

Séance 1

Video : Occupy Wall Street Protests

Type of document :

Date :

Source :

Watch the video and focus on one of the following aspects :

- * **Slogans** : write down what the signs read and what people yell

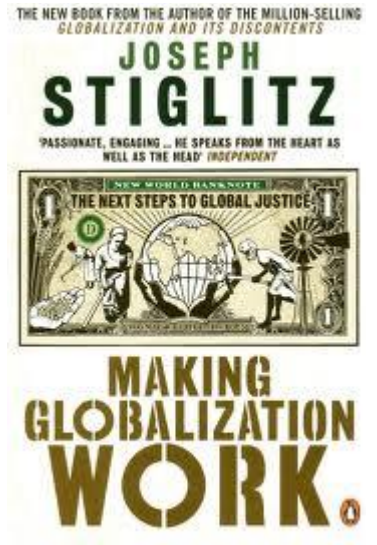
- * **Facts** : note down all the figures you hear (5 numbers) and say what they refer to

- * **Demonstration** : describe the different places, the demonstrators and the type of actions

- * **Journalists** : note down the key ideas developed by the journalists (voice over and presenters)

- * **Interviews** : write down the points made by each of the four interviewees

Listening Comprehension (B1) Séance 2
Making Globalisation Work
An interview of Joseph Stiglitz



You are going to listen to an interview of Joseph Stiglitz, winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics in 2001.

First question

1) What is the first question ?

.....

2) Fill in the blanks: *"In the beginning of, not that long ago, was the that everybody would be as a result of"*
..... there are a lot of"

3) a- What does globalisation increase ?
 b- What does it decrease ?
 c- Who for ?
 d- It leads to:

-
- a large number of facing
- money flowing from the to the

4) a- When was the last round of negotiation ?
 How does he qualify it ?
 b- When was the last development round ?
 What did Europe and the USA do ?
 Did they keep them ?

Second question

5) a- What are the consequences of globalisation in some countries ?
 b- For which countries ?
 c- Fill in the blanks: *"These countries have now access to and has moved of of people out of"*

Séance 2 **Listening Comprehension (B2/C1)**
Making Globalisation Work
An interview of Joseph Stiglitz

You are going to listen to an interview of Joseph Stiglitz, winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics in 2001.

1) Note down the first question to Joseph Stiglitz.

2) Give five points that he made to answer this :

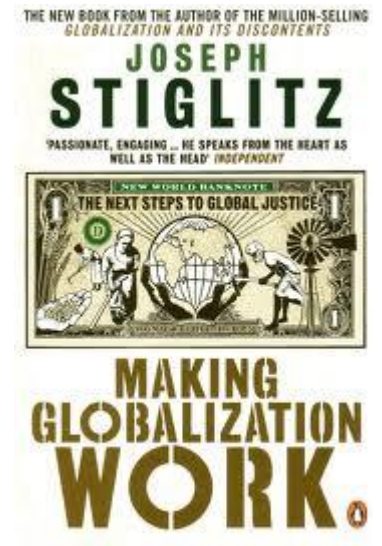
-
-
-
-
-

3) Give the names of two countries which have most benefited from globalisation.

-
-

How ? Give three reasons :

-
-
-



What's globalisation ?

Document 1:

Make a short summary of this document, what did you learn ?

Document 2:

What conclusions can you draw about globalisation?

Document 3:

What are the effects of globalisation?

Now weigh the pros and cons of globalisation

The pros	The cons

Séance 3 : What is globalisation ?

1 What is globalization?

Piste 12



Colombo Express operates out of the homeport of Hamburg, and will mainly travel from Europe to Southeast Asia and back in 56-day round-trips.

We now communicate, travel and share each other's cultures on a world scale. We also trade¹ more than ever before, transporting products around the world in hours or days. Factors influencing globalization include:

Communications. TV, telephony and the Internet have allowed information and ideas to travel quickly. UK businesses can have a call centre² in India answering calls from UK customers.

Transport has become cheap and quick. British people now holiday all over the world. People from


other countries can travel to the UK to seek³ better-paid jobs. Businesses can ship⁴ products and raw materials⁵ all over the world more easily – making products and services from all over the globe available to UK customers.

Trade liberalisation. Laws restricting trade and foreign investment have been relaxed⁶. Some governments even offer grants and tax incentives⁷ to persuade foreign companies to invest in their country. The idea that there should be no restrictions on trade between countries is known as free trade.

Although globalization is probably helping to create more wealth in developing countries, it is not helping to close the gap⁸ between the world's poorest countries and the world's richest.

From: www.bbc.co.uk

1. trade (v.): *faire du commerce* 2. call centre: *centre d'appels*
3. seek: *(re)chercher* 4. ship (v.): *expédier* 5. raw materials: *matières premières* 6. relax (a law): *assouplir (une loi)* 7. tax incentives: *des avantages fiscaux* 8. close the gap: *combler le fossé*

 **Read and react. Work with your partner. Ask each other full questions.**

1. Information travels more quickly today. Why?
2. People travel more? Why?
3. The amount of trade has increased. Why?


Language Bank.....

Sentence patterns: It is thanks to... that ...

- Phoning from ... to ... is now possible
- Travelling to ... is affordable to many people
- A lot of people can afford to ...
- Shipping goods from ... to ... is easier thanks to...

Words & collocations: because of • owing to/thanks to • cheap flights • charter flights • low-cost companies • send e-mails • telecommunications satellites • container ships

2 The world in a cup

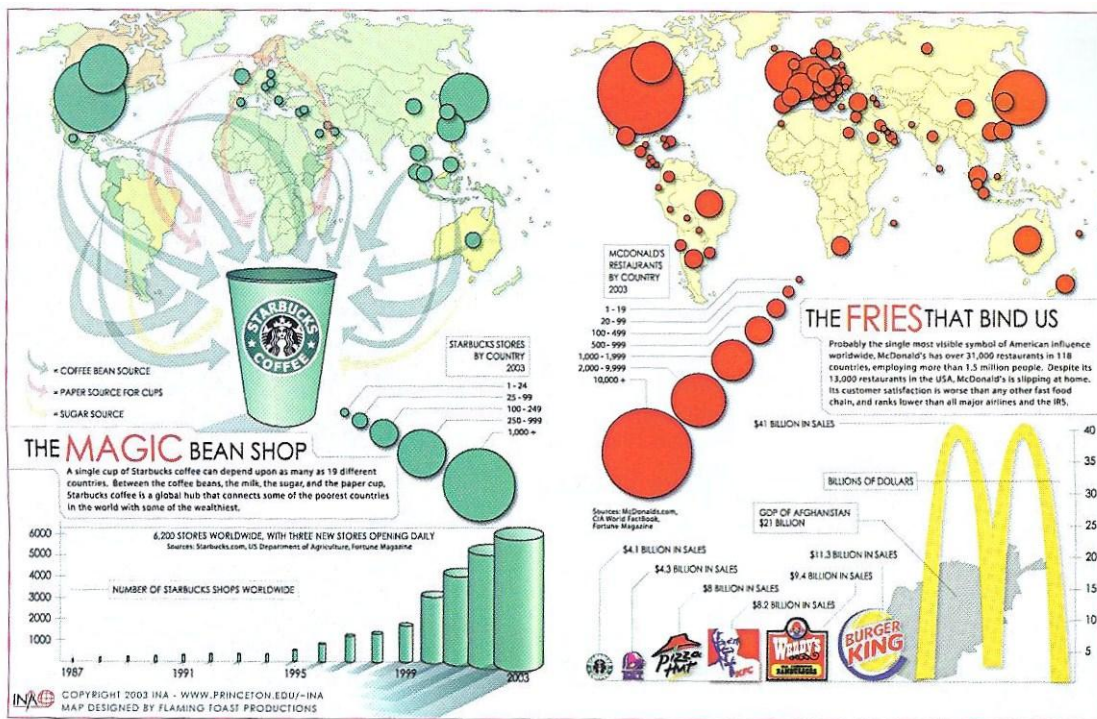
 **a. Observe the map. Locate the countries that are connected by Starbucks as suppliers or customers.**

 **b. Do the same for fast food chains. What can you observe?**

Language Bank.....

Words & collocations: work with

- do business with • import
- ingredients • have coffee shops
- Canada • Brazil • Argentina • Peru
- Chile • Europe • Greece • Egypt
- Russia • Arab countries • China
- Indonesia • Thailand • Australia
- New Zealand • World wide



3 The pros and cons

Piste 13

Globalization: the pros

- Inward investment by TNCs helps countries by providing new jobs and skills for local people.
- TNCs bring wealth and foreign currency to local economies when they buy local resources, products and services. The extra money created by this investment can be spent on education, health and infrastructure.
- The sharing of ideas, experiences and lifestyles of people and cultures. People can experience foods and other products not previously available in their countries.
- Globalization increases awareness of events in far-away parts of the world. For example, the world was quickly made aware of the 2004 tsunami tidal wave and sent help rapidly in response.
- Globalization may help to make people more aware of global issues such as deforestation and global warming – and alert them to the need for sustainable development.

a. Read the list of arguments in favour of globalization. Find as many examples for each point as you can.

b. Listen to the list of arguments against globalization. Take down notes and debate with your partner.

Guidelines: outsourcing • relocation • jobs lost • exploitation of cheap labour • polluting industries • junk food • negative influence on national and local cultures

Web Search

Search the Web for the point of view on globalization of organizations like Greenpeace, Amnesty International or The World Wildlife Fund.

Task Prepare a leaflet to present one of these organizations.

Language Bank

Sentence patterns: Among the negative impacts ... there is / are... • Some companies like (BP) have + V-en ... (PP) • Others like ... have + V-en • I agree / don't agree that ...

Words & collocations: MEDCs: More Economically Developed Countries • **out**source: *externaliser* • **re**locate: *délocaliser* • set up plants / factories: *monter des usines* • **labour**: *la main d'œuvre* • **drown out**: *noyer* • **consume** junk food • be bad for sth • threaten to: *menacer* • **cultural diversity** • **national cultures** • **languages**

> The Corporate American Flag by Adbusters. (ADBUSTERS VIA THE NEW YORK TIMES)

The Occupy movement

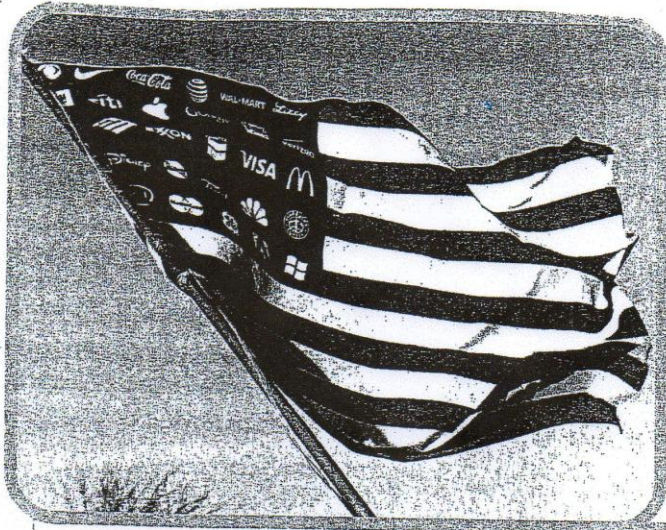
The first Occupy protest to be widely covered was Occupy Wall Street in New York City, taking place on September 17, 2011. By October 9, Occupy protests had taken place or were ongoing in over 95 cities across 82 countries, and over 600 communities in the United States. As of December 1 the Meetup page "Occupy Together" listed 2,686 Occupy communities worldwide. ●

protest manifestation / widely covered large-ment couvert par les médias / to be ongoing être en cours, se dérouler (actuellement) / worldwide dans le monde entier.

We are the 99%

We are the 99% is a political slogan of "Occupy" protesters. It was originally launched as a Tumblr blog page in late August of 2011 by an anonymous 28-year-old New York activist named "Chris." It refers to the vast concentration of wealth among the top 1% of income earners compared to the other 99%, and indicates that most people are paying the price for the mistakes of a tiny minority. The phrase was picked up as a unifying slogan by the Occupy movement.

originally initialement / to launch lancer / wealth richesse(s) / the top 1% of income earners les 1% représentant les plus hauts revenus / tiny infime / phrase expression / to pick up choisir.



"This is like the Tea Party—only it's real... By the time this is over, it will make the Tea Party look like... a tea party." Former Democratic U.S. Senator Russ Feingold

over terminé / tea party réunion pour prendre le thé / former ancien.

The Colonists' Protest

In 1765, the British government decided to tax the thirteen English colonies to help pay for the French and Indian War. The government ordered a stamp tax. This tax required colonists to pay to get a stamp on newspapers, calendars, and every sort of public paper. People were upset at having to pay the tax, but they were even more disturbed by the way the government had created the tax. Every colony had an elected assembly led by a governor. Normally, colonial money matters were decided by the assembly in each colony. But this time, no assembly had been allowed to help decide. Angry assembly members, such as Patrick Henry, protested in every colony.

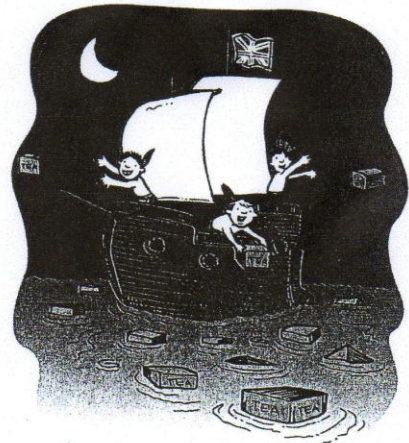
The British, surprised by this outcry, decided to take back, or repeal, the law that created the stamp tax. However, they soon passed the Townsend Acts, which taxed many goods such as cloth, glass, and tea sent from England to the colonies.

Colonists, especially in Boston, objected. Anger grew when British soldiers shot several protesting colonists in what was named the Boston Massacre. Samuel Adams led a secret society of colonial men called the Sons of Liberty in anti-British acts. Disguised as Indians, the Sons of Liberty threw tea off a British ship into the harbor water. This event became known as the Boston Tea Party.

Neighbors divided depending on their view of England. Loyalist Tories were supporters of the British government, and Patriots protested against it. As war threatened, many Tories left the colonies and moved north to Canada. Some who remained in the colonies were covered with hot tar and feathers by unruly Patriots.

The colonies drew together under the British threat. In 1774, they organized the first Continental Congress, with delegates from all the colonies (except, at first, Georgia). As the Revolutionary War began, this congress served as the first form of American government.

Boston Tea Party

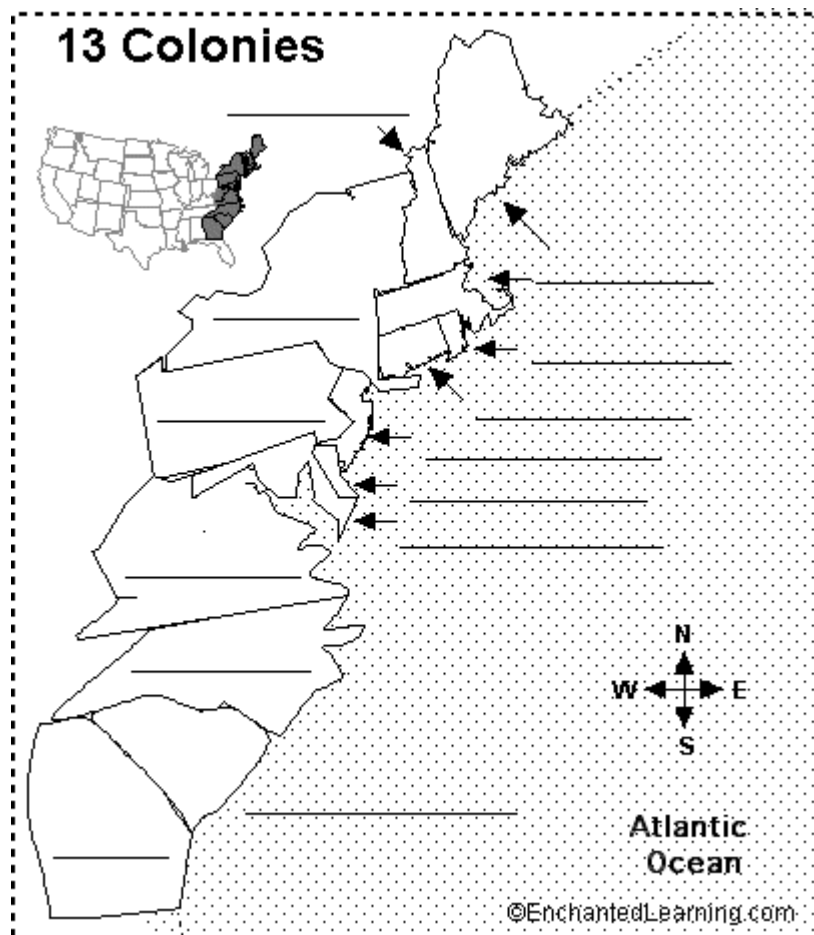




The Boston Tea Party

Fill in this map with the names of the first original colonies :

Connecticut Delaware Georgia Maryland Massachusetts	New Hampshire New Jersey New York North Carolina	Rhode Island Pennsylvania South Carolina Virginia
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Lines 1 to 8 What was the thing that most upset the colonists ?

Lines 9 to 17 What did the colonists object to?

Lines 18 to 25

- 1) Who did the Tories side with ?
- 2) Can you therefore guess which current political party is sometimes referred to as the
Tory Party in Britain?

Lines 26 to 32

The Boston Tea Party triggered off many events. Remember your history classes and match these dates with the events that correspond to them:

- a- Proclamation of independence
- b- Boston Tea Party
- c- Beginning of the revolutionary war of independence
- d- End of the revolutionary war of independence
- e- First Congress is organised

Dates	Key events
December 16 th , 1773	
1774	
1775	
1776	
1783	

Séance 4

1. The Branding of the Occupy movement

Work on this document in groups of four. Read this document and complete the chart (don't forget to highlight in different colours the elements which helped you in the text).

Draw Kalle Lasn's portrait	
Write the chronology of his different actions	
Introduce the magazine and its particularities	
Names given in the text and the details concerning them	
Opponents and their arguments	
Supporters and their arguments	

2. The Tea Party Movement

Read the following document and complete the chart, don't forget to highlight in the text the elements which enabled you to answer, choose a colour for each topic.

Definition of Tea Party. Who started this protest? What are they protesting against?	
Define the Tea Party protesters	
Explain what they are claiming	
Quote all the criticisms concerning Obama	
Who are the opponents of this movement and what do they blame them for?	
Who is helping this new action and how? What is the final target of this movement?	

Homework :

- * The Corporate American Flag by Adbusters
Find it on the net and read about it. You must be able to tell the class.
- * What happened on September 17th, 2011 in New York City? (Reasons/place/effect)
- * What happened on December 1st, 2011 on the net?
- * Give the definition of the 99%. Who are they?
- * What was the Boston Tea Party in 1773? What happened and what was the trigger event?

The branding of the Occupy movement

THE NEW YORK TIMES BY WILLIAM YARDLEY

The branding of the Occupy movement

longtime de longue date / editor rédacteur en chef, directeur de publication / anger colère / to feed, fed, fed alimenter / demonstration manifestation / to brand donner un nom de marque.

2. uprising soulèvement, rébellion / to shake, shook, shaken ébranler / to struggle lutter, être en proie aux difficultés / ripe mûr, ici venu / to tap exploiter / to simmer mijoter, couler.

3. hash tag mot-clic (hash #, dièse) / to twirl tourmoyer / atop (juché) sur / bull taureau.

4. tool outil, instrument, moyen / meme même, élément, phénomène, concept repris et décliné en masse sur internet / to coin inventer, forger / to wage a war mener une guerre.

5. to skewer embrocher, ici brocarder / corporate America (grandes) entreprises américaines / subvertising (= subvert subversion + advertising publicité) détournement publicitaire, satire ou parodie des campagnes publicitaires et politiques afin d'en déformer et critiquer le message original / deftly adroitement, habilement / to mock railler / ad pub / sick malade / complete with avec / gown blouse (longue), ici chemise (d'hôpital) / IV (= intravenous) drip goutte-à-goutte, poche à perfusion / to rely on s'appuyer sur, dépendre de.

6. spread propagation / substantial important / step up progrès / somehow d'une manière ou d'une autre / balance équilibre / grass roots (de la) base (militants), populaire / bottom-up ascendant, de la base vers le sommet / top-down descendant, du sommet vers la base.

7. to flee, fled, fled fuir / department ministère / to shift to passer à.

8. to land débarquer / to butt heads with affronter, s'opposer à / logging abattage / old-growth ancien.

9. nonprofit organisation à but non lucratif / basement sous-sol / downtown centre ville (de) / circulation diffusion, tirage / newsstand kiosque.

10. vivid vivant; coloré / snippet extrait, passage / glossy sur papier glacé, luxueux / fake faux, pseudo / to map tracer / route voie / journey parcours / issue numéro.

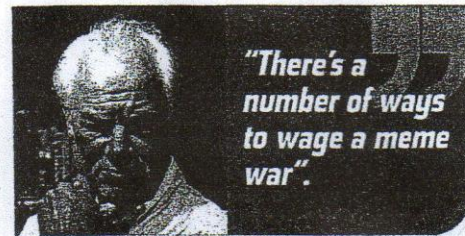
11. former ancien / associate editor rédacteur en chef adjoint.

12. sweatshop atelier où la main-d'oeuvre est exploitée / facility installation, usine / binge excès, frénésie.

VANCOUVER, British Columbia - Kalle Lasn, the longtime editor of the anti-consumerist magazine Adbusters, did not invent the anger that has been feeding the Occupy Wall Street demonstrations across the United States.

But he did brand it.

2. Last summer, as uprisings shook the Middle East and much of the world economy struggled, Lasn and several colleagues at the small magazine felt the moment was ripe to tap simmering frustration on the American political left.



▲ Kalle Lasn, the editor and co-founder of Adbusters magazine. (UM LABOUNTY VIA THE NEW YORK TIMES)

3. On July 13, he and his colleagues created a new hash tag on Twitter: #occupywallstreet. They made a poster showing a ballerina twirling atop the muscular sculptured bull near Wall Street in Manhattan.

4. For some people they were just words and images. For Lasn, they were tools to begin remodeling the "mental environment," to create a new "meme," the term coined by the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins for a kind of transcendent cultural message. "There's a number of ways to wage a meme war," Lasn said in an interview. "I believe that one of the most powerful things of all is aesthetics."

Change the world?

5. Lasn, who helped found Adbusters in 1989, had spent much of his career skewering corporate America, creating "subvertising" campaigns such as "Joe Chemo," which deftly mocked the Joe Camel cigarette ads of the 1990s. (The magazine even sent out a sick-looking Joe Chemo mascot, complete with hospital gown and IV drip, to events that relied on tobacco sponsorship money.)

6. But the spread of the Occupy protests marks a substantial step up for the magazine and Lasn. The protests, he hopes, will "somehow change the power balance and make the world into a much more grass-roots, bottom-up kind of a place rather than the top-down Wall Street mega-corporate-driven system we now have." "This," he added, "is the kind of dream many Occupiers have."

7. Lasn, 69, was born in Estonia but his family fled near the end of World War II, when he was 2. His family lived in refugee camps in Europe before moving to Australia. He worked for several years for the Australian defense department, before moving to Japan and shifting to advertising.

8. By the 1970s, he had landed in Vancouver, disenchanted with what he felt was the moral detachment of the advertising industry. After working as a documentary filmmaker - and butting heads with the Canadian government and media over logging practices in old-growth forests - he founded Adbusters in 1989.

The mag

9. The magazine, which is owned by the nonprofit Adbusters Media Foundation, is published out of the basement of a house south of downtown Vancouver and claims a circulation of about 70,000, mostly from newsstand sales outside Canada. It has had prominent writers, such as Christopher Hedges and Bill McKibben.

10. But with its vivid artwork and photography, snippets of poetry and glossy fake ads with slogans like "Everything is fine, keep shopping," the magazine does not map the route to an alternative, grass-roots world as much as it evokes the journey there. It is less a manifesto than an ironic brochure, for \$8.95 an issue.

11. "It's an art object," said Deborah Campbell, a former associate editor. "When you look at art it speaks to you in different ways, and some of it is intellectual and some of it is provocative and some of it is a sense or a feeling."

12. Before Occupy Wall Street, Adbusters had many smaller campaigns, including "Buy Nothing Day." For years it has sold Blackspot shoes made in an anti-sweatshop facility in Pakistan. Lasn has written books, including "Culture Jam: How to Reverse America's Suicidal Consumer Binge - and Why We Must."

13. It has struck some people as strange that a Canadian magazine helped start the Occupy movement, but Adbusters is only based in Canada, not focused on it. "Everybody knows it's here but it's not a local magazine," said David Beers, the editor of The Tyee, an online news website based here. "He isn't a local figure. It's not like he's on the morning radio. You never hear about the guy unless he's in a fight with someone."

Arguments

14. Lasn has a lot of fights. The attention brought by the Occupy protests has revived questions about his views on Jews and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In 2004, Adbusters published an article claiming that a large percentage of neoconservatives behind U.S. foreign policy were Jewish.

15. As a result, Lasn was called anti-Semitic, a charge he denies. He remains incensed that the incident was mentioned in a recent column by David Brooks, a New York Times columnist, and has been involved in a discussion with the paper's letters page about how he can address it.

16. "There's not an anti-Semitic bone in my body," he said, adding, "If we're going to start wars based on the power of neocons' influence in foreign policy, I think people should know who they are."

17. He has also been criticized for playing off the image-oriented culture that dominates advertising, instead of rejecting it outright. But Lasn said he believes in the power of media to subvert traditional power structures.

18. "If you're able to come up with a very sexy sounding hash tag like we did for Occupy Wall Street and you come up with a very magical looking poster that seems to have something very profound about it, these devices push these memes, these metamemes, into the public imagination in a very powerful way," he said.

Critics

19. Some critics contend that Lasn believes his work is more influential than it is. "There's nothing wrong with making fun of ads, but it's not revolutionary," said Joseph Heath, a professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto, who wrote critically of Adbusters in a 2004 book, "Nation of Rebels." "I don't think that has revolutionary political implications, whereas Adbusters thinks it has revolutionary implications."

20. "If you want to do politics," Heath added, "you have to do good old-fashioned politics." Now, surprisingly, Heath said Adbusters is actually doing politics. "This is all a positive development, in that Adbusters is doing more of what it should be doing," he said. "They're doing something that has obvious political value."

21. Of course, not everyone is certain of that. Besides the right to pitch their tents in public parks for as long as they wish, some people ask, precisely what do the protesters want? An early version of the poster with the bull and the ballerina even asks the question, "What is our one demand?"

Memes

22. Lasn has long believed that Wall Street and vast corporate wealth have sent the U.S. into what he calls "terminal decline." But unlike many people involved in the protests, he also has specific goals he would like to see reached. He wants to see, among other things, "a Robin Hood tax" on all financial transactions, a restoration of the Glass-Steagall Act that erected barriers between banking and investing, a ban on certain types of high-frequency trading and the overturning of the Supreme Court ruling in the Citizens United case.

The magazine does not map the route to an alternative, grass-roots world as much as it evokes the journey there.

23. Lasn said that he and Micah White, a senior editor who helped launch Occupy Wall Street, are in regular contact with some prominent protesters but insists they have no interest in a continuing leadership role, nor is it their job to speak for the movement, even if Adbusters would like some credit for starting it.

24. "This is what Adbusters has done for the past 20 years, to come up with these memes and to propagate them," he said. "That's what it's all about: May the best memes win." ☺

13. to strike, struck, struck frapper / to focus on (se) concentrer, (se) focaliser sur / guy type, homme / unless sauf si / fight lutte, conflit.

14. argument querelle, différend / to revive ranimer, relancer / Jew Juif / Jewish juif.

15. charge accusation / to deny réfuter / incensed furieux, ulcéré / column article, chronique / letters page (page du) courrier des lecteurs / to address s'attaquer à, répondre.

16. bone os, not a bone pas une once (de) / neocon néo-conservateur.

17. to play off profiter de, jouer sur / outright complètement / to subvert subvertir, ébranler, bouleverser.

18. to come, came, come up with trouver, imaginer / device moyen, artifice, procédé.

19. to contend affirmer / to make, made, made fun of se moquer de / critically de manière critique / whereas alors que.

20. old-fashioned traditionnel, classique / actually en réalité, en fait / obvious manifeste, évident.

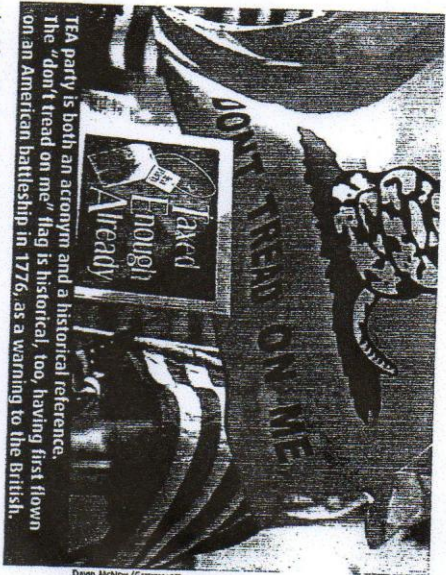
21. to pitch planter, dresser.

22. wealth richesse, opulence / terminal decline agonie, phase terminale / unlike contrairement à, à la différence de / goal but, objectif / Robin Hood Robin des bois / ban interdiction / high-frequency trading transactions à haute-fréquence (exécution à grande vitesse de transactions financières faites par des algorithmes informatiques) / overturning abrogation, annulation / ruling décision.

23. senior editor rédacteur en chef / to launch lancer / credit mérite, reconnaissance.

The Tea Party Movement

What is the Tea Party movement? Romani Huret introduces the populist movement which, shortly before the mid-term elections, one (albeit controversial) national poll said had more positive ratings than either one of the traditional parties.



TEA party is both an acronym and a historical reference. The "don't tread on me" flag is historical, too, having first flown on an American battleship in 1776, as a warning to the British.

DAVID MCNEVY/GETTY IMAGES

1 In early 2009, conservative Americans across the country started holding "tea parties." The name stands for "Taxed Enough Already" and refers to the Boston Tea Party, one of the opening acts of the American Revolution. They protest the use of tax dollars for Obama's liberal social programs, including the new health-insurance program. Throughout the country, conservatives vented their frustration against federal taxes on April 15th, 2009, holding more than 750 Tax Day Tea Parties in large and small cities from coast to coast. Fox News covered the events all day, reporting live from around the country.

2 According to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll released in April 2010, the 18 percent of Americans who identify themselves as Tea Party supporters tend to be Republican, white, male, married and over 45. They are wealthier and better-educated than the general public. Tea Partiers hold more conservative views on a range of issues than Republicans generally. Nevertheless, their overall demographics are a fair reflection of the American public. They represent a new stage for the grassroots conservative movement, which helped shape American politics since 1945.

3 **What Do they Want?** According to polls and interviews, Tea Partiers tap into traditional populist concerns. When asked what they are angry about, Tea Partiers answer: the recent health-care overhaul; government spending, and a deep-roored feeling that their opinions are not represented in Washington. Dynamic and eloquent taxpayer Elvin Trasher, 66, declared, "The only way they will stop the spending is to have a revolt on their hands. I'm sick and tired of them wasting money and doing what our founders never intended to be done with the federal government."

4 Tea Party supporters tend to unite around fiscal conservatism and a belief that the federal government has overstepped its constitutional powers. Most of them hate Obama and believe his values are un-American and socialist. They also tend to think that the Obama administration favors Blacks over Whites. "Obama-munism is communism," proclaimed one activist at the "Restore Honor"

rally in Washington D.C. on August 28th 2010, the anniversary of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech... a "tribute" that many felt was a distortion of the legacy of the civil-rights movement.

5 In July, the NAACP passed a resolution at its national convention condemning the nation's newest political movement for racism in its ranks. But most Tea Partiers deny racism, claiming instead a strong sense of anxiety about moral and cultural decay. "We've lost respect in the world. We are going broke. The American dream is dying, and our social and cultural fabric is unraveling," said Rep. Mike Pence R-Ind., who spoke at the Washington Tea Party rally. "People are scared. If we do not succeed in November, all that once was good and great about this country could someday be gone."

6 Activists or Puppets?

As with many conservative movements in the past, Tea Party-ism is less spontaneous than it seems. It benefits from corporate money; ideologically dedicated media — including press, radio and cable television outlets eager to tout its existence; and elected officials whose votes in support of the movement's positions are absolutely reliable, as those officials eschew traditional bipartisan negotiation and compromise.

7 Billionaire media tycoon Rupert Murdoch and even richer brothers David and Charles Koch bankroll the movement. They are the latest incarnation of what the historian Kim Phillips-Fein labeled "invisible Hands" in her prescient 2009 book of that title. Some 30-odd conservative organizations, support the Tea Party movement. No matter how well-trained they are to face the media, members of these organizations claim to be ordinary citizens. "We are your everyday, average, churchgoing families, we represent the majority of people in this nation, and we're ready to take back our government," said Pam Pinkston of Fair Oaks, California, one of about 4,000 attendees at Sacramento's Tea Party rally.

8 For many pundits and politicians, the mid-term elections of 2010 was considered a decisive step for the future of the movement.

9 Tea Partiers surprised most political commentators when their candidates began beating out more established — and more-moderate — candidates in the Republican primaries. Rand Paul, a Tea Party candidate for Kentucky's open Senate seat in 2010, easily won the Republican primary, delivering a significant blow to the Republican establishment. In Alaska, Joe Miller became the fifth Tea Party insurgent to win a GOP



Christine O'Donnell

In a surprise upset, O'Donnell won the Republican primary in Delaware. Aside from an uncanny resemblance to her mentor, Sarah Palin, O'Donnell is best known for her evangelical Christian stance in favor of teaching evolution and against both pre-marital sex and masturbation. In September, 2010, she gave a speech in which she said that, "They call us wacky, they call us wingnuts, we call us (sic) 'We the People'."



Glenn Beck

The organizer of the "Restore Honor" rally has a nationally syndicated radio program and a show on Fox News. Although it was attended by a typical Tea Party crowd (white people, dressed in red, white and blue, flaunting tea bags and carrying "Don't Tread on Me" flags), many of the speeches focused more on religion than taxes, and there were several black speakers, including Martin Luther King's niece.

Senate nomination. So far this election season, the Tea Party has brought a huge amount of unexpected energy into the campaign, and it could drive sufficient Republican turnout to become a major and perhaps decisive factor in many races. On the other hand, some more moderate Republicans may be driven by Tea Party extremists into abstaining, or even voting Democratic. As of writing, it is too early to say if the Tea Party is a political force with real staying power. ■

Dirty hippies. Lazy losers. These phrases capture the essence of the conservative reaction to the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) protests.

To be sure, conservatives have raised some legitimate concerns about the protests- such as the presence and influence of anarchists or communists, and instances of boorish behavior that have sometimes crossed the line into criminality. It's also easy to dismiss protesters who often can't articulate precisely what they hope to achieve.

But criticizing the Occupiers isn't a particularly useful exercise. Over the past two years, we've witnessed the emergence of a mass protest movement on the political right- the Tea Party- and now a similar phenomenon on the left. One is aimed at the federal government, the other at our economic system. Their emergence is linked. Both are symptoms of a new political volatility fueled by the growing desperation and despair of average Americans. They are the predictable results of an increasingly dysfunctional political and economic system that no longer seems to work for, and which appears increasingly distant from, ordinary people.



R.J. Matson / St. Louis Post-Dispatch (click to view our Daily Cartoons)

Economically, America has become a very unequal society.

According to a paper by Michael Norton and Dan Ariely titled "Building a Better America" that was published earlier this year in *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, the top 20 percent controls more than 80 percent of the nation's wealth. In contrast, the bottom 60 percent accounts for less than 10 percent. Even worse, the lowest 40 percent are so undercapitalized that their shares amount, collectively, to less than 1 percent. It is as if they do not even exist.

Given such statistics, it's not surprising that America's Gini coefficient (a measure of inequality) is more characteristic of developing world economies than those of our industrial-democracy peers in Europe and Asia.

Moreover, the reality of wealth distribution stands in sharp contrast to our perception of how things ought to be. When asked, Americans prefer a more equal society in which everyone has a share. The growing dissonance between our ideals and our reality fuels legitimate anger and perceptions of injustice.

If America was a ship, she'd be so top-heavy that she'd capsize even in mild weather- and we're caught at sea in the midst of a gale. Seen in this light, OWS and the Tea Party are both signs that the vast majority of us down in steerage are becoming increasingly restless as our perception of our own peril grows. This is coupled with a dawning realization that the ship's officers (politicians and the federal government) and the wealthy denizens of the promenade deck are essentially indifferent to our fate.

And make no mistake about it- we are locked in steerage.

Opportunity is part of the American dream. We tell ourselves that we are a society where individuals rise and fall according to their own merit. This vision of America can be seen in conservative responses to OWS. The protesters are lazy- they should go get jobs. If they are unemployed, it's their own fault, and attributable to some character defect rather than to any systemic flaws. Herman Cain captured the essence of this line of reasoning when he said, "[d]on't blame Wall Street, don't blame the big banks. If you don't have a job and you're not rich, blame yourself!"

Actually, inequality in America isn't largely a function of individual responsibility or merit. Despite our mythology of opportunity, we are in fact one of the most closed societies in the industrialized world- one where the accident of birth is often, to a disturbing degree, determinative of an individual's economic attainment. Indeed, among developed nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the [United States ranks third from the bottom in terms of intergenerational economic mobility](#), above only Italy and the United Kingdom. As a result, you have a much better chance of moving from the bottom quartile to the top one in places like Denmark than you do in America.

Pretending these problems don't exist won't make them go away. Even worse, the inequalities described above are inherently destabilizing to our society- they undermine the legitimacy of our political and economic systems and produce the civic despair, fear, and anger that stokes the fires of protest and unrest.

Rather than laughing off the OWS protests, people of good will across the political spectrum should examine what has gone wrong in our society, why it has gone wrong, and what we can do to fix it. The fate of our nation turns on the answers we find.

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Michael Stafford is a former Republican Party officer and the author of "An Upward Calling."

Lines 1 to 11

- 1) What are the two movements alluded to?
 -
 -
- 2) What are their political orientations?
- 3) List three derogatory expressions used by the Conservatives to criticize the Occupiers.
 -
 -
 -
- 4) Name the targets of the two movements.
- 5) Right? Wrong? The two movements have opposite origins. Justify your answer.
- 6) What does the author blame for the birth of these movements?
- 7) Working with words Find the equivalents of these words in this part of the text:
 - a- rustre/grossier =
 - b- écarter/rejeter =
 - c- exprimer clairement =
 - d- alimenter =
 - e- moyen (adj.) =

Lines 12 to 22

- 1) Fill in this chart :

Percentage of people	Amount of wealth

- 2) Pick out two sentences expressing amazing facts about America's economy:
 - Line :
 - Line :
- 3) What may explain people's anger and feeling of injustice?
- 4) Think and react!
Can you think of a modal auxiliary that has almost the same meaning as "ought to" (line 20)?
- 4) Working with words Find the equivalents of these words in this part of the text:
 - a- inégal =
 - b- ne pas être doté de fonds suffisants =
 - c- actions (bourse) =
 - d- s'élever à =
 - e- pairs (noun) =
 - f- part/morceau =

Lines 23 to 33

1) Lines 23 to 27

a- « If America was a ship... » (line 23)

Pick out six elements that make up an extended metaphor :

-
-
-
-
-
-

b- How powerful is this metaphor?

2) Line 29 "Opportunity is part of the American Dream."

Apart from opportunity, which other values do you associate the American Dream with?

3) a- According to conservative Americans, who is to blame for unemployment and poverty?

b- Try to imagine what advice a conservative American could give to a Wall Street protester. Use the relevant modals or equivalents.

4) Working with words Find the equivalents of these words in this part of the text:

a- déséquilibré =

b- chavirer =

c- doux =

d- coup de vent =

e- agité/indocile =

f- croissant (adj.) =

g- habitants =

h- pont promenade =

i- problème/défaut =

Lines 34 to 46

1) Lines 34-35 « ... our mythology of opportunity. »

a- What does the word "opportunity" imply in the context of American history?

b- To what extent does the word "mythology" undermine the word "opportunity"?

1) Michael Stafford admits that the American society is a society "where the accident of

birth is often [...] determinative of an individual's economic attainment."

a- How do you understand "the accident of birth"?

b- Which philosophical theory does it refer to?

4) According to Michael Stafford, what produces movements such as **Occupy Wall Street**?

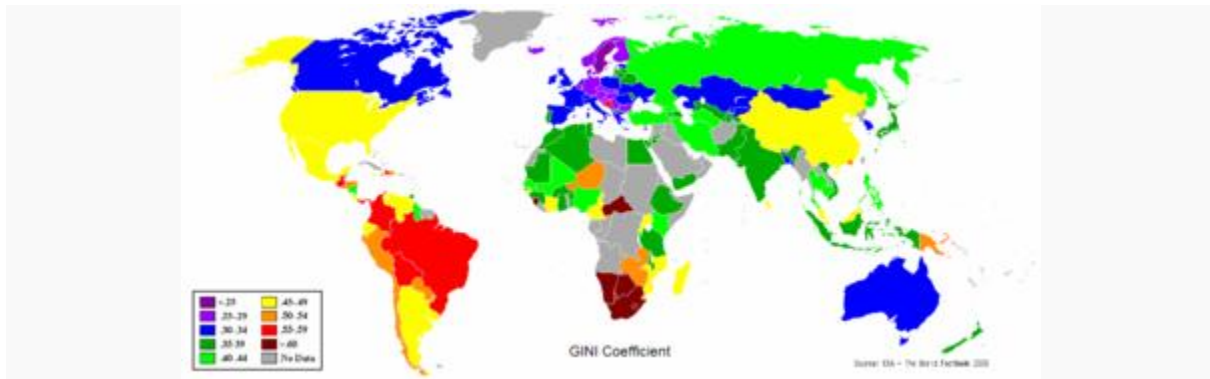
General assessment

- 1) How would you define the general tone of this article?

- 2) What do the various movements : Occupy Wall Street in the USA, les Indignés in France, los Indignados in Spain, Occupy Dame Street in Dublin, Occupy London in England, reveal about the state of our Western societies?

- 3) Comment on the choice of the headline of this article.

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia



Gini-coefficient of national income distribution around the world (using 2009 info)

The **Gini coefficient** (also known as the **Gini index** or **Gini ratio**) is a [measure of statistical dispersion](#) developed by the [Italian statistician and sociologist Corrado Gini](#) and published in his 1912 paper "Variability and Mutability" ([Italian: Variabilità e mutabilità](#)).

The Gini coefficient measures the inequality among values of a [frequency distribution](#) (for example levels of income). A Gini coefficient of zero expresses perfect equality where all values are the same (for example, where everyone has an exactly equal income). A Gini coefficient of one (100 on the percentile scale) expresses maximal inequality among values (for example where only one person has all the income).

It has found application in the study of inequalities in disciplines as diverse as [sociology](#), [economics](#), [health science](#), [ecology](#), [chemistry](#), [engineering](#) and [agriculture](#). It is commonly used as a measure of inequality of [income](#) or [wealth](#). Worldwide, Gini coefficients for income range from approximately 0.23 (Sweden) to 0.70 (Namibia) although not every country has been assessed.



October 10th, 2011

C Argumentation

There are certain phrases that are commonly used in debates and other types of argumentation.

a. Read the following extract from a debate about the effects of globalisation.

- A: Globalisation has potential benefits for everyone, you see.
- B: Don't tell me you believe all the people in poor and rich countries have improved their standards of living over the last ten years!
- A: Well, unfortunately not all of them but you can't deny many of them have. Talking about the benefits of globalisation, I want to make another point: don't you think that it has enabled people to work together? Take the internet, for example...
- B: There's no question about that. I mean, I don't disagree with the advantages of the internet. The world clearly is smaller because of the information technology revolution. I don't deny the benefits of all of that. The question is: Who will receive those benefits? People in our country?
- A: Of course they will! You should read the last data about outsourcing: they clearly show it will actually benefit our economy.
- B: Really? You know perfectly well that we have no reliable data to have a rational discussion about the impact of outsourcing on our economy.

b. Underline those expressions in the text which could be used elsewhere in other debates.

c. Identify their function by writing them down under the correct heading in the table below.

to express agreement	to raise objections	to persuade someone	to be ironical

D Link words

a. Read the following statements and make sure you have understood them.

1. Shutting the door to globalisation could widen the gap between the haves and the have-nots whereas integrating into the world economy could help reduce poverty.
2. Agricultural subsidies are a real problem for developing countries since 80 per cent of their economies are agricultural.
3. If we do not increase the food supply, people will starve.
4. Unlike the population in Africa, the European population is expected to decline slowly by 2021.
5. Food is scarce. However, some people keep wasting it.
6. It seems important to analyze risks linked to outsourcing; indeed it carries risks in terms of quality.
7. Though China and India have developed tremendously over the past decades, many people there still live in dire poverty.
8. Globalisation will have fewer enemies if you can prove its benefits are equally shared.

b. Underline the link words and, according to their meaning, write them down in the grid below.

contrast	paradox	known cause	emphasizing certainty	condition	
while	and yet nevertheless	as	in fact	provided	unless

c. Use the five link words used as examples in this grid to write new versions of the seven sentences you have worked on.

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