

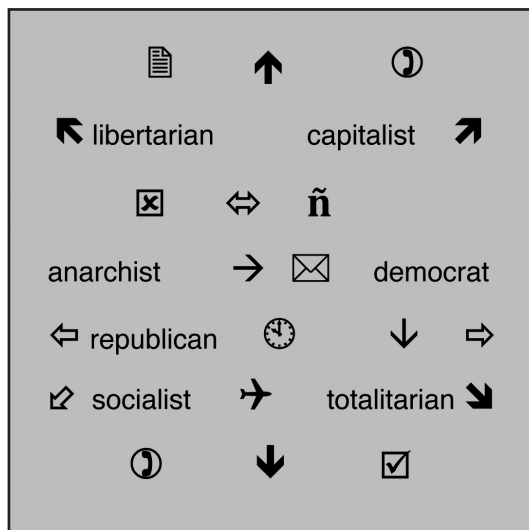


Национальный исследовательский университет
Высшая школа экономики

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MASTERING POLITICS

Английский язык для политологов



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Целью учебника является формирование у будущих политологов навыков профессионального общения на английском языке. Уроки построены по тематическому принципу и охватывают наиболее важные сферы интересов современных политологов. Языковой материал представлен в коммуникативной форме, уделяется внимание развитию навыков чтения, говорения и письма. Материал рассчитан на учащихся со средним (Intermediate) уровнем владения английским языком, предполагает наличие навыков грамматического оформления речи и готовность к освоению нового тематического вокабуляра.

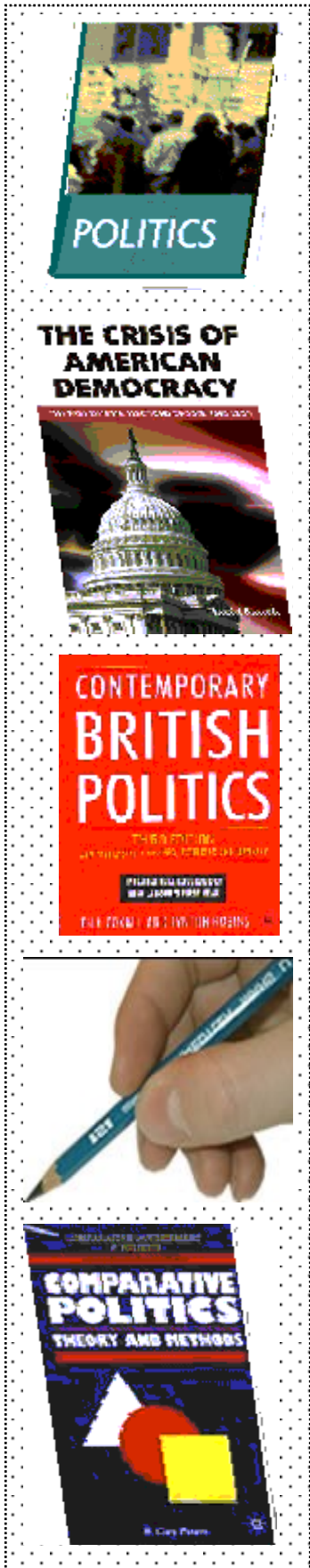
Для студентов бакалавриата, обучающихся по направлению подготовки «Политология».

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Contents

<i>Unit 1.</i> Training for Politics	4
<i>Unit 2.</i> Politics and Politicians	16
<i>Unit 3.</i> The Purpose of Government	28
<i>Unit 4.</i> Freedom versus Order	37
<i>Unit 5.</i> Freedom versus Equality	45
<i>Unit 6.</i> What is Democracy?	54
<i>Unit 7.</i> Political Participation	68
<i>Unit 8.</i> Political Parties	79
<i>Unit 9.</i> Elections	88
<i>Unit 10.</i> Sources of Power: Public Opinion	99
<i>Unit 11.</i> Sources of Power: The Mass Media	109

Unit 1. TRAINING FOR POLITICS



PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Before you start, make sure you know the difference between the words in the following pairs and groups:

to teach – to learn – to study; training – teaching – education; professional – vocational.

2. Answer the questions:

- 1) For how long have you been interested in politics?.
- 2) What influenced your choice of entering this Faculty / Department?
- 3) What subjects do you think are obligatory for a political scientist, political analyst and political technologist? Why?

**Notes on
Language
and Culture**

Spin doctor - a person whose job is to give information to the public in a way that gives the best possible advantage to a politician or organisation.

The word originated in the US.

The White House spin doctors are hard at work explaining the President's gaffe.*

gaffe - оплошность, оговорка, совершаемые ответственным лицом, выступающим перед СМИ

3. If you don't know the following words, consult the Dictionary. Make up 5 – 7 sentences of your own with the words to compose a short text. Start with the sentence given below.

- apply (for, to)
- enter
- enrol (on / in)
- finish
- graduate (from)

My friend finished school last year.....
.....

4. a) Using the table and the Vocabulary get acquainted with the main stages of secondary and higher education in the UK and the US and the terms to describe them.

<u>UK</u>		age	<u>US</u>	
<u>Primary School</u>		5/6 -11	<u>Elementary School</u>	
<u>Secondary School</u>		12 -	<u>High School</u>	
GCSE		16/ 17	SAT, High School Diploma	
<u>Sixth-Form College</u>		17/ 18	about 4 Years	<u>College / University</u>
A-Levels				
<u>University / Polytechnic</u> Undergraduate student	about 3 Years	18/ 19 -		
Bachelor's Degree (BA, BSc) graduate student		21	Bachelor's Degree (BA, BS)	
Post-Graduate Course / School post-graduate student thesis		21/ 22 -	Graduate / Grad Course/ School graduate / grad student thesis	
Post-Graduate Diploma Master's Degree (MA, MSc)		23/ ...	Post-Graduate Diploma Master's Degree (MA, MS)	
Doctorate Degree Study thesis			Doctorate Degree Study Dissertation	
Doctor's Degree (PhD)			Doctor's Degree (PhD)	

high school- / college- / grad course- / ... graduate

b) Complete the sentences with the given terms and abbreviations.

MA, high school, polytechnic, undergraduate, GCSE, bachelor's degree, year, graduate school, A-Level, doctorate degree, MS

- 1) At 16 all students in the UK take examinations.
- 2) At 18 some students take examinations. It is necessary to pass them in order to go to a university or
- 3) Once you are enrolled in the College, you become a first-..... student.
- 4) An (especially in British English) is a student who is doing a university course for a first degree, usually a
- 5) A (in American English) is a college or university where one can study for a master's or, having already obtained a bachelor's degree.
- 6) In the UK and the US higher degrees include an for arts subjects and an MSc (..... in American English) for science or social science, and a PhD.
- 7) In Britain a 'graduate' is a person who has taken a first degree. In American English it may either correspond to British 'post-graduate', as, for example, in 'graduate student', or it may denote a person who has received a diploma from any educational institution, as in '..... graduate'.

Politics is a profession; a serious, complicated and, in its true sense, a noble one.

Dwight David Eisenhower

READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Translate the sentences paying attention to the difference in meaning of the words 'skill' and 'knowledge'.

- 1) Knowledge is power.
- 2) The applicant wasn't able to demonstrate even basic computer skills.
- 3) Reading and writing are two different skills.
- 4) He has a good knowledge of English to develop better communication skills.

2. Analyse the following pairs of synonymous sentences and guess the meaning of the noun 'major'.

She is a history major. = She is a College or University student. She specializes in History.

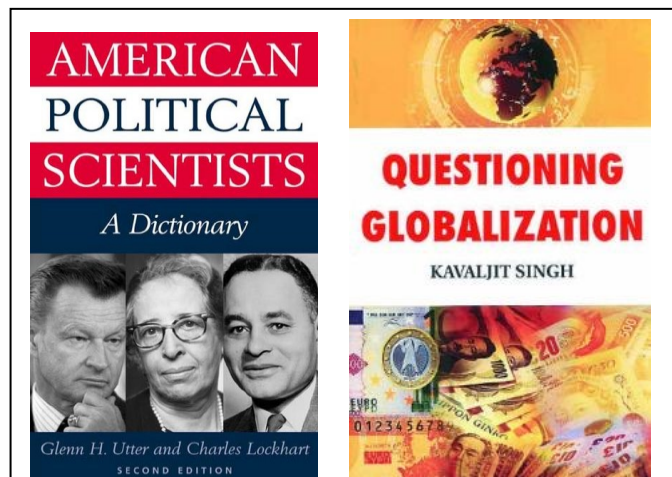
Her major is History. = Her specialization at College or University is History.

3. Read the definition of the term 'political science' and translate it into Russian.

Political science is an **academic** and **research** discipline that deals with the theory and practice of **politics** and the description and **analysis** of **political systems** and political behavior.

Fields and subfields of political science include **political theory** and **philosophy**, **civics**¹ and **comparative politics**, national systems, cross-national political analysis, political development, international relations, foreign policy, international law and politics, public administration, administrative behavior, public law, judicial behavior, and politics and public policy. Political science also studies **power** in international relations and the theory of **Great powers** and **Superpowers**.

From *Wikipedia*, the free encyclopedia



Reading Assignment 1

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

TRAINING FOR POLITICS IN THE USA

Politics affects the air we breathe, the way we're educated, the jobs we do, the communities we live in, and the taxes we pay. If you choose to study politics, you'll learn the principles at work behind the decisions that affect every aspect of our lives.

Whether they're conservative or liberal, cynical or idealistic, one common characteristic among political science and government majors is their addiction to politics. If active engagement in the political system is for you, a political science major is a great way to get started. Political science majors qualify for many different careers in private and public sector

¹ **Civics** - граждановедение; гражданственность, права и обязанности граждан (раздел политологии)

organizations, including careers in business, the law, state, and local and federal government, journalism, international organizations and finance, political campaigns, interest groups and associations and pre-college and college teaching. Political science training also provides valuable preparation for participating in community organizations, electoral politics, movement on behalf of specific policies, or even seeking elected or appointed positions in government.

In the USA there are many opportunities to start a career in political science. The American Political Science Association has a brochure to help young people to make their choice "Earning a Ph.D. in Political Science," and a publication, *Graduate Faculty and Programs in Political Science*, that identifies the programs and faculty and entrance requirements for all graduate programs.

The study of politics usually begins with survey courses on American politics, comparative politics, international relations, and political theory. These courses will not only introduce students to concepts in politics, policy issues, and the structure of governments and relationships among society and nations, but they will also develop analytical and communications skills. To pursue the study of politics further, students can take advanced courses on more specific institutions, policies, and aspects of political life whether in the United States and/or in other nations. Political science majors select courses that interest them and prepare them for professional or graduate education or for careers that can be entered with a B.A. degree.

Comprehension Check

Give short answers to the questions.

1. What is characteristic of all political science and government majors?
2. What careers do political science majors qualify for?
3. How can young people start a career in political science in the US?
4. What can young people do to pursue the study of politics further?



Reading Assignment 2

To understand the system of the US education in the field of politics study the curriculum of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Delaware presented on page 6. The explanations given on pages 4 and 5 may help you in your analysis, but you may omit them.

Compare the Curriculum for majors for Bachelor's Degree with the program of your University. Which of the two programs is better designed? Give a talk on the topic.



The Department of Political Science and International Relations offers major programs leading to the B.A. in Political Science, the B.A. in Political Science Education, and a joint program with the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature leading to a B.A. in French, German, or Spanish Political Science.

Political science majors acquire a broad introduction to the study of government and politics within a liberal arts tradition. All majors are required to complete a set of core courses that provide an introduction to political science, American government, global politics or political theory, research methods and a capstone experience.

Beyond the core courses, majors may choose to specialize in one of five concentrations, or to major in political science without a concentration. In both cases, students are required to take their remaining credits² at the upper level. Coursework for both major options – with or without a concentration – aims to help students develop analytical and written and oral communication skills and to prepare them for a wide array of careers and active citizenship.



The main subjects to study for the B.A. degree are:

Introduction to Political Science, American Political System, Introduction to International Relations, Comparative Politics, Currents in Political Theory, Data Analysis for Political Science, Capstone for Political Science, Public Administration and Public Policy, Political Theory.

For the M.A. degree the University offers a number of programs:

1. U.S. Politics and Policy Processes: political communication and mass behavior, political institutions and organizations, political economy and public policy, law and politics.

2. Comparative Politics and Comparative Political Economy: advanced capitalist democracies, development, democratization, political institutions, race and ethnicity, regional and cross-regional studies.

3. Political Theory: history of political thought, contemporary political thought, normative theory, new democratic theory, feminist theory, continental thought, culture and politics.

4. International Relations: foreign policy, international organization, international political economy, international relations theory, world systems.

5. Methods: probability and statistics, linear models, advanced econometrics, game theory, social choice.



² **credit** – условное очко, начисляемое за прослушивание какого-л. курса. (За каждым учебным курсом закрепляется определённое количество «кредитных» (зачётных) часов (**credit hours**). Это могут быть аудиторные часы, лабораторные часы, определённое число учебных недель в семестре или триместре и т.п. Для получения, например, степени бакалавра по одному учебному курсу может требоваться одно количество семестровых часов, по другому – другое. По окончании учебного блока выставляется зачёт. Такая система называется **credit system**.)

CURRICULUM**Degree: Bachelor of Arts
Major: Political Science**

Core courses for the Major:	Introduction to Political Science American Political System Data Analysis for Political Science Capstone for Political Science
One of the following courses:	Introduction to International Relations Comparative Politics Currents in Political Theory
<i>Students must choose one of the following options:</i>	
<u>Option one: Major Without Concentration</u> <i>Four of the following courses:</i> American Government and Politics Comparative Government and Politics International Relations Public Administration and Public Policy Political Theory	<u>Option two: Major With Concentration</u> <i>Students may choose among five concentrations:</i> Ⓢ American Politics Ⓢ Global Politics Politics and Journalism Public Law Public Policy and Public Administration.

American Politics Concentration

One of the following:
Introduction to Public Policy
State and Local Government
Public Administration
American Foreign Policy

Five courses from the following two fields with at least two courses taken in each field:

Mass Behavior:

Parties and Interest Groups
Class, Ethnicity and Politics
Race and Politics
Gender, Sex and Law
Introduction to Women and Politics
Voting and Elections
Politics and Media
Civil Liberties: Individual Freedoms
Civil Liberties: Equal Protection Clause

Ideas & Institutions:

Liberalism and Conservatism
American Political Thought
The Judicial Process
Constitutional Law of the United States
American Presidency
Problems in American Government
Political Leadership
Congress and Public Policy
Who Governs: Perspectives on Political Power

Global Politics Concentration

One of the following (will fulfil one of the core courses required for all majors):

Introduction to International Relations
Comparative Politics

Three of the following topical courses:

American Foreign Policy
International Political Economy
International Migration
Communism, Fascism and Democracy
Diplomacy
International Law and Organizations
Problems in World Politics
Problems in American Foreign Policy
Force and World Politics
Political Leadership
Human Rights and World Politics
Theories of International Relations
The United Nations and World Affairs

Three of the following country courses:

Political Culture by Country
Politics of Developing Nations
Third World Women in Politics
Britain and Europe
East Central European Politics
Arab-Israeli Politics
Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Union
Latin American Political Systems
Politics in China
Politics in Japan
Southeast Asia and the World
Political Systems of the Post-Soviet Union
African Politics
Problems of Western European Politics
Problems of Latin American Politics

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Find English equivalents to the following words and expressions in Text 1.

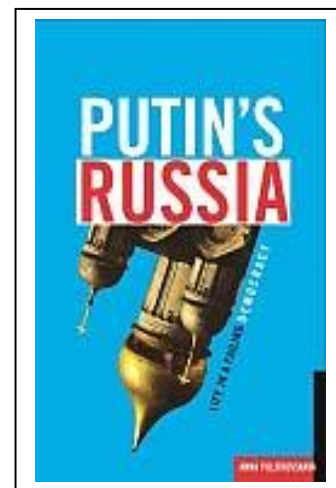
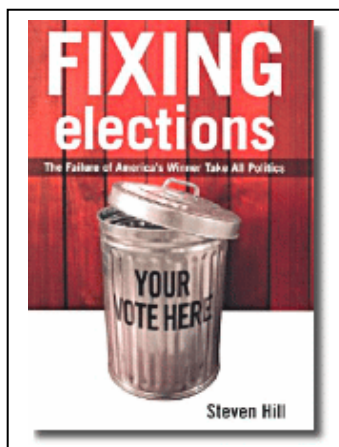
Изучать политику; право; степень бакалавра; общество; возможности; обзорные курсы по (какому-л. предмету); структура правительств; общая характерная черта; продолжать изучение политики; система образования США; студент, получающий специализацию по политологии; международные отношения; посещать углублённые курсы по (какому-л. предмету); развивать аналитические и коммуникативные навыки; частные и общественные организации; вопросы политического курса / стратегии; образование, необходимое для получения учёной степени.

2. Revise the material of the Unit and scan the text paying attention to the usage of prepositions and fill in the blanks where necessary.

- 1) What subjects are you taught the University?
- 2) What are you going to do after you graduate the University.
- 3) What are the minimum entrance requirements departments political science in Russia?
- 4) He decided to apply University College, Cardiff.
- 5) Do you know that new entrance requirements political science have been established?
- 6) What do you think a successful career politics depends ?
- 7) After the lectures I discovered an addiction International Political Economy which I had never felt before.
- 8) He qualified teaching Political Law.
- 9) They entered
University in 2005.
- 10) Have you prepared
your entrance examinations?

3. Complete the text with the words and word combinations given below.

knowledge, including, law, degree, opportunities, political science, work, international organizations, subject, careers



Many job1..... are open to students with a2..... degree. A wide variety of policy and administration positions in the provincial and federal civil service - or3..... - might suit you.

In addition, policy analysis for nonprofit organizations and interest groups requires the4..... of government structures and processes that a political science5..... should give you.

Similarly, some graduates take up6..... in journalism, where their knowledge of politics is invaluable. Many other political science students7..... either for government or in the private sector.

Political science can be matched up as a minor or major8..... with many others,9.....: business, communications, criminology, economics, geography, history, sociology, and international languages. With a degree in political science, you can take more specialized degrees in journalism,10....., or public administration that can open the doors to many different careers.

ACTIVITY

Read the text about the requirements to the students of political science department in an American university. Compare the assessment techniques with those of your university. Comment on them.

Requirements

Students will be expected to complete the assigned readings and to participate actively and regularly in class discussions. Students will be examined on the assigned readings, class lectures and discussions, class handouts, and current European affairs by means of a mid-term exam (25%) (March 21) and a self-scheduled final examination (40%). Each student will also be involved in keeping track of developments in one particular European country, and will research and prepare a policy paper of approximately 8-10 pages with bibliography on an appropriate topic concerned with that country (20%) (due, 5:00 PM, April 25). In addition, periodic quizzes may be given (on little or no notice) to encourage students to stay abreast of current European politics and international affairs as they impinge on Europe, and a short essay will be assigned toward the beginning of the term (together 15%). (Grading on late papers will be lowered by one letter grade per day. Computer excuses are not accepted.)

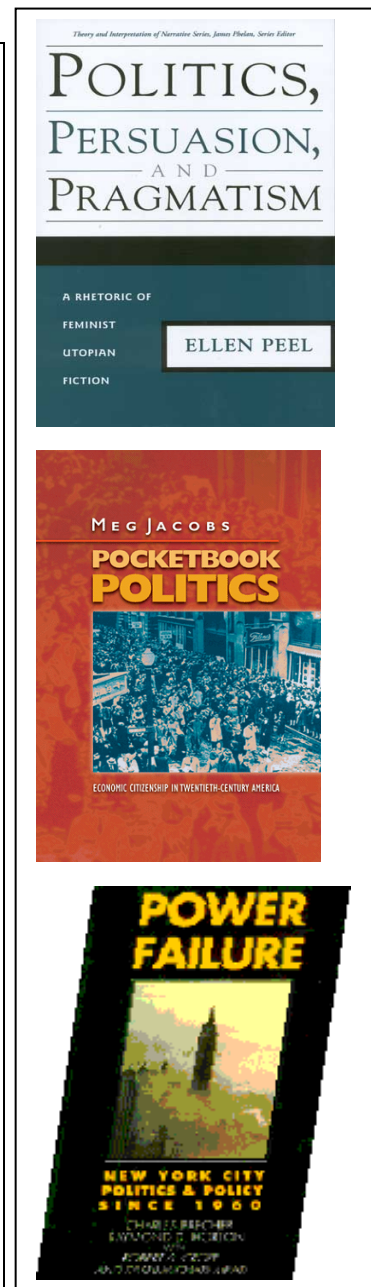
Do you know that...

...In each historic period and in almost every geographic area, we can find someone studying politics and increasing political understanding. For example, Plato analyzed political systems, abstracted their analysis from more literary- and history- oriented studies and applied an approach we would understand as closer to philosophy. Similarly, Aristotle built upon Plato's analysis to include historical empirical evidence in his analysis

...During the rule of Rome, famous historians such as Polybius, Livy and Plutarch documented the rise of the Roman Republic, and the organization and histories of other nations, while statesmen like Julius Caesar, Cicero and others provided us with examples of the politics of the republic and Rome's empire and wars. The study of politics during this age was oriented toward understanding history, understanding methods of governing, and describing the operation of governments.

...During the Middle Ages, the study of politics was widespread in the churches and courts. Most of the political questions surrounding the relationship between church and state were clarified and contested in this period.

...The advent of political science as a university discipline is evidenced by the naming of university departments and chairs with the title of political science arising in the 1860s.



SPEAKING

1. Opinion Exchange

Comment on the following quotations.

- ...knowledge itself is power.
Francis Bacon (1561-1626), English philosopher, lawyer, statesman
- A little knowledge is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring³.
Alexander Pope (1688-1744), English poet and satirist.
- Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?
T.S.Eliot (1888-1965), American-English poet, playwright, literary critic and editor
- Education... has produced a vast population able to read but unable to distinguish what is worth reading, an east prey⁴ to sensations and cheap appeals.
G.M.Trevelyan (1876-1962), English historian



2. Brainstorming

Let us draw a portrait of a political analyst. Divide into groups and discuss the following:

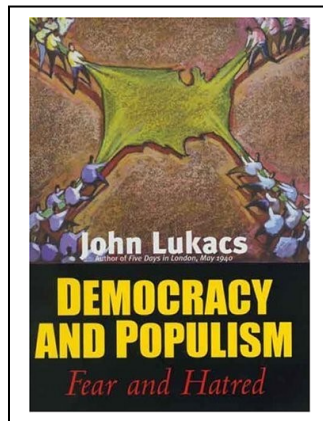
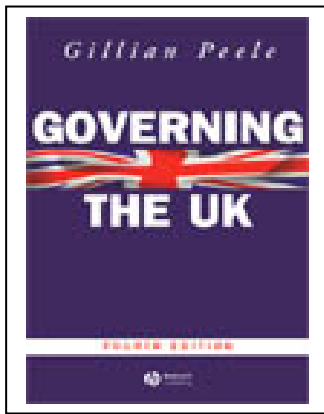
- professional qualities a person should possess
- gender factor
- education necessary for a successful career
- personal characteristics which will be very helpful
- personal characteristics which would impede making a professional career

It's interesting to know...

Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (also known as Lewis Carroll), famous author of *Alice in Wonderland*, was also a noted professor of mathematics at Oxford University and a prominent political analyst. He devised Dodgson's Method of calculating votes during the elections.

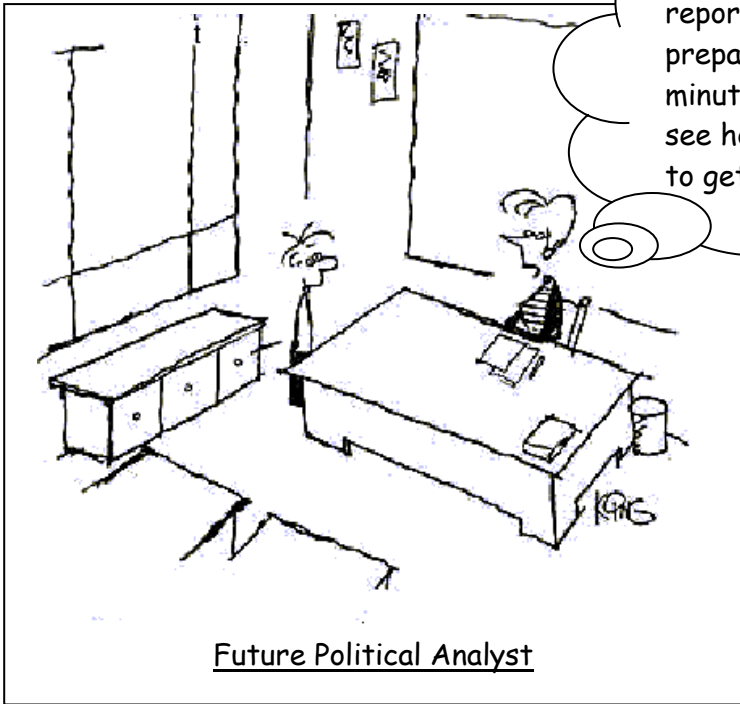
³ **Pierian** [paɪ'eriən] - древнегреч. пиерийский, относящийся к музам; **Pierian spring** — источник вдохновения

⁴ **prey** - жертва; добыча

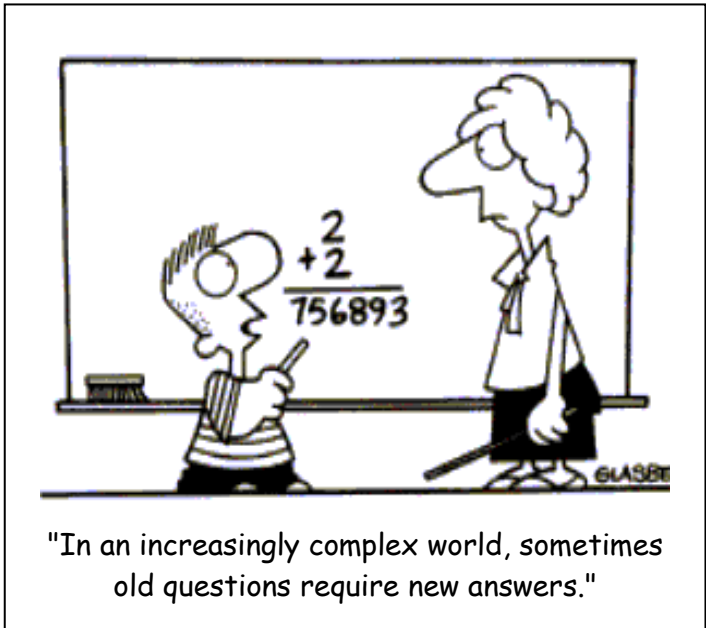


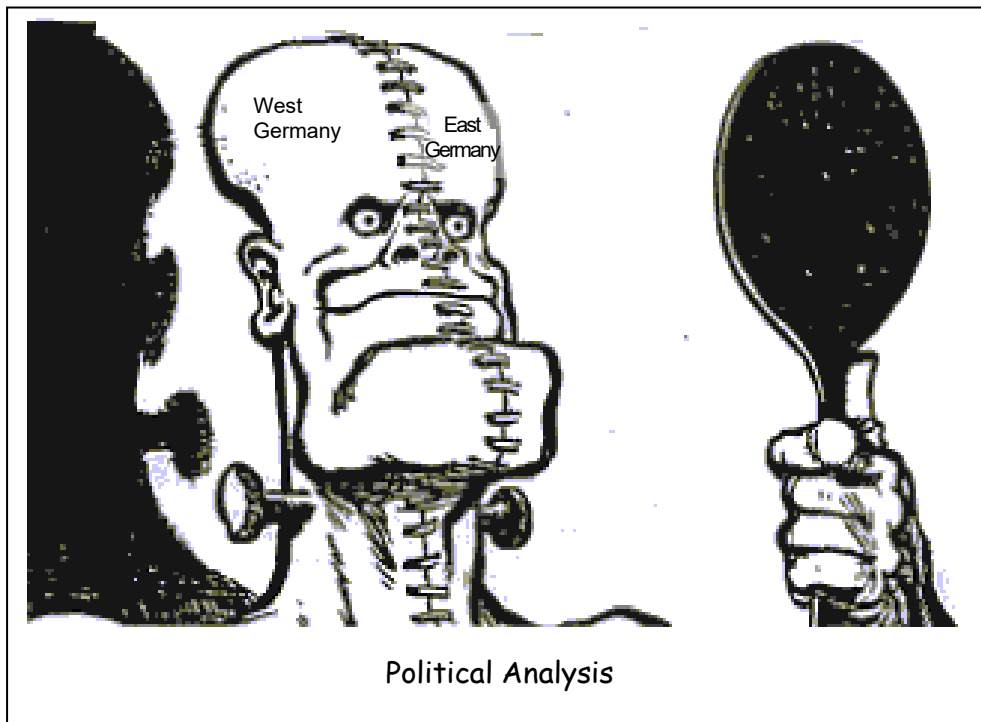
Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.
Francis Bacon

☺☺☺ It's funny...



Politics is more difficult than physics.
Albert Einstein





WRITING

Write an essay on the topic:

How do you imagine your future work? What will you be doing in ten-fifteen years from now?

INTERNET EXERCISE

1. Imagine you graduated from the University of Delaware and got a B.A. degree in American Politics. Search the Internet for job opportunities. Use employment sites. Deliver the results in class.

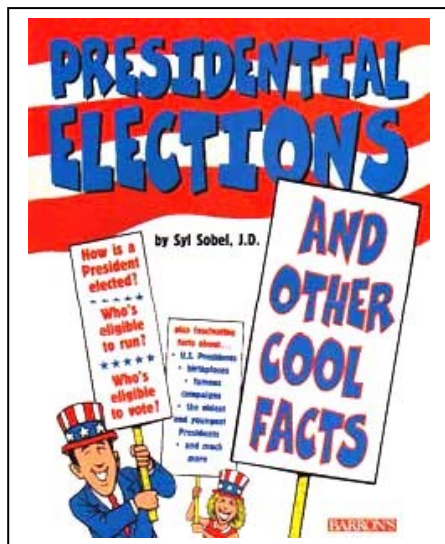
U.S. & International Sites

- [100 Hot Jobs & Careers](#) provides a gateway to many job sites.
- [1st Steps in the Hunt](#)

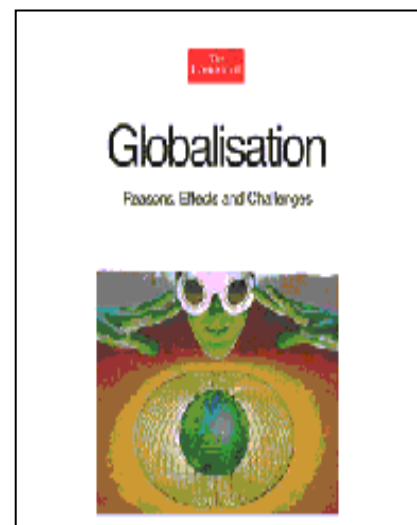
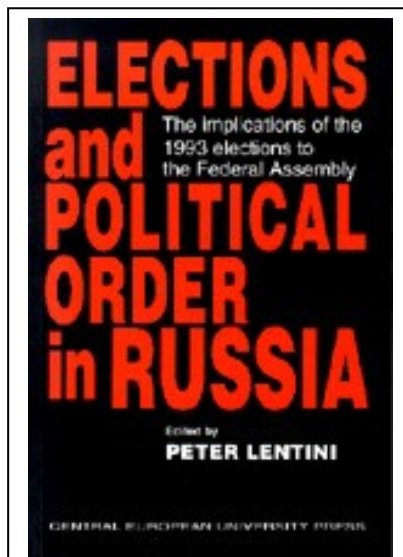
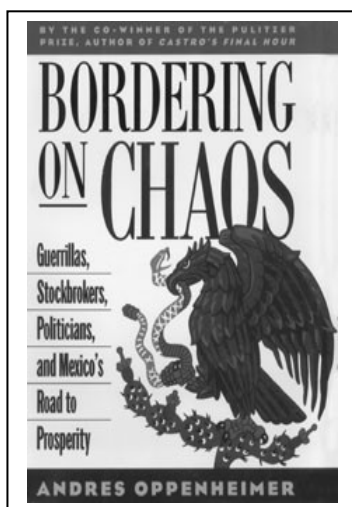
- Career Counseling Topics at Women.com
- Employment Opportunities with the United Nations
- Find a Job - Search 40 job sites at once.
- H-Job Net - job postings for humanities and social sciences
- Headhunter.net
- Quintessential Career and Job-Hunting Resources Guide
- Student Center - job search ideas and resources
- U.S. Federal Government Job Announcements - search a database of over 1500 jobs, updated daily.
- Women's Career Resources from Yahoo



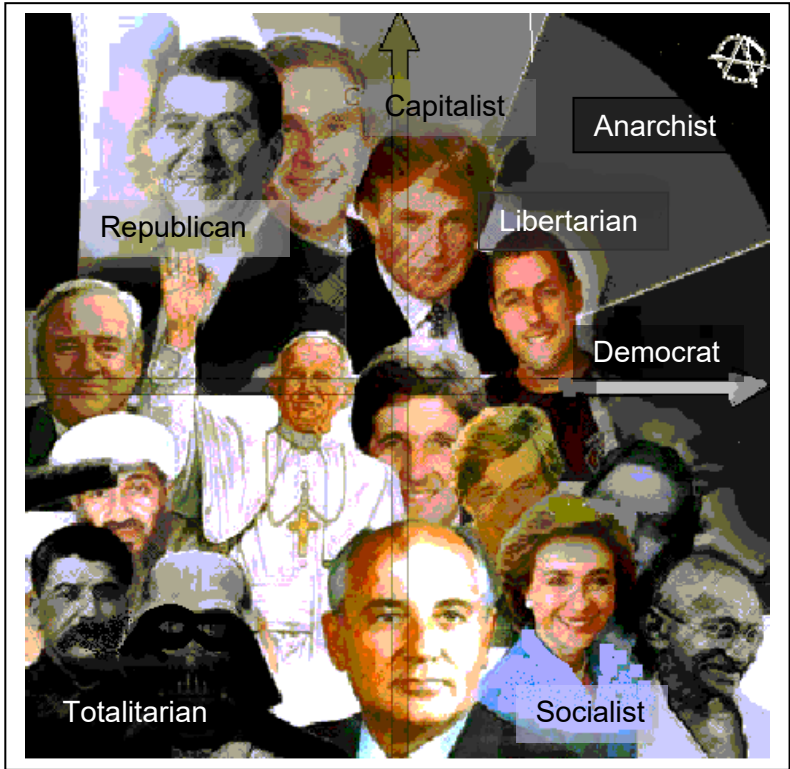
2. You want to study politics in the USA or Canada. With the help of the Internet choose a college or a university. Explain your choice. Tell the class about opportunities of getting a scholarship. The following sites may be helpful to you.



- Campus Tours: Virtual College Tours
- Canadian Post-secondary Education
- Christina DeMello's list of over 3000 Colleges and Universities
- College Key has links to U.S. and Canadian universities and scholarship information.
- Peterson's: U.S. Colleges and Universities
- U.S. College Admissions
- U.S. News Online: Colleges & Careers
- Yahoo! - Colleges and Universities



Unit 2. POLITICS AND POLITICIANS



"Man is by nature a political animal."
 Aristotle. *Politics*, 1.

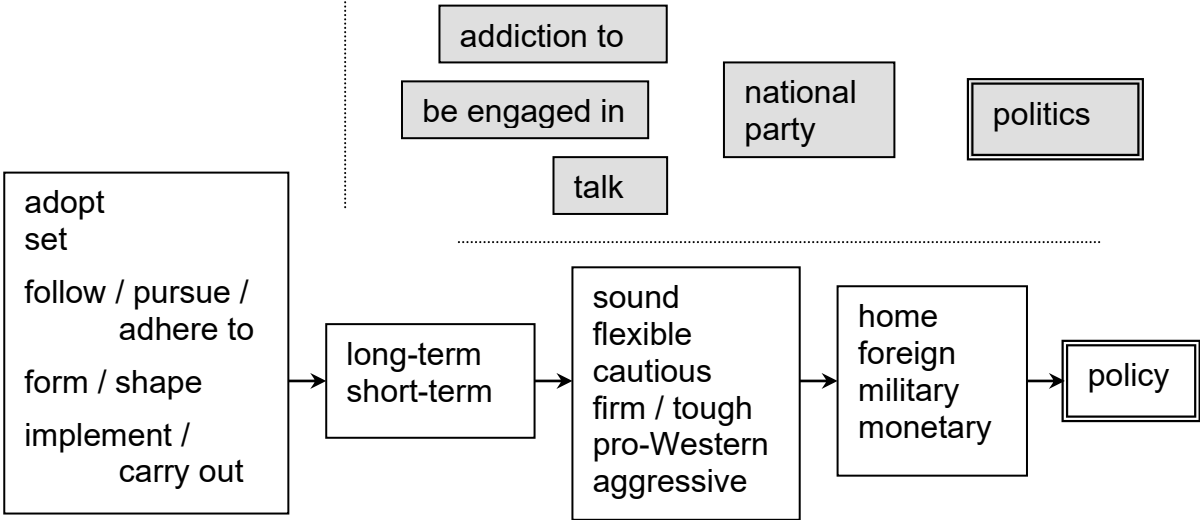
A statesman is a politician who places himself at the service of the nation. A politician is a statesman who places the nation at his service.
 Georges Pompidou.
Observer. 30 Dec 1973.
 'Sayings of the Year'

PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Answer the questions.

1. What associations do you have with the word "politics"?
2. What nouns go with the adjective "political"?
3. What is politics and why do we need it?
4. Can we live without politics?
5. Who are politicians? Do you like them?

2. Arrange the following words into as many word collocations as you can. Make up your own sentences with the collocations.



3. Bear in mind, that the word 'policy' has another meaning, not connected with the sphere of politics. Translate the following sentences using the dictionary if necessary.

1. I'd like to receive a life insurance policy.
2. It's vital to pursue a policy of peace in the region.
3. What can you say about the recruitment policy of the company?
4. If you leave the country, your medical care policy will be cancelled.

Honesty is the best policy.

4. Translate the sentences paying attention to the difference in meaning of the adjectives 'political' and 'politic'.

1. I think, it will be politic to make a compromise and agree with them on some of the issues.
2. My favourite subjects are Political Economy and Political geography.
3. The leaders of the main political parties took part in the yesterday's TV debate.
4. Were you present at the lecture on Political Science?
5. I believe, the policy of this political party is very politic.

READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Say what meanings the noun and the verb 'exercise' have in the following sentences.

1. Demonstrations and meetings are our legal exercise of rights and freedoms.
2. Leadership is not the exercise of force alone.
3. The government must exercise control over its committees.
4. We need this newspaper to exercise our right to free speech.

2. Translate the sentences paying attention to the difference in meaning of the nouns 'economics' and 'economy'.

1. He is an Economics major.
2. Many of the fundamental concepts and principles of classical economics were set forth by Adam Smith.
3. Most of the countries on the region have unstable economies.
4. China is a socialist country, and the government plays a predominant role in the economy.
5. The shift to market economy helped the country to survive.

Politics is the art of the possible.
Otto von Bismarck

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

WHAT IS POLITICS?

Politics is exciting because people disagree. They disagree about how they should live. How should power and other resources be distributed? Should society be based on cooperation or conflict? And so on. They also disagree about how such matters should be resolved. How should collective decisions be made? Who should have a say? How much influence should each person have? And so on. For Aristotle, this made politics the 'master science': that is, nothing less than the activity through which human beings attempt to improve their lives and create the Good Society. Politics is, above all, a social activity. It is always a dialogue, and never a monologue.

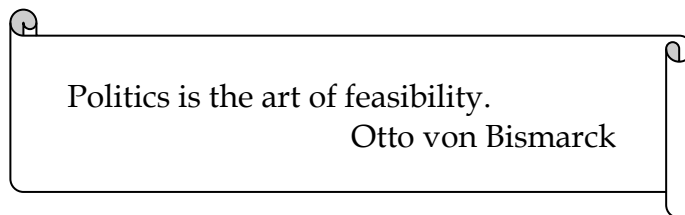
Solitary individuals such as Robinson Crusoe may be able to develop a simple economy, produce art, and so on, but they cannot engage in politics.

Defining politics

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 (sometimes indicated by the use of “Politics” with a capital P), it is then clearly the study of this activity. Politics is thus 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 more a search for conflict resolution than its achievement, as not all conflicts can be resolved.

Any attempt to clarify the meaning of ‘politics’ must 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 as academic subjects, few people discuss politics in an impartial manner. To make matters worse, politics is usually thought of as a ‘dirty’ word: it arises images of trouble, disruption and even violence on the one hand, and deceit, manipulation and lies on the other.

The second 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 exercise of authority, the making of collective decisions, the allocation of scarce resources, the practice of deception and manipulation, and so on.



Politics as the art of government

‘Politics is not a science ... but an art’, Chancellor Bismarck told the German Reichstag. The art Bismarck had in mind the art of government, the exercise of control within society through 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.

In this light politics can be understood as referring to the affairs of the *polis* – in effect, “what concerns the *polis*”. The modern definition is ‘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.

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 upon the personnel and machinery of government. To study politics is in essence to study government, or, more broadly, to study the exercise of authority.

Politics as compromise and consensus

Politics can be also seen as a particular means of resolving conflict: that is, by compromise 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” implies peaceful debate and arbitration, opposed to what is often called a “military” solution.

Borrowed from Andrew Heywood “Politics”

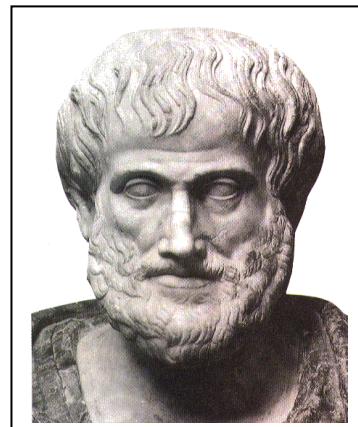
Comprehension Check

Answer the questions to the text.

1. Why Aristotle called politics the “master science”?
2. What are the main approaches to defining politics?
3. What is more important to search for conflict or to achieve it and why?
4. What does the academic subject “Politics” study?
5. Can you give a classical definition of politics?
6. How can politics be understood as compromise?

It is interesting...

Aristotle (384-322 BC), Greek philosopher, was a student of Plato and tutor of the young Alexander the Great. He established his own school of philosophy in Athens in 335 BC. His 22 surviving treatises, compiled as lecture notes, range over logic, physics, astronomy, 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*, a study of the ideal constitution.



VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Find in the text English equivalents to the following words and expressions.

Влиять на эти правила; понятие / представление; подразумевать; делать поправки / совершенствовать; примиряться друг с другом; насилие / применение силы; решение проблемы; осуществление полномочий; применение власти; недостаточный / скудный; распределение / размещение ресурсов; дебаты / полемика; занимать государственную / общественную должность; арбитраж / разрешение конфликтных ситуаций; наблюдение за проведением в жизнь (закона и т. п.) / принуждение; заниматься политикой.

2. Match definitions with the corresponding terms.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. conflict | a. ‘Legitimate power’ to influence the behaviour of others. |
| 2. co-operation | b. The ability to achieve a desired outcome; that is, as the ability to influence the behaviour of others in a manner not of their choosing. |
| 3. polis | c. Competition between opposing forces, reflecting a diversity of opinions, preferences, needs or interests. |
| 4. authority | d. City-state; classically understood to imply the highest or most desirable form of social organization. |
| 5. power | e. Working together; achieving goals through collective action. |

3. Complete the sentences choosing the best adjective.

rival, competing, opposing, impartial

1. The team is very strong.
2. His speech produced a great impression on the audience.
3. I followed the TV debate with interest. It was a real clash of points of view.
4. There are several views on the evolution of society.
5. The secretary sold our secrets to the company.
6. Some multi-national companies produce goods to control international markets.

4. Find in the text two nouns derived from the verb 'to deceit'.

5. Translate the sentences.

1. Существует мнение, что политика - не наука, а искусство.
2. Граждановедение - раздел политологии.
3. Кто определяет внутреннюю и внешнюю политику страны?
4. Одно из первых классических определений термина появилось в Древней Греции.
5. Изучать политику - это по существу изучать форму правления, или, в более широком смысле, - изучать применение власти (осуществление полномочий).
6. Китайское общество отличается от нашего политическими и экономическими принципами организации.

SPEAKING

1. Giving a talk

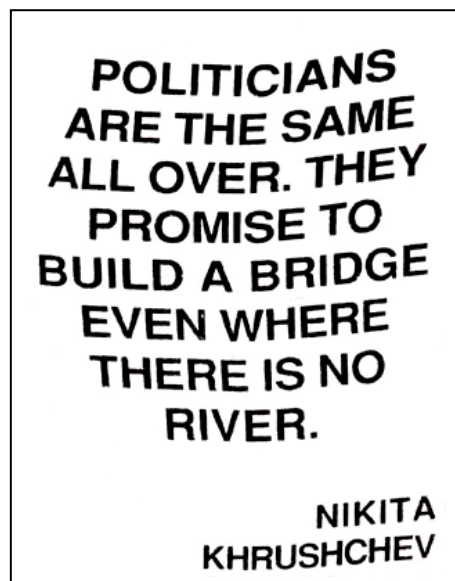
Give a talk on the following topics

- How has 'politics' been understood by various thinkers and traditions?
- Can the study of politics be scientific?
- Why does politics often carry negative associations?
- Is politics inevitable? Could politics ever be brought to an end?
- Is it possible to study politics objectively?

2. Discussion

Make up a dialogue discussing:

The most	hated intelligent loved popular stupid	politician in your country
----------	----------------------------------------------------	----------------------------



Each of you is supposed to have your own candidate. Do your best to prove your point!

“A politician is a fellow who gives you the key to the city after he’s taken everything worth having”

3. Opinion Exchange.

Agree or disagree with the statements

- “Politics is the most concentrated form of economics” (V. Lenin)
- Politics can be seen as civilized and civilizing force.
- Politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed. (Mao Tse-tung)
- It is the ability to foretell what is going to happen tomorrow, next week, next month, and next year. And to have the ability afterwards to explain why it didn't happen. (W. Churchill)
- Politics are almost as exciting as war and quite as dangerous. In war you can only be killed once, but in politics - many times. (W. Churchill)

4. Brainstorming

Divide into two groups. Students in the first group are professional politicians; those in the second group are ordinary citizens (voters). Each group makes a list of features typical of a politician.

Which adjectives will you use to characterize them?

What are politicians mainly occupied with when in office?

Make a list of their priorities.

Compare the lists of both groups in class. Discuss common and different points.

Notes on Language and Culture

It's interesting...

Slang terms for 'politician' include 'politico' and 'pol'.

The Australian slang term for politicians is 'pollies'.

Jokes, Anecdotes

Although politics has historically been considered an **honorable** profession, many people today, even in **democratic countries**, have a poor opinion of politicians as a **class**. They are sometimes seen as unscrupulous, willing to say anything to get elected even if it is not in keeping with their principles or intentions. They may also be suspected of using government assets or privileges for their own interests, rather than the interests of the people. Indeed, incidents of **political corruption** are not uncommon. The following jokes prove that people are not always happy about those who they elected.



* * *

A bus filled with politicians was driving through the countryside one day, on the campaign trail. The bus driver, caught up in the beautiful scenery, loses control and crashes into the ditch. A farmer living nearby hears the horrible crash and rushes out to discover the wreckage. Finding the politicians, he buries them.

The next day, the police came to the farm to question the man.

"So you buried all the politicians?" asked the police officer. "Were they all dead?"

The farmer answered, "Some said they weren't, but you know how politicians lie."

Politics have
no relation to
morals.

Niccolo
Machiavelli

The Whole Truth?

"The reason it's always so difficult for this president to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth is because it's usually three different stories."

ELEMENTARY, MR PRESIDENT

One day George Bush is going to give a speech at an Elementary School. He asks the teacher what the children are studying and she replies that they are learning about Greek Tragedies. So the President decides to talk about Tragedies.

He asks a student, "What would you consider to be a tragedy?"

The kid thinks for awhile and then says, " If a boy is running after a ball into a street and gets run over by a car and dies."

Bush responds, "No, I don't think that's a tragedy... that's an accident." Then Bush asks another kid to give an example of a tragedy.

The kid says, "If a bus full of kids drives over a cliff and they all die."

This time Bush says, "I don't think that's a tragedy... I think that's a great loss." So again Bush asks another kid to give an example of a tragedy.

The kid responds, "If you and Dick Cheney are on Air Force One and it crashes."

"Right!" says Bush to the kid. "That would be a tragedy... how did you ever know that?"

Quickly, the kid replies, " Because I know it's not an accident and I know it's not a great loss."



Funny Quotations



Politicians, like underwear, should be changed often, and for the same reasons.

There are two sides to every issue, and a politician usually takes both.

An honest politician is one who when he is bought will stay bought.

Simon Cameron

Nothing is so admirable in politics as a short memory.

John Kenneth Galbraith

Any man who is under 30, and is not a liberal, has no heart; and any man who is over 30, and is not a conservative, has no brains.

Winston Churchill

"No wonder you've got insomnia - you sleep all day in the House of Commons!"



Ancient Rome declined because it had a Senate; now what's going to happen to us with both a Senate and a House?

Will Rogers

(1879 - 1935)

US humorist & showman.

You'll come across a lot of his quotations further in the book.



Will Rogers

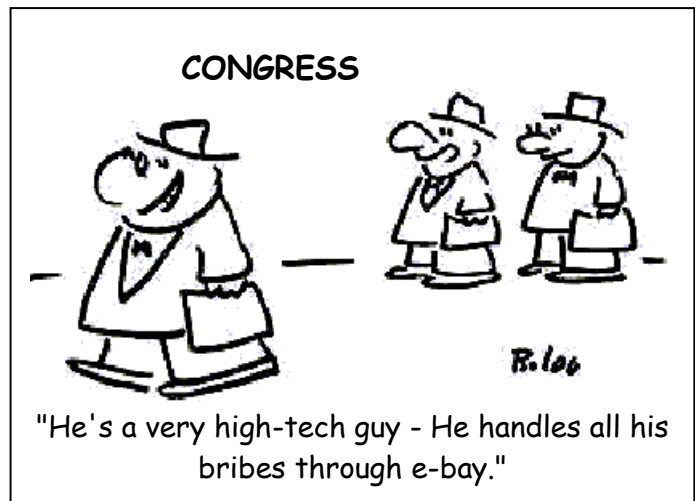
Good Alarm in My Car

A man parks his car in front of the main entrance of the Congress. Immediately, a member of the security team goes after him yelling, "Sir! Sir! You cannot park in here! All the congressmen are about to go out!"

The man replies "Don't worry! I have a good alarm in my car."

Bureaucracy

Let's play a game, its called bureaucracy, the first one to do anything loses.



LESSONS IN LIFE

DAD - Son, come in here, we need to talk.

SON - What's up, Dad?

DAD - There's a scratch down the side of the car. Did you do it?

SON - I don't believe; if I understand the definition of "scratch the car"; that I can say, truthfully, that I did not scratch the car.

DAD - Well, it wasn't there yesterday, and you drove the car last night, and no one else has driven it since. How can you explain the scratch?

SON - Well, as I've said before, I have no recollection of scratching the car. While it is true that I did take the car out last night, I did not scratch it.

DAD - But your sister, Monica, has told me she saw you back the car against the mailbox at the end of the driveway, heard a loud scraping sound, saw you get out to examine the car, and then drive away. So again I'll ask you, yes or no, did you scratch the car?

SON - Oh, you mean you think you have evidence to prove I scratched it. Well, you see, I understood you to mean "I" scratched the car. I stand by my earlier statement, that I did not scratch the car.

DAD - Are you trying to tell me you didn't drive the car into the mailbox?

SON - Well, you see sir, I was trying to drive the car into the street. I mishandled the steering of the car, and it resulted in direct contact with the mailbox, though that was clearly not my intent.

DAD - So you are then saying that you did hit the mailbox?

SON - No sir, that's not my statement. I'll refer you back to my original statement that I did not scratch the car.

DAD - But the car did hit the mailbox, and the car did get scratched as a result of this contact?

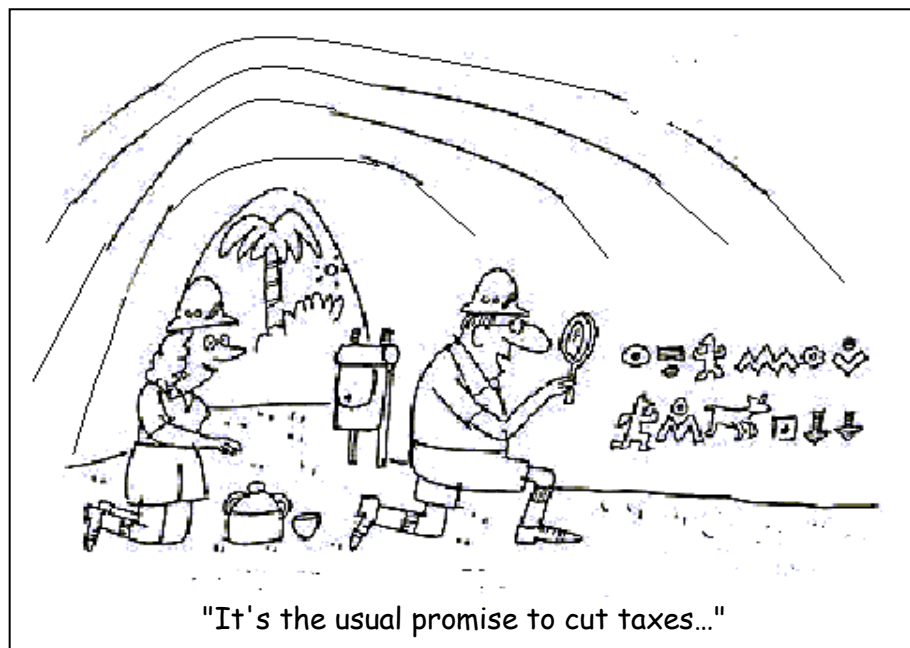
SON - Well, yes, I suppose you could look at it that way.

DAD - So you lied to me when you said you did not scratch the car?

SON - No. No, that's not correct. Your question was "Did I scratch the car?" From a strict legal definition, as I understood the meaning of that sentence, I did not scratch the car... the mailbox did... I was merely present when the scratching occurred. So my answer of "No" when you asked "Did I scratch the car" was legally correct, although I did not volunteer information.

DAD - Where in the heck did you learn to be such a liar?

SON - From the President of the United States.



INTELLIGENT CAR RADIO

A lady bought a new \$100,000 Mercedes and proudly drove it off the showroom floor to take home. Halfway home, she attempted to change radio stations and saw that there appeared to be only one station. She immediately turned around and headed back to the dealer.

Once at the dealer, she found her salesman and began to excitedly explain that her radio was not working, and they must replace it since she only had one radio station. The salesman calmed her down and told her that her car radio was voice-activated, and that she would only need to state aloud the type of music that she wanted and the car would find it.

She got into the car and started the engine and then said the word "country," and the radio changed to a station playing a George Strait song. She was satisfied and started

home. After a while she decided to try out the radio and said "rock 'n' roll;" the radio station changed and a song by the Rolling Stones came from the speakers. Quite pleased, the woman continued driving.

A few blocks from her house, another driver ran a light causing her to slam on her brakes to avoid a collision. The woman angrily exclaimed, "Asshole!"

The radio cut over to George Bush's press conference.



Funny Quotations



In politics stupidity is not a handicap.

Napoleon

Being an MP is the sort of job all working-class parents want for their children - clean, indoors and no heavy lifting.

Diane Abbott

He knows nothing; and he thinks he knows everything. That points clearly to a political career.

George Bernard Shaw

SWITCHING SIDES

A life long supporter of the labour party was lying on his death bed when he suddenly decided to join the Tory party.

"But why?" asked his puzzled friend, "You're labour through and through... Why change now?"

The man learned forward and explained, "Well, I'd rather it was one of them that died and not one of us."



THE JOKES ON PUTIN IN HUMOUR COLLECTION

1. President Vladimir Putin has released a new program for reform. Its first goal: 'To make people rich and happy. (List of people attached.)

2. Putin calls in the finance minister and says: "Listen, what's going on with the economy?"
"Er, Vladimir Vladimirovich, I can explain. ..."

"No, no, you don't need to explain. I can do that myself. Just tell me, what's going on?"

3. Stalin appears to Putin in a dream, and asks: 'Can I do anything to help you?'

Putin says: 'Why is everything here so bad - the economy is falling to pieces, and so on. What am I to do?'

Stalin, without pausing for thought, answers: 'Execute the entire government, and paint the walls of the Kremlin blue.'

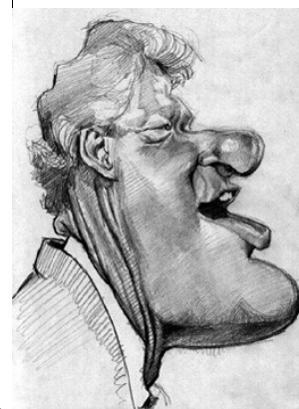
'Why blue?' Putin asks.

Stalin replies: 'I had a feeling that you would only want to discuss the second part.'

Dmitry Perevyazkin book of jokes about Putin

ACTIVITY

You know that prominent political figures are often viewed in a very unfavourable light. Look at the picture gallery below. Can you recognize these people? Are they pictured fairly enough? Give your opinion about caricatures and politicians.



ON WOMEN IN POLITICS...

I consider women who are authors, lawyers and politicians are monsters.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir

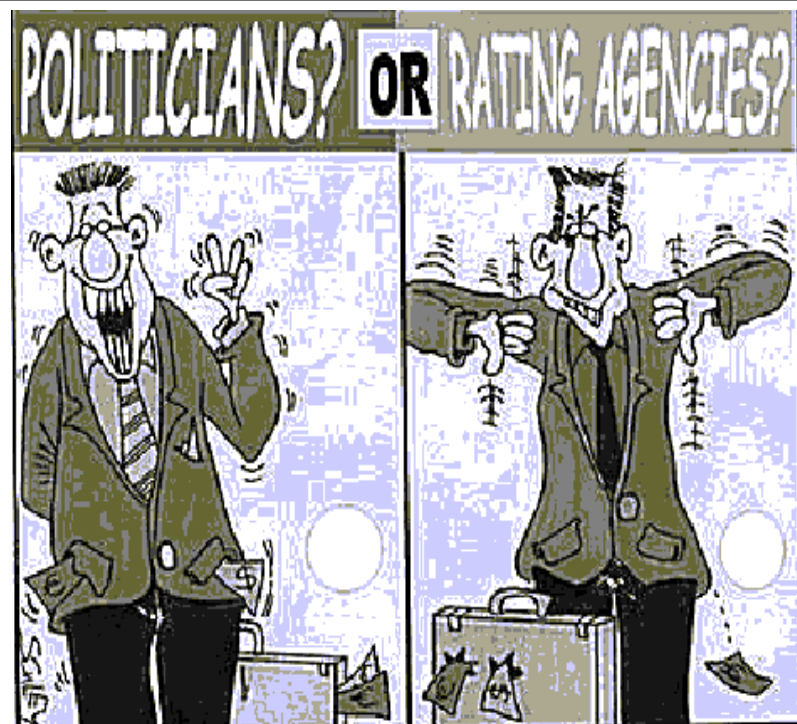
I'm always rather nervous about how you talk about women who are active in politics, whether they want to be talked about as women or as politicians.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

In politics, if you want anything said, ask a man; if you want anything done, ask a woman.

Margaret Thatcher

WHO REALLY RULES THE WORLD?



BEFORE MAKING YOUR CROSS - THINK WELL

INTERNET EXERCISE

Find in the Internet information about Aristotle and his ideas on politics. Give a talk in class.

Unit 3. THE PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT

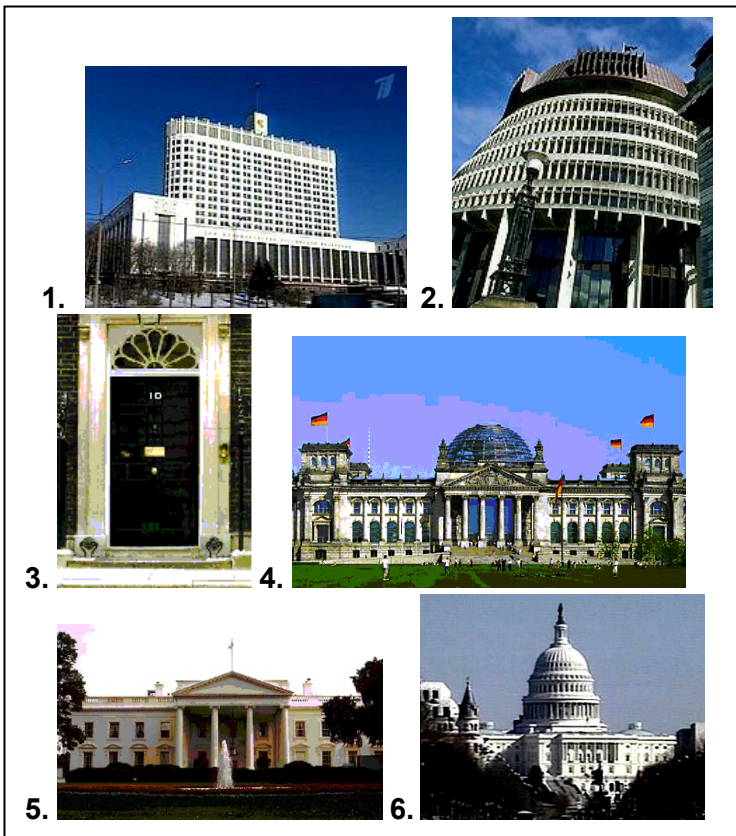
PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Answer the questions:

1. What are the basic purposes of government?
2. Why do we need it?
3. Can you imagine living without any government? What would our life look like?

2. Look at the pictures on the left and say what you know about these buildings.

3. Read the following sentences and say what meanings the word 'government' has.

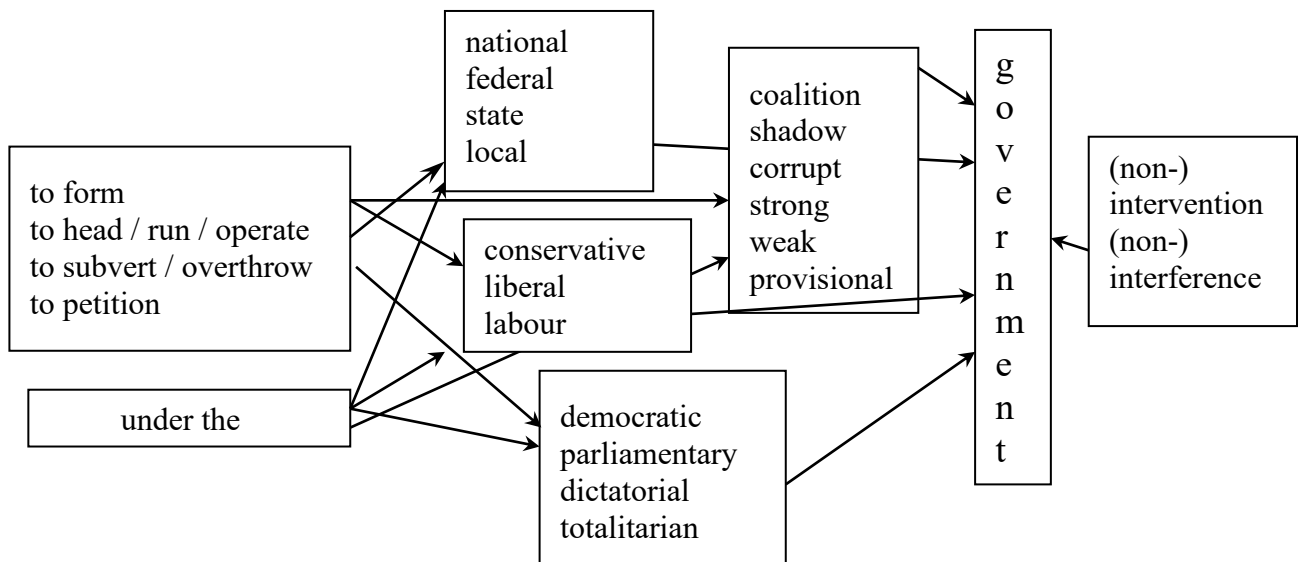


1. A government is the body that has the authority to make and the power to enforce laws within an organization or group.
2. There are different forms of government. Monarchies have hereditary rulers, less chosen than nurtured into the post. Oligarchies are governed by a few wealthy members of the community. Democracies are governed by the governed. Anarchies are regulated by no one.
3. "In general the art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one party of citizens to give it to the other." Voltaire

When in charge, ponder. When in doubt, mumble. When in trouble, delegate.

Voltaire.

3. Translate the following word collocations and make up your own sentences with them:



READING

Vocabulary Input

That government is the strongest of which every man feels himself a part.

Thomas Jefferson

1. In English there are many groups of words that have the same form for different parts of speech. Define whether the underlined words are nouns, adjectives or verbs. Translate the sentences.

1. It's an expensive investment, but it will benefit the company in the long run.
2. Are you entitled to unemployment benefit?
3. These small businesses may benefit greatly from the changes in the banking policy.
4. The car is less than a year old, and therefore still under guarantee.
5. The manufacturers guarantee the refrigerator for three years.
6. The government sets a higher value on defence, than on education.
7. Their research into ancient languages is of little practical value.
8. I'll always value your friendship.

2. The synonyms of the word 'to coerce' are 'to force', 'to compel', 'to repress', 'to constrain'. Translate the following sentences with the verb 'to coerce' and its derivatives.

1. The criminal claimed he had been coerced into making a confession.
2. The government is going to use coercive measures to stop the strike.
3. They won the election through a mixture of bribery and coercion.

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

THE PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT

Most people do not like being told what to do. Fewer still like being coerced into acting a certain way. Yet, billions of people in countries across the world willingly submit to the coercive power of government. They accept laws that state on which side of the road to drive, how many wives (or husbands) they can have, what constitutes a contract, - and how much they must pay to support the government that makes these coercive laws.

Governments at any level require citizens to surrender some freedom as part of being governed. Governments exist to control; *to govern* means "to control". Why do people surrender their freedom to this control? To obtain the benefits of government. Throughout history, government has served two major purposes: maintaining order (preserving life and protecting property) and providing public goods. More recently some governments have added a third purpose: promoting equality.

Maintaining order is the oldest objective of government. Maintaining order means establishing the rule of law to preserve life and protect property.

After governments have established basic order, they can pursue other ends. Using their coercive powers, they can tax citizens to raise money to spend on public goods, which are benefits and services that are available to everyone - such as education, medical care and parks. Public goods benefit all citizens but are not likely to be produced by the voluntary acts of individuals. The government of ancient Rome, for example, built aqueducts to carry fresh water from the mountains to the city.

The promotion of equality has not always been a major objective of government. It appeared only in the 20th century, as a result of industrialization and urbanization. Confronted by

poverty, some political leaders in European nations pioneered extensive government programs to improve life for the poor. Under the emerging concept of the welfare state, government's role expanded to provide individuals with medical care, education, and a guaranteed income, "from cradle to grave". Sweden, Britain, and other nations adopted welfare programs aimed at reducing social inequalities. This relatively new purpose of government has been by far the most controversial. People often oppose taxation for public goods (building roads and schools, for example) because of its cost alone. They oppose more strongly taxation for government programs to promote economic and social equality on principle.

The key issue here is government's role in redistributing income, taking from the wealthy to give to the poor. Using the state to redistribute income was originally a radical idea, set forth by Marx as the ultimate principle of developed communism: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". This extreme has never been realized in any government, not even in communist states. But over time, taking from the rich to help the needy has become a legitimate function of most governments.

To understand government and the political process, you must be able to identify the basic values they entail. Just as people sit back from a wide-screen motion picture to gain perspective, to understand any government you need to take a broad view, a view much broader than that offered by examining specific political events. You need to use political concepts.

The concepts that relate to what government tries to do are order, freedom, and equality. All governments by definition value order; maintaining order is part of the meaning of government. Most governments at least claim to preserve individual freedom while they maintain order, although they vary widely in the extent to which they succeed. Few governments even profess to guarantee equality, and governments differ greatly in policies that pit equality against freedom.

Comprehension check

Answer the questions:

1. What is meant by the coercive power of government?
2. How many major goals does any government have? What are they?
3. What is the oldest purpose of government?
4. Give a definition of public goods.
5. Why the promotion of equality is the most controversial purpose?
6. What political concepts should one consider to understand political events?



VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Find in the text the English equivalents for the following words and expressions.

Добровольные действия; "государство всеобщего благосостояния"; поддержание порядка; бедность; основной принцип; подчиниться/покориться принудительной силе государства; выдвигать (идею); служить целям; определять / назначать ценности; выступать против

налогообложения; гарантированный доход; здравоохранение; норма права; облагать граждан налогом; направленный на снижение социального неравенства; легитимная функция; преследовать иные цели; защищать собственность; способность; иметь успех; доступный каждому; сохранение жизни; выставлять в качестве противника против кого-л., / чего-л.; добывать деньги / давать ссуду на что-то; способствовать экономическому и социальному равенству; заявлять / требовать; спорный, сомнительный; общественные блага.

2. Fill in the blanks with the word 'government' and its derivatives in the proper forms:

Government, govern, governing, governor

1. The country was by a small elite of military officers.
2. The party doesn't want an election yet.
3. He was elected of the state of Florida.
4. They benefited from the changes in taxation policy under the last Labour
5. In Britain the Queen is the formal head of state, but it is the prime minister and cabinet who
6. has been entrusted to the elected politicians.

3. Find the equivalents for 'бедные', 'богатые' and 'нуждающиеся' in the text and translate the following from Russian into English.

1. Богатые и сильные никогда не поймут бедных и слабых.
2. В государстве всеобщего благосостояния не будет нуждающихся.
3. Бездомные не принимают участие в выборах, поэтому они не интересны некоторым политикам.
4. Что Ваша партия собирается сделать для уменьшения количества безработных?



SPEAKING

1. Every government policy reflects a choice between conflicting values (freedom vs order; freedom vs equality), it reinforces certain values at the expense of others. Choose one of the following dilemmas and give your point:

- a) Which is better: to live under a government that allows individuals complete freedom to do whatever they please or to live under one that enforces strict law and order?
- b) Which is better: to let all citizens keep the same share of their income or to tax wealthier people at a higher rate to fund programs for poorer people?

2. Many people voice the opinion: "Politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't understand what's going on". Do you agree with it? Prove your answer.

3. The scope of government action to provide public goods can be different:

- building roads
- operating oil wells
- generating electric power, etc.

Are they functions of the government or of private business? Work in pairs and act out a dialogue defending the opposite opinions.

4. Dwell on the following quotations:

- ❑ Fear is the foundation of most governments.

John Adams
- ❑ The worst thing in the world, next to anarchy, is government.

Henry Ward Beecher
- ❑ Government big enough to supply everything you need is big enough to take everything you have... The course of history shows that as a government grows, liberty decreases.

Thomas Jefferson
- ❑ That government is best which governs the least, because its people discipline themselves.

Thomas Jefferson
- ❑ No Government can be long secure without a formidable Opposition.

Benjamin Disraeli
- ❑ Every country has the government it deserves.
[Fr., Toute nation a le gouvernement qu'elle merite.]

Joseph Marie De Maistre
- ❑ Let the people think they govern and they will be governed.

William Penn
- ❑ Many people consider the things which government does for them to be social progress, but they consider the things government does for others as socialism.

Earl Warren

It's interesting to know...

... In China, in recurring dynasties, the type of government created in the 3rd century B.C. lasted for two millennia. Even though the Ching dynasty ended in 1911, centralized government following the imperial model has been resurrected by the communists. In Europe, on the other hand, no one succeeded in reviving the Roman empire.

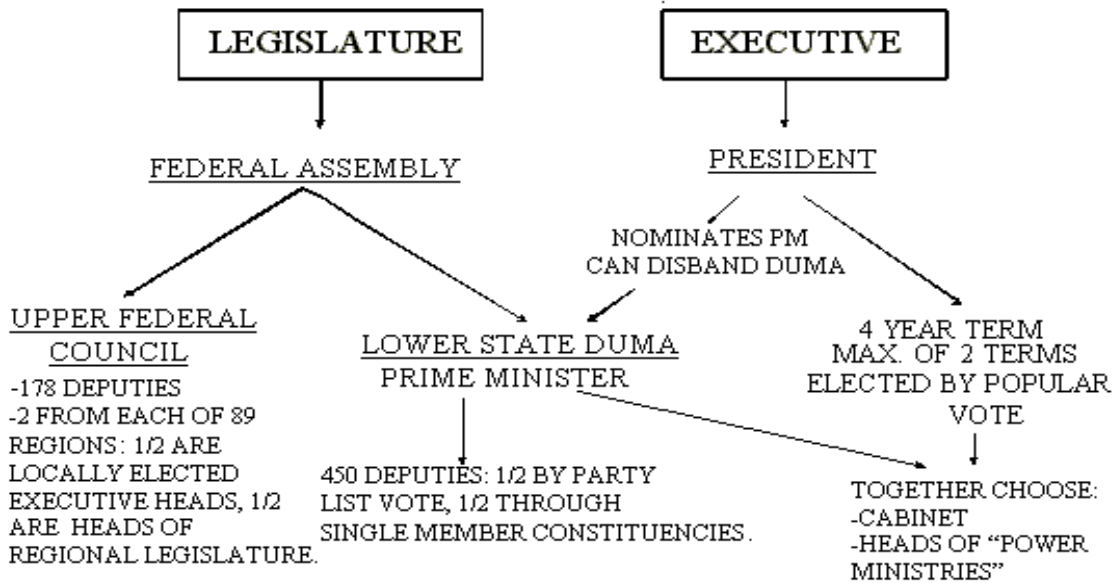
... Prince Vladimir of Kiev became a Christian in 989 A.D. Slavic peoples then converted en masse to the orthodox faith. The grand dukes of Moscow annexed the Ukraine and other lands to create the Russian empire. This Christian empire thereby became a continuation of the Byzantine empire and the Roman empire before that. Its model of empire involved a partnership between church and state, with the church in a subordinate position. The Russian czar (or "Caesar") ruled a largely totalitarian state which, like that in China, was readily adapted to communist rule.

... The Islamic religion had also managed to bring a large territory under its control. The ruling caliphs, successors to Mohammed, combined religious and political authority. But, again, the religious was preferred to the secular. The purpose of empire was to convert persons to the Moslem faith and to govern society according to laws and regulations which Mohammed himself had prescribed. The caliphates in Damascus and Baghdad had authority over the entire realm of Islam.

5. Give a talk.

A) Comment on the table below.

Russian System of Government
Based on 1993 Constitution



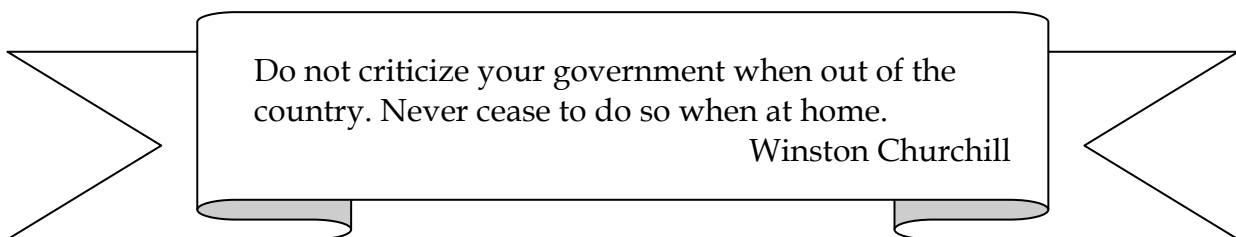
B) In different political ideologies the scope of government control of social and economic problems differs greatly ranging from “most” to “least”.

Study the chart and be ready to talk on the variety of the relationships between government and citizens.

MOST GOVERNMENT	POLITICAL THEORIES	LEAST GOVERNMENT
Totalitarianism	Libertarianism	Anarchism
MOST GOVERNMENT	ECONOMIC THEORIES	LEAST GOVERNMENT
Socialism	Capitalism	Laissez Faire

ACTIVITY

Using newspapers, find three examples of how the government serves the people in any country in the world.



It's funny....

What a job!

Can you imagine working at the following Company? It has a little over 500 employees with the following statistics:

- 29 have been accused of spouse abuse
- 7 have been arrested for fraud
- 19 have been accused of writing bad cheques
- 117 have bankrupted at least two businesses
- 3 have been arrested for assault
- 71 cannot get a credit card due to bad credit
- 14 have been arrested on drug-related charges
- 8 have been arrested for shop-lifting
- 21 are current defendants in lawsuits
- In 1998 alone 84 were stopped for drunk driving

Can you guess which organization this is?
Give up?

It's the 535 members of the United States Congress. The same group that perpetually cranks out hundreds upon hundreds of new laws designed to keep the rest of us in line.

Funny quotations:

In rivers and bad governments, the lightest things swim at the top.

Benjamin Franklin

Anybody who enjoys being in the House of Commons probably needs psychiatric help.

Ken Livingstone.

We have the best government that money can buy.

Mark Twain

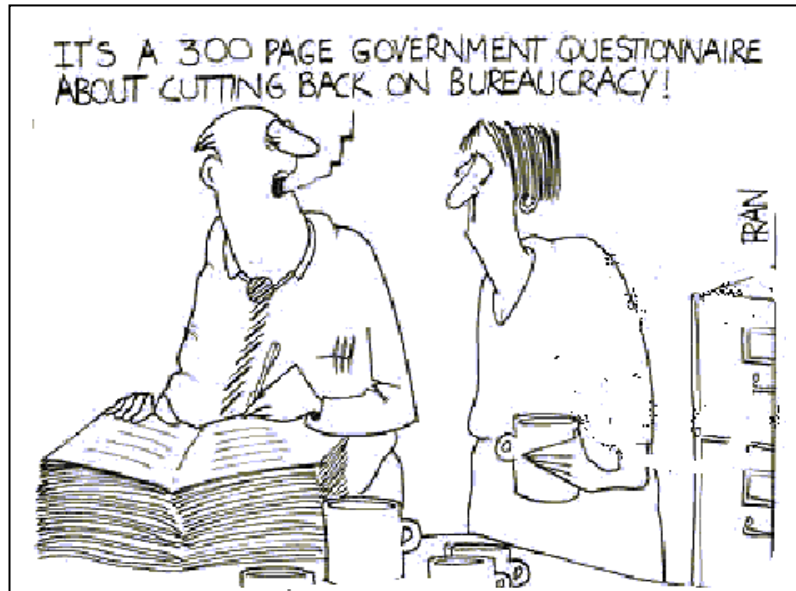
It's easy being a humorist when you've got the whole government working for you.

Will Rogers

It's a good thing we don't get all the government we pay for.

Will Rogers





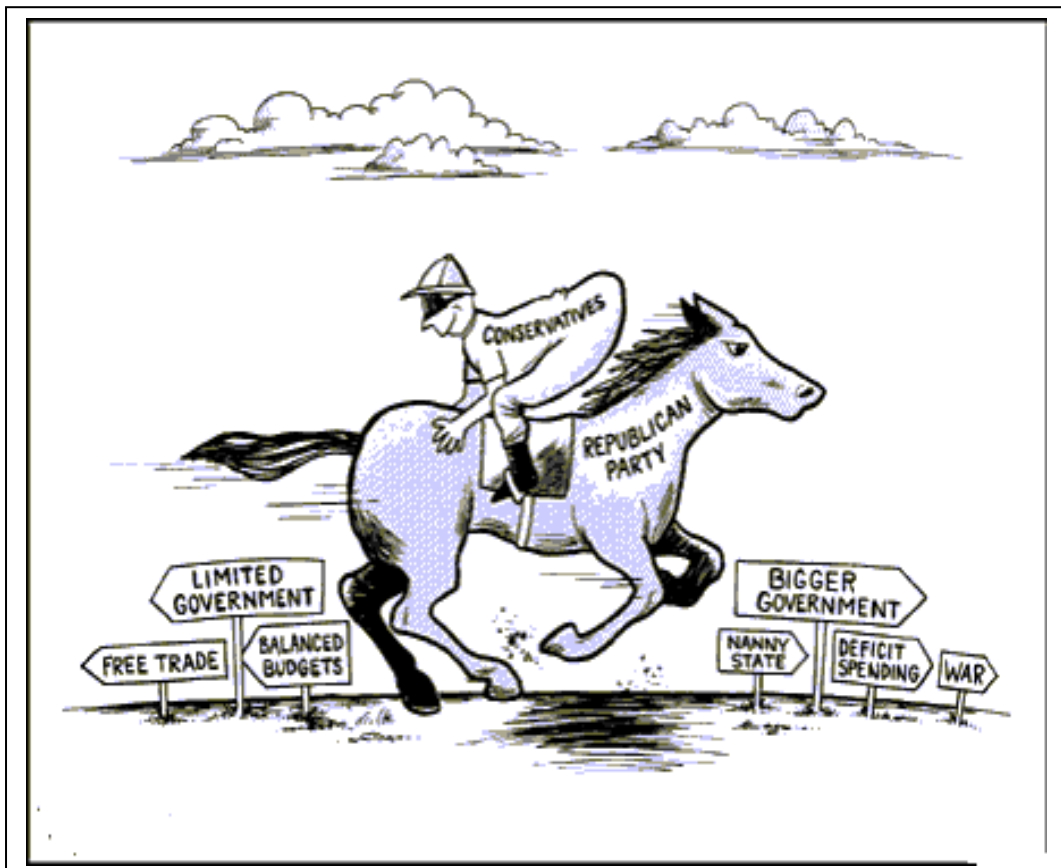
WRITING

Charity (voluntary giving to the poor) has a strong basis in Western religious traditions; using the power of the state to support the poor does not. Which of the two approaches is more popular in Russia and more consistent with the Orthodox Church?

Write an essay (200 words).

Any woman who understands the problems of running a home will be nearest to understanding the problems of running the country.

Margaret Thatcher



INTERNET EXERCISE

This engraving is from the 1651 edition of *Leviathan* by Thomas Hobbes. It shows Hobbes's sovereign, the symbol of power and government.

Find in the Internet as much information as possible about the author, the book and the picture. Describe it.





Unit 4. FREEDOM VERSUS ORDER

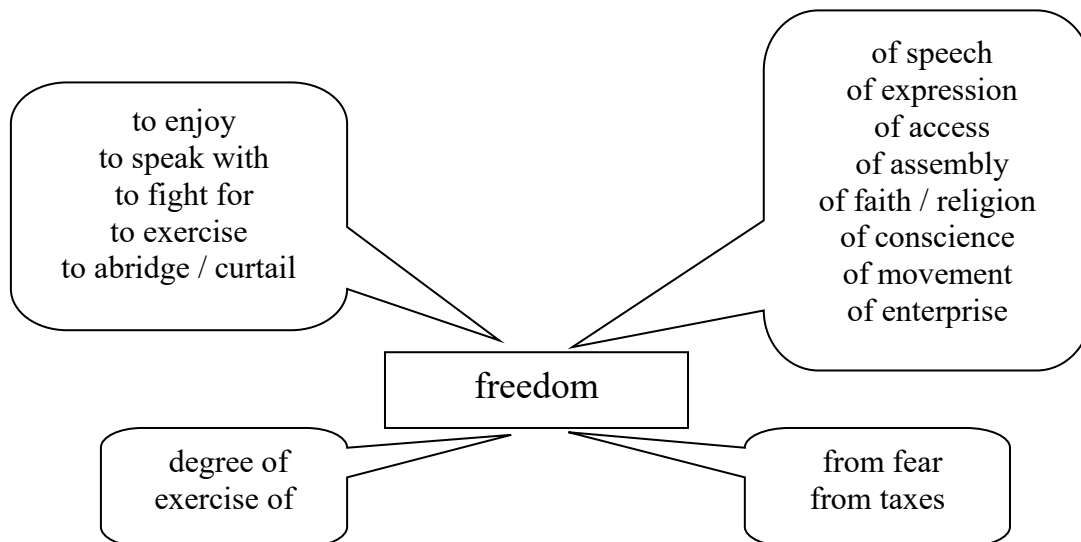
PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Carry out the tasks and answer the questions.

1. In Unit 3, we noted that almost all citizens are willing to accept limitations on their personal freedom in return for various benefits of government. Try to recall the major purposes of government. Do you remember which one it values most of all?

2. Why do you think freedom and order are called “conflicting values”?

2. Translate the following word combinations containing the word “freedom”



3. Sometimes “freedom of the press”, “freedom of speech” and “freedom of expression” are used as synonyms, but there is still some difference. Study the definitions below and guess which of them explains each of the “freedoms”:

- freedom of _____ - is a civil right guaranteed by the 1-st Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (one of the amendments of the Bill of Rights)
- freedom of _____ - is the right to freely say what you please including the right to create and distribute movies, pictures, songs, dances and other forms of communication
- freedom of _____ - is a guarantee of free public expression and published reporting. It also extends to news gathering.

➤ Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.

George Bernard Shaw.

➤ The liberty of the individual must be thus far limited; he must not make himself a nuisance to other people.

John Stuart Mill

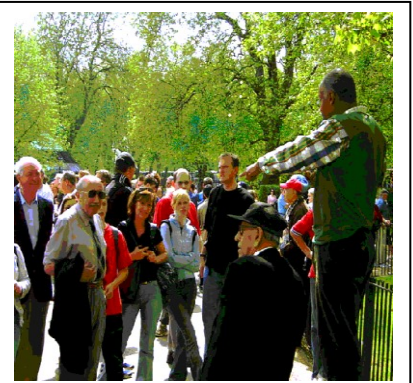
4. Using the new vocabulary, comment on the situations presented in the photos.



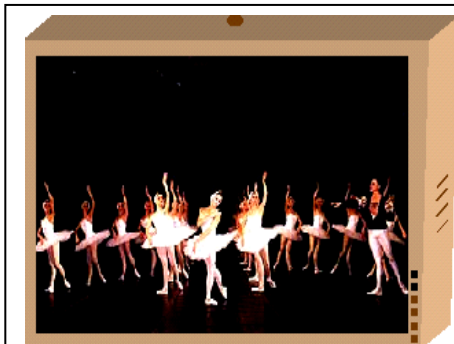
Staging a stand-in in the US



A shot from Leni Riefenstahl's film 'Triumph of the Will' (1935; 'Triumph des Willens'), a documentary study of the 1934 Nazi Party convention at Nuremberg



In Speaker's Corner of Hyde Park, London



'Swan Lake' during the attempted coup in the former USSR, August 19–21, 1991 (an attempt to return to the old-line Communist Party values)



The fall of the Berlin Wall, October 1989. (It was built by Soviet-controlled East Germany to stop people escaping from East to West on the night of 12-13 August, 1961.)

READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Using the dictionary try to explain the difference between the words 'to protect' and 'to defend'. Translate the following sentences and make up your own ones with the given verbs.

1. We have to improve laws protecting the rights of disabled people.
2. Children should be protected from all kinds of violence.
3. These rare species of flowers are protected by special laws.
4. Can the country be defended against a nuclear attack?
5. As a politician, you have to defend yourself when things get tough.

Of course liberty is not licence. Liberty in my view is conforming to majority opinion.

Hugh Scanlon:
Television interview

2. Mind the usage of the synonym for the word "freedom".

1. The American colonies fought for liberty from Great Britain.
2. Are you at liberty to reveal the secret?
3. Hundreds of political prisoners are to be given their liberty.
4. What a liberty to refuse the invitation on your behalf!

3. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. surrender (to) | a. cause to be inactive or ineffective for a period of time; prevent from belonging to a group for a time because of misbehaviour or breaking rules |
| 2. obey | b. say officially that smb is guilty of a crime and must be brought before a court of law; represent in court the person who is bringing a criminal charge against smb |
| 3. suspend | c. give up or give in to the power, as a sign of defeat; give up possessions or control |
| 4. prosecute | d. act in accordance with orders, laws, rules, etc. |

4. The word "challenge", both the noun and the verb, has many meanings and sometimes is very hard to translate. Consult an English-Russian dictionary for the translations and find Russian equivalents for the following sentences:

1. The title of the report is: "Crime control: challenges for the future".
2. This challenge is the one we cannot afford to ignore.
3. The new technology is beginning to challenge existing methods.
4. This opens up additional challenges to the suppliers of equipment and continuing gains for the user.
5. I challenged him to play chess with me, but he refused.
6. I would like to challenge the accuracy of your statement.
7. It is interesting to consider how newspapers have responded to the challenge of competing with broadcast and electronic media for audiences.

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

FREEDOM VERSUS ORDER

The conflict between freedom and order originates in the very meaning of government as the legitimate use of force to control human behavior. How much freedom must a citizen surrender to government? The dilemma has occupied philosophers for hundreds of years. In the eighteenth century, the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) wrote that the problem of a proper government "is to find a form of association which will defend and protect the person, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain free as before".

In the abstract, people value both freedom and order; in real life, the two values inherently conflict. By definition, any policy that strengthens one value takes away from the other. The balance of freedom and order is an issue in many debates: whether to allow capital punishment, how to deal with urban gang members who spray-paint walls; whether to allow art

galleries to display sexually explicit photographs and so on. And in democracy, policy choices hinge on how much citizens value freedom and how much they value order.

Any democratic country protects several freedoms: freedom of religion, freedom of speech and of the press, and the freedom to assemble peaceably and to petition the government. The freedom of religion demands government neutrality toward religions and between the religious and the non-religious.

Press freedom has enjoyed broad constitutional protection because a free society depends on the ability to collect and report information without government interference. The rights to assemble peaceably and to petition the government stem from the guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press. Each freedom is equally fundamental, but the right to exercise them is not absolute.

Jake Baker, a nineteen-year-old linguistics student at the University of Michigan, posted shockingly explicit sex stories to the Internet. Baker wrote fictional fantasies that frequently included rape and violence to women and girls. In one story in which Baker described the torture, rape and murder of a woman, he gave the victim the name of a classmate at the University. Some people were shocked and complained. When the scandal was started University officials told Baker to pack his bags and leave the University immediately – he was suspended without a hearing. The Justice Department began a criminal prosecution. Had Baker committed a crime? If so, what was it? Writing a fiction is not a crime, even when it describes harmful acts. The government prosecuted Baker to maintain order – that is, to ensure the peace and safety of the community. The government viewed Baker's stories as evidence of a threat of imminent harm.

Baker's lawyer objected saying that the freedom of speech protected Baker from government action. A federal judge sat at the center of the controversy, holding in the balance Baker's freedom and the community's demand for order.

Whatever the outcome of the case, the basic question remains: are freedom or order ever unconditional? How should such value conflicts be solved?

Answers can be different, but one thing is certain: the challenge of democracy requires the constant balancing of freedom and order.

Comprehension check

Answer the questions:

1. Can you give examples when the balance between freedom and order is debated?
2. What is the main meaning of government?
3. What are the basic freedoms in a democracy?
4. Why is it important to protect freedom of the press by the Constitution?
5. Why was Jake Baker suspended from the University?
6. What was the line of Baker's defense?

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Find in the text the English equivalents for the following words and expressions.

Уголовное преследование; угроза; требование порядка; насилие; высшая мера наказания; свободное общество; вред; укреплять; вращаться (вокруг чего-л.) / быть тесно связанным (с чем-л.); доказательство / свидетельство; временно отстранять / исключать; неотвратимый / неизбежный / неминуемый; вымышленный / беллетристический; иметь дело / обходиться (с); сексуально откровенный; миролюбиво / спокойно.

2. Complete the sentences with the words given below in the proper forms:

surrender, prosecute, suspend, obey

1. The government to the pressure of big business and changed the law.
2. Parliament has been because of the civil unrest.
3. He was for stealing.
4. You'll have to rules if you want to stay here.

3. Revise the previous units and fill in the blanks with prepositions where necessary.

1. It was a complicated matter, but she dealt it effectively.
2. In the end, the regiment had to surrender the enemy.
3. Did you benefit your business trip?
4. All our hopes hinged the firm's success.
5. Every citizen must obey the law.
6. The committee adopted a programme aimed reducing pollution.
7. There is not much demand goods of this sort.
8. The country depends heavily its tourist trade.



SPEAKING

1. Dwell on the following.

What is “the prevailing social order”? Can it answer the following questions:

- How students should dress in school?
- What language style should they use when speaking to the teachers?
- What the press should not publish?
- What the proper attitude toward religion should be?
- Can the social order change over time? Think of your examples.

Rioters in Barcelona, Spain, 2003, destroying a McDonald's sign.



2. Let's discuss basic freedoms.

Freedom of religion

- Is government support of religion constitutional?
- Should teachers of religion get state salaries at school?
- Does the display of religious artifacts on public property violate government neutrality toward religion?
- A religious holiday has become in some cases a national holiday. Does it contradict the Constitution?
- Can a person get exemption from military service saying that he was religious scruples against the war?

Freedom of expression

- Is advocacy of force or violence against the state a criminal offense or expression of the freedom of speech?
- The national flag is an object of deep respect in our society. Give your point on the flag burning by demonstrators as means of political expression.
- Is it legal to call your political opponent a “God-damned bribe-taker” or “a damned fascist”?
- Comment on Jake Baker case:
 - talk in the name of Jake himself
 - talk in the name of his lawyer
 - talk in the name of the state prosecutor

3. Give a talk on the following topics:

- The Bill of Rights
- The First Amendment
- The protection of people's rights in Great Britain

➤ Tyranny is always better organised than freedom.

Charles Péguy

➤ Anarchism is a game at which the police can beat you.

George Bernard Shaw

Discussion

When the communist government ruled in Eastern Europe, the climate of fear (because of the high crime rate) in urban America stood in contrast to the sense of personal safety in cities such as Moscow, Warsaw and Prague. Then it was common to see the old and the young strolling late at night along the streets and in the parks of these cities. These governments deliberately chose order over freedom.

Make up a dialogue discussing the balance of freedom and order.

ACTIVITY AND WRITING

Find information and write an essay.

1. Compare rights and freedoms granted to the people by the U.S. Constitution and by the Constitution of the Russian Federation. Which document is more democratic?

2. Many constitutions guarantee numerous rights and liberties. Explore a number of them, define and distinguish civil liberties and civil rights.

It seems to be funny...

┘... If fire fighters fight fire and crime fighters fight crime, what do freedom fighters fight?

┘... If we are a country committed to free speech, than why do we have phone bills?

A tourist from the United States of America is at a restaurant in Havana. He tells the waiter that the USA is the best country in the world because of the freedoms it has. He says, "Take **Freedom of Speech** for example. I could stand in front of the White House in Washington D.C. and yell 'President Clinton is a bastard!' and nothing would be done to me." The Cuban waiter replies, "We have that same freedom in Cuba. I could stand in front of El Capital and yell the same thing and nothing would be done to me too!"



INTERNET EXERCISE

Flag burning and symbolic speech

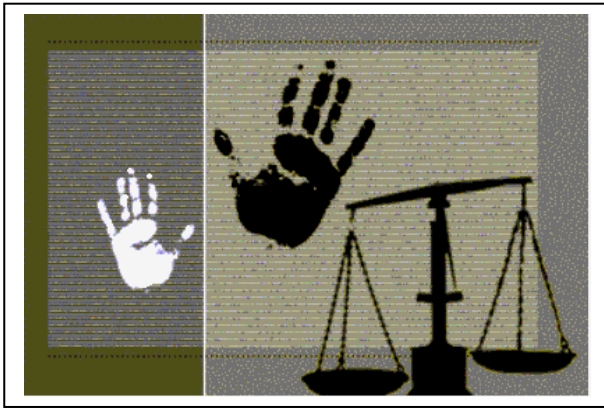
The Oyez Project is the most comprehensive multimedia database on the U.S. Supreme Court. It provides access to selected oral arguments conducted before the Court. One of the most interesting cases of the 1980s was *Texas v. Johnson* (1989), which considered whether flag burning was constitutional.

- Go to the Oyez Web site <oyez.northwestern.edu/> and search for the *Texas v. Johnson* (1989) case.
- Listen to the following segments of the oral argument: Time 0:00-6:10 and time 38:55-43:25.

- Identify at least three different examples of what might constitute “flag desecration” in these segments of the oral argument. Based on the discussion, how does one of the justices suggest that burning a flag might actually increase its power as a national symbol? What is the Texas attorney’s response to this claim?

(You will find further information on flag desecration in Unit 7)





Unit 5. FREEDOM VERSUS EQUALITY

PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Answer the questions and fulfil the task.

1) From Unit 3 you remember that promoting equality is one of the major purposes of government. Comment on this.

2) Why “freedom and equality” are called conflicting values along with “freedom and order”?

2. If you are interested in politics, you are sure to know the meaning of the given terms in Russian. Now try to match the terms with their definitions in English.

a. Separation from society because of race.	1. equality of opportunity	e. The ending of authorized segregation, or separation by race.
	2. equality of outcome	
	3. racism	
b. A belief that human races have distinct characteristics such that one's own race is superior to, and has a right to rule others.	4. racial segregation	d. The idea that each person is guaranteed the same chance to succeed in life.
	5. desegregation	
	c. The concept that society must ensure that people are equal, and governments must design policies to redistribute wealth and status to achieve economic and social equality.	

3. Do you know whose portrait and whose quotation are represented below? What do you know about this politician? Comment on the quotation.



"I look forward confidently to the day when all who work for a living will be one with no thought to their separateness as Negroes, Jews, Italians or any other distinctions. This will be the day when we bring into full realization the American dream -- a dream yet unfulfilled. A dream of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed; a dream of a land where men will not take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few; a dream of a land where men will not argue that the color of a man's skin determines."

READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Analyze the sentences with the word "to provide", think of their Russian equivalents.

1. I am provided with everything I need.
2. Our duty is to provide children with good education.
3. We must provide an opportunity for them to study.
4. In my plans for the journey, I have provided for possible accidents.
5. The contract provides for payment in cash.
6. The contract provides against the resale of the goods.
7. Has every member of the family been equally provided for?

2. Translate the sentences below. Mind the meaning and usage of the following word collocations:

at the expense of

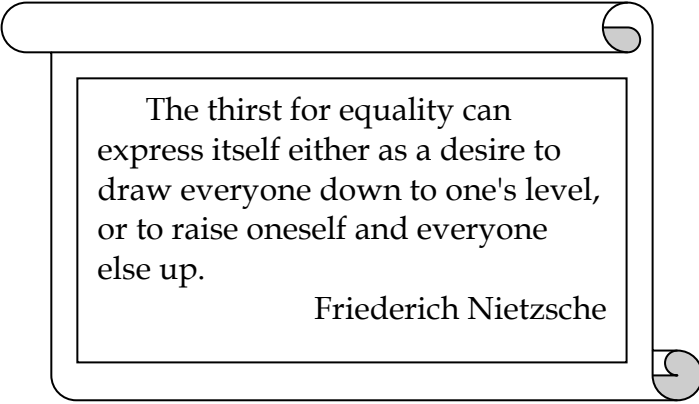
at least

to take into account

1. He decided to finish his work at the expense of his health.
2. The journey was tiring, but at least it wasn't long.
3. Her school report is not very good, but we must take into account her long illness.

3. Consult the dictionary and translate the following sentences paying special attention to the polysemantic words 'to treat' and 'treatment'.

1. I think we should treat his words as a joke.
2. Which doctor is treating you for your disease?
3. They are claiming that their request has been unfairly treated.
4. His speech was devoted to brutal treatment of prisoners.
5. He is receiving treatment for asthma.



The thirst for equality can express itself either as a desire to draw everyone down to one's level, or to raise oneself and everyone else up.

Friederich Nietzsche

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

FREEDOM VERSUS EQUALITY

Popular opinion has it that freedom and equality go hand in hand. In reality, the two values usually clash when governments enact policies to promote social equality. Because social equality is a relatively recent government objective, deciding between policies that promote equality at the expense of freedom, and vice versa, is the modern dilemma of politics.

When forced to choose between the two, however, Americans are far more likely to choose freedom over equality than are people in other countries. The emphasis on equality over freedom was especially strong in the former Soviet Union, which guaranteed its citizens medical care, inexpensive housing, and other social services. Although the quality of the benefits was not much by Western standards, Soviet citizens experienced a sense of equality.

Americans want equality too, at least in principle. Today, more than nine in ten Americans support equal treatment for all in schools, in employment and public transportation. However, Americans are far less united in their approach to implementing this principle.

Most Americans support equality of opportunity, the idea that people should have an equal chance to develop their talents and to succeed in life. This form of equality offers all individuals the same chance to get ahead; it glorifies personal achievement and free competition and allows everyone to play on a field where the same rules apply to all. Special recruitment efforts aimed at identifying qualified minority or female job applicants, for example, ensure that everyone has the same chance starting out.

Americans are far less committed to equality of outcome, which means greater uniformity in social, economic, and political power among different social groups. For example, schools and businesses aim at equality of outcome when they allocate admissions or jobs on the basis of race, gender, or disability. Such quota-based policies muster only modest support in national opinion polls.

Quota policies generate the most opposition because they confine competition and create barriers to personal achievement. Quotas limit advancement for some individuals and ensure advancement for others. They alter the results by taking into account factors unrelated to ability. Equal outcomes policies that benefit minorities, women, or the disabled at the expense of whites, men, or the able-bodied create strong opposition because quotas seem to be at odds with individual initiative. In other words, equality clashes with freedom. To understand the way government resolves this conflict, we have to understand the development of civil rights in the USA.

The history of civil rights in the United States is primarily a story of a struggle against discrimination and a search for social and economic equality. This search has persisted for more than a century and is still going on today.

To counteract the results of past discrimination government and business instituted affirmative action programs. These provide preferential treatment for women, minorities, and the disabled in a number of areas. In effect, such programs discriminate to remedy earlier discrimination. Many Americans object to the policies that restrict individual freedom. The challenge of a real democracy is to balance the need for freedom with demands for equality.

Comprehension check

1. Answer the questions:

1. What is the modern dilemma of politics?
2. Can you give the difference between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome?
3. Which form of equality do Americans support more?
4. What is quota policies?

B. Say whether the statements below are TRUE or FALSE.

1. Freedom and equality go hand in hand.
2. The problem of social equality did not bother authorities in the past.
3. Equal outcome policies must be opposed by white males.
4. American society shows strong support to affirmative action.

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Find in the text English equivalents to the following words and expressions.

Подход к чему-л.; равенство возможностей; гражданские права; достичь успеха в жизни; вводить / проводить политику; свободная конкуренция; в принципе; быть гораздо менее приверженным чему-л.; исправить / возместить раннюю дискриминацию; позитивные действия (=полит. программа, направленная на ликвидацию расовой дискриминации); качество; наоборот; по западным стандартам; содействовать / способствовать социальному равенству; возражать / протестовать против чего-л.; потребность в свободе; равное отношение ко всем; противодействовать / нейтрализовать; находиться в противоречии, не соответствовать; требования равенства; акцент на равенство, а не свободу; испытывать чувство равенства; личное достижение / личный успех.

2. Look through the text once again and fill in the blanks with prepositions where necessary.

1. The press treated the story in a sensational way.
2. His salary is very low European standards.
3. The government is firmly committed maintaining its social programme.
4. The local authorities conducted a long search the lost expedition.
5. The committee objected our proposal.
6. You should take account, that high production rates are often achieved the expense quality of work.
7. I like her approach the problem.
8. In the former Soviet Union, there was a great demand consumer goods.

3. Find in the text word combinations with the verbs 'restrict', 'limit' and 'confine'. Translate them into Russian. Make up your own sentences with the given verbs.

4. Complete the text with the words and expressions given on the right.

Social equality is a social state of1..... in which certain different people have the same2..... in a certain respect, at the very least in voting rights, freedom of speech and assembly, and3..... .

There are different forms of4....., depending on the persons and social situations in question. For example, one may consider equality of the sexes in opportunities for5..... ; the people in question are men and women (contrasted) and the social situation is the6..... for a job. As another example,7..... opportunity refers to the idea that all people should8..... in life from the same platform (i.e. all should have equal opportunities in life,9..... of where they were born or who their parents were). A fight for social and legal equality was seen during the sixties in the United States in the Civil Rights10..... .

search
status
equality
movement
start out
employment
affairs
regardless
property rights
equal

It is a strange fact that freedom and equality, the two basic ideas of democracy, are to some extent contradictory. Logically considered, freedom and equality are mutually exclusive, just as society and the individual are mutually exclusive.

Thomas Mann

SPEAKING

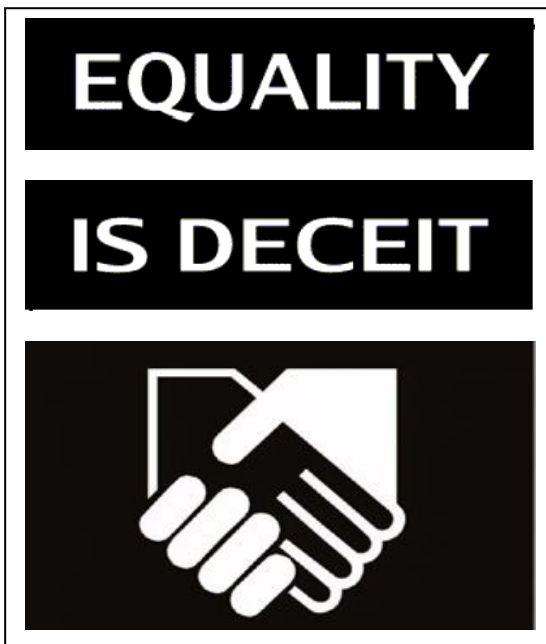
1. Give your point. Comment on the sayings.

- Equality of outcome restricts the free competition that is the basis of equality of opportunity. So, the two types of equality contradict each other.
- In order to overcome racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way. And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently.
- Affirmative action programs is nothing else but race discrimination when the members of the majority see the doors close in front of them for no other reason than their race.

2. Explain the terms and give a talk on each form of inequality.

Examples of inequality are:

- Racism
- Racial segregation
- Racial discrimination
- Sexism



3. Make a report.

Martin Luther King was a Baptist minister, who believed in the principles of nonviolent protest and all his life struggled for racial equality. King, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, was assassinated in 1968 in Memphis.

Find information about M. L. King and present it in class.

4. Dwell on the quotations.

- ❑ Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word, equality. But notice the difference: while democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude.

Alixis de Tocqueville

- ❑ Equality of opportunity is an equal opportunity to prove unequal talents.

Viscount Samuel

- ❑ Equality of opportunity is freedom, but equality of outcome is repression.

Dick Feagler

- ❑ I believe in equality for everyone, except reporters and photographers.

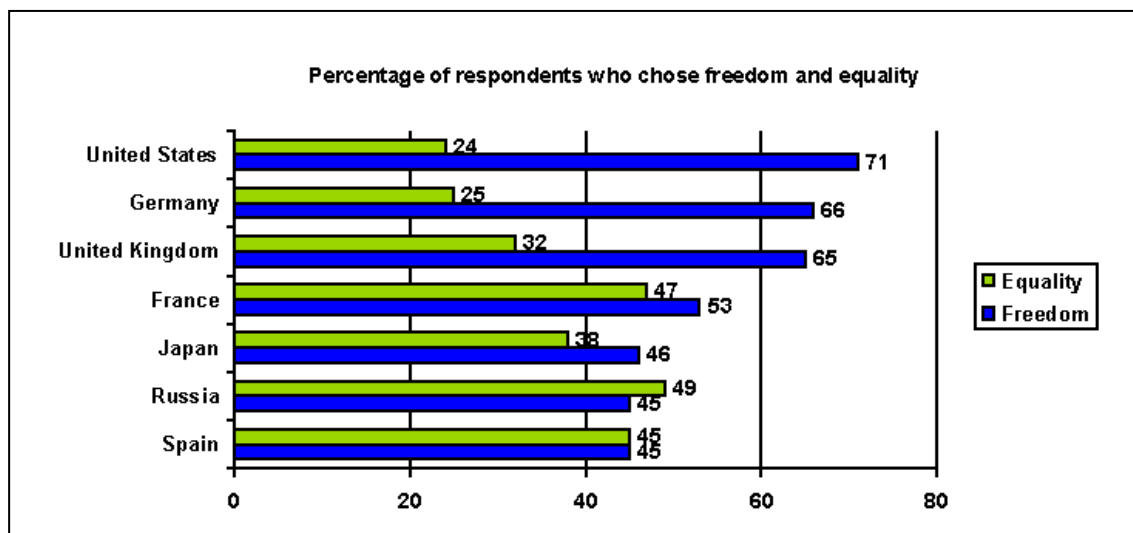
Mahatma Gndhi



ACTIVITY

Freedom and Equality as Practical Values

1. Study the table that shows the percentage of respondents who chose freedom and equality and comment on it.



2. Find similar data about former Soviet republics, now independent states. If information is not available, predict their preference. Try to explain the difference in choice.

3. Conduct the same survey among your fellow students. Ask them to explain their choice.

It's interesting to know...

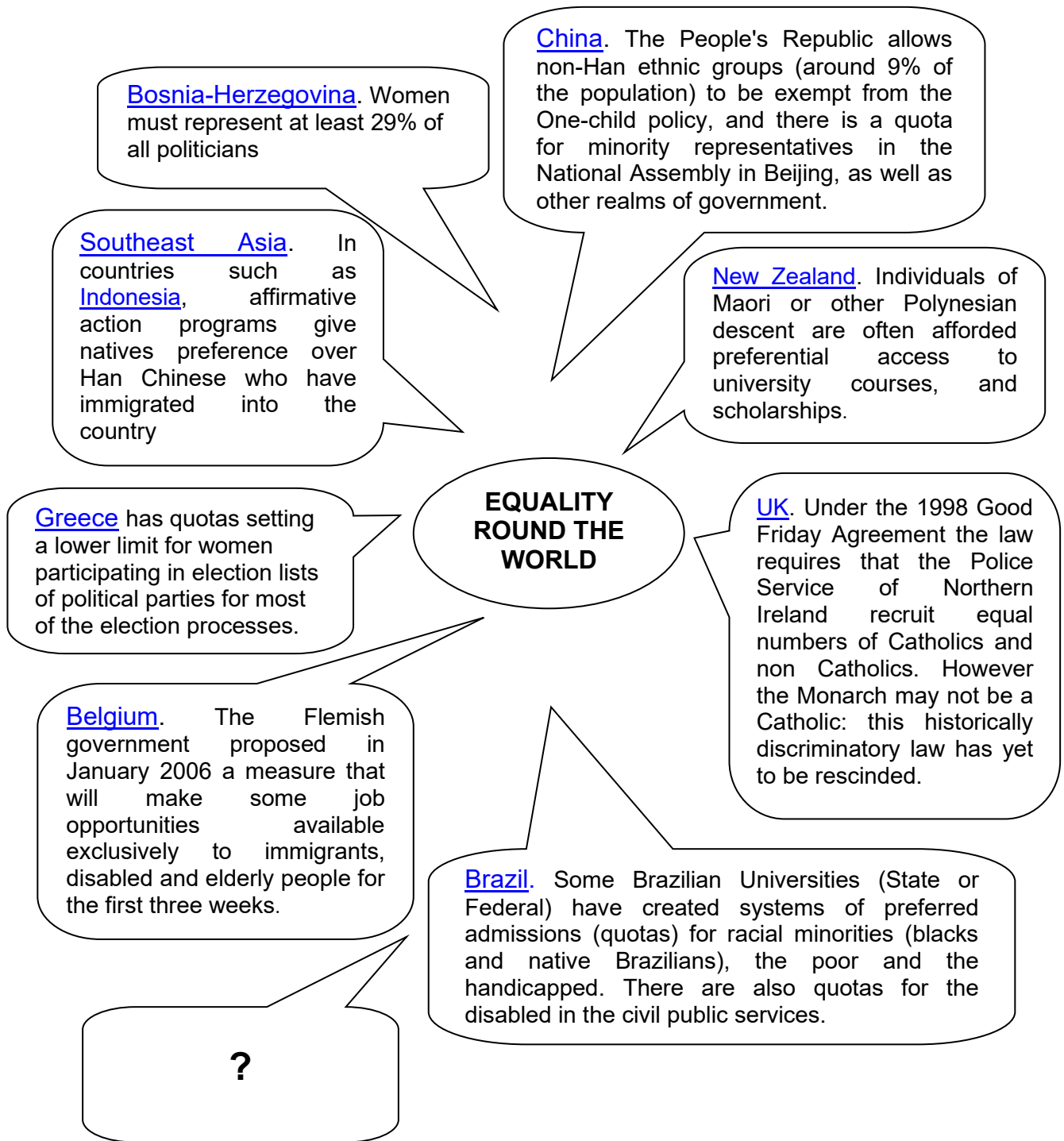
☺ Reverse Discrimination

The Supreme Court confronted an affirmative action quota program for the first time in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*. Allan Bakke, a thirty-five-year-old white man, had twice applied for admission to the University of California Medical School at Davis. He was rejected both times. The school had reserved sixteen places in each entering class of one hundred for qualified minority applicants, as part of the university's affirmative action program, in an effort to redress long-standing and unfair exclusion of minorities from the medical profession. Bakke's qualifications (college grade point average and test scores) exceeded those of all of the minority students admitted in the two years his applications were rejected. Bakke contended, first in California courts, then in Supreme Court, that he was excluded from admission solely on the basis of his race. He argued that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited this reverse discrimination.

I favor freedom - you never achieve real equality anyway:
you simply sacrifice prosperity for an illusion.

Mario Vargas Llosa

Can you add any facts of your own to the ones given below?



It's Funny....

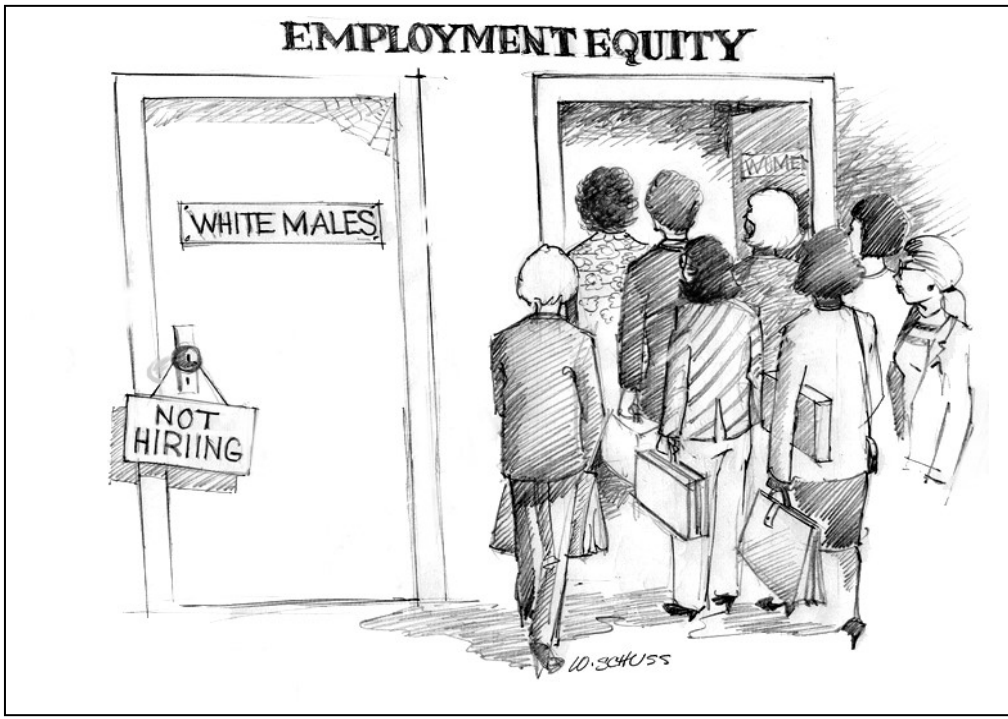
Visiting Afghanistan for a second time, a war correspondent noted that since the fall of the Taliban, wives who used to walk ten paces behind their husbands were now walking ten paces in front. The journalist asked one of the men if this was a sign of growing equality.

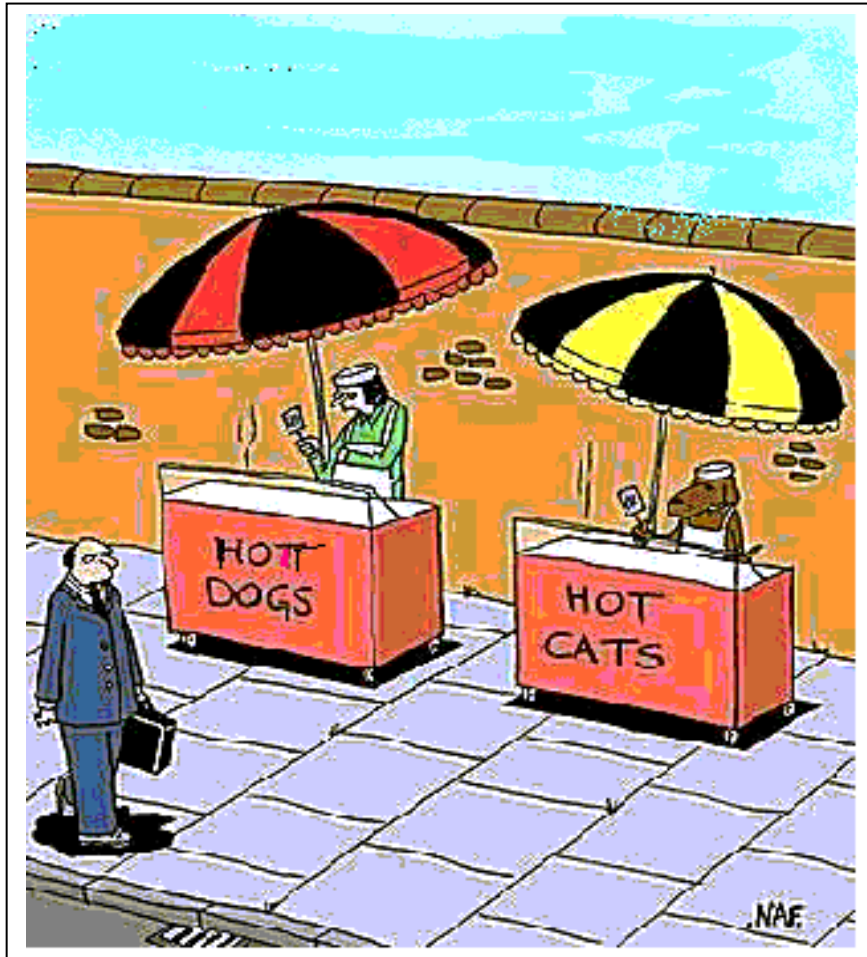
"No", the man replied. "Land-mines."

"But Ms. Heskith, we don't pay you less because you're a woman... We pay you less because we're men!"



"Don't you think you're taking this 'equality thing' a little too far, Janet?"





WRITING

Write an essay on the movement to provide equal rights and equal pay for women.

INTERNET EXERCISE

Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)

Audio of the announcement of the Court's opinion is available on the Internet from the Oyez Project's Web site.

- Go to the Oyez site at www.oyez.org, and find the Bakke decision.
- Activate the Real Audio announcement of the Court's opinion with transcript to listen to (and read along with) excerpts of the remarks from the following justices: Stevens (13:15-20:30) and Blackmun (39:45-41:15 and 44:00-50:20).
- Aside from their disagreement in the overall outcome, Stevens and Blackmun approached this case in fundamentally different ways. What was so different about how they reached their respective decisions?



Unit 6. WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Answer the questions and fulfil the tasks.

1. How do you understand "democracy"? Describe it in your own words without consulting a dictionary.

2. Think of as many expressions with the word "democracy" and its derivatives as possible. What are their meanings? What is common for all expressions?

2. Do you know anything interesting about the history of democracy? Can you add anything to the facts given below?

Do you know that...

...An early form of democracy was used by republics of Maha Janapadas in ancient India before the 6th century BC, before the time of Buddhism. Among these states, Vaishali was the first oligarchic republic of the world. Later on, during the time of Alexander the Great during the 4th century BC, the Greeks came in contact with two of these republics, the Sabarcae and Sambastai states in what is now Pakistan and Afghanistan, whose "form of government was democratic and not regal" according to Greek scholars at the time.

...The term "democracy" in the original word in Ancient Greek - was coined in ancient Athens in the 5th century BC. Athenian democracy is generally seen as one of the earliest examples of a system corresponding to *some* of the modern notions of democratic rule.

Only a sixth or a quarter of the whole adult male population of Athens could vote; but this was a bar of nationality, not of economic status: however poor they were, all Athenian citizens were free to vote and speak in the Assembly. Ancient Athenian citizens made decisions directly, rather than voting for representatives.



In a democracy the poor will have more power than the rich, because there are more of them, and the will of the majority is supreme.

Aristotle

Democracy... is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder; and dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike.

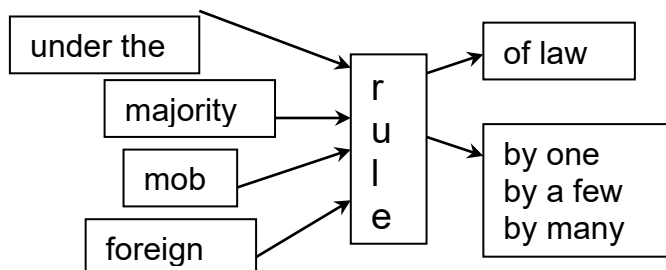
Plato

3. What do you know about the authors of the quotations given above and their views on democracy?

READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Form as many word combinations with the following words as possible, translate the following word and make up your own sentences with them.



2. Match the following words with their definitions.

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. observe | a. explain |
| 2. supervise | b. ¹⁾ watch with careful attention; ²⁾ act in accordance with law, rule, custom, etc. |
| 3. represent | c. mention; be relevant to; concern |
| 4. refer to | d. react; do smth in answer; say or write in reply |
| 5. respond to | e. keep watch over a job, activity as the person in charge |
| 6. account for | f. act or speak officially for another person or group of people |

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

The origins of democratic theory lie in ancient Greek political thought. Greek philosophers classified governments according to the number of citizens involved in the process. Imagine a continuum running from rule by one person, through rule by a few, to rule by many.

At one extreme there is an autocracy, in which one individual has the power to make all important decisions. The concentration of power in the hands of one person (usually a monarch) was a more common form of government in earlier historical periods. Some countries are still ruled autocratically.

Oligarchy puts government power in the hands of an elite. At one time, the nobility or the major landowners commonly ruled as an aristocracy. Today, military leaders are often the rulers in countries governed by an oligarchy.

At the other extreme of the continuum is democracy, which means rule by the people. We have a simple answer to the question, "Who should govern?" It is, "The people". Unfortunately, this answer is too simple. It fails to define who *the people* are. Let us take a closer look at what "government by the people" really means.

The word *democracy* originated in Greek writings around the fifth century B.C. *Demos* referred to the common people, the masses; *kratos* meant "power".

Many centuries after the Greeks first defined democracy, the idea carried the negative connotation of mob rule. When George Washington was president, opponents of a new political party disparagingly called it a democratic party. No one would do that in politics today. In fact, the term has become so popular that the names of more than 20 percent of the world's political parties contain some variation of the word *democracy*.

The three principles - universal participation, political equality, and majority rule are widely recognized as necessary for democratic decision making. Small, simple societies can meet these principles with a direct or participatory democracy, in which all members of the group meet to make decisions, observing political equality and majority rule. The origins of participatory democracy go back to the Greek city-state, where the important decisions of government were made by the adult citizens meeting in an assembly. The people ruled themselves rather than having a small number of notables rule on their behalf.

Philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau contended that true democracy is impossible unless all citizens gather to make decisions and supervise the government. Rousseau said that decisions of government should embody the general will and "will cannot be represented". Yet in the United States, Europe and virtually all other democracies, participatory democracy is rare.

Participatory democracy is commonly rejected on the grounds that in large, complex societies we need professional, full-time government officials to study problems, formulate solutions, and administer programs. Also, the assumption is that relatively few people will take part in participatory government.

Instead another form was introduced - representative democracy. In such a system, citizens participate in government by electing public officials to make decisions on their behalf. Elected officials are expected to represent the voters' views and interests - that is, to serve as the agents of the citizenry and to act for them. But what happens after the election?

The elected representatives might make wrong decisions which the people would have never made had they gathered directly for the same purpose. To account for this possibility representative democracy provides the principle of responsiveness, the obligation to respond to public opinion.

Comprehension check

Answer the questions:

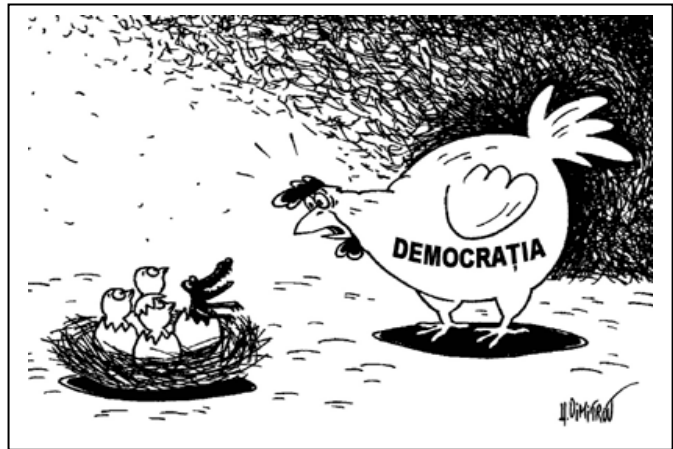
1. According to what principle are all governments classified?
2. What are the main features of an autocracy, oligarchy and democracy?
3. What is the origin of the word "democracy"?
4. What are the main principles of direct democracy?
5. What are the main principles of representative democracy?

6. Why did Rousseau prefer participatory democracy?
7. Why is this form so rare today?

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. What do you think these terms mean?

- universal participation
- political equality
- majority rule.



2. Find in the text English equivalents to the following words and expressions.

Определять / давать определение; воплощать / олицетворять; предположение; дворянство / родовая знать; по той же самой причине; форма правления; человек благородного происхождения; широко / повсеместно признанный; отвечать принципам; воля; править от чьего-л. лица; принимать решения; по той же причине; принятие решений; обязанность; государственные деятели; пренебрежительно; проводить в жизнь программы; отвергать / отклонять; власть.

3. Complete the sentences with the words with the root 'rule'

rule, to rule, ruler, ruling

1. As a, the Chairman starts the sittings of the Committee.
2. Alfred the Great is a legendary English
3. There is a penalty, if you break the
4. All his life he struggled against the classes.
5. Alexander the Great a large empire.
6. The country prospered under her wise
7. It's difficult to observe all grammar in real conversation.
8. I need a 30-centimeter

4. Find in the text the words close in meaning to the ones given below.

Ruler, necessity / duty, originate (from, in), nobleman, govern, explain.

5. Complete the sentences with the verbs from the table in their proper forms (some ending are given already):

represent, observe, respond, refer, account, supervise

1. How do you for failing the programme?
2. The figures on the left to our export sales.
3. That evening the policeed. the gang enter the bank with shotguns.
4. Whos your scientific research?
5. Everybody must the speed limit.
6. The Congresswomans the 6th congressional district of North Carolina.
7. The USed to the terror act by sending troops into the country.
8. The black lines on the map railways.

6. Look through the text once again and fill in the blanks with prepositions.

1. The Chairman can't be here today, so I'm going to speak his behalf.
2. Unfortunately, the travel agent hasn't responded our complaint so far.

3. In answer your question, I'll show you another diagram.
4. There're no easy answers today's environmental problems.
5. Has he answered all your questions?
6. How do you answer the criticism that your government has done nothing to help the refugees.
7. The Minister couldn't account the fact that the inflation rate was still very high.
8. The new law doesn't refer land used for farming.



Additional Reading Assignment

You are going to read a story about types of democracy. Seven paragraphs have been removed from the story. Choose from paragraphs A - H given below the one which fits each gap (1 - 7). There is one extra paragraph which you do not need to use.

TYPES OF DEMOCRACY

Direct democracy comprises a form of democracy and theory of civics wherein sovereignty was lodged in the assembly of all citizens. Depending on the particular system, this assembly might pass executive motions (decrees), make law, elect and dismiss officials and conduct trials. Where the assembly elected officials, these were executive agents rather than representatives.

1.

History

Direct democracy was first experimented with in the ancient Athenian democracy of ancient Greece (beginning circa 508 BC (Finley, 1973)), which was governed for two centuries by a general assembly of all male citizens, by randomly selected officials, and ten annually elected representatives charged to command the army of the city (strategos).

2.

Also relevant is the history of Roman democracy beginning circa 449 BC (Cary, 1967). The ancient Roman Republic's "citizen lawmaking"—citizen formulation and passage of law, as well as citizen veto of legislature-made law—began about 449 BC and lasted the approximately four hundred years to the death of Julius Caesar in 44 BC. Many historians mark the end of the Republic on the passage of a law named the *Lex Titia*, 27 November 43 BC (Cary, 1967).

3.

Participatory democracy is a broadly inclusive term for many kinds of consultative decision making which require consultation on important decisions by those who will carry out the decision.

4.

Representative democracy is a form of democracy founded on the exercise of popular sovereignty by the people's representants.

5.

Another form of representative democracy involves impartial selection of representatives through sortition.

A representative democracy can involve more powers given to the legislators than under a constitutional monarchy or participatory democracy, so almost all constitutions provide for an independent judiciary and other measures to balance representative power:

- A representative democracy may provide for recall of elected representatives that voters become dissatisfied with.

- 6.

- direct democracy (e.g., referendum) measures. However, these are not always binding and usually require some legislative action - legal power usually remains firmly with representatives.

- Sometimes there is an "upper house" that is not directly elected, such as the Canadian Senate, which was in turn modelled on the UK House of Lords.

Representative government was invented in the sixteenth century when Deganawida established the League of the Five Nations of the Iroquois in what is now New York State. The Iroquois model of representative government influenced English philosophers, as well as Benjamin Franklin, and inspired the Americans and French to create representative democracies.

7.

Edmund Burke in his speech to the electors of Bristol classically analysed their operation in Britain and the rights and duties of an elected representative.

Representative democracy came into particular general favour in post-industrial revolution nation states where large numbers of subjects or (more recently) citizens evinced interest in politics, but where technology and population figures remained unsuited to direct democracy.

A. These methods have become increasingly important in online collaboration, resulting in parallel growth of e-democracy and use of participatory methods in workplaces.

B. The restrictive conditions for citizenship in Athenian democracy (only male citizens could participate) and the small size (about 300,000) of the Athens city-state minimized the logistical difficulties inherent to this form of government.

C. It is a theory of civics in which voters choose (in free, secret, multi-party elections) representatives to act in their interests, but *not* as their proxies—i.e., not necessarily according to their voters' wishes, but with enough authority to exercise initiative in the face of changing circumstances.

D. The presence of citizen lawmaking in Rome's governance was a contributing factor in the rise of Rome, and its Greco-Roman civilization. (Cary, 1967). Polybius (c.200-120) immortalized the Roman Republic's constitutional "citizen lawmaking" in Book VI of his *The Histories*.

E. The history of democracy traces back from its origins in prehistoric times to its re-emergence and rise from the 17th century to the present day.

F. It may also provide for some deliberative democracy (e.g., Canadian Royal Commission) or

G. This is different from a *representative republic* where sovereignty is held by a subset of the people, the subset most often chosen by election.

H. A European medieval tradition of selecting representatives from the various estates (effectively, social classes, but not as we know them today) to advise/control monarchs led to relatively wide familiarity with representative systems.

SPEAKING

1. Opinion Exchange

Representative democracy contends that citizens can control their governments and that they make rational decisions on voting for their representatives. Does the system really work in our country? Do people want to participate in the political process or do they demonstrate ignorance of politics?

Act out a dialog discussing the topic as opponents.

2. Giving a talk

No country in the world has achieved the ideal degree of democracy. What is encouraging, however, that today there are many countries in the world that are trying to make a transition to democracy. Let us discuss a democratization process.

1) Democratization is a difficult process (consider ethnic and religious reasons, behavior of authoritarian rulers, of local elite).

2) Democratic government and a uniform type of economy (capitalism) are inevitable for all countries.

The USA regard helping other countries to democratize as their major responsibility. How far is it justified to apply pressure on countries to move them toward democracy?

Prepare a talk and express your opinion on the enumerated problems. Deliver the talk in class.

3. Commentary

a) Comment on the quotations.

❑ Democracy substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few.
George Bernard Shaw

❑ Under democracy one party always devotes its chief energies to trying to prove that the other party is unfit to rule - and both commonly succeed, and are right.
H. L. Mencken

❑ Many forms of Government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.

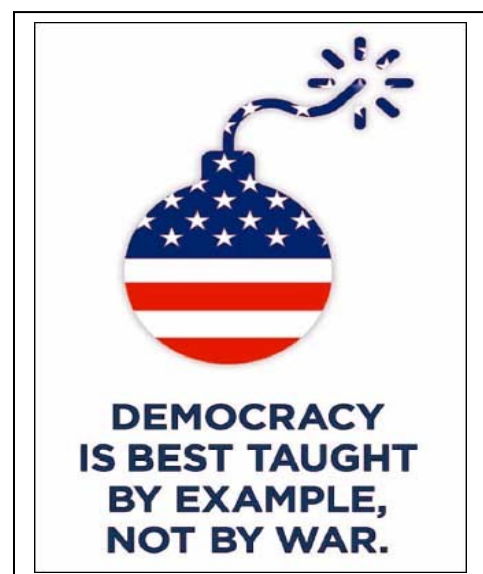
Sir Winston Churchill

❑ Democracy is a pathetic belief in the collective wisdom of individual ignorance.
H. L. Mencken

❑ A government that robs Peter to pay Paul can always depend on the support of Paul.
George Bernard Shaw

❑ I'm tired of hearing it said that democracy doesn't work. Of course it doesn't work. We are supposed to work it.
Alexander Woollcott

❑ Everybody's for democracy in principle. It's only in practice that the thing gives rise to stiff objections.
Irving Kristol



b) Comment on the picture.

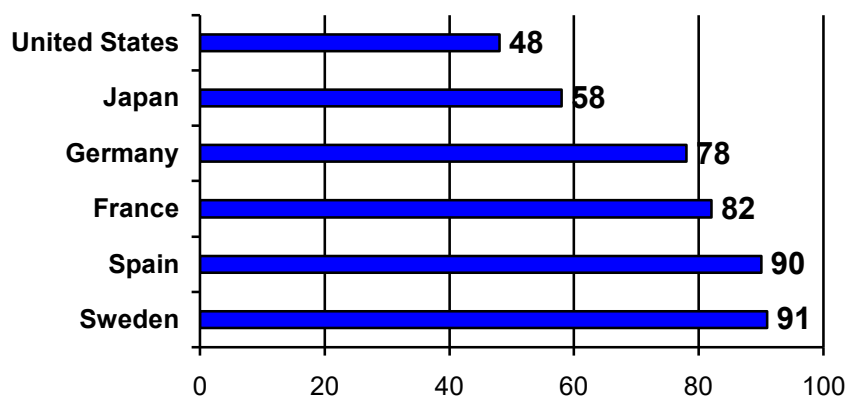
Is this a democracy?



ACTIVITY

Study the chart below and comment on it. How does different percentage in the USA and Sweden characterize their societies? Where does Russia fit in this chart?

Percentage agreeing that government is responsible for providing a decent standard of living for the unemployed



It's funny...

Democracy means simply the bludgeoning¹ of the people by the people for the people.

Oscar Wilde

Democracy is being allowed to vote for the candidate you dislike least.

Robert Byrne

¹ Bludgeon - бить дубинкой

It's not the voting that's democracy, it's the counting.
Tom Stoppard



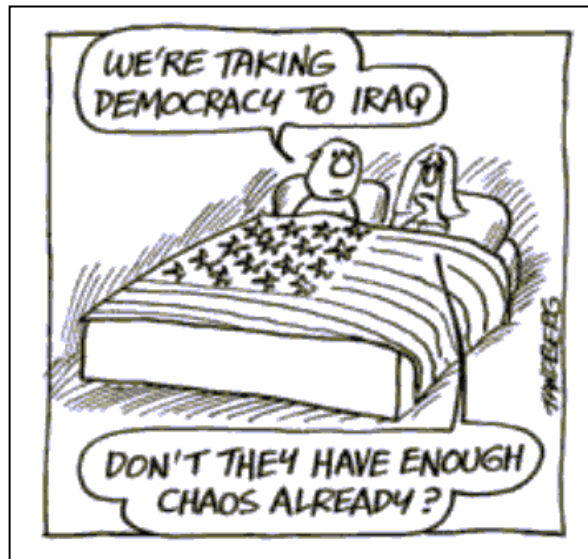
It looks just like democracy!



(I Can't Believe It's not Democracy. Votina Machines)

NEWS ITEM: CHINA RECENTLY CRITICIZED THE U.S. FOR BEING A "MONEYBAG DEMOCRACY."





WRITING

Is Russia a democracy?

Many Russians describe their government and political situation in only the harshest terms. Many politicians themselves talk negatively about what's going on in the Kremlin.

Can we call our system of government democratic? Are we satisfied with our form of democracy? Is there a "better" type?

Write an essay on the given problems.

INTERNET EXERCISE

Direct democracy in the United States?

The Direct Democracy Center describes itself as "an unfunded, unaffiliated nonprofit group of independent citizens promoting direct democracy in America".

- Go to the Center's home page, located at www.realdemocracy.com/, and read its proposal to amend the U.S. Constitution.
- What would you say is the overall goal of the proposal?

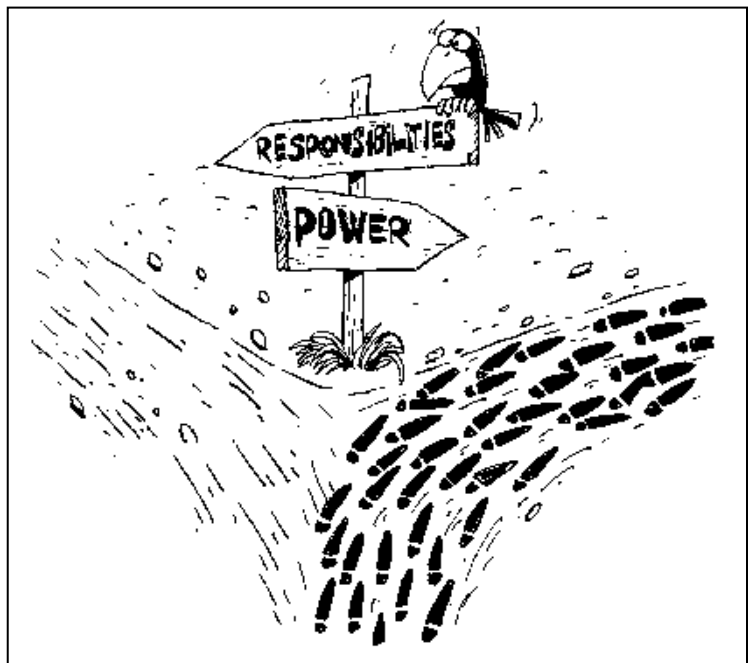
ROLE PLAY

Advantages and disadvantages of democracy (TV Debate)

Problem. Critics of democracy as a form of government allege it has inherent disadvantages, both in practice and by its very nature. Some of which may be shared by some or all other forms of government, while others may be unique to democracy.

Instructions. Students are divided into two equal groups conditionally called "Extreme Democrats" and "Extreme Anti-Democrats" (either on their own will or with the help of the teacher).

"Extreme Democrats" revise



the materials of Units 4, 5 and 6. They may also read the text "Essential Elements of a Democracy" from the Supplement.

"Extreme Anti-Democrats" study the materials given below. They may also read the text "Why Democracy is Wrong" from the Supplement.

Both "Extreme Democrats" and "Extreme Anti-Democrats" may look through the materials of the "rival party" to be ready to retort.

The students choose a moderator² who prepares the introduction, the agenda and the conclusion for the TV debate. It is also advisory for the moderator to prepare a list of new words and terms that may be used by both parties.

Ethnic and religious conflicts

Democracy, and especially liberal democracy, necessarily assumes a sense of shared values in the demos, otherwise political legitimacy will fail. In other words, it assumes that the demos is in fact a unit. For historical reasons, many states lack the cultural and ethnic unity of the ideal nation-state. There may be sharp ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural divisions. In fact, some groups may be actively hostile to each other. A democracy, which by definition allows mass participation in decision-making, by definition, also allows the use of the political process against the 'enemy'. That is especially visible during democratisation, if a previous non-democratic government suppressed internal rivalry. However, it is also visible in established democracies, in the form of anti-immigrant populism.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the democratisation of Soviet bloc states led to wars and civil war in the former Yugoslavia, in the Caucasus, and in Moldova; wars have also continued in Africa and other parts of the Third World. Nevertheless, statistical research shows that the fall of Communism and the increase in the number of democratic states were accompanied by a sudden and dramatic decline in total warfare, interstate wars, ethnic wars, revolutionary wars, and the number of refugees and displaced persons ^[8].

Bureaucracy

A persistent libertarian and monarchist critique of democracy is the claim that it encourages the elected representatives to change the law without necessity, and in particular to pour forth a flood of new laws. This is seen as pernicious in several ways. New laws constrict the scope of what were previously private liberties. Rapidly changing laws make it difficult for a willing non-specialist to remain law-abiding. This may be an invitation for law-enforcement agencies to misuse power. The claimed continual complication of the law may be contrary to a claimed simple and eternal natural law - although there is no consensus on what this natural law is, even among advocates.

Democracies are also criticised for a claimed slowness and complexity of their decision-making.

Short-term focus

Modern liberal democracies, by definition, allow for regular changes of government. That has led to a common criticism of their short-term focus. In four or five years the government will face a new election, and it must think of how it will win that election. That would encourage a preference for policies that will bring short term benefits to the electorate (or to self-interested politicians) before the next election, rather than unpopular policy with longer term benefits. This criticism assumes that it is possible to make long term predictions for a society, something Karl Popper has criticized as historicism.

Besides the regular review of governing entities, short-term focus in a democracy could also be the result of collective short-term thinking. For example, consider a campaign for policies aimed at reducing environmental damage while causing temporary increase in unemployment. However, this risk applies also to other political systems.

² **moderator** - ведущий (в телевизионной дискуссии и т.п.)

Public choice theory

Public choice theory is a branch of economics that studies the decision-making behavior of voters, politicians and government officials from the perspective of economic theory. One studied problem is that each voter has little influence and may therefore have a rational ignorance regarding political issues. This may allow special interest groups to gain subsidies and regulations beneficial to them but harmful to society.

Plutocracy

The cost of political campaigning in representative democracies may mean that the system favours the rich, a form of plutocracy who may be a very small minority of the voters. In Athenian democracy, some public offices were randomly allocated to citizens, in order to inhibit the effects of plutocracy. Modern democracy may also be regarded as a dishonest farce used to keep the masses from getting restless, or a conspiracy for making them restless for some political agenda. It may encourage candidates to make deals with wealthy supporters, offering favourable legislation if the candidate is elected - perpetuating conspiracies for monopolization of key areas. However, United States economist Steven Levitt claims in his book *Freakonomics*, that campaign spending is no guarantee of electoral success. He compared electoral success of the same pair of candidates running against one another repeatedly for the same job, as often happens in United States Congressional elections, where spending levels varied. He concludes:

"A winning candidate can cut his spending in half and lose only 1 percent of the vote. Meanwhile, a losing candidate who doubles his spending can expect to shift the vote in his favour by only that same 1 percent."

Ownership of the media by the few may lead to more specific distortion of the electoral process, since the media are themselves a vital element of that process. Some critics argue that criticism of the status quo or a particular agenda tends to be suppressed by such media cartels, to protect their own self-interests. Proponents respond that constitutionally protected freedom of speech makes it possible for both for-profit and non-profit organizations to debate the issues. They argue that media coverage in democracies simply reflects public preferences, and does not entail censorship.

Majoritarianism

Thomas Jefferson is quoted to have said: "A democracy is nothing more than mob rule, where fifty-one percent of the people may take away the rights of the other forty-nine." Probably the most quoted criticism of democracy is the fear that it is "tyranny of the majority". The expression was coined by Alexis de Tocqueville in his book, *Democracy in America*, written in 1831. However the phrase is more popularly attributed to John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, written in 1859 —not then referring to democratic government, but to social conformity. However, the issue of majority dominance was not unknown to ancient Greek democracies. It is independent of universal suffrage, but it implies a broad franchise, otherwise there would be conflicting minorities. It can apply in both direct democracy or representative democracy. "Tyranny of the majority" implies that a government reflecting the majority view can take action that oppresses a particular minority. Typically, this majority is really only a relative majority of the voters and therefore only a minority. It may therefore be argued that one minority tyrannizes another minority in the name of the majority. This politically active and dominant group might decide that a certain minority, such as a religion, political belief, or those with minority views, should be criminalised, either directly or indirectly. This undermines the idea of democracy as an empowerment of the electorate as a whole.

Possible examples include:

- several European countries have introduced bans on personal religious symbols. This ban is perceived by some to be aimed at those considered symbolic of Islamism - the hijab or 'Islamic headscarf', the burqa, the niqaab. In France, they are banned in public schools under the

law on secularity and conspicuous religious symbols. Opponents see this as a violation of rights to freedom of religion.

- prohibition of pornography is typically determined by what the majority is prepared to accept. In the United States distribution of pornography is declared illegal if the material violates "community standards" of decency.

- the law on abortion is typically determined by the religious attitudes of the majority. For "pro-life" (anti-abortion) activists, unborn children are an oppressed, helpless and disenfranchised minority, and a ban on abortion is a proper use of state power.

- recreational drug use is also typically legalised (or at least tolerated) to the degree that the majority finds acceptable. Users may see themselves as an oppressed minority, victims of unjustifiable criminalisation.

- society's treatment of homosexuals is also cited in this context. Homosexual acts were widely criminalised in democracies until several decades ago; in some democracies they still are, reflecting the religious or sexual mores of the majority.

- Slavery of a particular race or ethnicity can occur as a result of majority rule if the majority is of a unified race.

- in the United States, the draft early in the Vietnam War was criticised as oppression of a disenfranchised minority, 18 to 21 year olds. In response to this, the draft age was raised to 19 and the voting age was lowered nationwide (along with the drinking age in many states). While no longer disenfranchised, those subject to the draft remained significantly outnumbered.

- the majority often taxes the minority who are wealthy at progressively higher rates, with the intention that the wealthy will incur a larger tax burden for social purposes. However, this is generally offset to some degree, by their better access to relevant expert advice (tax consultants and lawyers).

- in prosperous western democracies, the poor form a minority of the population, and may be disadvantaged by a majority who resent transfer taxation. Especially when they form a distinct underclass, the majority may use the democratic process to, in effect, withdraw the protection of the state.

- classical Athenian democracy executed Socrates for impiety, i.e., for dissent, although the relevance of this example to contemporary democracy is itself a matter of dispute.

- An often quoted example of the 'tyranny of the majority' is that Adolf Hitler came to power by legitimate democratic procedures. The Nazi party gained the largest share of votes in the democratic Weimar republic in 1933. Some might consider this an example of "tyranny of a minority" since he never gained a majority vote, but it is common for a plurality to exercise power in democracies, so the rise of Hitler can not be considered irrelevant. However, his regime's large-scale human rights violations took place after the democratic system had been abolished. Also, the Weimar constitution in an "emergency" allowed dictatorial powers and suspension of the essentials of the constitution itself without any vote or election, something not possible in most liberal democracies.

Proponents of democracy make a number of defences concerning 'tyranny of the majority'. One is to argue that the presence of a constitution in many democratic countries acts as a safeguard. Generally, changes in these constitutions require the agreement of a supermajority of the elected representatives, or require a judge and jury to agree that evidentiary and procedural standards have been fulfilled by the state, or two different votes by the representatives separated by an election, or, sometimes, a referendum. These requirements are often combined. The separation of powers into legislative branch, executive branch, judicial branch also makes it more difficult for a small majority to impose their will. This means a majority can still legitimately coerce a minority (which is still ethically questionable), but such a minority would be very small and, as a practical matter, it is harder to get a larger proportion of the people to agree to such actions.

Another argument is that majorities and minorities can take a markedly different shape on different issues. People often agree with the majority view on some issues and agree with a

minority view on other issues. One's view may also change. Thus, the members of a majority may limit oppression of a minority since they may well in the future themselves be in a minority.

A third common argument is that, despite the risks, majority rule is preferable to other systems, and the tyranny of the majority is in any case an improvement on a tyranny of a minority. Proponents of democracy argue that empirical statistical evidence strongly shows that more democracy leads to less internal violence and democide. This is sometimes formulated as Rummel's Law, which states that the less democratic freedom a people have, the more likely their rulers are to murder them.

Unit 7. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION



PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Answer the questions:

- 1) What is “political participation”?
- 2) Who participates? Where do they participate?
- 3) What do you think motivates people to take part in political actions?
- 4) How do the terms “democracy” and “political participation” correlate?
- 5) Have you ever participated in a political event?

2. Complete the text with the help of words and expressions given below, under the line. Remember the definitions of the terms given in bold type. Look up the underlined words in the dictionary.

Participation in1..... and theory of management is a term including different means for the public to directly participate in2....., economic or managerial decisions.

A **petition** is a request to an authority, a3..... or public entity. In the colloquial sense, a petition is a document addressed to some official and signed by numerous individuals.

The Petition Clause of4..... to the U.S. Constitution guarantees the right of the people "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." The right to petition has been held to5..... the right the right to file lawsuits against the government.

A **demonstration** is the public display of the common opinion of an activist group, which deals with politics, economics, and6....., or the issues related to it. Such an opinion is *demonstrated* to be7..... by gathering in a crowd, usually at a symbolic place or date. The First Amendment of the U. S. Constitution specifically allows demonstrations and the8..... as part of a measure to facilitate the redress of such grievances.

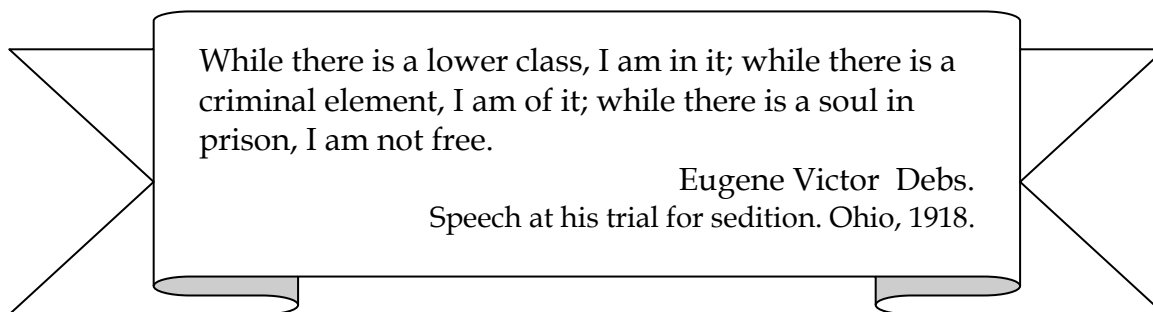
Protest expresses a relatively overt reaction to events or situations: sometimes in favor, though more often opposed. Protesters may organize a protest as a way of making their opinions heard in an attempt to influence public opinion or9....., or may undertake direct action in an attempt to enact desired changes themselves.

Riots occur when crowds or small groups of people have gathered and are committing crimes or10..... usually in reaction to a perceived11..... or out of dissent. Riots arise over poor working or living conditions, government oppression, conflicts between races or religions, or even the outcome of a12..... . Rioters may feel that they have no better way to strive against a13..... .

Riots should be distinguished from **civil disobedience**, which attempts to rectify issues through14..... . Riots are characterized by violence, such as property damage, arson, looting, assault and murder.

A massive and, often, organized riot against a15..... is called a **pogrom**.

political; society; the First Amendment; political science; sport event; freedom of assembly; non-violent means; government official; include; social injustice; public and significant; acts of violence; government policy; grievance; minority group

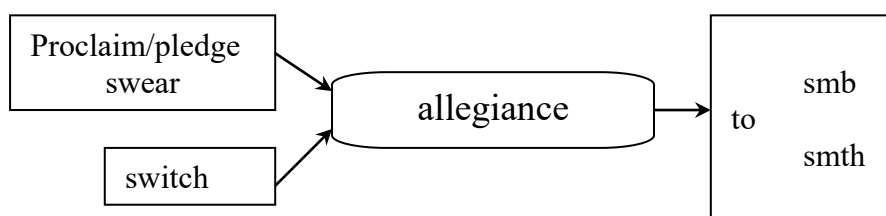


READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Try to understand the meaning of the word 'allegiance' and word combinations with it without an English-Russian dictionary.

Allegiance *n.* - loyalty, dutiful support to a leader, country, idea, flag, etc.



E.g. He pledged true allegiance to the Queen.

They proclaimed allegiance to the cause of the party.

The company's marketing manager switched allegiance from the company to their competitor.

2. Define whether the underlined words are nouns, adjectives or verbs. Translate the sentences.

1. Our party's main objective is to achieve full employment.
2. Try to be more objective about it.
3. The lecturer presented an objective analysis of the political situation.
4. Fortunately, we have succeeded in our main objective.
5. Did he approach you about lending him some money?
6. The quality of their goods is rather high, but they don't approach international standards yet.
7. It's not a diplomatic approach to the problem.
8. I'm sure, refusing to negotiate is not the right way to approach this problem.
9. The only approach to the village was blocked.

3. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. wangle 2. modify 3. reverse 4. obtain 5. disapprove | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. get; become the owner by means of effort and planning b. ¹⁾ (of) have an unfavourable opinion of smb/smth; ²⁾ refuse to agree officially c. get or arrange smth by persuading or tricking someone d. change (a plan, opinion, etc.) slightly e. change (judgement, decision) to the opposite; change round (order, position) |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

4. Define the meaning of the polysemantic word 'seek (sought;sought)' in the following sentences.

1. You should seek advice from your lawyer on this matter.
2. He got a degree in political science before seeking fame and fortune in the UK.

3. We are earnestly seeking after the truth.
4. Will the President seek re-election at the end of his term of office?

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.



POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Government ought to be run by the people. That is the democratic ideal in a nutshell. But how much and what kind of citizen participation is necessary for democratic government? Neither political theorists nor politicians, neither idealists nor realists, can agree on an answer. Champions of direct democracy believe that if citizens do not participate directly in government affairs, making government decisions themselves, they should give up all pretence of living in democracy. More practical observers contend that people can govern indirectly, through their elected representatives. And they maintain that choosing leaders through elections – formal procedures for voting – is the only workable approach to democracy in a large, complex nation.

We define **political participation** as “those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics.”

A practical test of the democratic nature of any government is whether citizens can affect its policies by acting through its institutions – meeting with public officials, supporting candidates, voting in elections. If people must operate outside government institutions to influence policymaking the system is not democratic. Citizens should not have to risk their life and property to participate in politics, and they should not have to take direct actions to force government to hear their views. The objective of democratic institutions is to make political participation conventional.

Conventional political behaviours fall into two major categories: actions that show support for government policies and those that try to change or *influence* policies.

Supportive behaviours are actions that express allegiance to country and government. When we fly our flag on holidays, we are showing support for the country and, by implication, its political system. Such ceremonial activities usually require little effort, knowledge, or personal courage; that is, they demand little initiative on the part of the citizen.

Citizens use **influencing behaviours** to modify or even reverse government policy to serve political interests. Some forms of influencing behaviour seek particular benefits from government.

Some citizens try to influence government to obtain benefits for themselves, their families, or close friends. For example, citizens might pressure their local government to rebuild the curbs on their street or vote against an increase in school taxes, especially if they have no children. Serving one’s self – interest through the voting process is certainly acceptable to democratic theory. Each individual has only one vote, and no single voter can wangle particular benefits from government through voting unless a majority of the voters agree.

To have “government by the people”, the people must participate in politics. Conventional forms of participation – contacting officials and voting in elections – come most quickly to mind. However, citizens can also participate in politics in unconventional ways – staging sit-down strikes in public buildings, blocking traffic, and so on. Most citizens disapprove of most forms of unconventional political behaviour. Yet blacks and women used unconventional tactics to win important political and legal rights, including the right to vote.

Comprehension check

Answer the questions and fulfil the tasks.

1. What are the two approaches to political participation?
2. How do you define “political participation”?
3. How can one test the democratic nature of government?
4. Name two major categories of political behavior.
5. What is the essence of supportive/influencing behavior?
6. Give examples of conventional and unconventional forms of political participation.



Vocabulary practice

1. Here are some forms of political participation. Can you figure out whether a particular political act is conventional or unconventional?

- sign petitions
- spray-paint political slogans on buildings
- display election campaign posters
- carry signs outside an abortion clinic
- link arms to prevent entrance to the clinic
- take hostages to attract attention to race discrimination
- write to newspapers
- block roads by demonstrators
- attend public meetings

2. Form nouns from the following verbs and expressions.

- represent
- make decisions
- take part / participate
- make policy

3. Find in the text English equivalents to the following words and expression.

Через избранных представителей; служить самому себе; рисковать жизнью и собственностью; устраивать сидячую / итальянскую забастовку; приходить в голову; оказывать давление на местное правительство; кратко, в двух словах; юридические права; участие граждан; делиться на категории; отбросить всё притворство; косвенно;

4. Complete the sentences with the following verbs in their proper forms.

obtain, seek, reverse, modify, disapprove, wangle

1. At the last sitting, Congress the legislation.
2. The design of the car was to improve petrol consumption.
3. Further information can be from our web-site.
4. I strongly of his behaviour.
5. As far as I know, the police have these facts by illegal means.
6. The unemployment rates are growing, and our main objective is to the trend.

Notes on Language and Culture

...In the English-language press one can often come across compound words with the constituent '-in':

sit-in, stay-in, teach-in, talk-in, etc. Many of them appeared in the language of young Americans who protested against the War in Vietnam. In those times the realia were connected with the protest movement, but later the meaning of the words broadened and new words of the kind appeared (e.g.: drive-in cinema, etc.).

Have a look at the beginning of an article from *The Times*:

~~~~~  
**Villagers' church sit-in is ended by dawn raid**

POLICE in balaclavas raided a church in an Italian mountain village to eject elderly parishioners staging a sit-in and to forcibly install a new priest.

~~~~~

7. Terrorism involves the use or threat of violence and to create fear, not just within the direct victims but among a wide audience.
8. It's unfair to statistics.
9. Diplomacy maximum national advantage without using force

... What is a rebel? A man who says no.

Albert Camus



Do you know that....

...The worst riots in United States history with respect to lives lost took place during the Civil War when immigrant factory workers forcibly resisted the federal government's military draft, the New York Draft Riots. The riots were graphically depicted in movies such as *Gangs of New York*. In the 20th century, the 1992 Los Angeles riots were regarded as the worst in recent US history. The 1968 Democratic National Convention, however, saw the most well-remembered riots in recent US history and were a strong influence towards the eventual American withdrawal from Vietnam at the end of the Vietnam War.

...In 1229, a student riot at the University of Paris resulted in the deaths of a number of students, and the student strike in protest which followed lasted more than two years and led to a number of reforms of the medieval university. The event demonstrates the power struggles between Church, Secular leaders and the emerging student class, as well as a lessening of Church authority over the university.



...Anti-capitalist Protests took place in Prague during the IMF and World Bank summit in September 2000.

Various anti-capitalist protesters were seeing this institutions as one of reasons for the economic problems faced by the Third World. Thousands of activists who travelled from all over the world protested and some clashed with police in the streets of Prague for several days. Police estimated more than 15,000 protesters were involved.

Anger was directed against the way IMF and World Bank pushed for a policy of directing power to the market and the multinational companies. Tear gas and water cannon were used to force back a breakaway group of activists that attempted to reach the summit venue. In spite of the massive turn up of police, the protesters succeeded in breaking up the last day of the summit.

Politics is the art of preventing people from taking part in affairs which properly concern them.

Paul Valéry

SPEAKING

1. Opinion Exchange.

Most people think about political participation in terms of voting, but as we already know there are other forms of political activity.

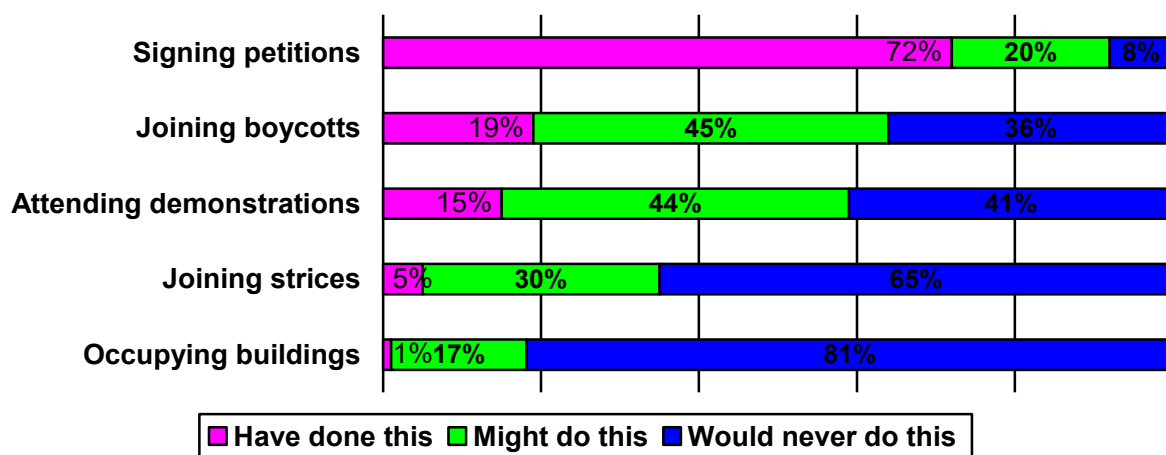
Answer the questions.

How politically active are Russian people in general? How much and what kind of participation sustains the Russian political system? Is the belief in the ability of ordinary citizens to control government strong in Russia? Compare your ideas with the results of the public opinion poll presented on the following page. What do you know about the situation in other countries?



2. Commenting

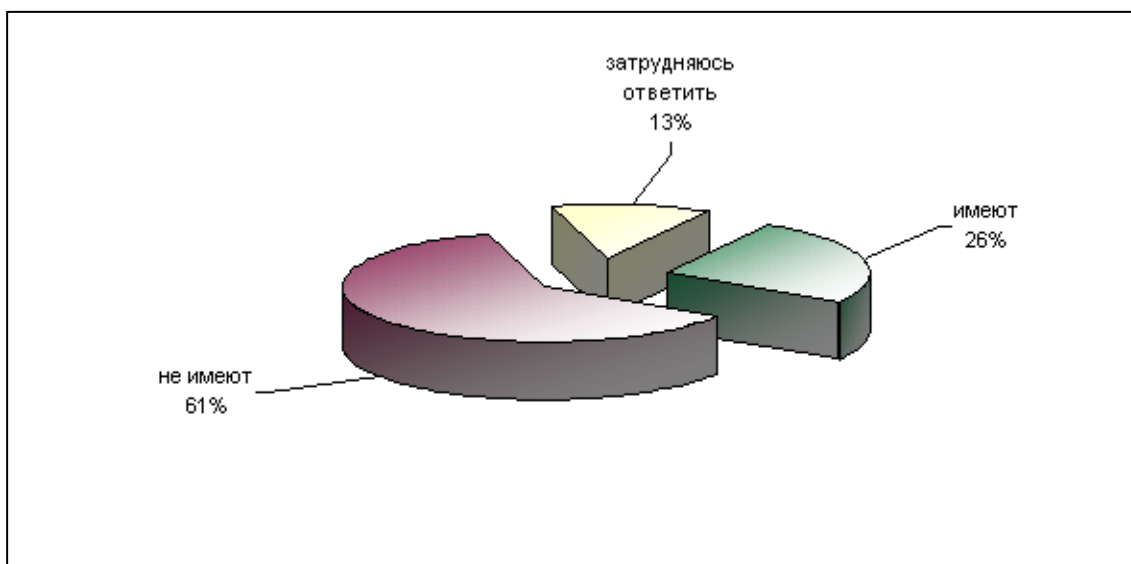
A) A survey presented Americans with five different forms of political participation outside the electoral process and asked whether they “have done,” “might do”, or “would never do” any of them.



Comment on the results received. How would you do the test?

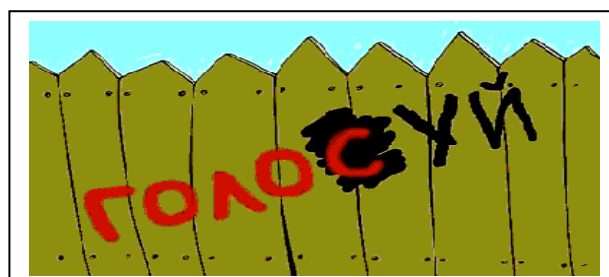
B) Render into English the question and the answers of the public opinion poll held in Russia. Comment on the results.

ПО ВАШЕМУ МНЕНИЮ, ГРАЖДАНЕ РОССИИ ИМЕЮТ ИЛИ НЕ ИМЕЮТ ВОЗМОЖНОСТЬ ВЛИЯТЬ НА ВЛАСТЬ, НА РЕШЕНИЯ, ПРИНИМАЕМЫЕ ВЛАСТЯМИ?



3. Giving a Report.

Make a report on youth political organisations or youth movements in Russia or English-speaking countries and deliver it in class.



Do you know that...

...**Flag desecration** is a blanket term applied to various ways of intentionally defacing or dishonoring a flag, most often a national flag (though other flags may be defaced as well). Often, such action is intended to make a political point against a country or its policies.

Some countries have laws forbidding methods of defacement (such as burning) or forbidding particular uses considered improper (such as use for commercial purposes). Often such laws only apply to the country's own national flag.





It's interesting to know...

During the Third Crusade Duke Leopold of Austria planted his banner by the side of the standards belonging to the Kings of France and England. For a brief while it stood there in triumph, but then some of King Richard's soldiers tore it down and threw it into a ditch. Leopold was naturally offended. A few days later, having tried in vain to obtain satisfaction, he left Acre and returned to Austria.

This insulting act would cost Richard the Lionheart and England dearly. On the journey back to England in 1192, Richard had to stop in Vienna, where he was recognized (supposedly because of his signet ring) and was arrested. For some time the Lionheart was imprisoned in Dürnstein, and was then brought before Emperor Henry VI. The immense ransom, thirty-four tons of gold, became the foundation for the mint in Vienna, and was used to build new city walls for Vienna, as well as to build Wiener Neustadt. However, the duke was excommunicated by Pope Celestine III for having taken a fellow crusader prisoner.

...On January 9, 1964 a row broke out between Panamanian students and American students living in the Panama Canal Zone over the right of the flag of Panama to be flown next to the flag of the United States and a flag carried by Panamanian students was torn. This perceived desecration sparked four days of riots that ended with 22 Panamanians and four Americans dead, and with Panama breaking diplomatic relations with the United States. This day is known as Martyrs' Day and it is commemorated in Panama as a day of mourning.

The great nations have always acted like gangsters, and the small nations like prostitutes.

Stanley Kubrick
In the *Guardian*, 5 June 1963

ACTIVITY

Americans demand much more of their local government than of the national government. Citizens can mobilize against a project when they pressure local officials not to locate undesired project near their homes (so called “NIMBY phenomem” – “not in my back yard”).

Study newspapers and local news of your region and give examples of local political participation.

☺ It's Funny...



WRITING

1. Write an essay on the topic discussed above with the title “Getting Involved”.
2. Write an essay about Greenpeace movement (do not forget to give your opinion about its activities).

INTERNET EXERCISE

1. Raising a Ruckus

The Ruckus Society, formed in October 1995, identifies its mission as providing “training in the skills of nonviolent civil disobedience to help environmental and human rights organizations to achieve their goals”.

- Go to the society’s Web page at www.ruckus.org/. (Browsing the Action Gallery will allow you to see photos of some of the group’s members at training sessions.) Follow the link to the group’s collection of on-line training manuals, and skim through these two: “Media Manual” and “Scouting Manual”.

Give a talk on the forms of unconventional participation.

Unit 8. POLITICAL PARTIES

PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Carry out the tasks and answer the questions.

1. What is a political party? Give your definition as you understand it.
2. Name some political parties in your country. Say some words about their programmes.
3. What functions do they perform?
4. Are parties really necessary for a democratic government?



2. a) Study the sentences below.

1. When Baldwin became prime minister in 1935, he persisted in excluding Churchill from office, but gave him the exceptional privilege of membership in the secret committee on air-defense research.
2. Sir Robert Walpole is usually regarded as the first prime minister, and during his long term of office (1721–42) he developed many attributes of premiership.

b) Form partnerships with the following words and make up your own sentences with them.

party in →	o f f i c e
seek →	
run for →	
take →	
gain →	
be in / out of →	
hold →	
resign →	
term of →	

(in the UK)
Home →
Foreign →
War →

There's no way in the world you're going to make a political party respectable unless you keep it out of office.

Will Rogers



READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. contribute to | a. make (smth) certain to happen |
| 2. confront | b. form or give an opinion about smth or smb, especially after carefully considering all the facts; decide the result (of a competition, contest) |
| 3. judge | c. continue steadily with; carry on; follow |
| 4. ensure | d. face bravely or threateningly; be faced with and have to deal with |
| 5. reduce | e. help in causing a situation, condition; join with others in giving money, help, etc. |
| 6. pursue | f. make less in degree, amount, size, price, etc. |

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

POLITICAL PARTIES

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

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

Nominating candidates. Without political parties, voters would confront a bewildering array of self-nominated candidates, each seeking votes on the basis of personal friendships, celebrity status, or name recognition. Parties can provide a form of quality control for their nominees through their process of peer review. Party insiders, the nominees' peers, usually know the strengths and faults of potential candidates much better than average voters and thus can judge their suitability for representing the party. In this way, parties help not only to ensure a minimum level of quality among candidates who run for office but also to raise the quality of those candidates.

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

The ability of established parties to mobilize their supporters has the effect of discouraging nonparty candidates from running for office and of discouraging new parties from forming. Consequently, the realistic choice is between candidates offered by the major parties, reducing the amount of new information that voters need to make a rational decision.

Proposing alternative government programmes. Parties also help voters choose among candidates by proposing alternative programs of government action – the general policies their candidates will pursue if they gain office. Even if voters know nothing about the qualities of the parties' candidates, they can vote rationally for the candidates of the party that has policies they favor.

Coordinating the actions of government officials. Finally, party organizations help coordinate the actions of public officials. A government based on the separation of powers divides responsibilities for making public policy. Political parties are the major means for bringing the separate powers to produce coordinated policies that can govern the country effectively. Members of the same party in different branches of power share the same political principles and thus voluntarily cooperate in making policy.

Parties are essential for making the government responsive to public opinion. In fact, the ideal role of parties has been formalized in the four principles of responsible party government:

1. Parties should present clear and coherent programs to voters.
2. Voters should choose candidates on the basis of party programs.
3. The winning party should carry out its program once in office.
4. Voters should hold the governing party responsible at the next election for executing its program.

So, in keeping with the model of responsible party government, formulate different platforms and tend to pressure their announced policies when elected to power.

Comprehension check

Say whether the statements below are TRUE or FALSE.

1. Existence of political parties is a distinguishing feature of any democracy.
2. Party system is an institution that links people with the government.
3. In a democracy independent candidates are encouraged to participate in elections.
4. Parties are responsible for the actions of their candidates.
5. The main goal of any party is to introduce an alternative program of action.
6. Political party when in office helps coordinate activities of different branches of power.

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Give Russian equivalents to the following words and expressions from the text.

- contest elections
- in terms of competitive politics
- to nominate candidates for election to public office
- a bewildering array
- self-nominated candidates
- celebrity status
- peer review
- party insider
- to pursue policies
- different branches of power
- responsive to public opinion

<p>No political party has exclusive patent rights on prosperity.</p> <p>Franklin D. Roosevelt</p>

2. Fill in the blanks with either 'between' or 'among'.

1. Alice's house is hidden the trees.
2. He was numbered the dead.
3. the first to arrive was the ambassador.
4. What are the main differences the liberals, the democrats and the labourists?
5. At the conference they discussed, other things, recent events in the Middle East.
6. The ministers called for co-operation the member states.
7. It's somewhere in Oxford and Brighton.
8. you and me, he is going to resign office.

3. Complete the sentences with the verbs given below in the proper forms:

<p>contribute to, confront, judge, ensure, reduce, pursue</p>

1. They have the problem of terrorism with great determination.
2. He was losing the argument, so he said, "I'd rather not the matter".
3. We need the law that will fair treatment for people of all races.
4. I was sure, various factors to his downfall.
5. The government is a policy of non-intervention.
6. It seems like a good proposal, but without all the information we can't really
7. by what everybody says about her, I'd say she has a good chance of winning.
8. The law that ancient buildings must be preserved by the government.
9. He proposes a defence policy that the risk of war.
10. Senior members of the government are with research assistants.

A great party is not to be brought down because of a scandal by a woman of easy virtue and a proved liar.

Lord Hailsham

It's interesting to know...

Today we think of party activity as normal, even essential, to American politics...

It was not always so. The Constitution makes no mention of political parties, and none existed when the Constitution was written in 1787. It was common then to refer to groups pursuing some common political interest as *factions*. Although factions were seen as inevitable in politics, they were also considered dangerous.

Washington was not a factional leader and actually opposed factional politics. During Washington's administration, however, the politics cleavage sharpened between those who favored a stronger national government and those who wanted a less powerful, more decentralized national government.

The first group, led by Alexander Hamilton, proclaimed themselves *Federalists*. The second group, led by Thomas Jefferson, called themselves *Republicans*. The Jeffersonians chose the name Republicans to distinguish themselves from the "aristocratic" tendencies of Hamilton's Federalists.

SPEAKING

1. Give a 5 minute talk on the following topics:

1. A two-party system in the USA. Does it work?
2. Minor parties in America.
3. Political parties in Great Britain.

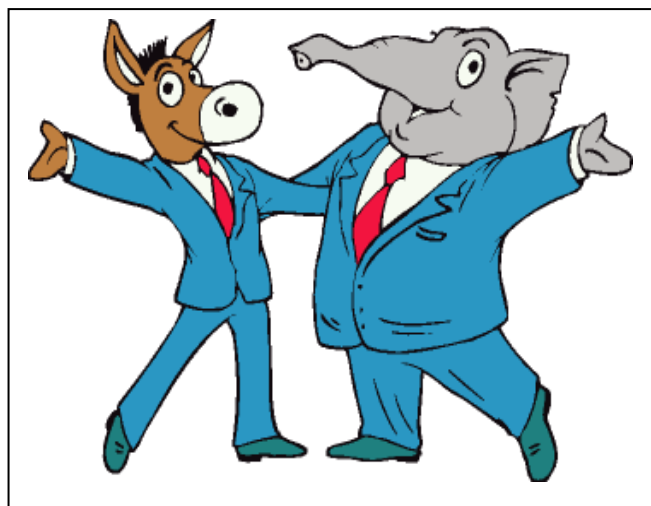
2. Make up a dialogue.

In the USA there are two main political parties and the real choice for voters is between them.

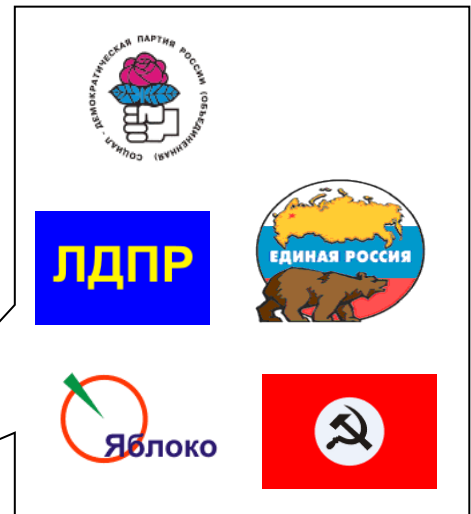
Compare this situation with the voter's task in the June 1999 Russian parliamentary election in which 26 parties participated and received measurable percentages of the vote. Eleven parties won representation in the Federal Assembly. Which approach is more democratic? (Two students contrast their opinions supporting different points of view and giving their "for" and "against").

3. Guess the politics by the name.

In many countries parties' names – such as Conservative or Socialist – reflect their ideology. Many parties use their names to advertise their policies. Study the party names below and offer ideas about their political nature or actions:



- The Prohibition Party (USA)
- The Reform Party (USA)
- United Abkhazia
- Islamic Renaissance Movement
- National Unity Party (Cyprus)
- Patriotic renovation Party
- Federation of the Greens
- Russian Pensioners' Party
- Party For Fatherland and Freedom (Latvia)
- Party For Human Rights in United Latvia
- New Generation Party
- Women for the Future



4. Guess the party by its symbol (look at the pictures on the page). What do you know about these parties?



ACTIVITY

The concept of party identification is one of the most important in political science. It signifies a voter's sense of psychological attachment to a party (which is not the same thing as voting for the party in any given election). Scholars measure party identification simply by asking, "Do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?". Voting is a behavior; identification is a state of mind.

Conduct a survey among students of your university (ask not less than 50 people) about their party identification. Use the names of the Russia's popular parties in your question.

Present the results to the class.



What is the oldest party in the world?

...The Democratic Party, founded in 1828, is world's oldest political party. When the Republican Party emerged as a major party after the 1856 election, Americans present two-party system emerged – the oldest party system in the world.

What is the largest Communist Party?

...Partito Comunista Italiano has been the largest national Communist party outside USSR and communist states. It has a membership of 2,300,000 in 1946.

Funny Quotations

□ The reason political party platforms are so long is that when you straddle anything it takes a long time to explain it.

Will Rogers

□ How can one conceive of a one-party system in a country that has over two hundred varieties of cheese?

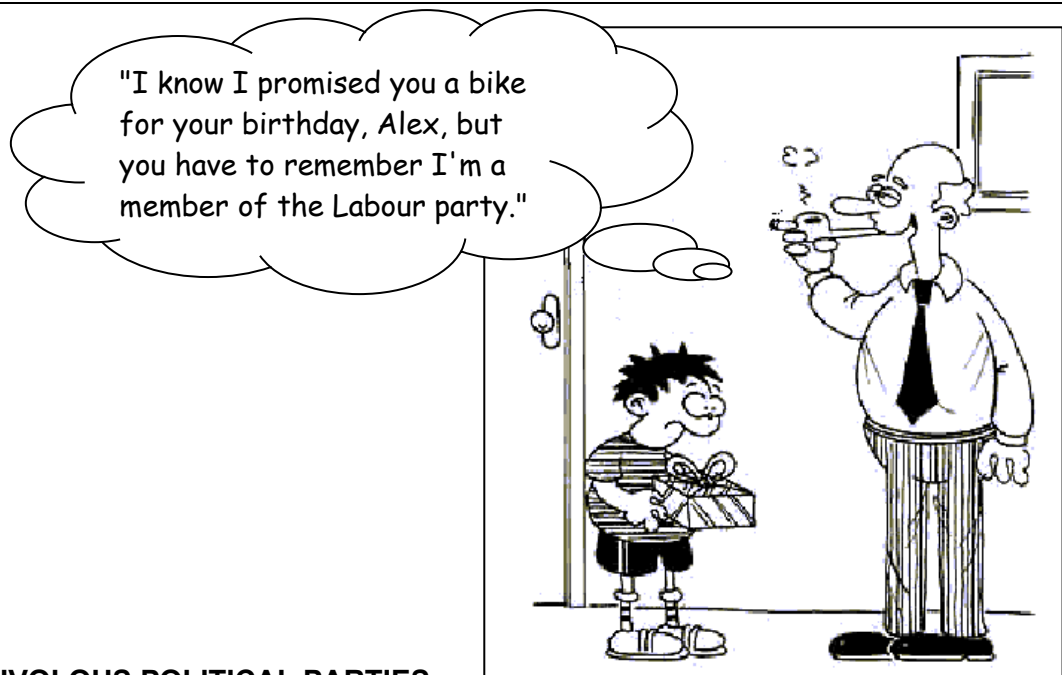
Charles de Gaulle

□ I adore political parties. They are the only place left to us where people don't talk politics.

Oscar Wilde

□ Any political party that includes the word 'democratic' in its name, isn't.

Patrick Murray



LIST OF FRIVOLOUS POLITICAL PARTIES

This is a list of political parties that have been created for frivolous purposes.

Australia

- Sun Ripened Warm Tomato Party (defunct)
- Surprise Party

Belgium

- The Banana party (Stem Banaan) (defunct)

Canada

- Absolutely Absurd Party (defunct)
- Parti Citron (*Lemon Party*)
- The Party Party
- Rhinoceros Party of Canada (defunct)

Germany

- Anarchist Pogo Party of Germany

- German Beer-Drinkers Union

New Zealand

- Imperial British Conservative Party
- The Mad Hatter's Tea Party (defunct)
- Blokes Liberation Front (defunct)

Serbia

- Party of Solemn and Honourable Consumers of Alcohol, formerly Party of Ordinary Drunkards

United Kingdom

- Death, Dungeons and Taxes Party
- New Millennium Bean Party
- Official Monster Raving Loony Party
- Rock 'n' Roll Loony Party
- Voter Apathy Party

United States

- Birthday Party
- Commicrats
- Guns and Dope Party
- National Barking Spider Resurgence Party
- Anarchistic Pogo Party of America (APPA)
- Solipsist Party of the United State of America
- United States National Official Monster Raving Loony Party
- Thermodynamic Law Party



Republicans

Democrats

WRITING

Write an essay on the following topics.

1. Different but Similar

The American Democrats and republicans have very different ideological orientations. Yet many observers claim that the parties are really quite similar in ideology compared to the different parties of other countries. Study two-party systems in the USA and in Great Britain and give your opinion on the range of ideological choice in both countries.

2. Political Parties in Modern Russia

Study their position on four economic issues:

- ownership of the means of production
- government's role in economic planning
- redistribution of wealth
- support for social programmes

and their ideology on political matters which you consider important.

INTERNET EXERCISE

1. Ballot Access for Third Parties

Third parties often have to battle established institutions in order to get their candidates listed on ballots in national and state elections. Go to the Ballot Access News Web site www.ballot-access.org/ and link to the October 4, 1998, issue. There you will find a short story on a court challenge from a minor party candidate in Ohio who attempted to get on the ballot. After reading this piece, link to the January 1, 2000, issue for a follow-up report on the same case.

Give a talk on the story in class.
(Advanced Level)

2. Go to Wikipedia (the Free Encyclopedia) site, find information about ideologies of political parties and give a talk on the topic.

(Intermediate and Pre-Intermediate Level)

ROLE PLAY

WE ARE HAVING A PARTY

(Developing a party and creating a party platform)

Instructions. Students will work in groups of 3-4. Besides, it's necessary to choose a moderator¹, who will prepare an introductory speech for TV debates, questions to the groups and think of a conclusion. Meanwhile, each group will create a party of their own. Each party will need to develop the following:

- 1) A party name that reflects the party's overall beliefs about government.
- 2) A symbol for the party that reflects that party's name and beliefs about government.
- 3) A slogan for the party.
- 4) A poster that incorporates all of the above information about the party. The poster is a device to lure people to the party. Consider it advertising for your party.

The groups will then create a typed party platform in which they layout the party's beliefs on:

¹ **moderator** - ведущий (в телевизионной дискуссии и т.п.)

- 1) Whether government should be “big” or “small”.
- 2) What role government should play in the citizen’s everyday life.
- 3) What the role of the political party should be in the government of the Russian Federation.
- 4) What elected officials from the party will do for Russian citizens.
- 5) Where the party stands on the following hot topics in politics:
 - ◆ taxes,
 - ◆ military size,
 - ◆ social security
 - ◆ unemployment
 - ◆ gun control
 - ◆ regions’ rights
 - ◆ education
 - ◆ abortion
 - ◆ same-sex marriages
 - ◆ war on terror
 - ◆ immigration
 - ◆ national health care
 - ◆ welfare
 - ◆ national security.

Once the groups have developed the party platform, each of the groups will participate in a round table debate. During the debate, the moderator will ask members of each party to explain certain parts of their platform and to defend their platform and stances against another party’s platform and stances. All members of the groups must have equal knowledge of the platform and be ready to answer and defend when called on.

Students are graded on: Poster, Platform and Debate.

Specific Grading Criteria:

- Party poster included the party’s name, symbol, and slogan.
- Platform explained the size and role of government according to the party’s beliefs.
- Platform explained the role of political parties in the government of the Russian Federation according to the party’s beliefs.
- Platform explained what the party would do for Russian citizens.
- Platform explained the party’s stance.
- Each member was prepared to answer questions concerning the party platform.
- Members were persuasive in defending their party platform.

General Grading Criteria:

- The members of the party followed directions - on time.
- The members of the party stayed on topic.
- Platform is neatly typed, proofed, and edited.
- Poster is neat showing effort was put into its production.
- The members of the party spoke clearly

Unit 9. ELECTIONS

PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Answer the questions.

1. How often are elections held in your country?
2. Have you ever participated in elections?
3. If you are going to take part in the coming elections who will you vote for? Why?
4. Why elections are important for any country?



A statesman is he who thinks in the future generations, and a politician is he who thinks in the upcoming elections.

Abraham Lincoln

2. If you are interested in politics, no doubt you know rather much about elections in other countries. This will help you to complete the following texts with the words and expressions given on their right.

A. Elections in Britain

Britain is1.... 650 political areas, known as constituencies or seats. Each2.... is represented in the House of Commons by a Member of Parliament (MP).

At a3...., the people of Britain who are aged over 18 vote to choose who will4.... and which party will form the government. People vote by putting a cross by the name of one of the candidates on the5....

When6.... is completed, the political party that has won the most seats is asked to form a government, and that party's leader becomes7...., which means that they hold more seats than all the other parties together, and so cannot easily be8.... in the House of Commons.

Sometimes there is a9.... in which one party has more seats than any other party and can10...., but doesn't have more seats than all the other parties together, so can easily be defeated in votes in the House of Commons. The situation is also called ...11.... . In this situation, the12.... may join with another party to form a coalition so that it can13.... in the House of Commons.

The longest time that a parliament can run is five years, but the Prime Minister has the power to14.... at any point within this period, usually depending on the government's opinion of whether they have a good chance of being15....

- Prime Minister
- pass laws
- defeated in votes
- voting
- re-elected
- minority government
- form a government
- general election
- a hung parliament
- divided into
- ruling party
- constituency
- call an election
- ballot paper
- serve in the House of Commons

B. Elections in the US

Congress, the central1.... in the US, is2.... of the House of Representatives and the Senate.3.... are elected by the people of the state they4.... . There are 435 members of the House of Representatives, called Representatives or5.... . The number of Representatives for each state depends on the6.... of the state. States are divided into smaller areas called districts, and the people7.... elect one Representative.8.... in the House of Representatives every two years.

There are 100 members of the Senate, called9...., two for each state. Senators10.... six years. Every two years11.... are elected by the people.

Presidential elections are held12.... . They work13.... called the Electoral College. Each state has a number of electoral college votes14.... the number of Senators and Representatives it has. The candidate who wins15.... in a state receives all that state's electoral college votes. The candidate with the most electoral college votes wins the election and becomes the president.

- every four years
- by a system
- members of both houses
 - equal to
 - the most votes
- Congressmen / Congresswomen
- in each district
- elections are held for all the seats
 - Senators
- hold office for a term of ...
 - made up
- law-making body
 - represent
- a third of the Senators
 - population

READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Match the following words with their definitions.

A.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. circumstance | a. smth that is needed or demanded |
| 2. requirement | b. opinion; ability to make decisions based on careful consideration; an official decision |
| 3. participation | c. combination of facts, conditions, events, etc. |
| 4. judgement | d. taking part in an activity or event |

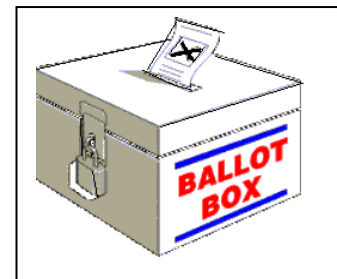
B.

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. constitute | a. send (out) or pass messages, signals, news, etc. |
| 2. wield | b. form; make up |
| 3. persuade | c. have and use power, influence, etc. |
| 4. vary | d. be different; become different, change |
| 5. transmit | e. make smb do smth by reasoning, argument, repeatedly asking, etc. |

2. The words "appeal" and "message" have many meanings and sometimes are not easy to translate. Consult an English-Russian dictionary for the translations and find Russian equivalents for the following sentences:

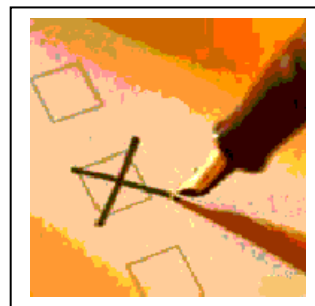
A.

- 1). Such documentary films appeal to me.
- 2) They are appealing for funds to build a new hospital.
- 3) By appealing to his better nature, we persuaded him to sign the paper.
- 4) The government is appealing to everyone to protect the environment.
- 5) She intends to appeal against this verdict.



B.

- 1) I delivered him your message yesterday.
- 2) Did he leave any message?
- 3) The President's message to Congress attracted everybody's attention.
- 4) This book is without a message.



Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

ELECTIONS

The heart of democratic government lies in the electoral process. Whether a country holds elections – and if so, what kind – constitutes the critical difference between democratic and non-democratic governments. Elections institutionalize mass participation in democratic government: electoral rules specify *who* is allowed to vote, *how much* each person's vote counts, and *how many* votes are needed to win.

Again, elections are formal procedures for making group decisions. *Voting* is the act individuals engage in when they choose among alternatives in an election. Suffrage and franchise both mean the right to vote. By formalizing political participation through rules for suffrage and for counting ballots, electoral systems allow large number of people, who individually have little political power, to wield great power. Electoral systems decide collectively who governs and, in some instances, what government should do.

The simple act of holding elections is less important than the specific rules and circumstances that govern voting. According to democratic theory, everyone should be able to vote. In practice, however, no nation grants universal suffrage. All countries have age requirements for voting, and all disqualify some inhabitants on various grounds: lack of citizenship, criminal record, mental incompetence, and so forth.

Voting in free elections to choose leaders is the main way that citizens control government. Political parties help structure the voting choice by reducing the number of candidates on the ballot to those who have a realistic chance of winning or who offer distinctive policies. An election campaign is an organized effort to persuade voters to choose one candidate over others competing for the same office. An effective campaign requires sufficient resources to acquire and analyze information about voters' interests, to develop a strategy and matching tactics for appealing to these interests, to deliver the candidate's message to the voters, and to get them to cast their ballots.

Regarding election campaigns, one American politician, said, "There are four parts to any campaign. The candidate, the issues of the candidate, the campaign organization, and the money to run the campaign with. Without money you can forget the other three". Money pays for office space, staff salaries, telephone bills, travel expenses, campaign literature, and, of course, advertising in the mass media. A successful campaign requires a good campaign organization and a good candidate, but enough money will buy the best campaign managers, equipment, transportation, research, and consultants - making the quality of the organization is largely a function of money.

Campaigns vary in the effectiveness with which they transmit their messages via the news media. Effective tactics recognize the limitations of both the audience and the media. The typical voter is not deeply interested in politics and has trouble keeping track of multiple themes supported with details. By the same token, television is not willing to air lengthy statements from candidates. As a result, news coverage is often condensed to "sound bites" only a few seconds long.

Candidates exploit issues that they think are important to voters. They usually campaign by pointing out problems – unemployment, inflation, war, civil disorders, corruption – and

promising to solve them. Candidates' attributes are especially important to voters who lack good information about a candidate's past performance and policy stands – which means most of us. Without such information, voters search for clues about the candidates to try to predict their behavior in office. Some fall back on their personal beliefs about religion, gender, and race in making political judgments.

Comprehension check

Answer the questions:



1. What is the major function of an electoral system?
2. What do electoral rules specify?
3. Give a definition of an election campaign.
4. Name four elements of any election campaign.
5. What are the distinguishing features of an effective campaign?
6. How much is a typical voter interested in politics?
7. Can you name problems that interest voters most of all?

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Find English equivalents for the following words and expressions in the text.

Право участвовать в выборах / право голоса (2 варианта); принятие групповых решений; достаточный; транспортные расходы; прошлая деятельность; предсказывать; передавать в эфир пространственные заявления; отсутствие гражданства; реклама в СМИ; избиратель; безработица; решать (проблемы); освещение новостей; голосование; правила проведения выборов; развивать стратегию и соответствующую тактику; криминальное прошлое; проводить (избирательную) кампанию; формальная процедура; по различным причинам; подсчёт голосов (бюллетеней); бороться за один и тот же пост; предоставить право голоса / наделить избирательным правом; политические установки / взгляды; пол; раса; отличительная черта / свойство

2. Explain in your own words the meaning of the following expressions.

- Deliver the candidates' message
- Issues of the candidate
- Keep track of multiple themes supported with details
- By the same token
- Search for clues
- Fall back on one's personal beliefs



2. Complete the sentences with the words given in the boxes in proper forms.

A. Requirement, circumstance, participation, judgement, message

- 1) Candidates who fail to meet these will not be admitted to the University.
- 2) We can't judge what he did till we know all the
- 3) They want greater in the joint decision-making process.
- 4) His decision seems to show a lack of political
- 5) What is the of the novel?
- 6) We need an impartial on the issue.
- 7) What else should be done to deliver the of his policy stands?

B. constitute, vary, appeal, transmit, persuade, wield

- 1) No doubt, opinions on this complicated matter
- 2) Despite all my efforts to them, they wouldn't agree.
- 3) Our products in quality and, consequently, price.
- 4) His romantic prose to me.
- 5) Those arguments her election pledges.
- 6) Let's to reason.
- 7) Though the Queen did not the absolute power, she upheld her authority to set the central policies of both state and church.
- 8) We can messages in different ways.

Popularity should be no scale for the election of politicians. If it would depend on popularity, Donald Duck and the Muppets would take seats in senate.

Orson Welles
(American motion-picture actor, director, producer, and writer)

It's interesting to know...

Motivations for Voting

Respondents were offered a list of arguments for voting and asked to choose the most important ones (up to five responses were allowed). The distribution of answers is as follows (data given in % of those surveyed):

<i>Voting is a civic duty</i>	48
<i>I vote because I hope for changes for the better</i>	34
<i>If I don't, my vote could be used by somebody else</i>	27
<i>I always participate in elections</i>	18
<i>I participate in elections to support my candidate</i>	15

When respondents were asked to choose less important reasons for voting, the following answers were mentioned (data given in % of those surveyed):

<i>If I don't vote, I will have problems</i>	25
<i>Election day is like a holiday for me</i>	16
<i>I can express my protest through voting</i>	13
<i>I participate in elections because most people do</i>	12
<i>Voting provides a chance to control the authorities</i>	12
<i>Voters can make demands on the authorities</i>	12

The Public Opinion Foundation. A Russia-wide poll of urban and rural residents was conducted

SPEAKING

Opinion Exchange

1. Discuss the following questions with each other.

1. What is the role of political parties in election campaigns nowadays? Are elections more party centered or candidate centered? (in the USA, in GB, in Russia)
2. How do candidates organize their campaigns? How do they learn about voters' interests? How do they deliver their messages to voters?

3. Study the text about financing elections in the USA paying attention to vocabulary in bold type.

2. Dwell on the following quotations.

- The next time they give you all that civic bullshit about voting, keep in mind that Hitler was elected in a full, free democratic election.

George Carlin
(American stand-up¹ Comedian,
Actor and Author, 1937 -)

- It is enough that the people know there was an election. The people who cast the votes decide nothing. The people who count the votes decide everything.

Joseph Stalin
(Soviet dictator, 1879 - 1953)

- People never lie so much as after a hunt, during a war or before an election.

Otto von Bismarck
(Prussian Prime Minister,
Founder and Chancellor of
the German Empire, 1815 - 1898)

- To be fair, lying is part and parcel of public life. Every politician has lied about something because they are owned by the special interest groups that finance their elections.

Peter Schuyler

2. Giving a Report

 **Introduction**

Campaign financing is now heavily regulated by the national and state legislation. Now the law requires full disclosure of campaign spendings. The 1974 legislation imposed limits on contributions by individuals and organizations to campaigns for federal office – that is, congress and the presidency (candidates for state or local office are not covered by the law):

- a) a person can give only \$1,000 to a specific candidate in a separate election during a two-year cycle;
- b) a person can give only \$25,000 per year to all federal candidates;
- c) the aggregate limit is \$50,000 over a two-year cycle;
- d) a political action committee can give only \$5,000 to a specific candidate in a separate election during a two-year cycle.

Presidential campaigns have always been expensive, and the methods of raising campaign funds were often suspect. In 1972, President Richard Nixon's campaign committee spent more than \$65 million, some of it obtained illegally (for which campaign officials went to jail). For the first time, the 1974 campaign finance law provided public funds for presidential candidates who raised at least \$5,000 (in private donations no more than \$250 each) in each of twenty states. Individuals and organizations donating to presidential campaigns face the same limits (\$1,000 and \$5,000 respectively) that apply to congressional campaigns. The 1974 law limited spending to \$10 million for presidential primary elections and \$20 million for general elections but allowed for increases due to inflation.

 **Over to you...**

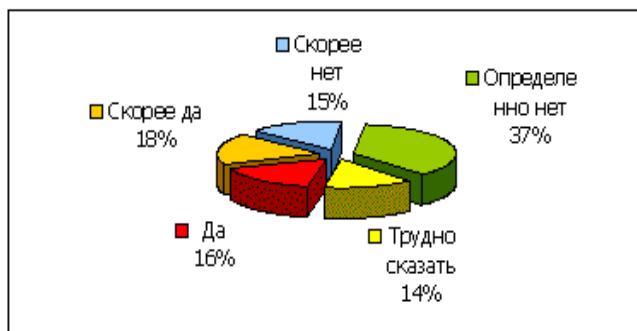
Give a talk on the laws regulating election campaigns in Russia (use active vocabulary from the text above).

¹ stand-up comedian, stand-up comic — комик; актер разговорного жанра

3. Brainstorming

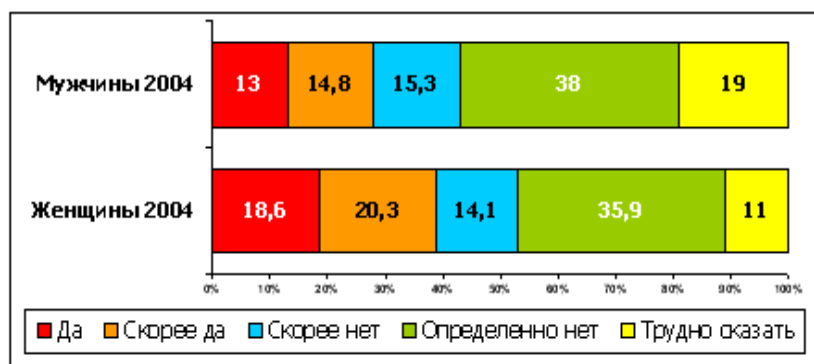
Study the diagrams below. Translate them into English and comment on them.

«Хотели бы Вы, чтобы в будущем Президентом России стала женщина?»
(выборка в целом)



Более трети опрошенных (в совокупности 34%) хотели бы, чтобы в будущем президентом России была женщина. Большинство респондентов – чуть более половины, 52% - пока не одобряют такую перспективу и заявляют, что не хотели бы (или скорее не хотели бы) видеть женщину на посту президента Российской Федерации в будущем.

«Хотели бы Вы, чтобы в будущем Президентом России стала женщина?»
(сравнение мнений мужчин и женщин)



Среди женщин доля сторонников женщины-президента составляет 40%. Как известно, именно женщины преобладают в электорально активной части населения, и в связи с этим избрание женщины

4. If you are interested in the topic and if you are not short of time, see also the Case Study and the Role Play for Unit 9 in the Supplement.

RENDERING

Суфражизм – это длительная борьба женщин за избирательные права. Начавшаяся в Америке и Англии с середины XIX века; наиболее известное движение «первой волны феминизма» (1830-1920.).

На конференцию в Сенека Фоллз (США) в 1848 году собрались более 200 женщин и около 40 мужчин из ближайших деревень и городков. Конференция смело заявила о полноправном гражданстве женщин: женщина не только мать, но и самостоятельная личность, и её отношения с государством должны быть прямыми, а не опосредованными через мужа или детей. В 1869 году Сьюзен В. Энтони организовала Национальную Ассоциацию за женское Избирательное Права, и в том же году штат Вайоминг предоставил право голоса женщинам.

В Англии движение за права женщин связано с именем знаменитого философа Джона Стюарта Милля, который в 1867 году выступил в английском парламенте с петицией в пользу избирательных прав для женщин.

В России в начале XX века сторонницы предоставления избирательных права женщинам организовали Союз равноправия женщин – феминистскую организацию, которая выдвигала требования политического равноправия женщин и предоставления им права заниматься различными профессиями. В Петрограде активно действовала Российская Лига равноправия женщин, потребовавшая в революционное время права голоса в Учредительном Собрании.

It's interesting to know...

When did women get the right to vote?

- 1893 - New Zealand
- 1902 - Australia
- 1917 - Russia
- 1920 - USA
- 1928 - Great Britain
- 1929 - Ecuador
- 1932 - Thailand
- 1945 - France, Italy, Japan
- 1971 - Switzerland
- 1978 - Luxembourg
- 1986 - Liechtenstein

I will feel equality has arrived when we can elect to office women who are as incompetent as some of the men who are already there.

Maureen Reagan
(daughter of Ronald and Nancy Reagan)

Political

World Records



- **The Most Mature Electorate Election**
In Andorra, a person must be at least 25 years of age to be eligible for voting.
- **The Most Coops Election**
On 30 June 1984, President Hernan Silez Zuazo, 70 was kidnapped by more than 60 armed men from his official residence. That's the 191st coop in Bolivia since it became a sovereign country in 1825.
- **The Most Decisive Election**
North Korea's general election on 8 October 1962 recorded a 100% turn-out of electors and a 100% vote for Workers' Party of Korea.
- **The Most Bent Election**
President Charles D.B. King won the Liberian presidential election on 1927 with an officially announced figure of 234,000 - a majority over his opponent Mr. Thomas J.R. Faulkner of the People's Party. The President thus claimed a 'majority' more than 15.5 times greater than the entire electorate.
- **The Closest Election**
On 18 January 1961, in Zanzibar, Afro-Shirazi Party won by a single seat of the seat of Chake-Chake on Pemba Island had been gained by a single vote. The closest general elections ever occurred in the world.
- **The Narrowest Election**
On 7 August 1979 in Mississippi, USA, Robert E. Joiner was declared the winner over W.H. Pyron with 133,587 votes to 133,582. That's the narrowest recorded percentage win in an election. The loser got more than 49.999% of the votes for the office of Southern District Highway Commissioner

ACTIVITY

↪ Introduction

There are three basic strategies used in election campaigns:

- A party-centered strategy, which relies heavily on voters' partisan identification as well as on the party's organization to provide the resources necessary to wage the campaign
- An issue-oriented strategy, which seeks support from groups that feel strongly about various policies
- An image-oriented strategy, which depends on the candidate's personal qualities, such as experience, leadership ability, trustworthiness, and the like.

↪ Over to you...

Analyze the latest presidential campaign of candidates running for presidency in Russia. What Strategies were used by them? How did they apply them? What did they promise their voters?

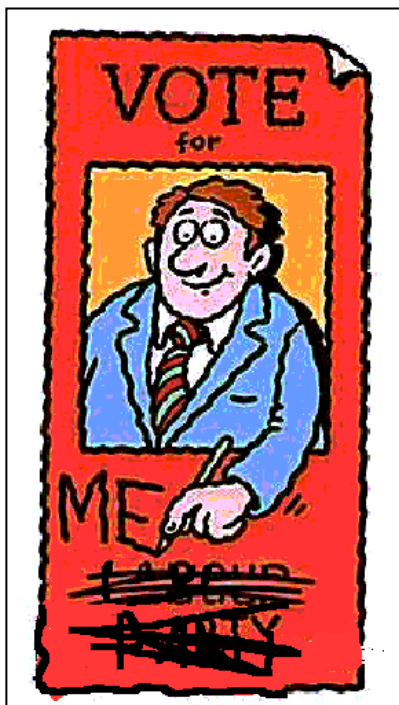
WRITING

Strategies and Tactics of Winning Elections

In a military campaign, strategy is the overall scheme for winning the war, whereas tactics involve the conduct of localized hostilities. In an election campaign, strategy is the broad approach used to persuade citizens to vote for the candidate, and tactics determine the content of the messages and the way they are delivered.

Imagine you are running for the presidency in your country. Make up your campaign plan. Do not forget to mention financial issues, using mass media and other ways to advertise your program, your party identification if any, your attributes, etc.

QUIZZES



Who Would You Elect?

It is time to elect a new world leader, and your vote counts. Here's the scoop on the three leading candidates.

Candidate A:


- 3 Associates with ward heelers and consults with astrologists.
- 3 He's had two mistresses.
- 3 He chain smokes and drinks 8 to 10 martinis a day.

Candidate B:

- 3 Was kicked out of office twice;
- 3 sleeps until noon;
- 3 used opium in college and
- 3 drinks a quart of brandy every evening.

Candidate C:

- 3 Is a decorated war hero.
- 3 He's a vegetarian,
- 3 doesn't smoke, and
- 3 only drinks an occasional beer.

 If you don't know who they are and what candidate to choose, look at the key on page .

♣ PRESIDENTIAL TRIVIA

 Do you know...

1. Which president smoked marijuana with a nude playgirl while he joked about being too wasted to "push the button" in case of nuclear attack?
2. Which president allegedly had an affair (as well as children) with a slave who was his wife's half sister?
3. Which future president wrote love letters to his neighbor's wife while he was engaged to someone else?
4. Which president had a torrid affair with the first lady's personal secretary?

The key is on page .

INTERNET EXERCISE

The Campaign Media Analyses Group (CMAG) is a private company that collects all televised advertisements run in the US top seventy-five media markets. The group publishes a newsletter "The CMAG Eye" that anyone can access on-line (www.politicsonTV.com). Go the CMAG site, skim over the contents of the newsletter (it has some entertaining examples of political ads).

How does the discussion in this newsletter illustrate the important role that television advertising played in campaigns for political offices in 2000? Be sure to cite a couple of specific examples in your answer.



It's funny

President Clinton meets some voters

President Clinton is shaking hands with the voters after being elected for the second time.

"Pleased to meet you," says one old man, "I've heard a lot about you in the past few years."

Clinton laughs: "You can't prove any of it!"

Jokes about elections in the USSR

When did the first Soviet elections take place?

When God put Eve before Adam and said: 'Choose yourself a wife!'

On the day of elections a voter received a ballot, but instead of lowering the ballot into the voting box, he began to read the surname of the single candidate.

'What are you doing?' his observer asked

Bill Stern:

Our elections are free, it's in the results where eventually we pay.

Will Rogers:

I love a dog. He does nothing for political reasons.

We always want the best man to win an election.

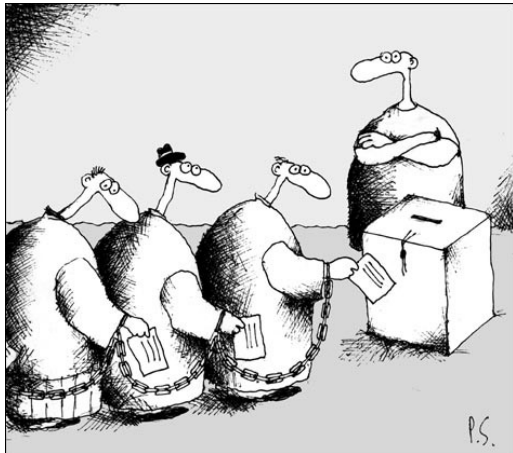
Unfortunately, he never runs.

A fool and his money are soon elected.

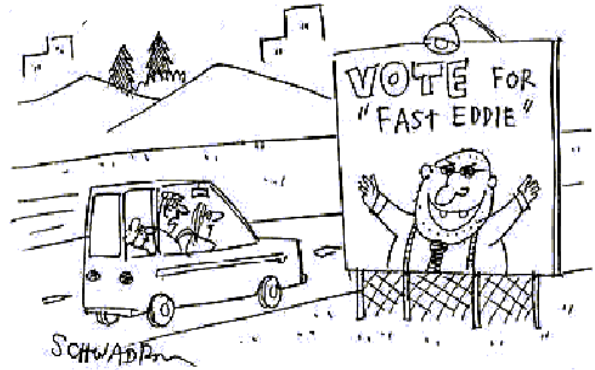
Vote
for
me



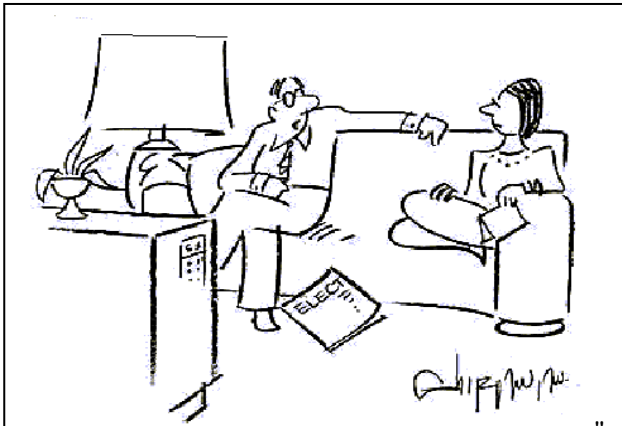
'I want to find out, who I voted for.'
 'Yes but don't you know that elections are secret?!'



No comment...



"It's our duty to vote, but it's their duty to find somebody worth voting for!"



"Let's try voting for the greater of the two evils this time and see what happens."

Which of these candidates is your choice?

Candidate A: is Franklin D. Roosevelt

Candidate B: is Winston Churchill

Candidate C: is Adolph Hitler

ANSWERS to
 PRESIDENTIAL TRIVIA

1. John F. Kennedy
2. Thomas Jefferson
3. George Washington, Lyndon B. Johnson
4. Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy

"You have to admit it's a novel start to an election campaign!"



**FRIENDS
 DON'T LET
 FRIENDS
 ★ VOTE ★
 REPUBLICAN**

**FRIENDS
 DON'T LET
 FRIENDS
 ★ VOTE ★
 DEMOCRAT**

Unit 10. SOURCES OF POWER: PUBLIC OPINION



PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

Answer the questions:

1. What is public opinion?
2. How can it be estimated?
3. Who needs to know public opinion on a given issue?

2. Try to complete the text with the words and expression from the table below. Consult the dictionary where necessary.

predict or forecast, findings, pollsters, sample, reliable or accurate, opinion polls, exit poll, attitudes or beliefs, poll, survey sampling

Public opinion is the aggregate of individual1..... held by the adult population. The tide of public opinion becomes more and more crucial during political elections. Between elections, especially during election campaigns,2..... or surveys are conducted to measure public opinion and to3..... election results.

Polling organisations and the people working for them are4..... . They interview or5..... a number of people, a6..... typical in its mix of ages, races, genders, social classes and professions of the population as a whole. Such method of measuring public opinion is called7..... .

An8..... is carried out just after people have voted as they are leaving the polling station.

Results or9..... of opinion polls are more or less10..... .

Do you know that ...

Public opinion developed as a concept with the rise of a 'public' in the eighteenth century. The English term 'public opinion' dates from the eighteenth century and derives from the French 'l'opinion publique', first used by Montaigne two centuries earlier in 1588. This came about through urbanisation and other political and social forces. It became important what people thought as forms of political contention changed.

Jeremy Bentham was the first English writer to develop theories of public opinion. He reasoned that public opinion had the power to ensure that rulers would rule for the greatest happiness of the greater number.



It's interesting to know that...

"One problem is that any public opinion poll has a margin of error. Ideally, the margin of error should be plus or minus five, however, I have seen state polls that had a margin of error plus or minus eight. This means with a margin of error of plus or minus five, you would have a 10 point range high or low. For example, if 52 percent of people polled said they favored President George W. Bush's policies in Iraq, the actual results would be from 57 percent to 47 percent favoring his policies,"

Dr. Thomas J. Williams, associate professor of political science

READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Define the meaning of the words 'bias' and 'random' and their derivatives. Translate the sentences.



A.

1. The Channel's news reporting has become heavily biased towards the government.
2. My parents and grandparents are biased against rock music before they even hear it
3. What other newspapers with a left-wing bias do you know?
4. The lecturer spoke wrathfully against biased journalism.
5. The spokesman said, that viewers and listeners expect BBC interviews with politicians to be unbiased.



B.

1. They interviewed a random sample of people.
2. The questions for the quiz were chosen at random.
3. The opinion poll was conducted among a sample of 10,000 adults randomly and scientifically selected all local government areas in Ethiopia.

2. Translate the sentences with the polysemantic verb "to expose".

1. The newspaper has exposed his shameful activity to the public.
2. Our citizens have been exposed to high levels of radiation for several hours.
3. The poor soil is constantly exposed to either rainstorms or scorching sun rays.
4. It's dangerous to expose troops on the right flank.
5. The plot was exposed and many people were arrested.

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion is simply the collective attitude of the citizens on a given issue or question. Opinion polling, which involves interviewing a sample of citizens to estimate public opinion as a whole, is such a common feature of contemporary life that we often forget it is a modern invention, dating only from the 1930s. In fact, survey methodology did not become a powerful research tool until the advent of computers in the 1950s.

Before polling became an accepted part of the American scene, politicians, journalists, and everyone else could argue about what the people wanted, but no one really knew. Before the 1930s, observers of America had to guess at national opinion by analysing newspaper stories, politicians' speeches, voting returns, and travelers' diaries.

How can a pollster tell what the nation thinks by talking to only a few hundred people? The answer lies in the statistical theory of sampling. Briefly, the theory holds that a sample of individuals selected by chance from any population is “representative” of that population. This means that the traits of the individuals in the sample – their attitudes, beliefs, sociological characteristics, and physical features – reflect the traits of the whole population. Sampling theory does not claim that a sample exactly matches the population, only that it reflects the population with some predictable degree of accuracy.

The Gallup Poll and most other national opinion polls usually survey about 1,500 individuals and are accurate to within three percentage points 95 percent of the time. Poll results can be wrong because of problems that have nothing to do with sampling theory. For example, question wording can bias the results.

Public opinion is grounded in political values. People acquire their values through political socialization, a complex process through which individuals become aware of politics, learn political facts, and form political values. Think for a moment about your political socialization. What is your earliest memory of a president? When did you first learn about political parties? If you identify with a party, how did you decide to do so? If you do not, why don't you? Who was the first liberal you ever met? The first conservative?

Obviously, the paths to political values vary among individuals, but most people are exposed to the same sources of influence, especially from childhood through young adulthood. These influences are family, school, community, education, age, income and – of course – television.

Most people do not think about politics in ideological terms. When asked to do so by pollsters, however, they readily classify themselves along a liberal – conservative continuum. Many respondents choose the middle category, moderate, because the choice is safe. Many others choose it because they have liberal views on some issues and conservative views on others.

In addition to ideological orientation, many other factors affect the process of forming political opinions. When individuals stand to benefit or suffer from proposed government policies, they usually base their opinions of these policies on their own self-interest. When citizens lack information on which to base their opinions, they usually respond anyway, which leads to substantial fluctuations in poll results, depending on how questions are worded and intervening events.

Sometimes, the public shows clear and settled opinions on government policy. However, public opinion is often not firmly grounded in knowledge and may be unstable on given issues. The lack of consensus leaves politicians with a great deal of latitude in enacting specific policies. And, of course, politicians' actions are closely scrutinized by journalists reporting in the mass media.

Comprehension Check



Say whether the statements below are TRUE or FALSE.

1. Public opinion polling has become a widely used method in the 1930s.
2. Before opinion polling was introduced politicians knew what people wanted by analyzing voting returns and newspaper stories
3. Opinion polling could not be reliable without the statistical theory of sampling.
4. A sample of individuals selected for polling accurately represents the whole population.
5. Our political values are strongly influenced by TV.
6. Unstable public opinion is a common thing.

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Find English equivalents for the following words and expressions in the text.

Формулировка вопроса; устоявшееся мнение о ...; короче говоря...; значительные колебания; отношение граждан; очевидно; по данной проблеме, вопросу; страдать от; включать / подразумевать / предполагать; политика правительства; мощный инструмент исследования; качества (человека, населения и т.д.) (2 варианта)

2. Form nouns from the following

a) verbs:

predict, forecast, measure, estimate;

b) adjectives

accurate, reliable, statistical, adult (2 variants)



3. Complete the sentences with the words and word combinations given in the table:

forecast, opinion polls, exit polls, at random, pollsters, predict, surveys

1. This was one of the most accurate of any exit-polls, in which people leaving the polling booths are asked how they voted.
2. Opinion polls that the National Liberal Party may either win the polling or emerge with sufficient votes to threaten the hold of the country's principal parties.
3. There is no evidence that may affect the outcome of elections.
4. In the run-up to an election, and journalists may talk about a race in which a candidate or a party is most likely to win.
5. have been with us, in their present form, since the 1930s.
6. The results were taken from by five polling organisations.
7. The interviewees for the questionnaire were chosen completely

ACTIVITY: Understanding Graphs

1). The results of the public opinion polls are often displayed in graphs such as those in Figure 1 and Figure 2 (bar charts). The height of the columns indicates the percentage of those polled who gave each response, identified along the baseline.

There are also pie charts as presented in Figure 3.

a) Comment on the data given in Fig. 1 (What question was asked? What is the public opinion on the matter under discussion?)

Figure 1.

POSITION ON DEATH PENALTY

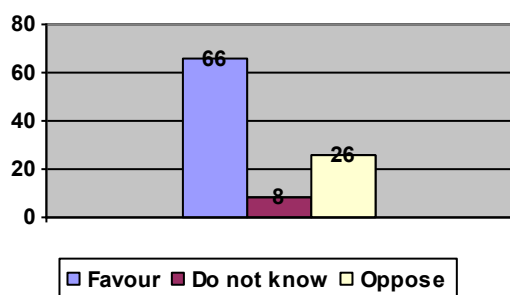
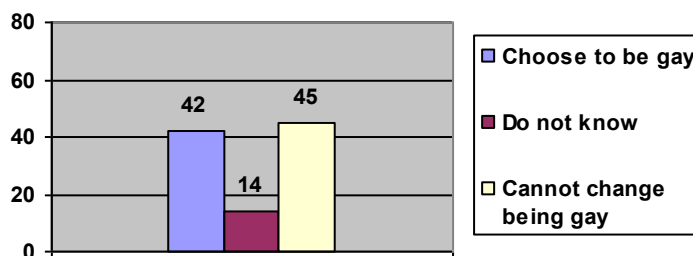


Figure 2.

IS HOMOSEXUALITY A CHOICE?



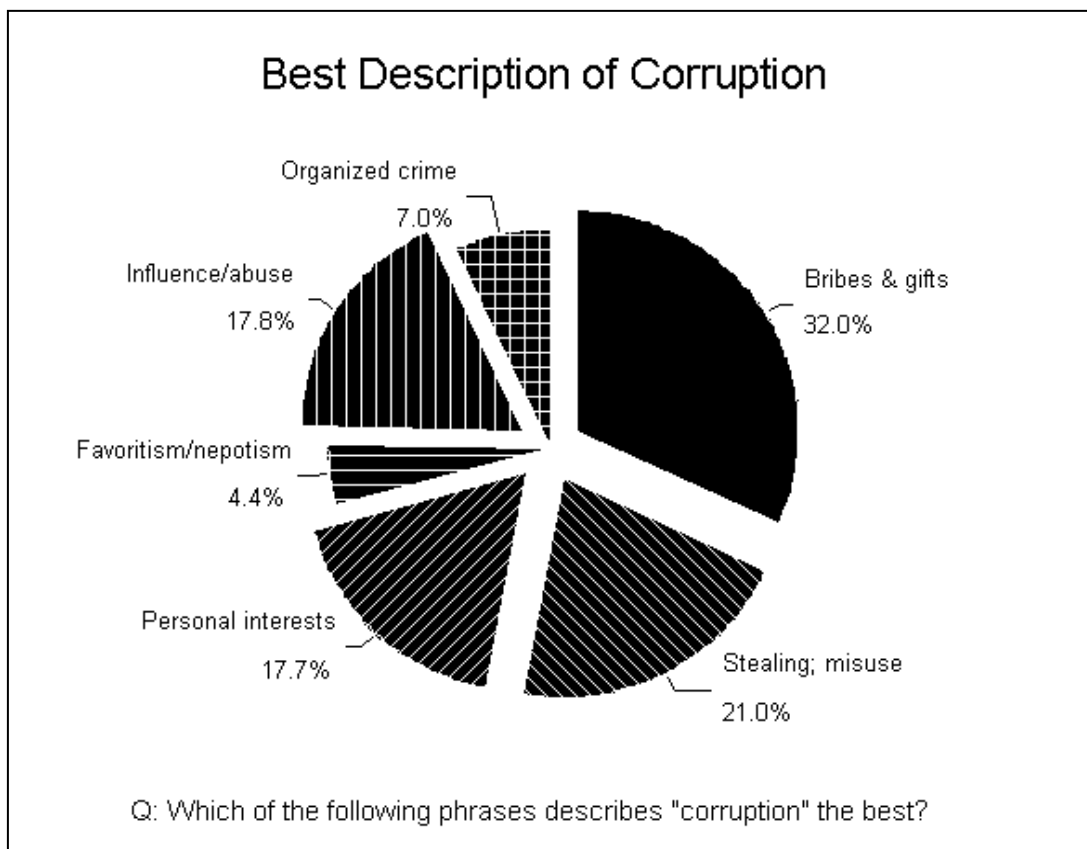
b) Dwell on the problem.

Does the death penalty deter people from killing? A majority of the public thinks it does. Find some information on the history of public thinking on the capital punishment (in any country you choose). Try to illustrate the following characteristics of public opinion:

- the public's attitudes toward a given government policy can vary over time;
- governments tend to respond to public opinion;
- governments sometimes do not do what the people want

Present the results of your research in class. Support your report with graphs and charts.

Figure 3



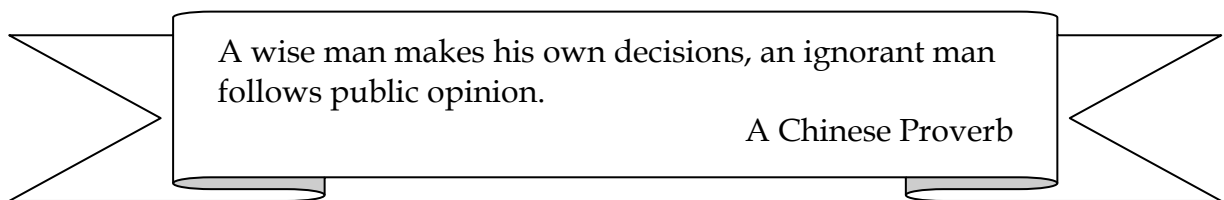
2) Find the results of the polls on the problem that interests you (it may be a political, ecological, cultural or any other issue, expectations of football cup results, etc.). Draw a diagram and comment on it.



SPEAKING

1. Comment on the following quotations.

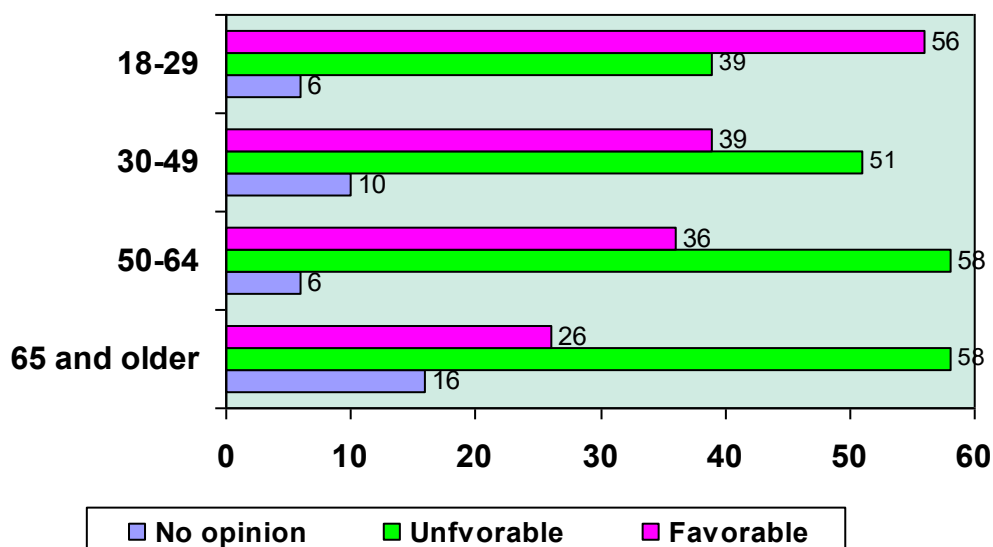
- There is no such thing as public opinion. There is only published opinion.
Winston Churchill
- A government can be no better than the public opinion which sustains it.
Franklin D. Roosevelt
- For me every ruler is alien that defies public opinion.
Mohandas Gandhi
- Public Opinion... an attempt to organize the ignorance of the community,
and to elevate it to the dignity of physical force.
Oscar Wilde



2. Opinion Exchange..

1. Some people assume that a majority of the people hold clear and consistent opinions on government policy. Others think that the public is often uninformed and ambivalent about specific issues, and opinion polls frequently support that claim. Which point of view do you support? What are the bases of public opinion? How do individuals form their opinions?

2. The historical context in which a person grows up often affects his or her political outlook for life. Consider the survey of American opinion towards Russia taken a decade after the end of the Cold War. As you see, favourable attitude decreases dramatically with age. Why do you think respondents react this way? What results would you get if we asked the same question (but about Americans) in Russia?



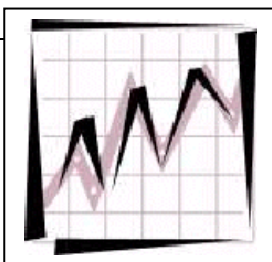
3. Many adults in Russia remain disappointed over the end of the Soviet Union. Study the given information and comment on it.

Question: Do you regret the collapse of the Soviet Union?

- Yes66%
- No23%
- Not important6%
- Hard to answer5%



Source: All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center
 Methodology: Interviews with 1,579 Russian adults,
 conducted on Dec. 15 and Dec. 16, 2005.
 Margin of error is 3.4 per cent.



There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies and statistics.

Benjamin Disraeli
 (attributed to Disraeli in
 Mark Twain *Autobiography*)

☺ It's funny...

- What's meant by an exchange of opinions in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?
- It's when I come to a party meeting with my own opinion, and I leave with the party's.

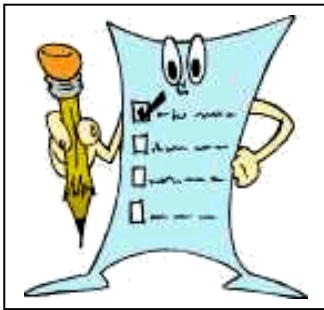
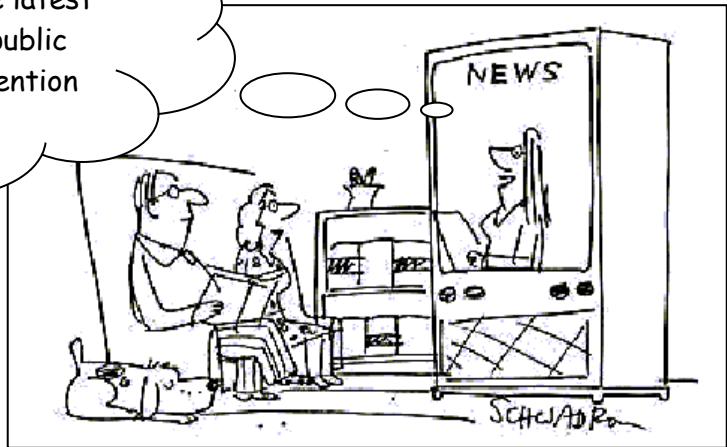


"I'm sorry, my opinion isn't in at the moment, she's down the shops."



"And this just in, an eighteen month survey found that 82% of people asked, think surveys are pretty much a waste of time."

"According to the latest poll, 64% of the public don't pay any attention to polls..."



WRITING **(write an essay)**

1. How and why political values vary among individuals (consider differences in age, education, income, place of residence, etc.)?
2. What is the place of public opinion in a democracy?
What is the relationship between public opinion and ideology?

INTERNET EXERCISE

1. Where Do You Fit?

The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press is an independent research group that studies public attitudes toward the press, politics, and public policy issues. The center's "Where do you fit?" feature allows citizens to provide information about their personal values and attitudes, partisan leanings, and involvement in politics in order to place themselves among one of ten groups of American citizens.

- Go to the center's Web site at www.people-press.org/ and follow the link to the "Where do you fit?" feature.
- Read over the descriptions of the ten groups that the center has identified. Based on your readings, which group do you identify most? Least? Why?
- Next, follow the link to the "Where do you fit?" questionnaire and fill it in. Do you obtain the same result that you predicted for yourself? If not, was the result close to what you predicted? If the result of the quiz did not match your prediction, identify at least one question that you would add to the questionnaire in order to improve its accuracy.

2. One of the America's oldest polls was started by George Gallup in the 1930s. And still Gallup polls are very reliable sources of information about public opinion in the USA.

Go to its Web site www.gallup.com, find information about this organization and present it in class.

ROLE PLAY

INSIDE THE MIND OF JOE PUBLIC

(Constructing and carrying out of a public opinion poll)

Instructions: Students are divided into three or four groups. Each group chooses a topic of the public opinion poll within the University/College/School. The groups will construct a public opinion poll on their pre-approved topics and will poll the student body to find results.

Based on the criteria set in class, student groups will construct sample size¹ (at least 100), the opinion question(s), and the polling method. Students will have 2 days to poll the student body and 2 days to construct the poll result report. The report should include a chart with the following information:

Notes on Language and Culture

Joe Public
(=John Q. Public,
Joe Bloggs,
Joe Soap (BrE),
Joe Blow(AmE)) -

An average man (or male member of the public), man in the street

E.g.: The problem for a writer is getting Joe Public to buy his books.

- Percentage that chose “yes” (or one of the choices)
- Percentage that chose “no” (or the other choice)
- Percentage of females that chose “yes” and “no”
- Percentage of males that chose “yes” and “no”
- Percentage of first-year students that chose either answer
- Percentage of second-year students that chose either answer
- Percentage of third-year students that chose either answer
- Percentage of fourth-year students that chose either answer
- Percentage of fifth-year students that chose either answer

Students create either bar graphs or pie charts that depict the overall percentages, the gender percentages, the class level percentages, etc.

In class, each group will present poll reports and explain why they believe the results occurred as they did, what uses the poll results could have for the University/College/School, and what factor could change the poll.

The students and the teacher listen to the reports and grade them according to the criteria given below. At the end of the lesson the students and the teacher will discuss the grades.

Specific Grading Criteria

- Opinion question was feasible and could be answered within the student body.
- Polling sample was a sufficient size to get an accurate depiction of the student body opinion.
- Report chart included all required elements.
- Report graphs included all required elements.
- Group was prepared to explain poll results in presentation.

General Grading Criteria

- Group members followed directions.
- Report chart was neat, organized, and properly titled and labeled
- Report graphs were neat, organized, and properly titled and labeled.
- Group members spoke clearly during the presentation

¹ sample size - объём выборки

Internet Links

- Excellent example of a student created opinion poll. Read through this site and check out the creative ways they used to collect responses.

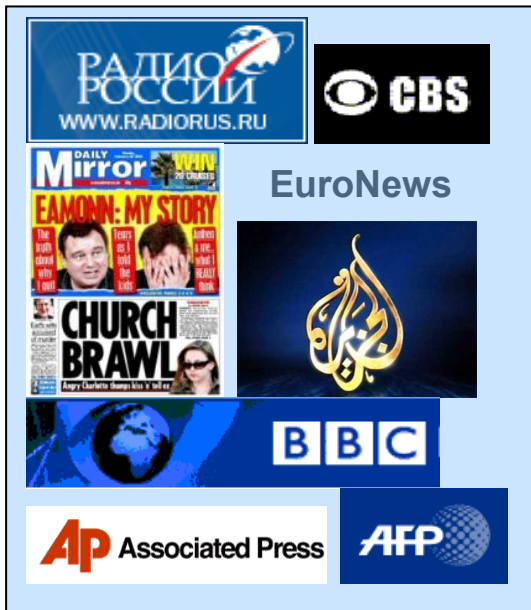
http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/j/x/jxz8/Student_Webquests/Lindholm/questA.htm

- Lesson on how to create a public opinion poll. Read through this document. Check out handout 3A and 3B

http://www.nationalserviceresources.org/filemanager/download/662/guide_effective_citizenship_3.pdf

- Definition and explanation of "Random Sample"

<http://www.animatedsoftware.com/statglos/sgrandsa.htm>



**Unit 11. SOURCES OF POWER:
THE MASS MEDIA**

PRE-READING TASKS AND DISCUSSION

1. Consult the dictionary and define the meaning of the words 'the media', 'mass media', 'media'.

2. Agree or disagree with the statements. Give your reasons.

- a) 'The media' are 'windows on the world'.
- b) Another term for 'the media' is 'mass media'.

c) 'Media' is the plural of 'medium', which means a channel through which information is transmitted.

3. Look through the following list of words and expressions. Decide which you would include under 'the media' and which under 'media'. Discuss your decisions with your group-mates.

Popular music, books, clothes, magazines, gestures, telephones, cinema, speech, DVDs, advertisements, radio, photographs, newspapers, acting, records, television, mimics, video cassettes.

4. Fill in the gaps with the words from the box

Print media, broadcast media, mass media (2), communication (2), audiences(2), newspapers, magazines, radio, television,

_____ is the process of transmitting _____ from one individual or group to another. _____ is the process by which information is transmitted to large, widely dispersed _____. The term _____ refers to the means for communicating to these _____. There are two main types of _____:

- _____ communicate information through the publication of words and pictures on paper. Prime examples are daily _____ and popular _____.
- _____ communicate information electronically, through sound and images. Prime examples are _____ and _____.

The Times has made many ministers.
Walter Bagehot. *The English Constitution*. (1867)

Do you know that...

Most national newspapers in Britain express a political opinion and people choose the newspaper that they read according to their own political beliefs.

Most of the newspapers are right-wing. These are the *Daily Telegraph* (quality, that is serious paper), the *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star* and the *Sun* (all tabloids).

Of the other serious newspapers, *The Times*, the oldest newspaper in Britain, did not formerly have one strong political view, but it is now more right-wing.

The *Guardian* (quality paper) is slightly left-wing. The *Daily Mirror* (tabloid) is left-wing.

The *Independent* does not support any one political party, and neither does the *Financial Times*, which concentrates on business and financial news.

Notes on Language and Culture

The Press is often called "The Fourth Estate"

In May 1789, Louis XVI summoned to Versailles a full meeting of the "Estates General"

The First Estate consisted of three hundred nobles.

The Second Estate consisted of three hundred clergy.

The Third Estate consisted of six hundred commoners.

Some years later, after the French Revolution, Edmund Burke, looking up at the Press Gallery of the House of Commons, said, "Yonder sits the Fourth Estate, and they are more important than them all."

READING

Vocabulary Input

1. Mind the usage of the word 'coverage' and its derivatives. Translate the given sentences into Russian.

full / wide / substantial / nationwide / worldwide / international / ... coverage

to give full/... coverage of (to)

to give a story (an event) full /... coverage

to cover fully / widely / substantially / thoroughly

under cover

1. The sports news is fully covered in this newspaper.
2. He's read the book from cover to cover.
3. Methods of financing and administration of social welfare programmes and the scope of coverage vary widely among countries.
4. The journal gives full coverage to the questions you are interested in.
5. *Corriere della Sera*'s¹ national coverage is substantial: it has some 600 correspondents throughout Italy.
6. The Trade Unions' Conference was given nationwide coverage.

¹ *Corriere della Sera* (Italian "Evening Courier") is a morning daily paper published in Milan, Italy.

7. Is the telecommunication network reliable? What is its area of coverage?
8. The walls of the room were covered with clippings of sports articles.
9. His first assignment was to cover the boat race.
10. He had to work under cover to get information on drug traffickers.

2. Mind the usage of the preposition 'on' after the word 'influence'.

1. Mass media compete for the influence on the audience.
2. Did anybody influence his decision?

3. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. publicity | a. faith; complete trust; a strong belief |
| 2. accomplishment | b. public notice or attention |
| 3. confidence | c. wrongdoing; an unlawful act by an official |
| 4. malfeasance | d. possibility of coming danger; smth regarded as a possible danger |
| 5. threat | e. achievement; the act of finishing work successfully |

Reading Assignment

Read the text and be ready to discuss it.

MASS MEDIA

The mass media transmit information to large audience through print and broadcasts. The mass media in the United States are privately owned and in business to make money, which they do mainly by selling space or air time to advertisers. Both print and electronic media determine which events are newsworthy largely on the basis of audience appeal.

The main function of the mass media is entertainment, but the media also perform the political functions of reporting news, interpreting news, influencing citizens' opinions, setting the political agenda, and socializing citizens about politics.

Virtually all citizens must rely on the mass media for their political news. This fact endows the media with enormous potential to affect politics. To what extent do the media live up to this potential?

Americans overwhelmingly believe that the media exert a strong influence on their political institutions, and nearly nine of ten Americans believe that the media strongly influence public opinion. However, measuring the extent of media influence on public opinion is difficult. Because few of us learn about political events except from the media, it could be argued that the media create public opinion simply by reporting events.

Despite the media's potential for influencing public opinion, most scholars believe that the media's greatest influence on politics is found in their power to set the political agenda - a list of issues that people identify as needing government attention. Those who set the political agenda define which issues government decision makers should discuss and debate. Like a tree that fall in the forest without anyone around to hear it, an issue that does not get on the political agenda will not get any political attention.

One study found varying correlations between media coverage and what the public sees as "the most important problem facing this country today", depending on the type of event. Crises such as the Vietnam War, racial unrest, and energy shortages drew extensive media coverage, and each

additional news magazine story per month generated an almost one percentage point increase in citations of the event as an important problem.

The media's ability to influence public opinion by defining "the news" makes politicians eager to influence media coverage. Politicians attempt to affect not only public opinion but also the opinions of other political leaders. The president receives a daily digest of news and opinion from many sources, and other top government leaders closely monitor the major national news sources. Even journalists work hard at following the news coverage in alternative sources. In a curious sense, the mass media have become a network for communicating among elites, all trying to influence one another or to assess others' weaknesses and strengths.

Some scholars agree that the most important effect of the mass media, particularly television, is to reinforce the hegemony, or dominance, of the existing culture and order. According to this argument, social control functions not through institutions of force (police, military, and prisons) but through social institutions, such as the media, that cause people to accept "the way things are". By displaying the life style of the rich and famous, for example, the media induce the public to accept the unlimited accumulation of private wealth. Similarly, the media socialize citizens to value "the American way", to be patriotic, to back their country, "right or wrong."

So the media play contradictory roles in the process of political socialization. On the one hand, they promote popular support for government by joining in the celebration of national holidays, heroes' birthdays, political anniversaries, and civic accomplishments. On the other hand, the media erode public confidence by detailing politicians' extramarital affairs, airing investigative reports of possible malfeasance in office, and even showing television dramas about crooked cops.

The media strongly defend the freedom of the press, even to the point of encouraging disorder by granting extensive publicity to violent protests, terrorist acts, and other threats to order.

Comprehension check

1. Say whether the statements below are TRUE or FALSE.

1. Politicians decide what news events are worth printing or broadcasting.
2. The mass media have two main functions.
3. Through setting the political agenda the media exercise its influence on public opinion.
4. Institutions of force are the only instrument to support the existing order in the country.
5. The main role of the media is to promote support for government.

2. Answer the questions:

1. What is political agenda?
2. Who sets the political agenda and defines "the news"?
3. How do the media induce people to accept the existing culture and way of life?
4. What is political socialization?
5. Why is the role of the media in political socialization contradictory?

Journalists say a thing that they know isn't true, in the hope that if they keep on saying it long enough it *will* be true.

Arnold Bennett.

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

1. Find English equivalents for the following words and expressions from the text.

Степень влияния СМИ; внимательно следить / отслеживать; аудитория (слушателей / зрителей); освещение новостей в альтернативных источниках; нехватка энергии; годовщина; репортажи о журналистских расследованиях; несупружеские отношения; эфирное время; место (в печатном издании); развлечение; ученый; расовые беспорядки; сеть; рекламодатель.

2. Complete the sentences with the words from the table.

threat, publicity, confidence, malfeasance, accomplishments

1. The birth of the heir to the throne got a lot of
2. The government failed to win public in its plan for economic recovery.
3. The of bankruptcy hung over the company.
4. When Elizabeth Taylor and her then husband, Mike Todd, the Hollywood producer, told the Australian press to sod off, they were dogged by negative and their visit was, in show-business terms, a disaster.
5. Being able to play the violin well is one of her many
6. The Senator was accused of in office.
7. They used the of strike actions to enforce their demands.

3. Find in the text words close in meaning to the following ones.

Weakness, poverty, point of view, discourage, doubt / disbelief

4. Look through the text once again and fill in the blanks with proper prepositions where necessary.

1. Who influenced your decision to raise the question in the meeting?
2. You can rely me to help you.
3. No doubt, the strike will affect the price of coal.
4. He has to deliver a report on the influence of mass media public opinion.
5. the one hand, he is one of the members of the committee, the other hand, he has little influence.
6. Despite the nasty weather, thousands of people took part in the demonstration.

**Notes on
Language
and
Culture**

Muck-rakers are American writers, identified with pre-World War I reform and exposé literature. They provided detailed, accurate journalistic accounts of the political and economic corruption and social hardships caused by the power of big business in the rapidly industrializing United States.

The word was pejorative when used by President Theodore Roosevelt in his speech of April 14, 1906:

...The men with the muck-rakes are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck.

He borrowed a passage from John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which referred to "the Man with the Muckrake ... who could look no way but downward."

But "muckraker" also came to take on favourable connotations of social concern and courageous exposition.

SPEAKING

1. Giving a Report.

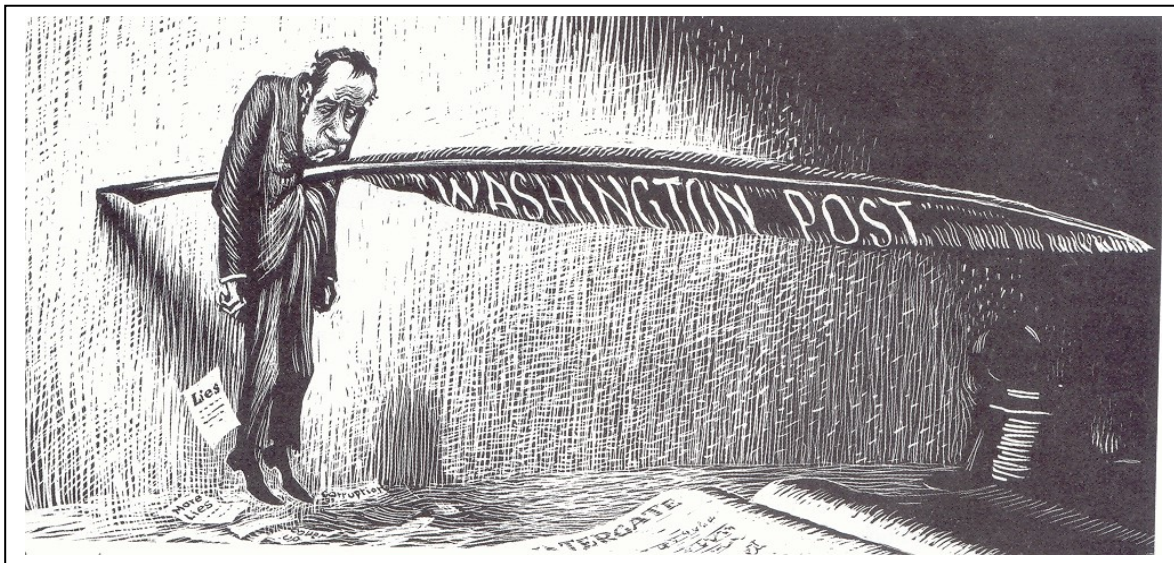
a). The four most prominent mass media in the news industry are: newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

Choose one of them and give a talk on its role in the society, capability of reflecting our political views, its history and development (choose any English speaking country or Russia).

b). Investigative reporters can really affect powerful political forces. Do you know anything about the Watergate Affair?

If not, consult encyclopedias and the Internet. Make up your own story about it with the help of the words given below.

What do you know about other political scandal named with the suffix - gate by analogy with the 'Watergate'? Give a talk on one of them.



- the Watergate affair
- burglars
- the Democratic Party's national headquarters
- to look into/investigate the burglary
- to bug / to wire
- to steal information
- to discredit opponents
- to broadcast live on television

- to bring smb's misdeeds to light
- to accuse of
- to impeach for misusing one's powers as President
- to be guilty
- to threaten
- to put smb on trial
- to resign as President
- to be stabbed by the quill pen

2. Discussion

Some observers characterize the news media and the government as partners doing the same job, some people consider them adversaries – each mistrusting the other and competing for popularity. Give your arguments for and against, make up a dialog supporting the opposite opinions. Try to persuade your counterpart!

3. Opinion Exchange.

- Can Internet be regarded as one of the mass media? Why?
- What, if anything, should or can be done about limiting the use of the Internet by hate groups?
- Is private ownership of the media a good idea? Would you regard government ownership acceptable?
- Do the media promote or frustrate democratic ideals?



It's funny...

Journalists and Politicians



You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say will be misquoted, and then used against you.



Delivering a speech at a banquet on the night of his arrival in a large city, a visiting minister told several anecdotes he expected to repeat at meetings the next day.

As he wanted to use the jokes again, he requested the reporters to omit them from any accounts they might turn in to their newspapers.

A young reporter, in commenting on the speech, ended his piece with the following: "The minister told a number of stories that cannot be published."

It's interesting...

From the history of US inaugurations and the media

1845: The first inauguration to be covered by telegraph and the first known newspaper illustration of the event as James Polk takes office.

1857: The first inauguration to be photographed (James Buchanan)

1897: The first to be recorded by motion-picture cameras (William McKinley)

1925: The first inauguration broadcast nationally on radio (Calvin Coolidge?)

1949: Harry S. Truman takes office in the first televised ceremony

1961: John F. Kennedy ceremony televised in colour

1997: Bill Clinton's inauguration is the first to be broadcast live on the internet

It's interesting to know...

☺ **Media's agenda setting power**

The contrast between the media's coverage of the Kennedy and Clinton presidencies clearly demonstrates it. Like what fallen tree, Kennedy's infidelities went unreported and unheard during his term, so they did not concern the public. Due to the media Clinton's infidelities became a prime topic of popular discussion and even led to the Senate hearings.

ACTIVITY

1. Study and analyse the results of the opinion poll given below. What is your conclusion? Give your reasons.

Question: "Did the media influence your decision to vote or your choice of party and candidate? (Up to three responses allowed per card; Responses of those stating they went to the polls)

Voted for...									
	United Russia <i>(Medved in 1999)</i>		KPRF		LDPR <i>(The Zhirinovsky Bloc in 1999)</i>		SPS and Yabloko <i>(responses of both parties' voters taken together)</i>		Rodina
	1999	2003	1999	2003	1999	2003	1999	2003	2003
the media drew my attention to the election	35	18	26	18	31	16	34	21	22
the media clarified issues for me	31	20	26	16	29	19	38	21	26
the media determined my decision to vote/voting choice	30	13	12	13	15	15	21	12	20
the media made the issues more complicated for me	8	5	12	10	12	6	10	7	5
the media had no effect on my decision to vote or my choice	17	37	34	41	23	42	21	32	29
I was not interested in media reports	2	12	6	12	4	7	2	5	8

WRITING

Comment on the following in writing:

1. Although today we get more news from television than from newspapers, newspapers usually do a better job of informing us about politics.
2. The mass media is not reliable. The news is filtered through the ideology of the media owners and editors.
3. The media can have dramatic effects on particular events (consider examples).



INTERNET EXERCISE

Does it really matter which TV channel you watch if you want to get news? To answer this question go to the Television News Archive and Vanderbilt University (www.tvnews.vanderbilt.edu) and follow the link to the site's collection of evening news abstract of ABC, CBS, CAN and NBC. Choose a time period when some important event occurred (either in the USA, GB, Russia or anywhere else), study the way these four networks report about the event. Do they think alike or is there any diversity in their presentations?

Mastering Politics: Mastering English for Politics / E.V.Kuzmina, I.I.Chironova. — Moscow : Moscow University Press, 2020. — 119 p.

The main goal of this ESP course is to develop ability of professional communication in English in the sphere of politics. The course covers a wide variety of topics that are important and interesting for future political analysts. Units are theme-based and structured in compliance with communicative approach to language learning and teaching; much attention is paid to the development of reading, speaking and writing skills. The course is designed for learners of the English language at CEF B1/B2 level and is intended for undergraduate students pursuing a bachelor's degree in political studies.

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