in the policy making process, they feel satisfied, but the government doesn't prove to be what you expect and for the rest of the year you are broke. *(Try to remember other questions from the audience.)*

**Mani Shankar Aiyar** thinks that people should have another election then. They can kick the government out. However, **the questioner** respects his politicians and wants them to do a good job.

**Tim Sebastian** asks to take their voting machines and vote. The motion has been rejected with 37% for and 63% against it. Tim Sebastian thanks everybody for coming and says good night.

### **Have your say !**

You are going to hold a debate on a motion 'More money should go to medical research to prolong the human life'.

Choose a moderator, two speakers talking for the motion and two – talking against it. Let them think over and write down all the points they

have to deliberate on, while the rest of the group prepare questions to put to the speakers.

Use the language material from the box below.

Role-play the debate. Try to peep into your written notes as little as possible.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

to go hand-in-hand	... according to one estimate, ...
<i>to disagree fundamentally on this issue</i>	<i>There I would come to the basic conclusion that ...</i>
I begin my argument in favour of the motion.	My remarks are really tailored for the ...
<i>I'm making my case as an ordinary and practical person.</i>	<i>by and large</i>
This distinction is important because ...	I doubt it very much because ...
<i>Put aside your intellectual hats and put on your common man's caps ...</i>	<i>This might sound a little bit cliché, but I'm on this side basically because ...</i>
I also want to frame my arguments by widening the canvas to a larger question.	a generation of haves and have-nots
<i>...is viewed as commonsense</i>	<i>in the long run</i>
An example that establishes my point is ...	Whichever state you're in, ...
<i>Could you come to a close?</i>	<i>There's no getting away from that.</i>
It is like the sixth sense that makes it possible to ...	We'll take your question please.
<i>It's pretty selfish, isn't it?</i>	<i>All hell breaks loose?</i>
Mr. ..., would you like to take that?	My question goes out to either panel.
No, I'll pass.	<i>... and stuff like that.</i>
<i>I'm not very familiar with the situation in ...</i>	My question is directed to the proposition.
to play fair to a certain extent	<i>A factor that you're disregarding in your debate is that ...</i>
<i>The motion has been resoundingly rejected.</i> There is no guarantee that ...	Depending upon circumstances ...
<i>I'm totally unconvinced.</i>	<i>So, in that sense ...</i>
	Till then, from all of us on the team
	...

## *An Interview with*

### **SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY CLINTON**

#### **Task 1. Discuss the following.**

1. Speak about the job of the Secretary of State or the Minister of Foreign Affairs.
2. What do you know about the US policy in Afghanistan and Pakistan?
3. Why does the US participate in the Group P5 plus 1 on issues concerning Iran?

#### **Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. a heart-wrenching moment                | a) a point of time causing great sadness  |
| 2. to be in the spotlight                  | b) finally; in the end; when everything else has been taken into consideration  |
| 3. at the end of the day                   | c) to record or follow the progress or development of something; to plan an course of action                                    |
| 4. to chart the course                     | d) to be in the centre of attention from television, newspapers and public  |
| 5. to work something out behind the scenes | e) the ultimate pullout capacity  |
| 6. a breakout capacity                     | f) to find the answer designed and carried out secretly or confidentially   |
| 7. burka                                   | g) a long loose piece that covers the whole body, including the head and face, worn in public by Muslim women in some countries |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

**14 October, 2009  
ABC News', Moscow**

**Cynthia McFadden** - *an anchor and correspondent for ABC News who currently co-anchors Nightline and Primetime*

**Hillary Clinton** - *the 67th United States Secretary of State, serving in the administration of President Barack Obama*

**Cynthia McFadden:** Well, Secretary Clinton, thank you so much for sitting down and talking to us.

**Hillary Clinton:** *I'm happy to.*

**Cynthia McFadden:** So is the job what you thought it was going to be?

**Hillary Clinton:** You know, I wasn't sure that I had any preconceptions because I never thought I would do the (laughs) job, so I ... I had never thought about it. *It's an incredibly demanding job*, but it's also really rewarding. *You get to go and try to deal with very difficult problems that represent our country*, it's, uh ... um, a great, you know, a great honor. And so, it's ... it's unlike anything I've ever done, but I'm finding it to be endlessly interesting and challenging.

**Cynthia McFadden:** So in these nine months has there been one particular, painful, *heart-wrenching moment that you look back at and say, oh that ... that was a real tough one?*

**Hillary Clinton:** Oh, yeah. Going to Goma. You know, going to Eastern Congo and meeting with women who had been so horribly abused and attacked and – not just their body but their souls. It was just heart-wrenching. But there's



also a lot of real positive energy that comes from working with my colleagues and *knowing that we're trying to make a difference.*

**Cynthia McFadden:** What ... *what issues dominate your schedule?*

**Hillary Clinton:** Oh, the ... *the headline issues.* Um, Afghanistan and Pakistan, Iran, the Middle East, obviously our relationships with China and Russia, where we are speaking with you today. Um, you know, it's hard to answer that question, Cynthia, because every day is filled with so many, uh ... *subjects of either immediate or long-term interest.* I try to think about what we have to do right now, the crisis. Uh, what we have to do that is immediately demanding but not yet in the headlines. And then the long term trends, like climate change and the rest. They're going to have a big impact on our world.

**Cynthia McFadden:** You said earlier this week that you were going to *retire at some point.*

**Hillary Clinton:** (Laughs).

**Cynthia McFadden:** That you were not going to run for President.

**Hillary Clinton:** I did say that.

**Cynthia McFadden:** *It's making enormous waves throughout the country back home.*

**Hillary Clinton:** You think so? Oh, well, I mean, really, I feel like I, uh ... I've had the most amazing life in my public service and for the last, um ... seventeen years, after since my husband started running for President, *I have been, you know, in the spotlight, working hard, and this job is,* uh

... incredibly, uh ... *all encompassing*. So I think looking forward to maybe *taking some time off*. You don't think that's a good idea? (Laughs).

**Cynthia McFadden:** It's just a little bit soon, somehow, trying to keep up with you for the last few days. You don't seem ... you don't seem tired. You don't seem daunted. *You don't seem as if you were anywhere close to stopping*.

**Hillary Clinton:** Well, I feel like every day, every minute I have to make the most of. And I'm thrilled to be part of this administration, because I think we are making a difference. But that doesn't mean that I'm not looking forward to some point to, maybe, slowing down a little bit. Uh, having, uh ... some time to, you know, just collect myself.

**Cynthia McFadden:** Well, never is a long time. So I want to ask you again. You're never going to run for President again?

**Hillary Clinton:** I have absolutely no interest in running for President again. None. None. I mean, I know that's hard for some people to believe, but, you know, I just ... I just don't, I feel like that was a great experience, uh ... you know, I gave it all I had, I'm giving this job all I have. I try to live in the present, so it just seems, you know, that, uh ... that's not in my future.

**Cynthia McFadden:** You know, *people also are endlessly fascinated with how* you came to this position.

**Hillary Clinton:** Right.

**Cynthia McFadden:** Uh, when did you get the first indication that President Obama might be interested in having you serve the administration?

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**Hillary Clinton:** Well, he ... he called and ... and, uh ... he said, uh ... you know, I ... I really would like to talk to you about some things. And, uh ... I'd like you to come to Chicago to ... to meet with me. Even then I honestly did not believe it was about me. ... But when I went there and met with him and he began to talk to me. My ... my first reaction was, you know, really, there are other people and I ... I am happy to be back in the Senate. But he's a very persistent, um ... and persuasive man. And I did begin to look at it seriously then, and um ... I talked to a lot of people.

**Cynthia  
McFadden:** Now, did he say State Department right away?

**Hillary Clinton:** Oh, absolutely. Absolutely. He said, I want you to, uh ... be my Secretary of State. And I said, oh, no you don't. (Laughs).

So I was very taken back and ... and *somewhat resistant*, um ... *to the idea*, because it just seemed so unexpected. *I couldn't grasp it.*

But, you know, we kept talking. I talked obviously to a lot of other people. Um, and I finally began thinking: look, if I had won, and I had called him and said, look, we have a lot of work to do. We ... we, obviously as democrats, and ... and given how we saw the world, we believed that we had a lot of, you know, make up work to do and try to, you know, get things back in order. Um, and so if I had called him I would have wanted him to say yes. And, you know, *I'm pretty old fashioned* and it's just who I am. So, *at the end of the day*, when your President asks you to serve, you say yes if you can.

**Cynthia  
McFadden:** 'An Opponent One Day and Then a Colleague'. Would you have called him?

**Hillary Clinton:** Absolutely. Absolutely. Oh, of course. I mean, you know ... the most common question I'm asked as I travel around the world now is, how could you go to work with somebody you were opposed to? Because politics in many developing democracies, uh ... is still so personal. And I tried to ... I said, it's because we both love our country. It's ... it's what we believe in. And we, for me anyway, *politics is not the end of itself*, it's ... *it's a means to be able to help people improve their lives*, to give them the tools that they need to try to prevent terrible problems from becoming, uh ... you know, just an ... an awful crisis. So, it ... *it's all worked out*.

**Cynthia McFadden:** Well, you're right, there are certain places around the world that you would have lost your head not being ...

**Hillary Clinton:** (Laughs).

**Cynthia McFadden:** ... Secretary of State.

**Hillary Clinton:** Right.

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**Cynthia McFadden:** There has been a lot of talk about all of the *other big dogs surrounding foreign policy*. And, as you know, famously there was a column written saying: Hillary, take off your burka.

**Hillary Clinton:** (Laughs).

**Cynthia McFadden:** *Being obscure about each other*, very powerful men, in foreign policy from Richard Holbrook to ... to George Mitchell and others. Is there any thought in your mind that you are, in fact, the *President's chief foreign policy counsel*?

**Hillary Clinton:** No. There ... there really isn't any doubt in my mind. And, you know, I ... but *I really believe in teams* and *I really believe in recruiting the best people you can recruit*. And *giving them the authority that they need to do the job you've asked them to do*. But at the end of the day *I remain accountable*, and I am deeply involved in, um ... helping to, you know, *chart the course and then try to execute what we've decided to do*.

## PART II

**Cynthia  
McFadden:** So you met yesterday with the Russian president.

**Hillary Clinton:** Right.

**Cynthia  
McFadden:** Uh, Iran I know was on the agenda.

**Hillary Clinton:** Right.

**Cynthia  
McFadden:** *Can you update us about the Russian feeling about Iran at this point?*

**Hillary Clinton:** Well, I'm very um ... uh, pleased by how supportive the Russians have been in what has become a *United International effort*. Uh, both in *the existing framework*, something called the P5 plus 1, which is Russia and China and ... and, you know, Great Britain and France and Germany and ... and us, and the EU, we're all trying to figure out how to, uh ... put uh ... uh ... this issue of Iran's nuclear weapons ambitions, you know, on the very top, uh ... of the agenda and I think we're succeeding. Uh, this goes back to the President's inauguration where he said, you know, *I'll reach out my*

*hand if you unclench your fist.* Uh, we know that there are lots of problems between, um ... us and the Iranians.

Um, but we also know that we remain committed to preventing Iran from becoming a nuclear weapons power. So what have we done? In that meeting in Geneva on October 1st, three very important, um ... steps were taken; one, *open up your, uh ... previously undisclosed site at Qom to inspection.* Number two, *ship out your low enriched uranium for reprocessing outside of Iran.* Something Russia and the United States jointly presented, which I thought was quite significant. And we began to set a schedule for further meetings, because *we are pursuing this diplomatic track.* Everybody hopes this succeeds. You know, sanctions, which there's a lot of talk about, are *a result of the diplomatic track failing.* So we are committed to the diplomatic track, but, you know, my view in life, and in, uh ... foreign policy is *you hope for the best and you plan for the worst.* And so I'm thrilled that, uh ... *we got the kind of united front on the diplomatic track,* but we're also going to continue to look at the potential sanctions if we're not successful.

**Cynthia  
McFadden:**

The foreign secretary here seemed to dismiss, to some extent, the idea of sanctions. Was that the same position you've heard from the President?

**Hillary Clinton:**

Well, I think, to me they're not mutually inconsistent, but that the President, and he repeated again to us yesterday, has said consistently is that: Russia does not prefer sanctions. You know? They ... they have lots of doubts and concerns about sanctions. But sanctions may be inevitable. Whether they are or not what we're trying to determine. So I ... I don't see any inconsistency in that.

**Cynthia  
McFadden:**

But do you feel, and I guess this is what the American people are interested in knowing, that if sanctions become necessary, the U.S. will have Russia's support?

**Hillary Clinton:**

I believe if sanctions become necessary, we will have, uh ... support from Russia. Because, for example, even Minister [Sergei] Lavrov has said that if Iran were to renege on the inspections, or we've reached about shipping out the, uh ... low enriched uranium called LEU, uh, what else would you do? You'd have to sanction. So, I mean, we are ... *we take this step by step*. And I think the other thing to know about the Russians, for example, and it's ... it's true for some other countries as well, they *believe diplomacy should always be in private, not in public*. That you don't ... *you don't get what you need if you pressure people in public. You work it out behind the scenes*. You know, our country is much more open. (Laughs). We conduct everything in public it seems like. So *we have a slightly different approach*.

**Cynthia  
McFadden:**

I want to get to Afghanistan, but before, just ... just one final question on Iran; is there any doubt in your mind that it is the desire of the Iranian government to create nuclear weapons?

**Hillary Clinton:**

There's a ... a small space for doubt, um ... because there are some contrary indicators. Um, there is no doubt in my mind that they want nuclear energy and nuclear power, which they are entitled to, to be able to use it for peaceful purposes. The real problem is once you do that and *you get what's called a breakout capacity, it's not long before you could do the other*. So that's why this is so, uh ... important to address right now.

**Cynthia**

Moving on to Afghanistan... President Karzai also said, and I want to read this to you, to Diane Sawyer

**McFadden:** yesterday; "Al Qaeda was driven out of Afghanistan in 2001. They have no base in Afghanistan. The war against terrorism is not in Afghanistan villages. It is not in the Afghan countryside." If that's true, what are we doing there?

**Hillary Clinton:** Well, I ... I think what President Karzai means, because I've had this conversation, um ... you know, with him and with others, is *there are many elements of the Taliban*. There is no doubt about that. Um, the main, um ... *leadership of the Taliban that is allied with Al Qaeda* is in Pakistan.

Now they send people across the border. They help to fund the, uh ... uh ... Taliban extremists who are, you know, more associated with Al Qaeda than indigenous. Um ...

**Cynthia  
McFadden:** But clearly the Taliban inside of Afghanistan have been at least hiding and helping.

**Hillary Clinton:** Oh, absolutely. But ... *but what I think he's trying to get at*, which is also our analysis, there are people, quote "Taliban", who are hiding *because they get paid to fight*. *They have no other way of making a living*. You've got a very poor, uh ... population in general.

They get paid more to be in the Taliban than they get paid to be, like say, a local police officer. So that's one element. There's an economic motivation. Another is that there are all kinds of, uh ... uh, internal conflicts in Afghanistan between certain tribal groups or ethnic groups, uh ... who find it opportunistic to ally with the Taliban.

They're very conservative. Uh, they share a lot of the same, you know, moral or social values. But they're not a direct threat to us. But then there are those who are targeting American soldiers, who are targeting, you



know, United Nations or, uh ... the Indian Embassy or all kinds of other, uh ... targets.

So one ... one of the reasons why this review ... is so important is... we're trying to sort out who the real enemy is.

Our goal is to, uh ... *disrupt, dismantle, defeat Al Qaeda and its extremist allies*. But not every Taliban is an extremist ally. So that's what we're trying to make, uh ... clear both in our, um ... understanding and in our actions.

**Cynthia McFadden:** But from your perspective, to say that there is no basis of terrorism operating in Afghanistan today is clearly wrong.

**Hillary Clinton:** Oh, yeah. Absolutely. But I know what he's trying to say, it just didn't come across the way that I think it was meant.

**Cynthia McFadden:** I know that you're not, unless you'd like to tell me what's your advice to the President ...

**Hillary Clinton:** (Laughs).

**Cynthia McFadden:** But somehow I think you're not going to. But let me ask you the question this way. We ... we've all been receiving, uh ... releases from the White House, the meetings at the ... the pictures of the meetings.

**Hillary Clinton:** Right, right.

**Cynthia McFadden:** *In your heart of hearts*, do you now know what, I mean, I'd love to ask you what ... what ... what goes on in that ... what it feels like to sit in that room?

**Hillary Clinton:** Well, I'll tell you ... *it is a heavy responsibility*. And I think you can look at the expressions on all of our faces

and see the seriousness and, uh ... in some of the instances even the somber, um ... expressions... And this is a very heavy, heavy responsibility. Uh, you know, I served on the Armed Services Committee. I've been in Afghanistan, uh ... meeting with our young men and women. Uh, you know, every time there is a death or an injury, it's just such a tragedy. And so we ... *we bear that in mind all the time*. Um, and we're trying to make what we think is the best decision for our country.

**Cynthia McFadden:** So in your heart of hearts, at this moment in time, do you know what you think the right strategy for America is?

**Hillary Clinton:** I am still, um ... you know, considering all the different, uh ... aspects of making this decision. Um, and I will, you know, be prepared to offer the President my best advice when he asks for it.

**Cynthia McFadden:** But if he asks tomorrow would you know what you were going to say?

**Hillary Clinton:** Um, probably.

**Cynthia McFadden:** It's been reported that you and Secretary Gates *are leaning very much in the same direction*. *Is that accurate?*

**Hillary Clinton:** *I'm not going to comment on where I'm leaning or where anyone else is leaning. I think I owe the President my best advice and, uh ... I think I'll leave it at that.*

**Cynthia McFadden:** So it's been reported that the choices are, and I'm sure there are many variations of the choices, *hold troop levels where they are*, increased by 40,000, increased by 80,000. Is that essentially the ... *the range of options?*

**Hillary Clinton:** No. There are many options. And there are all kinds of approaches that are being, uh ... presented and considered. And it is also not just about troops. It is about what we do, uh ... to, uh ... you know, work more effectively, with ... uh, not just the government of Afghanistan, but the people of Afghanistan, what we do to, uh ... to create a better, um, uh ... situation in Pakistan. I mean, *so it's much more complex than that.*

**Cynthia McFadden:** There are an awful lot of American people who say we can't win in Afghanistan, just pull out. What would you say to them?

**Hillary Clinton:** I understand why people say that and, um ... you know, I could only, uh ... repeat that, you know, the president is well aware of all the different, uh ... opinions and options and he's going to do what he thinks is best for our country.

**Cynthia McFadden:** You've been asked several times about your reaction to the President winning the Nobel Peace Prize. And I wanted to ask you about your husband's reaction, because there's been so much written about his being frustrated and furious.

**Hillary Clinton:** Oh, ridiculous. You know, just ridiculous. Unbelievable. Look, I think it's great that our President has been recognized like this. And as the President said, he was very surprised and very humbled, and *it was a call to action*. Everybody who has ever been in that job knows that you just have to get up every day and keep working at it. And the President understands that completely. *But what a great recognition of what he's trying to do in the world.*

**Cynthia McFadden:** Well, but I thank you very much for sitting with us here in Moscow. *It's been a pleasure, as always.*

**Hillary Clinton:** (Laughs) *Thank you. Good to see you.*

**Cynthia  
McFadden:** Good to see you.

*(abridged from the ABC News/ Nightline)*

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**Cynthia McFadden** greets Hillary Clinton cheerfully and thanks for coming.

**Hillary Clinton**, too, expresses her happiness.

**In answer to C. McFadden's question** whether the job is what she thought was going to be H. Clinton confesses that it is, in fact, incredibly demanding and challenging, it is endlessly interesting and rewarding.

**The interviewer** wants to know whether there were painful, heart-wrenching moments during those 9 months.

**H. Clinton** mentions the days she experienced during the visit to Eastern Congo. She also expresses her positive attitude towards her colleagues there, who try to make a difference.

**C. McFadden** asks about the dominating issues of her schedule.

**H. Clinton** thinks that every day is filled with many subjects of either immediate or long-term interest. She considers the relations with Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, China and Russia to be the top headline issues. Other issues are the crises and long-term trends like climate change and the rest.

**C. McFadden** asks whether she is going to retire at some point which makes waves around the country and how she agreed to work in Obama's administration.

**H. Clinton** carefully answers that ... *(Quote her words from the interview).*

## PART 2

Knowing that H. Clinton has met Russian president, **Cynthia McFadden** asks her to update the Russian feeling about Iran at that point?

**H. Clinton** says that Russians are very supportive in the existing framework. She mentions lots of problems between them and Iranians (*Please, mention some of them*).

**The journalist** asks what position about sanctions the Russian president has.

**H. Clinton** is sure that Russians don't prefer sanctions because they have lots of doubts and concerns about them. She believes Russians will support the US if sanctions become necessary. Whether the Iranian government desires to create nuclear weapons or not, H. Clinton is not sure, as there are some contrary indications.

**C. McFadden** asks about the war conditions in Afghanistan.

**H. Clinton** answers that the issue also concerns many elements of the Taliban as the leadership of Taliban is allied with Al Qaeda. Besides, people in Taliban are hiding because they are paid to fight. The issue also concerns the conflicts in Afghanistan between certain tribal groups. So, their goal is to disrupt, dismantle, defeat Al Qaeda and its extremist allies.

**The interviewer** concludes saying that there is no basis of terrorism in Afghanistan and H. Clinton absolutely agrees. **Cynthia** asks H. Clinton what she feels sitting in that room. **H. Clinton** admits that it's a heavy responsibility. H. Clinton declines to answer the question about the right strategy for America. (*Try to remember the last few questions given to Hillary Clinton and her answers*).

**C. McFadden** thanks her for coming and says good-bye to her.

### Have your say !

You are a journalist at the ABC News, who had the luck to be the first to interview Nelson Mandela after the ceremony conferring on him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. Relate the interview in writing. Try to cover the turning points in N. Mandela's life, starting from his leadership of the armed wing of the political party of African National Congress, his struggle against racial segregation, to his release from prison and the day, when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize jointly with South Africa's then-president Frederik de Klerk.

The language material from the box below will give you some prompts.

Role-play the interview with Nelson Mandela (your peer).

### Conversation gambits and collocations

It's an incredibly demanding job.  
*a heart-wrenching moment*  
knowing that we're trying to make a difference  
*What issues dominate your schedule?*  
subjects of either immediate or long term interest  
*to retire at some point*  
I have been, you know, in the spotlight ...  
*You don't seem as if you were anywhere close to stopping.*  
people are endlessly fascinated with how ...  
*to be somewhat resistant to the idea of ...*  
I couldn't grasp it.  
*I'm pretty old fashioned.*  
Politics is not the end of itself, it's a means to be able to help people improve their lives.  
*I really believe in teams.*  
to chart the course and then try to execute

in the existing framework  
*I'll reach out my hand if you unclench your fist.*  
We are pursuing this diplomatic track.  
*You hope for the best and you plan for the worst.*  
We take this step by step.  
*You work it out behind the scenes.*  
We have a slightly different approach.  
*You get what's called a breakout capacity.*  
It's not long before you could do the other ...  
*... but what I think he's trying to get at is ...*  
in your heart of hearts  
*We bear that in mind all the time.*  
I think I'll leave it at that.  
*So it's much more complex than that.*  
It was a call to action.  
*It's been a pleasure, as always.*  
What we've decided to do is ...  
*Can you update us about ...?*

# UNIT 9

## *Debate*

### **STEALING HISTORY** (About museums and cultural property)

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What are museums for?
2. Should cultural items be restituted and repatriated to the countries of their origin?
3. As to you, what items should go to museums and what items should be on display?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. to amass huge private collections | a) to emphasize the cultural valuables, so that people give them more attention |
| 2. a pretty hefty constituency       | b) reading and interpreting ambiguous, obscure or illegible matters and texts   |
| 3. to feature high on the list       | c) to have an important ranking among those presented                           |
| 4. to highlight the cultural riches  | d) valuable things stolen by soldiers in a time of war                          |
| 5. war booty                         | e) to collect or gather a big personal stock of articles                        |
| 6. decipherment                      | f) a big body of voters or residents represented by an elected official         |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*6 October 2005*  
**Chair - David Flemming**

## **STEALING HISTORY**

**David Fleming** - *an independent thinker and writer on environmental issues*

**Piotr Bienowski** - *acting director at Manchester Museum*

**Eric Lynch** - *historian*

**Rounke Williams** - *research assistant*

**David Fleming:**

*Just a few words of introduction.* I'm here tonight to chair the discussion. Just before I move into the chair a few words about what National Museums Liverpool's thoughts are about this subject and what my thoughts are.

First of all *it's a very hot issue professionally*, quite *rightly so*. The issues of repatriation and essentially the transfer of cultural property between countries is very complicated, and *I could almost go so far as to say that every issue should be looked at individually*. There are some general issues involved here but *there are many particular tricky situations*, and difficulties and circumstances are always different. Say, if Parthenon Marbles were ever sent back to Greece then *the flood gates would open*, everything else then would *go wildly out of control*: there'd be cause for restitution for everything all over the world. So what we're looking for tonight is a little bit of a redress to that and some intelligent debate. *I know our speakers have very different perspectives on this*, which is good, and it's healthy, and I think *we'll be coming at it with some knowledge of different types of collection*, which I think is also good, and I hope we'll end up with *a healthier and*



*more intelligent approach.*

National Museums Liverpool (NML) itself is involved as an organisation in requests for items to be repatriated. As I noticed in an article I was reading today called Restitution or Repatriation, NML staff are well disposed towards repatriation, *which I think is a fair assessment* of what we do think. The reason that we haven't been able to act on that as often as we might is that there're some very strange laws in Britain about ownership, and we've been waiting for a while for some kind of clarity to emerge from the government. National Museums Liverpool now is in a position to make a rational decision about any claims of restitution that already have been made or might be made. If there's a good argument, our staff recommendation would always be a positive one, I think. Still, if the arguments are very thin and spurious, our reaction would be different, and that gives you some sense of how tricky this might be, because, as I say, *don't judge everything globally, we need to look at individual cases.*

*Okay that's enough from me.* I'll introduce our first speaker, Piotr Bienkowski, who is currently acting Director at the Manchester Museum at the University of Manchester. And I know that *this is a subject dear to his heart* and on which he's definitely an international expert. *So over to Piotr for our first paper, thank you.*

**Piotr Bienowski:**

Thanks David, good evening, *I'm going to kick off with* ancient Egypt, how and why Egyptian objects were collected, the modern Egyptian antiquities law. Then *I want to look at the principles* of repatriation *and finish off with* some comments on *fundamental moral and ethical issues that these topics raise.*

Now, the core of all major museums is the Egyptian

collection and was acquired in the nineteenth century when for the first time Egypt was opened up to western visitors. In 1798 when Napoleon Bonaparte led a military expedition to Egypt, his campaign was accompanied by a team of 150 scholars who studied and recorded all aspects of Egypt. Egyptology and the very existence of large Egyptian collections outside Egypt were *a direct product of this expedition*. Among the objects they found was the Rosetta stone, which by 1822 had led to the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and it is now in the British Museum. After Napoleon's defeat by the British, the Egyptian government started the deliberate policy of westernization, and they opened up the country to Europeans. Diplomats and travellers spent much of their time collecting Egyptian antiquities and amassing huge private collections. These private collections were later sold to western museums and became the core of the major collections in the west today. Now, the collectors tended to employ agents who literally robbed and destroyed tombs in order to get at the antiquities quickly.

This sort of rampant collecting or even plundering was slowed down by the founding of the Egyptian Antiquities Service in 1858. Today this body is called the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt. Its role is to monitor archaeological work in Egypt, to give permits for excavations, to run the museums and give formal permission for the export of any antiquities from Egypt. Now this is where we have to talk about the Egyptian law...

... Nowadays most but not all museums want to acquire objects legally, that is - *in agreement with international conventions* on the export of antiquities which prevent the museum, from acquiring objects

contrary to the laws of its country of origin.

But now *I want to set aside purely legal considerations and look at this from a different perspective*, in terms of the principals of repatriation: if the Egyptian government did make a request for repatriation, *what sort of grounds would they have in principal?*

*Now in other contexts*, as David has suggested, the sort of requests for repatriation that you get tend to fall into 2 categories: the first category tends to be relatively recent items, which can be linked directly to living relatives or to the same cultures that still exist. This is the case with, for example Aboriginal human remains and associated material in western museums which can be linked with still living relatives and communities in Australia. It becomes a question of finding out who is the *appropriate authority to deal with* in the country of origin, in this case Australia. The second category is ancient cultures such as Egypt or Greece or Mesopotamia. These are cultures and communities which no longer exist, they are historical. These more ancient items cannot be linked to any living indigenous communities and so, if it is the sensitivities and opinions of living communities that are the paramount consideration, there is no obvious ethical imperative to repatriate them.

Now the second major category with requests for repatriation are *items claimed as cultural property* and *the prime example* is, of course, the Elgin Marbles at the British Museum regularly requested back by the Greek government on the grounds that they come from the frieze on the Parthenon, the main temple of Athena, in the centre of Athens and they are perceived as central to the identity and

culture of the modern Greeks. Now, the numbers of such iconic objects across the world are probably limited and they are quite difficult to define and agree on. Could the Rosetta stone for example be claimed as cultural property on the grounds that it is central to modern understanding of ancient Egyptian culture and is thus important to modern Egyptian identity? I leave that as a question. But it seems to me that in both these categories of requests for repatriation the legal issue of the ownership of *the items in question is secondary, perhaps even irrelevant.*

*Well let's just consider that* museums are certainly changing in their attitudes to the objects they hold and their ownership and use and they increasingly consult with communities, they negotiate, they build relationships. Surely, therefore, our attitude to the ancient people we study and whose objects we collect should reflect our attitude towards human beings in general. In this sense archaeology is concerned with the difference of the past, philosophically it investigates the otherness of human beings who now no longer exist. So, *is it ethical to use them as pawns in our own modern games*, to relate them to structures they could have had no knowledge of? I believe, the ethical task of archaeology and of museums is to bare witness to and to explore that past.

[Gives an example of museum professionals' report on Egyptian ancient human remains.]

Certainly at Manchester Museum we feel that our responsibility as a museum is *to explore reciprocal relations* with communities, local and global, past and present, around the origins and meanings of collections, a relationship in which knowledge comes

from both sides and is not vested solely in the museum and in which *ownership can be negotiated*.

**David Fleming:**

Thank you Piotr for some observations that I'm sure have got people to think about the complexity of this topic. We'll move straight on now, and when we've finished with all speakers, there will be a chance for questions obviously. Now, to Eric Lynch who's a local historian known to me as a very good friend of National Museums Liverpool. *So Eric over to you*, thank you.

**Eric Lynch:**

Good evening everybody, *first and foremost let me state* I have no academic *qualifications whatsoever*.

In the past I've heard high court judges turn round and say to people who have been accused of thieving that if there were no receivers there would be no thieves. On the other hand, if a gang of cutthroats in modern times broke into the Vatican and took what was considered by the Roman Catholic community of the world relics, which have great religious significance to them, can you imagine the outcry that there would be throughout the Roman Catholic empire? Some years ago a stone which is used in the coronation of the kings and queens of England was pinched, because it belonged to the Scottish people, so they said, and there was a massive outcry.

In modern times, we have Nazi Germany where *they did their utmost to virtually* wipe out every Jewish person within Europe. Many of these Jewish men and women had valuable artefacts, gold, paintings, which were looted by the Nazi Germany, *many of the articles finished up* in the Swiss banks, some of them have actually finished up in the collections of European art dealers. Does that mean to say that Israel as a Jewish nation has no right *to take* these companies *to court* to claim these articles back

because they were looted *in the first place?*

We have every right. It's no use anybody using this argument that these people are long dead and gone, we cannot trace them, we don't know who they were. I am a *true descendant of enslaved people* and in modern times they can trace DNA which *will take me back to the* village in Africa where my people were taken from as enslaved people. These objects and articles that the museums throughout Britain have, they have no right to them whatsoever, they belong to us. And even when they show them, do they ever come to us and turn around and say: 'Are we presenting them in the correct manner?' And people like me have been robbed of our culture, robbed of our religion. And I'm not a Catholic, I'm not a Protestant, I'm not a Christian, I'm not a Jew and I'm not a Muslim but I believe in *the religion of my ancestors*, I believe that my ancestors never hunted animals for sport to hang their heads on walls, to stuff them in cages, my ancestors hunted for food and clothing and when we stayed in one place and we exhausted the soil we moved out so that the land, *the mother earth* could come back to life again. Therefore I, who has been robbed of my culture, walk into a museum and I look at these objects, these objects send out a feeling to me which I receive: it is a feeling of anger. And we have every right to demand that they be returned. Even if it means that when they are returned, mother nature takes them and they rot back into the earth. *Then so be it.* Thank you.

**David Fleming:**

Thank you Eric. I'll move straight on now to Rounke Williams, a resource assistant. I think she may also have some interesting, *provocative and controversial things* to say.

**Rounke Williams:**

Hello everybody and thank you for having me

tonight. I'm here as a Lagotian tonight. I'm not an expert in anything to do with museums but *I have a lot of passion about this issue*. A Lagotian is someone from or who lives in Lagos Nigeria. Nigeria is a country in West Africa which is about three and a quarter times the size of the UK and its population has recently been estimated by the World Bank to be 140 million. So, when I claim for the purposes of this debate tonight *to speak on behalf of my people*, I'm talking about a pretty hefty constituency. Now it *would be true to say that museums don't feature high on the list of leisure or educational activities* for most Nigerians. But the one thing that Nigerian museums have in their favour, in my opinion, is that their contents are all ours, please note, there is nothing of European heritage on display in a Nigerian museum, not when I last went anyway.

I'm going to address the questions in reverse order because *it just makes more sense for my presentation*. I'm going to start with problems faced by Nigerian museums. To be fair Nigerian museums have *a myriad of problems to overcome, there is a lack of political will*, the government does not see museums and the work that they could do as significant to the well-being and stability of our communities. As a citizen myself of the largest black nation in the world and one of the most multi-ethnic too, *I see this as short-sighted, but there you go*. There is a lack of political will. *There is a crippling lack of funding*. There are problems with security and the safety of artifacts. Theft of artifacts does go on still, most international *conventions* on the sale of artifacts abroad *are unenforceable*. Furthermore there are difficulties with technology, culture, capacity and maintenance. There is no significant development of audience appreciation of museum contents.

*Which brings me to the question* that has been asked by Nigerians since the 1977 festival of black and African arts and culture known as FESTAC. Who owns the stuff inside museums? FESTAC was a huge gathering of black and African artists and performers from all over the world, hosted by Nigeria in Lagos in 1977. The Nigerian government asked the British government to return the so called FESTAC mask, now this is a bronze that is said to depict Queen Idia of Benin. The Nigerian government wanted to use the mask as the FESTAC logo and *to highlight* Nigeria's own *cultural riches*. I remember *the furore caused* by the British government's or museum's refusal to return the mask. So who owns museum artifacts? Some Nigerians would say that they belong to the state, which should preserve them for all citizens. Other Nigerians would argue that they belong to the descendants of those who made them or commissioned them. The traditional African life and practices means that the artefacts that were useful and important to everyday life or for ritual purposes back in 1750 for example, are in many respects still useful today, so *a key point* in my presentation tonight is that our artefacts in British museums today could and would still be used *as originally intended* by the descendants of the crafts people who made them if only we still had them.

It follows then that any Nigerian artefact in British museums belong to us, and whether they belong to our government or to our communities is for us to decide. *I have to confess that I regard the ability* of my government to represent my interest at any level *as highly suspect*. My country is multi-ethnic and continues *to experience communal instability*. I would argue that so far the Nigerian government has failed to preserve, conserve and protect my heritage and we know for a fact that some of what remains after the colonial grand theft is disappearing on the



black market.

There are many Nigerian artefacts for example in the hands of private collectors. When I visited the Africa 95 exhibition in London I was surprised at the depth of my distress to see artefacts from various cultures in Nigeria described for example as 'property of Mr.s Schmitt, Frankfurt'. At the Africa 95 exhibition, objects that should have been in everyday use in a Nigerian community, even if they were covered in gold and meant for the royal throne room, were *displayed with inadequate descriptions* of the relationships between them and the real people who made and used them. How would you feel, British people, if a Uruguayan collector owned the crown jewels for example and refused to loan them to you in Liverpool for a significant exhibition on the British royal family? Well that's what it's like for us with the Benin and Yoruba artefacts and countless other things from our history. Much of the Nigerian stuff in British museums is war booty or has been acquired in dubious trade or collected by people who did not seem to realise that they were actually helping to bring down unique cultures that had a right to exist and progress, because *at the end of the day* that is what the loss of our stuff means.

*The playing field is deeply unequal* and we all know it, so get with the programme and give the stuff back. Thank you very much.

**David Fleming:**

Thank you Rounke. We've got about half an hour, or up to half an hour, unless you all run out of questions, I've a feeling you might have.

*(abridged from the transcripts of the World Museum, Liverpool)*

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**David Fleming** director of NML has a debate about museums and cultural property. He describes it as a hot issue. According to him the issues of repatriation and essentially the transfer of cultural property between countries are very complicated and every issue should be looked at individually. He informs that the debate is a bit of a redress. He introduces the case of National Museums Liverpool which, as an organization, is involved in requests for items to be repatriated. He mentions that National Museums Liverpool is in a position to make a rational decision about any claims of restitution. According to him, this issue can be solved if looked at individually. With that objective he debates it with people who are somehow connected with museums.

The first guest **Piotr Biennowski** starts the debate, discussing the issue from the core of all major museums: the Egyptian collections which were acquired in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Egypt was opened up to western visitors. (*When did Egyptology and Egyptian collections outside Egypt begin? What famous items can you recall that were found in Napoleon's times?*) **Piotr Biennowski** emphasizes the role of the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt which is to monitor archaeological work in Egypt, to give permits for excavations and give formal permission for the export of any antiquities from Egypt. (*Which categories does repatriation of museum artifacts fall into? Give examples of the cultural property mentioned.*)

Thanking him for the interesting talk **David Fleming** turns to Eric Lynch.

**Eric Lynch** greets him and expresses his viewpoint on the topic. He speaks about the stone which has been used in the coronation of the kings and queens of England. It was pinched because it belonged to the Scottish people. There was a massive outcry about it. He believes that everybody has the right to demand their belongings.

**David** thanks him and turns to **Rounke Williams**, a resource assistant. The latter greets everybody and thanks for the invitation. Though not an expert in it, she has a lot of passion about the issue. She proudly mentions the fact that there is nothing of European heritage on display in a Nigerian museum. She confesses that Nigerian museums have a myriad of problems. (*List the problems of the Nigerian museums.*)

She is concerned about the fact that there are many Nigerian artifacts in the hands of private collectors and many artifacts from various cultures in Nigeria are described as the property of others. She also says that much of the Nigerian

stuff in British museums is booty or has been acquired in dubious trade or collected by people who didn't seem to realize that they were actually helping to bring down unique cultures.

She concludes saying that the playing field is deeply unequal.

### **Have your say !**

You are diplomats participating in an international seminar on immigration issues. The goal of the seminar is to brainstorm and to prepare the ground for future negotiations on the limitation and channeling of immigration flows. The main topics are, on the one hand, the Highly Skilled Migrant Programmes adopted by several advanced countries that give easy access to intellectuals of high caliber into their countries, and, on the other hand, their tendency to strictly curb the influx of refugees from conflict zones, thus leaving the less developed countries in disadvantageous position. For, in return for the international aid that these countries receive from their advanced allies, they are put in a position where they are obliged to accept the new refugee flows. However, in this way these countries are worsening their demographic situation. They are not only losing their bright minds to advanced countries, but are also facing a potential increase of unemployment and poverty.

Choose your countries, divide the roles and debate on the issue trying hard to stand your point, gain a positive ground and reach a more or less fair settlement of the problem. It is advisable that you write your arguments for and against the proposals which are put forward before the beginning of the debate.

Use the language stock from the box below.

## Conversation gambits and collocations

Just a few words of introduction.

*It's a very hot issue professionally.*

Quite rightly so.

*I could almost go so far as to say that*

...

There are many particular tricky situations ...

*the flood gates would open*

I know our speakers have very different perspectives on this.

*We'll be coming at it with knowledge of...*

a healthier and more intelligent approach

*Don't judge everything globally.*

We need to look at individual cases.

*This is a subject dear to his heart.*

I'm going to kick off with ...

*I want to look at the principles of ... and finish off with ...*

in agreement with international conventions on ...

*I want to set aside purely ...*

*considerations and look at this from a different perspective.*

What sort of grounds would they have in principal?

*The prime example is ...*

The ... in question is secondary, perhaps even irrelevant.

*ownership can be negotiated*

So Eric over to you, thank you.

*First and foremost, let me state ...*

They did their utmost to virtually ...

*Then so be it.*

provocative and controversial things to say

*I have a lot of passion about this issue.*

to speak on behalf of my people

*It would be true to say that ...*

a myriad of problems to overcome

*There is a lack of political will.*

I see this as short-sighted, but there you go.

*as originally intended*

I have to confess that I regard the ...

*at the end of the day*

The playing field is deeply unequal.

## *An Interview with*

### **THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER R. T. ERDOGAN**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. Why did Turkey withdraw its ambassador from the US in spring 2010?
2. Which countries have recognized the 1915 atrocities as a genocide so far?

**Task 2. Read, translate and discuss the interview. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*3 April, 2010*

**CNN Anchor - Christiane Amanpour**

**Christiane Amanpour, CNN Anchor:**

Well, there's been a bit of a crisis between Turkey and the United States *over the last several weeks*, after a congressional panel voted to describe the Armenian genocide as genocide in 1915 and you *withdrew ambassadors*. Then you put your ambassador back.

What do you expect President Obama to do about this issue, about calling what happened in Armenia a genocide, especially when he talks to the Armenian-American community in about two weeks from now?

**R. T. Erdogan (through translator):**

I think that we have to make an observation here first. We *have a strategic alliance with* the United States, so our two countries are very much *intertwined in all the work that* they have been doing together. We have been in NATO together for a long time.

Characterizing the events of 1915 as genocide is not something that we can accept. It's a legal term, and we

cannot make that decision. It's the historians. It's the scientists who have *to look into this matter*.

With respect to this so-called genocide, our expectation is that our sensitivities are taken into consideration in the use of these terms, because there were, at the time of those events, a lot of problems. And this was a time of war. There were many revolts going on in the country. And those events were as a result of that.

**C. Amanpour:** Have you been assured that President Obama will not use the word "genocide" in his speech, in his address to the American-Armenian community?

**R. T. Erdogan (through translator):** I will be seeing him. We will be talking. That would be my expectation, because *to this day*, no American leader has uttered that word, and I believe that President Obama will not.

**C. Amanpour:** Do you see any time in the future that Turkey will change its opinion and do what other countries have done? France, for instance, recognizes it as a genocide.

**R. T. Erdogan (through translator):** No one should expect this of Turkey. We believe that we can *resolve this issue*, this problem by being fair. No people has the right to *impose the way it remembers* history to another nation or people. And Turkey does not try to do that. But no one should impose Turkey their own version of history. That is not something that we should be expected to accept.

And, moreover, it's not a question of us, Turkey, accepting the events in 1915. This was a time of revolts, and this was not an issue of genocide at all. And there were deaths, killings.

What is important is to look into the archives, the historical documents, and work must be carried on, on those documents. If, as the result of this work, it turns out that there is such a situation, we would then consider and

question our history.

But no one should *disregard the suffering* that the Turkish people had, either.

*(abridged from the CNN Amanpour 'The power of the Interview' programme)*

### **Task 3. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion.**

CNN anchor **Christiane Amanpour** asks the Turkish Prime Minister R. T. Erdogan whether he expects President Obama to pronounce the words 'Armenian genocide' in his speech.

**R. T. Erdogan** answers that Turkey has a strategic alliance with the United States. He also adds that they are very much interested in all the work they have been doing together.

**R. T. Erdogan** states that characterizing the events of 1915 as a genocide is a matter for historians and scientists to research.

In answer to **Amanpour's** question whether he has been assured that President Obama will not use the word Genocide in his speech to the American-Armenian community **R. T. Erdogan** says that no American leader has uttered that word and President Obama will hopefully not do it as well.

**Amanpour asks a** question whether Mr. Erdogan sees any prospective that some day Turkey will recognize the atrocities as genocide. **R. T. Erdogan** thinks that it's not a question of theirs. He adds that it is archives and historical documents that must be looked into. He also mentions that Turkish people have also suffered during World War I.

### **Have your say !**

It is already a year that your country is observing a unilateral ceasefire on the borderline in an area of contention with your neighbour. However, on the part of the rival country, serious violations of the ceasefire have been reported recently, the intensity of which has been growing day by day.

As the Head of the International Department of the Defence Ministry, you are having a telephone conversation with your counterpart, sending him a final warning to stop instigations, otherwise you will have to take action and use force against them, which is obviously unwanted for both parties.

Write and role-play the conversation with your peer.  
Refer to the language bits from the box below.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

over the last several weeks	to this day, ...
<i>to have a strategic alliance with</i>	<i>to disregard ...</i>
to be very much intertwined in	to look into the matter



# UNIT 10

## *Debate*

### **THIS HOUSE BELIEVES WOMEN ARE SUPERIOR TO MEN: Comedy special**

**Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. How true or relevant is it to choose a statement like this as a topic for a debate?
2. Is it proper to speculate on universal opposites that create universal harmony?
3. Can you write down a couple of similar controversial statements?

**Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the debate with their meanings.**

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. IQ                            | a) to win overwhelming approval from the audience  |
| 2. to be a tie                   | b) a measurement of a person's intelligence that is calculated from the results of special tests |
| 3. to perpetuate the stereotypes | c) to talk about an important objective  |
| 4. to talk a big game            | d) to purchase a security or commodity in such volume that control over its price is achieved    |
| 5. to corner the market on       | e) to prolong the existence or to cause to continue indefinitely the standardized images         |
| 6. to put the roof down          | f) a situation when the players have the same scores   |

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*24 May 2010*

**Moderator - Tim Sebastian**

**THIS HOUSE BELIEVES WOMEN ARE SUPERIOR TO MEN:  
Comedy special**

*Azhar Usman - an Indian American comedian, a former lecturer and lawyer*

*Maysoon Zayid - an actress, comedian and activist*

*Carrie Quinlan - a British actress, comedy writer and journalist*

*Robin Ince - an English stand-up comedian, actor and writer*

**Introduction**

**Tim Sebastian:**

Ladies and gentlemen a very good evening to you. We haven't given you a lot to smile about in recent debates. [We've mostly debated on] death and destruction mixed in with plenty of lies and broken promises. *Come to think of it*, maybe not so different from tonight's theme after all. That age-old battle for supremacy between men and women, and the question of who's really the boss. Our motion tonight, as delicate as any we've chosen before, is: 'This House believes that women are superior to men'. Well, four comedians have agreed to wade into these dangerous waters. Speaking for the motion Azhar Usman, a stand-up comedian from the US. And with him, Maysoon Zayid, a stand-up comedienne well known in the Middle East, she's co-star of the *Arab's Gone Wild* comedy tour and admits to having made both friends and enemies. Against the motion, Carrie Quinlan, British actress, writer and comedienne. She says she's so British she

once apologised to a man who was trying to steal her handbag. And with her, Robin Ince, a well known comic performer and writer in Britain. Ladies and gentlemen this is our panel. So now let me first call on Azhar Usman to speak for the motion.

## **Speaking for the motion**

**Azhar Usman:**

Well, ladies and gentlemen, notice that I said ladies and gentlemen, women obviously are superior to men. The fact that the only reason we have to have this debate is because men refuse to accept it. I will prove to you that women are indeed superior to men *by making a series of logical arguments, which will be impossible to rebut*, especially when you look at these people. There are many ways in which women are superior to men, but as I only have a few minutes, I'll focus on three very important ways. When you want to choose somebody to be your partner, you generally want to choose somebody who's smart, somebody who's kind and somebody who's attractive. As it turns out women are smarter than men, kinder and gentler and nicer than men and certainly far more attractive. First of all, it's a proven fact, women have a higher IQ than men, across the world that's a fact. They also have higher emotional intelligence, think about it, have you ever been in a debate with a woman and actually won? When a woman debates a woman it's always a tie, always. Don't forget that. Women are kinder and gentler and nicer than men, women are more attractive. Women are beautiful, men are disgusting. You have no idea how much work went into me looking this presentable, and I still look scary. I have little kids, my kids' friends

think I'm a monster. So, the fact of the matter is women are indeed superior to men in all of the key ways; now there is one way in which men are indeed superior to women, they're physically stronger. That's true, men are stronger than women, but let's think about something. What have men used all that strength to do? Spread evil in the world, that's all they do. Everything evil happening in the world is caused by men. War? Men. Crime? Men. Economic financial meltdown in the whole world? Men. Abuse of natural resources, destruction of the earth? Men. High heels? Men. There's a lot of stereotypes about men and women, okay. Hollywood tends to perpetuate these stereotypes more than anyone else. Since I'm here in the Arab world amongst a group of predominantly Muslim people, I'm going to share something from the heart. Can I do that? If you think about, what are the two biggest stereotypes about Muslim men and Muslim women? Muslim men are terrorists in families, Muslim women are oppressed. Have these people been inside of a Muslim household? Because if you bother to investigate, you will quickly figure you have it exactly opposite. That's right, Muslim women are the terrorists, Muslim men are the oppressed. They talk a big game: 'Yeah, that's what I said. Isn't that right honey?' And finally, since I am in the Arab world, I'd like to say something about Arab men. Can I do that? I grew up with Arabs, I'm from Chicago, Illinois, the hometown of President Barack Obama, and I grew up with a lot of Arab people. I love Arabs. (*Speaks in Arabic: He who is speaking Arabic is Arabic*). Arab men have some hot blood, that's right. I think Arab men have the same gene as Latino women. Because no matter what they're

talking about, somehow, the temperature starts to rise. This is a one hundred percent true story. But here's a little trick ladies and gentlemen, if you ever find yourself in a situation with the Arab dude and the temperature's starting to rise too high, you can always calm him down. It's a little magic trick, are you ready? You just go like this (*makes a hand gesture*)... I don't know what this is, it's like a little upside down pinch of salt: 'Brother, brother, have some humus'. Thank you very much. Peace.

**Tim Sebastian:** Azhar Usman, thank you very much indeed. So you've accepted your second class status in the world?

**Azhar Usman:** Indeed I have, I have. I've been married for twelve years and the lady I've been ... Well, indeed. In fact, I'm happy to be at second.

**Tim Sebastian:** And all your disgust and loathing is directed at yourself?

**Azhar Usman:** Yes, it's a sad, it's a sad state of affairs. But the truth is, when I look in the mirror it's hard to do so because, you know, I see myself.

**Maysoon Zayid:** I can help him, the good news is, your mother loves you. So at least women are superior, but they know how to make you feel less inferior, so feel that.

**Tim Sebastian:** Alright, Azhar Usman, thank you very much indeed. Let me now ask Carrie Quinlan. Please, to speak against the motion.

**Speaking  
against the  
motion**

**Carrie Quinlan:** Thank you very much. Hello, it's a great honour to be here speaking at The Doha Debates, and particularly at such an important crucial one as who's best, that's

terribly exciting. I think when you look at questions like these it's important to take an example, or several examples. Some of you may have noticed, that one example of a woman is me. (Laughter) Now, in preparation for the debate I took a long hard look at myself and I have to tell you, I'm incredibly disappointed: turns out I'm an idiot, I'm forgetful, I'm clumsy, I'm forgetful, I lose things all the time, I'm messy, I've got no sense of direction, and I can't grow a beard. That's a tragedy from my point of view because growing a beard is the easiest thing to grow in the world, all you have to do is nothing. Women, generally, can't even get that right. Beards are important, all the greatest people the world has ever known, were not only men, but men with beards. It's crucial: Plato - beard, he's the greatest philosopher, one of the finest philosophers the world's ever seen came up with the beautiful idea that the world is just shadows on a cave wall, that's magnificent. He'd never have come up with that if he'd been a woman. He wouldn't have come up with that if he'd been a man without a beard: the beard allows time to think, you see. A woman couldn't have come up with that, she'd have gone: 'Shadows. Oh, I'm just going to go shopping'. That's what a woman would have done. Da Vinci, a man with a beard, painted the *Mona Lisa*, renowned the world over as the greatest portrait ever painted. Da Vinci was a man with a beard and that's important. A woman couldn't have painted that, because a woman wouldn't have a beard in which to accidentally catch bits of food that would have elicited from La Gioconda that enigmatic smile. It's not a great argument, but I'm a lady. Now, Shakespeare, the greatest playwright the world's ever known, a man not

even with a full beard but with a very particular goatee beard: 'To be or not to be', this is a man who understood choices. 'To be or not to be', that is the question, not: 'Do I look fat in this?' or: 'Can I have some equal rights please?' No, I'm glad you enjoyed that, a man helped me write that joke. Socrates - beard. Darwin - beard. Me? No beard, and have you ever heard of me? No, no one has. Women are easily distracted, that's what happens, it's already been noted. We can agree, that men are superior to women in terms of physical strength. Women can't move pianos, men have to move pianos, which is sad and ironic for men, because women are the only people who want to play pianos and they have to get some poor, superior, big strong man to move the piano: 'Oh, I want to play the piano, please move the piano', 'cause that's how women speak. So basically with this debate the crucial point is to decide whether women are superior to men. If we look into our hearts, we will know that that's wrong. So, I don't know if I've reached the amount of time that I'm supposed to be speaking for, but thankfully there's a man there telling me to get off. So I will, thank you.

**Tim Sebastian:** Carrie Quinlan, thank you very much indeed.

**Carrie Quinlan:** You're very welcome, Tim Sebastian.

**Tim Sebastian:** Why didn't you fight on behalf of the sisterhood out there?

**Carrie Quinlan:** Well, I'm lazy, as all women are, and I couldn't be bothered.

**Tim Sebastian:** Maysoon, *you buy that?*

**Maysoon Zayid:** Your argument that beards make men more intelligent is ridiculous, because men haven't cornered the market on beards.

**Carrie Quinlan:**

That's possible, absolutely that's possible.

**Azhar Usman:**

I must say I'm glad you brought up the topic of beards; I'm somewhat of an expert. And I just want to point out that you should trust that I'm right in telling you that women are indeed superior, because, number one, I am a man, and number two, I have a beard.

**Carrie Quinlan:**

Absolutely.

**Azhar Usman:**

And number three, both you and I mentioned that men are actually physically stronger, that's true. Women have babies. And I find that absolutely remarkable, because all those great men that you mentioned, Socrates, Plato, Shakespeare, they came out of women.

**Carrie Quinlan:**

Yes.

**Azhar Usman:**

And if you really think it through, to make a baby a woman puts in nine months. A man puts in about nine seconds.

**Tim Sebastian:**

You may get a little disagreement from that, but Carrie Quinlan, thank you very much indeed. I'm now going to ask Maysoun Zayid to speak for the motion.

## **Speaking for the motion**

**Maysoun Zayid:**

Thank you. Hello. Okay, so I'm just going to begin, really quickly. Let's talk about birth. By round of applause, how many men in this room have given birth? Women? So let's just point out a tiny, simple fact that may have evaded men because they're so inferior. You wouldn't be here if it wasn't for us! We bring you into this world and we can easily kill you. Do you know how? Women are much, much better at killing someone. Why? First and foremost, we can nag anyone to death. We don't need food, we don't need sleep, we just need you to do it. And it's not because we can't do



things, this whole idea, 'oh women can't drive, oh women can't carry stuff, oh women can't work'. Wrong. We just tricked you guys into thinking we were weak so you would do everything for us. And as for men being stronger, this whole concept of men being stronger, 'ooh, yah you, you're so strong, you can pick things up': question: then why don't you pick up after yourselves? Which brings me back to strength. What does 'strength' mean? 'Strength' means having a high pain threshold. Have you ever seen a man with a toothache? Pathetic. Have you ever seen a woman give birth? *Mashallah*. Men are so inferior, and so weak, that they can't even go into the birthing room with their wife and see their child be born. They can't take the blood, they pass out cold. Oh, but there's more, there's more. If I'm in a fight, who do I want defending me? A man? No way, nuh uh. I don't want a man, I want a woman. Why? Because women are fully armed at all times. I need to wait for him to draw a gun and shoot. Women will whip off their slipper before he even has a chance. And let me tell you, a woman can get her slipper to turn a corner and go down a flight of stairs and nail you in the head. Which brings us to high-heeled shoes. Let's talk about marriage, folks. Men in the West have to actually beg women to marry them. When they propose they drop to the ground and beg! And in the East, men have to pay women to marry them, because no-one would do that voluntarily. Women, if they have a child, can feed her baby for three whole years and sustain it. A man can't even feed himself. Finally, and this is very, very, very important, okay. It is not just that women are smarter. It is not just that women are possibly more attractive. We age so

much better than any man does. For example, look at my long brown hair and now look at Tim. We are practically the same age. *And as I wrap up my talking points here* I just have one thing to say ...

**Tim Sebastian:**

I think you're finished already, actually.

**Maysoon Zayid:**

Man, quiet! I just have one last thing for my women in the audience, and this goes specifically for my Arab women, I'm the only Arab here, so vote for me.

**Tim Sebastian:**

Superior, a woman superior in the Middle East? You got to be kidding, haven't you?

**Maysoon Zayid:**

Really? I'm assuming that you have never met an Arab mother-in-law. There is no stronger, scarier, more powerful thing in the world than an Arab mother-in-law. She can create you, she can destroy you, she can cook better than you, she can run faster than you, and in the end, if she wants she can kill you and they will say, it's okay.

**Tim Sebastian:**

Carrie Quinlan?

**Carrie Quinlan:**

I do think that was incredibly mean of you to mention Tim's hair, or lack of it. Women are mean, that's all your proof with that: women are mean. Tim didn't say anything about your hair.

**Maysoon Zayid:**

He told me it was lovely.

**Carrie Quinlan:**

Well there, men lovely, women mean.

**Maysoon Zayid:**

Let's just point out I never said Tim was unattractive. There's nothing wrong with not having hair, it's you who's implying it and you're wrong.

**Tim Sebastian:**

I think we'll move the discussion on. Robin Ince go and get them.

**Speaking  
against the  
motion**

**Robin Ince:**

Ladies and gentlemen, can I just say, by the way, don't the ladies look lovely this evening, don't they look absolutely lovely? But why do they look lovely? Because they're daubed in makeup. Why do they wear high heels? Because women are embarrassingly short, ladies and gentlemen, that is why. I'm not here to attack women, but actually I am, I'm being paid to do so. But, nevertheless, it is, of course, one of the great philosophical questions, it is a question that has bothered philosophers since the beginning of time: 'Are women better than men?' And we should really rely on philosophers, after all. Descartes once said: 'I think, therefore I am', forgetting that a lot of people don't think, but still are. Now, there are many, many tricky questions. Now, first of all, what is the problem with men and women? It's not actually the women's fault, it's not the man's fault, I blame nature. *But this is really skirting around the edge.* We've heard about how men commit terrible, terrible acts. But why do they commit terrible acts? For women, that is why. Let us think, for instance, of the Trojan War, a war fought for a lady because she was a bit pretty, and how stupid did men become? The war lost due to love of a woman. What about the Black Death, ladies and gentlemen? How could that be woman's fault, the death of 35 million people in the Middle Ages? Very, very simple, I'll tell you how. Do you think men wanted to go travelling across the oceans to find spices? Of course not, no, a moaning woman went: 'We haven't got enough smells, I want some more smells'. They brought back rats and

therefore those women killed 35 million people. Abraham Lincoln could have been one of the greatest presidents of the United States of America, but he was assassinated. Where? At the theatre. Would *he* have wanted to go to the theatre? He's a man: 'Oh Abraham, can we go and see *Guys and Dolls*?', 'I don't really want to', 'Oh, go on'. Bang. John F. Kennedy could have been another of the greatest United States of America presidents. What happened? 'I want to put the roof down, I've got a new hat'. Now, so that's just a few of the tragedies. I could list others. I've actually made a list here, one, two, The Great Fire of London, World War One, World War Two, appalling pop songs that go: 'Oh, baby, I love you' - women's fault. Heart disease, milkshakes, ice cream, cheese, what's it made from? Milk. Do men make milk? No. The global obesity problem is the fault of women and female cows. And what about women's right to vote, women want the right to vote, merely to prove that they are as stupid as men when it comes to choices during an election. Now, I would be very interested to see the statistics for quality of world leaders after women got the vote, but I didn't really have the time to do that. But let us remember that women now have the vote in Britain, and we have a hung parliament. You could vote for the motion ladies and gentlemen, please do vote for the motion if you believe in disease, death and climate change.

**Tim Sebastian:**

Robin Ince, thank you very much indeed. Are you married?

**Robin Ince:**

Yes, my wife told me to say all those things. No, she's very, very careful. She said: 'Make sure you're as unattractive as possible to everyone' and I think I did

pretty well.

**Tim Sebastian:** Maysoon, hit back.

**Maysoon Zayid:** My poor silly, silly man. I will repeat the answer because you asked again. Why do women have to wear high heels? We wear them because they're a weapon, get it. And secondly: 'Oh, women are short', it's ok to be a short woman, short women are pretty, they're petite. Short men are just short. And what was there you said about makeup?

**Robin Ince:** I said you didn't have confidence in your own face. I believe underneath that huge mask you're wearing is something beautiful. You fear your own beauty.

**Maysoon Zayid:** I fear that I'm so beautiful I must mask it at times. Yet again, if there is an ugly woman, she can wear makeup. What will you men do?

**Tim Sebastian:** Alright, okay. We're going to throw it open to the audience now. Can we have your questions, please. Yes, you sir.

**Audience questions**

**Audience (M):** Thank you very much. My question is for the proposition. Mr.. Azhar, I would like to ask you, if women are superior to men then why is it that behind every successful man there is a completely surprised and dumbfounded woman?

**Azhar Usman:** Well, spoken as a true ignorant man, you refuse to acknowledge that behind every man is actually a great woman, not only the one supporting you, but again to remind you, the one he came out of.

**Tim Sebastian:** Gentleman up there with a question. Yes, you sir.

**Audience (M):** Hi, my name's Abdullah, I'm from Dubai. My question is, what does it say about superiority when the doctor's waiting room is full of women and the morgue is full of

men?

**Maysoon Zayid:** That we're superior and we know how to stay alive as well as give birth, yet again.

**Carrie Quinlan:** Or it says that men don't waste precious resources by being all sickly, they just get on with it and die.

**Tim Sebastian:** Alright, we're going to take a question from the gentleman in the second row.

**Audience (M):** My name is Palau and I think women are superior to men, because I'm married.

**Tim Sebastian:** *You gave in that easily?*

**Audience (M):** She was just too beautiful.

**Tim Sebastian:** That's it. That was your point?

**Carrie Quinlan:** She's sitting a long way away from you.

**Audience (M):** No, she's not here. I think men or women, the one who has the most threshold for pain is more superior.

**Maysoon Zayid:** I know, men are inferior, yeah, childbirth, men, we have higher threshold.

**Robin Ince:** Also, women make a lot of hoopla during childbirth don't they? And it goes on for hours.

**Maysoon Zayid:** They may make a lot of noise when they're giving birth, but men make a lot of noise all the time. If they can't find their keys they're making noise, if they're hungry they're making noise, and if they're bored they start wars and make a lot of noise.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, gentleman in the fourth row, there, if we can get a microphone ... please, stand up.

**Audience (M):** My name is Ali, I'm Iranian-Canadian, from Vancouver. This is more like a more serious comment: the thing is, I mean, to really look at the superiority, you have to look at the performance, and ...

**Tim Sebastian:** Can you come to a question?

**Audience (M):** What I want to say is men and women, they have not had a fair start. You know, women always begin their

careers later because they are involved with the children.

**Tim Sebastian:** *And your point is?*

**Audience (M):** And my point is, we can't really say. If there is a fair start, then you can really see the results and say if they are superior or not.

**Tim Sebastian:** So you're saying we shouldn't even be debating the issue. I'll give the microphone to somebody else, thank you very much. Okay, Lady in the front row.

**Audience (F):** Hi, I'm from Qatar, my question is, if men are more superior to women why is it that women look good in men's clothes, women wearing suits, but men look ridiculous in women's clothes? (Applause)

**Maysoon Zayid:** *Well said.*

**Robin Ince:** The truth is women look ridiculous in women's clothes, it's just we're too polite to tell you: 'No darling, you look absolutely marvellous. This dress thing? Why isn't she wearing trousers and a normal jacket? Ridiculous'.

**Carrie Quinlan:** I have to say, coming from Britain where there is a fine tradition of men dressing up in women's clothing, I have to disagree.

**Maysoon Zayid:** At least women know how to pick out their clothing instead of having their wives and mums doing it for them.

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, gentleman right at the back.

**Audience (M):** I'm from Jordan, my question is, if you say that women are superior to men, this means that we can live without men and all the governments and all the leaders would be women, if women can't read maps, they can't drive and they can't park, who's going to run the countries?

**Tim Sebastian:** Azhar.

**Azhar Usman:** Well it was your claim that you said, if I believe women

are superior to men then women can exist without men, which nobody ever said. Nobody said that, nobody believes that except a dumb man like you.

**Tim Sebastian (to** Are you going to fight back?

**questioner):**

**Maysoon Zayid:** No, he's a man.

### **Vote result**

**Tim Sebastian:** Okay, ladies and gentlemen we've reached the point in the proceedings, we're going to vote on the motion: 'This House believes that women are superior to men'. Please take your voting machines. We should have the results for you in about 15 seconds. Just a reminder that this debate is going to be shown on BBC World News, and five other broadcasters. Right, there is the vote, 67 percent for the motion, 33 percent against. The motion has been resoundingly carried. All I have to do is to thank our distinguished guests for coming, you've come a long way, thank you very much. And to our audience as well, thank you very much for your questions.

*(abridged from the BBC, The Doha Debates 2011)*

### **Have your say !**

You are meeting your close friend in a café. He is impatient to find out the outcome of your job interview. However, judging from your appearance, he can see that not everything had gone well. He knows that you had applied for the post of a senior researcher, and he also knows that you are a top-quality specialist in your field. Seeing you in bad humour he starts to worry. So you are telling him about your sad experience.

Your interviewer was the head of the Research Department. She was very friendly, but inquisitive at the same time. In the course of the



interview you suddenly started to realize that she had gone too far in her quest for the new research methodology you had developed. This methodology could have direct implementation in their work and generate exceptional opportunities for their company to boost their competitive edge. At the end of the interview she had mildly rejected your candidacy. It had suddenly dawned on you that she had already got what she had wanted. Luckily you had taken out a patent on your new methodology a couple of weeks ago, which would certainly prevent that company from committing intellectual fraud.

Write the dialogue and then role-play it with your peer.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

Come to think of it.

*You buy that?*

And as I wrap up my talking points  
here ...

*But this is really skirting around the  
edge.*

You gave in that easily?

*And your point is?*

Well said.

## *An interview with*

### **CIA ASSET SUSAN LINDAUER Who blows the whistle on 9/11, Iraq**

#### **Task 1. Discuss these questions.**

1. What role can whistle-blowing play in certain political settings?
2. What do you know about the US-Iraqi relations in pre-9/11 period?
3. How did Saddam Hussein stand up to the US?
4. Was Saddam Hussein trying to hold off the military invasion and, if yes, why?

#### **Task 2. Match these words and phrases from the interview with their meanings.**

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. foreknowledge                    | a) to come together to form one larger group  |
| 2. to be busted for doing something | b) to be present as a natural part of something   |
| 3. asset                            | c) to make somebody lower in the military rank as a punishment                                |
| 4. back channel talks               | d) a criminal who is paid to kill somebody  |
| 5. to be summoned to                | e) to perform ostentatiously in order to impress the audience and with an eye to the applause |
| 6. to be immanent                   | f) secret negotiations  |
| 7. a preferential treatment         | g) giving particular advantages to  |
| 8. a hit man                        | h) (here) available person to somebody  |

9. to go grandstand                      i) to get an order to come
10. to coalesce                              j) knowledge of something before it happens

**Task 3. Read, translate and discuss the debate. Pay attention to the italicized words and expressions.**

*8 January, 2011*

**Susan Lindauer** - an *American journalist, author, and antiwar activist*

**Kerry Barrett** - *anchor, reporter*

**Barrett**                      I understand that you had some 9/11 *foreknowledge*, but were actually *busted* for trying to explain to the Bush Administration through your cousin Andrew Card, that invading Iraq was insane, that the Iraqis were basically going to do anything we wanted anyway - they'd agree to anything for peace - and that there would be a terrible resistance and a terrible war if there was an invasion. And for that very *accurate and prescient warning, they went after you.*

**Lindauer**                      Well, *you have a very good grasp of this issue, I will tell you.* It is a complicated story. I was one of the very few [CIA] *assets* covering Iraq before the war. And I had established contact with the Iraqi embassy at the United Nations in New York *back in August of 1996.* And for seven years before the invasion, I was what they call a "back channel" to Iraq on the question of terrorism. *That was my foremost priority.* West. But the Iraqis were fully informed as to who I was and what I was doing and what my purpose was. My motivation was that I hated the United Nations sanctions. I hated the genocidal consequences and suffering for the Iraqi people, most truly and genuinely - that was very sincere. We all understood each other. And that's very important for what happened.

**Barrett**                    *That's not necessarily* a bad thing. There is a role for people who are intermediaries between warring parties and who try to make peace. And it sounds like that's what you were doing.

**Lindauer**                Yes indeed. And both sides understood my politics, that I wanted to help end the sanctions. And the CIA *was very adamant that Iraq had to meet certain criteria in order for that* to happen. And my contribution from the very first days was on terrorism. Our team started *what we called preliminary talks* with Baghdad in November of 2000, two years before the United Nations got involved. Our team started *back channel talks* to get Iraq's agreement on the weapons inspections. We had begun *to develop a comprehensive peace framework* which extended great support to anti-terrorism. Nine months before 9/11 happened, Iraq agreed to have the FBI come into Baghdad with the authority to conduct terrorism investigations, interview witnesses, make arrests. After 9/11, Iraq agreed to give financial records on al-Qaeda to the United States. But the United states didn't want to take the records.

**Barrett**                    It makes you wonder why not.

**Lindauer**                Isn't that an interesting question?

**Barrett**                    It leads me to my next question. You apparently had some kind of foreknowledge of 9/11. Can you explain to us what that was?

**Lindauer**                Yes. This is a very interesting thing, and I'm glad you asked ... We absolutely expected 9/11 to happen. In April and May of 2001 I was summoned to my CIA handler's office and told that I needed to confront the Iraqi diplomats at the United Nations, through my back channel, with a demand for any fragment of intelligence regarding airplane hijackings and/or airplane bombings. And over the summer, *that progressed to a deep belief that there was going to be*

an *airplane hijacking attack*, and *some sort of aerial strike*, on the World Trade Center. We talked about this in our one-on-one meetings practically every week. This was a major focus of our efforts. Richard Fuisz /fju:z/ [Lindauer's CIA supervisor] was very worried about how Iraq must give us this intelligence. I do not think that Richard Fuisz knew all the details of 9/11. However, he knew enough. And he knew the timing of the attack. By August 2001, Richard was telling me not to go into New York City because *this attack was imminent*. In my book it's very clear. And I said, well, I'm going up to New York to ask my Iraqi sources about this again. And he said: "Don't go to New York, it's too dangerous, I don't want you going there again." And that's how close this was. They knew a great deal. And what was interesting is that after 9/11, I get arrested, and he gets thirteen million dollars in payoffs. (Laughs.)

**Barrett**

(Laughing) Oh, boy. That's amazing. They arrested you, because they were probably concerned about you revealing the contents of your conversations with Richard, among other things.

**Lindauer**

Oh yes, absolutely. And the fact that *there was a peace option on the table* that had been developed over a two year period before the war, *a comprehensive peace framework*. It included cooperation on anti-terrorism; it included the weapons inspections, of course, you already knew that; and it included Iraq's commitment to donate economic reconstruction, donate is not the right word, *to dedicate economic reconstruction contracts* to the United States *corporations with preferential treatment*, preferential contracts in telecommunications, health care, pharmaceuticals, and transportation. This was a comprehensive peace framework! *We covered everything!* We covered a lot. And nobody even knows about this!

**Barrett**

That's amazing. There have been general reports of this nature, including post-9/11, right up to the eve of the

invasion, there have been reports that Saddam Hussein was willing to give the US basically everything it wanted *to hold off the invasion*.

**Lindauer** Yes. Yes.

**Barrett** That leads to the question: Why do you think, given that you recognize just how insane this invasion was, how completely unnecessary, the Iraqis were caving as far as they had to cave anyway, what was the point?

**Lindauer** Yes, literally, Iraq said to me: "What is it the United States wants? Anything that the United States asks for, we will give them. Just tell us what it is!" When I was on a trip to Baghdad, they offered to buy one million American-made automobiles every year for ten years. And an Iraqi diplomat said to me, "Look, Susan, if ten years isn't enough, we'll make it twenty years."

**Barrett** You know, Susan, you're kind of ruining Saddam Hussein's *posthumous reputation* as somebody who stood up to the U.S.!

**Lindauer** He was more harsh on terrorists than we were.

**Barrett** He didn't get along with al-Qaeda, and he didn't get along with Islamists of any kind, including the Iranians.

**Lindauer** That's right.

**Barrett** You would have thought that the U.S. would have just kept running him as an American puppet. *He got his start as a CIA hit man*, apparently.

**Lindauer** Yes indeed.

**Barrett** So why, why this insane insistence on going to war with Iraq - a war that has killed one and a half million innocent Iraqis and destroyed that country. What was the purpose of it?

**Lindauer** It was so incredibly stupid. 9/11 was a tragedy, a terrible, terrible tragedy, but 9/11 could have accomplished great good. Because right after 9/11 Iraq *went into high mode of giving*. They were offering us everything we wanted: financial records on al-Qaeda, proof of a Middle Eastern link to what we used to call the inter-Arab group of terrorists, *which was actually an amalgamation of several different terrorist factions, coalesced into al-Qaeda*. We could have tracked the money that's financing terrorism around the world. Instead what we do is, we create an enemy. Because it looks better-*the politicians could go grandstand*. In fact, before 9/11, there were 200 to 300 terrorists in the world who wanted to attack America. Now, after 9/11 and after the war in Iraq and after the war on Afghanistan, there are only about 2000 to 3000 individuals *whose entire focus of life is revenge* and coming into the United States and attacking us. That's only 3000 people. The way I look at it, this is like a high school auditorium that you could fill with the potential terrorists. That's it! This is an invention! *We've made this up!*

**Barrett** Right. Very well put. I've often explained to people that there was no real terrorist threat pre-9/11.

**Lindauer** Yes.

*(abridged from the ATS 911 Conspiracies)*

**Task 4. Role-play the debate changing the reported speech into an active discussion. Mind the author's notes in brackets.**

**Barrett** was aware that Lindauer had been trying to explain to the Bush Administration that, invading Iraq was insane, that the Iraqis were basically going to do everything possible to defend themselves, there would be a horrible resistance or a horrible war if there was an invasion.

**Lindauer** thinks that it is a complicated story. She was one of those few assets covering Iraq before the war. She established contact with the Iraqi embassy at the United Nations in New York in August 1996. Lindauer was what they call a "back channel". Her motivation was that she hated the United Nations /sanctions, she hated genocidal consequences and suffering of Iraqi people.

**Lindauer** mentions that both sides understood her policies. They started to develop a comprehensive peace framework. Iraq agreed to give financial records on al- Qaeda to the United States. However, the United States didn't want to take the records.

**Barret** asks to explain what that 9/11 was. **Lindauer** says that Richard Fuez knew all the details of 9/11. By August 2001 Richard was telling her not to go to New York. Richard Fuez even knew the timing of the attack. The interesting thing is that after 9/11, she got arrested, while Richard got thirteen million dollars in payoffs.

**Barret** is absolutely amazed. They arrested Lindauer, because they were aware of her and Richard Fuez's conversations.

**Lindauer** adds that there is another strange thing, i. e. Iraq said to her that they would give the United States everything they asked.

So **Barrett** is interested in the purpose of all these. (*What is your opinion?*)

**Lindauer** assures that this is an incredibly stupid situation. In the Muslim world there are only about 2000 to 3000 individuals whose entire focus of life is revenge. According to Lindauer this is no more than a school auditorium filled with potential terrorists.

**Barrett** shows his consent and gratitude.

**Have your say !**

Write a conversation between the Foreign Minister and the President of the country about the release of secret diplomatic papers by Wikileaks. State the spheres they refer to, the chances of vulnerability,



outline ways of prevention and protection of certain developments (give details and examples). Look at the possible dangers and consequences in reference to the diplomatic relations of your country with other states.

You are welcome to use the language material from the box below.

### Conversation gambits and collocations

to have a very good grasp of this issue	We've made this up!
<i>That was my foremost priority.</i>	<i>... whose entire focus of life is ...</i>
That's not necessarily a ...	We covered everything!
<i>To be very adamant that ...</i>	<i>corporations with preferential treatment</i>
That progressed to a deep belief that ...	There was a peace option on the table.

## **Answer key to Task 2**

### **Unit 1**

**Debate:** 1a; 2e; 3j; 4c; 5f; 6h; 7b; 8i; 9g; 10d.

**Interview 1:** 1d; 2a; 3b; 4c.

**Interview 2:** 1c; 2a; 3b.

### **Unit 2**

**Debate:** 1d; 2g; 3h; 4c; 5f; 6i; 7a; 8e; 9b.

**Interview:** 1c; 2b; 3e; 4d; 5a.

### **Unit 3**

**Debate:** 1d; 2f; 3b; 4c; 5g; 6a; 7e.

### **Unit 4**

**Debate:** 1o; 2a; 3e; 4d; 5b; 6g; 7m; 8n; 9l; 10k; 11f; 12i;  
13h; 14c; 15j.

**Interview 1:** 1l; 2a; 3b; 4j; 5g; 6c; 7h; 8k; 9e; 10d;  
11f; 12i.

**Interview 2:** 11c; 2d; 3f; 4b; 5e; 6a.

### **Unit 5**

**Debate:** 1d; 2e; 3c; 4a; 5b.

**Interview:** 1f; 2d; 3i; 4g; 5e; 6h; 7j; 8a; 9b; 10c.

### **Unit 6**

**Debate:** 1b; 2i; 3e; 4h; 5c; 6g; 7f; 8d; 9a.

**Interview:** 1d; 2a; 3k; 4b; 5h; 6m; 7j; 8c; 9l; 10f; 11n; 12i;  
13e; 14g.

## **Unit 7**

**Debate:** 1j; 2b; 3a; 4h; 5i; 6d; 7c; 8g; 9e; 10f.

**Interview:** 1e; 2d; 3b; 4a; 5c.

## **Unit 8**

**Debate:** 1n; 2h; 3g; 4a; 5p; 6i; 7e; 8j; 9q; 10c; 11k; 12f;  
13r; 14t; 15m; 16b; 17d; 18o; 19 l; 20s.

**Interview:** 1a; 2d; 3b; 4c; 5f; 6e.

## **Unit 9**

**Debate:** 1e; 2f; 3c; 4a; 5d; 6b.

## **Unit 10**

**Debate:** 1b; 2f; 3e; 4c; 5d; 6a.

**Interview:** 1j; 2c; 3h; 4f; 5i; 6b; 7g; 8d; 9e; 10a.

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