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ON DEMOCRACY IN ENGLISH



Ե.Երզնկյան, Ա.Արրահամյան, Գ.Սևկիք-Բախշյան,
Ն.Մնացականյան, Ն.Ավագյան, Ա.Գևորգյան

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Գրախոսներ՝ Բ.գ.թ., դոցենտ Ս.Չալարյան
Բ.գ.թ., դոցենտ Ա.Սիմոնյան
Բ.գ.թ., դոցենտ Ա.Չուրարյան
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ևս անգլերեն ուսումնասիրող լայն շրջանակի համար

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Նախաբան

Ձեզ ներկայացվող «On Democracy in English» դասագիրքը նախատեսված է միջազգային հարաբերությունների, քաղաքագիտության ֆակուլտետների, ինչպես նաև անգլերեն ուսումնասիրող լայն շրջանակի համար:

Դասագրքի հեղինակները նպատակ են ունեցել ուսանողների մեջ հարստացնել մասնագիտական բառապաշարը՝ այն լրացնելով տեքստից հետո եղած անծանոթ բառերի մանրամասն բառարանով, բազմաբնույթ վարժություններով:

Առաջարկվող տեքստերը ուսանողին ընդհանուր պատկերացում են տալիս ժողովրդավարության և նրա սկզբունքների մասին: Դասագրքի տեքստերը վերցված են բնագրերից, որոնք որոշ դեպքերում հարմարեցված են ուսուցողական նպատակներից ելնելով:

Դասագիրքը բաղկացած է տասներկու գլուխներից: Նյութի առավել լավ յուրացման համար խորհուրդ է տրվում պահպանել վարժությունների այն հաջորդականությունը, որով դրանք դասավորված են: Վարժություններում տրված են մասնագիտական արտահայտությունների թե՛ հայերեն, թե՛ ռուսերեն տարբերակները, ինչը դասագրքից օգտվելու հնարավորություն կընձեռի նաև ռուսերեն լեզվով սովորող ուսանողների համար:

Ուսանողների բանավոր և գրավոր խաքի զարգացման նպատակով յուրաքանչյուր գլխում տրված է բանավեճի թեմա, ինչպես նաև փվյալ տեքստի նոր բառերի օգտագործմամբ համառոտ շարադրանք գրելու առաջադրանք: Դասագիրքը պարունակում է հայտնի մարդկանց ասույթների, հետաքրքաշարժ տեղեկությունների, հումորի բաժին:

Բացի վերը նշված առաջադրանքներից դասագրքում կան նաև լրացուցիչ ընթերցանության համար նախատեսված տեքստեր (Additional Reading), թեմատիկ բառարան (Glossary) հապավումների ընդարձակ ցանկ (List of Abbreviations):

Նեղիմակներն իրենց խորին երախտագիտությունն են հայտնում հայոց լեզվի ամբիոնի դոցենտ, բ.գ.թ. Աշոտ Աբրահամյանին շահագրգիռ քննարկումների և օգտակար խորհուրդների համար:

UNIT 1

DEFINING DEMOCRACY

Government of the People

Democracy may be a word familiar to most, but it is a concept still misunderstood and misused in a time when totalitarian regimes and military dictatorships alike have attempted to claim popular support by pinning democratic labels upon themselves. Yet the power of the democratic idea has also evoked some of history's most profound and moving expressions of human will and intellect: from Pericles in ancient Athens to Vaclav Havel in modern Czechoslovakia, from Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence in 1776 to Andrei Sakharov's last speeches in 1989.

In the dictionary definition, democracy is "government by the people in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system." In the phrase of Abraham Lincoln, democracy is a government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

Freedom and democracy are often used interchangeably, but the two are not synonymous. Democracy is indeed a set of ideas and principles about freedom, but it also consists of a set of practices and procedures that have been moulded through a long, often tortuous history. In short, democracy is the institutionalization of freedom. For this reason, it is possible to identify the time-tested fundamentals of constitutional government, human rights and equality before the law that any society must possess to be properly called democratic.

Democracies fall into two basic categories: direct and representative. In a direct democracy, all citizens, without the intermediary of elected or appointed officials, can participate in making public decisions. Such a system is clearly only practical with relatively small numbers of people - in a community organization or tribal council, for example, or the local unit of a labour union, where members can meet in a single room to discuss

issues and make decisions by consensus or majority vote. Ancient Athens, the world's first democracy, managed to practise direct democracy with an assembly that may have numbered as many as 5,000 to 6,000 persons - perhaps the maximum number that can physically gather in one place and practise direct democracy.

Modern society, with its size and complexity, offers few opportunities for direct democracy. Even in the northeastern United States, where the New England town meeting is a hallowed tradition, most communities have grown too large for all the residents to gather in a single location and vote directly on issues that affect their lives.

Today, the most common form of democracy, whether for a town of 50,000 or nations of 50 million, is representative democracy, in which citizens elect officials to make political decisions, formulate laws and administer programs for the public good. In the name of the people, such officials can deliberate on complex public issues in a thoughtful and systematic manner that requires an investment of time and energy which is often impractical for the vast majority of private citizens.

How such officials are elected can vary enormously. On the national level, for example, legislators can be chosen from districts that each elect a single representative. Alternatively, under a system of proportional representation, each political party is represented in the legislature according to its percentage of the total vote nationwide. Provincial and local elections can mirror these national models, or choose their representatives more informally through group consensus instead of elections. Whatever the method used, public officials in a representative democracy hold office in the name of the people and remain accountable to the people for their actions.

Majority Rule and Minority Rights

All democracies are systems in which citizens freely make political decisions by majority rule. But rule by the majority is not necessarily democratic: no one, for example, would call a system

fair or just that permitted 51 percent of the population to oppress the remaining 49 percent in the name of the majority. In a democratic society, majority rule must be coupled with guarantees of individual human rights that, in turn, serve to protect the rights of minorities - whether ethnic, religious or political, or simply the losers in the debate over a piece of controversial legislation. The rights of minorities do not depend upon the goodwill of the majority and cannot be eliminated by majority vote. The rights of minorities are protected because democratic laws and institutions protect the rights of all citizens.

Diane Ravitch, scholar and formerly an assistant U.S. secretary of education, wrote in a paper for an educational seminar in Poland: "When a representative democracy operates in accordance with a constitution that limits the powers of the government and guarantees fundamental rights to all citizens, this form of government is a constitutional democracy. In such a society, the majority rules, and the rights of minorities are protected by law and through the institutionalization of law."

These elements define the fundamentals of all modern democracies, no matter how varied in history, culture and economy. Despite their enormous differences as nations and societies, the essential elements of constitutional government, majority rule coupled with individual and minority rights, and the rule of law, can be found in Canada and Costa Rica, France and Botswana, Japan and India.

Democratic Society

Democracy is more than a set of constitutional rules and procedures that determine how a government functions. In a democracy, government is only one element coexisting in a social fabric of many and varied institutions, political parties, organizations and associations. This diversity is called pluralism, and it assumes that the many organized groups and institutions in a

democratic society do not depend upon government for their existence, legitimacy or authority.

Thousands of private organizations operate in a democratic society, some local, some national. Many of them serve a mediating role between individuals and the complex social and governmental institutions of which they are a part, filling roles not given to the government and offering individuals opportunities to exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens of a democracy.

These groups represent the interests of their members in a variety of ways - by supporting candidates for public office, debating issues and trying to influence policy decisions. Through such groups, individuals have an avenue for meaningful participation both in government and in their own communities. The examples are many and varied: charitable organizations and churches, environmental and neighborhood groups, business associations and labour unions.

In an authoritarian society, virtually all such organizations would be controlled, licensed, watched, or otherwise accountable to the government. In a democracy, the powers of the government are, by law, clearly defined and sharply limited. As a result, private organizations are free of government control; on the contrary, many of them lobby the government and seek to hold it accountable for its actions. Other groups, concerned with the arts, the practice of religious faith, scholarly research or other interests, may choose to have little or no contact with the government at all.

In this busy private realm of democratic society, citizens can explore the possibilities of freedom and the responsibilities of self-government - unpressured by the potentially heavy hand of the state.

VOCABULARY

claim [kleɪm] **v** **1.** to state or declare sth that is a fact or is the case but not to prove this: *After the battle both sides claimed victory.* **2.** to demand or request sth because it is or one believes it is one's legal right or one's property: *claim diplomatic immunity/ the protection of the law.* **3. (a)** to demand or request money from one's insurance company for sth lost, stolen or damaged: *Have you claimed (the insurance) yet?* **(b)** to demand money as compensation for sth: *They claimed damages for the company's failure to honour the contract* ○ *claim a refund.* **(c)** to apply or ask money from a government, a company, etc because one is entitled to it: *claim expenses for a business trip.* **4.** to require or deserve sth: *unimportant matters claiming one's attention.* **5.** (of a disaster, an accident, etc) to cause the loss of sth or the death of sb: *The earthquake claimed thousands of lives/ victims.*

evoke [ɪ'vəʊk] ^{evoked} **v** to bring an image, a feeling, a memory, etc into one's mind: *evoke admiration/ surprise/ sympathy* ○ *The music evoked memories of her youth.* ^{evoked}

evocation **n** [C, U] (*fml*): ^{evocations} a flood of childhood evocations.

vest [vest] **v** ~ **sth (in sb/sth) (with sth) (fml)** (usu passive) to give sth as a firm or legal right to sb/sth: *vest sb with authority* ○ *Parliament is vested with the power of making laws.*

vested interest **n** a personal interest in a state of affairs, usu with an expectation of gaining sth: *You obviously have a vested interest in Tim's resignation.* ^{vested interest}

exercise [ˈeksəsaɪz] **v** **1.** to perform some kind of physical exercise: *He exercises twice a day.* **2.** to involve sb/sth in physical or mental effort or activity: *Horses get fat if they are not exercised.* **3.** to use or apply sth: *exercise tolerance/ patience/ power/ control* ○ *exercise one's rights as a citizen.* ○ *Teachers exercise authority over their pupils.* **4. (fml)** to worry sb or occupy their thoughts: *This problem is exercising our minds a good deal at the moment.* ○ *I am greatly exercised about my son's education.*

= mediating role

intermediary [ˌɪntəˈmiːdiəri; US -diəri] **n** ~ (between sb and sb) a person who acts as a link or helps to make an agreement between two or more others: *act as an intermediary between the warring factions.*

intermediary [dɪˈliːbrət] **adj**: *play an intermediary role in a dispute.*

consensus [kənˈsɛnsəs] **n** [U, sing] ~ (on sth/that...) a personal agreement about a matter of opinion: *The two parties have reached (a) consensus.* ◦ *There is a broad consensus (of opinion) in the country on this issue.* ◦ *consensus politics (ie the practice of proposing policies which will be given support by all or most parties).*

deliberate [dɪˈliːbrət] **adj** **1.** done intentionally: *the deliberate killing of unarmed civilians* ◦ *deliberate and cynical lie/ ploy.* **2.** not hurried; careful: *She has a slow, deliberate way of talking.*

deliberately **adv** *She said it deliberately to provoke me.* ◦ *moving slowly and deliberately.*

legislature [ˈledʒɪslətʃ(ə(r))] **n** (fml) a body of people with the power to make or change laws: *the Quebec legislature.*

legislate **v** ~ (for/against/on sth) to make laws: *legislate against discrimination in the workplace* ◦ *legislate to allow prosecution of war criminals* ◦ *Parliament does much more than legislate.*

legislation **n** [U] (a) a law or series of laws: *proposed new legislation on vehicle emissions.* (b) the process of making laws: *Legislation will be difficult and will take time.*

legislative **adj** involved with or concerning the making of the laws: *a legislative assembly/ council/ body.*

legislator **n** (fml) a member of a body that makes laws.

account [əˈkaʊnt] **n** **1.** (abbr a/c) a written statement of money paid or owed for goods or services: *send in an account* ◦ *settle one's account* (ie pay what one owes) ◦ *keep the accounts* (ie keep a detailed record of money spent or received). **2.** (abbr a/c) an arrangement made with a bank, etc which allows sb to leave their money there until they need it or to borrow money from the bank: *have an account at/ with a bank* ◦ *open/ close an account* ◦ *pay money into/ draw money out of an account.* **3.** = credit account. **4.** a report or description of an event: *She*

gave the police a full account of the incident. ○ *Don't believe the newspaper account* (of what happened). **IDM by/ from all accounts** according to what has been said or reported: *I've never been there but it is, by all accounts, a lovely place.* **by one's own account** according to what one says oneself: *By his own account he had a rather unhappy childhood.* **on account of sth; on this/that account** because of sth; for this/that reason: *We delayed our departure on account of the bad weather.* **on no account; not on any account** not for any reason: *Don't on any account leave the house unlocked.* **on one's own account** 1. for one's own benefit and at one's own risk: *work on one's own account.* 2. on one's own behalf: *I was worried on my own account, not yours.* **take account of sth; take sth into account** to consider the importance of a particular factor, consequence, etc when making a decision: *You must take his age into account when you judge his performance.*

accountable [ə'kauntəbl] **adj** ~ (to sb) (for sth) required or expected to give an explanation of one's actions, expenditure, etc: responsible: *Who are you accountable to in the organization?* ○ *He is mentally ill and cannot be held accountable for his actions.*

accountability n [U]: *the accountability of local government to Parliament.*

just [dʒʌst] **adj** 1. based on or behaving according to accepted moral principles: reasonable and fair: *a just decision/ law/ society.* 2. deserved; appropriate to the circumstances: *a just reward/ punishment.*

the just n just people.

justly **adv**: *act justly* ○ *a justly famous poem.*

eliminate [i'limineɪt] **v** 1. ~ sb/sth (from sth) to remove sb/sth, esp sb/sth that is not wanted or needed; to get rid of sb/sth: *eliminate drug trafficking* ○ *The police have eliminated two suspects.* 2. (informal) to kill sb esp a potential opponent, enemy, etc: *The dictator had eliminated all his political rivals.* 3. ~ sb (from sth) (esp passive) to exclude sb from further stages in a competition, eg by defeating them: *He was eliminated (from the contest) in the fourth round.*

legitimate [li'dʒɪtɪmət] **adj** 1. that can be defended; reasonable: *a perfectly legitimate argument/ concern/ expectation.* 2. in accordance

with the law or rules; legal: *I'm not sure that his business is strictly legitimate.* **3.** (of a child) born to parents who are legally married to each other.

legitimacy **n** [U] (*fml*): *question the legitimacy of sb's actions.*

legitimately **adv** *He can now legitimately claim to be the best in the world.*

legitimize, -ise **v** (*fml*) to make sth legal or regular: *a court ruling that legitimizes the position taken by the protestors.*

authority [ɔ:'θɒrəti] **n** **1.** [U] **(a)** the power to give orders and make others obey: *The leader must be a person of authority.* ○ *She now has authority over the people she used to take orders from.* ○ *a deep distrust of those in authority* ○ *I am acting under the authority of the UN.* **(b)** ~ **(to do sth)** the right to act in a specific way: *We have the authority to search this building.* **2.** [C often pl] a person or group having the power to make decisions or take action: *I shall have to report this to the authorities.* **3.** **(a)** [U] the power to influence people because of inspiring respect, having special knowledge, etc: *He can speak with authority on a great range of subjects.* **(b)** [C, U] ~ **(on sth)** a person with special knowledge: *She's an authority on phonetics.* **(c)** [C] a book, etc that can supply reliable information or evidence: *What is your authority for that statement?* ○ *I have it on good authority* (ie have reliable information) *that she's thinking of leaving her job.*

spy
mediate ['mi:diət] **v** **1.** **(a)** ~ **(between sb and sb)** to try to get agreement between two or more people or groups who disagree with each other: *A UN mission has been sent to mediate between the warring factions.* ○ *play a mediating role.* **(b)** to achieve sth by doing this: *mediate a peace settlement.* **2.** (*fml*) to make it possible for eg an idea or a feeling to be perceived or communicated; to form a link for sth: *Thought is always mediated by language.*

mediation **n** [U]: *All offers of mediation were rejected.*

mediator **n** a person or an organization that mediates.

lobby ['lɒbi] **n** **1.** [C] a usu large area inside the main entrance of a public building leading to the other rooms: *the lobby of a hotel/ theater.*

2. [C] (in the British Parliament) a large hall open to the public and used

for interviews with Members of Parliament. **3.** a group of people who try to influence politicians on a particular issue: *The antinuclear lobby is becoming stronger.*

lobby v ~ (sb) (for sth) to try to persuade a politician to support or oppose changes to the law: *lobby MPs/ Congress for higher farm subsidies* ◦ *fishermen lobbying for higher quotas.*

lobbyist n a person who lobbies.

realm [relm] n 1. (*finl* or *rhet*) a country ruled by a king or queen: *the defence of the realm* ◦ *coins/ peers/ laws of the realm.* **2.** a field of activity or interest: *in the realm of literature/ science* ◦ *Here, I think, he's moving into the realms of fantasy.*

EXERCISES.

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

Totalitarian regime; military dictatorship; tortuous history; institutionalization of freedom; to practise direct democracy; hallowed tradition; to formulate laws; to administer programs; public good; to hold office; to remain (be) accountable to sb; majority rule; controversial legislation; goodwill of the majority; mediating role; to exercise rights and responsibilities; public office; to debate issues; authoritarian society; to lobby the government; private realm.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. declaration
2. to exercise
3. fundamental n.
4. consensus
5. to deliberate
6. accountable
7. to oppress
8. to eliminate

9. to limit
10. to guarantee
11. to assume
12. authority
13. to mediate
14. authoritarian
15. to license

Power, dictatorial, to suppose, proclamation, jurisdiction, to accept, announcement, to utilize, to restrict, to reason, to intercede, to speculate, basis, to employ, understanding, to rule out, to assure, to eradicate, to certify, to intervene, to accredit, to interfere, to abuse, to warrant, dogmatic, to confine, to commission, to suppress, liable, axiom, to maltreat, accord, principle, to practise, responsible, to think, to authorize, agreement, supremacy.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. profound | a. arbitrary |
| 2. consent | b. identity |
| 3. complex | c. urban |
| 4. systematic | d. civilian |
| 5. enormous | e. liberal |
| 6. provincial | f. shallow |
| 7. faith | g. simple |
| 8. diversity | h. disbelief |
| 9. authoritarian | i. tiny |
| 10. military | j. disagreement |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. They gave a press conference the day after the ----- of Independence was signed.
2. There was a basis for ----- between the two parties.
3. After ----- for 28 hours the union decided to end the strike.

4. His enjoyments in life are ----- to fighting and drinking.
5. His writing displays the ----- of human character and capacity.
6. We cannot ----- the punctual arrival of buses in foggy weather.
7. She now has ----- over the people she used to take order from.
8. ----- between the two sides in this dispute will be a delicate business.
9. Christians who have lost their ----- may still observe certain rules of Christian morality.
10. There is a broad ----- of opinion in the country on this issue.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
deliberation	-----	-----
-----	-----	legislative
accountability	-----	-----
-----	coexist	-----
-----	-----	legitimate
authority	-----	-----
-----	mediate	-----
oppression	-----	-----
-----	-----	controversial
-----	consent	-----
charity	-----	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 1. to mould | a. deep; intense; very great |
| 2. profound | b. to shape a soft substance into a particular form or object |
| 3. to pin | c. a type of cloth, esp. one that is woven; the structure of sth |

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 4. tortuous | d. a member of a body that makes laws |
| 5. hallowed | e. public discussion or argument, often rather angry |
| 6. resident | f. treated with great respect, esp because of being old |
| 7. to affect | g. very large in area, size, quantity or degree; huge |
| 8. vast | h. full of twists and turns |
| 9. legislator | i. a group of similar things that belong together in some way |
| 10. ethnic | j. to accept sth as true before there is proof |
| 11. controversy | k. to cause sth to happen in a particular way |
| 12. set | l. to have an influence on sb/sth |
| 13. to determine | m. to attach sth with a pin or pins |
| 14. fabric | n. a person who lives or has a home in a place, not a visitor |
| 15. to assume | o. belonging to a specified country or area by birth |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

free

a) Ազատ ընտրական համակարգ, սահմանադրական կառավարման հիմունքներ, որոշումներ կայացնել փոխհամաձայնությամբ կամ ձայների մեծամասնությամբ, իրականացնել ուղղակի/ ներկայացուցչական ժողովրդավարություն, սուրբ ավանդույթ /սրբորեն պահվող ավանդույթ/, քննարկել բարդ հասարակական հարցեր, ճնշող մեծամասնություն, համամասնական ներկայացուցչության համակարգ, ժողովրդի անունից, վիճահարույց օրենսդրություն, գործել սահմանադրության համաձայն, հիմնական իրավունքներ երաշխավորել բոլոր քաղաքացիներին, սահմանադրական կառույցների և ընթացակարգերի ամբողջություն, միջնորդի դեր կապարել, ազդել կառավարության վրա:

b) Свободная избирательная система; основы конституционного правления; принимать решения на основе консенсуса или большинством голосов; осуществлять прямую/представительскую демократию; свято чтимые традиции; обсуждать сложные социальные вопросы; подавляющее большинство; система пропорционального представительства; от имени народа; противоречивое законодательство; действовать согласно конституции; гарантировать основные права всем гражданам; свод конституционных правил и процедур; выполнять роль посредника; лоббировать правительство.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

For a phenomenon as complex as democracy, its first appearance is remarkably easy pinpointed. The city-state of Athens in the fifth century B.C., Periclean Athens, named for its most celebrated leader, inspired generations of later political theorists and statesmen. Yet many aspects of Athenian democracy appear strange and unfamiliar to modern eyes.

The central political institution in Athens of the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. was the assembly usually composed of 5,000 to 6,000 members, and open to all adult male citizens. (Women, slaves and foreigners excluded). By simple majority vote, the Assembly could decide virtually any domestic issue without any legal restrictions. Trials conducted by juries of 501 citizens who also decided guilt or innocence by majority vote.

Perhaps most remarkably, the leaders of the Assembly were not elected, but chosen by lot, since Athenians believed that any citizen was capable of holding public office. Not that there were many such offices to fill: generals were elected for one-year terms, but otherwise Periclean Athens lacked any recognizable executive institutions such as president, prime minister, Cabinet or permanent civil service. The weight of decision-making fell almost exclusively upon the citizen-members of the Assembly - a burden of public service that most people today would find unacceptable.

Without constitutional limits, the Athens of Pericles prone to factionalism and manipulation by shrewd or eloquent orators. It was democratic Athens, after all, which condemned to death the philosopher Socrates, thereby earning the undying enmity of Socrates' most celebrated pupil and fervent anti-democrat, Plato.

Despite its enemies and weaknesses Athenian democracy was no fragile flower. It endured for approximately 200 years - surviving even defeat in the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. at the hands of its archrival, Sparta.

to exclude/ to pinpoint/ executive/ to conduct/ exclusively/ to prone/ eloquent/ to condemn/ the Assembly/ fervent/ archrival

7. Render in English.

a) Կառավարություններն այնպիսի կառույցներ են, որոնք ծառայում են մարդկանց խմբերին ներքին ու արտաքին սպառնալիքներից պաշտպանվելու և այնպիսի քաղաքականություն վարելու համար, որն առավելագույնս նպաստավոր կենսապայմաններ կստեղծի նրանց համար: Եվ քանի որ կառավարությունները մարդկային հասարակություններից գրեթե ամենահամընդհանուրն են, ուստի բնական է, որ նրանց գոյությունը անվիճարկելիորեն ընդունվում է, և, հնարաբար, նրանց գործառույթները ոչ միշտ են հստակ գիտակցվում: Երբ մի բան այնքան սովորական է, որ նրա գոյությունը գրեթե նրբաբ հարցականի փակ չի դրվում, նրա նշանակությունն էլ լիովին չի ըմբռնվում: Ննարավոր է, որ շափերը բավարար պարկերացում ունենան կառավարման ձևերի կամ որոշակի քաղաքականության ու գործառույթների մանրամասների վերաբերյալ, սակայն կառավարության բուն էությունը հազվադեպ է ընկալվում:

ներքին և արտաքին սպառնալիք – an internal and external threat
նպաստավոր կենսապայմաններ ստեղծել – to create favourable conditions

ընդունել անվիճարկելիորեն – to take for granted

հարցականի փակ դնել գոյությունը – to question the existence of sth

b) Понятие "демократия" происходит от греческого слова "demos", означающего "народ". В демократических странах именно народ обладает суверенной властью над законодателем и правительством.

Несмотря на то, что в этом отношении в демократических государствах имеются различные нюансы, демократическое правление от других форм государственной власти отличают определенные принципы и практические подходы.

Демократия является формой правления, при которой все граждане участвуют в управлении государством и принимают на себя ответственность перед обществом либо непосредственно, либо через своих свободно избираемых представителей.

Демократия представляет собой совокупность принципов и практических мер, защищающих свободу человека. Демократия - это институционализация (введение в законные рамки) свободы.

происходить от ... – to derive from ...

обладать властью над законодателем – to have (possess) power over the legislator

различные нюансы -- various nuances

свободно избираемые представители – freely elected representatives

совокупность принципов – a set of principles

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Define the words “freedom” and “democracy”. Draw a parallel between these two notions.
2. What is democracy according to Abraham Lincoln? Give your own understanding of democracy.
3. Expand on the two types of democracy.
4. Is Armenia a democratic country? Give reasons to support your answer.

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “Democracy in Armenia”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 100 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

- All the ills of democracy can be cured by more democracy.

(Adam Smith)

- If you can't convince them, confuse them.

(Harry S. Truman)

- The only thing worse than being talked about is not being talked about.

(Oscar Wilde)

It is interesting to know...

❖ Half the world's population earns about 5% of the world's wealth.

❖ The two-finger V for Victory sign was the idea of a Belgian refugee in London, Victor De Laveleye.

❖ It is told that Nostradamus was in his late 40s when, he frequently went into a meditative state and had visions of the future. He began to document the visions in a mixture of Latin, French, and Greek quatrains, publishing his famous "Centuries" in 1558.

Nostradamus was married twice, losing his first wife and two children to the plague. He died on July 2, 1566. "Centuries" was translated into English in 1672. In 1781 it was banned by the Roman Catholic Church. Ironically, in 1553, when Nostradamus encountered a group of Franciscan monks he threw himself on his knees, clutching at the garment of one of the monks, Felice Peretti. When asked why he had done this he replied that he must yield "before his Holiness." Nineteen years after the death of Nostradamus, Peretti became Pope Sixtus V.

Time for fun

"Pa, what is a politician?"

"Son, a politician is a human machine with a wagging tongue."

"Then, what is a statesman?"

"It is an ex-politician who has mastered the art of holding his tongue."

* * * * *

"What makes you think the baby is going to be a great politician?" asked the young mother anxiously.

"I'll tell you," answered the young father, contentedly; "he can say more things that sound well and mean nothing at all than any kid I ever saw."

UNIT 2

ELECTIONS

The Benchmark of Elections

Elections are the central institution of democratic representative governments. Why? Because, in a democracy, the authority of the government derives solely from the consent of the governed. The principal mechanism for translating that consent into governmental authority is the holding of free and fair elections.

All modern democracies hold elections, but not all elections are democratic. Right-wing dictatorships, Marxist regimes and single-party governments also stage elections to give their rule the aura of legitimacy. In such elections, there may be only one candidate or a list of candidates, with no alternative choices. Such elections may offer several candidates for each office, but ensure through intimidation or rigging that only the government-approved candidate is chosen. Other elections may offer genuine choices – but only within the incumbent party. These are not democratic elections.

What are Democratic Elections?

Jeane Kirkpatrick, scholar and former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, has offered this definition: “Democratic elections are not merely symbolic. They are periodic, general, definitive elections in which the chief decision-makers in a government are selected by citizens who enjoy broad freedom to criticize government, to publish their criticism and to present alternatives.”

What do Kirkpatrick’s criteria mean? Democratic elections are competitive. Opposition parties and candidates must enjoy the freedom of speech, assembly and movement necessary to voice their criticism of the government openly, and to bring alternative

policies and candidates to the voters. Simply permitting the opposition access to the ballot is not enough. Elections in which the opposition is barred from the airwaves, has its rallies harassed or its censored newspapers are not democratic. The party in power may enjoy the advantages of incumbency, but the rules and conduct of the election contest must be fair.

Democratic elections are periodic. Democracies do not elect dictators or presidents-for-life. Elected officials are accountable to the people, and they must return to the voters at prescribed intervals to seek their mandate to continue in office. This means that officials in a democracy must accept the risk of being voted out of office. The only exception is judges who, to insulate them against popular pressure and help ensure their impartiality, may be appointed for life and removed only for serious improprieties.

Democratic elections are inclusive. The definition of citizen and voter must be large enough to include a large proportion of the adult population. A government chosen by a small, exclusive group is not a democracy – no matter how democratic its internal workings may appear. One of the great dramas of democracy throughout history has been the struggle of excluded groups – whether racial, ethnic and religious minorities, or women – to win full citizenship, and with it, the right to vote and hold office. In the United States, for example, only white male property holders enjoyed the right to elect and be elected when the Constitution was signed in 1787. The property qualification disappeared by the early 19th century, and women won the right to vote in 1920. Black Americans, however, didn't enjoy full voting rights in the southern United States until the civil rights movement of the 1960s. And finally, in 1971, younger citizens were given the right to vote when the United States lowered the voting age from 21 to 18.

Democratic elections are definitive. They determine the leadership of the government. Subject to the laws and constitution of the country, popularly elected representatives hold the reins of

power. They are not simply figureheads or symbolic leaders.

Finally, democratic elections are not limited to selecting candidates. Voters can also be asked to decide policy directly through referenda¹ and initiatives that are placed on the ballot. In the United States, for example, state legislatures can decide to “refer” or place an issue directly before the voters. In the case of an initiative, citizens themselves can gather a prescribed number of signatures (usually a percentage of the number of registered voters in that state) and require that an issue be placed on the next ballot – even over the objections of the state legislature or governor. In a state such as California, voters confront dozens of legislative initiatives each time they vote – on issues ranging from environmental pollution to automobile insurance costs.

Democratic Ethics and the Loyal Opposition

Democracies thrive on openness and accountability, with one very important exception: the act of voting itself. To cast a free ballot and minimize the opportunity for intimidation, voters in a democracy must be permitted to cast their ballots in secret. At the same time, the protection of the ballot box and tallying of vote totals must be conducted as openly as possible, so that citizens are confident that the results are accurate and that the government does, indeed, rest upon their “consent”.

One of the most difficult concepts for some to accept, especially in nations where the transition of power has historically taken place at the point of a gun, is that of the “loyal opposition.” This idea is a vital one, however. It means, in essence, that all sides in a democracy share a common commitment to its basic value. Political competitors don’t necessarily have to like each other, but they must tolerate one another and acknowledge that each has a legitimate and important role to play. Moreover, the ground rules of the society must encourage tolerance and civility in public debate.

When the election is over, the losers accept the judgment of

the voters. If the incumbent party loses, it turns over power peacefully. No matter who wins, both sides agree to cooperate in solving the common problems of the society. The losers, now in the political opposition, know that they will not lose their lives or go to jail. On the contrary, the opposition, whether it consists of one party or many, can continue to participate in public life, with the knowledge that its role is essential in any democracy worthy of the name. They are loyal not to the specific policies of the government, but to the fundamental legitimacy of the state, and to the democratic process itself.

As the next election comes around, opposition parties will again have the opportunity to compete for power. In addition, a pluralistic society, one in which the reach of government is limited, tends to offer election losers alternatives for public service outside government. Those defeated at the polls may choose to continue as a formal opposition party, but they may also decide to participate in the wider political process and debate through writing, teaching or joining one of many private organizations concerned with public policy issues. Democratic elections, after all, are not a fight for survival, but a competition to serve.

NOTES

1. referendum (*pl* referenda or referendums) – a vote taken on an important issue by all the people of a country, etc: hold a referendum on ending military service ○ settle a national issue by referendum.

VOCABULARY

derive [di'raɪv] **v** 1. ~ **sth from sth** (*fmI*) to get or obtain sth from sth: *derive great pleasure from art* ○ *She derived no benefit from the course of drugs.* 2. (a) ~ **from sth** as its source or origin: *Many English words derive from Latin.* (b) ~ **sth from sth** to find the source of sth: *The word 'politics' is derived from a Greek word meaning 'city'.*

solely ['səʊlli] **adv** alone; only; not involving sb/sth else: *be solely responsible for the accident.*

sole **adj** 1. one and only; single: *the sole survivor of the crash* ○ *His sole concern was for the children.* 2. belonging to or restricted to one person or group; not shared: *have sole responsibility for sth* ○ *the sole owner* ○ *the sole agent.*

incumbent [ɪn'kʌmbənt] **adj** 1. [pred] ~ **on/upon sb** (*fmI*) necessary as part of sb's duty: *It is incumbent upon all users of this equipment to familiarize themselves with the safety procedure.* 2. holding the specified official position; current: *the incumbent president.*

incumbent **n** a person holding an official position: *the present incumbent at the White House* (ie the US President).

incumbency [-ənsɪ] **n** the position or period of office of an incumbent.

assembly [ə'sembli] **n** 1. (a) [U] the meeting together of a group of people for a specific purpose: *deny sb the right of assembly* (b) a group of people meeting together, esp to discuss matters of national importance: *The motion was put to the assembly.* ○ *the legislative assemblies of the USA.* ○ *The national assembly has/ have met to discuss the crisis.* 2. (a) [U] the action or process of fitting together the parts of sth: *The assembly of cars is often done by machines.* (b) [C] a unit consisting of smaller manufactured parts that have been fitted together: *the tail assembly of an aircraft.*

access ['ækses] **n** [U] 1. ~ **(to sth)** a means of approaching or entering a place; a way in: *The only access to the farmhouse is across the fields.* 2. ~ **(to sth/sb)** the opportunity or right to use sth or approach sb: *gain/ get access to classified information* ○ *Students should have access to a good library.* ○ *Journalists were denied access to the president.*

access **v** 1. (*computing*) to open a computer file in order to get information from or put information into it: *She accessed three different files to find the correct information.* 2. to approach, enter or use sth: *The loft can be accessed by ladder.*

accessible **adj** ~ (to sb) 1. that can be reached, used, etc: *a beach accessible only from the sea.* ○ *documents not accessible to the public.* 2. easy to use or understand: *Her poetry is always very accessible.*

bar [bɑ:(r)] **n** 1. [C] (a) a building or a room in a hotel, pub, etc in which both alcoholic and other drinks are served: *a bar menu; a cocktail bar.* (b) a counter where drinks are served: *sitting on a stool at/by the bar; the poolside bar area.* 2. [C] (esp in compounds) a place in which light meals, cakes, etc are served, as well as tea, coffee, soft drinks, etc: *a sandwich bar; a coffee bar.* 3. [C] (a) a long straight piece of metal: *an iron bar.* (b) a piece of solid material made in a regular shape: *a bar of chocolate/ soap.* (c) a narrow piece of wood or metal, often parallel to others in a grid, designed to stop people getting through a door, window, etc: *There's a strong bar on the door.* (d) (in an electric fire) a long coil of metal that becomes red and provides heat when electricity is passed through it: *Switch another bar on if you're cold.* 4. [C] any of the sections of equal value in time into which a piece of music is divided, and the notes in it: *Hum the opening bars of your favourite tune.* 5. [C usu sing] ~ (to sth) a thing that delays or stops progress; a barrier: *Poor health may be a bar to success in life.* 6. the Bar (a) (*Brit*) the profession of Barrister: *be called to the bar* (ie be received into the profession of barrister). (b) (*US*) the legal profession. **IDM**

behind bars (*infml*) in prison **bar chart** **n** a diagram on which narrow bands of equal width but varying height are used to represent quantities.

bar code **n** a pattern of thick and thin parallel lines printed on books in a library, goods in shops, etc. It contains information in code that a computer can interpret.

bar [bɑ:(r)] **v** (-rr-) 1. to fasten a door, gate, etc with a metal or wooden bar: *barred windows.* 2. to form an obstacle across sth so as to prevent sb's progress: *Troops barred the road so we had to turn back.* 3. ~ sb (from sth/doing sth) to prevent sb from using sth or from doing sth: to forbid sb/sth: *She was barred from (entering) the competition*

because of her age.

bar prep except for sb/sth: *The whole class is here bar two that are sick.*

rally [ˈræli] **n** 1. [C] a large, usu political, public meeting: *attend/address a party rally* ○ *organize/ hold/ stage a "peace rally"*. 2. (sing) a recovery of health, strength, etc. eg after an illness or a time of weakness: *an unexpected/ late rally of shares on the Stock Market*. 3. [C] (in tennis, etc) a series of strokes before a point is scored: *That was a great rally!* 4. [C] a race for motor vehicles over public roads: *rally driving.*

rally v 1. (a) ~ (round/ behind/ to sb/sth); ~ (round) (of people) to come together in order to support sb/sth when there is danger, need, etc: *When their mother was ill, the children all rallied round (her).* ○ *Her colleagues rallied to her defence when she was accused of stealing.* (b) ~ sb/sth (round sb) to bring people, support, etc together in this way: *The Prime Minister has managed to rally public opinion (to his side).* ○ *The leader rallied his men (round him)* ○ *The rallying cry of (ie call for support by) the party leaders*. 2. to recover health, strength, etc after an illness or time of weakness: *The pound rallied today against the German mark. The team rallied after a poor first half.* 3. (finance) (of share prices, etc) to increase after a fall.

harass [ˈhærəs, həˈræs] **v** 1. to trouble and annoy sb continually: *He complained of being harassed by the police.* 2. to make repeated attacks on an enemy: *aid convoys continually harassed by guerrillas.*

harassed adj feeling or showing strain, eg because one has too much to do: *a harassed-looking waiter* ○ *Shopping in town left her feeling tired and harassed.*

harassment n [U]: *be subject to racial/ sexual/ police harassment.*

insulate [ˈɪnsjuleɪt] **v** 1. ~ (sth) (from/against sth) to protect sth by covering it with a material that prevents sth, esp heat, electricity or sound, from passing through: *Plastic insulates well.* 2. ~ sb/sth from/against sth to protect sb/sth from the unpleasant effects of sth: *children carefully insulated from harmful experiences* ○ *Index-linked pensions insulate people against inflationary price increases.*

insulated adj protected with a material so as to prevent loss of heat, electricity, etc: *an insulated wire* ◦ *a well-insulated house*.

insulating adj giving this kind of protection: *insulating materials/properties*.

insulation n [U] (a) the action of insulating sth or the state of being insulated: *Foam rubber provides good insulation*. (b) materials used for this: *pack the wall cavity with insulation*.

impartial [ɪm'pɑ:ʃl] **adj** not favouring one person or thing more than another; fair or neutral: *an impartial judge/judgment*.

impartiality [ɪm,pɑ:ʃi'æləti] **n** [U]: *He has a reputation for political impartiality*.

impart v (fml) 1. ~ **sth** (to **sth**) to give a quality to sth: *Her presence imparted an air of gaiety (to the occasion)*. 2. ~ **sth** (to **sb**) to make information known to sb; to reveal sth: *Teachers impart a great deal of knowledge to their pupils*.

rein [rein] **n** 1. (a) [C often pl] a long, narrow, usu leather, band fastened around the neck of a horse. The rider holds and pulls the reins in order to guide and control the horse: *Don't let go of the reins*. ◦ ride on a short/ long rein (ie use more/ less control). (b) **reins** [pl] a similar device for restraining a small child. 2. **reins** [pl] **the ~s** (of **sth**) (esp *rhet*) the state of being in control or being the leader of sth: *hold/ take up the reins of government* (ie govern/ begin to govern). **IDM** **give, etc free/full rein to sb/sth** to give complete freedom of action or expression to sb/sth: *give free rein to town planners* ◦ *allow one's imagination free rein*.

rein v **PHRV** **rein sth in; rein sb/sth back** 1. to restrain or control sb/sth: *rein in public expenditure* ◦ *The leader needs to rein back the extremists in his party*. 2. to slow down or stop a horse by pulling back the reins.

figurehead [ˈfɪgəhed] **n** 1. a large wooden statue, usu representing a human figure, placed at the front end of a ship. 2. a person in a high position but without real authority: *The elected head of state is a figurehead only – the real power lies elsewhere*.

thrive [θraɪv] **v** ~ (on **sth**) to live, continue, grow or develop well and vigorously: *a thriving industry/ community/ garden*.

tally [ˈtæli] **n** a record of amounts, or a score in a game: *a match tally of 14 points* ◦ *Keep a tally of how much you spend.*

tally **v** ~ (with sth) (of statements, amounts, etc) to correspond; to be consistent with sth: *These figures don't tally.* ◦ *Luckily for you, his story tallies with yours.*

survive [səˈvaɪv] **v** 1. ~ (from sth); ~ (on sth) to continue to live or exist: *Of the six people in the plane when it crashed, only one survived.*

2. to continue to live or exist in spite of nearly being killed or destroyed by sth: *survive an earthquake/ shipwreck* ◦ *Few buildings survived the bombing raids.* 3. to remain alive after sb has died: *The old lady has survived all her children.*

survival [səˈvaɪvl] **n** 1. [U] the state of continuing to live or exist, often in spite of difficulty or danger: *the miraculous survival of some people in the air crash* ◦ *fight for one's political survival* ◦ *survival skills.* 2. [C] ~ (from sth) a person, thing or practice that has survived from an earlier time: *The ceremony is a survival from pre-Christian times.*

survivor **n** a person who has survived: *send help to the survivors of the earthquake* ◦ *survivors from the original team* (ie members who remain in it while others have been replaced).

essence [ˈesns] **n** 1. [U] that which makes a thing what it is; the most important quality, feature or characteristic of sth: *The essence of his argument is that capitalism cannot succeed.* 2. [C,U] an extract of a plant, drug, etc, containing all its important qualities in concentrated form: *vanilla essence.* **IDM of the essence** necessary and very important: *Speed is of the essence in dealing with an emergency.*

benchmark [ˈbentʃmɑ:k] **n** an example of sth which is used as a standard or point of reference for making comparisons: *This settlement will be seen as a benchmark for future negotiations.*

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

Free and fair elections; right-wing dictatorship; single-party government; to stage elections; alternative choices; government-approved candidate; incumbent party/ president; to voice one's criticism openly; access to the ballot; at prescribed intervals; to seek one's mandate; to be voted out of office; to enjoy the right; full voting rights; to hold the reins of power; figureheads or symbolic leaders; to thrive on openness and accountability; the tallying of vote totals; the ground rules of the society; to encourage tolerance and civility; fundamental legitimacy of the state; to compete for power; a pluralistic society; at the polls.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. sole
2. access
3. ballot
4. to bar
5. mandate
6. to insulate
7. environment
8. to thrive
9. vital
10. definitive
11. competitor

Single, to prohibit, surroundings, opponent, to separate, admission, vote, authority, support, background, to prosper, essential, urgent, unique, complete, entrée, final, to prevent, to isolate, to succeed, rival.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. genuine <i>g</i> | a. illegitimate |
| 2. to acknowledge | b. cooperation |
| 3. competitive | c. to languish |
| 4. opposition | d. exclusive |
| 5. fair <i>h</i> | e. impious |
| 6. inclusive <i>d</i> | f. to deny |
| 7. religious | g. false |
| 8. legitimate <i>a</i> | h. biased |
| 9. loyal <i>j</i> | i. unambitious |
| 10. to thrive <i>c</i> | j. traitorous |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

- The only ----- to the farmhouse is across the fields.
- These animals rarely ----- in captivity.
- Poverty ----- the way to progress.
- His ----- concern was for children.
- It is generally ----- to be true.
- Car exhaust fumes are ruining our ----- .
- Our election victory has given us a clear ----- for our policies.
- Our firm is no longer ----- in world markets.
- Voters in a democracy must cast their ----- in secret.
- This is a matter of ----- concern for us all.

3. Complete the table.

Noun	Verb	Adjective
-----	access	-----
derivation	-----	-----

-----	prescribe	-----
-----	-----	opposed
-----	compete	-----
-----	-----	inclusive
tolerance	-----	-----
-----	-----	insulated
-----	harass	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1. benchmark | a. including the stated limit or extremes |
| 2. periodic | b. to prosper steadily; to grow vigorously |
| 3. to thrive | c. required or expected to give an explanation of one's actions, expenditure, etc; responsible |
| 4. inclusive | d. involving people competing against each other |
| 5. accountable | e. firm, final, done with authority and not to be questioned or changed |
| 6. opposition | f. an example of sth which is used as a standard or point of reference for making comparisons |
| 7. competitive | g. the state or action of opposing sb/sth; resistance |
| 8. issue | h. a distinctive atmosphere that seems to surround and be caused by a person or thing |
| 9. definitive | i. polite behaviour |
| 10. aura | j. occurring or appearing at intervals |
| 11. civility | k. a matter the decision of which is of special or public importance |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Անցկացնել ազատ և արդար ընտրություններ, աջաթևյան բռնապետություն, իշխող կուսակցություն, պարբերական/համընդհանուր/որոշիչ ընտրություններ, քվեարկելու լիակազար իրավունք, իշխանության դեկր ձեռքում պահել, զցել քվեաթերթիկ, խրախուսել հանդուրժողականություն և բարեկրթություն, հասարակական բանավեճեր, պե-

փության օրինականութիւն, մրցակցելի իշխանության համար, պարփութիւն կրել ընտրութիւններէ ժամանակ, հիմնական օրէնքներ, քվեարկության մասնակցության իրավունք, ցմահ նախագահ, թույլ չփախ ելույթ ունենալ հեռուստափնտրութեամբ:

b) Проводить свободные и справедливые выборы; правая диктатура; правящая партия; периодические/всобщие/решающие выборы; полноценное право голосования; держать в руках руль управления; опускать избирательный бюллетень; поощрять терпимость и цивилизованность; общественные дебаты; легитимность государства; конкурировать в борьбе за власть; терпеть поражение во время выборов (проиграть выборы); основные законы; право голоса (право участия в голосовании); пожизненный президент, запретить выступать по телевидению.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

Many types of government exist, described by such words as democratic, authoritarian, _____, dictatorial, republican, parliamentary, monarchical, presidential, unitary, and federal. _____ of type, all governments make and enforce law, provide services for their citizens, and _____ justice. The type of government is determined by the way in which legislative, _____ and judicial power is organized and distributed. No matter how it is organized, effective government, or the ability to demonstrate control over _____, essential attribute of statehood under international law.

The government of the nation-state is the most powerful _____ for social control yet devised by man, and takes _____ over other institutions for social control. Organized society implies the presence of rules _____ throughout the society, and it is government, _____ the rule-making power and the monopoly of force necessary to ensure ultimate _____, that prevents anarchy and makes organized social living possible.

/

to exercise/ to administer/ applicable/ executive/ precedence/
regardless/ compliance/ oligarchic / instrument/ populace

7. Render in English.

a) 20-րդ դարի երկրորդ կեսին ամերիկյան քաղաքական ընտրարշավների գլխավոր առանձնահատկություններից մեկն է եղել դրանց արժեքը: Լինքոլնի առաջին ընտրությունների կազմակերպման նպատակով կուսակցությունները ծախսել էին ընդամենը 100000 դոլար: Գրեթե մեկ դար անց՝ 1952թ. կայացած վերջին խոշորաձավալ ընտրարշավի ընթացքում, որը չէր լուսաբանվում հեռուստատեսությամբ, կամ, եթե լուսաբանվում էր՝ ապա աննշան չափով, երկու կուսակցությունների ծախսերը կազմեցին 140 միլիոն դոլար, որից 11,5 միլիոնը ծախսվեց նախագահական մրցապայքարի համար: 1972թ. ընտրարշավների կազմակերպման գործին տրամադրվեց շուրջ 400 միլիոն դոլար:

գլխավոր առանձնահատկություն – major feature

չլուսաբանել կամ լուսաբանել աննշան չափով – to conduct with no or little television

նախագահական մրցապայքար – presidential campaign

b) Государства с демократической формой правления регулярно проводят свободные и справедливые выборы, право участия в которых предоставляется всем гражданам. Выборы в демократическом обществе не могут быть лишь ширмой, за которой скрываются диктаторы или одна единственная партия, а представляют собой подлинное соперничество за завоевание поддержки народа.

Демократия требует от государственных органов выполнения законов и обеспечивает такое положение, при котором все граждане получают одинаковую защиту в рамках закона и все их права защищаются правовой системой.

Государства с демократической формой правления основываются на основополагающих принципах, а не на единообразной практике. В условиях демократии граждане не только имеют права, но и берут на себя обязательство участия в политической системе, которая в свою очередь защищает права и свободы этих граждан.

соперничество за завоевание поддержки народа - rivalry for gaining public support

одинаковая защита в рамках закона – equal protection within the framework of the law

основополагающий принцип -- basic principle

единообразная практика – uniform practice

в свою очередь – in its turn

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. What is the central institution of democratic representative government?
2. Comment on Kirkpatrick's criteria concerning democratic elections.
3. What can you say about elections in Armenia? Are they periodic, general and definitive? Give reasons.
4. How must the protection of the ballot box and tallying of vote totals be conducted?
5. Expand on the idea of the "loyal opposition".

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on "Democratic elections". Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 100 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ Spiritual and intellectual freedom cannot continue to exist without economic freedom. If one dies, all will die.

(Herbert Hoover)

➤ The firm basis of government is justice, not pity.

(Woodrow Wilson)

➤ The continued maintenance and improvement of democracy constitute the most important guarantee of international peace.

(Franklin Roosevelt)

Time for fun

“Too bad you were defeated,” a friend consoled the losing candidate after the election.

“Oh, I think maybe it’s a good thing,” declared the loser philosophically.

“That’s the way to take it!” approved the friend warmly.

“Yes,” agreed the other. “According to one of my old aunts who keeps track of these things, I have almost five hundred living relatives, and I couldn’t possibly have given more than half of them jobs.”

* * * * *

“I’ve often wondered why there are two political parties in this country,” remarked a plain citizen, puzzled. “I suppose it is because there are two sides to every political question.”

“Oh, no, that’s not it,” said the experienced man, smiling.

“It’s because there are two sides to every political office – inside and outside.”

UNIT 3

✓ POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND PLURALISM

"The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men (and good women) to do nothing".

Edmund Burke¹

^{involvement} Citizens cannot be required to take part in the political process, and they are free to express their dissatisfaction by not participating. But without the ^{participation} lifeblood of citizen action, democracy will begin to weaken. Citizens of democratic societies have the opportunity to join a host of private organizations, associations and volunteer groups. Many of these are concerned with issues of public policy, yet few are controlled or financed by the government. The right of individuals to associate freely and to organise themselves into different sorts of non-governmental groups is fundamental to democracy. When people of common interests band together, their voices can be heard and their chances of influencing the political debate increased. As Alexis de Tocqueville, the great 19th century French ^{political} observer, wrote. "There are no countries in which ^{by any means} associations are more needed to prevent the despotism of faction or the arbitrary power of a prince ^{than} those which are democratically constituted."

^{constituted} The myriad groups to be found in democratic societies can be classified in several ways. Those that function primarily to pressure government with regard to particular issues are referred to as interest groups, or lobbies. Private interest groups, such as business associations, professional groups or labour unions usually have an economic ^{public} stake in the policies they advocate, although they may also take public positions on issues far outside their area of specialization.

So-called public interest groups, like environmental and social welfare organizations, seek what they perceive to be a public or collective good. This does not make such public interest groups wiser or more virtuous than those with private interests. Rather, the degree of self-interest is often secondary in the positions they take on public issues.

Interest groups serve as a mediating force between the isolated individual and a government that is usually large and remote. It is through the interplay of these groups – and through the process of open debate, conflict, compromise and consensus among them – that a democratic society makes decisions affecting the welfare of its members.

Voting

Voting in the election of public officials is the most visible and common form of participation in modern democracies, and also the most fundamental. The ability to conduct free and fair elections is at the core of what it means to call a society democratic.

The motivations of voters are as numerous as the societies and interests that they represent. Voters obviously cast their ballots for candidates who will represent their interests, but other factors influence voter preference as well. Party affiliation is one: individuals who identify strongly with a political party are much more likely to vote than those who identify themselves as independent or nonpartisan². Indeed, in systems of proportional representation, voters may only be able to vote for a political party, not for individual candidates.

Political scientists have identified numerous other factors that can influence voter preference and turnout at the polls. For example, nations with systems of proportional representation, where every vote counts toward representation in the legislature, tend to have higher voter turnouts than nations where a simple majority or plurality of the votes within a district determines the

winner. Socioeconomic status, the relative ease of registering to vote, the strength of the party system, the media image of the candidate, the frequency of elections – all affect how many and how often voters will cast ballots. The lingering danger of voter apathy is not that public offices will go unfilled, but that officeholders will be elected by smaller and smaller percentages of eligible voters.

Political Parties

Political parties recruit, nominate and campaign to elect public officials; draw up policy programs for the government if they are in the majority; offer criticisms and alternative policies if they are in opposition; mobilize support for common policies among different interest groups; educate the public about public issues; and provide structure and rules for the society's political debate. In some political systems, ideology may be an important factor in recruiting and motivating party members; elsewhere, similar economic interests or social outlook may be more important than ideological commitment.

Political parties are as varied as the societies in which they function. The election campaigns they conduct are often elaborate, usually time-consuming, sometimes silly. But the function is deadly serious: to provide a peaceful and fair method by which the citizens of a democracy can select their leaders and have a meaningful role in determining their own destiny.

Protest

In a democratic society, citizens have a right to gather peacefully and protest the policies of their governments or the actions of other groups with demonstrations, marches, petitions, boycotts, strikes and other forms of direct citizen action.

Direct action is open to everyone in a democracy, but it traditionally has been used by oppressed, disadvantaged or minority groups who feel excluded from other means of

influencing government policies. Such protests have always been part of democratic society. Today, nonviolent protest, often designed to attract the attention of the news media, encompasses a wide array of issues, from environmental pollution to nuclear weapons, foreign policy issues, and racial and ethnic discrimination. → happens frequently

(Fraser) Protests are a testing ground for any democracy. The ideals of free expression and citizen participation are easy to defend when everyone remains polite and in agreement on basic issues. But protesters and their targets do not agree on basic issues, and such disagreements may be passionate and angry. The challenge then is one of balance: to defend the right to freedom of speech and assembly, while maintaining public order and countering attempts at intimidation or violence. To suppress peaceful protest in the name of order is to invite repression; to permit uncontrolled violent protest is to invite anarchy. → by the way

The News Media

To govern is to communicate. As modern societies grow in size and complexity, the arena for communication and public debate is increasingly dominated by the news media: radio and television, newspapers, magazines, books, even computerized data bases.

The news media in a democracy have a number of overlapping but distinctive functions. One is to inform and educate. To make intelligent decisions about public policy, people need accurate, timely, unbiased information. Because opinions diverge, they also need access to a wide range of viewpoints. This role is especially important during election campaigns, when few voters will have the opportunity to see, much less to talk with, candidates in person. Instead, they must rely on newspapers and television to explain the issues and characterize the respective positions of candidates and their political parties. → not necessary

standing - important

A second function of the media is to serve as a watchdog over government and other powerful institutions in the society. By holding to a standard of independence and objectivity, however imperfectly, the news media can expose the truth behind the claims of governments and hold public officials accountable for their action.

If they choose, the media can also take a more active role in public debate. Through editorials of investigative reporting, the media can campaign for specific policies or reforms that they feel should be enacted. They can also serve as a forum for organizations and individuals to express their opinions through letters to the editor and the printing of the articles with divergent points of view.

Democracy and Economics

Democracy implies no specific doctrine of economics. Democratic governments have embraced committed socialists and free marketers alike. Indeed, a good deal of the debate in any modern democracy concerns the proper role of government in the economy. Nevertheless, it would be fair to say that the proponents of democracy generally regard economic freedom as a key element in any democratic society.

Actually, no contemporary democratic state has an economic system that is either completely state-owned or totally free of government regulation. All are mixtures of private enterprise and government oversight. All rely heavily on the workings of a free market, where prices are set not by the government, but by the independent decisions of thousands of consumers and producers interacting each day.

Democracies will continue to debate economic issues as vigorously in the future as in the past. But increasingly, the debate is focusing not on the failed alternative of state-run command economies, but on ensuring the benefits of the free market for all in an increasingly interdependent world.

Voices

Democracies make several assumptions about human nature. One is that, given the chance, people are generally capable of governing themselves in a manner that is fair and free. Another is that any society comprises a great diversity of interests and individuals who deserve to have their voices heard and their views respected. As a result, one thing is true of all healthy democracies: they are noisy.

The voices of democracy include those of the government, its political supporters and opposition, of course. But they are joined by the voices of labour unions, organized interest groups, community associations, the news media, scholars and critics, religious leaders and writers, small businesses and large corporations, churches and schools.

All of these groups are free to raise their voices and participate in the democratic political process, whether locally or nationally. In this way, democratic politics acts as a filter through which the vocal demands of a diverse populace⁴ pass on the way to becoming public policy. The experience of democracy is like the experience of life itself – always changing, infinite in its variety, sometimes turbulent and all the more valuable for having been tested by adversity.

NOTES

1. **Edmund Burke** (1792-1829) an Irish-born British politician and writer. His major work, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) voices his opposition to the excesses of the French experience.
2. **nonpartisan** – not controlled or influenced by, or supporting any single political party.
3. **doctrine** – a belief or a set of beliefs held and taught by a political party, a church, a group of scientists, etc.
4. **populace** (*fml* usu **the populace**) – the general public, ordinary people.

VOCABULARY

arbitrary [ˈɑːbɪtrəri, US ˈɑːbətəri] **adj** **1.** based on personal opinion or impulse, not on any reason or system: *arbitrary decisions* ○ *The choice of the players of the team seems completely arbitrary.* **2.** using power without restriction and without considering others: *an arbitrary ruler, arbitrary powers.*

welfare [ˈwelfeə(r)] **n** [U] **1.** the good health, happiness, comfort, etc of a person or group: *the welfare of the nation* ○ *Parents are responsible for the welfare of their children.* **2.** practical care for the health, safety, etc of a particular group: *student welfare* ○ *a child welfare clinic* ○ *the government's Social Welfare Department* **3.** (US)= social security: *welfare payments.*

core [kɔː(r)] **n** **1.** the hard centre of certain fruits, eg *apples*, containing the seeds. **2.** the central part of an object: *the core of a nuclear reactor; the Earth's core.* **3.** the most important part of sth: *one of his core beliefs/ activities/ areas* ○ *This concept is at the very core of her theory.* ○ *English is a subject on the core curriculum* (ie one, which all the students have to do). **IDM to the core** right to the center: *rotten to the core* (ie completely bad). *He is Armenian to the core* (ie completely Armenian in attitudes, beliefs, etc).

independently
affiliate [əˈfɪliət] **v** (a) ~ **sb/sth (with sb/sth)**: *Brit* also ~ **sb/sth** (to **sb/sth**) (often passive) to link a person, a society or an institution to a larger organization: *The college is affiliated to the university.* (b) ~ **with sb/sth** to become linked to a larger organization: *A number of local groups want to affiliate with the union.*

affiliate [əˈfɪliət] **n** an affiliated person, institution, etc: *affiliate members.*

affiliation **n** [U,C] *affiliation to the Labour Party; political/ religious affiliations.*

identify [aɪˈdentɪfaɪ] **v** **1.** ~ **sb/sth as sb/sth** to show or prove who or what sb/sth is, to recognize sb/sth as being a particular person or thing: *Can you identify your umbrella among these? She identified the man as her attacker.* **2.** ~ **sth with sth** to consider sth to be the same as sth else,

to equate two things: *One should not identify wealth with happiness.*
PHRV identify (oneself) with sb/sth to give support to sb/sth, to be associated with sb/sth: *He refused to identify himself with the new political party.*

identity **n** 1. (C, U,) who or what sb/sth is: *There is no clue to the identity of the killer.* ○ *The British do not have a strong national identity.* 2. (U) ~ **(between A and B)** the state of being very like or the same as sb/sth: *a feeling of identity between managers and the staff.* 3. (U) ~ **(with sth)** the state of being closely involved with or part of sth: *develop a sense of identity with the organization.*

identity card (also **ID card**) **n** a card bearing the holder's name, signature, etc and often a photograph, carried or worn by sb to show who they are.

turnout [ˈtɜːnaʊt] **n** (usu sing) 1. the number of people who attend a match, meeting, etc: *There was a good/ high/ low turnout at yesterday's meeting.* 2. the way in which sb is dressed: *The teacher praised the children for their neat turnout.* 3. (esp. Brit) an act of employing a drawer, a room, etc and throwing away things that are not needed: *These drawers are full of rubbish – it's time I had a good turnout.*

eligible [ˈelɪdʒəbl̩] **adj** ~ **(for sth to do sth)** suitable or fit to be chosen; having the right or proper qualifications: *eligible for a pension/ a job/ an award* ○ *eligible for promotion/ membership* ○ *eligible to join a club* ○ *an eligible young man* (eg one who is thought to be a satisfactory choice as a husband).

recruit [rɪˈkruːt] **v** 1. ~ **(sb) (to sth); ~ sb (as sth)** to find new people to join a company, an organization, etc: *recruit (staff) on a regular basis* ○ *recruit new members* (to the club). 2. to persuade sb to do or assist in doing sth: *We recruited some friends to help us move house.* 3. to form an army, a party, etc by gaining supporters: *recruit a task force.*

recruit **n** 1. a person who has recently joined the armed forces or police and is not yet trained: *new/ recent/ raw recruits* (ie not experienced) ○ *drilling recruits on the parade ground.* 2. ~ **(to sth)** a person who has recently joined or may join an organisation, a company, a club, etc: *advertise for recruits to voluntary work from among the young unemployed.*

elaborate [ɪˈləbərət] **adj** very detailed and complicated; carefully prepared and finished: *elaborate explanations/ rituals/ structures* ◦ *device an elaborate plan* ◦ *take elaborate precautions* ◦ *an elaborate five-course meal.*

encompass [ɪnˈkʌmpəs] **v** (*fml*) **1.** to include sth: *The general art course encompasses a wide range of subjects* ◦ *Her knowledge encompasses all aspects of the business.* **2.** to surround or cover sth completely: *a lake encompassed by mountains.*

intimidate [ɪnˈtɪmɪdeɪt] **v** ~ **sb (into sth/doing sth)** to frighten sb in order to make them do sth: *intimidate a witness (into silence/ into keeping quiet)* (eg by threats).

intimidation **n** [U]: *give way to intimidation.*

unbiased [ʌnˈbaɪəst] **adj** not favouring or emphasizing one side or aspect at the expense of another; impartial: *unbiased advice/ reporting* ◦ *an unbiased referee.*

proponent [prəˈpəʊnənt] **n** ~ **(of sth)** a person who supports a cause, theory, etc: *one of the leading proponents of aromatherapy.*

assume [əˈsju:m] **v** **1.** to accept sth as true before there is proof: *Why do you always assume the worst?* **2. (a)** (of a person, an organization, etc) to take or begin to have power, authority, etc: *The chairman will assume office/ his new responsibilities next month.* **(b)** to begin to have a particular quality or characteristic, expression, etc: *The problem is beginning to assume massive proportions* (ie become very great). **(c)** to display sth falsely; to pretend sth: *assume ignorance/ indifference.*

assumption [əˈsʌmpʃn] **n** **1.** [C] a thing that is thought to be true or certain to happen, but is not proved: *What leads you to make that assumption? The theory is based on a series of false/ wrong assumptions.* **2.** [C,U] ~ **(of sth)** an act of taking or beginning to have power, authority, etc: *her assumption of supreme power.*

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

հանրապետական կարգավորում

To prevent the despotism of faction; to have an economic stake in the policy; a mediating force; to be at the core; party affiliation; to identify (oneself) with sth; voter turnout; ^{հանրապետական} relative ease of registering to vote; ideological commitment; ^{հանրապետական} forms of direct citizen action; to encompass a wide array of issues; to counter attempts at intimidation; overlapping functions; unbiased information; in person; to hold to a/the standard; to expose the truth; to hold sb accountable for sth; government oversight; to comprise a great variety of interests; to be tested by adversity.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. arbitrary - *հանրապետական*
2. virtuous - *արժեքավոր*
3. to affect - *արդի*
4. to mobilize - *հանրապետական*
5. to conduct - *արդի*
6. elaborate - *արդի*
7. unbiased - *արդի*
8. to imply - *հանրապետական*
9. proponent - *հանրապետական*
10. contemporary - *հանրապետական*
11. vigorous - *հանրապետական*
12. assumption - *հանրապետական*
13. infinite - *հանրապետական*
14. turbulent - *հանրապետական*

- 1) tyrannical, tyrannical
- 2) noble, fair
- 3) to impress
- 4) organize, coordinate
- 5) hard, elaborate
- 6) highly organized
- 7) impartial, just
- 8) suggest, hint at
- 9) supporter, advocate
- 10) modern, current
- 11) lively, energetic

Boundless, despotic, noble, presumption, lively, to impress, worthy, fair, to organize, rebellious, to manage, current, painstaking, to suggest, impartial, to coordinate, to hint at, highly organized, advocate,

modern, to handle, energetic, tyrannical, supposition, to influence, endless, just, supporter, violent.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. to band | a. worthless |
| 2. myriad | b. primary |
| 3. professional | c. to conceal |
| 4. to advocate | d. insignificant |
| 5. welfare | e. opponent |
| 6. virtuous | f. to separate |
| 7. secondary | g. edge |
| 8. core | h. scanty |
| 9. meaningful | i. similar |
| 10. to expose | j. amateur |
| 11. divergent | k. to oppose |
| 12. proponent | l. poverty |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. The theory is based on a series of false assumption.
2. This concept is at the very core of her theory.
3. Space is infinite.
4. I advocate a policy of gradual reform.
5. The change in climate may affect your health.
6. Each galaxy contains a myriad of stars.
7. Parents are responsible for the welfare of their children.
8. Do you conduct banning cars in the city centre?
9. Managers shouldn't expose their employees to unnecessary risks.
10. Such considerations are divergent to our main aim of improving efficiency.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
<u>association</u>	<u>associate</u>	associate
<u>perception</u>	perceive	<u>perceptive</u>
<u>mediation</u>	mediate	<u>mediating/mediative</u>
identity	<u>identify</u>	<u>identical</u>
<u>implication</u>	imply	—
opposition	<u>oppose</u>	<u>opposing/opposition</u>
<u>mobility</u>	<u>mobilize</u>	mobile
<u>commitment</u>	commit	<u>committal</u>
<u>exposition</u>	expose	<u>expositional</u>
divergence	<u>diverge</u>	<u>divergent</u>
<u>preference</u>	<u>prefer</u>	preferable
diversity	<u>diversify</u>	<u>diverse</u>

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. myriad | a. to keep out; to refuse to admit |
| 2. to seek | b. to make or pass a law |
| 3. frequency | c. to frighten sb in order to make him do sth |
| 4. outlook | d. an advantage that sth gives |
| 5. petition | e. in a state of disturbance, confusion or conflict |
| 6. to exclude | f. a business company or firm |
| 7. target | g. attitude to life and the world in general |
| 8. to intimidate | h. to look for, to try to find |
| 9. to enact | i. an extremely large number |

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| f 10. enterprise | j. appeal esp. a written document signed by many people |
| d 11. benefit | k. a thing, a plan, against which criticism is directed |
| e 12. turbulent | l. the rate at which sth happens or is repeated |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Բացահայտել ճշմարտությունը, բռնապետական իշխանություն, պաշտպանել քաղաքականությունը, միջնորդ ուժ, խնամքով նախապատրաստված ընտրարշավ, փարամեդ փեսակերներ, հարցերի լայն շրջանակ ընդգրկել, անաչառ (անկողմնակալ) փեղեկություն, դիմադրել ահաբեկելու փորձերին, համընկնող գործողություններ:

b) Выявлять истину; диктаторская власть; защищать политику; сторона-посредник; тщательно подготовленная предвыборная кампания; различные взгляды; охватывать широкий круг вопросов; непредвзятая информация; противостоять попыткам террора; совпадающие функции.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

In modern societies, citizens can participate in the political system in a variety of legal ways: conventionally, by voting and taking part in public opinion polls; organizationally, by joining political parties or interest groups; or professionally, by working full-time for such organizations. Some types of political participation are unconventional, such as engaging in protests or economic boycotts. Illegal participation goes beyond unconventional means – from deliberately nonviolent actions (civil disobedience) to extremely violent acts (terrorism). constitutional

To influence government, citizens in _____ democracies must be able to implement their opinions and interests. Public opinion can be expressed through polls, which have great influence in the political

process. Elections, despite their inherent limitations, represent the best means of translating public preferences into public policy. In democratic republics, which can be structured on a winner-take-all or proportional representation basis, voters elect representatives who are responsible for formulating, implementing, and explaining public policy. Representative democracy can be supplemented by direct democracy measures, which include referendums, initiative, and recalls, intended to allow citizens to participate directly in the formulation of public policy.

constitutional/ aggregate/ initiative/ winner-take-all/ disobedience/ poll/ engage/ implement/ formulation/ inherent

կիրառելի

հարցում / ձեռնարկ / ընտրություն

7. Render in English.

ա) Ձանգվածային լրարվական առաջին միջոցը փափազիր խոսքն էր: Նեց որ հնարավոր դարձան մեծ փափաքանակները, փափագրությունը սկսեց արդյունավետ դառնալ նաև քաղաքականության համար:

Ի լրումն դրա՝ ասպարեզ եկավ էլեկտրոնային միջոցը՝ ռադիոն, որը 20-ական թվականների սկզբին իրականացրեց առաջին առևտրային հաղորդումները:

Լրարվական միջոցներից յուրաքանչյուրը, հարկապես հեռուստատեսությունը, շեշտակիորեն փոխել է քաղաքականության ընթացքը: Սովորական է դարձել այն պահանջը, որ թեկնածուները պետք է ունենան որոշակի հեռուստատեսային գրավչություն: Մա, ոչ մի կապ չունի պաշտոնավարման համար անհրաժեշտ հատկությունների հետ:

Լրարվական միջոցները, ներառյալ հեռուստատեսությունը, ռադիոն, լրագրերն ու պարբերականները, իրոք հսկայական քաղաքական փոփոխություն են ներկայացնում հանրությանը:

Դրանցից հեռուստատեսությունը, չնայած մեկնաբանությունների մակերեսայնությանը, մյուս լրարվական միջոցների համեմատ հասանելի է ամենազանգվածային լսարանին: Ու չնայած հանրությանն ընձեռվում է քաղաքական գործիչներին ու հիմնահարցերին միայն մակերեսորեն ծանոթանալու հնարավորություն, դա ավելի լավ է, քան բացարձակ անփոփոխությունը:

զանգվածային լրատվական միջոցներ – mass media
սովորական դառնալ – to become commonplace
հսկայական քաղաքական տեղեկատվություն ներկայացնել – to
present a huge amount of political information
բացարձակ անտեղյակություն – absolute ignorance

b) После печального опыта второй мировой войны государства мира были полны решимости создать международную систему законов и договоров, чтобы предотвратить повторение жестоких эксцессов недавнего прошлого. Их основным инструментом стали положения по правам человека Устава ООН 1946 года, которые были недостаточно подробно разработаны, однако послужили основой для дальнейшего расширения требований в этом направлении. В Уставе ООН говорится, что одной из целей этой организации является следующее:

„Добиться международного сотрудничества в решении международных проблем экономического, социального, культурного или гуманитарного характера, а также содействовать и поощрять уважение прав человека и основных свобод всех граждан независимо от их национальности, пола, языка или религии“.

предотвращать жестокие эксцессы – to prevent violent excesses
положения по правам человека – human rights provisions
служить основой – to lay the groundwork for
поощрять уважение прав человека – to encourage respect for human rights

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Speak on the role of citizen action in democratic societies.
2. How are the myriad groups in democratic societies classified?
3. Comment on the functions of political parties in election campaigns.
4. Voting as the most visible and fundamental form of participation in modern democracies.
5. Expand on the main functions of the news media in a democracy.
6. Economic freedom as a key element in any democracy.

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “Pluralism and politics“. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 120 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ Politics is the art of possible.

(Otto von Bismarck)

➤ Better to light a candle than to curse the darkness.

(Chinese proverb)

➤ The world is divided into people who do things and people who get credit. Try, if you can, to belong to the first class. There’s far less competition.

(D. Morrow)

Time for fun

“Now gentlemen,” said the professor to his English class, “can any of you give me a clear, concise definition of a politician?”

“I can, sir,” volunteered the son of a Congressman, “if you just tell me to which party you refer.”

* * * * *

The Congressman was delivering a windy speech of welcome to some soldiers back from the war.

“We are really one, my friends,” he declared pompously, “in that we all love our country dearly and we are willing to shed our last drop of blood for it.”

“Did you ever notice,” whispered one soldier to another, “that those who are always shouting about shedding their last drop of blood are damned particular about shedding the first?”

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Democracy and Power

Democracies have by no means been immune to the tides of history; they have collapsed from political failure, succumbed to internal division or been destroyed by foreign invasion. But democracies have also demonstrated remarkable resiliency over time, and have shown that with the commitment and informed dedication of their citizens they can overcome severe economic hardship, reconcile social and ethnic division, and, when necessary, prevail in time of war.

These aspects of democracy, cited most frequently by its critics, give it resiliency. The processes of debate, dissent and compromise that some point to as weaknesses are, in fact, democracy's underlying strength. Certainly, no one has ever accused democracies of being particularly efficient in their deliberations: democratic decision-making in a large complex society can be a mess and time-consuming process. But in the end, a government resting upon the consent of the governed can speak and act with a confidence and authority lacking.

Checks and Balances

As a general term, checks and balances have two meanings: federalism and separation of powers.

Federalism is the division of government between the national, state or provincial, and local levels. The United States, for example, is a federal republic with states that have their own legal standing and authority independent of the federal government. Unlike the political subdivisions in nations such as Britain and France, which have a unitary political structure, American states cannot be abolished or changed by the federal

Delayed

government. Although power at the national level in the United States has grown significantly in relation to state authority in the 20th century, states still possess significant responsibilities in such fields as education, health, transportation and law enforcement. In centralized or "unitary" system these functions are administered by the national government. The divisions of power and authority in a federal system are never neat and tidy. Federal, state and local agencies can all have overlapping and even conflicting agendas in such areas as education, for example. But federalism does maximise opportunities for the citizen involvement so vital to the functioning of democratic society.

In its second sense, checks and balances refer to the separation of powers that was established to ensure that political power would not be concentrated within a single branch of the national government.

Separation of powers is in some ways a misleading term, because the system is more one of shared rather than separate powers. Legislative authority, for example, belongs to the Congress, but laws passed by Congress can be vetoed by the president. The Congress, in turn, must assemble a two-third majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate to override a presidential veto. The president nominates ambassadors and members of the Cabinet, and negotiates international treaties -- but all are subject to approval by the Senate. So is the selection of federal judges. The American Constitution specifies that only Congress has the power to declare war, although the president is commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

The separation of powers in the American system is often inefficient, but it provides an important safeguard against the potential abuse of power by government -- an issue that every democracy must confront.

Prime Ministers and Presidents

Among a democracy's most important decisions is the method of electing its leaders and representatives. In general, there are two

Very large subject

choices. In a parliamentary system, the majority party in the legislature, or a coalition of parties, forms a government headed by a prime minister. This system of parliamentary government, which first evolved in Great Britain, is today practised in most Europe, the Caribbean, Canada, India and many countries in Africa and Asia (often former British colonies). The other major method is direct election of a president independently of the legislature. This presidential system is practised today in Latin America, the Philippines, France, Poland and the United States.

The chief difference between parliamentary and presidential systems is the relationship between the legislature and the executive. In a parliamentary system, they are essentially one and the same, since the prime minister and members of the Cabinet are drawn from the parliament. Typically, the government's term of office will run for a specified period – four or five years, for example – unless the prime minister loses a majority in parliament. In that case government falls and new elections are held. Alternatively, another party leader is offered a chance to form a government by the head of state, either a president or constitutional monarch, whose role is chiefly symbolic.

The separation of powers characteristic of the American-style presidential system is lacking, since parliament is the pre-eminent governing institution. Instead, parliamentary systems must rely much more heavily on the internal political dynamics of the parliament itself to provide checks and balances on the power of the government. These usually take the form of a single organized opposition party that "shadows" the government, or of competition among multiple opposition parties.

In a presidential system, both the head of government and the head of state are fused in the office of the president. The president is elected for a specified period directly by the people, as are the members of the congress. As one element of the separation of powers, members of the president's Cabinet are usually not members of the congress. Presidents normally can be removed

from office before finishing their terms only for serious crimes in office.

Representatives

Another important decision of any democracy is how to organize elections. The fundamental choices are again two: plurality elections or proportional representation. Plurality elections, sometimes referred to as “winner-take-all”, simply mean that the candidate with the most votes in a given district wins - whether a plurality (less than 50 percent but more than any rival) or a majority (more than 50 percent). Presidents are elected in a similar fashion, but on a nationwide basis. Some systems provide for runoff elections between the top two candidates if no one receives an outright majority in the first round. Plurality system tends to encourage two broadly based political parties that dominate the political scene.

By contrast, voters in a system of proportional representation, such as that employed in much of Europe, usually cast ballots for political parties, not for individual candidates. Party representation in the national legislature is determined by the percentage, or proportion, of votes received by each party in the election. In a parliamentary system, the leader of the majority party becomes the Prime Minister and selects the Cabinet from the parliament. If no party has received a majority, the parties engage in intensive negotiations to form a ruling coalition of parties. Proportional representation tends to encourage multiple parties which, even though each commands the loyalty of only a relatively small percentage of voters, often find themselves negotiating for a place in a coalition government.

Parliaments and Presidents

A principal claim for parliamentary systems, which today make up the majority of democracies, is their responsiveness and flexibility. Parliamentary governments, especially if elected

through proportional representation, tend toward multiparty systems where even relatively small political groupings are represented in the legislature. As a result, distinct minorities can still participate in the political process at the highest levels of government. This diversity encourages dialogue and compromise as parties struggle to form a ruling coalition. Should the coalition collapse, or the party lose its mandate, the Prime Minister resigns and a new government forms or new elections take place -- all without a crisis threatening the democratic system itself.

The major drawbacks to parliaments is the dark side of flexibility and power sharing: instability. Multiparty coalitions may be fragile and collapse at the first sign of political crisis, resulting in governments that are in the office for relatively short periods of time. The government may also find itself at the mercy of small extremist parties that, by threatening to withdraw from the ruling coalition and forcing the government to resign, can make special policy demands upon the government. Moreover, prime ministers are only party leaders, and lack the authority that comes from being directly elected by the people.

Another concern is the lack of formal institutional checks on parliamentary supremacy. A political party with a large enough majority in parliament, for example, could enact a far-reaching, even anti-democratic political program without any effective limits to its actions, raising the prospect of a tyranny of the majority.

For presidential systems, on the other hand, the principal claims are direct accountability, continuity and strength. Presidents, elected for fixed periods by the people, can claim the authority deriving from direct election, whatever the standing of their political party in the congress. By creating separate but theoretically equal branches of government, a presidential system seeks to establish strong executive and legislative institutions, each able to claim its electoral mandate from the people, and each capable of checking and balancing the other.

The weakness of separately elected presidents and legislatures is potential stalemate. Presidents may not possess the votes to enact their program, but by employing their veto power, they can prevent the congress from substituting its own legislative program.

Presidents, by virtue of their direct election, may appear more powerful than prime ministers. But they must contend with legislatures that, whether or not controlled by the opposition, possess an election base independent of the president's. Party discipline, therefore, is considerably weaker than in a parliamentary system. The president cannot, for example, dismiss or discipline rebellious party members as a prime minister usually can. A prime minister with a firm parliamentary majority is assured of passage of the government's legislative program; a president dealing with a congress jealous of its own prerogatives must often engage in protracted negotiations to ensure a bill's passage.

Which system best meets the requirements of a constitutional democracy: parliamentary or presidential? The answer is the subject of continuing debate among political scientists and politicians, in part because each system has unique strengths and weaknesses. It should be noted, however, that both are compatible with constitutional democracy, although neither guarantees it.

VOCABULARY

immune [i'mju:n] **adj** 1. ~ (to sth) that cannot be harmed by a disease or an illness, either because of protective treatment or through the body's natural resistance: *I'm immune to smallpox as a result of vaccination.* 2. ~ (to sth) not affected or influenced by sth: *immune to criticism/ abuse/ flattery.* 3. ~ (from sth) protected or free from sth: *immune from prosecution/ recession.*

immunity [i'mju:nəti] **n** [U]: *immunity to missiles/ against the virus*
○ *immunity to criticism* ○ *immunity from prosecution/ diplomatic immunity.*

resilience [rɪˈzɪliəns] (also **resiliency**) **n** [U] 1. (a) the ability of people to recover quickly from shock, injury, etc: *Her natural resilience helped her to overcome the crisis.* (b) the ability of animals, plants, etc to recover quickly from injury, damage, etc. 2. the ability of objects to spring back after being bent, stretched, etc: *an alloy combining strength and resilience.*

resilient **adj** 1. (a) (of a person) quickly recovering from shock, injury, depression, etc: *physically/ mentally resilient* ○ *She is very resilient to change.* (b) (of animals, plants, etc) quickly recovering from injury, damage, etc: *Temperate forests are more resilient than tropical ones.* 2. (of an object or a substance) springing back to its original form after being bent, stretched, crushed, etc: *made of a tough, resilient fabric.*

dissent [dɪˈsent] **n** [U] holding opinions which differ from common or officially held ones: *their public dissent from official party policy* ○ *In those days, religious dissent was not tolerated.*

dissent **v** ~ (from sth) (*fmI*) to have or express opinions which are opposed to common or officially held ones or to official religious teaching, etc: *There were many dissenting voices among the students.* ○ *The committee dissented from the report's conclusions.*

dissenter **n** (a) a person who dissents. (b) **Dissenter** a Protestant who refuses to accept the teachings of the Church of England: *Presbyterians and other Dissenters.*

confidence [ˈkɒnfɪdəns] **n** 1. [U] (a) ~ (in sb/sth) a feeling or belief that one can firmly trust or rely on sb, sb's ability or sth that is said, reported, etc: *to have/ lose confidence in sb* ○ *There is a lack of confidence in the current government.* (b) a feeling of certainty; trust in one's own ability: *He answered the questions with confidence.* 2. [C] a secret told to sb; **IDM** **in sb's confidence** trusted with sb's secrets: *He's said to be very much in the President's confidence.* **take sb into one's confidence** to tell sb one's secrets, etc: *I'm sure I could help if only he'd take me into his confidence.*

abolish [əˈbɒlɪʃ] **v** to end the existence of a law, a practice, an institution, etc: *vote to abolish a tax* ○ *Should the death penalty be abolished?*

abolition n [U]: *campaign for the abolition of slavery/ hanging/ vivisection.*

abolitionist n a person who favours the abolition of sth.

agenda [əˈdʒenda] (pl **agendas**) n the matters of business to be discussed, esp at a meeting, or a list of these: *What is the next item on the agenda?*

confront [kənˈfrʌnt] v 1. (a) (of a difficulty, etc) to face sb so that they cannot avoid it: *the problems confronting us* ○ *Confronted by an angry crowd, the police retreated.* (b) to face and deal with a problem, difficulty, etc: *confront danger/ fear/ grief* ○ *She knew she'd have to confront her parents when she got home.* 2. ~ **sb with sb/sth** to make sb face or consider sb/sth unpleasant, difficult, etc: *They confronted the prisoner with his accusers.* ○ *When confronted with the evidence of her guilt, she confessed.*

confrontation n [C,U] (an instance of) angry disagreement or opposition: *a confrontation between the government and the unions.*

evolve [iˈvɒlv] v 1. ~ (from sth) (into sth) to develop naturally and usu gradually: *He has evolved a new theory after many years of research.* ○ *The information system can be adopted to meet evolving needs.* 2. (biology) (of plants, animals, etc) to develop gradually from a simple form to a more complex one: *The three species evolved from a single ancestor.* ○ *The dolphin has evolved a highly developed jaw.*

fuse [fjuːz] v ~ (sth) with sth; ~ (A and B) (into sth/together) 1. to join together, or to make things join together, to form a single thing: *The particles fuse (together) to form a single molecule.* ○ *a composer who fuses classical music with/ and jazz.* 2. to join sth or become joined by means of heat: *fuse metals (into a solid mass)* ○ *fuse two pieces of wire together.*

engage [ɪnˈɡeɪdʒ] v 1. (fml) to arrange to employ sb; to hire sb: *engage a new secretary* ○ *He's been engaged to conduct a series of concerts at the Albert Hall.* 2. (fml) to occupy or attract sb's thoughts, interest, etc: *Nothing engages his attention for long.* 3. (fml) to begin fighting with sb: *Our orders are to engage (the enemy) immediately.* ○

Battle was engaged. **4.** ~ (with sth) to establish contact with sb/sth in an attempt to understand them: *engage with modern art* ○ *A good politician must engage with people's real concerns.* **5.** (a) ~ (with sth) (of parts of a machine, etc) to fit or lock together: *The two cog-wheels engaged and the machine started.* (b) to make parts of a machine, etc fit or lock together: *engage the clutch/ first gear* (eg in a car, when driving). **PHRV engage (sb) in sth** to take part in sth or make sb take part in sth: *I have no time to engage in gossip.* ○ *be engaged in politics/ business* ○ *They are currently engaged in lengthy trade negotiations.*

engaged [usu pred] **adj** **1.** ~ (on/upon sth); ~ (with sb/sth) (of a person) busy; occupied: *I can't come to dinner on Tuesday; I am otherwise engaged.* **2.** (Brit) (US busy) (of a telephone line) in use: *Sorry! That number's engaged.* ○ *the engaged tone/ signal* (ie the sound that indicates that a telephone line is engaged). **3.** ~ (to sb) having agreed to marry: *She's engaged to Peter.* ○ *We're getting engaged.* ○ *an engaged couple.* **4.** (esp of a toilet) occupied; already in use.

engaging **adj** likely to attract or occupy the attention; charming.

rival ['raɪvl] **n** ~ (to sb/sth) (for/in sth) a person or thing competing with another: *business rivals* ○ *rivals in love* ○ *a new rival for the Democratic nomination* ○ *the only possible rival to the president.*

rival **v** ~ sb/sth (for/in sth) to seem or be as good as sb/sth; to be comparable to sb/sth: *a view rivaling anything the Alps can offer* ○ *Golf cannot rival football for/ in excitement.*

rivalry **n** [U,C] ~ (with sb/sth); the state of being rivals; competition between people wanting the same thing: *a country paralyzed by political rivalries* ○ *An intense rivalry has grown up between the two teams.*

riven **adj** [pred] ~ (by/with sth) (fml or rhet) split; violently divided: *a family riven by ancient feuds.*

collapse [kə'læps] **v** **1.** to fall down or fall in suddenly, often after breaking apart: *The whole building collapsed.* **2.** (a) (of a person) to fall down (and usu become unconscious), esp because one is very ill: *He collapsed (in the street) and died on the way to the hospital.* (b) to sit or lie down and relax, esp after working hard, etc: *When I get home I like to collapse on the sofa and listen to music.* **3.** (a) to fail suddenly or

completely; to break down: *Talks between management and unions have collapsed.* (b) to be defeated or destroyed: *All opposition to the scheme has collapsed.* 4. (of prices, currencies, etc) to decrease suddenly in value: *Share prices collapsed after news of poor trading figures.* 5. to fold sth or be folded into a shape that uses less space: *a chair that collapses for easy storage.*

collapse **n** [U, C usu *sing*] 1. a sudden fall: *the collapse of the building/ roof/ bridge.* 2. a failure; a breakdown: *the collapse of negotiations/ sb's health/ law and order* ○ *The economy is in a state of (total) collapse.* 3. a sudden drop in value: *the collapse of share prices/ the dollar/ the market.*

resign [rɪˈzaɪn] **v** ~ (from sth) to give up one's job, position, etc: *The mayor resigned (from office).* ○ *She resigned her directorship and left the firm.* **PHRV** resign oneself to sth/doing sth to accept and be ready to endure sth as inevitable: *They had clearly resigned themselves to defeat/ to being defeated.*

resigned **adj** ~ (to sth/doing sth) having or showing patient acceptance of sth unpleasant: *a resigned look/ smile/ gesture* ○ *She seems resigned to not having a holiday this year.*

resignation **n** 1. ~ (from sth) (a) [U,C] the action or an instance of resigning: *He is considering resignation (from the board).* ○ *Further resignations are expected.* (b) [C] a letter, etc to one's employers stating that one wishes to resign: *offer/ tender/ send in/ give in/ hand in one's resignation* ○ *We haven't yet received his resignation.* 2. [U] patient willingness to accept or endure sth: *accept failure with resignation.*

concern [kənˈsɜ:n] **v** 1. (a) to be relevant to sb; to affect sb: *Don't interfere in what doesn't concern you.* ○ **To whom it may concern...** (eg at the beginning of a public notice or of a job reference about sb's character, ability, etc). (b) to be about sth; to have sth as a subject: *a report that concerns drug abuse.* 2. ~ oneself with/in/about sth to interest oneself in sth: *There's no need to concern yourself with this matter; we're dealing with it.* 3. to worry sb: *The company's losses are beginning to concern the shareholders.* **IDM** as/so far as sb/sth in concerned; be concerned in sth (*fmI*) to have a connection with or

responsibility for sth: *Everyone who was directly concerned in the incident has now resigned.* **be concerned to do sth** to regard it as important to do sth; **be concerned with sth** to be about sth: *Her latest documentary is primarily/ exclusively concerned with youth unemployment.*

concerned adj ~ (about/for sth); ~ (that ...) worried; troubled: *The President is deeply/ genuinely concerned about this issue.*

concerning prep (rather *fml*) about sth/sb; on the subject of or in connection with sth/sb: *allegations concerning police methods.*

concern n 1. (a) [U] ~ (about/for/over sth/sb); ~ (that...) worry; anxiety: *There is no cause for concern.* ○ *widespread public concern about corruption* ○ *There is now growing/ considerable concern for their safety.* (b) [C] a cause of anxiety: *Our main concern is that they are not receiving enough help.* ○ *economic/ environmental concerns.* 2. [C] a thing that is important or interesting to sb: *What are your main concerns as a writer?* 3. [C] a company; a business: *a huge industrial concern.* 4. [C] ~ (in sth) a share: *He has a concern in (ie owns part of) the business.*

enact [i'naekt] v 1. (*fml*) (esp passive) to perform a part, play, etc on, or as if on, the stage of a theatre: *a one-act drama enacted by children* ○ *A strange ritual was being enacted before our eyes.* 2. (*fml* or law) (esp passive) to make or pass a law: *a bill enacted by Parliament* ○ *It was enacted that offenders be brought before Council.*

enactment n 1. [U] (*fml* or law) the action or process of enacting sth: *the enactment of the drama of legislation.* 2. [C] a law: *a civil enactment dealing with private rights.*

dismiss [dis'mis] v 1. ~ sb (from sth) to remove sb, esp an employee, from a position: *workers who have been unfairly dismissed* (from their jobs). 2. (a) ~ sth (from sth) to put thoughts, feelings, etc out of one's mind: *He tried to dismiss the suspicions from his mind.* (b) ~ sb/sth (as sth) to consider sb/sth not worth thinking or talking about: *She was dismissed as a mere dreamer.* 3. ~ sb (from sth) to send sb away; to allow sb to leave: *The class was dismissed at 3 o'clock.* ○ (*fml*) *The duchess dismissed her servant.* 4. (law) to reject a case, etc: *The court/ judge dismissed his appeal.*

dismissal **n** (a) [U] the action of dismissing sb/sth: *The workers accused the company of unfair dismissal.* ◦ *his scornful dismissal of the evidence as inadequate.* (b) [C] an instance of sb being dismissed: *The dismissals led to a strike.*

dismissive **adj** ~ (of sb/sth) showing in a rude, brief and casual way that sth is not considered worth thinking or talking about: *a dismissive gesture/ tone of voice/ shrug of the shoulders* ◦ *Don't be so dismissive of her talent.*

dismissively **adv**

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

Authority lacking; checks and balances; centralized or “unitary” political system; the selection of federal judges; commander-in-chief of the armed forces; to provide an important safeguard; potential abuse of power; the government’s term of office; to lose a majority in parliament; a pre-eminent governing institution; on a nationwide basis; runoff elections; the top two candidates; an outright majority; to be engaged in intensive negotiations; ruling coalition; the dark side of something; at the mercy of; to enact a far-reaching political program; to claim an electoral mandate; potential stalemate; a rebellious party; a firm parliamentary majority; to ensure a bill’s passage.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. immune
2. to reconcile
3. to cite
4. resiliency
5. safeguard
6. pre-eminent
7. multiple

- 8. plurality
- 9. rival
- 10. fragile
- 11. rebellious

Diversity, to quote, competitor, defence, celebrated, unaffected, disobedient, to accord, insurgent, flexibility, assurance, protection, numerous, outstanding, to mention, various, to adjust, breakable, variety, exempt, infirm, adaptability, protected, to resolve, opponent, distinguished.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. firm | a. obedient |
| 2. dissent | b. unimportant |
| 3. to abolish | c. agreement |
| 4. to fuse | d. to found |
| 5. to dominate | e. neat |
| 6. significant | f. to subordinate |
| 7. messy | g. apathy |
| 8. responsiveness | h. advantage |
| 9. drawback | i. to separate |
| 10. rebellious | j. unsteady |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. The more ----- students organized mass meetings against the university authorities.
2. Her natural ----- helped her to overcome the crisis.
3. Human happiness is so -----.
4. In those days political ----- was not tolerated.
5. The metals ----- at a relatively low temperature.
6. You must ----- yourself to a life of hardship and poverty.
7. Should the death penalty be -----?

8. Parents must be ----- with their children.
9. The main ----- to such a holiday is the cost.
10. He has authority, but he doesn't try to -----.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
invader	-----	-----
-----	contribute	-----
authority	-----	-----
-----	-----	resigned
-----	involve	-----
-----	-----	specific
-----	-----	competitive
-----	dominate	-----
collapse	-----	-----
-----	-----	threatening
-----	dismiss	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. resurgence 2. to prevent 3. deliberation 4. responsiveness 5. to succumb | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. easily changed to suit new conditions b. suffering caused usu by a lack of money or basic necessities c. to yield to sth d. to cover part of the same area of interest, responsibility, etc e. superior to all others; outstanding |
|---|---|

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 6. to override | f. to find a way to make two or more ideas, situations, etc agree with each other when actually they seem to be in opposition |
| 7. stalemate | g. lasting longer than expected or longer than usual |
| 8. to overlap | h. responding with interest and enthusiasm |
| 9. to cite | i. to speak or write words taken from a passage, a book, an author |
| 10. pre-eminent | j. a stage of a dispute at which further action or progress by either side seems impossible |
| 11. flexible | k. careful consideration or discussion |
| 12. to reconcile | l. to use one's superior authority to reject sth that has already been decided |
| 13. protracted | m. revival after a period of little activity |
| 14. hardship | n. to get or obtain sth from sth |
| 15. to derive | o. to stop (sb) doing sth; stop (sth) happening |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Հաղթահարել ծանր տնտեսական դժվարություններ, ժամանակ պահանջող գործընթաց, չեղյալ դարձնել նախագահական արգելքը, օրենքի ուժ տալ քաղաքական ծրագրին, բարձրագույն կառավարող մարմին, մեծամասնական ընտրություններ, համամասնական ներկայացուցչություն, ընտրությունների երկրորդ փուլ, խորհրդարանական մեծամասնություն, գերիշխել պատերազմի ժամանակ, մրցակցություն բազմաթիվ ընդդիմադիր կուսակցությունների միջև:

b) Преодолеть большие экономические трудности; процесс, требующий времени; отменить президентское вето; придать силу закона политической программе; высший орган власти; мажоритарные выборы; пропорциональное представительство;

второй этап выборов; парламентское большинство; доминировать (превалировать) на войне; конкуренция между многими оппозиционными партиями.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

In _____ democracies, governments are both popular and restrained. They exist _____ constitutions that may differ widely in format and detail but invariably delineate the powers and boundaries of the governments they create. Inherent in the idea of constitutional democracy is the belief that a government should be popular, limited and effective. The _____ of popular control through majority rule is central to the creation of a responsive government. The _____ for majority rule holds that the wisdom and interests of the majority are _____ to the wisdom and intelligence of the minority. However, because the majority is not always correct and can sometimes be tyrannical, constitutional democracies must also place _____ on the powers of the government. _____ of the individual rights, the rule of law (constitutionalism), and _____ are the principal strategies used to prevent the so-called _____ of the majority.

Democratic governments must also act effectively. One requirement of effective government is _____; another requirement is energy - the ability to act, and lead.

rationale/ stability/ tyranny/ concept/ preferable/ limit/ protection/ constitutional/ federalism/ by virtue of

7. Render in English.

ա) Ըստ սահմանադրության՝ Միացյալ Նահանգների փոխնախագահը Սենատի նախագահն է: Փոխնախագահը չի կարող քվեարկել՝ բացի այն դեպքերից, երբ քվեարկության ժամանակ Սենատում ձայները կիսվում են: Փոխնախագահի բացակայության դեպքում Սենատը իր համար ընտրում է ժամանակավոր նախագահ: Ներկայացուցիչների պալատը ինքն է

ընտրում իր ղեկավարին՝ Ներկայացուցիչների պալատի խոսնակին: Խոսնակն ու Սենատի ժամանակավոր նախագահը միշտ ընտրվում են Կոնգրեսի պալատում մեծամասնություն ունեցող կուսակցության անդամներից:

Երբ նոր գումարման Կոնգրեսը սկսում է իր աշխատանքը, Կոնգրեսի օրենսդիր գործունեության ընթացքը ապահովելու համար քաղաքական կուսակցությունների անդամներն ընտրում են յուրաքանչյուր պալատում իրենց խմբակցությունների ղեկավարներին, ինչպես նաև մի շարք այլ պաշտոնյաների: Այդ պաշտոնյաները նախագահողների և հանձնաժողովների նախագահների հետ միասին մեծ ազդեցություն ունեն օրենքների սրբազան ընթացքի վրա:

դեպք, երբ քվեարկության ժամանակ ձայները կիսվում են – a case of a tie

ժամանակավոր նախագահ – president pro tempore

ընտրել խմբակցությունների ղեկավարներին – to select floor leaders

մեծ ազդեցություն ունենալ – to exercise strong influence

b) Демократические государства оберегают членов общества от всевластия центральных правительств и осуществляют процесс децентрализации государственной власти, делегируя часть полномочий на региональный и местный уровень. При этом государства с демократической формой правления отдают себе отчет в том, что местные органы власти должны в максимально возможной степени быть доступными народу и откликаться на его нужды и чаяния.

Демократические государства понимают, что одной из их основных функций является защита таких основных прав человека, как свобода слова и вероисповедания; право на равную защиту со стороны закона и право на создание организаций и полномасштабного участия в политической, экономической и культурной жизни общества.

Демократические государства отличаются разнообразием, отражая уникальную политическую, общественную и культурную жизнь каждой страны.

оберегать членов общества от всевластия – to protect the members of the society from absolute power

делегировать часть полномочий – to delegate part of authorities

отдавать отчет – to give an account

откликаться на ч-л нужды и чаяния – to respond to sb's needs and expectations

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Democracy: its strengths and weaknesses.
2. Speak on the two main meanings of checks and balances.
3. Expand on the method of electing leaders and representatives.
4. Which system best meets the requirements of a constitutional democracy: parliamentary or presidential? Why?

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “The main advantages and drawbacks of parliamentary and presidential systems”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 150 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave... to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.

(George Washington)

➤ It is the province of knowledge to speak and it is the privilege of wisdom to listen.

(Oliver Wendell Holmes)

➤ I disapprove of what you say, but will defend to the death your right to say it.

(Voltaire)

It is interesting to know

❖ India is the world's largest democracy with 620 million voters.

❖ Chemical and biological warfare have been used long before World War I. During the Peloponnesian War in the 5th century BC, Spartans used sulphur and pitch to overcome the enemy. During ancient and medieval times, soldiers sometimes threw bodies of plague victims over the walls of besieged cities, or into water wells. During the French and Indian wars in North America (1689-1763), blankets used by smallpox victims were given to American Indians in the hope they would carry the disease.

❖ The shortest war on record took place in 1896 when Zanzibar surrendered to Britain after 38 minutes.

The longest was the so-called 100-year war between Britain and France. It actually lasted 116 years, ending in 1453.

Time for fun

The politician's confidential henchman was reporting to him.

"Some of your constituents are beginning to disagree rather seriously with you," he said.

"Well, keep a close record on them," instructed the Senator, "and when enough disagree with me to form a dependable majority, I'll turn about and agree with them."

* * * * *

"Father", said the small boy, "what is a demagogue?"

"A demagogue, my son, is a man who can rock the boat himself and persuade everybody that there is a terrible storm at sea."

UNIT 5

THE CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY

A Civic Culture

Democracy is more than the sum of its institutions. A healthy democracy depends in large part on the development of a democratic civic culture. Culture in this sense does not refer to art, literature or music, but to the behaviours, practices and norms that define the ability of a people to govern themselves.

A totalitarian political system encourages a culture of passivity and apathy. The regime seeks to mould an obedient and docile citizenry. By contrast, the civic culture of a democratic society is shaped by the freely chosen activities of individuals and groups. Citizens in a free society pursue their interests, exercise their rights and take responsibility for their own lives. They make their own decisions about where they will work, what kind of work they will do, where they will live, whether to join a political party, what to read, and so on. These are personal political decisions.

Literature, art, drama and film – the artistic expressions of a society's culture – also exist independently of government. A democratic society may support or otherwise encourage artists and writers, but it neither sets artistic standards, passes judgment on the worth of artistic endeavours, nor censors artistic expression. Artists are not employees or servants of the state. The primary contribution of a democracy to art is freedom – to create, to experiment, to explore the world of the human mind and spirit.

Democracy and Education

Education is a vital component of any society, but especially of a democracy. As Thomas Jefferson wrote: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never shall be."

In contrast to authoritarian societies the object of democratic education is to produce citizens who are independent, questioning and analytical in their outlook, yet deeply familiar with the precepts and practices of democracy. Professor Chester E. Finn Jr. said: "People may be born with an appetite for personal freedom, but they are not born with knowledge about the social and political arrangements that make freedom possible over time for themselves and their children. Such things must be acquired. They must be learned."

From this perspective, it is not enough to say that the task of education in a democracy is simply to avoid the indoctrination of authoritarian regimes and provide instruction that is neutral concerning political values. That is impossible; all education transmits values, intended or not. Students can indeed be taught the principles of democracy in a spirit of open inquiry that is itself an important democratic value. At the same time, students are encouraged to challenge conventional thinking with reasoned arguments and careful research. There may be a vigorous debate, but democracy's textbooks should not simply ignore events or facts that are unpleasant or controversial.

Education plays a singular role in free societies. While the education systems of other regimes are tools of those regimes, in a democracy the regime is the servant of the people, people whose capacity to create, sustain and improve that regime depends in large measure on the quality and effectiveness of the educational arrangements through which they pass. In a democracy, it can fairly be said, education enables freedom itself to flourish over time.

Conflict, Compromise and Consensus

Human beings possess a variety of sometimes contradictory desires. People want safety yet relish adventure; they aspire to individual freedom yet demand social equality.

Democracy is no different, and it is important to recognize that many of these tensions, even paradoxes, are present in every

democratic society. A central paradox exists between conflict and consensus. Democracy is in many ways nothing more than a set of rules for managing conflicts. At the same time, this conflict must be managed within certain limits and result in compromises, consensus or other agreements that all sides accept as legitimate. An overemphasis on one side of the equation can threaten the entire undertaking. If groups perceive democracy as nothing more than a forum in which they can press their demands, the society can shatter from within. If the government exerts excessive pressure to achieve consensus, stifling the voices of the people, the society can be crushed from above.

The answer is that there is no single or easy answer. Democracy is not a machine that runs by itself once the proper principles and procedures are inserted. A democratic society needs the commitment of citizens who accept the inevitability of conflict as well as the necessity for tolerance.

It is important that any conflicts in a democratic society are not between clear-cut "right" and "wrong", "but between differing interpretations of democratic rights and social priorities. In the contemporary world there are many such debates. Is it proper, for example, to allocate a certain percentage of jobs to minority groups that have traditionally suffered from discrimination? Does the state have the right to expropriate someone's home for a badly needed road? Whose rights prevail when the society seeks to prohibit logging in the name of wilderness preservation, but at the cost of job losses and economic devastation to small communities dependent upon the lumber industry? Are the rights of citizens violated, or are those of the community protected, if the police stop people at random to curtail drug trafficking?

These are not easy questions, and the broad precepts of democracy only provide guidelines for addressing and analyzing these issues. Indeed, the answers may change over time. It is for this reason that the culture of democracy is so important to develop. Individuals and groups must be willing, at a minimum, to

tolerate each other's differences, recognizing that the other side has valid rights and a legitimate point of view. The various sides to a dispute, whether in a local neighborhood or national parliament, can then meet in a spirit of compromise and seek a specific solution that builds on the general principle of majority rule and minority rights. In some instances, a formal vote may be necessary, but often groups can reach an informal consensus or accommodation through debate and compromise. These processes have the added benefit of building the trust necessary to resolve future problems.

Coalition-building is the essence of democratic action. It teaches interest groups to negotiate with others, to compromise and to work within the constitutional system. By working to establish coalition, groups with differences learn how to argue peaceably, how to pursue their goals in a democratic manner and ultimately how to live in a world of diversity. Democracy is not a set of revealed, unchanging truths, but the mechanism by which, through the clash and compromise of ideas, individuals, institutions and the people can, however imperfectly, reach for the truth. Democracy is pragmatic. Ideas and solutions to problems are not tested against a rigid ideology but tried in the real world where they can be argued over and changed, accepted or discarded.

Self-government cannot protect against mistakes, end ethnic strife or guarantee economic prosperity. It does, however, allow for the debate and examination that can identify mistakes, permit groups to meet and resolve differences, and offer opportunities for innovation and investment that are the engines of economic growth.

VOCABULARY

apathy [ˈæpəθi] **n** (U) a lack of interest, enthusiasm or concern: *There is a certain apathy about local elections among the public.*

obedient [əˈbiːdiənt] **adj** ~ (to sb/sth) doing what one is told to do; willing to obey: *The party is naturally obedient to the will of its leader.*

obedience **n** [U] ~ (to sb/sth): *He expected unquestioning/ blind obedience from his men.*

obediently **adv** : *She whistled, and the dog came obediently.*

pursue [pəˈsjuː] **v** **1.** to follow or chase sb/sth, esp in order to catch them/it: *bank robbers closely/ hotly pursued by the police.* **2.** (fml) to do, have or take part in sth: *pursue a goal/ an aim/ an ideal.* **3.** (fml) to continue to be interested or involved in sth: to proceed further with sth: *She decided to pursue her studies after obtaining her first degree.*

pursuer **n** a person who pursues sb: *He managed to avoid/ outwit his pursuers.*

endeavour [inˈdevə(r)] **n** (fml) [U,C] an attempt or effort: *Please make every endeavour to arrive punctually.*

endeavour **v** (fml) to try to do sth: *They endeavoured to make her happy, but in vain.*

ignorant [ˈɪgnərənt] **adj** **1.** ~ (of sth) lacking education, knowledge or information: *He's ignorant but he's certainly not stupid.* ○ *I feel totally / completely ignorant of European law.* **2.** (infml) rude through lack of knowledge of or respect for good manners: *ignorant behaviour.*

ignorance [ˈɪgnərəns] **n** [U] ~ (of sth) a lack of knowledge or information about sth: *I prefer to remain in ignorance about how you make your money.*

precept [ˈpriːsept] **n** [C,U] (fml) a rule or guide, esp for behaviour: *moral/ ideological/ religious precepts.* ○ *Children learn far more by example than by precept.*

challenge [ˈtʃælɪndʒ] **n** 1. ~ (to sb) (to do sth) an invitation or call to sb to take part in a game, contest, fight, etc to prove who is better, stronger, more able, etc: *issue/ accept/ meet a challenge*. 2. a difficult task that tests sb's ability: *She likes her job to be a challenge*. 3. ~ (to sth) a statement or an action that questions or disputes sth: *a serious challenge to the President's authority*. 4. an order given by a guard, etc telling sb to stop and say who they are: *The sentry gave the challenge. "Who goes there?"*

challenge **v** 1. ~ sb (to sth) to invite sb to do sth, esp to take part in a contest or to prove or justify sth: *challenge sb to a duel/ a game of tennis*. 2. to question whether sth is true, right or valid; to dispute sth: *challenge sb's authority/ right to do sth* ○ *challenge a claim/ an assertion/ a verdict*. 3. to test the ability of sb; to stimulate sb: *The job doesn't really challenge him*. 4. to order sb to stop and say who they are: *The sentry challenged the stranger at the gates*.

challenger **n** a person who challenges, esp in sport: *the challenger for the heavyweight title*.

challenging **adj** offering problems that test sb's ability; demanding: *a challenging assignment/ job/ test*.

sustain [səˈsteɪn] **v** 1. (a) to keep sb/sth alive or in existence: *not enough oxygen to sustain life*; (b) to keep a sound, an effort, etc going; to maintain sth: *sustain a note* (ie continue to play or sing it without interruption) ○ *make a sustained effort to finish off the work*. 2. (fml) to experience or suffer sth: *sustain a defeat/ a loss*. 3. (law) to decide that a claim, etc is valid: *The court sustained his claim that the contract was illegal*. 4. (fml) to bear weight without breaking or falling; to support sth: *The ice will not sustain your weight*.

sustainable **adj** that can be kept going or maintained: *sustainable economic growth* ○ *environmentally sustainable policies* (ie that do not harm the environment).

flourish [ˈflaʊrɪʃ] **v** 1. to be successful, active or widespread; to prosper: *Few businesses are flourishing in the present economic climate*. 2. to grow in a healthy way; to be well: *These plants flourish in a damp climate*. 3. to wave sth about in order to attract attention to it: *He rushed into the room flourishing the local newspaper excitedly*.

flourish **n** (usu sing) **1.** a bold sweeping movement or gesture, used esp to attract attention: *He opened the door for her with a flourish.* **2.** an impressive act or way of doing sth: *The exhibition opened with a flourish – a huge firework display.*

stifle ['staɪfl] **v** **1.** to suppress or control sth: *stifle a yawn/ laugh/ cry/ sob.* **2.** to feel or make sb feel unable to breath properly because of lack of fresh air: *We were stifling in that hot room with all the windows closed.* **3.** to make a fire stop burning: *stifle the flames with a blanket.*
stifling **adj**: *a stifling room/ smell/ atmosphere* ○ *stifling heat.*

allocate ['æləkeɪt] **v** ~ **sth (to sb/sth)** to distribute sth officially to sb/sth for a special purpose: *allocate funds for repair work* ○ *He allocated each of us our tasks.*

allocation **n** **1.** [U] the action of allocating sth: *housing allocation.* **2.** [C] an amount of money, space, etc allocated: *We've spent our entire allocation for the year.*

curtail [kɜː'teɪl] **v** to make sth shorter or less; to reduce sth: *curtail a speech/ one's holidays* ○ *We must try to curtail our spending.*

curtailment **n** [U]: *the curtailment of one's rights.*

reveal [rɪ'vi:l] **v** **1.** ~ **sth (to sb)** to make facts, etc known: *reveal secrets/ details* ○ *reveal one's methods/ feelings/ sources.* **2.** to cause or allow sth to be seen: *Her smile revealed two rows of white even teeth.*

revealing **adj** **1.** making facts, attitudes, etc known: *a revealing slip of the tongue.* ○ *This document is extremely revealing.* **2.** (of a woman's dress, etc) allowing more of the body to be seen than is usual or acceptable: *She was wearing a rather revealing silk blouse.*

transmit [træns'mɪt] **v** **1.** ~ **sth (from...) (to ...)** **(a)** to produce a signal by electronic means such as radio waves that can be heard by people elsewhere: *signals transmitted from a satellite.* **(b)** to broadcast a radio or television program: *The World Cup final is being transmitted live.* **2.** ~ **sth/itself (from ...)** **(to ...)** to pass sth from one person, place or thing to another: *They unwillingly transmit their own fears to their children.*

transmitter **n** **1.** a device or set of equipment for transmitting radio or other electronic signals. **2.** a person or creature or thing that transmits sth: *The mosquito is a transmitter of disease.*

undertake [ˌʌndəˈteɪk] **v** (*fml*) **1.** to make oneself responsible for sth; to engage in sth: *undertake a mission/ task/ project.* **2.** to agree or promise to do sth: *He undertook to finish the job by Friday.*

undertaking **n** **1.** a task, etc that one has undertaken; an enterprise; *a commercial/ financial undertaking.* **2.** ~ (that .../to do sth) (*fml*) a promise or guarantee: *a written undertaking that the loan would be repaid.*

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

Civic culture; an obedient and docile citizenry; to challenge conventional thinking; a vigorous debate; a contradictory desire; to aspire to individual freedom; to manage conflicts; to press demands; to shatter from within; to exert excessive pressure; to stifle voices; inevitability of conflict; to suffer from discrimination; at the cost of losses; an economic devastation; to violate rights; to curtail drug trafficking; a broad precept of democracy; valid rights; a clash and compromise of ideas; an ethnic strife; to resolve cultural differences; to be the engines of economic growth.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. docile
2. endeavor
3. debate
4. to relish
5. to perceive
6. excessive

7. random
8. to curtail
9. to tolerate
10. to negotiate
11. diversity
12. to discard
13. strife
14. to stifle

Manageable, disagreement, to enjoy, to suffer, to reject, extreme, to lessen, effort, to bargain, multiplicity, to understand, to cut down, attempt, dispute, quarrel, discussion, to suppress, inordinate, to consult, discord, to appreciate, variety, to suffocate, casual, immoderate, arbitrary, to bear, conflict, to throw away, to sense, rivalry, submissive.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. apathy | a. flexible |
| 2. to acquire | b. agreement |
| 3. vigorous | c. quiet |
| 4. debate | d. to observe |
| 5. controversial | e. to lose |
| 6. to sustain | f. indisputable |
| 7. to allocate | g. to conceal |
| 8. to violate | h. to hinder |
| 9. rigid | i. to withhold |
| 10. to reveal | j. enthusiasm |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. After a long ----- the bill was passed by the House of Commons and sent to the House of Lords.
2. His ----- to persuade her to go with him failed.
3. On entering his house, we at once ----- that he was a man of taste.

4. We've decided to ----- with the employers about our wage claims.
5. One day the truth about these events will be -----.
6. I have no further ----- for active pursuits now that I am 90.
7. I will not ----- your behaving in this way.
8. He used a computer program to generate ----- numbers.
9. He habitually ----- the law by carrying a pistol.
10. Both our working week and our salaries were -----.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
-----	-----	ignorant
obedience	-----	-----
-----	transmit	-----
-----	-----	conventional
sustenance	-----	-----
-----	contradict	-----
-----	-----	aspiring
-----	excess	-----
debate	-----	-----
-----	negotiate	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. pragmatic 2. to prevail 3. lumber | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. to have a strong desire or ambition to gain or achieve sth b. great destruction c. to cause sb to have a particular set of beliefs, esp by giving them no opportunity to consider other points of view |
|--|---|

4. to violate	8 d. timber sawn into boards
5. inevitable	3 e. to become aware of sb/sth; to notice or observe sb/sth
6. devastation	9 f. tending to follow what is done or considered acceptable by society in general
7. to aspire	g. treating things in a sensible and realistic way to produce results; concerned with actual circumstances rather than general theories
8. to indoctrinate	h. to break or be contrary to a rule, principle, treaty, etc
9. to perceive	i. to take away property, etc from its owner for public use without ayment
10. to relish	j. to put, fit or place sth into sth or between two things
11. precept	k. to exist or happen generally; to be widespread
12. perspective	l. a view, esp one stretching into the distance; a point of view
13. conventional	m. a rule or guide, esp for behaviour
14. to insert	n. impossible to avoid; certain to happen
15. to expropriate	o. to enjoy or get great pleasure from sth

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Նասարակության կենսականորեն անհրաժեշտ բաղադրիչ, այս փեսակեփից, բուռն բանավեճ, ձգտել անհատական ազատության, ժողովրդավարության լայն ըմբռնում, ոչ պաշտոնական համաձայնություն կամ հաշտեցում, բացահայտ և անփոփոխ ճշմարտությունների համակցություն, կոշտ գաղափարախոսություն, փնփնական անկում, էթնիկ հակամարտություն, բանավիճող կողմեր, հարթել փարաձայնությունները:

b) Жизненно необходимая составляющая общества; с этой точки зрения; бурные дебаты; стремиться к личной свободе; широкое понимание демократии; неофициальное соглашение или

примирение; сочетание очевидных и непреходящих истин; жесткая идеология; экономический спад; этнический конфликт; дискутирующие стороны; разрешать разногласия.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

A nation's political culture _____ of the fundamental values its people hold dear. These values need not be entirely consistent and they may even conflict at times. In addition, individuals' day-to-day political beliefs and actions need not always _____ to the standard (in fact, we know that often they do not). However, a _____ political culture requires that political values exist, that they be widely recognized, and that they serve as a yardstick for measuring the politics and policies of government. By their _____ existence, shared values are infused into the socialization of prospective citizens, just as the aggregate socialization process itself, over time, _____ or modifies the nation's basic political values in light of changing political circumstances. Above all, commonly held values are the best insurance a society has against chronic (or even episodic) _____.

In the United States, private values _____ highly with key public (or civic) values. Americans _____ a strong belief in such fundamental liberal values as personal freedom, political _____, the right to own private property, and religious _____, for instance.

**to reinforce/ coherent/ to be composed/ instability/ equality/
to conform/ mere/ to correlate/ tolerance/ to profess**

7. Render in English.

ա) Սահմանադրականության հիմնական սկզբունքը իշխանության սահմանափակման պահանջն է: Ցանկացած սահմանադրություն ներկայանում է իբրև կառավարության իշխանության գործադրմանն առնչվող սահմանափակումների մի ամբողջություն, իսկ նման սահմանափակումների ամբողջությունն ընդունած ու դրանցով ղեկավարվող ցանկացած պետություն

համարվում է սահմանադրական: Ինչ խոսք, իրական կիրառումն է էական, այլ ոչ ձևակերպումը:

Ամենակապարյալ սահմանադրություններն անգամ կարող են անօգուտ դառնալ, եթե ժողովուրդն ու փյալ կառավարության պաշտոնյաները չջանան հեղեել դրանց պահանջներին և գործուն չլինեն իրենց երկրի հիմնական օրենքը պաշտպանելու ու պահպանելու խնդրում:

սահմանադրականության հիմնական սկզբունքը – the foremost principle of constitutionalism

սահմանափակումների մի ամբողջություն – a set of restrictions

պաշտպանել ու պահպանել Սահմանադրությունը – to protect and preserve the Constitution

b) Демократия основана на принципах волеизъявления большинства в сочетании с правами личности и меньшинств. Все государства с демократической формой правления, уважая волю большинства, ревностно защищают основные права отдельных людей и групп, составляющих меньшинство.

Демократические общества привержены таким принципам как проявление терпимости, налаживание сотрудничества и достижение компромисса. Демократические государства признают, что достижение консенсуса требует компромисса, а также что он не всегда может быть достигнут. Говоря словами Махатмы Ганди, "нетерпимость сама по себе является одной из форм насилия и препятствием на пути роста истинного демократического духа".

волеизъявление большинства – the will of the majority

быть приверженным принципам – to adhere to principles

проявлять терпимость – to show tolerance

быть препятствием на пути ч-л – to be an obstacle on the path to sth

истинный демократический дух – genuine democratic spirit

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Speak on the difference between the civic culture and society culture?

2. Comment on the statement “Education is a vital component of any society”.

3 Coalition-building as the essence of democratic action.

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “Education for civic society”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 80-100 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ True knowledge exists in knowing that you know nothing.

(Socrates)

➤ The more you know, the less you need to show.

(Anonymous)

➤ Democracy is not a static thing. It is an everlasting march.

(Franklin Roosevelt)

Time for fun

The city election was coming up and the politician was out canvassing for votes.

“I hope I’ll be able to count upon your support”, he said to one merchant he had called on.

“I’m afraid not,” was the reply. “You see, I’ve already promised my support to your opponent.”

The politician laughed. “In politics,” he stated, “promising and doing are two different things.”

“Well, in that case,” declared the merchant affably, “I’ll be happy to give you my promise.”

* * * * *

“And how do you account for your recent defeat at the polls, Senator?”

“I was a victim.”

“A victim of what?”

“Of accurate counting.”

UNIT 6

THE RULE OF LAW

Equality and the Law

The right to equality before the law, or equal protection of the law as it is often phrased, is fundamental to any just and democratic society. Whether rich or poor, ethnic majority or religious minority, political ally of the state or opponent – all are entitled to equal protection before the law.

The democratic state cannot guarantee that life will treat everyone equally, and it has no responsibility to do so. However, constitutional law expert John P. Frank writes, "Under no circumstances should the state impose additional inequalities; it should be required to deal evenly and equally with all of its people."

No one is above the law, which is, after all, the creation of the people, not something imposed upon them. The citizens of a democracy submit to the law because they recognize that, however indirectly, they are submitting to themselves as makers of the law. When laws are established by the people who then have to obey them, both law and democracy are served.

Due Process

In every society throughout history those who administer the criminal justice system hold power with the potential for abuse and tyranny. In the name of the state, individuals have been imprisoned, had their property seized, and been tortured, exiled and executed without legal justification and often without any formal charges ever being brought. No democratic society can tolerate such abuses.

Every state must have the power to maintain order and punish criminal acts, but the rules and procedures by which the state

enforces its laws must be public and explicit, not secret, arbitrary or subject to political manipulation by the state.

What are the essential requirements of due process of law in a democracy?

No one's home can be broken into and searched by the police without a court order showing that there is good cause for such a search. The midnight knock of the secret police has no place in a democracy.

No person shall be held under arrest without explicit, written charges that specify the alleged violation. Not only are persons entitled to know the exact nature of the charge against them, they also must be released immediately, under the doctrine known as habeas corpus¹, if the court finds that the charge is without justification or the arrest is invalid.

Persons charged with crimes should not be held for protracted periods in prison. They are entitled to a speedy and public trial, and to confront and question their accusers.

The authorities are required to grant bail, or conditional release, to the accused pending trial if there is little likelihood that the suspect will flee or commit other crimes. Cruel and unusual punishment, as determined by the traditions and laws of the society, is prohibited.

Persons cannot be compelled to be witnesses against themselves. This prohibition against involuntary self-incrimination must be absolute. As a corollary, the police may not use torture or physical or psychological abuse against suspects under any circumstances. A legal system that bans forced confessions immediately reduces the incentives of the police to use torture, threats or other forms of abuse to obtain information, since the court will not allow such information to be placed into evidence at the time of trial.

Persons shall not be subject to double jeopardy; that is, they cannot be charged with the same crime twice. Any person tried by

a court and found not guilty can never be charged with that same crime again.

Because of their potential for abuse by the authorities, so-called *ex post facto*² laws are also proscribed. These are laws made after the fact so that someone can be charged with a crime even though the act was not illegal at the time it occurred.

The Supreme Court Defendants may possess additional protections against coercive acts by the state. In many countries the accused have a right to a lawyer who represents them in all stages of a criminal proceeding, even if they cannot pay for such legal representation themselves. The police must also inform suspects of their rights at the time of their arrest, including the right to an attorney and the right to remain silent (to avoid self-incrimination).

A common tactic of tyranny is to charge opponents of the government with treason. For this reason, the crime of treason must be carefully limited in definition so that it cannot be used as a weapon to stifle criticism of the government.

None of these restrictions means that the state lacks the necessary power to enforce the law and punish offenders. On the contrary, the criminal justice system in a democratic society will be effective to the degree that its administration is judged by the population to be fair and protective of individual rights, as well as of the public interest.

Judges may be either appointed or elected to office, and hold office for specified terms or for life. However they are chosen, it is vital that they be independent of the nation's political authority to ensure their impartiality. Judges cannot be removed for trivial or merely political reasons, but only for serious crimes or misdeeds - and then only through a formal procedure, such as impeachment (the bringing of charges) and trial in the legislature.

Constitutions

The rock upon which a democratic government rests is its constitution - the formal statement of its fundamental obligations,

limitations, procedures and institutions. The constitution of the country is the supreme law of the land, and all citizens, prime ministers to peasants alike, are subject to its provisions. At a minimum, the constitution, which is usually codified in a single written document, establishes the authority of the national government, provides guarantees for fundamental human rights and sets forth the government's basic operating procedures.

Despite their enduring, monumental qualities, constitutions must be capable of change and adaptation if they are to be more than admirable fossils. The world's oldest written constitution, that of the United States, consists of seven brief articles and 26 amendments. This written document, however, is only the foundation for a vast structure of judicial decisions, statutes, presidential actions and traditional practices that has been erected over the past 200 years and kept the U.S. Constitution alive and relevant.

This pattern of constitutional evolution takes place in every democracy. In general, there are two schools of thought about the process of amending, or changing, a nation's constitution. One is to adopt a difficult procedure, requiring many steps and large majorities. As a result, the constitution is changed infrequently, and only for compelling reasons that receive substantial public support.

A much simpler method of amendment, which many nations use, is to provide that any amendment may be adopted by approval of the legislature and passed by the voters at the next election. Constitutions able to be changed in this fashion can be quite lengthy, with specific provisions that differ little from the general body of legislation.

No constitution in force today will survive into the next century without the capacity for change while still holding fast to principles of individual rights, due process and government through the consent of the governed.

NOTES

1. **habeas corpus** [ˈhabeəs ˈkɔrpəs] – a law that states that a person who has been arrested should not be kept in prison longer than a particular period of time unless a judge in a court of law has decided that it is right.

2. **ex post facto** [ˈeks post ˈfakto] – law, done after another thing; after the deed is done; retrospective.

VOCABULARY

submit [səbˈmɪt] **v** 1. ~ **sth (to sb/sth) (for sth)** to give sth to sb/sth so that it may be formally considered or so that a decision about it may be made: *submit an application/ an estimate/ a claim/* 2. (esp law) to suggest or argue: *The case, I submit, is not proven.* 3. ~ **(oneself) (to sb/sth)** to accept the authority, control or superior strength of sb/sth; to yield to sb/sth: *I refuse to submit.* ○ *submit to the enemy/ one's opponent* ○ *submit oneself to the decision of a court.*

seize [si:z] **v** 1. to take hold of sth/sb suddenly or violently; to grab sth/sb: *She seized me by the wrist.* ○ *He seized my bag and ran off with it.* 2. **(a)** to take possession of sth or capture sb/sth, using force: *seize the airport in a surprise attack.* **(b)** (of the police, etc) to use one's authority to take property, esp stolen goods, illegal drugs, etc away from sb by force: *20 kilos of heroin were seized yesterday at Heathrow.* 3. to see an opportunity, etc and use it eagerly: *seize the chance to make some money.* 4. (esp passive) (of a strong feeling, desire, etc) to affect sb suddenly and deeply: *Panic seized us.*

seizure **n** 1. [U, C] the action or an instance of seizing sth by force or legal authority: *the seizure of contraband by Customs officers.* 2. [C] a sudden violent attack of illness, esp in the brain; a stroke: *epileptic seizures.*

torture [ˈtɔ:tʃə(r)] **v** 1. to inflict great pain on sb: *There is evidence that political prisoners are regularly tortured.* 2. to cause sb great physical or mental suffering: *be tortured by fear/ doubt.*

exile [ˈeksail, ˈegz-] **n** 1. [U] the state of being sent away from one's native country or home, esp for political reasons or as a punishment; forced absence: *be/ live in exile* ○ *go/ be sent into exile* ○ *a place of exile.* 2. [C] a long stay away from one's country or home: *After an exile of ten years her uncle returned to Britain.* 3. [C] a person who lives away from her or his own country from choice or because forced to do so: *There were many French exiles in England after the Revolution.*

exile v ~ sb (from...) (esp passive) to send sb into exile: *be exiled for life* ○ *the party's exiled leaders.* ○ *She was exiled from her country because of her part in the uprising.*

due [dju:; US du:] **adj** 1. **(a) ~ (to do sth)** arranged or expected: *The book is due to be published in October.* **(b)** (of a sum of money) requiring immediate payment: *Payment should be made on or before the due date.* 2. **~ to sth/sb** caused by sb/sth; because of sb/sth: *absent due to illness.* 3. suitable; right; proper: *after due consideration.* 4. **(a) (to sb)** owed as a debt or an obligation: *Have they paid the money due to them?* **(b) ~ for sth** owed sth; deserving sth: *She's due for promotion soon.* **IDM** **in due course** at the appropriate time; eventually: *Your request will be dealt with in due course.* **with (all) due respect** (used when one is about to disagree, usu quite strongly, with sb): *With all due respect, the figures do not support you on this.*

allege [əˈledʒ] **v** (*fml*) (often passive) to state sth as a fact but without proof; to give as an argument or excuse: *The prisoner alleges (that) he was at home on the night of the crime.* ○ *We were alleged to have brought goods into the country illegally.*

alleged adj stated without being proved: *an alleged criminal.*

allegedly adv: *The novel was allegedly written by a computer.*

bail [beɪl] **n** [U] **(a)** money paid by or for sb accused of a crime, as a guarantee that they will return for their trial if they are allowed to go free until then: *Bail was set at \$1 million.* **(b)** permission for sb to be

released with such a guarantee: *The judge granted/ refused him bail.*
IDM go/ stand bail (for sb) to give money to obtain sb's freedom until their trial: *His father stood bail for him.* **(out) on bail** *He committed another crime while he was out on bail.*

bail v (usu passive) **1.** to release sb on bail: *He was bailed to appear in court on 15 March.* **PHRV bail sb out 1.** to obtain the release of sb on bail: *Her parents bailed her out and took her home.* **2.** (infml) to rescue sb from esp financial difficulties: *The club faced bankruptcy until a wealthy local businessman bailed them out.*

pending [ˈpendɪŋ] **adj** (fml) **(a)** waiting to be decided or settled: *There is a legal case pending.* **(b)** going to happen soon: *A decision on this matter is pending.*

pending prep (fml) while waiting for sth to take place or happen; until sth: *She was held in custody pending trial.*

incentive [ɪnˈsɛntɪv] **n** ~ **(to do sth)** **(a)** [C] a thing that encourages sb to do sth: *an incentive to work harder.* **(b)** [U] encouragement: *They don't try very hard, but then there is no incentive.*

jeopardize, -ise [ˈdʒɛpədəɪz] **v** to cause sth to be harmed, lost or destroyed; to put sth in danger of this happening: *The security of the whole operation has been jeopardized by their carelessness.*

jeopardy [ˈdʒɛpədi] **n** **IDM in jeopardy at risk:** *Thousands of jobs are now in jeopardy.* **double jeopardy** the fact of taking sb to a court of law twice for the same crime, or punishing sb twice for the same reason.

treason [ˈtri:zn] (also **high treason**) **n** [U] the crime of betraying one's country, eg by helping its enemies during a war, or of trying to kill its ruler.

treasonable adj: *a treasonable offence* (ie one that can be punished as treason).

endure [ɪnˈdʒuə(r); US -ˈdʊər] **v** **1.** to suffer patiently sth that is painful or uncomfortable: *endure toothache.* **2.** (esp in negative sentences) to tolerate a person, an event, etc: *I can't endure that woman a moment longer.* ○ *He can't endure to be left alone/ being left alone.*

3. to continue in existence; to last: *fame that will endure for ever* ◦ *These traditions have endured for centuries.*

endurable adj that can be endured or tolerated: *He found the boredom scarcely endurable.*

enduring adj continuing in existence; lasting for a long time: *enduring memories* ◦ *an enduring peace/ relationship.*

erect [i'rekt] v (fml) **1.** to build sth, eg a house or wall: *They plan to demolish the house next door and erect a block of flats in its place.* **2.** to put sth in position and make it stand upright: *erect a tent/ sign/ screen.*

erection n [U] (fml) the action of erecting sth or the state of being erected: *The erection of the building took almost a year.*

relevant ['reləvənt] **adj** ~ (to sth/sb) closely connected with sth; appropriate in the circumstances: *a highly relevant argument/ point/ suggestion* ◦ *gather information relevant to a public enquiry.*

relevance n [U]: *have/ bear some/ no relevance to the matter in hand.*

relevantly adv: *The applicant has experience in teaching, and, more relevantly, in industry.*

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

Formal charge; to maintain order; court order; alleged violation; to be charged with a crime; protracted period; to grant bail; conditional release; pending trial; forced confession; double jeopardy; coercive act; criminal proceeding; legal representation; to avoid self-incrimination; crime of treason; a specified term; for life; enduring, monumental quality; specific provision.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. to impose
2. to submit
3. to administer
4. to seize
5. to torture
6. to exile
7. to enforce
8. explicit
9. bail
10. to ban
11. jeopardy
12. vast
13. to erect

To yield, danger, to capture, to create, to charge with, to prohibit, risk, to compel, to raise, to conduct, warranty, to torment, to execute, to supervise, clear, to dictate, enormous, to extradite, to direct, to build, to deport, to forbid, to grasp, to surrender, guarantee, immense, to persecute, hazard, definite, to discharge.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. to establish | a. to imprison |
| 2. to punish | b. to unsettle |
| 3. explicit | c. merciful |
| 4. to protract | d. to pull down |
| 5. to release | e. to abridge |
| 6. to flee | f. to excuse |
| 7. cruel | g. inessential |
| 8. treason | h. loyalty |
| 9. basic | i. irrelevant |
| 10. to erect | j. to stay |
| 11. relevant | k. vague |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. They had to ----- to a thorough body search at the airport.
2. The ----- king had asked for a personal representative to accompany him.
3. He gave me ----- directions on how to get there.
4. She was released on 2500\$ -----.
5. The customers ----- from the bank when the alarm sounded.
6. She had placed herself in ----- in order to save my life.
7. They have committed ----- against the state.
8. A statue was ----- to honour the memory of Queen Victoria
9. These comments are not directly ----- to this inquiry.
10. The terrorists ----- a kidnapped politician.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
-----	approve	-----
evidence	-----	-----
-----	-----	justifiable
-----	lengthen	-----
obedience	-----	-----
-----	-----	recognizable
-----	reduce	-----
-----	-----	specific
suspect	-----	-----
-----	threaten	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. to impose | a. a condition or requirement in a legal document |
| 2. to manipulate | b. to accuse a public official or politician of committing a serious crime |
| 3. corollary | c. to place a penalty, tax, etc officially on sb/sth |
| 4. to subject | d. a lawyer, esp one qualified to act for clients in a law court |
| 5. to prescribe | e. to suppress or control sth |
| 6. to proscribe | f. to advise or order the use of a medicine or medical treatment |
| 7. attorney | g. to control or influence sb/sth by clever or unfair means |
| 8. to stifle | h. to arrange laws, rules, etc according to a system |
| 9. impartial | i. to make sb/sth experience, suffer or be affected by sth |
| 10. misdeed | j. a natural or logical consequence or result |
| 11. to impeach | k. to state officially that sth is dangerous or forbidden |
| 12. provision | l. a wicked act; a crime |
| 13. to codify | m. not favouring one person or thing more than another, fair or neutral |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Օրենքի գերակայություն, կառավարել արդարադատական համակարգը, մահապատժի ենթարկել, գրավոր մեղադրանք, ստիպողական ինքնամեղադրանք, արդյունքում (ուստի), կառավարությանն ընդդիմադրող անձանց դավաճանության մեջ մեղադրել, ճնշել կառավարության դեմ քննադատությունը, կիրառել օրենքը և պատժել օրինազանցներին, ապահովել անկողմնակալություն, օրենքները համակարգել մեկ գրավոր փաստաթղթի մեջ, ապահովել մարդու հիմնական իրավունքների երաշխիքներ, սահմանել կառավարության գործունեության

հիմնական ընթացակարգերը, սրանալ հանրության զգալի աջակցությունը, սկզբունքներին հավաքարիմ մնալ:

b) Верховенство/сила закона; отправлять правосудие; приговаривать к смертной казни; письменное обвинение; принудительное самообвинение; следовательно/как следствие; обвинять противников правительства в предательстве; подавлять критику в адрес правительства; применять закон и наказывать нарушителей закона; обеспечивать объективность; кодифицировать (закон) в едином письменном документе; гарантировать основные права человека; устанавливать основной регламент деятельности правительства; получить значительную поддержку общества; оставаться верным принципам.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

The idea that nations ought to be governed by impartial, _____ laws is not new. Aristotle argued that the rule of law is almost always superior to the rule of _____ individuals. He based this argument on the concept of fairness, _____ that while individuals are subject to appetites and passions for physical, material and psychic satisfaction, the law represents (or should represent) “reason free from all passion”. Therefore, a government of laws is superior to one of individuals, even though individual _____ and ministers of justice must always uphold the _____ of the laws.

More than 2000 years later, English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) defended the rule of law on the basis of its important relationship to individual freedom. Locke believed that meaningful freedom could not exist outside the _____ of law and politics and that, further, good government must conform to certain important rules - for instance, that taxes not be _____ without the consent of the people. To Locke, these rules constituted “laws” in that they _____ fundamental maxims of political life. From Locke’s concept of a “higher law”, the idea of constitutionalism _____ . As Locke noted “Wherever Law ends, _____ begins.”

to levy/ tyranny/ unrestrained/ magistrate/ realm/ to comprise/ binding/ to evolve/ to contend/ sanctity

7. Render in English.

a) Յուրաքանչյուր հասարակարության մեջ պետք է գոյություն ունենա հիմնարար կանոններ ձևակերպելու մի միջոց, որը կոչված է կարգավորելու այդ հասարակության անդամների միջև հարաբերությունները: Մեր ժամանակի քաղաքական համակարգերում այն անվանում են օրինաստեղծ գործընթաց, որի իրականացումը իր գագաթնակետին է հասնում իբրև օրենքների պաշտոնական հաստատում այն մարմինների կողմից, որոնց վիճակված է գործել որպես կանոն սահմանողներ: Այս գործընթացը ոչ միայն ստեղծում է ներդաշնակ համայնք հաստատելու համար անհրաժեշտ կանոններ, այլև փախի է համարել գործունեության չափանիշներ, որոնք որոշիչ են քաղաքականության հարցում: Ժողովրդավարական երկրներում դրանք պետական կառավարման համակարգում ժողովրդի համար զոնե տեսականորեն ձայն են ապահովում:

ձևակերպել հիմնարար կանոնները – to formulate basic rules
օրինաստեղծ գործընթաց – legislative process
օրենքների պաշտոնական հաստատում – formal passage of laws
գործել որպես կանոն սահմանողներ – to act as rulemakers
համարել գործունեության չափանիշ – a measure of collective action

b) Государства-участники подчеркивают, что вопросы, связанные с правами человека, основными свободами, демократией и силой закона вызывают международную озабоченность, так как соблюдение данных прав и свобод является одной из основ международного порядка. Они категорически и бесповоротно заявляют, что обязательства, взятые ими в области человеческого измерения ОБСЕ, представляют собой предмет прямой и законной озабоченности для всех государств-участников и не относятся исключительно к внутренним делам отдельных стран. Государства-участники выражают намерение выполнять все обязательства в области человеческого измерения и решать все связанные с ним вопросы мирным путем индивидуально и коллективно, на основе взаимного уважения и сотрудничества. В

связи с этим они признают, что активное участие отдельных лиц, групп, организаций и учреждений исключительно важно для гарантии развития правоохранительного процесса в правильном направлении.

вызывать международную озабоченность – to be of international concern

являться основой международного порядка – to constitute the foundation of the international order

обязательства в области человеческого измерения – commitments in the field of the human dimension

ОБСЕ – OSCE (Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe)

выражать намерение – to express determination

в связи с этим – in this context

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Speak on the essential requirements of due process of law in a democracy.
2. According to the text there are two schools of thought about the process of amending a nation`s constitution. Comment on them.
3. Which are the rights of the accused in the United States?
4. Our constitution is comparatively new and it may need some changes. What articles, in your opinion, should be amended?

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “Constitution and its role in the development of the society”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 100 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

- Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.

(George Santayana)

- Any man who afflicts the human race with ideas must be prepared to see them misunderstood.

(Henry Louis Mencken)

- If a nation values anything more **than freedom**, it will lose its freedom, and the irony of it is that if it is **comfort or money** that it values more, it will lose that, too.

(Somerset Maugham)

Time for fun

The political candidate was being interviewed.

“And what will you do if you are elected?” he was asked.

The politician’s mind had been wandering a bit, and the question startled him into sudden honesty.

“Good gracious!” he exclaimed. “What in the world shall I do if I’m not?”

* * * * *

It was the morning after election and two party workers were talking it over.

“That election was crooked,” declared one. “Why, when I went into the voting booth I saw Bill and Slim stuffing the ballot box.”

“I was with you and didn’t see anything,” objected the other.

“Oh, that was the first time”, was the explanation. “I saw them when I went in to vote the third time.”

HUMAN RIGHTS

We hold the truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain, inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The American Declaration of Independence

Inalienable Rights

In these memorable words of the American Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson set forth a fundamental principle upon which democratic government is founded. Governments in democracy do not grant the fundamental freedoms enumerated by Jefferson; governments are created to protect those freedoms that every individual possesses by virtue of his or her existence.

In their formulation by the Enlightenment¹ philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries, inalienable rights are God-given natural rights. These rights are not destroyed when civil society is created, and neither society nor government can remove or "alienate" them.

Inalienable rights include freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of assembly and the right to equal protection before the law. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the rights that citizens enjoy in a democracy – democratic societies also assert such civil rights as the right to a fair trial – but it does constitute the core rights that any democratic government must uphold. Since they exist independently of government, these rights cannot be legislated away, nor are they subject to the momentary whim of an electoral

majority. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, for example, does not give freedom of religion or of the press to the people; it prohibits the Congress from passing any law interfering with freedom of speech, religion and peaceful assembly. A historian, Leonard Levy, has said, "Individuals may be free when their government is not."

The detailed formulation of laws and procedures concerning these basic human rights will necessarily vary from society to society, but every democracy is charged with the task of building the constitutional, legal and social structures that will ensure their protection.

Speech

Freedom of speech and expression is lifeblood of any democracy. To debate and vote, to assemble and protest, to worship, to ensure justice for all – these all rely upon the unrestricted flow of speech and information.

Citizens of a democracy live with the conviction that through the open exchange of ideas and opinions, truth will eventually win out over falsehood, the values of others will be better understood, areas of compromise more clearly defined, and the path of progress opened. The greater the volume of such exchanges, the better.

In contrast to authoritarian states, democratic governments neither control, dictate nor judge the content of written and verbal speech. Democracy depends upon a literate, knowledgeable citizenry, whose access to the broadest possible range of information enables them to participate as fully as possible in the public life of their society. Ignorance breeds apathy. Democracy thrives upon the energy of citizens who are sustained by the unimpeded flow of ideas, data, opinions and speculation.

But what should the government do in cases where the news media or other organizations abuse freedom of speech with information that, in the opinion of the majority, is false,

irresponsible or simply in bad taste? The answer, by and large, is nothing. It is simply not the business of government to judge such matters. In general, the cure for free speech is more free speech.

Freedom and Faith

Freedom of religion, or more broadly freedom of conscience means that no person should be required to profess any religion or other belief against his or her desires. Additionally, no one should be punished or penalized in any way because he or she chooses one religion over another or, indeed, opts for no religion at all. The democratic state recognizes that a person's religious faith is a profoundly personal matter.

In a related sense, freedom of religion means that no one can be compelled by government to recognize an official church or faith. Children cannot be compelled to go to a particular religious school, and no one can be required to attend religious services, to pray or to participate in religious activities against his or her will. By reason of long history or tradition, many democratic nations have officially established churches or religions that receive state support. This fact, however, does not relieve the government of the responsibility for protecting the freedom of individuals whose beliefs differ from that of the officially sanctioned religion.

Citizenship: Rights and Responsibilities

Democracies rest upon the principle that government exists to serve the people; the people do not exist to serve the government. In other words, the people are citizens of the democratic state, not its subjects. While the state protects the rights of its citizens, in return, the citizens give the state their loyalty. Under an authoritarian system, on the other hand, the state, as an entity separate from the society, demands loyalty and service from its people without any reciprocal obligation to secure their consent for its actions.

When citizens in a democracy vote, for example, they are exercising their right and responsibility to determine who shall rule in their name. In an authoritarian state, by contrast, the act of voting serves only to legitimize selections already made by the regime. Voting in such a society involves neither rights nor responsibilities exercised by citizens – only a coerced show of public support for the government.

Military service provides a different, but equally contrasting example of rights and responsibilities in democratic and non-democratic societies. Two different nations may both require a period of peacetime military service by their young men. In the authoritarian state, this obligation is imposed unilaterally. In the democratic state, such a period of military service is a duty that the citizens of the society have undertaken through laws passed by a government they themselves have elected. In each society, peacetime military service may be unwelcome for individuals. But the citizen-soldier in a democracy serves with the knowledge that he is discharging an obligation that his society has freely undertaken. The members of a democratic society, moreover, have it within their power to act collectively and change this obligation: to eliminate mandatory military service and create an all-volunteer army, as the United States and other countries have done; change the period of military service, as happened recently in Germany; or, as in the case of Switzerland, to maintain reserve military service for men as an essential part of citizenship.

Citizenship in these examples entails a broad definition of rights and responsibilities, since they are opposite sides of the same coin. An individual's exercise of his rights is also his responsibility to protect and enhance those rights – for himself and for others. Even citizens of well-established democracies often misunderstand this equation, and too often take advantage of rights while ignoring responsibilities. As political scientist Benjamin Barber notes, "Democracy is often understood as the rule of the majority, and rights are understood more and more as

the private possessions of individuals and thus as necessarily antagonistic to majoritarian democracy. But this is to misunderstand both rights and democracy.”

The essence of democratic action is the active, freely chosen participation of its citizens in the public life of their community and nation. Without this broad, sustaining participation, democracy will begin to wither and become the preserve of a small, select number of groups and organizations. But with the active engagement of individuals across the spectrum of society, democracies can weather the inevitable economic and political storms that sweep over every society, without sacrificing the freedoms and rights that they are sworn to uphold.

Democracy, Diane Ravitch² writes, “is a process, a way of living and working together. It is evolutionary, not static. It requires cooperation, compromise and tolerance among all citizens. Making it work is hard, not easy. Freedom means responsibility, not freedom from responsibility.”

Democracy embodies ideals of freedom and self-expression, but it is also clear-eyed about human nature. It does not demand that citizens be universally virtuous, only that they will be responsible. As American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr said: “Man’s capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man’s inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary.”

Human Rights and Political Goals

As a principle, the protection of basic human rights is accepted widely: it is embodied in written constitutions throughout the world as well as in the Charter of the United Nations and in such international agreements as the Helsinki Final Act (the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe – OSCE).

Distinguishing among different categories of rights is another matter. In recent times, there has been a tendency, especially among international organizations, to expand the list of basic

human rights. To fundamental freedoms of speech and equal treatment before the law, these groups have added rights to employment, to education, to one's own culture or nationality, and to adequate standards of living.

These are all worthwhile undertakings, but when such entitlements proliferate as rights, they tend to devalue the meaning of basic civic and human rights. Furthermore, they blur the distinction between rights that all individuals possess, and goals toward which individuals, organizations and governments may reasonably be expected to strive.

Governments protect inalienable rights, such as freedom of speech, through restraint, by limiting their own actions. Funding education, providing health care or guaranteeing employment demand the opposite: the active involvement of government in promoting certain policies and programs. Adequate health care and educational opportunities should be the birthright of every child. The sad fact is that they aren't, and the ability of societies to achieve such goals will vary widely from country to country. By transforming every human aspiration into a right, however, governments run the risk of increasing cynicism and inviting a disregard of all human rights.

NOTES

1. the Enlightenment – a philosophical movement of the 18th century that emphasized the use of reason to scrutinize previously accepted doctrines and traditions. It brought about many humanitarian reforms. At that time many scientists and writers began to argue that science and reason were more important than religion and tradition.

2. See Unit 1, p. 2.

VOCABULARY

endow [ɪnˈdaʊ] **v** 1. ~ sb/sth (with sth) to give money, property, etc to provide a regular income for a school, college, etc: *endow a bed in a hospital* ○ *endow the hospital with a bed.* 2. ~ sb/sth with sth to provide sb/sth with a good quality, ability, feature, etc: *She is endowed with intelligence as well as good looks.* ○ **endow sb with authority/responsibility.**

endowment **n** 1. [U] the action of endowing: *the endowment of many schools by rich former pupils.* 2. [C usu pl] money, property, etc given to provide an income: *The Oxford and Cambridge colleges have numerous endowments.* 3. [C usu pl] a natural talent, quality or ability: *Few people are born with endowments like his.*

alien [ˈeɪliən] **n** 1. a person who is not a citizen of the country in which he or she is living. 2. a being from another world: *aliens from outer space.*

alien **adj** 1. (a) foreign: *an alien land.* (b) not familiar; strange: *an alien environment* ○ *alien concepts/ customs.* 2. ~ to sth/sb contrary to sth; not at all usual or acceptable to sb: *Such principles are totally alien to our religion.* ○ *Cruelty was quite alien to his nature.*

alienate [ˈeɪliəneɪt] **v** ~ sb (from sb/sth) 1. to lose or destroy the friendship, support, sympathy, etc of sb: *The prime minister's policy has alienated many of his supporters.* 2. to cause sb to feel different from others and not part of a group: *Many artists feel alienated from society.*

alienation **n** [U] ~ (from sb/ sth): *Mental illness can create a sense of alienation from the real world.*

uphold [ʌpˈhəʊld] **v** 1. to support or confirm a decision, belief, etc which has been questioned: *uphold a verdict/ sentence at the end of an appeal* ○ *uphold a policy/ principle.* 2. to maintain a custom, etc: *uphold ancient traditions.*

conviction [kən'vɪkʃn] **n** 1. ~ (for sth) (a) [U] the action of finding sb guilty or of being found guilty of a crime in a lawcourt: *an offence which carries, on conviction, a sentence of not more than five years' imprisonment.* (b) [C] an instance of this: *She has had six previous convictions for theft.* 2. [U, C] a firm opinion or belief: *It is my conviction that complacency is at the root of our troubles.* ◦ *Do you always act in accordance with your convictions?* 3. [U] the appearance of being sincere, firmly believed or truly meant: *The leader's speech in defence of the policy didn't carry much conviction.*

citizen ['sɪtɪzn] **n** 1. a person who has full rights as a member of a country, either by birth or by being given such rights: *an American citizen* ◦ *She is German by birth but is now a French citizen.* 2. a person who lives in a town or city: *the citizens of Rome.* 3. (esp US) = *civilian.*

citizenship **n** [U] being a citizen, esp of a particular country, with the rights and duties that involves: *apply for/ be granted British citizenship.*

citizenry ['sɪtɪzənri] **n** (fml) the citizens of a town, country, etc.

profess [prə'fes] **v** 1. (fml) to claim sth, often falsely: *I don't profess expert knowledge of/ profess to be an expert in this subject.* ◦ *She professed her innocence.* 2. to state openly that one has a belief, feeling, etc: *He professed himself satisfied with the progress made.* ◦ *They all profess a belief in competition.* 3. to have or belong to a religion: *to profess Christianity/ Islam.*

professed **adj** 1. claimed, sometimes falsely: *her professed love of children.* 2. openly declared: *a professed Christian/ anarchist.*

opt [ɒpt] **v** to decide to do sth; to choose to do sth: *He opted to go to Stanford rather than Yale.* PHRV **opt for sth** to decide on sth; to choose sth: *Very few students are opting for science courses.* **opt out (of sth)** to choose not to be involved in sth: *I think I'll opt out of this game.* ◦ **an opted-out school/ hospital.**

opt-out **n** an instance of choosing not to take part in sth: *an opt-out from the treaty* ◦ *an opt-out clause in the agreement..*

compel [kəm'pel] **v** 1. (fml) to make sb do sth; to force sb: *We cannot compel you to (do it), but we think you should.* 2. (fml) (a) to get sth by force or pressure; to make sth necessary: *Circumstances have compelled*

a change of plan. **(b)** to inspire sth strongly: *His courage compels universal admiration.*

compelling adj **(a)** extremely interesting and exciting, so that one has to pay attention: *a compelling novel/ account/ story.* **(b)** that one must accept or agree with: *a compelling reason/ argument.*

coerce [kəʊ'ɜ:s] **v** ~ **sb** (into sth/ doing sth) (*fnl*) to make sb do sth by using force or threats: *an attempt to coerce the government* ○ *We were coerced into signing the contract.*

coercion **n** [U] the action of coercing sb or the process of being coerced: *He paid the money under coercion.*

coercive adj using force or threats: *coercive measures/ tactics.*

unilateral [ˌju:nɪ'lætrəl] **adj** done by or affecting one person, group or country without the agreement of another or the others: *take unilateral action* ○ *unilateral decisions/ declarations* ○ *unilateral disarmament.* Compare **bilateral**, **multilateral**.

unilaterally adv: *a decision taken unilaterally.*

discharge [dis'tʃɑ:ɔːʒ] **v** **1.** to give official permission for sb to leave, eg after they have carried out a duty: *discharge a patient from hospital.* **2.** to dismiss sb from their job or position: *He was discharged from police force for bad conduct.* **3.** (*fnl*) **(a)** to perform a duty: *She discharged her responsibilities with great efficiency.* **(b)** to pay a debt. **4.** to give or send out liquid, gas, electric current, etc: *The Nile discharges into Mediterranean.* ○ *The sewers discharge their contents into the sea.* ○ *Lightning is caused by clouds discharging electricity.* ○ *The wound is discharging (pus).* **5.** to fire or shoot a gun, etc: *The rifle was discharged accidentally.*

discharge **n** [U] the action of discharging sth or of being discharged: *After his discharge from the army, he went to Canada.*

entail [ɪn'teɪl] **v** to involve sth as a necessary or inevitable part or consequence: *The job entails a lot of hard work.*

enhance [ɪnˈhɑːns; US -ˈhæns] **v** to increase or further improve the good quality, value or status of sb/sth: *enhance the reputation/ position of sb* ◦ *Those clothes do nothing to enhance her appearance.*

enhancement **n** [U, C]: *computer enhancement of a photograph.*

inclination [ˌɪnklɪˈneɪʃn] **n** 1. [U, C] ~ (to/ for/ towards sth); ~ (to do sth) a feeling that makes sb want to do sth or behave in a particular way: *She was determined to follow her own inclinations in choosing a carrier.* 2. [C] a tendency: *He has an inclination to overdramatize.* 3. (a) [U] a degree of sloping. (b) [C] a sloping surface; a slope: *a small inclination just beyond the trees.* 4. [C usu sing] a bending or bowing movement: *with an inclination of his head.*

proliferate [prəˈlɪfəreɪt] **v** 1. (of plants, animals and cells) to reproduce rapidly; to multiply: *cancer cells proliferating.* 2. to increase rapidly in numbers: *At Christmastime biographies of the famous proliferate in the bookshops.*

proliferation **n** [U, sing] (a) a rapid growth or increase in numbers: *the danger of nuclear proliferation* (b) a large number of a particular thing: *Buyers are confused by the sheer proliferation of models available.*

strive [straɪv] **v** 1. (fml) ~ (for/ after sth) to try very hard or for a long time to obtain or achieve sth: *strive for success* ◦ *strive to improve one's performance.* 2. ~ (against sb/ sth) to fight hard against sb/ sth: *strive against oppression.*

striving **n** [U, sing]: *the/ a relentless striving after perfection.*

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

To be endowed with; inalienable rights; to grant fundamental freedoms; by virtue of; an exhaustive list; fair trial; core rights; to live with a conviction; literate, knowledgeable citizenry; unimpeded flow of ideas, data; reciprocal obligation; unilateral (bi-/multi-) obligation; mandatory military service; to enhance rights; worthwhile undertaking; to promote certain policy and program; to run the risk of.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. to institute
2. to assert
3. core
4. momentary
5. conviction
6. to thrive
7. to sustain
8. unimpeded
9. to abuse
10. to compel
11. to wither
12. inclination
13. proliferation
14. to strive

Transient, to force, open, to coerce, to flourish, to affirm, to establish, tendency, to support, bias, to prosper, to fade, to struggle, confidence, to oblige, unblocked, to claim, increase, to hold, focus, to decline, expansion, certainty, to exploit, to maintain, to oppress, to initiate, temporary, to advance, centre, to vie.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. virtue | a. treachery |
| 2. to alienate | b. enthusiasm |
| 3. to assert | c. quarrel |
| 4. compromise | d. freedom |
| 5. unrestricted | e. vice |
| 6. apathy | f. to deny |
| 7. loyalty | g. limited |
| 8. voluntary | h. to unite |
| 9. static | i. coerced |
| 10. restraint | j. dynamic |
| 11. to ignore | k. to notice |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. The prime minister's policy has ----- many of his supporters.
2. This concept is at the very ----- of her theory.
3. His arguments are forcefully put, but they lack ----- .
4. There is a certain ----- about local election among the public.
5. Only the hope that the rescuers were getting nearer ----- the trapped miners.
6. I was ----- to acknowledge the force of his argument.
7. He received no fees for the work they did in the ----- hospital.
8. Their hope gradually ----- away.
9. He showed considerable ----- in ignoring these results.
10. The danger of nuclear ----- threatens the security of the whole world.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
-----	coerce	-----
alienation	-----	-----
-----	convict	-----
-----	-----	deprived
exhaustion	-----	-----
-----	penalize	-----
-----	-----	prolific
reciprocity	-----	-----
-----	rely	-----
-----	-----	restrained
subject [ˈsʌbdʒɪkt]	-----	-----
-----	vary	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. to assert | a. to become weaker, often before disappearing completely |
| 2. to subject | b. an activity, an interest, etc regarded as exclusive to a particular person or group |
| 3. whim | c. a sudden desire or idea, esp an unusual or unreasonable one |
| 4. flow | d. to help the progress of sth; to encourage or support sth |
| 5. to undertake | e. a written statement describing the rights that a certain group of people have or should have |

6. equation	f. to become or make sth difficult to distinguish clearly
7. antagonistic	g. to give sb a right to have or do sth
8. to wither	h. the action of making sth equal or considering sth as equal
9. preserve	i. to include or contain sth
10. to embody	j. the continuous production or supply of sth
11. charter	k. to change the appearance or character of sb/sth completely
12. to entitle	l. to bring a country or a person under one's control, esp by force
13. to blur	m. showing or feeling opposition
14. to promote	n. to make oneself responsible for sth; to engage in sth
15. to transform	o. to make other people recognize sth by behaving firmly and confidently

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Անօտարելի իրավունքներ, երջանկության ձգտում, գրկել իրավունքներից, հանձնարարության պատասխանատվությունը դնել մեկի վրա, բարգավաճել քաղաքացիների եռանդի շնորհիվ, կառավարությանը ազատել պատասխանատվությունից, պաշտոնապես ընդունված կրոն, միակողմանի/փոխադարձ պարտավորություն, կատարել պարտականությունը, դիմանալ տնտեսական և քաղաքական անխուսափելի ցնցումներին, արհամարհել մարդու բոլոր իրավունքները:

b) Неотъемлемые права; стремление к счастью; лишать прав; возлагать ответственность (за поручение) на кого-либо; процветать благодаря труду граждан; освободить правительство от ответственности; официально принятая религия; односторонние/взаимные обязательства; выполнять обязанности; противостоять неизбежным экономическим и политическим потрясениям; пренебрегать всеми правами человека.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

The validity of democracy itself, however, can be indeed questioned. As Socrates pointed out several centuries ago, when one wants something done right, one goes to an expert. To recover from an illness, for example, one goes to a doctor. Why, then, if one wants good government, should one consult the people, many of whom are politically _____ and ignorant? A contemporary commentator has pointed out that “if you visited a physician and _____ advice as to whether to undergo an operation, you would be appalled if he explained that his policy in such cases was _____ a random sampling of passersby-and act in accordance with the will of the majority”. Yet that is precisely what democracies do all the time.

Among the several possible answers to this Socratic _____ of democracy, perhaps the most straightforward defense of majority rule was provided by Alex de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America (1835)*: “The moral authority of the majority is partly based upon the notion, that there is more intelligence and more wisdom in a great number of men collected together than in a single individual”. Tocqueville believed that the approximate equality of human intellect was a basic _____ of democratic government. In addition, he argued, “The moral power of the majority is founded upon yet another principle, which is, that the interests of the many are to be preferred to those of the few” - a democratic _____ that, in the final analysis, also _____ on a belief in human equality.

Whereas Socrates emphasized the great human differences in wisdom, intellect and _____, Tocqueville stressed human equality and _____ that democracy _____ moral power to the majority. Furthermore, because the majority is always changing and today’s minority can become tomorrow’s majority the principle of majority rule is _____ to all. In the United States, according to Tocqueville, “all parties are willing to recognize the rights of the majority, because they all hope to turn those rights to their own advantage at some future time”.

**virtue/ to poll/ critique/ to rest/ to contend/ assumption/ to seek/
precept/ to appeal/ apathetic/ to accord**

7. Render in English.

a) Անկախ մեծամասնության ունեցած ազդեցության աստիճանից՝ բազմազգ պետության մեջ ծառանում է փոքրամասնությունների իրավունքների խնդիրը: Բազմաշերտ հասարակությունները բաղկացած են առնվազն երկու խմբից, որոնք միմյանցից փարբերվում են ցեղային, կրոնական, ազգային, լեզվական կամ փարածաշրջանային ենթամշակույթի հարկանիշներով: Նման հասարակություններից քչերին է հաջողվել ժողովրդավարական լինել և կամ այդպիսին մնալ: Մեծ մասամբ դրանք ղեկավարվում են գերիշխող խմբի, կոալիցիայի կամ էլ մի փոքրամասնության կողմից, որի ձեռքում են գտնվում ուժային լծակները: Թե՛ Չինաստանը, թե՛ Ռուսաստանը բազմազգ պետություններ են, որոնցում մեկ կամ երկու խոշոր խմբեր են իշխում: Նարավային Աֆրիկայի նույնպես բազմաշերտ հանրությունը վերահսկվում է սպիտակամորթ փոքրամասնության կողմից, որն էլ իր հերթին բաժանվում է աֆրիկախոսների և անգլիախոսների: Շվեյցարիան և Կանադան բազմաշերտ և միևնույն ժամանակ ժողովրդավարական հասարակությունների շարքի ավելի փոքր խմբի անդամ են: Նման համակարգերում փոքրամասնությունների իրավունքների ու մեծամասնության օրենքի միջև խիստ հավասարակշռություն է պահպանվում:

անկախ ազդեցության աստիճանից – regardless of the degree of influence

բազմաշերտ հասարակություն – pluralistic society

փարածաշրջանային ենթամշակույթ – regional subculture

գերիշխող խումբ – dominant group

ուժային լծակներ – means of force

հավասարակշռություն պահպանել – to be strictly balanced

b) Права человека, демократия и принцип верховенства закона. Мы обязуемся строить, консолидировать и укреплять демократию как единственную систему правления в наших странах. В этом начинании мы будем руководствоваться следующим: права

человека и основные свободы с рождения принадлежат людям, они неотъемлемы и гарантируются законом. Защита и содействие им – первейшая обязанность правительства. Их уважение – существенная гарантия против обладающего чрезмерной властью государства. Их соблюдение и полное осуществление – основа свободы, справедливости и мира.

Демократическое правление основывается на воле народа, выражаемой регулярно в ходе свободных и справедливых выборов. В основе демократии лежит уважение человеческой личности и верховенства закона. Демократия является наилучшей гарантией свободы выражения своего мнения, терпимости по отношению ко всем группам в обществе и равенства возможностей для каждого человека.

Демократия, имеющая представительный и плюралистический характер, влечет за собой подотчетность избирателям, обязательство государственных властей соблюдать законы и беспристрастное отправление правосудия. Никто не должен стоять над законом.

*Парижская хартия для новой
Европы – Встреча на высшем уровне
СБСЕ
Париж, 21 ноября 1990 года*

в этом начинании – in this endeavour
существенная гарантия – an essential safeguard
государство с чрезмерной властью – an over-mighty state
полное осуществление ч-л – full exercise of sth
подотчетность избирателям – the accountability to the electorate
стоять над законом – to be above the law

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Comment on the inalienable rights.
2. Expand on the statements of Diana Ravitch and Reinhold Niebuhr concerning democracy. Give your own understanding of democracy.

3. Which country in your opinion is the most democratic in the world? Give reasons.
4. There is a judgement that “The cure for free speech is more free speech”. Do you agree with this statement? Why?

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “The institution of ombudsmen in Armenia”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 120 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ The individual has rights but only the citizen has the power to protect rights. And the protection of rights is righteous.

(Calvin Coolidge)

➤ Equal rights for all, special privileges for one.

(Thomas Jefferson)

➤ Stand with anybody that stands right, stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong.

(Abraham Lincoln)

It is interesting to know

- ❖ The system of democracy was introduced 2 500 years ago in Athens, Greece.
- ❖ The oldest existing governing body operates in Althing in Iceland. It was established in 930 AD.
- ❖ Global spending on defence total more than \$700 billion. Global spending on education is less than \$100 billion.
- ❖ The European Union was founded in 1957 as the European Economic Community. It then became the EC (European Community) and in 1993 the EU (European Union).

Time for fun

A politician was on his way to address a meeting. He was late and was rushing to get there when he was accosted by a reporter who asked, “Well, sir, what do you think of the political situation these days?”

“Don’t bother me now,” he cried, brushing the reporter aside. “I have to talk. This is no time to think.”

* * * * *

“Have you anything to say for yourself before I pass sentence?” the judge frowned at the pickpocket. “Just what good have you ever done for mankind?”

“Well, Your Honour,” ventured the prisoner, “I’ve kept four or five detectives working regularly and I’ve helped several reporters, prison guards, and you keep their jobs.”

UNIT 8

TRANSPARENCY IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

"A popular Government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy; or perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives".

Former US President James Madison 1822

The heart of American democracy and of any democracy – is meaningful, active participation by its people in government decision. The relationship between democracy, accountability and access to government information is recognized by all.

The soul of such a system is the ability of ordinary citizens to hold government officials accountable for their actions. Known as "transparency" this essential democratic process takes many forms, but all allow concerned citizens to see openly into the activities of their government, rather than permitting these processes to be cloaked in secrecy.

The principles underlying transparency in government activity are embodied in the fundamental tenets that have guided most democracies since their foundation. And overtime, a body of law regulation and practice has grown up that makes it easy for ordinary citizens to have access to some important meetings of government officials, to request and receive government documents, and to have input into government decisions and rule-making. In the USA, for instance, all government documents and records are considered to be public and are to be made available upon request. The federal Freedom of Information Act creates the presumption that any person is entitled to government documents.

Persons requesting these documents need not give any reason why they want the documents or explain what use will be made of them. To various degrees, the principles of transparency have taken root at the local, state and federal level.

Transparency is essential to build trust within communities and between individuals and public authorities. Transparency is a cornerstone of a fair society.

As well as building greater trust between citizens and public authorities, better access to information helps underpin a culture of informed public engagement in civic matters. This, in turn, can help strengthen the public's interest in policy-making and governance, which has been stifled in part by 'knee-jerk' bureaucratic secrecy or evasion and a corresponding perception that government is inaccessible.

In the US transparency in judicial proceedings, much of which involved from English common law, has generally provided the right to a public trial. Likewise, the US Congress has over the course of history opened itself both to influence from many groups of citizens and organizations and to comment from knowledgeable experts, officials, and citizens during "hearings" on proposed legislation or important issues.

In addition, transparency can be found at work in the various federal government "executive branch" agencies that report to the president of the US. From food to automobiles and to the environment, every day lives of citizens are touched in many ways by decisions issued by these agencies. And, increasingly, there are numerous ways for individuals to have an impact on policy-making procedures of the executive branch. Some groups attempt to influence all three branches of the federal government – the judicial, legislative and executive, simultaneously. The most basic way for citizens to hold leaders responsible is by voting in elections and by serving on juries in open courtroom proceedings. But these are not the only ways. In all democracies citizens can influence government on a daily basis not just on Election Day.

In the US when executive branch officials get together to conduct government business, they are often required to announce their meetings in advance and to hold them in forums that are open to the public. In many situations, citizens are allowed to not just attend public meetings but to comment during the proceedings. A popular way for citizens to express their viewpoints is by writing letters or sending electronic messages to elected officials. Transparency in American government can also be found in the rules imposed on people who run for public office. By law candidates who want to be elected to Congress or the presidency must file detailed reports disclosing how much money they raise and spend.

Ideally, the purpose of these regulations is to restrict the influence wealthy people and powerful groups have over politicians.

Financial disclosure statements are made available to the public and the media, which is shielded from government censorship by the First Amendment to the US Constitution.

Americans use all of these methods of accountability so they can intelligently exercise their right to vote. And over the years, thanks both to new laws and improved access to information, it has become easier for citizens, in particular, to obtain information from executive branch agencies and to have influence over those agency's actions that affect the public.

Through a federal statute enacted in 1966 Americans can ask copies of records maintained by various federal government agencies, departments, and the military. Since it was enacted, the "Freedom of Information Act" has become an extremely popular information tool. Historians, journalists, educators, private companies, citizen interest groups and ordinary people have used this law to examine documents that would otherwise have been kept secret. Laws that are somewhat similar exist at the state level¹.

Over the years, this important law has helped citizens make public records about events that Americans want to know more about, such as the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the tragic 1986 accident involving the Challenger spaceship.

Now the Internet has made reading some of this information even easier.

People in the United States know that transparency in government, as practised in the real world, has its flaws, including the fact that permitting ordinary citizens to influence the government regulatory process can be slow and even expensive. But as Thomas Jefferson, the primary author of the U.S. Constitution, put it in 1791: "I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than to those attending too small a degree of it." Most Americans, like Jefferson believe that allowing the sun to shine on government activities is worth these drawbacks. In return US citizens receive the benefits of a transparent participatory democracy.

NOTES

1. **state level** – in the USA it normally refers to the states, whereas in other countries to government.
2. **knee-jerk** – փարածված, սվիրական դարձած

VOCABULARY

transparent [ˈtrænsˈpærənt] **adj** **1.** allowing light to pass through so that objects behind can be seen clearly: *a box with a transparent lid* ○ *the pure transparent waters of the lake*. **2.** about which there can be no doubt or mistake; obvious: *a transparent lie* ○ *his straightforwardness and transparent honesty*. **3.** easily understood; accessible; simple or clear: *a transparent style of writing*.

transparency **n** **1.** [U] the state or quality of being transparent: *a plastic with the transparency of glass*. **2.** [C] a photograph printed on transparent plastic, so that it can be viewed when a light is shone through it; a slide.

tenet [ˈtenɪt] **n** a principle or belief held by a person or group and forming part of a larger system of beliefs: *This is one of the basic tenets of the Christian faith*.

farce [fɑ:s] **n** **1. (a)** [C] a funny play for the theatre based on ridiculous and unlikely situations and events. **(b)** [U] the style of writing in plays of this type: *(fig) The match ended in a moment of pure farce*. **2.** [C] an absurd, pointless or badly organized event: *The trial was complete farce*. ○ *The meeting rapidly degenerated into a farce*.

farcical **adj** absurd; ridiculous: *a situation verging on the farcical*.

presume [priˈzju:m] **v** **1.** to suppose sth to be true; to take sth for granted: *In English law, an accused person is presumed (to be) innocent until proved guilty*. **2. (fml)** to dare to do sth; to be so bold as to do sth: *I wouldn't presume to argue with you*.

presumption [priˈzʌmpʃn] **n** **1. (a)** [U] ~ (of sth) the action of supposing sth to be true: *the presumption of guilt/innocence*. **(b)** [C] a thing that is considered to be true or very probable: *The article is based on too many false presumptions*. **2.** [U] (fml) behaviour that is too bold or proud: *She was infuriated by his presumption in not consulting her first*.

input [ˈɪnput] **n** **1.** ~ (into/to sth) **(a)** [U] the action of putting sth into sth: *the input of additional resources into the scheme*. **(b)** [C,U] that which is put in: *agricultural inputs* ○ *the total energy input* ○ *Her input*

(ie contribution) to the project was invaluable. **2. (computing) (a)** [U] the action of putting information into a computer for processing or storage. **(b)** [C,U] information that is put in. **3.** [C] a place or means through through which electricity, data, etc enter a machine or system: *an input lead/device*.

input v to put information into a computer: *input the monthly sales figures*.

shield [ʃi:ld] **n** **1. (a)** a large piece of armour carried on the arm to protect the body when fighting. **(b)** a trophy in the form of a shield: *win the school boxing shield*. **2. ~ (against sth)** a person or thing used to protect sb/sth, esp by forming a barrier: *The gunman used the hostages as a (human) shield*. ○ *This car polish is an effective shield against rust*. ○ (*fig*) *hide behind the shield of diplomatic immunity*. **3.** a plate or screen that protects a machine or the person using it from damage or injury: *the shield round the handle of a chainsaw*.

shield v **1. (a)** ~sb/sth (against/from sth/sb) to protect sb/sth by forming a barrier: shield sth from view (ie prevent it being seen): *The ozone layer shields the earth against/from harmful radiation*. **(b)** to put a special plate, covering, etc over or around sth that could be dangerous: *The gas flame should be properly shielded*. **2. ~ sb (against sb/sth)** to protect sth from a harmful or unpleasant experience or influence: *You can't shield her from prosecution*. ○ *I tried to shield him against prying journalists*.

flaw [flɔ:] **n** ~ (in sb/sth) **1.** a crack, fault or mark in an object or in material: *The vase is perfect except for a few small flaws in its base*. **2.** a mistake that makes sth weaker or less acceptable: *an argument full of flaws* ○ *flaw in a contract* ○ *the fatal flaw in the system*. **3.** a weak part in sb's character: *Pride was the greatest flaw in his personality*.

flaw v (usu passive) to make sth have a flaw; to damage or spoil sth: *The scheme is badly/severely/obviously flawed*. ○ *a flawed argument* ○ *the film's flawed heroine*.

flawless **adj** perfect; without fault: *a flawless complexion/performance* ○ *Her English is almost flawless*.

cancel ['sensə(r)] **n** a person officially appointed to examine books, films, plays, etc and remove parts which are considered offensive,

politically unacceptable or (esp in war) a threat to security: *the British Board of film Censors*.

cancel **v** to examine or remove parts from sth, as a censor: *cancel radio/newspapers/letters* ○ *the censored version of a film*.

censorship **n** [U] the action or policy of censoring books, etc: *Strict censorship is enforced in some countries*.

testimony [ˈtestɪməni, US -məʊni] **n** **1.** [U,C] a written or spoken statement of evidence, esp one given by a witness in court: *According to the witness's testimony, you were present when the crime was committed.* ○ *first-hand testimonies*. **2.** [U, sing] ~ (to sth) a thing that is evidence of or demonstrates sth: *The pyramids are (a) testimony to the Ancient Egyptians' engineering skills*.

acquire [əˈkwɪə(r)] **v** (*fml*) **(a)** to gain a skill, habit, etc by one's own ability, efforts or behaviour: *acquire a good knowledge of English/a taste for brandy/a reputation for dishonesty*. **(b)** (*fml*) to obtain sth; to buy or be given sth: *Let me tell you how I came to acquire this desk.* ○ *The company has just acquired a further 5% of the shares*. **IDM an acquired taste** a thing that one learns to like gradually: *Abstract art is an acquired taste*.

underlie [ˌʌndəˈlaɪ] **v** (*fml*) (no passive) to form the basis of an action, a theory, etc: *the internal process that underlie the way we perceive and think.* ○ *A similar theme underlies much of his work*.

underlying **adj** **1.** existing in relation to a situation but not immediately obvious: *an underlying assumption/trend.* ○ *Unemployment may be an underlying cause of the rising crime rate*. **2.** existing under sth: *the underlying rock formation*.

impact [ˈɪmpækt] **n** **1.** [C usu sing] ~ (on sb/sth) a strong impression or effect on sb/sth: *the impact new methods/technology on modern industry* ○ *the environmental/ economic/ political impact.* ○ *Her speech made a tremendous impact on everyone*. **2.** [C,U] the action of one object hitting another, esp with force: *craters made by meteorite impacts* ○ *the impact of a collision.* ○ *The bomb exploded on impact* (ie as soon as it hit sth).

impact **v** to press or fix sth firmly: *impacted earth*. **PHRV impact on sth** (esp *US*) to have an effect on sth: *These trends are likely to impact on international financial flows*.

impacted **adj** (of a tooth) held firmly in the jaw so that it cannot grow out into the mouth normally: *an impacted wisdom tooth*.

affect¹ [ə'fekt] **v** 1. to have an influence on sb/sth; to produce an effect on sb/sth: *The tax increases have affected us all*. ○ *Their opinion will not affect my decision*. 2. (of disease) to attack sb/sth; to infect sb/sth: *Cancer had affected his lungs*. 3. to cause sb to have feelings of sadness or sympathy: *We were deeply affected by the news of her death*.

affecting **adj** causing feelings of sadness or sympathy: *The play contains one or two affecting moments but overall it failed to move me*.

affect² **v** 1. to make an obvious show of using, wearing or liking sth: *affect bright colours/bow-ties*. *He affects a pretentious use of language* (ie tries to impress people by using unusual or difficult words, etc). 2. to pretend to have or feel sth: *affect not to know sth* ○ *She affected an air of innocence*.

affected **adj** not natural or genuine; pretended; artificial: *an affected politeness/cheerfulness* ○ *a highly affected style of writing*.

effect [i'fekt] **n** 1. [C,U] ~ (on sb/sth) a change produced by an action or a cause; a result or an outcome: *dramatic/far-reaching effects* ○ *The experience had a profound effect on her*. 2. [C,U] an impression created in the mind of a spectator, reader, etc while watching a play, listening to music or looking at a painting: *The overall effect of the sculpture is overwhelming*. 3. **effects** [pl] (*fml*) personal property; possessions: *The army sent her his personal effects*. **IDM bring/put sth into effect** to cause sth to come into use. *The new system will soon be put into effect*. **come/go into effect** (esp of laws, rules, etc) to come into use; to begin to apply: *New seat-belt regulations came into effect last week*. **in effect** 1. for practical purposes; in fact: *The two systems are, in effect, identical*. 2. (of a law, rule, etc) in use. *Some ancient laws are still in effect*. **take effect** 1. to produce the result intended or required: *The aspirin soon took effect*. 2. to come into use; to begin to apply: *The new law takes effect from tomorrow*. **to the effect that...** with the meaning;

or giving the information, that... *He left a note to the effect that he would not be returning.* **to good, etc effect** producing a good, etc result or impression: *use money to a good effect.* **to no effect** not having the result intended or hoped for: *We warned them, but to no effect.* **with immediate effect/with effect from...** (fml) **starting now/starting from...:** *The government has announced a rise in interest rates with effect from 5 April.*

effect v (fml) to cause sth to occur, to achieve sth: *effect a cure/change.*

maintain [meɪn'teɪn] v **1.** to cause sth to continue; to keep sth in existence at the same level, standard, etc: *maintain friendly relations with sb* ○ *The improvement in his health is being maintained.* **2.** keep sth in good condition or working order by checking or repairing it regularly: *The house is large and difficult to maintain.* **3.** to insist that sth is the case: *maintain one's innocence* ○ *He has always maintained that he was not guilty of the crime.* **4.** to support sb/sth financially: *earn enough to maintain a family in comfort* ○ *This school is maintained by a charity.*

assassinate [ə'sæsɪneɪt, -sən-] v to murder sb, esp sb important or famous, for money or for political reasons: *the prime minister was assassinated by extremists.*

assassination n [U,C]: *an assassination attempt on the president* ○ *political assassinations.*

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

Popular government; to govern ignorance; to see openly into something; to be cloaked in secrecy; to have input into something; to be available upon request; to take root; "knee-jerk" bureaucratic secrecy; to have impact on; to hold leaders responsible; to serve on juries; open courtroom proceedings; to be open to the public; to be imposed on; by

law; to file detailed reports; to raise money; financial disclosure statement; to enact a law; at the state level; regulatory process; to be exposed to inconveniences.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words given in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. decision
2. tenet
3. access
4. attempt
5. freedom
6. benefit
7. to announce
8. simultaneous
9. to affect
10. to assassinate
11. to maintain
12. drawback

To report, shortcoming, entrée, gain, independence, concurrent, resolution, opinion, effort, admission, to support, to declare, disadvantage, position, fault, profit, to murder, to proclaim, liberty, endeavour, to influence, to possess, synchronous, to have an impact on, to kill, to sustain, determination.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| 1. public | a. to weaken |
| 2. popular | b. to repress |
| 3. to attend | c. to yield |
| 4. to spend | d. private |
| 5. to involve | e. to confuse |
| 6. to promote | f. to save |
| 7. to acquire | g. to abandon |
| 8. to regulate | h. exclusive |
| 9. to strengthen | i. to forbid |
| 10. to allow | j. to exclude |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. The activities of credit companies are ----- by law.
2. This is the one major ----- of the new system.
3. His ----- to retire surprised all of us.
4. Journalists were denied ----- to the President.
5. His first ----- at English composition was very poor.
6. He resigned from the office because ----- were few and far between.
7. There was a serious incident ----- a group of youths.
8. Her position in the party has ----- in recent years.
9. Your opinion will not ----- my decision.
10. He couldn't see the ----- of arguing any longer.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
-----	-----	believable
election	-----	-----
-----	know	-----
-----	-----	organized
government	-----	-----
-----	influence	-----
action	-----	-----
-----	-----	permissible
-----	inform	-----
-----	-----	local
requirement	-----	-----
-----	-----	exposed

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1. drawback | a. a group of people in lawcourt who have been chosen to listen to the facts in a case and to decide whether the accused person is guilty or not |
| 2. cornerstone | b. a formal or official order or way of doing things, esp in business, law, politics |
| 3. procedure | c. a person who holds a public office |
| 4. viewpoint | d. judicial examination of a case in a court of law |
| 5. official | e. an attitude, an opinion |
| 6. to pollute | f. the ability to see, hear or understand things; awareness |
| 7. trial | g. the act or process of avoiding sb or of avoiding sth that is legally or morally required |
| 8. to underpin | h. a disadvantage or problem |
| 9. evasion | i. to make sth dirty or no longer pure |
| 10. perception | j. to support the basis for an argument, a claim, etc |
| 11. jury | k. the most important part of sth that the rest depends on |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Պարասխանաբար ոքնէ բանի կամ ոքնէ մեկի համար, հեղաքրքրվող քաղաքացիներ, մարմնավորված լինել հիմնական սկզբունքներում, ազդեցություն ունենալ քաղաքականություն ձևավորող գործընթացի վրա, հասարակական ներգրավվածություն քաղաքացիական խնդիրներում, դատախարակական գործընթաց, ներդրում ունենալ պետական որոշումների և օրենսդրական գործունեության մեջ, ղեկավարներին հաշվետու դարձնել ոքնէ բանի համար, եկամուտների մասին հայտարարագիր, պաշտպանել պետական գրաքննությունից, պարտադրել մարդկանց:

b) Ответственный за что-либо или за кого-либо; заинтересованные граждане; быть воплощенным в основных принципах; иметь влияние на процесс формирования политики; общественное участие в гражданских делах; судебное разбирательство; иметь вклад в государственные решения и законотворчество; обязать должностных лиц быть подотчетными; финансовый отчет; защищать от государственной цензуры; принуждать людей.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

Democracy in its most basic meaning refers to people ruling themselves. The forms democracy may take are _____ and run from simple, direct town meetings of a few dozen people to immense forums _____ schemes of popular representation for millions. A democracy may take the form of a republic or of a _____ monarchy, and the ways in which the people's voices are heard and their _____ carried out are numerous.

For Americans, democracy is not only government but it also _____ limits on _____ rule. Because the USA was founded by _____ coming from other nations, because these men and women are of different political, social, _____ and economic beliefs, the country in order to become a nation, did something no other society had ever done – it recognized _____ not as curse but as a _____ and set up elaborate safeguards to ensure that the majority did not become a tyrant by force of members.

blessing/ settler/ will/ to elaborate / pluralism/ to vary/ to involve/ to limit/ religious/ majoritarian

7. Render in English.

a) Հստ ասհմանադրության՝ ԱՄՆ-ի սենատորը պետք է լինի առնվազն 30 տարեկան, ունենա Միացյալ Նահանգների առնվազն ինը տարվա քաղաքացիություն և լինի այն նահանգի բնակիչ, որտեղից ընտրված է:

Յուրաքանչյուր նահանգ իրավասու է ունենալ երկու սենատոր: Այսպես՝ 3156 քառ. կմ մակերես ունեցող ամենափոքր նահանգը՝ Ռոդ Այլենդը, ներկայացված է նույնքան սենատորներով, որքան 1 524 640 քառ. կմ մակերեսով ամենամեծ նահանգը՝ Այսասկան:

Սենատորներն ընտրվում են համանահանգային ընտրություններում, որոնք անցկացվում են գույգ փարիներին: Սենատորներն ընտրվում են վեց փարի ժամկետով: Երկու փարին մեկ վերընտրվում է Սենատի մեկ երրորդը: Այսպիսով սենատորների երկու երրորդը միշտ այն մարդիկ են, որոնք արդեն ունեն համազգային մակարդակով օրենսդրի որոշակի փորձ:

իրավասու լինել – to be entitled
անկախ բնակչության քանակից – regardless of population
համանահանգային ընտրություններ – statewide elections
գույգ փարի – an even-numbered year

b) В Европе слово “Балканы” вызывает ассоциации с этническими конфликтами и соперничеством великих держав в этом регионе. Евразия также имеет свои “Балканы”, однако “Евразийские Балканы” гораздо больше по своим размерам, более густо населены и этнически неоднородны. Они расположены на огромной территории, которая разграничивает центральную зону глобальной нестабильности и включает районы Юго-Восточной Европы, Средней Азии и части Южной Азии, районы Персидского залива и Ближнего Востока. “Евразийские Балканы” составляют внутреннее ядро огромной территории и имеют весьма серьезное отличие от внешней окружающей зоны: они представляют собой силовой вакуум.

густо населенный – densely populated
этнически однородный – ethnically homogeneous
внутреннее ядро – internal kernel
внешняя окружающая зона – outer environmental zone

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Expand on transparency in government? How can the accountability of the government be achieved?
2. Who can execute control over higher governmental structures?
3. Comment on the opportunities that transparency gives to concerned citizens.
4. Speak on transparency in Armenian government.

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “Transparency in judicial proceedings”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 100 words.

11 Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

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

(Margaret Thatcher)

➤ Since a politician never believes what he says, he is surprised when others believe him.

(Charles de Gaulle)

➤ Democracy and socialism are means to an end, not the end.

(Jawaharlal Nehru)

Time for fun

Citizen: "Is it too late for me to register to vote?"

Registrar: "What party?"

* * * * *

The politician returned from his big campaign speech looking a little sad.

"Well, how did it go?" inquired his campaign manager. "How did the audience receive your statement that you'd never bought a vote?"

"Well, a few of them cheered," was the reply, "but the majority seemed to lose interest, and some even got up and walked out."

UNIT 9

WHAT IS PUBLIC OPINION?

At first blush, public opinion seems to be a very straightforward term: it is what the public thinks about a particular issue or set of issues. Historically, and as it is used here, public opinion generally has meant the opinions held by ordinary citizens that governmental officials take into account when making policy. Since the 1930s, governmental decision makers have relied heavily on polls — interviews with a sample of citizens that are used to estimate public opinion of the entire population — to determine what the public is thinking. According to the prominent pollster George Gallup, polls have played a key role in defining issues of concern to the public, shaping administrative decisions, and helping "speed up the process of democracy". What the public thinks about various issues is difficult to know simply because public opinion can change so quickly. For example, two weeks before the United States bombed Iraq in January 1991, public opinion polls revealed that 61 percent of the American public believed that the US should engage in combat in Iraq. One week after the invasion, 86 percent reported that they approved of President Bush's handling of the situation.

These kinds of changes illustrate the difference between what one analyst calls "popular opinion", as opposed to "public opinion." Popular opinion is often defined as the widely fluctuating changes in public support for governmental policies based on transitory thoughts that citizens have about topical events. Public opinion, on the other hand, reflects long-lasting, deeply felt political beliefs.

Throughout history, political thinkers have argued that a just government rests on the wishes of the people. According to

George Gallup, the founder of modern-day polling, leaders must constantly take public opinion — no matter how short-lived — into account. Gallup was distrustful of leaders who were not in tune with the common man. According to Gallup, "In a democracy we demand the views of the people be taken into account. This does not mean that leaders must follow the public's view slavishly; it does mean that they should have an available appraisal of public opinion and take some account of it in reaching their decision."

While Gallup undoubtedly had a vested interest in fostering reliance on polls, his sentiments accurately reflect the feelings of many political thinkers concerning the role of public opinion and governance. Majoritarians like Gallup believe that the government should do what a majority of the public wants done. In contrast, pluralists argue that the public as a whole doesn't have consistent opinions on day-to-day issues but that subgroups within the public often hold strong views on some issues. Pluralists believe that the government must allow for the expression of these minority opinions and that democracy works best when these different voices are allowed to fight it out in the public arena.

Public Opinion and Politics

George Gallup once remarked, "It is not incumbent upon a leader, even in a democracy, to follow the wishes of the people slavishly. But the very nature of democracy makes it imperative that public opinion be taken into account in reaching decisions about legislative goals." Politicians and government officials spend millions of dollars each year taking the "pulse" of the public. Even the federal government of the US spends millions of dollars annually on polls and surveys designed to evaluate programs and to provide information for shaping policies.

We know that politicians rely on polls, but it's difficult to say just how much. Several political scientists have attempted to study whether public policy is responsive to public opinion, with

mixed results. As we have seen, public opinion can fluctuate, making it difficult for a politician or policy maker to assess. Some critics of polls and their use by politicians argue that they hurt democracy and make leaders weaker. Some say that politicians are simply driven by the results of polls that do not reflect serious debate of issues. In response to this argument, George Gallup retorted, "One might as well insist that a thermometer makes the weather."

Political scientist Benjamin Ginsburg argues that public opinion polls weaken democracy, claiming that they allow governments and politicians to say they have considered public opinion in spite of the fact that polls do not always measure the intensity of feeling on an issue or might overreflect the views of those who lack sufficient information to make educated choices. He further argues that democracy is better served by politicians' reliance on calls and letters — active signs of interest — than the passive voice of public opinion.

The Art of Public-Opinion Polling

A survey of public opinion — popularly called a poll — can provide us with a reasonably accurate measure of how people think, provided certain conditions are met. First, the persons interviewed

must be a random sample of the entire population. (By random is meant that any given person, or any given voter or adult, must have an equal chance of being interviewed.) Most national surveys draw a sample of between a thousand and fifteen hundred persons by a process called stratified or multistage area sampling. The pollster makes a list of all geographical units in the country (say, all counties) and groups (or "stratifies") them by the sizes of their populations. The pollster then selects at random units from each group or stratum in proportion to their total population. For example, if one stratum contains regions whose total population is 10 percent of the population, then 10 percent of the regions will

be drawn from this stratum. Within each selected region, smaller, and smaller geographical units (cities, towns, blocks) are chosen and then, within the smallest unit, individuals are selected at random (by, for example, choosing the occupant of every fifth house). The key is to stick to the sample and not let people volunteer to be interviewed — volunteers often have views different from those who do not volunteer.

Second, the questions must be comprehensible, asking people about things of which they have some knowledge and some basis for forming an opinion. Most people know, at least at election time, whom they would prefer as a president; most people also have views about what they think the most important national problems are. If everybody refused to answer questions about which they are poorly informed, no problem would arise, but unfortunately many of us like to pretend that we know things that in fact we don't, or to be helpful to interviewers by inventing opinions on the spur of the moment.

Third, the questions must be asked fairly — in clear language, without the use of "loaded" or "emotional" words. They must give no indication of what the "right" answer is, but offer a reasonable explanation, where necessary, of the consequences of each possible answer. For example, in 1971 the Gallup poll asked people whether they favoured a proposal "to bring home all U.S. troops (from Vietnam) before the end of the year". Two-thirds of the public agreed with that. Then the question was asked in a different way: Do you agree or disagree with the proposal to withdraw all US troops by the end of the year "regardless of what happens there (in Vietnam) after US troops leave"? In this form substantially less than half the public agreed.

Fourth, the answer categories offered to a person must be carefully considered. This is no problem when there are only two candidates for office and you want only to know which one the voters prefer. But it can be a big problem when you want more complex information. For example, if you ask people whether

they "approve" or "disapprove" of how the president is handling his job, you will get one kind of answer — let us say that 55 percent approve and 45 percent disapprove. On the other hand if you ask them how they rate the job the president is doing, "excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor," you will get very different results. It is quite possible that only 46 percent will pick such positive answers as excellent, or "pretty good", and the rest will pick the negative answers, "only fair" and "poor". The differences in the two polls do not arise from the competence of the two pollsters, but entirely from the choice of answers that they include with their questions.

Finally, it is important to remember that not every difference in answers is a significant difference. A survey is based on a sample of people. Select another sample, by equally randomised methods, and you might get slightly different results. This difference is called a sampling error, and its likely size can be computed mathematically. In general the bigger the sample and the bigger the differences between the percentage of people giving one answer and the percentage giving another, the smaller the sampling error. In a close race a sampling error could be quite important. It could be reduced by using a bigger sample, but the cost of interviewing a sample big enough to make the error much smaller is huge.

VOCABULARY

poll [pɒl] **n** 1. (a) [C] (also **the polls** [pl]) the process of voting at an election; the counting of votes: *The result of the poll has now been declared.* ◦ *The country is going to the polls* (ie voting in a political election) *today.* (b) [sing] the number of votes cast: *head the poll* (ie have the largest number of votes). 2. [C] a survey of public opinion conducted by putting questions to a representative selection of people: *a public opinion poll* ◦ *We're conducting a poll among students.* **poll tax** a tax to be paid at the same rate by every person or every adult in the community.

poll **v** 1. (of a candidate at an election) to receive a certain number of votes: *Mr Hill polled over 3000 votes.* 2. to ask sb for their opinion as part of a public opinion poll: *Of those polled, seven out of ten said they preferred brown bread.*

polling **n** [U] (a) voting: *heavy polling* (ie in large numbers). (b) the conducting of public opinion polls. **polling-booth** **n** a small, partly enclosed stand in a polling-station where people vote by marking a card, etc. **polling-station** **n** a building where people go to vote in an election. **polling-day** **n** [U,C] a day on which people vote in an election: *a week before polling-day.*

combat [ˈkɒmbæt] **n** [C,U] a fight or fighting between two people, armies, etc: *armed/ unarmed combat* (ie with/without weapons) ○ *The troops were exhausted after months of fierce combat.*

combat [kəmˈbæt] **v** (a) to fight or struggle against sb/sth: *combat the enemy.* (b) to try to reduce or destroy sth: *combating disease/ inflation/ terrorism.*

consistent [kənsɪstənt] **adj** 1. (a) (of a person, behaviour, views, etc) always following the same pattern or style; not changing. (b) always present or the same: *consistent interference/ opposition* ○ *consistent results/ standards.* 2. ~ (with sth) in agreement or harmony with sth: *What you say now is not consistent with what you said last week.* ○ *I left as early as was consistent with politeness.*

slavish [ˈslɜvɪʃ] **adj** following or copying sb/sth without original thought: *slavish devotion/ loyalty/ obedience* ○ *a slavish imitation of another writer's work.*

slavishly **adv**: *slavishly following the rules.*

retort [rɪˈtɔ:t] **v** to make a quick, esp angry, reply to an accusation or a challenge: *He retorted that it was my fault as much as his.*

retort **n**: *She bit back* (ie stopped herself from making) *a sharp retort and changed the subject.*

provided [prəˈvaɪdɪd] (also **providing** [prəˈvaɪdɪŋ]) **conj** on the condition that; only if: *I will agree to go provided/ providing(that) my*

expenses are paid. ○ *Provided you have the money in your account, you may withdraw up to \$100 a day.*

random ['rændəm] **adj** done, chosen, etc without method or conscious choice; haphazard: *take a random sample/ selection for testing* ○ *books in random order* ○ *The noises seemed to occur at random intervals.*

random n **IDM** **at random** without method or conscious choice: *open a book at random* ○ *The terrorists fired into the crowd at random.*

random access memory n [U] (abbr **RAM**) computer memory used temporarily to store data that can be changed or removed.

randomly adv: *people randomly chosen to take part in a survey.*

sample ['sɑ:mpl; US 'sæmpl] **n** **1.** (a) one of a number of things, or one part of a whole, that can be examined in order to see what the rest is like; a specimen: *a sample of his handwriting* ○ *a blood sample.* (b) a number of people chosen randomly from a larger group: *The survey covers a representative sample of the population.* **2.** a small amount of a product given free of charge: *give away free samples of a new perfume* ○ *a sample pack/ sachet.*

sample v to try or examine sth by experiencing it or by taking a sample: *sample the delights of Chinese cooking* ○ *We sampled opinion among the workers about changes in working methods.*

stratify ['strætɪfaɪ] **v** to arrange sth in layers or strata: ancient pottery found in stratified layers of earth ○ *a highly stratified society.*

stratum ['strɑ:təm; US 'streɪtəm] **n** (pl **strata**) **1.** any of a series of layers, esp of rock, earth, etc: *a stratum of flint/ gravel* ○ *geological/ limestone strata.* **2.** a level or class of a society: *people from all social strata.*

stratification [ˌstrætɪfɪ'keɪʃn] **n** [U] the division of sth into layers or strata: *social stratification.*

comprehensible [ˌkɒmpri'hensəbl] **adj** ~ (to sb) that can be understood fully by sb: *a book that is comprehensible only to specialists.*

comprehend *v* (*fml*) to understand sth fully: *failing to comprehend the seriousness of the situation* ○ *The committee can't seem to comprehend what limited mobility means.*

comprehension *n* 1. [U] the power of understanding: *How anyone could behave like that is beyond my comprehension.* 2. [U,C] an exercise aimed at improving or testing one's understanding of a language (written or spoken): *a French comprehension test.*

comprehensive *adj* 1. that includes everything or nearly everything: *the most comprehensive description/ guide/ report I have read* ○ *She took out a comprehensive insurance policy* (ie one covering most risks). 2. (*Brit*) for pupils of all abilities in the same school. **comprehensive school** *n* (*Brit*) a large secondary school at which children of all abilities are taught: *Our children go to the local comprehensive.*

comprehensively *adv*: *Our team was comprehensively* (ie thoroughly) *defeated.*

spur [sp3:(r)] *n* 1. either of a pair of sharp projecting points or, esp formerly, small wheels with sharp points, worn on the heels of a rider's boots and used for urging a horse to go faster: *a pair of spurs.* 2. ~ (to sth) a thing that acts as an encouragement to or reason for affection or effort: *the spur of poverty* ○ *a spur to greater efficiency.* 3. an area of high ground extending from a mountain or hill. 4. a road or railway track that leads from the main road or line: *a spur road.* **IDM on the spur of the moment** as a result of a sudden impulse, without previous planning: *I bought the house on the spur of the moment.* ○ *a spur-of-the-moment idea.*

spur *v* ~ **sb/sth (to/on to sth)**; ~ **sb/sth (on)** to encourage or be a reason for sb to act or make an effort; to stimulate sb/sth: *Her magnificent goal spurred the whole team (on) to the victory.* ○ *Failure spurred her to try harder.*

withdraw [wɪð'drɔː, wɪθ'd-] *v* 1. ~ **sb/sth (from sth) (a)** to move or take sb/sth back or away: *The general refused to withdraw his troops from the town.* ○ *The old coins have been withdrawn from circulation.* (b) to remove money from a bank account, etc: *I'd like to withdraw \$500 from the bank.* 2. (*fml*) to take back a promise, an offer, a statement, etc: *Unless the contract is signed immediately, the offer will*

be withdrawn. **3.** ~ (from sth) to go back or away from a place, an event, etc or from other people: *Heavy bombardment forced the army to withdraw.*

withdrawal **n** **1.** (a) [U] the action of withdrawing sb/sth or of being withdrawn: *the withdrawal of labour/ supplies/ support/ troops* ○ *the withdrawal of a product from the market.* (b) [C] an instance of this: *You can make withdrawals of up to \$250 a day from your account.* **2.** [U] the process of stopping taking a drug which one's body has become used to, often accompanied by unpleasant reaction: *get withdrawal symptoms after giving up smoking.*

withdrawn **adj** (of a person) not wanting to communicate with others: *He's become increasingly withdrawn since his wife's death.*

handle ['hændl] **v** **1.** to touch sth with or hold sth in the hands: *Fragile – handle with care.* **2.** to deal with, manage or control people, a situation, a machine, etc: *He doesn't know how to handle people.* **3.** (esp of a vehicle) to respond to the driver's use of the controls: *This car handles well.* **4.** to treat a person or an animal in the way specified: *be roughly handled by the police.* **5.** to buy or sell sth: *This shop does not handle foreign publications.* **6.** (fml) to discuss or write about a subject: *a difficult topic to handle.*

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

To make policy; governmental decision makers; to rely heavily on polls; to define issues of concern; to shape administrative decisions; handling of the situation; fluctuating changes; transitory thoughts; to be distrustful of sb; to foster reliance on polls; opinion on day-to-day issues; to be incumbent upon somebody; to be responsive to public opinion; provided certain conditions are met; to be a random sample of the entire population; to stick to the sample; on the spur of the moment; “loaded” or “emotional” words; to withdraw troops; regardless of sth; to rate a job; a sampling error; to be computed mathematically; a close race.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. to estimate
2. sample
3. constantly
4. distrustful
5. to foster
6. sentiment
7. concerning
8. remark
9. survey
10. comprehensible
11. consequence
12. to withdraw
13. consistent
14. to distort

To assess, to recall, outcome, specimen, regularly, suspicious, to favour, to encourage, view, in regard to, observation, intelligible, clear, to appraise, attitude, result, distinct, effect, to take back, compatible, review, steadily, undeviating, example, continually, statement, study, cautious, to mislead, to falsify, respecting.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1. transitory | a. to approve |
| 2. deeply | b. long-lasting |
| 3. just | c. partial |
| 4. to increase | d. to deter |
| 5. accurate | e. systematic |
| 6. short-lived | f. superficially |
| 7. prominent | g. enduring |
| 8. to favour | h. to reduce |
| 9. random | i. careless |
| 10. to reject | j. unknown |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. I'd like to see some ----- of your work.
2. The ambassador explained the ----- of his government on the question.
3. The general ----- the army from the occupied territory.
4. You are not very -----: first you condemn me, then you praise me.
5. They used ----- numbers, not numbers in a particular order.
6. One often finds a writer's work more ----- if one knows about his life.
7. The proposal was firmly -----.
8. Before you do anything you should always consider the -----.
9. The latest reforms ----- the growth of local industries.
10. Newspapers often ----- facts.

3. Complete the table .

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
slave	-----	-----
-----	predict	-----
-----	invest	-----
-----	-----	reflective
-----	indicate	-----
provision	-----	-----
-----	-----	reliable
comprehension	-----	-----
-----	favour	-----1) -----2)
-----	-----	responsive
trust	-----	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. to favour | a. to change, to move up and down continually or irregularly |
| 2. survey | b. a unit of soldiers |
| 3. foster | c. a person who offers to do sth without being forced |
| 4. to claim | d. rule or guide for behaviour |
| 5. census | e. of present interest |
| 6. sentiment | f. to last, continue in existence |
| 7. to fluctuate | g. to encourage something to grow and develop |
| 8. precept | h. to demand for something as one's own by right |
| 9. to endure | i. general feeling or opinion |
| 10. volunteer | j. to support, to approve of |
| 11. topical | k. official counting of the population, of traffic, etc |
| 12. troops | l. a general view or examination (of a place or condition) |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Առաջին հայացքից, ներգրավվել մարտական գործողությունների մեջ, ընթացիկ իրադարձություն, որքան էլ կարճապահ լինի, հաղորդ լինել հասարակ մարդու կարծիքին, շահագրգռված լինել որևէ հարցում, ինչ-որ մեկի պարտականությունների մեջ մտնել, հասարակության զարկերակը զգալ, քաղաքականություն ձևավորել, որոշակի պայմանների (առկայության) դեպքում, պատահական կերպով, հանպատրաստից, ինչ էլ որ պատահի:

b) С первого взгляда; быть вовлеченным в военные действия; актуальное событие; каким бы краткосрочным ни был; быть заинтересованным в чем-либо; входить в чьи-либо обязанности; чувствовать пульс общества; формировать политику; поднять рейтинг кандидата; при (наличии) определенных условий; случайным образом; экспромтом; что бы ни случилось.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

Public opinion is a _____ element in the field of international affairs, both in the development of _____ support for foreign policies and in the efforts to influence publics in other States. No major foreign program carried out by a democratic or _____ state is likely to succeed unless a major proportion of its people give their active or, minimally, their passive _____ to it. In addition, world opinion, consisting of the _____ views of many governments and peoples, can be developed into a powerful _____ force on state action in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Prestige, an element and _____ of state power, is closely related to the views held by publics in both friendly and unfriendly countries. Some efforts to influence public opinion are directed at mass publics, whereas others are aimed more selectively at opinion elites. Although many studies have been carried on _____ a better understanding of the nature, role, and measurement of public opinion, it remains a _____, yet powerful, _____ of the political process because people act not necessarily on the bases of what is true but on what they believe to be true.

**support/ vague/ restraining/ objective/ domestic/ diverse/
component/ totalitarian/ to gain/ crucial**

7. Render in English.

ա) Քաղաքականության ձևավորումը հասկանալու համար անհրաժեշտ է երկրի պատմությունը կերպող ուժերի և քաղաքականության այժմյան ընթացքի իմացությունը: Պեպական քաղաքականության ձևավորումը շարունակական գործընթաց է, որում ոչ մի քաղաքականամետ որոշում վերջինը չէ իր փեսակի մեջ: Նախուկ քաղաքական խնդիրներն անգամ ենթակա են մշտական քննության և վերանայման: Ավելին, երկիրը և մուրակը մշտապես փոփոխուն վիճակում են գտնվում, և այս կամ այն պայմանի փոփոխությունը գրեթե միշտ անխուսափելի է:

Պեպական քաղաքականության ուշադրությունը գրավող առարկայի և նյութի ընտրությունը պայմանավորված է

բազմաթիվ գործունեորով: Ցանկացած պահի շար խնդիրներ կլինեն կառավարության վերահսկողությունից կամ էլ նրա գործունեության ոլորտից դուրս: Այլևայլ հարցեր կարող են պարտադրվել կառավարությանը մեկ կամ ավելի շահագրգիռ խմբերի կողմից, զուցե նաև ժողովրդի համահավաք զգացումների թելադրանքով: Իսկ երբեմն էլ անկանխապեսելի հանգամանքներ են երևան գալիս և գործողությունների ձեռնարկման պահանջ դնում:

ենթակա լինել – to be subject to

մշտական քննություն և վերանայում – constant review and revision

փոփոխուն վիճակ – state of flux

գործունեության ոլորտից դուրս – beyond the scope of (sb's) activity

պարտադրվել կառավարությանը – to be urged on the government

b) Генеральная Ассамблея (ГА) является главным совещательным органом ООН и состоит из представителей всех государств-членов, каждый из которых имеет один голос. ГА проводит ежегодно очередные сессии и может также собираться на специальные и чрезвычайные сессии. Она обсуждает и принимает решения по любым вопросам в рамках Устава. Хотя решения ГА не имеют обязательной юридической силы для правительств, они весьма весомы, поскольку выражают мнение мировой общественности и подкреплены авторитетом сообщества наций. Решения ГА по важным вопросам принимаются большинством в две трети присутствующих и участвующих в голосовании членов Ассамблеи. Эти вопросы включают: рекомендации в отношении поддержания международного мира и безопасности, прием новых членов ООН, приостановление прав и обязанностей членов Организации, исключение из Организации ее членов, вопросы, относящиеся к функционированию системы опеки, и бюджетные вопросы.

главный совещательный орган – general consultative body

ежегодно проводить очередную сессию – to hold a regular session annually

специальная или чрезвычайная сессия – a special or emergency session

принимать большинством (голосов) в две трети – to be decided by a two-thirds majority

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Comment on the difference between public opinion and popular opinion.
2. Why is it important to know the public opinion?
3. Expand on the author's statement "Donations as the lifeblood of every campaign".
4. Speak on the ways and means of preventing sampling error.

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on "The polls and its influence on elections". Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 120 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ The fact that man knows right from wrong proves his intellectual superiority to other creatures; but the fact that he can do wrong proves his moral inferiority to any creature that cannot.

(Mark Twain)

➤ Public opinion is the most potent monarch this world knows.

(Benjamin Harrison)

➤ The more you know, the less you need to show.

(Anonymous)

Time for fun

A surgeon, an architect, and a politician were arguing as to whose profession was the oldest. Said the surgeon: "Eve was made from Adam's rib, and that surely was a surgical operation."

"Maybe," said the architect, "but prior to that, order was created out of chaos, and that was an architectural job."

"But," interrupted the politician, "somebody created the chaos first!"

* * * * *

"Haven't your opinions on this subject undergone a change?"

"No," replied Senator Blank.

"But your views, as you expressed them some time ago?"

"Those were not my views. Those were my interviews."

UNIT 10

VIRTUAL LIBERTY

Is liberty alive in Britain? Are our freedoms and rights real and effective? Or do we live in a state of virtual liberty, all appearance but little substance?

Political changes in various parts of the world - Mrs. Thatcher's and John Major's cutting back of the state in Britain; the collapse of the Left in Italy; the emergence of new democracies in eastern Europe - are forcing questions about the nature of liberty to the centre of public debate. In all these countries liberty has become a political battleground, with both Left and Right claiming to be its guardian.

The classic liberal position - that both individual and collective freedoms are best secured by rights enshrined in laws, all of which have necessary limitations and restraints to ensure a balance between protective freedom and abusive license - is being dismantled. This raises fundamental questions. What is the relationship between political and economic freedom? Or between individual and collective rights? In what respect is the state the guarantor of freedoms, or the creator of restraints? For whom should freedom exist? To think, to say and to do what? And who decides?

The Right insists that social legislation, including the protection of collective and individual rights, has created neither equity nor efficiency. It claims that an individual can better exercise freedom of choice by being economically liberated through the market. This fusion of social and economic freedoms relies on a sleight of hand that uses Britain's lack of national economic success as an excuse to attack fundamental social rights, while claiming a new age of freedom from bureaucratic regulation and a rolling back of the state. Not surprisingly, the beneficiaries of this have been companies, not individuals.

What is notable about this tradition is its inconsistency. Economic *laissez-faire*¹ liberalism has not been matched by social libertarianism². On the contrary, economic deregulation has been accompanied by social authoritarianism. Unlike its counterpart in the USA, the British government continues to control information and maintains some of the strictest libel laws in any western democracy. It has established the Broadcasting Standards Council to preview and 'maintain' standards in television, and imposed a whole new range of constraints on people's lives in the new Criminal Justice Act (CJA), particularly those of travellers and demonstrators.

When the CJA came into effect, important and ancient rights were amended or removed, most damagingly the right to assemble and the right to silence. The freedom to combine, and to peacefully protest in industrial disputes had already been severely curtailed by the government's reforms to trade union law. The 1986 Public Order Act restricted behaviour on all types of demonstrations by making the use of 'abusive' or 'insulting' language or actions an offence whether anyone was, in practice, abused or insulted.

Our immigration laws are being implemented in increasingly harsh ways: innocent people are deported, the freedom of people to come to Britain to live with their spouse, even when that person is a British citizen, is being restricted by the 'primary purpose' rule. Most shameful of all is the government's treatment of those people, subject to imprisonment or torture for their beliefs or their views in their own country, who turn to Britain for political asylum. The existence of detention centres imprisoning hundreds of political refugees, is sharply at odds with the image of Britain, still common both here and abroad, as an open liberal democracy.

More objective and damning evidence can be found in Britain's recent record as an infringer of human rights in the European Court in Strasbourg where no other country has as bad

a record or has committed as many serious breaches of the European Convention on Human Rights as the UK: racial discrimination, interrogation methods, sex discrimination in immigration control, unlawful phone tapping, interference with prisoners' letters, the rights of mental patients. It is no coincidence that, alone among the 26 member states, Britain does not have an enforceable Bill of Rights.

In a democracy there are two forms of protection against governments that are indifferent to human rights: officials prepared to blow the whistle³, and media willing to publicize government excesses. After some of the civil servants had publicly criticized their ministerial masters in 1984, the government introduced an Official Secrets Act that denied civil servants the right to make public any abuses or mismanagement in their departments even if such disclosure was in the public interest and reinforced this elsewhere in the public sector by means of codes of professional conduct with 'gagging clauses' that made confidentiality a condition of employment.

The media have been less directly, but no less effectively, inhibited by an aggressive use of contempt of court laws under which journalists, and in 1993 the television company Channel 4, were taken to court for refusing to reveal their sources, and by the use of libel laws that frequently protect the actions of the rich and powerful from public scrutiny. At the same time, the unleashing of market forces in both the press and broadcasting has encouraged some editors and producers to give priority to profits rather than to investigative journalism.

But it is too simplistic to attribute all the blame for the erosion of our liberties to an arrogant government or to constrained media. Too often we have, as a nation, sat in silence and watched as our liberties disappeared. There has been little sense of public outrage and only occasional and spasmodic protest. We have been poor guardians of our own freedoms. What happened to the tradition of dissent in Britain?

But this begs a further question: would we regain a positive sense of liberty if a future government stitched together the web of rights that has been undone over the past 15 years?

If liberty is fully expressed by legal guarantees and rights, then the answer must be 'yes'. But in practice, many of our freedoms depend on an individual having the power or money to exercise them. What value the legal right to clear your good name against misrepresentation or libel if you cannot cover the legal costs? What virtue in the government's freedoms of choice in health or education if the fees are beyond your means?

There is another problem. Rights on the statute book and the effective means of realizing them, are simply the mechanics of liberty. For a society truly to be free it must feel itself free, it must be free in its mind. And we are not.

We suffer from several peculiarly British vices: a sense of historic arrogance that breeds complacency and, above all, an over-developed and suffocating sense of deference - to those in authority, to those with money, to those with professional qualifications. It has given us stability but no sense of equality.

The reasons for this are buried in our history: in the continuity of land owning; in the evolutionary nature of common law⁴; in having a ruling class that has proved sufficiently adaptable to ensure its survival; in some innate conservatism that has absorbed the sparks of political or industrial fervour rather than let them catch fire; in our avoidance of a revolution. We have favoured the comforts of fairness rather than the uncertainties of freedom.

This lack of collective 'attitude' inhibits us from asking some basic questions. Why are so few women in positions of power or authority? Why is there so little industrial democracy? Why do we tolerate such low levels of active participation in public life? Why are we denied basic rights such as access to all our personal records held by the state? Why, in short, do we continue to be the objects of government rather than its masters? We put these

hawsers on our minds, ensuring that the rights we do have are not enjoyed in practice, trapping us in virtual liberty.

We must create a new framework of rights, adding some (such as the right to freedom of information), strengthening others (such as the right to equality of opportunity and non-discrimination), restoring those that have been amended or undermined (such as the right to silence) and setting them all within a new Bill of Rights that incorporates international agreements on human rights. And we must strengthen the economy so that access to those rights that depend on money for their effectiveness is widened.

But liberty, in the end, is a state of mind, not a gift of government. We have to begin to want and to value it; to demand and, when necessary, to dissent; to be bold in claiming it. Only then shall we begin to turn the shadows of virtual liberty into the substance of the thing itself.

NOTES

1. laissez-faire (capitalism) - capitalism that operates a policy of allowing individual activities (esp. in commerce) to be conducted without government control.

2. libertarian - 1. a person who believes in the doctrine of the freedom of the will. 2. a person who advocates full civil liberties.

libertarianism n

3. to blow the whistle (on) - report or inform on sb.

4. common law - (in England) unwritten law developed from old customs (e.g. in Saxon and Danish times) and decisions made by judges. Cf. **statute law**

VOCABULARY

emerge [i' m3: dʒ] **v** 1. ~ (from sth) to come out of a place or up from water: *The swimmer emerged from the lake.* 2. (a) ~ (as sth) to develop and become noticeable, important or prominent: *She emerged as leader at the age of thirty.* (b) to become known: *It emerged that officials had taken bribes.* 3. ~ (from sth) to survive a difficult situation with the specified result: *They emerged from the election with a reduced majority.*

emergence /-dʒəns/ **n** [U]: *her emergence as a major artist* ○ *witness the emergence of a new champion.*

emergent /-dʒənt/ **adj** new and still developing: *the emergent democracies of Eastern Europe.*

benefit ['benɪfɪt] **n** 1. [U, C] a thing that one gains from sth; an advantage that sth gives: *She didn't get much benefit from her course.* 2. [U, C] money provided, esp by the government, to those who are entitled to receive it, eg those who are unemployed, ill, etc: *unemployment/ sickness benefit.* 3. a public performance or game held in order to raise money for a particular player, charity, organization, etc: *a benefit match/ concert* ○ *It's his benefit year.*

benefit **v** 1. to do good to sb/sth; to be of advantage or use to sb/sth: *The new facilities have benefited the whole town.* 2. ~ (from/ by sth) to receive benefit from sth; to gain sth from sth: *The new tax laws are good for some people but I won't benefit.*

beneficiary [ˌbenɪ'fɪʃəri] **n** 1. a person who receives money or property when sb dies: *the main beneficiary of a will.* 2. a person who gains or benefits from sth: *the potential beneficiaries of this medical research.*

impose [ɪm'pəʊz] **v** 1. ~ sth (on sb/sth) (a) to place a penalty, tax, etc officially on sb/sth: *impose a fine/ sentence.* (b) to make sb endure sth that is not welcome or wanted; to inflict sth: *impose one's rule on a people* ○ *impose restrictions/ limitations/ restraints on trade.* 2. ~ sth (on sb) to try forcefully to make sb accept an opinion, a belief, etc: *She imposed her ideas on the group.* 3. ~ (oneself) (on sb/sth) to take unfair

advantage of sb by expecting them to spend time with one or to do sth for one: *She'd never think of imposing herself on us.*

imposing **adj** impressive in appearance or manner; grand: *an imposing façade* ◦ *her imposing presence.*

abuse [ə'bjʊ:s] **n** 1. **(a)** [U, C] wrong or excessive use of sth: *drug/solvent abuse* ◦ *widespread abuse of computer facilities.* **(b)** [U, sing] wrong or excessive use of one's power, position, etc: *an abuse of trust/privilege/ authority.* **(c)** [C] an unfair or illegal practice: *abuses of human rights* ◦ *put a stop to political abuses.* 2. [U, C] cruel treatment of a person or animal, esp sexually: *child sex abuse* ◦ *physical abuse of horses.* 3. [U] rude and offensive remarks about a person; insults: *verbal abuse.*

abusive **adj** (of speech or a person) offensive and insulting; criticizing harshly and rudely: *abusive language/ remarks* ◦ *He became abusive.*

abusively **adv**

implement ['implɪmənt] **n** a tool; a piece of equipment: *farm implements* ◦ *Man's earliest implements were carved from stone and bone.*

implement ['implɪmənt] **v** to put sth into effect; to carry sth out: *implement changes/ policies/ a programme of reforms.*

infringe [ɪn'frɪndʒ] **v** 1. to break a rule, an agreement, etc: *infringe the regulations* ◦ *infringe copyright.* 2. ~ **(on/upon)** sth to affect sth so as to limit or restrict it; to encroach on sth: *infringe sb's liberty* ◦ *infringe upon the rights of other people.*

infringement [-mənt] **n** *anxiety about infringement of academic freedom* ◦ *an infringement of copyright/ human rights.*

breach [brɪtʃ] **n** 1. [C, U] the breaking of or failure to do what is required by a law, an agreement, a duty, etc: *a breach of loyalty/ trust/ protocol* ◦ *a breach of confidence* ◦ *sue sb for breach of contract* ◦ *They are in breach of the Official Secrets Act.* 2. [C] a break in usu friendly relations between people or groups: *a breach of diplomatic relations between people or groups.* 3. [C] an opening made in a wall or

barrier, eg by an attacking army: *The huge waves made a breach in the sea wall.*

breach **v** to make a gap in a wall, barrier, etc: *Our tanks have breached the enemy defences.*

reinforce [,ri:in'fɔ:s] **v** 1. (a) to strengthen or emphasize a feeling, an idea, a habit, etc: *reinforce sb's opinion/ argument/ conviction* ○ *Such jokes tend to reinforce racial stereotypes.* (b) to cause a process to continue or increase sb's power: *Political instability has reinforced the countries the country's economic decline.* 2. to improve sb's status or position; to increase sb's power: *The Prime Minister's position has been reinforced following his successful visit to the USA.* 3. to make a structure or a material stronger, eg by adding another material to it: *Concrete panels reinforced with steel.* ○ *reinforce a wall/ bridge.*

reinforcement **n** 1. **reinforcements** [pl] extra soldiers, police officers or military equipment sent to a place: *an urgent request for reinforcements.* 2. the action or process of reinforcing sth: *the reinforcement of existing prejudices by the media.*

reinforced concrete **n** [U] concrete with metal bars or wires inside it to make it stronger.

gag [gæg] **n** 1. (a) a thing, esp a piece of cloth, put in or over a person's mouth to prevent her or him from speaking or shouting. (b) a thing placed in a patient's mouth by a dentist, doctor, etc to keep it open. (c) anything that prevents freedom of speech: (US) **a gag rule** (ie one that restricts discussion or debate of an issue). 2. a joke or funny story, esp one told by a professional comedian: *a few rather feeble gags*

gag **v** 1. (a) to put a gag into or over the mouth of sb in order to stop them speaking: *The hostages were bound and gagged.* (b) to prevent sb from speaking freely: *The new censorship laws are an attempt to gag the press.* 2. ~ (on sth) (infnl) to reverse the act of swallowing: *gagging on a piece of raw fish.*

gagging clause provisions in a formal or legal document that deprive sb of free speech.

libel [ˈlaɪbl] **n** (a) [C] a false written or printed statement that damages sb's reputation: *a libel printed first in "Private Eye"*. (b) [U] (law) the act of publishing such a statement: *sue a newspaper for libel* ◦ *a libel action brought by the actor's ex-wife*.

libel **v** to harm sb's reputation by publishing a false statement: *She alleged that the magazine had libelled her*.

libelous **adj** being or containing a libel: *a libellous statement*.

arrogant [ˈærəɡənt] **adj** behaving in a proud and superior manner; showing too much pride in oneself and too little consideration for others: *an arrogant tone of voice* ◦ *He's arrogant and opinionated*.

arrogance [ˈærəɡəns] **n** [U] *He has a reputation for rudeness and intellectual arrogance*.

outrage [ˈaʊtreɪdʒ] **n** 1. [U] a strong feeling of anger and shock: *There has been public outrage over the recent terrorist attacks*. ◦ *She was filled with a sense of outrage*. 2. [C] an act or event that is violent, cruel or very wrong and that shocks people or makes them very angry: *commit/perpetrate outrages against the civilian population*.

outrage **v** to make sb very shocked, angry or upset: *Many people have been outraged by the latest taxi increases*. ◦ *A page of outraged letters followed the article*.

dissent [dɪˈsent] **n** [U] holding opinions which differ from common or officially held ones: *their public dissent from official party policy* ◦ *In those days, religious dissent was not tolerated*.

dissent **v** ~ (from sth) (fml) to have or express opinions which are opposed to common or officially held ones or to official religious teaching, etc: *There were many dissenting voices among the students*. ◦ *The committee dissented from the report's conclusions*.

dissenter **n** (a) a person who dissents. (b) **Dissenter** a Protestant who refuses to accept the teachings of the Church of England: *Presbyterians and other Dissenters*.

innate [ɪˈneɪt] **adj** in one's nature; possessed from birth: *innate ability/beauty* ◦ *an innate sense of style*.

innately **adv** naturally: *innately dishonest*.

inhibit [ɪnˈhɪbɪt] **v** 1. ~ sb (from sth/doing sth) to make sb nervous and embarrassed and prevent them from doing sth that should be natural or easy: *Shyness inhibited him (from speaking)*. 2. to restrict or prevent a process or an action: *outdated policies that inhibit economic growth* ◦ *Cost is not an inhibiting factor in the company's plans for development*.

inhibited **adj** unable to relax or express feelings in a natural way: *She's too inhibited to laugh at jokes about sex*.

inhibition [ˌɪnɪˈbɪʃn] **n** 1. [C] a feeling that makes one nervous and embarrassed, and unable to relax or behave in a natural way: *overcome one's inhibitions* ◦ *She had no inhibitions about making her opinions known*. 2. [U] the action of inhibiting sth or state of being inhibited: *inhibition of growth*.

undermine [ˌʌndəˈmaɪn] **v** 1. to make sth weaker at the base, eg by digging a tunnel: *cliffs undermined by the sea*. 2. to make sth/sb gradually weaker or less effective: *undermine sb's position/ reputation/ authority* ◦ *Repeated failure had not undermined his confidence*.

bold [bəʊld] **adj** 1. confident and brave; enterprising: *I don't feel bold enough to ask for a pay increase*. 2. without feelings of shame; immodest: *She waited for him to invite her to dance, not wishing to seem bold*. 3. that can be clearly seen; having a strong clear appearance: *the bold outline of a mountain against the sky* ◦ *She paints with bold strokes of the brush*. 4. printed in thick type's: *The headwords in this dictionary are in bold type*.

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

The cutting back of the state; to raise fundamental questions; a/the guarantor of freedoms; a sleight of hand; a rolling back of the state; to impose constraints on people's lives; the right to assemble; the right to silence; to turn to another country for political asylum; to be at odds; an infringer of human rights; it is no coincidence that; to deny the right to; to be in the public interest; codes of professional conduct; to refuse to reveal one's sources; public scrutiny; to give priority to profits rather than to; to attribute all the blame to sb/sth.; to clear one's good name against misrepresentation or libel; to cover the legal costs; rights on the statute book; innate conservatism; to catch fire; in a position of power/ authority.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. collapse
2. emergence
3. to force
4. guardian
5. limitation
6. efficiency
7. inconsistency
8. detention
9. to infringe
10. fervour
11. to deport
12. excess
13. breach
14. arrogance
15. innate

Protector, productivity, pride, to violate, destruction, to exile, proficiency, hereditary, arrest, to oblige, inborn, appearance, desire,

downfall, violation, discrepancy, imprisonment, superciliousness, infringement, to expel, restraint, to compel, restriction, enthusiasm, defender, overplus, immoderation, to breach.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. to dissent | a. to extend |
| 2. to amend | b. to revive |
| 3. to undermine | c. to conceal |
| 4. bold | d. to defer |
| 5. to curtail | e. to agree |
| 6. harsh | f. to worsen |
| 7. to restore | g. shy |
| 8. to abuse | h. self-control |
| 9. to collapse | i. to enhance |
| 10. outrage | j. to destroy |
| 11. to reveal | k. gentle |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. All opposition to the government -----.
2. The priest is the ----- of their ancient customs.
3. The manager was pleased by the ----- of the new workers.
4. I ----- altogether from such an unwise idea.
5. He advised his son never to spend in ----- of his income.
6. If you always say she is wrong you'll ----- her confidence.
7. They ----- the law to meet the modern needs.
8. Call in the army to ----- law and order.
9. The ----- of these people will cause trouble, as they are foreign nationals.
10. We must try to ----- our spending.
11. His ----- voice gets on my nerves.
12. I don't feel ----- enough to ask for a pay increase.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
-----	exceed	-----
-----	-----	enforceable
abuse	-----	-----
-----	benefit	-----
arrogance	-----	-----
-----	inhibit	-----
-----	-----	fervent
deference	-----	-----
-----	offend	-----
-----	-----	erosive
absorption	-----	-----
-----	-----	emergent

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. deference | a. to cause great pain out of cruelty |
| 2. to detain | b. make a secret connection (with a telephone line) in order to overhear or record private conversations |
| 3. (telephone) tapping | c. a calm feeling of satisfaction with oneself |
| 4. fervour | d. a particular article, stipulation, or provision in a formal or legal document |
| 5. scrutiny | e. a thing that limits or restricts |
| 6. complacency | f. protection given by a state to sb who has left his own country, esp for political reasons to refugees from another country |

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 7. to torture | g. fairness, right judgment, (esp. English law) principles of justice used to correct laws when these would apply unfairly in special circumstances |
| 8. to curtail | h. giving way to the wishes, accepting the opinions or judgment, of another or others; respect |
| 9. constraint | i. strength or intensity of feeling; enthusiasm |
| 10. asylum | j. careful and thorough examination |
| 11. clause | k. to keep sb in an official place (eg a police station); to prevent sb from leaving or doing sth |
| 12. equity | l. to make sth shorter or less; to reduce sth |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Խաբուսիկ/երևակայական ազատություն, օրենքներում ամրագրված իրավունքներ, ազատ լինել ընտրության մեջ, ձեռքի ճարպկություն, զրպարության համար դափապատող օրենք, նախնական կալանքի վայր, դափապարտող վկայություն, հարցաքննման մեթոդ, ազատություն փալ շուկայական ուժերին, հասարակական վրդովմունք, հնարավորություններից վեր լինել, լռելու իրավունք:

b) Мнимая/виртуальная свобода; закрепленные в законах права; пользоваться свободой выбора; ловкость рук; закон, осуждающий за клевету; место предварительного заключения; обвинительное показание; метод допроса; дать свободу рыночным отношениям; общественное недовольство; быть выше чьих-либо возможностей; право молчания.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

Protection of the individual's civil liberties and freedoms to _____ is a key ingredient of the democratic _____. No right, however, can be absolute: all rights are limited by the need for protecting and advancing the legitimate interests of society. In a democracy, interference with the individual's freedom must not be _____ but reasonable and _____, meeting the requirements of due process and the rule of law.

The main problem in any democratic system is that of establishing an _____ between freedom and authority. If freedom _____ on a mass scale resulting in deprivations of the rights of individuals and groups by others, the _____ that permits free expression and dissent may break down and give way to _____ or authoritarian control over the society. A _____ democratic society provides for as great a measure of individual freedom as is _____ with the requirements of an orderly democratic society.

just/ dissent/ consistent/ viable/ creed/ equilibrium/ arbitrary/ anarchy/ to be abused/ consensus

7. Render in English.

a) Շաբերիս մեջ վարչարարություն (բյուրոկրատիա) և վարչարար (բյուրոկրատ) բառերը քամահրանք են առաջ բերում: Այս վերաբերմունքը լիովին հասկանալի է, եթե նկատի առնենք այն վրդովեցուցիչ փորձառությունները, որոնք երբեմն անխուսափելի են թվում, երբ գործ ունենք մեծ կազմակերպությունների հետ՝ թե՛ պետական, թե՛ մասնավոր: Իրականում վարչահամակարգերը պարզապես կազմակերպական կառույցներ են, որ ընդունվում են գրեթե բոլոր գործարարական ոլորտներում: Քաղաքականության մեջ վարչահամակարգերը այն հասարակություններն են, որոնց միջոցով իրականացվում է պետական քաղաքականությունը, իսկ դրանց աշխարակազմը ներկայացնող վարչարարները պետական քաղաքականության գործակալներն են:

քամահրանք առաջացնել – to arouse scorn

վրդովեցուցիչ փորձառություն – infuriating experience

իրականացնել պետական քաղաքականություն – to put state policies into practice

պետական քաղաքականության գործակալ – an agent of state policy

b) Очередная сессия Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН открывается ежегодно в третий вторник сентября и продолжается обычно до середины декабря. В начале каждой очередной сессии Ассамблея избирает нового председателя, 21 заместителя председателя и председателей семи главных комитетов Ассамблеи. В целях обеспечения справедливого регионального представительства пост Председателя Ассамблеи занимают ежегодно представители пяти групп государств – африканских, азиатских, восточно-европейских, латиноамериканских и западно-европейских.

Помимо очередных сессий, Ассамблея может проводить специальные сессии по требованию Совета Безопасности, большинства членов ООН или по требованию одного из членов при условии присоединения к нему большинства. Чрезвычайные сессии могут быть созваны в течение 24 часов с момента поступления требования от Совета Безопасности, поддержанного голосами любых девяти членов Совета или по требованию большинства членов ООН или же по требованию одного из членов, если к нему присоединится большинство членов Организации.

В начале каждой очередной сессии Ассамблея проводит общие прения, в ходе которых государства-члены выражают свои мнения по широкому кругу вопросов, имеющих важное значение для международного сообщества.

в целях обеспечения – to ensure

по требованию одного из членов – at the request of one of the members (by one of the member's order)

созывать сессии – to summon/convene a session

проводить общие прения – to hold general debates

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Speak on: Economic and political freedom, relationship and interdependence.
2. What does the author mean by the phrase 'virtual liberty'?
3. What is liberty in your opinion?
5. What should government and people do in order to make liberty possible?

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “Freedom, liberty and independence”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 100 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man.

(George Bernard Shaw)

➤ Liberty, when it begins to take a root, is a plant of rapid growth.

(George Washington)

➤ The way to secure liberty is to place it in the people's hands, that is, to give them the power at all times to defend it in the legislature and in the courts of justice.

(John Adams)

It is interesting to know

Coincidences

❖ President Lincoln was elected in 1860, Kennedy – in 1960. Their successors were both named Johnson. Andrew Johnson was born in 1808, Lyndon Johnson – in 1908. John Wilkes Booth, Lincoln’s killer, was born in 1839. Lee Harvey Oswald – in 1939. Both were assassinated before their trial. Lincoln’s secretary, whose name was Kennedy, advised him not to go to the theatre. Kennedy’s secretary, Lincoln, advised him not to go to Dallas. John Wilkes Booth shot Lincoln in a theatre and ran to a warehouse. Oswald shot Kennedy from a warehouse and ran to a theatre.

❖ Bolivia holds the highest turnover of governments. Since their independence from Spain in 1825, Bolivia has had almost 200 governments. Since 1945, Italy saw 57 governments and 22 Prime Ministers.

❖ The European Union was founded in 1957 as the European Economic Community. It then became the EC (European Community) and in 1993 the EU (European Union).

Time for fun

A western politician running for office was very much incensed at certain remarks, which had been made about him by the leading paper of the town. He burst into the editorial room like a dynamite bomb, and exclaimed, “You are telling lies about me in your paper, and you know it!”

“You have no cause for complaint,” said the editor coolly. “What in the world would you do if we told the truth about you?”

* * * * *

“What would be a good way to raise revenue and still benefit the people?”

“Tax every political speech made in this country.”

AN EMERGING GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

“Our world cannot survive one-fourth rich and three-fourths poor, half democratic and half authoritarian¹ with oases of human development surrounded by deserts of human deprivation.”

Human Development Report 1994

“NEITHER PRINCE NOR MERCHANT: CITIZEN.”

Written by Mark Nerfin, these words capture the emergence of an unprecedented worldwide phenomenon – men and women, groups and individuals, getting together to do things by themselves in order to change the society they live in. People of all classes, creeds and ethnic backgrounds have organized themselves to defend democracy and human rights, to fight for more equitable development and a safer environment, or, more simply, just to help those in need or improve the quality of daily life in their neighbourhoods and communities.

People coming together and helping each other to solve problems is by no means a novelty. Since times immemorial, human beings have banded together for caring and mutual protection. Compassion for one another is a distinctive attribute of humanity. Solidarity and cooperation have always characterized relationships and social ties within families, communities, and friendship networks. The concerns and obligations that we feel toward our relatives, friends and neighbours are not determined by self-interest nor imposed by an external coercive authority. We help those close to us on a spontaneous, sympathetic, and reciprocal basis.

What is distinctive about today is the extension of these virtues of solidarity and responsibility to the public sphere on a global scale. True enough, faith and revolution also had a global outreach. Missions of different religions inspired many to leave their homes to bring conversion and, therefore, salvation to strangers. The socialist internationals tried to link all the oppressed in their quest for a “promised land” in the here and now. In both cases, the global drive was promoted by a centrally organized institution, spreading its compass to the periphery.

Today’s massive, almost universal movement toward greater citizen participation and influence is a new phenomenon. It is not being promoted by one all-encompassing structure. It has no fixed address. It seeks neither converts nor political militants. Its target is not state power. At its centre is the figure of the citizen. And there are many citizens, with their myriad faces, concerns and sources of inspiration in today’s world.

Citizen action is as multidimensional as the diversity of human endeavours. It may be local or global, small or massive, permanent or ephemeral, highly dramatic or almost invisible, confrontational or collaborative, spontaneous or organized, prompted by associations of like-minded individuals or by large civic movements or any combination of these, depending on the needs of the moment.

Its breadth and diversity range from women in India hugging trees to save them from being felled to global environmental organizations lobbying governments to come to terms with ecological imbalance. From students in Scandinavia donating the proceedings of their voluntary work for educational projects in the Third World to the mothers of political prisoners in Argentina barehandedly confronting a ferocious military dictatorship. From Polish workers challenging a totalitarian² regime to entire villages in Asia mobilizing for self-governance and self-development. From medical doctors disregarding national frontiers to rescue the victims of civil strife to millions of Americans reading for the

blind, collecting money for a health charity, or doing volunteer work in the local library, art gallery, or soup kitchen. From courageous Arab women standing up for their rights to citizens worldwide demanding the safeguard of the physical integrity of persecuted people whose names they can hardly pronounce and whose political beliefs they often do not share.

The sources of inspiration may be spiritual, religious, moral or political. The common thread, however, in this ever-changing quilt is to be found in the realm of values: solidarity and compassion for the fate and well-being of others, including unknown, distant others, a sense of personal responsibility and reliance on one's own initiative to do the right thing, the impulse toward the altruistic giving and sharing; the refusal of inequality, violence, and oppression.

These are the compelling moral values that generate people's social energy and enhance the texture of civil society. The themes and concerns vary from place to place and from time to time, but citizen movements are now a constant, global phenomenon.

In counterpoint both to the power and the impersonal rules of governments and to the quest for profit and personal gain intrinsic to the market, a third sector – nonprofit and nongovernmental – now coexists in practically every society. All over the world, civil society now interacts with and exercises a countervailing power to markets and government.

Given the global interconnectedness of contemporary civilization, the prevailing movement toward poverty, ecological imbalance and exclusion cannot be reversed by actions taken only at the local and national level.

Global market mechanisms and structures of world governance can only be democratized through concerted global citizen action. This is the lesson that popular movements have learned in their long struggles to democratize government, the market, and society within each country. The challenge to planetary citizenship is, therefore, to expand to the global arena

the struggle for democracy and human development that has so far been carried out basically at the national level.

Regional coalitions and sectoral networks have recently been formed in many parts of the globe to address specific themes and concerns such as protection of the environment; human rights; adult, nonformal and popular education; the rights of women, children, and indigenous peoples; health and habitat³ issues, and so on. Networking has become the key word for the emerging global civil society.

Networks, in contrast to the international mechanisms created by corporations and governments, tend to operate horizontally. Their centres are everywhere, their peripheries — nowhere. Similar to local civil society institutions, they exercise an inner power over themselves. Communication is one of their primary concerns. Leadership is shifting. There is no networking for networking's sake. Their rationale⁴ is not in themselves but in a job to be done. Networks adjust quickly to changing circumstances but are also transient. If and when they are no longer needed, they disappear.

Women have taken the lead in this process. For two decades now they have been pursuing, with energy and consistency, an action agenda of their own targeted at the elimination of gender-based discrimination.

In a world where material acquisitions and consumption are becoming the dominant ethos⁵, there is an urgent need to spirituality, to the core of human endeavour. This will constitute the fountainhead of a universal moral code based on our common humanity. The values of diversity, of tolerance and pluralism, of peace and justice, of solidarity and responsibility to unknown others and to future generations need to be proposed and practised as the anchor for universal humanity and global citizen action.

NOTES

1. **authoritarian** - favouring complete obedience to authority, esp. that of the state, at the expense of personal freedom.
2. **totalitarian** - of a system of government in which there is only one political party, usually demanding that people submit totally to the requirements of the state.
3. **habitat** - native environment.
4. **rationale** - the principles or reasons on which sth is based.
5. **ethos** - moral values, ideas or beliefs of a group, community or culture.

VOCABULARY

unprecedented [ʌn'presɪdɪntɪd] **adj** never having happened, been done or been known before: *crime on an unprecedented scale* ○ *unprecedented levels of unemployment* ○ *a situation unprecedented in the history of the school.*

equitable ['ekwɪtəbl] **adj** (*fml*) fair and just; reasonable: *an equitable distribution of wealth, the most equitable solution to the dispute.*

compassion [kəm'pæʃn] **n** [U] ~ (for sb) pity for the sufferings of others, making one want to help them: *be filled with compassion* ○ *The plight of the refugees arouses our compassion. Out of compassion for her terrible suffering they allowed her to stay.*

compassionate **adj** showing or feeling compassion: *They allowed her to stay on compassionate grounds.*

reciprocal [rɪ'sɪprəkl] **adj** given and received in return; mutual: *reciprocal trade deals* ○ *a reciprocal relationship between teachers and students.*

outreach ['aʊtri:tʃ] **n** [U] the activity of an organization in contacting and providing a service or advice to people in the community, esp outside its usual centres: *outreach youth workers in remote rural areas.*

conversion [kən'vɜ:ʃn; US kən'vɜ:rʒn] **n** ~ (from sth) (into sth) **(a)** [U] the action or process of converting sth/sb or of being converted: *the conversion of a barn into a house/of pounds into dollars* ◦ *the conversion of Anglo-Saxons by Christian missionaries.* **(b)** [C] an instance of this: a building firm which specializes in house conversions (eg converting large houses into several smaller ones). *She began by supporting monetarist economics, but later underwent quite a conversion (ie completely changed her opinion) when she saw how it increased unemployment.*

quest [kwest] **n** (*fml or rhet*) ~ (for sth) the act of seeking sth; a long search for sth: *the quest for truth /knowledge/ happiness* ◦ *He set off in quest of adventure.*

quest **v** (*fml or rhet*) to try to find sth; to search: *have a questing attitude to life.*

ephemeral [ɪ'femərəl] **adj** lasting for a very short time: *ephemeral pleasures* ◦ *Journalism is important but ephemeral.*

collaborative [kə'læbərətɪv; US -reɪt-] **adj** done or made by two or more people, groups, etc working together: *a collaborative project/effort.*

donate [dəu'neɪt; US 'dəuneɪt] **v** ~ sth (to sb/sth) to make a gift of money, clothes, food, etc for a good cause, esp to a charity: *donate large sums to relief organizations.*

donation **n** **(a)** [C] a thing that is donated: *make a donation to charity* **(b)** [U] the act of donating sth: *organ donation (ie allowing doctors to use an organ from one's body after one's death).*

ferocious [fə'rəʊʃəs] **adj** fierce, violent or savage: *a ferocious beast* ◦ *ferocious cruelty.*

safeguard ['seɪfgɑ:d] **v** to protect sb/sth: *safeguard sb's rights/interests/privacy* ◦ *safeguard the environment.*

safeguard **n** ~ (against sb/sth) a thing that serves as a protection from harm, risk or danger: *We make copies of our computer disks as a safeguard against accidents.*

intrinsic [ɪnˈtrɪnsɪk] **adj** ~ (to sth) (of a value or quality) belonging naturally to sb/sth; existing within sb/sth, rather than coming from outside: *a person's intrinsic worth* ○ *The concept is intrinsic to Western civilization.*

network ['netwɜ:k] **n** **1.** a complex system of roads, etc crossing each other: *a network of underground cables/pipes.* **2.** a closely linked group of people, companies, etc: *a communications/ transportation/ distribution network.* **3.** a group of broadcasting stations that link up to broadcast the same programs at the same time: *the three big US television networks.* **4.** a system of computers linked together: *a local area network.*

networked **adj** (usu attr) **(a)** connected to a network: *networked computer systems* **(b)** broadcast on a network: *nationally networked TV.*

networking **n** [U] **1.** a system in which people in different rooms, buildings, etc are linked by means of a computer network: *networking software.* **2.** a system of selling in which one person organizes others and receives a commission on their sales: *increase sales through networking.* **3.** a system of developing and maintaining professional contact with people in the same business field.

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

Equitable development; since times immemorial; on a reciprocal basis; in the quest for sth; to be promoted by; an all-encompassing structure; the diversity of human endeavor; like-minded individuals; to come to terms with; proceedings of voluntary work; to stand up for one's rights; to share political beliefs; the realm of values; reliance on one's own initiative; in counterpoint to sth; to exercise a countervailing power; through concerted global citizen action; planetary citizenship; to be of primary concern; to pursue with consistency.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. merchant
2. creed
3. to impose
4. spontaneous
5. salvation
6. militant
7. endeavour
8. to hug
9. compassion
10. to enhance
11. primary
12. transient
13. urgent

Effort, trader, to force, imperative, to clasp, basic, rioter, to intensify, sympathy, faith, ephemeral, impulsive, unintentional, salesman, central, protester, rescue, to magnify, saving, to compel, attempt, belief, pity, temporary, to embrace, vital.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| 1. emergence | a. egotism |
| 2. to promote | b. eternal |
| 3. periphery | c. cowardly |
| 4. ephemeral | d. to hinder |
| 5. ferocious | e. loss |
| 6. military | f. ancient |
| 7. courageous | g. centre |
| 8. altruism | h. gentle |
| 9. gain | i. vanishing |
| 10. contemporary | j. civil |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. The plight of the refugees arouses our ----- .
2. One always remembers the ----- joys of childhood.
3. Please, make every ----- to arrive punctually.
4. It was ----- of him to say that in his employer's face.
5. I ----- the books to my chest.
6. At the conference we met people of all races, colours and -----.
7. They started a ----- campaign against us in the press.
8. Our man's loss is another man's ----- .
9. Music is my ----- ; it helps me forget all my problems.
10. The US is considering ----- trade sanctions against Thailand.

3. Complete the table.

NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE
compassion	-----	-----
-----	-----	broad
-----	collaborate	-----
-----	-----	exclusive
width	-----	-----
-----	associate	-----
-----	-----	long
oppression	-----	-----
-----	-----	inspiring
-----	convert	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1. novelty | a. to face and deal with a problem, difficulty |
| 2. spontaneous | b. to question whether sth is true, right or valid; to dispute sth |
| 3. to promote | c. a person or thing that gives security or confidence |
| 4. anchor | d. an origin or source |
| 5. militant | e. make sth the opposite of what it was; change sth completely |
| 6. to confront | f. belonging naturally to a place; native |
| 7. to challenge | g. lasting for only a short time |
| 8. frontier | h. acting as a counterbalance to sth |
| 9. countervailing | i. to help the progress of sth, to support |
| 10. reverse | j. favouring the use of force to achieve one's aims |
| 11. indigenous | k. a previously unknown thing, situation |
| 12. transient | l. done, happening from natural impulse, not suggested |
| 13. fountainhead | m. the border between two countries |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Մարդկային գրկանքներ, աննախադեպ համաշխարհային երևույթ, մարտնչել արդարացի զարգացման համար, անվտանգ միջավայր, անհիշելի ժամանակներից, մարդկությանը բնորոշ հարկանիշ, համաշխարհային ընդգրկում ունենալ, տարածվել դեպի ծայրամասերը, ճնշում գործադրել կառավարության վրա, անտեսել պետական սահմանները, փրկել քաղաքացիական պայքարում տուժածներին, ներշնչման աղբյուր, անհավասարության, բռնության և ճնշման մերժում, ամրապնդել քաղաքացիական հասարակարգի կառուցվածքը, տեղաբնակ ժողովուրդներ, հարմարվել փոփոխվող պայմաններին, ողջ մարդկության /փրկության/ խարիսխ:

b) Человеческая депривация; беспрецедентное мировое явление; бороться за справедливое развитие; безопасное окружение; с незапамятных времен; присущее человечеству свойство; охватывать весь мир; распространяться на периферию; лоббировать правительство; пренебрегать государственными границами; спасать пострадавших в гражданской борьбе; источник вдохновения; непримлемость неравенства, насилия и давления; укреплять структуру гражданского общества; коренные народы; приспособляться к меняющимся условиям; спасательный круг для всего человечества.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

To influence government, citizens in modern states must combine their _____. In democratic states, the structures _____ which citizens attempt to influence _____ affairs are parties and interest groups. In _____ states, parties are tools of the government _____ than instruments for the expression of the popular will. Interest groups, to the extent that they exist in such nations, play a much more limited role than they do in democratic states.

Interest groups can _____ in several ways; one method is to distinguish private interest groups from these interest groups. A number of factors determine the effectiveness of these groups, including their size, the intensity of political opinions held by their members, their financing, and their _____. In recent years, these associations have become _____ and powerful. Some observers fear that they have become too _____, but others believe that their great number and diversity help _____ political stability and ensure the survival of free institutions.

to classify/ influential/ numerous/ leadership/ to promote/ effort/ through/ public/ rather/ non-democratic

7. Render in English.

a) Քաղաքականությունն ամենուր է: Շարքան այն ամենից, ինչն առաջին հայացքից քիչ կապ ունի քաղաքականության հետ, իրականում խորապես քաղաքական բնույթ ունի:

Քաղաքականությունն ուղղակիորեն առնչվում է կյանքի մեր ըմբռնումներին, ճշտի ու սխալի վերաբերյալ մեր պարկերացումներին, աշխարհի մեր ընկալումներին: Քաղաքականությունը, կարճ ասած, այն միջոցն է, որի օգնությամբ մարդիկ միասնաբար ու նպատակայնորեն կազմակերպում են իրենց կեցությունը: Արիստոտելը քաղաքականությունը բնորոշում էր իբրև «արքիպեկրոնական գիություն»՝ մնացած բոլոր գիությունների հիմքը: Քաղաքականության միջոցով է, որ հասարակությունը որոշում է, թե ինչ կարող է արվել, ինչ պետք է արվի և ինչ է արված: Քաղաքական կյանքին մասնակցելը յուրաքանչյուր մարդու համար կարևոր է նրա ներքին հնարավորությունները իրականացնելու առումով:

քիչ կապ ունենալ մի բանի հետ – to have little to do with sth
ուղղակիորեն առնչվել – to be related directly to sth
ճշտի ու սխալի պարկերացումներ – judgements of the right and the wrong
իրականացնել ներքին հնարավորությունները – to realize one’s own potential

b) Совет Безопасности занимает особое место в системе главных органов ООН. Ему принадлежит центральная роль в выполнении главной цели ООН – поддержании мира и безопасности во всем мире. Его функции и полномочия, порядок деятельности и способ принятия решений во многом выражают тот новый подход к обеспечению мира посредством международной организации, который был воплощен в ООН в целом и зафиксирован в его Уставе.

Устав ООН предусмотрел четкое разграничение компетенций Совета Безопасности Генеральной Ассамблеи. Главная ответственность в этой важнейшей сфере деятельности ООН возложена на непрерывно функционирующий Совет. Ему (и только ему) в соответствии с Уставом принадлежит право определять существование любой угрозы миру, любого нарушения мира или акта агрессии и решать, какие меры следует принять для поддержания мира и безопасности. Наконец, Совет является

единственным органом ООН, решения которого по вопросам мира и безопасности обязательны для всех членов Организации.

поддержание мира и безопасности во всем мире – the maintenance of international peace and security

посредством ч-л – by means of/ through/ with the help of sth

четкое разграничение компетенций – clear distinction of competences

быть обязательным для к-л – to be binding on/upon sb

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. What perspective, if any, do you see in the development of emerging global citizenry?
2. When you consider the world we live in today, do you see the splintering of humankind along narrow tribal boundaries, or you see the world turning into a global technological theme park? Are both of these trends occurring simultaneously or there is a completely different set of forces at play?
3. Expand on the positive/negative impact of supranational structures on human rights and democratic practices within our country.
4. Do international rules and practices help us to move closer to the ideal of liberty and justice for all? How can we foster their development?

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “Globalisation: its advantages and disadvantages”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 100 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ If a free society can't help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

(John F. Kennedy)

➤ Liberty is the one thing you can't have unless you give it to others.

(William Allen White)

➤ History is the version of past events that people decided to agree upon.

(Napoleon Bonapart)

Time for fun

Young Hopeful: "Father, what is a traitor in politics?"

Veteran Politician: "A traitor is a man who leaves our party and goes over to the other one."

Young Hopeful: "Well, then what is a man who leaves his party and comes over to yours?"

Veteran Politician: "A convert, my son."

* * * * *

A foreign diplomat came in upon Lincoln while he was blacking his shoes.

"What, Mr. President, you black your own shoes?"

"Yes", Lincoln answered, "whose do you black?"

UNIT 12

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Terrorism poses an alarming kind of violence in the contemporary world. The instruments of terror are varied and the motivations of terrorists diverse, but experts agree that terrorism is the use or threat of violence, a method of combat or a strategy to achieve certain goals. Its aim is to induce a state of fear in the victim. Terrorism is ruthless and does not conform to humanitarian norms, and publicity is an essential factor in its strategy.

Terrorist groups are a kind of nonstate actor on the global stage, whose activities exacerbate international tensions and undermine the state's authority and power. Terrorist groups are difficult to identify because they operate covertly and because, like ethnopolitical national movements and religious groups, their motives, tactics, and membership differ widely. However, terrorism is commonly defined as seeking to further political objectives through the threat or use of violence, usually in opposition to state governments.

Terrorism was known in ancient times, as evident in the assassination of tyrants in ancient Greece and Rome, and by the Zealots of Palestine and the Hashashin¹ of medieval Islam. In the nineteenth century, terrorism became associated with anarchist bombings and with murders and destruction of property by nationalist groups.

Although terrorism has always been practised, it emerged as a significant international problem in the 1960s and grew to epidemic proportions in the 1970s and 1980s.

Today terrorism is a strategy practised by a diverse group of movements. The religious, ethnic, or political movements and minorities now practising terrorism seek to obtain the advantages of the majority, and to extract revenge against those states and

majority populations that the terrorist groups perceive as the most enterprising and imaginative opportunists are the world's oppressors. Terrorist groups seek the political freedom, privilege, and property they think persecution has denied them.

Terrorism is a tactic of the powerless against the powerful. Thus it is not surprising that political or social minorities and ethnic movements sometimes turn to acts of terrorism on behalf of their political causes. Those seeking independence and sovereign statehood, such as the Basques in Spain, typify the aspirations that animate terrorist activity. Religion also sometimes rationalizes the terrorist activities of extremist movements, such as the efforts of the Sikh² groups who wish to carve out an independent state called Khalistan ("Land of the Pure") from Indian territory, and of the Islamic extremist group HAMAS³ to destabilize Israel and sabotage a negotiated peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

One increasingly active category of terrorist group is international organized crime (IOC). In the "borderless" globalized world, organized crime syndicates can easily use sophisticated computer and telecommunications technology to network with one another to expand their operations and profits. Globalization creates new and exciting opportunities among criminals as well.

The ability of global gangsters to succeed in pursuit of wealth through the use of terror and death has become a serious global problem.

Consideration of terrorists' motives as a disease often obscures the perception of terrorism: one person's terrorist may be another person's liberator. Ironically, both governments and countergovernment movements claim to seek liberty, and both are labelled terrorists by their opponents.

The difference between nationalistic "freedom fighters," whose major complaint is that they lack a country, and governments claiming to protect freedom, often lies on the eye of

the beholder. This problem makes the definition of a terrorist group less obvious and more controversial, as what most distinguishes terrorist groups from liberation movements is the outcome – which faction succeeds or fails in a political struggle for power. We must keep in mind that those who are willing to use violence and terror outside the rules of warfare that have evolved over time tend to be condemned or praised, depending on whether those who condemn or praise accept or reject their cause.

The popularity of the slogan that “one person’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter” notwithstanding, there is a difference. Terrorists are defined by the means (terror) they use, and freedom fighters by the end (civil liberty) they pursue. Because freedom can be fought for by moral and legal methods that respect the immunity of noncombatant targets, freedom fighters can operate differently from terrorists, who are prepared to use violence against unarmed civilians and to promote good causes by evil methods.

Although many terrorist groups today are undeniably seeking sovereignty, a broader definition of terrorism would acknowledge that many governments undertake terrorist acts, sometimes against their own people and sometimes by supporting terrorism against other established sovereign states. In fact, some states underwrite the activities of terrorist movements that advocate philosophies they embrace (or challenge the security of rival states). States have often financed, trained, equipped, and provided sanctuary for terrorists whose activities serve their foreign policy goals. The practice of such state-sponsored terrorism is among the charges that the United States leveled in May 2000 against Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Syria, and Sudan. Similarly, others have accused the United States of sponsoring terrorists activities in Vietnam, Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and elsewhere. Although many terrorist sanctuaries have disappeared with the end of the Cold war, it is unlikely that international terrorism is a passing and transitory phenomenon.

The trend toward the weakening of central authority in governments, the rise in ethnic and subnational sentiments, and the increasing fractionalization of the global political process point toward its growth as a form of political protest and persuasion. Classic balance-of-power⁴ diplomacy is of little utility in dealing with it, for violent acts of small groups of people, or individuals, are difficult for governments to control. International terrorism is likely to continue and to expand because in the minds of many of its perpetrators it has proven to be “successful.”

It is unlikely that the danger of terrorism will decline in the 21st century, and, indeed it could easily become more deadly and harder to curb in the borderless globalized system that makes the practice of terrorism so effortless. The previous reasons for terrorist activity remain as strong as ever, and the Information Age environment makes transnational networking among terrorist groups convenient. It is also unlikely that the new International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, adopted by the UN in 2000 will curb terrorist activity, despite the best of intentions, in an increasingly interdependent world which facilitates the free movement of people and goods across national borders. Adding to the persistent threat is the likelihood that contemporary terrorism is also becoming more radicalized and more violent. Any survey of the world map of terrorism – the part of the world where the most casualties occur – reveals not only growing fanaticism but also the growth of indiscriminate murder, the desire to exercise power, and sheer bloodlust. In recent years, terrorists have become less hesitant to inflict heavy casualties and cause physical destruction.

International terrorism is certain to persist for still other reasons. One of the most important and potent is the condition termed Post-modern terrorism. This phrase describes the globalized environment which today makes terrorism easy to practise. So-called post-modern terrorism is likely to expand because the globalized international environment without

meaningful barriers allows terrorists to practise their ancient trade by new rules and methods, while at the same time encouraging state-sponsored terrorism as a substitute for warfare and making the most advanced countries the most vulnerable. Another is the rapid spread of new weapons and technology and their easy transport across borders, which provide unprecedented opportunities for terrorists to commit atrocities and to change their tactics in response to successes in countering them. A third is the growing difficulty in a globalized system of detecting and deterring the attacks of disciplined globalized terrorist networks that are generously funded by international organized crime (IOC) syndicates. Governments often seem reluctant to exercise the political will necessary to destroy terrorism.

Terrorism continues because terrorists and their supporters make distinctions of class and race and other divisions of mankind, subordinating the humanity of their victims to the purposes of their cause.

Terrorists appear destined to be regarded as either hated villains or as honoured heroes, depending on the view of the observer. This ensures that terrorism is likely to remain a fixture of twenty-first-century international politics, and that violence will continue to cast its shadow over international relations.

NOTES

1. Zealots of Palestine and the Hashashin – a member of Jewish movement of the first century A.D. that fought against Roman rule in Palestine.

2. Sikh – an adherent of Sikhism. **Sikhism** – the doctrines and practices of a monotheistic religion founded in northern India in the 16th century and combining elements of Hinduism and Islam.

3. HAMAS – Arabic acronym for “The Islamic Resistance Movement” (Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyya). The

movement was legally registered in Israel in 1978 by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.

4. balance-of-power – distribution of power in which no single nation is able to dominate or interfere with others.

VOCABULARY

induce [ɪn'dju:s; US -du:s] **v** 1. to persuade or influence sb to do sth: *an experience which nothing on earth would induce me to repeat*. 2. to cause sth: *drugs which induce sleep, stress induced by overwork*. 3. (medical) to cause a woman by means of drugs to begin having her baby: *an induced labour*.

inducement **n** [C, U] ~ (to do sth) (a) a thing that persuades sb to do sth; an incentive: *estate agents offering inducements to first-time buyers*. (b) a bribe: *offer inducements to local officials*.

exacerbate [ɪg'zæsəbeɪt] **v** (fml) to make a pain, a disease or a situation worse; to aggravate sth: *Scratching exacerbates a skin rash*. ○ *Her mother's interference only exacerbated the difficulties in their marriage*.

covert ['kɒvət, 'kəʊvɜ:t] **adj** concealed or secret; not open: *a covert glance/threat/ operation*. *Their relationship became more and more covert*.

animate [ænɪmeɪt] **v** 1. to give life to sth/sb; to make sth/sb more lively: *A smile suddenly animated her face*. 2. to make people and animals in pictures appear to move, by making pictures of them in different positions and using the sequence of pictures in a cinema film.

animated **adj** 1. lively: *an animated conversation/ discussion* ○ *I had rarely seen him so animated*. 2. given the appearance of movement: *animated cartoons/ drawings/ waxworks*.

carve [kɑ:v] **v** 1. (a) ~ (in sth); ~ sth (out of/from/of/in sth) to form sth by cutting away material from wood or stone: *Michelangelo carved in marble*. 2. to write sth by cutting on a surface: *carve one's initials on*

a tree. **3. ~ sth (for sb)** to cut cooked meat into slices for eating: *Would you like to carve?* ○ *carve a joint/ turkey/ leg of mutton* **PHRV carve sth out (for oneself)** to build one's career, reputation, etc by hard work: *She carved out a name for herself as a reporter.* **carve sth up (infinl)** to divide sth into parts or slices: *The territory was carved up by the occupying powers.*

sabotage [ˈsæbətɑːʒ] **n** [U] damage done deliberately and secretly to transport, machinery, equipment, etc in order to prevent an enemy or a rival from succeeding or as a form of protest: *Investigators examining the wreckage of the aircraft have not ruled out sabotage.*

sabotage v to damage, destroy or spoil sth deliberately and secretly: *sabotage a missile/ a telephone exchange.*

saboteur [ˌsæbətəˈtɜː(r)] **n** a person who commits sabotage.

sophisticated [səˈfɪstɪkətɪd] **adj** **1.** having or showing a lot of experience of the world and social situations; knowing about fashion, culture, new ideas, etc: *a sophisticated young woman; wearing sophisticated clothes.* **2.** able to understand difficult or complicated things: *Voters are much more sophisticated these days.* **3.** complicated and refined; elaborate; subtle: *a sophisticated computer system; sophisticated analysis/ discussion/ argument.*

sophisticate [səˈfɪstɪkət] **n** a sophisticated person: *the sophisticates of the art world.*

sophistication [səˈfɪstɪˈkeɪʃn] **n** [U] the quality of being sophisticated: *the increasing power and sophistication of computers* ○ *She tried to cultivate an air of sophistication.*

expand [ɪkˈspænd] **v** **1. ~ (sth) (into sth)** to become or make sth greater in size, number or importance: *Metals expand when they are heated.* **2.** to spread out; to unfold: *The petals of the flowers expanded in the sunshine.* **3.** (of a person) to become more friendly; to relax and talk more: *She expanded considerably after a glass or two of wine.* **PHRV expand on sth** to develop or give more of a story, an argument, etc: *You mentioned the need for extra funding.* ○ *Could you expand on that?*

pursuit [pə'sju:t; US -'su:t] **n** 1. [U] ~ of sth the action of looking for or trying to find sth: *people travelling round the country in pursuit of work*. 2. [U] the action of following or chasing sb/sth in order to catch them/ it: *a red Ferrari with two police cars in pursuit* ○ *The police gave pursuit (ie started chasing them) immediately*. 3. [C usu pl] a thing to which one gives one's time and energy; an occupation or an activity: *outdoor/ leisure/ artistic/ scientific pursuits*. **IDM** in hot pursuit.

condemn [kən'dem] **v** 1. ~ sb/sth (for/as sth) to say that one disapproves strongly of sb/sth; to criticize sb/sth: *We all condemn cruelty to children*. 2. (a) ~ sb (to sth/to do sth) (law) to say what sb's punishment is to be: *condemn sb to death/hard labour* ○ *He was found guilty and condemned to be shot*. (b) to show or suggest that sb is guilty: *His nervous looks condemned him*. 3. ~ sb to sth/ to do sth (usu passive) to make sb endure or accept a situation, etc that they do not like or want: *an unhappy worker, condemned to a job he hates*. 4. ~ sth (as sth) to say officially that sth is dangerous or not fit for use: *The meat was condemned as unfit for human consumption*.

condemnation [kɒndem'neɪʃn] **n** (a) [U] the action of condemning sb/sth or of being condemned: *The incident attracted/aroused widespread condemnation*. (b) [C] an instance of this: *many condemnations of her action*.

condemned cell **n** a prison cell where a person who is to be punished by death is kept.

embrace [ɪm'breɪs] **v** 1. to hold a person, etc in one's arm as a sign of affection: *They embraced (each other) warmly*. 2. (fml) to accept or believe an idea, etc willingly and enthusiastically: *embrace Christianity* ○ *She was quick to embrace the offer/opportunity*. 3. (of things) to include sth: *The term "mankind" embraces all men, women and children*.

security [sɪ'kjʊərəti] **n** 1. [U] freedom or protection from danger or worry: *children who lack the security of a good home*. 2. [U] measures taken to guarantee the safety of a country, person, thing of value, etc: *a security guard/ officer* ○ *national security* (ie the defence of a country) 3. [C, U] a thing of value, eg one's house, that can be used to make sure

that one will pay back borrowed money or keep a promise: *lend money on security* (ie in return for sth given as security) 4. [C often pl] a document or certificate showing who owns shares, etc: *government securities* (ie money lent to a government).

the Security Council **n** [sing] the part of the United Nations concerned with keeping the peace.

security risk **n** a person who may be a danger to a country, an organization, etc because of her or his political beliefs, personal habits, etc, or who may reveal secrets to an enemy: *She's a poor/ good security risk.*

perpetrate ['pɜ:pətreɪt] **v** (*fml*) to commit a crime, make an error, etc: *perpetrate a dreadful outrage* ○ *Many computer frauds are perpetrated by authorized users.*

perpetrator **n** a person who commits a crime or does sth considered wrong: *the perpetrator of a hoax.*

curb [kɜ:b] **n** 1. ~ (**on sth**) a thing that restrains or controls sth: *put/keep a curb on one's anger/feelings* ○ *government curbs on spending.* 2. (esp US) = kerb.

curb **v** to prevent sth from getting out of control; to restrain sth: *curb one's anger/feelings* ○ *curb spending/waste.*

vulnerable ['vʌlnərəbl] **adj** ~ (**to sth/sb**) that can be hurt, harmed or attacked easily, esp because of being small or weak: *Young birds are very vulnerable to predators.* ○ *vulnerable point in NATO's defences.*

atrocities [ə'trɒsəti] **n** (**a**) [C esp pl] a very wicked or cruel act: *Many atrocities have been committed against innocent people in wartime.* (**b**) [U] great wickedness or cruelty.

EXERCISES

1. Find the following expressions in the text, translate them into Armenian and use in sentences of your own.

Threat of violence, to be ruthless, difficult to identify, destruction of property, to extract revenge against sb, to turn to acts of terrorism, to sabotage negotiated peace, to create new and excited opportunities, labelled terrorists, to lie on the eye of the beholder, the immunity of noncombatant targets, to promote good causes by evil methods, to underwrite the activities of terrorist movements, to serve sb's foreign policy goals, to be likely/unlikely, transnational networking, despite the best of intention, unprecedented opportunities, to exercise the political will, hated villain, to inflict heavy casualties.

2. a) Find synonyms for the words in the column. Use the list of words given below.

1. to pose
2. objective
3. to extract
4. to perceive
5. aspiration
6. to obscure
7. notwithstanding
8. sanctuary
9. sentiment
10. radical
11. potent
12. to deter
13. reluctant
14. to cast

To throw, to extort, to hurl, to persuade, ambition, to present, fundamental, disinclined, to view, refuge, emotion, to elicit, indisposed, to manifest, end, goal, to dim, powerful, to behold, to dissuade, to discourage, in spite of, aim, to observe, asylum, forceful, to cloud, feeling, to educe, despite, basic, desire, shelter, to befog, to fling.

b) Match the words in the left column with their antonyms in the right column.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. to undermine | a. stingy |
| 2. obvious | b. to conceal |
| 3. violence | c. to reinforce |
| 4. to promote | d. to spur |
| 5. to advocate | e. to abet |
| 6. to curb | f. to impede |
| 7. to reveal | g. obscure |
| 8. hesitant | h. mildness |
| 9. to deter | i. to oppose |
| 10. generous | j. undoubtful |

c) Fill in the blanks with the suitable words given in columns a or b. Make necessary changes.

1. We couldn't ----- him even to set foot on the boat.
2. It took me days to ----- a confession from her.
3. I ----- his comment as a challenge.
4. The fleeing rebels found a ----- in the cathedral.
5. Stiffer penalties are needed to ----- crime.
6. She was very ----- to admit her mistake.
7. The President's enemies are spreading rumours to ----- his authority.
8. Her evidence ----- the young man to be innocent.
9. Do you ----- banning cars in the city centre?
10. The manager was rather ----- about signing the contract.

3. Complete the table.

Noun	Verb	Adjective
alarm	-----	-----
-----	identify	-----

-----	-----	violent
diversity	-----	-----
1. ----- 2. -----	-----	creative
definition	-----	-----
-----	promote	-----
-----	-----	established
transition	-----	-----
-----	add	-----
-----	-----	hesitant
-----	hate	-----

4. Match the words with their definitions.

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. to pose | a. to make an action or a process easier |
| 2. syndicate | b. putting an end to sth, esp by force |
| 3. target | c. to make sb/sth suffer sth |
| 4. to undertake | d. to create or present a difficulty, a threat |
| 5. transitory | e. to respond to sb/sth with an opposing view, an attack |
| 6. utility | f. the quality of being useful |
| 7. supression | g. a group of people or business companies combined to pursue a common interest |
| 8. to facilitate | h. to engage in sth |
| 9. survey | i. a general view, examination or description |
| 10. to inflict | j. sth to be aimed at in shooting practice; any object aimed at |
| 11. to counter | k. to treat sth as of lesser importance than sth else |
| 12. to subordinate | l. lasting for only a short time, temporary |

5. Find equivalents of the following phrases in the text.

a) Սրել միջազգային լարվածությունը, խարխուլել մեկի հեղինակությունն ու իշխանությունը, գաղտնի գործել, հսկայական չափերի հասնել, վրեժխնդիր լինել, աշխուժացնել գործունեությունը, դժվարացնել ընկալումը, հարգել անձեռնմխելիությունը, ինքնիշխանության ձգտել, ապաստան ապահովել, ծառայել արտաքին քաղաքականության նպատակներին, պետության կողմից հովանավորվող ահաբեկչություն, սանձել ահաբեկչական գործունեությունը, բացահայտ արյան ծարավ, վայրագություններ անել:

b) Обострять международную напряженность; подрывать чей-либо авторитет и власть; действовать тайно; достигать огромных размеров; мстить; активизировать деятельность; затруднять восприятие; уважать неприкосновенность; стремиться к суверенитету; обеспечивать убежище; служить целям внешней политики; спонсируемый/покровительствуемый правительством терроризм; предотвращать террористическую деятельность; откровенная жажда крови; свирепствовать.

6. Fill in the blanks. Use the words given below in the correct form.

What is narcoterrorism?

According to the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), narcoterrorism refers to terrorist acts carried out by groups that are directly or indirectly _____ in cultivating, manufacturing, transporting, or distributing _____ drugs. The term is generally applied to groups that use the drug trade _____ terrorism. However, it has also sometimes been used to refer to the phenomenon of increasingly close ties between powerful drug lords _____ by simple criminal profit and terrorist groups with political _____. But some experts say that the term is too _____ and is mostly used by politically driven Western politicians and journalists to score rhetorical points. They argue that nearly every terrorist group operating today _____ some money from the drug trade, and that while terrorists and drug _____ often share some short-term goals, they

have different long-term _____ (political goals for terrorists, greed for druglords) and shouldn't _____.

to fund/ vague/ objective/ to conflate/ to involve/ trafficker/ illicit/ to raise/ to motivate/ agenda

7. Render in English.

a) Կառավարությունն այս կամ այն ձևով ամենօրյա առնչություն է ունենում մեզնից բառացիորեն յուրաքանչյուրի հետ: Կառավարության գործունեությունը մենք տեսնում ենք հանձինս փոստապարի, անկյունում կանգնած ոստիկանական սպայի, սոցիալական ապահովության համակարգի շրջանային գրասենյակի ծառայողի, կամ որոշ քաղաքացիների վարքագծին հետամուտ գործակալի: Կառավարության գործունեությունը երբեմն օգտակար է, երբեմն՝ վնասակար, բայց միշտ կարևոր է: Այնպեղ, ուր կառավարությունն ընտրվում է ազատ ընտրությամբ, ժողովուրդը կարողանում է մի որոշ վերահսկողություն իրականացնել այն ընդհանուր քաղաքականության նկատմամբ, որն այնքան մեծ ազդեցություն է ունենում իր վրա: Սակայն նման հակազդեցությունն արդյունավետ չի լինի, եթե մարդիկ համապատասխան տեղեկատվություն չունենան հիմնախնդիրների և այն եղանակների մասին, որոնք կիրառում է կառավարությունը: Ուստի կառավարման ու քաղաքականության ուսումնասիրությունը յուրաքանչյուր քաղաքացու համար չափազանց կարևոր է:

առնչություն ունենալ բառացիորեն յուրաքանչյուրի հետ – to touch virtually everybody

հանձինս – in the person of

օգտակար/վնասակար – beneficial/detrimental activity

համապատասխան տեղեկատվություն ունենալ – to be adequately informed

b) Терроризм - это подающее повод для сильного беспокойства неоднократное насильственное действие, которое осуществляется лицом, находящимся на нелегальном (или

полулегальном) положении, группой или лицами, действующими от имени государства по политическим, уголовным причинам или по причине неприятия окружающего мира. Насилие не является основной целью терроризма, в отличие от просто умышленного политического убийства. Люди становятся непосредственно жертвами насилия случайно или выборочно (как своего рода представители или символы). Террористический акт, в первую очередь, служит неким знаком. Общение между террористами, их жертвами и основной частью общества основывается на угрозах и насилии. Таким образом, террористы манипулируют основной аудиторией, которая превращается в основную мишень террора ("мишень требований" или "мишень внимания", в зависимости от того, какие способы используются - запугивание, насилие или пропаганда). Терроризм "подпитывается" неприемлемой системой ценностей, моральным кодексом поведения, которые основываются на применении грубого насилия. Для терроризма типичны определенные способы ведения военных действий, считающиеся чрезмерными (умышленные нападения на гражданское население, захват заложников, убийство заключенных). Террористические акты, следовательно, можно рассматривать как аналоги военных преступлений в мирное время или во время войны.

подавать повод – to give rise to

умышленное политическое убийство – deliberate/intentional assassination

превращаться в основную мишень террора – to become the main target of terror

неприемлемая система ценностей – unacceptable system/set of values

захват заложников – seizure of hostages

8. Comprehension and discussion points.

1. Terrorism and its roots. Recollect some examples from history.
2. What makes the definition of a terrorist group controversial?
3. Comment on the statement that one person's terrorist may be another person's liberator.

4. Will terrorism be completely eradicated and what ways do you see for it?

9. Assume that you are to give a talk to an English-speaking audience on “Terrorism as a threat to stability in the world”. Answer the questions of the audience, if any.

10. Write the summary of the text, using no more than 120 words.

11. Comment on the following quotations and translate them into Armenian.

➤ Real security will be found only in law and justice.
(Harry S. Truman)

➤ Terror is not a new weapon. Throughout history it has been used by those who could not prevail either by persuasion or by example. But inevitably they failed – either because men are not afraid to die for a life worth living, or because the terrorists themselves came to realize that free men cannot be frightened by threats and that aggression will need its own response.

(John F. Kennedy)

It is interesting to know

The word "terrorism" first became popular during the French Revolution, when the *régime de la terreur* was initially viewed as a positive political system that used fear to remind citizens of the necessity of virtue. "The use of violence to "educate" people about ideological issues has continued, but it has taken on decidedly negative connotations - and has become predominantly, though not exclusively, a tactic deployed by those who do not have the powers of state at their disposal.

Modern terrorism sprang from the unstable political and social climate of the 1960s when colonialism finally collapsed. The event that is considered the beginning of modern terrorism was the hijacking of one of Israel's El Al passenger jets in Rome on 23 July 1968 by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

In their early years terrorists robbed banks and kidnapped people for ransom to obtain funds. Although such methods are still used by terrorists in the Philippines, Columbia and elsewhere, modern terrorist groups are well-funded and well-organised across the world. They find harbour and support in countries such as Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Pakistan, Sudan and Syria. There is thought to be more than 500 terrorist networks operating around the world.

Time for fun

Judge: "Have you ever been up before me?"

Accused: "I don't know. What time do you get up?"

In rural Iowa three witnesses testified before a justice of the peace that they saw the defendant walking down the road with the stolen hog.

The defendant produced ten witnesses who testified they had not seen the defendant walking with any hogs that day.

"The defendant wins", announced the justice, "by the greater weight of evidence. Three saw him with the stolen hog, and ten didn't see him".

ADDITIONAL READING

ARE DEMOCRACIES DEFICIENT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS?

History suggests that democracies enjoy faithful allies and lose fewer wars than do nondemocracies but, despite these achievements, democracies may make foreign policy choices in ways that are less rational and efficient than autocracies. For this reason, one realist thesis argues that democracies are decidedly inferior to nondemocratic regimes. Does the nature of democratic rule help or hinder those governments' capacities to realize their goals under anarchy? In evaluating this controversy, consider the views of a leading American policymaker and realist political scientist, George F. Kennan, who advanced the following thesis:

“I sometimes wonder whether a democracy is not uncomfortably similar to one of those prehistoric monsters with a body as long as this room and a brain the size of a pin. He lies there in his comfortable primeval mud and pays little attention to his environment; he is slow to wrath – in fact, you practically have to whack his tail off to make him aware that his interests are being disturbed; but, once he grasps this, he lies about him with such blind determination that he not only destroys his adversary but largely wrecks his native habitat. You wonder whether it would not have been wiser for him to have taken a little more interest in what was going on at an earlier date and to have seen whether he could not have prevented some of these situations from arising instead of proceeding from an indiscriminating indifference to a holy wrath equally indiscriminating.”

Against this criticism of democratic governments' tendency to react without foresight or moderation in foreign policy, defenders of liberal democratic governance such as Immanuel Kant, Thomas Jefferson, and Woodrow Wilson have argued just the opposite: that giving people power through the ballot and a voice in the making of foreign policy decisions restrains leaders in those countries from extreme or excessive choices, such as initiating a war on a whim. Thus,

to liberals, democratization makes a positive contribution, enabling the leader of a democracy to bargain successfully with nondemocracies, since other states know that democratic governments are likely to have the support of the people and to honor their agreements.

What do you think? Are democratic procedures for making foreign policy decisions an aid or a handicap? What arguments and evidence can you provide to support your general conclusion about this timeless controversy?

DO LEADERS MAKE A DIFFERENCE ?

Some theorists, such as neorealists, embrace the assumption of rationality and assume that any leader will respond to a choice in the same way; the situation structures the reaction to the existing costs and benefits of any choice. But does this assumption square with the facts? What do we know about the impact of people's perceptions and values on the way they view choices? Political psychology tells us that the same option is likely to have different value to different leaders. Does this mean that different leaders would respond differently to similar situations?

Consider the example of Richard Nixon. In 1971, Americans took to the streets outside the White House to protest the immorality or Nixon's massive bombing of Vietnam. His reaction to this perceived threat was to shield himself from the voice of the people, without success, as it happened. Nixon complained that "nobody can know what it means for a president to be sitting in that White House working late at night and to have hundreds of thousands of demonstrators charging through the streets. Not even earplugs could block the noise."

Earlier, on a rainy afternoon in 1962, John F. Kennedy faced a similar citizen protest. Americans had gathered in front of the White House for a Ban the Bomb demonstration. His response was to send out urns of coffee and doughnuts and invite the leaders of the protest to come inside to state their case, believing that a democracy should encourage dissent and debate.

Nixon saw protesters as a threat; Kennedy saw them as an opportunity. This comparison suggests that the type of leader can make a difference in determining the kinds of choices likely to be made in

response to similar situations. More important than each president's treatment of the protesters, however, was whether he actually changed his policy decisions based on the protests. Although Kennedy was hospitable to protesters, he did not ban nuclear weapons; in fact, military spending under Kennedy grew to consume half of the federal budget. Many would protest that Kennedy alone could not be expected to eliminate nuclear weapons – that the zeitgeist was dominated by fear of the Soviet Union and intense concern for national security. The protesters in 1971, however, were more in keeping with the spirit of the times. Although they alone may not have persuaded Nixon to alter his policies in Vietnam, widespread protest and discontentment with the war, as well as America's inability to win, eventually prompted Nixon to order the gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops, ending American participation in the Vietnam War. These outcomes suggest that leaders are captive to zeitgeist, or larger forces that drive international relations in their times.

What do you think? Did Kennedy and Nixon choose courses of action that reflected who they were as individuals? Or would any president in their respective eras have made similar choices?

DOES GLOBALIZATION MEAN THE END OF THE AGE OF STATES?

What does globalization today mean for the survival of the state? To some thinkers it's the end of sovereignty which has seen the rise of the European state as the epitome of political organization. The twenty-first century will see the end of state sovereignty as we have known it. Still others believe that globalization is simply a new manifestation of old patterns, one that in many ways can be viewed as a resumption of a trend observed in the world economy a century ago... The trends we have been observing in recent decades are in a sense taking us back to the future.

Consider this question as informed by the observations of journalist Neal R. Peirce, who attended the fiftieth Salzburg Seminar of global leaders in 1997 to contemplate the state's future in the face of transformative globalization. Peirce issued this provocative summary of the debate, which provides a good framework to consider rival ideas

about globalization's causes, likely consequences, and probable impact on the survival of the nation-state.

Is the nation-state at the end of its 500-year run? Is it about succumb to rapid-fire economic globalization, resurgent regions or to ethnic and tribal rivalries?

Not entirely, say midcareer professionals from some thirty-two nations who came here in March [1997] to debate the nation-state's future at the elegant eighteenth-century palace that has been the site of the Salzburg Seminar for fifty years.

Whether from advanced or undeveloped, Western or Eastern nations, most participants agreed we'll still need nation-states to give people identity, raise taxes, provide social safety nets, protect the environment and guarantee internal security.

But for a peek into the deep uncertainties of the twenty-first century and the astounding array of forces now undermining the nation-states, this conference was a remarkable tour de force.

Leading the parade of transformative change are globalization and its accomplices. The computer and telecommunications revolutions enable instant worldwide communications to create new relationships, new economics, whether central governments like them or not.

Multinational corporations now assemble goods from plants across the globe and have moved heavily into services, too – law, accounting, advertising, computer consultation – as if the world were borderless.

Financial markets are also globalized. Where nation-states once sought to set exchange rates, private traders now control currency flows – at a scarcely believable level of \$1.3 trillion a day.

The nation-states fatefully shrank their own power by creating supernational institutions such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization and World Bank. Each creates its own cadres of civil servants unaccountable to any single state.

Now comes a rise of influential, globally active nongovernmental organizations – the NGOs – ranging from Greenpeace to Amnesty International to animal rights groups. They got official UN recognition at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992; now they're negotiating to get a voice in official UN deliberations. Yet the NGOs, like multinationals, are mostly based in Europe and North America, feeding off cutting-edge

technology, setting new global standards without much accountability to anyone.

Globalization is creating immense wealth. Yet countries unwilling or unequipped to become technologically connected – many in Africa today, for example – face "marginalization," another word for isolation and poverty.

At the Salzburg sessions there was real unease about globalization – a fear that the world order now emerging would be too cruel, too amoral, too exclusive in its power-wielding.

Anil Saldanha, a corporate executive from India, gave voice to these concerns.

"Man is not well," Mr. Saldanha said. "He is going through a process of insularity – insecurity, fright, fear. He doesn't know what's thrust on him, he must cope. So we need to look inward, to express our individuality, spirituality. If we do not put a human face on globalization, bring humanity to the forefront, we may not have far to go."

A global market does not create a global community, another speaker commented.

Yet the conference made it clear that the erosion of the nation-state is not only coming from above, it's creeping up from below.

One force is the rise of subnational regions impatient with the bureaucracy and unresponsiveness of large national governments. Nimble city-states – the "Asian tigers" of Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, for example – have been recent models of success. In 1970, four US states had trade offices abroad. Now virtually all do and all have official standing in the World Trade Organization. Ethnic, racial and religious groups grasping for power are perhaps an even greater pressure from below. The end of the Cold War untapped myriad ethnic nationalistic tensions.

Indeed, we may end up with more nation-states. The United Nations had 166 member "states" in 1991. It has 187, and it could one day end up with 400 or more, just because of ethnic divisions. But how many will-be viable nations? And what does the developed world do about the collapse of countries that are worlds removed from its sleek globalization?

New hybrid structures – African, Asian or Latin American emulations of the European Union, for example – may be needed.

Perhaps we'll see forms of community as unknown now as the nation-state was when it burst on the scene in the sixteenth century.

ARE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS CAUSES OF WAR OR SOURCES OF TRANSNATIONAL HARMONY?

Recently, debate over the relationship of religion to international politics has increased, partly because some of the most explosive flash points on the globe are in the countries and regions where long-standing and seemingly uncontrollable violent conflicts between religious groups prevail. Religions, and religious bodies as NGO global actors, have become a topic of much discussion. Consider Northern Ireland, where violence continues at the same time that Catholics and Protestants bargain for a peaceful solution to a very old conflict; the Balkans, where Croatian Catholics, Serb Orthodox Christians, and Bosnian and Albanian Muslims carry out blood feuds; Pakistan and India, where the Muslim destruction of Christian churches has provoked acts of revenge; and India, where Hindu extremists have attacked churches and Muslim mosques. "To do harm, to promote violence and conflict in the name of religion," said Pope John Paul II in Egypt after fighting between Christians and Muslims left twenty-three people dead in February 2000, "is a terrible contradiction and a great offense against God. But past and present history give us many examples of such misuse of religion."

It is difficult to understand the religious origins of violence because most people equate religion with peace, compassion, and forgiveness, not hatred or intolerance. Indeed, because high ideals inspire the believers of nearly all the world's major religious movements, many of the principles religions espouse are very similar and conducive to peaceful relations between people. They all voice respect and reverence for the sanctity of life and acceptance of all people as creations of a deity as equals, regardless of race or color. These are noble ideals. Religions speak to universal principles, across time and place – to enduring values in changing times. Moreover, they recognize no boundaries for their eternal validity – no north, south, east,

or west – but only true virtue wherever found, and the relevance of moral precepts (e.g., the prohibition of killing and the value of working for the betterment of humankind) throughout the world.

If all the world's great religious movements espouse universalistic ideals, why are those same religions increasingly criticized as sources of international conflict – of exclusivism, hatred, terror, and war? This, in the age of religious conflict and political violence, is a percolating controversy. What do you think?

In evaluating the role of religious NGOs in international affairs, consider first the view of sociologists of religion who contend that religious hostility results from the fact that universalistic religions are managed by organizations that often adopt a particularistic and dogmatic outlook. The virtues that religions uphold ironically can become weapons against those who do not hold such views. Followers of a religion may conceive the world and history through an ideological lens that views one deity protecting a single people against inferior others and, in an effort to believe in unshakable doctrines, reject the attempt to separate what they wish to be true from what they or other religions think to be true. This mentality inspires an ethic that justifies violence, plunder, and conquest, in part because outsiders tend to be seen as threatening rivals, whose loyalty and allegiance to other deities represents a challenge to their own religion's claim of universality. In a word, religious movements often practice intolerance – disrespect for diversity and the right of people to freely embrace other religions beliefs. The next logical step is for fanatics to paint these imagined enemies as evil, unworthy of mercy, and to justify brutal violence against them.

However, using this violence as an argument against religion is controversial. It is dangerous to accept stereotypes of religious groups as responsible for relentless barrages of terrorism. Paganistic and atheistic societies recognizing no higher deity have equally long histories of waging violent wars against external enemies and their own people. Meanwhile, many religions perform ably the mission of peace making, and in fact most religious bodies have historically coexisted peacefully for centuries.

It is important for you to weigh objectively the evidence about the impact of religious NGOs on world affairs. In so doing, take into

account the impact of this controversy on theories of world politics and world order. The inclination of extremist religious movements to evoke prejudice and aggression has led some realist theorists of international politics to conclude that such movements are more a menace than a pacific influence. Observing that most wars have been fought in the name of religion, these realist critics ask the world to acknowledge the viciousness and mean-spiritedness of followers who betray their religion's humanistic and global values by championing a style of religious thought which denies that morality is about nourishing life, not destroying it. What do you think?

GLOBALIZATION'S GROWING PAINS

Is the World Trade Organization a Friend or Foe?

In late November 1999, the 135 member countries of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and 30 additional observer states made final preparations to stage in Seattle what was billed as the Millennium Round on trade negotiations – the follow-up to the Uruguay Round of trade talks completed in 1993. At the time the mood was optimistic. The meeting promised to celebrate the free-trade regime for the global marketplace and the contributions that lower trade barriers arguably had made to the growth of international exports and, for many members, their longest and largest peacetime economic expansion in the twentieth century.

A half-century of generally rising prosperity had generated a climate of enthusiasm for the power of free trade. Fears of imports tend to recede in good economic times, and, with the best decade ever, most leaders in the twilight of the twentieth century emphasized the sunnier side of free trade. Advocates share the conviction that free trade is the magical key to curing the world's economical and social ills. According to the prevailing consensus, countries, companies, and consumers have much to gain by a globalized economy freed from restraints on the exchange of goods across borders. A world without walls promotes prosperity and welfare. Negotiators expected added benefits from a new trade round that could slash tariffs and other trade barriers in agriculture, manufactured goods, and services. Hence, hopes were

riding high in 1999 that the WTO's members would be able to agree on new ways to further liberalized trade.

That mood and the seeming consensus on which it based was shattered when the Seattle trade talks opened. An estimated fifty thousand to one hundred thousand protesters and grassroots anti-WTO activists, who differed widely in their special interests (the poor, environment, labor, women, indigenous people), joined hands to shout their common opposition to the general idea of globalization and free

trade. A plane trailed a banner proclaiming "People Over Profits: Stop WTO" as part of what became known as "The Battle in Seattle" or, alternatively, the "Carnival against Capitalism." A tirade against open trade ensued.

The Seattle conference will be remembered as the moment when the debate over the benefits and costs of the globalized economy rose to the pinnacle of the global agenda. The immediate target of the demonstrations was the WTO; however, the organization itself was simply a convenient symbol of a much larger sea of discontent. The WTO protests – and the failure of the WTO conference attendees to compromise on tightly held positions and agree on even a minimal accord – exposed the deep divisions about the best ways to open global commerce and adopt new rules at a time of rapid change.

Controversies about globalization, free trade, and global governance are multiple. At the core is the question of whether a globalized economy is inevitable and, if so, an antidote to suffering or an enemy of human welfare. The debates are explosive, because everyone is affected, but in quite different ways. Many are enjoying the boom years under liberalized trade engineered by the WTO's sweeping power to enforce international trade agreements, but the celebration is confined largely to the top – the privileged, powerful, and prosperous. Many others see themselves as clear victims of an open global economy, as when a factory closes and workers lose their jobs. Those discontented with globalized free trade include a diverse coalition of protestors, many of whom harbor very specific concerns about wages, the environment, and human rights issues. Labor leaders contend that the WTO is sacrificing worker rights; environmental groups complain that when green values collide with world commerce, environmental

standards are left out of trade negotiations; and human rights activists accuse the WTO of serving the preferences of MNCs for erasing trade barriers in ways that fail to protect human rights. In addition, enraged trade ministers from the Global South's developing countries see a Global North conspiracy in the WTO's efforts to adopt core labor standards, because the less developed Global South views such high-sounding rules as a method to impose high tariffs on their products and take away the comparative advantage Global South developing nations enjoy with lower wage scales.

These, and other issues, are certain to continue as major controversies. What do you think? Is the WTO a valuable tool for improving global governance and human welfare or a threat? Is the WTO and the free trade practices it promotes too strong or too weak? Does the WTO put corporate greed and profits above human rights and environmental protection, as critics charge? Or do you agree with WTO Director General Mike Moore's defense of free trade, and his warning against what he called a "false debate" between working people and the WTO, when he maintained "Trade is the ally of working people, not their enemy. As living standards improve, so does education, health, the environment and labor standards." What direction should global trade take?

WAS IDEOLOGY THE PRIMARY SOURCE OF EAST-WEST CONFLICT?

Everyone has a psychological need to clarify their values and define them through the lens of an ideology or a belief system that expresses their convictions and enables them to explain what is of interest to them. Realism, liberalism, Marxism-Leninism are all examples of such ideologies of international politics. Ideologies help us to interpret life and its meaning, and are for that reason indispensable for organizing thought and values. But commitment to an ideology may at times cause hatred and hostility. Institutional proponents of particular ideologies are prone to perceive other ideologies competitively – as challenges to the truth of their own ideology's core beliefs. However, ideology can also become an excuse for less noble ambitions or for

general fears. Although scholars are still debating the causes of the Cold War, we need to ask whether it was, in fact, an ideological contest over ideas or a more general contest for power – in which the two governments proselytized about communism and capitalism to win peoples' hearts and minds.

What do you think? Was the Cold War really an ideological contest between international communism and the free-market capitalism espoused by the liberal democracies or were there other, more powerful forces involved? In considering your opinion, take into account the end of the Cold War, in which the Soviet communistic system crumbled.

Communist theoretician Vladimir Lenin described the predicament that he perceived to underlie the Cold War – prophetically, it turned out – when he predicted: "As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, either one or the other will triumph – a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

WHY DID THE COLD WAR END PEACEFULLY ?

How history is remembered is important because those memories shape future decisions about the management of great-power rivalries. Why did the Cold War end without the use of armed force? That question remains a puzzle that still provokes much controversy, "in part because the Cold War's abrupt end came as such a surprise to most observers and, in the unanticipated outcome, also undermined confidence in the adequacy of conventional realist theories that argued that no great power would ever accept without a fight the loss of position to another hegemonic rival.

What do you think? What was the cause of the Cold War's collapse? In considering your view on this issue, take into account some divergent opinions.

From one perspective, the policies George Kennan recommended in his famous "X" article now appear prophetic. In his version of nonmilitary containment, Kennan anticipated that this would "promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup

of or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power." Many believe that this was precisely what did happen, albeit more than forty years later!

Neorealists, in contrast, emphasize the contribution that nuclear weapons, and the West's superior military power and extended deterrence through alliances, made to forcing the Soviet Union's surrender. An adviser to U.S. President Reagan, Richard Perle, articulated the view in his contention that people "who argued for nuclear deterrence and serious military capabilities contributed mightily to the position of strength that eventually led the Soviet leadership to choose a less bellicose, less menacing approach to international politics."

Liberals and neoliberals voice another interpretation about causes, as Ted Galen Carpenter when he observed that many Russian demonstrators "who sought to reject communist rule looked to the American system for inspiration. But the source of that inspiration was America's reputation as a haven for the values of limited government, not Washington's \$300-billion-a-year military budget and its network of global military bases."

Although no consensus has materialized about the ways in which these factors individually or in combination put an end to the Cold War, a fundamental question resides at the center of this postmortem. Did military containment force the Soviet Union into submission? Or did Soviet leaders succumb to the inherent political weaknesses of communism, which caused an internal economic malaise that left them unable to conduct an imperial policy abroad or retain communist control at home? In other words, was the end of Communist Party rule accepted because of the intimidation of U.S. military strength? Or was the outcome produced by other political and economic influences within the Soviet Union, as suggested in 1991 by Georgi Arbatov, director of the USSR's Institute for the USA and Canada Studies, who countered from the realist perspective by arguing "that President Reagan's 'tough' policy and intensified arms race... persuaded communists to 'give up' is sheer nonsense. Quite to the contrary, this policy made the life for reformers, for all who yearned for democratic changes in their life, much more difficult. The conservatives and reactionaries were given predominant influence. Reagan made it practically impossible to start

reforms after Brezhnev's death (Andropov had such plans) and made things more difficult for Gorbachev to cut military expenditures."

Sorting out the contribution of different causes to ending the Cold War will doubtless intrigue historians for decades, just as determining the causes for its onset has done. The lessons drawn from this forty-five-year drama remain important because they affect how leaders are likely to manage new great-power rivalries in the twenty-first century.

WHO SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO JOIN THE UN?

The Case of Taiwan

Almost every country, it seems, wants to be a member of the United Nations (Switzerland being the major exception). However, membership requires support from the powerful existing members of the organization, and the politics governing this admission process can be highly conflictual.

The leaders who first drafted the UN Charter after World War II envisioned a universal organization open for membership to all countries willing to respect the charter's principles. Under such a design, politics and alliances with great powers were not to be a factor in determining eligibility. From the beginning of the Cold War, however, the great powers on the Security Council began to challenge that view of inclusion, acting in terms of their national interests in deciding who should be allowed to join the UN. Such realpolitik political considerations continue to influence decisions about new members today, as in the troublesome case of Taiwan, which seeks UN membership and recognition but is unlikely to gain it because of opposition by China.

When Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist troops fled mainland China in the wake of the Communist revolution in 1949, he established an alternative government on the island of Formosa (renamed Taiwan). Chiang declared it to be the true Chinese government, thus perpetuating the fiction of two Chinas. Fearing the spread of communism, the United States refused to recognize the government of Mao Tse-Tung on mainland China and supported Taiwan. Mainland China declared Taiwan a Chinese province in rebellion. Only in the 1970s did President

Richard Nixon, on the advice of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, recognize the legitimacy of the Chinese government, easing tensions between the two great powers. The status of Taiwan, however, has remained ambiguous and continues to be a source of tension. The problem reached new heights in late 1999 when Taiwan declared itself a separate state – a position that China found unacceptable.

If Taiwan is a separate state, as it insists, presumably it should be allowed membership into the UN. But because China, as a powerful nation represented on the Security Council, insists it is not an independent state, Taiwan is unlikely to receive a seat. As more states splinter into smaller, breakaway republics, questions of statehood and membership in the UN will continue. The great powers will likely continue to exert significant influence in the decisions. Should they? Whose definition of statehood should be recognized? What rules do you think should govern UN admission decisions?

ARE NATIONAL SECURITY, ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, AND HUMAN SECURITY COMPETING GOALS ?

How should "security" be defined? Policymakers disagree. Some see security primarily in terms of "national security"; others in terms of "environmental security" or "human security." The basis for the disagreement is competing conceptions of who and what is most important on the global agenda. One tradition gives states first priority and assumes that protecting national security must be put ahead of cooperation with others to manage shared problems such as environmental issues. Other groups challenge this conception and give primacy to the security of individual people, arguing that environmental protectionism must therefore be seen as a global priority, because all people depend on a clean, healthy environment for survival.

The traditional concept of national security that evolved during the Cold War viewed security as a function of the successful pursuit of interstate power competition. Environmental security represents a significant departure from this approach to national security. It addresses two distinct issues: the environmental factors behind poten-

tially violent conflicts, and the impact of global environmental degradation on the well-being of societies and economies. The idea that environmental degradation is a security issue when it is a cause of violent conflict appears to be consistent with the traditional definition of national security. However the focus on threats that do not involve an enemy state or political entity disturbs many theorists and practitioners of national security, for whom the only issues that should be viewed as "security" issues are those that revolve around conflict itself.

The case for environmental security rests primarily on evidence that there has been serious degradation of natural resources (fresh water, soils, forests, fishery resources, and biological diversity) and vital life-support systems (the ozone layer, climate system, oceans, and atmosphere) as a result of the recent acceleration of global economic activities. These global physical changes could have far-reaching effects in the long run.

Each of these environmental threats to global well-being is subject to significant empirical and scientific uncertainty. The uncertainties are comparable, however, to those associated with most military threats that national security establishments prepare for. Military planning is based on "worst-case" contingencies that are considered relatively unlikely to occur, yet military preparations for such contingencies are justified as a necessary insurance policy or "hedge" against uncertainty.

The relationship between scarce natural resources and international conflict is not a new issue. But unlike traditional national security thinking about such conflict, which focuses on nonrenewable resources like minerals and petroleum, the environmental security approach addresses renewable resources – those that need not be depleted if managed sustainably.

HOW MANY PEOPLE CAN THE EARTH SUPPORT ?

Are there limits to the size of world population beyond which humanity will perish? With 8 to 10 billion people expected to live on the Earth and consume what can be grown on it in the twenty-first century, the possibility has arisen that there will not be enough food to feed the world. If so, food scarcities will lead to famine and mass

starvation, and countries will engage in "food fights" over agriculture products.

It is unclear whether this grim outcome will materialize, however. Demographic and environmental scientists are divided in their evaluations about the planet's future carrying capacity – the limits on its ability to supply the resources to sustain life on a planet teeming with a growing human population. The two major broadly defined groups of analysts approach these issues quite differently. Taking their name and orientation from Thomas Malthus and his classic 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population*, the first group, neo-Malthusians, believe that world population is pushing against the earth's resources, straining its ability to meet the needs of this generation and the next. Sometimes called "growth pessimists," many neo-Malthusian ecologists point to a host of disconcerting facts about the present global condition: "Since Malthus wrote, the human population has grown by a factor of six, and total human energy use by a factor of one hundred or so. The forest cover of the earth has been cut by a third and the area of undisturbed wetlands by half. The composition of the atmosphere has been altered by human-generated pollution. Hundreds of millions of people have starved to death; thousands of species have gone extinct".

In contrast with the pessimism of neo-Malthusians, the second group, the cornucopians (many of whom are economists and otherwise known as "growth optimists") emphasize quite different global trends. Observing that global life expectancy has more than doubled since 1950 to sixty-six years and "a person born today will live twenty years – 43 percent – longer than a person born in 1950" they conclude that rapid population growth has occurred not because human beings suddenly started breeding like rabbits but because they finally stopped dropping like flies. Despite the growth of global population from 1.6 billion in 1900 to more than 6 billion in 2000, cornucopians argue that "global health and productivity have exploded. Today human beings eat better, produce more, and consume more than ever. 'Overpopulation' is a problem that has been misidentified and misdefined. The term has no scientific definition or clear meaning. The problems typically associated with overpopulation (hungry families, squalid and overcrowded living conditions) are more properly understood as issues of poverty." Although some blame dwindling natural resources for the reversals and catastrophes that have

recently befallen heavily populated low-income countries, such episodes are directly traceable to the policies or practices of presiding governments.

States' policies and practices surrounding population will have an impact. Some governments understandably view too many people as a problem and will seek to control population growth. Other countries are facing the threat of shrinking populations and see additional people as critical to their future. These differences in national needs make population policies highly contentious, especially because divergent population policies affect everyone and will determine whether technological advances will be sufficient for the earth to provide enough resources for its people.

DOES NATIONALISTIC LOVE OF COUNTRY CAUSE WAR WITH FOREIGN NATIONS ?

What does patriotism mean? The most familiar definition is popularly expressed as "love for one's country." Often, it involves "love for the nation or nationality of the people living in a particular state," especially when the population of that state primarily comprises a single ethnonational racial or linguistic group. Because "love" for valued objects of affection, such as a person's homeland, is widely seen as a virtue, it is understandable why governments everywhere teach young citizens that love for country is a moral duty – it fosters a sense of political community. Nationalism encourages internal harmony and political stability, and thereby makes a positive contribution to civic solidarity and domestic peace. On these grounds, nationalism is not controversial. However, critics of nationalism find patriotism to be potentially dangerous in its extreme form. Superpatriots, these critics warn, are hyper-nationalists who measure their patriotism by the degree of hatred and opposition exhibited toward foreign nations and by the blind approval of every policy and practice of the "patriot's" own nation. In this sense, nationalistic patriotism can ignore transcendent moral principles such as the love for all humanity, even toward one's enemies, as preached by Jesus Christ in the Sermon on the Mount and other religious leaders; such as Muhammad, the founder of Islam, and

the legendary King Solomon in Judaism. If so, then is nationalistic superpatriotism sometimes a cause of war between nations? What do you think? In contemplating your opinion about this controversial issue over values – about whether nationalism and internationalism are mutually exclusive, and whether nationalism makes for war by undermining justice under law for the world of nations, take into consideration the view of Karl Deutsch, a famous German scholar who taught for many years at Harvard University. Deutsch, an authority on nationalism, described nationalism's linkage to armed conflict in these moving words:

“Nationalism is an attitude or mind, a pattern of attention and desires. It arises in response to a condition of society and to a particular stage in its development. It is a predisposition to pay far more attention to messages about one's own people, or to messages from its members, than to messages from or about any other people. At the same time, it is a desire to have one's own people get any and all values that are available. The extreme nationalist wants his people to have all the power, all the wealth, and all the well-being for which there is any competition. He wants his people to command all the respect and deference from others; he tends to claim all rectitude and virtue for it, as well as all enlightenment and skill; and he gives it a monopoly of his affection. In short, he totally identifies himself with his nation.”

Even if most people are not extreme nationalists, nationalism has altered the world in many ways. Nationalism has not only increased the number of countries on the face of the earth, it has helped to diminish the number of its inhabitants. All major wars in the twentieth century have been fought in its name.

Nationalism is in potential conflict with all philosophies or religions – such as Christianity – which teach universal standards of truth and of right and wrong, regardless of nation, race, or tribe.

In confronting the impact of nationalism on armed conflict, we need to recognize its dual character: it is a force that (1) binds nations and nationalities together in common bonds, and (2) divides nation against nation, nationality against nationality, and is used to justify armed conflicts against other nations.

ARE ALLIES FRIENDS OR FOES ?

Reconsidering the Advantages and Disadvantages of Allies to a State's Security

When states make decisions about forging alliances, they must keep in mind the many risks of sharing their fate with other states. While realists generally see alliances as potentially beneficial, they caution that alliance formation is risky. A state making a defence pact with an ally, they warn, will also pay a heavy price. Creating alliances will:

- Foreclose options.
- Reduce the state's capacity to adapt to changing circumstances.
- Weaken a state's capability to influence others by decreasing the number of additional partners with which it can align.
- Eliminate the advantages in bargaining that can be derived from deliberately fostering ambiguity about one's intentions.
- Provoke the fears of adversaries.
- Entangle states in disputes with their allies' enemies.
- Interfere with the negotiation of disputes involving an ally's enemy by precluding certain issues from being placed on the agenda.
- Preserve existing rivalries.
- Stimulate envy and resentment on the part of friends who are outside the alliance and are therefore not eligible to receive its advantages.

These potential dangers explain why alliance decisions are so controversial, even when advocates enthusiastically propose that another state be sought as an ally for mutual defence. The posture of leaders about the advantage or disadvantage of alliances has depended on their personal philosophy and the country's circumstances. What do you think? What are the advantages of having alliance partners?

IS A UNIPOLAR, BIPOLAR, OR MULTIPOLAR SYSTEM THE MOST STABLE ?

Three Schools of Thought on the Relationship of Polarity and International Peace

In the early twenty-first century, a long-standing debate has intensified about which type of polarity distribution – unipolar, bipolar, or multipolar – is the most capable of preventing large-scale war. What do you think? Consider the divided opinions about this issue, as represented by the arguments in three contending schools of thought.

One interpretation holds that peace will occur when one hegemonic state acquires enough power to deter others' expansionist ambitions. This view maintains that the concentration of power reduces the chances of war because it allows a single superpower to maintain peace and manage the international system. The long peace under Britain's leadership in the 1800s (the Pax Britannica) and earlier, under the Roman Empire (the Pax Romana), offered support for the idea that unipolarity brings peace.

In contrast, a second school of thought maintains that bipolar systems are the most stable. According to this line of reasoning, stability, ironically, results from "the division of all nations into two camps because it raises the costs of war to such a high level that all but the most fundamental conflicts are resolved without resort to violence." Under such stark simplicities and balanced symmetries, the two leading rivals have incentives to manage crises so that they do not escalate to war.

Those who believe that a bipolar world is inherently more stable than either its unipolar or multipolar counterparts draw support from the fact that in the bipolar environment of the 1950s, when the threat of war was endemic, major war did not occur. Extrapolating, these observers reason that because now a new multipolar distribution of global power makes it impossible to run the world from one or two centres, disorder will result.

A third school of thought argues that multipolar systems are the least war prone. While the reasons differ, advocates share the belief that polarized systems that either concentrate power, as in a unipolar system, or that divide the world into two antagonistic blocs, as in a bipolar

system, promote struggles for dominance. The peace-through-multipolarity school perceives multipolar systems as stable because they encompass a larger number of autonomous actors, giving rise to more potential alliance partners. This is seen as pacifying because it is essential to counterbalancing a would-be aggressor, as shifting alliances can occur only when there are multiple power centres.

Abstract deductions and historical analogies can lead to contradictory conclusions, as the logic underlying these three inconsistent interpretations illustrates. The future will determine which of these rival theories is the most accurate.

IS GLOBALIZATION PRODUCING PROSPERITY OR POVERTY ?

Many people recommend globalization as a form of international public policy because they believe that its consequences are basically good for humankind. However, critics argue that globalization's costs far outweigh its benefits. In particular, a major controversy revolves around the question of whether globalization punishes countries and people who are already poor by actually increasing their poverty. Despite the evidence that half a century of increasing globalization has been associated with unprecedented growth and general prosperity, others argue that this prosperity has come at the great expense of some people and regions. According to "anti-globalists again and again you see the less attractive features of the modern world contrasted with an imagined pre-globalization Arcadia of happy villagers living in harmony with nature.

What do you think? Has globalization led to the stark disparities between rich and poor, with the fifth of the world's people living in the highest income countries getting 8.6 percent of world GDP and the bottom fifth just 1 percent?"

Or, is poverty in the world due to other causes besides globalization? In evaluating your assessment, consider how the UN Development Program describes the characteristics of contemporary globalization and the issues it creates:

A dominant economic theme of the 1990s, globalization encapsulates both a description and a prescription. The description is the widening and deepening of international flows of trade, finance and information in a single, integrated global market. The prescription is to liberalize national and global markets in the belief that free flows of trade, finance and information will produce the best outcome for growth and human welfare. All is presented with an air of inevitability and overwhelming conviction. Not since the heyday of free trade in the nineteenth century has economic theory elicited such widespread certainty.

The principles of free global markets are nevertheless applied selectively. If this were not so, the global market for unskilled labour would be as free as the market for industrial country exports or capital. Global negotiations are moving rapidly toward a free world market in foreign investments and services. But intervention in agriculture and textiles, an obstacle to developing countries, remains high. Lacking power, poor countries and poor people too often find their interests neglected and undermined.

Globalization has its winners and its losers. With the expansion of trade and foreign investment, developing countries have seen the gaps among themselves widen. Meanwhile, in many industrial countries unemployment has soared to levels not seen since the 1930s, and income inequality to levels not recorded since the last century.

A rising tide of wealth is supposed to lift all boats. But some are more seaworthy than others. The yachts and ocean liners are indeed rising in response to new opportunities, but the rafts and rowboats are taking on water – and some are sinking fast. Inequality is not inherent in globalization. Because liberalization exposes domestic producers to volatile global markets and to capital flows that are large relative to the economy, it increases risks – but it also increases potential rewards. For poverty eradication the challenge is to identify policies that enable poor people to participate, in markets on more equitable terms, nationally and globally.

Globalization has many aspects. Its economic impact on poor nations and poor people is staggering.

For the world the benefits of liberalization should exceed the costs. During 1995-2001 the results of the Uruguay Round of the GATT

(General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) are expected to increase global income by an estimated \$212-\$ 510 billion – gains from greater efficiency and higher rates of return on capital, as well as from the expansion of trade.

The overall gains obscure a more complex balance sheet of winners and losers. Projected losses are heavily outweighed by the gains, but those losses will be concentrated in a group of countries that can least afford them - and for some the costs will be significant. The least developed countries stand to lose up to \$600 million a year, and Sub-Saharan Africa \$1.2 billion.

This scenario has disturbing implications for poverty and human welfare. Foreign exchange losses will translate into pressure on incomes, a diminishing ability to sustain imports and increased dependence on aid at a time when aid itself is under severe pressure. Revenue from trade will be lost, undermining the capacity of governments to develop the economic and social infrastructure on which sustained reduction in human poverty depends.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAPC	All African People's Conference
AAPSO	Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization
AAUN	American Association for the United Nations
AB	air base
ABM	anti-ballistic missile
ABC¹	American Broadcasting Company
ABC²	Weapons: atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons
AC	aircraft carrier
ACABQ	Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions /UN/
ACAST	Advisory Committee on Application of Science and Technology to Development /UN/
ACC	Administrative Committee on Co-ordination /UN/
ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency /USA/
ACE, ACEUR	Allied Command, Europe /NATO/
ACMR	Advisory Committee on Medical Research /UN/
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific countries
ACS	automatic control system
ADB¹	African Development Bank
ADB²	Asian Development Bank
Adm	administration
a.d.s.	autograph document signed
AEC	Atomic Energy Commission
AF	Air Force
Agcy	agency
A.G.M.	annual general meeting
Agt.	agent
a. i., ad int.	ad interim /Latin/, (temporary)
AIC	automatic information centre
AID	Agency for International Development
a. l.	autograph letter

ALS	autograph letter signed
an, a/n	above named
ann	annual
anon	anonymous
a. o.	and others
AP¹	1. airplane 2. airport
AP²	Associated Press
apmt	appointment
app	appendix
appl	application
appro	approval
appt/aptd	appointed
AR	acknowledgement receipt
ARC	American Red Cross
Archbp.	Archbishop
arg.	argument
arm.	armament
arr.	arrival
arrgt.	arrangement
art.	article
AS	Anglo-Saxon
ASAT	anti-satellite system
ASBAM	air-surface ballistic missile
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
asf.	and so forth
asgd.	assigned
asgmt.	assignment
asp.	as soon as possible
ASPAC	Asian and Pacific Council
Assn./ assn.	association
asst.	assistant
assy/ asm.	assembly
attn.	attention
Atty.	attorney
ATTY.GEN.	Attorney General
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, United States (Pact)

ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
AUS	Army of the United States
auth¹	authentic
auth²	authorities
auth³	authorized
BA/ B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
B.A.M.	Bachelor of Applied Mathematics
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BC	British Council
B.C.N.	British Commonwealth of Nations
BEA, BEAC	British European Airways Corporation
BENELUX	Benelux Economic Union
BG	British Government
Bib.	1. Bible 2. biblical
BIS	Bank for International Settlements
BL	Bachelor of Law
bl	bilateral
Board of Trade	Department of Trade
B.R.	book of reference
BRCS	British Red Cross Society
BUP	British United Press
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CABEI	Central American Bank of Economic Integration
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CBSS	Council of the Baltic Sea States
CCD	Conference of the Committee on Disarmament
CCEE	Countries of the Committee on Disarmament /UN/
CCEET	Centre for Cooperation with European Economics in Transition
CC/COC	Chamber of Commerce
CCPC	Committee on Crime Prevention and Control
CCT	Common Customs Tariff
CD	Corps Diplomatique
CE	Council of Europe
CEO	Chief Executive Officer (president or prime minister)

CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CFF	Compensatory financing facility /International Monetary Fund/
CFR	Code of Federal Regulations
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
C-IN-C	Commander-in-Chief
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CMG	Companion of (the Order of) St. Michael and St. George
CNGO	Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations
COCOM	Co-ordinating Committee /NATO/
Col.	colonel
com.¹	commander
com.²	commission
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Aid
CONDECA	Central American Council of Defence
CONUS	Continental United States
Corp.	corporation
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives /European Community/
COSPAR	Committee on Space Research
CP	Communist Party
CPA	Caracas Programme of Action
CS	Chief of Staff
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CTC	Commission on Transnational Corporations
D	duke/duchess
DA	Department of the Army /USA/
DAC	Development Assistance Committee /OECD/
DAF	Department of the Air Force /USA/
DC	Disarmament Commission /UN/
DG	Director General
DIA	Defence Intelligence Agency
DOB	date of birth
DOD	Department of Defence
D. of J.	Department of Justice

DP	Displaced Person
D. S.	document signed
DSO	Companion of the Distinguished Service Order
DTAs	double taxation agreements
dupl.	duplicate
E	Earl
EAEC	European Atomic Energy Community
EAON	except as otherwise noted
EAPA	European Alliance of Press Agencies
E.B.	Encyclopedia Britannica
EBIC	European Banks International Corporation
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC¹	European Community
EC²	Executive Committee
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECDC	Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries
ECE	Economic Commission for Europe /UN/
ECM	European Common Market
ECME	Economic Commission for the Middle East
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECU¹	European Currency Unit
ECU²	European Customs Union
EDC	European Defence Community
EDF	European Development Fund
EE	Envoy Extraordinary
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community /EC/
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EFF	extended fund facility /IMF/
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EIB	European Investment Bank
ELT	English Language Teaching
EMF	European Monetary Fund

Emp.	Emperor/ Empress
EMS	European Monetary System
EMT	European Mean Time
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ENDC	Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee
ENEA	European Nuclear Energy Agency
EP	European Parliament
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ESA	European Space Agency
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific /UN/
ETA	estimated time of arrival
et.al	et alli (Latin) /and other people or things/
etc	et cetera and other similar things; and the rest; and so on
ETD	estimated time of departure
ETS	European Treaty Series
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FAOC	FAO Conference
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
F.C.	for cash
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FERC	Regional Conference for Asia and the Far East /FAO/
F.H.R.	Federal House of Representatives
F.O.	Foreign Office
FOC/ f.o.c./ foc	free of charge
f.o.t.	free of tax
GA	General Assembly
GAB	General Arrangements to Borrow /IMF/
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GBE	Knight, Grand Cross of the British Empire
GC	George Cross
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
G-Man	an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

GCMG	Knight, Grand Cross of St Michael and St George
GCT	Greenwich Civil Time
GCVO	Knight, Grand Cross of the (Royal) Victorian Order
G.F.T.U.	General Federation of Trade Unions
GHO	General Headquarters
GMT	Greenwich Mean Time
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
GOP	Grand Old Party (the Republican party of the US)
Gov	governor
Govt	government
GP¹	government property
GP²	Great Powers
GPO	General Post Office
GSA	General Services Administration
GSL	guaranteed student loan
GSTP	global system of trade preferences
gtd.	guaranteed
HBM	His Britannic Majesty
H.C.	House of Commons
HCP	House of Commons Papers
HEW	Department of Health, Education and Welfare
H.L.	House of Lords
H.M.	His Majesty or Her majesty
Hon.	1. Honorary 2. Honorable
HP	Houses of Parliament
HQ/ Hq	Headquarters
hr.	hour
HR	House of Representatives
HS/ H.S.	high school
IADL	International Association of Democratic Lawyers
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAF	International Astronautical Federation
IALS	International Association of Legal Science
IAP	international airport
IAU¹	International Association of Universities

IAU²	International Astronomical Union
IBE	International Bureau of Education
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development /World Bank/
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICC	International Chamber of Commerce
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICPO	International Criminal Police Organization
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICSC	International Civil Service Commission
ICSTD	Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development
ICSU	International Council of Scientific Unions
ICW	International Council of Women
ID	Intelligence Department
IDA	International Development Association
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IDP	international driving permit
IEA	International Energy Agency
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists
IFLA	International Federation of Library Association
IGO	intergovernmental organization
IIB	International Investment Bank
ILA	International Law Association
ILM	International Legal Materials
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMC	International Monetary Fund
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organisation
Inc.	incorporated
INCB	International Narcotics Control Board
incog.	incognito
INIS	International Nuclear Information System

INMARSAT	International Maritime Satellite Telecommunications Organization
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
INSA	International Shipowners' Association
ins.	insurance
int.	intelligence
Interpol	International Police
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IOJ	International Organization of Journalists
IPAs	investment protection agreements
IPC	Integrated Programme for Commodities
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IRC	International Red Cross
IRTO	International Radio and Television Organization
ISA	International Sociological Association
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
ITO	International Trade Organization
ITT	International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
I.U.	international unit
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
IUS	International Union of Students
J.	justice
JCC	Joint Coordinating Committee
JD	Justice Department
Jr./ jr.	junior
LARC	Regional Conference for Latin America /FAO/
LAS	League of Arab States
LDC	less-developed country
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
Lieut.	Lieutenant
L.P.	Labour Party
LNTS	League of Nations Treaty Series
Ltd.	limited
MA/ M.A.	Military academy

MA	Master of Arts
MBFR	Mutual Balanced Force Reduction
MC¹	Member of Congress
MC²	Marine corps
MDC	more developed country
ME	Middle East
memo	memorandum
MENCAP	Mentally Handicapped Society
MFN	most favoured nation
MI	military intelligence
MIA/ M.I.A.	missing in action
MITI	Ministry of International Trade and Industry
MNE	multinational enterprise
M.O.	mail order
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MP	Member of Parliament
MP	Military Police
MS/ M.S.	Master of Science
MYRAs	multi-year re-scheduling agreements
N	Navy
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
N.A.A.F.I/ Naafi.	Navy, Army and Air Force Institute
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
n.b., N.B.	nota bene (pay special attention)
NC	no charge
NEDC	National Economic Development Council
NEI	1. not elsewhere included 2. not elsewhere indicated
NEM	not elsewhere mentioned
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NLF	National Liberation Front
NPT	Non Proliferation Treaty
NR	not required
n.s.	not signed

NSA	National Security Agency
NSC	National Security Council
OAPEC	Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OBE	Officer (of the Order) of the British Empire
OCAS	Organization of Central American States
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
O.H.M.S.	On His (Her) Majesty's Service
OIT	Office of International Trade
OMA	orderly marketing arrangement
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSA/ O.S.A.	Order of St. Augustine
OSB/ O.S.B.	Order of St. Benedict
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OSF/ O.S.F.	Order of St. Francis
OSR	Office of Scientific Research
p. a./ per an.	per annum /for each year/
parl.	parliamentary
PAYE	pay as you enter
P.D.	Police Department
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
PHS	Public Health Service
P.L.	Public Law
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PM	Prime Minister
POC	Peace Observation Commission /UN/
POPINS	Population Information System
POW/ PW	prisoner of war
P.R.	proportional representation
PR/ P.R.	public relations
Pres.	President
PRO/ P.R.O.	public relations office
P.T.O./ p.t.o.	please turn over (a leaf)
R/ Rep.	Republican

R	Royal
RADAR	radio detecting and ranging
RAF	Royal Air Force
R. A. S.	Royal Academy of Science
RC	Red Cross
RC	Roman Catholic
RD	Research and Development
Ret.	retired
Rev.	Reverend
R.H.	Royal Highness
R. M.	registered mail
R. S. P. C. C.	Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
Rt. Hon.	Right Honorable
Rt. Rev.	Right Reverend
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty
SAMA	Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency
S. C.	Supreme Court
SC	Security Council /UN/
SCAF	Supreme Commander of Allied Forces /NATO/
SCOR	Security Council Official Records
SDI	Strategic Defence Initiative
SDR	special drawing rights
S. E.	Stock Exchange
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organization
SFF	supplementary financing facility /IMF/
sig.	signature
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SLP	Socialist Labour Party
Sr./ sr.	senior
SSOD	Special Session on Disarmament
St.	saint
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
TD/ t.d.	time and date
TIAS	Treaties and Other International Acts Series
TOA	time of arrival

TOD	time of departure
TS	top secret
UEAC	Union of Central African States
UFO	unidentified flying object
UIAS	Union of Independent African States
UKTS	United Kingdom Treaty Series
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association
UNCITRAL	United Nations Commission on International Trade Law
UNCOPUOS	United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Spaces
UNCSTD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDC	United Nations Disarmament Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEDA	United Nations Economic Development Association
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNEUROPE	United Nations European Economic Organization
UNFDAC	United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control
UNFICYP	United Nations Force in Cyprus
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIC	United Nations Information Centre
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
UNIDF	UN Industrial Development Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
UNISIST/ Unisist	United Nations Intergovernmental System of Information in Science and Technology
UNSA	United Nations Specialized Agency

UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNTS	UN Treaty Series
UPI	United Press International
UPU	Universal Postal Union
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USG	United States Government
USIA	United States Information Agency
USS	United States Senate
UST	United States Treaties and Other International Agreements
V. C.	Vice- Chairman
VERs	voluntary export restraints
VIP	very important person
VP	Vice-President
vs.	versus /Latin/ (against sb/sth)
v.v.	vice versa /Latin/ (in the opposite way to what has just been said)
WEU	Western European Union
WFUNA	World Federation of the United Nations Association
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WCC	World Council of Churches
WCL	World Confederation of Labour
WEU	Western European Union
WFC	World Food Council
WFDY	World Federation of Democratic Youth
WFP	World Food Programme
WFSW	World Federation of Scientific Workers
WFTU	World federation of Trade Unions
WFUNA	World Federation of United Nations Associations
WHA	World Health Assembly
WHO	World Health Organization
WIDF	Women's International Democratic Federation
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WMO	World Meteorological Organization
WPC¹	World Peace Council
WPC²	World Power Conference

WPF
WTO
WW I
WW II
ZOPFAN
ZT

World Peace Foundation
World Trade Organization
World War I
World War II
zone of peace, freedom and neutrality
Zone Time

GLOSSARY

Absentee ballot	if a voter is disabled, over a certain age, or will be out of town on election day, he or she may obtain an absentee ballot ahead of time. The vote is sealed and counted on election day.
Acceptance	agreement to the act or offer of another so that the parties become legally bound.
Accession	the act by which a nation becomes a party to a treaty (convention, etc) already in force.
Accord	a formal treaty or agreement.
Accreditation	giving official authorization to or approval of; sending out a diplomatic envoy with credentials to an official or government of the received state.
Act final	a formal summary or statement of the proceedings of a conference or congress, enumerating the treaties or conventions drawn up as the result of its deliberations; <i>also</i> final act.
Ad interim	temporary; in the meantime.
Ad referendum	subject to the approval of the government.
Advocate	to speak publicly in favour of sth; to recommend or support sth.
Affiliation	a person's connection with a political party, religion.

Agenda	a list of items to be discussed or business to be transacted, as at a meeting, etc or during the negotiations.
Agenda setting	ability to structure policy debate by controlling which issues are discussed or establishing priority amongst them.
Agréation	the process of determining whether the proposed diplomatic envoy is acceptable to the receiving state.
Agrément	the approval of an ambassador or a minister by the government of the receiving state.
Aide-mémoire	an informal summary of a diplomatic interview or conversation which serves merely as an aid to memory; <i>usu</i> left at the foreign office by the ambassador or minister concerned (or his representative) at the foreign office.
Agreement	arrangement or understanding made by two or more persons, groups or governments.
Alien	to make sb feel that they do not belong in a particular group.
Alternat	a special rule followed during the conclusion of a multilateral treaty, entitling each state party to precedence in the original text retained by it.
Alternative	a thing that you can choose to do or have out of two or more possibilities.

Alternative vote system	voters rank candidates in order of preference. If no candidate reaches 50 per cent, the bottom candidate is eliminated and his or her votes are redistributed according to the second (or subsequent) preferences.
Ambassador	a top-ranking diplomat accredited to a foreign government or to the head of state as a resident representative; <i>see</i> : ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary
Ambassador, appointed	a top-ranking diplomat who has been received by a secretary of state or minister for foreign affairs prior to presenting his credentials to the head of state.
Ambassador-at-large	a diplomatic agent accredited to no particular country
Ambassador-designate	a diplomatic agent who has been appointed to office, approved by the head of the receiving state, but has not presented his credentials.
Ambassador Extraordinary	a nonaccredited personal representative of the head of state on a special diplomatic mission.
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary	a personal representative of the head of one state accredited to the head of another state, head of the mission (1 st class).
Anarchy	a situation in a country, an organization, etc in which there is no government, order or control.

Antagonistic	showing or feeling opposition.
Apathy	the feeling of not being interested in or enthusiastic about anything.
Appel	the salutation in a letter or note indicating the official title of the addressee.
Arbitrary	1. (of an action, a decision, a rule, etc) not seeming to be based on a reason; system or plan and sometimes seeming unfair; 2. (fml) using power without restriction and without considering other people.
Arbitrary action	action that is taken capriciously. The people affected do not know what to expect before the action and do not learn afterward the grounds on which the action was chosen.
Assembly	a group of people who have been elected to meet together regularly and make decisions or laws for a particular region or country.
Asylum	protection that a government gives to people who have left their own country, usu because they were in danger for political reasons.
Attaché	1. the lowest ranking official of the diplomatic rank being abolished in many countries and replaced by the “third secretary”; 2. a senior diplomatic official attached to a mission for specialized services, e.g. a military (naval, air or commercial)

At large	an at-large race is in the entire political subdivision, instead of smaller districts. For example, a mayor would run at large in the city, but a councilman would run from a single ward.
Authoritarian	believing that people should obey authority and rules, even when they are unfair and even if it means that they lose their personal freedom.
Authoritarianism	belief in, or practice of government “from above”, in which authority is exercised regardless of popular consent.
Authority	power based on a general agreement that the holder of the power has the right to issue certain sorts of commands and that those commands should be obeyed.
Autonomy	self-rule
Backbenchers	members of parliament who are not party leaders; originates in seating arrangements of British Parliament; <i>see</i> frontbenchers.
Balance of power	the idea that the international system works in a natural way to keep the power of states balanced so that no one state can ever achieve domination of the entire system.
Ballot	the system of voting in writing and usually in secret; an occasion on which a vote is held.

Ballot box	a box in which people put their ballots after voting.
Ballot paper	the piece of paper on which sb marks who they are voting for.
Belligerency	the state of being at war or in conflict with another nation.
Bicameralism	a legislature with two chambers or houses; contrasted with unicameralism. The United States, Canada, and France are examples.
Big government	interventionist government, usually understood to imply economic management and social regulation.
Bill	a written suggestion for a new law that is presented to a country's parliament so that its member can discuss it.
Bill committee	legislative committee that considers legislation; contrasted with departmental committees; used in Westminster systems.
Board of Elections	The agency that conducts elections and administers the election laws, sometimes including financial and ethics reporting requirements.
Boycott	to refuse to use or take part in sth as a way of protesting.
Breach	1. a failure to do sth that must be done by law; 2. an action that breaks an agreement to behave in a particular way; 3. a break in a relationship between people or countries.

Bureaucracy

1. the system of official rules and ways of doing things that a government or an organization has, especially when these seem to be too complicated; 2. a system of government in which there are a large number of state officials who are not elected; 3. a country with such a system.

Cabinet

(usually the Cabinet) a group of the most important government ministers, or advisers to a president, responsible for advising and deciding on government policy.

Campaign calendar

a large wall-mounted calendar used in campaign headquarter to schedule all events.

**Campaign manager/
campaign chairman**

the person in charge of the overall planning and coordination.

Campaign plan

a plan, drafted early in the campaign, detailing each step needed to win the election.

Campaign theme

a statement of a principle, an idea, or phrase that summarizes and captures the spirit of the campaign.

Campaign

a race for elective office and the steps taken to ensure victory.

Career Diplomat

a professional diplomat.

Casus Belli

an act or situation justifying or precipitating war.

Caucus	meeting of party members held to nominate election candidates or to discuss legislative proposals in advance of formal proceedings.
Census tract	a geographical area, such as a city block, by which the Census Bureau gathers data; census-tract data is a good source of local demographic information.
Chancellery	the office or staff of an enemy or a consulate.
Chargé D'affaires	a diplomatic representative inferior in rank to an ambassador or minister who is sent to another country and accredited to the minister for foreign affairs; head of the mission (3 rd class).
Chargé D'affaires Ad Interim	the counsellor or secretary of an embassy or legation who automatically assumes charge of a diplomatic mission in the temporary absence of an ambassador or minister.
Charter	a written statement describing the rights that a particular group of people should have.
Citizenship	relationship between the individual and the state in which the two are bound together by reciprocal rights and duties.
Civil society	realm of autonomous groups and associations: businesses, interest groups, clubs, families and so on.

Compromise	settlement of a dispute by which each side gives up sth it has asked for and neither side gets all it has asked for.
Compromis D'arbitrage	a compact defining the course of procedure to be followed when the two countries agree to submit a dispute to arbitration.
Coalition	a grouping of rival political actors brought together either through the perception of a common threat, or the recognition that their goals cannot be achieved by working separately.
Cohabitation	relatively amicable relations between a president of one party and a parliament with a different party majority.
Collective security	the idea that aggression can best be resisted by united action taken by a number of states.
Committee	small group of legislators whose task (usually) is to review carefully a proposed piece of legislation and recommend to the full legislature what action should be taken on it. In many legislatures, bills may be amended by the committee or killed in entirety. Committees may also perform other tasks, such as investigating an area of possible legislation.
Communism	the communal organization of social existence on the basis of the collective ownership of property.

Concordat	a treaty between the Pope and a sovereign or government of another state.
Conference committee	used in some bicameral parliaments to reconcile differences between the two chambers on a bill.
Conflict	competition between opposing forces, reflecting a diversity of opinions, preferences, needs or interests.
Confrontation	a situation in which there is an angry disagreement between people or groups who have different opinions.
Consensus	broad agreement about fundamental principles.
Consent	assent or permission; in politics, usually an agreement to be governed and ruled.
Conservatism	an ideology positing that the most important goal of politics is to create stable communities based on a hierarchy of power, in which leaders and followers have reciprocal responsibilities and obligations. Unlike liberalism, conservatism is not suspicious of power and does not seek to limit the power of the state. Rather, the point of conservatism is that that power should be in the hands of a traditional class of rulers.
Constitute	to form a group legally or officially.
Constitution	a set of rules by which power is distributed in a political group, such as

the state. This generally consists in part of a formal set of rules, but it always contains as well various informal mechanisms, traditions, and understandings by which power is assigned to people.

Constitutionalism

the doctrine that states' constitutions should be designed fairly, not so as to give undue advantage to any particular group, and that the government should then be faithful to that constitution. In this way, individuals are protected against arbitrary governmental action.

Constitutional monarchy

a country with a king or queen, whose power is controlled by set of laws and basic principles.

Consul

an official appointed by a government to reside in a foreign country to look after the interests of citizens of the appointing country.

Consular Commission

a formal document certifying the consul's capacity and showing his full name, category and class, his consular district and the seat of the consular post; also referred to as letters patent or lettres de provision.

Consulate

the residence, office or jurisdiction of a consul.

Consul General

a senior diplomatic consul stationed in an important place or having jurisdiction in several places or over several consuls.

Contribution	a donation to a campaign. Under many state laws, the donation of property or even the loan of property must be reported as a contribution.
Cooperation	working together, achieving goals through collective action.
Corruption	performing one's public tasks improperly in order to receive personal benefits (bribes, etc).
Council	1. a group of people who are elected to govern an area such as a city or country; 2. a formal meeting to discuss what action to make in a particular situation.
Counsellor	a senior secretary at an embassy who, in the absence of the head of the mission, acts as "Chargé d'Affairs".
Courtoisie	a complimentary close in a letter or note varying according to the nature of the correspondence.
Coup	the forceful deposition of a government by all or a portion of the armed forces and installation of a new military government.
Court politics	the political process in a state where great power is vested in a single person, as in traditional monarchy or in a personal dictatorship.
Covenant	an agreement of solemn nature.
Credentials	a formal paper from the head of one state to the head of another accrediting

	an ambassador, minister or other diplomatic agent as one authorized to act for his government or head of state.
Cross the floor	change of party by legislator (British).
Crossover voting	Where people from one party vote in a primary election for candidates of the other party. See also Open primary.
Curriculum Vitae	a brief account of one's previous career and qualifications, esp as relevant to a job application.
Debate	a formal argument or discussion of a question, at a public meeting or in Parliament or Congress with two or more opposing speakers, and often ending in a vote.
Deliberative democracy	emphasises the need for discourse and debate to help define the public interest.
Demagogue	a political leader whose control over the masses is based on the ability to whip up hysterical enthusiasm.
Démarche	a diplomatic move or proceeding, esp one initiating a change of policy.
Democracy	"rule by the demos" (the "demos" referring to "the people"); a system of government by all the people of a country, usually through representatives whom they elect, thought of as allowing freedom of speech, religion and political opinion.
Democratic centralism	a principle of party organization, based on a supposed balance between

freedom of discussion and strict unity of action.

Democratic socialism

the branch of socialism that supports electoral democracy and holds that the proper way for workers to control society is to win elections. Democratic socialists are also generally more moderate than communists in the goals they set, being more willing to settle for piecemeal progress rather than holding out for a complete remaking of society.

Democratization

the granting of basic freedoms and the widening of popular participation and electoral choice.

Denunciation

notification by a state of its intention to terminate a treaty (armistice, etc).

Departmental committees

British parliamentary committees to review actions of ministries or departments of administration.

Deportation

forcing sb to leave a country usually because they have no legal right to be there.

Despot

a ruler with great power, esp one who uses it in a cruel way, a tyrant.

Détente

a relaxation of international tension.

Dictator

a ruler who has total power over a country, esp one who has obtained it by force and uses it in a cruel way.

Dictatorship

a governmental arrangement in which those who hold power did not gain power by any regular constitutional

process and are not responsible in their exercise of power to any formal set of rules.

Diplomacy

1. the art and practice of conducting international relations; 2. skill and tact in handling affairs.

Diplomat

1. one engaged in diplomacy, esp accredited to a seat of government in the receiving state; 2. an adroit negotiator; tactful person.

Diplomatic Agent

head of the mission or a member of the diplomatic staff of the mission.

Diplomatic Bag

(a bag containing) diplomatic mail.

Diplomatic Corps

the collective heads of foreign diplomatic missions and their staffs in the capital of a country.

Diplomatic Immunity

the exemption from local laws and taxation accorded to a diplomatic staff abroad.

Diplomatic Pouch

see diplomatic bag.

Diplomatic Service

a branch of public service concerned with the representation of a country abroad.

Discrimination

the practice of treating sb or a particular group in society less fairly than others.

Dispatch

a written communication to the secretary of state or minister for foreign affairs from a diplomatic or consular officer abroad.

Dispute	an agreement or a disagreement between two people, groups or countries; discussion about a subject where there is disagreement.
District	the geographical boundaries of the officer for which you are running, e.g., township, ward.
Dominant-party system	a political party system in which various parties are allowed to function openly and with reasonable effectiveness but in which a single party nonetheless holds power all the time.
Doyen	a senior officer of the diplomatic corps.
Dual-branch structure	US system of two independent institutions of Congress and executive branch; separation of powers.
Due process	an expectation that certain procedures must always be followed in making a policy and that if they were not, the policy should be void.
Economic liberalism	a belief in the market as a self-regulating mechanism.
Efficient policy	policy that produces the greatest good at the least cost.
Election	the process of choosing a person or a group of people for a position, by voting.
Election Director	the person in charge of the state's elections laws. <i>See</i> also State Elections Director.

Elections office	The Board of Elections or local office that manages the electoral process.
Election statistics	Past elections results broken down by various criteria, such as by voters' political party, geographic region. They are analyzed in the planning stage to calculate how many votes it will take to win this time.
Elector	a person registered and eligible to vote.
Electoral college	an indirect electoral mechanism; a body of electors charged with responsibility for filling a party or public office.
Electoral system	a set of rules by which the outcome of an election is determined from the distribution of votes cast by the electorate.
Elitism	a belief in, or practice of, rule by, an elite or minority.
Embassy	(the residence of) a diplomatic body headed by an ambassador.
En Clair	<i>(used in telegrams, official dispatches, etc)</i> drawn up and sent in ordinary language, as opposed to a secret code or cipher.
Envoy	a diplomatic agent, esp one who ranks immediately below an ambassador.
Envoy Extraordinary	a diplomatic agent.
Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary	a diplomatic agent ranking between an ambassador and a minister and

	accredited to the head of state; head of the mission (2 nd class).
Espris de Corps	a group spirit; a sense of pride, honour, etc in common activities, as of those in the same profession.
Ethics report	<i>see</i> Financial report.
Ethnic voter	a voter who identifies himself with certain class, racial or religious group, or subculture; often used for nationalities, but broadly applied to any group.
Exequatur	1. an official recognition of a consul by the head of the receiving state; 2. a formal instrument evidencing such recognition and authorizing the consul to discharge the functions of his office.
Expenditure	any use of funds that is required by the laws of your state to be reported on the financial reporting form.
Expropriate	to take away property, etc from its owner for public use without payment.
Externality	a situation in which there are social costs or benefits beyond the individual costs and benefits involved in a transaction.
Extradition	the surrender of a fugitive foreign criminal or accused person to another state having the jurisdiction to try the charge.

Faction	a section or group within a larger formation, usually a political party; often used pejoratively.
Factionalism	proliferation of factions or bitterness of factional rivalry, always pejorative.
Fait Accompli	a thing already done, so that an apposition or argument is useless.
Federal	of a system of government in which several states write unite but keep considerable control over their own internal affairs.
Federal state	a state in which the constitution grants to regional governments a legal monopoly over certain political decisions, such as educational policy. Thus, two different governments will control the same group of people, but with regard to different political questions.
Filing petitions	<i>see</i> Nominating petitions.
Filing deadline	the date on which a petition, finance report, or other document is required by the state's election law to be filed.
Finance chairman	the campaign volunteer who is in charge of maintaining records of all income and expenditures and is responsible for filing all financial reports.
Financial report	a statement of income and expenses that is required by law to be reported. It may be required of the candidate, the

campaign committee, or both. Many states require at least two filings, one before the election and one after.

Floor

1. the room in which all members of a legislature meet; 2. a stage in legislative consideration.

Force Majeure

an unforeseeable course of events excusing from the fulfillment of a contract.

Forum

a place where people can exchange opinions and ideas on a particular issue.

Fraktion

legislative party.

Frontbenchers

legislators who are party leaders; originates in seating arrangements of British Parliament; *see* backbenchers.

Full Powers

a special written authorization from the head of state issued to a negotiator at a congress or conference, entitling him to conduct negotiations or conclude and sign a treaty on the part of the state concerned.

General election

the election held to decide who will hold that office. The general election is usually held in November. *See also* Primary election.

Globalization

emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur, and decisions are made at a great distance from us.

Good Office	mediatory services by a third party intended to promote agreement or arbitration between the two parties.
Government	any mechanism through which ordered rule is maintained, its central features being the ability to make collective decisions and the capacity to enforce them.
Government bill	legislative proposal by government; contrasted with private member bill in Westminster systems.
Governmental gridlock	paralysis resulting from institutional rivalry within government or the attempt to respond to conflicting public demands.
Habeas corpus	the right not to be held indefinitely by the police without being formally charged with a crime.
Hegemony	domination of one element of a system over others.
Higher civil service	specialized and executive members of the public administration, corresponding to professionals and managers in the private sector.
High-profile race	an election contest that voters are interested in and want to hear about. <i>See also</i> Low-profile race.
Ideology	a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for organised political action, whether this is intended to

preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power relationships.

Immune

protected or free from sth.

Incentive compatibility

a situation in which those who make decisions on behalf of society benefit personally when their decisions benefit society. When incentive compatibility is present, society does not need to depend on nobility of character in its officials; it can depend on a more reliable force – their concern for their own self-interest.

Incumbents

members of legislature, especially those running for reelection.

Independent candidate

a candidate who is nominated by a party and may also run in the general election.

Independent voter

a voter who does not identify with a political party and may not vote in primary elections.

Indoctrination

to cause sb to have a particular set of beliefs, esp by giving them no opportunity to consider other points of view.

Initiative

a type of referendum through which the public is able to raise legislative proposals.

Intergovernmentalism

any form of interaction between states which takes place on the basis of sovereign independence.

Interest group	an organized group of citizens one of whose goals is to ensure that the state follows certain policies.
International law	a system of rules that are binding on states, and thus define the relationships between states.
Internuncio	a papal representative ranking below a nuncio.
Issue	an important topic that people are discussing or arguing about.
Labour union	an organization of workers, usually in a particular industry, that exists to protect their interests, improve conditions of work, etc.
Laissez-faire	the policy of allowing private businesses to develop without government control.
Laisser-Passer	a document allowing the holder to pass, permit.
Legal systems	general, organized sets of legal principles.
Legate	an envoy or minister, esp one officially representing the Pope.
Legation	a legate and his staff collectively, representing their government (or the Pope) in a foreign country and ranking just below an embassy.
Legitimacy	a belief on the part of large numbers of people in a state that the existing governmental structure and/or the

particular persons in office should appropriately wield authority.

Letters of Credence

see credentials.

Letters of Recall

a formal paper from the head of one state to the head of another recalling an ambassador, minister, or other diplomatic agent.

Liberalisation

shifts towards private enterprise and the market.

Liberalism

an ideology positing that the most important goal of politics is to help individuals develop their capacities to the fullest. To this end, people should be regulated and aided by governments as little as possible, so that they will learn from the experience of being responsible for their own decisions. Liberalism may be summarized by the slogan, "That government is best which governs least."

Liberal democracy

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

Lobby

a group of people who try to influence politicians on a particular issue.

Lobbyist

person, often paid professional, who seeks legislative and administrative action on behalf of themselves or clients; *see* interest group.

Low-profile race

a race that does not generate much public interest or where the voters are

not much concerned about the office, e.g., coroner. *See also* High-profile race.

Majoritarianism

a theory or practice in which priority is accorded to the will of the majority.

Mandate

the authority to do sth, given to government or other organization by the people who vote for it in an election.

Manifesto

a document outlining the policies or programme a party proposes to pursue if elected to power.

Matthew effect

tendency of all election systems to provide extra share of seats to parties with the most votes.

Mediate

to try to end a disagreement between two or more people or groups by talking to them and trying to find things that everyone can agree on.

Mémoire

see aide-mémoire.

Meta-ideology

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

Militant

using, or willing to use, force or strong pressure to achieve your aims, especially to achieve social and political change.

Minister-Designate

a diplomatic agent who has been appointed to office, but has not presented his credentials.

Minister Plenipotentiary	a nonaccredited diplomatic agent representing his government.
Minister Resident	a diplomatic agent.
Mission	a general term for a commission, delegation, embassy, or legation.
Modus Vivendi	an interim agreement in a dispute pending a final settlement.
Multimember district	geographic area from which several members of parliament are elected; e.g., Sweden, Spain; <i>see</i> single-member district.
Multiparty system	a democratic system in which there are more than two major parties.
Name-ballot name	the name of the candidate as it appears on the ballot. Check your local laws about nicknames, maiden names, legal name changes, etc.
Name game	where the candidate relies on a popular, well-known political name as part of his strategy.
Name identification	the recognition of the candidate's name and association of the name with an idea by the voter.
Nanny state	a state with extensive social responsibilities; the term implies that welfare programmes are unwarranted and demeaning to the individual.
Nationalism	passionate identification with a state on the part of its citizens.

Natural rights	God-given rights that are fundamental to human beings and are therefore inalienable (they cannot be taken away).
Ne Varietur	not subject to change.
Nominating petitions	in order to get on the ballot, a candidate must obtain the signatures of a certain number of registered voters on a petition. These petitions are obtained at the elections office. Strict compliance with the regulations is required for all nominating petitions.
Nonpartisan	not related to any party. In nonpartisan elections, the candidate's party affiliation does not appear on the ballot.
Note Verbale (Verbal Note)	a third-person note (<i>the form of diplomatic communications most frequently used</i>).
Nuncio	a papal permanent diplomatic representative in another country.
Off-year election	an election, usually local, held in a year when there are no other high-profile elections, such as those for governor, senator, or president.
Old hand	a person with a lot of experience in elections; one who knows the ropes.
Ombudsman	a government official whose primary duty is to seek out citizens' complaints of abuse by public administrators and to negotiate changes in the offending practices.

One-party system	a political system in which only a single political party is allowed to be active.
Open primary	a primary election to nominate the party's candidates for the general election where members of the other party and independents are permitted to vote. <i>See also</i> Crossover voting.
Opposition parties	parties in Parliament but not in government.
Override	(of veto) legislative reconsideration of bill after executive veto.
Pact	in general, agreement; specifically, with regard to democratization, agreement between the leaders of the new democracy and supporters of the older authoritarian system that soften the change for the latter and help them to accept the democracy.
Parliamentary democracy	a form of democratic rule that operates through a popularly elected assembly, which establishes an indirect link between government and the governed.
Parliamentary government	a democracy in which the executive and legislative functions are merged on one institution, the parliament. The parliament is the state's supreme legislature, but it also appoints a committee (the cabinet) to serve as the political executive for the state.
Parliamentary system	government is selected by, and can be dismissed by, Parliament; British

origin; contrasted with dual-branch structure.

Part petition

a single sheet nominating petition that is combined with other part petition to make up the nominating petition.

Partisan

relating to a political party. In partisan elections the candidate's party affiliation appears on the ballot.

Party discipline

requirement, and practice of, that legislative members vote with their parties.

Party list

election ballots on which each party names its candidates in preferred order; the voter selects one party list.

Party list system

electors vote for parties, not for candidates; parties are allocated seats in direct proportion to the votes they gain in the elections; a threshold may be imposed (~ 5 per cent) to exclude small possibly extremist parties from representation.

Peak associations

interest groups that are federations of many other and more specific groups; e.g., U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Petition

a written document signed by large number of people that asks sb in a position of authority to change sth.

Persona Non Grata

one (esp a diplomat) who is not acceptable.

Plebiscitary democracy

a form of democratic rule that operates through an unmediated link between the

rulers and the ruled, established by plebiscites (or referendums).

Plenipotentiary

a diplomatic agent invested with full powers.

Pluralism

a system of government and interest groups in which all interests organize and compete freely, with no one group dominating, and in which the government is open to pressure from the groups so that policy is largely the outcome of groups' competing pressures.

Pluralistic democracy

sometimes used interchangeably with liberal democracy to indicate a democratic system based on electoral competition between a number of political parties.

Plurality

the number of votes given to one person, political party, etc. when this number is less than 50 per cent but more than any other single person, etc receives.

Plurality election

election system in which a parliamentary seat is allocated to the one candidate with the most votes in a district; Britain, Canada, the United States are examples; *see* proportional representation.

Policy

a selected, planned line of conduct in the light of which individual decisions are made and coordination achieved.

**A policy network
(or policy community)**

a systematic set of relationships between political actors who share a common interest or general orientation in a particular area.

**Political Action Committee/
PAC**

a political interest group, particularly one whose function is to collect money from its members to contribute to sympathetic candidates.

Political committee

generally speaking, a committee organized to achieve some political result. Each state has laws defining political committees and regulating their activities. Always check your local laws on this.

Political map

a map of the electoral district with the lines for each electoral precinct drawn in.

Political culture

people's "pattern of orientations" to political objects such as parties, government, the constitution, expressed in beliefs, symbols and values.

Political equality

an equal distribution of political power and influence (the core principle of democracy).

Political party

a group of officials or would-be officials who are linked with a sizable group of citizens into an organization; a chief object of this organization is to ensure that its officials attain power or are maintained in power.

Political science	the academic field that takes as its sole and general task the analysis of politics, especially the politics of the state.
Political socialisation	the process through which individuals acquire political beliefs and values, and by which these are transmitted from generation to generation.
Political system	a network of relationships through which government generates “outputs” (policies) in response to “inputs” (demands or support) from the general public.
Politics	the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live.
Polity	a society organised through the exercise of political authority; for Aristotle, the best rule by the many in the interests of all.
Poll	1. the process of questioning people who are representative of a larger group in order to get information about the general opinion; 2. the process of voting at an election; the process of counting the votes.
Polling place	the place where people vote.
Pollster	a person who makes or asks the questions in an opinion poll.
Polyarchy	democracy that operates through institutions (rule by many) which force rulers to take account of interests and wishes of the electorate; refers to the

institutions and political processes of modern representative democracy.

Popular

the principle that there is no higher authority than the will of the sovereignty people (the basis of the classical concept of democracy).

Populace

all the ordinary people of a particular country or area.

Pourparler

an informal discussion preliminary to the negotiations.

Power

the ability to achieve a desired outcome; *in politics* – the ability to influence the behaviour of others in a manner not of their choosing.

Pragmatism

a theory or practice that places primary emphasis on practical circumstances and goals.

Precinct

the smallest electoral area. Each precinct generally has one polling place.

Precinct by precinct

the winning strategy of having a worker in each precinct and getting a targeted number of votes out of each precinct.

**Precinct committeeman/
committeewoman**

the party member who represents his or her precinct in party affairs; often the volunteer in the precinct-by-precinct strategy.

Precinct map

a map of the precinct, used to assist in the precinct-by-precinct strategy.

Prerogative	a right or privilege belonging to a particular person or group because of their importance or social position.
Presidential government	a democratic government in which the legislature and executive exist independently and are elected independently of each other. Generally the president takes a leading role in forming policy but must have the consent of the legislature if that policy is to be enacted. A presidential system divides power, whereas a parliamentary system unifies it.
Primary elections	an election to select the party's nominees for the general election, usually held in the spring, but always some time before the general election. <i>See also</i> General election.
Private member bill	legislative proposal introduced by a legislator; in Westminster systems, contrasted with government bill.
Privatization	selling to the public or by some other means transforming to private ownership economic enterprises that were previously owned and managed by the state.
Procés-Verbal	1. a formal record of the proceedings of a conference or congress; 2. a record of certain understandings reached between the parties; 3. an administrative agreement of a purely minor character.
Pro-Memoria	<i>see</i> aide-mémoire.

Propaganda	information disseminated in a deliberate attempt to shape opinions and possibly stimulate political action; communication as manipulation.
Proponent	a person who supports an idea or course of action.
Proportional	the principle that parties should be represented in Parliament in direct proportion to their overall electoral strength, with their percentage of seats equaling their percentage of votes.
Proportional representation	an electoral system in which parties receive a number of seats in electoral system, or PR - the legislature roughly proportional to the number of votes that were cast for them among the electorate.
Protectionalism	import restrictions such as quotas and tariffs, designed to protect domestic producers.
Protocol	1. an instrument subsidiary to a convention; 2. an international compact less formal than a treaty or convention; 3. a record of certain understandings arrived at, more often called Procès-verbal; 4. a code of etiquette and precedence to be observed in the ceremonies of a state.
Public administration	the set of people who are not involved directly in the making of major political decisions but who construct and implement the policies that carry out those decisions. Examples are police

	officers, public health nurses, IRS agents, public university presidents.
Public interest	consists of the general or collective interests of a community, i.e. which is “good” for society as a whole.
Public policy	formal or stated decision of government bodies.
Question time	designated time for legislators orally to question government ministers; Westminster origin.
Radical democracy	favours decentralisation and participation, the widest possible dispersal of political power.
Radicalism	making decisions in bold sweeps and changing policies rapidly, so as not to miss opportunities that might disappear if one moved slowly.
Raison D’Etat	a diplomatic and political theory under which the interests of the State take precedence over all private morality.
Raison D’Être	anything that accounts for, justifies or originally caused a thing’s existence.
Rapporteur	one who prepares an account of the proceedings of a committee for a higher body.
Rapprochement	the re-establishment or recommencement of harmonious relations, esp between states.
Ratification	approval of a treaty (convention, etc) by a formal confirmation, signature, etc.

Rational choice	an approach to politics based on the assumption that individuals are rationally self-interested actors.
Rationalism	the belief that the world can be understood and explained through the exercise of human reason, based on assumption about its rational structure.
Realm	a country ruled by a king or queen.
Rebellious	unwilling to obey rules; opposed to the government of a country.
Recall	a process whereby the electorate call unsatisfactory public officials to account and ultimately remove them.
Reciprocal	involving two people or groups who agree to help each other or behave in the same way to each other.
Réclame	the full name, title and address of the addressee placed either at the top or bottom of the first page of the communication depending upon its nature.
Recruit	to find new people to join a company, an organization, the armed forces, etc.
Referendum	an occasion when all the people of the country can vote on an important issue.
Regional integration	a partial merging of the political and economic structures of several states in the same region of the world. The most successful attempt at regional integration to date has been the formation of the European Community.

Registered voter	a person listed on the books of the elections office as being eligible to vote.
Réglements Internationaux	“international instruments”, the rules agreed upon as the result of conferences or the deliberations of international organizations called together for the purpose of laying down some detailed procedure or requirements.
Regulation	direct laying down of rules by the government as to how people may conduct their affairs. This is distinguished from <i>indirect</i> governmental direction of choices, as when a government taxes liquor heavily to discourage its use but does not actually make its use illegal. The latter would constitute regulation.
Relativism	a position that denies the existence of objective or “absolute” standards.
Representative bureaucracy	the idea that members of the public administration should be similar to the groups they serve in such characteristics as class, race, and gender, so that they will be able to serve them better.
Repression	the act of using force to control a group of people and restrict their freedom.
Republicanism	the principle that political authority stems ultimately from the consent of the people; the rejection of monarchial and dynastic principles.

Readings	formal stages of procedure on the floor.
Roll call	legislative voting in which members vote by name. Termed "division" in Britain.
Ruling class	a Marxist term denoting a class that dominates other classes and society at large by virtue of its ownership of productive wealth.
Sanction	an official order that limits trade, contact, etc with a particular country, in order to make it do sth such as obeying international law; permission or approval for an action or a change.
Scheduler	Campaign volunteer charged with maintaining the campaign calendar and scheduling all events.
Scheduling form	This is the form used by the scheduler to organize the scheduling.
Second ballot system	if no candidate gains a first-ballot majority, a second run-off ballot is held between the leading two candidates.
Second reading	formal debate and voting prior to sending bill to committee in Westminster systems.
Select committees	temporary and special-purpose committees; contrasted with standing committees; meaning differs between British and American practice.
Separation of powers	independence of Congress and president from each other; dual-branch structure; American use; contrasted with parliamentary system.

Shadow cabinet	leaders of opposition party who monitor policies and actions by government ministers; British.
Signatory	a party or state that has signed a treaty (convention, etc).
Simple plurality system	the winning candidate needs only, to achieve a plurality of votes.
Single-member district	geographic area from which one member of parliament is elected; e.g., Britain, Canada, the United States; <i>see</i> multimember district.
Sovereignty	the legal capacity of a geographic unit to maintain ultimate responsibility for the conduct of its own affairs.
Speaker	presiding officer of the U.S. House of Representatives and of the House of Commons in Westminster systems.
Special election	an election held not at the regularly scheduled time, usu for one special purpose, e.g., a tax levy, or to fill a vacancy in office.
Standing committees	permanent committees; contrasted with select committees.
State Elections Director	the chief operation officer of the state's electoral system, usu the one charged with providing information about the regulations, laws, and requirements for candidates. Often the judge in election disputes.
Status Quo	the existing state of affairs.

Stalemate	a situation in a dispute or competition in which neither side is able to win or make any progress.
Statute	a law that is passed by a parliament, council, etc and formally written down.
Strive	to try very hard, to achieve sth.
Subsidiarity	devolution of decision-making from the centre to lower levels. In federal states it implies decentralisation. In the EU – a commitment to restrict its competence to actions that “cannot be sufficiently achieved by the member-states”.
Superpower	a state with preponderant nuclear military capacity and global territorial influence; a super power is more than a great power.
Suppress	to put an end, often by force, to a group or an activity that is believed to threaten authority.
Swing voters/ precincts	a term used in analyzing election statistics to describe persons and areas where the voters are not tied to either party, but who can be reached by an effective campaign.
Target number	the winning number, the specific number of votes the candidate estimates is necessary to win in that area. The number of votes the candidate will try to get in that area.
Three line whip	whip notice with name of bill underlined three times; indicates vote of

	highest importance to party leaders; British. <i>See</i> whip notice.
Three-way race	a race with more than two candidates, usually one with a Republican, a Democrat, and an Independent. Sometimes it is used to designate a race where all candidates run at large, and the top three vote-getters are elected.
Threshold	minimum percentage of vote required for party to gain seats in parliament; e.g., 5 percent in Germany, 4 percent in Sweden.
Traitement	a title of address, i.e. the courtesy title given to the addressee.
Turnout/ voter	proportion of eligible electorate that votes in any one election.
Turnover	new legislative members in proportion to full membership.
Two-party system	a democratic system in which two parties regularly receive 90 percent or more of votes cast, but in which it is rare for either of them very often to receive more than 55 or 60 percent of votes. These two parties will replace each other in office fairly frequently.
Totalitarian	in which there is only one political party that has complete power and control over people.
Transparent	about which there can be no doubt or mistake, easily understood.

Treaty	a formal agreement between two or more countries.
Tyranny	unfair or cruel use of power or authority.
Ultimatum	a final proposal or statement of terms, the rejection of which by the other party (or parties) may lead to rupture of diplomatic relations or state of war.
Unicameral/ism	parliaments with one chamber; contrasted with bicameralism; Sweden and Hungary are examples.
Unitary	consisting of a number of areas or groups that are joint together and are controlled by one government or group.
Unitary state	a state in which no other governmental body but the central government has any areas of policy that are exclusively under control. In a unitary state, local and regional governments may potentially be overruled by the central government in any political decision they make.
Uphold	to agree that a previous decision was correct or that a request is reasonable.
Valid	that is legally or officially acceptable; that is accepted by the system.
Veto	the right to stop a law from being passed or a decision from being taken.
Vice-Consul	a diplomatic officer next in rank to, or qualified to act in place of, a consul.

Violate	to go against or refuse to obey a law, an agreement, etc.
Vis-A-Vis	in a position facing one another, opposite to; in relation to.
Volunteer	a campaign worker; one who helps out doing the many things that have to be done in any campaign.
Volunteer card	form used to organize campaign volunteers and to schedule their duties.
Volunteer coordinator	campaign volunteer in charge of all other volunteers and who coordinates their efforts.
Voter fatigue	the tendency of voters, even the ones who go to the polls, not to vote in every race on the ballot. Voter fatigue is greatest in low-profile races.
Voter lists	a list of all persons registered to vote in an area. Voter lists are usually maintained by precinct, and are public records available to candidates for electioneering purposes.
Weimar Republic	German democratic political system in the 1920s between World War I and the rise of Adolf Hitler.
Welfare	social security.
Welfare state	a state in which the government seeks, by a complex set of policies, to ensure that its citizens will not suffer economic insecurity or grievous want. Such policies may include guaranteed pensions, public provision of health

care, public attempts to prevent unemployment, public help in the care of children, and so on. Most industrialized states have established welfare states in the period since World War II.

Westminster system

parliaments based upon the British Parliament.

Whip

party official in charge of attendance and voting by party members in legislature.

Whip notice

memo to legislative party members from party whip about coming schedule (usually one week in advance) of legislation on floor.

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Գոհար Սյունիանի Մելիք-Բախշյան
Նարայի Տայկի Ավագյան
Նահրա Վասյայի Մնացականյան
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