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# **ПРАКТИКУМ ПЕРЕКЛАДУ**

**(збірник текстів для самостійної роботи)**

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**Жулінська М. О. Практикум перекладу.** Збірник текстів для самостійної роботи для студентів V курсу факультету міжнародних відносин / Майя Олександрівна Жулінська. – Луцьк : Вид-во ПП Іванюк В. П., 2023 – 67 с.

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Рекомендовано студентам V курсу факультету міжнародних відносин.

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## ПЕРЕДМОВА

Навчально-методичне видання призначене для самостійної і індивідуальної роботи студентів V курсу факультету міжнародних відносин при вивченні дисципліни “Практикум перекладу”, програмою якої передбачена робота над розвитком і вдосконаленням у студентів мовної і перекладацької компетенції відповідно до їхньої спеціальності.

Основна мета навчально-методичного видання – формування і практичне застосування компетенцій в галузі перекладу, підготовка перекладача високої кваліфікації, здатного виконувати усі головні види перекладацької діяльності з текстами різної спрямованості.

Навчально-методичне видання містить тексти різної тематики: економічні, громадсько-політичні, науково-технічні, а також ділові папери і юридичні документи.

Навчально-методичне видання складається з 4 частин: *Texts in English for translation, Texts in Ukrainian for translation, Speeches and Documents*. Перша частина, яка містить англійські тексти, розділена на 4 розділи за різною тематикою: *Human Rights, Ecology, Economy, Politics*. Друга частина складається з невеликих за об’ємом текстів українською мовою. Третя частина містить промови відомих політичних діячів. У четвертій частині запропоновано юридичні документи та ділові папери англійською та українською мовами.

Всі тексти у навчально-методичному виданні є автентичними і вибрані з оригінальних провідних англомовних та україномовних джерел.

Навчально-методичне видання пройшло апробацію на кафедрі іноземних мов та перекладу факультету міжнародних відносин Волинського національного університету імені Лесі Українки. Враховано зауваження та побажання колег та студентів.

Матеріали даного навчально-методичного видання можуть використати студенти інших факультетів та університетів, а також ті, хто прагне оволодіти англійською мовою.

**PART I**  
**TEXTS IN ENGLISH FOR TRANSLATION**

**UNIT I**  
**HUMAN RIGHTS**

**Israel and Occupied Palestinian Territory: UN Human Rights Chief Volker  
Türk calls for the “illogic of escalation” to stop**

GENEVA (3 February 2023) – UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Volker Türk on Friday urged an end to the “illogic of escalation that has been building up, to the detriment of the human rights of Palestinians and Israelis”.

“Rather than doubling down on failed approaches of violence and coercion that have singularly failed in the past, I urge everyone involved to step out of the illogic of escalation that has only ended in dead bodies, shattered lives and utter despair,” Türk said.

In 2022, the UN Human Rights Office documented 151 killings of Palestinians by Israeli security forces in the occupied West Bank including East Jerusalem, plus one boy who was killed by either the Israeli security forces or a settler. Another two Palestinians were killed by Israeli settlers. In many of the cases involving security forces, there are serious concerns of excessive use of force and arbitrary killings.

So far this year, 32 Palestinians have already been killed in the occupied West Bank by Israeli security forces, with two more killed by settlers.

In 2022, 24 Israelis were killed inside Israel and in the occupied West Bank including East Jerusalem by Palestinians, and seven more have been killed so far this year.

Israeli authorities on 29 January announced measures to seal off immediately family homes of those suspected of having perpetrated attacks on 27 and 28 January in occupied East Jerusalem, including an attack in a settlement near a synagogue. More than 40 people, including family members, were arrested purportedly in relation to the attacks. Two families of the suspected attackers were forcibly evicted from their homes. Other proposed measures include revoking identity documents, citizenship and residency rights and social security benefits of family members of suspected attackers, and accelerating demolitions of houses for lack of building permits. If implemented, these may amount to collective punishment.

There have already been several reports of violence between Israeli settlers and Palestinians, particularly in the occupied West Bank over the past week.

The High Commissioner called for urgent measures to de-escalate tensions, including – crucially – ensuring that killings and serious injuries are investigated in accordance with international standards.

Türk called on Israel to ensure that all operations of its security forces in the occupied West Bank including East Jerusalem, are carried out with full respect for international human rights law, in particular the rules regulating the use of force in

law enforcement operations. Use of firearms is allowed only as a last resort, when there is an imminent threat to life or serious injury.

“The people of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory need their leaders to work – urgently – to create conditions conducive to a political solution to this protracted, untenable situation,” Türk stressed.

## **UN report records piecemeal progress in combating systemic racism against people of African descent, insists on urgent need for transformative change**

GENEVA (30 September 2022) – Activism led by people of African descent, joined by many others, has resulted in increased recognition of the systemic nature of racism, yielding concrete initiatives in some countries. But there remains an urgent need for comprehensive approaches to dismantling deep-rooted systems perpetuating racial discrimination across all areas of life, a new UN Human Rights report states.

Acting High Commissioner for Human Rights Nada Al-Nashif called on States to demonstrate greater political will to accelerate action, in particular by implementing key recommendations made in the UN Human Rights Office’s Agenda towards Transformative Change for Racial Justice and Equality.

“There have been some initiatives in different countries to address racism, but for the most part they are piecemeal. They fall short of the comprehensive evidence-based approaches needed to dismantle the entrenched structural, institutional and societal racism that has existed for centuries, and continues to inflict deep harm today,” said Al-Nashif, who will present the report to the UN Human Rights Council on Monday.

The report describes international, national and local initiatives, including, in the United States, the adoption of a Presidential executive order on advancing effective, accountable policing and criminal justice practices in federal law enforcement agencies; the passing of the Anti-Racism Data Act in British Columbia, Canada; measures in Sweden to evaluate the use of ethnic profiling by police; the collection of census data in Argentina allowing for self-identification as a person of African descent; the European Commission’s adoption of guidance on collecting and using data based on racial or ethnic origin; as well as apologies, memorialization, revisiting public spaces, and research to assess links to enslavement and colonialism in several countries.

The report warns that there remain “disproportionate outcomes for people of African descent in many countries, notably regarding access to health and adequate food, poverty, education, social protection, justice, enforced disappearance and violence.”

The report notes continuing patterns of allegations of discriminatory treatment; unlawful deportations, excessive use of force and deaths of African migrants and migrants of African descent by law enforcement officials; the continued disproportionate impact of the death penalty, punitive drug policies, arrests and over-representation in prisons; as well as lack of accountability and redress for deaths of

Africans and people of African descent during or after an encounter with law enforcement officials.

Al-Nashif called on States to “redouble efforts to ensure accountability and redress wherever deaths of Africans and people of African descent have occurred in the context of law enforcement, and take measures to confront legacies that perpetuate and sustain systemic racism.”

### **Session: Status of democracy and human rights in the world**

The democratic decline is especially evident in Central Asia, Eastern Europe and Asia Pacific, and in parts of Latin America and the Caribbean, through various attacks on the rule of law. For instance, in some countries of Latin America and the Caribbean we have observed attacks on electoral management bodies, on constitutional courts, the media and national human rights institutions, and the use by governments of COVID-19 as an excuse to reduce oversight of public administration. And trust in institutions is fading.

To address the gap between people’s expectations and what governments can deliver a new social contract is needed based on inclusive deliberations in society. Addressing inequalities, fighting corruption and tackling climate change need to be at the core of the conversation.

Social spending is also critical for promoting equality and strengthening democracy. If national budgets integrate States’ human rights obligations and allocate sufficient resources to cover at least minimum essential levels of economic and social rights for all, they can be a powerful lever for equality.

National spending in social sectors that focuses on accessibility, affordability, and quality of services as well as non-discrimination, including based on gender, strengthens livelihoods and erodes inequality. Increasing such spending keeps more children in school and protects and raises the health and overall standard of living of the population. This is society’s most effective tool to build resilience. This approach, which is grounded in human rights principles, helps build respect for the social contract and reinforces the tenets of democracy.

In addition, democratic institutions need to be strengthened. From electoral commissions to high courts, from local governments to national human rights institutions, from media boards to anti-corruption entities these democratic structures need to be reinforced – including by increasing transparency and independence - so they deliver to the people and trust in institutions is restored.

Independent, rule of law-abiding institutions play a key role in ensuring the necessary checks and balances. They provide the ultimate foundation for stronger and resilient democracies.

To prevent democratic backsliding, political and financial support is critical, to promote public participation, media freedom and civic education. Prioritising investment in these pillars of democracy, and promoting them in political action, will go a long way in addressing some of the issues the world is currently facing.

In line with their international human rights obligations, Governments need to protect and promote the space for people to engage in public affairs, to voice their views and concerns freely, safely and without fear, including through peaceful protests and other forms of civic engagement.

Governments also have a responsibility to promote and protect the freedom of expression, including media freedom, essential tools to tackle disinformation, polarization and hate speech.

### **Iran protests: UN council votes to investigate human rights abuses**

The United Nations' Human Rights Council launched an international investigation on Thursday into the ongoing violence by the Islamic regime in Tehran against a 10-week protest movement triggered by the death in custody of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini.

The vote came after a rare special session of the UN body devoted exclusively to the ongoing violence in Iran. A motion for a fact-finding mission into abuses against women and children, approved by a vote of 25-6, with 16 abstentions, was tabled by Germany and Iceland.

At least 440 protesters have been killed over the course of protests in more than 150 towns and cities across Iran, according to Hrana, an Oslo-based rights group. Another 18,000 people have been arrested.

Iran's protest movement, triggered by Amini's death while in the custody of the morality police and led by women and youth, received international attention earlier this week after the players on Iran's national football team refused to sing the national anthem at a match against England at the World Cup in Qatar.

It remains unclear what effect, if any, the fact-finding mission will have on developments in Iran, where the regime is using weapons of war as well as mass arrests against a largely peaceful nationwide uprising against the authorities in Tehran.

But an investigation with the imprimatur of the UN could up the pressure against regime leaders and security forces, who may be accused of internationally recognised crimes against humanity, and perhaps hasten any possible defections or refusals to take part in the violence.

"Those perpetrating human rights violations and crimes under international law, from commanders to those who open fire on protestors on the street and commit torture, must know that evidence of their acts will be collected and preserved, with a view of future criminal proceedings," Quinn McKew, executive director of the advocacy group Article 19, said in a statement.

In Geneva, Tehran dispatched Khadijeh Karimi, a deputy of Iran's vice-president for women and family affairs, to make Iran's case. She called the special session "politically motivated". Another Tehran regime representative accused the West of repressing its own citizens.



“By establishing an investigative accountability mechanism, the council has sent a clear and unequivocal message to the Iranian authorities that they cannot continue with their brutal assault on human life with impunity,” said Mr McKew.

## UNIT 2 ECOLOGY

### **Cities of the future should be healthy for everyone**

What are the cities of the future? We urgently need to rethink our cities by designing urban spaces that are healthy for all of its inhabitants. All of them, not just humans, says Alexandra Střelcová, concerning a Prague-based initiative that promotes plant research, in her report after her participation in CityLab 2022.

When Bloomberg CityLab – the ultimate global cities summit organized by *Bloomberg Philanthropies* in partnership with *Aspen Institute* – took place in Washington DC in October 2019, delegates warmly promised each other to resume discussions *next year*. Now, a pandemic, the war in Ukraine and a string of catastrophic natural disasters later, the world's eminent urban innovators could finally convene once again.

Held in Amsterdam between 9 and 11 October 2022, the ninth edition of this iconic gathering brought together more than five hundred city leaders, experts, scientists, and artists from around the world. The goal? To discuss solutions to pressing issues – from pandemic recovery to welcoming refugees, from global conflicts to combating climate change.

On top of the star-studded line-up (alongside Mike Bloomberg, speakers included the pre-eminent architect Sir Norman Foster, Kyiv's mayor Vitali Klitchko, Washington's mayor Muriel Bowser or economist Mariana Mazzucato, to name just a few), one important, overarching theme led the conference narrative: the urgent need to rethink our cities by designing urban spaces that are healthy for all of its inhabitants. We all know what the challenges are. So let's discuss the solutions.

Fortunately, there could not have been a better fit for a host city this year. With its DNA based on radical openness, urge for innovation, and passion for entrepreneurship, Amsterdam already *is* a living laboratory for urban innovation with a proven track record in transforming big words into real solutions. Bike lanes. Adaptive reuse. Nature-based solutions. Improving mental health through nature. Turning asphalt into public space arts installations and increasing pedestrian safety while at it.

But fun aside, one particular subject lingered in the hearts and minds of everyone. “Typically, mayors in peace time are responsible for building city ecosystems that consider sustainable development, environment, housing or security. But our mayor has had to deal with unthinkable responsibilities as a result of an illegal, unprovoked, full-scale invasion by Russian forces on February 24,” pointed out Yuliya Tychkivska, Director of *Aspen Institute Kyiv*.

Coincidentally, the address came on the day when Russian missile strikes hit more than 80 civilian targets across the country, including a children's playground.

Ultimately, much of this year's *Bloomberg CityLab* revolved around the urge to prevent bleak futures cities are reminded of with ever-increasing intensity: heatwaves, floods, biodiversity loss, and other manners with which climate change manifests itself globally.

## **Long-Term Energy Scenarios Vital for a Renewable-Based Future**

UN Climate Change News, 31 January 2023 – Effective climate action requires all countries to transform their energy systems, with far-reaching implications across industry, transport, buildings, agriculture and land use, and other sectors. A new report from the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), in cooperation with UN Climate Change, underscores that long-term energy scenarios are vital for moving the global energy system to a clean, sustainable and renewable-based future.

The report looks at how governments are aligning – and misaligning – their energy policy goals and climate goals by comparing their long-term energy strategies (LTES) with their scenario-based long-term low-emission development strategies (LT-LEDS). The report also suggests ways to increase coherence between energy and climate policies.

“The energy transition is critical to achieve the temperature goal of the Paris Agreement,” said James Grabert, Director of UN Climate Change’s Mitigation Division. “This report shows how long-term energy scenarios and climate strategies can complement each other to accelerate this transition towards net-zero emissions by mid-century. We are looking forward to further working with IRENA to facilitate support to countries in scaling up the ambition and implementation of energy and climate policies.”

IRENA defines ‘long-term energy planning’ as a process whereby national or regional targets, policies and investment strategies are derived from analyzing the energy sector’s development prospects. It’s an opportunity for countries to envision these changes in relation to the future of their economy and climate targets. The use of long-term energy scenarios can help countries navigate policies through the complexities of climate change, energy security, access, reliability, socio-economic development and economy-wide transitions to new, disruptive technology and business models.

The new report from IRENA complements UN Climate Change’s synthesis report on LT-LEDS released last October, which looked at countries’ plans to transition to net-zero emissions by or around mid-century. The report indicated that these countries’ greenhouse gas emissions could be roughly 68% per cent lower in 2050 than in 2019, if all the long-term strategies are fully implemented on time.

The IRENA report provides a comparative analysis of 24 LTES and 36 scenario-based LT-LEDS from a total of 45 countries. It considers the framework in which LTES and scenario-based LT-LEDS are developed, including the level of institutional coordination, stakeholder consultation, type of publication, and highlights from these publications. Additionally, it assesses the energy transition elements included in the scenarios of these publications (ranging from renewable generation and end-use sectors to mineral constraints and job impacts).

The report concludes that basing LT-LEDS on scenarios can make policy recommendations more robust and boost their potential for implementation.

## **Boosting Climate Education through Networking and Training**

Climate change education is one central foundation to achieve the goals of the Paris Climate Change Agreement. It can provide everyone – children, youth and adults – with the necessary knowledge and skills to deal with climate change both in terms of building resilience to ever more severe and unpredictable weather and harnessing the many opportunities of clean, sustainable and just economies.

Networking is crucial to connect the community of professionals, practitioners and learners working on climate change education – through training sessions and exchanges of practical information.

Education about climate change, above all for young people, is presently sorely lacking on a global scale. According to a recent report by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), young people are dissatisfied with the quality of climate change education they presently receive. 27% of respondents say they cannot at all explain what climate change is and 41% say they are only able to explain the broad principles of climate change.

The importance of climate change education has long been firmly anchored in the UN climate change process, in a field of work called Action for Climate Empowerment (ACE). ACE is a toolbox which includes climate change education, public awareness, training, public participation, public access to information and international cooperation on these matters.

Recognizing the growing importance of ACE, governments adopted the Glasgow work programme on ACE at COP26 two years ago. Through this work programme, countries and companies are, for example, to be put in a better position to build an appropriately skilled workforce for the just transition to low-carbon, climate-resilient economies. Furthermore, university graduates are to be enabled to understand how their chosen profession can contribute to the cause of and solutions to the climate crisis.

At COP27, a special ministerial round table on climate change education was held, and governments adopted a four-year action plan to flesh out specific activities that were agreed in principal in Glasgow. The plan foresees greater regional and international cooperation on climate change education through dialogues, workshops and consultations over the next years, along with increased support for ACE and better reporting.

Last year, the UN Climate Change secretariat contributed to the global discussion on how to improve climate change education with a series of events co-organized with UNESCO titled “Climate Change Education for Social Transformation”. These webinars explored the critical role and ways of greening education policies and curricula and aligning them with the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals.

This series will continue this year in the lead up to COP28 in Dubai, with a focus on greening schools. This is also happening in the context of the UN-led Greening Education Partnership.

## **COP27: Leaders Boost Sustainable Forest Management**

UN Climate Change News, 14 November 2022 – Important progress on sustainable forest management and conservation has been made at the UN Climate Change Conference COP27 in Sharm el-Sheikh with the launch of the Forest and Climate Leaders’ Partnership (FCLP), which aims to unite action by governments, businesses and community leaders.

The Partnership aims to boost action to implement a commitment made by over 140 countries at COP26 in Glasgow last year to halt forest loss and land degradation by 2030 and to convert ambition into results on the ground.

A key report published this year by the UN’s Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) – the State of the World’s Forests Report 2022 - highlights the need to step up action to unlock the potential of forests in tackling climate change and biodiversity loss.

Only by stepping up efforts to reduce deforestation and implementing other mitigation activities in the forest sector can the Paris Agreement goal of limiting global average temperature rise to 1.5 degrees above pre-industrial levels be reached. Twenty-seven countries, representing over 60% of global GDP and 33% of the world’s forests, have already joined the new partnership and are committed to leading by example on one or more of the FCLP’s action areas.

These include mobilizing public and donor finance to support implementation, supporting Indigenous Peoples’ and local communities’ initiatives, and incentivizing the conservation of high-integrity forests.

*“This alliance is an opportunity to implement solutions that reduce deforestation, that increase forest restoration and strengthen the livelihoods of people living in forest areas,”* said Gustavo Manrique Miranda, Minister of the Environment and Water, Ecuador.

President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, on behalf of the European Union, said: *“Only with healthy forests can we deliver on our shared climate commitments under the Paris Agreement. And only with intact, lively forests can we address biodiversity.”*

Government representatives meeting at COP27 announced that of the \$12 billion committed in Glasgow to protect and restore forests over 2021-2025, \$2.67 billion have already been spent and that public and private donors have committed a further \$4.5 billion since COP26.

To ensure accountability, the FCLP will hold annual meetings and publish an annual Global Progress Report that includes independent assessments of global progress toward the 2030 goal, and progress made by the FCLP itself.

Meanwhile, developing countries are taking ongoing concrete actions to protect forests under the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) mechanism.

Around 60 developing countries are already implementing REDD+ activities under UN Climate Change, resulting in over nine gigatons of verified emission reductions.

## **UNIT 3 ECONOMY**

### **Transforming and Building Resilient Economies in Africa: Resetting Priorities for the Policy Agenda in the post-COVID-19 Era**

Economic transformation is the key to building resilient economies in Africa. For example, the COVID-19 pandemic, unlike other global shocks that have impacted African countries recently, triggered a sudden, deep decline in activity, with severe impacts that will take a long time to counter.

To better withstand the negative impacts of such shocks – and to quickly and strongly recover from them – African countries must take steps to prioritize and implement policies that support transformation: to further diversify their economies; be more competitive in the export markets; achieve higher levels of productivity, especially labor; and upgrade technology to improve the production and export of high-value-added goods and services.

And countries must ensure this is done in a way that improves human economic well-being, such as through better jobs and opportunities, greater female participation in the paid formal workforce, and reduced income inequalities. The evidence shows that, despite notable gains in these areas, overall progress has been very slow – and since 2008 it has been dramatically reversed by global shocks, including the COVID-19 pandemic.

This report presents priorities for an African policy agenda to steer the continent along a sustained path of growth, economic transformation, and resilience in the coming decades. It also provides a framework for domestic and international investors, African civil society, and external development partners to engage further with African governments to reorient and deepen collaborative efforts for sustainable development on the continent.

The report also finds that there is an untapped growth potential that could be realized by promoting manufacturing since the sector holds higher relative labor productivity than agriculture and services. Jobs remain a critical challenge to Africa's economic development, especially for the continent's booming youth population, and a coherent industrial policy is a key way for governments to ensure that more labor is helping expand manufacturing activities rather than moving into the low-wage, low-productivity informal sector.

The findings and recommendations presented in this report build on lessons from African development, focusing on the role of structural change and economic transformation in the growth process. They also take into account the implications of other current global and regional issues and megatrends that will impact Africa's economic transformation agenda.

## **Wages continue to rise, but they still aren't keeping pace with inflation**

Employers continued to raise wages during the fourth quarter to attract workers and hold on to existing staff, though the pace of the increases slowed from the previous quarter.

While workers won't be happy that the pay boosts still aren't keeping up with inflation, the deceleration will likely please the Federal Reserve, which meets this week to determine how much more to hike interest rates.

Wages and salaries for civilian workers increased by 1% in the fourth quarter and by 5.1% for the year ending in December, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' quarterly Employment Cost Index released Tuesday.

This reflected a slowdown from the third quarter, when wages and salaries increased 1.3% quarter over quarter. For the year ending in September, wages and salaries were up 5.1%.

Economists expected the index to increase by 1.1% in the fourth quarter, according to consensus estimates on Refinitiv.

"The debate about wage growth is over: It is coming down," said Nick Bunker, head of economic research at Indeed Hiring Lab. "Wages and salaries are losing momentum as demand for workers cools. The question is now when and how this descent ends."

However, after adjusting for rising prices, wages and salaries declined 1.2% over the year ending in December. Though still negative, this metric is improving as inflation ebbs – inflation-adjusted pay had fallen 3% for the year ending in September.

The Fed keeps a close eye on the Employment Cost Index to monitor the extent to which skyrocketing inflation is boosting wages – a factor in its decision of how much and how fast to raise interest rates. The central bank is expected to announce its latest move on Wednesday, with many observers forecasting only a quarter-point bump, following a similar deceleration in December when it hiked rates by half a point instead of three-quarters.

The latest report is not likely to change the Fed's mind about rate increases, economists said.

Though the index is moving in the right direction, the pay increases remain too strong, said Rubeela Farooqi, chief US economist at High Frequency Economics.

"These are going to be the types of numbers the Fed wants to see, but it's really not enough," she said. "They need to see some loosening of the labor market so those wage pressures subside."

Labor costs are still growing at about a percentage point above what would be consistent with the Fed's 2% inflation target, according to Wells Fargo.

The ECI tracks changes in employers' labor costs for wages and salaries, along with health, retirement and other benefits. The index is not subject to the same distortions as other measures, such as average hourly earnings, because it keeps the composition of the workforce constant.

## **China set to launch long-awaited IPO reforms to reset the economy**

China is set to make market-oriented changes to the way initial public offerings are approved, as it tries to reset the economy and rebuild investor confidence after a chaotic exit from zero-Covid.

Once implemented, the reforms will mark the culmination of a decade-long attempt by the country to liberalize its nearly \$12 trillion stock market, which could make it easier for companies to raise money from domestic investors. The new registration-based IPO system, based on the model in the United States, will apply to all domestic stock exchanges, including the main ones in Shanghai and Shenzhen, according to an announcement by the China Securities Regulatory Commission (CSRC) on Wednesday.

Under the new system, regulators will stop vetting planned share sales by companies. Instead, the stock exchanges will take the primary role. The new system is expected to streamline the review process and give companies and investors more control over the pricing and timing of IPOs.

The concept was first proposed by the government in 2013. A pilot scheme was carried out on the tech-focused STAR Market in Shanghai in 2019. It was later adopted by the start-up board of ChiNext in Shenzhen, and then Currently, listings on the main boards of the Shanghai and Shenzhen stock exchanges must be reviewed and approved by regulators before they can be launched.

“This is an important step to reform the capital market. The government will allow market [forces] to play a bigger role allocating resources,” said Zhiwei Zhang, president and chief economist at Pinpoint Asset Management. “It is one step in the right direction,” he said, adding that it’s “encouraging” to see changes finally happening after years of talks.

China’s economy has slowed to one of its worst growth rates in nearly half a century. Financial stress has surged, even as the economy has started to recover after three years of strict pandemic controls.

Following a chaotic exit from its zero-Covid policy, Beijing is trying to reset the economy and rebuild the trust of investors and businesses. Chinese leader Xi Jinping reaffirmed his plans on Tuesday to revive domestic consumption, stimulate private investments in emerging industries and achieve tech independence in the longer term.

The timing of the CSRC announcement was “ahead of market expectation,” according to Citi analysts.

The faster-than-expected progress was mainly driven by a “pressing need” to help companies raise money outside of bank lending channels. Many banks are seeing their balance sheets deteriorate because of bad debts piling up from struggling local government financing platforms and property developers, they said.

Meanwhile, buoyant market sentiment in China following policy pivots on zero-Covid and the property sector has led to a big rally in stocks, making capital market financing a viable tool in the eyes of regulators, they said.



## What impact has Brexit had on the UK economy?

Like it – or not – it has been three years since the UK left the European Union. Since then there has been a pandemic, swiftly followed by an energy crisis. That has made it hard to decipher exactly what the impact of Brexit has been. The latest data suggest a hit to the economy – but in some unexpected ways.

**Trade.** As the UK pulled out of the single market and customs union in 2021, companies trading with the EU faced new rules, new paperwork and new checks on some goods. That prompted fears over what would happen to the £550bn of trade between the UK and its nearest trading partner.

When the British Chambers of Commerce surveyed 500 firms recently, more than half of them said they were still grappling with the new system. The red tape may have deterred some small exporters altogether. A study of customs classifications shows the variety of goods we export has diminished.

If you look at the UK's trade with the rest of the world, as well as trade with the EU, overall it has fallen relative to the size of the UK economy. Trade hasn't bounced back post-pandemic as fast as it has in other major nations, it has become less important in contributing to our prosperity. "Global Britain" has become less open. It is lagging behind.

**Investment.** How much businesses choose to spend on factories, training, equipment and technology, is also affected by our relationship with the EU. And the chancellor acknowledges that investment can turbocharge growth.

But investment has stalled since the referendum, as businesses remain wary of the outlook for the economy. Investment wasn't great even before 2016, but if it had continued its pre-referendum trend, analysis by the think tank the UK in a Changing Europe suggests it could be about 25% higher than it is now. Economists argue about how to explain that gap. Some – including the International Monetary Fund – have suggested that uncertainty surrounding Brexit, including the unsettled issue of the Northern Ireland Protocol, have deterred at least some spending.

Ultimately, however, a lack of investment means we are a less-efficient, lower-earning economy than we could be.

**Jobs.** A lack of workers has resulted in shortages and pushed up bills for customers. Some commentators argue these constraints will persuade businesses to boost staffs' skills and invest more.

Meanwhile, in the financial services sector, 7,000 jobs may have been lost, according to a House of Commons report, but that's far fewer than the 70,000 previously feared.

### What next?

Overall, the government's independent watchdog, the Office for Budget Responsibility, thinks the UK will ultimately be 4% worse off, than it would have been if we had voted no to Brexit – although for many voters, Brexit was more about sovereignty than the economy. But there remains a lot to be settled. There are potential gains there and realising them is a matter of political as well as economic strategy.

## UNIT 4 POLITICS

### What Does an Endgame Look Like in Ukraine?

Russian President Vladimir Putin confidently expected his invasion of Ukraine to be over in a very short period of time. Nearly a year later, Ukraine continues to fight, embarrassing the Russian dictator on the world stage even as he tries to rally domestic support by harkening back to long-ago victories.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's entreaties to NATO and the West for help finally resulted in commitments to provide tanks, armored vehicles and weapons – but there are worries it's not in time to defend against Putin's expected spring offensive. "The arrival of the tanks immediately begs for more combat aircraft overhead, particularly Soviet-era MIG-29s and American F-16s," writes James Stavridis, a former supreme allied commander of NATO. "So far, the West has held off supplying aircraft, but that debate is going to heat up soon."

And that raises the biggest question so far: When will enough be enough? Much as Putin overestimated his ability to win a war, Ukraine's allies may come to overestimate their ability, or willingness, to end it.

"Nearly a year into the war, uncertainty about its course is greater than ever," Hal Brands writes. American support for Ukraine – once based on fears of Russian nuclear escalation, now based on fears of a long war of attrition that tests global relationships – only goes so far, with US President Joe Biden's refusal to put American troops on the line and reluctance to further inflame Putin's ire. "Washington's goal is a Ukraine that is militarily defensible, politically independent and economically viable; this doesn't necessarily include retaking difficult areas such as the eastern Donbas or Crimea," Hal says.

For all of Putin's miscalculations, China's Xi Jinping hasn't walked away from his relationship with Putin. And he won't, writes Clara Ferreira Marques. "It's not because of any ideological or autocratic pact," she writes. "There is no such thing. This is about pragmatism, self-interest and a larger concern for Beijing – the US." That pragmatism extends to trade: Put simply, Russia needs China, though the reverse isn't true.

The two countries do, however, have a shared goal, Clara says, in anti-US grievance. China has shown no inclination to offer military assistance to Russia. "China knows all too well that a friend in need is a friend indeed," she warns.

Victory could come down to economic interests, according to Bloomberg's editorial board. Ukraine's economy has been devastated by war, undermining its long-term stability. "Military support for Ukraine has rightly been viewed as an investment in the West's security as well," the editors write. "But wars aren't won on the battlefield alone." Whether Russia can be brought to the table to negotiate what an end to the war would look like is a wide-open question, but Ukraine's isn't the only economy that is in danger of complete collapse. It's something Putin would do well to remember.

## **Ukraine: Europe's unfinished work**

Struck by 'night blindness', Western Europe willingly allowed itself to be taken hostage by Russia. Perhaps the most eloquent example of this short-sighted fascination with Russia was Europe's energy dependency. Ever since the early 1990s, Russia has been engaged in '*gas wars*' with Ukraine. The aim of the gas confrontation was to discredit Ukraine in the eyes of the global community and to consequently strengthen Russian influence in the region and across Europe.

The alternative Nord Stream and South Stream gas pipelines (bypassing Ukraine) were not designed to increase Russian gas supplies or to enhance the reliability of Europe's energy supplies, but instead to enable selective cutoffs of gas supplies to Belarus, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece. This idea was voiced back in 2009 by Mikhail Korchemkin, director of East European Gas Analysis, a US consulting company, in his article in the well-known Ukrainian weekly '*Zerkalo Nedeli*'. In his view, the purpose of this project was to undermine the energy security of these countries, strangling them in a warm gas embrace. The current energy crisis is the outcome of these efforts.

Ukraine's struggle for independence from Russia has been going on for centuries. Its current acute phase began in 2014, however, with the Euromaidan events marking a preamble. The formal 'stumbling block' was Ukraine's application for an association agreement with the European Union. The Yanukovich regime, which led the country to impoverishment and destruction during its three years in power, was not interested since the associate membership with the European Union would enforce honest and transparent reforms.

A regime that had built one of the most robust corruption systems over a short time was not willing to play fair. The stolen hope of reunification with Europe (which, for many Ukrainians, became a symbol of living by the civilized rules of the modern world) led to mass protests both in Kyiv and across Ukraine, soon dubbed '*Euromaidan*'. The protest against corruption, against a government that had sold out its country's future to Putin's Russia, eventually evolved into a resistance movement defending basic decency in the life of Ukrainian society.

Declared in 1991, Ukraine's independence opened up new opportunities and new development paths for the country. This process progressed with difficulty, but was irreversible. Over the last thirty years, Ukraine underwent a rather rapid political westernization: the spread of Western institutions across a growing part of Ukraine's territory, coupled with the popularization of European values and behavioral patterns among a growing number of Ukrainians. The 'revolution of dignity' undoubtedly renewed Ukrainian society and also laid the foundations of modern Ukrainian democracy.

The war in Ukraine has revealed the need for decolonization, not only for Ukraine but also for the peoples of Europe. This is mainly (but not only) true of the countries that were in the sphere of interest of the USSR after World War II.

## Why does Europe need Ukraine?

Today, Europe still speaks the language of security (in particular, energy security), while Ukraine (through the Revolution of Dignity and before the current desperate resistance against Russia) speaks the language of values. Values are the drivetrain of democracy. In the early weeks of the current war, in May 2014, a major conference was organized in Kyiv under the title “*Ukraine: Thinking Together.*” It gathered politicians, scholars, social activists, cultural figures and journalists from Ukraine, France, Germany, Poland and the USA. One of the panels was entitled “*Why does Europe need Ukraine?*” The panellists were unanimous: the events of the Ukrainian Euromaidan were a reminder of the ideas that had once accompanied the creation of the European Community.

Since the Euromaidan, Ukraine has demonstrated that its people were literally ready to die (and they *did* die) for these values.

Ukraine has become a reminder that the values of democracy must be fought for, turning into an original “*laboratory of the twenty-first century.*”

In the cauldron of the Revolution of Dignity and the Russian-Ukrainian war, Ukrainians found Ukraine and themselves, emerging as a nation. They have arrived at what Ukrainian nationalists had long dreamed of. Having found themselves as a nation, however, Ukrainians stopped looking at the nation as an ultimate goal. They began to see it as a platform for modernization. Ukraine transcends its own national history and ‘tries on’ a global perspective.

This kind of experience had been previously lived in the lands that later became Ukraine. Before the Mongol invasion, Kyivan Rus’ was an active participant in European processes, having inherited the Cyril and Methodius tradition through baptism. In the ninth century, these two Apostles of the Slavs resisted the German bishops in the struggle against the ‘*trilingual heresy*’ for the right of the Slavic peoples to strengthen their identity by developing their own culture and language. The two brethren of Thessalonica taught Europe a lesson in fruitful dialogue between the cultures of the peoples coming from the eastern and western parts of the continent.

They managed “*to resist the creation of blocs because they were guided by an apostolic universalism which is able to reconcile unity and diversity.*” Twelve centuries later, Germany and some other countries of ‘*old Europe*’ are afraid of Ukraine joining the ‘*European club*’ (through EU accession). This is because in that case “*Ukraine would become a new centre of power and would shift the balance of power eastwards,*” as Gregor Schwung argues in a piece published in November 2022 in welt.de.

In describing Ukraine’s journey, Yaroslav Hrytsak uses the well-known metaphor of ‘*the last mile problem*’. Both in sport and in history, one can cover a long distance but the last kilometers are the most difficult and decisive ones. Ukraine is one step away from its strategic goal: a radical reset and full membership in the family of European nations.

Europe’s great work is awaiting its completion.

## What If Joe Biden Doesn't Run Again?

Six months ago, Joe Biden's legislative agenda was stalled, his approval rating was stuck in the 30s and three-quarters of Democrats wanted someone else to be the party's nominee in 2024. But since then, things have really turned around for the president: He signed several big pieces of legislation, many of which passed with bipartisan support; his approval rating rose from the 30s to the 40s; and Democrats fared surprisingly well in the midterm elections. With this string of successes, the Democratic Party has re-coalesced around Biden. Should he decide to run for reelection, it's all but certain that the Democratic nomination would be his.

Most signs indicate that Biden does indeed want to run again. He's said that it's his "intention" to run, and recent reports from Politico and The Hill say that he could make that official as soon as mid-February. But even so, there are reasons to think that Biden might ultimately choose to step aside rather than run for reelection. The president's age is clearly catching up to him, and that's only going to accelerate. By the end of a hypothetical second term, Biden would be 86 years old. Biden is also well known as a family man, and he may decide that he wants to spend his twilight years surrounded by family and grandchildren rather than army generals and political advisers.

Given that possibility, it's worth taking seriously what would happen if Biden *did* step away – what chain of events would this set off? What would an incumbent-less 2024 Democratic primary look like? Who would be most likely to win that primary, and how would they fare in a general election?

### Lessons From 1952 and 1968

To try to answer these questions, let's first turn to history. Since the end of World War II, only two presidents have decided not to run for a second term – Harry Truman in 1952 and Lyndon Johnson in 1968. Though it's quite a small data set, there are unambiguous similarities between the two men, why they decided to step down and the political reverberations of their respective decisions.

First, Truman and Johnson were both very unpopular presidents. Truman had led the country through the end of World War II, but by the time he was considering running for reelection in 1952, the United States was mired in yet another war, this time in Korea. On top of this, Truman's administration was riddled with charges of corruption and communist infiltration – the latter being spun up by Sen. Joseph McCarthy and his fellow red-baiters on the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Johnson, for his part, had broken his promise not to widen America's involvement in Vietnam. While his predecessor, John F. Kennedy, had kept America's role to mostly advising and supplying South Vietnam, Johnson shifted the burden of fighting onto American soldiers in a process that became known as "Americanization." By 1967, nearly 500,000 Americans were overseas in Vietnam, and in that year alone, the war killed more than 11,000 American soldiers. The final straw for many Americans came in January of 1968, when North Vietnamese forces launched a major escalation of the war, the Tet Offensive, which showed Americans that they weren't as close to victory as Johnson had made it seem.

Unpopularity led to the second thing that Truman and Johnson both had to contend with: surprisingly strong primary challenges from mavericks within their own party. In 1952, Truman faced off against Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver, who had earned national fame as the head of a Senate committee that investigated and exposed organized crime in the United States – including among Democratic Party bosses and political machines. According to polling at the time, he was among the ten most-admired men in America. And so when the nation’s first primary rolled around in New Hampshire, Kefauver scored an upset victory against the incumbent president. Soon after that defeat, with his popularity and polling tanking, Truman announced he wouldn’t be running for reelection.

Johnson’s story is nearly identical. He, too, faced a primary challenge from a party maverick in Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy, who harnessed the public’s frustration at Johnson’s handling of Vietnam. Running a single-issue campaign against the war, McCarthy became the clear choice for the “Dump Johnson” wing of the Democratic Party. As had happened 16 years earlier, things came to a head in New Hampshire: McCarthy earned 42% of the vote to Johnson’s 49%. This strong performance for the outsider exposed Johnson’s weaknesses. After three weeks of sinking poll numbers that followed the New Hampshire debacle, and facing the prospect of an embarrassing defeat, Johnson finally withdrew.

This brings us to the third factor that both 1952 and 1968 share: Although both Truman and Johnson were initially challenged by insurgents, Democrats eventually settled on establishment figures as their nominees in both years. An important bit of context is that, up until 1972, the presidential nomination process was nothing like it is today. Plenty of states didn’t even hold primaries and in most of those that did, the results did not bind their delegates to the winning nominee. In essence, nominees were chosen in smoke-filled rooms during the national party conventions, and state primaries acted more as a suggestion than anything conclusive.

Kefauver, who had made himself unpopular among Democratic leaders by exposing the party’s corrupt underbelly, had a distinct disadvantage in these smoke-filled rooms. So while he had gone on from New Hampshire to dominate the rest of the primaries, the party leaders ended up selecting the establishment-friendly governor of Illinois, Adlai Stevenson.

The outcome of the 1968 primary was similar. After McCarthy’s upset in New Hampshire and Johnson’s withdrawal, Robert Kennedy jumped into the race to compete with McCarthy for the support of the anti-war wing of the Democratic Party. Meanwhile, Vice President Hubert Humphrey avoided the primaries and instead tried to win over party leaders and convention delegates through wheeling and dealing. It’s anybody’s guess what would have happened had Kennedy not been shot and killed on the night of his big victory in California. But as it happened, with his death, the anti-establishment movement’s energy disappeared, and Humphrey became the clear frontrunner. He clinched the nomination at the convention with the support of the party establishment despite having not run in the primaries.

The fourth and final similarity between 1952 and 1968 is that the incumbent president’s party lost in both general elections. Truman’s successor Adlai Stevenson

lost to the popular war hero Dwight Eisenhower in a crushing landslide. Sixteen years later, Richard Nixon defeated Hubert Humphrey in a much narrower victory. This is, in good part, because Stevenson and Humphrey got the worst of both worlds: Neither benefited from the advantages of incumbency, but at the same time, each had to answer for the president's unpopular actions. In the end, the public's discontent and desire for change were too great for Stevenson and Humphrey to overcome.

### **What This Means for 2024**

What lessons can we take from these historical precedents, and what do they tell us about 2024? While it's important not to exaggerate how much we can extrapolate from just two examples, there are nevertheless a few key points we can extract from the history book and apply to Biden and 2024.

First, incumbent presidents typically only choose not to run if they are facing an extreme political failure and if that failure spurs a strong primary challenge and intense intraparty division. Taking this at face value, we would expect Biden to run for reelection: He doesn't have any failures on the books that get close to the Korean or Vietnam Wars, and he is not facing an internal Democratic revolt or insurgent primary challenge.

The caveat to this is that there is a clear reason why Biden might step back from running that has not applied as sharply to any president before him: his advanced age. On the day of his inauguration in 2021, Biden immediately became the oldest president in American history at the age of 78. The runner-up, Reagan, ended his second term at the age of 77, whereas Truman and Johnson were only 67 and 59 respectively when they announced their decision not to run again.

Second, the party establishment has tended to rally around candidates of their choosing over mavericks or insurgents who may be popular among the base. This is good news for Vice President Kamala Harris, the candidate who would almost certainly become the establishment favorite the moment Biden were to step back. While Harris' ascendance would not be a foregone conclusion, she would certainly have a good level of party support and infrastructure to help launch her bid for the nomination.

But while she may be popular among Democratic activists, Harris could be a problem for the party in the general election. Her approval numbers are even lower than Biden's, floating in the mid-to-high 30s. Moreover, she could face the same problems that the establishment candidates Stevenson and Humphrey did in 1952 and 1968: being seen as responsible for the incumbent president's failures without benefitting from the advantages of incumbency itself.

Third, when a president decides not to run, their party typically has historically lost in the general election. If Biden were to step down, Democrats would likely be facing an uphill battle in the 2024 general. Again, two historical precedents don't set a law in stone that retiring presidents' parties always lose. But Democrats would be right to worry about what's happened in the past and work to nominate the candidate who would be strongest in 2024 rather than the candidate who the establishment likes the most.

If Biden does choose not to run, Democrats should take this last point seriously. Rather than simply coalescing around Kamala Harris as Biden's predetermined successor, Democratic voters should insist upon an open and competitive primary. And this time, unlike in 1952 and 1968, party leaders won't be able to preempt the will of the party's rank-and-file voters and simply anoint a candidate of their choosing. As we saw in 2016 when Bernie Sanders nearly took out Hillary Clinton, and again in 2020 when there were enough viable candidates to fill two debate stages, primaries today are competitive in a way that they were not earlier in the 20th century. And so in 2024, given the democratic nature of contemporary primaries, it's completely feasible that a maverick or underdog could take the nomination even if the establishment rallies around Harris.

Over the past few years, the party has built out an impressive bench of politicians who may be fit for the job. To name just a few Democrats who might fit the bill, and in no particular order, there's Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer, Georgia Senator Raphael Warnock, Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg, Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren, California Governor Gavin Newsom, Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders, Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro and many more who I won't list, but who Wikipedia has helpfully and comprehensively listed. Ultimately, however, all this hinges on Joe Biden. Until and unless he says otherwise, Biden will be the party's nominee in 2024. Even so, the party should not want to be caught flat-footed should Biden decide that his time is up. For that reason, it's important for Democrats to start thinking about what an incumbent-less 2024 would have in store. And there are worse places to start that process than by looking at the recent history of 1952 and 1968.



## PART II TEXTS IN UKRAINIAN FOR TRANSLATION

### **Текст 1. Британія: Росія навряд чи зможе суттєво вплинути на хід війни у найближчі тижні**

Британська розвідка вважає малоімовірним, що Росія буде спроможна наростити сили, необхідні для суттєвого впливу на результат війни протягом найближчих тижнів.

Про це, як пише “Європейська правда”, йдеться у розвідувальному огляді міноборони Британії у вівторок.

Розвідка називає дуже ймовірним, що Росія намагається відновити великі наступальні операції в Україні з початку січня 2023 року. Її оперативною метою майже напевно є захоплення решти утримуваних Україною частин Донецької області.

Однак, російським військам вдається просуватися вперед лише на кілька сотень метрів за тиждень. Це майже напевно пов’язано з тим, що Росії зараз не вистачає боєприпасів і маневрених підрозділів, необхідних для успішних наступальних дій.

Найвище командування, ймовірно, розробляє плани, що вимагають від недоукомплектованих, недосвідчених підрозділів досягти нереальних цілей через політичний і професійний тиск, стверджується у зведенні.

“Російські лідери, ймовірно, і надалі вимагатимуть масштабних наступальних дій. Залишається малоімовірним, що Росія зможе наростити сили, необхідні для того, щоб суттєво вплинути на результат війни протягом найближчих тижнів”, – вважає британська розвідка.

### **Текст 2. Військова допомога Нідерландів для України перевищила мільярд євро**

Нідерланди надали Україні військової допомоги на суму у 1,07 млрд євро. Про це йдеться в урядовому листі міністра оборони Нідерландів Кайси Оллонгрена до парламенту, повідомляє “Європейська правда”.

Із цієї суми безпосередня матеріальна військова підтримка складає 463,8 млн євро. Ця сума стосується балансової вартості поставленого обладнання. У попередньому парламентському листі від 16 грудня, балансова вартість поставленого обладнання становила понад 404 мільйони євро.

Також у цю суму входять комерційні поставки: вартість придбаних на комерційній основі військових товарів в інтересах України наразі становить близько 57,8 млн євро (порівняно з 45 млн євро станом на 15 грудня минулого року).

У цю суму також входить пакет військової підтримки на суму 120 млн євро, що передбачає передачу танків Т-72 спільно з Чехією і США.

Внесок у розмірі 100 млн євро також передбачено для “Міжнародного фонду для України”. Цей фонд фінансує обладнання, що поставляється безпосередньо промисловістю.

Нідерланди також вносять 25 мільйонів євро у фонд НАТО для військової підтримки України. Ці гроші призначені для таких речей, як паливо, одяг і медикаменти, а не зброя.

“Для цих поставок, як і для попередніх, міністр закордонних справ і міністр зовнішньої торгівлі та співробітництва з питань розвитку провели ретельний, але, зважаючи на виняткові обставини, прискорений перегляд критеріїв ЄС щодо експорту озброєнь. Будь-які нові поставки також проходять цю ретельну та прискорену перевірку” – йдеться у листі.

### **Текст 3. Постійне розширення: Кім Чен Ин прямо заявив, що готує КНДР до можливої війни**

Північнокорейський лідер Кім Чен Ин пообіцяв розширити військові навчання та посилити готовність країни до війни. Про це пише Reuters.

Видання пише, що Кім Чен Ин головував на засіданні Центральної військової комісії керівної Робочої партії КНДР. На ньому офіційні особи обговорили “основні військово-політичні завдання” країни на 2023 рік, а також “довгострокові питання щодо орієнтації на “будівництво армії”.

“Обговорювалося питання про постійне розширення та посилення операцій і бойових навчань КНА (Корейської народної армії, ред.), щоб впоратися зі ситуацією, що склалася”, сказано в повідомленні держЗМІ Північної Кореї.

Журналісти зазначили, що вже у середу 8 лютого КНДР проведе військові навчання на честь річниці заснування своїх збройних сил.

У матеріалі сказано, що водночас Пхеньян засудив військові навчання США та Південної Кореї. У КНДР впевнені, що Вашингтон і Сеул досягли якоїсь “останньої червоної лінії”.

“Військово-політична ситуація на Корейському півострові та в регіоні досягла останньої червоної лінії через безрозсудні військово-конфронтаційні маневри та ворожі дії США та їхні васальні сили”, – йдеться у заяві уряду КНДР.

Крім того, повідомляється, що Північна Корея поки що не зацікавлена в переговорах зі Сполученими Штатами, які мають зупинити свою “ворожу політику”.

### **Текст 4. Швейцарія може переглянути свій нейтралітет щодо постачання зброї Україні**

Швейцарія близька до того, щоб відмовитися від нейтралітету та дозволити передання озброєння Україні. Про це пише Reuters.

Зазначено, що покупці швейцарської зброї юридично не мають права реекспортувати її, і це обмеження, за словами деяких представників збройової промисловості країни, зараз шкодить торгівлі.

Заклики європейських сусідів Швейцарії дозволити такі поставки стають дедалі гучнішими на тлі посилення російського наступу, через що два парламентські комітети з питань безпеки рекомендували пом'якшити правила.

“Ми хочемо бути нейтральними, але ми є частиною західного світу... Ми не повинні мати право вето, щоб зупиняти інших від допомоги Україні. Якщо ми це зробимо, ми підтримаємо Росію, яка не займає нейтральну позицію”, – сказав Тьєррі Буркарт, лідер правоцентристської партії FDP, який подав до уряду пропозицію дозволити реекспорт зброї.

Таку думку поділяють дедалі більше жителів країни. Так, за даними нещодавнього соціологічного дослідження, 55% швейцарців виступають за зняття заборони на реекспорт зброї в Україну.

Швейцарський нейтралітет щодо непостачання зброї воюючим країнам діє з 1815 року та був закріплений договором 1907 року. У країні діє окреме ембарго на продаж зброї Україні та РФ.

### **Текст 5. Парламентська асамблея ОБСЄ обговорить у Відні війну росії з Україною**

Парламентарії країн-учасниць ОБСЄ під час зимової сесії ПА ОБСЄ 23-24 лютого у Відні зосередяться на повномасштабній війні росії проти України, що триває вже рік.

Відповідно до порядку денного, 22-е зимове засідання Асамблеї відкриється вранці 23 лютого промовама президента Національної ради Австрії Вольфганга Сobotки, президентки Парламентської асамблеї ОБСЄ Маргарити Седерфельт та чинного голови ОБСЄ, глави МЗС Північної Македонії Буяра Османі та генеральної секретарки ОБСЄ Гельги Шмід.

“Відповідно до правил процедури Асамблеї та згідно з багаторічною практикою проведення зимової сесії у четвер і п'ятницю четвертого тижня лютого, засідання ПА ОБСЄ припадає на першу річницю повномасштабного вторгнення російської федерації в Україну. Минулого року засідання співпало з перетином російськими військами кордону України, що спонукало парламентарів висловитися переважною більшістю голосів проти вторгнення”, – йдеться у повідомленні.

У пресслужбі ПА ОБСЄ підтвердили, що у зимовій сесії ПА ОБСЄ у Відні очікується участь російських та білоруських депутатів. Також зазначається, що угода між Австрією та ОБСЄ про штаб-квартиру “вимагає від Австрії сприяти в'їзду делегацій держав-учасниць на засідання ОБСЄ, а це означає, що видача віз є не питанням розсуду, а питанням юридичного зобов'язання”.

## **Текст 6. Україна може стати одним із найбільших європейських енергетичних хабів**

Понад 5 тисяч тонн енергетичного обладнання надійшло до України від партнерів – Європейського Союзу, держав – членів та їхніх компаній для підтримки енергетичного сектору.

В рамках створеного за ініціативи Єврокомісії Фонду підтримки енергетики України наразі здійснюються закупівлі вкрай необхідного обладнання на більш ніж 110 мільйонів євро.

Про це заявив міністр енергетики України Герман Галущенко у своєму виступі на саміті “Україна – ЄС”, який відбувся 3 лютого у Києві.

“Ми цінуємо позитивну оцінку Європейської Комісії нашого прогресу у сфері енергетики. Саме у європейській інтеграції ми бачимо зміцнення стабільності та стійкості нашої енергетичної системи. Докладаємо активних зусиль з інтеграції наших енергетичних ринків. Більше того, Україна стане одним з найбільших європейських енергетичних хабів”, – акцентував міністр енергетики.

Очільник Міненерго також зазначив, що Україна має розгалужену та гнучку газотранспортну систему і найбільші в Європі підземні газові сховища.

Важливою є увага і до атомної енергетики, адже Україна – перша держава у світі, яка диверсифікувала постачання ядерного палива, відмовившись від російського, і наразі ділиться досвідом з іншими державами-партнерами.

## **Текст 7. Україна у 2023 році збере вдвічі менше зерна, ніж до війни.**

Сільгоспвиробники України у 2023 р. зберуть удвічі менше зерна та олійних культур, ніж до російського вторгнення.

Про це пише Agraheute із посиланням на інформацію президента Української зернової асоціації (УЗА) Миколи Горбачьова, яку він повідомив в кулуарах Паризької зернової конференції. За оцінками УЗА, українське виробництво зерна та олійних може впасти ще на чверть з тогорічних 67 млн т – до лише 50 млн т (зокрема 16 млн т пшениці та 18 млн т кукурудзи).

За словами Миколи Горбачьова, це оптимістичні прогнози і максимальні обсяги, які можна очікувати.

За словами Горбачьова, на вирощування кукурудзи особливо впливають фінансові обмеження аграріїв, оскільки вирощування, сушіння та транспортування є відносно дорогими. Крім того, приблизно 10% минулорічних полів кукурудзи все ще не зібрано.

Переривання експорту після вторгнення росії додало збитків виробникам. У сезоні 2022/23 Україна вже встигла експортувати близько 30 млн т зерна та олійних зерновим коридором та альтернативними маршрутами до ЄС. Проте перевірки суден у зерновому коридорі, які затримує росія, та неефективна логістика на альтернативних маршрутах призвели до високих витрат виробників.

## **Текст 8. ФАО: Світова пропозиція зерна буде скорочуватись**

Світове виробництво зернових у 2022 році прогнозується на рівні 2 765 млн т, що на 1,7% нижче за показник 2021 року. Про це говориться у прогнозі Продовольчої та сільськогосподарської організації ООН.

Підвищення прогнозу для Австралії та росії вказує на рекордний світовий обсяг виробництва пшениці у 2022 році, тоді як загальне виробництво фуражних зернових, як очікується, знизиться на 3,3% порівняно з попереднім роком.

Прогноз світового виробництва рису був переглянутий у бік зниження, оскільки нижчий, ніж очікувалося, обсяг виробництва в Китаї більш ніж компенсував підвищення прогнозу для Бангладешу та кількох інших країн. Як результат, тепер прогнозується, що світове виробництво рису знизиться на 2,6% порівняно з історичним максимумом у 2021 році.

Низькі внутрішні ціни можуть призвести до незначного скорочення посівів пшениці в росії, яка є найбільшим світовим експортером, тоді як серйозні наслідки війни в Україні, за оцінками, скоротять посівні площі озимої пшениці на 40%, очікують у ФАО. Рекордні посіви прогнозуються в Індії завдяки високим ринковим цінам та підтримці цін, а також відносно високі посіви прогнозуються в Пакистані, оскільки стояча вода від повені 2022 року спричиняє менше перешкод, ніж очікувалося спочатку.

У звіті ФАО прогнозується, що міжнародна торгівля зерновими у сезоні 2022-2023 років скоротиться на 1,7% порівняно з рекордним показником попереднього року до 474 млн. т.

## **Текст 9. Дискусія у Вашингтоні про повоєнну відбудову України**

Робочий сніданок із панельною дискусією на тему “Відбудова України: інвестиції та верховенство права” відбувся 31 січня 2023 року в Посольстві Німеччини у Вашингтоні. У заході, організованому Посольствами України та ФРН у США за підтримки Асоціації правників України (АПУ), взяли участь провідні українські, німецькі й американські експерти в різних галузях. Загалом на сніданку були присутні понад 130 учасників.

Темою панельної дискусії став правовий аспект майбутнього повоєнного відновлення української економіки. Посольство Німеччини стало співорганізатором сніданку не випадково: ФРН має унікальний досвід швидкого економічного відродження після Другої світової війни. Ключовими чинниками успіху Німеччини були євроінтеграція й безперервна фінансова та інституційна допомога з боку США та європейських партнерів. Україна також уже рухається схожим шляхом, і важливо розуміти, що цей рух швидко прискориться після перемоги країни у війні.

Під час дискусії юристи з різних країн поділилися думками про те, які складові забезпечення верховенства права необхідні для залучення Україною інвестицій із США та країн Європи, що потрібно змінити, яку допомогу й

рекомендації можуть надати трансатлантичні ділові кола та юридичні спільноти.

### **Текст 10. Литовці обрали захисників Маріуполя “Людьми 2022 року”**

Провідний економічний та політичний журнал Литви “VALSTYBĖ” обрав полк “Азов” – захисників Маріуполя та України – “Людьми 2022 року”.

Редакція литовського журналу своїм вибором відзначила, що відвага та незламність Українського народу, який захищає кожен метр своєї країни, змінили майбутнє не лише України та Європи, але й усього людства, повідомляє Посольство України в Литві.

У повідомленні редакції журналу щодо їхнього вибору зазначено, що фото захисника Маріуполя Михайла Діанова облетіло світ і ще раз нагадало про героїчну боротьбу Українських захисників у Маріуполі, коли окремий загін спеціального призначення, відомий також як полк “Азов”, в оточенні значно більших сил росіян захищав позиції на території металургійного комбінату “Азовсталь” протягом трьох місяців.

“Коли почалася війна росії в Україні, багато західних демократій надзвичайно повільно реагували на прохання України про допомогу, багато країн чекали, можливо, через пару тижнів чи місяць росія окупує ту частину України, яку бажає володимир путін, а після очікування буде можна зробити вигляд, що нічого не сталося. Однак кожен день, коли герої України не здавалися і боролися, став доказом того, що успішного російського бліцкригу в Україні не буде, тож демократіям нічого не залишається, як чекати. Нема чого чекати – Україна просто не здасться”, – йдеться в повідомленні.

## **PART III SPEECHES**

### **Text 1. Martin Luther King, Jr.**

#### *I Have a Dream*

*delivered 28 August 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington D.C.*

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an

invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest – quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends. And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.



I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.”

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a *dream* today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of “interposition” and “nullification” – one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a *dream* today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; “and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.”

This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

And this will be the day – this will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with new meaning:

*My country ‘tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim’s pride, From every mountainside, let freedom ring!*

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that:

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able

to speed up that day when *all* of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

*Free at last! Free at last!*

*Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!*

## **Text 2. First Inaugural Address of Franklin D. Roosevelt**

President Hoover, Mr. Chief Justice, my friends:

This is a day of national consecration. And I am certain that on this day my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency, I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our people impels.

This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure, as it has endured, will revive and will prosper.

So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself – nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life, a leadership of frankness and of vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. And I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; and the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

And yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered, because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply.

Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True, they have tried. But their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit, they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for

restored confidence. They only know the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

Yes, the money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of that restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy, the moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days, my friends, will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves, to our fellow men.

Recognition of that falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, and on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation is asking for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing great – greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our great natural resources.

Hand in hand with that we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land.

Yes, the task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products, and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, the State, and the local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities that have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped by merely talking about it.

We must act. We must act quickly.

And finally, in our progress towards a resumption of work, we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order. There must be a strict

supervision of all banking and credits and investments. There must be an end to speculation with other people's money. And there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

These, my friends, are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the 48 States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time, and necessity, secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor, as a practical policy, the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment; but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not nationally – narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States of America – a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor: the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others; the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize, as we have never realized before, our interdependence on each other; that we can not merely take, but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress can be made, no leadership becomes effective.

We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and our property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at the larger good. This, I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us, bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in times of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image, action to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple, so practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has ever seen.

It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations. And it is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly equal, wholly adequate to meet the

unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But, in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis – broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me, I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded, a permanent national life.

We do not distrust the – the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication – In this dedication of a Nation, we humbly ask the blessing of God.

May He protect each and every one of us.

May He guide me in the days to come.

### **Text 3. “Strength and Decency” by Theodore Roosevelt**

I AM particularly glad to see such a society as this flourishing as your society has flourished, because the future welfare of our nation depends upon the way in which we can combine in our men – in our young men – decency and strength. Just this morning when attending service on the great battleship Kearsarge I listened to a sermon addressed to the officers and enlisted men of the navy, in which the central thought was that each American must be a good man or he could not be a good citizen. And one of the things dwelt upon in that sermon was the fact that a man must be clean of mouth as well as clean of life – must show by his words as well as by his actions his fealty to the Almighty if he was to be what we have a right to expect from men wearing the national uniform. We have good Scriptural authority for the statement that it is not what comes into a man’s mouth but what goes out of it that counts. I am not addressing weaklings, or I should not take the trouble to come here. I am addressing strong, vigorous men, who are engaged in the active hard work of life;

and life to be worth living must be a life of activity and hard work. I am speaking to men engaged in the hard, active work of life, and therefore to men who will count for good or for evil.

It is peculiarly incumbent upon you who have strength to set a right example to others. I ask you to remember that you cannot retain your self-respect if you are loose and foul of tongue, that a man who is to lead a clean and honorable life must inevitably suffer if his speech likewise is not clean and honorable. Every man here knows the temptations that beset all of us in this world. At times any man will slip. I do not expect perfection, but I do expect genuine and sincere effort toward being decent and cleanly in thought, in word, and in deed. As I said at the outset, I hail the work of this society as typifying one of those forces which tend to the betterment and uplifting of our social system. Our whole effort should be toward securing a combination of the strong qualities with those qualities which we term virtues. I expect you to be strong. I would not respect you if you were not. I do not want to see Christianity professed only by weaklings; I want to see it a moving spirit among men of strength. I do not expect you to lose one particle of your strength or courage by being decent. On the contrary, I should hope to see each man who is a member of this society, from his membership in it become all the fitter to do the rough work of the world; all the fitter to work in time of peace; and if, which may Heaven forbid, war should come, all the fitter to fight in time of war. I desire to see in this country the decent men strong and the strong men decent, and until we get that combination in pretty good shape we are not going to be by any means as successful as we should be. There is always a tendency among very young men and among boys who are not quite young men as yet to think that to be wicked is rather smart; to think it shows that they are men. Oh, how often you see some young fellow who boasts that he is going to “see life,” meaning by that that he is going to see that part of life which it is a thousandfold better should remain unseen! I ask that every man here constitute himself his brother’s keeper by setting an example to that younger brother which will prevent him from getting such a false estimate of life. Example is the most potent of all things. If any one of you in the presence of younger boys, and especially the younger people of our own family, misbehave yourself, if you use coarse and blasphemous language before them, you can be sure that these younger people will follow your example and not your precept. It is no use to preach to them if you do not act decently yourself. You must feel that the most effective way in which you can preach is by your practice.

As I was driving up here a friend who was with us said that in his experience the boy who went out into life with a foul tongue was apt so to go because his kinsfolk, at least his intimate associates, themselves had foul tongues. The father, the elder brothers, the friends, can do much toward seeing that the boys as they become men become clean and honorable men.

I have told you that I wanted you not only to be decent, but to be strong. These boys will not admire virtue of a merely anaemic type. They believe in courage, in manliness. They admire those who have the quality of being brave, the quality of facing life as life should be faced, the quality that must stand at the root of good

citizenship in peace or in war. If you are to be effective as good Christians you must possess strength and courage, or your example will count for little with the young, who admire strength and courage. I want to see you, the men of the Holy Name Society, you who embody the qualities which the younger people admire, by your example give those young people the tendency, the trend, in the right direction; and remember that this example counts in many other ways besides cleanliness of speech. I want to see every man able to hold his own with the strong, and also ashamed to oppress the weak. I want to see each young fellow able to do a man's work in the world, and of a type which will not permit imposition to be practised upon him. I want to see him too strong of spirit to submit to wrong, and, on the other hand, ashamed to do wrong to others. I want to see each man able to hold his own in the rough work of actual life outside, and also, when he is at home, a good man, unselfish in dealing with wife, or mother, or children. Remember that the preaching does not count if it is not backed up by practice. There is no good in your preaching to your boys to be brave if you run away. There is no good in your preaching to them to tell the truth if you do not. There is no good in your preaching to them to be unselfish if they see you selfish with your wife, disregarding of others. We have a right to expect that you will come together in meetings like this; that you will march in processions; that you will join in building up such a great and useful association as this; and, even more, we have a right to expect that in your own homes and among your own associates you will prove by your deeds that yours is not a lip-loyalty merely; that you show in actual practice the faith that is in you.

#### **Text 4. "40th Anniversary of D-Day" by Ronald Regan**

*June 6, 1984*

We're here to mark that day in history when the Allied armies joined in battle to reclaim this continent to liberty. For four long years, much of Europe had been under a terrible shadow. Free nations had fallen, Jews cried out in the camps, millions cried out for liberation. Europe was enslaved and the world prayed for its rescue. Here, in Normandy, the rescue began. Here, the Allies stood and fought against tyranny, in a giant undertaking unparalleled in human history.

We stand on a lonely, windswept point on the northern shore of France. The air is soft, but forty years ago at this moment, the air was dense with smoke and the cries of men, and the air was filled with the crack of rifle fire and the roar of cannon. At dawn, on the morning of the 6th of June, 1944, two hundred and twenty-five Rangers jumped off the British landing craft and ran to the bottom of these cliffs.

Their mission was one of the most difficult and daring of the invasion: to climb these sheer and desolate cliffs and take out the enemy guns. The Allies had been told that some of the mightiest of these guns were here, and they would be trained on the beaches to stop the Allied advance.

The Rangers looked up and saw the enemy soldiers at the edge of the cliffs, shooting down at them with machine guns and throwing grenades. And the American Rangers began to climb. They shot rope ladders over the face of these cliffs and

began to pull themselves up. When one Ranger fell, another would take his place. When one rope was cut, a Ranger would grab another and begin his climb again. They climbed, shot back, and held their footing. Soon, one by one, the Rangers pulled themselves over the top, and in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs, they began to seize back the continent of Europe. Two hundred and twenty-five came here. After two days of fighting, only ninety could still bear arms.

And behind me is a memorial that symbolizes the Ranger daggers that were thrust into the top of these cliffs. And before me are the men who put them there. These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent. And these are the heroes who helped end a war. Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your "lives fought for life and left the vivid air signed with your honor."

I think I know what you may be thinking right now – thinking "we were just part of a bigger effort; everyone was brave that day." Well everyone was. Do you remember the story of Bill Millin of the 51st Highlanders? Forty years ago today, British troops were pinned down near a bridge, waiting desperately for help. Suddenly, they heard the sound of bagpipes, and some thought they were dreaming. Well, they weren't. They looked up and saw Bill Millin with his bagpipes, leading the reinforcements and ignoring the smack of the bullets into the ground around him.

Lord Lovat was with him – Lord Lovat of Scotland, who calmly announced when he got to the bridge, "Sorry, I'm a few minutes late," as if he'd been delayed by a traffic jam, when in truth he'd just come from the bloody fighting on Sword Beach, which he and his men had just taken.

There was the impossible valor of the Poles, who threw themselves between the enemy and the rest of Europe as the invasion took hold; and the unsurpassed courage of the Canadians who had already seen the horrors of war on this coast. They knew what awaited them there, but they would not be deterred. And once they hit Juno Beach, they never looked back.

All of these men were part of a roll call of honor with names that spoke of a pride as bright as the colors they bore; The Royal Winnipeg Rifles, Poland's 24th Lancers, the Royal Scots' Fusiliers, the Screaming Eagles, the Yeomen of England's armored divisions, the forces of Free France, the Coast Guard's "Matchbox Fleet," and you, the American Rangers.

Forty summers have passed since the battle that you fought here. You were young the day you took these cliffs; some of you were hardly more than boys, with the deepest joys of life before you. Yet you risked everything here. Why? Why did you do it? What impelled you to put aside the instinct for self-preservation and risk your lives to take these cliffs? What inspired all the men of the armies that met here? We look at you, and somehow we know the answer. It was faith and belief. It was loyalty and love.

The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead, or on the next. It was the deep knowledge – and pray God we have not



lost it – that there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. You were here to liberate, not to conquer, and so you and those others did not doubt your cause. And you were right not to doubt.

You all knew that some things are worth dying for. One's country is worth dying for, and democracy is worth dying for, because it's the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised by man. All of you loved liberty. All of you were willing to fight tyranny, and you knew the people of your countries were behind you. The Americans who fought here that morning knew word of the invasion was spreading through the darkness back home. They fought – or felt in their hearts, though they couldn't know in fact, that in Georgia they were filling the churches at 4:00 am. In Kansas they were kneeling on their porches and praying. And in Philadelphia they were ringing the Liberty Bell.

Something else helped the men of D-day; their rock-hard belief that Providence would have a great hand in the events that would unfold here; that God was an ally in this great cause. And so, the night before the invasion, when Colonel Wolverton asked his parachute troops to kneel with him in prayer, he told them: "Do not bow your heads, but look up so you can see God and ask His blessing in what we're about to do." Also, that night, General Matthew Ridgway on his cot, listening in the darkness for the promise God made to Joshua: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

These are the things that impelled them; these are the things that shaped the unity of the Allies.

When the war was over, there were lives to be rebuilt and governments to be returned to the people. There were nations to be reborn. Above all, there was a new peace to be assured. These were huge and daunting tasks. But the Allies summoned strength from the faith, belief, loyalty, and love of those who fell here. They rebuilt a new Europe together. There was first a great reconciliation among those who had been enemies, all of whom had suffered so greatly. The United States did its part, creating the Marshall Plan to help rebuild our allies and our former enemies. The Marshall Plan led to the Atlantic alliance – a great alliance that serves to this day as our shield for freedom, for prosperity, and for peace.

In spite of our great efforts and successes, not all that followed the end of the war was happy or planned. Some liberated countries were lost. The great sadness of this loss echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague, and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the center of this continent did not leave when peace came. They're still there, uninvited, unwanted, unyielding, almost forty years after the war. Because of this, allied forces still stand on this continent. Today, as forty years ago, our armies are here for only one purpose: to protect and defend democracy. The only territories we hold are memorials like this one and graveyards where our heroes rest.

We in America have learned bitter lessons from two world wars. It is better to be here ready to protect the peace, than to take blind shelter across the sea, rushing to respond only after freedom is lost. We've learned that isolationism never was and never will be an acceptable response to tyrannical governments with an expansionist

intent. But we try always to be prepared for peace, prepared to deter aggression, prepared to negotiate the reduction of arms, and yes, prepared to reach out again in the spirit of reconciliation. In truth, there is no reconciliation we would welcome more than a reconciliation with the Soviet Union, so, together, we can lessen the risks of war, now and forever.

It's fitting to remember here the great losses also suffered by the Russian people during World War II. Twenty million perished, a terrible price that testifies to all the world the necessity of ending war. I tell you from my heart that we in the United States do not want war. We want to wipe from the face of the earth the terrible weapons that man now has in his hands. And I tell you, we are ready to seize that beachhead. We look for some sign from the Soviet Union that they are willing to move forward, that they share our desire and love for peace, and that they will give up the ways of conquest. There must be a changing there that will allow us to turn our hope into action.

We will pray forever that someday that changing will come. But for now, particularly today, it is good and fitting to renew our commitment to each other, to our freedom, and to the alliance that protects it.

We're bound today by what bound us 40 years ago, the same loyalties, traditions, and beliefs. We're bound by reality. The strength of America's allies is vital to the United States, and the American security guarantee is essential to the continued freedom of Europe's democracies. We were with you then; we're with you now. Your hopes are our hopes, and your destiny is our destiny.

Here, in this place where the West held together, let us make a vow to our dead. Let us show them by our actions that we understand what they died for. Let our actions say to them the words for which Matthew Ridgway listened: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

Strengthened by their courage and heartened by their value [valor] and borne by their memory, let us continue to stand for the ideals for which they lived and died. Thank you very much, and God bless you all.

### **Text 5. President Biden's Speech in Philadelphia**

Sept. 1, 2022

My fellow Americans, please, if you have a seat, take it.

I speak to you tonight from sacred ground in America: Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pa.

This is where America made its declaration of independence to the world more than two centuries ago, with an idea unique among nations: that in America, we're all created equal.

This is where the United States Constitution was written and debated. This is where we set in motion the most extraordinary experiment of self-government the world has ever known.

With three simple words: we, the people; we, the people. These two documents and their ideas they embody – equality and democracy – are the rock upon which this nation is built.

They are how we became the greatest nation on earth. They are why, for more than two centuries, America has been a beacon to the world.

But as I stand here tonight, equality and democracy are under assault. We do ourselves no favor to pretend otherwise.

So, tonight, I've come to this place where it all began to speak as plainly as I can to the nation about the threats we face, about the power we have in our own hands to meet these threats and about the incredible future that lies in front of us, if only we choose it.

We must never forget, we, the people, are the true heirs of the American experiment that began more than two centuries ago.

We, the people, have burning inside of each of us the flame of liberty that was lit here at Independence Hall. A flame that lit our way through abolition, the Civil War, suffrage, the Great Depression, world wars, civil rights. That sacred flame still burns. Now on our time as we build an America that is more prosperous, free, and just. That is the work of my presidency, a mission I believe in with my whole soul. But first, we must be honest with each other and with ourselves.

Too much of what's happening in our country today is not normal. Donald Trump and the MAGA Republicans represent an extremism that threatens the very foundations of our Republic.

Now, I want to be very clear, very clear up front. Not every Republican, not even the majority of Republicans, are MAGA Republicans. Not every Republican embraces their extreme ideology. I know, because I've been able to work with these mainstream Republicans.

But there's no question that the Republican Party today is dominated, driven and intimidated by Donald Trump and the MAGA Republicans. And that is a threat to this country.

These are hard things, but I'm an American president, not a president of red America or blue America, but of all America. And I believe it's my duty, my duty to level with you, to tell the truth no matter how difficult, no matter how painful.

And here, in my view, is what is true: MAGA Republicans do not respect the Constitution. They do not believe in the rule of law. They do not recognize the will of the people. They refuse to accept the results of a free election, and they're working right now as I speak in state after state to give power to decide elections in America to partisans and cronies, empowering election deniers to undermine democracy itself.

MAGA forces are determined to take this country backwards, backwards to an America where there is no right to choose, no right to privacy, no right to contraception, no right to marry who you love. They promote authoritarian leaders, and they fanned the flames of political violence that are a threat to our personal rights, to the pursuit of justice, to the rule of law, to the very soul of this country. They look at the mob that stormed the United States Capitol on Jan. 6, brutally attacking law enforcement, not as insurrectionists who placed a dagger at the throat

of our democracy, but they look at them as patriots. And they see their MAGA failure to stop a peaceful transfer of power after the 2020 election as preparation for the 2022 and 2024 elections.

They tried everything last time to nullify the votes of 81 million people. This time, they're determined to succeed in thwarting the will of the people. That's why respected conservatives like Federal Circuit Court Judge Michael Luttig has called Trump and the extreme MAGA Republicans "a clear and present danger" to our democracy.

But while the threat to American democracy is real, I want to say as clearly as we can, we are not powerless in the face of these threats. We are not bystanders in this ongoing attack on democracy. There are far more Americans, far more Americans from every background and belief, who reject the extreme MAGA ideology than those that accept it. And folks, it's within our power, it's in our hands, yours and mine, to stop the assault on American democracy.

I believe America is at an inflection point, one of those moments that determine the shape of everything that's to come after. And now, America must choose to move forward or to move backwards, to build a future or obsess about the past, to be a nation of hope and unity and optimism or a nation of fear, division and of darkness.

MAGA Republicans have made their choice. They embrace anger. They thrive on chaos. They live, not in the light of truth but in the shadow of lies. But together, together, we can choose a different path. We can choose a better path forward to the future, a future of possibility, a future to build a dream and hope, and we're on that path moving ahead.

I know this nation. I know you, the American people. I know your courage, I know your hearts, and I know our history. This is a nation that honors our Constitution. We do not reject it. This is a nation that believes in the rule of law. We do not repudiate it. This is a nation that respects free and fair elections. We honor the will of the people. We do not deny it. And this is a nation that rejects violence as a political tool. We do not encourage violence. We are still an America that believes in honesty and decency and respect for others. Patriotism, liberty, justice for all, hope, possibilities – we are still at our core a democracy.

And yet, history tells us that blind loyalty to a single leader and a willingness to engage in political violence is fatal to democracy.

For a long time, we've told ourselves that American democracy is guaranteed, but it's not. We have to defend it, protect it, stand up for it, each and every one of us. That's why tonight, I'm asking our nation to come together, unite behind the single purpose of defending our democracy regardless of your ideology.

We're all called by duty and conscience to confront extremists who put their own pursuit of power above all else. Democrats, independents, mainstream Republicans, we must be stronger, more determined and more committed to saving American democracy. And MAGA Republicans are destroying American democracy. We, the people, will not let anyone or anything tear us apart. Today, there are dangers around us we cannot allow to prevail. We hear – you've heard it, more and more talk

about violence as an acceptable political tool in this country. It's not. It can never be an acceptable tool. So, I want to say this plain and simple: There is no place for political violence in America, period, none, ever.

You saw law enforcement brutally attacked on January the 6th. We've seen election officials, poll workers, many of them volunteers of both parties, subject to intimidation and death threats. And, can you believe it, F.B.I. agents just doing their job as directed, facing threats to their own lives from their own fellow citizens. On top of that, there are public figures today, yesterday and the day before predicting and all but calling for mass violence and rioting in the streets. This is inflammatory. It's dangerous. It's against the rule of law. And we, the people, must say this is not who we are.

Ladies and gentlemen, we can't be pro-insurrectionist and pro-American. They're incompatible. We can't allow violence to be normalized in this country. It's wrong. We each have to reject political violence with all the moral clarity and conviction this nation can muster now.

We can't let the integrity of our elections be undermined, for that is a path to chaos. Look, I know politics can be fierce and mean and nasty in America. I get it. I believe in the give and take of politics, in disagreement and debate and dissent. We're a big complicated country, but democracy endures only if we, the people, respect the guardrails of the Republic. Only if, we the people accept the results of free and fair elections. Only if, we the people see politics, not as total war, but mediation of our differences. Democracy cannot survive on one side believes there are only two outcomes to an election: Either they win or they were cheated. And that's where the MAGA Republicans are today.

They don't understand what every patriotic American knows. You can't love your country only when you win. It's fundamental. American democracy only works only if we choose to respect the rule of law and the institutions that were set up in this chamber behind me. Only if we respect our legitimate political differences.

I will not stand by and watch – I will not – the will of the American people be overturned by wild conspiracy theories and baseless evidence-free claims of fraud. I will not stand by and watch elections in this country stolen by people who simply refuse to accept that they lost. I will not stand by and watch the most fundamental freedom in this country, the freedom to vote and have your vote counted, and be taken from you and the American people.

Look, as your president, I will defend our democracy with every fiber of my being, and I'm asking every American to join me.

Throughout our history, America has often made the greatest progress coming out of some of our darkest moments like you're hearing in that bullhorn. I believe we can and must do that again, and we are.

MAGA Republicans look at America and see carnage and darkness and despair. They spread fear and lies. Lies told for profit and power.

But I see a different America – an America with an unlimited future, an America that's about to take off. I hope you see it as well. Just look around. I believe

we could lift America from the depths of Covid, so we passed the largest economic recovery package since Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and today America's economy is faster, stronger than any other advanced nation in the world. We have more to go. I believe we can build a better America, so we passed the biggest infrastructure investment since President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and we've now embarked on a decade of rebuilding the nation's roads, bridges, highways, ports, water systems, high-speed internet, railroads.

I believe we can make America safer, so we passed the most significant gun safety law since President Clinton.

I believe we could go from being the highest cost of prescriptions to the world to making prescription drugs and health care more affordable, so we passed the most significant health care reform since President Obama signed the Affordable Care Act. And I believed we could create a clean energy future and save the planet, so we passed the most important climate initiative ever, ever, ever.

The cynics and the critics tell us nothing can get done, but they're wrong.

There is not a single thing America cannot do, not a single thing beyond our capacity if we do it together. It's never easy. But we're proving that America, no matter how long the road, progress does come.

Look, I know the last year, few years have been tough, but today Covid no longer controls our lives. More Americans are working than ever. Businesses are growing, our schools are open, millions of Americans have been lifted out of poverty. Millions of veterans once exposed to toxic burn pits will now get what they deserve for their families in compensation. American manufacturing has come alive across the heartland, and the future will be made in America, no matter what the white supremacists and the extremists say.

I made a bet on you, the American people, and that bet is paying off, proving that from darkness, the darkness of Charlottesville, of Covid, of gun violence, of insurrection, we can see the light. Light is now visible. Light that will guide us forward. Not only in words but in actions. Actions for you, for your children, for your grandchildren, for America.

Even in this moment with all the challenges we face, I give you my word as a Biden, I've never been more optimistic about America's future. Not because of me, but because of who you are.

We're going to end cancer as we know it, mark my words. We're going to create millions of new jobs and a clean energy economy. We're going to think big. We're going to make the 21st century another American century because the world needs us to. That's where we need to focus our energy. Not in the past, not on divisive culture wars, not on the politics of grievance, but on a future we can build together.

The MAGA Republicans believe that for them to succeed, everyone else has to fail. They believe America, not like what I believe about America. I believe America is big enough for all of us to succeed, and that is the nation we're building, a nation where no one is left behind.

I ran for president because I believed we were in a battle of the soul of this nation. I still believe that to be true. I believe the soul is the breadth, the life and the essence of who we are. The soul is what makes us, us.

The soul of America is defined by the sacred proposition that all are created equal in the image of God, that all are entitled to be treated with decency, dignity and respect, that all deserve justice and a shot at lives of prosperity and consequence. And that democracy, democracy must be defended, for democracy makes all these things possible.

Folks, and it's up to us. Democracy begins and will be preserved, and we the people's habits of the heart – in our character, optimism that is tested, yet endures, courage that digs deep when we need it. Empathy that fuels democracy. The willingness to see each other not as enemies but as fellow Americans.

Look, our democracy isn't perfect. It always has been. Notwithstanding those folks you hear on the other side there. They're entitled to be outrageous. This is a democracy. But history and common sense – good manners is nothing they have ever suffered from — but history and common sense tell us that opportunity, liberty and justice for all are most likely to come to pass in a democracy. We have never fully realized the aspirations of our founding, but every generation has opened those doors a little bit wider to include more people who have been excluded before.

My fellow Americans, America is an idea; the most powerful idea in the history of the world, and it beats in the hearts of the people of this country. It beats in all our hearts. It unites America. It is the American creed.

The idea that America guarantees that everyone be treated with dignity. It gives hate no safe harbor. It installs in everyone the belief that no matter where you start in life, there's nothing you can't achieve. That's who we are. That's what we stand for. That's what we believe.

And that's precisely what we're doing – opening doors, creating possibilities, focusing on the future — and we're only just beginning.

Our task is to make our nation free and fair, just and strong, noble and whole, and this work is the work of democracy, the work of this generation. It is the work of our time for all time. We can't afford to leave anyone on the sidelines. We need everyone to do their part, so speak up, speak out, get engaged, vote, vote, vote!

And if we do our duty, if we do our duty, in 2022 and beyond, then ages still to come will say we, all of us here, we kept the faith. We preserved democracy. We heeded our words. We heeded not our worst instincts but our better angels. We proved that for all its imperfections, America is still the beacon to the world, an ideal to be realized, a promise to be kept. There's nothing more important. Nothing more sacred. Nothing more American. That's our soul. That's who we truly are. And that's who we must always be.

I have no doubt, none, that this is who we will be and that we'll come together as a nation that will secure our democracy. That for the next 200 years we'll have what we had the past 200 years, the greatest nation on the face of the earth. We just need to remember who we are. We are the United States of America, the United

States of America. And may God protect our nation, and may God protect all those who stand watch over our democracy.

God bless you all. Democracy. Thank you.

### **Text 6. Volodymyr Zelensky's speech in full: 'Combat aircraft for Ukraine. Wings for freedom'**

Thank you so much, thank you. The people of the United Kingdom and their honorable representatives, all the people of England and Scotland, of Wales and Northern Ireland, of all the lands which have been home to brave souls since Europe came into existence.

I have come here and stand before you on behalf of the brave, on behalf of our warriors who are now in the trenches under enemy artillery fire. On behalf of our air gunners and every defender of the sky, who protect Ukraine against enemy aircrafts and missiles. On behalf of our tenth command, who fight to restore our Ukrainian borders. On behalf of our conscripts who are now trained, including here in Britain - thank you Britain.

And who will then be deployed to the front line, skilled, equipped and eager to win. On behalf of every father and every mother who are waiting for their brave sons and brave daughters back home from the war.

Mr Speaker, you may well remember, roughly more than two years ago, we met with you here in Parliament – a great honour it was for me – and I remember we enjoyed tea. We talked, of course. We talked a lot about our people, and about our countries, about the British and Ukrainian political traditions.

Mr Prime Minister, Rishi, when we had our meeting earlier today, I said that I would tell a story in my address to the Parliament, a story about my feelings on my first visit to London as president in Autumn 2020.

The programme was packed – Royal Highnesses William and Catherine, and Buckingham Palace and an aircraft carrier of the Royal Navy. Westminster, of course, Downing Street, and of course, the (Churchill) War Rooms.

There is an armchair in the War Rooms, the famous Churchill armchair, and a guide smiled and offered for me to sit down on this armchair, from which orders were given. And he asked me how did I feel.

I said that I suddenly felt something, but it is only now that I know what the feeling was, and all Ukrainians know it perfectly well too.

It is the feeling of how bravery takes you through the most unimaginable hardships to finally reward you with victory.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for your bravery. Thank you very much from all of us. Yes, please, that is for you. All the applause for you.

London has stood with Kyiv since day one, from the first seconds and minutes of the full-scale war, Great Britain you extended your helping hand when the world had not yet come to understand how to react.

Boris: you got others united when it seemed absolutely, absolutely impossible. Thank you.



You, all of you, you all showed your grit and character back then, strong British character. You didn't compromise Ukraine. And hence, you didn't compromise your ideals. And thus, you didn't compromise the spirit of these great islands.

Thank you very much.

And of course everybody understands that our countries, (in) absolutely different times, our nations defended freedom in the Second World War. The Iron Curtain divided us, our people went through crises and growth, through inflation and perils of social losses and social gains, it was tough but we always found friends and stamina to move ahead and achieve results.

This is the bedrock of our traditions. Ukrainians and Brits defeated the fear of war ahead of the time to enjoy peace, no matter what we encountered on different stages of our and your formidable history.

And you and us, the whole (of mankind) achieved a similar result. Evil lost. We will always come out on top of evil. This lies at the core of our, but also your traditions.

However, the horizon never stays clear for a while. Once the old evil is defeated, the new one is attempting to rise its head. Do you have a feeling that the evil will crumble once again? I can see in your eyes, now, we think the same way as you do. We know freedom will win.

We know Russia will lose. And we really know the victory will change the world, and this will be a change the world has long needed. The United Kingdom is marching with us towards the most important victory of our lifetime.

It will be a victory over the very idea of war. After we win together, any aggressor – it doesn't matter, big or small – will know what awaits him if he attacks (the) international order. An aggressor who will try to push boundaries by force, who will inflict destruction on other peoples, who will try to endure his dictatorship at the expense of other people's blood in criminal and unprovoked wars. They will know, as the Kremlin does, any aggressor is going to lose.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have already achieved remarkable results. And we must make every effort to turn our achievements into the foundations of the future global security architecture.

The world needs your leadership, Britain, just as it needs Ukrainian bravery.

When the full scale invasion began, we, together with you Britain, and the United States and other allies, formed a true coalition of friends. That was very important.

You were among those, the few who helped before the large scale invasion began – exactly as it will be necessary to do every time in the future to prevent aggression from happening.

Your help was preventative, we must take these principles of preventative aid to those who are threatened with aggression. And (impose) preventative sanctions against those who threaten aggression as basic principles of the world under war policy.

We created a coalition of NLAWs (light Anti-tank Weapon), thank you. Of NLAW and Javelin that stopped the advance of the Russian army from the first day of the invasion.

We built the coalition of artillery rounds, and a coalition of air defence, which allow us to save the lives of our children, of our people, of our civilians, our women, our elderly, and our cities from atrocious Russian occupation and terror.

We put together a powerful sanction coalition, and your leadership, protecting the international legal order through sanctions against a terrorist state, cannot be questioned.

And we have to steadily continue along this way until Russia is deprived of any possibility to finance the war. Most importantly, together with the G7 we brought about a coalition of values, a coalition that protects the rules based order and human rights. A coalition that will work in such a way that over time there will simply be no grey areas in the world in which human life doesn't matter.

In order for it to be so, there must be justice. Anyone who invests in terror must be held accountable. Anyone who invests in violence must compensate those who have suffered from terror.

Terror, aggression or other forms of state violence are proposals for the creation of the special tribunal for the crime of Russian aggression against Ukraine. And special compensation mechanisms to compensate war losses at the expense of Russian assets are based on such principles.

Justice is one of ten elements of the peace formula proposed by Ukraine, and supported by Britain. I thank you for your readiness to invoke the formula. Thank you, Prime Minister. Thank you very much.

As I already mentioned, Ukrainian soldiers are being trained in Britain in particular to operate Challengers, your main battle tanks. Thank you, Rishi. Thank you very much for this powerful defensive step, for tank assistance.

And thank you for the coalition of long range missiles is the latest of all. It will allow us to make the evil completely retreat from our country by destroying its airbases deep in the occupied territories.

And I'm not speaking just about weapons, we proved together that the world truly helps those who are brave in defending freedom, and thus paves the way for a new history.

A history of the world that knows how to be quick in help, who knows how to be effective in defence, who knows how to remain principled in dark hours. Who implements its treaties and arrangements in good faith, who does not allow perpetrators to enjoy immunity, who knows how to overcome veto when it is accused, who knows no fear, and who knows how to win.

This shall be the new reality of the free world, I'm sure.

However, evil, evil, evil is still around today and the battle continues. Yes, we know how it's going to end and how we are going to feel on the day that victory comes. Every day we continue to pay with lives. Pain and tears for bringing victory closer, with the lives of our people, our heroes whom we lose in battles.

With the lives of our heroes who take life and death risks every day to save as many of our soldiers and civilians as possible, and today I will have the honour to be received by His Majesty The King. It will be a truly special moment for me – for our country. In particular because I will convey to him from all the Ukrainians the words of gratitude for the support His Majesty showed to them when he was still the Prince of Wales.

And I also intend to tell him something that I think is very, very, very important for the future of Ukraine but also for the future of Europe. In Britain, the King is an air force pilot. And in Ukraine today, every air force pilot is a king.

For us, just for us, for our families. Because they are so few, they are so precious, that we, the servants of our kings do everything possible and impossible to make the world provide us with modern planes. To empower and protect pilots who will be protecting us.

And I am proud of our air force, and I brought a present from them to you, Great Britain. I will explain, it is the helmet of a real Ukrainian pilot. He is one of our most successful aces and he is one of our kings.

The writing on the helmet reads: “We have freedom, give us wings to protect it.”

I trust this symbol will help us for our next coalition, a coalition of the planes. And I appeal to you and the world with these most simple and yet important words: Combat aircrafts for Ukraine. Wings for freedom.

Great Britain, you and us both struggle for peace, but instead we are forced to face the rage that seeks to deprive us of peace and everything else that is valuable in life.

Great Britain, you and us both struggle for peace but instead we are forced to face the (regime) that seeks to deprive us of peace and everything else that is valuable in life.

Unfortunately, it is in human nature to allow evil. It then stands up against humanity. It then destroys and kills. It launches aggressions and breaks peoples lives. You and us have already fought against such evil. You and us already have the experience of defeating the evil that is generated by human nature. I’m not saying there will be no more wars after the war ends – no. It is impossible to completely erase evil from human nature. Yet it is in our power to guarantee with words and deeds that the light side of human nature will prevail. The side you and us share, and this stands above anything else.

Thank you for your attention. Thank you for your support. And leaving British parliament two years ago, I thanked you for delicious English tea. I will be leaving parliament today thanking all of you in advance for powerful English planes.

By the way, it’s almost 5 o’clock. God bless Great Britain and long, long live the King. Slava Ukraini (Glory to Ukraine).

## PART IV. DOCUMENTS

### FORMAL LETTERS

#### INQUIRIES

WIRELESS ACCESSORIES  
Building 2-A, Floor 3  
Walland Industrial Park  
Walland, TN 3658

April 14, 20—  
Mr. Lester Freed  
Metia Mobile Technology  
Michelin House  
65 Fulham Road  
London, SW3 6RD  
United Kingdom  
Dear Mr. Freed:

I read in the April issue of the trade journal, Cellular Today, about your new cell phone, the Metia 9444. As we are the major distributor of wireless accessories on the Internet, the 9444 is of great interest to us.

We would be interested in selling the batteries, charges, speakers, and other accessories that accompany the 9444.

Would you please send to my attention the accessories that will accompany the 9444 and the proposed list prices? I would appreciate the opportunity to meet with a sales representative to discuss volume discounts.

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,  
*Marian Stone*

Marian Stone  
Product Manager

## SALES LETTERS

6-13-9 Hongo  
Bunkyo- ku  
Tokyo 191  
Japan

June 13, 20-

Sedder, Kao and Tang, Ltd.  
Henderson Centre  
22 Wenjin Street  
Beijing 100005  
People's Republic of China

Dear Sir or Madam

Our company is the largest seller of digital cameras in the Asian Region. You can learn more about us at our Web site, <http://www.bozeman.com>. I enclose a copy of our latest catalogue and price-list.

May I draw your attention to our new range of digital cameras, in particular the XL – Lite samples illustrated on page 51.

We are offering a special discount of 5 percent on all orders received before 1 July. Please use the special order form at the back of the catalogue and deduct 5% from the prices on your list.

We hope that you will be pleased with the catalogue and look forward to receiving your order.

Yours faithfully

Josuko Hu  
Sales Department Adviser  
Encl: 2

## ORDERS

Guangzhou Exports  
No.6 Shamian South Street  
Guangzhou 510133  
Phone: (86 20) 8120 5633  
Fax: (86 20) 8120 5634

Your ref: CS/th  
Our ref: MY/vc

18 May 20-

Ms Carmen Santana  
Go Manufacturing  
Western Industrial Zone  
Guangzhou 511356

Dear Ms Santana I am enclosing Purchase Order A-52 for the following office supplies: 10 boxes of printer paper 5 boxes of #10 envelopes.

We would like these items delivered no later than Monday afternoon. Delivery instructions are on the enclosed purchase order.

As usual, please apply the total of this order against our credit line. We will pay the balance at the end of the month when you submit an invoice.

If you have any questions concerning our order, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours  
Matsuo Yukiko

Matsuo Yukiko Purchasing Supervisor

Enc: Order form (1 page)

## COMPLAINTS and CLAIMS

CHEARSLEY TEMP AGENCY

Watts Green

Chearsley

Buckinghamshire HP25 0DD

6 Feb. 20-

Mr. Murat Ali  
President  
Ali's Office Furniture  
6 Between Towns Road  
Oxford OX4 2PP

Dear Mr. Ali

Re: Our Order No. BG/2467

We were disappointed to receive your delivery of January 28. None of the items was what we ordered.

We did not sign for the shipment, and we asked the shipping firm to take back the goods.

We had ordered the following – ten (10) walnut computer desks, three (3) walnut bookcases, in addition, two (2) executive office chairs.

We received four (4) file cabinets and an oak bookcase without the shelves.

Is it possible someone else received our furniture? Please sort this out quickly, and send our consignment here without any further delay.

Thank you for assisting us with this problem.

Sincerely yours  
Fiona Sanchez  
Purchasing Manager  
*Marian Godal*

p.p. Marian Godal  
Assistant Manager

## LETTERS of APPLICATION

41 Rose Street  
Geneva, Switzerland  
Sept. 17, 20-

Registrar's Office  
State University  
Littleton, SD 55555

Dear Registrar:

I am a student of microbiology in Geneva, Switzerland. I would like to apply for entrance to your university.

Would you please send me an application form and information on your university?

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,  
*Florence Jones*  
Florence Jones

## MOTIVATION (COVER) LETTERS

Pramones Ave. 104 – 25  
LT-49445 Kaunas  
Lithuania

June 2, 20-

Personnel Manager  
Walter Craig Ltd  
56 Cowslip Way  
Exeter  
Devon, UK

Dear Sir or Madam,

I would like to apply for the position of Assistant Marketing Manager advertised in the May 28 edition of the Guardian.

I am 36 years old and was educated at Kaunas J. Jablonskis Gymnasium and Kaunas University of Technology. I have an honours degree in Economics and a Master's



degree in Business Administration. Besides English, I also speak German and French a little.

For the last nine years, I have been working as the Assistant Export Manager at Rubicon & Partners plc (located at Laisves Ave 128, Vilnius). However, I now feel ready to take on a post with greater responsibility and would particularly like to work in one of the western countries of the EU.

Both Mr.A.Barukonis and Mr.B.Shanutonis of Rubicon & Partners plc are willing to provide references for me.

I can be available for interview at your request but would have to give one month's notice to my present employer before I could take up a new appointment.

I look forward to your reply.

Faithfully yours,  
*Arturas Sinkus*  
Arturas Sinkus

## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

Name: Arturas Sinkus

Date of birth: 20 August 1970

Nationality: Lithuanian

Home Address: Pramonės Ave. 104 – 25 LT-49445 Kaunas, Lithuania

Phone: +8686 45678

Business Address: Rubicon & Partners plc Laisves Ave 128, Vilnius

Phone: + 370 5 245645

Marital Status: Single

Education: Secondary - J. Jablonskis Gymnasium, 3Ausra St., Kaunas Higher - Kaunas University of Technology, 16 Donelaitis St., Kaunas

Qualifications:

1988 a GCSE 'A' level Mathematics English IT course

1992 a Diploma in Economics

1994 Master's degree in Business Administration

**Experience:**

1994 – 1997 Personal Assistant to HR Manager of ‘Senukai’ Ltd in Kaunas (Pramones Ave. 4)

1997 – up to the present Assistant Export Manager at Rubicon & Partners plc (Laisves Ave 128, Vilnius)

**Other information:** 1999 Computer course (Corel Draw, Photoshop, PowerPoint)

**References:** on request

**Personal characteristics:** flexibility, adaptability, and responsibility

**Interests and hobbies:** foreign languages, history, art, and basketball

## **ЛИСТ-ВИМОГА**

ТОВ «АвангардЕкспо»  
Україна, м. Львів,  
вул. Незалежності, 1  
Тел. (000) 000 00 00

Директору  
ТОВ «Інтерплюс»  
В.С. Шевченку

16.04.17 № 202/4

Шановний Вікторе Сергійовичу!

Згідно з укладеним між ТОВ “Інтерплюс” (далі Замовник) та ТОВ “АвангардЕкспо” (далі Постачальник) договором № (номер договору) від 15.02.2019 року, Замовнику було поставлено товар (комп’ютерну техніку) на суму 100000 гривень (сто тисяч гривень).

Згідно з пунктом договору 4.7, в якому вказується кінцевий термін повної оплати, розрахунок за поставлений товар здійснюється Замовником протягом 10 банківських днів, з моменту його отримання та підписання акту отримання товару, який був підписаний 15.03.2019 року. Однак Замовником були порушені умови укладеного договору, а оплата не була переведена в встановлений договором термін.

Станом на 29.03.2019 року заборгованість Замовника становить 100000 гривень (сто тисяч гривень).

Враховуючи вищевикладене та керуючись нормами чинного законодавства, пропонуємо вам протягом 10 календарних днів з моменту отримання вимоги, перерахувати на наш розрахунковий рахунок №\_\_\_ в Банку Україна усю вказану суму заборгованості.

У разі невиконання викладених вище вимог ми будемо вимушені звернутися до суду з метою стягнення суми боргу примусово, з нарахуванням пені, згідно проценту, який прописаний в пункті 4.8 договору № (номер договору), а також віднесенням на ваш рахунок витрат з оплати державного мита.

З повагою,  
Головний юрист ТОВ “АвангардЕкспо”  
Григоренко А.З.

## ЛИСТ-РЕЗЮМЕ

**Дробот Оксана Олегівна**  
(*Oksana O. Drobot*)

Дата народження: 14.05.1979

Місто: Запоріжжя

Моб. телефон: +38 (000) 000 00 00

E-mail: [0000@gmail.com](mailto:0000@gmail.com)

**Ціль:** Заміщення вакантної посади секретаря, особистого помічника керівника.

### **Освіта:**

вересень 1997 р. – червень 2000 р., Київський економічний коледж, факультет “Економіка”, спеціальність «бухгалтерський облік і контроль», диплом бакалавра (денна форма навчання).

### **Додаткова освіта:**

березень – грудень 2005 р. – Курси англійської мови, «ІнгЦентр» м. Київ.

липень – жовтень 2009 р. – Курси володіння комп'ютером, «CompTech» м. Київ.

липень – листопад 2009 р. – Курси “Вчимося вести переговори” м. Київ.

### **Досвід роботи:**

#### *Секретар*

січень 2000 р. – березень 2002 р. «Медіа-Плюс», м. Київ.

Функціональні обов'язки:

– робота з документами (діловодство);

- прийом і розподіл дзвінків;
- прийом, обробка та сортування електронної кореспонденції;
- участь в організації різних масових заходів;
- підготовка документів для керівника (прийом документів та особистих заяв на підпис керівника, оформлення наказів, розпоряджень);
- виконання особистих доручень керівника.

#### *Секретар*

березень 2002 р. – квітень 2010 р. компанія «Фарама-груп», м. Київ.

Функціональні обов'язки:

- ведення ділового листування;
- робота з кореспонденцією;
- прийом, розподіл вхідних/вихідних дзвінків;
- виконання доручень керівника та головного бухгалтера;
- ведення електронного документообігу.

#### *Секретар, особистий помічник керівника*

квітень 2010 р. – теперішній час, «ЗапОрг», м. Запоріжжя.

Функціональні обов'язки:

- виконання особистих доручень керівника;
- робота з оргтехнікою, міні АТС;
- робота з кур'єрською службою;
- підготовка документів і матеріалів, необхідних для роботи керівника;
- прийом заявок по телефону;
- прийом і реєстрація вхідної та вихідної кореспонденції;
- складання договорів по шаблонах;
- замовлення канц. товарів та інших витратних матеріалів, забезпечення життєдіяльності офісу;
- облік роботи співробітників;
- замовлення квитків, оформлення відряджень співробітників;
- контроль чистоти і порядку в офісі.

#### **Професійні навички:**

- уміння працювати з базовими програмами MS Office (Access, Excel, Power Point, Word, WordPad);
- знання оргтехніки (факсимільний і копіювальний апарати, сканер, принтер);
- грамотна усна і письмова мова;
- знання основ діловодства та документообігу;
- досвід організації зовнішніх і внутрішніх нарад, зустрічей та переговорів;
- Досвід підготовки та організація відряджень;
- навички забезпечення життєдіяльності офісу;
- знання іноземних мов: українська – рідна; російська – вільно володію; англійська – середній рівень.

#### **Особисті якості:**

Цілеспрямованість, відповідальність, комунікабельність, пунктуальність, ініціативність, гарне почуття гумору.

#### **Додаткова інформація:**

Сімейний стан: одружена.  
Діти: син та дочка, 7 та 13 років.  
Можливість відряджень: так.  
Шкідливих звичок немає.

## РЕКОМЕНДАЦІЙНИЙ ЛИСТ

Студенту ЧДТУ Шевченку Олександр Валерійовичу

Студент Шевченко О. В. в 2016 році закінчив Черкаський державний технологічний університет, кафедра електротехнічних систем факультету електронних технологій і робототехніки.

За час навчання Олександр Валерійович зарекомендував себе як здатний студент, який завжди прагне підвищення свого рівня знань. Є лауреатом конкурсу «Електро-Технік Студ». У колективі користувався повагою і авторитетом. Брав активну участь у громадському та культурному житті ВНЗ. Має неконфліктний характер, комунікабельний, відрізняється високим рівнем відповідальності і працьовитості.

Тому рекомендую Шевченка О.В. для проходження стажування в «РобоТех Україна».

Заступник декана факультету електронних технологій і робототехніки  
професор Вільний Я.Д.  
26 липня 2016 р

## ЛИСТ-ПРОХАННЯ

Директору “АвтобусТранс”  
Шаманову Сергію Петровичу

Шановний Сергій Петрович! Батькам та учням нашої школи добре відома ваша діяльність в сфері благодійності. У зв'язку з цим звертаємося до вас з проханням допомогти з перевезенням футбольних команд 9 та 11 класів ЗОШ №3 м. Умань в місто Черкаси для участі у фінальній частині футбольного турніру “Перший М'яч”, а також допомогти з придбанням спортивної форми для обох команд.

За вашу підтримку ми зобов'язуємося розмістити рекламу вашого підприємства на території школи. Реклама буде доступна не тільки школярам, а й батькам учнів, які щомісяця відвідують шкільні заходи. Розмістити рекламу на спортивній формі. Крім того, фінал футбольного турніру буде висвітлюються

ЗМІ м. Умань і ми зобов'язуємося донести до жителів міста про вашу підтримку нашої школи.

Контактна особа для обговорення питань співпраці: посада, ПІБ, телефон з 9.00 до 18.00.

З повагою до Вас і Вашої діяльності, Батьківський комітет ЗОШ №3 м. Умань.

## ЛИСТ-РЕЗЮМЕ СТУДЕНТА

**Коваленко Ірина Олегівна**  
(*Irina O. Kovalenko*)

Дата народження: 28.04.1976

Місто: Харків

Моб. телефон: +38 (000) 000 00 00

E-mail: [0000@gmail.com](mailto:0000@gmail.com)

**Ціль:** Заміщення вакантної посади помічника юриста, секретаря.

### **Освіта:**

вересень 1994 р. – червень 1998 р., Юридична академія України ім. Ярослава Мудрого м. Харків, факультет «Господарсько-правовий», спеціальність «Правознавство», диплом бакалавра (денна форма навчання).

вересень 1999 р. – липень 2000 р., Юридична академія України ім. Ярослава Мудрого м. Харків, факультет «Господарсько-правовий», спеціальність «Правознавство», диплом спеціаліста (денна форма навчання).

### **Додаткова освіта:**

липень – грудень 2004 р. – Курси англійської та німецької мов, «СпешлЛінгвоЦентр» м. Харків.

березень – квітень 2009 р. – Курси «Психологія людини», «PsychoGuide» м. Харків.

### **Досвід роботи:**

#### *Практикант*

січень 2001 р. – березень 2001 р. страхова компанія «Захист Плюс», м. Полтава.  
Функціональні обов'язки:

- надання консультаційних послуг в області страхової діяльності;
- розробка договорів;
- підготовка актів правового характеру;
- пошук необхідної інформації в інтернеті;
- складення під керівництвом завідуючої фірми страхових та процесуальних документів.

### **Професійні навички:**

- знання цивільного законодавства;
- уміння працювати з базовими програмами MS Office (Access, Excel, Power Point, Word, WordPad);
- навички складання різних юридичних документів;
- досвід ведення переговорів;
- Знання мов: українська – рідна; російська – вільно володію; англійська, німецька – середній рівень.

**Особисті якості:**

Відповідальність, уважність, працьовитість, комунікабельність, ініціативність.

**Додаткова інформація:**

Сімейний стан: одружена.

Водійське посвідчення: так.

Власне авто: так.

Можливість відряджень: так.

Без шкідливих звичок.

## Література

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<https://www.discoursemagazine.com/politics/2023/01/24/what-if-joe-biden-doesnt-run-again/>

Навчально-методичне видання

**Майя Жулінська**

# **ПРАКТИКУМ ПЕРЕКЛАДУ**

**(збірник текстів для самостійної роботи)**

Друкується в авторській редакції