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Цель учебного пособия – научить студентов извлекать основную информацию из оригинальных текстов; закрепить грамматические навыки, предусмотренные программой; развить навыки и умения чтения и реферирования литературы по специальности в соответствии с Федеральным государственным образовательного стандарта высшего профессионального образования для студентов направления «Политология»

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ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Современные условия обучения студентов неязыковых специальностей иностранным языкам (увеличение состава группы, неоднородность языковой подготовки слушателей) и увеличение числа новых специальностей, предлагаемых вузами, диктуют новые требования к учебным материалам. Цель данного пособия состоит в том, чтобы предложить обучающимся актуальные оригинальные материалы, соответствующие выбранному ими направлению и позволяющие постоянно совершенствовать свои знания в современной зарубежной литературе по своей специальности. Наличие необходимой коммуникативной компетенции дает возможность вести плодотворную деятельность по изучению и творческому осмыслению зарубежного опыта и адаптации его к изучению российских реалий.

Пособие представляет собой сборник аутентичных текстов и состоит из двух частей: в первой части представлены тексты для работы в группе под руководством преподавателя, а во второй — тексты для самостоятельной работы. В первую часть пособия включено десять текстов. Каждый текст предваряется вокабуляром, который необходим для понимания текста и подлечит активному усвоению, поскольку является частотной лексикой в текстах политологической направленности.

Тексты, подобранные для второй части пособия, взяты из «The encyclopedia of political science», а также интернет-ресурсов, таких как Teachit ELT, WIKIPEDIA, и других, и могут использоваться не только для самостоятельной, но и аудиторной работы.

Приложение содержит тексты, предлагаемые студентам для использования в качестве экзаменационных тем.

PART I

1. DEFINING POLITICS

Vocabulary

1. To define – определять
2. Policy – политика, политический курс, линия
3. Politics – политика, политические события, политическая жизнь, политическая деятельность, политические взгляды, политология (наука)
4. Polity – полиция (государственное устройство)
5. To possess – владеть, обладать
6. Concern – v. – касаться, иметь отношение к ч.-л., беспокоиться, заботиться оч.-л.,n/ – отношение, интерес
7. To legislate издавать законы
8. To restrict – ограничивать, сдерживать
9. To attach – присоединять, связывать
10. To seek –стремиться, искать
11. To conceal – скрывать, прятать
12. To derogate – умалять достоинство, унижать
13. To abolish – отменять, упразднять
14. To derive from – происходить от, вытекать из
15. To engage – вовлекать
16. Essence – суть
17. To run – руководить, управлять; баллотироваться
18. To resolve – разрешать (конфликт, проблему)
19. To enforce – принуждать, заставлять, навязывать; проводить в жизнь
20. To negotiate – вести переговоры
21. To oppose – противиться, возражать, противостоять
22. To relate – быть связанным, иметь отношение, касаться ч.-л.
23. Inherent – присущий, свойственный
24. To imply – означать, подразумевать
25. Implication – скрытый смысл, подтекст
26. Specific – особый, конкретный
27. Means – средство
28. To accomplish – достигать

Ex. 1 Before you read the text answer the following questions.

1. What is in essence of studying politics?
2. What ordinary people think of politicians?
3. Can we do without politicians and why?
4. What is the aim of politics?

The word politics is derived from polis (Greek), literally meaning city-state. Ancient Greek society was divided into a collection of independent city-states, each of which possessed its own system of government. The modern form of this definition is therefore “what concerns the state”. To study politics is in essence to study government, or more broadly, the exercise of authority.

Politics is what takes place within a polity, a system of social organizations centered upon the machinery of government.

Politics is therefore practiced in cabinet rooms, legislative chambers, government departments and the like and it is engaged in by a limited and specific group of people. Businesses, schools and other educational institutions, community groups, families and so on are in this sense “nonpolitical” because they are not engaged in “running the country”.

The definition can be narrowed still further. This is evident in the tendency to treat politics as equivalent to party politics. In other words the realm of the “political” is restricted to those state actors who are consciously motivated by organizations such as political party.

The link between politics and the affairs of the state also helps to explain why negative images have so often been attached to politics. This is because in the popular mind, politics is closely associated with the activities of politicians. But brutally, the politicians are often seen as power-seeking hypocrites who conceal personal ambitions behind the rhetoric of public service and ideological conviction. This rejection of the personnel and machinery of conventional political life is clearly evident in the use of derogatory phrases such as “office politics” and “politicking”. But without some kind of mechanism for allocating authoritative values, society would simply disintegrate into a civil war of each against all. The task is therefore not to abolish politicians and to bring politics to an end, but rather to ensure that politics is conducted within a framework of checks and constraints that ensure that government power is not abused.

Thus, politics is the activity through which people make, preserve, and amend the general rules under which they live.

Politics is also an academic subject; it is clearly concerned with the study of this activity.

Politics is also linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation (the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live). This is why the heart of politics is often portrayed as a process of conflict resolution. In which rival views or competing interests are reconciled with one another.

Ex. 2 Match the notions: policy, politics and polity with their definitions:

- ... is a politically organized nation, state or community.
- ... is a selected, planned line of conduct in the light of which individual decisions are made and a coordination is achieved.
- ... is the art and science of the government of a state.
- ... is the form of constitution of a nation, state or community.
- ... is public affairs or public life as they relate to this.
- ... is an organized government.

Ex. 3 Suggest the Russian for the following word combinations and translate into Russian sentences with them:

Public opinion/spending/bodies/image/officer/career/relations/facilities/administration

Popular consent/idea/politician/elections/support/mandate/preferences/image/mobilization/revolution

Community – local/business/scientific

Communal – interests/way of life

Separation of power, power-sharing, military power

1. With low taxes and relatively low public spending (usually below 30% of GDP), there is little room for the western model of welfare state.

2. There is nevertheless general acceptance that the state as a “father figure” should guide the decisions of private as well as public bodies.

3. The government is being accused of giving away the country’s public wealth.

4. The president made himself very popular when he killed hyperinflation, and gave his country solid currency.

5. In recent years there has been made some progress in investigating popular public officials suspected of abusing their position.
6. Public Relations played a crucial role in the recent elections.
7. It would be wrong to believe that all is harmony within the community of the UN.
8. That the black community is in deep economic crisis is evident from the unemployment figures.
9. The first reaction from the financial community abroad to the measures taken by the government was cautiously favorable.
10. The balance of power in Europe, maintained for many years, was shattered in six weeks.
11. China has become a power with its say in the international relations.
12. The minister of power told the press conference about his new proposals.

Ex. 4 Fill in the gaps with the suitable word from the right column, making necessary changes.

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. His powers ... by law | a. to be abolished |
| 2. The President will address ... Parliament tomorrow. | b. definitely |
| 3. He went into ... as a young man | c. to be defined |
| 4. She came into ... of a fortune. | d. possession |
| 5. He has ... in the enterprise. | e. politics |
| 6. He ... that they should be heard. | f. to be reconciled |
| 7. The UN ... in that it doesn't make laws that nations must enact. | g. a concern |
| 8. ... are first imposed and then lifted. | h. to insist |
| 9. He ... much importance to this project. | i. to attach |
| 10. She ... to her family. | j. restrictions |
| 11. Experienced leaders are ... in politics. | k. not to legislate |
| 12. They ... to find a way out of the deadlock. | l. to be concerned |
| 13. He remained in ... for a long time. | m. to be attached |
| 14. If laws are no longer efficient they are... . | n. to seek |
| 15. Finally their differences ... | o. concealment |

Ex. 5 Fill in the gaps with: policy, politics, politicians, political.

1. American ... is passing through a highly unusual phase.
2. In a country where local issues usually dominate voting patterns foreign ... has surprisingly emerged as a defining issue of the current ... debate.
3. She admits that she is not a natural ...: she lacks the “glad-handing skills” so valued in the small world of
4. Aides characterized the President’s speech to California business and ... leaders as a major address laying out his goals for the remainder of the term.
5. Those involved in the contest say the energy of street-level ... can only speed the process of liberalization.
6. In the fluid world of the Middle East ... the Iraqi Kurds still maintain lines of communication with their President.
7. In foreign ... democracies may be isolationist, internationalist or imperialist.
8. What are his ...?

2. DIFFERENT VIEWS OF POLITICS

Vocabulary

1. To enforce – принуждать, заставлять; проводить в жизнь
2. To conciliate – примирять
3. To negotiate – вести переговоры
4. To oppose – противиться, возражать
5. Inherent – присущий, свойственный
6. To imply – подразумевать, намекать
7. Specific – особый, конкретный
8. A means – средство

Ex. 1 Look through the text to bring out the topical sentences that summarize the ideas conveyed in the text.

Politics as the art of government. “Politics is not a science... but an art”. Bismarck is reputed to have told the German Reichstag. The art Bismarck had in mind was the art of government, the exercise of control within society through the making and enforcement of collective decisions. This is perhaps the classical definition of politics, developed from the original meaning of the term in Ancient Greece.

Politics as public affairs. The second and broader conception of politics moves it beyond the narrow realm of government to what is thought of as “public life” or “public affairs”. On the basis of “public/private” division, politics is restricted to the activities of the state itself and the responsibilities which are properly exercised by public bodies (the apparatus of government, the courts, the police, the army, the society-security system and so forth).

Politics as compromise and consensus. The third conception of politics relates not so much to the arena within which politics is conducted as to the way in which decisions are made. Specifically, politics is seen as a particular means of resolving conflict, that is by compromise, conciliation and negotiation, rather than through force and naked power. This is what is implied when politics is portrayed as “the art of the possible”. Such a definition is inherent in the everyday use of the term. For instance, the description of a solution to a problem as a “political” solution implies peaceful debate and arbitration, as opposed to what is often called a “military” solution.

Politics as power. The fourth definition of politics is both broadest and the most radical. This view sees politics at work in all social activities and in every corner of human existence. At its broadest, politics concerns the production, distribution and use of resources in the course of social existence, but the essential ingredient is scarcity. The simple fact that, while human needs and desires are infinite, the resources available to satisfy them are always limited, politics can therefore be seen as a struggle over scarce resources, and power can be seen as the means through which this struggle is conducted.

Ex. 2 Match the notions with their definitions

1. Cooperation, 2. State, 3. Power, 4. Authority, 5. Conflict, 6. Anti-politics, 7. General will

a. competition between opposing forces, reflecting diversity of opinions, preferences, needs or interest.

b. disillusionment with formal and established political processes, reflected in nonparticipation, support for anti-system parties or the use of direct actions.

c. working together, achieving goals through collective actions

d. a political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders and exercises authority through a set of permanent institutions.

- e. ability to influence the behavior of others.
- f. legitimate power, rightfulness.
- g. the genuine interests of a collective body, equivalent to the common good.

Ex. 3 Fill in the gaps with the suitable word from the right column, making necessary changes.

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. He ... to be rich. | a. negotiation |
| 2. Law ... must be secured. | b. enforcement |
| 3. The government must ... on levying taxes. | c. politics related |
| 4. Mediators are, in other words, | d. conciliators |
| 5. ... were held in a friendly atmosphere. | e. to improve a law |
| 6. The Tories have always been ... the Labor party. | f. inherent to |
| 7. The person who has always dealt with politics is | g. to imply |
| 8. To protect peace and to prevent a new war is the most important task ... the UN. | h. in opposition to |
| 9. Peaceful co-existence ..., among other principles, non-interference in internal affairs of other countries. | i. a means of |
| 10. Peaceful talks are ... setting conflicts in a peaceful way. | j. to be reputed. |

Ex. 4 Read the text and outline its main ideas.

Concepts, models and theories are tools of political analysis. However, as with most things in politics, the analytical tools must be used with care. First, let's consider concepts. A concept is a general idea about something, usually expressed in a single word or a short phrase. The concept of "presidency" refers not only to any specific president, but rather to a set of ideas about the organization of executive power.

What, then, is the value of concepts? Concepts are the tools with which we think, criticize, argue, explain and analyze. Concepts also help us to classify objects by recognizing that they have similar forms or similar properties. It is no exaggeration to say that our knowledge of the political world is built up through developing and refining concepts which help us make sense of that world. Concepts, in that sense, are the building blocks of human knowledge.

Models and theories are broader than concepts; they comprise a range of ideas rather than a single idea. A model is usually thought of as a representation of something, usually on a smaller scale. In this sense, the purpose of the model is to resemble the original object as faithfully as possible. Conceptual models, however, need not in any way resemble an object. It would be absurd, for instance, to insist that a computer model of the economy should bear a physical resemblance to the economy itself. Conceptual models are rather analytical tools. The simple point is that facts do not speak for themselves; they must be interpreted, and they must be organized. Models assist in accomplishment of this task.

The terms “theory” and “model” are often used interchangeably in politics. Theories and models are both conceptual constructs used as tools of political analysis. However, strictly speaking a theory is proposition. It offers a systematic explanation of a body of empirical data. In contrast, a model is merely an explanatory device; it’s more like a hypothesis that has yet to be tested. in politics in that sense while theories can be said to be more or less “true”, models can only be said to be more or less “useful”. Clearly, however, theories and models are often interlinked: broad political theories may be explained in terms of a series of models. For example, the theory of pluralism encompasses a model of electoral competition, a model of group politics, and so on.

Ex. 5 Translate the text into Russian.

Politics is the activity through which people make preserve and amend the general rule under which they live. As such it is an essentially social activity linked on the one hand to the existence of diversity and conflict, and on the other, to a willingness to cooperate and act collectively. Politics is better seen as a search for conflict resolution than as its achievement, as not all conflicts are, or can be resolved.

Politics has been understood differently by different thinkers and within different traditions .Politics has been viewed as an art of government or as “what concerns the state”, as the conduct and management of public affairs, as the resolution of conflict trough debate and compromise, and as the production, distribution and use of resources in the course of social existence.

There is considerable debate about the realm of the “political”. Conventionally politics has narrowly been seen as embracing institutions and actors operating in a public sphere concerned with the collective organization of social existence.

Ex. 6 Questions for discussion

1. If politics is essentially social, why not all social activity is political?
2. Why has politics so often carried negative associations?
3. How could you defend politics as a worthwhile and ennobling activity?
4. Is politics inevitable? Could it ever be brought to an end?
5. Why has the idea of a science of politics become so attractive?
6. Is it possible to study politics objectively?

3. TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS OF CLASSIFICATION

Vocabulary

1. To reflect – отражать что-л.; размышлять, рассуждать
2. To endure – выживать, продолжать существовать
3. To succeed – преуспевать, удаваться; сменять
4. To intervene – вмешиваться
5. To judge – судить, полагать, считать
6. To undertake – предпринимать
7. To encompass – охватывать, заключать в себе
8. To effect – воздействовать
9. Coup d'état – государственный переворот
10. To share – разделять, пользоваться совместно
11. Invalid – недействительный, не имеющий законной силы
12. To confine sth to sth- ограничиваться чем-л., сводить к чему-л.

Ex. 1 Read the text and answer the questions after.

Before examining how different systems have been classified, it is necessary to reflect both – what is being classified, and why such classifications have been undertaken. First, what is “government”, and how do governments differ from “political systems” or “regimes”? “Government” refers to the institutional processes through which collective and usually binding decisions are made. A political system or regime, on the other hand, is a broader term that encompasses not only the mechanisms of government and institutions of the state, but also the structures and processes through which these interact with the larger society.

A political system is, in effect, a subsystem of the larger social system. It's a system in which there are interrelationships within complex whole, and "political" in these interrelationships relate to the distribution of power, wealth and resources in society.

A regime is therefore a "system of rule" that endures despite the fact that governments come and go. Whereas governments can be changed elections, through dynastic succession, as the result of coup d'états and so on, regimes can only be changed by military intervention from without or by some kind of revolutionary upheaval from within.

The interest in classifying political systems stems from two sources. First, classification is an essential aid to the understanding of politics and government. The second purpose of classification is to facilitate evaluation rather than analysis. In other words, understanding is closely tied up with normative judgements: questions about "what is" are linked to the questions about "what should be".

All systems of classification have their drawbacks, however. As with all analytical devices, there is a danger of simplification. The classification of regimes under the same heading draws attention to the similarities they share, but there is a risk that the differences that divide them will be ignored or disguised. A related problem is a possible failure to see that a phenomenon may have different meanings in different contexts. For instance, in Japan and throughout East Asia, "the state" may be different in kind and significance from "the state" as generally understood in the context of the West classification process. Finally, all systems have the same drawback that they are necessarily state-bound: they treat individual countries as coherent or independent entities in their own right. Although this approach is by no means invalid, it is now widely viewed as incomplete in the light of the phenomenon of globalization.

Since the late 1980's the regime classification industry has been in a limbo. Older categories, particularly the "three Worlds" division, were certainly redundant, but the political contours of the new world were far from clear. The image of a "world of liberal democracies" suggested the superiority of a specifically western model of development, based perhaps especially on the USA, and it implied that values such as individualism, rights and choice are universally applicable. One result of this was a failure to recognize the significance, for instance, of Islamic and Confucian political forms.

However, one of the difficulties of establishing a new system of classification is that there is no consensus about the criteria upon which such a system should be based. No system of classification relies on a single all-important factor. Nevertheless, particular systems have tended to prioritize different sets of criteria. Among the parameters most commonly used are the following;

- Who rules? Is political participation confined to an elite body or privileged group, or does it encompass the entire population?

- How is compliance achieved? Is government obeyed as a result of the exercise or threat of or through bargaining and compromise?

- Is governmental power centralized or fragmented? What kinds of check and balance operate in the political system?

- How is government power acquired and transferred? Is a regime open and competitive, or is it monolithic?

- What is the balance between the state and the individual? What is the distribution of rights and responsibilities between government and citizens?

- What is the level of material development? How materially affluent is the society, and how equally is wealth distributed?

- How is economic life organized? Is the economy geared to the market or to planning, and what economic role does government play?

- How stable is the regime? Has the regime survived over time, and does it have the capacity to respond to new demands and challenges?

Nevertheless, five regime types can be identified in the modern world:

- Western polyarchies
- Post-communist regimes
- East Asian regimes
- Islamic regimes
- Military regimes

1. What is the difference between “government” and a “political system”?
2. Through which means can a regime be changed?
3. What are the reasons for classifying political systems?
4. What are the drawbacks of systems of classification?
5. Why has regime classification industry been in a limbo recently?
6. What is your set of priorities of the parameters listed in the text for classification of a system?

Ex. 2 Match the notion with the definition

1. Government 2. A political system or regime 3. Absolutism 4. Totalitarianism 5. Liberal democracy

a. An all-encompassing system of political rule, that is typically established by ideological manipulation and open terror and brutality

b. A form of democratic rule that balances the principle of limited government against the ideal of popular consent.

c. Institutional processes through which collective and usually binding decisions are made.

d. A network of relationships through which government generates policies in respond to demands or support from general public.

e. Theory or practice of absolute government that cannot be constrained by a body external to itself.

Ex. 3 Fill in the blanks in the left column with words from the right one.

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. He ... the damage at \$50. | a. redundant |
| 2. The Committee ... it better to postpone the meeting. | b. invalid |
| 3. The ... was not in his favor and he was sentenced to death. | c. to undertake |
| 4. The government ... in the dispute and it was settled in a peaceful way. | d. to refer |
| 5. Who ... him as President? | e. coup d'état |
| 6. The peers' rights of ... in the British Parliament were disputed. | f. to separate |
| 7. The Prime Minister showed remarkable powers of | g. to judge |
| 8. ... by the text we can distinguish or ... different regimes. | h. endurance |
| 9. A friend is a person who ... your troubles as well as your joys with you. | i. to classify |
| 10. The allies might be ... by the Ocean but not by the shared values or interests. | j. to share |
| 11. As many workers were made ... they went on strike. | k. succession |
| 12. All documents having no legal force are | l. to evaluate |
| 13. The authorities must ... some effective measures to overcome the crisis. | m. to judge |
| 14. "Government" ... to the institutional processes through which collective and usually binding decisions are made. | n. judgement |
| 15. The military junta came to power as a result of a | o. to intervene |
| | p. to succeed |

Ex. 4 Find synonyms in the text for the following words.

To contemplate, to enforce, to comprise, to act with/among, to stand, to result from, to make easier, to be connected, to separate, to cover, to handle sb, to be regarded, to be obsolete, to set sth to limit, to orient/direct, troubles/revolt, rebellion, shortcomings, means, title, importance, stance, unanimity, yardstick, conformity.

4. REGIMES OF THE MODERN WORLD

Vocabulary

1. to distinguish – различать
2. to advocate – отстаивать, поддерживать
3. to tolerate – терпеть, переносить
4. to challenge – бросить вызов
5. challenge – проблема, вызов
6. to survive – выжить, пережить
7. to emerge – возникнуть, появиться
8. to suspend – временно прекращать, отстранять
9. to repress – подавлять, угнетать
10. to acknowledge – признавать
11. to stem – происходить
12. emphasis – акцент, упор
13. to assume – приобретать; предполагать
14. to embody – воплощать
15. a number of – ряд, несколько
16. to gain – получить

A. *Western polyarchies.*

Western polyarchies are broadly equivalent to regimes categorized as liberal democracies or even simply democracies. Their heartlands are therefore North America, Western Europe and Australia, although states ranging from India and Japan to the “new” South Africa all exhibit strongly polyarchical features.

The term “polyarchy” is preferable to liberal “democracy” for two reasons. First, liberal democracy is sometimes treated as a political ideal. Secondly, the use of “polyarchy” acknowledges that these regimes fall short, in important ways, of the goal of democracy.

All states that hold military elections have polyarchical features. Nevertheless, polyarchies have a more distinctive and particular character. They are marked not only by representative democracy and a capitalist economic organization. By also by a widespread acceptance of liberal individualism.

Western polyarchies are not alike, however. Some of them are biased in favour of centralization and majority rule, and others tend towards fragmentation and pluralism. A system of constitutional democracy is particularly appropriate to societies that are divided by deep religious, ideological, regional, cultural or other differences. Consensual or pluralistic tendencies are often associated with the following features:

- Coalition government
- A separation of powers between the executive and the assembly
- An effective bicameral system
- A military system
- Proportional representation
- Federalism or devolution
- A codified constitution and a bill of rights

B. Post-communist regimes

The collapse of communism in the eastern European revolutions of 1989-91 undoubtedly unleashed a process of democratization that drew heavily on the western liberal model. The central features of this process were the adoption of multiparty elections and the introduction of market-based economic reforms. In that sense it can be argued that most (some would say all) former communist regimes are undergoing a transition that will eventually make them indistinguishable from western polyarchies. Nevertheless, for the time being at least, there are reasons for treating these systems as distinct. In the first place, the heritage of their communist past cannot be discarded overnight, especially when, as in Russia, the communist system had endured for over 70 years. Secondly, the process of transition itself has unleashed forces and generated problems quite different from those that confront western polyarchies. One feature of Post-communist regimes is the need to deal with the politico-cultural consequences of communist rule. A second set of problems stem from the process of economic transition. The “shock therapy” transition from central planning to

laissez-fair capitalism, advocated by the International Monetary Fund, unleashed deep insecurity because of the growth of unemployment and inflation, and it significantly increased social inequality. Important differences between Post-communist can also be identified. The most crucial of these is that between the more industrially advanced and westernized countries of “central” Europe and more backward “eastern” states. In the former group, market reform has proceeded swiftly and relatively smoothly; in the latter, it has either been grudging and incomplete or it has given rise to deep political tensions.

C. East Asian Regimes.

The rise of East Asian the late 20th century may ultimately prove to be a more important world-historical event than the collapse of communism.

Certainly, the balance of the world’s economy had shifted markedly from the West to the East in this period. However, the notion that there is a distinctively East Asian political form is a less familiar one. The widespread assumption has been that modernization means westernization. Translated into the political terms, this means that industrial capitalism is always accompanied by liberal democracy. This interpretation, however, fails to take account of the degree to which polyarchical institutions operate differently in an Asian context from the way they do in a western one. Most importantly, it ignores the difference between cultures influenced by Confucian ideas and values and ones shaped by liberal individualism.

East Asian regimes tend to have similar characteristics. First, there are oriented more around economic goals than political ones. Secondly, there is broad support for “strong” government. Powerful “ruling” parties tend to be tolerated, and there is general respect for the state. Although, with low taxes and relatively low public spending usually below 30% of GDP (gross domestic product), there is little room for the western model of the welfare state, there is nevertheless general acceptance that the state as a “father figure” should guide the decisions of private as well as public bodies, and draw up strategies for national development. This characteristic is accompanied, thirdly, by a general disposition to respect leaders because of Confucian stress on loyalty, discipline and duty. Finally, great emphasis is placed on what the Japanese call “group think” restricts the scope for the assimilation of ideas such as individualism and human rights, at least as these are understood in the West.

D. Islamic regimes

The rise of Islam as a political force has had a profound affect on politics in North Africa, the Middle East, and parts of Asia. In some cases, militant Islamic groups have challenged existing regimes, often articulating the interests of an urban poor. Islam is not, however, and has never been, simply a religion. Rather, it is a complete way of life, defining correct moral, political and economic behavior for individuals and nations alike. Political Islam aims at the construction of a theocracy in which political and other affairs are structured according to “higher” religious principles. Nevertheless, political Islam has assumed clearly contrasting forms, ranging from fundamentalist to pluralist extremes.

E. Military regimes

Whereas most regimes are shaped by a combination of political, economic, cultural and ideological factors, some survive through the exercise, above all, of military power and systematic repression. In this sense, military regimes belong to a broader category of authoritarianism. Military authoritarianism has been most common in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa and South East Asia, but it also emerged in the postwar period in Spain, Portugal and Greece. The key feature of a military regime is that the leading posts in the government are filled on the basis of person’s position within the military chain of command. Normal political and constitutional arrangements are usually suspended, and institutions through which opposition can be expressed, such as elected assemblies and a free press, are either weakened or abolished.

Although all forms of military rule are deeply repressive, this classification encompasses a number of regime types. In some military regimes, the armed forces assume direct control of government. The classical form of this is military junta, most commonly found in Latin America. This operates as a form of collective military government centered on a command council of officers who usually represent the three armed services: the army, navy and air force. The second form of military regime is a military-backed personalized dictatorship. In these cases, a single individual gains preeminence within the junta or regime. In the final form of military regime, the loyalty of the armed forces is the decisive factor that upholds the regime, but the military leaders content themselves with “pulling the springs” behind the scenes.

Ex. 1 Comprehension check

A.

1. Why is the term “polyarchy” preferable to liberal democracy?
2. What is the distinctive feature of western polyarchies?
3. What societies is a system of constitutional democracy appropriate for?

B.

1. What are the key features of democratization in post-communist countries?
2. Will former communist regimes become indistinguishable from western polyarchies some time? Why?
3. What are important differences between post-communist states?

C.

What are “pros” and ”cons” of westernization mentioned in the text?

D.

What is the aim of political islam with its particular features?

E.

What are the key features and forms of military regimes?

Ex. 2 Match notions with their definitions

1. Polyarchy
2. Consociational democracy
3. Communism
4. Confucianism
5. Theocracy
6. Authoritarianism

a. Forms of government claiming to be governed by God or by gods, usually through human lieutenants, or by the revealed law of God.

b. An electoral and civil arrangement that attempts to incorporate and share power throughout the various politically salient sub-groups within a given society.

c. Form of governance that advocates public ownership and communal control of the major means of production, distribution, transportation, and communication.

d. “Rule by many”, a representative democracy in which all social classes and demographic groups regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, or gender have roughly equal political access and power within the government.

e. Form of political governance in which a ruler exercises absolute control over a state or group of people with the ultimate goal being preservation of power.

f. A system of ethics that concerned itself with the twin themes of human relations and the cultivation of the self.

Ex. 2 Fill in the blanks with the most appropriate word

1. Brevity is a ... characteristic of the author's style
2. These two weapons are ... by the distance of their use.
3. This politician has a ... record of service.
4. He is not very ... of criticism.
5. The speaker was exaggerating the facts so much that we couldn't ... it any longer.
6. Peace-loving forces can be called peace-....
7. His speech was a ... to the program of our party.
8. ... found some connection between the accused and the jury and ... the verdict of the latter.
9. The new government is facing a ... task of fulfilling its promises.
10. There were no ... of the earthquake in the district but for one man.
11. This party ... to the advocates of liberal democracy.
12. Under the military regimes normal political and constitutional arrangements ... usually ...
13. This fire extinguisher is to be used only in an ...
14. They ... all the hardships of the war.
15. The revolt ... immediately.

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| a. to be suspended | g. challenging | l. advocate |
| b. to be represented | h. challenge | m. distinguishable |
| c. emergency | i. Lord Advocate | n. distinguishing |
| d. to belong | j. to challenge | o. tolerant |
| e. to survive | k. to tolerate | p. distinguished |
| f. survivor | | |

Ex. 3 Translate into Russian paying attention to different functions of "one" and "do".

1. East Asian political form is a less familiar **one**.
2. This interpretation ignores the difference between cultures influenced by Confucian ideas and values and **ones** shaped by liberal individualism.
3. East Asian regimes tend to be oriented more around economic goals than political **ones**.
4. **One** feature of post-communist regimes is the need to deal with the politico-cultural consequences of communist rule.

5. **One** can argue that most former communist regimes will become indistinguishable from western polyarchies.

6. The interpretation fails to take account of the degree to which polyarchical institutions operate differently in an Asian context from the way they **do** in a western **one**.

7. Is political participation confined to an elite body or privileged group, or **does** it encompass the entire population?

8. The tendency to classify communist and fascist regimes as “totalitarian”, implies that western liberal democracies were fighting the same enemy in the Cold War as they had **done** in the Second World War.

9. They do participate in the discussion but they **don’t** have any say in the decision-making.

Ex. 4 Fill in the blanks with: “accept”, “adopt”, “admit”, “receive” and their derivatives.

1. The Russian President ... the invitation to take part in the work of the conference on European security, he ... warmly by his Turkish counterpart, and said that the talks were held in a friendly atmosphere. A number of documents on world peace and security

2. All honoured guests were accorded a warm

3. The ... of new declaration found ... with all peace advocates.

4. A new member ... to the party.

5. Children are not ... to evening performances.

6. The building was under repair. The sign said “No ...”.

Ex. 5 Read the text and answer the questions below.

CLASSICAL TYPOLIGIES

Without doubt the most influential system of classification was that devised by Aristotle in the 4th century BC, which was based on his analysis of the 158 Greek city states then in existence. This system dominated thinking on the subject for roughly the next 2500 years. Aristotle held that governments could be categorized on the basis of two questions: “who rules?” and “who benefits from rule?”. Governments, he believed, could be placed in the hands of a single individual, a small group, or the many. In each case, however, government could be conducted either in selfish interests of the rulers or for the benefit of the entire community.

Aristotle's purpose was to evaluate forms of government on normative grounds in the hope of identifying the "ideal" constitution. In his view, tyranny, oligarchy and democracy were all debased or perverted forms of rule in which a single person, a small group and the masses, respectively, governed in their own interests and therefore at the expense of others.

In contrast, monarchy, aristocracy and polity were to be preferred, because in these forms of government the individual, a small group and the masses, respectively, governed in the interests of all. Aristotle declared tyranny to be the worst of all possible constitutions, as it reduced citizens to the status of slaves. Monarchy and aristocracy were, on the other hand, impartial, because they were based on God-like willingness to place the good of the community before the ruler's own interests. Polity (rule by the many in the interests of all) was accepted as the most practicable of constitutions. Nevertheless, in a tradition that endured through the 20th century, Aristotle criticized popular rule on the grounds that the masses would resent the wealth of the few, and too easily fall under the sway of a demagogue. He therefore advocated a "mixed" constitution that combined elements of both democracy and oligarchy, and left the government in the hands of the "middle classes", those who were neither rich nor poor.

The Aristotelian system was later developed by thinkers such as Thomas Hobbs and Jean Bodin. Their particular concern was with the principle of sovereignty viewed as the basis for all stable political regimes. Sovereignty was taken to mean the "most high and perpetual" power, a power which alone could guarantee orderly rule.

These ideas were later revised by early liberals such as John Lock and Montesquieu, who championed the cause of constitutional government. In his epic *The Spirit of the Laws* Montesquieu attempted to develop a "scientific" study of human society, designed to uncover the constitutional circumstances that would best protect individual liberty. A severe critic of absolutism and an admirer of the English parliamentary tradition, he proposed a system of checks and balances in the form of a "separation of powers" between the executive, legislative and judicial institutions, this principle was incorporated into the US constitutions, and it later came to be seen as one of the defining features of liberal democratic government.

The "classical" classification of regimes, stemming from the writings of Aristotle, was rendered increasingly redundant by the de-

velopment of modern constitutional systems from the late 18th century onwards. In their different ways, the Constitutional republicanism, established in the USA following the American war of Independence of 1775-1783, the democratic radicalism unleashed in France by the 1789 French Revolution, and the form of parliamentary government that gradually emerged in the UK created political realities that were substantially more complex than early thinkers had envisaged. Traditional systems of classification were therefore displaced by a growing emphasis on the constitutional and institutional features of political rule. In many ways, this was built on Montesquieu's work in that particular attention was paid to the relationships between the various branches of government. Thus monarchies were distinguished from presidential ones, and unitary systems were distinguished from federal ones.

1. What is the difference between governments, political systems and regimes?
2. What is the purpose of classifying systems of government?
3. On what basis should regimes be classified?
4. What are the major regimes of the modern world?

5. POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Vocabulary

1. To condemn – осуждать
2. Rival – соперничать, соперник
3. To provide – обеспечивать, предлагать, предусматривать
4. Providing, provided – при условии
5. Overthrow – свергать, расстраивать планы; свержение
6. To resemble – походить на что-л.
7. To deny – отрицать, отказываться
8. To insist – настаивать
9. To apply – применять, относиться; обращаться к кому-л.
10. To reject – отвергать, отклонять
11. To encounter – встречаться, сталкиваться
12. To account – считать, рассматривать; объяснять
13. Pejorative – пренебрежительный
14. To coin – вводить

Ex. 1 Read the text and answer the questions

WHAT IS POLITICAL IDEOLOGY?

Ideology is one of the most controversial concepts encountered in political analysis. Although the term now tends to be used in a neutral sense, to refer to a developed social philosophy or “world view”, it had in the past heavily negative or pejorative connotations. During its sometimes tortuous career, the concept of ideology has commonly been used as a political weapon to condemn or criticize rival creeds or doctrines.

The term “ideology” was coined in 1976 by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy. He used it to refer to a new “science of ideas” (literally an idea-ology) that set out to uncover the origins of conscious thought and ideas.

From a social-scientific viewpoint, an ideology is a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for organized political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power relationships.

All ideologies therefore:

- a) offer an account of the existing order, usually in form of a “world view”
- b) provide a model of a desired future, a vision of the Good Society and
- c) outline how political change can and should be brought about. Ideologies are not, however, hermetically sealed systems of thought; rather, they are fluid sets of ideals which overlap with one another at a number of points. At a “fundamental” level, ideologies resemble political philosophies; at an “operative” level, they take the form of broad political movements.

1. Why did ideology have pejorative connotations?
2. Who coined the term “ideology” and what is the origin of the world?
3. Why is any ideology to be viewed from a social-scientific viewpoint?
4. What are the main aims of all ideologies?
5. Why aren’t ideologies hermetically sealed systems of thought?
6. What do they resemble at a “fundamental” level?
7. What form do they take at an “operative” level?

Ex. 2 Match the notions to their definitions

1. Rationalism 2. Fundamentalism 3. economic liberalism 4. big government 5. Pragmatism 6. Meta-ideology 7. Nanny state

1. a theory or practice that places primary emphasis on practical circumstances and goals; it implies a distrust of abstract ideas.

2. a higher ideology that lays down the ground on which ideological debate can take place.

3. a belief in the market as a self-regulating mechanism tending naturally to deliver general prosperity and opportunity for all.

4. interventionist government, usually understood to imply economic management and social regulation.

5. a style of thought in which certain principles are recognized as essential "truths" that have unchallengeable and overriding authority, regardless of their content.

6. a state with extensive social responsibilities; the term implies that welfare programmes are unwarranted and demeaning to the individual.

7. the belief that the world can be understood and explained through the exercise of human reason, based on assumptions about its rational structure.

Ex. 3 Fill in the gaps in column A with words in column B, making necessary changes.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. His brilliant speech ... a storm of applause. | a. virtue |
| 2. In different periods of history the Labor Party and the Tories' policies ... on a number of issues. | b. to bring about |
| 3. The scheme had the ... of being practicable. | c. to overlap with one another |
| 4. The murderer ... to life imprisonment. | d. rivals |
| 5. The UN General Assembly ... the unprecedented aggression. | e. to be condemned |
| 6. The ... for power exchanged opinions on the most urgent problems of the day. | f. rival |
| 7. Television is a ... attraction to reading. | g. to condemn |
| 8. The Constitution ... for equal rights for men and women. | h. to insist |
| 9. The speaker ... on implementing the program and ... the allegations of its uselessness. | i. to provide |
| 10. The girl ... her father very much. | j. to reject |
| 11. The ... are required to fill in all the papers in this room. | k. to deny |
| 12. The UN Security Council ... the amendments to the draft resolution condemning the interference into internal affairs of the small state. | l. applicants |
| | m. to resemble |

Ex. 4 Translate the sentences into Russian.

1. Ideology is one of the most controversial concepts encountered political analysis.
2. Although the term now tends to be used in a neutral sense, it had heavily negative or pejorative connotations in the past.
3. The term “ideology” was coined in 1976.
4. Ideology provides a basis for organized political action.
5. It is intended to preserve or modify the existing system of power relationships.
6. Providing a model for a desired future all ideologies overlap with one another on a number of points.
7. They are not hermetically sealed systems.
8. These definitions are loaded with values of a political doctrine.
9. They must reject the notion that ideologies must be liberating or oppressive.
10. Defining the term “ideology” we say that it is an action-orientated belief system, an interrelated set of ideas.

6. LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

Vocabulary

1. To commit – поручать; совершать
2. To abandon – оставлять, отказываться от
3. To assert – утверждать, заявлять
4. To embrace – охватывать
5. To trace – проследить
6. Ultimately – в конце концов, наконец

Ex. 5 Look through the text and bring out topical sentences conveying main ideas of the text.

Any account of political ideologies must start with liberalism. This is because liberalism is, in effect, the ideology of the industrialized West, and is sometimes portrayed as a meta-ideology that is capable of embracing a broad range of rival values and beliefs. Although liberalism did not emerge as a developed political creed until the early nineteenth century, distinctively liberal theories and principles had gradually been developed during the previous 300 years.

The central theme of classical liberalism is a commitment to an extreme form individualism. The state is regarded as a “necessary evil”. It is “necessary” in that, at the very least, it establishes order and security. However, it is “evil” in that it imposes a collective will upon society, thus limiting the freedom and responsibilities of the individual. In the form of economic liberalism, this position is underpinned by a deep faith in the mechanisms of the free market and belief that the economy works best when left alone by government.

Modern liberalism is characterized by a more sympathetic attitude towards state intervention. Modern liberals abandoned their belief in laissez-faire capitalism, largely as a result of J. M. Keynes insight that growth and prosperity could only be maintained through a system of managed and regulated capitalism, with key economic responsibilities being placed in the hands of the state.

Neoliberalism is an updated version of classical political economy. The central pillars of neoliberalism are the market and the individual. The principal liberal goal is “to roll back the frontiers of the state”, in the belief that unregulated market capitalism will deliver efficiency, growth and widespread prosperity. In this view the “dead hand” of the state saps initiative and discourages enterprise; government, however well intentioned, invariably has a damaging effect upon human affairs. This is reflected in the liberal New Right’s concern with the politics of ownership, and its preference for private enterprise over state enterprise or nationalization. *The nanny state* is seen to breed a culture of dependency and to undermine freedom, which is understood as freedom of choice in the market place. Instead, faith is placed in self-help, individual responsibility, and entrepreneurialism.

Conservative ideas and doctrines first emerged in the late 18th century and early 19th century as a reaction against growing pace of economic and political change.

From the very outset, divisions in conservative thought were apparent. In continental Europe a form of conservatism emerged that was characterized by the attitude rejecting out of hand any idea of reform. A more flexible, more cautious, and ultimately more successful form of conservatism developed in the UK and the USA that was characterized by belief in “change in order to conserve”. This stance enabled conservatives to embrace the cause of social reform under the paternalistic banner of “One Nation”.

The New Right represents a departure in conservative thought that amounts to a kind of counter-revolution against both the postwar drift towards state intervention and spread of liberal or progressive social values. However, the New Right does not so much constitute a coherent and systematic philosophy as an attempt to marry two distinct traditions usually termed “neoliberalism” and “neoconservatism”.

Neoconservatism reasserts nineteenth-century conservative social principles. The conservative New Right wishes, above all, to restore authority and return to traditional values, notably those linked to the family, religion and the nation. Authority is seen as guaranteeing social stability, while shared values and common culture are believed to generate social cohesion and make civilized existence possible. The enemies of neoconservatism are therefore permissiveness, the cult of the self. Another aspect of neoconservatism is the tendency to view the emergence of multicultural and multireligious societies with concern, on the basis that they are conflict-ridden and inherently unstable. It is skeptical about both immigration and the growing influence of supranational bodies such as the United Nations and the European Union.

Ex. 1 Look through the three sets of principles/elements and decide which ideology they belong to: Socialism, Liberalism, Anarchism, and Conservatism.

A.

1. **Individualism** reflects a belief in supreme importance of human individual as opposed to any social group or collective body.

2. **Freedom** arises from a belief in the individual and desire to ensure that each person is able to act as he or she pleases or chooses. But “freedom under law” is advocated, as it is recognized that one person’s liberty may be a threat to the liberty of others.

3. **Equality** implies a belief in fundamental equality, that is individuals are “born equal”

4. **Toleration**, the willingness of people to allow others to speak, to think and act in ways of which they disapprove.

5. **Consent**. Government must be based on the consent of the governed.

6. **Constitutionalism**-belief in limited government which can be attained through establishment of a codified or ‘written’ constitution that defines the relationship between the state and individual.

B.

1. **Tradition** is respect for established customs, and institutions that have endured through time. It has the virtue of promoting stability and security.

2. **Pragmatism**, the belief that actions should be shaped by practical circumstances and practical goals, that is by ‘what works’.

3. **Hierarchy**, gradation of social position and status is natural and inevitable in an organic society.

4. **Authority** is always exercised ‘from above’, providing leadership, guidance and support for those who lack the knowledge, experience or education to act wisely in their own interests.

5. **Property ownership** is vital because it gives people security and a measure of independence of government and it encourages them to respect the law and property of others.

C.

1. **Fraternity**-‘brotherhood’, but broadened in this context to embrace all of humans.

2. **Equality** as form of **egalitarianism**, the belief in the primacy of equality over other values.

3. **Need**, belief that material benefits should be distributed on the basis of need, rather than on the basis of merit or work.

4. **Community**, the vision of human being as social creatures linked by existence of a common humanity.

5. **Common ownership** as a means of generating broader equality.

Ex. 2 Fill in the gaps with words and word combinations

1. This law ... for a few months but mass media have made no comments yet.

2. The witness gave his evidence at the trial made the jury

3. ... the history of political ideologies the scientists came to the conclusion that any ... of political ideologies must start with liberalism.

4. Although liberalism did not emerge as a developed political creed until the 19th century liberal theories ... during the previous 300 years.

5. ... liberalism appeared ... the breakdown of feudalism and ... of a market capitalist society.

6. Liberalism started ... more influence and importance.

7. Later on it attacked absolutism and ... a constitutional a constitutional government.

8. By the early 19th century liberalism was capable of ...

9. We can justifiably ... that neoliberalism is an updated version of classical political economy and it is not ... for its goal is “to roll back the frontiers of the state”

10. More and more politicians ... the idea that stateinterventionalism has become the characteristic theme of modern liberalism

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. To trace sth back, account | f. From the very outset, on account |
| b. To be in effect | of, the promotion |
| c. To take into account | g. To assert, a mere assertion |
| d. To promote | h. To impose |
| e. To accumulate | i. To assert oneself |
| | j. To abandon oneself to |

Ex. 3 Fill in the blanks with either “economic” or “economical”

1. The ... and political change was symbolized by the French revolution.

2. An ... creed developed that condemned all forms of government intervention.

3. A form of social liberalism emerged which looked more favorably on the state’s ... intervention.

4. Economy must be

5. We believe that economy works best when the approach to spending is most ...

6. Conservative ideas rose as a reaction against the growing pace of ... and political change.

Ex. 4 Translate the sentences into Russian paying attention to conjunctions and prepositions.

1. What gives voting its democratic character, however, is that, **provided** that the election is competitive, it empowers the public to “kick the rascals out” and it thus makes politicians publicly accountable.

2. General will is the genuine interests of a collective body, equivalent to the common good; the will of all, **provided** each person acts selflessly.

3. Today most people in rich countries assume that, **provided** they obey the law, they have the right to enjoy privacy whenever it suits them.

4. The Security Council voted unanimously to end the UN peace-keeping mission in Angola, **following** the collapse of the peace accords.

5. Brazil will allow its currency to trade freely, **following** last week's failed attempt at a limited devaluation.

6. Today's inflation report from the Bank of England shows that, **following** the government's tough action to get economy back on track, growth is set to strengthen through next year with inflation falling to its 2.5 per cent target.

7. The founder of Guru of Aum (organization) was thrown in jail pending the outcome of a trial that could drag on for years.

8. Assuming that the second chamber of Great Britain continues to be excluded from debating financial measures, should it have a special role in other areas, for instance, on constitutional Bills?

Ex. 5 Translate the text into Russian.

THE END OF IDEOLOGY?

Much of the debate about ideology in the late 20th century was focused on predictions of its demise, or at least its fading relevance. This has come to be known as the "end of ideology" debate. It was initiated in the 1950s, stimulated by the collapse of fascism at the end of Second World War and the decline of communism in the developed West. In "the End of Ideology?: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the 1950s" (1960), the US sociologist Daniel Bell declared that the stock of political ideas had been exhausted. In his view, ethical and ideological questions had become irrelevant because in most western societies parties competed for power simply by promising higher levels of economic growth and material affluence. In short, economics had triumphed over politics. However, the process to which Bell drew attention was not so much an end of ideology as the emergence of a broad ideological consensus amongst major parties that led to the suspension of ideological debate. The ideology that prevailed in the 1950s and 1960s was a form of welfare capitalism, which in the UK and elsewhere took the form of a Keynesian-welfarist consensus.

A more recent contribution to this debate was made by Francis Fukuyama. Fukuyama did not suggest that political ideology had become irrelevant, but rather that a single ideology, liberal democracy had triumphed over all its rivals, and this triumph was final. This essay was written against the background of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, which Fukuyama interpreted as indicating as demise of Marxism-Leninism as a n ideology of world historical importance. An alternative way of interpreting these developments,

however, is offered by postmodernism, which suggests that the major ideologies, or “grand narratives”, were essentially products of a period of modernization that has now passed. On the other hand, the very assertion of the end of ideology, an end of history, or an end of modernity can be seen as ideological in itself. Rather than heralding the final demise of ideology, such assertions may merely demonstrate that ideological debate is alive and well, and that the evolution of ideology is a continuing and perhaps unending process.

Comprehension check.

1. What is political ideology?
2. What are characteristic themes, theories and principles of each of the major ideologies?
3. How have the major ideologies changed over time?
4. Has ideology come to an end?

7. DEMOCRACY

Vocabulary

1. To participate – участвовать
2. To determine – определять, устанавливать, решать(ся), назначать (дату)
3. To involve – вовлекать, включать в себя; to be involved in – участвовать
4. To compete – конкурировать, состязаться
5. To submit – покоряться, подчиняться
6. To mediate – выступать в качестве посредника
7. To equate – уравнивать; отождествлять
8. To confine – ограничивать
9. To empower – дать право
10. Credentials – обоснования, оправдания, полномочия
11. To lack sth – испытывать нехватку
12. To endorse – одобрять
13. To controvert – оспаривать, полемизировать, возражать
14. Controversy – спор, дискуссия
15. Gain (v., n.) – v – зарабатывать, получать; выигрывать, извлекать пользу, n–увеличение, прибыль, нажива

16. To maintain – поддерживать, сохранять; отстаивать, утверждать

17. Advance (v., n.)–v – продвигаться, делать успехи, n–продвижение, успех

18. Deliberate (v., adj.)– v – обдумывать, обсуждать, adj–намеренный, осторожный

19. To consume – потреблять, расходовать

20. To deprive sb of sth – лишать кого-либо чего-либо

21. To correspond to sth– соответствовать чему-либо

CONCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Most conceptions of democracy are based on the principle of “government by the people”.

Although “the people” is now accepted as meaning virtually all adult citizens, the term can be constructed in a number of different ways. The people, for instance, can be viewed as single, cohesive body, bound together by a common or collective interest: in this sense, the people are one and indivisible. Alternatively, as division and disagreement exist within all communities, “the people” may in practice be taken to mean “the majority”. In this case, democracy comes to mean the strict application of the principles of majority rule in which the will of the majority or numerically strongest overrides the will of the minority. This can nevertheless mean that democracy degenerates into “the tyranny of the majority”. Finally, the people can be thought of as a collection of free and equal individuals, each of whom has a right to make autonomous decisions. Not only does this view clearly contradict any form of majoritarianism, but it also implies that, in the final analysis, only unanimous decisions can be binding upon the demos, and so dramatically restricts the application of democratic principles.

This implies that, in effect, people govern themselves; that they participate in making the crucial decisions that structure their lives and determine the fate of their society. This participation can take a number of forms, however. In the case of direct democracy, popular participation entails direct and continuous involvement in decision-making through devices such as referendums, mass meetings, or even interactive television. The alternative and more common form of democratic participation is the act of voting, which is the central feature of what is usually called representative democracy. When citizens

vote, they do not so much make the decisions that structure their own lives as choose who will make those decisions on their behalf. What gives voting its democratic character, however, is that, provided that the election is competitive, it empowers the public to “kick the rascals out”, and it thus makes politicians publicly accountable.

There are also models of democracy that are built on the principle of “government for people”, and that allows little scope for public participation of any kind, direct or indirect. The most grotesque example of this was found in so called **totalitarian democracies** which developed under fascist dictators such as Mussolini and Hitler. The democratic credentials of such regimes were based on the claim that the “leader”, and the leader alone, articulated the genuine interests of the people, thus implying that a “true” democracy can be equated with an absolute dictatorship. In such cases, popular rule means nothing more than ritualized submission to the will of an all-powerful leader, orchestrated through rallies, marches, and demonstrations. This was sometimes portrayed as **plebiscitary democracy**. Totalitarian democracies demonstrate the tension that can exist between “government by people” (or popular participation), and “government for people” (rule in the public interest). Advocates of representative democracy, for example, have wished to confine popular participation in politics to the act of voting, precisely because they fear that the general public lack the wisdom, education and experience to rule wisely on their own behalf.

An alternative view of democracy is often developed by, for example, socialists and radical democrats. In **radical democracy**, democracy is often seen as a means of laying down a framework within which individuals can go about their own business, but rather as a general principle that is applicable to all areas of social existence. People are seen as having a basic right to participate in the making of any decisions that affect their lives, with democracy simply being the collective process through which this is done. Instead of endorsing mere political democracy, socialists have therefore called for **social democracy** or **industrial democracy**. Feminists, similarly, have demanded the democratization of family life, understood as the right of all to participate in the making of decisions in the domestic or private sphere. From this perspective, democracy is regarded as a friend of liberty, not as its enemy. Only when such principles are ignored can oppression and exploitation flourish.

Ex. 1 Comprehension check

1. What are the different ways of constructing the term “the people”?
2. What does principle “government by the people” mean?
3. What devices guarantee popular participation in direct democracy?
4. What is the key feature of representative democracy?
5. What does principle “government for people” mean?
6. How can a true democracy be equated with absolute dictatorship?
7. What is specific about radical democracy?
8. What is the feminists’ stance on the issue?

Ex. 2 Match concepts with their definitions.

- a. Totalitarian democracy b. Majoritarianism c. Political equality
d. Radical democracy e. Plebiscitary democracy f. Deliberative democracy

1. ...is a form of democracy that emphasizes the need for discourse and debate to help define the public interests.
2. ...is absolute dictatorship that masquerades as a democracy, typically based on the leader’s claim to a monopoly of ideological wisdom.
3. ...is a theory or practice in which priority is accorded to the will of the numerically strongest.
4. ...is an equal distribution of political power and influence.
5. ...is a form of democratic rule that operates through unmediated link between the rulers and the ruled.
6. ...is a form of democracy that favors decentralization and participation, the widest possible dispersal of political power.

Ex. 3 Fill in the gaps with the words, making necessary changes.

1. People are seen as having a basic right ... in the making of any decisions that affect their lives.
2. Direct democracy is based on the direct ... and continuous ... of citizens in the tasks of government.
3. The models of democracy ... by the principles of “government for” or “by the people”.
4. The ... of totalitarian democracies were based on the claim that the leader articulated the interests of the people.
5. What gives voting its democratic character is that ... that the election is ... it empowers the public to “kick the rascals out”.

6. If democratic principles ... in the interests of the majority of people. They can easily ... by them.

7. Under representative democracy the public ... power, they only select those who will rule on their behalf and ... them to structure the future.

8. Direct democracy was achieved in Athens by mass ... in solution of disputes.

9. In Greek city-states political participation was ... to male citizens over the age of 20.

10. Universal suffrage was not established in the UK until 1928, since then women have no longer been deprived of their ... in politics.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. credentials | f. to lack, to empower |
| b. unmediated, participation | g. to lay down, to endorse |
| c. to participate | h. to confine |
| d. provided, competitive | i. participation |
| e. to be determined | j. involvement |

Ex. 4 Paraphrase the words in italics, using the topical vocabulary.

1. We can *formulate the term* political equality as a n equal distribution of political power and influence.

2. Political equality *can be thought of* as the core principle of democracy *if it ensures* that all voices are equally loud.

3. Political equality also *provides people with* social equality.

4. Poor people were *far from exercising* most democratic rights; *they were deprived* of universal suffrage.

5. In Greek city-states political participation was *restricted* to a tiny proportion of the population.

6. In the USA universal suffrage was not achieved until the early 1960s, when African-American people in many Southern states *were granted rights* to vote.

7. In Switzerland universal suffrage was established in 1971 when women were eventually *enfranchised*.

8. People tested insane and imprisoned criminals are to subject to electoral restrictions.

Ex. 5 Translate the text into Russian.

DEFINING DEMOCRACY

The origins of the term democracy can be traced back to Ancient Greece. Like other words ending in “-cracy”, democracy is derived from the Greek word *kratos*, meaning power, or rule. Democracy thus means “rule by the *demos*” (the *demos* referring to “the people”, although the Greeks originally used this to mean “the poor” or “the many”). However the single notion of “rule by people” does not get us very far. The problem with democracy has been its very popularity, a popularity that has threatened the term’s undoing as a meaningful political concept. In being almost universally regarded as a “good thing”, democracy has come to be used as little more than a “hurrah!” word, implying approval of a particular set ideas or system of rule. A term that can mean anything to anyone is in danger of meaning nothing at all. Amongst the meanings that have been attached to the word “democracy” are the following:

- A system of rule by the poor and disadvantaged
- A form of government in which the people rule themselves directly and continuously, without the need for professional politicians or public officials
 - A society based on equal opportunity an individual merit rather than hierarchy and privilege
 - A system of welfare and redistribution aimed at narrowing social inequalities
 - A system of decision-making based on the principle of majority rule
 - A system of rule that secures the rights and interests of minorities by placing checks upon the power of majority
 - A means of filling public offices through a competitive struggle for the popular vote
 - A system of government that serves the interests of the people regardless of their participation in political life.

Perhaps a more helpful starting point from which to consider the nature of democracy is Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, delivered in 1864 at the height of the American Civil War. Lincoln extolled the virtues of what he called “government **of** the people, **by** the people, and **for** the people”. What this makes clear is that democracy links government to the people, but this link can be forged in a number of ways:

government of, by and for the people. The precise nature of democratic rule has been the subject of fierce ideological and political debate. This boils down to the attempt to answer three central questions:

1. Who are the people?
2. In what sense should the people rule?
3. How far should popular rule extend?

8. GLOBAL POLITICS

Vocabulary

1. To extend – простираться, расширяться, распространять (влияние)
2. To threaten – угрожать
3. To resist – сопротивляться, противостоять, удержаться от
4. Ally (v., n.) – v. – объединяться в союз, n. – союзник
5. To coincide – совпадать, соответствовать
6. Supply (v., n.) – v – снабжать, поставлять, n–снабжение, предложение
7. Appeal (v., n)–v – апеллировать, взывать, n–призыв, обращение
8. To facilitate – облегчать, продвигать
9. Facility –легкость; способность
10. To pursue – преследовать, следовать
11. To embody – воплощать (в себе), олицетворять, воплощать (в действительность)
12. To constitute – составлять, представлять собой; учреждать, вводить в силу закон
13. To undergo – подвергнуться чему-л.
14. The former – бывший; первый из двух
15. The latter – последний из двух

A NEW WORLD ORDER

The birth of the post-Cold-War world was accompanied by a wave of optimism and idealism. The superpower era had been marked by East-West rivalry that threatened to destroy the planet. As communism collapsed in Eastern Europe, and Soviet power was in retreat both domestically and internationally, “one world” speaking with “one voice” appeared to have come into existence. The “new world order” was going to be based not on ideological conflict and a balance

of terror, but on a common recognition of international norms and standards of morality. Central to this emerging world order was the recognition of the need to settle disputes peacefully, to resist aggression and expansionism, to control and reduce military arsenals, and to ensure the just treatment of domestic population through respect for human rights. What is more, the post-Cold-War world order appeared to pass its first series of major tests with ease.

Iraq's annexation of Kuwait in August 1990 led to the construction of a broad western and Islamic alliance which, through the Gulf War of 1991, brought about the expulsion of Iraqi forces. The disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 saw the first use of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (renamed the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in December 1994) as a mechanism for tackling international crises, leading to hopes that it would eventually replace both the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

In many ways, the linchpin of the hoped for new world order was the USA. A bipolar world order had given way to a unipolar one, with the USA, the only power with the military capacity and political authority to intervene effectively, playing the role of the "world's police force".

There are several reasons, however, for questioning this image of USA-sponsored international fraternity and world peace. In the first place, there are those who challenge the idea that the USA is a disinterested world power, and doubt that there is anything "new" about the new world order. For example, the anti-Iraq coalition of 1990-91 perhaps only reflected the fact that US and broader western concerns about oil supplies coincided with regional anxieties amongst Islamic powers such as Syria and Saudi Arabia about a "Greater Iraq". In other words, rhetoric and international law and national sovereignty merely camouflaged power politics and the pursuit of national interest. The very idea of a new world order might, indeed, be a piece of historical engineering aimed at safeguarding US interests and maintaining the USA's mastery of the global economy.

There are also doubts about the capacity of the USA to play the role of the world's police force, even if this were thought to be desirable. In the first place, preponderate nuclear power does not always translate into effective military capacity. At a deeper level, however, it is questionable whether the USA has the economic resources to sustain its global role, particularly in a context of a relative decline highlighted by the economic resurgence of Japan and Germany. One man-

ifestation of this has been an upsurge in isolationism. How long will Americans be prepared to pay the price of the USA being “number one”? In the same way as after the First World War, the idea of the USA disengaging itself from international affairs (“leaving the world to sort itself out”) has come to have a potent appeal in the USA. And this may grow still stronger.

Further stresses within the new world order have been generated by the releasing of tensions and conflicts that the Cold War had helped to keep under control. The existence of the external threat (be it international communism or capitalist encirclement) promotes internal cohesion and gives societies a sense of purpose and identity. To some extent, for instance, the West defined itself through antagonism towards the East, and vice versa. There is evidence that, in many states the collapse of the external threat has helped to unleash centrifugal pressures, usually in the form of racial, ethnic and regional tensions.

As opposed to the world being policed and orderly, the emerging international scene seems to be typified by lawlessness and inaction; it appears to resemble more a new disorder. This may, indeed, be the natural condition of a multipolar world order. Whereas bipolarism is structured, albeit by mutual hostility, multipolarism creates more fluid and less predictable conditions in which major actors are unclear about their roles and responsibilities. Thus the US, a German-led Europe, Russia, Japan and South-East Asian “tigers”, China, and possibly the Islamic world are all engaged in redefining themselves as international actors freed from the straight jacket that superpower rivalry imposed. However, the very instability of post-Cold War politics illustrates its transitional character. That USA-USSR superpower period may have passed, but a new and stable world order has yet to come into existence. The central question is whether this order will come about through cooperation, engineered by international bodies such as the UN and the EU, or whether it will be imposed through economic domination and military force.

Ex. 1 Comprehension check

1. What was superpower era marked by?
2. What were the preconditions for a new world order?
3. What is it based on and what is the central to this emerging world order?
4. What are the examples of its first successful tests?

5. Why was the US considered to be the linchpin of the hoped for new world order?
6. What are the reasons for questioning this image of the USA?
7. What have new stresses within the new world order been generated by?
8. Why may a new world disorder be natural condition of a multipolar world?
9. Name the main international actors who are redefining themselves and their roles in the new world order.
10. What is the central question to a new and stable world order?

Ex. 2 Fill in the gaps with the most suitable word or word combination.

1. The island ... for about seven miles.
2. The word "politics" ... in Ancient Greece, literally meaning city-state.
3. During the cold war, the West defined itself... through antagonism towards the East and
4. Collapse of communism in Eastern Europe ... with the Soviet power retreat both domestically and internationally.
5. The heart of politics is often portrayed as a process of conflict resolution, in which rival views first ... each other, but then
6. Peace advocates ... to all realistically minded politicians to ... any ... to peace.
7. All peace seeking countries ... in the UN right after the II World War.
8. The policy of the Cold War soon ... to the policy of detente.
9. His opponent ... but slight
10. The noun "epoch" means

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| a. to give way | g. to coincide | l. vice versa |
| b. to offer | h. to ally | m. to contradict |
| c. resistance | i. to come into existence | n. to reconcile |
| d. threat | j. to extend | o. to appeal |
| e. to ally | k. to a certain extent | p. to resist |
| f. era | | |

Ex. 3 Learn and translate into Russian the following synonyms of the word “threat”.

1. A threat – a warning, pending evil (he threatened to retaliate);
2. A danger – likelihood (of falling on ice);
3. A menace – a danger (out of hostile character);
4. A jeopardy – extreme danger;
5. A peril – imminent great danger;
6. Hazard – a risk, a chance (uncontrollable) of danger, occupational hazard (профессиональный риск)

Ex. 4 fill in the blanks with “power”, “force”, “strength”

1. The USA, the only ... with the military capacity and political authority to intervene “was playing the role of the world’s police”

2. Preponderant nuclear ... does not always translate into effective military capacity.

3. The super ... era was marked by the East-West rivalry that extended across the globe.

4. As communism collapsed in Eastern Europe, Soviet ... was in retreat both domestically and internationally.

5. The broad western and Islamic alliance brought about the expulsion of Iraqi ... from Kuwait.

6. The ... of the political party lies in its unity.

7. The USA-USSR super ... period may have passed, but a new and stable world order has yet to come into reality.

8. There are also doubts about the capacity of the USA to play the role of the world’s police

9. It is questionable whether the USA has the economic resources to sustain its global role, though it has, no doubt, gathered enough

10. The linchpin of the hoped-for new world was the USA on the ... of its being the only ... with the military capacity and political authority to play the role of the “world’s police”

11. The central question is whether a new world order will come about through cooperation or whether it will be imposed through military

12. International small and medium-sized enterprises will need a partner who knows mainland China well and this fits in perfectly with Hong-Kong’s

Ex. 5 Paraphrase the underlined parts with synonyms or synonymous expressions.

1. The issue of pulling up nuclear weapons was considered by the participants of the conference. They definitely denounced it as the main menace to peace.
2. The UN Charter came into force in 1945.
3. The speaker was right to a great degree but I can't say that his main conclusions reflect mine.
4. The country occupies a vast territory spreading over hundreds of kilometers from the North to the South.
5. The rebels failed to stand against well-trained and well-armed military units and finally yielded.
6. In many respects the resolution was calling to reason.
7. The UN Security Council called on the warring groups to put the hostilities to an end.
8. All the members of the union demonstrated complete unanimity of the views, their reactions to the draft treaty being very much the same.
9. The World Health Organization provides poor countries with the basic medicine and medical equipment.
10. The UN is a voluntary union of world countries struggling for a lasting universal peace.

Ex. 6 Translate the sentences into Russian paying attention to the verb "must" and the form of the infinitive after it.

1. The delegation must be at the airport two hours before the plane's departure.
2. You must be very careless if you forgot to warn them about it.
3. The conference must consider the problems of the Post-Cold War world.
4. They must be considering the question of resisting potential threats to peace now.
5. Their opinions must have coincided as both of them spoke for the resolution.
6. These consumer goods must be supplied to the hot spot without any delay.
7. They must have been extending the expiration day of my visa till I finally arrived.

8. The UN sanctions against Iraq must have been brought about by Iraq's annexation of Kuwait in 1990.

9. We must know that the existence of an external threat promotes internal cohesion and gives societies a sense of purpose and identity.

10. You must know nothing about it, if you say that the USA has no economic resources to sustain its globe role.

Ex. 7 Paraphrase the following sentences using "must".

1. There is no doubt that the very idea of a new one-polar world is a piece of historical engineering aimed at safeguarding the USA interests.

2. There is no doubt that a bipolar world order had given way to a unipolar one by that time.

3. He is a well-known politician. He has obviously been dealing with questions of international politics for a long time.

4. Evidently they are getting ready for another supply of arms.

5. The reaction of the audience was surely far from warm. The suggestion didn't get any support.

6. Evidently the troops were resisting the enemy with all their might.

7. No doubt, they are still keeping the area under control.

Ex. 8 Translate the text into Russian within 27 minutes.

Whatever the emerging world order will look like, it is certain to be shaped in crucial respects by the global distribution of economic power. Economics influences politics at virtually every level, and there can be no doubt that a nation's "weight" in world affairs is linked to its productive capacity and economic influence. Nevertheless, the precise nature of the relationship between economics and politics, and the way in which the global economy structures international politics, are matters of deep political and academic controversy. No one questions, however, that national economies have increasingly been integrated into a single, global economy, largely through the development of an international trading system. As trade no longer respects national boundaries (a tendency encouraged by the ending of the Cold War), economies can no longer be thought of as separate islands; they are interdependent elements within a global whole.

9. CAN WORLD CUP SUCCESS HEAL THE RIFTS IN SPAIN?

Before you read

Task I. Discuss these questions in pairs or small groups

1. How many different languages are spoken in your country? Are they spoken in different regions?
2. Are there different cultural groups in your country? Do they get along with each other?
3. Are there or have there ever been any tensions between different cultural groups?

Task II. Predicting the content.

1. Did you know that in Spain there are 5 official languages spoken? They are: Spanish (or Castilian, the main language), Catalan/Valencian (spoken in the East), Basque (spoken in the North), Aranese (spoken in a small area in the Pyrenees), Galician (spoken in the North-West). What difficulties and problems do you think this might create in the country?

2. You are going to read an article about Catalonia. The first sentence of the article is a quotation from US Chief Justice Earl Warren: “Humanity’s finest achievements are often to be found in a newspaper’s sports section, while its failures fill the front pages”. What do you think this quotation means? Do you agree with it?

Humanity’s finest achievements are often to be found in a newspaper’s sports section, as US Chief Justice Earl Warren famously observed, while its failures fill the front pages. And how true that is in Spain right now, says Pedro J. Ramirez in *El Mundo* (Madrid). Euphoria at Spain’s first-ever triumph in the World Cup has been vitiated by a resurgence of nationalism in Catalonia, the northeastern region that accounts for 25% of Spain’s GDP. Many Catalans were lukewarm about Spain’s progress through the tournament; some even rooted for its opponents. The Spanish flag that draped balconies elsewhere was largely absent, while at a race in Barcelona, world motorbike champion Jorge Lorenzo declined to wear the national team colors for fear he’d be lynched – drawing furious accusations of cowardice from other Spanish sports celebrities.

And it was the day before the Cup final that a million angry Catalans took to Barcelona's streets in the biggest political rally since Spain's transition to democracy in the late 1970s, says Miquel Noguer in *El País* (Madrid). They were livid at what Spain's Constitutional Court had just done to their cherished Autonomy Statute. Passed four years ago by the socialist government in Madrid, the statute gives Catalonia a large measure of control over its own affairs, but the Conservative Popular Party (PP) has taken exception to clauses in the statute stipulating that Catalonia be seen as a "nation" – one in which the Catalan language would take precedence over Castilian Spanish. The PP's challenge, which the Court has now upheld, was "an amazing exercise in cynicism", says *El Periódico* (Barcelona). It has been trying to spook voters with the specter of Spain disintegrating. But in truth, a mere 15% of Catalans want to split from Spain. And though separatists waving hand-shaped signs reading "Goodbye Spain" tried to hijack it, the rally was actually called by Catalan parties who just want to retain the autonomy already granted them.

Catalan nationalist politicians should blame themselves, says David Ortega Gutiérrez in *El Imparcial* (Madrid). Their demand that Catalonia be considered a nation yet still stay part of Spain is "absurd" – the court had no option but to reject it. And for Catalan President José Montilla to then denounce the court's verdict as "aggressive provocation" is pure "demagoguery". The rift between Catalonia and the rest of Spain runs deep, says James Kirchick in *The New Republic* (Washington). Barcelona was a bulwark against fascism in the 1936-39 Civil War; Madrid – in the eyes of Catalans at least – was a bastion of Francoists. But sport is now eroding such differences. Five of the national football team's members were born in Catalonia: it was a Catalan, Carles Puyol, who scored the winning goal in the semi-final against Germany. So when Spain beat Holland 1-0, Barcelona –

to the dismay of the separatists – erupted in joy like every other Spanish city. There's no better glue to bind Spain together, it seems, than World Cup football.

Comprehension

Task. III Reading.

1. Read the article quickly without using a dictionary.

2. Look for the main idea in the article and complete this sentence as briefly as you can: *This article is about ...*

3. Can you explain any more details about the text?

Task IV. Summary skills.

Summary skills are very important in academic study. When you summarize you need to do three things: look for the main ideas in the text, put the ideas in your own words, ignore details and information in the text that is not as important. The difficult thing is doing all three of these things at the same time!

10. TERRORISM

ШКОЛА — ПОД ОХРАНОЙ



Новый учебный год начался в школах Беслана с опозданием на две недели. У входа в среднюю школу № 6 в Беслане. Эта школа находится ближе всего к школе № 1, в которой произошли трагические события.

Ex. 1 Look at the picture and answer the questions:

1. What event did you associate with this photo?
2. How did you respond to the news on the first of September in Beslan?
3. How did the images of this tragedy affect you?
4. What emotions have you experienced?
5. Do you feel safe?
6. What do you think the adults should do to promote a feeling of safe?

Ex. 2 Describe President Putin's reaction to this tragedy in Beslan. How would you describe this tone, his words and his demeanor? What steps was he taking to address the situation?

Ex. 3 Translate from Russian into English:

Владимир Путин:

Чечня – не Ирак. Она важная часть нашей территории.

В своей подмосковной резиденции в Ново-Огарево президент России Владимир Путин провел первую встречу с иностранными журналистами и учеными после трагических событий в североосетинском Беслане.

В ходе беседы, длившейся больше трех часов, Путин, как пишет английская «Гардиан», заявил, что принял решение о проведении внутреннего, а не публичного расследования. По его мнению, открытое расследование может превратиться в «политическое шоу». По словам президента, он «хочет восстановить последовательность событий и выяснить, кто несет ответственность».

Президент также особенно подчеркнул, что никто не имеет права «советовать нам говорить с убийцами детей». «Почему бы вам не встретиться с Усамой бен Ладеном?..»

По заявлению Путина, он рассматривает террор чеченских исламистов, опирающихся на иностранных фундаменталистов, основным моментом стратегии, направленной на подрыв ситуации на всем юге России и дестабилизацию среди мусульманского населения в других регионах страны.

Президент также подчеркнул, что «мусульмане живут на Волге, в Татарстане и Башкортостане. Чечня — не Ирак. Она находится совсем рядом. Чечня — важная часть нашей территории, и в данный момент речь идет о территориальной целостности России».

Ex. 4 Read and translate the text.

HAS RUSSIA BEEN ATTACKED BY TERRORISTS?

Yes. During the last decade, Russia has been the target of far more terrorist attacks than the United States has. Most of these have stemmed from the conflict in Chechnya—including the hijacking of a Russian airliner in Saudi Arabia in March 2001 and the hijacking of a commercial bus with 40 passengers in July 2001. Perhaps the most dramatic attacks were four apartment bombings in Moscow and other Russian cities during August and September 1999, which killed nearly 300 civilians. Putin, then Russia's prime minister under the ailing President Boris Yeltsin, blamed these bombings on Chechen rebels and reinvaded the breakaway republic. At least 41 people, including 17 children, were also killed in May 2002 when terrorists bombed a military parade in the southwestern town of Kaspisk — an attack that the Russian government also blamed on Chechen extremists. In October 2002, Chechen terrorists seized some 700 hostages in a Moscow theater. Russian special forces launched a commando raid, pumping an aerosol form of the powerful narcotic Fentanyl into the theater to disable the hostage-takers. The drug killed more than 110 hostages, as well as many of their captors.

Ex. 5 Questions for discussion:

1. Why do you think some groups of people feel that they can only achieve their political objectives through violent acts?
2. Do you think the use of violence is ever justified in achieving a particular “political objective”? Why or why not?
3. How do you think acts of terrorism might be prevented or discouraged by the publics or governments against whom they are perpetrated?

Ex. 6 Give the definition of the following words:

1. catastrophe – a sudden great disaster
2. disaster
3. tragedy
4. war
5. infamy
6. retribution
7. revenge
8. retaliation
9. response
10. terrorism

Ex. 7 a) Why did Putin agree with President Bush that terrorists are serious threat to world security and to Russia? Do you share his point of view? Why? b) Read the text

How did Russia react to September 11?

Russian President Vladimir Putin was the first world leader to call President Bush with condolences after the attacks. Within two weeks, the United States and Russia had reached an agreement to increase intelligence-sharing about Afghanistan and al-Qaeda and, more significant, to allow U. S. troops to be based in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan—countries in Russia's Central Asian backyard. Putin has repeatedly stressed Russia's solidarity with the war effort and even declined to object to the spring 2002 arrival of U. S. Green Berets to help train Georgian troops hunting militants with suspected links to al-Qaeda. In May 2002, NATO created a new NATO-Russia Council to include Moscow from the outset in NATO deliberations on issues including counterterrorism and nonproliferation. Taken together, experts say, these developments amount to a notably supportive Russian response to 9/11.

Why is it important that Russia has cooperated with the U. S. war effort? Broadly speaking, for two reasons: military and political. Militarily, experts say, Russia's decision not to protest the stationing of U. S. forces in Central Asia—such as sending the U. S. Army's Tenth Mountain Division to Uzbekistan and special forces to Tajikistan—helped provide a critical staging area for the war in Afghanistan. Allowing U. S. troops to be based on the territory of the former Soviet Union and along Russia's southern border was a major departure for Russian policy, but Putin readily agreed—to the surprise of some Russia experts.

Politically, Russia's support eased U. S. efforts to build international coalitions against terrorism. In other recent American-led military campaigns—such as the 1999 war in Kosovo—Russia's opposition made it more difficult to keep a coalition united and to conduct the war. This time, Russian cooperation has made it much easier to isolate al-Qaeda and the Taliban and to pressure other regimes that harbor terrorists.

Ex. 8 Give it a name:

1. a sudden great disaster
2. a very bad accident, that causes great damage or loss of life
3. a terrible event that causes great sadness

4. a state of fighting between nations or groups with a nation using a military force
5. wickedness; morally wrong behaviour
6. punishment that is considered to be morally right and fully deserved
7. deliberate punishment or injury inflicted in return for what one has suffered
8. to do harm or injury
9. an action of feeling produced in answer to something; reaction

Ex. 9 Match the words:

1. assertion	слух
2. speculation	искажение
3. assumption	спекуляция
4. insinuation	предположение
5. distortion	инсинуация
6. hearsay	утверждение
7. martyr	мученик
8. martyrdom	мученичество, мука

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Should we see the two wars in Chechnya as nationalist struggles, or as Islamist struggles?
2. Why isn't the U. S. doing more to help Russia against common enemies?

Ex. 10 Read the text and answer the questions after.

Is there a definition of terrorism?

Even though most people can recognize terrorism when they see it, experts have had difficulty coming up with an ironclad definition. The State Department defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." In another useful attempt to produce a definition, Paul Pillar, a former deputy chief of the CIA's Counterterrorist Center, argues that there are four key elements of terrorism: It is premeditated – planned in advance, rather than an impulsive act of rage.

It is political – not criminal, like the violence that groups such as the mafia use to get money, but designed to change the existing political order. It is aimed at civilians – not at military targets or combat-ready troops.

It is carried out by subnational groups not by the army of a country.

Where does the word "terrorism" come from?

It was coined during France's Reign of Terror in 1793-94. Originally, the leaders of this systematized attempt to weed out "traitors" among the revolutionary ranks praised terror as the best way to defend liberty, but as the French Revolution soured, the word soon took on grim echoes of state violence and guillotines. Today, most terrorists dislike the label, according to Bruce Hoffman of the RAND think tank.

Is terrorism a new phenomenon?

No. The oldest terrorists were holy warriors who killed civilians. For instance, in first-century Palestine, Jewish Zealots would publicly slit the throats of Romans and their collaborators; in seventh-century India, the Thuggee cult would ritually strangle passersby as sacrifices to the Hindu deity Kali; and in the eleventh-century Middle East, the Shiite sect known as the Assassins would eat hashish before murdering civilian foes. Historians can trace recognizably modern forms of terrorism back to such late-nineteenth-century organizations as Narodnaya Volya ("People's Will"), an anti-tsarist group in Russia. One particularly successful early case of terrorism was the 1914 assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Serb extremist, an event that helped trigger World War I. Even more familiar forms of terrorism often custom-made for TV cameras – first appeared on July 22, 1968, when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine undertook the first terrorist hijacking of a commercial airplane.

Is terrorism aimed at an audience?

Usually, yes. Terrorist acts are often deliberately spectacular, designed to rattle and influence a wide audience, beyond the victims of the violence itself. The point is to use the psychological impact of violence or of the threat of violence to effect political change. As the terrorism expert Brian Jenkins bluntly put it in 1974, "Terrorism is theatre."

1. Is terrorism just brutal, unthinking violence?
2. Does it take the form of bombing, shooting, hijacking or assassinations?
3. Is it a deliberate use of violence against civilians for political or religious ends?
4. Is there a definition of terrorism?
5. What is terrorism?
6. What are some key elements of terrorism?

7. Where does the term “terrorism” come from?
8. Is terrorism a new phenomenon?
9. Is it aimed at an audience? Why?
10. Do you think it is irrational to recruit young people to commit suicide for a cause?
11. What role should people of good will take in the current crisis?

Ex. 11 What word is odd out?

- 1) violence – brutality – justice – cruelty – fierceness
- 2) victim – martyr – wickedness – sufferer – sacrifice
- 3) terrible – outrageous – vicious – terrific – audacious – essential

Ex. 12 Read and translate using a dictionary if necessary

**WHAT ARE THE CAUSES
AND ORIGINS OF TERRORISM?**

On September 11, 2001, the United States was attacked by terrorists connected with the radical Islamist group, Al Qaeda. Four commercial airliners were hijacked, to be used as missiles in the destruction of American monuments and American lives. Both towers of the World Trade Center in New York were destroyed, and the Pentagon in Washington, DC, was severely damaged. Almost three thousand lives were lost, the greatest single-day loss of American lives on American soil since the Civil War and the greatest, single-day loss to violence of American civilian lives in history

Some refer to these horrible events as a *tragedy* or a *disaster*. But both these terms carry connotations of unavoidable natural calamities such as hurricanes or earthquakes: that is, these terms connote events with no human cause. When disaster strikes, we can do naught but mourn. The events of September 11, however, were the result of deliberate human action. The more appropriate terms for speaking about these events are crime, mass murder or acts of war. Thus, while we mourn the loss of lives on that day another response is also justified: a desire for justice.

Comparisons are now made to the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. But really, the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks are incomparable. In 1941, the armed forces of the Empire of Japan attacked the armed forces of the United States. On September

11, however, the terrorists did not attack our armed forces, but the American people as such. This is truly an unprecedented crime.

The Al Qaeda terror network is at war with us. These terrorists, quite clearly, hate us and seek to do us harm. Osama bin Laden has called it a holy duty binding on every Moslem to kill every American within reach. In other words, he believes genocide is justified. Such hate is difficult for Americans to fathom for we know ourselves to be a peaceable people. What, then, is the cause of such hatred? What are the grievances of the followers of Osama bin Laden which prompt them to commit mass murder of American civilians? Are they such that they *could* be appeased?

At a macro-historical level, the terrorists of Al Qaeda see themselves as holy warriors in the long history of conflict between Islam and the unbelievers – in particular, the unbelievers of the West, or Christendom. While we are now taught that the medieval Crusades were in their very nature a crime of intolerance (and it is surely true that the Crusaders committed innumerable shameful atrocities), we would do well also to recall that the Crusades were a belated act of strategic *defense*. For Mohammed was an "armed prophet," as Machiavelli put it. In the seventh and eighth centuries, Arab armies swept across the Christian lands of North Africa, converting peoples at the point of the sword. Crossing over into Europe at the Straits of Gibraltar, they conquered nearly the whole of Spain, and their advance into Western Europe was stopped only at the Battle of Tours (in central France) in 732. Spanish Christians fought for centuries to reclaim their country and to defend against successive Muslim invasions, succeeding finally only in the fifteenth century, after hundreds of years. This Spanish victory, the final liberation of Christian Spain from what were, in effect, Muslim imperialists or colonialists, is referred to by Osama bin Laden in his videotaped response to the September 11 bombings as the "tragedy of Andalusia."

Likewise in Eastern Europe, after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, the nations of Christendom were threatened in the Balkans by successive Muslim invasions. In 1683, the Turks penetrated as far as the gates of Vienna, where they were defeated by the heavy cavalry of the Polish king Jan Sobieski. Centuries of war and popular uprisings in the Balkans eventually liberated Christian peoples from the "Turkish yoke." By the end of the nineteenth century,

the Ottoman Empire was the "sick man of Europe," while Europe reached its imperialist zenith.

These are hardly "current events," but it is necessary to revisit such history in order to understand the background to the grievances which animate Al Qaeda. Their deepest grievance is the worldly success of the West, or Christendom; and the relative decline in the power and prestige, the splendor and dynamism of Islamic civilization over the past four centuries.

Ex. 13 Translate from English into Russian

naught – nothing

fathom – to understand

atrocities – extremely evil and cruel actions

zenith – the highest point

stagnant – not moving or growing

glut – oversupply

complicit – involved as an accomplice

imputed – attributed to or credited with

appreciably – noticeably

theocratic – a government run in the name of God

getting "out of hand" – becoming out of control

recompense – repayment for damages

omnipotent – having unlimited power, force or authority

prudence – wisdom and care

Ex. 14 Read and translate the text using a dictionary if necessary and answer the questions

CHILDREN AND TERRORISM

What Do We Tell Our Children?

Nobody has written the how-to manual on this one yet. When our children woke up on Sept. 12, the world felt less safe to them than it did at the same time yesterday. It did for us, too, but if adults are finding the events in New York and Washington incomprehensible, children may be profoundly frightened.

"Just as this is beyond belief for adults, it suggests to children that the worst fantasies they can possibly have are possible. The illusion that life is safe and predictable has been challenged," child psy-

chiatrist Stuart Goldman of Children's Hospital and Harvard University said yesterday.

For children of every age, the first thought often will be an egocentric one: "What about me? Am I safe? Are my parents safe?" Answering that question is our first and most important responsibility, said children's television personality Fred Rogers in a telephone interview. He urged parents not to fall apart, "even though that's what you feel like doing," and to tell children explicitly that we and our government are doing all we can to keep them and our country safe, even as we express our sorrow and grief.

For children under 7, worry typically translates to clingy behavior. A 4-year-old may follow you around the house, or insist you stay with her tonight until she falls asleep, something she hasn't wanted for an age. With older children, the clinging has an age-appropriate twist: "The most independent 16-year-old may suddenly be checking in with you by phone just to say he's going to be five minutes late," Goldman said. Keeping the connection to children tightly under control, literally being with them even if it's just to be in the same room or under the same roof, is profoundly comforting and something parents should not underestimate. It's what prompted child psychiatrist Gene V. Beresin of Massachusetts General Hospital to cancel patients yesterday so he could be home when his twin 14-year-olds arrived from school. It's also what's behind Brookline psychologist Sharon Gordetsky's advice when she tells parents to cancel any plans in the next few days and this weekend that would take you away from your children.

Gordetsky said some children will need more structure than usual in the days to come, perhaps wanting you to walk them to school, or meet the bus. If a child of any age is more fearful than usual, expecting him to tough it out – "You have your own bedroom to sleep in, just like always", – runs the risk of inflaming fears, not dispelling them. She said keeping to routines, having family meals together, getting together with extended family, and lots of extra cuddle time are strategies to mitigate against fearfulness.

Why do deaths in New York City and Washington translate to childhood fears in Boston? For the same reasons they do for adults: They stir up an intense sense of vulnerability. In addition, though, young children lack the cognitive ability to bring perspective to tragedy. If an airplane can fly into a building in New York, why not into the Prudential or the Hancock in Boston? If a plane can be hijacked

and blow up, why not daddy's plane when he goes on a business trip? If people can go to work and die in Washington or New York, how safe is mom's office in Providence or Boston? For middle- and high-school age children who are able to engage in abstract thinking, the fears may project to the future, but also in a self-centered way: Will our country ever be safe again? Will I ever feel safe flying? Will we fly to Colorado at Christmas? Will our synagogue be safe at Rosh Hashana?

1. Why did the world feel less safe after September 12?
2. Why are the worst fantasies of profoundly frightened children possible in our world?
3. What is our first and most important responsibility?
4. What does children's television personality advise parents?
5. How are the parents advised to behave themselves?
6. Why does child psychiatrist prompt to cancel our plans so we could be home with our children?
7. Do children need more structure than usual in the days to come?
8. Why are lots of extra cuddle time said to be strategies to mitigate against fearfulness?

Ex. 15 Comment on this quotation:

“If we are to teach real peace in this world, and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with the children.”
Mohandas Gandhi.

Ex. 16 Questions for discussion:

1. What are the types of initial reactions children expressed during and after terrorist attacks?
2. How do the child psychiatrists advise parents to deal with their children's fears and questions? Do you think it is a good advise? Does the child's age matter?
3. Can you give advice how to deal with traumatized children?

Ex. 17 Read the text and outline its main ideas

**WHAT IS OLD AND WHAT IS NEW
IN THE TERRORISM OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM?**

Mass murder inspired by Islamic fundamentalism and fanaticism differs from the secular totalitarian ideologies and regimes of

Europe's twentieth century fascism and Nazism, on the one hand, and Communism, especially in the Stalin era, on the other. Like the twentieth-century totalitarians, today's Islamic fundamentalist fanatics are convinced that they possess absolute Truth which is immune to refutation or criticism; they despise Western modernity yet borrow its technological accomplishments in an effort to destroy it. They believe that force and terror are necessary to establish a Utopia in place of the current decadent and corrupt world; and they explain history on the basis of a conspiratorial construct in which the United States, more than "international Jewry" or global capitalism, plays the central role.

Unlike the followers of the past century's secular religions, today's terrorists draw inspiration from an apocalyptic vision rooted in religious radicalism. Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda emerge in a global political culture in which elements of Leftist anti-globalization discourse and reruns of fascist and Nazi visions of Jewish conspiracies merge with religious passions. Because Al Qaeda knows how to speak the language of leftist anti-imperialism of the past century, it suggests a mood that overlaps with secular Third-World radicalism. Yet in crucial matters, such as its view of death and suicide and its stance on rationality, it appears closer to the fascist and Nazi philosophy than to the Communist past. The stand-off with Soviet Communism could end with its peaceful implosion; as was the case with fascism and Nazism, the only way the threat of terrorism inspired by radical Islam can end is through its military defeat.

By terrorism, I mean the intentional murder or attempted murder of any person, civilian or military, man, woman, or child, old or young, who is not engaged in military combat. Civilian deaths caused by stray bombs and missiles or preemptive killings of those who are actively engaged in acts of terror, neither of which intentionally target the innocent, are not acts of terrorism in this sense. In the modern European context terrorism is rooted both in the Jacobin and Communist traditions, on the one hand, and in the fascist and Nazi movements and regimes, on the other. At all times and in all places in modern European history, terrorism's many targets have always included a frontal attack on the institutions and principles of liberal democracy – which rests on the principle that all conflicts should be resolved by discussion, debate, and compromise. Terrorists, however, believe they are in possession of absolute Truths, and thus have the right and obligation to kill those who disagree and who stand in their way. In every in-

stance, terrorists are persons with an ideological rationale that facilitates murdering the innocent with a clean conscience fueled by self-righteous indignation. In many cases their targets have been political leaders who sought compromise or nonviolent solutions to complex problems.

The emergence of terrorism during the French Revolution represented a regression to the normal practice of war during the wars of religion in the seventeenth century. During the Thirty Years War, Europeans did not distinguish between combatants and civilians but between believers and apostates, Protestants and Catholics. The resulting devastation led to efforts to codify rules of war that would establish such distinctions, put limits on war and political violence, and establish in the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 the principle that peace required toleration of differing religious beliefs. The American Constitution rests in part on the bitter European recognition that civil peace required the separation of religion from the state. By inventing the new category of "enemy of the people" during the French revolution, the Jacobins again blurred the distinction of combatant and non-combatant and gave renewed justification to murder as a political weapon. Since the Jacobins, terror remained an important component of European history when Left/Right and nationalist tensions reached a boiling point.

Terrorism in modern Europe has been the practice of those who believe that reform and diplomacy are undesirable. Apologists for terrorism suggest that it is the result of conditions of social injustice. Violence in the Sorelian tradition is a response to the growing success of working-class integration in Europe and the popularity of peaceful reformism as opposed to revolutionary sentiment within the working classes. Terrorists have repeatedly attacked those who seek to find negotiated and non-catastrophic solutions to difficult problems. The assassination of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand in June 1914, which was the immediate but not deeper cause of World War I, illustrates this enduring feature of terrorism. Ferdinand was among those in the Hapsburg Empire who sought a negotiated solution to the dilemma of nationalism within a multinational empire. Hence, it was key to murder him to rule out all but the most radical possibilities.

PART II

SUPPLEMENTARY READING TEXTS

DEMOCRACY AND THE MONARCHY

In a democratic system with a hereditary monarch, the role of the king or queen is nonpolitical (e. g., it is symbolic and ceremonial; the sovereign is a head of the state, a symbol of national unity, continuity, and tradition). According to Vernon Bogdanor, during the twentieth century, the sovereign's constitutional power was reduced step by step in a number of areas critically important to the constitution, but the sovereign still kept a vast number of prerogative powers.

The sovereign still holds a few formal executive powers that allow, for example, naming—but not choosing—the head of a cabinet who is not politically responsible to the sovereign but to the directly elected parliament. Nevertheless, decisions about government formation are left to politicians, so the sovereign plays no active role in them. The sovereign can use the granted power to appoint ministerial officeholders on the recommendation of the prime minister, too; the sovereign is politically no responsible but acts on the advice of the ministers, who are willing to assume responsibility for the sovereign's acts. The sovereign is inviolable, too, and can exercise influence by using, according to Bagehot, “the rights to be consulted”; for example, consultations were an important point of the political game in the United Kingdom during the second half of the twentieth century. The sovereign in all constitutional monarchies can dissolve the parliament (on request), and also has some power that can be used in a constitutional emergency. Other important powers of the sovereign include: nominating judges (in cooperation with the executive), directing the armed forces, declaring war, making treaties, and regulating the civil service.

Constitutional monarchy in democratic states can survive only when monarchs accept their limited powers based on the constitutional text. Currently, there are only a few democratic constitutional monarchies in Europe: the United Kingdom, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Liechtenstein; there are also a few outside Europe, such as Japan. The influence of sovereigns in these countries differs according to historical circumstances. For example, in Scandinavia the sovereigns and their families

are very popular because they stress egalitarianism over many of the ancient symbols of royalty and wealth; Richard Rose mentions that they are popularly called “bicycling monarchs.” Spain, on the other hand, is unique among contemporary constitutional monarchies: after Francisco Franco’s death, new political leaders accepted the politically well-balanced role of Juan Carlos in transition to democracy and gave a way to restoring monarchy instead of introducing a republic. Another, rather specific case in the contemporary world is the British Commonwealth, an association of free, independent states (mostly republics) like Canada, Australia, and India. The nominal head of this postcolonial international association is the English sovereign, whose symbolic role was accepted by a free decision of democratically elected leaders of these previous British dominions, contrary to the hereditary character of this post in the United Kingdom.

Does democracy cause prosperity, or do prospering nations develop democratic structures? How far do critical junctures in history determine both a society’s economic development and its level of democracy? While these questions have occupied a central place in modern comparative political economy, they, nevertheless, remain highly disputed. The starting point of this ongoing debate lies in the strong correlation between the level of democracy and different measures of economic prosperity. Societies equipped with democratic institutions—such as free and fair elections, a free press, and checks and balances among the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches—are on average better off economically than those with more autocratic structures. Modernization theory provides the traditional explanation for this correlation. Economic prosperity strongly augments the likelihood for a society to develop democratic structures.

From a more cultural perspective, citizens of prospering societies slowly change their political behavior and attitudes. As a consequence of rising education levels, citizens tend to develop a political culture more receptive to political participation and tolerance, crucial elements for the emergence and stability of democracy.

ASYLUM RIGHTS

Asylum is protection offered by a government to persons who face persecution in their home country for reasons including race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. It is possible to separate discussion of asylum rights from

the question of international refugee protection. Such a distinction is, however, unhelpful, and modern analysis of asylum rights should be framed in the context of wider global refugee debates. The treatment of refugees and asylum-seekers has become a defining feature of the modern age.

The protection and promotion of human rights have particular significance for these groups. While the concept of asylum has ancient origins, the right to seek asylum gained international recognition in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948. Article 14(1) provides that “everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.” The concept gained further acknowledgement in the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man 1948, the American Convention on Human Rights 1969, the Organization for African Unity Convention on the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa 1969, the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights 1981, the Arab Charter on Human Rights 1984, and the European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights 2000.

The right to seek asylum is to be found in a range of international instruments; the challenge is establishing whether refuge is in fact being provided. Possessing a right to seek asylum, or even a right to leave your country of origin, is important, but states remain firmly wedded to notion that granting entry is a foundational sovereign “right” of the state.

The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees are the legal instruments that have gained widespread acceptance in the international community. Provision is made for the definition of *refugee*, as well as protections and guarantees that attach to that status. The definition contains several elements. First, the person must be outside the country of origin and be unable or unwilling to avail of state protection. Those displaced within their own countries are therefore not refugees for convention purposes. Internally displaced persons can be particularly vulnerable (and are more numerous globally), yet in international legal terms they are not refugees. Second, the person must have a “well-founded fear of being persecuted.” This test combines the objective (well-founded) and the subjective (fear) with the prospective “being persecuted.” Many refugee determination systems are therefore concerned with establishing what might happen to the person upon return to the country of origin. This is not enough to establish a

claim to refugee status. The person must also demonstrate a fear of being persecuted for a reason stated in the convention: race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. Debate continues on these grounds, as well as how inclusively they should be interpreted. The 1951 Convention provides protections ranging from legal status and employment to housing and social security.

The guarantee of particular significance is that of *nonrefoulement*, the prohibition of expulsion or return (Article 33(1)). The principal objective of refugees is not to be returned to face persecution, and this legal obligation is intended to reflect that fact. The obligation contained in the convention is not absolute and contains an exception that relates to security and those who have committed serious crimes.

The 1951 Convention remains the cornerstone of international refugee protection. In terms of institutional protection, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) operates as the international “guardian” of refugee protection. UNHCR figures reveal 10.5 million refugees of concern to that organization, with more than 50 percent in Asia and 20 percent in Africa. The number of internally displaced persons is approximately double that, standing at twenty-six million in 2008 (UNHCR 2010).

International human rights law, with its focus on the person, is of significance. Although the guarantees do not often refer expressly to this group, by implication they are applicable as *human* rights. For example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 contain important guarantees of relevance to any discussion of asylum rights. At the regional level, in Europe, the European Convention on Human Rights 1950 is notable. For example, Article 3 has evolved into an important guarantee against return of those who can show substantial grounds to believe there is a real risk they will be tortured or subjected to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. National constitutional protections also will be of relevance in determining the rights asylum-seekers might avail of.

The rights of refugees and asylum-seekers are now well-established in international law. The reality of refugee protection and asylum rights is often markedly different. The problem of effective implementation and enforcement remains, and negotiating the politics of asylum and human displacement is one of the most pressing challenges of our time.

IT'S POLITICAL CORRECTNESS GONE MAD

In his popular post on pronouns, Stan Carey mentions an experiment in gender-free language in a Swedish school, and asks whether this is a positive idea or 'an exercise in political correctness'. Political correctness and the related adjective politically correct are good examples of words that have undergone 'pejoration': originally neutral or even positive terms, they have gradually taken on more negative connotations, to the point that they are now used only in order to criticize. Not only that, their range has broadened so that they are employed not only to characterise certain language usages but also – as we will see in Part 2 of this post – as an all-purpose explanation for just about anything the speaker disapproves of.

As the definition in the Macmillan Dictionary suggests, political correctness was originally a strategy for combating discrimination, and its focus was language. The rationale is that language and social attitudes are closely linked – and there is plenty of sociolinguistic evidence to support this idea. The unthinking use of negative terms when talking about people who belong to any kind of minority is bound to affect the way such people are viewed. But, the argument goes, if these negative terms become socially unacceptable and are replaced by more 'inclusive' language, then attitudes will change too. The goal, in other words, is not simply to avoid offending people (on the basis of their race, gender, sexuality or disability) but to change perceptions in society as a whole.

It is hard to see how any reasonable person could object to this, and it's no surprise that the British National Corpus, most of whose texts come from the 1980s, includes sentences like: Women like him too [Bill Clinton], and not just for his civil rights stand and political correctness.

Here, the writer clearly sees political correctness as a virtue. But as time goes on, we begin to hear about cases where (in some people's opinion) the idea has 'gone too far', giving rise eventually to widespread hostility to the whole concept – and to the 'pejoration' of the term itself.

At the end of the 1990s, the city council in Birmingham (England, not Alabama) organised a series of concerts, shows, and other public events around the Christmas period, and called the whole thing 'Winterval' (a blend of winter and festival). This was interpreted by

some critics as an exaggerated attempt to avoid offending people from non-Christian faiths, and the mayor was accused of ‘declaring war on Christmas’. Things weren’t really as simple as that (the mayor pointed out there was a banner saying ‘Merry Christmas’ on the City Hall, and Christmas trees in several public squares), but this became one of many situations branded as ‘political correctness gone mad’. Another was the apocryphal story that a children’s pantomime had been re-named ‘Snow White and the Seven Vertically Challenged Males’, on the grounds that the traditional name (‘the Seven Dwarfs’) was insulting to people of lower than average height.

In Part 2 of this post, we’ll see how the backlash to political correctness gave rise first to satire and then to outright hostility, as the term was hijacked by particular interest groups.

Though coined in the 1930s, the expression political correctness came of age during the Eighties, initially – as we saw in Part 1 – as a neutral or even positive term. Nowadays, it is an all-purpose term of disparagement, and its application goes far beyond the realm of language, which was its original focus. For some stunning examples of its current use, I can recommend the website of the so-called ‘Association of British Drivers’, a fanatically pro-car organization which interprets any move to reduce car dependency (such as introducing bike and bus lanes) as evidence of ‘political correctness’. Here are a few gems from their website:

Speed limits should be ‘based on road safety principles, not political correctness’. Bus lanes are usually ‘imposed’ in cities because this is ‘perceived as the politically correct thing to do’ Concern with the environment ‘is simply the latest form of political correctness’

And so on, and on. For good measure, the Association’s list of favoured ‘Links’ includes several websites devoted to attacking ‘political correctness’. The meaning of the expression has clearly broadened to the point where some people explain almost anything they disapprove of as a symptom of political correctness.

How did we get to this point? Long before ‘PC’ became a target for outright hostility, it was often the object of ridicule. For example, the way we refer to someone with a physical disability has changed several times in the last 30 years or so: first, the highly offensive crippled gave way to handicapped, but then that was also seen as offensive (it appears to equate disability with incapacity), so the preferred adjective became disabled. But disabled is not without its critics, who

dislike its focus on what a person can't do rather than what they can. This has led to newer expressions such as physically challenged and differently abled. It's an example of what linguist Stephen Pinker has called the 'euphemism treadmill', and not surprisingly, these constant changes in 'politically correct' terms have attracted a certain amount of mockery. As the entry in the Macmillan Dictionary shows, challenged is often used in humorous combinations to refer to people who are short ('vertically challenged'), bald ('follically challenged'), old (chronologically), badly-dressed (sartorially), or with bad teeth (dentally). And our corpus includes numerous other examples, like these:

I didn't think of myself as fat – just a bit horizontally challenged perhaps He's not dead... he's electroencephalographically challenged. George the Fourth, and Caroline of Brunswick, his hygienically challenged, and even more disreputable wife...

Most of this is good-natured, and in fairness, there are cases where the goal of avoiding offence at all costs can have absurd consequences. This definition of the word crone (not from the Macmillan Dictionary) leaves us in no doubt that it's not a good thing to call someone, but fails to explain what the word actually means: an offensive term that deliberately insults a woman's age, appearance, and temperament (offensive)

This degree of circumlocution provides ammunition for those who like to portray a commitment to non-sexist language as a form of censorship. It's what they call 'political correctness gone mad', and it's interesting to note that while use of the term political correctness appears to be declining, the variation with gone mad is, if anything, becoming more frequent. The British tabloids regularly report some new outrage, like this one:

THE BEATLES are the latest victims of politically correct censors. The PC brigade have decided the Fab Four's 1967 track When I'm Sixty-Four could offend Jehovah's Witnesses. And the reason? The song mentions birthdays, which Jehovah's Witnesses do not celebrate.

Stories like this are usually based on the flimsiest of evidence, and seem to exist mainly as an excuse for a 'what's the world coming to?' moan – the use of brigade here is typical of this kind of discourse (we have over 50 citations in our corpus for 'the PC brigade'). The term political correctness initially described a use of language which took care not to cause needless offence, and has now been appropriated by a fairly narrow group who apply it indiscriminately to whatever they dislike about the world.

POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION

Positive discrimination refers to the broad range of deliberate, time-bound (voluntarist) policies intended to facilitate the integration of historically deprived social groups that were hitherto discriminated or disadvantaged either by government policy or social prejudice. The principle of positive discrimination aims to reduce de facto inequality and gives preferential treatment to people belonging to groups whose past and actual discrimination in a given society is tied to ascriptive characteristics such as gender, race, ethnicity, region, language, caste, or religion. It is thus a form of discrimination that actually benefits the actee or recipient of discrimination and aims to achieve equality of outcome or results, as well to enhance the diversity of a society and redress the material conditions of the deprived group. The end goal is to bring them in line with the average standards already being enjoyed by society as a whole.

Positive discrimination is enacted primarily in areas of employment, education, and business, in order to increase the representation of historically excluded groups in the workforce. This is accomplished through specially designed admission or recruitment policies (i. e., the selection of a candidate for a position on the grounds of race, caste, or gender rather than merit alone). However, positive discrimination strategies can also cover other areas characterized by the underrepresentation of certain social or political groups. For example, in the area of political representation, some countries have introduced positive discrimination policies setting mandatory group quotas for the selection of candidates from, or the reservation of constituencies for, such underrepresented groups (e. g., women, ethnic minorities).

Positive discrimination is an elusive concept with no clear definition. Policies based on the principle of positive discrimination are known by a variety of terms such as affirmative action in the United States, reservation in India, (black) economic empowerment in South Africa, temporary special measures in international law, indirect discrimination in European law, and positive action in the United Kingdom. The latter, however, is based on the distinction between positive action, aimed at ensuring equal opportunity through, for example, targeted recruitment campaigns, and positive discrimination as preferential treatment at the point of selection. Forms of implementation include targeting funding and financial assistance for underrepresented

groups, building awareness and capacity, removing practical barriers that disadvantage certain groups, creating legally established (mandatory) quotas for political representation, intraparty selection, public sector as well as corporate recruitment, and admission to institutions of higher education.

The term as such, contradictory in itself, remains controversial because the notion of discrimination, independent of the objective of redressing inequality, implies that the measures it describes run against equality and, consequently, against the principle of formal justice. Positive discrimination could therefore eventually mean reverse discrimination. The principle of positive discrimination is no less controversial. On the one hand, it is argued that all discrimination is negative and that, especially with regard to recruitment, positive discrimination violates the principle of meritocracy leading to less able applicants filling positions, and thus causing resentment among those who were rejected, hardening existing discriminatory attitudes. Instead, the focus should be on improving access to education for all. On the other hand, positive discrimination levels the playing field for disadvantaged groups, empowering them to surpass the obstacles put on them by a long history of exploitation, exclusion, and deprivation. It helps bring to the fore the untapped potential of so far underrepresented groups, thus furthering the extent of diversity, representativeness, and fairness in a given society. Beneficiaries of positive discrimination could act as role models for future generations and, in the ideal scenario, contribute to alleviating existing racist, sexist, or casteist attitudes to the extent that the temporary measure of positive discrimination would no longer be necessary. Ultimately, the question of whether positive discrimination is a useful instrument to work toward a more just society must be addressed from a standpoint of morality. It is a question of compassion, and the preservation of a collective morality of humanity based on a historically derived moral obligation to compensate for the effects of past discrimination and exploitation, effects, and wrongs that otherwise risk occurring undiscussed and unaddressed.

Apart from philosophical investigations into the ethical underpinnings of positive discrimination, current empirical research on the matter concentrates mainly on whether measures of positive discrimination undertaken worldwide have had any impact at all and on what the best institutional devices are to make positive discrimination a

useful and successful instrument. Results are ambiguous and do not always point in a positive direction. However, changing deeply ingrained discriminatory attitudes and redressing inequality is a difficult and long-term task, which is not only a matter of policy and institutional innovation.

IMMIGRATION

Intergroup tensions are common in countries that have experienced high rates of immigration. Race riots have periodically erupted in the United Kingdom, for example, in the Notting Hill area of London in 1958 and in Oldham in 2001. France, which has long prided itself on its civic nationalism, as opposed to ethnic nationalism, has also experienced recurrent urban unrest and violence in its immigrant communities. In the Netherlands, the much-touted Dutch model of integration, which allowed immigrants to create their own space within a multicultural Dutch society, has come under scrutiny in recent years. Since the assassinations of the filmmaker Theo van Gogh and the politician Pim Fortuyn, both of whom were critical of Muslim immigration, some skeptics have denounced the Dutch model as a failure. Ultimately, immigration's effect on intergroup relations is context specific and determined by multiple factors. Legal immigrants tend to be more accepted by host populations, enjoy more political rights and protection under the law, and be more readily integrated than illegal immigrants. Country of origin, socioeconomic class, race, language, conditions of exit from the sending country, and conditions of entry in the receiving country also play important roles in the ways immigrants are treated and how they relate to other societal groups. In the United States, for example, white immigrant doctors from the United Kingdom are treated differently than unskilled Mexican laborers; in Germany, an Austrian typically experiences a higher level of social acceptance than a Turk; and in Sweden, Norwegian immigrants tend to acculturate more quickly than Rwandan refugees.

Nativist discourse on immigration, whether in the United States, Germany, or Australia, expresses the real and imagined fears of the demos. Those who oppose immigration often do so because they perceive immigrants as an enemy other, who are seen as overcrowding the country, taking jobs, abusing social services, competing for scarce resources, lowering standards of living, usurping political power, committing crimes, lowering educational standards, introducing new

languages and religions, changing the culture and national identity, and so on. When ethnic groups feel that their power, wealth, or prestige is threatened, xenophobic anxieties can lead to support for nationalist parties, such as the Freedom Party in Austria, Flemish Bloc in Belgium, and Republikaner in Germany. The poet Max Frisch once wrote of immigration to Switzerland, “Einkleines Herrenvolksiehtsich in Gefahr: man hat Arbeitskräftegerufen, und eskommen Menschen” (A small master race feels threatened: workers were invited, and human beings are coming). His point is that there are serious economic as well as ethical dimensions to immigration, namely, that workers are also human beings with needs and wants and who, given the opportunity, will create their own space in society, put down roots, raise families, form political organizations, participate in representative democracy, and become long-term residents and eventually citizens. If this process of integration and assimilation is to happen with as much ease and as little conflict as possible, then it should be encouraged by governments, striven for by immigrants, and facilitated by the diverse groups that must inevitably coexist in contemporary multicultural, pluralist societies.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

The study of governmental structures must be approached with great caution, for political systems having the same kind of legal arrangements and using the same type of governmental machinery often function very differently. A parliament, for example, may be an important and effective part of a political system; or it may be no more than an institutional facade of little practical significance. A constitution may provide the framework within which the political life of a state is conducted; or it may be no more than a piece of paper, its provisions bearing almost no relationship to the facts of political life. Political systems must never be classified in terms of their legal structures alone: the fact that two states have similar constitutions with similar institutional provisions and legal requirements should never, by itself, lead to the conclusion that they represent the same type of political system.

To be useful, the study of governmental structures must always proceed hand in hand with an investigation of the actual facts of the political process: the analyst must exercise the greatest care in distinguishing between form and reality and between prescription and prac-

tice. Approached in this way, an examination of the organizational arrangements that governments use for making decisions and exercising power can be a valuable tool of political inquiry.

Contemporary forms of government

Few states in the modern world have constitutional arrangements that are more than a century old. Indeed, the vast majority of all the world's states have constitutions written in the 20th or 21st century. This is true of states that were defeated in World War II, such as Germany, Italy, and Japan, and of other states that experienced civil war and revolutions in the course of the last century, such as the successor states of the Soviet Union, Spain, and China. The United Kingdom and the United States are almost alone among major contemporary nation-states in possessing constitutional arrangements that predate the 20th century.

Even in Britain and the United States, the 20th century saw much change in the governmental system. In the United States, for example, the relationship of legislature and executive at both the national and the state levels was significantly altered by the growth of bureaucracies and the enlargement of the executive's budgetary powers. In Britain, even more far-reaching changes occurred in the relationship between the prime minister and Parliament and in Parliament's role in supervising the executive establishment. In both countries the appearance of the welfare state, the impact of modern technology on the economy, and international crises resulted in major alterations in the ways in which the institutions of government function and interact.

The modern student of constitutional forms and institutional arrangements confronts an endlessly changing world. In many parts of the world, in countries as different as France, Pakistan, Argentina, and Tanzania, there have been continuing experiments with new constitutions. The adoption of new constitutions also has been a major aspect of political change in the successor states of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. All systems, moreover, even without formal constitutional change, undergo a continual process of adjustment and mutation as their institutional arrangements respond to and reflect changes in the social order and the balance of political forces.

Monarchy

The ancient distinction among monarchies, tyrannies, oligarchies, and constitutional governments, like other traditional classifications of political systems, is no longer very descriptive of political life. A king may be a ceremonial head of state, as in a parliamentary democracy, or he may be a head of government, perhaps even functioning as an absolute ruler. In the first case his duties may be little different from those of an elected president in many republican parliamentary regimes; in the second his role may be much the same as a dictator in an autocratic regime.

It may be said of the reigning dynasties of modern Europe that they have survived only because they failed to retain or to acquire effective powers of government. Royal lines have been preserved only in those countries of Europe in which royal rule was severely limited prior to the 20th century or in which royal absolutism had never firmly established itself. More successful dynasties, such as the Hohenzollerns in Germany, the Habsburgs in Austria-Hungary, and the Romanovs in Russia, which continued to rule as well as to reign at the opening of the 20th century, paid with the loss of their thrones. Today in countries such as Great Britain, the Netherlands, or Denmark, the monarch is the ceremonial head of state, an indispensable figure in all great official occasions and a symbol of national unity and of the authority of the state, but is almost entirely lacking in power. Monarchy in the parliamentary democracies of modern Europe has been reduced to the status of a dignified institutional facade behind which the functioning mechanisms of government—cabinet, parliament, ministries, and parties—go about the tasks of ruling.

The 20th century also saw the demise of most of the hereditary monarchies of the non-Western world. Thrones toppled in Turkey, in China, in most of the Arab countries, in the principates of India, in the tribal kingdoms of Africa, and in several countries of Southeast Asia. The kings who maintain their position do so less by the claim of legitimate blood descent than by their appeal as popular leaders responsible for well-publicized programs of national economic and social reform or as national military chieftains. In a sense, these kings are less monarchs than monocrats, and their regimes are little different from several other forms of one-man rule found in the modern world.

Dictatorship

While royal rule, as legitimized by blood descent, had almost vanished as an effective principle of government in the modern world, monarchy—a term that comprehends the rule of non-Western royal absolutists, of generals and strongmen in Latin America and Asia, of a number of leaders in postcolonial Africa, and of the totalitarian heads of communist states—still flourished. Indeed, the 20th century, which witnessed the careers of Atatürk, Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, Francisco Franco, Mao Tse-tung, Juan Perón, Tito, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sukarno, Kwame Nkrumah, and Charles de Gaulle, could appear in history as the age of plebiscitary dictatorship.

In many of the states of Africa and Asia, for example, dictators quickly established themselves on the ruins of constitutional arrangements inherited from Western colonial powers. In some of these countries, presidents and prime ministers captured personal power by banning opposition parties and building replicas of the one-party systems of the communist world. In other new countries, the armies seized power, and military dictatorships were established. Whether as presidential dictatorships or as military dictatorships, the regimes that came into being appear to have had common roots in the social and economic problems of the new state. The constitutional systems inherited from the colonial powers proved unworkable in the absence of a strong middle class; local traditions of autocratic rule retained a powerful influence; the army, one of the few organized forces in society, was also often the only force capable of maintaining order; and a tiny intellectual class was impatient for economic progress, frustrated by the lack of opportunity, and deeply influenced by the example of authoritarianism in other countries. The dictatorships that resulted proved highly unstable, and few of the individual dictators were able to satisfy for long the demands of the different groups that supported their bids for power.

Although similar in some respects to the dictatorships of the new countries, the caudillos of 19th- and 20th-century Latin America represented a very different type of monocratic rule. In its 19th-century form, *caudillismo* was the result of the breakdown of central authority. After a brief period of constitutional rule, each of the former Spanish colonies in the Americas experienced a collapse of effective national government. A self-proclaimed leader, usually an army

officer, heading a private army typically formed from the peasantry with the support of provincial landowners, established his control over one or more provinces, and then marched upon the national capital. The famous 19th-century caudillos—Antonio López de Santa Anna of Mexico or Juan Manuel de Rosas of Argentina, for example—were thus essentially provincial leaders who seized control of the national government to maintain the social and economic power of provincial groups. The 20th-century dictatorships in Latin American countries had different aims. The modern caudillo proved to be less a provincial leader than a national one. The Perón regime, for example, was established by nationalistic army officers committed to a program of national reform and ideological goals. Often, too, 20th-century dictators in Latin America allied themselves with a particular social class, attempting either to maintain the interests of established economic groupings or to press social reforms.

Dictatorship in the technologically advanced, totalitarian regimes of modern communism was distinctively different from the authoritarian regimes of either Latin America or the postcolonial states of Africa and Asia. Nazi Germany under Hitler and the Soviet Union under Stalin are the leading examples of modern totalitarian dictatorships. The crucial elements of both were the identification of the state with the single mass party and of the party with its charismatic leader, the use of an official ideology to legitimize and maintain the regime, the employment of a terroristic police force and a controlled press, and the application of all the means of modern science and technology to control the economy and individual behaviour. The two systems, however, may be distinguished in several ways. Fascism, in its National Socialist form, was primarily a counterrevolutionary movement that mobilized middle- and lower middle-class groups to pursue nationalistic and militaristic goals and whose sole principle of organization was obedience to the Führer. By contrast, Soviet communism grew out of a revolutionary theory of society, pursued the goal of revolutionary overthrow of capitalist systems internationally, and employed the complex bureaucratic structures of the Communist Party as mechanisms of governmental organization.

Western constitutional democracies have provided examples of another type of contemporary dictatorship. At various points in the 20th and 21st centuries, during periods of domestic or foreign crisis, most constitutional regimes conferred emergency powers on the ex-

ecutive, suspending constitutional guarantees of individual rights or liberties or declaring some form of martial law. Indeed, the constitutions of some Western democracies explicitly provide for the grant of emergency powers to the executive in a time of crisis to protect the constitutional order. In many cases, of course, such provisions have been the instruments with which dictators have overthrown the regime. Thus, the proclamation of emergency rule was the beginning of the dictatorships of Mussolini in Italy, of Kemal Atatürk in Turkey, of Józef Piłsudski in Poland, of António de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal, of Franz von Papen and Hitler in Germany, and of Engelbert Dollfuss and Kurt von Schuschnigg in Austria. In other democracies, however, constitutional arrangements have survived quite lengthy periods of crisis government. After World War II, for example, in both the United States and Britain, the use of extraordinary powers by the executive came to a halt with the end of the wartime emergency. Similarly, although the 1958 constitution of the Fifth Republic of France contained far-reaching emergency powers conferred on the president—“when the institutions of the Republic, the independence of the nation, the integrity of its territory or the fulfillment of its international obligations are threatened with immediate and grave danger, and when the regular functioning of the constitutional authority is interrupted”—their implicit threat to the constitutional order has not been realized.

Many forces at work in the late 20th and early 21st centuries have appeared to lend impetus to the rise of monocratic forms of rule. In nearly all political systems, the powers of chief executives have increased in response to the demanding social, economic, and military crises of the age. The complex decisions required of governments in a technological era, the perfectionist impulses of the great bureaucratic structures that have developed in all industrialized societies, and the imperatives of national survival in a nuclear world continue to add to the process of executive aggrandizement. The question for many constitutional regimes is whether the limitation and balance of power that are at the heart of constitutional government can survive the growing enlargement of executive power.

Oligarchy

In the Aristotelian classification of government, there were two forms of rule by the few: aristocracy and its debased form, oligarchy. Although the term *oligarchy* is rarely used to refer to contemporary political systems, the phenomenon of irresponsible rule by small groups has not vanished from the world.

Many of the classical conditions of oligarchic rule were found until the 20th century in those parts of Asia in which governing elites were recruited exclusively from a ruling caste—a hereditary social grouping set apart from the rest of society by religion, kinship, economic status, prestige, and even language. In the contemporary world, in some countries that have not experienced the full impact of industrialization, governing elites are still often recruited from a ruling class—a stratum of society that monopolizes the chief social and economic functions in the system. Such elites have typically exercised power to maintain the economic and political status quo.

The simple forms of oligarchic rule associated with pre-industrial societies are, of course, rapidly disappearing. Industrialization produces new, differentiated elites that replace the small leadership groupings that once controlled social, economic, and political power in the society. The demands of industrialization compel recruitment on the basis of skill, merit, and achievement rather than on the basis of inherited social position and wealth. New forms of oligarchic rule have also made their appearance in many advanced industrial societies. Although governing elites in these societies are no longer recruited from a single class, they are often not subjected to effective restraints on the exercise of their power. Indeed, in some circumstances, the new elites may use their power to convert themselves into a governing class whose interests are protected by every agency of the state.

Oligarchic tendencies of a lesser degree have been detected in all the great bureaucratic structures of advanced political systems. The growing complexity of modern society and its government thrusts ever greater power into the hands of administrators and committees of experts. Even in constitutional regimes, no fully satisfactory answer has been found to the question of how these bureaucratic decision makers can be held accountable and their powers effectively restrained without, at the same time, jeopardizing the efficiency and rationality of the policy-making process.

Constitutional government

Constitutional government is defined by the existence of a constitution—which may be a legal instrument or merely a set of fixed norms or principles generally accepted as the fundamental law of the polity—that effectively controls the exercise of political power. The essence of constitutionalism is the control of power by its distribution among several state organs or offices in such a way that they are each subjected to reciprocal controls and forced to cooperate in formulating the will of the state. Although constitutional government in this sense flourished in England and in some other historical systems for a considerable period, it is only recently that it has been associated with forms of mass participation in politics. In England, for example, constitutional government was not harnessed to political democracy until after the Reform Act of 1832 and subsequent 19th-century extensions of the suffrage. In the contemporary world, however, constitutional governments are also generally democracies, and in most cases they are referred to as constitutional democracies or constitutional-democratic systems.

The contemporary political systems that combine constitutionalism and democracy share a common basis in the primacy they accord to the will of the majority of the people as expressed in free elections. In all such systems, political parties are key institutions, for they are the agencies by which majority opinion in a modern mass electorate is mobilized and expressed. Indeed, the history of the political party in its modern form is coincidental with the development of contemporary constitutional-democratic systems. In each case, the transition from the older forms of constitutionalism to modern constitutional democracy was accompanied by the institutionalization of parties and the development of techniques of party competition. The essential functions of political parties in a constitutional democracy are the integration of a multitude of interests, beliefs, and values into one or more programs or proposals for change and the nomination of party members for elective office in the government. In both functions, the party serves as a link between the rulers and the ruled: in the first case by allowing the electorate to register an opinion on policy and in the second by giving the people a chance to choose their rulers. Of course, the centralized, autocratically directed, and ideologically orthodox one-party systems of totalitarian regimes perform neither of these functions.

The two major types of constitutional democracy in the modern world are exemplified by the United States and Great Britain. The United States is the leading example of the presidential system of constitutional democracy; Britain, although its system is sometimes referred to as a cabinet system in recognition of the role of the cabinet in the government, is the classic example of the parliamentary system. The U. S. presidential system is based on the doctrine of separation of powers and distinguishes sharply between the personnel of the legislature and the executive; the British parliamentary system provides for the integration or fusion of legislature and executive. In the U. S. system the separation of legislature and executive is reinforced by their separate election and by the doctrine of checks and balances that provides constitutional support for routine disagreements between the branches; in the British system the integration of legislature and executive is reinforced by the necessity for their constant agreement, or for a condition of “confidence” between the two, if the normal processes of government are to continue. In the U. S. system reciprocal controls are provided by such devices as the presidential veto of legislation (which may be overridden by a two-thirds majority in Congress), the Senate’s role in ratifying treaties and confirming executive nominations, congressional appropriation of funds and the exclusive ability to declare war, and judicial review of legislation; in the British system the major control device is the vote of “no confidence” or the rejection of legislation that is considered vital.

A third type of constitutional democracy is the hybrid presidential-parliamentary system, exemplified by the government of France. In such systems there is both a directly elected president with substantial executive powers and a presidentially appointed prime minister, who must retain majority support in the legislature. If the president’s party or coalition also controls a legislative majority, the prime minister is generally a secondary figure, responsible for the day-to-day running of the government. However, the office of prime minister becomes more important when one party or coalition controls the presidency and a rival party or coalition retains majority support in the legislature. During such periods the president generally appoints the leader of the legislative majority as prime minister.

Contemporary levels of government

Most national societies have passed through a stage in their social and political development, usually referred to as feudalism, in which a weak and ineffectively organized national government competes for territorial jurisdiction with local power holders. In medieval England and France, for example, the crown was perennially threatened by the power of the feudal nobles, and a protracted struggle was necessary before the national domain was subjected to full royal control. Elsewhere, innumerable societies continued to experience this kind of feudal conflict between local magnates and the central government well into the modern era. The warlords of 19th- and 20th-century China, for example, were just as much the products of feudal society as the warring barons of 13th-century England and presented the same kind of challenge to the central government's claim to exercise sovereign jurisdiction over the national territory. By the 1970s, feudalism was almost extinct. The social patterns that had formerly supported the power of local landowners were rapidly disappearing, and central governments had generally acquired a near monopoly of communications and military technology, enabling them to project their power into areas once controlled by local rulers.

In nearly all national political systems, central governments are better equipped than ever before to exercise effective jurisdiction over their territories. In much of the developing world, nationalist political movements and a variety of modern economic forces have swept away the traditional structures of local government, and the quasi-autonomous governments of village and tribe and province have been replaced by centrally directed systems of subnational administration. Even in the heavily industrialized states of the modern world, there has been an accelerating tendency toward greater centralization of power at the national level. In the United States, for example, the structure of relationships among the governments at the national, state, and local levels has changed in a number of ways to add to the power of the federal government in Washington. Even though the system of national grants-in-aid appears to have been designed as a means of decentralizing administration, the effect has been decidedly centralist, for the conditional character of the grants has allowed the federal government to exercise influence on state policies in fields that were once invulnerable to national intervention.

National government

The nation-state is the dominant type of political system in the contemporary world, and nationalism, or the creed that centers the supreme loyalty of the people upon the nation-state, is the dominating force in international politics. The national ideal triumphed as a result of the wars of the 19th and 20th centuries. The Napoleonic Wars, which spread the doctrines of the French Revolution, unleashed nationalism as a force in Europe and led to the Risorgimento in Italy and the emergence of Bismarck's Germany. The two world wars of the 20th century carried the principles of national self-determination and liberal democracy around the world and gave birth to the independence movements that resulted in the foundation of new states in eastern Europe in 1919 and the emergence from colonial status of countries in Asia and Africa after 1945. The collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union itself completed this process of moving from multinational empires to truly sovereign national states.

All the major forces of world politics—e. g., war, the development of national economies, and the demand for social services—have reinforced the national state as the primary focus of people's loyalties. Wars have played the major part in strengthening national governments and weakening political regionalism and localism. The attachments that people have to subnational political communities are loosened when they must depend for their security on the national power. Even in the new age of total war—which few countries are capable of waging and even fewer of surviving—people look for their security to national governments rather than to international organizations. In nearly all contemporary states, the national budget is dominated by expenditures for defense, the military employs the largest fraction of the work force, and questions of national security pervade the discussion of politics.

One of the lessons of the last century was that national sovereignty continues to be the most important obstacle not only to the emergence of new forms of supranational government but to effective international cooperation as well. Almost everywhere, attempts to achieve federation and other forms of multinational communication have foundered on the rocks of nationalism. The collapse of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Federation of Malaya, for example, were paralleled by the seeming ineffectiveness of the Organization of American States and the Arab League. On another level

was the collapse of the Warsaw Pact when the countries of eastern Europe reclaimed their sovereignty in the late 1980s after decades of domination by the Soviet Union. In western Europe, however, countries joined together to form the supranational European Communities, which ultimately were succeeded by the European Union (EU) and expanded to encompass the bulk of the European continent. The countries of the EU are united not only by a long history and a common cultural inheritance but also by the expectation of mutual economic advantage. Even in this case, though, nationalism has proved to be an obstacle to the most ambitious goals of unification, which would severely limit national sovereignty in some spheres.

At the international level, anarchy is the principal form of contemporary rule, for the nation-state's freedom of action is limited only by its power. While the state's freedom of action may not be directly threatened, the effectiveness of the state's action in the economic realm is increasingly being called into question. The development of national industries in the 19th and early 20th centuries played a major part in strengthening national as against regional and local political entities, but the scale of economic activity has now outgrown national markets. Industrial combines and commercial groupings have emerged that cross national frontiers and require international markets. This tight integration of the world economy has limited the effectiveness of some traditional instruments used to influence national trends in capitalist economies.

It is increasingly clear that some aspects of traditional sovereignty may be affected by serious efforts to confront some issues that act on the entire international system. National frontiers can no longer be adequately defended in an era of intercontinental ballistic missiles, especially with the rapid diffusion of the technology required for delivery systems as well as for nuclear weapons themselves. Action in this area is, by definition, an attempt to shape the national security policy of states, something very near the core of a state's sovereignty. Concern over environmental matters could lead to more restrictive regimes than any arms-control provisions, ultimately shaping the way in which countries evolve economically. Destruction of major ecosystems, wasteful use of energy, and industrialization based on the use of fossil fuels are all national policies with international repercussions. As technology empowers more countries to directly affect the state of the planet as well as other countries, there are increasing incentives to limit the domestic policy choices of all countries.

Regional and state government

The 18th-century political philosopher Montesquieu wrote that governments are likely to be tyrannical if they are responsible for administering large territories, for they must develop the organizational capacity characteristic of despotic states. It was partly this fear that led the American founding fathers to provide for a federal system and to divide governmental functions between the government in Washington and the state governments. Modern technology and mass communication are often said to have deprived Montesquieu's axiom of its force. Yet the technology that makes it possible for large areas to be governed democratically also holds out the spectre of an even greater tyranny than Montesquieu foresaw.

In all political systems the relationships between national and regional or state governments have been affected by technology and new means of communication. In the 18th century Thomas Jefferson—in arguing that local government, or the government closest to the people, was best—could claim that citizens knew most about their local governments, somewhat less about their state governments, and least about the national government. In the present-day United States, however, the concentration of the mass media on the issues and personalities of national government has made nonsense of this proposition. As several studies have demonstrated, people know much less about local government than national government and turn out to vote in much larger numbers in national elections. The necessity for employing systems for the devolution of political power is reduced when a central government can communicate directly with citizens in all parts of the national territory, and the vitality of subnational levels of government is sapped when public attention is focussed on national problems.

Another general development that has lessened the importance of regional or state government is the rise of efficient national bureaucracies. In nearly all political systems, there has been some tendency toward bureaucratic centralization, and in some cases national bureaucracies have almost completely replaced older systems of regional and provincial administration. In the United States, for example, complex programs of social security, income taxes, agricultural subsidies, and many others that bear directly on individuals are centrally administered.

Even in systems in which a division of functions between national and subnational governments is constitutionally prescribed, the prevailing trend in intergovernmental relations is toward increasing involvement of the national government in areas once dominated by regional or state governments. Thus, the original constitutional arrangements prescribed by the Allied powers for the West German republic in 1949 won general acclaim at the time because they provided for greater decentralization than had the Weimar Constitution; but, as soon as Germany was free to amend its own constitution, several state functions were reassigned to the national government. In the United States, also, the collapse of the doctrine of “dual federalism,” according to which the powers of the national government were restricted by the powers reserved to the states, signalled the end of an era in which the states could claim exclusive jurisdiction over a wide range of functions. Today, forms of cooperative federalism involving joint action by national and state governments are increasingly common. Such cooperative relationships in the United States include programs of public assistance, the interstate highway system, agricultural extension programs, and aid to education. In some areas, such as school desegregation, the national government has used broad powers to compel states to conform to national standards.

Nevertheless, efforts made to reinvigorate regional or state governments have met with some measure of success in countries such as France, Italy, and Belgium. Moreover, popular attempts to reverse the trend toward national centralization have persisted in regions with historically strong nationalist or separatist movements—for example, in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, Quebec, and Brittany.

City and local government

Political scientists since Aristotle have recognized that the nature of political communities changes when their populations grow larger. One of the central problems of contemporary government is the vast increase in urban population and the progression from “polis to metro-polis to mega-polis.” The catalog of ills that have resulted from urban growth includes political and administrative problems of extraordinary complexity.

Aging infrastructure has become an issue of pressing national importance in the United States, with the major cities obviously suffering in this area. Grave social problems—for example, violent crime

(especially that committed by youths in poverty-stricken areas), drug trafficking, unemployment, and homelessness—are concentrated to such a degree that they directly shape the environment in many large urban areas. The majority of cities are ill equipped to handle these problems without significant assistance from the national government. Yet, in the latter half of the 20th century, the tax base of many U. S. cities dwindled, with the flight of the middle classes to the suburbs and the relocation of industry. Largely as a result of this trend, political power began to follow wealth out of the cities and into adjoining suburbs, which in turn served to reduce the national government's activism in the cities.

The metropolis suffers from several acute governmental and administrative failures. Responsibility for the issues that transcend the boundaries of local governments has not been defined, for representative institutions have failed to develop at the metropolitan level. In most cases, there are no effective governmental structures for administering area-wide services or for dealing comprehensively with the common problems of the metropolitan community. The result has been the appearance of a new class of problems created by government itself, including uneven levels of service for metropolitan residents, inequities in financing government services and functions, and variations in the democratic responsiveness of the governments scattered through the metropolitan area. The tangled pattern of local governments, each operating in some independent sphere, does not allow the comprehensive planning necessary to deal with the escalating problems of urban life.

Efforts to create new governing structures for metropolitan communities have been among the most interesting developments in contemporary government. In the United States these efforts include the creation of special districts to handle specific functions, area-wide planning agencies, interstate compacts, consolidated school and library systems, and various informal intergovernmental arrangements. Although annexation of outlying areas by the central city and city-county consolidations have been attempted in many cases, the reluctance of urban areas to surrender their political independence or to pay for central-city services has been an obstacle. The Los Angeles plan, by which the county assumed responsibility for many area-wide functions, leaving the local communities with substantial political autonomy, may represent a partial solution to the problem of urban-

suburban tensions. In other cases, “metropolitan federation” has been attempted. One of the earliest and most influential examples of a federated system of metropolitan government is Greater London, which encompasses 33 London boroughs and places effective governing powers in the hands of an elected mayor and assembly. In Canada the city of Toronto and its suburbs adopted a metropolitan “constitution” in 1953 under which mass transit, highways, planning, and several other functions were controlled by a council composed of elected officials from the central city and surrounding governments; further restructuring and reform of Toronto’s government took place in 1998 and 2007. Cities in the United States that have undertaken various degrees of area-wide consolidation include Miami, Nashville, Seattle, and Indianapolis.

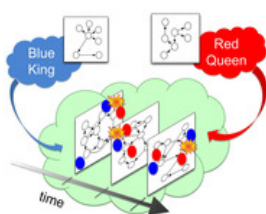
Most of the major problems of contemporary politics seem to have found their focus in the metropolis, and there is almost universal agreement that new governing systems must be devised for the metropolitan community if the problems are ever to be resolved.

Contemporary divisions of government

In his *Politics*, Aristotle differentiated three categories of state activity—deliberations concerning common affairs, decisions of executive magistrates, and judicial rulings—and indicated that the most significant differences among constitutions concerned the arrangements made for these activities. This threefold classification is not precisely the same as the modern distinction among legislature, executive, and judiciary. Aristotle intended to make only a theoretical distinction among certain state functions and stopped short of recommending that they be assigned as powers to separate organs of government. Indeed, since Aristotle held that all power should be wielded by one man, pre-eminent in virtue, he never considered the concept of separated powers. In the 17th century the English political philosopher John Locke also distinguished the legislative from the executive function but, like Aristotle, failed to assign these to separate organs or institutions. Montesquieu was the first to make the modern division among legislative, executive, and judiciary. Arguing that the purpose of political association is liberty, not virtue, and that the very definition of liberty’s great antagonist, tyranny, is the accumulation of all power in the same hands, he urged the division of the three functions of government among three separate institutions. After Montesquieu,

the concept of separation of powers became one of the principal doctrines of modern constitutionalism. Nearly all modern constitutions, from the document written at Philadelphia in 1787 through the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of August 1789 up to the constitutions of the postcolonial countries of Africa and Asia, provide for the separate establishment of legislative, executive, and judiciary. The functional division among the branches of government is never precise. In the American system, for example, the doctrine of checks and balances justifies several departures from the strict assignment of functions among the branches. Parliamentary forms of government depart even further from the concept of separation and integrate both the personnel and the functions of the legislature and the executive. Indeed, the principle of shared rather than separated powers is the true essence of constitutionalism. In the constitutional state, power is controlled because it is shared or distributed among the divisions of government in such a way that they are each subjected to reciprocal checks and forced to cooperate in the exercise of political power. In the no constitutional systems of totalitarianism or autocracy, although there may be separate institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries, power is not shared but rather concentrated in a single organ. Because this organ is not subjected to the checks of shared power, the exercise of political power is uncontrolled or absolute.

IS THERE A WAY TO PREDICT 'RANDOM VIOLENCE' IN WAR?



Probing the pattern. Ongoing adaptation by the Red Queen (i. e., insurgents or terrorist group) and counter adaptation by the Blue King (i. e., coalition military or counterterrorism organization) leads to a pattern in the escalation of fatal attacks.

Credit: The MITRE Corporation/Brian Tivnan

The Taliban-backed suicide bombing that left 21 dead in a hotel in Kabul on Tuesday appeared to come out of nowhere. Insurgent attacks on coalition forces in Iraq and Afghanistan have also proved unpredictable, with weeks or even months between one burst of deadly fighting and the next. But according to a new study, attacks that seem sporadic in the beginning can begin to show a pattern as the aggressors refine their methods. The finding may provide a way for mil-

itary leaders to gauge the timing of future attacks in a conflict, helping them allocate troops, weapons, and resources more safely and efficiently. The research may even lead to ways of anticipating such seemingly random events as suicide bombings.

To look for order amid the chaos of war, physicist Neil Johnson of the University of Miami in Florida and colleagues sifted through publicly available data of military fatalities during the 10-year period of fighting in Afghanistan and from 2003 to 2010 in Iraq. Analyzing the data with open-access software, the researchers found that, after an initial gap between the first two "fatal days" (attacks or bombings resulting in deaths), subsequent attacks came faster and closer together in a way that follows a particular mathematical pattern.

That pattern is the so-called power curve, in which more experience leads to less and less time needed to complete a task. "It's the same pattern of adaptation we find in shipbuilding, manufacturing, software development, even surgery," Johnson says. "You get better by doing."

The interval between the first two fatal days so strongly predicted the momentum of future attacks that the researchers were able to devise an equation, and an accompanying graph, that they could use to estimate the course of hostilities in many situations. For example, if a suicide bombing like the one at the hotel in Kabul were followed by another approximately 3 months (say, 100 days) later, the researchers would plug 100 days into the equation. The resulting rate of escalation would place the third attack approximately 2 months (66 days) after the second, with the fourth an estimated 52 days after that.

When the researchers tested the equation in other arenas, it proved to be consistent. In addition to the fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan, the researchers tried out their graph on over 3000 fatal attacks by worldwide terrorist groups, as well as on suicide bombings committed by the Lebanon-based militant group Hezbollah and by militants in Pakistan. Finally, they checked attacks using improvised explosive devices on coalition forces in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In all of these situations, the escalation of fatalities estimated by the researchers' mathematics closely matched the course of actual deaths, the team reports online today in *Science*. Since suicide bombers in Lebanon are unlikely to be coordinating with insurgents in Afghanistan, for example, the consistency of unfolding attacks points to a common principle of adaptation, Johnson says.

Johnson likens this principle to the Red Queen hypothesis in evolutionary biology, named after the character in *Alice in Wonderland* who must keep running faster just to stay in the same place. He explains that although the enemy is stepping up its pace through experience, the good guys are adapting as well. "In any arms race, one side is always a little ahead until the other side adapts to its actions," Johnson says. "By using our data to see when, and by how much, the Red Queen [i. e., the insurgent or terrorist group] is ahead, the military can evaluate precisely what it's doing, what's working, and what isn't."

Economist Michael Spagat of Royal Holloway, University of London, finds it "amazing" that the researchers uncovered the relationship between the spacing of early attacks and the timing of future ones. "It would be good to see if the same pattern holds up in even more contexts and other wars," says Spagat, who has collaborated with Johnson in other research but was not involved in the current study. He cautions that the work is not yet at a point where it could predict the date and time of an individual attack.

Johnson's group is now working on a larger study funded by the United States Office of Naval Research, hoping to estimate military and civilian fatalities more accurately with more comprehensive data. Johnson also believes the approach will be useful in learning to cope with cyber attacks. "It doesn't just apply to boots on the ground," he says.

Eco-terrorism

Eco-terrorism is a type of terrorism directed at changing environmental policy. Terrorism, by definition, is a violent or forceful act that targets civilians to create fear and motivate political change. Theoretically, this fear creates political pressure on governments to change policy. Eco-terrorists create situations in which the costs of pursuing an environmental policy outweigh the benefits of that policy. Eco-terrorists may target states, but many eco-terrorist organizations also target private firms. Eco-terrorism and environmental terrorism are two different ideas. Eco-terrorist groups aim to protect the environment through terrorist actions against firms and states. Environmental terrorism describes a terrorist attack whose target is the environment. Terrorist groups engage in environmental terrorism when they attack a state's natural resources. For instance, terrorist attacks on a country's water supply and setting fire to national forests are both acts of environmental terrorism. Generally, eco-terrorists do not

engage in environmental terrorism. Eco-terrorist organizations work to protect the environment, and therefore deliberately harming the environment is against their *raison d'être*.

The term *eco-terrorist* is contested by groups defined as eco-terrorists. Members view themselves as activists rather than terrorists. Eco-terrorist groups engage in activities similar to those of other activist groups. Eco-terrorists conduct peaceful demonstrations and civil disobedience with marches, sit-ins, and protests. Furthermore, eco-terrorist groups serve as information providers, describing the effects of the state and firms on the environment. They lobby governments and businesses to change their operations to end environmentally harmful activities or adopt other sites for programs to protect animal habitats. However, what separates eco-terrorists from regular activist groups are violent acts against people and property.

Eco-terrorist organizations destroy property and threaten people to pursue political goals. Furthermore, members of eco-terrorist groups justify destruction caused by their organizations as a small price to guard against larger environmental destruction. Eco-terrorist organizations claim that they are inappropriately labeled terrorists to undermine their cause.

The label "terrorist" diminishes their public credibility and legitimacy as organizations. The theoretical underpinnings of eco-terrorist organizations have their roots in environmental movements. Many scholars cite Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* as the book that launched the U. S. environmental movement. Members of eco-terrorist groups often espouse deep ecology values, either explicitly or implicitly. Deep ecology is a system of values that at its base claims each living being has equal value. Deep ecologists object to a hierarchy evaluation of animals, making the normative claim that each animal has an equal value.

While many deep ecologists are peaceful, the philosophy of deep ecology has been used to mobilize and galvanize support for eco-terrorist movements. Eco-terrorists are distinct from other environmentalists in their commitment to violence to achieve political goals and their dissatisfaction with mainstream environmentalist movements. Eco-terrorists will seek peaceful means to pursue government or firm policy change, but they will also conduct violent acts.

Eco-terrorists have gained support, membership, and notoriety since the 1970s. Emerging from the juncture of the environmentalist

movement and other social movements in industrialized nations, eco-terrorism is a relatively new phenomenon.

Members of eco-terrorist groups belong to different social classes. The organizations themselves may be loosely coordinated, bound by common goals and some minimum communication. The U. S. government has named several eco-terrorist groups threats to national security. The Animal Liberation Front was founded in the United Kingdom in 1976. While the Animal Liberation Front claims to protect all animals, some of its methods threaten human life. The Earth Liberation Front was founded in the United Kingdom in 1992 and now has cells in many states, including the United States. The Coalition to Save the Preserves is an eco-terrorist group that surfaced in the American Southwest to protect forests north of Phoenix, Arizona.

Eco-terrorists engage in many methods to defend the environment. A popular tactic to defend forests from logging is tree spiking. Eco-terrorists insert metal spikes in the trees themselves to dissuade loggers from chopping them down. This metal either damages the chainsaws of loggers or becomes lethal shrapnel in a lumberyard. Eco-terrorist groups have also threatened to cut the brakes of trucking firms' trucks and have attacked universities doing biogenetic research. Eco-terrorist groups also engage in arson, cutting of fishing lines, and sabotage of machinery. Eco-terrorist groups seldom assassinate leaders of firms or states. Casualties from eco-terrorism are generally the result of sabotage or arson aimed at disarming threats to the environment.

Internet and Politics

At no other time in the history of American politics has the Internet been considered such a major factor in the mobilization of the electorate than during the 2008 election. From the grassroots fundraising efforts of the Obama campaign

to the mass mobilization activities to get supporters in many localities to engage in various political participation activities, the Internet was indeed a force in bringing about the successor Barack Obama's presidential campaign. The big question now becomes, Is the Internet going to be a permanent feature of American politics, especially when this generation of candidates and voters will bring such technological knowledge with them?

The Internet is a set of many networks linking together millions of computers to send and receive data. It allows for the facilitation of communication, especially one-to-many communication. The Internet began in the 1960s as a Department of Defense project called the Advanced Research Projects Agency Network, or ARPANET. Although purely a defense project, it found its next greatest use in academia in the 1970s and 1980s with the growth in computing for research. As computers became smaller and faster, the age of personal computing brought the technology into the hands of the ordinary user. People have found use for computers in various business tasks, so the commercialization of the Internet has gained in importance. E-mail is the most common Internet activity, followed by entertainment. Beyond commerce for both employment and consumer activities, the next most common use of the Internet is obtaining political news. Other uses include health-related activities, education, and religious activity.

USES IN POLITICS

The Internet plays a substantial role in politics and government to day. In 1993 the White House went online with the introduction of the Web site www.whitehouse.gov. The 1996 and 1998 campaigns were benchmark years for when democracy met the Internet. The dawning of netocracy was hailed because the use of the Internet created active participatory netizens. The Howard Dean presidential campaign is considered a precursor to the Obama campaign in its initial use of the Internet as a method of fund-raising, campaigning, and mobilizing citizens to engage in active participation in the political process beyond the act of voting. By 2004 the Internet would serve as an integral part of any campaign. Part of the success of the Obama campaign can be attributed to a large Web presence that allowed ordinary citizens to participate in the process through small contributions, house parties, bake sales, and so forth. Even after the election was won, the Web continued to be used by Obama supporters to inform people about the direction of the country and as a way to solicit and maintain continued support of Obama policies.

Beyond the White House, the entire executive branch of government has a Web presence. Both houses of Congress have Web portals at www.senate.gov and www.house.gov, where members of Congress can inform their constituents about their voting records, legislation that they have sponsored their personal biographies, and much

more. The U. S. Supreme Court has a Web presence at www.supremecourtus.gov, and material on the site include court cases, rulings, and opinions.

The various components and institutions in the political system also have their presence on the Web. Political parties major (Republican and Democratic) and minor (Libertarian and Progressive) inform their supporters as well as would be detractors about their platforms and goals. Major interest groups such as the National Rifle Association and the American Association of Retired Persons likewise find that having materials on the Internet allows them to make their presence felt. This allows for activism and political engagement to take place at the net roots. This form of direct democracy has been billed as what will connect citizens to mass decision-making processes. Media sources at all levels—newspapers (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Wall Street Journal*), magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, *The Economist*), and television (CNN,

FOX, ABC)—can also be found on the Web.

Most major countries in the world have found uses for a Web presence: to inform the world of their existence, to lure those who have the money and the curiosity to visit them, or to facilitate communication from government to government or from citizen to citizen through exchanges of e-mails and the sharing of audio and video. Although the state of technological development in a country may provide insight into the usefulness of the Internet to deliver basic needs to its citizens, the digital divide is a constant reminder that gaps between wealth and poverty will prevent billions of people from availing themselves of the advantages of connectivity.

Whereas initial interest in the Internet for government was geared toward providing information to constituents, today it allows for more than that, including greater interaction so political mobilization can take place. Those who favor going electronic in various facets of our lives believe that the Internet will ultimately strengthen democracy through information dissemination and mobilization. As the Net becomes more integrated into our lives it will be an integral method for discussing political issues such as cyber law cases, gambling and pornography on the Internet, online voting, and debates at the national and international levels regarding the impact of these-called digital divide.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS

The Internet has challenged the responsiveness of government to the needs of the revitalization of democracy. Although some political scientists contend that political life online is a mere extension of political life offline, it is also another medium through which expressions of political activity can be channeled.

Positive political consequences have come about as a result of the popularization of the Internet. It has allowed for greater political access to those otherwise not able to make their thoughts and ideas known. It has been used by various groups to engage in agenda building and agenda setting and is a powerful tool in voting, campaigning, fund-raising, and mobilizing volunteers.

Proponents of the use of the Internet in government say that it makes government more responsive, more efficient, and less bureaucratic. The greater transparency that Web presence brings could prevent government from withholding or censoring information. However, information delivered can be only as reliable and credible as the producers of the informational flow, and therefore misinformation, deception, and manipulation can still take place.

Many see the Internet becoming as available as the telephone and television. Idealists believe the Internet holds promise for narrowing the digital gap and bringing about democracy and world peace. However, it can be just as instrumental in spreading hate and bigotry—just as the Internet can help spread freedom, it can also be used to curtail it. There are things that the Internet cannot do. As an alternative mode of communication and participation, it will not lead to the triumph of direct democracy. It does not automatically give power to the powerless. It has the potential to reinforce existing relationships of elite domination due to the persistence of the digital divide. And with billions of people worldwide still not online, it will not automatically build a global village without borders.

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Целью данного учебного пособия ставилась подборка аутентичных, профессионально ориентированных текстов, освещающих основные темы по политологии, и разработка упражнений для работы с ними. Однако специфика данного направления предполагает широкое разнообразие тем и проблем, возникающих в современном политическом процессе, которые невозможно рассмотреть в одном учебном пособии. В связи с этим и студентам, и преподавателям неизбежно придется обращаться к дополнительным источникам.

Пособие не содержит грамматический справочник, поскольку рассчитано на уровень Intermediate. Следовательно, студентам с более низким уровнем необходима консультация преподавателя и обращение к справочной литературе.

Рекомендуемая литература

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APPENDIX

Texts to be used as examination topics

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political science is a social science concerned with the study of the state, government and politics; it deals extensively with the theory and practice of politics, and the analysis of political systems and political behavior. Political scientists "see themselves engaged in revealing the relationships underlying political events and conditions. And from these revelations they attempt to construct general principles about the way the world of politics works." Political science intersects with other fields; including anthropology, public policy, national politics, economics, international relations, comparative politics, psychology, sociology, history, law, and political theory. Although it was codified in the 19th century, when all the social sciences were established, political science has ancient roots; indeed, it originated almost 2,500 years ago with the works of Plato and Aristotle.

Political science is commonly divided into three distinct sub-disciplines which together constitute the field: political philosophy, comparative politics and international relations. Political philosophy is the reasoning for an absolute normative government, laws and similar questions and their distinctive characteristics. Comparative politics is the science of comparison and teaching of different types of constitutions, political actors, legislature and associated fields, all of them from an intrastate perspective. International relations deals with the interaction between nation-states as well as intergovernmental and transnational organizations.

Political science is methodologically diverse and appropriates many methods originating in social research. Approaches include positivism, interpretivism, rational choice theory, behavioralism, structuralism, post-structuralism, realism, institutionalism, and pluralism. Political science, as one of the social sciences, uses methods and techniques that relate to the kinds of inquiries sought: primary sources such as historical documents and official records, secondary sources such as scholarly journal articles, survey research, statistical analysis, case studies, and model building.

POLITICAL SCIENTIST IS MY FUTURE SPECIALITY

I. Political scientists study matters concerning the allocation and transfer of power in decision making, the roles and systems of governance including governments and international organizations, political behavior and public policies. They measure the success of governance and specific policies by examining many factors, including stability, justice, material wealth, and peace. By analyzing politics some political scientists seek to advance positive theses, that is attempt to describe how things are, as opposed to how they should be. Others advance normative theses, by making specific policy recommendations.

Political scientists provide the frameworks from which journalists, special interest groups, politicians, and the electorate analyze issues. According to Chaturvedy, "...Political scientists may serve as advisers to specific politicians, or even run for office as politicians themselves. Political scientists can be found working in governments, in political parties or as civil servants. They may be involved with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or political movements. In a variety of capacities, people educated and trained in political science can add value and expertise to corporations. Private enterprises such as think tanks, research institutes, polling and public relations firms often employ political scientists." In the United States, political scientists known as "Americanists" look at a variety of data including constitutional development, elections, public opinion and public policy such as Social Security reform,.....foreign policy, US Congressional committees, and the US Supreme Court — to name only a few issues.

II. A political scientist is an expert on the history, development, and applications of public policies and international relations. Professionals usually specialize in a particular field, such as conducting research and surveys on public opinion, advising politicians and important government officials, or providing commentary on policy decisions. A political scientist might work for a specific government office, private research institution, university, or a nonprofit awareness group.

Political science is an exciting, ever-changing field that is appealing to professionals with many different interests. Many people choose to become political scientists because they want to improve current social and economic conditions. They may work in government agencies or nonprofit organizations to develop statistics and ad-

vocate public awareness. Experts design and conduct surveys and research projects to analyze poverty rates, pollution levels, water and food quality, the condition of roads and public structures, and the effectiveness of government initiatives, among thousands of other variables. They use this information to write reports, educate officials and the public, and promote change.

A skilled political scientist may work for a specific politician or official, conducting research and providing expert advice on political decisions. He or she might specialize in certain types of policies, such as international affairs, Homeland Security, health care, education, or business development. Professionals help lawmakers determine the need for new approaches to public policies and suggest ways to achieve success.

Some experts in the field choose to become print or broadcast journalists, where they can offer facts and opinions to the public about current affairs and political decisions. Others become very involved in categorizing historical political information. In addition, a knowledgeable political scientist might choose to teach college courses. Some experts with strong credentials and public appeal even run for office themselves.

POLITICAL SCIENCE DEVELOPMENT

Probably the first person to use the term *political science* was Aristotle, a Greek philosopher who argued in favor of living a virtuous life. He applied empirical methods to the study of politics. Political science in the ancient and medieval worlds was closely linked to philosophy and theology. It often consisted of advice for rulers on how to govern Aristotle

In the fifteenth century, Europe began to change dramatically as the modern world slowly emerged. In art, science, economics, religion, and politics, Europeans started to break away from tradition and forge new ways of understanding the world. Among the key thinkers of this time were political philosophers, who attempted to establish a systematic understanding of politics. **Niccolo Machiavelli** in his book *The Prince* portrayed politics as a struggle for power. **John Locke:** Locke argued for a democratic government that respected individual and property rights.

As the Industrial Revolution overtook Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century, social theorists began to change their approach to political science. They began relying on statistical data and empirical observation to understand politics; in this way, these thinkers began to emphasize the science part of political science. Universities also began creating political science departments, which cemented the status of political science as an academic discipline. **Karl Marx**, a philosopher and social scientist who saw the economy as the key institution in society. He argued that employers in a capitalist society exploit their workers and that the capitalist classes pass laws to benefit themselves **Max Weber** An economist and sociologist who argued that religion, not economics, is the central force in social change.

In the 1950s, a new approach to political science called **behavioralism** emerged. Behaviorists argued that political scientists should focus on behavior, not institutions or motives. Although behavioralism has been heavily debated, it remains the predominant paradigm in political science today.

PROMINENT POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

Samuel Phillips Huntington (April 18, 1927 – December 24, 2008) was an influential conservative political scientist from the USA whose works covered multiple sub-fields of political science. He gained wider prominence through his *Clash of Civilizations* (1993, 1996) thesis of a post-Cold War new world order. Huntington was born on April 18, 1927, in New York City, He graduated with distinction from Yale University at age 18, served in the U.S. Army, earned his Master's degree from the University of Chicago, and completed his Ph.D. at Harvard University where he began teaching at age 23.

In 1968, just as the United States' war in Vietnam was reaching its apex, Huntington published *Political Order in Changing Societies*, which was a critique of the modernization theory which had driven much U.S. policy in the developing world in the prior decade.

Huntington argues that, as societies modernize, they become more complex and disordered. If the process of social modernization that produces this disorder is not matched by a process of political and institutional modernization the result may be violence.

In 1993, Huntington provoked great debate among international relations theorists with the interrogatively-titled "The Clash of Civilizations", an extremely influential, oft-cited article. Its description of post-Cold War geopolitics contrasted with the influential *End of History* thesis advocated by Francis Fukuyama.

Huntington is credited with coining the phrase *Davos Man*, referring to global elites who "have little need for national loyalty, view national boundaries as obstacles that thankfully are vanishing, and see national governments as residues from the past whose only useful function is to facilitate the elite's global operations". The phrase refers to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, where leaders of the global economy meet.

Paul Felix Lazarsfeld (February 13, 1901 – August 30, 1976) was one of the major figures in 20th-century American sociology. The founder of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, he exerted a tremendous influence over the techniques and the organization of social research.

Lazarsfeld's many contributions to sociological method have earned him the title of the "founder of modern empirical sociology". Lazarsfeld made great strides in statistical survey analysis, panel methods, latent structure analysis, and contextual analysis. He is also considered a co-founder of mathematical sociology. Many of his ideas are now considered self-evident. He is also noted for developing the two-step flow of communication model.

Lazarsfeld also made significant contributions by training many younger sociologists. One of Lazarsfeld's biographers, Paul Neurath, writes that there are "dozens of books and hundreds of articles by his students and the students of his students, all of which still breathe the spirit of this man's work".

Lazarsfeld's other significant contributions consisted of constructing the institutions for academic sociology in the United States, including the "shop model" of collaborative research.

Paul Lazarsfeld has been the President of the American Sociological Association and the American Association for Public Opinion Research. He received honorary degrees from many universities, including the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the University of Vienna and the Sorbonne University. Columbia University's social

research center has been renamed after him. The career achievement award of the ASA Methodology section is also named in his honor

William E. Connolly is a political theorist known for his work on democracy and pluralism. He is the Krieger-Eisenhower Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University. His 1974 work *The Terms of Political Discourse* won the 1999 Benjamin Lippincott Award.

Connolly received his B. A. from Michigan at Flint, and went to get his Ph.D. at University of Michigan. Connolly has taught as a visiting professor at numerous schools including The University of Exeter, European University Institute, Oxford University, and Boston College.

Over the course of the last four decades Connolly has helped to remake the theory of pluralism. Connolly challenges older theories of pluralism by arguing for pluralization as a goal rather than as a state of affairs. Essentially, he has shifted the theory from a conservative theory of order, to a progressive theory of democratic contestation and engagement. By engaging Nietzsche and Foucault, Connolly explores the nature of democratic contestation and its relation to pluralism.

Connolly is one of the founders of this subfield of thought in political theory. He promotes the possibility of an "agonistic democracy", where he finds positive ways to engage certain aspects of political conflict. Connolly proposes a positive ethos of engagement, which could be used to debate political differences. His work *Identity\Difference* contains an exhaustive look at positive possibilities via democratic contestation.

Connolly has explored some of the problematic aspects of secularism. Connolly has also written on the relationship between religion and faith in politics, arguing for non-believers to respect the views of the faithful, who make up a large portion of the electorate.

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