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**INTRODUCTION  
INTO POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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Пособие для продвинутых языковых групп. Целью является развитие навыков чтения периодики и литературы по специальности, устной речи по вопросам международных отношений, политических дискуссий, а также перевода с русского языка на английский.

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**CONTENTS**

PART I..... 4  
UNIT 1..... 4  
UNIT 2..... 9  
UNIT 3..... 20  
UNIT 4..... 27  
UNIT 5..... 36  
UNIT 6..... 43  
UNIT 7..... 50  
UNIT 8..... 59  
UNIT 9..... 65  
UNIT 10..... 74  
PART II..... 83  
UNIT 1..... 83  
UNIT 2..... 87  
UNIT 3..... 91  
UNIT 4..... 93  
UNIT 5..... 96  
UNIT 6..... 97  
UNIT 7..... 100  
UNIT 8..... 103  
UNIT 9..... 105  
UNIT 10..... 108  
PART III..... 111  
UNIT 1..... 111  
UNIT 2..... 112  
UNIT 3..... 114  
UNIT 4..... 116  
UNIT 5..... 117  
UNIT 6..... 119  
UNIT 7..... 120  
UNIT 8..... 122  
UNIT 9..... 125  
UNIT 10..... 126  
PART IV..... 128  
PART V..... 145  
UNIT 1..... 145  
UNIT 2..... 146  
UNIT 3..... 146  
UNIT 4..... 147  
UNIT 5..... 148  
UNIT 6..... 149  
UNIT 7..... 150  
UNIT 8..... 151  
UNIT 9..... 152

UNIT 10.....	153
UNIT 11.....	154

## **PART I**

### **UNIT 1 POLITICS AND HUMAN POLITY**

The human polity is the world of politics. In a time of increasing international interdependence, we have all become members of a global politic body, as well as citizens of individual nation-states. This means that the only way we will be able to cope with the problems of today's world is to study not only our own nation's politics but those of other nations as well, and the relationships among nations. This increased interdependence does not necessarily make our problems harder to solve, since it can have the effect of making it easier to work cooperatively with other nations, but it does increase their complexity. Still, if we learn to accept that complexity, and move carefully as we pursue the goals we cannot help sharing, our chances of being able to put all the resources of our planet to work for our collective benefit are good. Whether or not we will do so remains to be seen; we may well be at the most significant crossroads our species has ever faced.

Political science is the study of politics. Politics is a means of organizing collective human activity. The city-state, the empire, the nation-state, and the United Nations are four of the more complex forms of that kind of organization, but politics has been with us ever since human beings first began living and working together. Today, politics is part and parcel of nearly all human interactions, and political power is constantly expanding.

The scope of political science is vast, and the puzzles of political science are all interrelated: political scientists need one another's work. That work is divided into subfields: political theory, constitutional public administration, American government, and comparative government are some of the oldest. More recent additions include political behavior, international relations, methodology, political economy, political organizations, and biopolitics. These may or may not endure; political science changes and evolves.

Men and women constantly make observations about what interests and perplexes them about politics. Political scientists treat these observations as puzzles and set to work to understand them. To do so, they use various approaches, singly or in combination: behavioralism, structural functionalism, phenomenology, philosophy, the study of documents, and prediction. Whatever the approach, the political scientist inevitably confronts normative questions, questions that are related to our values. This cannot be avoided; politics itself is concerned with the establishment and implementation of values, and those who care enough to study politics are likely to be people who care deeply about questions of right and wrong. We should, however, make an effort to acknowledge our values and to prevent them from distorting our perception of the facts.

## **ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT**

### **1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences**

1. The ... is the world of politics. In a time of increasing international interdependence, we have all become members of a ... , as well as citizens of individual nation-states. This means that the only way we will be able to ... is to study not only our own nation's politics but those of other nations as well, and ... .
2. This ... does not necessarily make our problems harder to solve, since it can have the effect of making it easier to ... , but it does increase their ... .
3. Still, if we learn to ... , and move carefully as we ... we cannot help sharing, our chances of being able to ... of our planet to work for ... are good. Whether or not we will do so remains to be seen; we may well be at the most significant ... our ... has ever faced.
4. Political science is the study of politics. Politics is a ... activity. The city-state, the empire, the nation-state, and the United Nations are four of the more ... of that kind of organization, but politics has been with us ever since human beings first began living and working together. Today, politics is ... , and political power is constantly expanding.
5. The scope of ... is vast, and the ... of political science are all interrelated: political scientists need one another's work. That work is divided into subfields ... , American government, and comparative government are some of

the oldest. More recent additions include ... . These may or may not endure; political science changes and evolves.

6. Men and women constantly make ... about what interests and ... them about politics. Political scientists ... to understand them. To do so, they use various approaches, singly or in combination: ... .

7. Whatever the approach, the political ... questions, questions that are related to our values.

8. This cannot be avoided; politics itself is concerned with the ... of values, and those who care enough to study politics are likely to be people who care deeply about questions ... . We should, however, make an effort to acknowledge our values and to ... our perception of the facts.

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. Men and women constantly make observations about what interests and perplexes them about politics. Political scientists treat these observations as puzzles and set to work to understand them. To do so, they use various approaches, singly or in combination: behavioralism, structural functionalism, phenomenology, philosophy, the study of documents, and prediction.

2. Whatever the approach, the political scientist inevitably confronts normative questions, questions that are related to our values. This cannot be avoided; politics itself is concerned with the establishment and implementation of values, and those who care enough to study politics are likely to be people who care deeply about questions of right and wrong. We should, however, make an effort to acknowledge our values and to prevent them from distorting our perception of the facts.

3. Political science is the study of politics. Politics is a means of organizing collective human activity. The city-state, the empire, the nation-state, and the United Nations are four of the more complex forms of that kind of organization, but politics has been with us ever since human beings first began living and working together. Today, politics is part and parcel of nearly all human interactions, and political power is constantly expanding.

4. The scope of political science is vast, and the puzzles of political science are all interrelated: political scientists need one another's work. That work is

divided into sub-fields: political theory, constitutional public administration, American government, and comparative government are some of the oldest. More recent additions include political behavior, international relations, methodology, political economy, political organizations, and bio-politics. These may or may not endure; political science changes and evolves.

5. This increased interdependence does not necessarily make our problems harder to solve, since it can have the effect of making it easier to work cooperatively with other nations, but it does increase their complexity. Still, if we learn to accept that complexity, and move carefully as we pursue the goals we cannot help sharing, our chances of being able to put all the resources of our planet to work for our collective benefit are good. Whether or not we will do so remains to be seen; we may well be at the most significant crossroads our species has ever faced.

6. The human polity is the world of politics. In a time of increasing international interdependence, we have all become members of a global politic body, as well as citizens of individual nation-states. This means that the only way we will be able to cope with the problems of today's world is to study not only our own nation's politics but those of other nations as well, and the relationships among nations.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. human polity
2. global politic body
3. work cooperatively with other nations
4. increase a complexity
5. a means of organizing collective human activity
6. constitutional public administration
7. prevent from distorting the perception of the facts
8. acknowledge values
9. remains to be seen
10. inevitably confront normative questions

### **4. Find the English equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. общественное устройство
2. всемирный политический орган
3. сотрудничать

4. повысить сложность
5. преследовать цели
6. разновидность
7. изучение политики
8. увеличение политической власти
9. конституционное государственное управление
10. исказить восприятие фактов

**5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

**6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. world of politics
2. acknowledge values
3. increase a complexity
4. work cooperatively with other nations
5. prevent from distorting the perception of the facts
6. a means of organizing collective human activity
7. inevitably confront normative questions
8. cope with the problems

**7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

**8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

**9. Learn the following passage by heart**

Men and women constantly make observation about what interests and perplexes them about politics. Political scientists treat these observations as puzzles and set to work to understand them. To do so, they use various approaches, singly or in combination: behavioralism, structural functionalism, phenomenology, philosophy, the study of documents, and prediction.

Whatever the approach, the political scientist inevitably confronts normative questions, questions that are related to our values. This cannot be avoided; politics itself is concerned with the establishment and implementation of values, and those who care enough to study politics are likely to be people who care deeply about questions of right and wrong. We should, however, make an effort to acknowledge our values and to prevent them from distorting our perception of the facts.

## 10. Translate the following into English

Объектом изучения политологии является политика как организация человеческой деятельности. Классическими разновидностями политической организации являются полисы, национальные государства, империи и союзы государств.

Сегодня наш мир представляет собой глобальный политический орган с взаимозависимой политической властью. Решение наших общих проблем зависит от межгосударственного сотрудничества и от изучения политики в целом. Политологи в своих исследованиях используют широчайший спектр методов и подходов, таких как бихейвиоризм, структурный функционализм, феноменология, прогнозирование, метод анализа фактов и др.

Политология состоит из политической теории, прикладной политологии, изучает конституционное государственное управление, политическое поведение, международные отношения, политэкономия, политические организации, биополитику и использует компаративный метод сравнительной политологии.

Политологи неизбежно сталкиваются с вопросами о ценностях общества и с искажениями восприятия фактов. Изучение политики дает возможность прогнозировать и принимать необходимые меры в общественном устройстве государства.

## UNIT 2 POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY

An ideology is a comprehensive system of beliefs and attitudes about social and economic institutions and processes. It is an attempt to explain how an existing political system has come into being and to describe the ideal political system. It may be either strictly personal or shared with a group, rational or irrational, and revolutionary or defensive. An ideology offers a theory of human nature, and thereby of human potentiality and of the need for particular modes of social control. Four major ideologies are conservatism, liberalism, socialism, and fascism.

Conservatives believe in conserving what exists. They have a non-egalitarian view of human nature, believing that some people are born into "a natural aristocracy" and that those people can best protect the individual liberty of all. Personal liberty is most important to conservatives, which helps explain why they often wish to see the power of government reduced. On the other hand,

they frequently propose that government power be used to ensure that traditional moral standards are maintained. Conservatives have traditionally believed that it is the responsibility of the more advanced nations to bring the blessings of civilization to those less fortunate and that it is necessary to maintain good relations with allies as a means of protecting one's own system against external enemies. Although conservatives are sometimes viewed by others as incapable of compromise, they take a pragmatic approach to many questions, provided that the end result will further the basic principles of conservatism (order, continuity, loyalty, protection of individual freedoms, piety, and nationalism).

Liberals believe that all human beings are capable of reason and rational action, and should be helped by their governments to fulfill their potential. However, although governments should be ready to help, they must never force such assistance on unwilling citizens – it is also an important liberal value to maintain personal freedom. As much as liberals would like to create a more egalitarian society, they are unwilling to invade individual rights in order to do so. Thus, they hold two beliefs that are in practice extremely difficult to reconcile. Liberals commonly believe in some form of social contract – that is, in the idea that human beings consent to be ruled by others, but only on condition that individual rights and liberties are maintained. If the terms of this contract are not met, the consent to be ruled may be withdrawn. Liberals believe, however, that political change should be made by peaceful, not revolutionary, means.

Socialists believe human beings are naturally sociable and cooperative and that only the establishment of non-socialist governments and exploitative work arrangements has interfered with these natural instincts. They believe that the solution is to limit or even abolish outright the institution of private property – which, they say, should be owned by a state that is in turn controlled by the workers.

The world has seen seven main varieties of socialism. The early socialists argued for the abolition of private property or simply acted out that belief by establishing communal ownership of land and other goods. Utopian socialists argued that human beings should and could work together for their common good in small communities. Marxist socialists follow the teachings of Karl Marx and believe that human history is moving inexorably through five stages of economic organization, each characterized by a different dominant mode of production and a different form of class struggle over ownership of

the means of production. The final stage will be communism, in which control over the means of production will be restored to the workers, probably by means of a violent revolution. Soviet communists have added to the ideas of Marx the teachings of Vladimir Lenin: that a communist revolution is possible even in a state that has been only partially industrialized, that only the emergence of imperialism has been able to extend the stage of capitalism, that the communist revolution is always the work of a small "vanguard" party of dedicated and informed revolutionaries, and that such a revolution leads at first only to a socialist system, in which the apparatus of the state will still be necessary, and only later to true communism.

Fascism begins by arguing that the citizen can prosper only when the nation prospers and ends up placing the fate of the nation above that of its people. Like conservatives, fascists think that some human beings are naturally better than others, but for them being better means belonging to the "right" race or nationality. They think human beings are motivated by their emotions, not by their reason, and by the struggle for survival. Because this is so, citizens should accept the rule of the fascist state, which will permit them to engage in that struggle on the best possible terms.

Under fascism, all human interactions—including economic exchange—are necessarily subject to the absolute discipline of the state and its leader.

There are contemporary versions of all four ideologies, and a great number of variations and combinations are possible. Powerful parties in Western Europe and North America have adopted conservative supply side economics, and express the typical conservative concern for preserving traditional institutions and values. Liberal ideology is kept alive in the programs of parties pledged to guarantee minimum standards of living and individual rights, and in the work of public interest groups that focus on individual rights, popular participation in policymaking, and consumer protection. Contemporary movements calling for more participatory democracy recommend either a revolutionary socialist or a liberal route to their goal. African socialism, Yugoslavian workers' democracy, left-wing guerrilla movements, and counterculture communes all draw on one strand or another of classical socialist thought, while right-wing extremist parties and terrorist movements can be heard repeating the slogans of fascism.

In developing our personal systems of belief, we must not oversimplify, or label every other ideology except the one we endorse false and pernicious. We frequently misuse such terms as left, right, authoritarian, totalitarian, national-

ism, and democratic, as well as the terms that name the ideologies we have studied. Left means taking a positive view of human nature and believing that change and progress are necessary and possible to improve the human condition. Right means taking a somewhat more pessimistic view of human nature and placing greater emphasis on the importance of maintaining order and continuity. Many variations are possible, however, within this simplistic dichotomy.

Authoritarian and totalitarian refer to political systems in which political power is concentrated in the hands of a few, the difference being that in a totalitarian system more effort is made to exercise that power in all domains of human existence. Nationalism is the conviction that national interests are more important than private or international interests and does not constitute a separate ideology. Democracy, like authoritarianism, is not a political ideology but rather a description of the relationship between citizens and their leaders. The conditions of personal freedom, free elections, and political equality are strongly associated with democracy and help make it possible, but the literal meaning of democracy is simply rule by the people.

## **ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT**

### **1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences**

1. An ideology is a ... about ... and ... institutions and processes. It is an attempt to explain how an existing political system has come into being and to .... It may be either ... or ..., rational ..., and revolutionary or .... An ideology offers a theory of ..., and thereby of human potentiality and of the need for particular .... Four major ideologies are ....

2. Conservatives believe in .... They have a ... of human nature, believing that some people are born into "a natural aristocracy" and that those people can best protect ... of all. Personal liberty is most important to conservatives, which helps explain why .... On the other hand, they frequently propose that government power be used to ensure that ....

3. Conservatives have traditionally believed that it is ... to those less fortunate and that it is necessary to ... as a means of protecting one's own system against external enemies. Although conservatives are sometimes viewed by others as ..., they take ... to many questions, provided that ... (order, continuity, loyalty, protection of individual freedoms, piety, and nationalism).

4. Liberals believe that ... , and should be helped by their governments to fulfill their potential. However, although governments should be ready to help, they must ... —it is also an important liberal value to maintain personal freedom. As much as liberals would like to ... , they are unwilling to invade individual rights in order to do so.

5. Thus, they hold two beliefs that are in practice extremely difficult to reconcile. Liberals commonly believe in ... – that is, in the idea that human beings ... by others, but only on condition that ... . If the terms of this contract are not met, the ... . Liberals believe, however, that political change should be made by peaceful, ... , means.

6. Socialists believe human beings ... and that only ... has interfered with these natural instincts. They believe that ... —which, they say, should be owned by a state that is in turn ... .

7. The world has seen ... . The early socialists argued for ... or simply acted out that belief by ... and other goods. Utopian socialists argued ... in small communities. Marxist socialists follow ... , each characterized by a different ... and a different form of ... over ownership of ...

8. The final stage will be ... , in which control ... will be restored to the workers, probably by ... . Soviet communists have added to the ideas of Marx the teachings of Vladimir Lenin: ... , that only the ... has been able to extend the stage of ... , that the communist revolution is always the work of a small " ... " party of dedicated and informed revolutionaries, and that such a revolution leads at first only to ... , in which ... will still be necessary, and only later to ... .

9. Fascism begins by ... only when the nation prospers and ... above that of its people. Like conservatives, fascists think ... , but for them being better means ... They think ... , not by their reason, and by ... . Because this is so, citizens should accept the rule of the fascist state, which will permit them to engage in that struggle on the best possible terms. Under fascism, all human interactions – including economic exchange – ... .

10. There are ... of all four ideologies, and a great number of variations and combinations are possible. Powerful parties in Western Europe and North America ... , and express the typical conservative concern for ... . Liberal

ideology is kept alive in the programs of parties ... and individual rights, and in the work of public interest groups that focus on ... , popular participation in ... , and ... protection.

11. Contemporary movements calling for ... recommend either a ... or a ... to their goal. African socialism, Yugoslavian workers' democracy, left-wing guerrilla movements, and counterculture communes all draw on one strand or another of ... , while right-wing extremist parties and terrorist movements can be heard ... .

12. In developing our personal systems of belief, we must not ... except the one we endorse false and pernicious. We frequently misuse such terms as ... , as well as the terms that name the ideologies we have studied. Left means taking ... condition. Right means ... and continuity. Many variations are possible, however, within this ... .

13. Authoritarian and totalitarian refer to political systems in ... , the difference being that in a totalitarian system more effort is made to ... . Nationalism is the conviction that ... or international interests and does not ... .

14. Democracy, like authoritarianism, is not a ... but rather a ... . The conditions of personal ... , free ... , and political ... are strongly associated with ... and help make it possible, but the ... of democracy is simply ... .

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. The world has seen seven main varieties of socialism. The early socialists argued for the abolition of private property or simply acted out that belief by establishing communal ownership of land and other goods. Utopian socialists argued that human beings should and could work together for their common good in small communities. Marxist socialists follow the teachings of Karl Marx and believe that human history is moving inexorably through five stages of economic organization, each characterized by a different dominant mode of production and a different form of class struggle over ownership of the means of production.

2. The final stage will be communism, in which control over the means of production will be restored to the workers, probably by means of a violent revolution. Soviet communists have added to the ideas of Marx the teachings of Vladimir Lenin: that a communist revolution is possible even in a state that

has been only partially industrialized, that only the emergence of imperialism has been able to extend the stage of capitalism, that the communist revolution is always the work of a small "vanguard" party of dedicated and informed revolutionaries, and that such a revolution leads at first only to a socialist system, in which the apparatus of the state will still be necessary, and only later to true communism.

3. Fascism begins by arguing that the citizen can prosper only when the nation prospers and ends up placing the fate of the nation above that of its people. Like conservatives, fascists think that some human beings are naturally better than others, but for them being better means belonging to the "right" race or nationality. They think human beings are motivated by their emotions, not by their reason, and by the struggle for survival. Because this is so, citizens should accept the rule of the fascist state, which will permit them to engage in that struggle on the best possible terms.

Under fascism, all human interactions – including economic exchange – are necessarily subject to the absolute discipline of the state and its leader.

4. There are contemporary versions of all four ideologies, and a great number of variations and combinations are possible. Powerful parties in Western Europe and North America have adopted conservative supply side economics, and express the typical conservative concern for preserving traditional institutions and values. Liberal ideology is kept alive in the programs of parties pledged to guarantee minimum standards of living and individual rights, and in the work of public interest groups that focus on individual rights, popular participation in policymaking, and consumer protection.

5. Contemporary movements calling for more participatory democracy recommend either a revolutionary socialist or a liberal route to their goal. African socialism, Yugoslavian workers' democracy, left-wing guerrilla movements, and counterculture communes all draw on one strand or another of classical socialist thought, while right-wing extremist parties and terrorist movements can be heard repeating the slogans of fascism.

6. In developing our personal systems of belief, we must not oversimplify, or label every other ideology except the one we endorse false and pernicious. We frequently misuse such terms as left, right, authoritarian, totalitarian, nationalism, and democratic, as well as the terms that name the ideologies we have studied.

7. Authoritarian and totalitarian refer to political systems in which political power is concentrated in the hands of a few, the difference being that in a totalitarian system more effort is made to exercise that power in all domains of human existence. Nationalism is the conviction that national interests are more important than private or international interests and does not constitute a separate ideology.

8. Liberals believe that all human beings are capable of reason and rational action, and should be helped by their governments to fulfill their potential. However, although governments should be ready to help, they must never force such assistance on unwilling citizens – it is also an important liberal value to maintain personal freedom. As much as liberals would like to create a more egalitarian society, they are unwilling to invade individual rights in order to do so. Thus, they hold two beliefs that are in practice extremely difficult to reconcile.

9. Liberals commonly believe in some form of social contract – that is, in the idea that human beings consent to be ruled by others, but only on condition that individual rights and liberties are maintained. If the terms of this contract are not met, the consent to be ruled may be withdrawn. Liberals believe, however, that political change should be made by peaceful, not revolutionary, means.

10. Socialists believe human beings are naturally sociable and cooperative and that only the establishment of non-socialist governments and exploitative work arrangements has interfered with these natural instincts. They believe that the solution is to limit or even abolish outright the institution of private property – which, they say, should be owned by a state that is in turn controlled by the workers.

11. Conservatives believe in conserving what exists. They have a non-egalitarian view of human nature, believing that some people are born into "a natural aristocracy" and that those people can best protect the individual liberty of all. Personal liberty is most important to conservatives, which helps explain why they often wish to see the power of government reduced. On the other hand, they frequently propose that government power be used to ensure that traditional moral standards are maintained.

12. Conservatives have traditionally believed that it is the responsibility of the more advanced nations to bring the blessings of civilization to those less for-

fortunate and that it is necessary to maintain good relations with allies as a means of protecting one's own system against external enemies. Although conservatives are sometimes viewed by others as incapable of compromise, they take a pragmatic approach to many questions, provided that the end result will further the basic principles of conservatism (order, continuity, loyalty, protection of individual freedoms, piety, and nationalism).

13. An ideology is a comprehensive system of beliefs and attitudes about social and economic institutions and processes. It is an attempt to explain how an existing political system has come into being and to describe the ideal political system. It may be either strictly personal or shared with a group, rational or irrational, and revolutionary or defensive. An ideology offers a theory of human nature, and thereby of human potentiality and of the need for particular modes of social control. Four major ideologies are conservatism, liberalism, socialism, and fascism.

14. Democracy, like authoritarianism, is not a political ideology but rather a description of the relationship between citizens and their leaders. The conditions of personal freedom, free elections, and political equality are strongly associated with democracy and help make it possible, but the literal meaning of democracy is simply rule by the people.

15. Left means taking a positive view of human nature and believing that change and progress are necessary and possible to improve the human condition. Right means taking a somewhat more pessimistic view of human nature and placing greater emphasis on the importance of maintaining order and continuity. Many variations are possible, however, within this simplistic dichotomy.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. comprehensive system of beliefs and attitudes about social and economic institutions and processes
2. be strictly personal or shared with a group
3. non-egalitarian view of human nature
4. see the power of government reduced
5. bring the blessings of civilization to those less fortunate
6. incapable of compromise
7. take a pragmatic approach to many questions
8. capable of reason and rational action

9. fulfill the potential
10. maintain personal freedom
11. .extremely difficult to reconcile
12. meet the terms of the contract
13. withdraw the consent to be ruled
14. interfere with natural instincts
15. abolition of private property
16. dominant mode of production
17. restore the control over the means of production
18. by means of a violent revolution.
19. engage in the struggle on the best possible terms
20. preserve traditional institutions and values
21. guarantee minimum standards of living and individual rights
22. popular participation in policymaking
23. misuse terms
24. exercise the power
25. literal meaning

#### **4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. неправильно использовать терминологию
2. гарантировать минимальный прожиточный минимум и личные права
3. сохранить традиционные институты и ценности
4. общепринятая система убеждений и отношения к общественным и экономическим институтам и процессам
5. осуществлять возможное
6. использовать власть
7. участвовать в борьбе на самых лучших условиях
8. общественное участие в принятии политического курса
9. буквальное значение
10. путем насильственной революции
11. сохранить контроль над средствами производства
12. преобладающий способ производства
13. строго индивидуальное или разделенное с группой
14. отмена частной собственности
15. сохранить личную свободу
16. мешать природным инстинктам
17. дать блага цивилизации обделенным удачей
18. не дать согласия управлять собой
19. иметь прагматичный подход ко многим вопросам

20. не рассматривать человеческую природу равноправно
21. способный действовать разумно и рационально
22. неспособный пойти на компромисс
23. наблюдать сокращение государственной власти
24. выполнять условия договора
25. крайне трудный для примирения

**5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

**6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. system of beliefs and attitudes
2. be strictly personal or shared with a group
3. see the power of government reduced
4. incapable of compromise
5. take a pragmatic approach to many questions
6. fulfill the potential
7. extremely difficult to reconcile
8. withdraw the consent to be ruled
9. guarantee minimum standards of living and individual rights
10. popular participation in policymaking
11. preserve traditional institutions and values
12. dominant mode of production
13. abolition of private property
14. literal meaning
15. exercise the power

**7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

**8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

**9. Learn by heart the following passage**

An ideology is a comprehensive system of beliefs and attitudes about social and economic institutions and processes. It is an attempt to explain how an existing political system has come into being and to describe the ideal political system.

Conservatives believe in conserving what exists. They have a non-egalitarian view of human nature, believing that some people are born into "a natural aristocracy" and that those people can best protect the individual liberty of all.

Liberals believe that all human beings are capable of reason and rational action, and should be helped by their governments to fulfill their potential.

Socialists believe human beings are naturally sociable and cooperative and that only the establishment of non-socialist governments and exploitative work arrangements has interfered with these natural instincts.

Fascism begins by arguing that the citizen can prosper only when the nation prospers and ends up placing the fate of the nation above that of its people. Like conservatives, fascists think that some human beings are naturally better than others, but for them being better means belonging to the "right" race or nationality.

#### **10. Translate the following into English**

Идеология – это обширная система убеждений и отношений к социальным и экономическим институтам и процессам. Она пытается объяснить, как появились существующие политические системы и описать идеальную политическую систему.

Существуют четыре основные идеологии: консерватизм, либерализм, социализм и фашизм. Консерваторы выступают за сохранение того, что существует. У них неэгалитарные взгляды на природу человека. Самое главное для них – это личная свобода. Либералы считают, что все люди способны к разумным и рациональным действиям и что правительство должно помогать им реализовать свои возможности. Социалисты выступают за отмену частной собственности. Они полагают, что средства производства могут быть возвращены рабочим посредством революции. Фашисты утверждают, что граждане могут процветать только тогда, когда процветает государство. Они полагают, что некоторые люди по природе лучше остальных, т.к. они принадлежат к «правильной» расе. В настоящее время существуют современные версии всех четырех идеологий.

### **UNIT 3 POLITICAL ECONOMY**

Any economy is a system of producing, distributing and consuming wealth. Whatever system is in operation it strongly influences the course of politics – and political decisions, in turn, help shape the economic system. This was true when we lived and worked together in hunting bands, in primitive agricultural settlements, in kinship systems, in feudal estates, and in corporate guilds. It is true in today's more modern economic systems – capitalism, socialism, and mixed economies.

Some of the specific economic factors that shape a nation's political choices are its size, the natural resources available to it, and its level of economic development. The size of a nation can be measured by either its territorial extent or the number of its citizens, but in either case small states function very differently from large states. Those differences include economic considerations, which influence political relationships.

The nature and extent of a nation's natural resources also help shape its political decisions. Economic development means developing the ability to process and market raw materials in order to improve the material well-being of the nation's own people. The relationship between politics and economic development is complex and variable. Economic forces do shape our politics, and profoundly; but they do not do so in isolation from one another or from other social forces.

Different political systems have led to the institutionalization of different economic systems: capitalism, socialism, mixed economies, corporatism (or neocorporatism), and colonialism (or neocolonialism). Capitalism is a system in which entrepreneurs are free to plow their profits back into capital expenditures. Unbridled capitalism can lead to such inequalities of wealth that a demand will arise for either socialism or some form of a mixed economy. Under socialism the state controls all the means of production and is itself controlled by the workers. Nearly every nation in the world, however, has an economy based on a mixture of public and private ownership of the means of production, and on considerable public regulation of the private sector.

There are many different versions of the mixed economy. A corporatist economy is one in which formal ownership of the means of production remains in private hands but the state requires that all industries and other productive enterprises be grouped in units according to the function they perform. Colonialism is the imposition of a form of mixed economy by an external political system. Neocolonialism is a system for maintaining the economic dependency found under colonialism while granting the colonized nation political independence.

The growing interdependence of the human polity has raised many of the issues of political economy to the global level, making these problems simultaneously more difficult and more urgent to resolve. Particularly urgent are our shared problems of declining energy resources and increasing population – with population growth often most pronounced in nations that are already unable to meet the pressing needs of their people.

The persistence of archaic social values further impedes our ability to find and implement cooperative political solutions to global economic problems. Shortsighted government policies sometimes only deepen our economic dilemmas, as we struggle separately and often ineffectually to cope with problems produced by interdependent international trade, widespread inflation and stagflation, and Third World debt. Protectionism – the practice of sheltering domestic producers from the competition of the world market – can only stifle still further the growth that is essential for revival of the world's economy.

In sum, the relationship between politics and economics is as close today as it was in our earliest efforts to establish a civilized life in common with our neighbors. Our ever more elaborate political structures and our continued material development make that relationship constantly more complex – especially when we realize that for many purposes "our neighbors" are the entire 45 billion people now living on the planet. No political system has yet developed policies adequate to deal with the problems we must face. Nevertheless, there is reason to hope that we will gradually find new ways to address the present crisis in the world economy. Political change sometimes comes slowly in response to economic change, but it does finally come – especially when it is so painfully clear that existing political solutions are not only timeworn but worn out.

## **ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT**

### **1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences**

1. Any economy is a system of ... wealth. Whatever system is in operation it strongly influences ... – and political decisions, in turn, help ... system. It is true in today's more modern economic systems – ... economies.
2. Some of the specific economic factors that ... are its ... available to it, and its level of economic ... development. The size of a nation can be measured by either its ... or ... , but in either case small states function very differently from large states. Those differences include ... , which influence political relationships.
3. The ... of a nation's natural resources also help ... . Economic development means ... in order to improve the material well-being of the nation's

own people. The relationship between ... is complex and variable. Economic forces do ... our ... , and profoundly; but they do not do so ... or from ... .

4. Different ... have led to the institutionalization of different ... : capitalism, socialism, mixed economies, corporatism, and colonialism. Capitalism is a system in which ... . Unbridled capitalism can lead ... that a demand will arise for either ... . Under socialism ... and is itself ... . Nearly every nation in the world, however, has an economy ... , and on considerable ... sector.

5. There are many different versions of the mixed economy. A ... economy is one in which ... but the state ... according to the function they perform. Colonialism is the ... . Neocolonialism is a system for ... while granting the colonized nation ... .

6. The growing ... has raised many of the issues of political economy to the global level, making these problems ... to resolve. Particularly ... are our shared problems of ... and ... – with population growth often most pronounced in nations that are already ... .

7. The persistence of ... further impedes our ability to ... to global economic problems. Shortsighted government policies sometimes only ... , as we struggle separately and often ineffectually to cope with problems produced by ... , and Third World debt. Protectionism – ... from the competition of the world market – can only stifle still further the growth that is essential for revival of the world's economy.

8. No political system has yet developed policies ... . Nevertheless, there is reason to hope that we will gradually find new ways ... . Political change sometimes comes slowly in response to economic change, but it does finally come – especially when it is so ... .

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. The growing interdependence of the human polity has raised many of the issues of political economy to the global level, making these problems simultaneously more difficult and more urgent to resolve. Particularly urgent are our shared problems of declining energy resources and increasing population

– with population growth often most pronounced in nations that are already unable to meet the pressing needs of their people.

2. The persistence of archaic social values further impedes our ability to find and implement cooperative political solutions to global economic problems. Shortsighted government policies sometimes only deepen our economic dilemmas, as we struggle separately and often ineffectually to cope with problems produced by interdependent international trade, widespread inflation and stagflation, and Third World debt.

3. The relationship between politics and economics is as close today as it was in our earliest efforts to establish a civilized life in common with our neighbors. Our ever more elaborate political structures and our continued material development make that relationship constantly more complex – especially when we realize that for many purposes "our neighbors" are the entire 45 billion people now living on the planet

4. Capitalism is a system in which entrepreneurs are free to plow their profits back into capital expenditures. Unbridled capitalism can lead to such inequalities of wealth that a demand will arise for either socialism or some form of a mixed economy. Under socialism the state controls all the means of production and is itself controlled by the workers. Nearly every nation in the world, however, has an economy based on a mixture of public and private ownership of the means of production, and on considerable public regulation of the private sector.

5. There are many different versions of the mixed economy. A corporatist economy is one in which formal ownership of the means of production remains in private hands but the state requires that all industries and other productive enterprises be grouped in units according to the function they perform. Colonialism is the imposition of a form of mixed economy by an external political system. Neocolonialism is a system for maintaining the economic dependency found under colonialism while granting the colonized nation political independence

6. Any economy is a system of producing, distributing, and consuming wealth. Whatever system is in operation it strongly influences the course of politics – and political decisions, in turn, help shape the economic system. This was true when we lived and worked together in hunting bands, in primitive agricultural settlements, in kinship systems, in feudal estates, and in cor-

porate guilds It is true in today's more modern economic systems – capitalism, socialism, and mixed economies.

7. Some of the specific economic factors that shape a nation's political choices are its size, the natural resources available to it, and its level of economic development The size of a nation can be measured by either its territorial extent or the number of its citizens, but in either case small states function very differently from large states Those differences include economic considerations, which influence political relationships.

8. The nature and extent of a nation's natural resources also help shape its political decisions. Economic development means developing the ability to process and market raw materials in order to improve the material well-being of the nation's own people. The relationship between politics and economic development is complex and variable. Economic forces do shape our politics, and profoundly; but they do not do so in isolation from one another or from other social forces.

9. No political system has yet developed policies adequate to deal with the problems we must face Nevertheless, there is reason to hope that we will gradually find new ways to address the present crisis in the world economy Political change sometimes comes slowly in response to economic change, but it does finally come—especially when it is so painfully clear that existing political solutions are not only timeworn but worn out

10. Protectionism – the practice of sheltering domestic producers from the competition of the world market – can only stifle still further the growth that is essential for revival of the world's economy.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. grant the colonized nation political independence
2. deepen economic dilemmas
3. interdependent international trade, wide-spread inflation and stagflation
4. formal ownership of the means of production
5. free to plow their profits back
6. declining energy resources
7. public and private ownership of the means of production
8. process and market raw materials
9. be grouped in units according to the function they perform

10. imposition of a form of mixed economy
11. producing, distributing, and consuming wealth
12. control all the means of production
13. increasing population
14. influences the course of politics (political choices)
15. shape the economic system

#### **4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. производство, распределение и потребление благ
2. влиять на ход политических событий (политический выбор)
3. формировать экономическую систему
4. обрабатывать и находить рынки сбыта для сырья
5. превращать доходы в капитал
6. управлять средствами производства
7. общественная и частная собственность на средства производства
8. официальное владение средствами производства
9. объединяться согласно исполняемым функциям
10. навязывание смешанной экономики
11. даровать политическую независимость колониям
12. уменьшающиеся энергетические ресурсы
13. растущее население
14. углублять экономические дилеммы
- 15.** взаимозависимая международная торговля, широкомасштабная инфляция и стагфляция

#### **5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

#### **6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. producing, distributing, and consuming wealth
2. influences the course of politics (political choices)
3. shape the economic system
4. process and market raw materials
5. free to plow their profits back
6. control all the means of production
7. public and private ownership of the means of production
8. formal ownership of the means of production
9. be grouped in units according to the function they perform
10. imposition of a form of mixed economy

11. grant the colonized nation political independence
12. declining energy resources
13. increasing population
14. deepen economic dilemmas
15. interdependent international trade, wide-spread inflation and stagflation

## **7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

## **8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

## **9. Learn the following passage by heart**

Any economy is a system of producing, distributing, and consuming wealth. Whatever system is in operation strongly influences the course of politics – and political decisions, in turn, help shape the economic system. This was true when we lived and worked together in hunting bands, in primitive agricultural settlements, in kinship systems, in feudal estates, and in corporate guilds. It is true in today's more modern economic systems – capitalism, socialism, and mixed economies.

Some of the specific economic factors that shape a nation's political choices are its size, the natural resources available to it, and its level of economic development.

The growing interdependence of the human polity has raised many of the issues of political economy to the global level, making these problems simultaneously more difficult and more urgent to resolve. Political change sometimes comes slowly in response to economic change, but it does finally come – especially when it is so painfully clear that existing political solutions are not only timeworn but worn out.

## **10. Translate the following into English**

На протяжении всей истории человечества экономика всегда была связана с политикой. Экономика и политика тесно связаны друг с другом, так как являлись неотъемлемыми атрибутами совместной жизни людей в первобытном обществе, в древних земледельческих сообществах, в родовых общинах, в феодальном обществе, в корпоративных союзах и т.д. Так происходит и в современных экономических системах: капитализме, где деловые люди свободно обращают доходы в капитал; социализме, где средства производства сосредоточены в руках государства; системах

со смешанной экономикой, где сочетаются частная и государственная собственность.

Экономика определяет уровень развития страны – способность обрабатывать и находить рынки сбыта для сырья с целью улучшить материальное благосостояние граждан. В свою очередь, экономическое развитие влияет на выбор политического курса государства. Поэтому очень часто за экономическими изменениями следуют политические.

Взаимозависимость государств иногда поднимает экономические проблемы до глобального уровня, и только совместная работа государств позволяет их преодолеть.

## **UNIT 4**

### **POLITICS AND THE MEDIA**

The communications media include not only newspapers, magazines, radio, and television, but also the telephone, the telegraph, and telecommunications satellites. Films and recordings are commonly included, books, letters, and other versions of the written word are rarely considered part of the media. In the United States, the media have changed dramatically over the course of their history, from the first newspaper, *Public Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic*, to today's television coverage of sessions of Congress. As the technology of the media has advanced, they have usually remained loyal to older forms as well, thus steadily increasing both the hours they spend receiving media messages and the forms in which they receive them.

Commercial interests heavily control most of the world's media. Publishers and station owners frequently exercise active control over the political content of their products, sometimes seeking accord with their own preferences, sometimes eager not to offend the sensibilities of important advertisers. Governments also exercise control, sometimes seeking to control political dissent, at other times trying to ensure that all points of view are fairly presented. Journalists have sometimes sought protection against excessive government regulation but have rarely been successful in securing privileged status for themselves.

News coverage is extensive but seldom comprehensive. The same stories are repeated over and over throughout the day or week, with little depth of coverage. Journalists must respond to instant deadlines and to the need to provide drama and entertainment; these requirements of the trade often produce su-

perfidiality and artificiality. Political campaigns are treated as horse races, political candidates are treated as personalities, and issues are given short shrift.

Biased presentation of the news is a serious problem. Bias means deliberately shaping the content and presentation of the news so as to favor certain political interests, actors, practices and/or ideas over others. Sometimes such shaping takes place openly and unambiguously, sometimes it is a matter of omission, and sometimes it is entirely unconscious, as journalists work within "value parameters" of which they are themselves unaware.

As we spend more and more time with television, newspapers, and radio, and less and less time interacting directly with political persons or events, politicians, public officials, and ordinary citizens with political messages naturally become more eager to reach us via the media. Sometimes they achieve access by paying for it, sometimes by attracting the attention of journalists. Paid use of the media includes not only television ads but also telephoning, computer usage, and direct mail; its costs can be enormous, but attracting free coverage often means sacrificing substance for viewability and producing stories that can be told quickly and vividly.

Both the high costs of paid usage and the drama demands of free coverage militate against careful and comprehensive coverage of issues and other matters of substance. Political consultants help with every aspect of media politics – and help drive up the costs.

Once elected, government officials continue to use the media, in order to inform the public, persuade it of the value of their acts and their policies, and keep themselves in the public eye. It sometimes seems as important to officials to reduce coverage as to expand it, although efforts to withhold or distort the news often backfire. Ordinary citizens also use the media to convey political messages to one another, sometimes inadvertently, as when their actions become both newsworthy and politically controversial. The "tragic citizen celebrity" is a case in point.

Despite the amount of time and money spent on conveying political messages via the media, and the increasing amount of time citizens spend receiving those messages, the actual impact of the media on political values and awareness remains limited, although not unimportant. For what could be more important than the fact that w much time, money, and effort expended results in citizenries who know more about candidate image than candidate substance, more about what issues are on the national agenda than about the substance of

those issues, and more about the campaign as horse race than the campaign as a time of serious consideration of their nation's problems and their possible solutions? The inadequacy of citizenship by media makes even more important the subject of the role of the individual in politics.

## ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT

### 1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences

1. The ... include not only newspapers, magazines, radio, and television, but also the telephone, the telegraph, and telecommunications satellites. Films and recordings are commonly included, books, letters, and other versions of the written word are ... . As the technology of the media ... , they have usually remained ... as well, thus steadily increasing both the hours they ... in which they receive them.

2. Commercial interests heavily control most of the world's media. Publishers and station owners ... of their products, sometimes seeking accord with their own preferences, sometimes eager ... .

3. News coverage is ... . The same stories are repeated over and over throughout the day or week, with ... . Journalists must respond to ... and to the need to ... ; these requirements of the trade often produce ... . Political campaigns are treated as ... , political candidates are treated as ... , and issues are given ... .

4. ... of the news is a serious problem. Bias means ... of the news so as to favor ... , actors, practices and/or ideas over others. Sometimes such shaping takes place openly and unambiguously, sometimes it is ... , and sometimes it is entirely ... , as journalists work within " ... " of which they are themselves unaware.

5. As we spend more and more time with television, newspapers, and radio, and less and less time interacting directly with political persons or events, politicians, public officials, and ordinary citizens with political messages naturally become ... . Sometimes they ... for it, sometimes by ... .

6. Paid use of the media includes not only television ads but also telephoning, computer usage, and direct mail; its costs can be enormous, but attracting free coverage often means ... that can be told quickly and vividly. Both ... of

paid usage and ... of free coverage militate against careful and comprehensive coverage of issues and other matters of substance. Political consultants help ... – and help drive up the costs.

7. Once elected, government officials continue to use the media, in order to ... . It sometimes seems as important to officials to ... coverage as to ... it, although efforts to ... or ... the news often backfire. Ordinary citizens also use the media to ... to one another, sometimes inadvertently, as when their actions become both newsworthy and politically controversial. The " ... " is a case in point.

8. Despite the amount of time and money spent on ... , and the increasing amount of time citizens spend receiving those messages, the actual impact of the media on ... , although not unimportant.

9. For what could be more important than the fact that much time, money, and effort expended results in ... who know more about candidate image than ... , more about what issues are on the ... than about the substance of those issues, and more about the campaign as horse race than the campaign as a time of serious consideration of their nation's problems and their possible solutions? The ... by media makes even more important the subject of ... in politics.

10. Governments also exercise control, sometimes seeking to control ... , at other times trying to ensure that all points of view are fairly presented. Journalists have sometimes sought protection against ... but have rarely been successful in ... for themselves.

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. As we spend more and more time with television, newspapers, and radio, and less and less time interacting directly with political persons or events, politicians, public officials, and ordinary citizens with political messages naturally become more eager to reach us via the media. Sometimes they achieve access by paying for it, sometimes by attracting the attention of journalists.

2. Commercial interests heavily control most of the world's media. Publishers and station owners frequently exercise active control over the political content of their products, sometimes seeking accord with their own preferences, sometimes eager not to offend the sensibilities of important advertisers.

3. News coverage is extensive but seldom comprehensive. The same stories are repeated over and over throughout the day or week, with little depth of coverage. Journalists must respond to instant deadlines and to the need to provide drama and entertainment; these requirements of the trade often produce superficiality and artificiality. Political campaigns are treated as horse races, political candidates are treated as personalities, and issues are given short shrift.

4. Paid use of the media includes not only television ads but also telephoning, computer usage, and direct mail; its costs can be enormous, but attracting free coverage often means sacrificing substance for viewability and producing stories that can be told quickly and vividly.

5. Once elected, government officials continue to use the media, in order to inform the public, persuade it of the value of their acts and their policies, and keep themselves in the public eye. It sometimes seems as important to officials to reduce coverage as to expand it, although efforts to withhold or distort the news often backfire. Ordinary citizens also use the media to convey political messages to one another, sometimes inadvertently, as when their actions become both newsworthy

6. The communications media include not only newspapers, magazines, radio, and television, but also the telephone, the telegraph, and telecommunications satellites. Films and recordings are commonly included, books, letters, and other versions of the written word are rarely considered part of the media.

7. For what could be more important than the fact that with much time, money, and effort expended results in citizenries who know more about candidate image than candidate substance, more about what issues are on the national agenda than about the substance of those issues, and more about the campaign as horse race than the campaign as a time of serious consideration of their nation's problems and their possible solutions? The inadequacy of citizenship by media makes even more important the subject of the role of the individual in politics

8. Both the high costs of paid usage and the drama demands of free coverage militate against careful and comprehensive coverage of issues and other matters of substance. Political consultants help with every aspect of media poli-

tics—and help drive up the costs and politically controversial. The "tragic citizen celebrity" is a case in point.

9. Despite the amount of time and money spent on conveying political messages via the media, and the increasing amount of time citizens spend receiving those messages, the actual impact of the media on political values and awareness remains limited, although not unimportant.

10. Biased presentation of the news is a serious problem. Bias means deliberately shaping the content and presentation of the news so as to favor certain political interests, actors, practices and/or ideas over others. Sometimes such shaping takes place openly and unambiguously, sometimes it is a matter of omission, and sometimes it is entirely unconscious, as journalists work within "value parameters" of which they are themselves unaware.

11. In the United States, the media have changed dramatically over the course of their history, from the first newspaper, *Public Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic*, to today's television coverage of sessions of Congress. As the technology of the media has advanced, they have usually remained loyal to older forms as well, thus steadily increasing both the hours they spend receiving media messages and the forms in which they receive them.

12. Governments also exercise control, sometimes seeking to control political dissent, at other times trying to ensure that all points of view are fairly presented. Journalists have sometimes sought protection against excessive government regulation but have rarely been successful in securing privileged status for themselves.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. seek accord with their own preferences
2. receive media messages
3. exercise active control over the political content
4. remain loyal to older forms
5. control political dissent
6. not to offend the sensibilities
7. excessive government regulation
8. ensure that all points of view are fairly presented
9. secure privileged status
10. respond to instant deadlines
11. give issues short shrift

12. shape the content and presentation of the news
13. favor certain political interests
14. biased presentation of the news
15. sacrifice substance for viewability
16. militate against careful and comprehensive coverage
17. convey political messages
18. become newsworthy
19. withhold or distort the news
20. impact of the media on political values and awareness

#### **4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. способствовать определенным политическим интересам
2. предвзятое освещение новостей
3. жертвовать сутью ради зрелищности
4. мешать подробному и всестороннему освещению событий
5. передавать политические новости
6. не оскорблять чувства
7. чрезмерный контроль со стороны государства
8. обеспечить справедливое освещение всех точек зрения
9. обеспечить привилегированное положение
10. Постоянно укладываться в определенные сроки
11. быстро разрешить проблему
12. придать новости соответствующий вид и содержание
13. иметь новостное содержание
14. придержать или исказить новость
15. влияние СМИ на политические ценности и осведомленность
16. искать согласия со своими предпочтениями
17. получать информацию СМИ
18. осуществлять активный контроль над политическим содержанием
19. быть терпимыми к старым формам СМИ
20. контролировать политическое разногласие

#### **5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

#### **6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. remain loyal to older forms
2. change dramatically over the course of the history
3. be rarely considered part of the media

4. control most of the world's media
5. exercise active control over the political content
6. seek protection against excessive government regulation
7. secure privileged status
8. respond to instant deadlines
9. provide drama and entertainment
10. shape the content and presentation
11. favor certain political interests
12. reach via the media
13. reduce coverage or expand it
14. withhold or distort the news
15. newsworthy and politically controversial

**7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

**8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

**9. Learn by heart the following passage**

The communications media include not only newspapers, magazines, radio, and television, but also the telephone, the telegraph, and telecommunications satellites. As the technology of the media has advanced, they have usually remained loyal to older forms as well, thus steadily increasing both the hours they spend receiving media messages and the forms in which they receive them.

Commercial interests heavily control most of the world's media. Publishers and station owners frequently exercise active control over the political content of their products, sometimes seeking accord with their own preferences, sometimes eager not to offend the sensibilities of important advertisers. Governments also exercise control, sometimes seeking to control political dissent, at other times trying to ensure that all points of view are fairly presented. Journalists have sometimes sought protection against excessive government regulation but have rarely been successful in securing privileged status for themselves.

Biased presentation of the news is a serious problem. Bias means deliberately shaping the content and presentation of the news so as to favor certain political interests, actors, practices and/or ideas over others.

Despite the amount of time and money spent on conveying political messages via the media the actual impact of the media on political values and awareness remains limited.

## 10. Translate the following into English

Средства массовой информации – это главный источник получения информации. СМИ охватывают газеты, журналы, радио, телевидение, телефон, телеграф, телекоммуникационные спутники и т.д. Их задача – информировать, воспитывать и развлекать читателей, слушателей и зрителей.

СМИ оказывают влияние на взгляды и мнения людей; другими словами, формируют общественное мнение. В то же время, издатели и владельцы телевизионных каналов руководствуются меркантильными интересами, осуществляя жесткий контроль над политическим содержанием новостей. Они контролируют политические разногласия и мешают подробному и всестороннему освещению событий.

Несмотря на то, что государство обеспечивает справедливое освещение всех точек зрения по той или иной проблеме, существует тенденция предвзятого освещения событий. Это происходит по ряду причин. СМИ способствуют определенным политическим интересам, акторам, придерживая или искажая новости; информируют общественность и оказывают влияние на политические ценности и осведомленность граждан.

## UNIT 5

### LEADERSHIP: WHO LEADS THE WORK OF GOVERNMENT?

This brief introduction to the many questions involved in the study of leadership may have given you some further ideas about the questions we raised at the beginning: How might you yourself become a leader? How would you conduct yourself as a leader? How would you act when it came time to leave high office?

While you think about the job of persuading others to accept you as their leader, you are probably counting on having at least some of the ascriptive criteria commonly looked for in those chosen for positions of power. But your more serious considerations are likely to be focused on how you might earn the approval of those who choose leaders by developing and demonstrating your abilities. Will you try to develop the specialized expertise more commonly associated with taking office by appointment, or the more generalized abilities to master a wide range of information, to make friends with all kinds of people, and to exhibit the mixture of personal stability and charm that are the essential attributes of the elected officeholder? You are probably not giv-

ing serious thought to the idea of taking power by force. Besides the fact that it is likely to be contrary to your moral principles, such a tactic has a very poor record of success in recent years.

Once you have achieved high office, by whatever means, what will your relationship be to your followers? When I was first teaching, I was also quite obviously preparing to add to our family. One of my students kindly wrote at the end of her final examination, "I hope you have a very charismatic baby!" It turned out to be a very nice baby, but as we have seen, whether or not she has charisma is likely to depend as much on her circumstances as on her innate characteristics. Still, not everyone is ready for the "charismatic situation" when it develops. What about you?

Chances are you are more realistically asking yourself how you would solve the conundrums of representative leadership. If you are chosen to represent, how closely will you follow the will of your constituents? How much will you trust your own judgment? How will you react when the two conflict? Will you seek followers who trust you implicitly, or will you have the strength to prefer those who are moderately skeptical, whose trust must be earned – followers who take the job of citizenship seriously and thereby ensure that you will do the best you can on their and the nation's behalf? Perhaps you may even go so far as to hope that a greater measure of popular participation in the tasks of leadership might be introduced in your own political system and are wondering how you might help bring this about. If so, you may have to ask yourself a difficult question: is there a basic contradiction in hoping to assume the role of leader in the cause of direct democracy?

Finally, how will you step down from power when the time comes?

Perhaps you will be occupying an elective post with a limited term. If so, there may be a chance that you can serve more than one term. Perhaps you will hold an appointive post. If so, the successor to the person who appointed you may have the right to appoint someone to take your place, or it may be a post from which you can be removed only by your own incapacity or death. Perhaps your tenure in office will depend on maintaining the good will of a narrow elite. When it is no longer possible to maintain that good will, or when the power to fill your office has shifted to another group, you may need to give serious consideration to ways to move out of office not only gracefully but with adequate protection of your personal well being.

You may simply be more certain than ever that political leadership is not for you. But do not be too quick to dismiss the idea. Those who do lead have not

yet shown us remarkable success in solving all the problems of the human polity Leadership is one of the developing arts and sciences, not a fixed craft. You may have more to offer than you imagine, and an ability to acquire the skills and knowledge you currently lack. After all, you are a student of the science of politics.

## ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT

### 1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences

1. This brief introduction to the many questions involved in the study of leadership may have given you some further ideas about the questions we raised at the beginning: ... ?

2. While you think about the job of persuading others to ... , you are probably ... commonly looked for in those chosen for positions of power. But your more serious considerations are likely ... on how you might ... of those who choose leaders by developing and demonstrating your abilities.

3. Will you try to develop the specialized expertise more commonly associated with ... , or the more generalized abilities to ... , to make friends with all kinds of people, and to ... that are the essential attributes of the elected officeholder? You are probably not giving serious thought to the idea of ... . Besides the fact that it is likely to be contrary to your moral principles, such a tactic has a very poor record of success in recent years.

4. Once you have ... , by whatever means, what will your relationship be to your followers? When I was first teaching, I was also quite obviously preparing to add to our family. One of my students kindly wrote at the end of her final examination, "I hope you have a very charismatic baby!" It turned out to be a very nice baby, but as we have seen, whether or not she has charisma is likely to depend as much on her circumstances as on her innate characteristics. Still, ... when it develops. What about you?

5. Chances are you are more realistically asking yourself how you would solve the conundrums of representative leadership. If you are chosen to represent, how ... ? How much will you trust your own judgment? How will you react when the two conflict? Will you seek followers who ... , or will you have the strength to prefer those who are moderately skeptical, whose trust

must be earned—followers who take the job of citizenship seriously and thereby ensure that you will do the best you can on ... ?

6. Perhaps you may even go so far as to hope that a ... might be introduced in your own political system and are wondering how you might help bring this about. If so, you may have to ask yourself a difficult question: is there a basic contradiction in hoping to ... in the cause of direct democracy?

7. Finally, how will you step down from power when the time comes? Perhaps you will be ... . If so, there may be a chance that you can ... . Perhaps you will hold an appointive post.

8. If so, the ... who appointed you may have the right to appoint someone to take your place, or it may be a post from which you can be ... . Perhaps your tenure in office will depend on ... of a narrow elite.

9. When it is no longer possible to maintain that good will, or when the power to ... , you may need to give serious consideration to ways to ... not only gracefully but with adequate protection of your personal well-being

10. You may simply be more certain than ever that political leadership is not for you. But do not be too quick to ... . Those who do lead have not yet shown us remarkable success in solving all the problems of the human polity. Leadership is one of the developing arts and sciences, not a fixed craft. You may have more to offer than you imagine, and an ability to acquire the skills and knowledge you currently lack. After all, you are a student of the science of politics.

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. Once you have achieved high office, by whatever means, what will your relationship be to your followers? When I was first teaching, I was also quite obviously preparing to add to our family. One of my students kindly wrote at the end of her final examination, "I hope you have a very charismatic baby!" It turned out to be a very nice baby, but as we have seen, whether or not she has charisma is likely to depend as much on her circumstances as on her innate characteristics. Still, not everyone is ready for the "charismatic situation" when it develops. What about you?

2. This brief introduction to the many questions involved in the study of leadership may have given you some further ideas about the questions we raised at the beginning: How might you yourself become a leader? How would you conduct yourself as a leader? How would you act when it came time to leave high office?

Chances are you are more realistically asking yourself how you would solve the conundrums of representative leadership.

3. If you are chosen to represent, how closely will you follow the will of your constituents? How much will you trust your own judgment? How will you react when the two conflict? Will you seek followers who trust you implicitly, or will you have the strength to prefer those who are moderately skeptical, whose trust must be earned – followers who take the job of citizenship seriously and thereby ensure that you will do the best you can on their and the nation's behalf?

4. Perhaps you may even go so far as to hope that a greater measure of popular participation in the tasks of leadership might be introduced in your own political system and are wondering how you might help bring this about. If so, you may have to ask yourself a difficult question: is there a basic contradiction in hoping to assume the role of leader in the cause of direct democracy?

5. While you think about the job of persuading others to accept you as their leader, you are probably counting on having at least some of the ascriptive criteria commonly looked for in those chosen for positions of power. But your more serious considerations are likely to be focused on how you might earn the approval of those who choose leaders by developing and demonstrating your abilities.

6. Will you try to develop the specialized expertise more commonly associated with taking office by appointment, or the more generalized abilities to master a wide range of information, to make friends with all kinds of people, and to exhibit the mixture of personal stability and charm that are the essential attributes of the elected officeholder? You are probably not giving serious thought to the idea of taking power by force.

7. Besides the fact that it is likely to be contrary to your moral principles, such a tactic has a very poor record of success in recent years. Finally, how

will you step down from power when the time comes? Perhaps you will be occupying an elective post with a limited term.

8. Perhaps your tenure in office will depend on maintaining the good will of a narrow elite. When it is no longer possible to maintain that good will, or when the power to fill your office has shifted to another group, you may need to give serious consideration to ways to move out of office not only gracefully but with adequate protection of your personal well being.

9. You may simply be more certain than ever that political leadership is not for you. But do not be too quick to dismiss the idea. Those who do lead have not yet shown us remarkable success in solving all the problems of the human polity. Leadership is one of the developing arts and sciences, not a fixed craft. You may have more to offer than you imagine, and an ability to acquire the skills and knowledge you currently lack. After all, you are a student of the science of politics.

10. If so, there may be a chance that you can serve more than one term. Perhaps you will hold an appointive post. If so, the successor to the person who appointed you may have the right to appoint someone to take your place, or it may be a post from which you can be removed only by your own incapacity or death.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. leave high office
2. persuade others to accept you as their leader
3. have ascriptive criteria
4. 4.earn the approval
5. take office by appointment
6. master a wide range of information
7. essential attributes of the elected officeholder
8. take power by force
9. have a very poor record of success
10. depend as much on circumstances as on innate characteristics
11. follow the will of constituents
12. trust must be earned
13. step down from power
14. occupy an elective post with a limited term
15. serve more than one term

16. hold an appointive post
17. successor to the person
18. be removed only by your own incapacity or death
19. maintain the good will of a narrow elite
20. move out of office

#### **4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. зависеть от обстоятельств в такой же мере, как и от природных качеств
2. следовать воле избирателей
3. заслужить доверие
4. уйти из власти
5. занимать выборную должность ограниченный срок
6. исполнять обязанности более одного срока
7. занимать назначаемую должность
8. преемник какого-то лица
9. быть смещенным в результате неадекватности или смерти
10. сохранить благосклонность узкого круга элиты
11. уйти с высокого поста
12. убедить других принять вас как лидера
13. обладать аскриптивными критериями
14. заработать одобрение
15. занять должность по назначению
16. справляться с огромным диапазоном информации
17. основные характеристики избранного на руководящую должность
18. прийти к власти насильственным путем
19. не пользоваться успехом
20. оставить высокий пост

#### **5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

#### **6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. become a leader
2. conduct yourself as a leader
3. leave high office
4. accept you as leader
5. have some of the ascriptive criteria
6. the job of persuading others

7. earn the approval
8. demonstrate abilities
9. take office by appointment
10. master a wide range of information
11. essential attributes of the elected officeholder
12. take power by force
13. follow the will of constituents
14. trust your own judgment
15. assume the role of leader
16. step down from power
17. serve more than one term
18. hold an appointive post
19. be removed only by one's incapacity
20. successor to a person

**7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

**8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

**9. Learn by heart the following passage**

While you think about the job of persuading others to accept you as their leader, you are probably counting on having at least some of the ascriptive criteria commonly looked for in those chosen for positions of power. Chances are you are more realistically asking yourself how you would solve the conundrums of representative leadership. Will you seek followers who trust you implicitly, or will you have the strength to prefer those who are moderately skeptical, whose trust must be earned?

Perhaps you will be occupying an elective post with a limited term. If so, there may be a chance that you can serve more than one term. Perhaps you will hold an appointive post. If so, the successor to the person who appointed you may have the right to appoint someone to take your place, or it may be a post from which you can be removed only by your own incapacity or death.

Perhaps your tenure in office will depend on maintaining the good will of a narrow elite. When it is no longer possible to maintain that good will, or when the power to fill your office has shifted to another group, you may need to give serious consideration to ways to move out of office not only gracefully but with adequate protection of your personal well being.

**10. Translate the following into English**

Политическое лидерство – тип механического взаимодействия, механизм интеграции групповой деятельности, когда индивид или часть социальной группы выполняет роль лидера и объединяет и направляет действия всей группы. Последняя принимает и поддерживает его действия с целью осуществления совместной деятельности.

Различные эпохи, разные классы и социальные группы требуют лидеров, обладающих различными качествами. Основным критерием их деятельности является эффективность, удовлетворяющая запросы и интересы той группы, которая обратилась к его услугам. В своей деятельности он всегда испытывает давление со стороны политической элиты и должен быть готов к принятию их предложений и требований. Лидер должен уметь идти на компромисс.

Лидерами не рождаются, но становятся. Необходимо оправдать доверие людей и завоевать себе авторитет политического лидера.

## **UNIT 6**

### **MAKING THE LAWS**

The law never exists *ab ovo* (a useful Latin phrase meaning "from the egg" – that is, as if with no other beginning) but is made – and remade – in all kinds of places, for all kinds of purposes. Furthermore, contrary to Holmes (who was, after all, making an address to a bar association dinner and was not above flattering his auditors), we have seen that it is not always made by those with the grace and authority of mighty princesses, nor by those who are constitutionally responsible, nor even by those who are responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens.

We have also seen that even when the lawmaking function is exercised predominantly in representative legislatures designed for that purpose, the exact division of labor is likely to vary. There may be one or two houses, specialized or non-specialized committees, and a host of customs and mores unique to each nation to determine what laws can be made, how, and by whom.

In all probability, however, the right to make a nation's laws will not be held exclusively by the legislature but will be shared – to a greater or lesser extent – with others outside that body. The executive almost always plays a role in making as well as executing the law, and judges, party leaders, religious authorities, corporation heads, and military chiefs of staff may also feel obliged to join the work of lawmaking when the circumstances make it possible for them to do so.

Furthermore, when legislative power is shared with the executive, the balance of power between the two branches differs according to whether it is a democratic or a non-democratic system. In a democratic system, it makes a great deal of difference whether we are talking about a parliamentary system, where power may be shared fairly equally, a presidential system, where power is likely to shift back and forth between the two, or a presidential-parliamentary system, where the executive tends to take and keep the upper hand. In all three such systems the question of who shall make the law is decided in part permanently and deliberately, mandated by constitutional provision, and in part temporarily and almost accidentally, as legislators delegate others to perform tasks that were originally theirs – or simply allow such powers to drift into others' hands. In non-democratic systems, on the other hand, legislators may share the right to make a nation's laws reluctantly and resignedly – or even give up such rights altogether – when an autocratic or oligarchic executive forcibly usurps powers that do not constitutionally belong to that branch.

In discussing leadership and in pointing out how active a role the executive plays in the making of laws, we have already had quite a bit to say about the executive powers of governments. It is time now to focus directly on that subject. Laws mean little or nothing until someone carries them out. What does it mean to execute the law? The next chapter will be an attempt to answer that question.

## **ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT**

### **1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences**

1. The law never exists ab ovo ... but is made – and remade – in all kinds of places, for all kinds of purposes. Furthermore, ... , nor by those who are constitutionally responsible, nor even by those who are responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens.

2. When the lawmaking ... for that purpose, the exact division of labor is likely to vary. There may be one or two houses, ... , and a host of customs and mores unique to each nation to ... .

3. In all probability, however, ... but will be shared – to a greater or lesser extent – with others outside that body. The executive almost always plays a role in ... , and judges, party leaders, religious authorities, corporation heads, and military chiefs of staff may also ... when the circumstances make it possible for them to do so.

4. Furthermore, when legislative power is ... , the balance of power between the two branches differs according to ... system. In a democratic system, it makes a great deal of difference whether we ... , where power may be shared fairly equally, a presidential system, ... between the two, or a presidential-parliamentary system, where ... .

5. In all three such systems the question of who shall make the law is decided in part ... on, and in part ... , as legislators delegate others to perform tasks that were originally theirs – or ... others' hands.

6. In non-democratic systems, on the other hand, legislators may share the right to make a nation's laws reluctantly and resignedly – or even give up such rights altogether – when an autocratic or oligarchic executive forcibly usurps powers that do not constitutionally belong to that branch.

7. In discussing leadership and in pointing out how active a role the executive plays in the making of laws, we have already had quite a bit to say about the executive powers of governments. It is time now to focus directly on that subject. Laws mean little or nothing until someone carries them out. What does it mean to execute the law?

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. In all three such systems the question of who shall make the law is decided in part permanently and deliberately, mandated by constitutional provision, and in part temporarily and almost accidentally, as legislators delegate others to perform tasks that were originally theirs – or simply allow such powers to drift into others' hands.

2. In non-democratic systems, on the other hand, legislators may share the right to make a nation's laws reluctantly and resignedly – or even give up such rights altogether—when an autocratic or oligarchic executive forcibly usurps powers that do not constitutionally belong to that branch.

3. Furthermore, when legislative power is shared with the executive, the balance of power between the two branches differs according to whether it is a democratic or a non-democratic system.

4. In a democratic system, it makes a great deal of difference whether we are talking about a parliamentary system, where power may be shared fairly equally, a presidential system, where power is likely to shift back and forth between the two, or a presidential-parliamentary system, where the executive tends to take and keep the upper hand.

4. In discussing leadership and in pointing out how active a role the executive plays in the making of laws, we have already had quite a bit to say about the executive powers of governments. It is time now to focus directly on that subject. Laws mean little or nothing until someone carries them out.

5. The law never exists *ab ovo* (a useful Latin phrase meaning "from the egg" – that is, as if with no other beginning) but is made – and remade – in all kinds of places, for all kinds of purposes. It is not always made by those with the grace and authority of mighty princesses, nor by those who are constitutionally responsible, nor even by those who are responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens

6. We have also seen that even when the lawmaking function is exercised predominantly in representative legislatures designed for that purpose, the exact division of labor is likely to vary. There may be one or two houses, specialized or non-specialized committees, and a host of customs and mores unique to each nation to determine what laws can be made, how, and by whom.

7. In all probability, however, the right to make a nation's laws will not be held exclusively by the legislature but will be shared – to a greater or lesser extent – with others outside that body.

8. The executive almost always plays a role in making as well as executing the law, and judges, party leaders, religious authorities, corporation heads, and military chiefs of staff may also feel obliged to join the work of lawmaking when the circumstances make it possible for them to do so.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. exist *ab ovo*

2. make an address to a bar association
3. responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens
4. exercise the lawmaking function in representative legislatures
5. a host of customs and mores
6. to make a nation's laws will not be held exclusively by the legislature
7. play a role in making as well as executing the law
8. feel obliged to join the work of lawmaking
9. share legislative power with the executive
10. shift back and forth between the two
11. take and keep the upper hand
12. mandated by constitutional provision
13. delegate others to perform tasks
14. allow such powers to drift into others' hands
15. give up such rights
16. forcibly usurp powers
17. constitutionally belong to that branch.
18. carry out the law

**4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. отвечать нуждам простых граждан
2. выполнять законотворческую функцию
3. представительская законодательная власть
4. разделенная власть вне государства
5. создавать и исполнять закон
6. чувствовать себя обязанным участвовать в законотворчестве
7. разделение власти между двумя ее ветвями
8. равно разделенная власть
9. власть обычно перемещается между двумя
10. исполнительная власть обычно преобладает
11. уполномоченный конституцией
12. уступить права
13. насильственно захватить власть
14. концентрировать внимание на этом вопросе
15. исполнять закон

**5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

**6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. the law never exists ab ovo
2. make an address to a bar association dinner
3. not above flattering his auditors
4. constitutionally responsible
5. responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens
6. exercised predominantly in representative legislatures
7. the exact division of labor is likely to vary
8. to determine what laws can be made, how, and by whom
9. not be held exclusively by the legislature but will be shared
10. play a role in making as well as executing the law
11. feel obliged to join the work of lawmaking
12. when the circumstances make it possible for them to do so
13. the balance of power between the two branches differs
14. power may be shared fairly equally
15. power is likely to shift back and forth between the two
16. the executive tends to take and keep the upper hand
17. mandated by constitutional provision
18. legislators delegate others to perform tasks that were originally theirs
19. allow such powers to drift into others' hands
20. legislators may share the right to make a nation's laws reluctantly
21. give up such rights altogether
22. forcibly usurps powers
23. laws mean little or nothing until someone carries them out
24. execute the law

**7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

**8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

**9. Learn by heart the following passage**

When legislative power is shared with the executive, the balance of power between the two branches differs according to whether it is a democratic or a non-democratic system.

In a democratic system, it makes a great deal of difference whether we are talking about a parliamentary system, where power may be shared fairly equally, a presidential system, where power is likely to shift back and forth between the two, or a presidential-parliamentary system, where the executive tends to take and keep the upper hand. In all three such systems the question

of who shall make the law is decided in part permanently and deliberately, mandated by constitutional provision, and in part temporarily and almost accidentally, as legislators delegate others to perform tasks that were originally theirs – or simply allow such powers to drift into others' hands.

In non-democratic systems, on the other hand, legislators may share the right to make a nation's laws reluctantly and resignedly – or even give up such rights altogether – when an autocratic or oligarchic executive forcibly usurps powers that do not constitutionally belong to that branch.

## **10. Translate the following into English**

Законы создаются и переиздаются повсюду и с различными целями. Более того, они не всегда издаются теми, кто на это уполномочен, конституционно отвечает за это и прислушивается к желаниям обычных граждан. Мы неоднократно замечаем, что эти законотворческие функции передаются другим органам, хотя для этой цели предназначена представительская законодательная система. И вероятнее всего, так оно и будет происходить.

Право создавать законы будет в большей или меньшей степени делиться между исполнительной властью, судьями, партийными лидерами, религиозными руководителями, главами корпораций и военными представителями, которые могут чувствовать себя обязанными участвовать в процессе законотворчества и для этого будут необходимые обстоятельства. Когда законодательная власть делится с исполнительной, баланс власти между двумя ветвями в демократической системе отличается от такового в недемократической системе.

В демократической системе большое значение имеет тот факт, говорим ли мы о президентской системе, парламентарной системе или о президентско-парламентарной системе, при которой исполнительная власть пытается получить преимущество.

В недемократической системе законодатели могут вообще отказаться от права издавать законы, либо принимать их в сотрудничестве с другими органами, когда власть насильственно захватывают автократические или олигархические силы.

## **UNIT 7 THE EXECUTION OF DECISIONS**

When the next bureaucrat tells you, “I am just following the rules,” you should be better prepared to understand what this means. For one thing you will know that executives, from the president to the cop on the beat, never merely follow the rules as they carry out the decisions of others. They often do less and they often do more. Chief executives appoint people they hope will carry out policy in accordance with their own views as well as with those of the lawmakers. Or they may make their appointments with an eye to gathering or maintaining political strength. In both cases, relatively transient top management is brought in to exercise control over experienced cadres who have their own axes to grind and their own established patterns of behavior. The new leaders may, however, have the virtues of being up-to-date, politically sophisticated, and in close touch with the popular will.

Chief executives also seek to guide public opinion, using the prestige and visibility of their offices to rally support for policies they believe in. This can be done either by direct exhortation or by engaging in supportive symbolic action. The more attention the news media give to individual leaders, the more useful this method is for ensuring that laws will be both written and executed in accordance with the will of the top executive. The powers to veto and to pardon are powers of negative execution. Chief executives use them to prevent policy made by others from being public and government leaders into closer accord in times of political dissent or disruption. Informal pardons are often arranged without publicity, but also for political ends.

But the real work of policy implementation is the work of the bureaucrats, those public servants who have direct responsibility for interpreting and implementing government policy. Their chores are many and varied. Not only must they take the necessary steps to carry out the specific policy, they must also take responsibility for collecting and disbursing the revenue that makes the government's work possible and for preventing or punishing infractions of the law. So complex is the work of bureaucracy that it must be subdivided and parceled out into the hands of specialists. However, the greater the specialization, the more difficult it is to maintain clear lines of authority, because those who specialize accept the guidance of non-experts only reluctantly.

The difficulties of achieving successful implementation of policy are compounded by the methods used to recruit bureaucrats. Those who are appointed on the basis of merit may be inadequately responsive to the public will and have unrepresentatively elitist backgrounds. Political appointments have the

advantage of opening government to a wide range of citizens but may sometimes bring in men and women who are unable either to do the job or to resist the corrupting influence of outside interests. A combination of the two principles may produce the best possible mix of competence and responsiveness.

It is possible to have too much bureaucracy, but it is also possible to have too little. Duplication and waste prevail under conditions of relative affluence, intense need to reach relatively limited and particular goals, relative non-accountability, and refusal to follow the dictates of common sense. However, poor implementation of policy can also be the result of inadequate follow-through if the people in charge establish procedures that produce conflicting results, pervert the intention of the policymakers, or regulate the activity in question right out of existence. Misimplementation can result from deliberate response to lobbying by an agency's "clients," as well as from inefficiency or from the overwhelming difficulty of the task.

We could wonder whether there might be any way to have "administration of government" without "inflexible routine." As often happens, inquiry into a subject leads not to an answer to the question but to its reformulation. Inflexible routine is only the outer garment worn by some of the world's bureaucracies. Not a very attractive one, it sometimes covers a pattern of inconsistency, waste, and corruption that is far more unpleasant to behold. However, the very presence of these problems makes government administration one of today's most challenging professions. Nowhere is there more need for well-qualified, well-motivated, and persistent men and women. Nowhere are there greater opportunities to bring about change that will have an important and salutary impact on the lives of millions. The fact that the hurdles to doing this are so many and so high only makes the challenge that much greater. Perhaps the real question to ask about today's bureaucracies is where we will find the men and women ready and able to meet that challenge.

In the meantime, we labor on with the institutions we have. When executives and bureaucrats fail to implement policy in accordance with the laws we have set, we do have another place to turn. The function of judicial bodies is to adjudicate the disputes that arise under the implementation of the law.

## **ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT**

### **1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences**

1. We could wonder whether there might be any way to have ... . As often happens, ... . Inflexible routine is only the ... worn by some of the world's bureaucracies.
2. Not a very attractive one, it sometimes covers a ... , ... , and ... that is far more unpleasant to behold. However, the very presence of these problems makes government administration one of today's ... .
3. Nowhere is there more need for ... men and women. Nowhere are there ... that will have an important and salutary impact on the lives of millions. The fact that the ... only makes the challenge that much greater. Perhaps the real question to ask about today's bureaucracies is ... .
4. In the meantime, we ... we have. When executives and ... , we do have another place to turn. The function of ... that arise under the implementation of the law.
5. But the real work of ... , those public servants who have ... . Their chores are many and varied. Not only must they ... , they must also take ... and for preventing or punishing infractions of the law.
6. So complex is the work of bureaucracy ... . However, the greater the specialization, the more difficult it is to ... , because those who specialize accept ... .
7. The difficulties of ... are compounded by the methods used to recruit bureaucrats . Those who are ... may be inadequately responsive to the public will and ... .
8. Political appointments have the ... to a wide range of citizens but may sometimes bring in men and women ... . A combination of the two principles may produce the ... .
9. Chief executives also seek ... . This can be done either by ... or by ... . The more attention the news media give to individual leaders, the more useful this method is for ensuring that laws ... .
10. The powers to ... of negative execution. Chief executives use them to ... into closer accord in times of political dissent or disruption. Informal pardons are often ... .

11. It is possible to have too much bureaucracy, but it is also possible to have too little. Duplication and waste ... .

12. However, ... if the people in charge establish procedures that produce conflicting results, pervert ... , or regulate the activity in question right out of existence. Misimplementation can result from ... .

13. When the next bureaucrat tells you, "I am just following the rules," you should be better prepared to understand what this means. For one thing ... , never merely follow the rules as they carry out the decisions of others. They often do less and they often do more.

14. Chief executives appoint people they hope will ... . Or they may make their appointments with an eye to ... .

15. In both cases, relatively transient ... . The new leaders may, however, have the virtues of being ... .

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. For one thing you will know that executives, from the president to the cop on the beat, never merely follow the rules as they carry out the decisions of others. They often do less and they often do more. Chief executives appoint people they hope will carry out policy in accordance with their own views as well as with those of the lawmakers.

2. They may make their appointments with an eye to gathering or maintaining political strength. In both cases, relatively transient top management is brought in to exercise control over experienced cadres who have their own axes to grind and their own established patterns of behavior. The new leaders may, however, have the virtues of being up-to-date, politically sophisticated, and in close touch with the popular will.

3. Chief executives also seek to guide public opinion, using the prestige and visibility of their offices to rally support for policies they believe in. This can be done either by direct exhortation or by engaging in supportive symbolic action. The more attention the news media give to individual leaders, the more useful this method is for ensuring that laws will be both written and executed in accordance with the will of the top executive.

4. The powers to veto and to pardon are powers of negative execution. Chief executives use them to prevent policy made by others from being public and government leaders into closer accord in times of political dissent or disruption. Informal pardons are often arranged without publicity, but also for political ends.

5. But the real work of policy implementation is the work of the bureaucrats, those public servants who have direct responsibility for interpreting and implementing government policy. Their chores are many and varied. Not only must they take the necessary steps to carry out the specific policy, they must also take responsibility for collecting and disbursing the revenue that makes the government's work possible and for preventing or punishing infractions of the law.

6. So complex is the work of bureaucracy that it must be subdivided and parceled out into the hands of specialists. However, the greater the specialization, the more difficult it is to maintain clear lines of authority, because those who specialize accept the guidance of non-experts only reluctantly

7. The difficulties of achieving successful implementation of policy are compounded by the methods used to recruit bureaucrats. Those who are appointed on the basis of merit may be inadequately responsive to the public will and have unrepresentatively elitist backgrounds.

8. Political appointments have the advantage of opening government to a wide range of citizens but may sometimes bring in men and women who are unable either to do the job or to resist the corrupting influence of outside interests. A combination of the two principles may produce the best possible mix of competence and responsiveness.

9. It is possible to have too much bureaucracy, but it is also possible to have too little. Duplication and waste prevail under conditions of relative affluence, intense need to reach relatively limited and particular goals, relative non-accountability, and refusal to follow the dictates of common sense.

10. However, poor implementation of policy can also be the result of inadequate follow-through if the people in charge establish procedures that produce conflicting results, pervert the intention of the policymakers, or regulate the activity in question right out of existence. Misimplementation can result from deliberate response to lobbying by an agency's "clients," as well as from inefficiency or from the overwhelming difficulty of the task

11. We could wonder whether there might be any way to have "administration of government" without "inflexible routine." As often happens, inquiry into a subject leads not to an answer to the question but to its reformulation. Inflexible routine is only the outer garment worn by some of the world's bureaucracies. Not a very attractive one, it sometimes covers a pattern of inconsistency, waste, and corruption that is far more unpleasant to behold.

12. However, the very presence of these problems makes government administration one of today's most challenging professions. Nowhere is there more need for well-qualified, well-motivated, and persistent men and women. Nowhere are there greater opportunities to bring about change that will have an important and salutary impact on the lives of millions.

13. The fact that the hurdles to doing this are so many and so high only makes the challenge that much greater. Perhaps the real question to ask about today's bureaucracies is where we will find the men and women ready and able to meet that challenge.

14. In the meantime, we labor on with the institutions we have. When executives and bureaucrats fail to implement policy in accordance with the laws we have set, we do have another place to turn. The function of judicial bodies is to adjudicate the disputes that arise under the implementation of the law.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. from the president to the cop on the beat
2. never merely follow the rules as they carry out the decisions of others
3. appoint people they hope will carry out policy in accordance with their own views
4. make the appointments with an eye to gathering or maintaining political strength
5. relatively transient top management
6. brought in to exercise control over experienced cadres
7. have their own axes to grind and their own established patterns of behavior
8. have the virtues of being up-to-date
9. politically sophisticated and in close touch with the popular will
10. guide public opinion
11. rally support for policies they believe in
12. by direct exhortation or by engaging in supportive symbolic action

13. written and executed in accordance with the will of the top executive
14. powers to veto and to pardon are powers of negative execution
15. chores are many and varied
16. take responsibility for collecting and disbursing the revenue
17. preventing or punishing infractions of the law
18. subdivided and parceled out into the hands of specialists
19. successful implementation of policy
20. recruit bureaucrats
21. appointed on the basis of merit
22. responsive to the public will
23. corrupting influence of outside interests
24. produce the best possible mix of competence and responsiveness
25. duplication and waste prevail under conditions of relative affluence
26. people in charge establish procedures that produce conflicting results
27. pervert the intention of the policymakers
28. the outer garment worn by some of the world's bureaucracies

#### **4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. следовать правилам
2. исполнять решения
3. назначать людей
4. в соответствии с их собственными взглядами
5. делать назначения
6. с целью накопления или сохранения политической силы
7. осуществлять контроль над опытными кадрами
8. самоустановленные схемы поведения
9. преимущество быть своевременным
10. политически утонченные
11. в сочетании с волей народа
12. пытаться управлять общественным мнением
13. проводить акции поддержки политических курсов
14. власть что-либо запрещать или прощать
15. власть выражать несогласие
16. во времена политического разногласия или разрыва
17. в политических целях
18. общественные служители
19. предотвращать или наказывать за нарушения закона
20. подразделять и поручать специалистам

21. нанимать чинуш
22. отвечающий воле народа
23. противостоять коррумпированному влиянию интересов извне
24. слабое исполнение политического курса
25. люди во власти
26. устанавливать процедуры, вызывающие конфликтный результат
27. искажать намерения проводников политического курса
28. изучить суть предмета
29. провалить исполнение политического курса
30. рассудить спор

### **5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

### **6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. follow the rules
2. carry out the decisions
3. appoint people
4. in accordance with their own views
5. make the appointments
6. with an eye to gathering or maintaining political strength
7. exercise control over experienced cadres
8. own established patterns of behavior
9. have the virtues of being up-to-date
10. politically sophisticated
11. in close touch with the popular will
12. seek to guide public opinion
13. rally support for policies they believe in
14. powers to veto and to pardon
15. powers of negative execution
16. in times of political dissent or disruption
17. for political ends
18. public servants
19. preventing or punishing infractions of the law
20. subdivided and parceled out into the hands of specialists
21. recruit bureaucrats
22. responsive to the public will
23. resist the corrupting influence of outside interests
24. poor implementation of policy
25. people in charge

26. establish procedures that produce conflicting results
27. pervert the intention of the policymakers
28. inquiry into a subject
29. fail to implement policy
30. adjudicate the disputes

### **7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

### **8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

### **9. Learn by heart the following passage**

Chief executives appoint people they hope will carry out policy in accordance with their own views as well as with those of the lawmakers. Or they may make their appointments with an eye to gathering or maintaining political strength.

Chief executives also seek to guide public opinion, using the prestige and visibility of their offices to rally support for policies they believe in. The powers to veto and to pardon are powers of negative execution. Chief executives use them to prevent policy made by others from being public and government leaders into closer accord in times of political dissent or disruption.

But the real work of policy implementation is the work of the bureaucrats, those public servants who have direct responsibility for interpreting and implementing government policy. So complex is the work of bureaucracy that it must be subdivided and parceled out into the hands of specialists.

It is possible to have too much bureaucracy, but it is also possible to have too little.

Misimplementation can result from deliberate response to lobbying by an agency's "clients," as well as from inefficiency or from the overwhelming difficulty of the task. When executives and bureaucrats fail to implement policy in accordance with the laws we have set, we do have another place to turn. The function of judicial bodies is to adjudicate the disputes that arise under the implementation of the law.

### **10. Translate the following into English**

Все члены политической системы должны исполнять законы и следовать установленным правилам. Исполнительная ветвь власти в лице бюрократии осуществляет реальное исполнение политического курса. Поэтому рекрутирование общественных служащих должны проводить

политически грамотные главы исполнительной власти. Бюрократия должна иметь преимущество быть своевременной и противостоять коррумпированному влиянию интересов извне. Слабое исполнение политического курса может быть следствием стремления накопить или удержать политическую силу, особенно во времена политического разногласия или разрыва. Люди во власти должны устанавливать процедуры исполнения решений в сочетании с волей народа, изучив суть предмета и не искажая результаты.

В политических целях заинтересованные группы могут проводить акции поддержки политического курса или наоборот выражать свое несогласие. Полномочия что-либо запрещать или прощать, предотвращение нарушения закона и наказание должны быть отражены в законодательных актах. Назначение на должность квалифицированных кадров по их заслугам является главным условием эффективной работы бюрократии и следовательно успешного осуществления политического курса.

## **UNIT 8**

### **JUSTICE UNDER THE LAW**

The meanings and means of justice vary throughout the human polity. In general, we may agree that justice means "fair treatment under the law," but in practical terms justice is whatever a particular society believes it is. Still, it is important not to exaggerate the differences among various systems' notions of justice: the ordinary men and women of the world may have more shared beliefs about what is just than their systems of law would suggest. Even when we do not agree with one another, our new interdependence forces us to understand and accommodate one another's conception of justice – if only in order to permit us to do business with one another. Nevertheless, we can reserve the right to apply our own standards in evaluating other systems, once we have made a serious effort to understand why and how other polities have developed their own values regarding law and justice, acknowledged their right to do so, and firmly rejected the ethnocentric assumption that we have the right to impose our views on them.

The means of establishing just government also vary. Every nation tries to choose credible judges by appointing only experienced people to that post, by giving the right of appointment to people who are themselves respected by virtue of the office they occupy, and by surrounding the judicial office with the physical accoutrements of dignity and stature – but each nation determines for itself what constitutes appropriate experience, respectable office-

holding, and sufficiently impressive judicial insignia. Similarly, despite the obvious connection between keeping judges free from political restraint and protecting individual rights, there is no widespread agreement that the judiciary should be independent of the other branches of the government, or if so, how independent it should be.

Where judicial independence is deemed desirable, various means are used to secure that independence – from giving only other judges the power to discipline judges to making the process of removing judges extremely difficult and complex. Giving the courts the power of judicial review is not, however, a dependable means of ensuring judicial independence.

In carrying out their work, the judges of the world draw on several kinds of law. Sometimes law is categorized according to how close it is believed to be to absolute truth, sometimes according to the process by which it is created and formalized, sometimes by the kind of world, act to which it applies, and sometimes by the territorial extent of its coverage. Some aspect of every kind of law is likely to be present in any given polity, but most systems tend to have a dominant legal culture. The Romano-Germanic legal culture relies heavily on codified law, the common law legal culture on "judge-made" law, the socialist legal culture on statutory law made to fit the particular exigencies of state control of the economy, and the natural law legal culture on the guidance of religious precept, more or less formally enshrined in written law.

In every nation, the application of the law is inevitably uneven, whether by deliberate intent (more common in hierarchical systems) or by the accidents of interpretation (more common in democratic states).

The application of the law becomes more personal, as well as more arbitrary, the closer one moves to the local level. Indeed, most people have direct experience of government of any type at that level. To broaden our understanding of the nature of that experience, we turn our attention now to local and regional government.

## **ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT**

### **1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences**

1. The ... vary throughout the human polity. In general, we may agree that justice means ..., but in practical terms justice is ... it is. Still, it is important not to ... of justice: the ordinary men and women of the world may have ... about what is just than their systems of law would suggest.

2. Even when we do not agree with one another, our ... – if only in order to permit us to do business with one another.
3. Nevertheless, we can reserve ..., once we have made a serious effort to understand why and how other polities ..., acknowledged their right to do so, and firmly ... that we have the right to impose our views on them.
4. The means of establishing just government also vary. Every nation tries to ... post, by giving ..., and by surrounding the judicial office with ... – but each nation determines for itself what constitutes ..., ..., and ....
5. Similarly, despite the obvious connection between keeping judges free from ..., there is no widespread agreement that ..., or if so, how independent it should be.
6. Where judicial independence is deemed desirable, various means are used to secure that independence – ... . Giving the courts the power of judicial review is not, however, ....
7. In carrying out their work, the judges of the world .... Sometimes law is categorized according to ..., sometimes according to ..., sometimes by ..., act to which it applies, and sometimes by ....
8. Some aspect of every kind of law is likely to be present in any given polity, but most systems .... The Romano-Germanic legal culture ..., the common law legal culture on ..., the socialist legal culture on ..., and the natural law legal culture on ..., more or less formally ....
9. In every nation, the application of the law is ..., whether by deliberate intent (more common in hierarchical systems) or by the accidents of interpretation (more common in democratic states).
10. The application of the law becomes ..., as well as ..., the closer one moves to the local level. Indeed, most people have direct experience of government of any type at that level. To broaden our understanding of the nature of that experience, we ....

## 2. Translate the following into Russian

1. The meanings and means of justice vary throughout the human polity. In general, we may agree that justice means "fair treatment under the law," but in practical terms justice is whatever a particular society believes it is. Still, it is important not to exaggerate the differences among various systems' notions of justice: the ordinary men and women of the world may have more shared beliefs about what is just than their systems of law would suggest.

2. Even when we do not agree with one another, our new interdependence forces us to understand and accommodate one another's conception of justice – if only in order to permit us to do business with one another. Nevertheless, we can reserve the right to apply our own standards in evaluating other systems, once we have made a serious effort to understand why and how other polities have developed their own values regarding law and justice, acknowledged their right to do so, and firmly rejected the ethnocentric assumption that we have the right to impose our views on them.
3. The means of establishing just government also vary. Every nation tries to choose credible judges by appointing only experienced people to that post, by giving the right of appointment to people who are themselves respected by virtue of the office they occupy, and by surrounding the judicial office with the physical accoutrements of dignity and stature – but each nation determines for itself what constitutes appropriate experience, respectable office-holding, and sufficiently impressive judicial insignia.
4. Similarly, despite the obvious connection between keeping judges free from political restraint and protecting individual rights, there is no widespread agreement that the judiciary should be independent of the other branches of the government, or if so, how independent it should be.
5. Where judicial independence is deemed desirable, various means are used to secure that independence – from giving only other judges the power to discipline judges to making the process of removing judges extremely difficult and complex. Giving the courts the power of judicial review is not, however, a dependable means of ensuring judicial independence.
6. In carrying out their work, the judges of the world draw on several kinds of law. Sometimes law is categorized according to how close it is believed to be to absolute truth, sometimes according to the process by which it is created and formalized, sometimes by the kind of world, act to which it applies, and sometimes by the territorial extent of its coverage.
7. Some aspect of every kind of law is likely to be present in any given polity, but most systems tend to have a dominant legal culture. The Romano-Germanic legal culture relies heavily on codified law, the common law legal culture on "judge-made" law, the socialist legal culture on statutory law made to fit the particular exigencies of state control of the economy, and the natural law legal culture on the guidance of religious precept, more or less formally enshrined in written law.

8. In every nation, the application of the law is inevitably uneven, whether by deliberate intent (more common in hierarchical systems) or by the accidents of interpretation (more common in democratic states). The application of the law becomes more personal, as well as more arbitrary, the closer one moves to the local level. Indeed, most people have direct experience of government of any type at that level. To broaden our understanding of the nature of that experience, we turn our attention now to local and regional government.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. fair treatment under the law
2. not to exaggerate the differences among various systems' notions of justice
3. have more shared beliefs about what is just
4. interdependence forces us to understand and accommodate conception of justice
5. reject the ethnocentric assumption
6. impose our views on them.
7. choose credible judges by appointing only experienced people to that post
8. give the right of appointment to people who are themselves respected
9. keep judges free from political restraint and protecting individual rights
10. independent of the other branches of the government
11. dependable means of ensuring judicial independence
12. territorial extent of coverage
13. have a dominant legal culture
14. rely heavily on codified law
15. more or less formally enshrined in written law
16. application of the law is inevitably uneven
17. by deliberate intent or by the accidents of interpretation
18. application of the law becomes more personal, as well as more arbitrary

### **4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. справедливое расследование по закону
2. не преувеличивать различие между различными понятиями о справедливости
3. иметь более разделенные убеждения о справедливости

4. взаимозависимость вынуждает нас понимать и приспособлять понятие справедливости
5. отрицать предъявление этноцентричных (националистических) прав
6. навязывать свои взгляды
7. избирать надежных судей путем назначения опытных людей на эту должность
8. давать право назначать заслуживающим уважения людям
9. освободить судей от политических ограничений и защиты своих собственных прав
10. независимые от других ветвей власти
11. надежные средства обеспечения юридической независимости
12. иметь превалирующую правовую культуру
13. полагаться на свод законов (кодекс)
14. более или менее официально отраженный в письменных законах
15. применение закона неизбежно шероховато
16. в результате специального намерения или случайной интерпретации
17. применение закона становится личностным и произвольным

#### **5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

#### **6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. justice means "fair treatment under the law"
2. exaggerate the differences among various systems' notions of justice
3. force to understand and accommodate one another's conception of justice
4. develop own values regarding law and justice
5. reject the ethnocentric assumption
6. impose views on smb
7. choose credible judges
8. appoint experienced people to the post
9. give the right of appointment to smb
10. people who are themselves respected by virtue of the office they occupy
11. physical accoutrements of dignity and stature
12. keep judges free from political restraint and protecting individual rights
13. independent of the other branches of the government
14. dependable means of ensuring judicial independence
15. draw on several kinds of kinds of law
16. have a dominant legal culture
17. uneven application of the law

18. deliberate intent
19. enshrined in written law
20. application of the law

### **7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary
9. Learn by heart the following passage

The meanings and means of justice vary throughout the human polity. In general, we may agree that justice means "fair treatment under the law," but in practical terms justice is whatever a particular society believes it is. Still, it is important not to exaggerate the differences among various systems' notions of justice.

The means of establishing just government also vary. Every nation tries to choose credible judges by appointing only experienced people to that post, by giving the right of appointment to people who are themselves respected by virtue of the office they occupy, and by surrounding the judicial office with the physical accoutrements of dignity and stature.

In carrying out their work, the judges of the world draw on several kinds of law. Sometimes law is categorized according to how close it is believed to be to absolute truth, sometimes according to the process by which it is created and formalized, sometimes by the kind of world, act to which it applies, and sometimes by the territorial extent of its coverage.

### **10. Translate the following into English**

Значение слова "справедливость" отличается в различных обществах. В общем мы можем согласиться с тем, что справедливость означает справедливое отношение ко всем по закону. Даже когда мы не сходимся в представлениях о справедливости, наша взаимозависимость заставляет нас относиться к другим представлениям с пониманием, признавать их право на существование и не навязывать наше мнение.

Чтобы гарантировать это, нам необходима справедливая судебная власть. В любом государстве на должность судьи стараются назначать надежных людей. Хотя не существует общего соглашения о том, что судебная власть должна быть независима от других ветвей власти, а те меры, которые принимаются, чтобы обеспечить эту независимость, ненадежны. Кроме того, в различных правовых культурах доминируют

разные виды законов. Но вне зависимости от общества и культуры применение закона всегда неоднозначно.

## **UNIT 9**

### **ACCESSIBLE GOVERNMENT: LOCAL AND PROVINCIAL POLITICS**

Sub-national government is government we cannot do without, even if it is also government we cannot always make work in comfortable tandem with national politics. Most polities are simply too large and too complex to be served adequately by a single level of government. It always helps, and is often essential, to have local authorities who understand and can respond to purely local needs, even if the resources must be obtained from higher levels of government.

In a unitary system all the powers of government are reserved to the central government but may be temporarily delegated to such subunits as states. In a federal system certain powers are constitutionally reserved to the government of the nation's constituent parts, although the tendency in recent years has been for the national government to assume an ever stronger role. A federal system can free the national government to deal with the more important national issues, allow citizens more meaningful participation at a lower and more immediate level of government, permit governmental experimentation on a limited basis, and allow for the addition and subtraction of constituent units with relatively little turmoil. A unitary system, on the other hand, often provides its citizens with more uniform laws, provides for more equal representation and disbursement of government monies, has clearer lines of authority, and avoids the development of independent spheres of power. The decision to adopt a federal system usually stems from the need to find a way to accommodate great diversity, often ethnic in nature, within the bounds of a single polity.

Whether part of a federal system or a unitary system, intermediate levels of government are often caught between the devil of national power and the deep blue sea of local needs and demands. One answer is to establish an additional layer of intermediate government, the region, either as a permanent constitutionally prescribed body of government or as a more particular and possibly less enduring functional agency.

Local government is government that can be physically known to each and every citizen. Its rule-making functions are normally carried out by elected bodies acting within the constraints imposed by higher levels of government – particularly the economic restraints of a severely limited power to tax or otherwise raise revenues adequate for the services their constituents demand. Local justice is often rendered by an executive agency, the police, and that agency may be responsible to national rather than local authorities, further complicating the relationship between the two. Once the more formal local judicial system is brought into a dispute, the crucial question becomes the nature of the link between that system and the national judiciary. Establishing some such link is essential for maintaining the sovereignty of the state at large.

In larger municipalities the more accessible local government may be sub-municipal: wards, neighborhood councils, and workers' councils are some of the more common examples.

The question of the proper relationship between the national (central) government and local (peripheral) government is difficult to resolve in theory, and often impossible to implement in practice. Three key impediments to their successful interaction are failures of communication and consultation, unequal political strength, and the battle they wage with each other and with other, nongovernmental forces over the economic profits to be gained from the resources they control.

As we have seen, sub-national governments are essential components of the human polity. Indeed, because they are the governments we have most immediate access to, they are the governments we would most like to see assume a truly human face. But local and provincial government officials occupy a difficult terrain, caught between the multitudinous hopes and aspirations of the citizens they live among and the distant centers of national power whose purposes they must serve to serve their own. If they do not always respond as we might wish, there is nothing to stop us from scorning them in private, and those of us living in systems with free elections may do so openly – blithely throwing the rascals out from time to time. However, before grasping the momentary satisfactions of democratic empowerment, we might sometimes do well to consider the limitations under which they labor, and ponder whether those we propose to send to city hall or to the provincial capital in their stead will be any better able to overcome the restraints inherent in the very principle of divided government power. In the next chapter we turn to yet another set of constraints operating on government officials – at local and provincial,

but especially at national levels: the extra-governmental forces that make their way, legally or illegally, openly or surreptitiously, into the arena of power.

## ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT

### 1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences

1. Sub-national government is government ... , even if it is also government we cannot always ... with national politics.
2. Most polities are simply too large and too complex ... by a single level of government. It always helps, and is often essential, to ... who understand and can respond to ... , even if ... must be obtained from higher levels of government.
3. In a unitary system ... but may be temporarily ... as states. In a federal system ... , although the tendency in recent years has been for the national government ... .
4. A federal system can ... , allow citizens ... , permit ... , and allow for ... with relatively little turmoil.
5. A unitary system, on the other hand, often provides its citizens ... , provides ... , has ... , and avoids ... .
6. The decision to adopt ... usually ... to find a way to ... , often ethnic in nature, within the bounds of a ... .
7. Whether part of a federal system or a unitary system, intermediate levels of government are often ... .
8. One answer is to ... , the region, either as a ... or as a more particular and ... .
9. Local government is government that can be ... to each and every citizen. Its rule-making functions are normally ... imposed by higher levels of government – particularly the economic restraints of a severely limited power to ... adequate for the services their constituents demand.
10. Local justice is often ... , the police, and that agency may be responsible to ... , further complicating the relationship between the two.
11. Once the more formal local judicial system is brought into a dispute, the ... and the national judiciary. Establishing some such link is essential for ...
12. In larger municipalities the more accessible local government may be sub-municipal: ... .
13. The question of the proper relationship between the national (central) government and local (peripheral) government is ... .

14. Three key impediments to their successful interaction are ... over the economic profits to be gained from the resources they control.
15. As we have seen, sub-national governments are essential components of the human polity. Indeed, because they are the governments we have most immediate access to, they are the governments we would most like to see ... .
16. But local and provincial government officials ... , caught between the ... they live among and the distant centers of national power whose ... .
17. If they do not always respond as we might wish, there is nothing ... , and those of us living in systems with free elections may do so openly – ... .
18. However, before ... , we might sometimes do well to consider the limitations ... , and ponder whether those we propose ... or to the ... in their stead will be any better able to overcome ... of divided government power.

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. Sub-national government is government we cannot do without, even if it is also government we cannot always make work in comfortable tandem with national politics. Most polities are simply too large and too complex to be served adequately by a single level of government. It always helps, and is often essential, to have local authorities who understand and can respond to purely local needs, even if the resources must be obtained from higher levels of government.
2. In a unitary system all the powers of government are reserved to the central government but may be temporarily delegated to such subunits as states. In a federal system certain powers are constitutionally reserved to the government of the nation's constituent parts, although the tendency in recent years has been for the national government to assume an ever stronger role. A federal system can free the national government to deal with the more important national issues, allow citizens more meaningful participation at a lower and more immediate level of government, permit governmental experimentation on a limited basis, and allow for the addition and subtraction of constituent units with relatively little turmoil.
3. A unitary system, on the other hand, often provides its citizens with more uniform laws, provides for more equal representation and disbursement of government monies, has clearer lines of authority, and avoids the development of independent spheres of power The decision to adopt a fed-

eral system usually stems from the need to find a way to accommodate great diversity, often ethnic in nature, within the bounds of a single polity.

4. Whether part of a federal system or a unitary system, intermediate levels of government are often caught between the devil of national power and the deep blue sea of local needs and demands. One answer is to establish an additional layer of intermediate government, the region, either as a permanent constitutionally prescribed body of government or as a more particular and possibly less enduring functional agency.
5. Local government is government that can be physically known to each and every citizen. Its rule-making functions are normally carried out by elected bodies acting within the constraints imposed by higher levels of government – particularly the economic restraints of a severely limited power to tax or otherwise raise revenues adequate for the services their constituents demand.
6. Local justice is often rendered by an executive agency, the police, and that agency may be responsible to national rather than local authorities, further complicating the relationship between the two. Once the more formal local judicial system is brought into a dispute, the crucial question becomes the nature of the link between that system and the national judiciary. Establishing some such link is essential for maintaining the sovereignty of the state at large.
7. The question of the proper relationship between the national (central) government and local (peripheral) government is difficult to resolve in theory, and often impossible to implement in practice. Three key impediments to their successful interaction are failures of communication and consultation, unequal political strength, and the battle they wage with each other and with other, nongovernmental forces over the economic profits to be gained from the resources they control.
8. As we have seen, sub-national governments are essential components of the human polity. Indeed, because they are the governments we have most immediate access to, they are the governments we would most like to see assume a truly human face. But local and provincial government officials occupy a difficult terrain, caught between the multitudinous hopes and aspirations of the citizens they live among and the distant centers of national power whose purposes they must serve to serve their own. If they do not always respond as we might wish, there is nothing to stop us from scorning them in private, and those of us living in systems with free elections may do so openly – blithely throwing the rascals out from time to time.

9. However, before grasping the momentary satisfactions of democratic empowerment, we might sometimes do well to consider the limitations under which they labor, and ponder whether those we propose to send to city hall or to the provincial capital in their stead will be any better able to overcome the restraints inherent in the very principle of divided government power.

### **3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. work in comfortable tandem with national politics
2. served adequately by a single level of government
3. respond to purely local needs
4. powers reserved to the central government
5. assume an ever stronger role
6. allow citizens more meaningful participation
7. permit governmental experimentation on a limited basis
8. addition and subtraction of constituent units
9. provide its citizens with more uniform laws
10. avoid the development of independent spheres of power
11. stem from the need
12. accommodate great diversity
13. establish an additional layer of intermediate government
14. act within the constraints
15. severely limited power to tax or otherwise raise revenues
16. rendered by an executive agency
17. complicate the relationship between the two
18. impossible to implement in practice
19. key impediments to successful interaction
20. stop us from scorning them in private
21. grasp the momentary satisfactions of democratic empowerment
22. make their way into the arena of power

#### **4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. *происходить из необходимости*
2. предоставить большое разнообразие
3. быть раздираемым между чем-либо
4. установить дополнительное посредническое правление
5. действовать в ограничительных рамках
6. строго ограниченные полномочия взимать налоги или изыскивать доходы
7. осуществляемый исполнительным органом
8. усложнять взаимоотношения между двумя
9. невозможный для осуществления на практике
10. основные препятствия для успешного взаимодействия
11. удерживать от насмешек в частной жизни
12. получать одномоментное удовлетворение от демократических полномочий
13. проделывать свой путь на арену власти
14. работать в тандеме с государственной политикой
15. соответственно обслуживаемый одноуровневым правительством
16. отвечать исключительно местным потребностям
17. полномочия, переданные центральному правительству
18. приобретать более сильную позицию
19. предоставлять гражданам более значительное участие
20. позволять ограниченные управленческие эксперименты
21. добавление и удаление составляющих единиц
22. обеспечить гражданам более унифицированные законы
23. избежать развития независимых сфер власти

#### **5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

#### **6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. make work in comfortable tandem with
2. too complex to be served adequately by a single level of government
3. respond to purely local needs
4. obtained from higher levels of government
5. reserved to the central government
6. temporarily delegated to such subunits as states
7. constitutionally reserved to the government
8. assume an ever stronger role
9. deal with the more important national issues
10. allow citizens more meaningful participation
11. at a lower and more immediate level of government, permit governmental
12. provide its citizens with more uniform laws
13. provides for more equal representation and disbursement of government monies
14. have clearer lines of authority
15. avoid the development of independent spheres of power
16. adopt a federal system
17. stem from the need
18. accommodate great diversity
19. within the bounds of a single polity.
20. act within the constraints
21. imposed by higher levels of government
22. power to tax or otherwise raise revenues
23. impossible to implement in practice
24. impediments to the successful interaction
25. failures of communication and consultation
26. unequal political strength
27. battle they wage with
28. make their way into the arena of power

**7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

**8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

**9. Learn by heart the following passage**

Sub-national government is government we cannot do without. Most polities are simply too large and too complex to be served adequately by a single level of government.

In a unitary system all the powers of government are reserved to the central government but may be temporarily delegated to such subunits as states. In a federal system certain powers are constitutionally reserved to the government of the nation's constituent parts, although the tendency in recent years has been for the national government to assume a stronger role.

A federal system can free the national government to deal with the more important national issues, a unitary system, on the other hand, often provides its citizens with more uniform laws.

Local government is government that can be physically known to each and every citizen. Its rule-making functions are normally carried out by elected bodies acting within the constraints imposed by higher levels of government.

The question of the proper relationship between the national (central) government and local (peripheral) government is difficult to resolve in theory, and often impossible to implement in practice. Three key impediments to their successful interaction are failures of communication and consultation, unequal political strength, and the battle they wage with each other and with other, nongovernmental forces over the economic profits to be gained from the resources they control.

## **10. Translate the following into English**

Политическое устройство большинства государств слишком сложно для того, чтобы обслуживаться одноуровневым государством. Поэтому необходимо местное правительство, отвечающее исключительно местным потребностям, хотя действовать оно должно исключительно в рамках законов, установленных центральным правительством.

В унитарной политической системе все полномочия переданы центральному правительству, поэтому эта система может обеспечить гражданам более унифицированные законы, избежать развития независимых сфер власти. В федеративной политической системе эти полномочия переданы правительству на местном уровне. Федеративная система освобождает центральное правительство для решения более важных государственных вопросов, представляет гражданам более значительное участие в делах государства, позволяет ограниченные управленческие эксперименты и позволяет добавление составляющих единиц государства или их выход из него без особых трудностей.

Принятие федеративной системы управления происходит из потребностей государства, но местное правительство всегда разрывается между необходимостью решать местные проблемы и указаниями центрального правительства.

## **UNIT 10**

### **INACCESSIBLE GOVERNMENT**

Institutions other than the constitutionally mandated ones sometimes usurp the policymaking roles a nation's constitution prescribes for particular government institutions. The power of the business world to do so varies according to the kind of political system, the kind of economic system, and the size of the business in question. In authoritarian capitalist systems, the ability of business interests to usurp some of the powers of government depends in large part on how well the military is represented within the ruling group, either directly or through close ties of friendship with those in power. The same kind of ties works well for business interests in democratic capitalist systems, in which corporate leaders have the additional advantage of being able to use their wealth to win elective office themselves.

In authoritarian socialist systems, state-employed managers often share with other bureaucrats an extra-constitutional access to the economic rewards and other privileges of power. Such managers may have the same advantages in democratic socialist systems, coexisting with a significant private sector.

Multinational corporations, giant businesses that operate in several nations at once, may be able not only to control the relevant policymaking in those nations but also to substitute their own decision-making processes altogether. The ease with which they can transfer monies and activities from nation to nation and bring both legal and illegal pressures to bear on the political leaders of the host nations can make it almost impossible for individual governments to bring them under effective control.

Multinationals may offer host nations the advantages of technology transfer, better working conditions, and a readiness to take risks that would be unacceptable to indigenous commercial interests. On the other hand, they may provide unfair competition to those interests or operate so as to maintain patterns of class and race exploitation. They may themselves contribute to class conflict by creating a small wealthy elite within the host nation, at the same

time preventing the development of a more diversified economy, local expertise, and self-sufficiency.

Religious interests sometimes directly control political processes. A theocracy is a state ruled by clergy, priests, or other religious leaders. It is more common, however, for political and religious functions to be performed by separate individuals. Still, in almost every state those who are responsible for religious functions have been given some role to play in government affairs, and in many states religious leaders are quite powerful. Sometimes they effectively control state policy in the areas of greatest interest to them, such as education and social welfare. At other times they are quietly permitted to carry out activities that any strict reading of the constitution and the statutory laws would show to be illegal. Even in authoritarian socialist states organized religion may play a mediating role between the state and forces of dissent, thereby exercising an extra-constitutional influence on government policy.

Another avenue for religious influence over the state is the religious secret society, a private club in which secret religious ceremonies are used to establish extra-constitutional bonds between religious and secular interests.

Although the military is itself a government agency, it is also one of the forces most likely to overstep the bounds of constitutional prescriptions on who shall be responsible for a nation's policymaking. It may do so by a direct coup d'etat, by placing its own civilian nominee in power, by "arbitrating" battles for political succession among civilian leaders, or by bringing excessive pressure to bear on the leadership of a democratic state. When it places its own civilian nominee in power it runs the risk that the puppet may use this newly acquired power to sever the strings by bringing pressure to bear on democratic leaders, such activity might not be in fact extra-constitutional, no matter how excessive it seems.

Almost any interest that is able to bring pressure to bear on constitutionally legitimate leadership is capable of carrying its efforts to the point where it substitutes itself for that leadership, at least in the policy domain that matters to it. In democratic systems that protect free expression, the news media often exercise an even broader power, shaping the interpretation of events and public response to them so as to compel the elected leadership toward particular policy responses.

## ASSIGNMENTS TO THE TEXT

### 1. Fill in the missing parts of the sentences

1. Institutions other than the constitutionally mandated ones sometimes ... for particular government institutions. The power of the business world to do so ..., the ..., and the ... .
2. In authoritarian capitalist systems, ... depends in large part on ... , either directly or through ... with those in power.
3. The same kind of ties work well for business interests in democratic capitalist systems, in which ... to win elective office themselves.
4. In authoritarian socialist systems, state-employed managers often ... . Such managers may have the same advantages in democratic socialist systems, ....
5. Multinational corporations, giant businesses that operate in several nations at once, may be able not only ... altogether.
6. The ease with which they can ... from nation to nation and bring both ... of the host nations can make it almost impossible for individual governments to bring them ... .
7. Multinationals may ... , ... , and ... that would be unacceptable to ... . On the other hand, they may ... to those interests or operate so as to ... of class and race exploitation.
8. They may themselves ... by creating ... within the host nation, at the same time ... , local expertise, and self-sufficiency.
9. Religious interests sometimes directly ... . A theocracy is a state ruled by ... . It is more common, however, for political and religious functions to be ... .
10. Still, in almost every state those who are responsible for religious functions have been given ... , and in many states religious leaders are ... . Sometimes they ... in the areas of greatest interest to them, such as ... .
11. At other times they are ... that any strict ... and the ... would show to be illegal. Even in authoritarian socialist states organized religion may play a ... , thereby exercising ... on government policy.
12. Another avenue for religious influence over the state is the religious secret society, a private club ... are used to establish ... .
13. Although the military is itself ... , it is also one of the forces most likely to ... on who shall be responsible for a nation's policymaking.
14. It may do so by a ... , by placing ... , by ... , or by bringing excessive pressure to ... . When it places its own civilian nominee in power it ...

to sever the strings by bringing pressure to bear on democratic leaders, such activity might not be in fact extra-constitutional, no matter ... .

15. Almost any interest that is able to bring pressure to bear on constitutionally legitimate leadership is capable of ... , at least in the policy domain that matters to it. In democratic systems that ... , the news media often exercise an even broader power, ... so as to compel the elected leadership toward particular policy responses.

## **2. Translate the following into Russian**

1. Multinationals may offer host nations the advantages of technology transfer, better working conditions, and a readiness to take risks that would be unacceptable to indigenous commercial interests. On the other hand, they may provide unfair competition to those interests or operate so as to maintain patterns of class and race exploitation.
2. They may themselves contribute to class conflict by creating a small wealthy elite within the host nation, at the same time preventing the development of a more diversified economy, local expertise, and self-sufficiency.
3. Religious interests sometimes directly control political processes. A theocracy is a state ruled by clergy, priests, or other religious leaders. It is more common, however, for political and religious functions to be performed by separate individuals.
4. Still, in almost every state those who are responsible for religious functions have been given some role to play in government affairs, and in many states religious leaders are quite powerful.
5. Sometimes they effectively control state policy in the areas of greatest interest to them, such as education and social welfare. At other times they are quietly permitted to carry out activities that any strict reading of the constitution and the statutory laws would show to be illegal.
6. Even in authoritarian socialist states organized religion may play a mediating role between the state and forces of dissent, thereby exercising an extra-constitutional influence on government policy.
7. Another avenue for religious influence over the state is the religious secret society, a private club in which secret religious ceremonies are used

to establish extra-constitutional bonds between religious and secular interests.

8. Although the military is itself a government agency, it is also one of the forces most likely to overstep the bounds of constitutional prescriptions on who shall be responsible for a nation's policymaking. It may do so by a direct coup d'etat, by placing its own civilian nominee in power, by "arbitrating" battles for political succession among civilian leaders, or by bringing excessive pressure to bear on the leadership of a democratic state.
9. When it places its own civilian nominee in power it runs the risk that the puppet may use this newly acquired power to sever the strings by bringing pressure to bear on democratic leaders, such activity might not be in fact extra-constitutional, no matter how excessive it seems.
10. Almost any interest that is able to bring pressure to bear on constitutionally legitimate leadership is capable of carrying its efforts to the point where it substitutes itself for that leadership, at least in the policy domain that matters to it. In democratic systems that protect free expression, the news media often exercise an even broader power, shaping the interpretation of events and public response to them so as to compel the elected leadership toward particular policy responses.
11. Institutions other than the constitutionally mandated ones sometimes usurp the policymaking roles a nation's constitution prescribes for particular government institutions. The power of the business world to do so varies according to the kind of political system, the kind of economic system, and the size of the business in question.
12. In authoritarian capitalist systems, the ability of business interests to usurp some of the powers of government depends in large part on how well the military is represented within the ruling group, either directly or through close ties of friendship with those in power. The same kind of ties work well for business interests in democratic capitalist systems, in which corporate leaders have the additional advantage of being able to use their wealth to win elective office themselves.
13. In authoritarian socialist systems, state-employed managers often share with other bureaucrats an extra-constitutional access to the economic rewards and other privileges of power. Such managers may have the same advantages in democratic socialist systems, coexisting with a significant private sector.

14. Multinational corporations, giant businesses that operate in several nations at once, may be able not only to control the relevant policymaking in those nations but also to substitute their own decision-making processes altogether.
15. The ease with which they can transfer monies and activities from nation to nation and bring both legal and illegal pressures to bear on the political leaders of the host nations can make it almost impossible for individual governments to bring them under effective control.

**3. Find the Russian equivalents for the following words and expressions**

1. other than the constitutionally mandated ones
2. usurp the policymaking roles
3. depend on how well the military is represented within the ruling group
4. work well for business interests
5. have the additional advantage
6. use their wealth to win elective office
7. share an extra-constitutional access to the economic rewards
8. coexist with a significant private sector
9. control the relevant policymaking
10. substitute their own decision-making processes
11. transfer monies and activities from nation to nation
12. bring both legal and illegal pressures
13. bring under effective control
14. readiness to take risks
15. unacceptable to indigenous commercial interests
16. provide unfair competition
17. create a small wealthy elite within the host nation
18. prevent the development of
19. control political processes
20. responsible for religious functions
21. carry out activities
22. play a mediating role
23. establish extra-constitutional bonds between religious and secular interests
24. overstep the bounds of constitutional prescriptions
25. sever the strings

**4. Find the English equivalents to the following words and expressions**

1. оказывать законное и незаконное воздействие
2. проводить под эффективным контролем
3. готовность рисковать
4. неприемлемый для местных коммерческих интересов
5. обеспечить нечестное соревнование
6. создать небольшую состоятельную элиту внутри основной нации
7. предотвратить развитие
8. контролировать политический процесс
9. ответственный за религиозные функции
10. выполнять действия
11. играть посредническую роль
12. устанавливать внеконституционные связи между религиозными и светскими интересами
13. перешагнуть границы конституционных предписаний
14. разрывать связи
15. отличные от уполномоченных конституцией
16. захватить роль выработки политических решений
17. зависит от того, насколько хорошо представлены военные в правящей группе
18. иметь дополнительное преимущество
19. использовать богатство для получения избирательной должности
20. разделить доступ к экономическим поощрениям помимо конституционных
21. сосуществовать с важным частным сектором
22. контролировать существенную выработку политического сектора
23. заменить свои собственные процессы принятия решений
24. переводить деньги и активы из одного государства в другое

## **5. Make up 10 questions to the text and retell the text**

## **6. Use the following words and expressions in your retelling**

1. usurp the policymaking roles
2. represented within the ruling group
3. win elective office
4. access to the economic rewards
5. privileges of power
6. bring under effective control
7. advantages of technology transfer
8. readiness to take risks

9. create a small wealthy elite
10. control political processes
11. performed by separate individuals
12. play a mediating role
13. forces of dissent
14. establish extra-constitutional bonds
15. religious and secular interests
16. overstep the bounds of constitutional prescriptions
17. responsible for a nation's policymaking
18. direct coup d'etat
19. place civilian nominee in power
20. bring excessive pressure to bear on the leadership of a democratic state
21. run the risk
22. sever the strings
23. compel the elected leadership toward particular policy responses

**7. Make up a specific vocabulary for this text**

**8. Summarize the text using a specific vocabulary**

**9. Learn by heart the following passage**

Institutions other than the constitutionally mandated ones sometimes usurp the policymaking roles a nation's constitution prescribes for particular government institutions.

In authoritarian capitalist systems, the ability of business interests to usurp some of the powers of government depends in large part on how well the military is represented within the ruling group, either directly or through close ties of friendship with those in power.

In authoritarian socialist systems, state-employed managers often share with other bureaucrats an extra-constitutional access to the economic rewards and other privileges of power. Such managers may have the same advantages in democratic socialist systems, coexisting with a significant private sector.

Multinational corporations, giant businesses that operate in several nations at once, may be able not only to control the relevant policymaking in those nations but also to substitute their own decision-making processes altogether.

Religious interests sometimes directly control political processes. A theocracy is a state ruled by clergy, priests, or other religious leaders. Sometimes they effectively control state policy in the areas of greatest interest to them, such as education and social welfare.

Although the military is itself a government agency, it is also one of the forces most likely to overstep the bounds of constitutional prescriptions on who shall be responsible for a nation's policymaking.

## **10. Translate the following into English**

Иногда отдельные институты неконституционным путем узурпируют право проведения политического курса. Степень влияния бизнес - элиты на политику зависит от разновидности политической и экономической систем.

В авторитарных капиталистических системах возможности бизнес – элиты оказывать влияние на политику государства зависит от количества представителей военных ведомств в правительстве, а также дружеские отношения с властью имущими.

Многонациональные корпорации, гиганты бизнеса, действующие одновременно в нескольких государствах, имеют возможность не только влиять на политику в сфере бизнеса, но и подменять процессы принятия решений. Легкость, с которой они переводят деньги и активы из одной страны в другую, используя как законные, так и незаконные методы давления на лидеров государств, делает их практически неуязвимыми для прямого государственного контроля.

Религиозные институты иногда прямо контролируют политические процессы в сферах, представляющих для них интерес. Однако, общепринятым является отделение церкви от государства.

В демократических системах СМИ часто пользуются большой властью, освещая и интерпретируя события таким образом, чтобы заставить правительство осуществлять определенную политику.

## **PART II**

### **UNIT 1**

#### **Institutional Models of Democracy**

A small group of people can agree to make democratic decisions directly by using the principles of universal participation, political equality, and majority rule. But even the smallest nations have too many citizens to practice direct democracy. If nations want democracy, they must achieve it through some form of representative government, electing officials to make government decisions. Even then, democratic government is not guaranteed. Governments must have a means for determining what the people want, as well as some means for translating those wants into decisions. In other words, democratic government requires institutional mechanisms – established procedures and organizations – to translate public opinion into government policy, to be responsive. Elections, political parties, legislatures, and interest groups are all examples of such institutional mechanisms in politics.

Some democratic theorists favor institutions that tie government decisions closely to the desires of the majority of citizens. If most citizens want laws against the sale of pornography, then the government should outlaw pornography. If citizens want more money spent on defense and less on social welfare (or vice versa), the government should act accordingly. For these theorists, the essence of democratic government is majority rule and responsiveness. Other theorists place less importance on the principles of majority rule and responsiveness. They do not believe in relying heavily on mass opinion; instead, they favor institutions that allow groups of citizens to defend their interests in government decisions. Both schools hold a procedural view of democracy but differ in how they interpret government by the people. We can summarize these theoretical positions using two alternative models of democracy. As a model, each is a hypothetical plan, a blueprint, for achieving democratic government through institutional mechanisms.

The majoritarian model values participation by the people in general; the pluralist model values participation by the people in groups.

### **The Majoritarian Model of Democracy**

The majoritarian model of democracy relies on the classical, textbook theory of democracy. It interprets government by the people as government by the majority of the people. The majoritarian model tries to approximate the people's role in a direct democracy within the limitations of representative government. To force the government to respond to public opinion, the majoritarian model depends on several mechanisms that allow the people to participate directly in the political system.

The popular election of government officials is the primary mechanism for democratic government in the majoritarian model. Citizens are expected to control their representatives' behavior by choosing wisely in the first place and by re-electing or defeating public officials according to their performance. Elections fulfill the first three principles of procedural democratic theory: universal participation, political equality, and majority rule. And the prospect of re-election and the threat of defeat at the polls are expected to motivate public officials to be responsive.

Usually we think of elections only as mechanisms for choosing between candidates for public office. Majoritarian theorists also see them as a means for deciding government policies. An election on a policy issue is called a referendum. When a policy question is put on the ballot by the action of citizens circulating petitions and gathering a required minimum number of signatures, it is called an initiative. Twenty-one of the states allow their legislatures to put referenda before the voters as well as give citizens the right to place initiatives on the ballot. Five other states make provision for one or the other mechanism.

The majoritarian model contends that citizens can control their government if they have adequate mechanisms for popular participation. It also assumes that citizens are knowledgeable about government and politics, that they want to participate in the political process, and that they make rational decisions in voting for their elected representatives.

### **An Alternative Model: Pluralist Democracy**

The pluralist model of democracy interprets government by the people to mean government by people operating through competing interest groups. According to this model, democracy exists when many (plural) organizations operate separately from the government, press their interests on the government, and even challenge the government. Compared with majoritarian thinking, pluralist theory shifts the focus of democratic government from the mass electorate to organized groups. It changes the criterion for democratic government from responsiveness to mass public opinion to responsiveness to organized groups of citizens.

The two major mechanisms in a pluralist democracy are interest groups and a decentralized structure of government that provides ready access to public officials and that is open to hearing the groups' arguments for or against government policies. In a centralized structure, decisions are made at one point, the top of the hierarchy. The few decision makers at the top are too busy to hear the claims of competing interest groups or to consider those claims in making their decisions. But a decentralized, complex government structure offers the access and openness necessary for pluralist democracy. The ideal is a system that divides government authority among numerous institutions with overlapping authority. Under such a system, competing interest groups have alternative points of access to present and argue their claims.

Although many scholars have contributed to the model, pluralist democracy is most closely identified with political scientist Robert Dahl.

According to Dahl, the fundamental axiom of pluralist democracy is that "instead of a single center of sovereign power there must be multiple centers of power, none of which is or can be wholly sovereign." Some watchwords of pluralist democracy, therefore, are divided authority, decentralization, and open access.

In majoritarian democracy, the mass public – not interest groups – controls government actions. The citizenry must be knowledgeable about government and willing to participate in the electoral process. Majoritarian democracy relies on electoral mechanisms that harness the power of the majority to make decisions. Conclusive elections and a centralized structure of government are mechanisms that aid majority rule.

Pluralism does not demand much knowledge from citizens in general.

It requires specialized knowledge only from groups of citizens, in particular their leaders. Unlike majoritarian democracy, pluralist democracy seeks to limit majority action so that interest groups can be heard. It relies on strong interest groups and a decentralized government structure – mechanisms that interfere with majority rule, thereby protecting minority interests. We could even say that pluralism allows minorities to rule.

### **An Undemocratic Model: Elite Theory**

If pluralist democracy allows minorities to rule, how does it differ from elite theory – the view that a small group of people (a minority) makes most important government decisions? According to elite theory, important government decisions are made by an identifiable and stable minority that shares certain characteristics, usually vast wealth and business connections.

An inner circle composed of top corporate leaders provides not only effective advocates for individual companies and for the interests of capitalism in general but also supplies people for top government jobs – from which they can further promote their interests.

Elite theory appeals to many people, especially those who believe that wealth dominates politics. The theory also provides plausible explanations for specific political decisions. For example, government spending for new military weapons systems – including enormous overruns in estimated costs – often seems to be controlled by agreements between the military and giant defense contractors. Even President Dwight Eisenhower, himself a former five-star general, warned of the influence of the "military-industrial complex" on government policy.

The available evidence of government decisions on many different topics does not generally support elite theory – at least in the sense that an identifiable ruling elite usually gets its way on government policy. Not surprisingly, elite theorists reject this logic. They argue that studies of decision making on individual issues does not adequately test the influence of the power elite. Rather, they contend that much of the elite's power comes from its ability to keep things off the political agenda.

The poor are chronically unorganized and are not well represented by interest groups. On the other hand, business is very well represented in the political system. As many interest group scholars who reject the elitist theory have documented, business is better represented than any other sector of the public. Thus one can endorse pluralist democracy as a more accurate description of American politics than elitism without believing all groups are equally well represented in the political system.

The key difference between elite and pluralist theory lies in the durability of the ruling minority. Unlike elite theory, pluralist theory does not define government conflict in terms of a minority versus the majority; instead, it sees many minorities vying with one another in different policy areas.

According to pluralist democracy, the public is best served if the government structure provides access for different groups to press their claims in competition with one another. Notice that pluralist democracy does not insist that all groups have equal influence on government decisions. In the political struggle, wealthy, well-organized groups have an inherent advantage over poorer, inadequately organized groups.

Obviously, pluralist democracy differs from the classic, ideal conception based on universal participation, political equality, and majority rule. But the pluralistic reliance on access is compatible with contemporary thinking that democratic government should be open to groups that seek redress of grievances. But it is worthy of being embraced as a rival model to majoritarianism, the traditional model of procedural democracy.

## **ASSIGNMENTS**

- 1. Translate the text into Russian in writing**
- 2. Summarize the text**
- 3. Put questions on the text**
- 4. Give English equivalents to Russian sentences from your translations**
- 5. Write an essay on the topic in class**

## **UNIT 2 GOVERNMENT**

### **Ideology and the Scope of Government**

People hold different opinions about the merits of government policies. Sometimes their views are based on self-interest. Policies also are judged according to individual values and beliefs. Some people hold an assortment of values and beliefs that produce contradictory opinions on government poli-

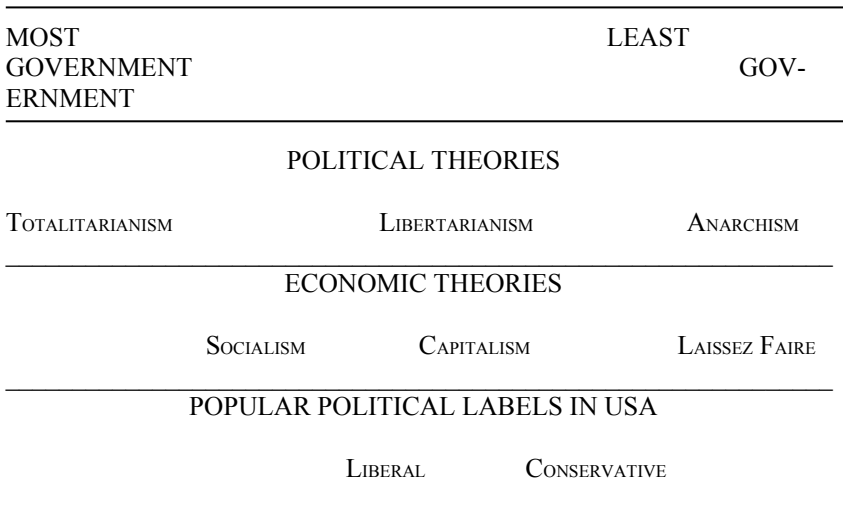
cies. Others organize their opinions into a political ideology—a consistent set of values and beliefs about the proper purpose and scope of government.

Political writers often describe the ideologies of politicians and voters as "liberal" or "conservative." In popular usage, liberals favor an active, broad role for government in society, conservatives - a passive, narrow role.

By carefully analyzing their political ideologies, we can explain their support of and opposition to seemingly diverse government policies.

How far should government go to maintain order, provide public goods, and promote equality? Imagine a continuum. At one end is the belief that government should do everything; at the other, the belief that government should not exist. These extreme ideologies—from most government to least government—and those that fall between them are shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1**



**Totalitarianism**

Totalitarianism is a belief that government should have unlimited power. A totalitarian government controls all sectors of society: business, labor, education, religion, sports, the arts. A true totalitarian favors a network of laws,

rules, and regulations that guides every aspect of individual behavior. The object is to produce a perfect society serving some master plan for "the common good." Totalitarianism has reached its terrifying potential only in literature and films (for example, George Orwell's 1984), but several real societies have come perilously close to "perfection." One thinks of Germany under Hitler and the Soviet Union under Stalin. Not many people openly profess totalitarianism today, but the concept is useful because it anchors one side of our continuum.

### **Socialism**

Whereas totalitarianism refers to government in general, socialism pertains to government's role in the economy. Like communism, socialism is an economic system based on Marxist theory. Under socialism (and communism), the scope of government extends to ownership or control of the basic industries that produce goods and services. These include communications, mining, heavy industry, transportation, and power. Although socialism favors a strong role for government in regulating private industry and directing the economy, it allows more room than communism does for private ownership of productive capacity.

Many people equate socialism with the communism practiced in the old closed societies of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. But there is a difference. Although communism in theory was supposed to result in a "withering away" of the state, communist governments in practice tended toward totalitarianism, controlling both political and social life through a dominant party organization. Some socialist governments, however, practice democratic socialism. They guarantee civil liberties (such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion) and allow their citizens to determine the extent of government activity through free elections and competitive political parties. More recently, the former communist regimes of Eastern Europe have abandoned the controlling role of government in their economies in favor of elements of capitalism.

### **Capitalism**

Capitalism also relates to the government's role in the economy. In contrast to both socialism and communism, capitalism supports free enterprise—private businesses operating without government regulations. Some theorists, most notably economist Milton Friedman, argue that free enterprise is necessary for free politics. This argument, that the economic system of capitalism is essential to democracy, contradicts the tenets of democratic socialism. Whether or not it is valid depends in part on our understanding of democracy.

## **Libertarianism**

Libertarianism opposes all government action except that which is necessary to protect life and property. Libertarians grudgingly recognize the necessity of government but believe that it should be as limited as possible. Libertarians believe that social programs that provide food, clothing, and shelter are outside the proper scope of government. Helping the needy, they insist, should be a matter of individual choice. Libertarians also oppose government ownership of basic industries; in fact, they oppose any government intervention in the economy. This kind of economic policy is called *laissez faire* – a French phrase that means "let (people) do (as they please)."

Don't confuse libertarians with liberals. The words are similar, but their meanings are very different. Libertarianism draws on liberty as its root and means "absence of governmental constraint." In American political usage, liberalism evolved from the root word liberal. Over time, liberal has come to mean something closer to "generous" and "tolerant," in the sense that liberals are willing to support government spending on social programs as well as to respect different lifestyles.

## **Anarchism**

Anarchism stands opposite totalitarianism on the political continuum. Anarchists oppose all government, in any form. As a political philosophy, anarchism values freedom above all else. Because all government involves some restriction on personal freedom (for example, forcing people to drive on one side of the road), a pure anarchist would even object to traffic laws. Like totalitarianism, anarchism is not a popular philosophy, but it does have adherents on the political fringes.

For our purposes, anarchism serves to anchor the right side of the government continuum and to indicate that libertarians are not as extreme in opposing government as is theoretically possible.

## **Liberals and Conservatives**

As shown in Figure 1, practical politics in the United States ranges over only the central portion of the continuum. The extreme positions – totalitarianism and anarchism – are rarely argued in public debate. And in this era of distrust of "big government," few American politicians would openly advocate socialism.

Still, most of that debate is limited to a narrow range of political thought. On one side are people commonly called liberals; on the other, conservatives. In popular usage, liberals favor more government, conservatives less. This

distinction is very clear when the issue is government spending to provide public goods. Liberals favor generous government support for education, wildlife protection, public transportation, and a whole range of social programs. Conservatives want smaller government budgets and fewer government programs. They support free enterprise, arguing against government job programs, regulation of business, and legislation of working conditions and wage rates. To understand the liberal and conservative stances on political issues, we have to look at the purpose of government action. That is, to understand a political ideology, it is necessary to understand how it incorporates the values of freedom, order, and equality.

## **ASSIGNMENTS**

- 1. Translate the text into Russian in writing**
- 2. Summarize the text**
- 3. Put questions on the text**
- 4. Give English equivalents to Russian sentences from your translations**
- 5. Write an essay on the topic in class**



**UNIT 3**  
**CONSTITUTION**  
**THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE USA CONSTITUTION**

The creation of the U.S. Constitution was a remarkable achievement by a young nation. However, only one of its four basic political principles was “made in America.” The other three were inspired by ideas that first grew on a foreign soil. In creating the Constitution, the founders relied on four political principles that together established a revolutionary new political document. These principles were republicanism, federalism, separation of powers and checks and balances.

Republicanism  
Republicanism is a form of government in which power resides in the people and is exercised by their elected representatives. The framers were determined to avoid aristocracy (rule by a hereditary class), monarchy (rule by one), and direct democracy (rule by people). A republic was both new and daring: No people had ever governed by a republic on so vast a scale.

The framers themselves were far from sure that their government could be sustained. They had no model of republican government to look to; moreover, at the time, republican government was thought suitable only for small territories, where the interest of the public would be obvious and where government would be within the reach of every citizen. After the convention had ended, Benjamin Franklin was asked what sort of government the new nation would have. "A republic," he replied, "if you can keep it."

### **Federalism**

Federalism is the division of power between a central government and regional units. It stands between two competing government schemes. On the one side is unitary government, in which all power is vested in a central government. On the other side stands confederation, a loose union with powerful states. In a confederation, the states surrender some power to a central government but retain the rest. The Articles of Confederation embodied a division of power between loosely knit states and a weak central government. The Constitution also embodied a division of power, but conferred substantial powers on a national government at the expense of the states.

According to the Constitution, the powers vested in the national and state governments are derived from the people, who remain the ultimate sovereign. National and state governments can exercise their powers over persons and property within their own spheres of authority. But, at the same time, the people can restrain both national and state governments to preserve their liberty through participating in the electoral process or amending their governing charters.

The Constitution lists the powers of the national government and the powers denied to the states. All other powers remain with the states. Generally, the states are required to give up only the powers necessary to create an effective national government; the national government is limited to the powers specified in the Constitution. In spite of these specific lists, the Constitution does not clearly describe the spheres of authority within which these powers can be exercised. Limits on the exercise of power by the national government and the states have evolved as a result of political and military conflict; moreover, these limits have changed continually.

## **Separation of powers**

Separation of powers is the assignment of the lawmaking, law-enforcing, and law-interpreting functions to independent legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. Nationally, the lawmaking power resides in Congress, the law-enforcing power resides in the presidency, and the law-interpreting power resides in the courts. Service in one branch prohibits simultaneous service in the others. Separation of powers safeguards liberty by ensuring that all government power does not fall into the hands of a single person or group of people. But the framers' concern with protecting the liberty of the people did not extend to the election process. The Constitution constrained majority rule by limiting the direct influence of the people on that process.

In theory, separation of powers means that one branch cannot exercise the powers of the other branches. In practice, however, the separation is far from complete. One scholar has suggested that what we have instead is "separate institutions sharing powers."

## **Checks and balances**

The constitutional system of checks and balances is a means of giving each branch of government some scrutiny of and control over the other branches. The framers reasoned that these checks and balances would prevent one branch from ignoring or overpowering the others.

Separation of powers and checks and balances are two distinct principles, but both are necessary to ensure that one branch does not dominate the government. Separation of powers divides government responsibilities among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches; checks in balances prevent the exclusive exercise of those powers by any one of three branches. For example, only the Congress can enact laws. But president (through the power of the veto) can cancel them, and the courts (by finding a law in violation of the Constitution) can nullify them. And the process goes on. In a "check on a check," the Congress can override a president's veto by an extraordinary (two-thirds) majority in each chamber; and it is empowered to propose amendments to the Constitution, counteracting the courts' power to find a national law invalid.

## **ASSIGNMENTS**

- 1. Translate the text into Russian in writing**
- 2. Summarize the text**
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## 5. Write an essay on the topic in class

### UNIT 4

### POLITICAL PARTIES

#### **Political parties and their functions**

According to democratic theory, the primary means by which citizens control their government is voting in free elections. To better appreciate the role of political parties in democratic government, we must understand exactly what parties are and what they do.

#### **Definitions**

A political party is an organization that sponsors candidates for political office under the organization's name. The italicized part of this definition is important. True political parties nominate candidates for election to public office by designating individuals as official candidates of the party. This function distinguishes the Democratic and Republican parties from interest groups. The AFL-CIO and the National Association of Manufacturers are interest groups. They often support candidates in various ways, but they do not nominate them to run as their avowed representatives. If they do, the interest groups become transformed into political parties. In short, it is the giving and accepting of a political label by organization and candidate that defines an organization as a party.

Most democratic theorists agree that a modern nation-state could not practice democracy without at least two political parties that regularly contest elections. In fact, the link between democracy and political parties is so close that many people define democratic government in terms of competitive party politics.

#### **Party Functions**

Parties contribute to democratic government through the functions they perform for the political system – the set of interrelated institutions that links people with government. Four of the most important functions are nominating candidates for election to public office, structuring the voting choice in elections, proposing alternative government programs, and coordinating the actions of government officials.

#### **Nominating candidates**

Political parties contribute to democratic government simply by nominating candidates for election to public office. In the absence of parties, voters

would be confronted with a bewildering array of self-nominated candidates, each seeking a narrow victory over others on the basis of personal friendships, celebrity status, or name.

Parties can provide a form of quality control for their nominees through the process of peer review. Party insiders, the nominees' peers, usually know potential candidates much better than the average voter does, and candidates are judged by their peers for acceptability as the party's representatives.

In nominating candidates, parties often do more than pass judgment on potential office seekers; sometimes they go so far as to recruit talented individuals to become party candidates. In this way, parties help not only to ensure a minimum level of quality among candidates who run for office but also to raise the quality of those candidates.

### **Structuring the voting choice**

Political parties also help democratic government by structuring the voting choice – reducing the number of candidates on the ballot to those who have a realistic chance of winning.

Established parties – those that have contested elections in the past – acquire a following of loyal voters who guarantee the party's candidates a predictable base of votes. Parties that have won sizable portions vote in past elections are likely to win comparable portions of the vote in future ones by mobilizing their electorate. This has the effect of discouraging nonparty candidates from running for office and new parties from forming. Consequently, the realistic choice is between candidates offered by the major parties. This choice focuses the election on the contest between parties and on candidates with established records, which reduces the amount of new information that voters need in order to make a rational decision.

### **Proposing alternative government programs**

Parties also help voters choose candidates by proposing alternative programs of government action – general policies that party candidates will pursue if they win the control of government. Even if voters know nothing about the qualities of the parties' candidates, they can vote rationally for candidates of the party that stands closest to the policies they favor. The specific policies advocated in an election campaign vary from candidate to candidate and from election to election. However, the types of policies advocated by candidates of one party tend to differ from those proposed by candidates of other parties. Although there are exceptions, candidates of the same party tend to favor policies that fit their party's underlying political philosophy, or ideology. In

many countries, party labels – such as "conservative" and "socialist" – reflect their political stance.

### **Coordinating the actions of government officials**

Finally, party organizations help coordinate the actions of public officials. A government based on the separation of powers, like that of the United States, divides responsibilities for making public policy. The president and the leaders of the House and Senate are not required to cooperate with one another.

Political party organizations are the major means for bridging the separation of powers, of producing coordinated policies that can govern the country effectively. Individuals of the same party in the presidency, the House, and the Senate are likely to share political principles and thus to cooperate in making policy.

Compared with other countries, the two-party system in the United States is very unusual indeed. First of all, most democracies have multiparty system in which four or five parties win enough seats in the legislature to control governmental power. Even those countries classified as having two-party patterns, such as the United Kingdom and New Zealand, really have some minor parties that regularly gain seats and thus complicate governmental politics.

## **ASSIGNMENTS**

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## **UNIT 5 ELECTIONS**

### **Campaigning for elections**

Campaigning for elections has evolved from a party-centered to a candidate-centered process. The successful candidate for public office usually must campaign first to win the party nomination, then to win the general election. A major factor in the decentralization of American parties is their reliance on primary elections to nominate candidates. Democratic and Republican nominations for president are no longer actually decided in the party's national conventions but are determined in advance of the convention through the complex process of selecting delegates pledged to those seeking the nomina-

tion. Although candidates cannot win the nomination unless they have broad support within the party, the winners can legitimately say that they captured the nomination through their own efforts and that they owe little to the party organization.

Candidates usually retain the staffs that got them the nomination to help them win the general election. The dynamics of campaign financing also force candidates to rely mainly on their own resources or – in the case of presidential elections – on public funds. Party organizations contribute relatively little toward campaign expenses, and candidates must raise most of the money themselves. Money is essential in conducting a modern campaign for a major office. Funds are needed to conduct polls that disclose the voters' interests and to advertise the candidate's name, qualifications, and issue positions through the media. Free news coverage is sought whenever possible, but most candidates must rely on paid advertising to get across their messages. Ironically, voters also get most of their campaign information from advertisements. There has been a trend in recent years toward negative advertising, which seems to work, although it contributes to voters' distaste for politics.

Presidential elections are structured by the need to win a majority of votes in the electoral college. Although it is possible for a candidate to win a majority of the popular vote but lose in the electoral college, that has not happened in over one hundred years. The electoral college operates to magnify the victory margin of the winning candidate. Since World War II, Republicans seem to have a lock on the presidency, while Democrats appear to have a lock on Congress, certainly on the House of Representatives.

Voting choice can be analyzed in terms of party identification, candidates' attributes, and policy positions. Party identification is most important long-term factor in shaping the voting decision, but few candidates rely on party in their campaigns. Most candidates today run personalized campaigns that stress their attributes or their policies. There is evidence that presidential campaigns do increase knowledge about issues, but there is some disagreement about how important campaigns are in affecting election outcomes.

The way that nominations, campaigns, and elections are conducted in America makes it difficult for parties to fulfill the ideals of responsible party government that fit the majoritarian model of democracy. In particular, there is a problem in linking parties to voters through campaigns and elections. American parties are better suited to the pluralist democracy, which sees them as

major interest groups competing with lesser groups to further their own interests. At least political parties aspire to the noble goal of representing the needs and wants of most of the people. Interest groups do not even pretend as much.

## ASSIGNMENTS

1. Translate the text into Russian in writing
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## UNIT 6

### INTEREST GROUPS

#### **The roles of interest groups**

An interest group is an organized body of individuals who share some political goals and try to influence public policy decisions. Interest groups are also called lobbies, and their representatives are referred to as lobbyists.

The "evil" side of interest group politics is all too apparent. Each group pushes its own selfish interests, which, despite the group's claims to contrary, are not always in the best interest of other people. "good" side of interest group advocacy may not be as clear. How do actions of interest groups benefit our political system?

**Representation.** Interest groups represent people before their government. Just as a member of Congress represents a particular consumer so does a lobbyist.

**Participation.** Interest groups are also vehicles for political participation. They provide a means by which like-minded citizens can pool their resources and channel their energies into collective political action. People band together because they know it is much easier to get government to listen to a group than to an individual. One farmer fighting for more generous price supports probably will not get very far, but thousands of farmers united in an organization stand a much better chance of getting policymakers to consider their needs.

**Education.** As part of their efforts at lobbying and increasing their membership, interest groups help educate their members, the public at large, and government officials.

**Agenda building.** In a related role, interest groups bring new issues into the political limelight, through a process called agenda building. There are many problem areas in American society, but not all of them are being addressed by public officials. Interest groups make the government aware of problems through their advocacy, then try to see to it that something is done to solve them.

Interest groups do play some positive roles in their pursuit of self-interest. But it is too soon to assume that the positive side of interest groups neatly balances the negative. Questions remain to be answered about the overall impact of interest groups on public policymaking.

### **Interest Group Entrepreneurs**

An entrepreneur is someone who starts new enterprises, usually at considerable personal financial risk. An interest group entrepreneur or organizer succeeds or fails for many of the same reasons a business entrepreneur succeeds or fails. The interest group entrepreneur must have something attractive to "market" in order to convince members to join. Potential members must be persuaded that the benefits of joining outweigh the costs. Someone starting up a new union, for example, must convince workers that the union can win them wages high enough to offset their membership dues. The organizer of an ideological group must convince potential members that the group can effectively lobby the government to achieve their particular goals.

The development of the United Farm Workers Union shows the importance of leadership in the formation of an interest group. This union is made up of men and women who pick crops in California and other parts of the Southwest. The work is backbreaking, performed in a hot, arid climate. The pickers are predominantly poor, uneducated Mexican-Americans.

Their chronically low wages and deplorable living conditions made these farm workers prime candidates for organization into a labor union. And throughout the twentieth century, there had been efforts to organize the pickers. Yet for many reasons, including distrust of union organizers, intimidation by employers, and lack of money to pay union dues, all had failed.

The free-rider problem increases the difficulty of attracting paying members, but it certainly does not make the task impossible. Clearly, many people realize that if everyone decides to "let George do it," the job simply won't get

done. Millions of Americans contribute to interest groups because they are concerned about an issue or feel a responsibility to help organizations that work on their behalf. Also, many organizations offer membership benefits that have nothing to do with politics or lobbying. Business trade associations, for example, are a source of information about industry trends and effective management practices; and they organize conventions where members can learn, socialize, and occasionally find new customers or suppliers.

### **Lobbyists**

Part of the money raised by interest groups is used to pay lobbyists, who represent the organizations before government. Lobbyists make sure that people in government know what their members want and that their organizations know what government is doing. For example, when an administrative agency issues new regulations, lobbyists are right there to interpret the content and implications of the regulations for rank-and-file members. The Washington representative of an oil trade association was reading the Federal Register (a daily compendium of all new regulations issued by the government) as part of his daily routine when he noticed that the Federal Aviation Administration was going to put out new regulations requiring detailed flight plans by non-commercial aircraft. This would make rescue efforts for noncommercial planes easier, but the lobbyist realized that it could compromise the confidentiality surrounding where company planes were going on their aerial explorations for oil and gas. These filed flight plans could be obtained by anyone. He notified the member companies, and their lobbying prevented the implementation of these regulations, precluding the possibility of competitors getting hold of this kind of secret data.

Lobbyists can be full-time employees of the organization or employees of public relations or law firms who are hired on retainer. When hiring a lobbyist, an interest group looks for someone who knows his or her way around Washington. Lobbyists are valued for their experience and knowledge of how government operates. Often they are people who have served in the legislative or executive branches, where they have had firsthand experience with government.

### **ASSIGNMENTS**

- 1. Translate the text into Russian in writing**
- 2. Summarize the text**
- 3. Put questions on the text**

4. Give English equivalents to Russian sentences from your translations
5. Write an essay on the topic in class

## **UNIT 7**

### **THE CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM, ORDER, AND EQUALITY**

How government chooses the proper mix of order, freedom, and equality in its policymaking has to do with the process of choice rather than the outcome. Most governments profess to be democracies. Whether they are or not depends on their meaning of the term.

These three terms – freedom, order, and equality – have different connotations. Both freedom and equality are positive terms that politicians have learned to use to their own advantage. Consequently, freedom and equality mean different things to different people at different times – depending on the political context in which they are used. Order, on the other hand, has negative connotations for many people, for it symbolizes government intrusion in private lives. Except during periods of social strife, few politicians in western democracies call openly for more order. Because all governments infringe on freedom, we examine that concept first.

### **Freedom**

Freedom can be used in two major senses: freedom to and freedom from. Freedom to is the absence of constraints on behavior. In this sense, freedom is synonymous with liberty.

Freedom from suggests immunity from fear and want. In the modern political context, freedom from often symbolizes the fight against exploitation and oppression. If you recognize that freedom in this sense means immunity from discrimination, you can see that it comes close to the concept of equality. We avoid using freedom to mean "freedom from", for this sense of the word, we simply use equality.

### **Order**

When order is viewed in the narrow sense of preserving life and protecting property, most citizens would concede the importance of maintaining order and thereby grant the need for government. For example, "domestic tranquility" (order) is cited in the preamble to the Constitution. However, when order is viewed in the broader sense of preserving the social order, people are more likely to argue that maintaining order is not a legitimate function of government.

Social order refers to established patterns of authority in society and to traditional modes of behavior. It is the accepted way of doing things. The prevailing social order prescribes behavior in many different areas: how students should dress in school (neatly, no purple hair) and behave toward their teachers (respectfully); what the press should not publish (sexually explicit photographs); and what the proper attitude toward religion and country should be (reverential). It is important to remember that social order can change. Today, perfectly respectable men and women wear bathing suits that would have caused a scandal at the turn of the century.

A government can protect the established order under its police power – its authority to safeguard citizens' safety, health, welfare, and morals. The extent to which government should use this authority is a topic of ongoing debate in the United States and is constantly being redefined by their courts. There are those who fear the evolution of a police state – government that uses its power to regulate nearly all aspects of behavior.

Most governments are inherently conservative; they tend to resist social change. But some governments have as a primary objective the restructuring of the social order. Social change is most dramatic when a government is overthrown through force and replaced by a revolutionary government. Governments can work at changing social patterns more gradually through the legal process. Our use of the term order in this book includes all three aspects of the term: preserving life, protecting property, and maintaining traditional patterns of social relationships.

### **Equality**

Like freedom and order, equality is used in different senses, to support different causes.

Political equality in elections is easy to define: Each citizen has one and only one vote. This basic concept is central to democratic theory.

But when some people advocate political equality, they mean more than "one person, one vote." These people contend that an urban ghetto dweller and the chairman of the board of General Motors are not politically equal despite the fact that each has one vote. Through occupation or wealth, some citizens are more able than others to influence political decisions. For example, wealthy citizens can exert influence by advertising in the mass media or by contacting friends in high places. Lacking great wealth and political connections, most citizens do not have this kind of influence. Thus, some analysts argue that equality in wealth, education, and status – that is, social equality – is necessary for true political equality. There are two routes to achieving social equality: providing equal opportunities and ensuring equal outcomes.

Equality of opportunity means that each person has the same chance to succeed in life. This idea is deeply ingrained in American culture. The Constitution prohibits titles of nobility, owning property is not a requirement for holding public office, and public schools and libraries are free to all. To many people, the concept of social equality is satisfied just by offering opportunities for people to advance themselves. It is not essential that people end up being equal after using those opportunities.

For others, true social equality means nothing less than equality of outcome. They believe that society must see to it that people are equal. It is not enough for governments to provide people with equal opportunities; they must also design policies to redistribute wealth and status so that economic and social equality are actually achieved.

Clearly, the concept of equality of outcome is very different from that of equality of opportunity, and it requires a much greater degree of government activity. It is also the concept of equality that clashes most directly with the concept of freedom. By taking from one to give to another – which is necessary for the redistribution of income and status – the government clearly creates winners and losers. The winners may believe that justice has been served by the redistribution. The losers often feel strongly that their freedom to enjoy their income and status has suffered.

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## **UNIT 8**

### **THE BUREAUCRACY**

#### **Organization Matters**

A nation's laws and policies are administered, or put into effect by a variety of departments, agencies, bureaus, offices, and other government units, which together are known as its bureaucracy. Bureaucracy actually means any large, complex organization in which employees have very specific job responsibilities and work within a hierarchy of authority. The employees of these government units, who are quite knowledgeable within their narrow areas, have become known somewhat derisively as bureaucrats.

We study bureaucracies because they play a central role in the governments of postindustrial societies. Yet organizations are a crucial part of any society, no matter how elementary. A pre-industrial tribe is an organization. It has a clearly defined leader (a chief), senior policymakers (elders), a fixed division of labor (some hunt, some cook, some make tools), an organizational culture (religious practices, initiation rituals), and rules of behavior (what kind of

property belongs to families and what belongs to the tribe). How that tribe is organized is not merely a quaint aspect of its evolution but is critical to the survival of its members.

The organization of modern governmental bureaucracies also reflects their need to survive. Pre-industrial tribes often had to struggle to survive in hostile environments; the environment of modern bureaucracies, filled with conflicting political demands and the ever-present threat of budget cuts, can be no less hostile. The way government bureaucracies are organized also reflects the needs of their clients. The bottom line, though, is that the manner in which any bureaucracy is organized affects how well it is able to accomplish its tasks.

A recent study of America's schools vividly demonstrates the importance of organization. When similar schools were compared in terms of how much student performance improved, it was evident that the students in some schools achieved more. Why?

The authors' statistical tests led them to conclude that the difference in the performance of students attending similar schools is due to the way the schools are organized. And the largest influence on the effectiveness of a school's organization is its level of autonomy. Schools that have more control over hiring, curriculum, and discipline do better in terms of student achievement. This freedom seems to allow for strong leadership, which helps schools develop coherent goals and build staffs strongly supportive of those goals.

The ways in which bureaucracies are structured to perform their work directly affect their ability to accomplish their tasks. Unfortunately, though, "if organization matters, it is also the case that there is no one best way of organizing." Although greater autonomy may improve the performance of public schools, it may not be a good solution for improving other kinds of organizations. If a primary goal of a state social welfare agency, for example, is treating its clients equally, providing the same benefits to people with the same needs and circumstances, then giving local offices a lot of individual autonomy is not a good approach.

### **The Organization of the USA Government**

By examining the basic types of government organizations, we can better understand how the executive branch operates. In our discussion, we pay partic-

ular attention to the relative degree of independence of these organizations and their relationship to the White House.

**Departments.** Departments are the largest units of the executive branch, covering broad areas of government responsibility. The secretaries (heads) of these departments, along with a few other key officials, form the president's Cabinet. The current Cabinet departments are State, Treasury, Defense, Interior, Agriculture, Justice, Commerce, Labor, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban development, Transportation, Energy, Education, and Veterans Affairs.

Each of these massive organizations is broken down into subsidiary agencies, bureaus, offices, and services.

**Independent agencies.** Within the executive branch, there are many independent agencies, agencies that are not a part of any Cabinet department. Instead, they stand alone and are controlled in varying degrees by the president. Some, among them the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), are directly under the president's control. Others, like the FCC, are structured as regulatory commissions. Each commission is run by a small number of commissioners (usually an odd number, which helps to prevent tie votes), appointed to fixed terms by the president. Some commissions were formed to guard against unfair business practices. Others were formed to police the side effects, or externalities, of business operations, such as polluted air emitted by a factory. Still others were formed to protect the public from unsafe products. Regulatory commissions are outside the direct control of the White House, so they are freer from the pressures of the political process and the partisan considerations that influence other agencies. Still, regulatory commissions are not immune to political pressures. They are lobbied fervently by client groups and must take the demands of those groups into account when they make policy. If the Consumer Product Safety Commission is considering safety standards for chain saws, for example, the chain saw industry will do all it can to convince the agency either not to set standards or to issue them in a form the industry considers least objectionable.

The president exerts influence on these agencies through his power to appoint new commissioners when terms expire or when resignations create openings.

**Government corporations.** Finally, Congress has also created a small number of government corporations. The services these executive branch agencies perform theoretically could be provided by the private sector, but Congress has decided that the public would be better served if they have some link with

the government. For example, the national government maintains a postal service because it feels that Americans need low-cost, door-to-door service for all kinds of mail, not just for mail on profitable routes or mail that requires special services. In some instances, there is not enough of a financial incentive for the private sector to provide an essential service. This is the case with the financially troubled Amtrak train line.

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## **UNIT 9**

### **THE COURTS**

The power of judicial review, claimed by the Supreme Court in 1803, placed the judiciary on an equal footing with Congress and the president. The principle of checks and balances can restrain judicial power through several means, such as constitutional amendment and impeachment.

But restrictions on that power have been infrequent, leaving the federal courts to exercise considerable influence through judicial review and statutory construction. The federal court system has three tiers. At the bottom are the district courts, where litigation begins and most disputes end. In the middle are the courts of appeals. At the top is the Supreme Court. The ability of judges to make policy increases as one moves up the pyramid from trial courts to appellate courts.

The Supreme Court, free to draft its own agenda through the discretionary control of its docket, harmonizes conflicting interpretations of national law and articulates constitutional rights. It is helped at this crucial stage by the solicitor general, who represents the executive branch of government before the High Court. His influence with the justices affects their choice of cases to review.

Once a case is placed on the docket, the parties submit briefs and the justices hear oral arguments. A tentative vote is taken in conference. Then the real work begins: Grafting an opinion that satisfies the majority without sacrificing clarity or forcefulness.

From the nation's lawyers come the nation's judges, whose political allegiance and values are usually a necessary condition of appointment by the president. The president and senators from his party share the power of appointment of federal district and appellate judges. The president has more leeway in the nomination of Supreme Court justices, although nominees must be confirmed by the Senate.

Courts inevitably fashion policy for each of the states and for the nation. They provide multiple points of access for individuals to pursue their preferences and so fit the pluralist model of democracy.

### **The Legal Profession : What Lawyers Do**

Lawyers perform four major functions.

- First, lawyers counsel. This means that lawyers offer advice, even if it is advice their clients would prefer not to hear. Of course, lawyers regularly counsel clients during negotiation and litigation. And clients regularly seek lawyers' counsel prior to either negotiation or litigation.
- Second, lawyers negotiate. This means that they mediate between competing interests aiming for results that will prove advantageous to their clients and, if possible, their opponents. Since the vast majority of cases settle out of court, attorneys necessarily spend a significant portion of their time negotiating.
- Third, lawyers draft documents. This is probably their most intellectually challenging function since the objective is to compose documents (like a con-

tract or a will) that will secure an understanding and withstand possible challenges.

- Fourth, they litigate. This is the skill most people associate with lawyers. Ironically, only a small fraction of all lawyers devote much time to courtroom activities. In fact, the majority of attorneys never venture into a courthouse except to file legal papers with a clerk.

In the endless debate over the role of lawyers in society, some scholars claim that lawyers are social architects, trained to design their vision of a better society. An alternative view proposes that we regard lawyers "not as the architects of society but as its janitors."<sup>49</sup> After all, lawyers spend a great deal of their time tidying up and repairing the wear-and-tear that society creates. Whether lawyers are architects or janitors, interest in the legal profession and demand for its services seem boundless. One possible explanation derives from American culture.

Materialism and individualism in American culture encourage disputes. Federalism gives separate legal systems for each state plus the national government; thus, the structure of American government provides a number of judicial outlets. Advertising by law firms can now create demand for legal services, too, acting as tinder for disputes that might otherwise extinguish on their own. Finally, the principles of separation of powers and of checks and balances help generate lawsuits by making governing difficult and sometimes impossible. When political institutions act, they often are forced to compromise, deferring critical issues to the courts. Pluralist democracy operates when groups are able to press their interests on, and even challenge, the government. The expression of group demands in a culture that encourages lawsuits thrusts on the courts all manner of disputes and interests. Is it any wonder that America needs all the lawyers it can train?

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### UNIT 10 POLICYMAKING

#### **The Policymaking Process**

This model, one of many possible ways of depicting the policymaking process, shows four policymaking stages. Feedback on program operations and performance from the last two stages works to stimulate new cycles of the process.

**Agenda setting.** Agenda setting is the part of the process during which problems get defined as political issues. Many problems confront Americans in their daily lives, but government is not actively working to solve all of them. Today, for example, social security seems a hardy perennial of American politics, but the old age insurance program wasn't created until the New Deal. The problem of poverty among the elderly did not suddenly emerge during the 1930s – there have always been poor people of all ages – rather, that is when inadequate incomes for the elderly became defined as a political problem. That is, people began arguing that it was government's responsibility to create a system of income security rather than leaving old people to fend for themselves.

When the government begins looking at new issues, we say they have become part of the political agenda. Usually when we speak of agenda in this context, we are simply referring to the entire set of issues before all institutions of government. (There is no formal list of issues for the entire political system; the concept of an agenda for the system is merely a useful abstraction.) Issues may also be placed on the agenda through the efforts of scholars and activists to get more people to pay attention to a condition that the public is generally unaware of.

**Policy formulation.** Policy formulation is that stage of the policy – making process when formal policy proposals are developed and a decision is made whether to adopt one of these proposals. The most obvious kind of policy formulation is the proposal of bills by the president or the development of legislation by Congress. Administrative agencies also formulate policy through the regulatory process. Courts formulate policy, too, when their decisions establish new interpretations of the law. We usually think of policy formulation as a formal process in which a published document (a statute, a regulation, or a

court opinion) is the final outcome. In some instances, however, policy decisions are not published or otherwise made explicit. Foreign policy is a case in point. The president and his advisers may develop a new policy on, for instance, the United States position in the debate over what to do with the Palestinians in Israel. Yet they may feel that it is best to be vague about what they are urging Israel to do. They may want some "wobble room" to adapt their policies to events that are beyond their control. They also want the freedom necessary to conduct negotiations without the burden of publicly stated policies they might have to renounce if opposition they are advocating turns out to be too great.

Keep in mind that policy formulation is only the development of proposals designed to solve a problem. Some issues reach the agenda and stimulate new proposals but then fail to win enactment. In the early 1980s, for example, there was a movement for a freeze on the development of nuclear weapons. Although a freeze resolution gained significant support in Congress, it could not gain passage in both houses and was never adopted.

Implementation. Policies are not self-executing; implementation is the process by which they are carried out. When regulations are issued by agencies in Washington, some governmental bodies must then put those policies into effect. This may involve notifying the intended targets of agency actions that there have been changes in program regulations. In the case of the regulations promulgated under the 1990 Disabilities Act, the owners of an office building would probably not rebuild water fountains simply because new regulations were published in Washington. Administrative bodies at the state or local level must inform the owners that the rule exists, give them a timetable for compliance, communicate the penalties for noncompliance, be available to answer questions that emerge, and provide information back to Washington on how well the regulations are working.

One of the biggest problems at the implementation stage of policymaking is coordination. After officials in Washington write a law and the subsequent regulations, people outside of Washington are typically the ones to implement the policy. These implementers may be local officials, state administrators, or federal bureaucrats headquartered in regional offices around the country. Often state and local officials are asked to carry out policies they had no hand in writing. This is a source of conflict between them and officials in Washington, and it can be a cause of implementation failure.

Although it may seem to be a highly technical process, implementation is in fact very much a political process. It involves a great deal bargaining and negotiation between different groups of people in and out of government. The difficulty of implementing complex policies in a peripheral system, which has different layers of government, and in a pluralistic system, which has so many competing interests.

Policy evaluation. How does government know if a policy is working? In some cases success or failure may be obvious, but in others it may take people who are highly expert in a specific field to tell government officials how well a policy is working. Policy evaluation is the analysis of public policy. Although there is no one method of evaluating policy, evaluation tends to draw heavily on approaches used by academics, including cost-benefit analysis, operations research, mathematical modeling, and many statistical methods."

Evaluating public policy is extremely difficult. Data may be imperfect, problematic assumptions may have to be made about future trends, and policy analysts may have biases that influence their research. In addition, there may be factors influencing the outcomes of policy that simply can't be measured. Evaluation is part of the policymaking process because the knowledge gained from it helps to identify problems and issues that arise out of current policy. Evaluation studies provide feedback to policymakers on program performance.

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## **PART III**

### **UNIT 1**

#### **DEMOCRATIC IMPERATIVES: TRUST, GOODWILL, IDEALISM**

SUMMING UP HIS DECADES-LONG STRUGGLE against totalitarianism, Vaclav Havel has urged that advocates see themselves as "ambassadors of trust" in a fearful world. Yet the word trust, like goodwill and idealism, is sometimes dismissed as too vague or too soft to be taken seriously as a central issue in politics. But such apparently tough-minded assumptions are mistaken about what actually makes democracy work.

It is important that advocates of civic democracy recognize the critical value of developing trust, goodwill, and idealism in their societies and the folly of relegating them to the sidelines of politics for fear of being thought naive. Based in the willingness of individuals and groups to abide by common norms of honesty and reciprocity, the civic virtues of trust, goodwill, and idealism are essential sources of social and political power. In today's increasingly interdependent world, the resilience and strength of both individuals and societies depend upon their ability to cooperate for common purposes.

Without the civic virtues of trust, goodwill among citizens, and a strong dedication to the ideals of democracy, individuals and societies lose the capacity to attain their goals. From social conflict to insensitive economic development to environmental degradation, many of our biggest problems arise from conditions in which all parties would be better off if they could cooperate, but where lack of mutual trust and goodwill makes common action impossible. For example, when industrial waste or auto emissions pollute the air or water upon which all, even the polluters themselves, depend, it would clearly benefit all parties to show self-restraint and devote effort to devising a common system of waste-management. In the absence of mutual trust, however, each party actually has an incentive to defect from cooperation, fearing to be played for a "sucker" or left "holding the bag." The consequence of this lack of goodwill is that everyone suffers, victims of a self-imposed inability to act together for a common good.

Trust, goodwill, and democratic idealism then, are key practical resources. While these civic virtues can be depleted through exploitation, they are also renewable and expandable resources. Trust is one of the benefits produced when citizens come together to discuss and deliberate in common. Goodwill

enables citizens to begin a conversation; to listen and to speak, to understand better their differences and agreements. This in turn strengthens civic bonds so that future cooperation is made more likely and more effective. In this way, democratic idealism gradually redeems its promise of a better and more humane form of public life. President Havel is right. In the practice of trust and goodwill, civic idealism becomes the realism that generates the power on which democracy builds.

### **Discussion questions**

1. What assumptions about human nature are inherent in the concept of democracy? Do you agree with these assumptions? Why or why not?
2. What is the importance of consensus building in a democracy, and what role do trust, goodwill, and idealism play in this process?
3. Do trust, goodwill and idealism seem old-fashioned or out of date? If so, why, and what problems seem to underlie their decline?
4. Is democracy a natural form of government that will arise spontaneously or evolve in time without a specific effort to nurture it? What examples does history provide to support an answer?

## **UNIT 2**

### **THE DEMOCRATIC RULE OF LAW**

**Democracy without the rule of law** is quite literally unthinkable. When Thomas Jefferson penned his brief against King George III and the various insults of the British Empire against the American colonies, his language rang with outrage at illegalities suffered; reasonable expectations and immunities ignored. When Alexis de Tocqueville traveled around America, looked and listened carefully and wrote his classic, *Democracy in America*, one of the things he observed was the centrality of law to Americans and the complex relationship between the laws and the mores. When Vaclav Havel signed "Charter 77," he and his fellow dissidents did so in the name of law, a law that cannot be abrogated by authoritarian state power. To be a citizen is to be the subject of a range of rights and immunities and it is, as well, to be the responsible bearer and transmitter of those rights.

Let us return to Tocqueville. He noted the extraordinary respect Americans had for the law and for lawyers. He described juries as little laboratories of democracy. He warned that, should the law falter, American democracy would be much troubled. To be sure, the rule of law wasn't the only feature of American life Tocqueville highlighted as central to the operation of democratic life – habits of the heart secured through religious association were even more fundamental, but these habits of the heart helped to nourish the law and the law, in turn, kept civic spiritedness alive and sustained the delicate balance between liberty and equality.

But what do we see when we look at the American democracy as we near century's end?

The law is in ill-repute in many quarters, berated as little more than rules put in place to protect the powerful. Whatever truth one may find in such charges, surely the wrong response is to deride the rule of law altogether. Indeed, the response of our great democrats, including those who resorted to civil disobedience, has been that we need more respect for law rather than less; that our civil law and statutes should conform to a higher law that begins with, and must reflect, innate human dignity. The democratic rule of law is, in part, about procedures and the recognition that the law, to be law, cannot be capricious. But it is also substantive, reflecting deep ethical and moral convictions about what is just, fair, decent, right, wrong, unjust, unfair, outrageous. The democratic rule of law is both firm and flexible: it names aspirations and it is open to revision but not infinitely so, or it would no longer be a rule of law. This is clearly honored and understood by citizens in so many emerging democracies who, having been subjected to decades of unchecked power and caprice, look to law, lawyers, judges, and constitutionalists to encode a basic rule of law to which all must conform.

That the law and its exercise has fallen so low in America, both in reputation and, alas, all too often, in practice, is a troubling phenomenon. For without law, there is only a wasteland where power roams freely and caprice is the name of the game.

That is why our law, from our fundamental and founding documents on through disputes about these documents and their ongoing renewal and re-vivification, is central to our democracy. Being subjected to the rule of law may sometimes be a vexation, but it is the only sure and certain protection we have against tyranny, demagogues, and mob rule. Without the rule of law at the end of the day there is, and can be, no democratic life, no democratic learning, no democratic society, no democratic heritage.

Being subjected to the rule of law may sometimes be a vexation but it is the only sure and certain protection we have against tyranny, demagogues, and mob rule.

### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. How does the rule of law help to bring about equality?
2. We must allow a little room for doubt in our formulas for political solutions. Do you agree? Why or why not?
3. Are the laws in your country or region clear? Are they just? Are they applied to all citizens equally?

### **UNIT 3**

#### **THE ROLE OF CITIZENS: RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES**

As the twentieth century draws to a close, the debate over the role of citizens has assumed a new complexity and urgency. In the long-established democracies of Western Europe and North America, declining political participation and trust

in public institutions have become pervasive concerns. In nations of central Europe and Asia emerging from communism's yoke, the task of citizens is to nurture institutions and practices that are compatible with local conditions and conducive to democratic aspirations. In nations still laboring under the burden of authoritarian regimes, the challenge is to expand the small arenas of liberty that exist within the interstices of oppression.

The basic rights of citizens are reasonably clear. They include freedom of speech and expression, of association and assembly, and of participation; safeguards against state arbitrariness in the administration of law; and protections for personal privacy, individual conscience, faith and worship. Full citizenship also requires the right to marry, to travel freely, and to participate in economic and social life on fair and equal terms. The responsibilities of citizens include, not only compliance with legitimate laws and institutions, but also the willingness to do their fair share to create and sustain them. Perhaps the most important responsibilities of citizens are to make appropriate use of their liberty and to respect the rights of others. For history suggests that the abuse of liberty by some promotes the growth of government authority that can restrict the liberty of all.

The appropriate balance between the rights and responsibilities of citizens will vary in accordance with local circumstances. In the United States, for example, the dramatic expansion of individual rights during the past generation must now be matched by an increased willingness of citizens to take responsibility for one another and for their common life.

Post-communist regimes, by contrast, cannot take liberty for granted. They must construct institutions that defend core individual and political rights. But this task cannot succeed unless individual citizens see themselves as active participants in, not passive recipients of, the nurturance of liberty. At the same time, citizens of these regimes must wrestle with profound issues of moral responsibility for past abuses, a task that will require a sensitive balancing of justice, mercy, democratization and social reconciliation.

One thing is clear: there is no one-size-fits-all account of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Each nation must work out for itself the approach that comports best with its history and circumstances. Here as elsewhere, a broad-based dialogue among citizens is the key to progress.

### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. Evaluate the rights granted to you by your political system. Which rights set boundaries and which are entitlements or "affirmative duties to promote actively the well-being" of citizens?
2. What are your responsibilities as a citizen? If the commonwealth is a "partnership for the common good," which of your responsibilities promotes the commonwealth?
3. An important responsibility is respecting the rights of others, not just in the abstract but often at some cost to us. What costs might be incurred in respecting others' rights, and do you agree that we should have to pay?

## UNIT 4

### SHAPING THE POLITICAL STRUCTURES FOR DEMOCRACY

MANY OF THE LESSONS political scientists and historians thought they had learned from studying the settled democracies of Europe and North America are now being reexamined. The post-World War II movement for post-colonial democracy in Africa and Asia was the first indication that countries react to the introduction of democracy in distinctive ways. The post-Cold War movements for democracy in the Iron Curtain countries have reinforced our appreciation that political democracy takes many forms, since similar political institutions function differently in diverse political cultures. The point is also underscored by those countries in Asia and Latin America currently making the transition from authoritarianism to democracy.

Proponents of democracy in newly-democratizing countries have a difficult task in deciding what institutional models they should advocate. Should they opt for parliamentary or presidential regimes? Should they adopt bicameral legislatures, and, if so, what should the function of the upper body be? Should they •write new constitutions or adopt existing constitutions? Should they put systems of judicial review in place? How seriously should they consider the United States model of a system of checks and balances? Should they permit public referenda to trump decisions of the legislature? The questions of this sort go on and on.

The larger question is how much democracy, and what type of democracy, a transitional regime can support. At a minimum, there must be free elections open to most of the citizens, but elections alone do not make democracy, as we should have learned from the socialist period. Even reasonably free elections, by themselves, amount to "votocracy" rather than democracy, if they do not enable popular participation in genuinely representative institutions. But there are perils to political stability in permitting either too much popular participation or too many checks on executive decision-making. The challenge for each country is to determine how much democracy (and what sort of democratic political and legal institutions) it can sustain without inviting weakness in response to internal and external challenges and threats.

For the student of politics and law in the older democratic countries, the current world scene provides a fascinating tableau of experiments in democratization.

We now have the opportunity to apply comparative methodologies to help us understand both the nature of emerging democracies and the fundamental dynamics of our own systems, which we have for too long taken for granted.

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. What is meant by the term votocracy? Is your country an example of it? Why or why not?
2. Besides free and fair elections, what constitutes liberal democracy? Which components of a liberal democracy exist in your country? Which are missing?
3. What is the relationship between politics and economics? Do you agree? Give examples from your own country to support your answer.
4. What is wrong with giving government strong powers to quickly accomplish reasonable goals such as breaking down feudalism or bringing order to a chaotic society?
5. Whose conception of democracy displays more faith in human nature, the French or the American? What are the political consequences of this faith?

## **UNIT 5**

### **CREATING ECONOMIC SYSTEMS IN THE GLOBAL MARKET-PLACE**

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES are not perpetual motion machines. They require a continual investment of care and responsibility on the part of their citizens. The experience of both emerging democracies and long-established democracies confirms this. The most fundamental goods of democracy, such as the security of individual rights, can exist only as long as most citizens share a sense of solidarity and common destiny.

Contemporary life, however, is marked by increasing volatility in all areas of social relationship. In particular, the dynamism of technology and the market economy poses a mounting challenge. While democracies must find ways to cultivate a sense of moral equality and shared destiny among citizens, the rapid spread of market values to all aspects of life is teaching, and even enforcing, very different lessons.

Increasingly, national societies are split into a minority class of economic winners who inhabit a cosmopolitan world of affluence, and a growing underclass with little hope of economic ascent. Moreover, as economic competition grows more intense, the ties of social solidarity are placed under increasing strain. Systems of social provision are likewise threatened, further undermining the sense of common destiny among citizens.

However, the chief threat posed by the spread of market behavior into every sphere of life is that social relationships become stripped of their moral meaning.

Thus, business ceases to acknowledge any responsibility to either its employees, the communities where it operates, or to the nation which protects it through law. In the same way, the individual is encouraged to think first of self-interest, not only in business affairs but in the civic sphere, with respect to the natural environment, and finally in community and family life.

The danger to democracy of the spread of market behavior is that society will become increasingly atomized. With this, public responsibility, like social solidarity, will wither away, leaving society incapable of dealing with large-scale and long-term threats to its well-being. The chief question in the face of these threats is: How can modern nations develop their economic and technological capacities without damaging the moral and social underpinnings needed to fulfill the promise of democracy?

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. What we call market behavior has begun to influence our personal relationships. Do you find evidence of this in your own life? If so, what are the effects?
2. Democracy and capitalism are incompatible in terms of their underlying principles. Do you agree? Support your position.
3. Today, the market economy is more dynamic than democracy. What evidence of this, if any, is there in your country? What are the consequences? What remedial action exists?

## **UNIT 6**

### **RAPID GROWTH OF THE CIVIL SECTOR**

"CITIZENS ARE AT THE CENTER of the global drama unfolding today. They are the lead actresses and actors in building global democratic governance. ... The security of our common future lies in the hands of an informed, inspired, committed, engaged citizenry."

The growth of citizen initiatives today is unprecedented. From Argentina to South Africa, from the Philippines to Poland, tens of thousands of associations and other civil organizations have sprung up. CIVICUS:

World Alliance for Citizen Participation, which was established in 1994 by a handful of people to promote civil society and citizen action, by 1998 was operating in 82 countries.

In the last two decades, according to Lester M. Salamon, "we are in the midst of a global 'associational revolution' that may prove to be as significant to the latter twentieth century as the rise of the nation-state was to the latter nineteenth." This emerging third sector provides not only help and care but millions of jobs, and represents a fast-growing share in the gross domestic product of a number of countries. Most important, it offers new career paths to many young people.

New communication technologies allow non-state actors to access, process, and share information in a way that is indeed revolutionary. For the first time in history bonds and alliances, communities and action groups can be created quickly across distant cultures and continents, easing the transition from closed to open societies. More people participate in the decision-making process; more informed voices can be heard in democratic discussions; more civil society organizations play a role, not only in the legislative process, but in diplomatic actions as well.

What drives the emergence of civil society differs from region to region. In the developing world, after decades of failed, state-centered development strategies, the lesson was driven home that without the participation of indigenous communities, these strategies will not succeed. In post-communist countries, it has become clear that civil society is what makes democracy work.

And in Western consumer societies, there is a growing recognition of the need for a renewal of civic values.

What connects these diverse movements is a global claim for a new division of power. Empowered citizens taking their place alongside government and commerce will mark the new democratic era. We don't know how to achieve and sustain people power, nor what new institutions, rules, and laws will emerge. We do know that social and political innovations created by and for people craving freedom are needed more than ever before. What we need is open discussion about governance for the new century.

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. The burgeoning nongovernmental organizations are eroding the powers of national governments. As international players, what are some of the assets and liabilities of these organizations?
2. Explain Ulrich Beck's concept of "public work." Would it have potential in your country? Why or why not?
3. Benjamin Barber maintains that production and consumption dominate our lives, robbing us of time to enjoy culture, family, and civic life. Do you agree?  
Support your answer. What does he propose as a solution? Would it work in your country?

## **UNIT 7**

### **POST-COLD WAR DIPLOMACY**

**What ever happened to global kumbaya**, the we-are-the-world cooperative spirit that seemed only yesterday to have replaced the Cold War? ...

Early in the 1990s, dozens of countries joined the American-led military coalition to oust President Hussein's forces from Kuwait. The North American Free Trade Agreement and the enlargement of the world's trading system promised to topple trade barriers east and west, north and south. The United States and other developed nations set ambitious goals to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases at an environmental summit meeting in Brazil. And disarmament of all sorts was de rigueur.

But it turns out that all the New Age collegiality was fleeting, or maybe just overstated. It was an afterglow of the end of the Cold War, not the light of the future. Appearances to the contrary, countries had not redefined self-interest to mean the greatest global good.

"The United States had won the Cold War and was at the pinnacle of its power, so all the policies and preferences of the United States were translated into international politics," said Fareed Zakaria, managing editor of Foreign Affairs. "That was a momentary peak."

Which is not to say that there are not forces – trade and technology, for example – driving countries slowly but surely toward greater integration and cooperation. It is just that an interplay of old national interests and new centers of power has made the process much more complex and unpredictable.

Among the players beyond governmental control these days are nonprofit organizations armed not with weapons but with new technologies to pursue their agendas. The land-mine treaty, for example, might never have happened without an intensive campaign by private groups using high-speed, inexpensive global communications via the Internet and e-mail.

The absence of global military tensions has given both countries and peoples a range of new issues to choose from in defining national security. Jessica Mathews, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has written about the new search for "human security" emerging "from the conditions of daily life – food, shelter, employment, health, public safety – rather than flowing downward from a country's foreign relations and military strength." ...

### **Transgovernmentalism**

The dissipation of hopes for global amity has prompted an esoteric debate among academics and experts about what exactly is going on....

Joseph S. Nye, dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, has launched a project called "Visions of Governance for the 21st Century." He has gone mathematical, offering a nine-cell matrix to describe the factors at work in governmental decisions today: national, subnational, and supranational forces intersecting with the private sector, governments, and nonprofit groups.

Despite all the messiness, the United States and the international community appear to have cooperated well in the new war against economic collapse – most recently with the current plan to bail out South Korea. They have marshaled their forces and taken swift, dramatic action to prevent instability.

"After the financial crisis in Mexico, there was talk about the principle of regional responsibility and leaving it to the United States," said Lawrence S. Summers,

Deputy Secretary of the Treasury. "Now, with the Korean crisis, there is a general recognition of the principles of global responsibility."...

There are other examples of New Age cooperation. NATO is drawing up plans that would keep NATO troops in Bosnia when their mandate runs out next June. And NATO's addition of three members from the former Warsaw Pact is proceeding better than expected.

"Obviously there are some things in which the international community is working in a collective fashion and some in which it is struggling," said Roubert Zoellick, an Under Secretary of State during the Bush Administration. "It's not all or nothing."

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. What are some of the reasons why the United Nations was established?
2. What does the term "soft power" mean? Compare it with Track Two diplomacy.
3. What are the trends that are changing the world of diplomacy?
4. What is the nature and purpose of Track Two diplomacy?

## **UNIT 8**

### **RESOLVING RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS**

**As a journalist who has watched** the spread of democracy since communism's fall, we've learned a disappointing lesson. Holding democratic elections in new democracies that are torn by bitter ethnic and religious differences will probably make those divisions worse.

The classic case of democracy as prelude to ethnic slaughter is Bosnia. And the Bosnian story tells us much about where and when democracy can be dangerous to the public's health.

In communist Yugoslavia, dictator Josef Broz Tito had suppressed ethnic hatreds, in part by force (separatists went to jail), in part by a combination of balanced patronage and education of a new generation. Those born after World War II were taught to think of themselves as Yugoslavs first.

When Yugoslav communism began to crumble, and free elections were held in the various republics, the population had no experience with democracy as a system of give and take. Compromise was an alien concept to people raised in a dictatorship. In Croatia and Serbia, the leaders who emerged were communists making a political comeback as nationalists.

In Bosnia, a republic where Muslims, Croats, and Serbs had lived together, and no ethnic group had a majority, political parties immediately formed along ethnic lines. Those who thought of themselves as Yugoslavs formed multiethnic parties, but were outnumbered by ethnic separatists, or by those who simply feared what would happen if they didn't stick with their own kind.

The results of the first free Bosnian election in 1990 separated the republic firmly into three irreconcilable political parties. This helped speed the descent of Bosnia into bloodshed. And even now that the war is over, the three separatist parties still have a vested interest in keeping power divided along ethnic lines.

True, the Bosnian experience is a worst-case scenario. Blatant outside support by Serbia and Croatia for virulently nationalist Bosnian parties who wanted to link up with their "homelands" killed the chances of liberals who wanted to establish a multiethnic state.

But Bosnia also tells us it is foolish to hope for democracy to develop instantaneously, like Athena springing full grown from the head of Zeus. The very concept of law has little meaning in countries where, for decades, constitutions were nothing more than window dressing for dictators. Joseph Stalin's constitution was terrific — on paper. Today, Russia's *duma* (parliament) pass-

es many laws that remain useless pieces of paper, scoffed at by voters and un-enforced by a judiciary still not used to freedom.

Absent independent institutions – a free press, independent courts, non-exclusive political parties – that command a loyalty greater than blood elections can't smooth over ethnic hatreds. Instilling respect for such institutions takes time – lots of time. It worked in Japan and Germany, but those countries' racist regimes were defeated in battle, and both were occupied and reconstructed by a democratic superpower.

The more interesting case is India, where the British Raj introduced legal codes to keep the Indians down, but India took to the rule-of-law concept and adapted it to suit its own needs after independence. In India, the legal tradition has sunk deep roots (despite the rampant corruption that undermines it), and the Supreme Court is the most respected institution in the country.

And, in India, the election system has managed to contain enormous religious and regional differences.

Even the recent election, which brought a Hindu nationalist-led coalition to power, constrained the nationalists, who had to tone down the Hindu-first part of their platform in order to win a plurality.

However flawed the system, however poor its delivery of economic goods, Indian democracy has probably kept the country from splitting apart. But Indians had centuries to observe British institutions and learn what they wanted to copy and adapt.

In Bosnia, it is NATO's presence, not elections, that prevents the war from restarting. But NATO lacks the powers of a formal occupier which can remake institutions by fiat. And no one knows whether its troops –will stay for very long. U.S., European, and nongovernmental efforts to develop a free press, and other democratic institutions, move at a snail s pace. Only time and outside pressure and help can nurture the liberal institutions that could win Bosnian allegiance away from blood ties.

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. What are some of the dangers that arise when building a democracy in a multiethnic nation with a history of authoritarian rule?

2. What is meant by the words “A defense of toleration does not have to be a defense of difference”?

## UNIT 9

### AN INDEPENDENT PRESS AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

**Hold these truths** to be self evident ..." wrote the authors of the Declaration of Independence. That democracy requires a free press and free expression is a truth of that kind: self-evident to all who understand. So let us be clear: government cannot control what is written or broadcast, and it cannot throw people into jail for their views. The most obvious sign of an undemocratic regime is the violation of these fundamental rights.

Not as obvious are the conditions that make freedom of the press and the free flow of ideas matter in a society where such freedoms are legally established. If ideas flow freely but do not touch people's lives, if the press is independent of government but consumed by trivia, if the public square is open but also empty, then democracy can corrode just as surely as it collapses when fundamental rights are violated. This is important to think about whenever we discuss the need for a free press and free speech. Formal guarantees are essential. But it is the informal and unofficial life of the people that turns essential freedoms into unshakeable facts.

Free expression as a political good requires thinking citizens willing to do the work of democracy: people who will pay attention, participate in public life, argue with each other and, through a thousand small decisions, create the kind of conversation that keeps democracy alert as well as alive. It is the business of culture – a democratic culture – to produce such citizens, for they are the only real guarantee that political freedom will survive.

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Freedom of expression and a public sphere where citizens can discuss and debate issues of common concern are highly revered in democratic societies. How important do you think they are?
2. Has the press in your country or region been under the control of any one group? If so, what has been the effect of this control? What changes have occurred in recent years?

3. Do you consider the autonomy of the press a luxury or a necessity? Why?
4. How powerful is the press in your country or region? What are the liabilities of a too-powerful media?
5. What is the point of an independent press, if it has nothing worthwhile to report? Is your media cluttered with trivia? What are possible remedies?
6. Public journalism is not neutral on certain questions, but helps people to develop views. What do you think are the limits of responsibility for journalists? How can the press help to create a public discourse "that engages more people than it repels?"

## **UNIT 10**

### **DEMOCRACY AND THE FREE MARKET**

**One of the governing myths** of our times has it that democracy is a synonym for the marketplace. Politicians and economists alike speak about "democratic markets" and a "free market society" as if to introduce a market economy is tantamount to establishing a democratic polity. Yet in fact, the freedom to buy a Coke or a video of the Lion King is not yet the freedom to determine how we will live and under what kind of regime. Coke and McDonald's and MTV are in our most insidious myth because so many believe it and because the market's invisible shackles are so comfortable. It is so easy to believe that the replacement of communism and its command economy with capitalism and its market economy is all there is to securing democracy. Or to think that because America is capitalist, it must be fully democratic.

There is today a disastrous confusion between the moderate and mostly well-founded claim that flexibly regulated markets remain the most efficient instruments of economic productivity and wealth accumulation, and the zany, overblown claim that naked, wholly unregulated markets are the sole means by which we can produce and distribute everything we care about, from durable goods to spiritual values, from capital development to social justice, from profitability to sustainable environments, from private wealth to the essential commonweal. This second claim has moved some to insist that goods as diverse and obviously public as education, culture, penology, full employment, social welfare and ecological survival be handed over to the profit sector for arbitration and disposal.

Yet markets are simply not designed to do the things democratic polities do. Markets give us private rather than public modes of discourse, allowing us as consumers to speak via our currencies of consumption to producers of material goods, but preventing us from speaking as citizens to one another about the social consequences of our private market choices. Markets advance individualistic rather than social goals, permitting us to say, one by one, "I want a pair of running shoes" but not allowing us to say, in a common voice, "our inner city community needs new athletic facilities." Markets preclude "we" thinking and "we" action of any kind at all, trusting in the power of aggregated individual choices (the "invisible hand") to somehow secure the common good. Consumers speak the elementary rhetoric of "me." Citizens invent the common language of "we."

Markets are also contractual rather than communitarian, which means they stroke our solitary egos but leave unsatisfied our yearning for community, offering durable goods and fleeting dreams but not a common identity or a collective membership.

And when we fail to offer citizens democratic communities to which they can belong, they quickly contrive undemocratic communities that offer solidarity and identity but at the price of liberty and justice.

So not only do we need, beyond our markets, the virtues of democracy, but our markets need democracy too if they are to survive. Nor can they, by themselves, produce it. They are as likely to undermine as to sustain full employment, environmental safety, public health, social safety nets, education, cultural diversity, and real competition.

Capitalism depends on such public goods for its private functioning, but it does not and cannot produce them. We must then strive first to preserve and extend, or where it does not exist, to establish democracy. Free markets will follow.

## **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. What is the difference between democracy and free enterprise? How do they co-exist?
2. Is democracy essential to a free market? What is your opinion?
3. What are some drawbacks of giving the market free rein? Do you agree or disagree?

## **PART IV**

### **SUPPLEMENTARY READING**

#### **TEXT 1**

#### **TERROR IN AMERICA**

##### **Why? and What next?**

NOTHING can justify the horrendous and ignominious terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington on September 11th. Nothing on earth. These depraved acts were not just attacks on America, they were crimes against humanity.

America and the world watched helplessly as the frightful drama played itself out on live television. First there was an explosion in one of the towers of the World Trade Center (at first many people thought it was just that, an explosion); then the sickening sight of a commercial jetliner flying straight into the second tower. Then another jetliner flying into the side of the Pentagon. Then the collapse of the towers, one after the other, in an apocalyptic inferno of fire, smoke and dust.

Thousands have died, and almost all of them were innocent – just ordinary people going about their ordinary work on an ordinary day. Most were Americans, including hundreds from the emergency services; but among the innocent victims there were also hundreds of Britons and hundreds of Germans, as well as Israelis, Arabs, and people from many other countries. There were Christians and Moslems, there were atheists, and there were probably Hindus and Buddhists. There were Catholics and Protestants, and probably Sunnis and Shiites, there were Aryans, Africans Asians and Amerindians, a broad spectrum of people from different backgrounds, different countries, different beliefs. For most, their only reason to die was that they happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Most of them were in New York, that most cosmopolitan of cities, in the World Trade Center, that most cosmopolitan of workplaces.

A shaken George W Bush went on television to reassure Americans. "These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat," he said. "But they have failed. Our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America."

Doubtless, as president of a deeply wounded nation, Bush had no alternative but to use words of this sort: but even as he said them, many Americans knew that what he was saying was not true. America may not have been in retreat, but it was in chaos. With all air traffic halted throughout the USA, and all borders closed, with all television stations broadcasting non-stop images and commentary on the devastation, ordinary life in America was effectively put on hold. The foundation of America – including a popular belief in American invincibility – was sorely wounded.

The terrorists responsible for this horrendous acts HAD succeeded. Though they died, they had NOT failed. Even if one of the four hijacked aircraft crashed far from its target, thanks to the heroic actions of some of its passengers, the other three succeeded, leading to the images of Armageddon that we have now seen again and again. Sorry Mr. Bush, those who organized and committed these acts of barbarity are or were fanatics, and fanatics do not judge success according to our own rational standards. For those who organized and carried out this orgasm of destruction, this was no failure - this was a devastating success. For them, death in action was a first class ticket to Allah's high table; or, put into American imagery, it was like winning the Superbowl, the World Series, the Las Vegas jackpot and all the Oscars with the same team on the same night. No American retaliation can change that.

### **The why**

NOTHING can justify the horrendous and ignominious terrorist attacks – but a lot can explain them.

Millions of pages will be written in the weeks to come, "explaining" why so many people had to die on that clear September morning. But in truth, the fundamental answer is short and clear.

The attacks took place because in many ways the United States has singularly failed in its role as the world's most powerful nation.

### **TEXT 2**

### **THE FAILURE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

While millions of people all over the world still dream of America, there are other millions for whom the USA has come to be seen as the world's bully-boy, a mightily powerful nation whose only interest in the outside world is its own interest – not the interest of the world as a whole, and certainly not the interest of the world's poorer nations.

Though there are people all over the world who hate the USA, it is in the Middle East that the largest numbers of such people can be found. America's Middle East policy has come to be seen by most ordinary Arabs as being pro-Israel and anti-Arab; and since the arrival in power of Ariel Sharon in Israel and George Bush in the USA, the situation has deteriorated. For many Islamic militants, Israel and the USA are now the same enemy.

It need not have happened like this; America need not have given millions of people a reason to think of it as an enemy, but once again it has done so, as it did in Vietnam in the 1960's, and in Latin America in the 1970's.

Rather like militant Islamic movements today, US policy from the 50's to the 80's was in part fueled by fanaticism - in this case a fanatical fear of Communism. In the fifties, it produced the witch hunts of the McCarthy era; later, it led to US support for "democratic" but utterly corrupt regimes in Africa, Asia and South America.

Though these policies were successful in the long term, insofar as they perhaps helped the downfall of communism, they failed terribly in other ways. Policies designed to contain communism had secondary effects – in particular they contributed to the development of a vast swell of anti-American sentiment among people and nations that were, or felt, oppressed by the regimes and countries that America supported.

The most bitter irony of it all is the fact that the C.I.A. initially supported Islamic militantism, as an ally in the fight against communism; indeed America actually armed and trained the supporters of Ousama Bin Laden, when they were fighting the Soviet aggressor in Afghanistan.

Today, in the Middle East, America is SEEN to be supporting Israeli aggression, in the same way as - in the supposed name of democracy – it earlier supported many corrupt regimes in places as far apart as Viet Nam and Guatemala. It does not actually matter whether, in truth, the USA really supports Zionist expansionists or not; when it comes to shaping people's minds, it is not objective reality that counts, but subjective perceptions of reality.

In spite of Vietnam, in spite of Panama, America's foreign policy makers do not seem to have learned the lessons of history.

### **TEXT 3**

## AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

In most respects, the USA is a country about which its people can be justly proud; in many ways, it is an example for others to follow. But not in all ways. America has a lot to learn, and in particular it has to learn to respect the rest of the world. It also has to learn that many people in other parts of the world do not share Americans' views of their nation's virtue.

George Bush and others played heavily on the words "democracy"; and it is certain that the USA is one of the more democratic nations in the world. But Americans' justified pride in their own democracy must not leave them blind to its failings, particularly in times of national crisis. As many Americans themselves know, and millions of people throughout the world also know, America's democracy has many serious malfunctions, and justice – American style – is by no means perfect.

George Bush is president of the USA, even though more people voted for Al Gore. How democratic or just is that?

As recent court cases and books have frequently demonstrated, the difference between being found guilty or innocent in a US court often depends not on objective justice, but on who can afford the best lawyers. Sometimes access to justice and the nature of punishment seems to depend largely on the color of a person's skin. Large numbers of Americans recognize this: but how democratic or just is it?

In the developed world, the USA is the country with the greatest disparity in living standards, wealth and health between the richest 20% of the population and the poorest 20%. How democratic or just is that?

Among developed countries, the USA alone has refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol on Global Warming, in spite of the fact that the USA is by far the world's largest polluter. In international terms, how just is that?

America, with 4,5% of the world's population, consuming over 24% of the world's energy, is the world's largest importer of energy, and seems determined to get more. How just is that?

Just weeks ago, the USA walked out of the UN conference on racism, in South Africa. How democratic was that?

Some Americans will claim that none of the above examples have anything to do with the ideal of "democracy": but by doing so, they just illustrate the fact that "democracy" is not always interpreted by different people in the same way; just like the old saying that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter".

One day, perhaps, the USA will manage to regild its image throughout the world, to convince most people on our planet that as well as being the world's

richest nation, it is really the world's greatest nation, a country where justice is incorruptible and accessible to all. Perhaps one day those who now imagine that the USA is "the great Satan", will change their minds; but this will not happen unless the USA changes its image. The country which invented the idea of "marketing" has an enormous task of rebranding to accomplish.

#### **TEXT 4**

#### **THE WAR ON TERRORISM**

George Bush has promised an all-out war against terrorism: but terrorism will not be vanquished unless there is also an all-out determination by the USA to remove not just terrorism, but the CAUSES of terrorism, one of the principals of which is America's reputation in some parts of the world. Only once people have no real or perceived reason to hate America will the risk of terrorism go away.

BUT UNTIL these changes occur, and are seen to occur, the USA will continue to inspire fanatical opposition and visceral hatred in some people in other parts of the world, whose personal, religious or national interests are contrary to those of America. Most of these people will be content to shout slogans, burn flags, and perhaps throw petrol bombs. A few, however, will follow in the footsteps of Bin Laden, and seek vengeance in frightening forms. Neither the CIA, nor the FBI, nor the US Army, nor the Marines, nor helicopter gunships nor cruise missiles nor electronic surveillance will be able to guarantee that they will not succeed again.

Next time, the consequences could be far worse.

Imagine: one day in June 201?, an innocent-looking freighter, with a cargo of containers from Dubai, ties up alongside a quay on the Hudson River. It is another ordinary day .....

#### **TEXT 5**

#### **TONY BLAIR and the CHURCHILL FACTOR**

In the history of twentieth century Britain, one statesman stood head and shoulders above all others, and will be remembered longer than any. Winston Churchill. Churchill, an aristocrat from the old English "establishment", was the Prime Minister who cemented Britain together, and bound nations together in an alliance which managed, through "blood, toil, tears and sweat," <http://members.aol.com/linguapress/Blairfactor.htm> - Notes: to stand up to Hitler and overcome fascism in Europe and the wider world.

In the last few weeks, since September 11th, Britain seems to have found its new Churchill, in the person of Tony Blair. Like Churchill, Blair has shown himself to be at his best in times of crisis, and since the World Trade Centre collapsed in an orgy of death and destruction, his name has never been out of the news. In the media on both sides of the Atlantic, he has been compared to Churchill both for his words and for his actions, and in Britain his popularity has risen to unprecedented levels for a Prime Minister in office. In mid October, an opinion poll in the Guardian newspaper showed Blair with an 88% approval rating - better than any other prime minister since opinion polls were first invented.

This is not Blair's first major crisis. In 1997, just a couple of months after becoming Prime Minister, he was faced with the national tragedy of the death of Princess Diana. With great success, he led Britain through its days of public and private grief, to emerge strengthened as a man and a leader.

This time the stakes are much higher; and since September 11th Blair has shown himself as a leader leading from the front, never from behind. He was, for instance, the first world leader to react in public to the destruction of the World Trade Center, pledging Britain in unequivocal terms to the fight back against international terrorism long before George Bush had said anything at all.

Since then, he has played a major role on the international scene, traveling to the Middle East, to Pakistan and India, to Europe, Russia and North America, cementing the international alliance against terrorism in a way that perhaps no American President could do. Far from being "America's poodle", Tony Blair, a man with five years' experience on the international stage, has played a vital role advising George Bush, a man with little experience in world affairs. With their very different backgrounds, the two leaders should not be expected to see eye to eye on all issues, yet at present Anglo-American solidarity is as firm as it was in the Clinton era. The exact role that Tony Blair has played in helping shape America's fight against international terrorism will not be known for many years – but analysts agree that he has certainly been a significant influence on Bush, countering calls from the "hawks" in the Bush administration for more aggressive acts of retaliation .

As well as being in many ways the most successful British Prime Minister for many decades, Blair is also the best-known politician in Europe. He is probably the one who has done more than any other to change the whole basis of left-of-centre politics in Europe; and although he himself did not invent the "Third Way" politics that is the driving force of his "New Labour" government, "Blairism" is now recognised throughout Europe, and has had a major influence on social-democratic parties in other countries, notably in Germany.

Even in America, where European politicians are almost unknown to the vast majority of the population, Blair has acquired unprecedented status for a British prime minister; according to the Sunday Telegraph, a recent opinion poll showed that half of all Americans would vote for Blair if he were to run for president – far more than voted for either Bush or Gore last year.

Tony Blair is not just a politician, he is an inspired and inspiring one, a great public speaker, and a man who is recognised for his sincerity, even if he is sometimes criticised for "spin" and being out of touch with ordinary people. While socialist politics have traditionally been underlined by "ideologies", the key words in Blair's political language are "ideals" and "values"; and while most politicians try to sound sincere, people recognise that at heart Blair really is sincere. A devout Christian from a non-conformist background, his whole approach to politics differs from most modern politicians. In "The Blair Effect"<sup>2</sup>, Denis Kavanagh describes Blair's politics as having "deep moral and ethical, rather than ideological roots" – which is perhaps why he was so ready, so quickly, to see the fight against terrorism as a fight against evil, not just as a fight against terrorists.

Because of his interest in religion, Blair is also probably the western leader with the greatest knowledge and understanding of Islam, a religion about which he has read a great deal since his years as a student at Oxford University. His understanding of the Islamic world could perhaps, in the months to come, prove to be his greatest asset as a world leader.

Strong leadership is a vital quality that can help a nation through times of crisis, and Tony Blair has clearly shown that, like Churchill in the 1940's, he is up to the mark. One must hope that like Churchill, as a key player in an international coalition, he can help see the current crisis through to a just and successful conclusion, in both military and humanitarian terms. Given the nature of the current conflict, it is not going to be easy.

## **TEXT 6**

### **2002 – BRITAIN'S ROYAL JUBILEE**

In February next year, Britain will celebrate the Queen's 50th anniversary (not her 50th birthday!). The year 2002 will be the "Golden Jubilee" year, and there will be lots of celebrations - including a special public holiday in June.

Queen Elizabeth II came to the throne in February 1952, after the sudden death of her father, King George VI.

Throughout her years on the throne, the Queen has usually been a very popular person. Most people in Britain respect her, and she also has a very good international reputation.

Recently, many people have complained because the Queen is very rich, and does not have to pay taxes. In actual fact, she is not as rich as some people say; a lot of the wealth that she has is not personal, but belongs to "the monarch" as an institution. She cannot spend it. Most people in Britain accept that the Queen has to work very hard, and that she does her job well.

But how long will she last? And how long will the monarchy last, as an institution?

The Queen has often said that she will not abdicate; but she is 75 years old, and her eldest son, Prince Charles, is 52. Yet the Queen's Mother is now 101, and is still going strong and living an active life! And the Queen has not been on the throne for as long as her great great grandmother, Queen Victoria. She was queen for 64 years!

Will the British monarchy continue for a long time, however? Most people in Britain do not think so. In a recent opinion poll, people were asked: "Do you think Britain's last monarch has already been born?" More than 50% of the people who answered said "Yes".

What exactly does the Queen do? As Head of State, she has a lot of official jobs to do, and she has to sign mountains of papers. She also has to receive foreign heads of states, and to make official visits. She does not have an easy life! Being Queen is not a 9 to 5 job; the Queen often has to work from early in the morning until late at night. And people watch her all the time.

Of course, she has some free time, and some private life; but less than most people!

Few people work in the same job for fifty years; very few! But Queen Elizabeth II will probably continue for a few more years!

## TEXT 7

### GLOBALIZATION

Mention the word "globalization", and you **are likely to** get a reaction.

Globalization, the creation of a new world economic system dominated by huge corporations and the "G8" nations, is an idea that has its **fervent** supporters and its **bitter** opponents.

Two years ago, in the streets of Seattle, young or **youngish** people from the USA and other countries set up barricades and fought running battles with the police, in protest against the businessmen and the politicians **attending** the conference of the World Trade Organization. Last summer in London and Genoa, there were similar scenes; and similar protests might have occurred again in November 2001, had the WTO conference not been held in Doha, a place for which **potential** protesters were unable to obtain visas.

For its opponents, globalization is seen as a system designed to **impose** the American economic model on the whole world, for the **sole** benefit of the USA and a few other rich countries. For its supporters, globalization is the way forward to a better world, where everyone will **ultimately** be **better off** than they are today.

Globalization is a **process** about which both supporters and opponents can justify some of their arguments. Yet in spite of the hopes of many of the protesters, there is one thing about which there can no longer be any doubt. "Globalization" is not a future development that we can accept or reject; it is a process that has already largely taken place; and it is one from which – in **all but** the most catastrophic future scenarios – **there can be no going back**.

The other day in Paris, I attended an international **symposium** on globalization that brought together politicians and economists, diplomats, **academics**, trade unionists and representatives of humanitarian agencies; there were speakers from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas, including Umberto Eco, U.N Kosovo administrator Bernard Kouchner, and Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs. Each had his or her own specific views, but there was one thing on which every speaker **agreed**; the fact that globalization is here to stay.

As French trade union leader Nicole Notat put it, "The market economy is certainly the best system that exists."

### **Historic roots**

In many ways, there is nothing new about globalization; it is a process that began to spread some three hundred years ago, when European nations, and Britain in particular, developed an economic system that depended on international **trade**. **Spices**, sugar, tea and coffee were among the first commodities that were traded globally. By 1850, Britain - the most developed nation at the time - had an economy that was dependent for its survival on global trade. Unable to **feed** its growing population, the country was importing 25% of its basic food, most of it from America and the British empire; and even if Britain was at the time far ahead of other nations in the "globalization" of its economy, other countries such as France and the United States were already moving strongly in the same direction.

Without the globalization of trade, no nation would have been able to **achieve** its current state of development; for no nation in the world, not even the USA, can supply all its needs in raw materials, products, or services.

Over the last two centuries, thanks to this process, living standards have increased dramatically in most parts of the world. Yet this huge improvement has not benefited every nation equally, and there are indeed some parts of the

world where living standards have **actually** declined. In 1820, the difference in wealth between the people in the world's poorest nations and those in the world's richest nations was about 3:1. Today it is about 30:1.

It is this **flagrant** inequality resulting from globalization, that is unacceptable to so many people.

Nonetheless, it would be quite wrong to suggest that globalization only benefits the nations of the world that are already rich. In the last thirty years, a whole group of nations, including China and India, the world's two most populated states, have begun to benefit massively from the advantages of globalization. In the 1990's, only two nations from the "developed" continents, Ireland and Bosnia, were among the world's 20 fastest-growing economies; and over this period, the Chinese economy, thanks to a huge development of international trade, grew by an massive average of 10.7% per year, bringing jobs and a sharp rise in living standards to millions of people. Without globalization, where would they be?

By contrast, over the same period the economy of Switzerland, one of the world's richest nations, grew by just 0.6% per year.

### **The way forward**

In the end therefore, the question is not "To globalize or not to globalize?" It is a matter of finding ways to make sure that the riches of tomorrow's global economy are spread more **equitably** across the world.

It is not going to be easy. For instance there is a large degree of popular **consensus** in developed countries that the "Third World Debt", the vicious circle of poverty that condemns some of the world's poorest countries to remain poor, is an injustice that must be **set right**; yet even though the first steps in this direction have already been taken, there is still a lot more to be done.

Today, about 25% of the world's population live in countries that are not benefiting from the effects of globalization – countries like Chad or Afghanistan, countries that are often hard to reach and even harder to live in. Until recently, these countries were largely **left to their own devices**, left to **sink** further into poverty. One man who understood this well was Bin Laden, who though coming personally from a rich family that had benefited massively from globalization, recruited his Taliban and Al Qaida fighters from **the ranks of** those who had been **left out**; Afghans, poor Pakistanis, Chechens, even  
Burmese.

**Paradoxically** - both for himself and for the developed world - Bin Laden's terror campaign may **prove to be** the event that reinforces globalization, notably because of the dramatic way in which it has **highlighted** the dangers of

the growing **gap** between rich nations and poor ones. There is only one **feasible** way of addressing this problem, and that is to **involve** the world's poorer countries more closely in the growing (and American-led) global economy. It will have to happen, because the consequences of failure in this matter could be too great to imagine.

Bin Laden wanted to destroy America, and with it the global economy; yet were the global economy to collapse, it would not be the world's richest nations that suffer most. It would be the world's poorer and poorest nations. That is no doubt the most **compelling** general argument in favour of continuing globalization.

The most compelling argument against globalization, in its current form, concerns the nature of the economic forces that are at work. Of the 100 largest players in today's world economy, 49 are nations, but 51 are multinational corporations, unelected **bodies** whose interests can sometimes be very different from those of the people of countries in which they operate.

The task that now faces world leaders is finding the best way to control future developments, for the greatest benefit of the greatest number of people.

## **TEXT 8**

### **MEMORIES OF AFGHANISTAN**

AFGHANISTAN – a country on the brink of a humanitarian disaster, a land filled with fleeing refugees, starving people, and turbaned terrorists in training camps. TV pictures tell the story of a country in ruin and poverty, a country brought almost to total destruction by twenty years of war and struggle. Yet once – though poor – this was a proud nation, and a beautiful country, and one that had survived many centuries of harsh history. Not too long ago, it was a country in peace, and one with a rich cultural heritage....

Apart from the nations of Europe, there are few countries in the world that have never been under colonial rule – or at least never in recent times: Afghanistan was one of them. Many centuries ago, Genghis Khan's troops rode down from Mongolia, inflicting the most terrible carnage on the mountain tribesmen of Afghanistan who dared to resist the invader; but apart from this humiliating period in time, the Afghans – who are in fact a mixture of three separate ethnic groups - have held their heads high in the face of invasion.

The country that is now at the centre of the world's attention was once one of the world's proudest nations, and a nation that other countries invaded at their own risk. In the 19th century the armies of the British Empire knew that Afghanistan was not a country to interfere with.

A hundred and twenty years ago, in 1881, British soldiers were nonetheless stationed in the Afghan capital, Kabul (pronounced Car-bul). They were there for two reasons, firstly to help stop the Russians from invading the country, and secondly to ensure the existence of an independent buffer-state between the Russian Empire to the north, and the British Empire in India (modern Pakistan) to the south east.

Queen Victoria would have liked to add Afghanistan to her empire, but her soldiers never succeeded in this mission, though they tried, and failed. In 1879, the whole British Mission (embassy) in Kabul, including servants, was massacred by a contingent of rebel Afghan soldiers, furious because they had not been paid by their own king, Mohammed Yacoub. Yacoub was friendly to the British, so the British got the blame. The story of the Kabul Massacre was remembered for a long time by the British in India, and recorded by several Victorian writers and poets, including Kipling.

Other bloody events also marked the relationship between the British and the Afghans in the 19th century. In 1842, in the notorious battle of the Khyber Pass, a complete British army was massacred by Afghans as they returned from a short foray into the country. Just one man, a doctor, managed to survive the massacre, and make his way back to the safety of India, to tell the story of the terrible event.

Though the world has changed a lot since Victorian times, Afghanistan has changed little. In many ways, the Taliban have even moved the country back in time, to a dark age of ignorance, intolerance and repression; but even without the Taliban, Afghanistan would still, today, be one of the world's most undeveloped nations. Land-locked, aside from most modern routes of communication (except those taken by drug-traffickers), and broken up by the mighty Hindu Kush mountains and by inhospitable deserts, Afghanistan, like the "tribal territory" of north-west Pakistan, has remained fiercely independent from outside interference, and strongly attached to its traditional ways.

For the last twenty-five years, the Afghan people have been afflicted by the brutality of war and destruction; the overthrow of the monarchy, then the invasion by the Soviet Union in 1978, then the war against the Soviets, then the struggle for control of the country between the Taliban and the supporters of General Massoud, now the massive exodus of a people on the verge of starvation, driven from their homes as much by fear of the Taliban as by the threat of military invasion.

Yet in spite of all this, despite the destruction of a large part of their country, the Afghan people remain kind and hospitable. Older Afghans remember back to a past, when they lived in peace and relative security; younger Afghans, who have never known an era of peace, look forward to the day

when a new age of peace will come. Hopefully, that new dawn will not be too far away.

Even though the Taliban may have wantonly destroyed the massive statues of Buddha at Bamyan, a world heritage site, Afghanistan remains a fantastically beautiful country, and one to which I would happily one day return. Moments in Afghanistan - the lakes of Band-i-Amir and the exquisite mosque at Mazar-i-Sharif - remain among the most vivid travel souvenirs in my mind. For the sake of the Afghan people, they are places where I hope outsiders will soon once again be able to walk in friendship and peace. If that is not the case, then it will be very sad for the world - and most particularly for the long-suffering people of this proud and independent-spirited nation.

## **TEXT 9**

### **Pearl Harbor : THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND**

As an event, the attack on Pearl Harbor by Japanese warplanes on December 7th 1941 was one of the most significant events in US 20th century history. Until then, the United States, though on seriously unfriendly terms with Japan, had managed to remain outside the Second World War. Since the tragedy of the First World War, there had been a strong feeling in America that the country should never again get involved in conflicts in other parts of the world. The attack on Pearl Harbor changed that. By killing over 2,000 Americans – mostly sailors – and dealing a serious blow to American pride, Japan did in two hours what Hitler's war in Europe had not done in two years. By one short act of military aggression, it totally destroyed the strong pacifist and isolationist movement in America – with its powerful pressure group called "America First" – and united Americans in a desire for vengeance. In short, it brought the USA into the Second World War.

As for the raid itself, the irony is that the American high command suspected that it was coming... but nothing was done to stop it. This failure to prevent a predictable attack must surely be one of the most inglorious moments in American history, and one which the American military would surely love to forget....

On Dec. 7th, General Marshall in Washington sent a telegram to Hawaii, warning of an **impending** attack. But as it was Sunday, and as America was still theoretically at peace – even though the Second World War was already raging in Europe – the US military telegram system was shut for the day. Marshall therefore used a commercial telegraph company, Western Union, that offered a Sunday service. However Western Union's Sunday service was

not particularly rapid, and when the telegram reached its Honolulu office, there was nobody there to deliver it. In the end, the telegram was given to a boy to deliver to the naval base by bicycle.... When he was half way to the base, the teenager watched as the first wave of Japanese bombers appeared in the sky.

It is unlikely that this incident will feature in the movie! It is one of the events of December 7th 1941 that Americans prefer not to remember – unlike the attack itself, which is an event they will never forget.

## **TEXT 10**

### **THE CELTIC TIGER**

QUESTION: Which nation is the world's biggest exporter of computer software?

Answers: a) The USA b) Japan c) Ireland?

Of course, the answer has to be Ireland... but if this question had not been asked, would you have guessed the right answer? Maybe not!

Furthermore, if you had been asked the question five years ago, "Ireland" would certainly not have been the right answer. The story of Ireland's exploding high-tech industry is a very new one, and the growth of today's "Celtic Tiger" is one of the most surprising economic developments in modern Europe.

Ten years ago, Ireland was one of those distant regions on the **fringes** of Europe, a country that had much in common with other peripheral European regions like Greece, Portugal or the north of Scotland; it was a country reputed for its slow pace of life, its lack of economic development, high unemployment, and relative poverty. In 1992, the relative prosperity of people in Ireland was only 54% of that of Americans.

Since 1994, the change in Ireland's fortunes has been remarkable; economic growth averaged 8% per year from 1994 to 2000 (far faster than any other European country), and unemployment fell from 16% of the **workforce** (one of the highest **rates** in the European Union) to 4% (one of the lowest).

Today, the Irish economy is booming, to the extent that this country of just 3.6 million inhabitants needs to encourage 200,000 immigrants to come to Ireland within the next five years, to take up all the jobs that are being created – many of them **skilled** and well-paid.

So how has this economic miracle been brought about?

In a few words, the answer is economic liberalism and low taxes.

As long ago as the 1960's, when "Ireland" for most people meant just the "Emerald Isle" on the Celtic fringe of Europe, the country **sought** to attract writers and creative artists, by offering them special low taxes. In those days however, when international transport was far more expensive than it is today, and also slower, few international businesses wanted to settle in a country that was far from the heart of Europe, and lacked a skilled workforce.

By the 1990's, things were changing, and the **pace** of change was getting faster; and with the arrival of cheap rapid international transport, the "information age" and above all the Internet, Ireland rapidly began to look like a very attractive place for investment. It had two other advantages as well; firstly it is nearer the USA than any other part of the European Union, and secondly people in Ireland speak the language of international business, i.e. English.

**Lured** by low taxes, low labour costs and a beautiful country, American companies began investing massively in Ireland from the beginning of the 1990's. Microsoft, Oracle, AOL and dozens more set up large **plants** and their European **call centres** in Ireland; indeed, since 1990, this small country has received about a third of all American electronics investment in the whole of the European Union. Following the example, large European companies - such as banks, computer companies, service companies - have moved some of their operations to Ireland, mostly to Dublin, making Ireland the fastest-growing economy in Europe.

Today, the Irish economy is still the fastest growing in Europe; GNP (Gross National Product) grew by 8% in the year 2000, and consumption grew even faster - by 8.5% (compared with about +3% in Britain, France or Germany). By 1999, Ireland's GNP per head had become the highest in the European Union, apart from Luxembourg and Denmark .... an incredible change in situation compared to ten years earlier!

Thanks to information superhighways, Ireland's big disadvantage – distance from the rest of Europe – has been abolished. There are plenty of other regions of Europe that are now looking enviously at its **achievements!**

As for Dublin it is the fastest growing capital city in Europe; ten years ago, it was a fairly relaxed city; today, though it still has much of the easy-going atmosphere of a provincial city, it has become one of the main cosmopolitan cities of Europe, and also one of the youngest.

Naturally, all this has not come without problems; the vast **influx** of capital and people has put enormous pressures on the country's infrastructures, particularly in Dublin. In spite of a massive house-building programme, there are still not enough houses in the Dublin area, and consequently the cost of hous-

ing for purchase or for rent has skyrocketed. This has led to inflation – currently at 5.5% – and to a series of **strikes**, notably in the public sector, as employees have demanded salary increases to keep up with the rising cost of living. Furthermore, the shortage of skilled employees is also now starting to **put a brake on** expansion in some sectors.

Even so, in spite of warnings, there are no signs of any major let-up in the Irish economic boom. In spite of the serious problems in the high tech sector in the USA in 2000, Ireland's economic indicators were better in 2000 than had been **anticipated**, and there is no sign of a recession. After centuries of existence on the fringe of Europe, Ireland is now finding a new role, at the centre. The Celtic Tiger looks set to keep roaring for many years to come.

## **TEXT 11**

### **TAKE CARE, AMERICA**

**Yes, America**, we are all in this together. The destruction of the World Trade Center was not just an attack on the United States, it was an attack on civilization. We have seen the tears and the emotion on the streets of New York and in the halls of Washington, from schoolkids, from ordinary Americans, from the president. And we have suffered with you... in France, in Britain, in Germany, Belgium, all over Europe, and indeed far further away. We have seen the Pope, Queen Elizabeth of England, Romano Prodi, Jacques Chirac and other heads of states, their heads bowed in somber reflection, mourning those who have died.

And yes, we have also seen Muslim leaders from many countries - from Jordan and Egypt, from France and Palestine, from Germany and Pakistan, expressing their horror at the events that have taken place.

We have heard so many words of love and sorrow, even words of great hope. Yet we have also heard much talk of revenge, of retaliation; we have heard loud and popular calls for knee-jerk reactions, to strike back with force at the terrorists and those who harbor them.

But take care, America.

Three days have passed since the frightful events of 11th September, and you have not yet retaliated; for the moment you are benefiting from a deep groundswell of sympathy worldwide. Perhaps, at this moment in time, you benefit from a higher degree of sympathy and goodwill around the world, than you have done for very many years. Don't blow it.

The deaths of innocent civilians are a tragedy wherever they occur: we mourn the loss of those who died in the Pentagon and the World Trade Cen-

ter, and in the planes that were used to destroy them; but – apart from the fact that we have seen these particular horrors over and over again on television - there is no real reason why we should mourn them any more than the deaths of the young Israelis who died when a terrorist exploded a bomb in a crowded pizzeria, or those of the innocent men, women and children who have died in attacks on the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, or in southern Lebanon, or in Baghdad.

So please, America. You have been wounded, we have all been wounded; but don't give us many more innocent deaths to mourn – in Afghanistan, in the Sudan or anywhere else. The consequences could be unimaginable.

Ousama Bin Laden is perhaps guilty of crimes against humanity; he is certainly guilty of encouraging them. He should be brought to justice.

But take care, America. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" may satisfy some people's thirst for revenge, but it will not necessarily solve our current crisis. Your reaction must be one that will make things better, not make them worse. Don't do anything that will backfire on you, on us all.

Bin Laden has been training people to fight with arms and bombs; but the most dangerous of our enemies are those who are fighting us – the western world - with subversion and with ideas. Don't drive even more people into their arms.

Strategy experts say that we are now in a state of "asymmetric warfare", a struggle in which opposing sides use totally different arms and different methods. These are wars that cannot be won by conventional means – only perhaps by defeating the enemy at his own game.

Bin Laden wants a holy war between Islam and the west. Yet however loud the calls from some sectors of American society may be, don't give Bin Laden what he wants, because that would be a war that cannot be won by either side.

Don't kill thousands, nor even hundreds, of innocent people, in an attempt to capture one Bin Laden. Rambo tactics and more innocent deaths will do nothing to bring back those who died on September 11th - but they could cause a new wave of anti-American sentiment through much of the Islamic world. And that could inspire a new generation of kamikaze fanatics, who could do far worse than just destroy a few prestigious buildings and the people within them.

This "war", if that is what it is, can only be won in one way, and that is by changing the way in which many people - perhaps even most people - in the Islamic world view the United States. Make them hate the USA even more than they do today, and the consequences could be disastrous for us all; make

them appreciate the USA, and the future will have great hope.  
It won't be easy, but you can't afford to lose. So please, America, take care!

## **PART V**

### **UNIT 1**

#### **TRANSLATE THE FOLLOWING INTO ENGLISH**

В конце двадцатого столетия вопрос о роли граждан вновь приобрел особую сложность и актуальность. В странах Западной Европы и Северной Америки, где демократия имеет давние и глубокие корни, всеобщую озабоченность вызывает снижение уровня участия граждан в политической жизни и уровня доверия их к государственным институтам. В странах Центральной Европы и Азии, освобождающихся от гнета коммунизма, перед гражданами стоит задача создания институтов и установления практики, соответствующих местной специфике и способствующих развитию демократии. В странах, все еще томящихся под гнетом авторитарных режимов, задача состоит в расширении островков свободы посреди океана несвободы.

Основные права граждан достаточно ясны. Они включают в себя свободу слова, свободу ассоциаций и собраний и свободу участия в государственной жизни; гарантии, защищающие гражданина от произвола властей; защита неприкосновенности частной жизни, свободы совести, веры и

религии. В понятие полного гражданства входят также и право на вступление в брак, свобода передвижения и равные права граждан на участие в экономической и социальной жизни. В обязанности граждан входит не только соблюдение законов и установлений, но также и готовность внести свой вклад в разработку и соблюдение их. Среди наиболее важных видов ответственности граждан - правильное пользование своими свободами и уважение прав других граждан. Ибо, как свидетельствует история, злоупотребление свободой со стороны некоторых граждан ведет к разрастанию государства, что, в свою очередь, ограничивает свободу всех.

## UNIT 2

### TRASLATE THE FOLLOWING INTO ENGLISH

Конкретное соотношение прав и обязанностей граждан зависит от конкретных условий той или иной страны. Так, например, в Соединенных Штатах после резкого расширения прав личности на протяжении жизни одного поколения на передний план выходит задача повышения ответственности граждан в отношении других граждан и всего общества.

В посткоммунистических режимах, наоборот, свобода не может восприниматься как нечто само собой разумеющееся.

В этих странах еще предстоит создать институты, гарантирующие основные права человека и гражданина. Но эта задача может быть решена только тогда, когда каждый гражданин будет считать себя активным участником, а не пассивным объектом в борьбе за свободу. В то же время граждане этих стран должны решить для себя сложные вопросы моральной ответственности за ошибки прошлого, что потребует соблюдения тонкого баланса между справедливостью, милосердием, задачами демократизации и социального примирения.

С определенностью можно сказать лишь одно: нет универсального понятия прав и обязанностей гражданина, применимого одновременно ко всем странам. Каждая страна должна разработать подход, наилучшим образом соответствующий ее истории и современному положению. Как

и во всем, для решения этой проблемы требуется прежде всего широкий диалог.

### **UNIT 3**

#### **TRANSLATE THE FOLLOWING INTO ENGLISH**

Всем тем, кто сомневается в политической важности образования, следует обратить внимание на то, как энергично и активно тоталитарные и авторитарные режимы стремятся установить контроль над информацией.

Однако отсутствие тоталитарного правительства не создает само по себе сильной, стабильной и эффективной демократии. Демократия не способна автоматически научить людей демократическим ценностям. Если не только сила, преимущества демократии, но и обязанности не будут донесены до граждан, они не смогут ее защитить. Поэтому к обучению демократии следует подходить как к чрезвычайно серьезному и ответственному делу.

Чем отличается обучение демократии от идеологической работы, которая практиковалась при тоталитарных режимах? Прежде всего результатами: складом ума, образом мыслей и способностью их выражать, по крайней мере, в тех случаях, когда обучение поставлено правильно. Обучение демократии не исключает свободного изучения других политических доктрин или систем правления. Более того, сторонники демократии не скрывают того, что и у демократии есть свои изъяны. В демократических обществах, в отличие от других форм правления, честно признают свои недостатки и также открыто говорят о них, когда речь идет о других странах. Если наряду с изучением институтов, ценностей, перспектив и проблем, которые характеризуют демократию в историческом плане, студентам рассказывают об альтернативных формах управления, можно с уверенностью предположить, что они предпочтут и полюбят именно демократическую политическую систему. Совершенно не обязательно, что они сочтут ее идеальной. Тем более, что мало какая политическая система может такой быть. Однако они поймут, что это лучшая система правления из всех, которые уже испытаны на практике и, возможно, самая сложная с точки зрения ее реального функционирования.

### **UNIT 4**

#### **TRANSLATE THE FOLLOWING INTO ENGLISH**

### **Что такое демократия?**

Любая попытка обучения демократии должна начинаться с четкого и ясного представления о том, что именно следует преподавать и изучать. Следовательно, при разработке образовательных программ и учебно-педагогических методик необходимо иметь хорошее понимание того, что такое демократия.

И хотя само слово демократия сегодня модно, к сожалению, оно часто неверно понимается и неправильно употребляется. Тоталитарные и милитаристские режимы, к примеру, могут называть себя «демократическими республиками», но при этом их конституции, на словах заявляющие о правах и свободах, в реальности не что иное, как фикция. Кроме того, в странах, избавляющихся от тоталитаризма, где угнетение было нормой жизни в течение десятилетий, существует тенденция упрощенно подходить к демократии, рассматривая ее лишь как гарантию личной свободы, своего рода, лицензию на нее, а не как сложное взаимодействие идей, институтов, обязанностей, прав и поступков.

Демократия – это система самоуправления, при которой все граждане равны, а политические решения принимаются большинством, однако всегда с учетом и защитой прав меньшинства. В своих наиболее «чистых» формах демократия предоставляет гражданам возможность прямого участия в процессе принятия решений. Это называется прямой демократией. Однако, учитывая размеры и сложность современных обществ, обычно для граждан более практично избирать своих представителей, которые осуществляют управление и принимают решения от их имени. Основа представительной демократии – регулярные, свободные, честные и состязательные выборы, в результате которых избирается подотчетное народу правительство.

## **UNIT 5**

### **TRANSLATE THE FOLLOWING INTO ENGLISH**

В условиях демократии правительство существует для того, чтобы служить народу, а не наоборот. Поскольку демократическое правительство получает свою власть от тех, кем оно управляет, народ, потеряв доверие к правительству, имеет возможность сменить его мирным путем.

Основополагающим принципом демократии является мажоритарная избирательная система, при которой победившим считается кандидат, получивший большинство голосов. Однако простой мажоритаризм

имеет определенные недостатки. Поэтому он обычно функционирует в рамках конституции, которая ограничивает власть правительства и обеспечивает индивидуальные права личности и права меньшинств. В таких конституционных демократических системах все граждане уже обладают основными правами, а права меньшинств не зависят от доброй воли большинства.

Такие права гарантируются посредством механизмов, которые чрезвычайно трудно изменить. В Соединенных Штатах, например, в качестве неотъемлемых прав всех граждан конституция провозглашает свободу слова, вероисповедания, собраний, а также право на справедливый суд. Федеральное правительство и правительства штатов не могут принимать законы, игнорирующие или подрывающие эти права.

Другим ключевым принципом демократического правления является система «сдержек и противовесов», которая не допускает, чтобы у какого-либо органа управления, политического института, группы людей или отдельной личности оказалась чрезмерная власть. Важным, в частности, является наличие независимой судебной системы, которая не позволяет исполнительной и законодательной власти выходить за рамки своих полномочий. В Соединенных Штатах исполнительная власть и Конгресс функционируют раздельно, контролируя и уравновешивая друг друга. Таким образом ни человек, ни часть правительственного аппарата не могут сконцентрировать в своих руках столько власти, чтобы она представляла угрозу правам граждан или нарушала их права. И хотя парламентская демократия и система президентского правления отличаются друг от друга в том, как они разграничивают полномочия ветвей власти, обе предусматривают наличие механизмов, ограничивающих власть каждой из этих ветвей.

Демократия может не сработать из-за чрезмерной концентрации власти в руках у правительства, равным образом она может дать сбой, если у правительства недостаточно власти. Демократический процесс - формула для обеспечения справедливости, но не закрепления бездеятельности или анархии. Таким образом для обеспечения успеха демократического правления необходимо руководство, а граждане должны придерживаться решений, принятых избранными ими руководителями, и выполнять законы общества (при условии, что эти законы не нарушают основных прав).

## UNIT 6

## TRANSLATE THE FOLLOWING INTO ENGLISH

Вопреки представлениям некоторых, здоровое демократическое общество это не просто арена, где отдельные люди добиваются лишь своих собственных целей. Демократия привлекательна перспективой свобод и широких возможностей. Однако таким же необходимым условием ее успешного функционирования, что, кстати, часто игнорируется, являются обязанности и определенная ментальность, без которых невозможна жизнь демократического общества.

Граждане демократического общества должны, к примеру, принимать участие в политической жизни общества. Делать это они могут разными путями, в том числе избирая своих представителей в правительство, участвуя в деятельности политических партий, профсоюзов и других добровольных организаций, исполняя свой долг в качестве присяжных заседателей в гражданских и уголовных судах или даже выставляя свою кандидатуру на какой-либо государственный пост. Для того чтобы обеспечить плодотворное участие в общественной жизни, люди должны хорошо знать о проблемах, стоящих перед обществом, а также уметь сочетать личные и групповые интересы с общественными. Они должны быть терпимы к инакомыслию, способны к сотрудничеству и компромиссу. Они должны проявлять уважение к закону и законной власти, равно как к частной собственности и правам личности.

Демократия – нечто большее, чем система политического устройства. Это способ совместно жить и работать. Только когда граждане станут серьезно относиться к своим обязанностям, преимущества и возможности демократического общества смогут раскрыться в полной мере.

## UNIT 7

### TRANSLATE THE FOLLOWING INTO ENGLISH

#### **Функции законодательного органа**

Хотя высший законодательный орган – это прежде всего социально-политический институт, в структуре которого разрабатываются и принимаются законы, следует помнить, что он выполняет целый ряд других важных функций. Вопреки словарному определению, законодательный орган – не единственный государственный институт, разрабатывающий и

проводящий в жизнь законы. Те же функции могут осуществляться исполнительными властями, судами и государственным аппаратом. Чем же отличаются от них законодательные органы?

Первая и самая главная черта законодательного органа – это представительство, то есть изначальная, непосредственная связь с народом. Как писал Джон Стюарт Милль в 1862 году, законодательный орган в представительной демократии функционирует как глаза, уши и голос народа. Задача представительного собрания состоит в надзоре и контроле за правительством: проливать свет гласности на его действия, добиваться полного обсуждения и обоснования любых правительственных решений, в отношении которых у народа есть сомнения, осуждать те из них, что достойны осуждения... Помимо того, Парламент ... должен быть для страны одновременно Комитетом по рассмотрению жалоб и Форумом для выражения мнений.

В дополнение к тому, что парламент становится законным органом для выражения воли народа, у него есть и другие отличительные черты. Так, большинство парламентов состоят из людей, которые хотя бы теоретически равны между собой. Хотя некоторые члены парламента занимают руководящие посты или выполняют особые обязанности, каждый член имеет обычно один голос. То есть, законодательное собрание выступает как коллективный орган для принятия решений.

## **UNIT 8**

### **TRANSLATE INTO ENGLISH**

Законодательные органы определяют политику и разрабатывают законы путем обсуждения. Хотя в целом решения законодательных органов основываются на неких общих принципах в писаных и неписаных конституциях, эти решения не обязательно исходят из существующего права или конкретных юридических прецедентов. Этим законодательные органы отличаются от судов.

Кроме прямой законодательной функции, большинство законодательных органов выполняют уникальную воспитательную функцию. Члены законодательного органа стараются сформулировать сложные вопросы ясно и четко определяют политические альтернативы, представляют своим избирателям четко определенные варианты решений.

Другая характерная черта большинства законодательных органов — это двойная роль, которую играют ее выборные члены. С одной стороны, законодательные органы разрабатывают законы, которые касаются всего общества и принимаются, исходя из совместных интересов общества в

целом. С другой стороны, отдельные законодатели обязаны представлять интересы своих избирательных округов. Это противоречие свойственно лишь тем формам представительных органов, члены которых избираются по округам.

В Палате общин британского Парламента, а также во многих других парламентах и в Конгрессе США отдельные избирательные округа, определяемые географическими границами, имеют по одному представителю. Другие законодательные органы, например, в Голландии, используют систему пропорционального представительства. Хотя кандидаты могут выдвигаться от определенных географических районов, выбираются они в ходе национальных выборов, причем места в парламенте отводятся партиям в соответствии с набранным ими количеством голосов. В некоторых системах для получения мест в парламенте партия должна набрать от 5 до 10 процентов общего числа голосов. В других системах достаточно одного процента.

Парламент – это не собрание послов, представляющих различные и враждебные друг другу интересы, которые каждый из них должен поддерживать в качестве проводника и защитника в борьбе с другими проводниками и защитниками, парламент – это собрание для обсуждения вопросов одного народа, имеющего один общий интерес. При этом ни местные задачи, ни местные предпочтения не должны быть решающими. Таковыми должны быть интересы общего блага, достигаемые путем совместного размышления.

Противоречие между ролью законодателя в качестве доверенного лица и делегата существует во всех законодательных собраниях. Это противоречие может проистекать из противопоставления конкретных нужд географически небольшого района и нужд всего народа, либо нужд узкой профессиональной или этнической группы и нужд всей нации.

## **UNIT 9**

### **TRANSLATE INTO ENGLISH**

Каждая страна и каждый законодательный орган сами должны решать, как направлять и балансировать эти различные интересы. Если минимум голосов для получения места в законодательном органе чрезмерно занижен, это может привести к тому, что небольшие группы, которые представляют узкие интересы, могут приобрести несоразмерно большое влияние, от чего пострадают интересы большинства. Однако создание слишком крупных избирательных округов или проведение выборов только на

национальном уровне лишает голоса этнические меньшинства и другие группы, что создает у них ощущение бессилия и ущемленности.

Законодательная система США отчасти была реакцией против британской парламентской системы. Создатели Конституции США заимствовали понятие представительного правительства из теории социального договора Джона Локка и других политических философов, в соответствии с которой законная власть должна быть основана на согласии управляемых. Кроме того, особенности колониального общества, в котором мало кто претендовал на особые иерархические или наследственные привилегии, облегчили принятие формы представительства, основанной на прямых всеобщих выборах. В колониальной Америке никто не претендовал на роль аристократии, а между социальными классами не было четких границ. Землевладение было основано в гораздо большей степени на личной инициативе, нежели на богатстве или социальном статусе, и для всех желающих земли было с избытком. Все эти факторы ставили американских колонистов относительно в одинаковое положение и способствовали созданию духа самоуправления и распространению идеалов равенства.

Члены Конгресса со временем стали выступать все больше как доверенные лица всего народа, а не прямые представители своих избирательных округов. Чаще всего они берут на себя эту роль в соответствии с личными взглядами или в связи с неотложностью или сложностью конкретных вопросов. И все же они по-прежнему сохраняют прочные связи со своими избирателями, что обычно предопределяет их голосование по вопросам местного значения.

## **UNIT 10**

### **TRANSLATE INTO ENGLISH**

#### **ФОРМЫ ЗАКОНОДАТЕЛЬНЫХ ОРГАНОВ**

Характер законодательного собрания определяется во многом историческими и культурными традициями народа или государства. Законодательные собрания существуют не только в демократических обществах. Определенная роль им отводится и при недемократических режимах. Примером может служить Верховный Совет в бывшем Советском Союзе.

Такие законодательные органы служат механизмом для автоматического одобрения политики правительства. Легитимизируя правительство, они тем самым обеспечивают стабильность политической системы в целом. Хотя законодательные органы такого рода и не служат средством пря-

мого или косвенного участия народа, они обеспечивают пополнение высшего эшелона власти из среды избранных.

При открытых, демократических режимах законодательные органы могут иметь разную форму. Одно из основных различий между ними связано с тем, какое место законодательные органы занимают во всей политической системе, частью которой они являются. Например, законодательный орган может быть частью парламентской системы правления. Другая форма – когда он встроен в систему, основанную на разделении властей, которая называется «президентская система». Различие между этими двумя формами законодательных органов связано с устройством политической системы и в решающей степени определяет роль законодательного органа.

В парламентской системе исполнительная власть и руководители административного аппарата выбираются парламентским большинством и подотчетны ему. В системе, основанной на разделении властей, например, в условиях президентской системы США, исполнительная власть и кабинет министров полностью отделены от законодательного органа. Таким образом, законодательный орган имеет свои собственные ресурсы, цели и обязанности. Никто (за исключением вице-президента – в случае США) не может быть одновременно членом исполнительной и законодательной власти. В зависимости от динамики партийной жизни, эти две ветви могут противоречить по отношению друг к другу в вопросах политических приоритетов и законотворческой деятельности.

Законодательный орган в парламентской системе – это парламент; в президентской системе – конгресс. Различие в названии отчасти отражает различия в существе указанных органов. Как отметил политолог Джеймс Уилсон, слово парламент происходит от французского слова *parler* «разговаривать», в то время как слово «конгресс» происходит от латинского *con* «собираться вместе». Хотя большинство законодательных органов принадлежит к одной из двух указанных категорий, названия их нередко могут вводить в заблуждение.

Например, высший законодательный орган Венгрии сходен с парламентом, однако его название – «Национальная ассамблея» может создать иное впечатление. Точно так же в России слово «Совет» не вполне отражает тот факт, что законодательный орган является частью президентской системы.

Основная функция парламента состоит в том, чтобы обсуждать политические вопросы. Ключевым в его деятельности является период вопросов и ответов, в течение которого члены правительства отвечают на острые вопросы со стороны членов парламента, в основном членов оп-

позиции. С другой стороны, основной функцией конгресса считается принятие законов. Он трансформирует идеи или предложения в государственную политику посредством дискуссии, переговоров и компромиссов.

## UNIT 11

### TRANSLATE INTO ENGLISH

В 1975 году известный исследователь американского конгресса Нелсон Полсби предложил новую формулу для описания различия между законодательными органами. По мнению Полсби, законодательные органы делятся на два основных типа.

Первые можно назвать аренами для обсуждения идей и политических вопросов, аренами, где сталкиваются основные политические силы в жизни общества. Чем более открыт режим, тем разнообразнее действующие на этой арене силы, тем выше степень их представительности и ответственности. Вторые можно назвать орудиями преобразования, которые трансформируют идеи в законы парламента.

Хорошим примером законодательного органа первого типа, органа-арены, можно считать британский Парламент. Конгресс США, напротив, – пример законодательного органа второго типа, органа-преобразователя. В британской системе исполнительная власть – премьер-министр – и законодательная власть – парламент – связаны между собой и контролируются одной и той же партией. Поэтому необходимость и возможность кардинальных преобразований в политических решениях уменьшаются. Парламент по существу выступает ареной, на которой обнародуются и отрабатываются различные политические варианты в ходе дискуссии, причем внутривнутрипартийные конфликты, серьезные компромиссы и личная инициатива практически отсутствуют.

Вот уже много лет британский Парламент не использовал своих властных функций непосредственно. Он представляет собой форум, на котором правительство демонстрирует свою власть... Другими словами, власть осуществляется не Парламентом, а через Парламент.

С другой стороны, Конгресс США занимает гораздо более энергичную позицию. Здесь мы видим конфликты, компромиссы и индивидуальную инициативу. Происходят постоянные взаимные уступки по мере того, как поступающие из всех подразделений политической системы предложения трансформируются в законодательные акты.

*А.Г. Румянцева*

INTRODUCTION  
INTO POLITICAL SCIENCE

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