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Introduction

Translating is like a tightrope act where you have to balance two things:

- 1) You need to express in English the content and connotations of the original German text as faithfully as possible.
- 2) Your final text must sound like natural English, i.e. what native speakers would say or write.

This is a very difficult skill to acquire. You will fall flat on your face unless you take care. And remember, there's no safety net....

Methods

Here are a few ideas to help you begin to acquire the art of translating.

Method 1: Use words you know. This is not as easy as it sounds. After 7 to 9 years spent learning English at school, plus a couple at university, you have stored thousands of English words in your brain. In many cases, however, you use them like similar words in your own language. This may work in some cases, e.g. Schule and school are usually pretty reliable translation equivalents, but what do you do with words like Stadt or Straße? These correspond to town ~ city and street ~ road respectively. What's the difference?

One long-term approach is to look at how words are used **in context**. The GLC texts will help you because they contain a lot of words embedded in a context. While reading through the texts, try to notice how specific words are used. When you do the GLC translations, think of words from the GLC texts which will fit into the context.

Method 2: Check the words you know or the new words you have found in a dictionary. Most students make the mistake of thinking that it's enough to get a German-English dictionary down off the shelf, look up the word they need and trust to luck or intuition that it will be the right one. This hit or miss approach gets more misses than hits. You can cut down on the number of misses by using a **large bilingual dictionary** (e.g. Pons/Collins *Großwörterbuch*) which gives clues to different meanings in brackets, e.g.

Stadt f, "-e (a) town; (*Groß-*) city

Straße f, "-n (a) road; (in *Stadt, Dorf*) street, road (*Brit*)

Even large dictionaries need to be used critically, however. The argument often used by students, "I found it in the dictionary" is as naive as it is touching. Dictionaries do not descend from on high like the Ten Commandments. Lexicographers have a very difficult task. They have to try to store the complexity of two languages which reflect two different cultures with their different histories, ideas and attitudes, all on a mere one thousand pages or less. Words like *gemütlich, Grundstudium, Numerus clausus, Polterabend, Privatdozent,*

Reich, Wissenschaft, Zivildienst are difficult to translate because they express concepts which may be lacking in the target language and its culture. In most cases there is not one possibility, but several, with the correct translation depending on the context in question.

Method 3: Check the word you think is correct in a **monolingual** dictionary. This is important because of the weaknesses of bilingual dictionaries pointed out above. Nowadays there is a good selection of learners' monolingual dictionaries:

ALD = Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1995 = 5th edition).

The pioneer in this field, first appearing in 1948 and still the most commonly used dictionary at German schools.

DCE = Dictionary of Contemporary English (1995 = 3rd edition).

Its first edition in 1978 introduced the idea of specially simplified vocabulary used for defining the meanings of words. Another useful innovation was its Usage Notes. An important innovation in the 1995 edition was the inclusion of statistics on the relative frequency of specific words in spoken and written English.

CoCo = Collins Cobuild (1995 = 2nd edition).

Its first edition in 1987 was the first learner's dictionary to take its examples from a corpus of texts, rather than making up examples.

CIDE = Cambridge International Dictionary of English (1995 = 1st ed.).

Its first edition also uses a corpus, the Cambridge Language Survey. One innovation is the inclusion of lists of false friends for different languages.

Which one you use will depend on personal preference. All, however, have a high standard and cover both British and American English (usually also other varieties). If you use them properly, they can be very sophisticated aids both for translating into English and for learning English.

Hueber have published a useful little book on how to translate:

Barry Baddock, Susie Vrobel, *Translation Skills German-English*, Munich 1998. Like any book, however, you need to use it critically.....

Exercise:

1. Look up *Grundstudium, Reich, gemütlich* in a German-English dictionary. Compare your results in class.
2. Look up *Numerus clausus, Polterabend, Wissenschaft, Zivildienst* in a bilingual dictionary and check its suggestions critically by using a monolingual dictionary. Work in pairs, comparing your results in class.
3. Look up the words *geil, Handy, Oldtimer* in your own bilingual dictionary or the bilingual dictionary you most often use.

Language Learning Resources

Weaver

This is a selection of some of the most useful books now available, many of them with book ID numbers from the English Seminar library. (If the library copy is an earlier edition, the ID has an asterisk*.)

You may also wish to refer to the internet sites listed in your GLC I handout including:

Links für Englischstudierende <http://www.ph-heidelberg.de/org/englisch/links.htm>

Links für den Englischunterricht <http://www.s-line.de/homepages/sester-englisch.htm>

Englischlehrer Internet <http://www.focus.de/D/DB/DB23/db23.htm>

Note, too, that previous GLC files can be downloaded at <http://www.uni-bonn.de/~upp203>

Monolingual Learner's Dictionaries

Cambridge International Dictionary of English (CIDE), 2000 DJA-830*

Dictionary of Contemporary English (DCE), rev. ed., 1995 DJA-641*

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (ALD), 6th ed., 2000 DJA-346

Encyclopedic ed. DJA-348*

Collins Cobuild English Dictionary, new ed., 1995 DJA-781

American Heritage English as a Second Language Dictionary, 2000

Random House Webster's English Learner's Dictionary, 1999

German-English Dictionaries

Collins German-English English-German Dictionary, rev. ed., 1999. (Klett/Pons Großwörterbuch) DJB-620*

The Oxford-Duden Dictionary, rev. ed., 1999 (Duden Großwörterbuch) DJB-615*

Harrap's German-English Dictionary, 3 vols. A-R, 1974

Langenscheidts Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch, 6th ed., 4 vols., 1992 DJB-486

Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch, 8th ed., 1995 DJB-560

Standard English Dictionaries (GB & US)

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 4th ed., 2000 DMA-740*

Cambridge Dictionary of American English with CD-ROM, 1999

Collins English Dictionary, 4th ed., 1998 DJA-655

Collins Concise English Dictionary, 3rd ed., 1992 DJA-681*

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (COD), 10th ed., 1999 DJA-266*

Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 10th ed., 1998*

The New Oxford Dictionary of English, 1998 DJA-821

The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1993

Oxford American Dictionary of Current English, 1999

The Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed., 1989, 20 vols. CD-ROM ed., 1999 DI-50

Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, 1997

Webster's New World College Dictionary, 4th ed., 2001

Usage Guides

R. W. Burchfield, ed., The New Fowler's Modern English Usage, 3d ed., 1996 DJL-226

Collins Cobuild English Usage, 1992 DJL-595

Sidney Greenbaum & Janet Whitcut, Longman Guide to English Usage, 1988 DJL-590

Geoffrey Leech, An A - Z of English Grammar and Usage, 1991

The Oxford Guide to English Usage, 1995

Oxford Dictionary of American Usage & Style, 1999

Michael Swan, Practical English Usage, 2nd ed., 1995 DJL-570

Grammar

Sylvia Chalker, *English Grammar Word by Word*, 1990 DJL-600
Collins Cobuild *English Grammar*, 1990 CGE-580
John Eastwood, *Oxford Guide to English Grammar*, 2nd ed., 1995 CR1-2880
Sidney Greenbaum & Randolph Quirk, *A Student's Grammar of the English Language*, 1990 CGE-592
Randolph Quirk et al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, 1985 CGE-470
Friedrich Ungerer et al., *Englische Grammatik Heute*, 1999.

Vocabulary in Context

Robert L. Chapman, *The Dictionary of American Slang*, 1998 DMO-467*
Collins *English Thesaurus in A-Z Form*, new ed., 1992 DJK-561
The Concise Oxford Thesaurus, ed. Betty Kirkpatrick, 1997
Wolf Friedrich & John Canavan, *Dictionary of English Words in Context (DEWC)*, 1979
S.I. Hayakawa, *Cassell's Modern Guide to Synonyms and Related Words*, 1971
Hans-Wilhelm Klein & Wolf Friedrich, *Englische Synonymik*, 2nd ed., 1968 CHE-129
Longman Language Activator, 1994 DJA-825
Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English, 1981 DJA-661
M. McCarthy & F. O'Dell, *English Vocabulary in Use*, 1994
Rudolf Meldau & Ralph Whitling, *Synonymik der englischen Sprache*, 2nd ed., 1972
CHE-129

Writing Skills

Richard Aczel, *How to Write an Essay*, 1998
Theodore A. Rees Cheney, *Getting the Words Right*, 1983 / 1990.
Rudolf Flesch et al., *The Classic Guide to Better Writing*, 1996
Mitchell Ivers, *Random House Guide to Good Writing*, 1991
Albert Joseph, *Put It in Writing: Learn How to Write Clearly, Quickly and Persuasively*, 1998
Cork Millner, *Write from the Start*, 1994
Arthur Plotnik, *The Elements of Expression*, 1996
Laurie Rozakis, *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Grammar and Style*, 1997
William Zinsser, *On Writing Well*, 4th ed., 1998

Additional Resources

S. Chalker, *A Student's English Grammar Workbook*, 1992 CGE-600
M. Swan & C. Walter, *How English Works: A Grammar Practice Book*, 1997 CR1-3040
Richard Humphrey, *Grundkurs Übersetzen Deutsch-Englisch*, 1998
Dictionary of Britain, ed. Adrian Room, 1986 EA1-558
Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture, 1992 DJN-990
Student's Dictionary of the USA, ed. Julius & Mary Redling, 1992 AP 2B-21
Twentieth-Century Britain: An Encyclopedia, ed. F. M. Leventhal, 1995 AP 4A-6
USA Lexikon, ed. R. B. Wersich, 1995 AP 1D-23
Time Almanac 2001 with Information Please (www.infoplease.com)
The World Almanac and Book of Facts 2001

British and American English

1. Grammar

Here are examples of the most important differences. Note that in many cases, two different forms are possible in one variety of English, while only one of the forms is possible or normal in the other variety. For more details, refer to the sections in Swan (references given in brackets) where these structures are discussed.

American English

He just **went** home
OR He's just **gone** home.

Do you have a problem?
OR **Have you got** a problem?

I've never really **gotten** to know her.

I (**can**) **see** a car coming.

Her feet were sore because her shoes
fit badly.

It's important that he **be** told.

'Will you buy it?' 'I **may**'

The committee **meets** tomorrow.

(on the phone) Hello, is **this** Susan?

He looked at me **real strange**. (very informal)

One should get to know **his** neighbors.
(formal)

He **probably has** arrived by now.
OR He **has probably** arrived by now.

British English

He's just **gone** home.
(See 419.5, 305.6)

Have you got a problem?
(See 241.6)

I've never really **got** to know her. (See 228.7)

I **can see** a car coming.
(See: 125.1)

Her feet were sore because
her shoes **fitted** badly. (See: 300.3)

It's important that he **should be** told.
(See: 541)

'Will you buy it?' 'I **may (do)**.' (See: 165)

The committee **meets/meet** tomorrow.
(See: 503.1)

Hello, is **that** Susan? (See: 565.5)

He looked at me **really
strangely** (See: 21)

One should get to know **one's** neighbours.
(formal)

He **has probably** arrived by now.
(See: 23.13)

N.B.: Besides get and fit, some other irregular verbs have different forms in British and American English. For details, see 303.3.

2. Vocabulary

There are many differences. Sometimes the same word has different meanings (GB mad = crazy; US mad = angry). And very often, different words are used for the same idea (GB lorry = US truck). Here are a few examples, with brief information about the words and their meanings. (For a larger list with more complete information, see: Norman Moss, *The British/American Dictionary* (Hutchinson).

AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE
airplane	aeroplane	anyplace, anywhere	anywhere
apartment	flat / apartment	area code	dialling code
attorney, lawyer	barrister, solicitor	busy (phone)	engaged
cab / taxi	taxi	call collect (phone)	reverse the charges
can	tin	candy	sweets
cookie, cracker	biscuit	corn	sweet corn, maize
crib	cot	crazy	mad
cuffs	turn-ups (trousers)	diaper	nappy
doctor's office	doctor's surgery	elevator	lift
eraser	rubber, eraser	fall, autumn	autumn
faucet, tap	tap (indoors)	first floor	ground floor
flashlight	torch	flat (tire)	flat tyre, puncture
French fries	chips	garbage, trash	rubbish
garbage can, trash can	dustbin, rubbish bin	gas(oline)	petrol
gear shift	gear stick (on a car)	highway, freeway	main road, motorway
hood	bonnet (car)	intersection	crossroads
mad	angry	mail	post
one-way (ticket)	single (ticket)	pants, trousers	trousers
pavement	road surface	pitcher	jug
pocketbook, purse	handbag	(potato) chips	crisps
railroad	railway	raise	rise (salary)
rest room	public toilet	round trip	return
			(journey/ticket)
schedule, timetable	timetable	sidewalk	pavement
sneakers	trainers	spigot, faucet	tap (outdoors)
stand in line	queue	stingy	mean (not generous)
store, shop	shop	subway	underground
truck	van, lorry	trunk	boot (of a car)
two weeks	fortnight, two weeks	vacation	holiday(s)
windshield	windscreen (on a car)	zee [zi:]	zed [zed]
check / bill	bill (restaurant)	zipper	zip

3. Spelling

A number of words end in -or in American English and -our in British English (e.g. color / colour). Some words end in -er in American English and -re in British English (e.g. center / centre). Many verbs which end in -ize in American English (e.g. realize) can be spelt in British English with -ise or -ise. Some of the commonest words with different forms are:

AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE
aluminum	aluminium	analyze	analyse
check	cheque (bank)	center	centre
defense	defence	color	colour
jewelry	jewellery	honor	honour
pajamas	pyjamas	labor	labour
practice, practise	practise (verb)	paralyze	paralyse
realize	realize / realise	program	programme
tire	tyre	theater	theatre
whiskey	whiskey (Irish) / whisky (Scotch)	travel(l)er	traveller

British and American English: The Two Lives of Harry Potter

Sorry – this section is missing! *[JW]*

Appendix

SAMPLE ANSWERS FOR SECTION C OF THE ZP EXAM

The following is what students actually wrote in answer to the Creative Option and Landeskunde Option of Section C of the Zwischenprüfung in February 2001.

It should be noted that the answers printed here have been adapted and each is the product of two or three student answers cobbled together.

1.) Creative Option: Article on *Harry Potter*

Question: Your article should be lively and interesting. It can also be humorous or contain humorous elements.

You are a journalist working for an American or British newspaper. You have to write an article on the Harry Potter phenomenon. As part of your article you can focus on positive or negative aspects of Joanne Rowling's bestsellers, interview parents and children etc.

Sample Answer 1: This article, which has been corrected and adapted, can be considered a model answer.

The Harry Potter Craze Revisited

The Harry Potter phenomenon is astonishing in that it doesn't seem to be ebbing away with time. Many articles have been written about the extraordinary success of Joanne K. Rowling's hero Harry Potter, and still it must be said that the popularity of the books continues to increase, with people queuing for them in bookshops and children waiting eagerly for each new adventure to be appear on the shelves. And even teachers seem to appreciate Harry to the point of reading out his adventures to their class as a end of lesson treat. Yet why is it that Harry Potter is so very popular with parents, teachers, and children alike?

'When you read the book, you really feel like you are Harry, experiencing what he is experiencing. It is so funny and exciting when he is playing Quidditch or waiting for the train on platform 9 3/4 at London's King's Cross station', Lisa, 8, explains. What makes the books so appealing to children is that they can see their own everyday lives in the books, be it school or the annoying cousin they have to put up with. But whereas in ordinary children's books, these problems are usually depicted in a depressingly realistic manner, Rowling transposes them into a world of magic, thus helping children to create a distance to their own problems.

Of course, there have been children's classics before that dealt with life at boarding school.. Tom Brown's Schooldays is a good example. But books like this don't reflect the experiences of today's kids any more because they depict a much more authoritarian model of education. Similarly, other children's classics which were very successful in their day (and which I used to read when I was a little girl), such as Enid Blyton's 'Famous Five' series, show an outdated gender role model, the girls being rather passive and the boys showing much more initiative. This kind of 'Fifties' idyll doesn't appeal to today's children any more. But just how does Joanne K. Rowling manage to strike the right chord?

Well, for a start, she, too, resorts to the good old cliffhanger technique to keep up suspense. But this is simply a stylistic aspect. What makes them extraordinary is that she just seems to know what today's children want. As a primary school teacher, she is continually in contact with children, not just her own, and knows how they interact and what their interests are. She takes children out of their everyday reality into a world with different rules from ours, where children have or at least can have much more power than they have in our world.

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Yet she doesn't stop there. Besides giving the children a fictitious place where they can feel omnipotent, she also packs nuggets of knowledge into the books, for example, elements from Greek mythology (e.g. the Underworld guarded by the Hound of Hell). Obviously, this is not the main purpose of the books, but it is quite a positive side effect.

But whilst most parents are happy that their children aren't spending their spare time in front of the computer any more, there are negative opinions as well. Christian parents in the US seem to be afraid of the Satanist influences they believe are conveyed by the books and are being implanted into their children's innocent and impressionable minds. But despite these reactions, everyone seems to love Harry. It is indeed surprising what Rowling has done with our children: "Television and Playstation are boring!" says Charlie, 9, pupil at Lakeview Elementary.

Anyway, the 'spell' will be broken as soon as Rowling announces that she is going to end Harry's adventures after the seventh book. In the meantime, rumour has it that Harry is soon going to be hitting the silver screen – and no doubt the film versions will also be a great success!

Sample Answer 2: This article, which again has been adapted but **NOT** corrected, would have been given a 5 in the exam. Why do you think this article would be failed?

The Computer-kids are reading again?

Three months after the fourth volume of Joanne K. Rowling's sequel has been available in our book stores, all the Harry Potter books are on the four top slots of the best-sellers list in a lot of countries. 'What is the miracle of her success?', I asked myself and started to read the first volume of the Harry Potter books to find out what makes the sequel so famous for both children and adults.

I have to admit that I am fascinated by the characters' description and Rowland's idea of a wizard-boy who is a hero by going through all kinds of adventures on the one side and is a normal boy who has to visit school on the other side. Even if the subjects of his school are different from those at a normal one, he can be a better example for our children than Mrs Tombraider who doesn't have to deal with daily routine but lives in an unrealistic world that has nothing to do with the world of teenagers today and who's only problem is to shoot as much enemies as possible in a period of time.

Still there is one thing to marvel at: why do adults let the raven in, or: why do they consume the Rowland-novels in such masses? I am sure we can agree that you will hardly find a discussion in a pub on how Harry Potter faces the evil magician. It is as unlikely to hear over an argument about wizarding in the post office around the corner. So where is the secret? I will tell you: The adult readers don't know either.

Distinctly I remember my first confrontation with the little hero-wizard. I went to visit my twelve-year-old nephew, who usually used to sacrifice my presence to reading incoming short messages on her handy phone. But the peculiar day she read a book! However, after I initially denied to participate in that new fantasy hype, I remembered my ignorance of other medial phenomena like Big Brother and the resultant social exclusion. So I went home with the book to spend a boring night with some pottery.

Probably the secret of Rowland's success is her motto that you have to write for kids like you write for adults, just better. Whatever the reason is, one thing is for sure. It is hard to imagine that a

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book can keep our children away from playing violent video games and spending hours with Mrs Tombrailer!

2. Landeskunde Option: Britain's North-South Divide

1. Discuss the term 'North-South Divide', explaining what it refers to and supplying any economic, socio-political, political and historical background information which you think is relevant.
2. How, in your opinion, should a country try to solve the problem of regional differences in prosperity? Illustrate your answer by reference to specific examples, e.g. from the US, Britain, Germany or other countries.

Sample Answer 1: This answer, which has been adapted but not corrected, would have been awarded a 2- in the exam.

a) Britain is a divided country. There is the rich South, making the UK one of the leading and most powerful countries in the world. London especially is full of thriving industries and new high-tech businesses. On the other hand, there is the poor North with an enormous unemployment rate and, compared to the South, even a much higher infant mortality rate.

It was a report by the University of Cardiff which drew much attention to the North-South divide and forced the government to counter criticism. It is not the only study to point out that there is a wedge between the northern and the southern areas of Britain economically, socially and culturally. And to be honest, people have known about this scary situation for a while.

Britain's North was once the part that was pushing the country. In the 19th century the industrialisation of Europe started in cities like Manchester. But the industrialisation also brought about new, poor working conditions as well. Miners were exploited and even children had to work incredibly long hours in coal mines.

It was when new machines made human work superfluous that the decline of the North started. High-tech industries like internet businesses and the manufacturers of microchips have now taken over the most important role in the economy.

These industries mostly settle in the South. The reason may have been a lack of qualified workers and employees at first. But now you have to face an unwritten law of the economy: once there is a thriving business it will attract others. It is easier to have many similar businesses together in one place, because you have the workers and qualified employees there as well. The infrastructure is already developed for globalized trade. So why should a firm choose to move to the North?

Even for call centres, for example, it is important to have the right technical supplies and employees with a pleasant accent. In addition to that, cultural institutions like theatres and museums developed in the South in a higher degree than in the North. Obviously, a miner has not enough time to go to the opera when he comes home in the evening, frazzled and tired.

Many people expected the New Labour government to change this situation. And this seems to be the reason why Tony Blair has to counter so much criticism now. You might claim that cities like Glasgow have succeeded in participating in the new economy by making use of its own cultural possibilities. But this is the exception rather than the rule.

(b) The question now is: how can other cities succeed in solving their problems? And how can this be done comprehensively? You have to remember that even cities like London have very poor districts.

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If you take a closer look at cities which seem to have found new ways of fighting their decline, you can see a striking parallel between, for example, London, Glasgow and German cities in the Ruhr. It is apparently very important to strengthen cultural facilities and events. If you want to attract tourists, you should make use of your industrial past in a positive way. You have just to think of the rising numbers of museums or of movies dealing with the social struggle of declining cities and towns. Germany could learn from movies like *Brassed Off*. Furthermore, it seems to be very fashionable for young businesses to move into old factories. This way you can have a trendy loft, may be even with a whiff of old machine oil.

Of course, this cannot be all. These cultural changes will not help the poor worker searching for a job. It is not justifiable that one part of a country, or even a city, lives on the expense of the other. Help from the government is needed. You need to educate the young people, so that they are better qualified for the new jobs. This probably needs more and better qualified teachers, too. Cultural improvement can make a city attractive for a firm, but the government has to care for an improvement, of the infrastructure. For those who are already poor and unemployed, social help is needed. There is a lot of work to be done, but there are also many chances that should be taken, not only to secure social peace but also to secure the economic basis of the country.

Sample Answer 2: This answer, which has been adapted but not corrected, would have been given a 5- in the exam.

a) The North-South divide refers to the gap between the two parts of Britain, that are so different in their economic standard. London and the North-South are pretty well-off wards. As we know you can hardly find unemployment in London, and its economic booms. In contrast to that you find more and more poverty in the Midlands and in the regions of the North-East, where all attempts to build a kind of good working economy failed.

The main concern of the Government is to support these regions in getting an overall economic stability. They want to treat this issue with sincerity. In addition to this the prosperous regions, for instance, London and its surroundings, have their economic growth at the expense of the North. Furthermore, there should be a high interest in advancing poorer districts by supplying, for example, the education system. In reference to the call-agencies that have settled down in the North, more people would be able to apply for a job because of their better educational skills.

To be more precise, Britain has to impose themselves to be more keen on solving this topic issue. According to the author's opinion there can only be an end of this swamp if the Government will manage to convince prosperous firms to move into the focused areas.

To conclude, it is for Britain as in many other countries a big problem to strike the balance, weighing public concerns and the aims of free-enterprise-economy.

b) From my point of view, a country should try to solve its problem of regional differences by changing the basic skills of people. For example, as they did in Britain. They took a lot of efforts by supporting the education system. If the scientific knowledge of a nation is able to be developed, other unforeseen ways will be opened and solutions could be found. Furthermore, the Government should impose rules for employers to have at least one trainee or they have to pay taxes. In addition to that this taxes could be given into initiatives that support workfare., as you can find this model in Germany. My opinion is that there are so many possibilities to solve a problem, that there are several important factors. Above all, it is the consciousness that something has to be changed, followed by endeavour and engagement that counts.

Caught in the Whirl of Work

Britons spend too long at the office and too little at home. It's time to change the long-hours culture, says **Polly Toynbee**

Miserable, overworked, insecure – the British work the longest hours in Europe and express the least job satisfaction. However much richer, they are becoming
5 more discontented with work every year. What is the point of economic success if it is matched by growing unhappiness? Like
10 dumb oxen we work harder than everyone else – a third of men work more than 50 hours a week – but we're not smarter. For more than a century factory acts and ever shorter working hours marked the onward march of industrial progress. Now social history has gone into reverse.

15 In an annual study¹ Professor Cary Cooper of the Manchester School of Management revisits 5,000 managers, from CEOs down to juniors. He finds them growing increasingly anxious about their lives. This
20 is hardly surprising since half of them work most evenings and a third work most weekends. Whatever the reality of falling unemployment, people feel their own job or status is under threat because they
25 suffer more turmoil at work that they did five years ago. They describe a life of constant upheaval, in which two-thirds of them undergo a major restructuring at work each year. Downsizing continues
30 apace with radical change thanks to galloping new technology, while the current merger epidemic leads to unpredictable job loss.

35 It is extraordinary that in the privacy of a survey so many express such deep unhappiness. Nearly all think that their working habits damage relationships with their spouse, their children and harm their health. What's more, most think these
40 working practices damage their company's

productivity. These are the people who set the work patterns for their organisation, yet even they feel they are the victims of forces beyond their control – such as
45 pressure from investors and competitors. What can be done?

“This is an issue whose time has come,” the employment minister, Margaret Hodge, pronounced last week, launching
50 the government-sponsored Work-Life Manual. It exhorts employers to give workers a better balance between home and working lives. Publication of this manual is a prelude to a major event when the Prime Minister will launch a
55 “business-led alliance” of pioneering companies pledging themselves to more humane working. It has been much delayed and kept under wraps because this issue cuts right down the fault line at the
60 heart of New Labour. Tony Blair, new man, arch-promulgator of family and community life, is also the one who forged New Labour's identity by stamping down
65 trade unions and siding loudly with business at every opportunity. His hymns of praise – a broom or spade in every hand – have drowned out the family-friendly stuff.

70 When he launches this project his speech-writers will have problems. What can he say with conviction after his record on Britain's over-work culture? The parental leave directive was brought in reluctantly
75 and then emasculated to have minimal effect. Most countries offer paid leave, but Labour made our unpaid, so very few are expected to be able to use it. Just as bad was the heel-dragging over the 48-hour
80 working time directive. Britain alone used an opt-out allowing employees to “volunteer” to work longer than 48 hours. As a result Citizens Advice Bureaus are

¹ *The Work-Life Manual* is published by the Industrial Society (+44-(0)870-400-1000)

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deep in cases where people have been forced “to volunteer” to work longer (4m people now work more than 48 hours). The working time directive was a missed opportunity to make real change. Instead everything the Government said proclaimed long hours good, short hours bad.

Half the Government’s brain is with the feminised employment department, championed by Ms Hodge, which works on family-friendly policies that try to ease single mongers into work, provide child care and civilise the workplace. The other half is with the macho department of trade and industry (DTI) where Stephen Byers wants nothing to do with this stuff. The DTI works for employers where real men work all hours and fight their way to the top on the shoulders of wimps who go home on time.

Tony Blair must make up his mind. Which is it to be? No doubt he will be quite happy with a voluntary exhortation to employers to create better working conditions. But will anything change unless the Government takes a firm lead and makes it happen?

30 **What is the point of economic success if matched by growing unhappiness?**

Rebranding “family-friendly” working as “work-life” is a smart move. Proclaiming this is no longer a special favour for mothers, but embraces everyone because everyone needs a life. As yet only 5% of employers meet the work-life balance recommendations in this manual, though it brims with good examples of win-win deals where companies have found variable ways of working that suit both, freeing some to work partly at home,

wasting less time commuting. It requires managers to abandon meaningless meetings and concentrate on output, not hours worked.

In Bristol an angry, demoralised library service whose workers were shunted about each week at the whim of managers has a new schedule, and workers negotiate their own hours. As a result they are happier and the service is better, with libraries open on Sundays for the first time. It often saves large sums in absenteeism and recruitment as companies retain a better workforce. Modern trade unionists negotiating these win-win deals deserve more encouragement.

If the politicians fail, the law may step in. the number of high pay-outs for stress-related lawsuits is rising so sharply that companies are being warned about their working habits by accountants. The Health and Safety Commission is consulting on whether stress at work should be regulated under health and safety law. It may opt for an approved code of practice on stress that would have a huge impact, since breaking it would lead a company to lose a case in court.

Governments can do little about the speed of technological change, but they should take action to alleviate its effects on people. Some Labour politicians now sound like those who said it was none of the state’s business to free women from coal mines or children from chimneys. But this would be a good opportunity for Mr Blair to widen the political agenda for the next election by reminding people what government is really for. A strong economy is only one crude measure of success: money is only one tool in the more important political aim of increasing general contentment.

DON'T GIVE US LITTLE WIZARDS, THE ANTI-POTTER PARENTS CRY

by Jodi Wilgoren

Whenever Margaret Cusack opens "Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone," her fifth-grade class at Ledgeview Elementary School in this Buffalo suburb breaks into
5 cheers. As the teacher pauses at chapter's end, the students beg for more. If the bell rings, they refuse to budge.

Except for Eric Poliner. Eric, whose parents describe themselves as born-again
10 Christians, takes Mrs. Cusack's reaching for the book on her desk as his cue to slip from the room. He retires to the hallway or studies alone in the library until she stops reading, 7, 10, 15 minutes, sometimes twice
15 a day.

"At first I felt kind of left out, but now I don't really mind," said Eric, 10, shy yet articulate. "I realized that it's for my own sake that I'm not listening. There's a lot
20 about witchcraft and evil and spells and magic. I was taught at church that that was not good."

As the Harry Potter books, by the Scottish author J. K. Rowling, continue their
25 dominance of the top three slots on the New York Times best-seller list, the same kind of scene is playing out at a smattering of schools across the nation, with challenges to the books filed in at least eight states in
30 the last month. Educators eager to seize the opportunity to develop a love for literature among their students are tangling with a few parent protesters who want to yank the books from libraries, or at least stop them
35 from being read in classrooms.

From South Carolina to California, school-district committees are reviewing the three books in the Harry Potter series, promising parents like the Poliners a public forum for
40 their complaints, though no one who is tracking the issue knows of any place that has banned the books.

It is confounding to many educators that after a decade of despair over a generation
45 lost to video games and television the very books that have lured huge numbers of elementary and middle-school children to the printed page are themselves being denounced as dangerous.

"The kids are talking about this, there are actual conversations going on about the books," marveled Alan Farstrup, executive director of the International Reading Association. "Children compete to see who
55 can get the next one the quickest. I just hope it spreads to other kinds of reading materials."

Though no well-known group or individual has publicly criticized the books, Focus on
60 the Family, a conservative Christian organization in Colorado, says it has received 160 phone calls and e-mail messages on the matter, and some evangelical ministers have begun to preach against Harry Potter. There are whispers
65 about the books being the work of the Devil, their remarkable popularity -- five million hardcover and two million paperback books sold in the United States -- evidence of satanic strength. In their formal complaints asking school districts to remove the materials, parents argue that because witchcraft is a religion, books about it do not belong in public schools,
70 and they say that Harry's flirtations with death and disaster are troubling story lines in light of recent school shootings.

"Books nowadays are trying to make kids grow up fast," said Elizabeth Mounce, a
80 mother of two from Columbia, S.C., whose speech against Harry Potter at a state school board meeting this month vaulted her to national attention, her name landing in 49 newspaper articles. "They're trying to
85 disguise things as fun and easy that are

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really evil," she said. Parents in Minnesota, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina and Georgia have also complained about the books.

5 Judith F. Krug, director of the American Library Association's office for intellectual freedom, does not deny that the chronicles of Harry's years at the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry are all about the
10 battle between good and evil. But she points out that at least so far, good triumphs, and responds to the critique with a question: "What book did you read? Or did you read it at all?"

15 These arguments among adults have distracted attention from more curious educational quandaries: Just what is it about Harry Potter that makes boys who hate to read drop their Nintendo and open a book?

20 How can parents and teachers capitalize on the craze and keep children reading? What differentiates these books from all the other adventure stories sitting on library shelves?

25 Listen to the children of well-to-do Clarence, population 20,000, where faded American flags hang from telephone poles on Main Street, and new construction mixes with homes from the town's founding in 1808.

30 "When you read it, the rest of your world, like reality, just goes blank," said Brian Heigel, 10, who is in Eric's class. "Sometimes you can actually picture yourself with these characters, like
35 transferring worlds. When you're all frustrated one day and you just want to rest, you could just pull out Harry Potter and just read more and more. It's kind of like being in kind of a dream."

40 Alyssa Mayer, 12, has a stack of unopened books on her desk from the summer reading list, but she has finished "Sorcerer's Stone" as well as "Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets" and "Harry Potter and the Prisoner
45 of Azkaban."

"It's sort of like we're reading about ourselves," Alyssa explained. "They like to do stuff like we like to do. They like to get in trouble. They like to play games,
50 checkers. It's just like us."

Megan Campanelle, 11, adds: "You always

have a picture in your head of what's going to happen next. And then it changes."

55 In round-table discussions with 18 students in grades five through eight, Harry Potter fans said they adored the detailed descriptions of characters' clothing and facial expressions, and laughed at the names that pervade the pages. They stay up
60 past their bedtimes, devouring Harry's 300-page adventures in a day, because the chapters bleed into each other with cliffhangers, then read favorite parts over and over, moving beyond the plot to the
65 larger themes of love, loyalty and loneliness.

Hogwarts, with staircases that lead to different destinations on Fridays, and hall portraits that chat with passers-by, does not
70 seem real, but the relationships formed there do.

"I think he'd be a good friend because he cares about other people," Bailey Pollack, 12, a seventh grader at Clarence Middle
75 School, said of Harry. "He's funny, he has sympathy, he shows his emotions."

80 Mike Roth, who is in eighth grade, relishes the beginning of the second book, when Harry uses what he has learned at wizard school to get back at his Muggle, or nonwizard, cousin, Dudley, for a decade of torture. "My brother is really mean to me," Mike said. "I'd like to scare him like that and beat him down."

85 Several students said they admired Harry's courage and determination, whether in fighting off bullies at Hogwarts or trying to snatch the Sorcerer's stone before the hated Professor Snape got it.

90 Samantha Inacker, an 11-year-old sixth grader, said Harry had persuaded her to practice more on the trumpet in hopes of a better chair in the band. "If he thinks he can do something," Samantha said, "he will
95 actually try and do it and not say it's impossible."

Parents and educators say the series strikes something deep inside children that cannot be quantified or explained, resonating like
100 the finest fairy tales in a way that can only be attributed to the magic of literature. Everything the children interviewed praise

about Potter is true of other books: vivid descriptions, lots of adventure, protagonists they can identify with. But this feels somehow different, as if it were written by Harry himself, not some out-of-touch adult.

5 "He acts the way we do," said Caitlin George, 10, who has read "Sorcerer's Stone" three times. "It's not like I'm some old English kid and I've got to stay clean while I go crackling through the mud, hunting for a tiger."

Dana Taylor, a 13-year-old eighth grader who is on her second time through the first book, said the Harry Potter craze was akin to "having an imaginary friend." Others compared it to Star Wars or Pokemon, a full-fledged fad rather than just fodder for a book report, and said they were spending time reading that they used to pass playing computer games.

15 "It's really fun reading books that take you into a different world," Megan said. "Video games really don't. It's just like, 'Oh, I won again.'"

25 The students interviewed emphatically oppose the coming commercialization, saying they want neither Harry Potter action figures nor a Hogwarts television show. As for the forthcoming "Sorcerer's Stone" movie, they sound like adult-literature-lovers bemoaning the inevitable changes when a favorite book is splayed on the silver screen.

35 "In the book, you create it, really, how you want to see it," Dana explained. "In a movie, they do the pictures."

Invoking the forbidden name of the series' evil witch, Ryan Horvath, 11, shrugged, saying, "You just can't battle Voldemort every Friday at 2 o'clock."

40 Students at both schools, Clarence Middle School and Ledgeview, are aware of the debate about the books across the country,

and they are struggling to understand it.

45 "It's just a book," said Caitlin, noting that her own Roman Catholic church linked witchcraft to Devil worship. "How can that harm you?"

50 Last year, Ledgeview had a different religious debate, when the lighted "peace tree" out front struck a Jewish parent as a bit too close to a celebration of Christmas for the public schools. Eric Poliner and his parents were among those who stood up for the tree. Andrea Rosenkranz, whose mother had opposed the tree, is one of the few students to question Eric about his problem with Potter.

55 Eric, who has spent most of the read-aloud time researching medieval castles, said he, too, had learned a lot from Harry Potter -- not the book, but his mother's crusade against it.

60 Carol Poliner has spent about 80 hours on the project, scouring the Internet for information about witchcraft, speaking for the first time at a school board meeting and organizing parents at her church to protest the books in their schools.

70 "If they're doing something in school that offends you or something," Eric said, "you can do something about it."

75 Mrs. Cusack and the Ledgeview principal, Nancy Littenberg, said they respected the Poliners' right to pull Eric out of class but refused to let one parent prevent, in the teacher's words, "Johnny and Bobby and Susie from hearing it."

80 Mrs. Littenberg is on the committee that will review the book to decide whether it is appropriate for school libraries and classroom readings, with a decision expected in November.

85 But today, Mrs. Cusack finished Page 275 of the 309-page novel, and the children are clamoring for her to continue.

The Times, Friday September 1 2000

Church to lure young with Harry Potter

By Ruth Gledhill, Religion
Correspondent

A vicar in the Church of England is to hold a 'Harry Potter' family service this weekend, complete with wizards, pointy hats, broomsticks and a game of quidditch.

The Hogwarts liturgy, posted on an Internet discussion site, was welcomed by other clergy who wish to adapt it for their churches as well. The service has aroused horror among evangelicals, who condemned it as 'importing evil symbols into the Church'.

A banner featuring a serpent, representing the House of Slytherin in the bestselling books by J.K. Rowling, will adorn the 1960s church of All Saints in Guildford, Surrey, this Sunday. Banners of the other three Hogwarts houses will also be displayed.

The church door will be reordered as the gateway to 'Platform 9 3/4', the magical platform at King's Cross station where children at the Hogwarts School of Wizardry catch the Hogwarts Express. The Rev. Brain Coleman, Vicar of All Saints, will don wizard's robes and hat to play Albus Dumbledore, the headmaster of Hogwarts, to lead the special service. Mike Truman, a lay member of the parish who is about to qualify as a reader and who has drawn up the new Harry Potter liturgy, a variation on the authorised Church of England service in the new Common Worship service book, will play a teacher at Hogwarts. His 11-year-old son, Mark, will play Harry Potter. A 'sorting hat' will be used to enact a drama in which four new teachers are sorted into houses. The service will feature 'muggle songs' (hymns), and will end with a game of quidditch, in which worshippers will compete to capture a 'snitch', a yellow rubber ball.

This Sunday has been chosen because the New Testament reading in the liturgical calendar, James 1:17-27, is considered particularly appropriate to the themes of Harry Potter. A broomstick, an 'invisibility cloak' and 'ton-

tongue toffees' will be used to illustrate verse 17, about generous gifts coming from God.

Mr Coleman conceded that the service might not receive universal approbation. 'But if you look at the Narnia chronicles by C.S. Lewis, these are books that also use magic as the background to a story.'

He insisted that the Harry Potter books were highly moral. 'They are about loyalty, standing up for friends, standing up for good against evil. That is exactly what the passage in James is about. Young folk are all very much interested into Harry Potter. We are using this interest.'

The service has dismayed the Evangelical Alliance, the umbrella group for evangelical Christians. The Rev. Paul Harris, an Anglican clergyman who convenes the alliance's panel on cults and new spiritualities, said: 'We do encourage clergy to connect with contemporary culture. But it is going too far to use images from Harry Potter. There is a risk that children are going to be very confused by the use of symbols associated with evil.'

Family Friendly Libraries Book Report

October 13, 1999

Should "Harry Potter" Go To Public School?

By Karen Jo Gounaud

[Excerpt from the article about how the religious content of the Harry Potter books makes them unsuitable for the classroom]

[...] 1. Religious content

The Harry Potter book series has predominantly occult themes, heavily permeated with characters and practices associated with Witchcraft. For example, Harry is a warlock, his dad was a warlock and his mother was a witch. The Wicca/Witchcraft belief system practices include spells, chants

and other rituals used for worshipping the Goddess of this Neo-Pagan religion. The word "witch" is a derivative of the Old English noun "wicca" (sorcerer) and the verb "wiccian" (to cast a spell). But it's no longer an ancient group of forgotten mythology -- it's active and very much a part of the modern world landscape. In fact, in the United States, the Wiccan church has been granted IRS status and the U.S. Government has appointed military chaplains in their behalf.

It's important to note, however, that the presence of religious values and beliefs in a book, whether fictional or non-fictional, does not automatically disqualify a work from classroom presentation. After all, the mere review of U.S. and world history reveals countless leaders -- Churchill, Lincoln, Washington, Gandhi, Popes and Rabbis, including those who fought the Holocaust -- for whom faith was central to their decisions and their conduct. And public schools presenting the Sound of Music can't tell the true story of the Von Trapp family without including Maria's Catholic connections and their faith that helped them escape from Nazi danger.

Nevertheless, the teacher, as an authority figure, and the classroom, as a place of required attendance, must not promote any particular religion, say the courts. Although religion as a general topic may be studied in an unbiased historical context, one particular religion cannot be singled out for emphasis overall. While public schools throughout the nation have been methodically removing any association with Christian faith from the classroom and other school activities, they seem to be welcoming classroom materials and extracurricular activities associated with pagan religions.

Although these Potter books are not religious instruction manuals, they celebrate Witchcraft through entertainment. As a result the books can prove to be a powerful advertisement for the occult religions. As a Time magazine article of Sept. 20, 1999 pointed out, after reading Harry Potter, "Who wouldn't choose a wizard's life?" I doubt seriously a school

would allow a teacher to do the Christian equivalent such as reading a book or playing a tape from Focus on the Family's "Adventures in Odyssey" series pointing listeners toward the advantages of a Christian life. So it is most unfair, though it's been happening more frequently, to engage in activities promoting pagan gods especially when that activity is reading a best selling book about a wizard boy so close to the age of the students. And although C.S. Lewis is considered a classic author, how many public school teachers would be allowed to discuss the full implications of the Christian symbolism of the Narnia series in their classrooms?

Finally, in contrast to the positive, uplifting direction of stories talking about the place of great faith of mainstream world religions in human history, the Harry Potter book series focuses on the dark side of religion. There is good and evil portrayed among the witches and warlocks, but the power is in self-centered pagan worship and magic, not in the righteous God of the world's great religions. The action emphasizes revenge and dominance rather than reconciliation, forgiveness, and serving others. The violence and bloody action is within the context of who controls the magic, not self-sacrifice for such issues as faith, family and freedom.

out.

[...]

4. Anti-family bias

Minus his murdered parents, the only biological family in Harry Potter's life is also the poorest model of family life - Harry's aunt, uncle and cousin. They are mean, selfish, unloving, and in general, nasty to him. He's even forced to sleep in a closet. Harry is best loved and helped by the occult characters rather than the human family to whom he's related. The ordinary human adults are powerless, the witches, warlocks and friends all powerful and wise. Once again, as in so many popular entertaining elements of our modern culture, traditional family is portrayed as striking out.

Britain's North-South divide

By Diane Coyle

The Independent | 23 Aug. 1999

5 The British economy is haunted by a perpetual weakness, its north-south divide. For more than 20 years, the decline of manufacturing industry in each recession and its failure to keep up with each recovery has driven a wedge between the regions on almost any index -- incomes per head, house prices, unemployment rates.

10 The latest signal comes from population figures, with more Northerners getting on their bikes to live and work south of the Wash. Yet the economic map of our two nations is more subtle than the crude north-south division.

15 For the chasm is explained by the location of the fast-growing, wealth-creating businesses, especially in industries propelled by new technologies. Most of these are in the south of England, but by no means all. Some towns, which could have stayed trapped in a post-industrial wasteland outside the prosperous South-east, have managed to turn themselves into islands of growth.

20 There is a great distance between Leeds and Sheffield, although they are geographically close. Equally, there are pockets of failure across southern England. Nowhere are the contrasts between success and failure starker than in London. The massive wealth and zero unemployment of the City of London lie just a mile or so from the country's worst concentrations of poverty and deprivation. The UK is unusual in the extent to which the capital city dominates the economy.

25 London has always seen the extremes of riches and poverty go cheek by jowl. But a century ago the north-south divide was in other respects the reverse of today's pattern. New manufacturing industries were creating the national wealth, and were the making of Glasgow and Liverpool, Sheffield and Derby, Manchester and Birmingham. Economic activity is always geographically clustered, but new industries redraw the map.

30 Today the fastest-growing industries, those contributing most to increases in national output and creating the most jobs, are in services and high technology. Even though hi-tech businesses still account for a small proportion of total employment, they can account for a lot of growth. One recent US study found that the presence of a successful hi-tech sector explained two-thirds of the difference in growth rates between cities.

35 What is more, many of the rapidly expanding service industries depend in some way on new technologies, even though they could not be described as high-technology themselves. Call centres are the prime example, a product of modern telecommunications and computers. There are more than 7,000 in the UK, employing a workforce of about 250,000. This is about 1 per cent of total employment, a proportion expected to double by 2001.

40 While companies use call centres to decentralise part of their operations to a cheaper location, the centres themselves tend to cluster in certain places. The reason seems to be that, as well as looking for the telephone infrastructure and suitable buildings, they need to draw on a big enough pool of people with suitable skills -

65 minimum educational attainment, good telephone manner, pleasant accent, even knowledge of foreign languages. This narrows the choice to fairly big towns, and a handful -- notably Leeds and Glasgow -- have come to dominate the call-centre industry.

70 So even though the leading-edge technological industries tend to be found in southern clusters -- biotechnology in Oxford and Surrey, software in Cambridge, high-value financial services in London, and so on -- technology-driven growth has also contributed to the development of some northern economic hotspots.

75 It is ironic that just as the spread of cheap, modem computer and telecommunications technologies is driving forward the globalisation of national economies, economic success is becoming increasingly focused on specific locations. A "winner-take-all" pattern of growth is emerging in the economy.

80 Once a town develops one industry, perhaps by pure chance, success tends to breed success. There is a virtuous circle of growth as jobs give local people money to spend, which encourages other new business, which expands because there is a suitable local labour force. The presence of a university helps, as do quality-of-life factors such as easy access to countryside or pleasant old buildings in the town centre. The renovation of local housing and commercial properties starts, shops move in, wine bars open, and before you know it there is a new art gallery and the first yuppies have parked their BMWs.

85 But there are spirals of decline around the country, including in the most thriving southern towns and cities. The Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions has identified more than 1,600 very deprived urban wards around the UK, mainly in the declining northern industrial and mining areas or in London. A few are to be found in other cities once based around docks and manufacturing, such as Bristol, Swansea and Portsmouth.

90 As the department's recent research points out, local problems can easily be masked by looking at regional data. "As a region, London has the highest GDP per head but the greatest scale of intensity of deprivation," it notes.

95 Just as success can become embedded, so can decline. An absence of local jobs fosters crime and drug-taking, young people lack the experience of work and therefore the basics of employability (such as an ability to turn up on time and be polite to their colleagues), the housing stock deteriorates, local businesses including bank branches and post offices close or move out.

100 So London and other cities in the South and Midlands combine wards of near-zero unemployment with wards such as Hackney North and Stoke Newington in London where more than one in four adults seeking work is unemployed. The gap between our two nations is more than a north-south divide.

115

A picture of a divided Britain?

5

Andy McSmith

10 Is there, or is there not a North-South
divide? A lot of influential people in the
North say that there is, and that it has
widened under Labour. Influential
ministers with seats in the North, such as
15 Peter Mandelson and Stephen Byers, also
claim that, on the ground, the divide looks
all too real.

20 Tomorrow Tony Blair will deliver the
official view, backed up by mountains of
statistics that, though there is an
undeniable gap between rich and poor
people, it is simple-minded to pretend that
the problem is purely geographical.
Having been handed an internal report last
week, the Prime Minister decided that it
25 should be published.

30 The picture which 'Sharing the Nation's
Prosperity' presents will be a mixed one.
Predictably, it will confirm that the
greatest wealth is in London and the home
counties. The Berkshire town of
Wokingham, for instance, has a jobless
rate of 0.8 per cent. Other towns have an
unemployment rate of 25 per cent, and
there are inner city wards where it is far
35 higher.

40 London's economic output, measured as
Gross Domestic Product per head of
population, is 140 per cent of the EU
average. The rest of the south east, and the
eastern region of England are also above

the Euro pean average, but every other
region falls below.

45 But there are volumes of statistics to prove
that these regional totals grossly
oversimplify the real picture. For example,
five of the ten most deprived areas of
England are inner London boroughs.
Some of the worst unemployment rates
are found along the south coast, in towns
50 such as Plymouth, Dover, and Hastings.

55 On paper, the Yorkshire and Humberside
region counts as deprived, when three-
quarters of the region is actually thriving,
but the overall statistics are skewed by
problems left by the collapse of the steel
and coal industries in South Yorkshire.

60 Downing Street denies that regional policy
has failed. The problems, it says, are more
micro, about deprivation heavily
concentrated in small parts of different
regions rather than a general southward
flow of wealth. The gaps between richest
and poorest regions are higher in Germany
and Belgium than in England.

65 A spokesman for the Prime Minister said:
"There is a divide between have and have-
nots, but it cannot be expressed as a
regional thing. We will get the policy
wrong if we don't realise that there is
70 social exclusion everywhere.

Social inequality report shows 3m children below poverty line

RICH AND POOR: THE GAP WIDENS

The gap between rich and poor in Britain continued to grow through the 1990s, according to an official report on social inequalities.

5 The report by the Office of National Statistics, published last week, is a mark of a new official recognition of the need to tackle social exclusion.

10 It also shows that: the pay gap between men and women is as wide as ever; girls continue to do better than boys at school; 4m of Britain's population of 59m are from ethnic minority groups, who have a younger profile than the white population; and between 1961
15 and 1998 the proportion of single-parent households rose from 2% to 7%.

In April 1998 about 3m children were living below the poverty line in families with incomes of less than 60% of the median
20 income.

During the 70s the income of households at the top, middle and bottom of the scale grew at roughly the same pace, but during the 80s income inequality rose: the top 10% saw their
25 incomes grow by 38% over the decade, while the bottom 10% only saw incomes rise by 5%.

In the 90s there was greater stability, but the rate of income growth of the top 10% of
30 people continued to outstrip improvements at the bottom. At the start of the 70s the incomes of the richest 10% were three times higher than those of the poorest 10%. By the end of the 90s they were four times higher.

35 The distribution of wealth, as opposed to income, has become more uneven over the past 20 years. In 1996, 1% of the population owned 20% of the wealth – about £388bn. More than half the total wealth was owned by
40 10% of the population, and 93% was owned by half the population.

The pay gap between men and women in full-time jobs remains, with men earning on average £23,000 a year – 42% higher than

45 women's average income of £16,000. This difference appears to be true across all jobs, with women working full-time earning on average 60% to 70% less than men in the same occupation group.

50 For the 45% of working women who work part-time, their hourly rate of pay is about a third lower than that of their male counterparts.

The proportion of men in work has fallen
55 from 88% in 1984 to 84%, while the proportion of working women rose from 66% to 72%.

The report says that boys are still matching girls' performance in maths and science
60 subjects, but in arts subjects, including English, French, history and geography, girls are doing much better across the board at GCSE level. Half of all girls get five or more good GCSE passes, compared with only 40%
65 of boys.

In 1998 only a fifth of children whose parents were in manual jobs achieved five GCSE
70 passes at grades A to C. More than two-thirds of children of the professional and managerial classes got five GCSEs.

Children from families of Indian background are outperforming white children because
75 when it comes to exam success. But black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils do less well, though the latter appear to be improving the most rapidly, with the proportion getting five GCSEs increasing from 14% in 1992 to 33% in 1998.

The number of university students trebled
80 from 620,000 in 1971 to almost 2m in 1998, mostly as a result of more women entering higher education. The number of young women in higher and further education rose from 1m in 1970 to about 2.5m by 1998.

85 Thirty years ago 33% of university students were female; now there are more women than men.

Alan Travis

A Happiness Index With a Long Reach

By ALEXANDER STILLE

After eight years of record-breaking economic growth, many people assume that the presidential election will be determined by the stock market. But social scientists and communities from Jacksonville to Honolulu are beginning to say, "It's not just the economy, stupid."

They are looking beyond purely economic numbers -- at health and crime statistics, clear-air days and commuting time -- to gain a fuller measure of people's elusive sense of collective well-being, to create what is essentially a happiness index. In the process they are making some surprising discoveries.

On a national level, William J. Bennett, the conservative writer and political adviser, has begun producing an index of leading cultural indicators, while the environmentally oriented group Redefining Progress has created something called the genuine progress indicator, in which social costs like legal fees, medical bills, divorce and crime are subtracted from the gross national product to measure the state of the nation. At the same time, a recent proliferation of local monitoring groups like Sustainable Seattle, Livable Tucson, Minnesota Milestones and Oregon Benchmarks show a growing interest in measuring the quality of life and values like friendliness and vitality in their communities.

"What I think this shows is that there is something out there that all of us are trying to capture that is extremely important," Marc Miringoff, a professor of social sciences at Fordham University, said in an interview. His own social health index is one of the most systematic nationwide surveys.

Mr. Miringoff and others are pushing hard to promote the idea of a regular national

social report card similar in nature to the index of leading economic indicators.

"If the country knows that interest rates are up by one-quarter of a percent, people need to know that we have a child poverty indicator that is the worst in the industrial world," Mr. Miringoff said. "When that hits a new low, bells ought to go off the way it does when Alan Greenspan decides to slam the breaks on inflation. That should be reported on CNN and be part of the political discourse."

In the last 20 years every other major industrialized country from Britain and Norway to Turkey and Japan has begun to publish an annual social report, even though the idea originated in the United States. In 1929 President Herbert Hoover sponsored a comprehensive social report that was published five years later. And in 1967, Senator Walter F. Mondale, the future vice president, proposed creating a permanent Council of Social Advisers, like the Council of Economic Advisers, to produce regular reports on social issues. The idea was shelved after the Democrats lost the presidential election of 1968.

It's back, the sociologist Ron Inglehart speculates, because now that many people's immediate material needs have been met, some Americans are developing post-materialist values.

And what these latest indices show is that whoever is doing the measuring -- left-of-center groups concerned with social justice or conservatives worried about moral values -- the overall trend has been downward over the last 30 years despite the growing prosperity.

Mr. Miringoff's social health index -- which combines 16 social indicators, including child poverty, infant mortality, crime, access to health care and affordable housing -- plummeted from a rating of 77

out of a possible 100 in 1973 to 38 in 1993. And although Mr. Bennett placed a greater emphasis on cultural issues like out-of-wedlock births, divorce, community participation and levels of trust or distrust in government, he arrived at similar results.

True, in the last few years Mr. Miringoff's index showed that the country has made a small but appreciable jump, from 38 to 46 from 1993 to 1997. It is a trend that Mr. Bennett has reported as well. "The decade of the 90's has seen progress in some key social indicators: reductions in welfare, violent crime, abortion, AIDS, divorce and suicide; upswings in SAT scores and charitable giving." Even so, according to the various measurements of social well-being Americans are, on the whole, richer but unhappier than they were three decades ago.

Some people are wondering whether these findings might help explain the mysterious X-factor in American political life: why there are so many disenfranchised voters in a period of unprecedented prosperity? "The decline in the index coincides with the decline of trust in government," according to surveys, Mr. Miringoff said. Could it also account for such diverse phenomena as the popularity of Ross Perot, Jesse Ventura and the Reform Party; Pat Buchanan's and Ralph Nader's presidential bids; and the recent protests against globalization in Seattle and Washington?

"No one is saying this is a perfect science," Mr. Miringoff said. "But the fact that Bennett, who is looking at moral and cultural things, and I, who take a more social and economic approach, come to similar conclusions says something interesting."

Not everyone has confidence in these measures, however. "The problem I have with some of these indices is that they start to take on a political connotation," Benjamin M. Friedman, a political economist at Harvard University, said in an interview. He criticizes Mr. Bennett's attempt to quantify moral values by

looking at rates of divorce and participation in church groups as well as Mr. Miringoff's decision to include income inequality in his social health index. "I happen to think income inequality is very important, but some people don't consider it a problem," Mr. Friedman said.

Mr. Friedman favors simple bare-bones indices like the United Nations human development index, which has three sets of statistics: per capita income, life expectancy and educational enrollment. By this measure, the United States ranks No. 3 in the world, after Canada and Norway. "Everyone agrees that life expectancy is a good thing," Mr. Friedman says. At the same time the United Nations international poverty index ranks the United States No. 17, at the bottom among industrialized nations.

But Mr. Miringoff argues that while there is a subjective and political element to any survey, many of the categories he includes in his social index -- alcohol-related traffic deaths, youth suicide, teenage drug use, infant mortality, low-weight birth, unemployment, real wages and child poverty -- involve hard data on matters of obvious importance.

The reason for exploring the messier world of social health, he explains, is that in the post-industrial economy, per capita income and gross national product don't reveal as much as they once did. Until about 30 years ago social indicators like crime, infant mortality, drug and alcohol abuse moved up and down with the G.N.P. Now they no longer do.

"It used to be that a rising tide lifted all boats, but at a certain point during the 1970's, social health and per capita income split apart," Mr. Miringoff said. "And this may be a result of the new economy: the loss of steady, well-paid jobs with benefits for less skilled, blue collar workers."

The very element Mr. Friedman suggests eliminating -- income inequality -- may be the key indicator for understanding the phenomenon, Mr. Miringoff says. While per capita income rose on aggregate,

average weekly wages went down from a high of \$315 in 1973 down to \$256 in 1996, measured in constant dollars. The income of the top fifth of the population went from \$86,000 to \$125,000, while that of the bottom fifth dropped from \$11,640 to \$11,388. The percentage of children living in poverty went from 14.2 percent in 1973 to 22 percent in the early 1990's and has only recently dipped below 20 percent. These economic factors, which affect access to affordable housing and health care and are reflected in both Mr. Miringoff's social index and the genuine progress indicator, may help account for some of the symptoms of moral decline noted by Mr. Bennett: increases in crime, alcohol-related deaths, drug use and out-of-wedlock births. Meanwhile, a measure like the genuine progress indicator put out by Redefining Progress tries to include things like time spent taking care of children and doing household work, which are not counted in the G.N.P., and subtracts other items like legal and medical bills, commuting time and money spent on locks and house alarms. While it may be difficult to reach a national consensus on what to measure, many states, cities and counties are creating their own scales. In Connecticut, Gov. John G. Rowland, a Republican, has adopted Mr. Miringoff's social health index without controversy to measure social problems and formulate policies. In Traverse City, Mich., which is at the center of five rural counties, a local group instituted a quality of life index by surveying 2,000 residents about what they considered important. "They put three things right at the top: environment, education and public health," said Mary Swaney, research coordinator for the project. "Out here -- we don't have too much money but a great environment -- we have an expression, 'A view of the bay is worth half the pay.' " The city's bay

opens into northern Lake Michigan. Among the measures adopted to track the state of the environment is a count of the number of bird and frog species. The Michigan group also measures things like shoplifting and litigation as signs of social trouble and the number of septic tanks as a way of tracking sprawl, something residents say they would like to avoid. In Tucson, the city is gearing up to count pedestrians in different neighborhoods because many residents said they felt safer and happier seeing other people out on the streets. John Laswick, the manager of Tucson's Sustainable Communities Program, says the sudden concern for quality-of-life issues, even in affluent places like Tucson, is a symptom of rapid economic growth and sprawl. "Sprawl has become a big issue in the last couple of years," he said. "I think that with the last five minutes of commuting time, something snapped. I think that intuitively people sense that there is something wrong there. They are missing relationships, community, urban form and a connection with the environment -- things that are not measured in the G.N.P." In many cities and states, like Jacksonville, Fla., the indices are used by local government to assess the performance of city agencies. Jacksonville, Tucson and other cities have not yet combined their numbers into a single index but are looking for ways to study the links between their various measures. "There are a set of connected relationships that define community health," said Mr. Laswick of Tucson. "People's perception of the safety of the schools affects whether parents let kids walk to school or drive them. If they insist on driving them, that means more oil dripping on the roads and into the streams. We are trying to show that there are these connections. People are looking for a more subtle and more meaningful way of measuring what's important to them."

Guessing Bush's Tax Game

March 7, 2001

slate.msn.com

By_Jacob Weisberg

5 In recent weeks, George W. Bush has
been sounding like a man who doesn't
intend to negotiate. At Bush's behest, the
House Republican leadership intends to
pass the rate reduction part of his tax cut
10 plan tomorrow, ignoring procedural and
substantive objections from Democrats.
In the Senate, where Bush operates under
the constraints of a slimmer majority, he
has thus far indicated no interest in
15 compromise--either with Democrats,
most of whom want a smaller tax cut,
less tilted toward the wealthy, or with
moderate Republicans who have
expressed various qualms about his plan.
20 Instead, Bush has been putting pressure
on politically vulnerable Senate
Democrats by visiting their home states
to campaign for his plan.

Watching Bush's behavior, many
25 observers have drawn the conclusion that
he doesn't think he has to make a deal.
Many have predicted he'll ignore
opponents and ram his plan through
Congress with a narrow, partisan
30 majority. Such an approach does square
with some of the thinking evident around
the White House. In keeping with the
Rove Mandate Fallacy, Bush may think
he can avoid negotiating a compromise
35 by acting like he doesn't have to
negotiate a compromise.

But the "my way or the highway,"
approach brings hazards too obvious for
Bush's shrewd tacticians to miss. The
40 first, most obvious danger is that Bush
simply might not get the votes he needs.
Though Bush has won the endorsement
of one Senate Democrat, Zell Miller of
Georgia, he has also apparently lost the

45 votes of two liberal-leaning Northeastern
Republicans, James Jeffords (Vt.) and
Lincoln Chafee (R.I.), who have both
said his proposal is too expensive. If the
process grinds on for a while, natural
causes could cost Bush the vote of Strom
50 Thurmond of South Carolina. Five other,
more moderate Republicans --Arlen
Specter (Pa.), John McCain (Ariz.),
George Voinovich (Ohio), Olympia
55 Snowe (Maine), and Susan Collins
(Maine)--have expressed reservations
about Bush's plan as well.

In a pinch, Bush could probably ram his
plan down the throats of these
60 Republicans and get it passed, possibly
with Vice President Dick Cheney
breaking a tie. No Republican wants to
cast the deciding vote against his own
party in the make-or-break battle of a
65 new presidency. But eschewing any
compromise and then demanding party
loyalty would hardly endear Bush to
GOP moderates. Such a narrow, partisan
victory hardly proved to be a
70 mandate-generator for Bill Clinton after
he passed his economic plan by a
one-vote margin in both houses in 1993.
Voting against their inclinations and for
their president cost many Democrats
75 their seats in 1994. Even if Bush can
make the Senate's moderate Republicans
knuckle under, he does so at his peril,
and theirs.

The other possibility, which I find more
80 plausible, is that Bush does expect to
negotiate in the Senate but is being
canny in the way he goes about it. In an
Arab bazaar, you start haggling by
saying you're not interested in haggling.

85 There can be tactical advantages to feigning inflexibility at the outset. By sticking to his opening offer for a good long while, Bush makes himself look like a tough customer. He also impresses
90 his conservative base that he's serious. Once it becomes clear that Bush lacks the votes for a purist victory, the zealots will more readily accept a compromise. Bush's current effort to rough up
95 Democrats who hold marginal seats has been cast by most analysts as evidence that he's going the route of not negotiating. But this gambit could just as well indicate that he is negotiating.
100 Going to South Carolina, Nebraska, and Louisiana might be an effort merely to bring some recalcitrant Democratic senators to the negotiating table. And Bush has made a few comments that
105 suggest deal-making is what he ultimately has in mind. After a meeting with congressional leaders several weeks ago, a reporter asked whether he'd be willing to give ground on tax cuts. "I'm
110 certainly not willing to negotiate with myself," Bush replied. He's right that it makes no tactical sense to concede anything unilaterally or sooner than he has to.
115 But if Bush does intend to compromise eventually, whom will he compromise with? Here it gets more interesting. His first option is to negotiate just with the seven skeptical Republicans. This is a
120 slightly different strategy from the one of just demanding their support for his plan as is. By offering concessions on the substance, Bush reduces the danger that he'll find himself short of the 50 votes he
125 needs. But the hazard is essentially the same. Passing his economic plan on a super narrow party line would send a message of weakness and division rather than one of strength and unity. Rovian
130 psychology notwithstanding, a one-vote victory would do little to create either an

atmosphere of comity in Congress or the perception of a popular mandate.

135 Another problem with this approach is that if you negotiate just enough to win by one vote, you end up rewarding the kind of behavior you want to discourage. Those who loyally support their president get nothing. Those who hold out until the 11th hour can demand
140 something in exchange for their votes. Those who hold out longest can ask for anything they want. In 1993, Bob Kerrey of Nebraska put off his decision about
145 whether to support Clinton's economic plan until it was clear the whole thing hinged on him. Kerrey didn't prove much of a blackmail artist; his price was a mere commission to study entitlement
150 reform. This time, Olympia Snowe is the senator most likely to find herself with outsized leverage. A tax cut has to pass either the Budget Committee or the Finance Committee, and Snowe sits on
155 both. Should Bush attempt to get it through with only GOP support, don't be surprised if NASA moves to Maine.

160 Another option for Bush is to negotiate with the Senate Democrats as a group through Majority Leader Tom Daschle. The appeal of this strategy would be Bush living up to his rhetoric about being a uniter. But there are dangers here, too. One is that if Bush
165 compromises not just on the size but on the basic structure of his tax cut, credit for the resulting amalgam could be widely shared. Another is that the president's conservative base may see him as a sellout. Marshall Wittmann of the Hudson Institute says Bush flinches from "the specter of Andrews Air Force
170 Base." Andrews is where Bush's pa cut his tax-raising deal with Democrats in
175 1990, blackening his name with conservatives.

One final possibility is for Bush to talk turkey with the centrist Democrats he is

Tax Game (cont.)

180 now trying to bludgeon. The leader of
the group is John Breaux of Louisiana, a
man who lives to split the difference. If
Bush can peel off Breaux and few other
moderate Dems, he'll endow his tax cut
with both a comfortable margin and an
185 aura of bipartisanship. The cost would be
making genuine concessions. To get
even a few Democrats on board, Bush
would have to reduce the cost of his
plan, probably by dropping his estate tax
190 repeal and settling for a top rate above
his hoped-for 33 percent. He'd also

probably have to accept some sort of
"trigger" mechanism that would make
future tax reductions contingent on the
195 budget surpluses actually materializing.
But Bush could do all these things and
still maintain the essential configuration
of his plan.

200 A lot of annoyed Democrats have taken
Bush's tough talk to mean no such
concessions are in the offing. I wouldn't
be so sure. At this stage of the game,
bargaining brilliantly looks a lot like
refusing to bargain at all.

Plutocrats to the rescue!

Salon News | salon.com

210 **While the spineless Dems dither, the stiffest resistance to Bush's outrageous tax plan comes from an unlikely quarter: Warren Buffett and Bill Gates Sr.**

By Joan Walsh

215 Feb. 15, 2001 | Stand back: Opponents of President Bush's gargantuan \$1.6 trillion, 10-year tax cut have finally mobilized a fearsome political counterattack. As befits our neo-Gilded Age, however, so far the big guns aren't Democratic politicians, they're wealthy businessmen. Somehow it's fallen to Warren Buffett and William H. Gates Sr. to fight a major part of Bush's tax-cut package, his proposed repeal of the estate tax, and they're doing it with language that the GOP would blast as class warfare -- if it wasn't coming from rich white guys.

220 Gates has gotten at least 120 millionaires to sign a petition opposing Bush's estate-tax repeal, on the grounds that it would "enrich the heirs of America's millionaires and billionaires, while hurting families who struggle to make ends meet." Buffett didn't sign Gates' petition, however -- because he doesn't think it goes far enough in denouncing Bush's Robin Hood-in-reverse tax plan.

225 Buffett's reasoning is must reading for dithering Democrats who haven't figured out how to fight the Bush juggernaut and defend the estate tax, which Bush has masterfully renamed the "death tax." Estate tax repeal, Buffett says, "would be a terrible mistake," comparable to "choosing the 2020 Olympic team by picking the eldest sons of the gold-medal winners in the 2000 Olympics.

230 We would consider that as absolute folly in terms of athletic competition.

235 "We have come closer to a true meritocracy than anywhere else around the world," Buffett continued. "You have mobility, so people with talents can be put to the best use. Without the estate tax, you in effect will have an aristocracy of wealth, which means you pass down the ability to command the resources of the nation based on heredity rather than merit."

It's remarkable that the most stirring defense of the progressive tax system, and American meritocracy, should come from the world's fourth wealthiest man. Maybe that will insulate him from charges of "class warfare." In any case, perhaps Buffett's attack on Bush's proposed repeal of the estate tax will breathe some life into the demoralized, strangely listless Democrats (the Gilded Age meets the Gelded Age), who don't appear to understand how crucial it is to beat back Bush's brazen tax proposal.

That proposal, which gives a staggering 43 percent of its largess to the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans (though they pay less than a quarter of the taxes), is the

foundation of his new world order, a bold attempt to shape the nation's social, economic and political dynamics on behalf of wealthy conservatives for many years to come. Republicans have wailed and gnashed their teeth in the wilderness for almost a decade now, watching as President Clinton made Democrats the party of fiscal responsibility and economic vitality. Clinton paid down the Reagan-Bush deficit by raising taxes slightly on the top brackets, while slowly but steadily (even a little stealthily) expanding programs for the poor, working and middle class, delivering almost \$70 billion over five years with such programs as the expanded earned income

tax credit, new child health programs and extra subsidies and tax breaks for college tuition.

Now, with surpluses looming, a new president has no excuse for failing to tackle the remaining problems of our winner-take-all economy -- shoring up Medicare and Social Security before the baby boomers stampede

toward retirement, fixing our broken health insurance system, and expanding and reforming Head Start and other education programs for poor kids. No excuse, that is, unless he gives away the surplus to his wealthy friends, risking enormous deficits in the process.

Support for Bush's vast tax cut seemed to come out of nowhere. During the primary campaign, polls showed voters preferred Sen. John McCain's deficit reduction plan to Bush's tax cut. Then the slumping economy gave an economic-stimulus fig leaf to the plan. But it wasn't until the Dems inexplicably rolled over, announcing they would be willing to support an \$800 billion tax cut (Vice President Al Gore had proposed only a \$500 billion cut), that it began to seem inevitable. That sense reached its climax when Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan -- the maestro, the oracle, the world's most powerful man, the guy who defeated the last President Bush, legend has it, by waiting too long to cut interest rates -- backed a big tax cut three weeks ago.

But in recent days the tax cut backers have hit a rough patch. The best news for their foes is the class warfare that's broken out within the ruling class. Buffett and Gates are only the latest defectors. Citibank's Robert Rubin, better known as Clinton's Treasury secretary, has furiously lobbied Greenspan to recant his seeming endorsement of the Bush plan, leading a legacy-conscious Greenspan to backtrack a little on Tuesday. Now Greenspan thinks maybe a trillion-dollar tax cut would be in order, not the Bush plan, which would cost twice that amount.

Rubin himself weighed in Sunday with a center-stage New York Times Op-Ed, blasting the tax cut as "a serious error in

economic policy" that would return the country to Reagan-era deficits and economic decline. Rubin deconstructed the fuzzy math behind the Bush plan. The supposed \$5.6 trillion, 10-year surplus estimate is only \$2.1 trillion once Social Security and Medicare reserves are removed, and Bush's supposed \$1.6 trillion cut will actually cost \$2 trillion, at least, since it slows the rate at which we pay down the deficit, thus increasing interest payments on the debt. Goodbye, surplus.

Worst of all, Rubin notes, those surplus projections are just that -- projections -- and they're predicated on continued economic growth and productivity gains, which can't be counted upon given the economy's current sputtering.

And while the Dems have struggled to figure out the right way to frame their opposition -- on the grounds of deficit reduction? fairness? the need for at least modest new spending? -- the Bushies have begun to stumble a little. Bush's new czar of "faith-based" programming, John DiIulio, came out against estate-tax repeal last week, arguing persuasively that it would devastate American charities. The Bush team is also demonstrating an uncharacteristic tin ear in defending its proposal.

Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill -- who disputed the effectiveness of a tax cut to stimulate the economy during his confirmation hearings -- got back on message this week, but he used some unfortunate language. O'Neill defended using both tax cuts and interest rate reduction as a "belt and suspenders approach" to propping up the economy, arguing, "If you can have both, why not have both?" His metaphor couldn't help summoning up images of fat cats in suspenders, used to having belts, suspenders, whatever the hell they want, when they want it -- not the best imagery for a president who's trying to use so-called tax families to disguise the fact that it's his plan that's class warfare. Class warfare by the rich, against the rest of us.

Naturally, Republicans always try to disguise the fact that it is the ultrawealthy who are the main beneficiaries of their tax

cuts. In 1981, after the passage of Ronald Reagan's first tax-slashing federal budget, Reagan's budget director, David Stockman, shocked Washington by admitting that the administration's tax reductions for middle-class Americans were "a Trojan horse" to disguise massive cuts for the rich. The statement wasn't a shock; Stockman's honesty was.

What Office of Management and Budget director Stockman didn't admit, at least in his famous series of conversations with the Atlantic Monthly's William Greider, was a far more crucial way the Reagan tax cuts served as a Trojan horse, masking their most dramatic, and intentional, long-term impact -- begging the U.S. Treasury in order to force program cuts and spending freezes the Republicans didn't have the political clout to achieve directly. By 1984, the Reagan tax cuts had created a \$200 billion budget deficit (Reagan and Stockman had promised the budget would be balanced by then); in total, Reagan and Bush quadrupled the deficit between 1980 and 1992. They screwed the economy, but they triumphed politically, by ruling out new government spending and depriving the Democrats of their traditional means of appealing to their core constituencies -- problem-solving new social programs -- turning them instead into the party of deficit reduction and fiscal responsibility.

And though the party's left kicked and screamed, Clinton took on the new role with relish. But now, when the Democrats -- and the nation -- might have reaped the benefits of fiscal discipline, with a responsible series of programs aimed at curing America's social ills, along comes another Republican president who doesn't even bother with a Trojan horse to disguise his goals of handing the surplus over to the rich, to make sure the nation can't afford new social spending.

It's worth rereading Greider's "The Education of David Stockman" to recall that we've been here before, and it was ugly the first time around. Make no mistake: The Bush tax cut will do much of what Reagan's did -- rule out new investment in healthcare, in education, in housing starts, maybe even in defense. We'll have to at least partially privatize Social Security, because there will be insufficient public funds to save it. "Faith-based" charities -- among their debatable merits, often cheaper than public-sector programs -- will be the only way to provide social services. Private healthcare providers will get a bigger share of the Medicare budget. And we may well wind up with Republican budget deficits, too.

Like Bush, Reagan insisted his tax cut was just the right medicine for what the Great

Communicator called a "soggy" economy. (Yesterday, Treasury Secretary O'Neill called ours "soft.") The Reagan camp insisted that massive tax cuts would lead to a balanced budget, or even surpluses -- despite their plans for huge new military outlays -- because the rich would invest more of their money, and earn more, leading to higher tax revenues. Reagan and his team called their new plan "supply-side economics," though skeptics like George H.W. Bush, running for president in the 1980 Republican primary, called it "voodoo economics," and GOP congressman turned independent presidential candidate John Anderson predicted it would lead to massive deficits. They were both right.

Once in the White House, Reagan and his team got busy on behalf of the new approach. Greider details how Stockman "changed the OMB computer" -- in 1981, it didn't seem important to explain exactly how -- introducing a new economic model that projected budget cuts would lead to a decline in inflation, interest rates and unemployment, a surge in profits and productivity, and healthy tax coffers, with lower rates balanced out by higher profits and incomes for everybody.

Of course, it didn't work that way.

Thanks to the Reagan economic program, unemployment rose; so did interest rates. The stock market declined and the deficit ballooned. Later, Stockman would confess to Greider that "supply side" had been just a fancy new term for the inelegantly named "trickle-down" economics. "It's kind of hard to sell trickle-down," he acknowledged, so they came up with a new label. But supply-side architect Arthur Laffer, Stockman said ruefully, "sold us a bill of goods."

Plus, some of Stockman's budget-cutting proposals were rejected. Remarkably, the GOP budget director proposed a "mansion tax," capping the mortgage deduction for luxury homes -- unthinkable 20 years later -- as well as lots of cuts in corporate welfare and pork barrel spending. He was shocked, shocked that such proposals were unsuccessful, while most of the proposed cuts to social programs sailed through. "The hogs were really feeding," Stockman complained, in one of the interview's most memorable, and later regretted, turns of phrase.

The news wasn't all bad for members of the Reagan team. They achieved almost \$40 billion in budget cuts in their first year -- eliminating the CETA job training program, affordable-housing subsidies, the poverty programs of the Community Services Agency and legal services for the poor -- and made sure Democrats wouldn't be able to restore the cuts, or enact

new social programs, for many years to come. They didn't get everything they wanted on that score -- Stockman proposed "zeroing out" Head Start, for instance, the program now beloved by even Republicans. Even Vice President Dick Cheney, then a Wyoming congressman, voted to cut it. Criticized for that stand during this year's presidential race, Cheney sorrowfully cited the big budget deficits of the early '80s for that now-regrettable vote -- somehow ignoring that it was his GOP buddies who created them. No wonder the Democrats aren't a match for these guys.

Twenty years later, "The Education of David Stockman" is wonderfully educational for all of us, as a primer on how Republicans from Reagan to George W. Bush will manipulate numbers, rely on fantastic budget projections and even lie to achieve their goals. Along with Warren Buffett and Bill Gates Sr.'s defense of the estate tax, it should be delivered to all Democratic members of Congress, to strengthen their spines for the coming battle over the Bush plan. And it would be nice to see some Democratic rabble-rousing on the issue. Maybe ex-President Clinton could take a break from defending Marc Rich and trying to hold on to his lucrative speaking engagements in front of banks and investment houses, and spend some political capital on defending the record of fiscal prudence and tax equity his successor would like to destroy. Maybe Al Gore could put down his journalism syllabus and reassume the populist mantle he wore, unconvincingly, at the end of his presidential campaign.

It's not that there aren't ideas for cutting taxes responsibly, given the likelihood that there will be some kind of budget surplus in the near future. If Congress and Bush really wanted to stimulate the economy and reduce the tax burden equitably, they could issue a one-time rebate -- say, \$500 for every man, woman and child. That would have most impact on low- and moderate-income Americans, and on the economy, since they're more likely to actually spend their tax relief than are the rich, who don't need it.

Then there's the plan once sponsored by that

known socialist, Attorney General John Ashcroft, to make payroll taxes deductible. Many Americans pay more in payroll taxes -- mostly Social Security and Medicare -- than in income taxes. And the burden has escalated faster than inflation. Since 1970, by some estimates, they've risen 50 percent. Making payroll taxes deductible -- proposed by Ashcroft when he was a senator -- would mostly benefit middle-income families, since those taxes are phased out on incomes above \$70,000 annually. But again, they're the ones who need it most, and who are most likely to spend their tax relief and rev up the flagging economy.

Instead, Team Bush has crafted a tax plan that gives almost half its benefits to the richest 1 percent, the Warren Buffetts, the Bill Gateses and of course the George Bushes, too. Refreshingly, the proposal is such economic overkill that at least some of the beneficiaries are saying, "No thanks." (Gates Sr., by the way, says his son Bill is "sympathetic" to his cause, but hasn't signed his petition. He ought to.) Of course a tax policy creating an "aristocracy of wealth," in Buffett's stinging words, makes some sense coming from a man who got into the White House much the same way he got into Yale, as a legacy admission. It's hard not to notice that, rather like choosing the 2020 Olympic team from the eldest sons of the 2000 winners, we chose as our 2000 president the eldest son of the 1988 victor, or at least the Supreme Court did.

It would be nice if Bush, like Buffett and Gates, decided that rich white guys like him have been given enough already -- health, wealth, success and, in Bush's case, even the presidency. But he won't, so the Democrats should remind him. They shouldn't leave it to philanthropic millionaires alone. It would be a shame if the open defense of American meritocracy and progressive taxation, and a frank critique of the dangers of inherited wealth and social status, became luxuries reserved exclusively for the wealthy.

Joan Walsh is the editor of Salon News.

The Estate Tax: What's at Stake

By William H. Gates Sr. | Feb. 16 2001 | The Washington Post

5 The debate over whether to repeal the estate tax is fundamentally a debate about what sort of America we want to leave to the generations ahead. Nearly a century ago, reformers such as Theodore Roosevelt worried that the huge fortunes amassed during the Gilded Age would, if left untaxed, evolve into a dangerous, permanent aristocracy.

10 Such distinguished Americans as Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis saw the estate tax as a practical, democratic restraint on massive concentrated wealth and power. And in fact repeal of the estate tax today would widen the growing gap in economic and political influence between the wealthy and the rest of America.

15 Self-serving opponents of the estate tax are doing everything they can to confuse people. They give it a bad name, the "death tax," and imply that most Americans commonly pay it. In reality the estate tax is a tax on wealth, not death, and affects only the very wealthiest two percent of Americans. Poverty, on the other hand, afflicts one out of six American children.

20 Repeal would hand the heirs of America's most affluent a \$294 billion tax cut over the next decade. In 1997, almost half the estate tax was paid by 2,400 estates with assets exceeding \$5 million.

The consequences of estate tax repeal have been only partially explored. Repeal would ripple through our economy, reducing not just federal but also state revenues, and decimating the charitable sector.

25 The real costs of estate tax repeal would surface years from now. That drop of \$294 billion in federal revenue in the first ten years would balloon to a \$750 billion loss in the second.

The estate tax currently brings in revenue-some \$28 billion in 1999-equal to the entire federal expenditure for housing and urban development. Federal revenues lost through estate-tax repeal would have to be made up by increasing taxes on others or by cuts in Social Security, Medicare, environmental protection or other government programs important to our nation's well being.

30 Estate tax repeal would also squeeze state treasuries. About one-fifth of all estate tax revenues go to states through what is called a "pick-up tax." Repeal would cost states some \$5.5 billion a year, and when it was fully in effect, costs would approach \$9 billion. California is projected to lose \$937 million in 2000, and my home state of Washington would lose \$87 million.

35 Already, states are concerned and cutting back as the economy slows, tax revenues drop and state budget surpluses disappear. It would be unconscionable to give the wealthy a massive tax break at a time when crucial programs assisting children and seniors are on the chopping block.

The destructive impact on public programs would be compounded by a fall in philanthropy. For generations, the estate tax has provided the very wealthy with a powerful incentive for charitable giving. The U.S. Treasury estimates that complete repeal would reduce contributions to charity by up to \$6 billion a year.

40 Taxable estates give charities more than twice the amount given by non-taxable estates. In 1997 estates provided \$14.3 billion to charities. Nearly three-fourths of this came from estates worth \$5 million or more, and nearly 60 percent came from super-size estates worth \$20 million or more.

45 At a time when our society is counting on the charitable and independent sectors to become considerably more active in confronting social problems, estate tax repeal would devastate nonprofits ranging from educational institutions to faith-based organizations that aid the poor and disadvantaged.

The very landscape of America would be scarred. Our nation's land trusts, such as the Nature Conservancy, benefit enormously from the bequests of open space, farmland and wild areas encouraged by the estate tax.

50 Legitimate concerns have been raised about the need to protect America's family farms and small businesses from certain effects of the estate tax. The Tax Reform Act of 1997 went a long way toward addressing the estate planning needs of family-owned farms and businesses.

We ought to fix the estate tax by strengthening family enterprise protections and raising individual exemptions. Let's not harm the country by repealing it.

55 The writer is a co-chair of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. The views here are his own.

Grammar Exercises: Tenses and Aspect

EXERCISE A

Fill in the blanks with appropriate verb forms (do NOT use future or conditional forms); when adverbials are provided, put them in the correct position.

1. Mary _____ (just/arrive) home from Sainsbury's when her friend Diana drove up. In fact Mary _____ (put) the shopping away as the door bell _____ (ring).
2. Look over there! The waiter _____ (taste) our wine.
If he _____ (taste) any more, he'll be seeing double.
3. Over the last few days I _____ (think) about what you said and I _____ (think) you are right.
4. Please excuse the mess; the dining room _____ (be/painted).
At present we _____ (eat) all our meals in the kitchen.
5. "What _____ (you/do) on Saturdays?"
"I _____ (normally/go) to the library to work in the morning but this coming week I _____ (have) my hair cut and then I _____ (be/invited) out for lunch."
6. I _____ (consider) buying a house but now I _____ (change) my mind.
7. I _____ (find) it difficult yesterday to convince the ticket inspector that I _____ (lose) my ticket.
8. "_____ (anyone/see) my pencil?"
"It can't be lost. I _____ (see) it just now on Thomas's desk."

EXERCISE B

Translate the following sentences into English. Be careful in your use of tense and aspect. Note for each sentence which grammar paragraphs apply.

1. Erst um 15.30, als die Studenten alle im Hörsaal saßen, erfuhren sie, dass die Vorlesung nicht stattfinden würde.
2. Die Studenten erfuhren, dass diese Änderung schon vor etwa drei Tagen vorgenommen worden war.
3. Er weiß, wovon er redet.
4. Er humpelt, weil er sich heute morgen bei einem Fußballspiel den Knöchel verstaucht hat.
5. (Im Konzert) Es ist das erste Mal, dass ich dieses Stück höre.
6. Während wir zu Mittag aßen, liefen im Fernsehen die Nachrichten.

Word Order Exercises

1. Subject-operator inversion after restrictive or negative adverbials (2)

The following quotes originally contained a subject-operator inversion triggered by the initial position of a restrictive or negative adverbial. Try and reconstruct the original word order. Make use of the words **printed in bold type** for your choice of adverbial. Which effect do the inversions have in terms of emphasis and cohesion?

Example:

Boys and girls from public schools do **not only** enjoy a certain prestige in life, but the public schools are able to attract higher-qualified staff so that pupils receive more individual attention.

→ **Not only do** boys and girls from public schools enjoy a certain prestige in life, but the public schools are able to attract higher-qualified staff so that pupils receive more individual attention. (J. L. Irwin, *Modern Britain*)

1. If you ever tire of comedy, see Boothby Graffoe. His set does **not only** include music hall, song and theatre, but the comic's wit alone could restore a jaded palate. (*The Guardian Weekly*, 31 August 2000)
2. The late Trinidadian intellectual, C L R James, more than anyone, understood that sport is an integral part of a nation or region's cultural, political and economic makeup. This is **nowhere** more obvious than in the Caribbean, where basketball and football are fast overtaking cricket among the young. (*The Guardian Weekly*, 31 August 2000)
3. Almost uniquely in the public services, the social care sector largely escaped the attention of Tory governments from 1979 to 1997. Health secretary Stephen Darrell gave any attention to efficiency and modernisation **only at the very end of that era**. (*The Guardian*, 27 January 2000)
4. The whole concept of domestic help has changed in my lifetime. Staff, unless they are nannies or au pair, **rarely** 'live in' in the old-fashioned sense. (*The Times*, 27 January 2000)
5. We are pleased to learn that the Government has belatedly recognised the importance of old voters. They are **not only** more likely to vote but those aged 50 already make up around half of the electorate. (*The Times*, 27 January 2000)
6. In Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, interest in cricket is largely confined to the middle classes. It is played at top level **only in England and a small part of Wales**. (J. O'Driscoll, *Britain*)
7. I have **rarely** seen such a collection of ill-founded and bigoted notions **in the columns of any newspaper in this country** as presented by George Oakley in his 'Thinking Aloud Column'. (*The Guardian*, 27 January 2000)
8. My natural parents, who had emigrated to Britain from Nigeria and Sierra Leone at a young age, decided that while they were studying they would place me with a good foster family. They **little** realised that it would become a permanent arrangement. (*Daily Mail*, 20 January 2000)

2. Subject-operator inversion in hypothetical conditional clauses

Rewrite the following conditional clauses without "if" - use inversion of subject and operator (i.e. auxiliary or modal) instead.

Example:

If she had heard about this earlier, she would have prevented the deal.

➔ *Had she heard about this earlier, she would have prevented the deal.*

1. Some argue that trade-union membership might not have fallen so sharply during the 1980s, if unemployment had not reduced workers' bargaining power.
2. A recent parade in Londonderry might have ended in a bloodbath, if the police had not foiled a major bomb attack.
3. Mr Holden said: "If Harry Potter had won the Whitbread Book of the Year Award, Britain's richest literary prize, it would have sent out to the world a message that Britain is a country that refuses to grow up." (*The Times*, 27 January 2000)
4. Would the English have had their revolution a century or more earlier than much of the rest of Europe, if the beliefs in the rights of the individual had not taken such firm hold? (J. Paxman, *The English*)
5. Professor Halsey added that, if it were not for the huge achievements in science, education, medicine and communications, the 20th century might have been seen as a disaster. (*The Times*, 27 January 2000)

3. Cleft-sentences

*Each of the following quotations originally consisted of a cleft-sentence. Reconstruct the original word order by putting the main focus on the words **printed in bold**. However, you may also want to experiment a bit and try out some alternative versions to see what effect they would have.*

Example:

He went to Europe on his first mission **in 1896**.

It was in 1896 that he went to Europe on his first mission.

- But I encountered my worst case of open racism **at secondary school**. (*Daily Mail*, 20 January 2000)
- **Five years ago** Mrs Evans faced the most agonising decision in all her 24 years. (*Daily Mail*, 20 January 2000)
- **The lack of elected civilian government in Nigeria** caused Mr. Clinton to bypass that country on his 1998 Africa trip. (*The Washington Post*, August 2000)
- The blueprint for the welfare state was produced by a committee under the chairmanship of Sir William Beveridge **during the Second World War**. (J. L. Irwin, *Modern Britain*)

TRANSLATING *SEIT*

First work out what part of speech *seit* and its compounds are. Then translate the sentences into English.

1. Barbara hat 10 Jahre in Hamburg gewohnt. Jetzt wohnt sie seit 20 Jahren hier in Bonn .
2. Ich habe ewig lang keinen so lustigen Film gesehen.
3. Es schneit, seit ich aufgestanden bin.
4. Seit er geheiratet hat, ist er ganz anders.
5. Mary hat drei Jahre lang an einer Gesamtschule unterrichtet, aber seitdem sie nach Bonn gezogen ist, ist sie arbeitslos.
6. Ich liege seit Dienstag hier im Bett und schaue die Decke an. Ich habe es satt. Ich war noch nie so krank wie jetzt.
7. Das neue Geschäft hat seit einer Woche auf.
8. Ich habe sie nicht mehr gesehen, seit sie im Krankenhaus ist.

Grammar Exercises:**Number, Gender, Case**

B. Pick the right form of the verb – **singular or plural** – from the choices given (more than one choice may be feasible, so be prepared to discuss the alternatives).

1. A number of people from the village _____ (*have/has*) managed to escape from the floods.
2. I get the impression that half of the students in my class _____ (*doesn't/don't*) understand what my question is all about.
3. I really wanted to marry that man but my family _____ (*was/were*) dead against it.
4. The public simply _____ (*isn't/aren't*) interested in the sex life of a second-rate pop star or, for that matter, that of the President of the United States.
5. I don't know about you, Sir, but what I do know is that this government _____ (*is/are*) very concerned about the peace process in the Middle East.
6. Although the Argentine team _____ (*was/were*) in possession for most of the first half they didn't manage to score.
7. The Stars and Stripes _____ (*was/were*) draped over his coffin throughout the ceremony.
8. Twenty pounds _____ (*is/are*) too much for that shirt.

Modal Verbs

Fill in the blanks with the correct modal verbs. Put any adverbials in the correct place.

1. When Claire was put in charge of the branch office in Chester, she _____ (*musste*) leave Newcastle and say good-bye to all her friends. However, she was looking forward to her new job and was quite happy when, after some searching, she _____ (*konnte*) find an old, but moderately-priced house. Her new neighbourhood _____ (*sollte*) be absolutely safe. People told Claire that she _____ (*musste nicht*) lock the front door at all – there had never been any burglary or theft. But, as Claire _____ (*sollte*) find out, you _____ (*darfst niemals*) believe everything people tell you. One day she came home from work to find that her house has been burgled. The police told her, “You _____ (*sollten*) install a burglar alarm.”
2. “Tom’s broken his leg again.”
“He _____ (*hätte nicht gehen sollen*) skiing on that ski slope again. It’s a death-trap.”
“I know. But you _____ (*wirst nicht können*) make him see that. He is too sure of himself. He _____ (*sollte nicht dürfen*) go skiing at all!”