

Update 2019 *US politics* und *Brexit*



1. Auflage

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8 Verweis auf den Skillsanhang	adj	
Partnerarbeit	adv ————————————————————————————————————	
Gruppenarbeit	↔ BE coll	

fml

hum

i.e.

formal

humorous

id est (Lat.) = that is

vlg

VS

vulgar

versus

Text theme

Type of text

1 Trump's presidency

Introduction



1 BRAINSTORMING

- a) AA "Make America great again" was the campaign slogan of Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election. Partner A, brainstorm ideas about what you think is already great in America. Partner B, brainstorm ideas about what you think are problems which still need to be solved.
- b) RR Compare your ideas with your partner. Do you agree with each other?
- c) In class discuss what is great about living in the US and what challenges need to be met in American society.







2 VISUAL

- **a)** Look at the picture of the Trump rally (picture 6). Describe it and analyse the atmosphere of the rally.
- b) Imagine you are a speechwriter for the president. Brainstorm keywords which would give the audience a feeling of unity, trust and admiration for the president's policy. Note down the keywords in the following table. topics | verbs | adjectives/adverbs
- c) Share your results with your course. What phrases/topics are most frequent?

A nation in turmoil

Presidential election of 2016

After two historic terms as the first black president of the United States, Barack Obama moved out of the Oval Office to make room for Donald Trump. Despite having lost the popular vote to Democrats Hillary 5 Clinton and Tim Kaine, Trump and Vice President Michael Pence won the election in a surprise victory for the Republican Party thanks to the Electoral College. The Electoral College is decisive when it comes to electing the president. So the majority in the Electoral College may differ from the majority of votes cast by the people in the US (i.e. the popular vote).

	Clinton/Kane	Trump/Pence
Votes by the Electoral College	227	304
Popular vote	approx. 66 million	approx. 63 million

The Electoral College is a process which was developed by the Founding Fathers as a compromise between electing the President by a vote in Congress versus by a vote of qualified citizens. Many Americans argue that this is an outdated process that was created by the Founders who did not trust the general population to make the right choice.

20 Although there are many clear problems with the Electoral College, it is unlikely to change because three-quarters of the states would have to ratify a constitutional amendment.

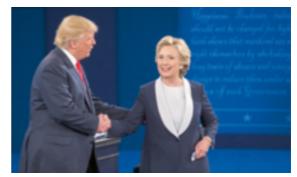
Trump's win reverberated around the world and
seemed to create two camps: pro- and anti-Trump.
Often the reasons for their stances were strangely
similar; both sides cited his inexperience, political
incorrectness, policy promises and past business
dealings as justifications for their respective feelings
about him. Trump supporters believed he would be a
welcome change from business-as-usual, behind-thescenes Washington politics. His 'America First' policies

appealed to their conservative principles, as well as his commitment to the Second Amendment, which protects Americans' right to own a gun. Meanwhile the Trump critics, in addition to rejecting his conservative values, were shocked when he seemed to emerge unharmed by countless scandals, from alleged connections to Russian election interference to paying off prostitutes to footage of him admitting to sexually assaulting multiple women. His speeches, Twitter tirades and off-the-cuff remarks were so full of anger and "alternative facts" that non-partisan organizations devoted their time to fact-checking his self-aggrandizing claims on their websites.

Trump's masterful (some would call dystopian) manipulation of the media, which he accused of spreading "fake news" whenever they reported something bad about him, and his fanatic fan base combined to make his campaign seemingly indestructible.

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So far Trump's presidency has been overshadowed. There is a special counsel investigation into his possible cooperation with Russian interference in the 2016 elections, and the Internal Revenue Service has begun scrutinizing the Trump Organization for possible tax fraud going back for decades.



Candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton at a presidential debate before the election.

- 1 **COMPREHENSION** Outline how Trump rallied support for his candidature and what critics accuse him of.
- **2 vocabulary** Collect phrases relating to politics e.g. "move out of the Oval Office", etc.
- 3 RESEARCH Find out how the electoral college works and explain how Trump won the election despite having lost the popular vote. Share your results in a short presentation with your course. → S32
- 4 RESEARCH Research which states voted for Trump or for Clinton. →S32

Trump's presidency

Populism and nationalism

Populism refers to the political idea of a morally superior majority standing against "the corrupt elites" who run the establishment. According to this idea, the elites often place their own needs or the needs of other groups such as immigrants or foreign nations above the interests of "the people". People who may feel left behind and perhaps ashamed about not fulfilling the American Dream can be persuaded by populism to make scapegoats of antagonists such as immigrants, African Americans, liberals, feminists, Muslims, etc. rather than seeking out more complex and rational explanations for their

social and economic vulnerabilities. Furthering the "us versus them" paradigm, populism is often coupled with nationalism, the concept of putting one's own nation and people above global concerns. In practical terms, nationalism entails an intense identification with pride for and loyalty to a specific nation. It favors isolationist and protectionist policies and rejects immigration over policies which are designed to benefit "true natives" of the nation. Taken to the extreme, this group identification can lead to an ethnic and/or religious definition of membership and calls for the exclusion of minorities.

Policies

The influence of populism and nationalism can be seen in the 'America First' policies of the Trump administration. Some of his important policies include the following:

International: The US has pulled out of various international groups and agreements such as the UN Human Rights Council, UNESCO, the Paris Climate Accord, and the Iran Nuclear Deal.

Protectionism: Trump has accused China, the EU,
 Mexico and Canada of unfair trade practices and imposed tariffs to punish international trade and protect domestic industry.

Immigration: Previously a pillar of the American Dream, the traditional open immigration policy has begun to crumble. The President has threatened to build a wall along the Mexican border. He has also instituted a so-called 'Muslim ban' on travelers entering the US from Islamic countries. Illegal immigrant children are often separated from their parents, who are detained at the border.

All in all, these international policies have worsened diplomatic relations and isolated the US from the rest of the world.

Domestically, the Trump administration has supported the Republican agenda in the following fields:

Second Amendment: Strengthen the Second Amendment rights to keep and bear arms.

Women's rights: Restrict the access to birth control and abortion.

Health politics: Get rid of Obamacare (a health insurance aimed at expanding health care to middle-and low-income families).

Fiscal policies: Cut taxes and reduce government spending e.g. in healthcare.

Environment: Loosen federal regulations (especially on energy and environmental matters).

Media: Trump's rhetoric has been offensive and polarizing, and his policies have drawn clear battle lines between conservative and progressive Americans. Every action has produced a reaction, and all of Trump's policies are being challenged in a court of law as well as public opinion.



- 5 comprehension Explain in your own words the concepts of 'populism' and 'nationalism'.
- **6 vocabulary** *Create two mind maps with vocabulary of the following fields: international agenda and domestic agenda.*
- 7 visuals Describe and interpret the cartoon. Comment on the cartoonist's message. → \$28.2

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A Addressing the voters







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Remarks at a "Make America Great Again" Rally

Six months into his presidency, Donald Trump made a speech in Youngstown, Ohio. After all 18 of Ohio's electoral votes went to the Democratic candidate Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012, in 2016 they all went to the Republican candidate Donald Trump.

Everyone in this arena is united by their love, and you know that. Do we know that?

Everyone. United by their love for this country and their loyalty to one another, their loyalty to its people. And we want people to come into our country who can love us and cherish us and be proud of America and the American flag. We believe that schools should teach our children to have pride in our history and respect for that great American flag. We all believe in the rule of law, and we support the incredible 10 men and women of law enforcement. Thank you. Thank you for being here.

We celebrate our military and believe the American armed forces are the greatest force for peace and justice in the history of the world, and by the way, they're getting a lot greater fast. A lot greater. You saw our budget. We're ordering billions and billions of dollars of new ships and new planes and equipment for our great soldiers. We are building it up. There's rarely been a time where we needed the protection of our incredible military more than right now, right here, and that's what we're going to do.

We believe in freedom, self-government, and individual rights. We cherish and defend – thank you, it looks like it's in very good shape – our Second Amendment. Congratulations. Yes, our Second Amendment is very, very sound again. That would have been gonzo. It would have been gone, but I never had a doubt. We support the Constitution of the United States and believe that judges should interpret the Constitution as written and not make up new meaning for what they read.

And finally, we believe that family and faith, not government and bureaucracy, are the foundation of our society. You've heard me say it before on the campaign trail and I'll say it again tonight. In America we don't worship government. We worship God.

Tonight we're going to set aside the cynics and the critics because we know exactly why they are so angry and so bitter. Day by day, week by week we are restoring our government's allegiance to its people, to its citizens, to the people that we all love. We are keeping our promises to the people, and yes, we are putting – finally, finally, finally – we are putting America first. [Chants from the crowd "U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!"]

After years and years of sending our jobs and our wealth to other countries, we are finally standing up for our workers and for our companies. After spending

rally a large meeting of people who support a person or a common cause; the purpose of a rally is to arouse enthusiasm, usually for political purposes

11 men and women of law enforcement e.g. police officers

²¹ **sound** in good condition

³¹ allegiance loyalty, commitment

billions of dollars defending other nations' borders, we are finally defending our borders. [Cheers and chants from the crowd: "Build that wall!"] Don't even think about it, we will build the wall. Don't even think about it. I watched the media as 40 they say, "Well, he just had some fun during the campaign on the wall." That wasn't fun, folks. We're building that wall, and walls do work and we're going to have great people come into our country, but we're not gonna put ourselves through the problems that we've had for so many years.

After decades of rebuilding foreign nations, we are finally going to rebuild our 45 nation.

[There was a disruption in the audience.] They're pointing to a protester. Honestly, if you don't point, nobody's even going to know he's here. Weak voice, weak voice, don't worry. [Chants from the crowd: "USA!"]

[A protester was removed from the audience.]

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Boy, he's a young one. He's going back home to mommy [Laughter]. Oh, is he in trouble? He's in trouble. He's in trouble. And I'll bet his mommy voted for us, right? [Cheers]

[...] Political correctness for me is easy. Sometimes they say he doesn't act presidential. And I say, hey look, great schools, smart guy, it's so easy to act presidential but that's not gonna get it done. In fact, I said it's much easier, by the way, to act presidential than what we're doing here tonight, believe me. And I said - and I said with the exception of the late great Abraham Lincoln, I can be more presidential than any President that's ever held this office. That I can tell you. It's real easy.

[...] We want this country that we love so much, America, to be strong, proud and free. Which means America must also be united. Because when America is united, America is totally unstoppable. Although, I'll be totally honest with you, even if it's not united, we're unstoppable. So don't worry. We're gonna be unstoppable either way, but it would be nice, wouldn't it? Our small differences are nothing 65 compared to our common history, common values and common future. We share one heart, one home and one glorious destiny. Now it is up to us to preserve the birth right of freedom and justice, the birth right of prosperity that our ancestors won for us with their sweat, with their sweat, with their blood, with their work, with their muscle, with their brain. They won it for us and we're gonna make it bigger and better and stronger than it ever was before.

It's time to look past the old divisions, the tired - really tired - politicians, and the stale debates of the past, and to finally come together as one nation under God. We have no choice. We cannot and never will back down. We will never, ever give up. We cannot fail. And if we remember what unites us, then I promise you we will 75 not fail. We cannot fail. We will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. And we will make America great again. Thank you, God bless you, God bless the state of Ohio. Thank you everybody.

President Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a "Make America Great Again" Rally, 2017

- 1 **COMPREHENSION** Outline Trump's promises and criticism of previous governments.
- **2 ANALYSIS** Analyse how Trump affects the audience emotionally and rallies support for his presidency. → \$10
- **3** EVALUATION Discuss whether Trump's speech serves to unify the American people and to reconcile his supporters and critics. \rightarrow \$14.1

FACT FILE

Huge parts of the border between Mexico and the US are already separated by a series of fences and walls. In his election campaign Trump promised to build a much larger wall at the border and that Mexico will pay for it.

46 There was a disruption in the audience.] The crowd points and boos at sb.

- **4 PRE-READING** Brainstorm what aspects influence the people's decisions when voting a new president. Note down several policy topics and personal aspects which you consider decisive. Then share your results.
- 5 SPEAKING AAA Choose and read one of the three statements. Then get together in groups of three and explain to each other the voters' decisions.

Why did people vote for Donald Trump? Voters explain

"Has it occurred to anyone that the economy might improve if we outsourced the government?"



Despite a lack of political experience, business magnate Donald Trump swept to an improbable victory in the US presidential elections. It is clear that despite a series of controversies, his message resonated with a huge number of American voters in key states and revealed deep anti-establishment anger and discontent.

Andrea, Florida: 'I want conservative laws'

I cried when I left the polling location because I don't like Trump at all. I was deeply saddened to vote for him. His personality, his mannerisms and his inexperience repulse me. I wish there had been another conservative choice without simply throwing away my vote. I know if I travel outside of the US I will be deeply disliked because of him.

However, he is only a four-year investment and I am trusting in the checks and balances of our country to prevent him and his poor judgment from damaging the country too much. Hopefully Trump will not affect my daily life.

I personally do not have a gun, but I strongly support the right to bear arms, recognising it as a right that ensures protection from government tyranny. I am also 45 against abortions.

Trump has the opportunity to elect a Supreme Court member, maybe even two or three members considering the current health and age of some justices. Justices serve for a lifetime and I do not want the justices to be liberal. I want conservative laws therefore conservative justices.

I can deal with a somewhat low for four years, but I couldn't deal with a supreme court that swings liberal and I couldn't deal with losing gun rights. I hope the years fly by and that he will do as little damage as possible. I am deeply saddened by these options and I am not proud of our president in the least.

The Guardian, 2018 25

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Heather, 43, Kansas, small business owner: 'Under Trump the American dream is revived'

Trump understands and supports the American dream; no matter what you have now, if you work hard, you can better yourself and positively shape your wealth and future. Clinton made it known that she would continue Obama's agenda of redistribution. What dream is there in working to see your future gains chopped up by taxation and welfare? Under Clinton I would have just held out my hand and

FACT FILE

The **Supreme Court** is the highest court of the US. Its members are proposed by the President and appointed for life. In this way, the President can influence law in a more conservative or liberal way for several decades.

³¹ **redistribution** the act of distributing goods or money in a different, often fairer way

Trump's presidency

stopped dreaming. Under Trump the American Dream is revived!

I may not like the Trump he shows his buddies in the locker room, I may not agree with his too-rich-to-care insolence or his private life with women, but I agree with his platform and passion. He gets things done and his drive is proven. He fails and he fails better.

I voted for Trump to keep the minimum wage hike down, retain our constitutional gun rights, and keeping close to the Constitution and immigration.

I can now start planning my next boutique without the threat of a minimum wage hike. I can afford to get sick while I'm working 60 hours a week to get my business off the ground. The fear of the taxation-to-death threat will lessen. Trump is a businessman. He will pave the way for me to start dreaming again.

Until this election I was independent. This election I declared myself Republican for the first time. My friends are mostly liberal Democrats. They say I'm the poorest Republican they know. [...]

Trump promises to rebuild our army and fight for our safety, I look to see terrorism defeated and the war on cops to end, a solid declaration of war on ISIS and a halt to the preference of immigrants before citizens. I hope welfare will be scaled back and employment will once again become the preferred way to support oneself.

I cried when I heard Trump won. There is once again hope for the American Dream!

The Guardian, 2018

Brooks Boyd, 57, Texas: 'I've always voted Republican but could not stomach 55 Donald Trump'

I am a Republican and have always voted for my party, but not this year. I put Mitt Romney's name down on the ballot, a candidate who wasn't running.

What put me off about Donald Trump was the fact he has no clue how to run a country. I also dislike the way he treats women and everyone around him. He is a charlatan. I don't even think he is a good business person and he's definitely not smart.

I don't think he ever expected to be elected; it was as much a surprise to him as everyone else. There is no way he is going to build a wall along the southern US border. It would not make sense because it would not be impenetrable – anyone from Texas knows that. Trump just spewed rubbish and people believed it. It didn't matter what he said. People ate it up.

That said, I couldn't bring myself to vote for Hillary Clinton. If there was another Democratic candidate I might have voted for their party for the first time ever. The problem with Clinton is that people couldn't stomach her lies and cronyism. While no one knows what to expect with Trump, we know with Clinton and are tired of it.

What would have got me to vote is quite simple. I wanted a candidate to say things that made sense. Talk about helping everyone and not excluding people. Nothing too far left and nothing too far right. Presidents who are able to reach across the aisle and compromise get things done – whether Democrat or Republican.

The Guardian, 2018

- **6 ANALYSIS** Compare the motivation of the three voters with your ideas from task 4 (pre-reading).
- 7 **EVALUATION** Discuss to which extent the voters' decisions were affected by traditional American values. → \$14.1

- 34 I may not like the Trump he shows his buddies in the locker room this statement refers to sexist remarks made by Trump
- ³⁵ **insolence** rudeness, impolite behaviour
- 38 wage hike action of rising wages
- 48 ISIS terrorist organisation
- businessman and politician, a member of the Republican party and one of the candidates for the presidential election in 2012
- 64 impenetrable impossible to pass through
- 69 cronyism the habit of giving important jobs to friends rather than to qualified people

FACT FILE

Law enforcement has been investigating whether Trump has been involved in tax fraud. It is very likely that he inherited several hundred million dollars from his father's real estate empire without paying the proper taxes. So far Trump has refused to release his income tax returns.

- 6 unfathomable impossible to understand
- 8 capacity ability
- 18 the left here: political position which rather supports social equality
- 18 superego part of a person's mind which controls your behaviour and says what is right or wrong
- ²⁶ consent agreement
- 34 red tape a metaphor for too much and unnecessary regulation
- ³⁸ discourse debate
- 41 homophobic showing fear or dislike of homosexual people
- 44 cohabitation the state of living together

B Affecting the people

Trump is emancipating unbridled hatred

Read the following interview with US philosopher Judith Butler. In this excerpt she talks about the reasons for the wide support for Donald Trump and the concept of nationality.

BUTLER: Oh, the Trump supporters ...

ZEIT ONLINE: ... something that is very interesting to Germans.

BUTLER: Well, it is all rather unfathomable. I think there is an economic

component to the support for Trump. For some of his supporters government has gotten in the way of their capacity to make a good living and to succeed financially, so they are against regulations, against government. And that can include paying taxes and workplace 10 regulations meant to secure the health and safety of workers. They applaud the fact that Trump has not apparently paid federal taxes and

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they think: "Yeah, I want to be that person."

ZEIT ONLINE: There is a lot of rage?

BUTLER: I think they have an enormous rage. Not just against women, not only

against racial minorities or against migrants – they are thrilled that their rage is being liberated by his public and uncensored speech. We on the left, we are apparently the superego. What Trump has managed to do, rhetorically, is to identify not just the left, but liberalism – basic American liberalism and the left – as just a bunch of censors. We are the instruments of repression and he is the vehicle for emancipation. It

is a nightmare.

ZEIT ONLINE: What about his overt sexism and racism?

BUTLER: What Trump is emancipating is unbridled hatred and, as we see

recently, forms of sexual action that don't even care about anybody's consent. Since when did we have to ask women whether they are okay with being touched, or why? He does not actually say that, but that is exactly what he is indicating. It liberates people, their rage, and their hatred. And these people may be wealthy, they may be poor, they may be in the middle; they feel themselves to have been repressed or censored by the left, by the feminists, by the movement for civil rights and equality, by Obama's presidency, which allowed a black man to represent the nation. [...] They just think: He [Trump] will close the borders, he will go to war, or he will cut through the red tape in government. But the fact is: they are willing to live with the hateful things he says. They don't necessarily agree, but they accommodate it, which means that they do not object. They are implicitly lending their consent to that discourse. Many people are taking private pleasure in his discourse. They may not be able to say that out loud because we

are supposed to be ashamed of being racist, or being sexist, or being homophobic. But they harbour those feelings privately. [...]

ZEIT ONLINE: [...] how can we extend that notion of "we"?

I think it is the question of how you live with people, a question of cohabitation. Do you also seek to learn their lives, to learn their

languages? Do you always treat them as a recipient of your generosity, 45 or do you come to regard them as your equal? Do you accept that German is not the only language that is spoken in Germany? Do you

accept that assistance and support needs to be given to various religious communities and that they should not just feel welcome, but also part of what Germany is and is becoming? I think that too often there has been this effort to adapt the migrant to German culture as it is

ZEIT ONLINE: You can see it in the Trump rhetoric, you can see it in Brexit, you can

see it in right-wing populist language, there is a move back to an

ethnic understanding of nationality. Why?

BUTLER: Hannah Arendt should be our guide here: As long as one functions

within the notion of the nation-state, one is basically asking for a specific nationality to represent the state and for the state to represent that nationality. That means that there will always be the minorities and those excluded, those who do not conform to the dominant idea of the nation: they will be ineligible for full rights, or stripped of rights, or even expelled. That is why for her plurality is so important. And I guess I could translate plurality into racial and ethnic heterogeneity.

Rina Soloveitchik, Die Zeit, 2016

1 COMPREHENSION Read the first half of the interview (II. 1–41) and outline the economic reasons why people may have supported Trump.

- **2 ANALYSIS** Explain why there is so much rage involved in Trump's campaign.
- **3 ANALYSIS** Read the second half (II. 42-end) of the interview and explain why the notion of 'we' in a society is put at risk by an ethnic understanding of nationality according to Butler.

Donald Trump tweets

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The White House is running very smoothly and the results for our Nation are obviously very good. We are the envy of the world. But anytime I even think about making changes, the FAKE NEWS MEDIA goes crazy, always seeking to make us look as bad as possible! Very dishonest!

Donald Trump tweet, 15. Nov. 2018

4 ANALYSIS

- a) Examine the language which Trump uses in his tweet and the message he is sending. → \$10
- b) Compare Butler's message with Trump's tweet.
- **5 EVALUATION** Discuss how convincing you consider Butler's explanation and argument. Refer to what you have learned in this topic.
- 6 visuals Describe the protester in the photo and assess her message. → \$28.1

- ⁶¹ ineligible disqualified
- 62 to expel to force sb to leave

VIP FILE

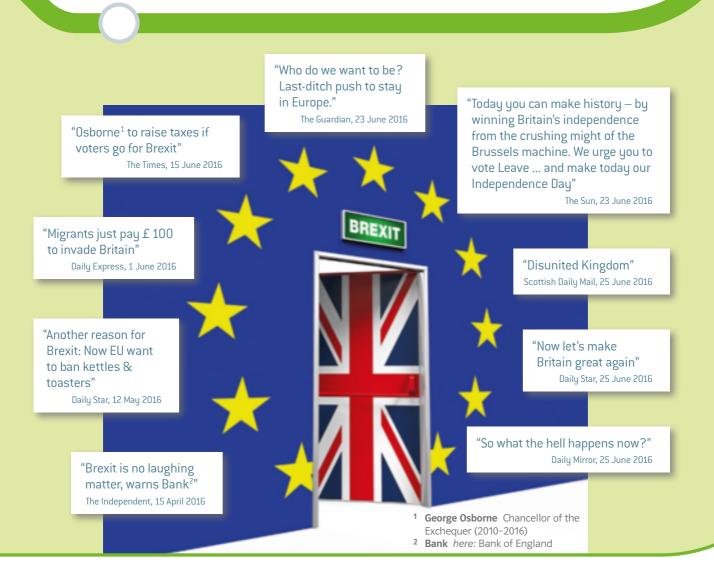
Hannah Arendt

(1906-1975) Born into a German-Jewish family near Hannover, Hannah Arendt had to flee to France in 1933 and later to America, becoming an American citizen in 1950. She became one of the most influential philosophers and political theorists of the 20th century, wellknown for her studies of totalitarian regimes and her philosophy of active citizenship, freedom and pluralist democracy.



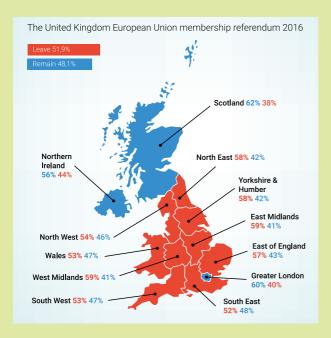
2 The Brexit dilemma

Introduction



1 SPEAKING

- a) A The news headlines above were published in the UK before and after the referendum. Read them and sort them into two categories with your partner: 'Remain pro EU' and 'Leave pro Brexit'.
- b) Assess and discuss their trustworthiness and power to affect and persuade the reader.
- 2 visuals Describe the map and analyse the result of the referendum. → \$27
- **3 COMPREHENSION** Read and sum up the comments that people made after the referendum.



"I'm 86 and I remember why we went into Europe: people wanted to prevent another war. During the campaign, no one pointed out the advantages of the European Union. Wherever I go, I travel all over the world, people ask me, 'Why did you vote for Brexit? What are you doing?' I call it the biggest self-inflicted harm in British history."

Margaret (86), at a rally in London

"One thing that upsets me most is that this decision has been made by people who will not have to live with the consequences for as long as us. Young people voted to remain and older people voted to leave. I feel that I have been let down by an older generation [...]"

Abi (17), posted on a Guardian blog

"I'm also a woman of colour. [...] This result confirms my fears. That my families aren't seen as people, as human. They're numbers, they're a swarm, a threat. They're not welcome here, and as a product of immigration, neither am I. With this result, England clings on to its colonial history, and I'm ashamed."

Zainabb (23), London, posted on a Guardian blog

"We have big problems in this country, and we can't ignore the fact that many people are very unhappy. But Brexit will only make things worse. Separating from the EU is a huge distraction from what's really important in this country."

Ben (44), at a rally in London

"We've got our democracy back and we can build an absolutely brilliant future for ourselves. It's going to be democracy not bureaucracy."

(anonymous), Birmingham

"We've got our country back."

(anonymous), Burnley, North West of England

"Things can't get much worse up here. We need something to change; there's no jobs and no one listens to us. I'm hoping this will mean a better future for the young people and they will get more opportunities."

Jim (63), Sunderland, North East of England

4 SPEAKING

- a) Relate the people's reactions to the news headlines. Which speaker might the news headlines have appealed to or worried most?
- **b)** 88 Share your ideas with a partner.
- 5 EVALUATION Discuss the result of the referendum and possible reasons and consequences for the UK. → S24.3
- 6 RESEARCH Collect information about the current status of the Brexit discussion in Northern Ireland and Scotland. →S32

The United Kingdom and the European Union

The founding of the EU and Britain's role







1957 The European Community (EC): The two world wars of the 20th century caused unimaginable suffering and hardship for the people in Europe. After 1945 the European people and their governments
5 want to make sure that such violent conflicts do not occur again. Therefore, six countries including Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands agree to intensify economic cooperation and foster their economic development.

They create the European Economic Community (EEC) which implies a common market and a customs union. Later on the EEC is subsumed under the association of the European Community (EC).

1973 Britain becomes a member of the EC: During
the 1960s the UK applied twice for membership
in the EC but both times France vetoed their
application. Britain's third application is finally
successful.

1975 First referendum: Britain's membership
20 in the EC is put to a referendum. After the British
government renegotiated the conditions of Britain's
membership in the EC, the people can decide if they
want to stay in the EC. A clear majority of the voters
(67%) vote "yes".

Thatcher negotiates a rebate on Britain's contribution to the EC budget because the UK receives fewer farm subsidies from the EC than e.g. France or Germany.

1992 Treaty of Maastricht: The member states of the EC found the European Union (EU). The EU sets the foundations for a common currency (the euro) and expands cooperation to the fields of foreign, social, environmental and security policy. The UK secures the right to opt out from the introduction of the euro.

2002 The euro: The common currency, the Euro, is introduced in most of the EU member states except for Denmark, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

2009 Global financial crisis: Several private banks and member states of the EU cannot meet their expenditures anymore. The EU has to bail them out to avoid further economic damage, rising unemployment and even a break-up of the Eurozone.

2013 Rising Euroscepticism in the UK: The nationalist UKIP party and a growing number of Tory politicians increase the pressure on Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron. They harshly criticise his EU policy and demand more rights for the UK or even to leave the union. To solve this conflict, David Cameron declares his intentions to let the people decide. He announces that a referendum on Britain's membership in the EU will be held on 23 June 2016.

June 23 2016: The United Kingdom votes to leave the European Union.

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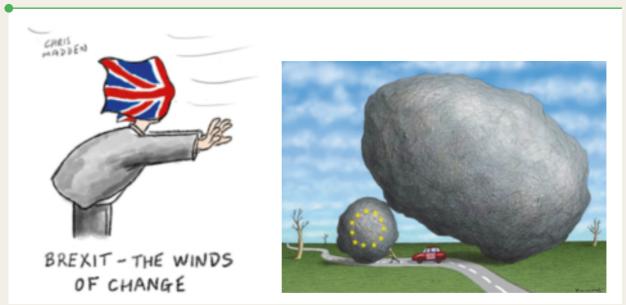
Leave 51.9 % Remain 48.1 %

- **1 comprehension** State the aims of founding the European Union (previously called the European Community).
- **2 COMPREHENSION** Create a timeline from the 1960s to 2016. The timeline should point out decisions of the United Kingdom which mark movements towards or away from the European Union.

Arguments for and against the referendum

Immigration		
Leave: Within the EU, Britain cannot control its borders because other EU citizens have an automatic right to live in the UK.	Remain: Britain needs the workforce of other EU citizens. The visas of non-EU citizens are controlled by British authorities anyway.	
Trade		
Leave: Britain can bargain trade deals with emerging markets like China or India individually.	Remain: Almost half of all exports go to the EU while most imports come from the EU.	
Sovereignty and laws		
Leave: Too many laws are passed down from Brussels. Leaving the EU is the only way to regain full sovereignty.	Remain: The majority of laws are still passed in Westminster. For some aspects it is crucial to implement EU-wide laws. Therefore some sharing of sovereignty is necessary.	
Global role		
Leave: The UK cannot act independently on an international level.	Remain: The UK can negotiate from a much stronger position as a member of the EU than on its own.	
Cost of membership		
Leave: British people contribute more money to the EU budget than they receive.	Remain: The economic benefits of the EU membership easily compensate for the costs.	

Two cartoons



- **3 SPEAKING** A What do you think are the most and least persuasive arguments on each side? Share your results with your partner.
- **4 visuals** Describe and analyse one of the cartoons. Share your results and compare and discuss the different messages. → **S28.2**

A Contrary appeals before the vote

SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23

THIS is our last chance to remove ourselves from the undemocratic Brussels machine ... and it's time to take it.

Throughout our 43-year membership of the European Union it has proved increasingly greedy, wasteful, bullying and breathtakingly incompetent in a crisis.

Next Thursday, at the ballot box, we can correct this huge and historic mistake. It is our last chance. Because, be in no doubt, our future looks far bleaker if we stay in.

Outside the EU we can become richer, safer and free at long last to forge our own destiny as America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and many other great democracies already do. And as we were the first to do centuries ago.

If we stay, Britain will be engulfed in a few short years by this relentlessly expanding German dominated federal state.

For all David Cameron's witless assurances, our powers and values WILL be further eroded. Staying in will be worse for immigration, worse for jobs, worse for wages and worse for our way of life. Greece is bankrupt. Italy is in danger of going the same way, with even more disastrous consequences. In Spain, 45 per cent of those under 25 are out of work. And numerous even poorer and worse-governed countries are now joining the EU.

To remain means being powerless to cut mass immigration which keeps wages low and puts catastrophic pressure on our schools, hospitals, roads and housing stock.

In every way, it is a bigger risk.

The Remain campaign, made up of the corporate establishment, arrogant Europhile and foreign banks, have set out to terrify us all about life outside the EU. Their "Project Fear" strategy predicts mass unemployment, soaring interest rates and inflation, plummeting house prices, even world war. The Treasury, Bank of England, the IMF and world leaders have all been wheeled out by Downing Street to add their grim warnings.

Nonsense! Years ago the same politicians and economists issued apocalyptic predictions about our fate if we didn't join the euro. Thank God we stopped that.

- [...] We are told we cannot be in the single market without accepting all the rules, free movement of people included. If so, let's leave it and, using our enormous clout as the world's fifth biggest economy, strike great trade deals with the other 85 per cent of the world. And pick and choose the best migrants from the whole world.
- [...] Remain has conducted a deceitful campaign. It has been nasty, cynical, personally abusive and beneath the dignity of Britain.

Our country has a glorious history.

This is our chance to make Britain even greater, to recapture our democracy, to preserve the values and culture we are rightly proud of.

A VOTE FOR LEAVE IS A VOTE FOR A BETTER BRITAIN.

Editorial Team, The Sun, 13 June 2016

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1 COMPREHENSION State the advantages of leaving and the disadvantages of remaining in the EU as mentioned in the text.

VIP FILE

David Cameron

As leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (2010– 2016), David Cameron campaigned for Britain to remain in the EU.



Speech by Prime Minister David Cameron to support 'Remain'

"Good afternoon. We're near the end of a frenetic campaign. And today I want to pause and speak to you very directly, and personally, about the momentous decision that this country faces in just two days' time.

[...] The reason I came into politics was to help people to lead a better life, to get a good job, to earn a fair wage, have the chance to own a home, to provide for your family and for your retirement. That's why the thing I have focussed on most these past six years, in that building, is sorting out our economy.

Now I know I haven't got every decision right. And I know not everyone has been happy with what I've done. But of this I am convinced – indeed, of this, every living
Prime Minister, whether Labour or Conservative, is convinced: Britain is better off inside the EU than out on our own.

At the heart of that is the Single Market – 500 million customers on our doorstep. A source of so many jobs, so much trade, and such a wealth of opportunity for our young people. Leaving the EU would put all of that at risk.

Expert after expert – independent advisers, people whose job it is to warn Prime Ministers – have said it would shrink our economy. In the short term – facing recession. In the medium term – enduring a decade of uncertainty. And in the long term – living with fewer jobs, lower wages and higher prices.

These are risks to our families and we shouldn't take them.

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[...] I know Europe isn't perfect. Believe me, I understand and I see those frustrations. I feel them myself. That's why we negotiated and enhanced our special status. Out of the euro. Keeping our borders. Not involved in ever-closer union. We have the best of both worlds.

So as you take this decision – whether to remain or leave – do think about the hopes and dreams of your children and grandchildren. They know their chances to work, to travel, to build the sort of open and successful society they want to live in, rests on this outcome. And remember: they can't undo the decision we take. If we vote out, that's it. It is irreversible. We will leave Europe – for good.

[...] So, this Thursday, remember who we are as a nation. Remember how far we've come, and how much more we can achieve and, for you, for your family, for the future of our country, vote remain."

David Cameron, 21 June 2016

- **2 COMPREHENSION** State the promises and risks mentioned by Cameron to appeal to the listeners to vote Remain.
- 3 ANALYSIS Analyse the choice of words and argumentative strategies used by The Sun and Cameron to appeal to the people to vote Leave or Remain, respectively. → S4, S10
- **4 EVALUATION** The article by The Sun accuses the Remain campaign (including David Cameron) of having launched a 'Project Fear' which should deter the people to vote 'leave'. Discuss whether the editors of The Sun are right to do so.
- **5 CREATIVE TASK** A With your partner, choose an imaginary topic (e.g. free coffee at school, compulsory volunteer service, etc.) and collect arguments for your view. Then write an appeal for your cause using the same argumentative strategy as The Sun.
- 6 SPEAKING ARR Prepare and hold a discussion whether you support the decision for Brexit. Choose an expert group which is in the centre of the discussion.

 The other students observe the debate and can join it. → \$24.3

FACT FILE

The EU **Single Market** ensures the free movement of goods among its members. Business profits from low costs and access to a wide range of suppliers and consumers. Further the Single Market sets high standards for product safety and the environment.



7 in that building here: Downing Street 10

VIP FILE

Kazuo Ishiguro (*1954) is a renowned author of novels, screenplays and lyrics. His work has been awarded with various prizes including the Nobel Prize in Literature. Together with his family he lives in London.

FACT FILE

Cameron's role

As prime minister,
Cameron faced increasing
Euroscepticism in his
own party and from the
opposition. Therefore
he promised the
British people to hold a
referendum on Britain's
membership in the EU.
Cameron campaigned for
'Remain' – and lost.

B An appeal after the vote

Kazuo Ishiguro on his fears for Britain after Brexit

Read the following article, which was published by the acclaimed novelist Kazuo Ishiquro just one week after the UK referendum in June 2016.

Since last Friday I have been angry. I began by feeling angry towards those who voted Leave, all those who campaigned on that side. Then I felt even more anger towards David Cameron for allowing such a vastly complex, far-reaching, destiny-shaping decision to be made, not through our time-honoured processes of parliamentary democracy, but in a referendum few had demanded, and whose terms and rules (Minimum turnout? Required margin for victory?) had not been debated, so effectively didn't exist. Angry that one of the few genuine success stories of modern history – the transforming of Europe from a slaughterhouse of total war and totalitarian regimes to a much-envied region of liberal democracies living in near-borderless friendship – should now be so profoundly undermined by such a myopic process as took place in Britain last week. I am angry that the UK is now very likely to cease to exist, only two years after the Scottish referendum seemed to secure its future.

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But anger will make a treacherous guide in our current situation, and it is imperative we think and act coolly. We are where we are, and there is still a huge amount left to play for. I believe, in fact, that in the coming weeks, what we face is a fight for the very soul of Britain. If I were a strategist for the far right, I would today be rubbing my hands with excitement: never has there been a better opportunity, at least not since the 1930s, of pushing Little England xenophobia into neo-Nazi racism. All of us who don't wish to see such a development must now do all we can to unite a sharply divided, bewildered, anxious, leaderless nation around its essentially decent heart.

But how?

I can well understand the emotion behind the growing campaign to persuade Parliament somehow to overrule the referendum result. But this, or any other "loophole" strategy, can only lead to disaster. The country will become even more, perhaps definitively divided; the sense of disenfranchisement already keenly felt by many Leave voters will be hugely compounded; above all, any attempt to get round 30 last week's result will present the far right with the greatest recruitment tool they have had in the postwar era.

We cannot afford at this moment to be ruled by anger or by a sense of self-righteousness. We must now accept the result of last week's referendum, and rally around a "Brexit Light" option: a version that continues to allow free movement of people in return for continued access to the single market.

Yes, I am aware that many Leave voters voted that way wanting to stop "uncontrolled immigration". I realise that "taking the country back" and "sovereignty" were for many people just euphemisms for "kick out the migrants". A proportion of these people have, and will always have, an unshakeable hatred of foreigners (including white European ones). They are racists. But many others, I believe, who voted to "control immigration" are decent people who have, over the years, become angry and anxious about their lives, and the prospects for their children's lives, and have come to identify immigration as the root cause of their problems. It is this latter group that must now consider carefully the wider context of that assessment, 45 and decide what next step they really want the country to take.

For what has become rapidly clear is that the Leave camp is not at all united

¹³ myopic lacking foresight, small-minded

²⁹ disenfrachisement not having the right to vote

³⁰ to compound to intensify, to make worse

about the sort of Brexit it has won. Of course, they were never obliged to be.
They are not a party; they had no official manifesto; they have no formal or legal
collective accountability to the nation. (Such is the nature of a referendum, as opposed to parliamentary democracy, which David Cameron chose to abandon.)
Nevertheless, the country will soon have to decide. Almost certainly, the UK will not be allowed access to the single market without retaining the free movement of people across her borders. Many Leave campaigners always knew this would
be so, but allowed their less savoury colleagues to go on enticing the electorate with impossible promises. So we will soon be faced with this question: do we as a nation hate foreigners sufficiently to deny ourselves access to the single market?
This might easily be rephrased as: is Britain too racist to be a leading nation in a modern globalised world? However one puts it, it's a question that will soon need to be resolved because, as we stand, the future PM has no mandate on what sort of Brexit to negotiate.

We need a second referendum not to replay the first, but to define the mandate that comes out of last week's unfocused result. (Having gone down the referendum path, stupid as it was, I can't see it will be acceptable now to try to return to

Westminster decision-making.) This second debate will have to be one that is openly, unambiguously about the trade-off between ending free EU immigration and continued access to the single market. It will be one in which those who campaigned for and voted Leave for non-racist reasons will have the opportunity to stand this time on the opposite side from those who did.

Some may consider it a dangerous gamble to shine a torch so directly on the racist strain within the country if one indeed exists. What if a second referendum produces, effectively, a mandate for racism? What kind of place will this country become then?

I believe here we need to have some faith in the people of Britain.

[...] The Britain I know – and deeply love – is a decent, fair-minded place, readily compassionate to outsiders in need, resistant to hate-stoking agitators from whatever political extreme just as it was in the first half of the 20th century when fascism rampaged across Europe.

If that view has now become outdated, if it has become naive, if today's Britain is one I should no longer recognise as the one I grew up in, then let me at least hear the bad news loud and clear. Let us find out what we're dealing with. Let us find out who we are.

But I don't believe it will come to that. We need a second referendum, for or against a "Brexit Light", that will unite Britain around its traditional humane

instincts. And to isolate the racists who today deludedly believe they have won the backing of the country.

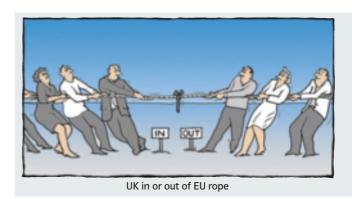
Kazuo Ishiguro, published by *The Financial Times*, 2016

- ⁵⁵ savoury creditable, honourable
- 55 to entice to tempt, to lure, to attract

1 comprehension State the author's reaction to the decision to 'leave'.

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- **2 comprehension** Outline how the author recommends to proceed after the referendum.
- 3 ANALYSIS Examine the author's argumentative strategy to persuade the reader to hold a second referendum. →S4
- 4 EVALUATION Discuss Kazuo Ishiguro's warning that Parliament must not overrule the result of the referendum. → \$14



FACT FILE

No extra money for the NHS

It was a central promise of the Leave campaign that the UK government could save up to £350 million every week after leaving the EU. They proposed giving the money to the NHS (National Health Service). Just a day after the referendum, Leave campaigners admitted that this promise was a mistake. They could not confirm the sum of £350 million anymore.

Deal or no deal

After leaving the EU, the UK and the EU have to agree on a new 'deal' on the movement of goods and people. It is likely that no agreement/deal could lead to high costs in trade and business.

My constituents backed Brexit. But I didn't enter politics to make them poorer

Now we know what leaving means, let's do the right thing and have a second referendum.

In normal times and in all good faith, politicians at a general election present a manifesto they believe will improve people's lives. Politicians of a like mind will largely agree with that manifesto, believing it to be better than the alternative. In government, with all good intentions, the manifesto is implemented – maybe not in its entirety and with compromises being made. That is politics, in normal times.

But these are not normal times. Brexit is different. As an MP who campaigned for Remain during the EU referendum in June 2016, I do not believe I can, in all good faith and with all good intentions, tell my electorate that I have changed my mind. First, my constituents won't believe me. And second, I did not enter politics to knowingly make my constituents poorer. This presents a moral dilemma for Remainsupporting MPs, especially those whose constituents voted to leave.

We now know more about what leaving means than we did two years ago. A \pounds 40bn divorce bill. The loss of jobs in major industries. No extra money for the NHS. The threat of stockpiled food. Lower growth and therefore less money for our public services. Even the government's assessments say there will be a negative impact on the British economy under whatever deal the prime minister negotiates with the EU. These facts are even more stark for my constituents since the northeast of England will be the worst-hit region.

I did not enter politics to make people poorer. I was brought up in a coal-mining community the son of a miner. I know what happens when an industry closes. The unemployment. The poverty. The loss of hope and the years it takes to get back on your feet. Grievances that still play out today and need to be resolved. Brexit may be the symptom but it is not the cure.

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If you voted to remain because all the information and data pointed to your constituents being worse off and all the data since suggests that this is still the case, it is surely wrong for MPs to engineer a position in which the choice is between a deal and no deal – both of which will offer differing levels of economic distress. To be forced into this position is to be avoided at all costs.

More than 200 Labour MPs signed up to keep Britain in the EU during the referendum campaign. The vast majority are still in Parliament and face this dilemma. In many cases their constituents voted to leave. This doesn't let them off the hook. I do not believe we can vote to accept a deal that we know, however it is dressed up, will make our constituents poorer.

I understand that many of my Remain-supporting Labour colleagues representing Leave-voting constituencies feel this acutely. I feel this too. In my constituency, almost three out of five voted Leave.

However, for me, the fundamentals have not changed. Brexit will be bad for Britain, the north-east and my constituents. Therefore, I believe Brexit for any Remain MP, especially those from Leave seats, is now about moral leadership. Do we do what we know is right for the country or not? Do we lead or do we follow? We know as Remain MPs that if leaving the EU was not good for the country in 2016, it is certainly not – after all the Brexit twists and turns – the right thing to do now.

⁸ **MP** Member of Parliament

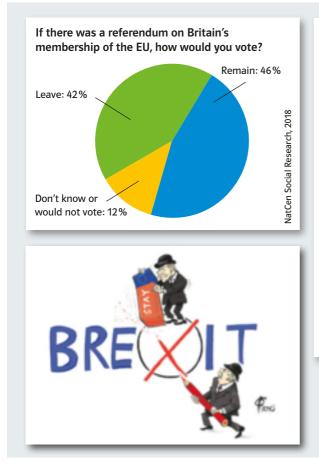
C A moral dilemma

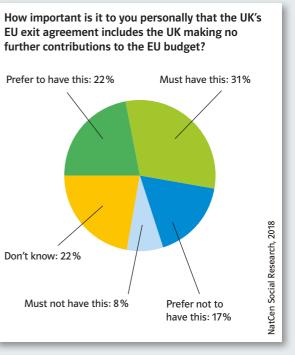
Opinion polls show that the majority of people believe Brexit negotiations are going badly and will result in a bad deal. That is why the British people should have the right to think again, in a national vote on the deal. It is for them to decide. They may agree to proceed with Brexit. They may decide to stop it. Either way the decision will have been made. And we can get on with our lives.

Phil Wilson, Labour MP for Sedgefield, in: The Guardian, 2018

- **1 COMPREHENSION** Describe the moral dilemma the author finds himself in.
- **2 COMPREHENSION** State how the author will decide: Leave or Remain?
- **3 ANALYSIS** *Explain the author's reasons for his decision.*
- **4 CREATIVE TASK** As a member of Wilson's constituency, write a letter to him supporting or criticising his decision. → \$18.1

Attitudes after the referendum





- 5 visuals Analyse the statistics above and relate them to the results on 23 June 2016. → \$27
- 6 EVALUATION Describe the cartoon and analyse its message. Then discuss the pros and cons of a second referendum referring to what you have learnt about this topic. → \$28.2

Speaking mock exams

Your vote matters

1 PRESENTATION A **Partner A:** Describe the picture and examine the atmosphere of the event.



2 PRESENTATION [△] **Partner B:** Describe the picture and examine the message of the protest.



3 DIALOGUE AA Discuss how you can make an informed decision in an election and why it is difficult.

Remain or leave?

1 PRESENTATION A **Partner A:** First describe and analyse the pictures and the chart. Then present the main arguments of the Leave campaign.



UK imports in 2016 Total imports: £590.5 billion UK imports from the EU: £318 billion

UK imports from the rest of the world: £272.5 billion

UK exports in 2016 Total exports: £547.5 billion UK exports to the EU: £235.8 billion

UK exports to the rest of the world: £311.7 billion



Additional country data for trade in goods and services between 1999 and 2016, ONS

2 PRESENTATION A **Partner B:** First describe and analyse the picture and the chart. Then present the main arguments of the Remain campaign.





3 DIALOGUE AA Discuss benefits and challenges of the EU.

Living in a democracy

- **1** warm-up AA Talk with you partner about the American Dream and life in the US. Ask each other and answer the following questions.
 - What famous people from the US do you know?
 - Would you like to visit the US? Why why not?
 - Which place would you like to go to in the US?
 - Why do people emigrate to the US?
- **2 PRESENTATION** [△] **Partner A:** Describe the pictures and examine the people's messages.





3 PRESENTATION [↑] Partner B: Describe the pictures and explain why people immigrate to the US.





4 DIALOGUE ^{AA} Discuss what aspects are important for a well-functioning democracy.

You can refer to:

- an independent media
- independent courts
- right to vote
- equality/protection from discrimination
- respect for each other
- education
- financial security
- etc.

Textquellen

6-7 President Donald J. Trump: "Remarks at a 'Make America Great Again' Rally in Youngstown, Ohio," July 25, 2017; 8-9 Copyright Guardian News & Media Ltd 2018; 10-11 © 2016, Rina Soloveitchik. www.zeit.de; 11 Donald J. Trump via Twitter, 15th November 2018; 12.1 Copyright Guardian News & Media Ltd 2016; 12.2 The Times, 15 June 2016; 12.3 The Sun, 22nd June 2016; 12.4 Daily Express, 1 June 2016; 12.5 Scottish Daily Mail, 25 June 2016, gemeinfrei, public domain, domaine public,; 12.6 Jeff Farrell, Daily Star, 12 May 2016; 12.7 The Daily Star, 25th June 2016; 12.8 The Independent, 15th April 2016; 12.9 The Daily Mirror, 25th June 2016; 13.1+4 Copyright Guardian News & Media Ltd 2018; 13.2+3 Copyright Guardian News & Media Ltd 2016; 13.5+6 ©2016 BBC; 13.7 Copyright Guardian News & Media Ltd 2016; 16 The Sun, 13th June 2016. Licensed through ddp; 17 "Brits don't quit" speech by David Cameron, 21 June 2016 © David Cameron 2016; 18-19 "Kazuo Ishiguro on his Fears for Britain after Brexit" by Kazuo Ishiguro. Published by The Financial Times, 2016. Copyright © Kazuo Ishiguro. Reproduced by permission of the author c/o Rogers, Coleridge & White Ltd., 20 Powis Mews, London W11 1|N.; 20-21 Copyright Guardian News & Media Ltd 2018

Bildquellen

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Bath; 6.1 Getty Images (Andrew Lichtenstein/Corbis), München; 6.2 shutterstock (Evan El-Amin), New York, NY; **6.3** Getty Images (VIEWpress/Corbis), München; 8.1 www.CartoonStock.com (Diskin, Brian), Bath; 11.1 Alamy stock photo (Vicky Barlow), Abingdon, Oxon; 12.1 ShutterStock.com RF (Nerthuz), New York, NY; 13.1 Getty Images Plus/Microstock (calvindexter/DigitalVision Vectors), München; 14.1 shutterstock (Pressmaster), New York, NY; 14.2 shutterstock (Dominik Bruhn), New York, NY; 14.3 shutterstock (Kevin J. Frost), New York, NY; 15.1 CartoonStock Ltd (Madden, Chris), Bath; 15.2 www.CartoonStock.com (Kamensky, Marian), Bath; 16.1 shutterstock (MediaPictures.pl), New York, NY; 17.1 Picture-Alliance (dieKLEINERT.de), Frankfurt; 19.1 www. CartoonStock.com (Cook, Gary), Bath; 21.1+2 Data from: https://whatukthinks.org/, NatCen Social Research, 2018; 21.3 Picture-Alliance (dieKLEINERT.de), Frankfurt; 22.1 shutterstock (Joseph Sohm), New York, NY; 22.2 shutterstock (Gina Power), New York, NY; 23.1 shutterstock (Kevin J. Frost), New York, NY; 23.2 Additional country data for trade in goods and services between 1999 and 2016, ONS; 23.3 Avenue Images GmbH (Corbis RF), Hamburg; 23.4 Alamy stock photo (Keith Ramsey), Abingdon, Oxon; 23.5 Birth and death rates of businesses, UK, 2012 to 2017/ Office for National Statistics; 24.1 Alamy stock photo (Richard Levine), Abingdon, Oxon; 24.2 Getty Images (David McNew), München; 24.3 shutterstock (rSnapshotPhotos), New York, NY; 24.4 shutterstock (Robert Kneschke), New York, NY

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Update 2019 *US politics* und *Brexit*

- Schülermotivierende Materialien zu den aktuellen politischen Entwicklungen im UK und in den USA
- Jeweils angeboten auf Basis- und Leistungsfach-Niveau
- Kontroverse authentische Materialien zur Förderung der politischen Bildung
- Kompaktes Grundwissen
- Vorbereitende Aufgaben zu mündlichen Prüfungen