О.В. Ковтун, А.А. Заслужена, С.О. Мірошник,
Н.І. Мельник, Л.О. Загоруйко, Н.П. Білоус

ENGLISH FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE

Практикум
для здобувачів ОС «Бакалавр»
спеціальності 052 «Політологія»

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Укладачі:
О. В. Ковтун – д-р пед. наук, проф. – передмова, частина 1, теми 1.1-1.4 (Part 1, Units 1.1-1.4);
А. А. Заслужена – канд. пед. наук, доц. – частина 1, теми 1.5-1.10 (Part 1, Units 1.5-1.10);
С. О. Мірошник – ст. викладач – модуль 1, теми 1.11-1.16, (Part 1, Units 1.11-1.16);
Н. І. Мельник – д-р пед. наук, доц. – частина 2, теми 2.1-2.6, (Part 2, Units 2.1-2.5);
Л. О. Загоруйко – канд. пед. наук, доц. – частина 2, теми 2.7-2.12, (Part 2, Units 2.6-2.10);
Н.П. Білоус – канд. пед. наук – частина 2, теми 2.13-2.18, (Part 2, Units 2.11-2.16).

Рецензенти: Н. В. Пазюра – д-р пед. наук, проф.;
                В. М. Донченко – канд. пед. наук.

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Навчальне видання призначене для аудиторної та самостійної роботи студентів з дисципліни «Фахова іноземна мова». Практикум містить оригінальні англомовні тексти з теорії та практики політології, активний вокабуляр до кожної теми та завдання для оволодіння термінологічною лексикою за фахом, удосконалення вмінь читання професійно зорієнтованих текстів, усного та писемного професійного мовлення.

Для здобувачів ОС «Бакалавр» спеціальності 052 «Політологія».

ПЕРЕДМОВА

Навчальне видання призначене для здобувачів ОС «Бакалавр» спеціальності 052 «Політологія». Практикум укладений відповідно до програми навчальної дисципліни «Фахова іноземна мова» і призначений для самостійної роботи студентів та для роботи на практичних заняттях з цієї дисципліни. Практикум структурований за двома розділами, в межах кожного розділу виокремлено підрозділи, присвячені різноманітним аспектам теорії та практики політології.

Мета практикуму – ознайомлення студентів з найважливішими аспектами широкого кола проблем політології, а також розвиток навичок і вмінь у сфері письмового та усного професійного іншомовного мовлення.

Завдання практикуму – формування у студентів умінь, з-поміж них: читання, перекладу, вимови, відтворювання та інтерпретації прочитаного.

До практикуму включено автентичні тексти із сучасної літератури у сфері політології, що слугують основою для формування обізнаності студентів з широкого кола фахових проблем.

Кожен підрозділ містить необхідний лексичний мінімум для засвоєння й завдання, що сприяють закріпленню та активізації лексичного й граматичного матеріалу, розвитку вмінь перекладу, а також формуванню мовленнєвої компетенції студентів у читанні, говорінні та письмі. Післятекстові вправи охоплюють відповіді на запитання, розуміння прочитаного, формулювання головної думки тексту, висловлювання своєї точки зору тощо.

Передбачається, що практикум допоможе зробити навчальний процес з дисципліни «Фахова іноземна мова» цікавим та ефективним, забезпечить формування професійної іншомовної компетентності майбутніх фахівців у сфері політології.

CONTENT

PART 1.
ESSENCE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 1.1. POLITICAL SCIENCE AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

political science – *політологія*
political behavior – *політична поведінка*
to comprise – *включати*
to draw on/upon – *спиратися на*
comparison – *порівняння*
legislature – *законодавчий орган*
contemporary – *сучасний*
to interact – *взаємодіяти*
to seek to – *прагнути*
contribution – *внесок*
scientific approach – *науковий підхід*
to render binding – *робити обов'язковим*
public policies – *державна політика*
value – *значення, цінність*
government – *уряд*
employment – *працевлаштування*
citizen – *громадянин*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Political science, occasionally called **politology**, is a discipline of social science which deals with systems of governance, and the analysis of political activities, political thoughts, associated constitutions and political behavior.

Political science comprises numerous subfields, including comparative politics, political economy, international relations, political theory, public administration, public policy, and political methodology. Furthermore, political science is related to, and draws upon, the fields of economics, law, sociology, history, philosophy, human geography, journalism, political anthropology and social policy.

Comparative politics is the science of comparison and teaching of different types of constitutions, political actors, legislature and associated fields, all of them from an intrastate perspective. International relations deal with the interaction between nation-states as well as intergovernmental and transnational organizations. Political

theory is more concerned with contributions of various classical and contemporary thinkers and philosophers.

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

What is political science? Put most simply, political science is the study of politics, government, and public policy, both in the U.S. and around the world. Political scientists seek to both describe and explain political phenomena. This includes study of the processes of government (the classic example is "how a bill becomes a law"), study of the institutions of government (e.g., the presidency, Congress, etc.), as well as study of the behavior of the people in government (both elected officials and government workers) and the study of how citizens interact with their government (e.g., why don't more people vote?).

Political scientists seek to understand the underlying ways in which power, authority, rules, constitutions, and laws affect our lives.

Like other social sciences, political science focuses on human behavior, both individually and collectively.

Although the study of politics and power is ancient, the discipline of political science is relatively new. Like other social sciences, political science uses a "scientific" approach, meaning that political scientists approach their study in an objective, rational, and systematic manner. Some political scientists focus on abstract and theoretical questions, while others study particular government policies and their effects.

Political scientists seek to understand the underlying ways in which power, authority, rules, constitutions, and laws adjust to our lives. Political scientists focus upon political systems, including the effect of environment on the system, inputs, the decision-making agencies, which render binding public policies, and system outputs. Approaches to the study of government and politics include the normative approach, in which philosophical attention centers on values by asking the question

"What ought to be?" and the behavioral approach, in which an attempt is made to develop verifiable theories through scientific methods by asking the questions "How?" and "Why?"

Political thoughts comprise comparative politics, political economy, international relations, political theory, public administration, public policy, and political methodology.

Political science is defined as methodologically poor. It appropriates many methods originating in psychology, social research and cognitive neuroscience. Its methods include positivism, interpretivism, rational choice theory, behaviouralism, structuralism, post-structuralism, realism, institutionalism, and pluralism.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.

1. What does political science deal with? 2. What subfields are included in political science? 3. What is political science related to? 4. What methods are used in political science? 5. What do political scientists describe and explain? 6. What approaches are used to study government and politics? 7. Why do you study political science?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Politology is a discipline of natural science that deals with systems of governance, and the analysis of political activities, political thoughts, associated constitutions and political behaviour.

2. Political science is the study of politics, government, and public policy, both in the U.S. and Ukraine.

3. Political scientists focus upon political systems, including the effect of environment on the system.

4. Political thoughts comprise comparative politics, political economy, international relations, political theory, public administration, public policy, and political methodology.

5. Comparative politics is the science of learning of different types of constitutions, political actors, legislature and associated fields, all of them from an intrastate perspective.

6. Political scientists seek to understand the underlying ways in which power, authority, rules, constitutions, and laws adjust to our lives.

7. Political science is defined as methodologically poor and appropriates many methods originating in psychology, social research and cognitive neuroscience.

8. Political science focuses only on individual human behavior.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *values, govern, addictive, requirements, employment, legislature, approach, citizen, contributions, behavior*

1. As mayor, he made many positive _____ to the growth of the city.
2. In a democracy, every _____ should have the right to vote.
3. Two general principles usually _____ these relationships.
4. The French _____ ratified both laws on 19 March 1999.
5. Their _____ was not moral
6. The campaign will therefore primarily target legal _____ substances.
7. Economic _____ include direct use value, indirect use value, option value, bequest value and other non-use value of ecosystem goods and services.
8. In Indonesia, urban informal _____ is almost 50 per cent of the total urban employment.
9. Nevertheless, certain _____ are discriminatory against disabled persons.
10. Imposing such an _____ would be a dangerous step backwards.

UNIT 1.2. DEFINING POLITICS. POLITICAL SCIENCE AS A SCIENCE AND ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

to preserve – *зберігати*
to amend – *вносити зміни*
academic subject – *навчальний предмет*
inextricably – *нерозривно*
cooperation – *співпраця*
rival opinions – *думки суперників*
competing – *конкуруючий*
opposing – *протилежний*
disagreement – *незгода*
influence – *вплив*
to ensure – *забезпечувати*
to uphold – *підтверджувати*
to portray– *описувати*
to reconcile – *примирювати*
inescapable – *неминучий*
scarcity feature – *особливість дефіциту*
inevitable – *неминучий*

preconception – *упередження*
impartial – *неупереджений*
dispassionate – *безпристрасний*
to conjure – *викликати в уяві; викликати; заклинати*
disruption – *порушення*
deceit – *обман*
hatred – *ненависть*
allocation – *розподіл*
scarce – *дефіцитний*
deception – *обман*
virtue – *чеснота*
to encompass – *охоплювати*
to contest – *оспорювати*
legitimate – *законний*
intrastate – *внутрішньодержавний*
to adjust – *регулювати*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. Although politics is also an academic subject, it is then clearly the study of this activity.

Politics is thus inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that, in order to influence these rules or ensure that they are upheld, they must work with others.

This is why the heart of politics is often portrayed as a process of conflict resolution, in which rival views or competing interests are reconciled with one another. However, politics in this broad sense is better thought of as a search for conflict resolution than as its achievement, as not all conflicts are, or can be, resolved. Nevertheless, the inescapable presence of diversity (we are not all alike) and scarcity (there is never enough to go around) ensures that politics is an inevitable feature of the human condition. Any attempt to clarify the meaning of politics must nevertheless address two major problems. The first is the mass of associations that the word has when used in everyday language; in other words, politics is a loaded term. Whereas most people think of,

say, economics, geography, history and biology simply as academic subjects, few people come to politics without preconceptions. Many, for instance, automatically assume that students and teachers of politics must in some way be biased, finding it difficult to believe that the subject can be approached in an impartial and dispassionate manner. To make matters worse, politics is usually thought of as a dirty word: it conjures up images of trouble, disruption and even violence on the one hand, and deceit, manipulation and lies on the other. There is nothing new about such associations. As long ago as 1775, Samuel Johnson dismissed politics as nothing more than a means of rising in the world, while in the nineteenth century the US historian Henry Adams summed up politics as the systematic organization of hatreds.

The second and more intractable difficulty is that even respected authorities cannot agree what the subject is about. Politics is defined in such different ways: as the exercise of power, the science of government, the making of collective decisions, the allocation of scarce resources, the practice of deception and manipulation, and so on. The virtue of the definition advanced in this text – the making, preserving and amending of general social rules – is that it is sufficiently broad to encompass most, if not all, of the competing definitions.

Politics may be treated as an essentially contested concept, in the sense that the term has a number of acceptable or legitimate meanings.. Whether we are dealing with rival concepts or alternative conceptions, it is helpful to distinguish between two broad approaches to defining politics. In the first, politics is associated with an arena or location, in which case behaviour becomes political because of where it takes place. In the second, politics is viewed as a process or mechanism, in which case political behaviour is behaviour that exhibits distinctive characteristics or qualities, and so can take place in any social context. Indeed, the debate about what is politics? is worth pursuing precisely because it exposes some of the deepest intellectual and ideological disagreement in the academic study of the subject.

Politology deals with systems of governance, and the analysis of political activities, thoughts, and behaviour. Why study political science? Political science has gotten a bad rap. Many people wrongly assume that political science is boring and has nothing to do with them. On the contrary, government and politics affect everyone lives on a daily basis, and, once you're familiar with a few basics and a few key characters,

the study of politics is as interesting and addictive as a soap opera, and watching the process unfold is not unlike watching a football game.

Most colleges and universities include political science courses in their liberal studies requirements precisely because an understanding of government and politics is so important. Political science courses are not only excellent preparation for employment, but they better enable people to be informed and active citizens in their community.

Modern university departments of political science are often divided into several fields, each of which contains various subfields. *Domestic politics* is generally the most common field of study; its subfields include public opinion, elections, national government, and state, local, or regional government. *Comparative politics* focuses on politics within countries (often grouped into world regions) and analyzes similarities and differences between countries. *International relations* considers the political relationships and interactions between countries, including the causes of war, the formation of foreign policy, international political economy, and the structures that increase or decrease the policy options available to governments. International relations is organized as a separate department in some universities. *Political theory* includes classical political philosophy and contemporary theoretical perspectives (e.g., constructivism, critical theory, and postmodernism). *Public administration* studies the role of the bureaucracy. It is the field most oriented toward practical applications within political science and is often organized as a separate department that prepares students for careers in the civil service. *Public law* studies constitutions, legal systems, civil rights, and criminal justice (now increasingly its own discipline). *Public policy* examines the passage and implementation of all types of government policies, particularly those related to civil rights, defense, health, education, economic growth, urban renewal, regional development, and environmental protection.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What is politics in a broad sense? 2. What is politics linked to? 3. Why does disagreement about the rules under which people live occur? 4. How is the heart of politics portrayed? 5. What ensures that politics is an inevitable feature of the human condition? 6. What is politology? 7. What do political thoughts comprise? 8. What does domestic politics study? 9. What does international relations consider? 10. What does public law study?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Politics, in its narrowest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live.

2. The existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests guarantees agreement about the rules under which people live.

3. The inescapable presence of poverty and abundance ensures that politics is an inevitable feature of the human condition.

4. Politics is usually thought of as a dirty word: it conjures up images of trouble, disruption and even benevolence.

5. Politics is viewed as a process or mechanism, in which case political behavior is behavior that exhibits similar characteristics or qualities, and so can take place in social contexts.

6. Any attempt to entangle the meaning of politics must nevertheless address two major problems.

7. Few colleges and universities include political science courses in their liberal studies requirements because an understanding of government and politics is unimportant.

8. Public administration focuses on politics within countries and analyzes similarities and differences between countries.

Exercise 5 Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *rival opinions, impartial, reconcile, inextricable, adjust, preconceptions, competing, amend, portray, deception*

1. The Working group agreed to _____ its workplan on policy relevant effects indicators.

2. The patterns described above, renew the _____ linkages between health and wealth.

3. The court seems split, having issued two _____ _____, each signed by three justices.

4. In resolving these _____ policies, States take different approaches.

5. Magazines and TV shows and movies _____ women as skinny, tall goddesses.

6. He wondered how the United Nations could _____ those contrasting tensions.

7. We've got to set aside our _____ about each other.

8. Trials before tribunals without political and institutional independence cannot render fair and _____ verdicts.

9. His story, Mr. Speaker, is a disgraceful and tawdry tale of dishonor and _____, as is the Premier's.

10. That enables the price rise to be assimilated and enables consumers' _____.

UNIT 1.3. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

intellectual enquiry – *інтелектуальне розслідування*
purpose – *мета*
attempt – *спроба*
rejection – *відмова*
to wane – *послаблювати*
recognition – *визнання*
to abandon – *відмовлятися*
disclosing – *розкриття інформації*
fertile – *родючий*
to embrace – *охоплювати*
prescriptive – *розпорядчий*
concern – *занепокоєння*
to resurface – *повернутися*
medieval – *середньовічний*
dictatorship – *диктатура*
to span – *охоплювати*
to justify – *виправдовувати*
to carry out – *визнавати*
to obey – *підкорятися*
reward – *нагорода*
to distribute – *розподіляти*
prominent – *видатний*
to trace – *переміщатися*
statecraft – *мистецтво управління державою*
comparative government – *порівняльна політика*
descriptive – *описовий*
underpinning – *підкріплення*
observation – *спостереження*
to proclaim – *проголошувати*

emergence – *поява*
enquiry – *запит*
to adhere – *дотримуватися*
to perceive – *сприймати*
credentials – *дані, повноваження*
proliferation – *розповсюдження*
to constrain – *обмежувати*
scope – *сфера застосування*
obsession – *одержимість*
to discard – *відмовлятися*
assertion – *твердження*
entity – *суб'єкт*
political arrangements – *політичні домовленості*
legitimized – *узаконений*
redefine – *визначати повторно*
popular self-government – *народне самоврядування*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Disagreement about the nature of political activity is matched by controversy about the nature of politics as an academic discipline. One of the most ancient spheres of intellectual enquiry, politics was originally seen as an arm of philosophy, history or law. Its central purpose was to uncover the principles on which human society should be based. From the late nineteenth century onwards, however, this philosophical emphasis was gradually displaced by an attempt to turn politics into a scientific discipline. The high point of this development was reached in the 1950s and 1960s with an open rejection of the earlier tradition as meaningless metaphysics. Since then, however, enthusiasm for a strict science of politics has waned, and there has been a renewed recognition of the enduring importance of political values and normative theories. If the 'traditional' search for universal values acceptable to everyone has largely been abandoned, so has been the insistence that science alone provides a means of disclosing truth. The resulting discipline is more fertile and exciting, precisely because it embraces a range of theoretical approaches and a variety of schools of analysis.

The philosophical tradition. The origins of political analysis date back to Ancient Greece and the tradition is usually referred to as 'political philosophy'. This involved a preoccupation with essentially ethical, prescriptive or normative questions, reflecting a concern with

what 'should', 'ought' or 'must' be brought about, rather than with what 'is'. Plato and Aristotle are identified as the founding fathers of this tradition. The central theme of Plato's work, for instance, was an attempt to describe the nature of the ideal society, which in his view took the form of a benign dictatorship dominated by a class of philosopher kings. Later these ideas resurfaced in the writings of medieval theorists such as Augustine (354–430) and Aquinas (1225–74).

Such writings have formed the basis of what is called the 'traditional' approach to politics. This involves the analytical study of ideas and doctrines that have been central to political thought. Most commonly, it has taken the form of a history of political thought that focuses on a collection of 'major' thinkers (that spans, for instance, Plato to Marx) and a canon of 'classic' texts.

This approach has the character of literary analysis: it is interested primarily in examining what major thinkers said, how they developed or justified their views. Although such analysis may be carried out critically and scrupulously, it cannot be objective in any scientific sense, as it deals with normative questions such as 'Why should I obey the state?', 'How should rewards be distributed?' and 'What should the limits of individual freedom be?'

The empirical tradition. Although it was less prominent than normative theorizing, a descriptive or empirical tradition can be traced back to the earliest days of political thought. It can be seen in Aristotle's attempt to classify constitutions, in Machiavelli's realistic account of statecraft, and in Montesquieu's sociological theory of government and law. In many ways, such writings constitute the basis of what is now called 'comparative government', and they gave rise to an essentially institutional approach to the discipline. In the USA, and the UK in particular, this developed into the dominant tradition of analysis. The empirical approach to political analysis is characterized by the attempt to offer a dispassionate and impartial account of political reality. The approach is 'descriptive', in that it seeks to analyze and explain, whereas the normative approach is 'prescriptive', in the sense that it makes judgments and offers recommendations.

Descriptive political analysis acquired its philosophical underpinning from the doctrine of empiricism, which spread from the seventeenth century onwards through the work of theorists such as John Locke and David Hume (1711–76). The doctrine of empiricism

advanced the belief that experience is the only basis of knowledge and that, therefore, a process of observation should test all hypotheses and theories. By the nineteenth century, such ideas had developed into what became known as 'positivism', an intellectual movement particularly associated with the writings of Auguste Comte (1798–1857). This doctrine proclaimed that the social sciences, and, for that matter, all forms of philosophical enquiry, should adhere strictly to the methods of the natural sciences. Once science was perceived to be the only reliable means of disclosing truth, the pressure to develop a science of politics became irresistible.

Behaviouralism. In the 1870s, 'political science' courses were introduced in the universities of Oxford, Paris and Columbia, and by 1906 the American Political Science Review was being published. However, enthusiasm for a science of politics peaked in the 1950s and 1960s with the emergence, most strongly in the USA, of a form of political analysis that drew heavily on behaviouralism. For the first time, this gave politics reliably scientific credentials, because it provided what had previously been lacking: objective and quantifiable data against which hypotheses could be tested. Political analysts such as David Easton proclaimed that politics could adopt the methodology of the natural sciences, and this gave rise to a proliferation of studies in areas best suited to the use of quantitative research methods, such as voting behaviour, the behaviour of legislators, and the behaviour of municipal politicians and lobbyists. Attempts were also made to apply behaviouralism to international relations, in the hope of developing objective 'laws' of international relations.

Behaviouralism, however, came under growing pressure from the 1960s onwards. In the first place, it was claimed that behaviouralism had significantly constrained the scope of political analysis, preventing it from going beyond what was directly observable. Although behavioural analysis undoubtedly produced, and continues to produce, invaluable insights in fields such as voting studies, a narrow obsession with quantifiable data threatens to reduce the discipline of politics to little else. More worryingly, it inclined a generation of political scientists to turn their backs on the entire tradition of normative political thought. Concepts such as 'liberty', 'equality', 'justice' and 'rights' were sometimes discarded as being meaningless because they were not empirically verifiable entities. Dissatisfaction with behaviouralism grew

as interest in normative questions revived in the 1970s, as reflected in the writings of theorists such as John Rawls.

Moreover, the scientific credentials of behaviouralism started to be called into question. The basis of the assertion that behaviouralism is objective and reliable is the claim that it is 'value-free': that is, that it is not contaminated by ethical or normative beliefs. However, if the focus of analysis is observable behaviour. This conservative value bias was demonstrated by the fact that 'democracy' was, in effect, redefined in terms of observable behaviour. Thus, instead of meaning 'popular self-government' (government by the people), democracy came to stand for a struggle between competing elites to win power through the mechanism of popular election. In other words, democracy came to mean what goes on in the so-called democratic political systems of the developed West.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What did 'political philosophy' involve? 2. Whom do we consider as founding fathers of the philosophical tradition? 3. What was the central theme of Plato's work? 4. What formed the traditional approach to politics? 5. Where can the empirical tradition be seen? 6. What theorists created philosophical underpinning of descriptive political analysis? 7. What are examples of quantitative research methods? 8. Why did behaviouralism come under growing pressure from the 1960s onwards?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Agreement about the nature of political activity is matched by controversy about the nature of politics as an academic discipline.
2. The origins of political analysis date back to Ancient Italy and a tradition usually referred to as political philosophy.
3. The central theme of Augustine's work was an attempt to describe the nature of the ideal society, which in his view took the form of a benign dictatorship dominated by a class of philosopher kings.
4. The doctrine of behaviouralism advanced the belief that experience is the only basis of knowledge.
5. Behaviouralism has the character of critical analysis: it is interested primarily in examining what major thinkers said, how they developed or justified their views, and the intellectual context within which they worked.
6. Satisfaction with behaviouralism grew as interest in normative questions revived in the 1970s, as reflected in the writings of theorists such as John Rawls.

7. In the 1970s, political science courses were introduced in the universities of Oxford, Paris and Columbia.

8. Descriptive political analysis is characterized by the attempt to offer a dispassionate and impartial account of political reality.

9. The basis of the assertion that behaviouralism is objective and reliable is the claim that it is dependent on value judgments: that is, that it is not contaminated by ethical or normative beliefs.

10. Behaviouralism came to mean what goes on in the so-called democratic political systems of the developed West.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *concern, ancient, statecraft, fertile, dictatorship, purpose,*
> *underpinning, intellectual inquiry, wane, prominent*

1. Each theme is a platform for developing academics in the context of _____ _____ and community awareness.

2. Educational software: Computer software whose primary _____ is teaching or self-learning.

3. Membership in the EU should not be the determining factor in European _____.

4. By the 5th century, the power of the Roman Empire had begun to _____.

5. Tunisia has an _____ civilization dating back over 3,000 years.

6. Dryland soils are generally less _____ than non-dryland soils.

7. Political reform must go hand in hand with social and economic development to ensure the successful transition from moribund _____ to fledgling democracy.

8. Safety is our top _____.

9. He was a _____ political leader in Dominica and had been its Prime Minister since February 2018.

10. A valid theoretical _____ is particularly important for the orchestration of efforts.

UNIT 1.4. POLITICS AS THE ART OF GOVERNMENT

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

art of government – *мистецтво управління*

enforcement – *примусове виконання*

city-state – *місто-держава*

to possess – *володіти*

cradle – *колиска*
to concern – *стосуватися*
entering politics – *входження в політику*
to perpetuate – *увічнювати*
exercise of authority – *здійснення повноважень*
allocation – *розподіл*
to establish – *встановлювати*
restricted view – *обмежений погляд*
legislative chamber – *законодавча палата*
running the country – *керування країною*
state-bound activity – *діяльність, пов'язана з державою*
to interpret the law – *трактувати закон*
power-seeking hypocrites – *лицеміри, що шукають влади*
to conceal – *приховувати*
to intensify – *посилювати*
conventional – *звичайний*
cunning – *хитрість*
cruelty – *жорстокість*
to exploit – *експлуатувати*
inevitable – *неминучий*
permanent – *постійний*
grudging – *невдоволення*
to argue – *сперечатися*
to abolish – *скасовувати*
to abuse – *зловживати*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

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

The word 'politics' is derived from polis, meaning literally 'city-state'. Ancient Greek society was divided into a collection of independent city-states, each of which possessed its own system of government. The largest and most influential of these city-states was Athens, often portrayed as the cradle of democratic government. In this light, politics can be understood to refer to the affairs of the polis – in effect,

'what concerns the polis'. The modern form of this definition is therefore 'what concerns the state'. This view of politics is clearly evident in the everyday use of the term: people are said to be 'in politics' when they hold public office, or to be 'entering politics' when they seek to do so. It is also a definition that academic political science has helped to perpetuate.

In many ways, the notion that politics amounts to 'what concerns the state' is the traditional view of the discipline, reflected in the tendency for academic study to focus on the personnel and machinery of government. To study politics is to study government, or, more broadly, to study the exercise of authority. This view is advanced in the writings of the influential US political scientist David Easton, who defined politics as the 'authoritative allocation of values'. By this, he meant that politics encompasses the various processes through which government responds to pressures from the larger society, in particular by allocating benefits, rewards or penalties. 'Authoritative values' are therefore those that are widely accepted in society. In this view, politics is associated with 'policy': that is, with formal or authoritative decisions that establish a plan of action for the community.

However, what is striking about this definition is that it offers a highly restricted view of politics. Politics is what takes place within a polity, a system of social organization centered on the machinery of government. Politics is therefore practiced in cabinet rooms, legislative chambers, government departments and the like; and a limited and specific group of people, notably politicians, civil servants and lobbyists, engages in it. This means that most people, most institutions and most social activities can be regarded as being 'outside' politics.

Businesses, schools and other educational institutions, community groups, families and so on are in this sense 'non-political', because they are not engaged in 'running the country'. Similarly, to portray politics as an essentially state-bound activity is to ignore the increasingly important international or global influences on modern life.

This definition can, however, be narrowed still further. This is evident in the tendency to treat politics as the equivalent of party politics. In other words, the realm of 'the political' is restricted to those state actors who are consciously motivated by ideological beliefs, and who seek to advance them through membership of a formal organization such as a political party. This is the sense in which politicians are described as 'political', whereas civil servants are seen as 'non-

political', as long as, of course, they act in a neutral and professional fashion. Similarly, judges are taken to be 'non-political' figures while they interpret the law impartially and in accordance with the available evidence, but they may be accused of being 'political' if their judgement is influenced by personal preferences or some other form of bias. The link between politics and the affairs of the state also helps to explain why negative or pejorative images have so often been attached to politics. This is because, in the popular mind, politics is closely associated with the activities of politicians. Put brutally, politicians are often seen as power-seeking hypocrites who conceal personal ambition behind the rhetoric of public service and ideological conviction. Indeed, this perception has become more common in the modern period as intensified media exposure has more effectively brought to light examples of corruption and dishonesty, giving rise to the phenomenon of anti-politics. This rejection of the personnel and machinery of conventional political life is rooted in a view of politics as a self-serving, two-faced and unprincipled activity, evident in the use of derogatory phrases such as 'office politics' and 'politicking'. Such an image of politics is sometimes traced back to the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli, who, in The Prince (1532), developed a strictly realistic account of politics that drew attention to the use by political leaders of cunning, cruelty and manipulation.

Such a negative view of politics reflects the essentially liberal perceptions that, as individuals are self-interested, political power is corrupting, because it encourages those 'in power' to exploit their position for personal advantage and at the expense of others. This is famously expressed in Lord Acton's (1834–1902) aphorism: 'power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely'.

Nevertheless, few who view politics in this way doubt that political activity is an inevitable and permanent feature of social existence. However venal politicians may be, there is a general, if grudging, acceptance that they are always with us.

Without some kind of mechanism for allocating authoritative values, society would simply disintegrate into a civil war of each against all, as the early social contract theorists argued. The task is therefore not to abolish politicians and end politics but, rather, to ensure that politics is conducted within a framework of checks and constraints that guarantee that governmental power is not abused.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. How was Ancient Greek society divided? 2. What is portrayed as the cradle of democratic government? 3. Why is politics an art? 4. How did David Easton define politics? 5. What are authoritative values? 6. Where is politics practiced in? 7. Why are businesses, schools and other educational institutions, community groups, families and so on non-political? 8. What actors is the realm of the political restricted to? 9. What does the link between politics and state affairs help to explain? 10. What does a negative view of politics reflect?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. The art Bismarck had in mind was the art of government, the exercise of control within society through the making and enforcement of individual decisions.
2. The word politics derived from polis, meaning literally to govern.
3. Athens is often portrayed as the cradle of monarch government.
4. To study politics is to study government, or, more narrowly, to study the exercise of authority.
5. David Easton defined politics as the authoritative allocation of insignificance.
6. Authoritative values are therefore those that are widely accepted in government, and are considered binding by another country.
7. Judges are taken to be political figures while they interpret the law impartially and in accordance with the available evidence.
8. The link between politics and the affairs of the state also helps to explain why positive or respectful images have so often been attached to politics.
9. This is famously expressed in Niccolò Machiavelli's aphorism: power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.
10. Chancellor Bismarck, in The Prince, developed a strictly realistic account of politics that drew attention to the use by political leaders of cunning, cruelty and manipulation.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *perpetuate, inevitable, abolish, permanent, possess, penalties, enforcement, abuse, consciously, pejorative*

1. Existing social institutions that _____ gender discrimination should be rectified.
2. The term "sect" seems to have a _____ connotation.

3. Those that have committed human rights _____ are prosecuted.

4. Several States also described institutional arrangements adopted to combat corruption through law _____.

5. My country is going forward _____ and confidently under the United Nations banner with a hope for a better future.

6. The PACE Committee on Legal Affairs called to stop this practice and _____ unjust laws.

7. New challenges have made _____ the recent reform efforts throughout the United Nations.

8. Child labour laws should be enforced and _____ imposed in cases of violation.

9. This would encourage Governments to reintroduce _____ diplomatic representation.

2. A person may _____ or even acquire another nationality and nonetheless retain United States citizenship.

UNIT 1.5. POLITICS AS PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

public affairs – *громадські справи*
division – *поділ*
security system – *система безпеки*
expense – *витрата*
taxation – *оподаткування*
kinship – *спорідненість*
to satisfy – *задовольняти*
responsibility – *відповідальність*
to distinguish – *відрізняти*
crucial implications – *вирішальні наслідки*
to broaden – *розширяти*
to infringe – *порушувати*
to imply – *мати на увазі*
domestic life – *побутове життя*
to deny – *заперечувати*
enlightened – *просвітлений*
to endorse – *підтримувати*
interference – *втручання*
to prevent – *запобігати*
to interfere – *заважати, втручатися*

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Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

A second and broader conception of politics moves it beyond the narrow realm of government to what is thought of as 'public life' or 'public affairs'. In other words, the distinction between 'the political' and 'the non-political' coincides with the division between an essentially public sphere of life and what can be thought of as a private sphere. Such a view of politics is often traced back to the work of the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle. In Politics, Aristotle declared that 'man is by nature a political animal', by which he meant that it is only within a political community that human beings can live the 'good life'. From this viewpoint, then, politics is an ethical activity concerned with creating a 'just society'; it is what Aristotle called the 'master science'.

However, where should the line between 'public' and 'private' life be drawn? The traditional distinction between the public realm and the private realm conforms to the division between the state and civil society. The institutions of the state (the apparatus of government, the courts, the police, the army and so forth) can be regarded 'public' in the sense that they are responsible for the collective organization of community life. Moreover, they are funded at the public's expense, out of taxation. In contrast civil society consists of institutions such as the family and kinship groups, private businesses, trade unions, clubs, community groups and so on, that are 'private' in the sense that they are set up and funded by individual citizens to satisfy their own interests, rather than those of the larger society. Based on this 'public/private' division, politics is restricted to the activities of the state itself and the responsibilities that are properly exercised by public bodies. Those areas of life that individuals can and do manage for themselves (the economic, social, domestic, personal, cultural and artistic spheres, etc.) are therefore clearly 'nonpolitical'.

An alternative 'public/private' divide is sometimes defined in terms of a further and more subtle distinction; namely, that between 'the political' and 'the personal'. Although civil society can be distinguished from the state, it nevertheless contains a range of institutions that are thought of as 'public' in the wider sense that they are open institutions, operating in public, to which the public has access. One of the crucial implications of this is that it broadens our notion of the political, transferring the economy, in particular, from the private to the public realm. A form of politics can thus be found in the workplace.

Nevertheless, although this view regards institutions such as businesses, community groups, clubs and trade unions as 'public', it remains a restricted view of politics. According to this perspective, politics does not, and should not, infringe on 'personal' affairs and institutions. Feminist thinkers in particular have pointed out that this implies that politics effectively stops at the front door; it does not take place in the family, in domestic life, or in personal relationships. This view is illustrated, for example, by the tendency of politicians to draw a clear distinction between their professional conduct and their personal or domestic behaviour. By classifying, say, cheating on their partners or treating their children badly as 'personal' matters, they are able to deny the political significance of such behaviour because it does not touch on their conduct of public affairs. The view of politics as an essentially 'public' activity has generated both positive and negative images. In a tradition dating back to Aristotle, politics has been seen as a noble and enlightened activity precisely because of its 'public' character.

This position was firmly endorsed by Hannah Arendt, who argued in The Human Condition (1958) that politics is the most important form of human activity because it involves interaction amongst free and equal citizens. It thus gives meaning to life and affirms the uniqueness of each individual. Theorists such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Stuart Mill who portrayed political participation as a good in itself have drawn similar conclusions. Rousseau argued that only through the direct and continuous participation of all citizens in political life can the state be bound to the common good, or what he called the 'general will'. In Mill's view, involvement in 'public' affairs is educational, in that it promotes the personal, moral and intellectual development of the individual.

In sharp contrast, however, politics as public activity has also been portrayed as a form of unwanted interference. Liberal theorists, in particular, have exhibited a preference for civil society over the state, because 'private' life is a realm of choice, personal freedom and individual responsibility. This is most clearly demonstrated by attempts to narrow the realm of 'the political', commonly expressed as the wish to 'keep politics out of' private activities such as business, sport and family life. From this point of view, politics is unwholesome quite simply because it prevents people acting as they choose. For example, it may interfere with how firms conduct their business, with how and with whom we play sports, or with how we bring up our children.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What did Aristotle mean when he declared man as political animal?
2. How was politics called by Aristotle? 3. Where should the line between public life and private life be drawn? 4. What are the institutions of the state? 5. What is politics restricted to? 6. What areas of life are non-political? 7. How can civil society be distinguished from the state? 8. What remains a restricted view of politics? 9. How has politics as public activity been portrayed? 10. What have liberal theorists exhibited?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. In Politics, Aristotle declared that 'man is by nature a political animal', by which he meant that it is only within a political community that human beings can live the 'good life'.
2. The traditional distinction between the public realm and the private realm conforms to the division between the state and government.
3. Although civil society cannot be distinguished from the state, it nevertheless contains a range of institutions that are thought of as 'public' in the wider sense that they are open institutions, operating in public.
4. Based on 'public/private' division, politics is restricted to the activities of the state itself and the responsibilities that are exercised by public bodies.
5. The view of politics as an essentially 'public' activity has generated both positive and negative images.
6. Theorists such as Rousseau and Mill who portrayed political participation as a good in itself have drawn different conclusions.
7. The view of politics as an essentially 'public' activity has generated both positive and negative images.
8. In a tradition dating back to Aristotle, politics has been seen as a noble and enlightened activity precisely because of its 'confident' character.
9. In Mill's view, involvement in 'public' affairs is educational, it promotes the personal, moral and intellectual development of the individual.
10. Liberal theorists, in particular, have exhibited a preference for the state over civil society.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *infringe, coincide, deny, responsibility, subtle, interfere, crucial, prevent, remain, satisfy*

1. Penalties for late payment still _____.
2. We must accept the _____ to keep disputes within democratic tolerance.

3. I can neither confirm or _____ that.

4. Our organization should not merely manage conflicts, but _____ them.

5. We think that this very important, even _____ question requires our further attention.

6. Values and practices that _____ human rights can be found in all cultures.

7. You understand your role as monitor is not to _____.

8. A contradiction between domestic law and international norms could be _____.

9. This description _____ with others, which the Special Rapporteur has received on numerous occasions.

10. Unfortunately, no methodology could _____ all interested parties.

UNIT 1.6. POLITICS AS COMPROMISE AND CONSENSUS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

to resolve – *вирішувати*

(re)conciliation – *примирення*

negotiation – *перемови*

inherent – *властивий*

solution – *рішення*

peaceful debate – *мирні дебати*

arbitration – *арбітраж*

military – *військовий*

polity – *політика*

to conciliate – *примиряти*

welfare – *добробут*

survival – *виживання*

dispersal – *розгін*

merely – *просто*

violence – *насильство*

coercion – *примус*

faith – *віра*

efficacy – *ефективність*

irreconcilable – *непримиренний*

intimidation – *залякування*

to equate – *прирівнювати*

unmistakably – *безпомилково*

bloodshed – *кровопролиття*

failure – *невдача*

to frustrate – *розчарувати*
disenchantment – *розчарування*
messy – *безладний*
ambiguous – *неоднозначний*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

The third conception of politics relates not to the arena within which politics is conducted but to the way in which decisions are made. Specifically, politics is seen as a particular means of resolving conflict: that is, by compromise, conciliation and negotiation, rather than through force and naked power. This is what is implied when politics is portrayed as 'the art of the possible'. Such a definition is inherent in the everyday use of the term. For instance, the description of a solution to a problem as a 'political' solution implies peaceful debate and arbitration, as opposed to what is often called a 'military' solution. Once again, this view of politics has been traced back to the writings of Aristotle and, in particular, to his belief that what he called 'polity' is the ideal system of government, as it is 'mixed', in the sense that it combines both aristocratic and democratic features. One of the leading modern exponents of this view is Bernard Crick. In his classic study In Defense of Politics, Crick offered the following definition: 'Politics is the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community'.

In this view, the key to politics is therefore a wide dispersal of power. Accepting that conflict is inevitable, Crick argued that when social groups and interests possess power they must be conciliated. This is why, he portrayed politics as 'that solution to the problem of order which chooses conciliation rather than violence and coercion'. Such a view of politics reflects a deep commitment to liberal–rationalist principles. It is based on resolute faith in the efficacy of debate and discussion, as well as on the belief that society is characterized by consensus, rather than by irreconcilable conflict. In other words, the disagreements that exist can be resolved without resort to intimidation and violence. Critics, however, point out that Crick's conception of politics is heavily biased towards the form of politics that takes place in western pluralist democracies: in effect, he equated politics with electoral choice and party competition. As a result, his model has little to tell us about, say, one-party states or military regimes.

This view of politics has an unmistakably positive character. Politics is certainly no utopian solution (compromise means that concessions are made by all sides, leaving no one perfectly satisfied), but it is undoubtedly preferable to the alternatives: bloodshed and brutality. In this sense, politics can be seen as a civilized and civilizing force. People should be encouraged to respect politics as an activity, and should be prepared to engage in the political life of their own community. Nevertheless, a failure to understand that politics as a process of compromise and reconciliation is necessarily frustrating and difficult (because in involves listening carefully to the opinions of others) may have contributed to a growing popular disenchantment with democratic politics across much of the developed world. As Stoker (2006) put it, 'Politics is designed to disappoint'; its outcomes are 'often messy, ambiguous and never final'.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What view of politics has been traced back to the writings of Aristotle? 2. What definition of politics was proposed by Bernard Crick? 3. How did Bernard Crick portray politics? 4. What does his view of politics reflect? 5. What is Bernard Crick's view based on? 6. What do critics point out about Crick's conception of politics? 7. What does compromise mean? 8. Why is politics as a process of compromise and reconciliation necessarily frustrating and difficult? 9. What did Stoker say about politics? 10. What does conception of politics as compromise and consensus relate to?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. The third conception of politics relates to the arena within which politics is conducted but not to the way in which decisions are made.
2. Politics is seen as a particular means of stoking conflict: that is, by threaten, force and naked power.
3. The description of a solution to a problem as a political solution implies military debate and arbitration, as opposed to what is often called a peaceful solution.
4. Aristotle believed that what he called polity is the unideal system of government, as it is mixed, in the sense that it combines both aristocratic and democratic features.
5. Bernard Crick portrayed politics as that solution to the problem of order, which chooses violence and coercion rather than conciliation.

6. Aristotle's view of politics is based on resolute faith in the efficacy of debate and discussion, as well as on the belief that society is characterized by consensus, rather than by irreconcilable conflict.

7. Critics point out that Crick's conception of politics is heavily biased towards the form of politics that takes place in eastern pluralist democracies.

8. Conflicts mean that concessions are made by all sides, leaving no one perfectly satisfied.

9. Politics is certainly a utopian solution; it is undoubtedly preferable to the alternatives: bloodshed and brutality.

10. As Stoker put it, politics is designed to excite; its outcomes are often neat, ambiguous and never final.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *conciliation, inherent, conciliate, intimidation, equate, bloodshed, survival, frustrating, disenchantment, solution*

1. His government tried at first to _____ the opposition.

2. Various reasons were advanced for youth's current _____ with traditional political processes.

3. I only wish our meeting was inspired by kinship and not _____.

4. It was incorrect to _____ self-determination solely with independence.

5. Hitler's declaration of his belief in a "master race" was an indication of the _____ racism of the Nazi movement.

6. Physical attacks and _____ of journalists increased.

7. Most strike calls are resolved through _____.

8. Working closely with others, who think differently, can be scary and ____.

9. Millions of people are struggling for _____.

10. The obvious _____ is a negotiation rather than a confrontation.

UNIT 1.7. POLITICS AS A POWER

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations
human existence – *існування людини*
social existence – *соціальне існування*
notion – *поняття*
diversity – *різноманітність*
essential – *суттєвий*
scarcity – *дефіцит*

infinite – *нескінченний*
struggle – *боротьба*
liberation – *визволення*
to expand – *розширювати*
boldly – *сміливо*
to assert – *стверджувати*
power-structured relationships – *структуровані владою відносини*
arrangement – *домовленість*
to oppress – *гнітити*
entirely – *повністю*
separate – *окремий*
subjugation – *підкорення*
to subordinate – *підкорятися*
to subject – *наражатися на*
implication – *підтекст*
injustice – *несправедливість*
to challenge – *робити виклик*
overthrown – *повалений*
nonsexist society – *несексистське суспільство*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

The fourth definition of politics is both the broadest and the most radical. Rather than confining politics to a particular sphere (the government, the state or the 'public' realm), this view sees politics at work in all social activities and in every corner of human existence. As Adrian Leftwich proclaimed in What is Politics? The Activity and Its Study (2004), 'politics is at the heart of all collective social activity, formal and informal, public and private, in all human groups, institutions and societies'. In this sense, politics takes place at every level of social interaction; it can be found within families and amongst small groups of friends just as much as amongst nations and on the global stage. However, what is it that is distinctive about political activity? What marks off politics from any other form of social behaviour?

At its broadest, politics concerns the production, distribution and use of resources in the course of social existence. Politics is, in essence, power: the ability to achieve a desired outcome, through whatever means. This notion was summed up in the title of Harold Lasswell's book Politics: Who Gets What, When, How? (1936). From this perspective, politics is about diversity and conflict, but the essential ingredient is the

existence of scarcity: the simple fact that, while human needs and desires are infinite, the resources available to satisfy them are always limited. Politics can therefore be seen as a struggle over scarce resources, and power can be seen as the means through which this struggle is conducted.

Advocates of the view of politics as power include feminists and Marxists.

The rise of the women's liberation movement in the 1960s and 1970s, bringing with it a growing interest in feminism, stimulated more radical thinking about the nature of 'the political'. Not only have modern feminists sought to expand the arenas in which politics can be seen to take place, a notion most boldly asserted through the radical feminist slogan 'the personal is the political', but they have also tended to view politics as a process, specifically one related to the exercise of power over others. This view was summed by Kate Millett in Sexual Politics (1969), in which she defined politics as 'power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another'.

Marxists, for their part, have used the term 'politics' in two senses. On one level, Marx used 'politics' in a conventional sense to refer to the apparatus of the state. In the Communist Manifesto (1848), he (and Engels) thus referred to political power as 'organized power of one class for oppressing another'. For Marx, politics, together with law and culture, are part of a 'superstructure' that is distinct from the economic 'base' that is the real foundation of social life. However, he did not see the economic 'base' and the legal and political 'superstructure' as entirely separate. He believed that the 'superstructure' arose out of, and reflected, the economic 'base'. At a deeper level, political power, in this view, is therefore rooted in the class system; as Lenin put it, 'politics is the most concentrated form of economics'. As opposed to believing that politics can be confined to the state and a narrow public sphere, Marxists can be said to believe that 'the economic is political'. From this perspective, civil society, characterized as Marxists believe it to be by class struggle, is the very heart of politics.

Views such as these portray politics in largely negative terms. Politics is about oppression and subjugation. Radical feminists hold that society is patriarchal, in that women are systematically subordinated and subjected to male power. Marxists traditionally argued that politics in a capitalist society is characterized by the exploitation of the proletariat by

the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, these negative implications are balanced against the fact that politics is also seen as an emancipating force, a means through which injustice and domination can be challenged. Marx, for instance, predicted that class exploitation would be overthrown by a proletarian revolution, and radical feminists proclaim the need for gender relations to be reordered through a sexual revolution. However, it is also clear that when politics is portrayed as power and domination it need not be seen as an inevitable feature of social existence. Feminists look to an end of 'sexual politics' achieved through the construction of a nonsexist society, in which people will be valued according to personal worth, rather than on the basis of gender. Marxists believe that 'class politics' will end with the establishment of a classless communist society. This, in turn, will eventually lead to the 'withering away' of the state, also bringing politics in the conventional sense to an end.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What did Adrian Leftwich proclaim in What is Politics? 2. Why is politics about diversity and conflict, but with existence of scarcity? 3. What did the rise of the women's liberation movement in the 1960s and 1970s bring? 4. How was politics defined by Kate Millett in Sexual Politics? 5. How did Marx use the term politics in a conventional sense? 6. What is political power at a deeper level (Marx's view)? 7. What did Marx predict? 8. What do feminists aspire to? 9. What do Marxists believe? 10. What does the fourth definition of politics as a power mean?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. As Marx proclaimed in What is Politics? 'politics is at the heart of all collective social activity, formal and informal, public and private, in all human groups, institutions and societies'.
2. At its narrowest, politics concerns the production, distribution and use of resources in the course of social existence.
3. From Harold Lasswell's perspective, politics is about diversity and conflict, but the essential ingredient is the existence of abundance.
4. The existence of abundance means while human needs and desires are infinite, the resources available to satisfy them are always limited.
5. The rise of the women's liberation movement in the 1960s and 1970s, bringing with it a growing interest in feminism, stimulated more liberal thinking about the nature of the political.

6. Harold Lasswell defined politics as power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another.

7. Marxists hold that society is patriarchal, in that women are systematically subordinated and subjected to male power.

8. As opposed to believing that politics can be confined to the state and a narrow public sphere, feminists can be said to believe that the economic is political.

9. Marxists traditionally argued that politics in a capitalist society is characterized by the exploitation of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.

10. Marxists look to an end of sexual politics achieved through the construction of a nonsexist society, in which people will be valued according to personal worth, rather than on the basis of gender.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *challenge, radical, scarcity, the bourgeoisie, subordinate, oppression, neatly, subjugation, proclaim, diversity*

1. Only the voice of the people can _____ independence.

2. Within multicultural _____ we must discover the common values that help foster dialogue.

3. _____ is a very small supply of something.

4. Lenin asserts that in a war against _____, "iron discipline" is an "essential condition".

5. Like other countries undergoing _____ structural changes, Mongolia was grappling with fundamental challenges.

6. It is one of the lessons of history that more powerful civilizations often _____ weaker ones.

7. The job does not really _____ her.

8. This was the result of colonialism and the _____ of these peoples.

9. If I fold it very _____, maybe he will not notice.

10. We fight with comrades everywhere against injustice and _____.

UNIT 1.8. LEGITIMACY AND POLITICAL STABILITY

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

issue of legitimacy – *питання законності*
rightfulness – *правомірність*
to feel obliged – *почуватись зобов'язаним*
to acknowledge – *визнавати*

authority of government – *авторитет уряду*
obligation – *зобов'язання*
to encourage – *заохочувати*
underpin – *підґрунтя*
to highlight – *виділяти, наголошувати на*
contribution – *внесок*
systems of domination – *системи панування*
traditional authority – *традиційна влада*
legal-rational authority – *юридично-раціональна влада*
long-established customs – *давно встановлені звичаї*
to regard – *вважатися*
to sanctify – *освячувати*
unquestioned customs – *беззаперечні звичаї*
deference – *повага*
charisma – *харизма*
appeal – *апеляція*
natural propensity – *природна схильність*
invariably underpinned – *незмінно підкріплені*
manufacture – *виробництво*
consequence – *наслідок*
infallible – *безпомилковий*
circumstance – *обставина*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

The issue of legitimacy, the rightfulness of a regime or system of rule, is linked to the oldest and one of the most fundamental of political debates, the problem of political obligation. Why should citizens feel obliged to acknowledge the authority of government? Do they have a duty to respect the state and obey its laws? In modern political debate, however, legitimacy is usually understood less in terms of moral obligations, and more in terms of political behaviour and beliefs. In other words, it addresses not the question of why people should obey the state, in an abstract sense, but the question of why they do obey a particular state or system of rule.

The classic contribution to the understanding of legitimacy as a sociological phenomenon was provided by Max Weber. Weber was concerned to categorize particular 'systems of domination', and to identify in each case the basis on which legitimacy was established. He did this by constructing three ideal types, or conceptual models, which

he hoped would help to make sense of the highly complex nature of political rule. These ideal types amount to three kinds of authority: traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational. Each of these is characterized by a particular source of political legitimacy and, thus, different reasons that people may have for obeying a regime.

Weber's first type of political legitimacy is based on long-established customs and traditions. In effect, *traditional authority* is regarded as legitimate because it has 'always existed': it has been sanctified by history because earlier generations have accepted it. Typically, it operates according to a body of concrete rules: that is, fixed and unquestioned customs that do not need to be justified because they reflect the way things have always been. The most obvious examples of traditional authority are found amongst tribes or small groups in the form of patriarchalism (the domination of the father within the family, or the 'master' over his servants) and gerontocracy (the rule of the aged, normally reflected in the authority of village 'elders'). Traditional authority is closely linked to hereditary systems of power and privilege, as reflected, for example, in the survival of dynastic rule in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Morocco. Although it is of marginal significance in advanced industrial societies, the survival of monarchy, albeit in a constitutional form, in the UK, Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain, for example, helps to shape political culture by keeping alive values such as deference, respect and duty.

Weber's second form of legitimate domination is *charismatic authority*. This form of authority is based on the power of an individual's personality; that is, on his or her 'charisma'. Owing nothing to a person's status, social position or office, charismatic authority operates entirely through the capacity of a leader to make a direct and personal appeal to followers as a kind of hero or saint. Although modern political leaders such as de Gaulle, Kennedy and Thatcher undoubtedly extended their authority through their personal qualities and capacity to inspire loyalty, this did not amount to charismatic legitimacy, because their authority was essentially based on the formal powers of the offices they held. Napoleon, Mussolini, Hitler, Ayatollah Khomeini, Fidel Castro and Colonel Gaddafi are more appropriate examples. However, charismatic authority is not simply a gift or a natural propensity; systems of personal rule are invariably underpinned by 'cults of personality', the undoubted purpose of which is to 'manufacture'

charisma. Nevertheless, when legitimacy is constructed largely, or entirely, through the power of a leader's personality, there are usually two consequences. The first is that, as charismatic authority is not based on formal rules or procedures, it often has no limits. The leader is a Messiah, who is infallible and unquestionable; the masses become followers or disciples, who are required only to submit and obey. Second, so closely is authority linked to a specific individual, that it is difficult for a system of personal rule to outlive its founding figure. This applied in the case of the regimes of Napoleon, Mussolini and Hitler.

Weber's third type of political legitimacy, ***legal-rational authority***, links authority to a clearly and legally defined set of rules. In Weber's view, legal-rational authority is the typical form of authority operating in most modern states. The power of a president, prime minister or government official is determined in the final analysis by formal, constitutional rules, which constrain or limit what an office holder is able to do. The advantage of this form of authority over both traditional and charismatic authority is that, as it is attached to an office rather than a person, it is far less likely to be abused or to give rise to injustice. Legal-rational authority therefore maintains limited government.

Although Weber's classification of types of legitimacy is still seen as relevant, it also has its limitations. One of these is that it tells us little about the circumstances in which political authority is challenged because of unpopular policies, or a discredited leader or government. Beetham suggested that power is legitimate if three conditions are fulfilled. First, power must be exercised according to established rules, whether these are embodied in formal legal codes or in informal conventions. Second, these rules must be justified in terms of the shared beliefs of the government and the governed. Third, legitimacy must be demonstrated by an expression of consent on the part of the governed. This highlights two key features of the legitimation process. The first is the existence of elections and party competition, a system through which popular consent can be exercised. The second is the existence of constitutional rules that broadly reflect how people feel they should be governed.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What is the issue of legitimacy, the rightfulness of a regime or system of rule, linked to? 2. What reflects a shift from philosophy to sociology, highlights the contested nature of the concept of legitimacy? 3. Who

provided the classic contribution to understanding of legitimacy as a sociological phenomenon? 4. What are three ideal types, or conceptual models of Max Weber? How is each of these type characterized? 5. What is Weber's first type of political legitimacy based on? 6. Why is traditional authority regarded as legitimate? 7. What is Weber's second form of legitimate domination? 8. What is Weber's third type of political legitimacy? 9. According to Beetham, what conditions should be fulfilled in order for power to be legitimate?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. The classic contribution to the understanding of legitimacy as a sociological phenomenon was provided by Max Weber.
2. Weber was concerned to categorize particular systems of domination, and to identify in each case the basis on which legitimacy was developed.
3. Traditional authority is closely linked to hereditary systems of power and privilege, as reflected, for example, in the survival of dynastic rule in Ukraine, Italy and Switzerland.
4. Weber's classification of types of legitimacy is still seen as relevant.
5. The most obvious examples of charismatic authority are found amongst tribes or small groups in the form of matriarchate.
6. Gerontocracy is the domination of the father within the family, or the master over his servants.
7. Patriarchalism is the rule of the aged, normally reflected in the authority of village elders.
8. These ideal types amount to three kinds of authority: traditional authority, charismatic authority, legal and rational authority.
9. One of these advantages is that it tells us little about the circumstances in which political authority is challenged because of unpopular policies, or a discredited leader or government.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *legitimacy, obliged, circumstances, authority, tribes, hereditary, highlight, consequences, obey, capacity*

1. Elected officials ought to _____ the law.
2. I cannot abandon him because I am _____ my career to him.
3. The laws relating to human rights derived their _____ from the cultural diversity that existed in the world.

4. Evidently, the local _____ is planning to close the school.

5. The slightest error can have serious _____.

6. The _____ fought for control over the territory.

7. Should Germany become a _____ monarchy, have an elected monarch, or even become a republic?

8. Our contemporary _____ have opened up new needs and prospects for peacekeeping and preventive diplomacy.

9. These events concern us and _____ the need to generate trust and cooperation.

10. The plant is operating at maximum _____.

UNIT 1.9. FAMOUS WORLD POLITICAL FIGURES: FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO NOWADAYS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

precarious – *ненадійний*

to dispatch – *відправляти*

imprisonment – *позбавлення волі*

restoration – *відновлення*

to embark on – *приступати до*

first-hand observations – *власні спостереження*

tutor – *вихователь*

peripatetic school – *мандрівна школа*

surviving treatises – *вцілілі трактати*

to incorporate – *об'єднувати*

wide-ranging – *широкомасштабний*

relationships – *стосунки*

controversy – *суперечка*

eternal – *вічний*

to expound – *тлумачити*

to exert – *здійснювати*

emphasis – *особлива увага*

God-given rights – *дані Богом права*

considerable impact – *значний вплив*

to recast – *переробити*

fraternity – *братство*

wisdom – *мудрість*

fate – *доля*

obstinately – *вперто*

change in order to conserve – *зміни з метою збереження*
to promote – *сприяти, просувати*
exponent – *засновник*
implacable – *непримиренний*
interventionism – *інтервенціонізм (політика втручання уряду чи організації у соціальні справи)*
to expel – *вигнати, виселити*
lifelong – *довічний*
to collapse – *руйнувати*
revisionism – *ревізіонізм (ідейні напрями, що проголошують необхідність перегляду будь-якої усталеної теорії або доктрини)*
subsequently – *згодом*
presumption – *презумпція*
to deprive – *позбавляти*
egalitarian – *егалітарний (заснований на рівності)*
fairness – *справедливість*
tirelessly – *невтомно*
non-violent resistance – *ненасильницький опір*
assumption – *припущення*
primacy of truth – *першість істини*
satya (Satyagraha) – *сатьяграха, пасивний опір; теорія ненасильства*
to assassinate – *страчувати (політичних діячів)*
ferocious – *лютий*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) Italian politician and author. The son of a civil lawyer, Machiavelli's knowledge of public life was gained from a sometimes precarious existence in politically unstable Florence. He served as Second Chancellor (1498–1512), and was dispatched on missions to France, Germany and throughout Italy. After a brief period of imprisonment and the restoration of Medici rule, Machiavelli embarked on a literary career. His major work, The Prince, published in 1532, drew heavily on his first-hand observations of the statecraft of Cesare Borgia and the power politics that dominated his period. It was written as a guide for the future prince of a united Italy. The adjective 'Machiavellian' subsequently came to mean 'cunning and duplicitous'.

Aristotle (384–322 BC) Greek philosopher. Aristotle was a student of Plato and a tutor of the young Alexander the Great. He established his own school of philosophy in Athens in 335 BC; this was called the

'peripatetic school' after his tendency to walk up and down as he talked. His 22 surviving treatises, compiled as lecture notes, range over logic, physics, metaphysics, astronomy, meteorology, biology, ethics and politics. In the Middle Ages, Aristotle's work became the foundation of Islamic philosophy, and it was later incorporated into Christian theology. His best-known political work is Politics, in which he portrayed the city-state as the basis for virtue and well-being, and argued that democracy is preferable to oligarchy.

Hannah Arendt (1906–75) German political theorist and philosopher. She was brought up in a middle-class Jewish family. She fled Germany in 1933 to escape from Nazism, and finally settled in the USA, where her major work was produced. Her wide-ranging writing was influenced by the existentialism of Heidegger (1889–1976) and Jaspers (1883–1969); she described it as 'thinking without barriers'. Her major works include The Origins of Totalitarianism (1951), which drew parallels between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, her major philosophical work The Human Condition (1958), On Revolution (1963) and Eichmann in Jerusalem (1963). The final work stimulated particular controversy because it stressed the 'banality of evil', by portraying Eichmann as a Nazi functionary rather than as a raving ideologue.

Plato (427–347 BC) Greek philosopher. Plato was born in an aristocratic family. He became a follower of Socrates, who is the principal figure in his ethical and philosophical dialogues. After Socrates' death in 399 BC, Plato founded his own academy in order to train the new Athenian ruling class. Plato taught that the material world consists of imperfect copies of abstract and eternal 'ideas'. His political philosophy, expounded in The Republic and The Laws, is an attempt to describe the ideal state in terms of a theory of justice. Both works are decidedly authoritarian and pay no attention to individual liberty, believing that power should be vested in the hands of educated elite, the philosopher kings. He was therefore a firm critic of democracy. Plato's work has exerted wide influence on Christianity and on European culture in general.

John Locke (1632–1704) English philosopher and politician. Locke studied medicine at Oxford University before becoming secretary to Anthony A. Cooper, First Earl of Shaftsbury, in 1661. His political views developed against the backdrop of the English Revolution, and are often seen as providing a justification for the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688,

which ended absolutist rule and established constitutional monarchy in Britain. Locke was a key thinker of early liberalism, placing particular emphasis on 'natural' or God-given rights, identified as the rights to life, liberty and property. An exponent of representative government and toleration, Locke's views had a considerable impact on the American Revolution. His most important political works are A Letter Concerning Toleration (1689) and Two Treatises of Government (1690).

Edmund Burke (1729–97) Dublin-born UK statesman and political theorist often seen as the father of the Anglo-American conservative tradition. Burke's enduring reputation is based on a series of works, notably Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790) that were critical of the French Revolution. Though sympathetic to the American Revolution, Burke was deeply critical of the attempt to recast French politics in accordance with abstract principles such as liberty, equality and fraternity, arguing that wisdom resided largely in experience, tradition and history. Nevertheless, he held that the French monarchy was, in part, responsible for its own fate since it had obstinately refused to 'change in order to conserve'. Burke had a gloomy view of government, recognizing that it could prevent evil but rarely promote good.

Friedrich von Hayek (1899–1992) Austrian economist and political philosopher. An academic who taught at the London School of Economics and the Universities of Chicago, Freiburg and Salzburg, Hayek was awarded the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1974. He was a firm believer in individualism and market order, and an implacable critic of socialism. The Road to Serfdom (1948) was a pioneering work that attacked economic interventionism. In later works such as The Constitution of Liberty (1960) and Law, Legislation and Liberty (1979) Hayek developed themes in political philosophy.

Karl Marx (1818–83) German philosopher, economist and political thinker, portrayed as the father of twentieth-century communism. After a brief career as a university teacher, Marx took up journalism and became increasingly involved with the socialist movement. He settled in London after being expelled from Prussia, and worked for the rest of his life as an active revolutionary and writer, supported by his friend and lifelong collaborator Friedrich Engels. In 1864, Marx helped to found the First International, which collapsed in 1871 because of growing antagonism between Marx's supporters and anarchists led by Bakunin.

Marx's classic work was the three-volume Capital (1867, 1885, 1894). His best-known and most accessible work is the Communist Manifesto (1848).

Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932) German socialist politician and theorist. Bernstein became one of the leading advocates of revisionism, the attempt to revise and modernize orthodox Marxism. Influenced by British Fabianism and the philosophy of Kant, he developed a largely empirical critique that emphasized absence of class war, and proclaimed possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. This is described in Evolutionary Socialism (1898). Bernstein is often seen as one of the founding figures of modern social democracy.

John Rawls (1921–2002) US academic and political philosopher. His major work, A Theory of Justice (1970), is regarded as the most important work of political philosophy written in English since World War II. It has influenced modern liberals and social democrats alike. Rawls proposed a theory of 'justice as fairness' that is based on the belief that social inequality can be justified only if it is of benefit to the least advantaged. This presumption in favour of equality is rooted in Rawls' belief that most people, deprived of knowledge about their own talents and abilities, would choose to live in an egalitarian society, rather than an inegalitarian one. As for most people, the fear of being poor outweighs the desire to be rich, redistribution and welfare can be defended on grounds of fairness. Rawls' other works include Political Liberalism (1993) and The Laws of People (1999).

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) An Indian spiritual and political leader (called Mahatma, 'Great Soul'), Gandhi trained as a lawyer in the UK and worked in South Africa, where he organized protests against discrimination. After returning to India in 1915, he became the leader of the nationalist movement, campaigning tirelessly for independence, finally achieved in 1947. Gandhi's ethic of non-violent resistance, satyagraha, reinforced by his ascetic lifestyle, gave the movement for Indian independence enormous moral authority. Derived from Hinduism, Gandhi's political philosophy was based on the assumption that the universe is regulated by the primacy of truth, or satya, and that humankind is 'ultimately one'. A fanatical Hindu, becoming a victim of the ferocious Hindu-Muslim violence that followed independence, assassinated Gandhi in 1948.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What did Niccolò Machiavelli's major work, The Prince, draw on?
2. What does the adjective Machiavellian mean? 3. Who established his own school of philosophy in Athens in 335 BC? 4. Why was Aristotle's school of philosophy called 'peripatetic'? 5. How were Aristotle's 22 surviving treatises compiled? 6. Who drew parallels between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia? 7. Why did Plato found his own academy? 8. What political philosopher was awarded the Nobel Prize for Economics? 9. Who is often seen as the father of the Anglo-American conservative tradition? 10. Who proclaimed the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. The Prince was written as a guide for the future prince of a united Italy.
2. Aristotle is an Italian politician and author.
3. John Locke's major work, The Prince, published in 1532, drew heavily on his first-hand observations of the statecraft of Cesare Borgia and the power politics that dominated his period.
4. Aristotle's work became the foundation of Islamic philosophy, and it was later incorporated into Christian theology.
5. Friedrich von Hayek was a key thinker of early liberalism, placing particular emphasis on natural or God-given rights, identified as the rights to life, liberty and property.
6. Plato's works "The Republic" and "The Laws" are decidedly authoritarian and pay attention to individual liberty, believing that power should be vested in the hands of an educated elite.
7. Hannah Arendt's work "The Origins of Totalitarianism" drew parallels between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia.
8. John Locke is an English philosopher and politician.
9. Rawls proposed a theory of justice as fairness that is based on the belief that social inequality can be justified only if it is of benefit to the least advantaged.
10. Derived from Hinduism, Gandhi's political philosophy was based on the assumption that the universe is regulated by the primacy of truth, or satya, and that humankind is ultimately one.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *fraternity, non-violent, promoted, deprive, treatises, imprisonment, expelled, wisdom, collapse, chancellor*

1. You cannot _____ me of my rights.
2. Thousands of people were arrested, the majority of them for _____ offenses.
3. He also wrote several historical, grammatical, and other _____.
4. German _____ Angela Merkel achieved a substantial diplomatic success.
5. John Major _____ the idea of a classless society.
6. Today, the world and its citizens demand equality, _____ and shared development.
7. The country's economy is on the point of _____.
8. Three diplomats were _____ for spying.
9. The President's _____ has served the country well.
10. The penalties include fines and _____ for convicted offenders.

UNIT 1.10. CONCEPTS AS TOOLS OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

distinctive – *характерний, самобутній*
domesticated – *одомашнений*
equality – *рівність*
equaled – *подібний*
inheritance – *спадкування*
presidency – *лідерство*
executive power – *виконавча влада*
exaggeration – *перебільшення*
shifting – *зміщення*
singling out – *виділяти*
downgraded – *занижений (у ранзі, статусі)*
to be regarded – вважатися
vital – *життєво важливий*
to distort – *спотворювати*
to claim – *претендувати*
to contest – *оскаржувати*
distribution – *розподіл*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Concepts, models and theories are the tools of political analysis. However, as with most things in politics, the analytical tools must be used with care. First, let us consider concepts. A concept is a general idea about something, usually expressed in a single word or a short phrase. A concept is more than a proper noun or the name of a thing. There is, for example, a difference between talking about a cat (a particular and unique cat) and having a concept of a 'cat' (the idea of a cat). The concept of a cat is not a 'thing' but an 'idea', an idea composed of the various attributes that give a cat its distinctive character: 'a furry mammal', 'small', 'domesticated', 'catches rats and mice', and so on. The concept of 'equality' is thus a principle or ideal. This is different from using the term to say that a runner has 'equaled' a world record, or that an inheritance is to be shared 'equally' between two brothers. In the same way, the concept of 'presidency' refers not to any specific president but, rather, to a set of ideas about the organization of executive power.

What, then, is the value of concepts? Concepts are the tools with which we think, criticize, argue, explain and analyze. Merely perceiving the external world does not in itself give us knowledge about it. In order to make sense of the world, we must impose meaning on it, and this we do through the construction of concepts. Quite simply, to treat a cat as a cat, we must first have a concept of what it is. Concepts also help us to classify objects by recognizing that they have similar forms or similar properties. A cat, for instance, is a member of the class of 'cats'. Concepts are therefore 'general': they can relate to a number of objects. It is no exaggeration to say that our knowledge of the political world is built up through developing and refining concepts that help us make sense of that world. Concepts, in that sense, are the building blocks of human knowledge.

Nevertheless, concepts can also be slippery customers. In the first place, the political reality we seek to understand is constantly shifting and is highly complex. There is always the danger that concepts such as 'democracy', 'human rights' and 'capitalism' will be more rounded and coherent than the unshapely realities they seek to describe. Max Weber tried to overcome this problem by recognizing particular concepts as 'ideal types'. This view implies that the concepts we use are constructed by singling out certain basic or central features of the phenomenon in

question, which means that other features are downgraded or ignored altogether. The concept of 'revolution' can be regarded as an ideal type in this sense, in that it draws attention to a process of fundamental, and usually violent, political change. It thus helps us make sense of, say, the 1789 French Revolution and the Eastern European revolutions of 1989–91 by highlighting important parallels between them. The concept must nevertheless be used with care because it can also conceal vital differences, and thereby distort understanding. For this reason, it is better to think of concepts or ideal types not as being 'true' or 'false', but as being more or less 'useful'.

A further problem is that political concepts are often the subject of deep ideological controversy. Politics is, in part, a struggle over the legitimate meaning of terms and concepts. Enemies may argue, fight and even go to war, all claiming to be 'defending freedom', 'upholding democracy' or 'having justice on their side'. The problem is that words such as 'freedom', 'democracy' and 'justice' have different meanings to different people. How can we establish what is 'true' democracy, 'true' freedom or 'true' justice? The simple answer is that we cannot. Just as with the attempt to define 'politics', we have to accept that there are competing versions of many political concepts. In effect, a single term can represent a number of rival concepts, none of which can be accepted as its 'true' meaning. For example, it is equally legitimate to define politics as what concerns the state, as the conduct of public life, as debate and conciliation, and as the distribution of power and resources.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1 What are concepts, models and theories? 2. What is a concept? 3. What do concepts help us to do? 4. What problem did Max Weber try to overcome? 5. Why are political concepts often seen as the subject of deep ideological controversy?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. A model is a general idea about something, usually expressed in a single word or a short phrase.
2. Models are the tools with which we think, criticize, argue, explain and analyze.
3. Concepts also help us to classify objects by recognizing that they have different features.

4. Politics is what concerns the state, as a conduct of public life, as debate and conciliation, and as the distribution of power and resources.

5. Concepts are the building blocks of human learning.

6. Politics is a struggle over the legitimate meaning of terms and concepts.

7. The concept must be used with care because it can also conceal vital differences, and thereby distort understanding.

8. The advantage is that words such as 'freedom', 'democracy' and 'justice' have different meanings to different people.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

vital, executive power, presidency, highlight, distort, contest, distinctive, exaggeration, downgraded, distribution

1. In this field, the most significant legal development was the possibility to_____ administrative decisions before court.

2. These measures are _____ to national security.

3. I recognized the writer's _____ style even before I saw the name

4. The post was _____ in the company reorganization.

5. Specific events are organized to _____human rights issues.

6. The _____consists of the President, elected by Congress, and a cabinet.

7. "The Simpsons predicted a Donald Trump _____ 16 years ago".

8. We can say without _____ that this is precisely the key that will open the door to a socially integrated society.

9. After the revolution, food distribution was decentralized.

10. It was used to_____ reality, manipulate the public and induce them to support recycled or major new lies.

UNIT 1.11. MODELS AND THEORIES AS TOOLS OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.
scale – *масштаб*
to resemble – *нагадувати*
to bear – *терпіти*
resemblance – *схожість*
bewilder – *збивати з пантелику*

accomplishment – *досягнення*
influential – *впливовий*
interrelated – *взаємопов'язаний*
interdependent – *взаємозалежний*
compliance – *відповідність*
imposition of taxes – *обкладання податком*
equilibrium – *рівновага*
flow of inputs – *потік вхідних даних*
to respond – *відповідати*
coercion – *примус*
to intrude – *втручатися*
self-regarding – *егоїзм*
ultimately – *зрештою*
validity – *дійсності*
elitism – *елітарність*
heritage – *спадщина*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Models and theories are broader than concepts; they comprise a range of ideas rather than a single idea. A model is usually thought of as a representation of something, usually on a smaller scale, as in the case of a toy airplane. The purpose of the model is to resemble the original object as faithfully as possible. However, conceptual models need not in any way resemble an object. It would be absurd, for instance, to insist that a computer model of the economy should bear a physical resemblance to the economy itself.

Conceptual models are analytical tools; their value is that they are devices through which meaning can be imposed on what would otherwise be a bewildering and disorganized collection of facts. Models include a network of relationships that highlight the meaning and significance of relevant empirical data. One of the most influential models in political analysis is the model of the political system developed by David Easton (1979, 1981).
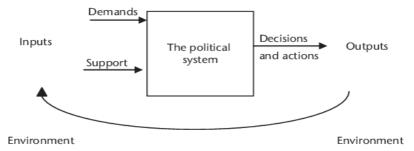
Fig. 1. David Easton's Model of a Political System

This ambitious model sets out to explain the entire political process, as well as the function of major political actors, through the application of systems analysis. A system is an organized or complex whole, a set of interrelated and interdependent parts that form a collective entity. In the case of the political system, a linkage exists between what Easton calls 'inputs' and 'outputs'. Inputs into the political system consist of demands and supports from the public. Demands can range from pressure for higher living standards, improved employment prospects, and more generous welfare payments to greater protection for minority and individual rights.

Supports, on the other hand, are ways in which the public contributes to the political system by paying taxes, offering compliance, and being willing to participate in public life. Outputs consist of the decisions and actions of government, including the making of policy, the passing of laws, the imposition of taxes, and the allocation of public funds. Clearly, these outputs generate 'feedback' that, in turn, shapes further demands and supports. The key insight offered by Easton's model is that the political system tends towards long-term equilibrium or political stability, as its survival depends on outputs brought into line with inputs.

However, it is vital to remember that conceptual models are at best simplifications of the reality they seek to explain. They are merely devices for drawing out understanding; they are not reliable knowledge. In the case of Easton's model, for example, political parties and interest groups are portrayed as 'gatekeepers', the central function of which is to regulate the flow of inputs into the political system. Although this may be one of their significant functions, parties and interest groups also

manage public perceptions, and thereby help to shape the nature of public demands. In short, these are more interesting and more complex institutions in reality than the systems model suggests.

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

However, virtually all conceptual devices, theories and models contain hidden values or implicit assumptions. This is why it is difficult to construct theories that are purely empirical; values and normative beliefs invariably intrude. In the case of concepts, this is demonstrated by people's tendency to use terms as either 'hurrah! words' (for example 'democracy', 'freedom' and 'justice') or 'boo! words' (for example, 'conflict', 'anarchy', 'ideology', and even 'politics'). Models and theories are also 'loaded' in the sense that they contain a range of biases. It is difficult, for example, to accept the claim that rational choice theories are value-neutral. As they are based on the assumption that human beings are basically egoistical and self-regarding, it is not surprising that they have often pointed to policy conclusions that are politically conservative. In the same way, class theories of politics, advanced by Marxists, are based on broader theories about history and society and ultimately rest on the validity of an entire social philosophy.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What do models and theories comprise? 2. What is a model? 3. What is the purpose of the model? 4. What are conceptual models? 5. What do models include? 6. What is a system? 7. What do inputs into the political system consist of? What kind of demands can the public have? 9. What are supports to a political system? 10. What do outputs of a political system consist of?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Concepts and theories are broader than models; they comprise a range of ideas rather than a single idea.

2. The purpose of the model is to resemble the original object as faithfully as possible.

3. The value of conceptual models is that they are devices through which meaning can be imposed on what would otherwise be a bewildering and disorganized collection of facts.

4. One of the most influential models in political analysis is the model of the political system developed by Marx.

5. Inputs into the political system consist of demands and supports from the general public.

6. Demands can range from pressure for higher living standards, improved employment prospects, and more generous welfare payments to greater protection for minority and individual rights.

7. A model is merely an explanatory device; it is more like a hypothesis that has yet to be tested.

8. Virtually all conceptual devices, theories and models contain hidden values or implicit assumptions.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *perception, resemblance, resemble, interrelated, accomplishment, equilibrium, compliance, model, coercion, bewilder*

1. Especially during the summer months, the city is crowded with tourists, and the issue of housing may _____ some people.

2. _____ with the latest safety regulations is strictly monitored.

3. There is a close _____ between this type of protection and diplomatic protection.

4. Opening negotiations can endanger the current fragile _____.

5. France noted that press freedom was a major _____ of the post-conflict transition, but was concerned by the recent arrest of journalists.

6. Let us ensure that our _____ of others is colored by respect.

7. Through _____, aggression and the use of force against its neighbors, India had pursued a consistent policy of expansionism and hegemony.

8. These movements most closely _____ refugee movements and would often require large-scale humanitarian assistance.

9. With limited funding available and youths more in need than ever, thanks to COVID-19, the two organizations have made a decision that could be a _____ for others.

10. The sections are _____, but separated for clarity.

UNIT 1.12. WHAT IS POLITICAL IDEOLOGY?

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

to condemn – *засуджувати*
creed – *кредо, віросповідання*
to coin – *створювати (нове слово)*
conscious – *свідомий*
disposal – *утилізація*
to conceal – *приховувати*
delusion – *омана*
false consciousness – *помилкова свідомість*
to be blurred – *бути неясним*
boundless – *безмежний*
bottomless – *бездонний*
incomprehensible – *незрозумілий*
oppressive – *такий, що обмежує права, пригноблює*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Ideology is one of the most controversial concepts encountered in political analysis. Although the term now tends to be used in a neutral sense, to refer to a developed social philosophy or world-view, in the past it had heavily negative or pejorative connotations. During its career, the concept of ideology has commonly been used as a political weapon to condemn or criticize rival creeds or doctrines. The term 'ideology' was coined in 1796 by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (1754–1836). He used it to refer to a new 'science of ideas' (literally, an idea-ology) that set out to uncover the origins of conscious thought and ideas. De Tracy's hope was that ideology would eventually enjoy the same status as established sciences such as zoology and biology. However, a more enduring meaning was assigned to the term in the nineteenth century in the writings of Karl Marx. For Marx, ideology amounted to the ideas of the 'ruling class', ideas that therefore uphold the class system and perpetuate exploitation. In their early work The German Ideology, Marx and Engels wrote the following: The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force in society, is at the same time the ruling intellectual force. The class, which has the means of mental production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production. (1846)

The defining feature of ideology in the Marxist sense is that it is false: it mystifies and confuses subordinate classes by concealing from them the contradictions on which all class societies are based. As far as capitalism is concerned, the ideology of the property-owning bourgeoisie (bourgeois ideology) fosters delusion or 'false consciousness' amongst the exploited proletariat, preventing them from recognizing the fact of their own exploitation. Nevertheless, Marx did not believe that all political views had an ideological character. He held that his own work, which attempted to uncover the process of class exploitation and oppression, was scientific. In his view, a clear distinction could be drawn between science and ideology, between truth and falsehood. This distinction tended, however, to be blurred in the writings of later Marxists such as Lenin and Gramsci. These referred not only to 'bourgeois ideology', but also to 'socialist ideology' or 'proletarian ideology', terms that Marx would have considered absurd.

Alternative uses of the term have also been developed by liberals and conservatives. Relying heavily on the examples of fascism and communism, the Cold War liberal use of the term treated ideology as a 'closed' system of thought, which, by claiming a monopoly of truth, refuses to tolerate opposing ideas and rival beliefs. In contrast, liberalism, based as it is on a fundamental commitment to individual freedom, and doctrines such as conservatism and democratic socialism that broadly subscribe to liberal principles are clearly not ideologies. These doctrines are 'open' in the sense that they permit, and even insist on, free debate, opposition and criticism.

A distinctively conservative use of the term 'ideology' has been developed by thinkers such as Michael Oakeshott. As Oakeshott put it, in political activity 'men sail a boundless and bottomless sea'. From this perspective, ideologies are seen as abstract 'systems of thought'; that is, as sets of ideas that distort political reality because they claim to explain what is, frankly, incomprehensible. This is why conservatives have traditionally dismissed the notion ideology, preferring instead to describe conservatism as a disposition, or an 'attitude of mind'.

The drawback of each of these usages, however, is that, as they are negative or pejorative, they restrict the application of the term. Certain political doctrines, in other words, are excluded from the category of 'ideologies'. Marx, for instance, insisted that his ideas were scientific, not ideological, liberals have denied that liberalism should be viewed as

an ideology, and conservatives have traditionally claimed to embrace a pragmatic rather than ideological style of politics. Moreover, each of these definitions is loaded with the values and orientation of a particular political doctrine. An inclusive definition of 'ideology' (one that applies to all political traditions) must therefore be neutral: it must reject the notion that ideologies are 'good' or 'bad', true or false, or liberating or oppressive. This is the virtue of the modern, social-scientific meaning of the term, which treats ideology as an action-orientated belief system, an interrelated set of ideas that in some way guides or inspires political action.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.

1. What is ideology? 2. How has the concept of ideology commonly been used? 3. How was the term ideology used by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy? 4. What did ideology for Marx amount to? 5. Who developed alternative uses of the term ideology? 6. Why do subscribers to liberal principles treat ideology as a 'closed' system of thought? 7. How are ideologies seen by Michael Oakeshott? 8. What should the notion 'ideology' reject to be neutral?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Although the term "ideology" now tends to be used in a neutral sense, to refer to a developed social philosophy or world-view, it has in the past had positive connotations.

2. During its career, the concept of ideology has commonly been used as a political weapon to condemn or criticize rival creeds or doctrines.

3. De Tracy's hope was that ideology would eventually enjoy the same status as established sciences such as politics.

4. Marx believed that all political views had an ideological character.

5. Liberals have insisted that liberalism should be viewed as an ideology.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

> *delusion, incomprehensible, consciousness, oppressive, disposal, conceal, conscious, condemn, creed, boundless*

1. The country is ruled by an _____ regime.
2. Those who seek peace will _____ provocation, instead of promoting it.
3. They face considerable waste _____ problems that are still without satisfactory solutions.
4. It was not a _____ choice to retreat from public life.

5. Teachers are recruited on ability, without regard to race, colour or _____.

6. These events have become part of the national _____.

7. His accent made his speech _____ to me.

8. The opportunities before us are _____, but we need you to help us realize them.

9. He is under the _____ that he will be promoted this year.

10. Why did she need to _____ her identity?

UNITS 1.13.-1.14. CLASSICAL IDEOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations

to sharpen – *загострювати*
commitment – *прихильність*
self-seeking – *егоїстичний*
self-reliant – *самостійний*
encroachment – *посягання*
merit – *заслуга*
invariably – *незмінно*
injustice – *несправедливість*
to starve – *голодувати*
to flourish – *квітнути*
fulfilment – *виконання*
recognition – *визнання*
want – *потреба*
ignorance – *незнання*
idleness – *неробство*
squalor – *мізерність*
disease – *хвороба*
laissez-faire – *невтручання*
vulnerable – *вразливий*
spread – *поширення*
apparent – *очевидний*
impact – *вплив*
to articulate – *чітко виражати*
coherent – *зв'язний*
departure – *відхід*
political creed – *політичне віросповідання*
artisan – *ремісник*

ownership – *право власності*
recast – *перетворити, переробити*
vestige – *пережиток, залишок*
inextricably – *нерозривно*
vanguard – *авангард*
to delude – *дурити*
private enterprise – *приватне підприємство*
purge – *чистка*
to eradicate – *викорінювати*
stubbornly – *вперто*
conversion – *перетворення*
conviction – *переконання*
underdog – *жертва*
provision – *забезпечення*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Political ideology arose out of the transition from feudalism to industrial capitalism. In simple terms, the earliest, or 'classical' ideologies – liberalism, conservatism and socialism – developed as contrasting attempts to shape emerging industrial society. This meant that the central theme in ideological debate and argument during this period and beyond was the battle between two rival economic philosophies: capitalism and socialism. Political ideology thus had a strong economic focus. The battle lines between capitalism and socialism were significantly sharpened by the 1917 Russian Revolution, which created the world's first socialist state. Indeed, throughout what is sometimes called the 'short' twentieth century (from the outbreak of World War I to the fall of communism, 1989–91), and particularly during the Cold War period (1945–90), international politics was structured along ideological lines, as the capitalist West confronted the communist East. Although ideological debate has become richer and certainly progressively more diverse since the 1960s, not least as a result of the rise of so-called 'new' ideologies such as feminism and green politics, the classical ideologies have retained their central importance.

Classical liberalism The central theme of classical liberalism is a commitment to an extreme form of individualism. Human beings are taken to be the proprietors of their own persons and capacities, owing nothing to society or to other individuals. This view of society is underpinned by a belief in 'negative' liberty, meaning non-interference,

or the absence of external constraints on the individual. This implies a deeply unsympathetic attitude towards the state and all forms of government intervention. In Tom Paine's words, the state is a 'necessary evil'. It is 'necessary' as it establishes order and security, and ensures that contracts are enforced. However, it is 'evil' as it imposes a collective will on society, thus limiting the freedom and responsibilities of the individual. The classical liberal ideal is therefore the establishment of a minimal state, with a role that is limited to the protection of citizens from the encroachments of fellow citizens. In the form of economic liberalism, this position is underpinned by a deep faith in the mechanisms of the free market and the belief that the economy works best when left alone by government. Laissez-faire capitalism is seen as guaranteeing prosperity, upholding individual liberty, and, as it allows individuals to rise and fall according to merit, ensuring social justice.

Modern liberalism Modern liberalism is characterized by a more sympathetic attitude towards state intervention. Indeed, in the USA, the term 'liberal' is invariably taken to imply support for 'big' government rather than 'minimal' government. This shift was born out of the recognition that industrial capitalism had merely generated new forms of injustice and left the mass of the population subject to the vagaries of the market. Influenced by the work of J.S. Mill, the so-called 'New Liberals' championed a broader, 'positive' view of freedom. From this perspective, freedom does not just mean being left alone, which might imply nothing more than the freedom to starve. Rather, it is linked to personal development and the flourishing of the individual; that is, the ability of the individual to gain fulfilment and achieve self-realization. This view provided the basis for social or welfare liberalism. This is characterized by the recognition that state intervention, particularly in the form of social welfare, can enlarge liberty by safeguarding individuals from the social evils that spoil individual existence. These evils were identified in the UK by the 1942 Beveridge Report as the 'five giants': want, ignorance, idleness, squalor and disease. Modern liberals abandoned their belief in laissez-faire capitalism, because growth and prosperity could be maintained only through a system of managed or regulated capitalism, with key economic responsibilities being placed in the hands of the state. Nevertheless, modern liberals' support for collective provision and government intervention has always been conditional. Their concern has been with the plight of the weak

and vulnerable, those who are literally not able to help themselves. Their goal is to raise individuals to the point where they are able.

Socialism although socialist ideas can be traced back to Thomas More's Utopia (1516), or even Plato's Republic, socialism did not take shape as a political creed until the early nineteenth century. It developed as a reaction against the emergence of industrial capitalism. Socialism first articulated the interests of artisans and craftsmen threatened by the spread of factory production, but it was soon linked to the growing industrial working class. In its earliest forms, socialism tended to have a fundamentalist, utopian and revolutionary character. Its goal was to abolish a capitalist economy based on market exchange, and replace it with a qualitatively different socialist society, usually to be constructed on the principle of common ownership. The most influential representative of this brand of socialism was Marx, whose ideas provided the foundations for twentieth-century communism. From the late nineteenth century onwards, however, a reformist socialist tradition emerged that reflected the gradual integration of the working classes into capitalist society through an improvement in working conditions and wages, and the growth of trade unions and socialist political parties. This brand of socialism proclaimed the possibility of a peaceful, gradual and legal transition to socialism, brought about through the adoption of the 'parliamentary road'. The second was a form of revisionist Marxism developed primarily by Eduard Bernstein. During much of the twentieth century, the socialist movement was thus divided into two rival camps. Revolutionary socialists, following the example of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, called themselves 'communists', while reformist socialists, who practiced a form of constitutional politics, embraced what increasingly came to be called 'social democracy'. This rivalry focused not only on the most appropriate means of achieving socialism, but also on the nature of the socialist goal itself. Social democrats turned their backs on fundamentalist principles such as common ownership and planning, and recast socialism in terms of welfare, redistribution and economic management. Both forms of socialism, however, experienced crises in the late twentieth century that encouraged some to proclaim the 'death of socialism' and the emergence of a postsocialist society. The most dramatic event in this process was the collapse of communism brought about by the Eastern European revolutions of 1989–91, but there was also a retreat of social democracy from traditional principles.

Marxism As a theoretical system, Marxism has constituted the principal alternative to the liberal rationalism. As a political force, in the form of the international communist movement, Marxism has been seen as the major enemy of western capitalism, at least in the period 1917–91. This highlights a central difficulty in dealing with Marxism: the difference between Marxism as a social philosophy derived from the classic writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and the phenomenon of twentieth-century communism, which in many ways departed from and revised classical principles. Thus, the collapse of communism at the end of the twentieth century does not mean the death of Marxism as a political ideology; it may give Marxism, now divorced from Leninism and Stalinism, a fresh lease of life. Marx's ideas and theories reached a wider audience after his death, largely through the writings of his lifelong collaborator Engels, the German socialist leader Karl Kautsky and the Russian theoretician Georgi Plekhanov. A form of orthodox Marxism, usually termed 'dialectical materialism' (a term coined by Plekhanov, not Marx), came into existence that was later used as the basis for Soviet communism. This 'vulgar' Marxism undoubtedly placed a heavier stress on mechanistic theories and historical determinism than did Marx's own writings.

Orthodox communism Marxism is inextricably linked to the experience of Soviet communism, and especially to the contribution of the first two Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin. Indeed, twentieth-century communism is best understood as a form of Marxism–Leninism: that is, as orthodox Marxism modified by a set of Leninist theories and doctrines. Lenin's central contribution to Marxism was his theory of the revolutionary or vanguard party. This reflected Lenin's fear that the proletariat, deluded by bourgeois ideas and beliefs, would not realize its revolutionary potential because it could not develop beyond 'trade union consciousness': a desire to improve working and living conditions rather than to overthrow capitalism. A revolutionary party, armed with Marxism, was therefore needed to serve as the 'vanguard of the working class'. In due course, this 'vanguard' or 'Leninist' party, composed of professional and dedicated revolutionaries, became the model for communist parties across the globe. The USSR was, however, more affected by Stalin's 'second revolution' in the 1930s than by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. In reshaping Soviet society, Stalin created a model of orthodox communism that was followed in the post-1945

period by states such as China, North Korea and Cuba, and throughout Eastern Europe. What may be called '*economic* Stalinism' was initiated with the launch in 1928 of the first Five Year Plan, which brought about total eradication of private enterprise. This was followed in 1929 by the collectivization of agriculture. All resources were brought under the control of the state, and a system of central planning (Gosplan) was established. Stalin's *political* changes were no less dramatic. During the 1930s, Stalin transformed the USSR into a personal dictatorship through a series of purges that eradicated all vestiges of opposition and debate. Stalin turned the USSR into a totalitarian dictatorship, operating through systematic intimidation, repression and terror. Although the more brutal features of orthodox communism did not survive Stalin's death in 1953, the core principles of the Leninist party (hierarchical organization and discipline) and of economic Stalinism (state collectivization and central planning) stubbornly resisted pressure for reform. This was highlighted by Gorbachev's perestroika reform process (1985–91), which merely succeeded in exposing the failings of the planning system, and in releasing long suppressed political forces. This eventually sent Soviet communism to 'the dustbin of history'. However, political Stalinism survives in China, despite the embrace of market reforms, and North Korea remains a thoroughgoing orthodox communist regime. The collapse of communism during the 1989–91 period is widely seen as the most significant ideological event of the modern period.

Social democracy At the heart of social democracy there is a compromise between, on the one hand, an acceptance of capitalism as the only reliable mechanism for generating wealth and, on the other, a desire to distribute wealth in accordance with moral, rather than market, principles. For socialists, this conversion to the market was a difficult, and at times painful, process that was dictated more by practical circumstances and electoral advantage than by ideological conviction. The chief characteristic of modern social democratic thought is a concern for the underdog in society, the weak and vulnerable.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. How did political ideology arise out? 2. What is the central theme of classical liberalism? 3. How is modern liberalism characterized? 4. What 'evils' were identified in the UK by the 1942 Beveridge Report? 5. How did socialism develop until the early nineteenth century? 6. What ideology aimed to abolish a capitalist economy based

on market exchange, and replace it with a qualitatively different socialist society constructed on the principle of common ownership? 7. What is Marxism as a theoretical system? 8. What did orthodox communism reflect? 9. What model of orthodox communism was created by Stalin? 10. What is there at the heart of social democracy?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. The central theme in ideological debate and argument was the battle between two rival economic philosophies: capitalism and socialism.
2. The battle lines between capitalism and socialism were sharpened by the 1917 Russian Revolution, which created the world's second socialist state.
3. The central theme of social democracy is a commitment to an extreme form of individualism.
4. Classical liberalism is characterized by a more sympathetic attitude towards state intervention.
5. In the USA, the term liberal is invariably taken to imply support for 'minimal' government rather than 'big' government.
6. The classical liberal ideal is the establishment of a minimal or night watchman state, with a role that is limited to the protection of citizens from the encroachments of fellow citizens.
7. Modern liberals abandoned the belief in laissez-faire capitalism, because growth and prosperity could be maintained only through a system of managed or regulated capitalism, with key economic responsibilities being placed in the hands of the state.
8. The collapse of communism at the end of the twentieth century may give Marxism, now married to Leninism and Stalinism, a fresh lease of life.
9. New social democracy developed as a reaction against the emergence of industrial capitalism.
10. The chief characteristic of modern social democratic thought is a concern for the underdog in society, the weak and vulnerable.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *idleness, flourishing, squalor, ownership, vulnerable, intervention, invariably, imply, fulfillment, injustice*

1. We need and welcome international support in our struggle against poverty and _____.
2. Recent US history has amply demonstrated the risks of foreign _____.

3. Different forms of integration may _____ different degrees of openness and outward orientation.
4. This right includes not only the right not to live in the street and not to _____.
5. They should prioritize women, young people and _____ groups in these efforts.
6. Rising food and energy prices _____ raise food security concerns.
7. There is private _____ of property in a market economy.
8. The goodwill of the Governments of the countries we visited made a major contribution to the successful _____ of the mandate.
9. Oil-gas sector contributed to the _____ of other fields of economy.
10. Sooner or later, you will regret your _____.

Exercise 6. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. Classical liberalism	**a.** refers to the economic, philosophical and sociological theories expounded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
2. Orthodox communism	**b.** advocates economic and social interventions to promote social justice within the framework of a liberal-democratic polity and a capitalist-oriented mixed economy
3. Marxism	**c.** is a political ideology and a branch of liberalism that advocates civil liberties under the rule of law with an emphasis on economic freedom
4. Modern liberalism	**d.** is a political, social, and economic philosophy encompassing a range of economic and social systems characterized by social ownership of the means of production
5. Social democracy	**e.** is based on theory of the revolutionary or vanguard party
6. Socialism	**f.** supports a role for government in reducing inequality, providing education, ensuring access to healthcare, regulating economic activity and protecting the natural environment

UNITS 1.15.-1.16. OTHER IDEOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

to exhaust – *вичерпувати*
potent – *потужний*
manifestation – *прояв*
advantage – *перевага*
anxiety – *тривожність*
revolt – *повстання*
strength through unity – *сила через єдність*
to absorb – *поглинати*
self-sacrifice – *самопожертва*
obedience – *слухняність*
master race – *раса господарів*
to be destined – *бути призначеним*
world domination – *світове панування*
virulent – *жорстокий*
the Jews – *євреї*
Aryanism – *Аріанство (християнська течія)*
eradication – *знищення, викорінення*
to fertilize – *підсилювати*
indispensable – *незамінний*
stateless society – *суспільство без громадянства*
communitarianism – *комунітаризм (напрям у соціальній теорії, що прагне до сильного громадянського суспільства, основою якого є місцеві спільноти і громадські організації, а не окремі особистості)*
gregarious – *товариський*
self-management – *самоврядування*
aspiration – *прагнення*
to underpin – *підтримувати*
suffrage – *право голосу*
diverse – *різноманітний*
burden – *тягар*
cleavage – *розщеплення, розкол*
stance – *позиція*
disparate – *розрізнений, несумірний*
conventional – *умовний*
environmental movement – *екологічний рух*
damage – *пошкодження*

pace – *темп*
nuclear technology – *ядерні технології*
acid rain – *кислотний дощ*
ozone depletion – *руйнування озонового шару*
global warming – *глобальне потепління*
rapacious – *загарбницький*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Fascism is a child of the twentieth century. Some would say that it is specifically an interwar phenomenon. Although fascist beliefs can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, they were fused together and shaped by World War I and, in particular, by the potent mixture of war and revolution that characterized the period. The two principal manifestations of fascism were Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship in Italy in 1922–43, and Hitler's Nazi dictatorship in Germany in 1933–45. Forms of neo fascism and neo-Nazism have also resurfaced in recent decades, taking advantage of the combination of economic crisis and political instability that often followed the collapse of communism or, more widely, of increased anxieties over immigration and multiculturalism. In many respects, fascism constituted a revolt against the ideas and values that had dominated western political thought since the French Revolution: in the words of the Italian Fascist slogan, '1789 is dead'. Values such as rationalism, progress, freedom and equality were overturned in the name of struggle, leadership, power, heroism and war. Fascism is defined largely by what it opposes: it is a form of anticapitalism, antiliberalism, anti-individualism, anticommunism, etc. A core theme that runs throughout fascism is the image of an organically unified national community. This is reflected in a belief in 'strength through unity'. The individual, in a literal sense, is nothing; individual identity must be absorbed entirely into that of the community or social group. The fascist ideal is that of the 'new man', a hero, motivated by duty, honour and self-sacrifice, prepared to dedicate his life to the glory of his nation or race, and to give unquestioning obedience to a supreme leader. Italian Fascism was an extreme form of 'statism' that was based on unquestioning respect and absolute loyalty towards a 'totalitarian' state: 'everything for the state; nothing against the state; nothing outside the state' (fascist philosopher Gentile). German National Socialism (or Nazism), on the other hand, was constructed largely based on racialism. Its two core theories were Aryanism

(the belief that the German people constitute a 'master race' and are destined for world domination), and a virulent form of anti-Semitism that portrayed the Jews as inherently evil, and aimed at their eradication.

Anarchism is unusual amongst political ideologies in that no anarchist party has ever succeeded in winning power, at least at national level. Nevertheless, anarchist movements were powerful in Spain, France, Russia and Mexico at the early twentieth century, and anarchist ideas continue to fertilize political debate by challenging the conventional belief that law, government and the state are indispensable. Anarchist thinking has also been influential within the modern anti-capitalist, or anti-globalization, movement. The central theme within anarchism is the belief that political authority in all its forms, and especially in the form of the state, is both evil and unnecessary (anarchy literally means 'without rule'). The anarchist preference for a stateless society in which free individuals manage their own affairs through voluntary agreement and cooperation has been developed based on two rival traditions: liberal individualism, and socialist communitarianism. The liberal case against the state is based on individualism, and the desire to maximize liberty and choice. Unlike liberals, individualist anarchists believed that free and rational human beings would be able to manage their affairs peacefully and spontaneously, government being merely a form of unwanted coercion. Collectivist anarchists stress the capacity for social solidarity that arises from our sociable, gregarious and cooperative natures. Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin advanced a form of anarcho-communism, the central principles of which were common ownership, 'decentralization and workers' self-management.

Feminism Although feminist aspirations have been expressed in societies dating back to Ancient China, they were not underpinned by a developed political theory until the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792). Indeed, it was not until the emergence of the women's suffrage movement in the 1840s and 1850s that feminist ideas reached a wider audience, in the form of so-called 'first-wave feminism'. The achievement of female suffrage in most western countries in the early twentieth century deprived the women's movement of its central goal and organizing principle. 'Second-wave feminism', however, emerged in the 1960s. This expressed the more radical, and sometimes revolutionary, demands of the growing Women's Liberation Movement. Feminist theories and

doctrines are diverse, but their unifying feature is a common desire to enhance the social role of women. The underlying themes of feminism are therefore, first, that society is characterized by sexual or gender inequality and, second, that this structure of male power can, and should be, overturned. Feminist thinking has traditionally been analyzed in terms of a division between liberal, socialist and radical schools of thought. *Liberal feminists*, such as Wollstonecraft and Betty Friedan have tended to understand female subordination in terms of the unequal distribution of rights and opportunities in society. This 'equal-rights feminism' is essentially reformist. It is concerned more with the reform of the 'public' sphere; that is, with enhancing the legal and political status of women, and improving their educational and career prospects, than with reordering 'private' or domestic life. In contrast, *socialist feminists* typically highlight the links between female subordination and the capitalist mode of production, drawing attention to the economic significance of women being confined to a family or domestic life where they relieve male workers of the burden of domestic labour, rear and help to educate the next generation of capitalist workers, and act as a reserve army of labour. *Radical feminists* believe that gender divisions are the most fundamental and politically significant cleavages in society. In their view, all societies, historical and contemporary, are characterized by patriarchy, the institution whereby, as Kate Millett (1969) put it, 'that half of the population which is female is controlled by that half which is male'. Radical feminists proclaim the need for a sexual revolution, a revolution that will restructure personal, domestic and family life. The characteristic slogan of radical feminism is thus 'the personal is the political'. Only in its extreme form does radical feminism portray men as 'the enemy', and proclaim the need for women to withdraw from male society, a stance sometimes expressed in the form of political lesbianism. Since the 1970s feminism has moved beyond the threefold division into liberal, socialist and radical traditions. Although 'new feminism' or 'third-wave feminism' are disparate, they tend to be characterized by doubts about the conventional goal of gender equality, placing an emphasis instead on differences, both between women and men and between women themselves.

Green politics Although green politics, or ecologism, is usually seen as a new ideology that is linked to the emergence of the environmental movement since the late twentieth century, its roots can be traced back

to the nineteenth-century revolt against industrialization. Green politics reflects concern about the damage done to the natural world by the increasing pace of economic development (worsened by the advent of nuclear technology, acid rain, ozone depletion, global warming, etc.), and anxiety about the declining quality of human existence and, ultimately, the survival of the human species. Ecosocialism explains environmental destruction in terms of capitalism's rapacious desire for profit. Ecoconservatism links the cause of conservation to the desire to preserve traditional values and established institutions. And ecofeminism locates the origins of the ecological crisis in the system of male power, reflecting the fact that men are less sensitive than women to natural processes and the natural world. By highlighting the importance of ecology, green politics develops an ecocentric world-view that portrays the human species as merely part of nature.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. When were fascist beliefs fused together and shaped? 2. What were the two principal manifestations of fascism? 3. What forms of fascism have resurfaced in recent decades? 4. What core theme runs throughout fascism? 5. What principal beliefs differentiate Italian Fascism from German National Socialism (or Nazism)? 6. What is the central theme within anarchism? 7. What two rival traditions is the anarchist preference for a stateless society in which free individuals manage their own affairs through voluntary agreement and cooperation based on? 8. What is unifying feature of Feminist theories and doctrines? 9. What are the underlying themes of feminism? 10. What do radical feminists proclaim? 11. What is green politics usually linked to?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Fascism is defined largely by what it supports: it is a form of capitalism, liberalism, individualism, communism, etc.
2. Fascism is a child of the twentieth century.
3. The two principal manifestations of fascism were Mussolinis Fascist dictatorship in Italy, and Hitlers Nazi dictatorship in Germany.
4. In many respects, fascism constituted a revolt against the ideas and values that had dominated eastern political thought since the French Revolution: in the words of the Italian Fascist slogan, 1789 is dead.
5. German Fascism was an extreme form of statism that was based on unquestioning respect and absolute loyalty towards a totalitarian state.

6. Fascism reflects concern about the damage done to the natural world by the increasing pace of economic development.

7. The achievement of female suffrage in most western countries in the early twentieth century deprived the women's movement of its central goal and organizing principle.

8. Ecosocialism links the cause of conservation to the desire to preserve traditional values and established institutions.

9. Ecosocialism explains environmental destruction in terms of capitalisms rapacious desire for profit.

10. Ecofeminism locates the origins of the ecological crisis in the system of male power, reflecting the fact that men are less sensitive than women to natural processes and the natural world.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations.

suffrage, feminism's, burden, obedience, anxiety, incorporate, exhaust, Green politics, burden, aspiration

1. Socialist feminists reject radical _____ main claim that patriarchy is the only or primary source of oppression of women.
2. Women gained _____ on the federal level in 1971.
3. This _____ is commonly called living the American dream.
4. We must be ready to shoulder that _____.
5. The fear of unemployment can be a source of deep _____ to people.
6. The people were expected to give their leader absolute _____ and loyalty.
7. _____ _____ is a political ideology, which emphasizes the importance of achieving environmental goals.
8. The _____ of responsibility weighed heavily on his shoulders.
9. Young players complain that they _____ health.
10. All health related policies should _____ a gender dimension.

PART 2.
POLITICAL SYSTEM AND FEATURES OF ITS FUNCTIONING

UNIT 2.1. POLITICAL PARTIES

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.
governance – *управління*
to donate –*жертвувати*

voter – *виборець*
voluntary – *добровільний*
to run for office – *балотуватися, виставляти свою кандидатуру*
to profess – *визнавати, декларувати*
to hold – *утримувати*
one-party system – *однопартійна система*
multi-party system – *багатопартійна система*
authoritarian – *авторитарний*
to abolish – *скасувати*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

Political parties are essential institutions of democracy. By competing in elections parties offer citizens a choice in governance, and while in opposition they can hold governments accountable. When citizens join political parties, volunteer their time, donate money and vote for their leaders, they are exercising their basic democratic rights. Participation of citizens in political parties offers unique benefits, including opportunities to influence policy choices, choose and engage political leaders, and run for office. However, in some countries political parties do not respect the rights of citizens to participate and are not accountable to voters.

A political party is a legally registered voluntary association of citizens – supporters of a national program of social development, which aims to promote the formation and expression of political will of citizens, participates in elections and other political events.

Political parties differ depending on their social essence, social base (features of the community whose interests they represent), the ideology they profess, goals and tactical priorities, the principles of organization, construction, place in the political system.

Signs of political parties: voluntary association; certain duration of existence in time; availability of organizational structure; desire for power; search for popular support.

Role of political parties

A political party brings together people with the same political ideas. By taking part in an election, parties hope to get as many of their members as possible into a representative body, like parliament or a municipal council. At the same time, they try to hold as many posts as possible in the government, or in the municipal or provincial executive.

Political parties have various functions. One is promoting the interests of their voters. They also draw up party programs. Citizens can join political parties, enabling them to help shape the party program.

Each political party must have: ideology; political platform; organizational structure; certain methods and means of activity; social base; the electorate (voters who vote for the party).

Given the social base, there are parties: bourgeois; petty bourgeois; peasant; proletarian, etc.

According to ideological features, there are parties: conservative; liberal; socialist; social democratic; communist; clerical, etc.

In relation to social transformations we distinguish: reformist; radical; conservative, etc.

Researchers identify from 4-5 to 6-7 types of party systems.

1. A one-party system is inherent in totalitarian societies, in which this single party is an extremely powerful political force that relies on the state and provides "party legitimacy" to the ruling regime. It is still preserved in Cuba, North Korea, and the tendency to form a single powerful is manifested in Libya, Venezuela and other countries.

2. The two-party system, in which the two parties have approximately the same political power, financial, informational, human resources to influence the electorate, operates in the United States, Great Britain, Australia and other countries.

3. The multi-party system with the hegemonic party, which seems to dominate the party's political life in the country's political life, was in the countries of the former socialist camp – Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Japan, where the ruling liberal-democratic party was in power more than 55 years.

4. A multi-party system with a fixed, "survey" or "moderate" number of 6-10 parties, which have almost equal political forces and opportunities in the struggle for leadership, operates in most European countries. It is believed that such a party system is most adequate to the rule of law, developed democracy, civil society.

5. Multi-party system of the "atomic" type or multi-party system, in the structure of which dozens of small parties are almost unrelated.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. Why are political parties essential institutions of democracy? 2. How do political parties operate in a certain society? 3. What are the main signs of political parties? 4. What is the difference between a multi-

party system with a fixed number of parties and a multi-party system of the "atomic" type? 5. Do the political parties differ depending on the principles of organization and the place in the political system?

Exercise 4. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. A one-party system	**a.** their social essence, social base (features of the community whose interests they represent), the ideology they profess, goals and tactical priorities
2. A political party brings together	**b.** with the hegemonic party, which seems to dominate the party's political life in the country's political life, was in the countries of the former socialist camp
3. Political parties differ depending on	**c.** one is promoting the interests of their voters
4. Parties hope to get	**d.** people with the same political ideas
5. Political parties are	**e.** which dozens of small parties are almost unrelated
6. A political party is	**f.** the two parties have approximately the same political power, financial, informational, human resources to influence the electorate
7. Multi-party system of the "atomic" type	**g.** a legally registered voluntary association of citizens
8. A multi-party system	**h.** essential institutions of democracy
9. The two-party system	**i.** as many of their members as possible into a representative body
10. Political parties have various functions	**j.** is inherent in totalitarian societies

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. A multi-party system with a fixed, "survey" or "moderate" number of 6-10 parties, in the structure of which dozens of small parties are almost unrelated.
2. Political parties, operating in a certain society, form a certain party system, i.e. a system of relations of countries with authoritarian political regimes.

3. Multi-party system of the "atomic" type or multi-party system, which have almost equal political forces and opportunities in the struggle for leadership, operates in most European countries.

4. Political parties differ depending on their unique benefits, including opportunities to influence policy choices, choose and engage political leaders, and run for office.

5. Citizens can join political parties, enabling them to help shape the party program.

6. By taking part in an election, parties hope to get as many of their members as possible into a representative body.

Exercise 6. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *essence, development, will of citizens, camp, to dominate, power, priorities, unique benefits, to participate*

1. In some countries political parties do not respect the rights of citizens _____ _____ and are not accountable to voters.

2. A political party is a legally registered voluntary association of citizens – supporters of a national program of social _____, which aims to promote the formation and expression of political _____ _____ _____, participates in elections and other political events.

3. The multi-party system with the hegemonic party, which seems _____ _____ the party's political life in the country's political life, was in the countries of the former socialist _____.

4. Signs of political parties: voluntary association, a certain duration of existence in time, availability of organizational structure, desire for _____, search for popular support.

5. Participation of citizens in political parties offers _____ _____, including opportunities to influence policy choices, choose and engage political leaders, and run for office.

6. Political parties differ depending on their social _____, social base (features of the community whose interests they represent), the ideology they profess, goals and tactical _____, the principles of organization, construction, place in the political system.

Exercise 7. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences.
1. It is believed that such a party system is most adequate to the rule of law.

2. Political parties, operating in a certain society, form a certain party system.

3. Political parties have various functions.

4. Political parties are essential institutions of democracy.

5. Citizens can join political parties, enabling them to help shape the party programme.

Exercise 8. Discussion Club.

Make up the dialogue (5-7 dialogical units) on the functions and types of political parties.

UNIT 2.2. GROUPS OF INTEREST IN POLITICS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

attempt to gain power – *спроба отримати владу*

guerrilla warfare – *диверсійно-підривна діяльність*

legal framework – *законодавча база*

techniques of conspiracy – *прийоми змови*

a total stoppage of all – *повна зупинка всього*

minority groups – *меншини, невеликі групи*

financing of campaigns – *фінансування кампаній*

to retain – *зберігати, утримувати*

to attempt – *спробувати, намагатися*

to determine the circumstances – *визначити обставини*

flexible and rigid parties – *гнучкі та жорсткі сторони*

committees containing cliques of influential party leaders – *комітети, що містять угрупування впливових лідерів партії*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.
PARTIES AND POLITICAL POWER

Whether they are conservative or revolutionary, whether they are a union of notables or an organization of the masses, whether they function in a pluralistic democracy or in a monolithic dictatorship, parties have one function in common: they all participate to some extent in the exercise of political power, whether by forming a government or by exercising the function of opposition, a function that is often of crucial importance in the determination of national policy.

The struggle for power. It is possible in theory to distinguish revolutionary parties, which attempt to gain power by violence (conspiracies, guerrilla warfare, etc.), from those parties working within

the legal framework of elections. However, the distinction is not always easy to make, because the same parties may sometimes make use of both procedures, either simultaneously or successively, depending upon the circumstances. In the 1920s, for example, communist parties sought power through elections at the same time that they were developing an underground activity of a revolutionary nature. In the 19th century, liberal parties were in the same situation, sometimes employing the techniques of conspiracy, as in Italy, Austria, Germany, Poland, and Russia, and sometimes confining their struggles to the ballot box, as in Great Britain and France.

The function of selecting candidates is exercised in three ways. In cadre parties, candidates are selected by committees of the party activists who make up the party – the caucus system, as it is known in the United States. In general, local committees play essential roles in this regard. In some countries, however, a national caucus centralizes the selection, as, for example, by the Conservative Party in Britain and the Christian Democratic Appeal party in the Netherlands. In mass-based parties, members of the regional and national congresses according to apparently democratic procedures make selection; in actual practice, the governing committees play an essential role, the local constituency members generally ratifying their choice. Thirdly, in the United States the mechanism of primary elections has established a system for selecting candidates by means of the votes of all party members or all voters within a particular electoral district.

The various processes of selecting candidates do not, however, differ significantly in their results, for it is usually the party leaders who play the essential role. This introduces an oligarchical tendency into party politics, a tendency that has not been overcome by the congresses of the mass-based parties or the U.S. primaries, which provide only a partial limitation on the power of the governing committees.

An important aspect of the struggle for power between political parties is the financing of campaigns. Cadre parties always have in their committees some key figure who is responsible for collecting gifts from corporations and wealthy individuals. In mass-based parties, rather than looking for large sums of money from a few people, leaders gather smaller sums from a large number of people who usually give on a monthly or annual basis. This method has been viewed as one of the distinguishing characteristics of mass-based parties. Sometimes the law

intervenes in the financing of elections and of parties. Laws often limit campaign expenses and attempt to restrict the resources of the parties, but they are generally inoperative because it is quite easy to circumvent them. In some countries, the state contributes public funds to the parties. At first, such financial participation was limited to expenses for campaigns and was based on the uniform treatment of candidates (as in France), but in Sweden and Finland the state contributes to the general finances of parties.

Participation in power. Once a political party has achieved electoral victory, the question arises of how much influence the party is to have on the government. The influence of the party on members in elective office is frequently quite weak. It defines the general lines of their activity, but these lines can be quite hazy, and few decisions are taken in the periodic meetings between officeholders and their party. Each member of the legislature retains personal freedom of action in participation in debates, in participation in government, and, especially, in voting. The party may, of course, attempt to enforce the party line, but parliamentary or congressional members cannot be compelled to vote the way the party wants them to. Such is the situation in the United States, within most of the liberal and conservative European parties, and within cadre parties in general.

The question of how disciplined a party is, enables a distinction to be made between what may be termed rigid and flexible parties – that is, between those that attempt always to be united and disciplined, following what is most often an ideologically based party line, and those that, representing a broader range of interests and points of view, form legislatures that are assemblies of individuals rather than of parties.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. Which way is the function of selecting candidates exercised? 2. What is an important aspect of the struggle for power between political parties? 3. What does financing of campaigns involve? 4. What function do parties have in common? Explain. 5. What is the difference between rigid and flexible parties?

Exercise 4. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. The parties operating within	**a.** in the dissolution of Parliament and a general election

2. A single adverse vote can result	**b.** a particular system will be rigid or flexible depends largely on the constitutional provisions that determine the circumstances in which a government may continue in office
3. Parties provide	**c.** not too significant or informative, because most candidates, in their attempt to gain the most votes, try to avoid difficult subjects
4. The programs and promises of each individual candidate are	**d.** a channel of communication between opposition legislators and the public
5. In cadre parties, members are manipulated by	**e.** the possibility that elected representatives will change their minds and their politics, and thus the party label acts as a sort of guarantee that there will be at least some correspondence between promise and performance
6. Parties make possible	**f.** while performing the function of representation, thus rest more or less on the competition of rival oligarchies
7. Democratic political systems	**g.** the representation of varying shades of opinion by synthesizing different positions into a stance that each representative adopts to a greater or lesser extent.
8. In the legislature the discipline of the party limits	**h.** powerful committees containing cliques of influential party leaders. In mass-based parties, leaders are chosen by the members

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Party discipline and unity are thus of crucial importance, and this fact has far-reaching consequences for the composition, organization, and policies of each party.
2. The influence of the party on members in elective office is not frequently quite weak. It defines the general lines of their activity.
3. Not every member of the legislature retains personal freedom of action in participation in debates, in participation in government, and, especially, in voting.

4. In mass-based parties, rather than looking for large sums of money from a few people, leaders do not gather smaller sums from a large number of people who usually give on a monthly or annual basis.

Exercise 6. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *candidate, the voters, various processes, government, consequences, party discipline, the electorate*

1. The party first gives the _____ a label that serves to introduce the candidate to the voters and to identify the candidate's position.
2. The _____ _____ of selecting candidates do not, however, differ significantly in their results, for it is usually the party leaders who play the essential role.
3. In the United States the president and _____ continue in office for the constitutionally defined period of four years, regardless of whether a majority in the legislature supports the president or not.
4. The _____ of party disunity within such a constitutional framework are well illustrated by the weakness and instability of the governments of the Third and Fourth French republics.
5. At the same time, _____ _____ permits the opposition to present the public with an alternative to the majority party; the logical consequence of such a situation is Britain's "shadow cabinet," which accustoms _____ _____ to the idea that a new group is ready to take over the reins of government.

Exercise 7. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences.
1. Parties provide, moreover, a channel of communication between opposition legislators and the public.
2. Parties make possible the representation of varying shades of opinion.
3. Democratic political systems rest more or less on the competition of rival oligarchies.
4. The influence of the party on members in elective office is frequently quite weak.
5. The party may attempt to enforce the party line.

Exercise 8. Discussion Club.
Make up the dialogue (5-7 dialogical units) on main characteristics of powers in political parties and discipline in their structure.

UNIT 2.3. ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND THEIR FEATURES

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

electoral – *виборчий*
variables – *змінні*
electoral system – *виборча система*
seat allocation – *розподіл мандатів*
boundaries – *межі*
general election – *загальні вибори*
majority – *більшість*
minority – меншість, *меншина*
participation – *участь*
plurality systems – *системи множинності*
optional preferential voting – *факультативне преференційне голосування*
riding – *виборчий округ у Канаді*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

What is an Electoral System?

An electoral or voting system is how votes are translated into seats. It determines how many votes and what kinds of votes are necessary to award seats to candidates and parties in an election. Different electoral systems produce different kinds of results, and give voters different kinds of choices. The electoral system determines the "exchange rate" between votes and seats – that is, how votes are translated into seats. How many and what kind of votes are needed to get a seat varies from system to system. As a result, different electoral systems give politicians incentives to organize and campaign in different ways. Some electoral systems may even create barriers for certain types of candidates. Different electoral systems give voters different kinds of choices, which can then affect the decisions voters make.

At the most basic level, electoral systems translate the votes cast in a general election into seats won by parties and candidates. The key variables are the electoral formula used (i.e., whether the system is majoritarian or proportional, and what mathematical formula is used to calculate the seat allocation) and the district magnitude (not how many voters live in a district, but how many members of parliament that district elects). Although we do not focus on the administrative aspects of elections (such as the distribution of polling places, the nomination of candidates, the registration of voters, who runs the elections, etc.), these

issues are of critical importance. Electoral system design also affects other areas of electoral laws: the choice of electoral system has an influence on the way in which district boundaries are drawn, how voters are registered, the design of ballot papers, how votes are counted, along with numerous other aspects of the electoral process.

There are three main characteristics of any electoral system that determine how it works:

- District Magnitude – this refers to the number of representatives elected from the district or riding. These could be single member ridings or multi-member ridings.
- Ballot Structure – this refers to the number of voting preferences given a voter on a ballot for them to mark. The range of choices includes a single choice for a party or candidate; a multiple preference between parties and candidates; and weighting preferences between candidates by rank-ordering them.
- Electoral Formula – this refers to the method by which votes are turned into seats, given the district magnitude and ballot structure being used. It could include thresholds stipulating the percentage of votes necessary to get elected.

Types of Electoral System
- Plurality Systems
- Majority Systems
- Proportional Representation Systems
- Mixed Systems

The Importance of Electoral System

It is often argued that the easiest political institution is the electoral system, because in translating the votes cast in a general election into seats in the legislature, the choice of electoral system can effectively determine who is elected and which party gains power. Even with exactly the same number of votes for parties, one electoral system might lead to a coalition government while another might allow a single party to assume majority control. Electoral systems can also influence the way parties campaign and the way political élites behave, thus helping to determine the broader political climate; they may encourage, or retard, the forging of alliances between parties; and they can provide incentives for parties and groups to be broad-based and accommodating, or to base themselves on narrow appeals to ethnicity or kinship ties. In addition, if an electoral system is not considered "fair" and does not allow the

opposition to feel that they have the chance to win next time around, an electoral system may encourage losers to work outside the system, using non-democratic, confrontationalist and even violent tactics. Finally, the choice of electoral system will determine the ease or complexity of the act of voting. This is always important, but becomes particularly so in societies where there are a substantial number of inexperienced or illiterate voters.

A democratic electoral system can be said to be one where:
- elections are regular and fair
- votes are of equal value
- the will of the majority is achieved
- the interests of minorities are taken into consideration
- there is a high level of participation by the electorate
- there is the maximum possible franchise
- voting is accessible

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. Does the electoral system determine how many votes and what kinds of votes are necessary to award seats to candidates and parties in an election? 2. What do the electoral systems translate at the most basic level? 3. Can electoral systems influence the way parties campaign? 4. What are three main characteristics of any electoral system that determine how it works? 5. Which of characteristics of democratic electoral system can you define?

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Electoral system design also affects other areas of electoral laws: the distribution of polling places, the nomination of candidates, the registration of voters, who runs the elections and so on.
2. The key variables are the electoral formula used.
3. Different electoral systems produce different kinds of results, and give voters different kinds of choices.
4. Electoral systems can influence the way parties encourage, or retard, the forging of alliances between parties.
5. Political parties differ depending on their unique benefits, including opportunities to influence policy choices, choose and engage political leaders, and run for office.
6. The choice of electoral system will not determine the ease or complexity of the act of voting.

7. Ballot Structure refers to the number of representatives elected from the district or riding. These could be single member ridings or multi-member ridings.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *second ballot, first-past-the-post voting, majority, Proportional representation, vote-getters, candidates*

1. _____ of vote counting is the simplest – the voter only votes for one candidate and whoever gets the highest number of votes is elected.
2. "_____ _____" systems, majority electoral systems attempt to provide for a greater degree of representativeness by requiring that candidates achieve a majority of votes in order to win.
3. May require preferential voting or more than one round of voting if there are more than two candidates, or a natural _____ does not exist.
4. _____ _____ is the general name for a class of voting systems that attempt to make the percentage of offices awarded to candidates reflect as closely as possible the percentage of votes.
5. A runoff election is held between the two top _____-_____, in order to ensure that the winner obtains a majority of votes cast.
6. Voters can only cast a single vote among _____ for numbers of seats.

Exercise 6. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences.
1. The legislature consists of a block of seats elected by plurality.
2. Voters choose from among party lists, and seats are awarded in proportion to the vote received by each party.
3. Candidates are seated in the order listed.
4. Mixed systems can produce legislators with different mandates, different constituencies, and different roles.
5. The candidate does not need to get a majority (50%+) of the votes to win; so long as he has a larger number of votes than all other candidates.

Exercise 7. Discussion Club.
Make up the dialogue (5-7 dialogical units) about electoral systems and their distinctive features.

UNITS 2.4.-2.5. ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND ELECTORAL PROCESS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

plurality voting – *правило відносної більшості*

multi-member constituencies – *багатомандатні виборчі округи*

multiple non-transferable vote – *множинні голоси, що не підлягають передачі*

single non-transferable vote – *система єдиного неперехідного голосу*

plurality-at-large – *відносна більшість голосів*

majoritarian voting – *мажоритарне голосування*

proportional representation – *пропорційне представництво*

common system – *загальна система*

exhaustive ballot – *вичерпне голосування*

single transferable vote – *один перехідний голос*

majority bonus system – *мажоритарна система бонусів*

first-past-the-post voting – *мажоритарна виборча система, мажоритарні вибори, принцип простої більшості*

primary elections – *первинні вибори, «праймеріз»*

indirect elections – *непрямі вибори*

approval voting – *кінцеве голосування*

range voting – *діапазонне голосування*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

An electoral system or voting system is a set of rules that determine how elections and referendums are conducted and how their results are determined. Political electoral systems are organized by governments, while non-political elections may take place in business, non-profit organizations and informal organizations. These rules govern all aspects of the voting process: when elections occur, who is allowed to vote, who can stand as a candidate, how ballots are marked and cast, how the ballots are counted, how votes translate into the election outcome, limits on campaign spending, and other factors that can affect the result. Political electoral systems are defined by constitutions and electoral laws, are typically conducted by election commissions, and can use multiple types of elections for different offices.

Some electoral systems elect a single winner to a unique position, such as prime minister, president or governor, while others elect multiple winners, such as members of parliament or boards of directors.

There are many variations in electoral systems, but the most common systems are first-past-the-post voting, the two-round (runoff) system, proportional representation and ranked voting. Some electoral systems, such as mixed systems, attempt to combine the benefits of non-proportional and proportional systems.

The study of formally defined electoral methods is called social choice theory or voting theory, and this study can take place within the field of political science, economics, or mathematics, and specifically within the subfields of game theory and mechanism design. Impossibility proofs such as Arrow's impossibility theorem demonstrate that when voters have three or more alternatives, it is not possible to design a ranked voting electoral system that reflects the preferences of individuals in a global preference of the community, present in countries with proportional representation and plurality voting.

Plurality voting is a system in which the candidate(s) with the highest number of votes wins, with no requirement to get a majority of votes. In cases where there is a single position to be filled, it is known as first-past-the-post; this is the second most common electoral system for national legislatures, with 58 countries using it to elect their legislatures, the vast majority of which are current or former British or American colonies or territories. It is also the second most common system used for presidential elections, being used in 19 countries.

In cases where there are multiple positions to be filled, most commonly in cases of multi-member constituencies, plurality voting is referred to as block voting, multiple non-transferable vote or plurality-at-large. This takes two main forms. In one form voters have as many votes as there are seats and can vote for any candidate, regardless of party – this is used in eight countries. There are variations on this system such as limited voting, where voters are given fewer votes than there are seats to be filled (Gibraltar is the only territory where this system is in use) and single non-transferable vote, in which voters can vote for only one candidate in a multi-member constituency, with the candidates receiving the most votes declared the winners; this system is used in Afghanistan, Kuwait, the Pitcairn Islands and Vanuatu. In the other main form of block voting, also known as party block voting, voters can only vote for the multiple candidates of a single party. This is used in five countries as part of mixed systems.

The Dowdall system, a multi-member constituency variation on the Borda count, is used in Nauru for parliamentary elections and sees voters rank the candidates depending on how many seats there are in their constituency. First preference votes are counted as whole numbers; the second preference votes divided by two, third preferences by three; this continues to the lowest possible ranking. The totals achieved by each candidate determine the winners.

Majoritarian systems. Majoritarian voting is a system in which candidates have to receive a majority of the votes to be elected, although in some cases only a plurality is required in the last round of counting if no candidate can achieve a majority. There are two main forms of majoritarian systems, one using a single round of ranked voting and the other using two or more rounds. Both are primarily used for single-member constituencies.

Proportional representation is the most widely used electoral system for national legislatures, with the parliaments of over eighty countries elected by various forms of the system. Party-list proportional representation is the single most common electoral system and is used by 80 countries, and involves voters voting for a list of candidates proposed by a party. In closed list systems voters do not have any influence over the candidates put forward by the party, but in open list systems voters are able to both vote for the party list and influence the order in which candidates will be assigned seats. In some countries, notably Israel and the Netherlands, elections are carried out using 'pure' proportional representation, with the votes tallied on a national level before assigning seats to parties.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. How does a political electoral system influence business? 2. Are political electoral systems defined by constitutions and electoral laws? 3. What do mixed electoral systems attempt to combine? 4. What is is the second most common electoral system in the world? 5. How many forms of majoritarian systems are differentiated? 6. What is meant by proportional representation?

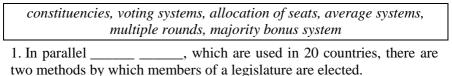**Exercise 4. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.**

List 1	List 2
1. Party-list proportional representation	**a.** are elected. Votes are then reallocated from the least successful candidates

2. Highest average systems involve	**b.** is the single most common electoral system and is used by 80 countries, and involves voters voting for a list of candidates proposed by a party
3. Candidates that pass the quota on the first count	**c.** dividing the votes received by each party by a series of divisors, producing figures that determine seat allocation
4. In parallel voting systems	**d.** voters to evaluate candidates independently
5. Biproportional apportionment	**e.** are still used in corporate elections, with votes weighted to reflect stock ownership
6. Cardinal electoral systems allow	**f.** there are two methods by which members of a legislature are elected
7. Weighted systems	**g.** is a system whereby the total number of votes is used to calculate the number of seats each party is due

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Majoritarian voting cannot take place in a single round using instant-runoff voting.
2. Political electoral systems are organized by business-profit organizations and informal organizations.
3. There are four main forms of majoritarian systems, one using a single round of ranked voting and the other using two or more rounds.
4. There are many variations in electoral systems, but the most common systems are the two-round (runoff) system and ranked voting.
5. Political electoral systems are defined by constitutions and electoral laws, are typically conducted by election commissions, and can use multiple types of elections for different offices.
6. In addition to the electoral threshold there are several different ways to allocate seats in proportional systems.

Exercise 6. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

constituencies, voting systems, allocation of seats, average systems, multiple rounds, majority bonus system

1. In parallel _____ _____, which are used in 20 countries, there are two methods by which members of a legislature are elected.

2. Some electoral systems feature a _____ _____ _____ to either ensure one party or coalition gains a majority in the legislature.

3. The _____ _____ _____ in the multi-member constituencies is adjusted to achieve an overall seat total proportional to parties' vote share by taking into account the number of seats won by parties in the single-member constituencies.

4. Several multi-member _____ are used rather than a single nationwide constituency.

5. Highest _____ _____ involve dividing the votes received by each party by a series of divisors.

6. In some formats there may be _____ _____ held without any candidates being eliminated until a candidate achieves a majority.

Exercise 7. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences:
1. Candidates that pass the quota on the first count are elected.
2. The results of the constituency vote have no effect on the outcome of the proportional vote.
3. Primary elections limit the risk of vote splitting by ensuring a single party candidate.
4. Weighted systems are still used in corporate elections.

UNIT 2.6. POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL INCOMPETENCE OF SOCIETY

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.
outcomes of elections – *результати виборів*
aspects of political culture – *аспекти політичної культури*
national pride – *національна гордість*
preexisting superiority – *попередня перевага*
equal opportunities – *рівні можливості*
self-reliance – *самостійність*
scrutinized politicians – *перевірені політики*
substantive purposes – *предметні цілі*
enhanced meaning – *посилене значення*
supreme power and authority – *верховна влада та управління*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.
WHAT IS POLITICAL CULTURE?
Political culture can be thought of as a nation's political personality. It encompasses the deep-rooted, well-established political traits that are

characteristic of a society. Political culture takes into account the attitudes, values, and beliefs that people in a society have about the political system, including standard assumptions about the way that government works. As political scientist W. Lance Bennett notes, the components of political culture can be difficult to analyze. "They are rather like the lenses in a pair of glasses: they are not the things we see when we look at the world; they are the things we see with." Political culture helps build community and facilitate communication because people share an understanding of how and why political events, actions, and experiences occur in their country.

Political culture includes formal rules as well as customs and traditions, sometimes referred to as "habits of the heart," that are passed on generationally. People agree to abide by certain formal rules, such as the country's constitution and codified laws. They also live by unstated rules: for example, the willingness in the United States to accept the outcomes of elections without resorting to violence.

American Political Culture Political culture consists of a variety of different elements. Some aspects of culture are abstract, such as political beliefs and values. Other elements are visible and readily identifiable, such as rituals, traditions, symbols, folklore, and heroes. These aspects of political culture can generate feelings of national pride that form a bond between people and their country. Political culture is not monolithic. It consists of diverse subcultures based on group characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and social circumstances, including living in a particular place or in a certain part of the country. We will examine these aspects of political culture in the American context.

Beliefs Beliefs are ideas that are considered to be true by a society. Founders of the American republic endorsed both equality, most notably in the Declaration of Independence, and liberty, most prominently in the Constitution. These political theories have become incorporated into the political culture of the United States in the central beliefs of egalitarianism and individualism.

Egalitarianism is the doctrine emphasizing the natural equality of humans, or at least the absence of a preexisting superiority of one set of humans above another. This core American belief is found in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, which states that "all men are created equal" and that people are endowed with the unalienable rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Americans endorse

the intrinsic equal worth of all people. Survey data consistently indicate that between 80 and 90 percent of Americans believe that it is essential to treat all people equally, regardless of race or ethnic background.

The principle of individualism stresses the centrality and dignity of individual people. It privileges free action and people's ability to take the initiative in making their own lives as well as those of others more prosperous and satisfying. In keeping with the Constitution's preoccupation with liberty, Americans feel that children should be taught to believe that individuals can better themselves through self-reliance, hard work, and perseverance.

The beliefs of egalitarianism and individualism are in tension with one another. For Americans today, this contradiction tends to be resolved by an expectation of equality of opportunity, the belief that each individual has the same chance to get ahead in society. Americans tend to feel that most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard. Americans are more likely to promote equal political rights, such as the Voting Rights Act's stipulation of equal participation for all qualified voters, than economic equality.

Values Beliefs form the foundation for values, which represent a society's shared convictions about what is just and good. Americans claim to be committed to the core values of individualism and egalitarianism. Yet there is sometimes a significant disconnect between what Americans are willing to uphold in principle and how they behave in practice. People may say that they support the Constitutional right to free speech but then balk when they are confronted with a political extremist or a racist speaking in public.

Core American political values are vested in what is often called the American creed. The creed, composed Henry Sterling Chapin in 1918, refers to the belief that the United States is a government "by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed." The nation consists of sovereign states united as "a perfect Union" based on "the principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity." American exceptionalism is the view that America's exceptional development as a nation has contributed to its special place is the world. It is the conviction that the country's vast frontier offered boundless and equal opportunities for individuals to achieve their goals.

Consequently, the American creed also includes patriotism: the love of one's country and respect for its symbols and principles. The events

of 9/11 ignited Americans' patriotic values, resulting in many public displays of support for the country, its democratic form of government, and authority figures in public-service jobs, such as police and firefighters.

Another core American value is political tolerance, the willingness to allow groups with whom one disagrees to exercise their constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, such as free speech. While many people strongly support the ideal of tolerance, they often are unwilling to extend political freedoms to groups they dislike.

Democratic political values are among the cornerstones of the American creed. Americans believe in the rule of law: the idea that government is based on a body of law, agreed on by the governed, that is applied equally and justly. The Constitution is the foundation for the rule of law. The creed also encompasses the public's high degree of respect for the American system of government and the structure of its political institutions.

Capitalist economic values are embraced by the American creed. Capitalist economic systems emphasize the need for a free-enterprise system that allows for open business competition, private ownership of property, and limited government intervention in business affairs.

Political traditions are customs and festivities that are passed on from generation to generation, such as celebrating America's founding on the Fourth of July with parades, picnics, and fireworks. Symbols are objects or emblems that stand for a nation. The flag is perhaps the most significant national symbol, especially as it can take on enhanced meaning when a country experiences difficult times. The bald eagle was officially adopted as the country's emblem in 1787, as it is considered a symbol of America's "supreme power and authority."

Exercise 2. Answer the questions.
1. What is nation's political culture, and why is it important? 2. What are the characteristics of American political culture? 3. What are the values and beliefs that are most ingrained in American citizens? 4. What constitutes a political subculture, and why are subcultures important?

Exercise 3. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. Political culture consists of	**a.** a variety of different elements. Some aspects of culture are abstract, such as political beliefs and values

2. Americans endorse	**b.** are in tension with one another
3. Political culture includes	**c.** to be true by a society
4. Beliefs are ideas that are considered	**d.** are among the cornerstones of the American creed
5. The beliefs of egalitarianism and individualism	**e.** formal rules as well as customs and traditions, sometimes referred to as "habits of the heart," that are passed on generationally
6. Americans believe in the rule of law	**f.** the intrinsic equal worth of all people
7. Democratic political values	**g.** is the idea that government is based on a body of law, agreed on by the governed, that is applied equally and justly

Exercise 4. Define whether the following statements are true or false.

1. Capitalist economic systems do not emphasize the need for a free-enterprise system that allows open business competition, private ownership of property, and limited government intervention in business affairs.

2. Rituals, traditions, and symbols are not visible aspects of political culture, and they are important characteristics of a nation's identity.

3. The American creed also includes patriotism: the love of one's country and respect for its symbols and principles.

4. The principle of individualism stresses the political beliefs and values.

5. Political traditions are values and behaviour that are passed on from generation to generation.

6. A more recent addition to the ritual is the practice of having representatives from the president's party and the opposition give formal, televised reactions to the address.

Exercise 5. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *beliefs, equality of opportunity*, *attitudes, formal rules, traditions*, *liberty, political tolerance*, *equality, Declaration of Independence*, *values, customs*

1. For Americans today, this contradiction tends to be resolved by an expectation of _____ _____ _____, the belief that each individual has the same chance to get ahead in society.

2. Political culture takes into account the _____, _____, and _____ that people in a society have about the political system.

3. Founders of the American republic endorsed both _____, most notably in the Declaration of Independence, and _____, most prominently in the Constitution.

4. This core American belief is found in the preamble to the _____ _____ _____, which states that "all men are created equal".

5. Another core American value is _____ _____, the willingness to allow groups with whom one disagrees to exercise their constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, such as free speech.

6. Political culture includes _____ _____ as well as _____ and _____, sometimes referred to as "habits of the heart," that are passed on generationally.

Exercise 6. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences:
1. Political culture can be thought of as a nation's political personality.
2. These aspects of political culture can generate feelings of national pride.
3. Some aspects of culture are abstract, such as political beliefs and values.
4. Political culture consists of a variety of different elements.

Exercise 7. Discussion Club.
Make up the dialogue (5-7 dialogical units) about main aspects of a political culture.

UNIT 2.7. POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS. POLITICAL SELF-IDENTITY

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.
linked – *пов'язані*
ideological forces – *ідеологічні сили*
acceptable – *прийнятний*
virtuous – *доброчесний*
inevitable – *неминучий*
ideological devices – *ідеологічні засоби*
prosper – *процвітати*
beguile – *обманювати, вводити в оману*
economic circumstances – *економічні обставини*
attaining – *досягнення*
perpetuate – *увічнювати*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.
WHAT IS POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS?

Consciousness typically refers to the idea of a being who is self-aware. It is a distinction often reserved for human beings. This remains the original and most common usage of the term. For Marx, consciousness describes a person's political sense of self. That is, consciousness describes a person's awareness of politics. For Marx, an authentic consciousness was linked to understanding one's true position in History. While Hegel placed God behind the workings of consciousness in people, Marx saw the political economy as the engine of mind. In the 20th century, many social movements and intellectuals have developed this use of consciousness.

False consciousness

In Marx's view, consciousness was always political, for it was always the outcome of politic-economic circumstances. What one thinks of life, power, and self, for Marx, is always a product of ideological forces. Ideologies appear to explain and justify the current distribution of wealth and power in a society. In societies with unequal allocations of wealth and power, ideologies present these inequalities as acceptable, virtuous, inevitable, and so forth. Ideologies thus tend to lead people to accept the status quo. The subordinate people come to believe in their subordination: the peasants to accept the rule of the aristocracy, the factory workers to accept the rule of the owners, consumers the rule of corporations. This belief in one's own subordination, which comes about through ideology, is, for Marx, false consciousness.

That is, conditions of inequality create ideologies, which confuse people about their true aspirations, loyalties, and purposes. Thus, for example, the working class has often been, for Marx, beguiled by nationalism, organized religion, and other distractions. These ideological devices help to keep people from realizing that it is they who produce wealth, they who deserve the fruits of the land, all who can prosper: instead of literally thinking for themselves, they think the thoughts given to them by the ruling class.

Consciousness and the political-economy

For Marx, consciousness is a reflection of the political economy. A person's thoughts tend to be shaped by his or her political and economic circumstances. He famously wrote, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary,

their social being that determines their consciousness." Perhaps Marx's greatest contribution to modern thought is his comprehensive investigation into the role of Ideology, or how social being determines consciousness, which results in certain (for the most part unconscious) belief and value systems depending on the particular economic infrastructure pertaining at the time. From a Marxian point of view, all cultural artifacts – religious systems, philosophical positions, ethical values – are, naturally enough, products of consciousness and as such are subject to these ideological pressures.

Consciousness and social movements

Many social movements have loosely followed Marx's thinking on consciousness. Attaining consciousness, many believe, means finding one's true historical path, as opposed to the propaganda dispensed by the ruling elites. Thus, the feminist movement spoke of consciousness raising and many South African activists have subscribe to a Black Consciousness Movement, which calls upon Blacks to pursue their "true" political trajectory.

In a politically charged sense, becoming "politically conscious" is often meant to connote that people have awakened to their true political role, their actual identity. For Marx, this meant that the working classes would become conscious of themselves as the agents of history – they would unite and share in the wealth of labor. This, for Marx, was their historical role and their right (as opposed to working for wages, fighting wars on behalf of capitalists, etc.). For many African Americans, "consciousness" has meant identifying and discrediting forms of White supremacy, including those internalized by Blacks. In these uses of the term "consciousness" is truth or destiny. These uses of political consciousness are often politically charged. Does, for example, a Black woman lack consciousness because she generally supports a system run mostly by White male capitalists? If she became politically conscious would she think differently? What is her "true" consciousness supposed to look like?

Many Marxists, feminists, African Americans (and other groups), have ceased to argue that there is one true form of consciousness. Instead, while preserving a sense that the ruling class perpetuates a dominant ideology and often behaves in ways which harm people, many dissenters now hold a more liberal position, which tolerates a variety of political positions.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What does typically consciousness refer to? 2. What do ideologies appear to explain and justify? 3. What is meant by false consciousness? 4. Why is political economy viewed as a reflection of consciousness? 5. How are phenomena "consciousness" and "social movements" interrelated?

Exercise 4. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. A person's thoughts tend	**a.** beguiled by nationalism, organized religion, and other distractions
2. Consciousness	**b.** is linked to understanding one's true position in History
3. Conditions of inequality create	**c.** describes a person's political sense of self
4. The working class has often been	**d.** to be shaped by his or her political and economic circumstances
5. Authentic consciousness	**e.** ideologies which confuse people about their true aspirations, loyalties, and purposes
6. The ruling class perpetuates	**f.** rejecting racist ideas about Blacks, rejecting White rule of the nation, and restoring Black identity, history, and power
7. For many South African Blacks, consciousness meant	**g.** a dominant ideology and often behaves in ways which harm people, many dissenters now hold a more liberal position which tolerates a variety of political positions

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. In societies with unequal allocations of wealth and power, ideologies present inequalities as acceptable, virtuous, inevitable, and so forth.
2. Attaining consciousness, many believe, means not finding one's true historical path, but falling under the influence of propaganda dispensed by the ruling elites.
3. Ideologies appear to explain and justify the current distribution of wealth and power in a society.
4. Consciousness is not a reflection of the political economy.
5. The subordinate people do not come to believe in their subordination: the peasants to accept the rule of the aristocracy, the factory workers to accept the rule of the owners, consumers the rule of corporations.

6. From a Marxian point of view, all cultural artifacts – religious systems, philosophical positions, ethical values aren't products of consciousness and subject to ideological pressures.

Exercise 6. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *consciousness, political consciousness, dominant ideology, liberal position, identifying, dissenters*

1. The ruling class perpetuates a _____ _____ and often behaves in ways, which harm people.

2. Many Marxists, feminists, African Americans (and other groups), have ceased to argue that there is one true form of _____.

3. In these uses of the term "consciousness" is truth or destiny. These uses of _____ _____ are often politically charged.

4. Many _____ now hold a more _____ _____, which tolerates a variety of political positions.

5. For many African Americans, "consciousness" has meant _____ and discrediting forms of White supremacy, including those internalized by Blacks.

Exercise 7. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences.

1. A person's thoughts tend to be shaped by his or her political and economic circumstances.

2. The ruling class perpetuates a dominant ideology and behaves in ways, which harm people.

3. For many African Americans, "consciousness" has meant identifying and discrediting forms of White supremacy.

4. Ideologies tend to lead people to accept the status quo

Exercise 8. Discussion Club.

Make up the dialogue (5-7 dialogical units) on the importance of political consciousness.

UNIT 2.8. POLITICAL NATION AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

crux – *сутність*

concept – *концепція*

to embrace – *охоплювати*

sovereignty – *суверенітет*
to imply – означати, передбачати, містити в собі
implicitly – *неочевидно, імпліцитно*
acknowledge – *визнавати*
self-determination – *самовизначення*
national identity – *національна ідентичність*
demand – *попит, вимога*
inception – *зародження*
key events – *ключові події*
dramatic experiences – *«гіркий» досвід*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.
WHAT MAKES A NATION, A STATE OR A NATION-STATE?

Recognition as a nation grants different rights to a community that claims to comprise a single national unit. It usually implies an attachment to a particular territory, a shared culture and history and the assertion of the right to self-determination. Of course, as we shall see, nations are not internally homogeneous and are affected by internal and external migration flows. Yet, to define a specific community as a nation involves the more or less explicit acceptance of the legitimacy of the state, which claims to represent that nation. If the nation does not possess a state of its own, it then implicitly acknowledges the nation's right to self-government involving some degree of political autonomy. This, in turn, may or may not lead to a claim for independence or secession from the state, which claims sovereignty over the nation.

The nation, however, cannot be viewed in isolation and a clear-cut distinction has to be drawn between three main concepts: state, nation and nation-state. Max Weber defines the 'state' as 'a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory'. The concept 'nation' refers to 'a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future and claiming the right to rule itself'.

This definition attributes five dimensions to the nation: psychological (consciousness of forming a group), cultural, territorial, political, and historical.

People who share such characteristics are referred to as having a common national identity. It is the sharing of a common national identity, expressed in terms of culture, language, religion, ways of life,

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common memories, shared past experiences and territory, that makes people feel they belong to the same community and have a certain degree of solidarity towards their fellow-nationals. However, a nation-state, being different from a nation and a state, has to be distinguished from the other two. The nation-state is a modern political institution. First, it is a state that both claims and exercises the monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a demarcated territory. Second, it is a state that seeks to unite the people subjected to its rule by means of homogenization, creating a common culture, symbols, values, reviving traditions and myths of origin, and sometimes inventing them. In seeking to engender a sense of belonging among its citizens, the nation-state demands their loyalty and fosters their national identity.

The nation-state aspires to consolidate the nation where it already exists, but, should the nation-state rule over a territory containing different nations, parts of nations or ethnic groups, it tends to prioritize the culture and language of a particular nation. These then become dominant under the state's protection. The nation-state has exercised control of institutions and laws, the national media and the national education system. It has variously sought to nominate and promote a single official language, sometimes a single religion, and disseminated a specific version of the nation-state's history based on remembering, ignoring or forgetting certain key events, and recovering and inventing national symbols, ceremonies, rituals, heroes, sacred places and traditions. Such strategies have been consistently employed in order to create and sustain a homogeneous national identity among its citizens. However, numerous examples prove that very few nation-states have managed to successfully homogenize their populations. Differences have prevailed in spite of the nation-state's historical strategies to instill a common identity among its otherwise diverse citizenry.

One of the key elements in the construction of national identity is a shared history formed by memories of a community having suffered and thrived together. Making history not only involves selecting some specific events critical to the life of the nation, but also includes the collective forgetting of some events. It even leads to the modification and invention of memorable and dramatic experiences endured by the community. History emphasizes the transcendent character of the nation, expanding well beyond the life span of any individual. Equally importantly, history also portrays the nation as a community of fate.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What do scholars, politicians and political activists focus on, while presenting definitions of the concept "nation"? 2. What link has been established between definitions of concepts nation and state? 3. What does concept 'nation' refer to? 4. What way has a nation-state to be distinguished from a nation and a state? 5. What strategies have been consistently employed in order to create and sustain a homogeneous national identity among its citizen? 6. What is the role of a shared history in the construction of national identity?

Exercise 4. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. The globalization of the economy	**a.** also contains the potential for cultural homogenization, where a single culture expands globally to the detriment of other cultures
2. The rise of sub-state forms of nationalism in Europe	**b.** are crucial for nations who wish to promote their own languages and specific cultures
3. Globalization, involves	**c.** is a shared history formed by memories of a community having suffered and thrived together
4. Globalization	**d.** can be interpreted as being a product of globalization
5. Control over education and the mass media	**e.** has contributed to the transformation of the nation-state
6. One of the key elements in the construction of national identity	**f.** greater awareness of diversity as it stresses interdependence between peoples, markets and cultures

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. History emphasizes the non-transcendent character of the nation, expanding well beyond the life span of any individual.
2. Although nation-states often corrode subordinate ethnicities, some nation-states may define themselves as 'non-multicultural' or 'multi-ethnic'.
3. The advancement of democracy in contemporary Western nation-states and the intensification of globalization processes have encouraged the re-emergence of nationalist movements representing oppressed or silenced nations that demand the right to self-determination.

4. One very important point in any theory of ethnicity concerns is also the more complex possibility that the claimed.

5. The nation-state has variously sought to nominate and promote a single official language, sometimes a single religion, and disseminated a specific version of the nation-state's history based on remembering, ignoring or forgetting certain key events, and recovering and inventing national symbols, ceremonies, rituals, sacred places and traditions.

Exercise 6. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *state, homogenize, nation and state, languages, control of institutions, nation, nation-state, nation-state's historical strategies, unequal contest*

1. Control over education and the mass media are crucial for nations who wish to promote their own _____ and specific cultures.

2. Minority cultures struggling to survive can only do so by entering an _____ _____ with a major global culture.

3. The nation-state has exercised _____ _____ _____ and laws, the national media and the national education system.

4. Numerous examples prove that very few nation-states have managed to successfully _____ their populations.

5. Differences have prevailed in spite of the _____ _____ _____ to instill a common identity among its otherwise diverse citizenry.

6. The crux of the matter probably embraces the link that has been established between _____ _____ _____ and to the common practice of using the nation as a source of political legitimacy.

7. The nation cannot be viewed in isolation and a clear-cut distinction has to be drawn between three main concepts: _____, _____ and _____.

Exercise 7. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences:

1. Globalization, which involves greater awareness of diversity as it stresses interdependence between peoples, markets and cultures, is not an even process.

2. Globalization contains the potential for cultural homogenization.

3. Globalization contains the potential for creating a world in which a greater number of cultures interact with one another.

4. The rise of sub-state forms of nationalism in Europe and elsewhere can be interpreted as being a product of globalization.

5. Nations are not internally homogeneous and are affected by internal and external migration flows.

Exercise 8. Discussion Club.

1. Briefly note down what is meant by the terms *state, nation,* and *nation-state*.

2. How do you understand the saying "Scotland and Wales are nations without states"?

UNITS 2.9-2.10. THE WORLD POLITICAL PROCESS AND ITS SUBJECTS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

contemporary – *сучасний*
existing – *існуючий*
thoroughly – *ретельно*
wiretapping – *прослуховування*
to perceive – *сприймати*
similar – *подібний*
establishment – *заклад*
threatening – *загрозливий*
human collectivities – *людські колективи*
to occur – *відбуватися*
peculiar evolution – *своєрідна еволюція*
to a great extent – *значною мірою*
decisive political actors – *впливові політичні діячі*
geopolitical landscape – *геополітичний ландшафт*
subject of disputes and reflections – *предмет суперечок та роздумів*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.

THE WORLD POLITICAL PROCESS AND GLOBALIZATION

The wide-spread in contemporary political science descriptions of destructive influence of globalization on state and other political structures often seem too abstract and far from political reality.

Today, the global community discusses a great number of scenarios and alternatives of the future development. The developmental trends of global political processes result from the nonlinear character of the global political system, its transformation and partial dysfunctions and bifurcations. Today we observe a discrepancy between the old twentieth-century trends of political development of the 'global world' and the new trends of formation of a polycentric world. The collision between old and new trends and a qualitative transformation of the

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world political system into a new global system generates a new content of political processes of globalization.

Presently, the analysis and forecasting of trends of the development of political globalization become more and more relevant and important. In what follows we describe the most evident and significant trends of political globalization.

'The Global Character'

In the global world, we deal with 'different phenomena and processes that obtain a global character' This new 'global character' means a transformation of the system of international relations, a change in the nature and content of world connections and relations, as well as a change in the geopolitical status of individual states and global actors, etc. Globalization leads to structural changes in the world political system and to reconstruction of the whole system of international relations.

One of the manifestations of the global character of the world political system is the interaction between global political processes at different levels – global and regional, global and local, regional and local, – that takes place, first of all, in economic, informational, and ecological and, in the last turn, in political sphere. Through this interaction and interrelation the world gradually becomes globally integrated.

New Structure of the Global World

The global world of the twenty-first century will be structured based on different principles from which a new hierarchy will emerge. Thus, different foundations will define the global actors' geopolitical status. The global world hierarchy comprises the following structural elements: centers of power, candidates for the status of the world's center of power, economic, political, military, and civilization poles, global powers, and regional powers. This hierarchy of structural elements, more precisely, a contest for an appropriate position in it, will define the course of global political processes and scenarios of future development.

It is often argued that the global world is not a community of equal nations, but a system of subordination, a rigid hierarchy of states and regional political systems. With the emergence of new economic, military, and political poles, a new configuration of the global world will gradually arise which, in its turn, will be characterized by 'mobility of the world system structures' and 'variable rules' of its functioning.

The global world structures will be mobile, and the rules of functioning and principles of activity will be changeable. It is not the rules and international law but the global actors' economic and geopolitical interests, which may be rather egoistic and not defined by international rules and laws that will become of major importance. This trend will be strengthened by the increasing scale of globalization processes which will expand to large and peripheral (in terms of globalization) territories alongside with a growing number of global actors (including large multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations, terrorist organizations, and criminal syndicates, etc.).

The Change of Geopolitical Landscape

The formation of a new structure of the global world will trigger the change of its geopolitical landscape. One of the significant trends of the twenty-first century will be 'a continental, and later a transcontinental crystallization and consolidation of the world geopolitical space' in which the scenario of the future will be not the 'clash of civilizations', but 'a competition of civilizations' which is 'natural for the market economy'. The nuclear weapons can level the political weight of countries and blocs; otherwise, if some of them lack such weapons, a hierarchical distance will deepen.

Polarization between Modernization and Geopolitical Strategies

The trend of 'polarization between modernization and geopolitical strategies' is observed in the globalizing world. The alternative character of the two models in the Far East region: Japanese and Chinese, Atlantic and some 'alternative'. Eurasia gradually becomes rather diverse in its structure since the Asia-Pacific system is developing on the basis of the strategy of the Atlantic Western modernization (with the USA and Japan as its leaders), while the new continental system is searching for an alternative. Scientists forecast in a prophetic way a 'new geopolitical delimitation between rimland and heartland: between Japan (remaining within the framework of the Atlantic model) and the West, on the one hand, and China and Russia – on the other hand'. Such delimitation, in his opinion, will become an 'accelerating factor of the forthcoming polarization'. Today such polarization of forming systems takes place not only in the Far East region but also in the entire globalizing world, and in the sharpest and polarized form – in Eurasia.

The current stage of globalization exposes political structures and political systems to new risks, namely:

1. The unprecedented in its scale and opportunities terrorist threat due to the communicational facilities allowing immediate covering any distances, penetrating any territory, and accessing the means of mass defeat or using transport means, objects of infrastructure and energy including nuclear electric stations, dams, chemical plants as destruction weapon, etc. One of the most important aspects of contemporary terrorism is its media component which gives its activities a global character that was demonstrated by the 9/11 events and later by universally transmitted terrorist activities of the Islamic state and the terrorist attack on Charlie Hebdo in Paris.

2. The threat of indirect terrorism started to be no less urgent than the direct one. It is connected with security measures and other acts undertaken by the states facing terrorist danger since this may lead to turning them into 'surveillance states' with respective limitations of civil and political rights, interference into citizens' private life, possibility of preventive arrests and violent interrogation. This trend was quite convincingly shown by Brzezinski by the US example but similar tendencies are observed in the UK, France, and some other countries.

3. A trend of cross-border synchronization of protest activities promoted by new communicational facilities. Until a certain moment this trend was expressed mainly by antiglobalistic movement that, in spite of its wide advertisement, included rather a narrow part of the global public. But starting from the 'color revolutions' in the post-Soviet states the situation started to change. These revolutions were characterized by a high rate of cross-border coordination. This factor surely was present in these events but it shadowed another, no less important, aspect of the problem.

4. The trend of fragmentation of the multinational states. This trend that originated at the previous stage with the disintegration of a number of federative states – the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia – poses now a real threat to take if not universal but at least exclusively wide character and to involve many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. How do the developmental trends of global political processes influence on the nonlinear character of the global political system? 2. What is meant by a new 'global character'? 3. Which levels are the global character of the world political system presented? 4. What structural elements does the global world hierarchy comprise? 5. What

significant trends can be observed in change of geopolitical landscape? 6. What is meant by "polarization between modernization and geopolitical strategies"? 7. What new risks are political structures and political systems exposed to at the current stage of globalization?

Exercise 4. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. The global actors' economic and geopolitical interests	**a.** result from the nonlinear character of the global political system, its transformation and partial dysfunctions and bifurcations
2. New 'global character' means	**b.** will trigger the change of its geopolitical landscape
3. The trend of fragmentation of the multinational states	**c.** a transformation of the system of international relations, a change in the nature and content of world connections and relations
4. The developmental trends of global political processes	**d.** may be rather egoistic and not defined by international rules and laws, that will become of major importance
5. The formation of a new structure of the global world	**e.** originated at the previous stage with the disintegration of a number of federative states
6. The threat of indirect terrorism	**f.** started to be no less urgent than the direct one

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Globalization does not lead to structural changes in the world political system and to reconstruction of the whole system of international relations.
2. The global world structures will be mobile by the increasing scale of globalization processes, which will expand to large and peripheral.
3. Eurasia gradually becomes rather diverse in its structure since the Asia-Pacific system is developing on the basis of the strategy of the Latin American modernization.
4. The nuclear weapons can level the political weight of countries and blocs.

Exercise 6. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *globalization processes, political processes, world, leaders, principles, institutions, problematic*

Instability of the Global World and Growing Extensity and Intensity of Conflicts

Due to the dynamics of _____ _____, the political aspect of the global world will be characterized by changing the status of the global actors within the hierarchy and general instability of the hierarchical pyramid. The former centers of power and poles of the global _____ will yield to the new, more dynamically developing, and energetic candidates for these statuses which have obvious competitive advantages. The complication of global _____ _____ will only increase instability.

Besides, the subjective factors start to play an increasing role; and these are not even the political _____ personal preferences, but their involvement and passion in establishing the political order, as well as the character and methods of political management.

The evolution of international relations and global political system will be accompanied with growing instability and uncertainty which will contribute to the formation of a multipolar and polycentric system of the global world. This system will probably lack general 'rules of the game', _____ and standards of global actors' behavior, and institutions and organizations that could effectively regulate and control the interaction between various poles and centers of power of the global world.

When analyzing the model of a polycentric global world, V. Shlyapnikov concludes that 'multipolarity by itself does not guarantee stability… It will be even more difficult to support the balance of powers and a strategic stability in the twenty-first century. In the situation when the UN and other international _____ are actually ineffective, a multipolar chaos becomes rather possible.

The increasing range of the conflicts and their growing intensity is an already evident tendency. Alongside with traditionally _____ territories of Africa, conflicts have spread to many regions of the global world: Israel and Palestine, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Yemen, and Ukraine, etc. An absolute majority of current conflicts is connected with a fight for limited resources, especially for fossil fuels. While in the twentieth century, the cause of many conflicts was an access to oil, in the twenty-first century it is the competition for access to territories with prospects for shale gas production. This struggle will take the forms of and elimination of 'redundant population'.

Exercise 7. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences.

1. The problem of national interests of individual states in the global world remains the subject of disputes and reflections.

2. The formation of a new structure of the global world will trigger the change of its geopolitical landscape.

3. The global world of the twenty-first century will be structured based on different principles from which a new hierarchy will emerge.

4. The global world hierarchy comprises the following structural elements: centers of power, candidates for the status of the world's center of power, economic, political, military.

5. One of the most important aspects of contemporary terrorism is its media component.

Exercise 8. Discussion Club.

Read and translate the text. Make up the dialogue (5-7 dialogical units) about the Global influence of USA on the development of political processes in different countries of the world.

The USA Remains the Center of Power of the Global World.

Based on the forecast we can assume with a big degree of confidence that in the twenty-first century the USA will remain the center of power of the global world. Although recently much has been written about an obvious weakening of the USA's hegemony, these forecasts turned out to be obviously premature; 'a change of the leader in the world can hardly occur, there is no equal absolute favorite to replace the USA'. Though the USA will lose their positions, nobody will be able to become an absolute leader of the new world'. It seems prophetic when he says that 'today the United States concentrate political, military, financial, monetary, economic, technological, ideological, and even cultural leadership, – all at the same time. Meanwhile, there is – and in the near future there will be – no single country or group of states in the world that could unite several aspects of leadership. Besides, neither China, nor India or someone else will be able to charge themselves with such a heavy burden due to the lack of economic opportunities, possible political risks, or because of the lack of experience and necessary associations, and also due to their ideological weakness'. The USA, despite all the debts and diverse difficulties, possess unsurpassed scientific, educational, technological, military, and political potential and, therefore, will preserve global leadership for a long time'.

Summarizing the trends of globalization in political processes, one can make a conclusion about the variability of global development, which potentially contains a number of possible directions. This variability is ensured by a large number of global actors with different characteristics, aspiring to realize their economic and geopolitical interests. In the global world, new vectors of development, new dimensions, key problems and points of bifurcation constantly emerge. The global world is changing through the shifts in its structure, hierarchy global actors' activity and relationship between them, values, ideals, goals and prospects of development.

UNITS 2.11-2.12. INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PARTNERSHIP

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.
demarcation – *розмежування*
inalienable – *невід'ємний*
supporter – *прихильник*
international actor – *суб'єкт міжнародних відносин, міжнародний діяч*
transactions – *операції*
interdependence of all the entities – *взаємозалежність усіх сутностей*
inappropriate – *недоречний*
self-sufficient – *самодостатній*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.
 INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
These are the two most popular terms of the notion International Politics, often used as synonyms. Several writers do not like to draw a line of demarcation between International Relations and International Politics. Even some top ranking scholars like Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson use these terms interchangeably as they regard "International Politics as an inalienable part of International Relations." There are several other scholars like Palmer, Perkins, Burton, Schwarzenberger, Schleicher, Theodore A. Couloumbis and James H. Wolfe, who prefer to use the name International Relations.
International Relations
Supporters of the name International Relations, regard it as a more comprehensive term, which highlights the vast scope and the true nature of relations among nations. It covers all types of relations among states,

their peoples and groups, as well as the relations among international actors and international institutions operating in the world. The relations among nations are both political and non-political. These include social, economic, cultural, legal, official and non-official relations. All international transactions – financial and commercial, international, sports, technical, cooperation, cultural, visits, business visits, trade and economic relations, diplomatic relations, people to people relations and ceremonial visits, form part of international relations.

Since relations among nations form the core of the study, the term International Relations is considered more appropriate than other terms. Palmer and Perkins prefer to use the term International Relations on the ground that politics at international level in a product of relations of different types and this name rightly suggests the study of all aspects of relations among nations. "The term 'International Relations' is broader and it puts a stronger emphasis on the interdependence of all the entities inside international society." (Schwarzenberger).

International Politics

Several scholars, however, advocate the name International Politics. They hold that the term International Relations is too general, too broad and a loose term which fails to specify the true nature of interactions among nations. It gives no indication of the primary concern of study i.e. politics among nations.

It further tends to suggest an unduly vast scope of the subject – the study of all types of public and private relations among people, groups and nations of the world. The term International Relations is further regarded as inappropriate because it denotes cooperation and relations as the hall mark of international intercourse which is not in tune with the realities of the international system.

In reality, we find the arena of international interactions characterized by conflict, struggle for power, wars and disputes along with some cooperation and friendship. As such, the use of the term International Relations for designating the study of politics among nations is held to be inappropriate and misleading.

Legg and Morrison hold International Politics to be the correct name of the subject that studies power interactions among nations or politics among nations, "Since the core area of the study is the political aspect of relations among nations, we must stick to the use of the name

International Politics." This name truly reflects the true nature of relations among nations.

In international relations, we deal with nations and human beings. The states are sovereign in nature and sovereign nation states have not yet learned to live in peace. War is the most important problem facing the world community. Today a war cannot be fought with the nuclear weapons, since it would destroy the whole civilization that mankind has built up.

Again, no community can live in isolation. What is being witnessed is increasing global inter dependence, both political and economic. A war anywhere or fluctuations in prices of commodities like oil will affect all countries. Under such conditions, the study of international relations will help people to know each other and understand the problems, which confront them. A basic knowledge of the cultural or linguistic or racial peculiarities of the people of the world would help us to create more understanding and tolerance.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What do International Relations usually include? 2. Do international transactions form a part of international relations? What are these transactions? 3. How do you understand the concept "international actors"? 4. What is the role of international institutions in International Relations?

Exercise 4. Discussion club.
Sum up the objectives of international relations.

Exercise 5. Read and translate the text.
DEFINITION, NATURE AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
International Relations is an important branch of Social Science. The Scope of International relations is the complex relations existing among the sovereign states of the world. It is mainly concerned, among other things, with the study in depth of all events and situations affecting more than one state.

The great Greek Philosopher Aristotle, said that man by nature is a social animal. Being a social animal, man cannot live in isolation. His basic nature and his basic needs make him satisfy his numerous needs in association with others. Moreover, no man is self-sufficient even in his daily needs and therefore, he has to depend upon his fellow man for existences. Just as no individual can live in isolation, no state can afford

to live in isolation. Like the individual, no state is self-sufficient. Naturally, it has to cultivate relations between states. These relations are the subject matter of International Politics.

According to Hartman "International Relations as a field of study is focused upon the process by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states". Padelford and Lincoln define it as the "Interactions of state policies within the changing patterns of power relationships". According to Quincy Wright "International Relations is the relations between groups of major importance in the life of the world at any period of history and particularly relations among territorially organized nation states which today are of such importance. We will also use the term to designate the studies of discipline, describing, explaining or assisting in the context of these relations. With the assistance of these definitions, it can be understood that nations try to protect their incompatible interest by means of power.

Politics is an important branch of social science and it is interdisciplinary in nature. Scope means areas of study. The scope of International Relations is not yet well settled. In 1954, the UNESCO published a booklet edited by C. Manning. In this book, International Relations has been recognized as an independent discipline. During the last 40 years, this discipline has evolved all the traits of an independent study and it can be understood from its progress that it is well on its way to becoming and Independent academic discipline. Most of the scholars of International Relations describe the following aspects in the study of this discipline.

1. State system.
2. National Interest.
3. National Power.
4. Foreign Policy.
5. Instruments of international politics – Diplomacy. Foreign policy, international trade, Economic and Military assistance etc.
6. Nationalism, Colonialism and imperialism.
7. Control of interstate Relations – Balance of power-International law and international organizations.
8. Dynamic elements and new Dimensions-Rivalry between super powers and different blocs of nations.
9. World government.
10. War and peace ideologies.

11. Ethnic groups – Races of mankind and Terrorist groups.

12. International Regionalism.

13. Nuclear weapons and its use.

14. International organization and its role in maintaining world order.

International Relations is a developing subject, it has to keep pace with the highly dynamic, and developing nature of relations among nations.

Exercise 6. Answer the questions.

1. What is the main scope of International Relations? 2. What is a field of study of International Relations according to Hartman? 3. How does Wright distinguish a field of study of International Relations? 4. What contribution did the UNESCO make into the the scope of International Relations?

Exercise 7. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

International Relations, International Politics

Many writers have shown their inability in drawing a line of demarcation between International Relations and International Politics. Kenneth Thompson and Morgenthau consider International Politics as an inalienable part of International Relations. This resemblance does not make International Politics the core of International Relations. Both are different from each other as shown below:

1. _____ _____ includes all sorts of relations i.e. political, economic, cultural, geographical, legal and non-official. Therefore, it embraces the totality of relations among people. However, _____ _____ includes only the political aspects of the overall relations. In other words, only those relations, which arouse actions and reactions, are the subjects of International Politics. Thus, it can be said that _____ _____ is the political aspects of _____ _____.

2. _____ _____ is a wider concept whereas _____ _____ is a narrower concept.

3. It is beyond doubt that _____ _____ derives its strength from _____ _____. Modern International Politics aims at the establishment of peace through the international organization, and International Relations too are based on this very principle. Thus, concern for peace is the common denominator between International Politics and International Relations.

Exercise 8. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. Understanding and tolerance cold be developed by	**a.** covers all types of relations among states, their peoples and groups, as well as the relations among international actors and international institutions operating in the world
2. International Relations	**b.** a loose term which fails to specify the true nature of interactions among nations
3. The term International Relations	**c.** denotes cooperation and relations as the hall mark of international intercourse which is not in tune with the realities of the international system
4. International Politics	**d.** is the most important problem facing the world community
5. War	**e.** a basic knowledge of the cultural or linguistic or racial peculiarities of the people of the world

Exercise 9. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. In 1954, the NATO published a booklet in which International Relations has been recognized as an independent discipline.
2. Like the individual, any state is self-sufficient.
4. A basic knowledge of the cultural or linguistic or racial peculiarities of the people of the world would help us to create more understanding and tolerance.

Exercise 10. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences.
1. In International Relations we deal with nations and human beings
2. The students of international relations should bear in mind this cold reality.
3. The term International Relations denotes cooperation and relations as the hallmark of international intercourse.
4. The relations among nations are both political and non-political.

UNIT 2.13. INTERNATIONAL GEOPOLITICS: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL PROCESSESES

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.
fluid – *змінний, нестабільний*
intangible – *нематеріальний, невловимий*
harmless – *нешкідливий*

to drive out – *витісняти, проганяти*
political actions – *політичні акції*
domestic environment – *внутрішнє середовище*
external and internal interests – *зовнішні та внутрішні інтереси*
vulnerability – *слабка ланка, слабке місце*
credibility – *надійність, здатність викликати довіру*
strive – *прагнути, досягати, докладати значних зусиль*
viable – *конкурентоздатний, ефективний*
GNP (gross national product) – *валовий національний продукт*
to apply scientific laws – *застосовувати наукові закони*
national power – *національна влада*
security threats – *загрози безпеці*
proponent – *прихильник*
ancestors – *предки*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.
INTERNATIONAL GEOPOLITICS

Geopolitics is a social construct, a sort of social practice, a discursive formation depending on what theoretical perspective you take on this phenomenon. No wonder that there is no solid core of knowledge in this respect, geopolitics seems to be fluid, runs through your fingers. As intangible as it might be, a significant impact it still has. This phenomenon is neither harmless nor innocent. It is highly politically relevant. Wars are led in the name of geopolitics. People are driven out and murdered to serve geopolitics. It is a clear proof for how discursive constructions turn into social practice, how representations and imaginations grounded in discourse turn into powerful instruments of political actions.

It is commonly acknowledged that in order to understand the behaviour of states in international relations, we need to take both the structure of the international system and the domestic environment of states, external and internal interests.

EXTERNAL	INTERNAL
Political material interest Defending the power position of the state and preventing vulnerability of the state to other states.	Political immaterial interest or reputational interest Defending the state's credibility and its reputation.
Political material interest	Political immaterial interest

Remaining in office (re-election) and defending the government's position in relation to society	Defending the government's credibility and reputation.
Economic interest Striving for protectionism in noncompetitive sectors and liberalization in competitive sectors + maintaining a viable international trading system.	Economic interest Maximizing national economic indicators: state budget, GNP, employment etc.
Ideological interest Playing the 'role' the state wishes to play in the international system.	Ideological interest Defending principle beliefs and policy paradigm (instruments and policies).
Aimed at defending the relative power position of the state in the international system	Aimed at defending the position of the government and its ideology

In this context, we speak about Geopolitics processes. Geopolitical reasoning dates back to ancient Greece. Aristotle derived the respective political systems of the Greek city-states and their neighboring empires and tribes from climatic conditions. Similar ideas were prominent in France during the Renaissance. Immanuel Kant also linked presumed characteristics of peoples to climatic factors. In modern social science, this line of thinking received a boost when geopolitics became the predominant approach in research on international relations. German geographer Friedrich Ratzel conceptualized states as growing organisms. In an attempt to apply scientific laws from biology to international relations, he argued that states derived their national power – their capacity to survive in the international arena – from the land they controlled. Rudolf Kjellén coined the term Geopolitics. He defined it as the science of states as life forms, based on demographic, economic, political, social and geographical factors.

Yet following Mackinder's quote, geopolitics is not a science of foreign policy, nor state behaviour. It only deals with geographically given obstacles to, and opportunities for, successful policies. Human actors initiate policies; this behaviour is not analyzed by geopolitics. Mackinder stressed in the discussion of his famous paper on The Geographical Pivot of History that he aimed 'to make a geographical formula into which you could fit any political balance': he attributed the

respective strengths and weaknesses of continental and maritime powers. The effect of locational and physio-geographical conditions on international relations therefore depends on technology – the ability of humankind to overcome geographical barriers and use geographical opportunities.

The scientific principles of classical geopolitics: location and physical geography, being influenced by technology, are the conditions that explain outcomes such as national power, security threats and (directions of) national expansion. The contemporary geopolitics proponents stress the relevance of anthropo-geographical conditions and intervening variables much more clearly (location, physical geography, anthropogeography influenced by technology are the conditions that explain outcomes such as national power, security threats, national expansion, international cooperation) than their ancestors from the classical branch did.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. What is geopolitics? Give the definition and explanation. 2. What factors should be taken into account in order to understand the behaviour of states in international relations? 3. What external and internal interests of the states are differentiated by the scholars? 4. When did geopolitics as a social phenomenon start its development? 5. What do you think about Mackinder's attempt 'to make a geographical formula into which you could fit any political balance'?

Exercise 4. Match the words from List 1 to the definitions from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. The contemporary geopolitics proponents stress the relevance of	**a.** are the conditions that explain outcomes such as national power, security threats and (directions of) national expansion
2. External interests	**b.** defend the state's credibility and its reputation
3. Geopolitical reasoning dates back to	**c.** defend the power position of the state and prevent vulnerability of the state to other states
4. The scientific principles of classical geopolitics	**d.** anthropo-geographical conditions and intervening variables much more clearly than their ancestors from the classical branch did

| **5.** Internal interests | **e.** to ancient Greece |

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Geopolitics seems to be fluid, runs through your fingers.
2. Geopolitics has insignificant impact.
3. External interests defend principle beliefs and policy paradigm.
4. Internal interests aim at defending the relative power position of the state in the international system.
5. Immanuel Kant linked presumed characteristics of peoples to climatic factors.
6. The contemporary geopolitics proponents stress the relevance of anthropo-geographical conditions and intervening variables much less clearly than their ancestors.

Exercise 6. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

organisms, domestic environment, foreign policy, conditions, external, internal, geopolitics, factors

1. Immanuel Kant linked presumed characteristics of peoples to climatic _____.
2. German geographer Friedrich Ratzel conceptualised states as growing _____.
3. People are driven out and murdered to serve _____.
4. The contemporary geopolitics proponents stress the relevance of anthropo-geographical _____ and intervening variables much more clearly.
5. In order to understand the behaviour of states in international relations, we need to take both the structure of the international system and the _____ _____ of states, _____ and _____ interests.
6. Geopolitics is not a science of _____ _____, nor state behavior.

Exercise 7. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences:
1. People are driven out and murdered to serve geopolitics.
2. Geopolitical reasoning dates back to ancient Greece.
3. Friedrich Ratzel conceptualized states as growing organisms.
4. It is a clear proof for how discursive constructions turn into social practice.

Exercise 8. Discussion Club.
Make up the dialogue (5-7 dialogical units) on the importance external and internal interests.

UNIT 2.14. FEATURES OF INTERNATIONAL GEOPOLITICS: NEGOTIATIONS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.

diplomacy – *дипломатія*
conduct – *здійснювати, здійснення*
bargain – *домовлятися*
to secure – *забезпечити*
negotiation – *перемови*
customarily – *зазвичай*
to avert – *запобігати*
shrewdness – *кмітливість*
execute – *виконати*
diplomatic representation – *дипломатичне представництво*
contribute – *сприяти*
mutual interest – *обопільний інтерес*
primary function – *основна функція*
to endeavour – *намагатися, докладати зусилля*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.
DIPLOMACY

The term diplomacy has two principal meanings. Firstly, diplomacy is used in the sense of means or method of conducting the foreign policy of a nation. Secondly, diplomacy refers to the process of formulation and conduct of foreign policy of a nation. Thus, diplomacy is a method and a process of conducting relations among nations. The essence of diplomacy consists in bargaining for a nation's interest and securing it best by skilful and opportune use of the resources of the nation. Generally, diplomacy is supposed to secure the maximum advantage for a nation by means of negotiation and compromise.

Definition. Diplomacy may be defined as the management of international relations by negotiation or the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed. In other words, it is the process of representation and negotiations by which states customarily deal with one another in terms of peace. Sir Ernest Satow has given a charming definition of diplomacy, "Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the government of independent states''. E.A. Johnson opines that diplomacy is an instrument and machinery which is used to influence and reduce

misunderstanding to avert international crisis". In the opinion of K.M. Panikkar, diplomacy, used in relation to international polices, is the art of forwarding ones interest in relation to other countries. Quincy Wright observes that diplomacy means the employment of task, shrewdness and skill in any negotiation or transactions In short, international relations is an application of tact and intelligence in international policies through negotiation, persuasion and compromise.

Functions of Diplomats. A diplomat is the eyes and ears of his government. His primary duty is to execute the policies of his government, report the major developments to his government, and protect the interest of the nation. Diplomacy functions through foreign office, embassies, consulate, and special missions. According to J.R. Childs a diplomat performs four basic functions.

1. Representation: A diplomat is the eyes and ears of his government. He is a link between his government and the government to which he is accredited. He has to cultivate finest qualities of human behaviour and make many social contacts. He has to explain the policies and aspirations of his government and at the same time, he has to take notice of undercurrents of the society, its impulses, its reactions and its likings and disliking.

Diplomatic representation can be of three kinds – Symbolic, Legal and Political. A diplomat performs symbolic functions of the diplomatic ceremonial. He is the legal agent of the government he represents. His acts possess legal value. He may cast his vote at international conferences in the name of his government. He also contributes in shaping foreign policy of his state. This is his most important function.

Upon the reliability of his report and soundness of his judgment, the success or failure of the foreign policy of his government depends.

2. Negotiations: Diplomats are by definition negotiators. Negotiation is the pursuit of agreement by compromise and direct personal contact. The duty of diplomats is to draft a wide variety of bilateral and multilateral agreements, treaties, conventions, protocols and other documents of a political, social and economic nature. Diplomats endeavour through negotiations to obtain certain privileges for the citizens, to participate in regional organizations or security arrangements. Negotiation involves presentation of views, compromising differences, searching for areas of mutual interest and common agreement, and reaching agreement on accord.

3. Reporting: Diplomats are required to report to their governments about developments in the appointed states. Their reports are the raw materials of foreign policy. These reports cover a wide range of subjects on current political, economic, social and military conditions, technology achievements, legislative programmes, public opinion, market conditions and trends of significance in the country that they are appointed. Based on these reports the government shapes its foreign policy towards the nation in particular and to other nations in general. Hence, a diplomat must be a man of keen observation, sound judgment and accurate description.

4. Protection: The primary function of the diplomat is to protect and advance the rights and interest of their country and its nationals abroad. They will have to watch that the honour of their country is not compromised. This responsibility is carried out through negotiations, representations, treaties, and executive agreements. They also have the more specific duty of attempting to assist and protect businessmen, seamen and all other nationals of their own country who are living or traveling in the country in which they are stationed. Under disturbed conditions, this function of diplomats becomes much heavier. They have to arrange for the safety of life of those nationals who are there and have to do everything in their power to help their nationals reach the places of safety. They also lodge protests or just appeal against the discriminatory treatment faced by their nationals.

Diplomacy and foreign policy. Diplomacy should not be confused with foreign policy. The foreign policy of a state according to J.R. Childs is "the substance of foreign relations" whereas "diplomacy proper is the process by which policy is carried out". One is substance, the other is method. Diplomacy is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war. Diplomacy's methods are persuasion, compromise and threat of war.

Exercise 3. Answer the questions.
1. How do we define diplomacy according to two principal meanings? 2. Is diplomacy supposed to secure the maximum advantage for a nation by means of negotiation and compromise? 3. What are main functions of a Diplomat? 4. What is understood by diplomatic representation? 5. What range of subjects do diplomats' reports to their governments cover? 6. What is the primary duty of a Diplomat? 7. Why should not Diplomacy be confused with foreign policy?

Exercise 4. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

> *diplomatic conduct, diplomats, relations, negotiations, secret, agreements*

TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

1. SECRET DIPLOMACY: Prior to World War I diplomacy was largely secret. The public was not informed as to the nature of negotiations going on or told in full about the _____ reached. However, after the war the belief began to circulate that the diplomacy should be open, i.e. public. In old diplomacy the diplomats were responsible only to the executive and the executive being unaccountable, decided the guidelines for _____. The public was not informed as to the nature of negotiations conditions, attitudes and beliefs. It is undoubtedly true that the secret diplomacy was more successful than any other style as it made the _____ _____ more flexible and negotiations more successful. The diplomats were more confident and their area of activity was much wider.

2. OPEN (DEMOCRATIC) DIPLOMACY: Open diplomacy is a reaction against the totalitarian and _____ approaches to diplomacy. The attack on traditional diplomacy was led by Woodrow Wilson who specifically mentioned that "open covenant of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understanding of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view".

3. DIPLOMACY BY CONFERENCE: Diplomacy by conference has now come to stay as a permanent factor of international _____. In a conference diplomacy, normal channels of diplomacy like diplomatic and consular establishments are bypassed and conferences are made an important diplomatic channel. The states through conference are able to postpone their hostilities for the time being and thus succeed in avoiding the armed conflict.

4. PERSONAL DIPLOMACY: When the foreign ministers, prime ministers or heads of the states directly participate in diplomatic _____ this termed as personal or summit diplomacy. Resort to such a diplomatic style is warranted in case the matters of serious concern are involved. During World War II, this diplomatic style came to frequent use among the allied and axis powers. There were many personal meetings between Churchill and Roosevelt. The Atlantic charter (1941) was the result of the personal diplomacy.

Exercise 4. Match the types of diplomacy from List 1 to their characteristics from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. Open (democratic) diplomacy	**a.** general public is not informed as to the nature of negotiations going on or told in full about the agreements reached.
2. Personal diplomacy	**b.** normal channels of diplomacy like diplomatic and consular establishments are bypassed and the conferences are made as an important diplomatic channel
3. Secret diplomacy	**c.** there shall be no private international understanding of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view
4. Diplomacy by conference	**d.** it is when foreign ministers, prime ministers or heads of the states directly participate in diplomatic negotiations

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. Diplomatic representation can be of three kinds – Traditional, Legal and Political.
2. The duty of diplomats is to draft a wide variety of bilateral and multilateral agreements, treaties, conventions, protocols and other documents of a political, social and economic nature.
3. Diplomacy is supposed to secure the minimum advantage for a nation by means of negotiation and compromise.
4. Diplomats are hardly ever expected to lodge protests or just appeal against the discriminatory treatment faced by their nationals.
5. The primary function of the diplomat is to assist and protect businessperson, seamen and all other nationals of their own country who are living or traveling in the country in which they are stationed.
6. Diplomacy is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war.

Exercise 6. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences.
1. The public was informed as to the nature of negotiations going on.
2. Open diplomacy is a reaction against the totalitarian and secret approaches to diplomacy.
3. The states through conference are able to postpone their hostilities for the time being and thus succeed in avoiding the armed conflict.

4. A diplomat must be a man of keen observation, sound judgment and accurate description

Exercise 7. Discussion Club.
Make up the dialogue (5-7 dialogical units) on the functions of Diplomats and types of Diplomacy.

UNITS 2.15.-2.16. NATIONAL INTERESTS

Exercise 1. Learn the following words and word combinations.
to justify – *виправдовувати*
survival – *виживання*
encroachment – *вторгнення*
vague – *розпливчатий, нечіткий*
ambiguous – *неоднозначний*
erstwhile – *раніше існуючий*
to hinder – *заважати*
a host of factors – *сукупність (множина) чинників*
to invent – *винаходити*
to substantiate – *обґрунтовувати*
constraint – *обмеження, тиск*
to evaluate – *оцінювати*
to garner – *здобути*
to pledge – *завіряти, брати на себе зобов'язання, обіцяти*
to refrain from – *утриматися від*
coercive means – *засоби примусу*

Exercise 2. Read and translate the text.
'National Interest' is a key concept in International Relations. All the nations are always engaged in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their national interests. The foreign policy of each nation is formulated on the basis of its national interest and it is always at work for securing its goals. It is a universally accepted right of each state to secure its national interests. A state always tries to justify its actions based on its national interest. The behaviour of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interests. Hence it is essential for us to know the meaning and content of National Interest.

"The meaning of national interest is survival – the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states" (Morgenthau).

Meaning of National Interest

National Interest is a vague and ambiguous term that carries a meaning according to the context in which it is used. Statesmen and policy-makers have always used it in ways suitable to them and to their objective of justifying the actions of their states.

The US presidents have always justified their decisions for the development of more and more destructive weapons in the interest of "US national interest." During 1979-89, (erstwhile) USSR justified its intervention in Afghanistan in the name of "Soviet national interests". China justified its border disputes with India and the Soviet Union in the name of attempts to secure the national interests of China. These and many more examples can be quoted to stress the ambiguity of the concept 'national interest'. However, several scholars have tried to define 'national interest'.

Definition of National Interest

(1) National Interest means "The general, long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving." (Charles Lerche and Abdul).

(2) National Interest is "What a nation feels to be necessary to its security and well-being … National interest reflects the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts." (Brookings Institution).

(3) "National Interest is that, which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states." (V.V. Dyke).

(4) National Interest means "The values, desires and interests which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other", "desires on the part of sovereign states." (V.V. Dyke).

National Interests can be defined as the claims, objectives, goals, demands and interests that a nation always tries to preserve, protect, defend and secure in relations with other nations.

Components of National Interest

In describing national interests, that nations seek to secure, a two-fold classification is generally made:

(A) Necessary or Vital Components of National Interest and

(B) Variable or Non-vital Components of National Interests.

(A) Necessary or Vital Components. According to Morgenthau, the vital components of the national interests that a foreign policy seeks to

secure are survival or identity. He sub-divides identity into three parts: *Physical identity. Political identity and Cultural identity*.

Physical identity includes territorial identity. *Political identity* means politico-economic system and *Cultural identity* stands for historical values that are upheld by a nation as part of its cultural heritage. These are called vital components because these are essential for the survival of the nation and can be easily identified and examined. A nation even decides to go to war for securing or protecting its vital interests.

A nation always formulates its foreign policy decisions with a view to secure and strengthen its security. The attempts to secure international peace and security, that nations are currently making, are being made because today the security of each state stands inseparably linked up with international peace and security. Security is, thus, a vital component of national interest. Each nation always tries to secure its vital interests even by means of war.

(B) Non-vital or Variable Components of National Interest. The non-vital components are those parts of national interest that are determined either by circumstances or by the necessity of securing the vital components. These are determined by a host of factors – the decision-makers, public opinion, party politics, sectional or group interests and political and moral folkways.

The functions of national interests

National interests are a public declaration of a country's needs and intentions based on an assessment of the current situation. Such a declaration performs several key functions.

Firstly, it *establishes a hierarchy of foreign policy priorities* to avoid the ineffective use of resources and overextension. This was the main purpose of the report prepared by the Commission on America's National Interests, which did not invent anything new, but simply put well-known interests in order of priority, substantiating their choice.

Secondly, *an official or semi-official statement of national interests* puts reasonable constraints on the government, which often uses foreign policy to gain political advantage over the opposition. In addition, clearly stated national interests provide society with strict criteria for evaluating the policy conducted by those who make foreign policy decisions.

Thirdly, *national interests ensure both continuity and timely adjustment of key aspects* of the policy. It is particularly important that

proper definitions contained in official documents prevent the state from turning foreign policy into a continuation of domestic policy. Regardless of how well democratic institutions are developed, in the majority of countries numerous actors with private interests seek to push them to the national level and garner government support. In this respect, national interests are a system of interconnected and logically coherent statements on what can be beneficial for a particular state in a given period of time.

Finally, *a country pronounces national interests publicly in order to be more predictable to the outside world*. The state largely restricts itself by declaring its interests and readiness to pursue them by all means, while pledging to refrain from actions that would clearly be at odds with such declarations. Such firmness in pursing these interests is usually accompanied by attempts to explain why they do not threaten other countries and can overall be acceptable to them.

Any violation of declared national interests can result in serious external consequences.

Exercise 2. Answer the questions.
1. What is a key concept of International Relations and why is it important? 2. What is always conditioned and governed by its national interests? 3. What examples show that "national interest" is a vague and ambiguous term that carries a meaning according to the context in which it is used? 4. What are two major components of national interests? 5. How do you understand the concept "non-vital or variable components of national interest"? 6. What vital components of the national interests do you know? Comment on them. 7. What are the main functions of the national interests? Give the characteristics of these functions.

Exercise 3. Fill in the gaps with necessary words and word combinations from the box.

changes, identity, circumstances, primary, outgrowths, international

Classification of National Interests
In order to be more precise in examining the interest that a nation seeks to secure, Thomas W. Robinson presents a six-fold classification of interests which nations try to secure.

1. Primary Interests: No nation can compromise in respect of these interests. They include the preservation of physical, political and

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cultural against possible encroachments by other states. A state has to defend these _____ at all costs.

2. Secondary Interests: These are less important than the _____ interests. Secondary Interests are quite vital for the existence of the state. They include the protection of the citizens abroad and ensuring of diplomatic immunities for the diplomatic staff.

3. Permanent Interests:

These refer to the relatively constant long-term interests of the state. These are subject to very slow _____. The US interest to preserve its spheres of influence and to maintain freedom of navigation in all the oceans is the examples of such interests.

4. Variable Interests:

Such interests are those interests of a nation, which are considered vital for national good in a given set of _____. In this sense, these can diverge from both primary and permanent interests. The variable interests are largely determined by "the cross currents of personalities, public opinion, sectional interests, partisan politics and political and moral folkways."

5. General Interests: General interests of a nation refer to those positive conditions, which apply to a large number of nations or in several specified fields such as economic, trade, diplomatic relations etc. To maintain _____ peace is a general interest of all the nations. Similar is the case of disarmament and arms control.

6. Specific Interests: These are the logical _____ of the general interests and these are defined in terms of time and space. To secure the economic rights of the Third World countries through the securing of a New International Economic Order is a specific interest of India and other developing countries.

Exercise 4. Match the categories of national interests from List 1 with their characteristics from List 2.

List 1	List 2
1. Variable Interests	**a.** these are the logical outgrowths of the general interests and these are defined in terms of time and space
2. Secondary Interests	**b.** are those interests of a nation which are considered vital for national good in a given set of circumstances

3. Specific Interests	**c.** are those interests in respect of which no nation can compromise
4. Permanent Interests	**d.** refer to those positive conditions which apply to a large number of nations or in several specified fields such as economic, trade, diplomatic relations etc.
5. Primary Interests	**e.** include the protection of the citizens abroad and ensuring of diplomatic immunities for the diplomatic staff
6. General Interests	**f.** refer to the relatively constant long-term interests of the state. These are subject to very slow changes

Exercise 5. Define whether the following statements are true or false.
1. To maintain international peace is a general interest of all the nations.
2. A state never tries to justify its actions based on its national interest.
3. To secure its national interests is a universally accepted right of each state.
4. In the majority of countries numerous actors with private interests seek to push them to the municipal level and garner government support.
5. Few violations of declared national interests can result in serious external consequences.
6. Clearly stated national interests provide society with vague and ambiguous criteria for evaluating the policy conducted by those who make foreign policy decisions.

Exercise 6. Make up 5 types of questions to the following sentences.
1. It is essential for us to know the meaning and content of National Interest.
2. National interests are a public declaration of a country's needs and intentions based on an assessment of the current situation.
3. No nation can compromise in respect of these interests.
4. Each nation always tries to secure its vital interests even by means of war.

Exercise 7. Discussion Club.
Study the methods for the securing of National Interest. Express your opinion on these methods.

Methods for the Securing of National Interest

To secure the goals and objectives of its national interest is the paramount right and duty of every nation. The following are the five popular methods or instruments which are usually employed by a nation for securing national interests in international relations:

1. Diplomacy as a Means of National Interests. Diplomacy is a universally accepted means for securing national interests. It is through diplomacy that the foreign policy of a nation travels to other nations. It seeks to secure the goals of national interests. Diplomats establish contacts with the decision-makers and diplomats of other nations and conduct negotiations for achieving the desired goals and objectives of national interests of their nation. The art of diplomacy involves the presentation of the goals and objectives of national interest in such a way as can persuade others to accept these as just and rightful demands of the nation. Diplomats use persuasion and threats, rewards and threats of denial of rewards as the means for exercising power and securing goals of national interest as defined by foreign policy of their nation.

2. Propaganda. Propaganda is the art of salesmanship. It is the art of convincing others about the justness of the goals and objectives or ends that are desired to be secured. It consists of the attempt to impress upon nations the necessity of securing the goals which a nation wishes to achieve. "Propaganda is a systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for a specific public purpose." (Frankel). It is directly addressed to the people of other states and its aim is always to secure the self-interests – interests governed exclusively by the national interests of the propagandist. The revolutionary development of the means of communications (Internet) has increased the scope of propaganda as a means for securing support for goals of national interest.

3. Economic Means. The rich and developed nations use economic aid and loans as the means for securing their interests in international relations. The existence of a very wide gap between the rich and poor countries provides a big opportunity to the rich nations for promoting their interests vis-a-vis the poor nations. The dependence of the poor and lowly developed nations upon the rich and developed nations for the import of industrial goods, technological know-how, foreign aid,

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armaments and for selling raw materials, has been responsible for strengthening the role of economic instruments of foreign policy. In this era of Globalization conduct of international economic relation has emerged as a key means of national interests.

4. *Alliances and Treaties*. Alliances and treaties are concluded by two or more states for securing their common interests. This device is mostly used for securing identical and complementary interests. Alliances and treaties make it a legal obligation for the members of the alliances or signatories of the treaties to work for the promotion of agreed common interests. The nature of an alliance depends upon the nature of interest that is sought to be secured. Accordingly, the alliances are either military or economic in nature. The need for securing the security of capitalist democratic states against the expanding 'communist menace' led to the creation of military alliances like NATO, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS etc. Likewise, the need to meet the threat to socialism led to the conclusion of Warsaw Pact among the communist countries. The need for the economic reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War led to the establishment of European Common Market (Now European Union) and several other economic agencies. Alliances and Treaties are thus popular means for securing national interests.

5. *Coercive Means*. The role of power in international relations is a recognized fact. It is an unwritten law of international intercourse that nations can use force for securing their national interests. Intervention, non-intercourse, embargoes, boycotts, reprisals, retortion, retaliation, severance of relations and pacific biocides are the popular coercive means which can be used by a nation to force others to accept a particular course of behaviour or to refrain from a course which is considered harmful by the nation using coercive means.

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Навчальне видання

**О.В. Ковтун, А.А. Заслужена, С.О. Мірошник,
Н.І. Мельник, Л.О. Загоруйко, Н.П. Білоус**

ENGLISH FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE

**Практикум
для здобувачів ОС «Бакалавр»
спеціальності 052 «Політологія»**