

YEREVAN STATE UNIVERSITY

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**ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC
PURPOSES:**

**BASIC CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

Textbook

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M. Mkrtchyan, A. Martirosyan, N. Melkonyan, A. Babayan.- Yerevan. YSU,
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The textbook “Basic Concepts in International Relations” is aimed at developing and enriching the verbal and linguistic skills of learners in both oral and written speech, at deepening the professional knowledge and relevant vocabulary related to the fields of politics, in particular, international relations and diplomacy, based on the text material, and carefully elaborated exercises.

The textbook is intended for students of international relations, political science and social science-oriented faculties of universities, as well as professionals working in the sphere of international relations.

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Մարինե Մկրտչյան, Արմենուհի Մարտիրոսյան
Նունե Մելքոնյան, Ամալյա Բաբայան

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ԵՊՀ գիտական խորհուրդը:*

Ա 579 Անգլերենը հատուկ նպատակների համար: Հիմնարար հասկացություններ միջազգային հարաբերություններում / Մ. Մկրտչյան, Ա. Մարտիրոսյան, Ն. Մելքոնյան, Ա. Բաբայան.- Եր.: ԵՊՀ, 2024.- 314 էջ:

Դասագրքի նպատակն է զարգացնել և հարստացնել սովորողների բանավոր և լեզվական հմտությունները թե՛ բանավոր և թե՛ գրավոր խոսքում, խորացնել մասնագիտական գիտելիքներն ու համապատասխան բառապաշարը՝ կապված քաղաքականության, մասնավորապես, միջազգային հարաբերությունների և դիվանագիտության ոլորտների հետ: Դասագիրքը կազմված է տեքստային նյութի և մանրակրկիտ մշակված վարժությունների հիման վրա:

Դասագիրքը նախատեսված է բուհերի միջազգային հարաբերությունների, քաղաքագիտության և հասարակագիտական ուղղվածություն ունեցող ֆակուլտետների ուսանողների, ինչպես նաև միջազգային հարաբերությունների ոլորտում աշխատող մասնագետների համար:

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PREFACE

The textbook “Basic Concepts in International Relations” is intended for students of the faculty of international relations of universities. It can also be successfully used in political science and social science-oriented faculties, by learners of English for Specific Purposes, as well as by professionals working in the spheres of international relations and diplomacy. The content of the textbook is determined by the professional orientation of international studies and is an important link in the process of target learning and acquisition. The main goal of the textbook is to develop and enrich the verbal and linguistic skills of students in both oral and written speech, to deepen the professional knowledge and relevant vocabulary related to the fields of politics, in particular, international relations and diplomacy, based on the text material, carefully elaborated exercises.

The textbook comprises 12 chapters, each of which is dedicated to a specific professional topic and contains original text material, followed by assignments that test the understanding of the material and reinforce the vocabulary. Special attention is paid to the work with glossary. For example, students are asked to translate phrases from English into Armenian and vice versa, find synonyms and antonyms of words from the main material of the given chapter. To ensure fluent speech and to facilitate easy shift from one language into another, students are to translate and summarize professional texts in both directions. To develop students' oral and written skills, each chapter provides relevant topics for discussion. Besides, students are offered several quotes out of which they are to choose one and prepare a speech on it. These topics enable students to apply the already acquired professional vocabulary and knowledge in practice. Both impromptu and prepared in advance speeches enhance the obtained skills and knowledge making them more active. At the end of each chapter additional reading materials are provided so that students can gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the given topic and engage in more discussions.

ՆԱԽԱԲԱՆ

“Basic Concepts in International Relations” դասագիրքը նախատեսված է բուհերի միջազգային հարաբերությունների ֆակուլտետների ուսանողների համար: Այն կարող է հաջողությամբ օգտագործվել նաև քաղաքագիտական և հասարակագիտական ուղղվածություն ունեցող ֆակուլտետներում, ինչպես նաև մասնագիտական անգլերեն սովորողների կողմից: Դասագրքի բովանդակությունը պայմանավորված է միջազգայնագետ ուսանողների մասնագիտական ուղղվածությամբ և կարևոր օղակ է թիրախային ուսուցման ու յուրացման գործընթացում: Դասագրքի հիմնական նպատակներն են զարգացնել և հարստացնել ուսանողների խոսքային ու լեզվական հմտությունները ինչպես բանավոր, այնպես էլ գրավոր խոսքում, խորացնել քաղաքականության, մասնավորապես՝ միջազգային հարաբերությունների և դիվանագիտության ոլորտներին առնչվող մասնագիտական գիտելիքները և համապատասխան բառապաշարը տեքստային նյութի, մանրամասն մշակված վարժությունների հիման վրա:

Դասագիրքը բաղկացած է 12 գլուխներից, որոնցից յուրաքանչյուրը նվիրված է որևէ մասնագիտական թեմայի և պարունակում է բնագիր տեքստային նյութ, որին հաջորդում են նյութի ընկալումը ստուգող և բառապաշարն ամրապնդող առաջադրանքներ: Օրինակ՝ ուսանողներին առաջարկվում է թարգմանել արտահայտություններ անգլերենից հայերեն և հակառակը, գտնել բառերի հոմանիշներն ու հականիշները, թարգմանել և համառոտ ներկայացնել մասնագիտական տեքստեր: Ուսանողների բանավոր և գրավոր խոսքի զարգացման նպատակով յուրաքանչյուր գլխում տրված են ելույթ պատրաստելու և քննարկման թեմաներ: Այդ թեմաները հնարավորություն են տալիս ուսանողներին կիրառելու արդեն իսկ ձեռք բերված մասնագիտական բառապաշարը և գիտելիքները, ինչին ավելի է նպաստում ինչպես նախապես պատրաստած, այնպես էլ հանպատրաստից խոսքը: Յուրաքանչյուր գլխի վերջում ուսանողներին առաջարկվում են լրացուցիչ ընթերցանության համար նախատեսված նյութեր, որոնք օգնում են առավել խորը և համակողմանի ընկալելու տվյալ գլխի թեման ու ներգրավվել նոր քննարկումների մեջ:

UNIT 1

THE CONCEPT OF DIPLOMACY

Read the text and speak on:

- the concept of interdependence of states
- the substance of diplomacy
- the essential condition of diplomacy
- requirements for an effective multilateral diplomatic dialogue
- diplomacy in different societies

States are committed to diplomacy by the nature of the world in which they exist. In times and places where there are several separate states and their actions affect one another, they cannot function in a vacuum of isolation, with each community considering only how to manage its internal affairs. Each state is obliged, by the very desire to control its own destiny as far as possible, to take account of the neighbours who impinge on its interests and those of its citizens, whatever it considers those interests to be. In more formal terms, members of a group of independent states are obliged to manage the consequences of the fact that they enjoy their independences not absolutely and in isolation but in a setting of interdependence. When a group of states forms a closely-knit system, the involvement of many self-willed political actors imposes upon each state a continuous awareness that the others have interests and purposes distinct from its own, and that the things other states do or may do limit and partly determine its own policies. Jean-Jacques Rousseau expressed this succinctly in the late eighteenth century. ‘The body politic,’ as he called the state, ‘is forced to look outside itself in order to know itself; it depends on its whole environment and has to take an interest in everything that happens.’ So today every state in our global system depends not merely on itself but on its whole worldwide environment.

States which are aware that their domestic policies are affected by ‘everything that happens’ outside, are not content merely to observe one another at a distance. They feel the need to enter into a dialogue with one another. This dialogue between independent states – the machinery by which their governments conduct it, and the networks of promises, contracts, institutions and codes of conduct which develop out of it – is the substance of diplomacy.

The essential condition of diplomacy is thus plurality. It arises out of the coexistence of a multitude of independent states in an inter-dependent world. Like household arrangements, diplomacy is a response to the recognition by several decision-making beings that the performance of each one is a matter of permanent

consequence to some or all the others. To put it more formally, the purpose of diplomacy was initially, and still is, to reconcile the assertion of political will by independent entities with what Edmund Burke called ‘the empire of circumstances’ around them.

Historically, an effective multilateral diplomatic dialogue within a states system has required more than the chance coexistence of a plurality of independent states with entangled interests. In the past, sustained dialogues developed and flourished between groups of states in a circumscribed geographical area and with a history of close contacts. Such groups of states formed a single magnetic field of political forces. Their identity was determined by membership of, or close contact with, a common civilization. Their diplomatic dialogue was conducted, and the pursuit of their separate interests was mediated, in terms of the concepts of law, honour, morality and prudence which prevailed in that civilization. Even war between them was not indiscriminate violence: it was regulated by the rules of the system. In war, such groups of states recognized not only ‘laws of war’ which regulated the right of a state to resort to force and how war might be waged, but, beyond that, certain codes of conduct towards enemies and neutrals, and the right of other member states, including enemies, to some degree of independence. If these groups of states expanded outside their original geographical area, they inevitably took their assumptions, their laws and codes of conduct with them.

For example, in the European society of states, diplomacy emerged as an organizing institution, bearing its distinctive styles and manners and its own networks of procedures, rules, treaties and other commitments. The European system, so organized, was able to exercise influence and restraint over the assertiveness of its members because they were bound from the beginning by much more than a mere political arrangement. The states of Europe had in common the strong traditions of medieval Latin Christendom, and the inherited elements of unity were never entirely subordinated to the newer movements of fragmentation and diversity. Other systems of states, such as the Hellenic, early Chinese and Indian, also developed highly sophisticated diplomacy. But all of these were after many centuries finally absorbed into a conquering empire like Rome or China without expanding to encompass other comparable states which remained outside their civilization. Western Europe was an exception. And it is generally recognized that the sophisticated techniques and heightened awareness of how the states system operated, which European diplomacy required from its independent member states, contributed not a little to the remarkable phenomenon, contrary to the experience of other states systems, that no single state proved to be so powerful that it could for any length of time absorb or even dominate all the others. If there was not always a strict multiple balance of power between the states of Europe, for

most of the period between about 1500 when the system began to operate and the middle of the present century when it became effectively worldwide, there was a consciously maintained balance or equipoise between the great powers sufficient to prevent the consolidation of power in the hands of a single hegemonic authority. These are the circumstances in which diplomacy is most necessary and in which it flourishes best. European diplomacy could therefore develop to the point where it could expand to organize a worldwide system.

Only in this century has a states system become for the first time truly global, encompassing a variety of civilizations and beliefs. What are the consequences of this expansion for the rules and practices of diplomacy? The European diplomacy which our global system inherited developed as a dialogue between members of a system which (as always in the past) had a cultural and historical identity strong enough to ensure that its members recognized certain rules. It is necessary to look at the historical origins and the cultural context of any given diplomatic practice in order to understand it. Therefore, we must keep in mind the European origins of present-day diplomacy if we are to see where it has become inadequate and how it can successfully be adapted and, in some respects, wholly transformed to meet the requirements of its global expansion and of radical change¹.

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

a vacuum of isolation _____
to impinge on _____
to manage the consequences _____
to impose a continuous awareness _____
networks of promises _____
entangled interests _____
sustained dialogues _____
circumscribed geographical area _____
to take assumptions _____
movements of fragmentation and diversity _____
to encompass other comparable states _____
equipoise between the great powers _____

¹ Watson, A. *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States*. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p. 20.

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

տնօրինել սեփական ճակատագիրը _____
փոխկախվածության պայմաններում/միջավայրում _____
ձևավորել սերտորեն միահյուսված համակարգ _____
քմահաճ/համառ քաղաքական գործիչ _____
հետևել միմյանց հեռվից _____
վարվելակերպի կանոններ _____
մշտական կարևորության խնդիր/հարց _____
ձևակերպել ավելի հստակ/ճշգրիտ _____
հավասարակշռել քաղաքական հավակնությունները _____
պատահական/չնախատեսված գոյակցություն _____
չկանխամտածված բռնություն _____
դիմել ուժի կիրառմանը _____
ընթացակարգերի ամբողջություն/համակարգ _____
ինքնավստահության զսպում _____
քաղաքական կարգավորում/մեխանիզմ _____
բարդ մեթոդներ և բարձր իրազեկվածություն _____
գիտակցաբար պահպանվող հավասարակշռություն _____
որոշ առումներով _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Ոչ մի երկիր չի կարող գործել մեկուսացման վակուումի մեջ, քանզի իր անկախությունն իրականացնելու համար այն կախված է ողջ աշխարհում տիրող միջավայրից:

2. Ելնելով աշխարհի բնույթից՝ պետությունները գոյություն ունեն փոխկապակցվածության պայմաններում՝ կազմելով միմյանցով փոխապամանավորված շահերի սերտորեն միահյուսված համակարգ:

3. Ժամանակի ընթացքում Արևմուտքում և Հեռավոր Արևելքում ձևավորվել է շատ զարգացած դիվանագիտություն՝ պահպանելու քաղաքական պայմանավորվածություններով միմյանց կապակցված պետությունների միջև խստորեն սահմանված բազմակողմ ուժային հավասարակշռություն:

4. Հենց միայն սեփական ճակատագիրն ինքնուրույն տնօրինելու ձգտումը պետություններին ստիպում է միմյանց հետ երկխոսության մեջ մտնել, որպեսզի ընդհանուր քաղաքակրթության շրջանակներում կարողանան հետամուտ լինել իրենց առանձին շահերին:

5. Հաստատությունների, պայմանագրերի, հանձնառությունների, օրենքների և վարքի նորմերի, կանոնների ու գործառնական ընթացակարգերի հատուկ համակարգերը, որ կիրառվում են դիվանագիտության մեջ, մեծացնում են գլոբալ փոխկապակցվածության և փոխադարձ պայմանավորվածության գիտակցումը և պետություններին օգնում են իրենց ներքին կարգավորումները հարմարեցնելու ընդհանուրի կողմից ճանաչվածներին:

6. Հանրահայտ ճշմարտություն է, որ հարևան երկրները փորձում են ոտնձգություններ կատարել նվազ հզոր պետությունների շահերի նկատմամբ և նույնիսկ կլանել կամ գերիշխել դրանց: Մակայն դիվանագիտական հանրությունը, գործադրելով իր ազդեցությունը, ձգտում է կասեցնել հախտոն բռնությունը և համակարգի կանոնակարգված կանոնների միջոցով արգելել պետությանը դիմելու ուժի:

7. Պետք է հիշել, որ, իր անդամների համառ հավակնությունների նկատմամբ զսպում կիրառելով, դիվանագիտական համակարգը պայմաններ է ստեղծում դրանց լավագույնս բարգավաճման և զարգացման համար՝ մինչև այն աստիճան, երբ դրանք կարող են ընդլայնվել:

*by the nature of the world
to enter into dialogue
to function in a vacuum of isolation*

*to exercise restraint
to impinge on the interests
to strive
codes of conduct
a closely-knit system
the very desire
special networks
to adapt
whole worldwide environment*

*to be bound by political arrangement
within the framework
global interconnection and
interdependence
a setting of interdependence
the assertiveness of members
to control one's own destiny
to absorb
to enjoy independence
common civilization
to heighten the awareness
entangled interests
to ban the right*

to avert indiscriminate violence
to resort to force
household arrangements
to develop to the point
to maintain strict multiple balance of
power

in pursuit of separate interests
a highly sophisticated diplomacy
to create circumstances
commitments
to urge

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Ա.

Գիտնական – Տարածված տեսակետ կա, որ բազմակարծությունն առաջանում է բազմաթիվ անկախ պետությունների համակեցությունից:

Դիվանագետ – Այո, այն ստեղծում է նաև բարդ ու խճճված հարաբերությունների անհավանական մի ցանց:

Բ.

Գիտաժողովի մասնակից – Զեկուցման վերնագիրն էր՝ «Ինչպես վարել երկրի ներքին գործերը», բայց զեկուցողը խոսում էր միայն պատերազմ սանձազերծելու ձևերի և միջոցների մասին:

Խոսակից – Մեղմ ասած՝ օրենքի, պատվի, բարոյականության և խոհեմության գաղափարների բացակայությունը բնորոշ է նրա քաղաքական աշխարհմտածողությանը:

Գ.

Դասախոս – Ընդունված կարծիք կա, որ իշխանության կենտրոնացումը մեկ հեգեմոն իշխանության ձեռքում ի վերջո հանգեցնում է բազմազանության և տրոհման շարժումների:

Ընդդիմախոս – Ես համաձայն չեմ ձեր այն կարծիքի հետ, որ իշխանության կենտրոնացումը կարճ կյանք ունի: Դուք չեք կարող դա որպես անհերքելի փաստ ընդունել: Պատմությունը վկայում է բազմաթիվ կայսրությունների երկարակեցության մասին, որոնց օրոք ժողովուրդները հաջողությամբ զարգանում և ծաղկում էին: Դիտարկենք, օրինակ, Հռոմեական կայսրությունը:

Դասախոս – Ինչ-որ առումով դուք ճիշտ եք: Բայց գննեք պատմության ակունքները: Հասարակության մեջ թե՛ ներսից, թե՛ դրսից եկող արմատական փոփոխություններն անխուսափելի են:

Ընդդիմախոս – Հավանաբար այդպես էլ կա: Ամեն ինչ ի վերջո փոփոխվում է:

Դ.

Զեկուցող – Թույլ տվեք շարունակել այստեղից: Ուրեմն, իրենց գլոբալ ընդլայնման պահանջները բավարարելու համար դիվանագիտական համայնքի անդամ երկրները պետք է ճանաչեն որոշակի կանոններ, որոնցով նրանք կարող են գործել...

Ունկնդիր – Օհ, ո՛չ: Օր օրի միևնույն կամ նման գաղափարների մասին լսելը իմ ուժերից վեր է: Ես հրաժարվում եմ: Հիմա կդնեմ ականջակալներս և ... քուն կմտնեմ:

incredibly vexed
to put it mildly
to bring about
a widespread perception
in some respects
longevity
coexistence
to quit
to be embedded
whereby
consolidation of power
day in day out
to put on
waging a war

multitude
to manage
to be generally believed
to disagree with sb's point
to move forward here
to be beyond limits
radical changes
plurality
to meet the requirements
fragmentation and diversity
prudence
to flourish
to take sth for granted

Task 5. Match the English adjectives

a. with their Armenian equivalents:

aware	առաջատար
succinct	սահմանագծված, սահմանազատված
entangled	անհամապատասխան, անբավարար, անհամարժեք
sustained	սեղմ, հակիրճ (ոճ)
circumscribed	համեմատելի
comparable	երկարատև, անընդհատ, կայուն
sophisticated	իրազեկ, տեղյակ, գիտակցող
inadequate	բարդ, խճճված

b. with their respective sets of synonyms:

aware	complicated, intricate, perplexed
succinct	delineated, defined, demarcated
entangled	commensurate, proportionate, tantamount
sustained	concise, brief, terse
circumscribed	deficient, insufficient, lacking
comparable	up-to-date, modern, advanced
sophisticated	cognizant, mindful, informed
inadequate	constant, continuous, uninterrupted

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>nature of statehood</i>	<i>a hallmark of statehood</i>
<i>external contacts</i>	<i>to conduct a dialogue</i>
<i>a collective authority</i>	<i>to be intertwined</i>
<i>to deal with</i>	<i>entwined communities</i>
<i>an essential aspect</i>	<i>in the narrow sense</i>

Many thinkers about the _____ have claimed that this ability _____ the outside world is _____ of that nature, and that what constitutes a state is not simply the machinery for ordering the domestic life of a community. They hold that if a community does not have _____ which is in a position to determine for itself the extent and the force of its dealings with other states then it lacks in a crucial respect the very powers which gave substance to its claims to statehood. Some thinkers see the ability to deal with other states, and therefore _____ with them, as the very heart of 'sovereignty'. While the ability to conduct a diplomatic dialogue with other states is _____, the importance which _____ have varies in practice from one state to another. Sometimes the interests of a number of states so closely _____, and the activities and indeed the existence of every state are sometimes so largely determined by what its neighbours do, that there is a 'primacy of foreign policy' in every such state's decisions. This concept, attributed to the German historian Ranke, refers not only to political and strategic relations _____, but to the whole range of external contacts from military conflict to the goods and ideas which states with _____ habitually import from one another.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

It [translation] is much like dancing on ropes with fettered legs: a man may shun a fall by using caution, but the gracefulness of motion is not to be expected; and when we have said the best of it, it is but a foolish task; for no sober man would put himself into a danger for the applause of escaping without breaking his neck.

John Dryden

Translation is a process aimed to create/provide a text that will convey the meaning of the original, to maintain the original message and communication. As languages differ in their grammar, structure, and vocabulary, and as there are no precise matches across languages it is impossible to have absolutely exact translations.

This is true, especially about professional spheres, namely oral or written communication within political, international relations, and diplomatic fields. Diplomatic translators work in close contact with diplomats, and these translators must be prudent and professional. They act as mediators between interlocutors in making others understand issues related to a country's political, economic, security, military, and other interests.

The translation work in this field can mean dealing with:

- diplomatic negotiations
- diplomatic documents
- diplomatic agreements
- interstate interest relations
- territorial issues
- cooperation issues, etc.

Diplomatic translators play a significant role in promoting diplomatic relations and facilitating communication within foreign affairs. The need for diplomatic translation is high, and the role is key for important decisions.

Tip

Before you start translating a text, first read it all, don't think about how you're going to translate it into the target language. Just get a general idea of what it's about, what the author wants to convey, and what point of view the message holds, and only then think of how to transfer the message into the target language in the best way.

Task 1. Translate the text into Armenian.

Groups of 2-3 students are assigned to translate one passage of the Supplementary Reading text of Unit 1 each. Then they regroup and join together their sections into a full text using relevant connecting words, phrases, and structures.

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

Այն, որ դիվանագիտական երկխոսության մեջ կան առավելություններ, ակնհայտ է: _____.
But is it necessary for all states? And if not, in what conditions can some states, or at least special classes of states, dispense with diplomacy? It is difficult to find examples of an important state in a system, որը փորձում է գոյատևել առանց դիվանագիտական կանոնավոր երկխոսության _____.

Nevertheless, it is historically true that եղել են ն' հզոր, ն' չափազանց փոքր պետություններ, _____ which have remained isolated or հեռու են մնացել միջազգային հարաբերությունների թոհուրոհից _____ for long periods of time. These states have been on the political or geographical margins of integrated systems of states, or outside them altogether. Remote states, separated from an active states system by natural obstacles such as an ocean or desert, can afford to be marginal members of it and to maintain fitful and selective relations համակարգում ավելի սերտորեն ներգրավված պետությունների հետ _____.

The USA warned its countrymen against entangling alliances, by which it meant the degree of involvement in the European states system which made alliances necessary. Since then, however, the United States has become increasingly entangled, and isolation has become an ever less realizable ideal. States, որոնք ծանրակշիռ դեր չունեն դիվանագիտական երկխոսության մեջ _____ can sometimes also, by historical accident, become excluded from it. Andorra, Lichtenstein and Sikkim are examples.

However, what was possible at certain periods for the United States or Tibet or Andorra is not an option open as a general rule. Առավել ակնառու է Չինաստանի դեպքը: _____. For many

centuries the Chinese Empire, more a civilization with a suzerain structure than a state, maintained no regular dialogue with other states: there was, so to speak, isolation behind a wall, with nomads from Central Asia occasionally able to gain control of the apex of imperial government. «Կենտրոնական թագավորությունը» հաստատվելուն պես մոռացավ դիվանագիտության հին ավանդույթները _____

which had developed to a high degree by the time of Confucius, because the unified empire which replaced the Chinese states system բավականաչափ հզոր էր իր անմիջական հարևաններին իշխելու _____ and to remain indifferent to matters further afield. China first համաձայնեց դիվանագիտական կանոնավոր երկխոսությանը և արևմտյան պետությունների հետ դեսպանորդների փոխանակմանը _____

in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the fortunes of the last ruling dynasty were diminished և երբ Արևմուտքի տերություններին այլևս հնարավոր չէր անտեսել _____

China was obliged to have dealings with other states when European powers, ռազմական և ծովային առաջատար տեխնոլոգիաներով _____

and a determination to trade with her on their terms, progressively involved her in international politics: that is, when she found herself up against independent and uncoercible fellow states. Չինաստանի համար հետևանքները խորն էին և միանշանակորեն անբարենպաստ _____

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

To grasp the **evolving pattern** of modern diplomacy, it is important to notice the effects on a states system itself of the incorporation of more distant states into the **relentless and inescapable mesh** of international affairs that makes the system. Where it has been a matter of bringing single states into a ready-made system, the acceptance of a diplomatic dialogue carried with it the need for important adjustments by the incoming state. For instance, in Western Europe, where

diplomacy in its recognizably modern forms had its origins, one of the principal conditions making for the **elaboration of permanent contacts** between the independent parts was precisely the **rough and ready moral and legal equality** of the society's **constituent states**, large and small. This condition of the European dialogue appeared almost **unacceptably alien** to the Chinese Empire. For somewhat different reasons the Moslem Ottoman Caliphate for a long period, and the Soviet revolutionary government for a much shorter one, **were also reluctant to concede** this equality to other states. But these three major powers agreed to conform to the **outward rules** and conventions of European diplomacy because as the European powers **impinged** ever more insistently on their interests and purposes, all three found the diplomatic dialogue with those powers **indispensable**. How far these three states remained alien to the cultural and historical assumptions which **engendered** the rules and conventions of European diplomacy is another question.

The position is different when a large number of outside states come into a system in a short time, so that in effect the system itself is **extended far beyond its cultural cradle**. Then the adjustments are not so one-sided, and many concessions have to be made by the original members to the new-comers. Today the contemporary global system is gradually evolving new rules and conventions to replace those of its more purely European predecessor.

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- *Speak about the key features between bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.*
- *Bring some relevant examples of multilateral and bilateral diplomacy.*
- *Is multilateral diplomacy a preferred path for larger states?*
- *Does bilateral diplomacy still have a role to play?*

Because states talk to each other privately and confidentially, and this aspect of their dialogue naturally excites curiosity, diplomacy is sometimes thought of as essentially bilateral. But the ties which bind states in systems are by definition multilateral. Consequently, the calculations which shape the policy of each member state towards the others are multilateral; and the dialogue between them also becomes more multilateral as the system develops. Only the most primitive diplomatic contacts have ever been purely bilateral. Leagues and alliances, and indeed also all occasions on which representatives of three or more powers are gathered together, are examples of multilateral diplomacy. But these dialogues only

include some players in the game. Comprehensive multilateral or ‘omnilateral’ diplomacy, that is to say the attempt to include all or at least all significant members of a system in a simultaneous negotiation, is characteristic of a more advanced stage. It usually first appears as a negotiation for a general peace after prolonged warfare and is later organized into permanent institutions like the League of Nations and the United Nations. So far, multilateral diplomacy has complemented the bilateral dialogue: it shows no sign of replacing bilateral contacts between sovereign states.

Independent states deal bilaterally with each other and meet together in multilateral organizations not only because they have interests in common, but also because they have interests which conflict. Moreover, the fact of independence fosters suspicion and doubts. Another power may be insincere in what it says and promises; or if sincere it may change its mind. History is full of examples of conflict, duplicity and reversals of policy, and the news brings fresh examples every day. Diplomacy is intimately concerned with these problems. It is an organized pattern of communication and negotiation, nowadays continuous, which enables each independent government to learn what other governments want and what they object to. In a developed international society, it becomes more than an instrument of communication and bargaining. It also affects its practitioners. It is an activity which, even if often abused, has a bias towards the resolution of conflicts. It is a function of the diplomatic dialogue to mitigate and civilize the differences between states, and if possible, to reconcile them, without suppressing or ignoring them. Conflicts of interest are a major subject of diplomacy, which can function effectively only when the necessary level of understanding exists between the parties to the dialogue about the maintenance of the system as a whole and about the rules for the promotion of their separate interests within the system. The diplomatic dialogue is thus the instrument of international society: a civilized process based on awareness and respect for other people’s points of view; and a civilizing one also, because the continuous exchange of ideas, and the attempts to find mutually acceptable solutions to conflicts of interest, increase that awareness and respect. This civilizing tendency visibly does not prevent diplomacy from being perverted and misused—its methods lend themselves to duplicity. But the bias towards understanding other points of view and other needs, towards a search for common ground and a resolution of differences, is unmistakably there.²

² Watson, A. *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States*. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p.26.

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Դիվանագիտությունը պետության ներկայացուցիչների միջև բանակցություններ վարելու արվեստ և պրակտիկա է: Այն սովորաբար առնչվում է միջազգային դիվանագիտության, ինչպես նաև պրոֆեսիոնալ դիվանագետների միջնորդությամբ մի շարք վիճահարույց խնդիրների կարգավորմանը: Միջազգային պայմանագրերը, նախքան ազգային քաղաքական գործիչների կողմից հաստատվելը, անցնում են բանակցությունների փուլով: Դեյվիդ Սթիվենսոնը պնդում է, որ մինչև 1900 թվականը «դիվանագետ» ասելով հասկանում էին նաև դիվանագիտական ծառայությունների, հյուպատոսական ծառայությունների և արտաքին գործերի նախարարության պաշտոնյա:

Գրականության մեջ դիվանագիտությունը հաճախ բնութագրվում է որպես արտաքին հարաբերությունների մասին գիտություն: Դիվանագիտության առաջնային ղեկավարը պետության գլուխն է, անմիջական օպերատիվ ղեկավարը՝ արտաքին գործերի հատուկ մարմինը: Պետության արտաքին քաղաքական ամենօրյա հարցերով զբաղվում են.

- դիվանագիտական ներկայացուցչությունները,
- հյուպատոսությունները,
- առևտրային ներկայացուցչությունները,
- միջազգային կազմակերպություններին առընթեր պետությունների ներկայացուցիչները:

Կոնկրետ հանձնարարություններ կատարելու համար գործուղվում են նաև ժամանակավոր առաքելություններ: Դիվանագիտական գործունեությունը կարգավորվում է դիվանագիտական իրավունքի միջոցով: Արտաքին քաղաքականությունն իրականացնելու նպատակով պետությունը դիվանագիտության միջոցով ներգործում է այլ պետությունների, նրանց պաշտոնական ներկայացուցիչների, ազդեցիկ քաղաքական շրջանների ու հասարակության, ինչպես նաև միջազգային դրության վրա: Պետության արտաքին քաղաքականության հաջողության գրավականը դիվանագիտության խելացի կազմակերպումն է, քաղաքական իրադրության ճիշտ գնահատումը:

Ժամանակակից դիվանագիտության կանոնները

Իտալիայից դիվանագիտության ավանդույթը տարածվեց աշխարհով մեկ: Միլանն առաջինն էր, որ 1455 թվականին ներկայացուցիչ ուղարկեց Ֆրանսիայի արքունիք: Այնուամենայնիվ, Միլանը մերժեց հյուրընկալել ֆրանսիացի ներկայացուցիչներին՝ վախենալով, որ նրանք լրտեսներ են և կմիջամտեն իրենց ներքին գործերին: Հետզհետե Ֆրանսիան և Իսպանիան սկսեցին ներգրավվել իտալական քաղաքականության մեջ, հետևաբար պատվիրակներին ընդունելը դարձավ անհրաժեշտություն: Շուտով խոշոր եվրոպական պետությունները սկսեցին փոխանակել ներկայացուցիչներ: Իսպանիան առաջինն ուղարկեց մշտական ներկայացուցիչ: Այնուամենայնիվ, Սրբազան Հռոմեական կայսրը չէր ուղարկում մշտական ներկայացուցիչներ, քանի որ նրանք չէին կարող ներկայացնել բոլոր գերմանական թագավորների շահերը:

1500-1700 թվականներին ժամանակակից դիվանագիտության կանոնները սկսեցին փոփոխության ենթարկվել: Բարձրագույն կոչումը դեսպանն էր, որն ազնվական էր: Դեսպանների համար սահմանված էին խիստ կանոններ, ինչպես, օրինակ՝ ունենալ մեծ նստավայր, անցկացնել խնջույքներ, կարևոր դեր խաղալ հյուրընկալող պետության արքունիքի կյանքում: Հռոմում ֆրանսիացի և իսպանացի ներկայացուցիչներն ունեին ավելի քան հարյուր մարդուց բաղկացած շքախումբ: Փոքր պետություններն ուղարկում էին պատվիրակներ, որոնց աստիճանն ավելի ցածր էր: Լիազոր նախարարը միջանկյալ դիրք էր զբաղեցնում դեսպանի և պատվիրակի միջև:

Դիվանագիտությունը բավական բարդ գործ էր, նույնիսկ ավելի բարդ, քան այսօր: Տարբեր պետությունների դեսպանները դասակարգվում էին ըստ առաջնահերթության, պետությունները՝ ըստ միապետի/սուլթանի տիտղոսի, օրինակ՝ կաթոլիկ ազգերի համար Վատիկանի պատվիրակը ամենաառաջնահերթն էր, նրան հաջորդում էին թագավորությունների, դքսությունների և կոմսությունների ներկայացուցիչները: Ամենացածր աստիճանում գտնվում էին հանրապետությունների ներկայացուցիչները:

Դեսպանները շատ հաճախ ազնվականներ էին, ովքեր փորձ չունեին միջազգային ասպարեզում: Նրանց աջակցում էր դեսպանատան աշխատակազմը, որի անդամները պրոֆեսիոնալներ էին և հիմնականում շատ ավելի բանիմաց էին, քան հյուրընկալող պետության պաշտոնատար

անձինք: Դեսպանատան աշխատակազմում ներառված էին շատ աշխատակիցներ, այդ թվում՝ լրտեսներ: Դեսպանատներում աշխատանքի էին ընդունվում համալսարանի շրջանավարտներ, ինչը հանգեցրեց նրան, որ Եվրոպայում ակտիվացավ միջազգային իրավունքի, ֆրանսերենի պատմության ուսուցանումը:

Միաժամանակ, գրեթե բոլոր եվրոպական պետություններում նշանակվեցին արտաքին գործերի մշտական նախարարներ՝ համակարգելու դեսպանությունների աշխատանքը: Նախարարների պարտականությունների մեծ մասն առնչվում էր ներքին գործերին: Բրիտանիան մինչև 1782 թվականն ուներ երկու դեսպարտամենտ, որոնց գործառույթները շատ հաճախ համընկնում էին: Ֆրանսիայի նախարարությունը 1780-ական թվականներին ուներ ընդամենը 70 աշխատակից:

Ժամանակակից դիվանագիտության տարրերը դանդաղորեն տարածվեցին դեպի Արևելյան Եվրոպա և Ռուսաստան: Ֆրանսիական հեղափոխությունը և հետագա պատերազմները խոչընդոտեցին դիվանագիտության բնականոն զարգացումը: Վերացվեցին դիվանագիտական որոշ աստիճաններ, Նապոլեոնը հրաժարվեց ընդունել դիվանագիտական անձեռնմխելիությունը՝ բանտարկելով բրիտանացի դիվանագետներին:

1815 թվականի Վիեննայի կոնգրեսը հիմնեց դիվանագիտական աստիճանների միջազգային համակարգը: Առաջնահերթության մասին ազգերի միջև վեճերն առաջին անգամ քննարկվեցին Էքս-լա-Շապելի (Aix-La-Chapelle) կոնգրեսում: Այս ժամանակահատվածում միջազգային դիվանագիտության ոլորտում ի հայտ եկավ նոր դերակատար՝ գերմանական կանցլերը:

Դիվանագետները և պատմաբանները հաճախ արտաքին գործերի նախարարությունները կոչում են իրենց հասցեներով: Օրինակ՝ Բալհաուսպլաց (Վիեննա), Քուե Դորսե (Փարիզ), Վիլհելմշտրասե (Բեռլին), Ֆոգի Բոթթոմ (Վաշինգտոն): Մինչ 1917 թվականը կայսերական Ռուսաստանում դա Սանկտ-Պետերբուրգում գտնվող Պեչեսկի կամուրջն էր: Իտալիայի նախարարությունը կոչվում էր Կենսուլտա:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “All diplomacy is continuation of war by other means.” Zhou Enlai
- “Diplomacy is to lie and deny.” Talleyrand

- “Secrecy is the very soul of diplomacy.” *François de Callières*
- “Successful diplomacy, like successful marriage, is not much publicized.”
John Kenneth Galbraith
- “Diplomacy is the art and science of negotiations.” *Charles de Martens*

Supplementary Reading

Diplomacy beyond States

Diplomacy beyond states may be understood in two senses:

- A temporal sense in which we think of states and their diplomacy fading, and
- A conceptual sense by which we are reminded that diplomacy is not necessarily the exclusive preserve of states or professional diplomats.

Empirically grounded international relations research has developed both senses by testing conventional understandings of how social worlds are believed to work. At the system level, the expectation has been tested and confirmed that states regarded as most important will have the most diplomatic representatives from other countries in their capitals. In the study of diplomacy and foreign policy, positivist approaches have tracked and demonstrated the disaggregation of entities conventionally treated as wholes. The consequences of this kind of inquiry for the understandings of diplomacy have been impressive. Foreign ministries are found not to dominate or even coordinate a country’s foreign relations. Other branches of government engage in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and employ people acting diplomatically to represent them. Governments, even understood as loose ensembles of actors and institutions, do not exercise a monopoly on the conduct of the external relations of their countries. Private actors of all sorts are also engaged. Indeed, it becomes difficult to maintain the distinction between internal and external worlds on which the idea of international relations depends.

Investigators have not been sure what to do with these sorts of discoveries. Traditionalists insist that they are the product of category confusions. One cannot get closer to understanding how diplomacy operates as a meaningful social action by tracing behavioral patterns with greater precision. To say diplomats do not actually represent their states or sovereigns in the sense of standing in place of them is to misunderstand the nature of representation. Social worlds cohere despite evidence and knowledge that undermine the assumptions on which they rest. An alternative to the traditionalist reluctance to accept empirical evidence, therefore, is to use positivist approaches as a basis for critique and prescription. Thus, research has looked at why traditional institutions of diplomacy have been losing influence and why traditional diplomatic activities have become less effective, and it offers

advice about how diplomats might become more effective by shifting, for example, from being communicators of positions and policies to becoming the instigators of coalitions of different people seeking to advance shared interests. Such approaches have great practical value but court inconsistencies, especially when governments apply the disaggregative insight to diplomats of other countries but not to their own diplomats and those diplomats' claims to act on behalf of their countries. Paradoxically, given diplomacy's conventional identification as a conservative and even reactionary social practice, postpositivist approaches have shown the most promise of innovation in diplomatic theory by unhitching it from state practices and exploring what people in different times and places have understood to be diplomacy. The thrust of these arguments can be critical, focusing on the alienation, estrangement, and exploitation that diplomacy may be implicated in reproducing. It can be emancipatory, emphasizing the virtues of conventional diplomatic attributes like ambiguity and imagination for improving human relations. And it can be whimsical, examining the more banal and human aspects of diplomatic life to demonstrate the tyrannies of circumscribed thought and action that closed and archaic social structures can impose upon those trapped within them. These approaches have introduced diplomatic studies to the constructivist and constitutive approaches to explanation and understanding in the broader field of international relations. They have also demonstrated how modes of thought associated with diplomats and diplomacy can enrich our accounts of international and social realities in general. Diplomats have long been familiar with the extent to which social realities are constructed, in the sense of being produced and reproduced with varying degrees of self-consciousness by the ways in which people live and the necessarily ambiguous consequences of this being so. Far from fading, therefore, at a time of great change, diplomats, diplomacy, and diplomatic theory should be expected to prosper as new constellations of actors and new identities seek to establish the terms of their own existence and recognition of them as such, just as they did in fifteenth-century Europe. This is illustrated by the emergence of the "new public diplomacy." Previously regarded as poor diplomacy of low standing or propaganda, because it violates the principle of nonintervention, public diplomacy in its "new" iteration is presented as re-empowering everybody (including states) and transforming international relations into a genuine dialogue of peoples and people. A major research effort has developed, with the funding to support it, exploring how to make public diplomacy more effective and evaluate it.³

³ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 434.

UNIT 2

ALTERNATIVES TO DIPLOMACY

Read the text and speak on

- the first alternative to diplomacy
- the world government as the second alternative to diplomacy
- examples of the government of the world by a single authority
- Western concept of world government

What are the alternatives to diplomacy? In order to dispense with diplomacy, that is with the methods used by independent governments to work out their own relations with one another, mankind would either have to let independent governments exist without the diplomatic dialogue, or else dispense with independence and 'sovereign states' altogether.

The first alternative would mean a world which would have to resign itself to a condition of anarchy and isolation, of chronic insecurity and war. States would have to live by and for themselves. They would not be able to conclude peace settlements or treaties with their neighbours, for such settlements are the essence of diplomacy. Each would have to stand alone against a more powerful and aggressive neighbour. They would not be able to get into touch with one another, to band together or form leagues and alliances for mutual protection. For these activities, too, are works of diplomacy, and, incidentally, ones which are particularly criticized by those who argue that a diplomatic network of alliances helps to spread wars and conflicts beyond the limits which they would otherwise have, by involving other states which are not directly concerned. Nor could there be nuclear or other arms limitation agreements which require sustained diplomatic negotiation both to bring them into being and to maintain them as circumstances change. In the absence of dialogue or agreement, each state would have to concentrate on its own defence. In an age of primitive weapons and communications this was possible, especially for those whose territory lay away from the mainstream of world affairs. But in a nuclear age such an arrangement, or lack of arrangement, is hardly practicable at all. Apart from the problem of defence, the citizens of a state in isolation, without diplomatic contacts, would have difficulty in organizing either trade or those exchanges of men and ideas which develop civilization.

Another alternative is what is often called world government. This is the fullest opposite to the plurality of independences in a states system. World government can, broadly speaking, be of two kinds. It can be government from one

centre, by a single ruling authority, established and maintained by superior and unchallengeable force; or it can be a system formed by a voluntary union of all the important states in the world who surrender some of their independent authority to a central decision-making body that represents and governs them all. The more voluntary the formation of such a union is, the more federal it is likely to be, with a greater degree of autonomy for the constituent parts.

Government of the world by a single authority, and maintained by the ultimate sanction of unchallengeable force, has worked fairly well at times in the past. Such, within the limits of their worlds, were the Roman and Chinese Empires. They were not democracies, nor was there any right of secession. The Emperor governed through a bureaucracy, backed by armed force that could be effectively challenged only by a rival military commander. The role of the subject peoples was not to choose their rulers, but to obey them. Nevertheless, under wise government people were contented. There was no freedom, but there were peace and order, which are major blessings in themselves, and arguably the conditions in which individual liberties are most likely to develop.

A world government of this kind is certainly imaginable today. To take one example, it could come by the extension of Soviet authority beyond the Soviet Union and the present 'Socialist Commonwealth' to the whole world. A global supremacy of this kind need not go so far as formal annexation: it could leave its subject states the shadow of independence and a considerable degree of local autonomy within the limits laid down by the paramount power. Such a world government could bring the blessings of peace and order at the price of freedom. And it is arguable that when the new world government settled down, individuals would not necessarily be less free under world government than they now are in many existing states, for the independence of a state tells us little about the liberties of its individual subjects. A single world government would have to maintain its dominion by authoritarian means. There is a decisive body of evidence that without continuing force to hold any empire together there is soon secession.

What most people in the West who want world government have in mind is not the establishment of one authoritarian government over the whole planet, maintained by the sanction of force, but a voluntary merging of sovereignty by the governments and peoples of the world (or more specifically by the states in the system) so as to form a world federation. There would be a union established and held together by universal consent. Historically, independent communities which come together to 'pool their sovereignty', that is to hand over essential parts of their decision-making process to a central government, have three characteristics. They already have a great deal in common. In most known cases they have emerged as uncomfortably small fragments from the break-up of a previous empire

and come together to form 'a more perfect union'. And thirdly, they are constrained to do so by outside pressures, 'to hang together in order not to hang separately'. This was the case with the thirteen ex-colonies of North America which formed the United States: and it will be the case with the Western European countries if they form a single confederal European government.

What are the chances of a world government of this voluntary kind in the absence of these three characteristics? Those who look forward to world federation point out that all mankind is now much more one interdependent society than its various communities, with their fierce love of independence, have realized; that we are all living on one 'spaceship earth'. Moreover, in the 'nuclear and famine age', independent and absolute sovereignties are alleged to be as out of date as the sailing ship and the crossbow. For mankind as a whole is now beset by common dangers and common problems, which if not tackled by all of us together, might actually lead to the destruction of our species. A nuclear holocaust, pollution, the population explosion, the growing shortage and cost of energy and raw materials, are dangers quite as formidable as any which once menaced the American colonies. Even those who consider that the world federationists exaggerate both the degree to which mankind in its variety has become one society and the dangers which threaten us, have to admit that the world is moving that way – that the different communities into which mankind is divided are becoming more interdependent and that the dangers which threaten all of us are becoming worse. Since the first step in politics is recognition, it is already significant to be able to point to a measure of consensus about which of the perils that confront mankind are to be treated as problems requiring international political effort for their resolution. In so far as there is agreement about the problems to be tackled, two basic issues arise about world federation as a solution. Is such a radical step necessary to solve these problems? And would such a step create more serious problems than it resolved?

Given the desire to solve these pressing problems by consent, the issue of necessity is this. Can all, or a decisive majority, of states made to act together solve these problems 'internationally', while leaving the decisions about how to go about it to the individual member states of our international society? Or must the states agree first of all to 'pool their sovereignty', in a world government, and then let the world government decide on the measures required to deal with these world problems, and enforce its decisions?

If one looks at what is actually happening in international affairs, one can see that the first alternative is the one being tried. There is an intensifying search by independent states for areas of consent in which they can act together to solve common problems. Indeed, the whole of the twentieth century has been marked by this search, in spite of great setbacks. As interdependence grows and the possibility

of going it alone diminishes, the larger and more established states of the world are becoming more acutely aware of the need to collaborate. They are therefore increasingly willing to delegate decision-making responsibilities to international bodies composed of delegates appointed by them and answerable to them and designed as an integral part of the diplomatic dialogue between them. Provided these criteria are observed, states will often bind themselves in advance to accept the decisions which such international bodies reach. In this way they agree to add to the rules and codes of conduct which determine how the members of an international society of states will behave, or in other words to add to the body of regulatory international law.⁴

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

to dispense with diplomacy _____

to resign itself to a condition of anarchy and isolation _____

chronic insecurity _____

to form leagues and alliances _____

an unchallengeable force _____

to surrender independent authority to sb _____

a voluntary merging of sovereignty _____

to pool the sovereignty _____

to emerge as uncomfortably small fragments _____

fierce love of independence _____

as formidable as any which once menaced the colonies _____

to point to a measure of consensus _____

to become more acutely aware of the need to collaborate _____

to delegate decision-making responsibilities to international bodies _____

an integral part of the diplomatic dialogue _____

⁴ Watson, A. Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p. 28.

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following words and phrases.

հասնել խաղաղ կարգավորման _____
միավորվել _____
սպառազինության սահմանափակման/կրճատման պայմանագրեր

պահանջել շարունակական/տևական դիվանագիտական բանակցու-
թյուններ _____
կյանքի կոչել _____
համաշխարհային իրադարձությունների գերիշխող ուղղություն/միտում

կազմից դուրս գալու իրավունք _____
գլխավոր տերության կողմից սահմանված շրջանակներում _____

որոշումների կայացման գործընթացի կարևոր մասը փոխանցել կենտրո-
նական կառավարությանը _____
պաշարված լինել ընդհանուր վտանգներով _____
մարդկությանը սպառնացող վտանգներ _____
սովյալ չափանիշների պահպանման դեպքում _____
նախապես պարտավորվել _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Հաշվի առնելով ձգտումը՝ համաձայնությամբ լուծելու այն հրա-
տապ խնդիրները, որոնց բախվում է մարդկությունը, ինքնիշխան պետու-
թյունները հետզհետե ավելի պատրաստակամ են դառնում պատվի-
րակելու իրենց որոշումներ կայացնելու պարտականությունները միջազ-
գային մարմիններին:

2. Պատմականորեն այն անկախ համայնքները, որոնք միանում են՝
«մեկտեղելու իրենց ինքնիշխանությունը», շատ ընդհանրություններ
ունեն:

3. Բնական ռեսուրսների աճող պակասը և ծախսերը խթանում են
տեխնոլոգիական և գիտական առաջընթացը՝ ստեղծելու նոր նյութեր,
որոնք կկանխեն «միջուկային և սովի դարաշրջանը»:

4. Հնարավոր է թվա, որ համաշխարհային կառավարությունն ինքնին մի շնորհ է, որովհետև, երբ այն հաստատվի, ապա կապահովի խաղաղություն և կարգուկանոն և կվերացնի քրոնիկ անապահովությունն ու պատերազմը:

5. Վիճելի հարց է՝ արդյոք համաշխարհային կառավարությունը կպահպանի իր առանձին սուբյեկտների ազատությունները: Ուրեմն, արդյո՞ք սա ազատության գնով ձեռք բերված խաղաղություն ու կարգուկանոն չէ:

6. Համաշխարհային կառավարությունն անկախ պետությունների բազմակարծության պետական համակարգի բացարձակ հակադրությունն է: Իսկ ինքնիշխանությունների կամավոր միաձուլման միջոցով մեկ կառավարող իշխանության ստեղծումը հնարավոր է հանգեցնի մեկ այլ սպառնալիքի, որը կվտանգի բոլորի ապագան: Դա նույնքան ահեղ վտանգ է, որքան ցանկացած այլ բան:

7. Նրանք ջանք չեն խնայի անկախ, ինքնիշխան պետությունները ներկայացնելու որպես նույնքան ժամանակավրեպ, ինչպիսին առազատանալն է կամ նետ ու աղեղը: Սակայն իրականում դրանք անկախ համայնքների ազատ և կայուն համագործակցության երաշխիքն են, որոնք կարող են համատեղ գործել հանուն ընդհանուր խնդիրների լուծման:

*by consent
to avert/turn away
to be the fullest opposite
to be increasingly willing
a sailing ship
to pool sovereignty
to enhance progress
at the price of freedom
menace
given the desire
in reality
in itself
to act together
arguable
to secure peace and order
individual subjects
a voluntary merging*

*to have a great deal in common
pressing problems
out-of-date
to settle down
chronic insecurity
plurality of independencies
to retain liberties
to bring about
to confront
to eliminate
common problems
to delegate
a crossbow
a single ruling authority
sustainable collaboration
growing shortage
as formidable as any*

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Հաղորդավար – Դե ի՛նչ, այս երեկո մեր բանավեճի նպատակն էր հանդիսականին օգնել ձևավորելու սեփական վերաբերմունքը համաշխարհային կառավարման հայեցակարգին: Մեր հրավիրյալները, ովքեր, ինչպես տեսաք, փորձագետների ընտրված խումբ են, այժմ կասեն իրենց վերջնական խոսքը: (Դիմում է հրավիրյալներին): Խնդրում եմ ձեզանից յուրաքանչյուրին համառոտ, ընդամենը մի քանի նախադասությամբ եզրափակել: Խնդրե՛մ, պարոն դեսպան, սկսե՛նք ձեզանից:

Դեսպան – Շնորհակալությո՛ւն: Երբ խոսքը վերաբերում է դիվանագիտության այլընտրանքներին, մեր միջուկային դարաշրջանում դժվար է պատկերացնել, թե ինչպես ինքնիշխան պետությունները կձևավորեն իրենց հարաբերություններն իրար հետ՝ առանց կայուն դիվանագիտական բանակցությունների միջոցով՝ փոխադարձ պաշտպանության նպատակով միմյանց հետ կապվելու: Մյուս կողմից, համաշխարհային կառավարությունը կարող է լուրջ խնդիրներ ստեղծել: Ինձ համար սա չափազանց լուրջ հարց է:

Քաղաքական գործիչ – Քանի որ կա՛ համաձայնություն իրենց լուծումը պահանջող խնդիրների վերաբերյալ, կարծում եմ, համաշխարհային կառավարության առկայությունը նվազեցնում է առանձին պետությունների՝ 21-րդ դարի հսկայական մարտահրավերներին միայնակ դիմակայելու հավանականությունը: Աշխարհը հետզհետե ավելի խորն է գիտակցում համագործակցության անհրաժեշտությունը, իսկ համաշխարհային կառավարությունը կարող է անսահմանափակ հնարավորություններ ընձեռել անվտանգության և բարեկեցության առումով:

Արվեստագետ – Չնայած մեծ թերացումներին՝ անկախ, ինքնիշխան պետություններն ավելի մեծ ազատություն են ապահովում իրենց քաղաքացիների համար: Թեև խնդիրներն, ամենայն հավանականությամբ, էլ ավելի կսրվեն, միայն մտքի և գործողությունների ազատությունն է, որ բացում է նոր դռներ և աշխարհներ: Ես կտրականապես բացառում եմ որևէ համաշխարհային կառավարություն ունենալու գաղափարը:

Գիտնական – Ինչպես նշվեց այստեղ, վարքագծի այն կանոններն ու կանոնակարգերը, որոնք սահմանում են, թե ինչպես պետք է վարվեն պետությունների միջազգային հանրության անդամները, պիտի որոշվեն միջազգային կարգավորող օրենսդիր մարմինների կողմից: Ըստ իս, ինչպես գիտության, այնպես էլ սոցիալական հասարակության զարգացման օրենքները պատմականորեն զուգահեռ են ընթանում: Ցանկացած չափավորում կամ սահմանափակում, որը պարտադրվում է որոշակի քաղաքական որոշումներով, կարող է հակասել իրերի բնական ընթացքին: Ամբողջ քսաներորդ դարը նշանավորվել է դրանով. երկու համաշխարհային պատերազմներ, ավեր, համակարգերի ոչնչացում... Ես մի տեսակ թերահավատորեն եմ վերաբերվում համաշխարհային կառավարության՝ որպես դիվանագիտության այլընտրանքի այս գաղափարին: Կգերադասեի թույլ տալ, որ աշխարհը շարունակի ընթանալ իր հունով: Մինչ այժմ այն բավականին լավ առաջընթաց է ապահովել:

the concept of world government

codes of conduct

just a couple of sentences

to ensure greater freedom

a notion

to be set

to be enforced

panel

moderator

to diminish the possibility

to face huge challenges

nuclear age

to be tackled

in terms of

to presume

without binding together

destruction and demolition of systems

to let the world spin its own way

in so far as

single states

alternatives to diplomacy

sustained negotiations

to have a final say

great setbacks

regulatory legislative bodies

to go parallel

natural flow of things

to be likely to become

briefly

limitation

to work out relationships

mutual protection

to absolutely discharge

to form an attitude

to determine

to be stated

to be marked

when it comes to

to run against

to work fairly well

to become more acutely aware of

a host of opportunities

to be sort of skeptical

well-being

Task 5. Match the English verbs with their respective sets of synonyms.

to dispense with	to cede, surrender, obey
to resign oneself to	to transfer, provide, deliver
to band together	to entrust, authorize, empower
to bring into being	to threaten, imperil, jeopardize
to hand over	to create, come up with, establish
to tackle	to do away with, dispose of, do without
to menace	to commit (oneself) to, obligate (oneself) to, promise
to delegate	to deal with, handle, work on
to bind oneself	to unite, consolidate, coalesce

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>mandatory decisions</i>	<i>specialized bodies</i>
<i>tentative steps</i>	<i>in pursuit of</i>
<i>a law-making body</i>	<i>unjustified criticism</i>
<i>to deal with</i>	<i>universal association</i>
<i>omnilateral organizations</i>	<i>quasi-parliamentary procedures</i>

The United Nations is a highly significant innovation in the ordering of relations between states. It is the most important international body because it is not specialized but a general and _____ of states, and specifically authorized in its charter _____ political issues. It and its predecessor, the League of Nations, represent the first _____ towards an international authority on a worldwide scale, designed to be more than a regulatory and security agency. The various general and _____ of these _____ have made it possible to formulate and explore global objectives and to gain wider acceptance for them by states and peoples than would be possible by bilateral exchanges alone, and are at times able to act as a conscience of mankind formally expressed. But in spite of certain _____, such an organization is not a world legislature, let alone a world government. It is, formally and in fact, a permanent gathering of diplomatic envoys, representing almost all the independent states of international society. A great deal of confusion, disappointed wishful thinking and _____ about both the League and the United Nations has resulted from expecting them to be what they are not. Andrew Young, a former United States Ambassador to the United Nations, put it succinctly: 'The United Nations was not designed to be, nor is it adequate to serve as, either

_____ for the world or a court to judge the nations of the world. It is a forum for diplomacy, and true diplomacy is the art of dialogue _____ common goals and the avoidance of war.’ There is no executive authority capable of issuing or enforcing orders: it is for the states concerned to decide how far they will implement the recommendations of the General Assembly and the rarer but theoretically _____ of the Security Council. But the United Nations is also a world forum, where states, even very small ones that might not otherwise be heard, can instruct their envoys to make their views and decisions on certain subjects publicly known.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

Translating from one language to another is the most delicate of intellectual exercises; compared to translation, all other puzzles, from bridge to crosswords, seem trivial and vulgar. To take a piece of Greek and put it in English without spilling a drop; what a nice skill!

Cyril Connolly

Many believe that translation is a science, an art, and a craft. Whatever the approach, one must remember that the translated text should have the same role in the target language (TL) as the original one in the source language (SL).

There are several methods of translation. Some of them are faithful translation, free translation, word-for-word translation, and literal translation. In case of word-for-word translation, simply words are translated from one language into another. However, this may result in an awkward and meaningless compilation of words. Literal translation is somewhat similar to this but the linguistic structure of the SL is the focal point and takes into account the TL linguistic peculiarities. When dealing with free or idiomatic translation, the meaning of words is the target. Hence, it produces a meaningful, effective and clear text. Faithfull translation means the translated text is very close and accurate in meaning to the original.

Tip

Beware of “false friends of the translator”. These are words in two or more languages that look or sound similar but have rather different meanings. One very common mistake is caused by the English word “*partisan*” (a strong supporter of a party, cause, or person).

Task 1.

Here are some “false friends of the translator”:

accompany; decade; actual/actually; absolutely; especially/specially; meeting.

Give their translations/equivalents in Armenian and find some more such words.

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

The issues raised by men's increasing interdependence and what has been called the 'generation of a world society' are bringing about an increasing awareness that mankind has a common identity in the face of them, և դրանք լուծելու համար քաղաքական գործողություններ պետք է ձեռնարկի

On a great and increasing range of questions which are both technical and political, many of them vital for the future of man on earth, միջազգային համաձայնագրերը պետությունների միջև կնքվում են բանակցությունների միջոցով

_____ . Այս պայմանագրերը ստորագրող կողմերին պարտավորեցնում են հրաժարվել իրենց ազատ գործելու հատուկ և սահմանված հետագա գործողություններից, որպեսզի միասին պայքարեն սպառնալիքների դեմ _____

This is the way forward which the leading states of the world have chosen to try. The point to note is that this way forward is the way of diplomacy. It is an evolution of great interest, both դիվանագիտական բանակցության բովանդակության ընդլայնման պատճառով _____

_____ and because the direction in which international affairs are moving is towards a more collectively organized society of states. Previous concepts in international politics are being increasingly stretched by the wealth of new collective experience. Each agreement of the kind described above ենթադրում է առանձին պետության կողմից որոշումներ կայացնելու լիազորությունների որոշ չափով փոխանցում _____

_____ to a technically qualified international authority or to a group of states in which it may often be in a minority. But it is important to remember that these delegations of

authority are themselves decisions of independent states. Պետությունը կարող է չեղարկել իր իշխանության լիազորությունների փոխանցումը և վերականգնել իր որոշումների կայացման իրավունքը: _____

_____. In sensitive areas like nuclear testing, certain powerful states such as France or China may refuse to accept the convention at all (just as in smaller groupings like the European Community an individual state refuses to accept majority decisions against it on an issue that it considers vital). Ավելին, փորձագետները, ովքեր որոշում են կայացնում այսօրինակ միջազգային մարմիններում, կարող են լինել տեխնիկական փորձագետներ _____

_____ and not members of foreign offices, but they act as diplomatic agents. They take their decisions and cast their votes as representatives of their states, and act according to the instructions they receive from their government, whose envoys they are and ով կարող է ցանկացած ժամանակ նրանց հետ կանչել _____

_____. Their deliberations and decisions, and their governments' acceptance of them, are therefore a branch of modern collective diplomacy. Governmental envoys who help to conduct the continuous dialogue and negotiation between governments in this way are in an entirely different position from, for instance, elected members of a parliament, who are not agents receiving instructions from a government, but principals voting according to their own judgement or, more usually nowadays, that of their political party. Պարզ ասած՝ օրենսդիր մարմնի վերահսկող գործառույթը գործադիր իշխանությանը զուգահեռ է, _____

_____ while the function of an international conference is to establish consensus between a number of executive authorities. As governments increasingly commit themselves to collective diplomacy through international bodies, instead of regarding these bodies as supplements to the decisive procedure of bilateral negotiation, the operation of diplomacy changes, as it has in the past. But it is still as much diplomacy as before. All these collective negotiations գործնականում պետությունների միջև բազմակողմ երկխոսություններ են _____

_____ and they are supplemented by bilateral diplomacy directly between the individual governments. The role of bilateral diplomacy in this field is largely to make the reasons for a state's hesitation understood in other capitals, and to look for ways of persuasion and adjustment which will bring the hesitant states in.

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

The diplomatic thinking about **la raison de système carved out** two great channels for itself. The first identified diplomacy with the balance of power. In this view, the main task of diplomats was to get those they represented **to act with restraint** – self-restraint where possible and external restraint by **deterrence** where necessary. This idea attracted controversy, but nothing in the great scientific and social revolutions at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries undermined it in principle. **Overstimulated** and **overendowed** national and populist states might **suffer restraints** on their practical and moral ambitions from diplomats less gladly, but getting them to accept restraints remained important. However, not all the representation, reporting, bargaining, information **dissemination**, and **intelligence-gathering activities of diplomats** can be interpreted in terms of maintaining balances of power. Diplomats always had more to do, and there was always more going on in international relations, a state of affairs made more apparent by the new material and social technologies of the nineteenth century. Sovereigns and their diplomats might travel more easily, embassies might have more and easier access to information than they had in the past, but now and increasingly, so did other people. And in so doing, they also developed a greater say in what international relations were, and ought to be, about.

These changes provided **impetus** for the second great channel in diplomatic thinking about la raison de système, seeing it less as a system of states and more as one for regulating them and rendering them less harmful. The principal consequences of this were the multilateral and conference diplomacy that appeared in the nineteenth century and gathered strength after the two world wars. The European congresses of the early nineteenth century sought to improve the great powers' attempts **to maintain international order on their own terms**. The Hague and Geneva conventions attempted to reduce the prospect of war and its consequences. And the League of Nations and the United Nations sought first to regulate, then to reform the conduct of their members by encouraging multilateral collaboration. Bilateral diplomacy directed at **reconciling the interests of particular states** was supplemented by multilateral efforts directed at seeking to

ease common problems and improve the well-being of all. The growth of multilateral and conference diplomacy resulted in changes in the status of certain established types of diplomacy and diplomats. Consular diplomacy, concerned with private citizens, attracted more resources and began to lose the secondary status it had enjoyed when compared to political work. The broadly educated “generalists” gifted at a certain kind of human relations were supplemented by experts who **had a grasp of the complex technical issues** that increasingly became the subjects of negotiations. And the autonomy and negotiating capacity of the resident ambassador were widely seen to decline as a result of the emergence of the telegraph, the telephone, and air travel. A profession based on **information scarcity** and the costliness of communications was often presented as facing existential challenges from these innovations that made information accessible, communication cheap, and travel swift. These changes were not matched by developments in diplomatic theory. The great **burst of innovative thinking** in diplomacy, beginning in fifteenth-century Europe and developing over the course of the next two centuries, ended with Cardinal Richelieu’s Testament Politique around 1688, and its practical expression was completed with the codifications of the Vienna règlement of 1815 and the modifications of Aix-la-Chapelle three years later. Innovations in diplomatic theory and practice came from outside the profession. The construction of international organizations, for example, may be presented as driven by the concerns of politics and political theory with how to escape from anarchy. The concern with commercial diplomacy and economic statecraft can be rooted in the rise of political economy. The focus on how foreign policy is actually made can be traced back to research into individual and group psychology, the operations of complex organizations, and rational choice models, as these have been applied to political behavior. Most recently, attempts to create a more open and representative diplomacy have applied the insights and understandings of marketing and public relations.⁵

⁵ From <https://www.essayempire.com/examples/political-science/diplomacy-essay/>

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- Speak about new realities in foreign affairs.
- What is modern diplomacy currently experiencing?
- How is diplomacy designed to help to bridge the gap between cultures?

Diplomacy of States

Contemporary developments have rekindled interest in the diplomacy of the ancient world. Nevertheless, the story of states and what is confusingly called modern, classical, traditional, or old diplomacy remains central to the story of diplomacy as a whole. This began to emerge in fifteenth-century Italy with the decline of the empire's and the papacy's secular power and flourished in eighteenth-century Europe before spreading, while mutating, to the rest of the world. The story is dominated by questions about who is to be represented, how, and with what sort of problems for those representing them. The answer, that it should be sovereigns, and increasingly sovereign states, was more asserted than argued. The sense that it could be something bigger than states receded into a concern with peace and the dilemma presented when sovereigns asked their servants to threaten the latter. This gave rise to literature on the qualities required by those representing sovereigns, the art of negotiation, and the conditions in which diplomats might be most effective. The value of this literature has been doubted as anachronistic in its focus on the conduct of gentlemen at court, platitudinous in its appeal to common virtues, and ingenuous in suggesting these virtues actually prevail in effective diplomacy. There is something to all these criticisms, as there is to the rejoinders that "tact and intelligence" remain important, and many contemporary insights, for example on the importance of "ripeness" or body language in negotiations, are not new. As the site of sovereignty shifted from the monarch to the state and the people, this was reflected in discussions of the qualities of diplomats. So too was the emerging sense of diplomats as a distinct class of persons with their own outlook on, requirements in, and priorities for international relations. Concerns about the immunities and privileges needed to protect the work and the reputations of individual diplomats increasingly found expression in terms of how the whole body or corps of diplomats might be safeguarded and facilitated. By the seventeenth century, this corps or "freemasonry" was seen as giving expression to a European republic of shared interests and ways of seeing the world. By the eighteenth century, the idea of la

raison de système, serving initially as a descant to la raison d'état but eventually taking priority over state interests, had emerged, and it was possible to identify a system of modern European states with a corresponding diplomatic system of bilateral relations undertaken primarily through resident embassies and foreign ministries staffed by personnel animated by a sense of themselves as servants of their respective states and guardians of the society of which their states were members. Since then, it is generally agreed that this system has been battered by a series of social and scientific revolutions and by the huge expansion of productive, destructive, and communicative capacities in which these resulted, although with consequences that are less clear.⁶

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Ոչ պաշտոնական դիվանագիտություն

Դարեր շարունակ ոչ պաշտոնական դիվանագիտությունն օգտագործվում է տերությունների միջև հաղորդակցման նպատակով: Շատ դիվանագետներ ջանքեր են գործադրում հավաքագրելու այլազգի այնպիսի անհատների, ովքեր կարող են օգնել ոչ պաշտոնապես շփվելու տվյալ պետության ղեկավարության հետ: Որոշ իրավիճակներում, ինչպես օրինակ՝ ԱՄՆ և ՉԺՀ հարաբերություններում, դիվանագիտությունը իրականացվում է կիսապաշտոնական խողովակներով՝ օգտագործելով միջնորդներ, ինչպիսիք են հետազոտական կենտրոնների ակադեմիական անդամները: Սա տեղի է ունենում, երբ պետությունները ցանկանում են արտահայտել իրենց նկրտումները կամ առաջարկել դիվանագիտական իրավիճակի լուծման մեթոդներ, սակայն չեն ցանկանում պաշտոնական դիրքորոշում հայտնել:

Երկրորդ ուղու դիվանագիտությունը ոչ պաշտոնական դիվանագիտության յուրահատուկ տեսակ է, որտեղ ոչ պաշտոնատար անձինք (գիտնականներ, պաշտոնաթող քաղաքացիական և ռազմական գործիչներ, հանրային դեմքեր, սոցիալական ակտիվիստներ) ընդգրկվում են բանակցային գործընթացի մեջ հակամարտության լուծման կամ էլ վստահության ամրապնդման համար: Երբեմն կառավարությունները հովանավորում են երկրորդ ուղու փոխանակումները: Սա տեղի է ունենում, երբ երկու կառավարություններ, որոնք ցանկանում են բանակցել, անմիջական

⁶ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 433.

կապ չունեն միմյանց հետ կամ չեն վստահում իրար: Նման փոխանակումները կոչվում են երկրորդ ուղու դիվանագիտություն:

Որոշ դեպքերում պաշտոնաթող անձինք շարունակում են զբաղվել ոչ պաշտոնական դիվանագիտական գործունեությամբ: Երբեմն կառավարությունները հավանություն են տալիս նման գործունեությանը, հատկապես այն դեպքերում, երբ ցանկանում են նախնական կապեր հաստատել թշնամական պետության հետ ոչ պաշտոնապես: Մնացած դեպքերում ոչ պաշտոնական դիվանագետների քաղաքական օրակարգը տարբերվում է գործող կառավարության քաղաքական կուրսից: Այդպիսի դիվանագիտություն էին վարում ԱՄՆ նախագահ Ջիմի Բարթերը և Բիլ Բլինթոնը, իսրայելցի դիվանագետ և նախարար Յոսի Բեիլինը:

Փոքր պետությունների դիվանագիտություն

Դիվանագիտական հետազոտությունների և միջազգային հարաբերությունների ոլորտում փոքր պետությունների դիվանագիտությունը հետզհետե ավելի ու ավելի մեծ ուշադրության է արժանանում: Փոքր պետությունների վրա ազդում են իրենց սահմաններից դուրս տեղի ունեցող այնպիսի զարգացումներ, ինչպիսիք են կլիմայի փոփոխությունը, ջրային անվտանգությունը և գլոբալ տնտեսության փոփոխությունները: Դիվանագիտությունն այն միակ գործիքն է, որի միջոցով փոքր պետությունները կարող են համոզված լինել, որ իրենց նպատակները համապատասխան ուշադրության են արժանանում գլոբալ հարթակում: Ասվածը փաստում է այն մասին, որ փոքր պետությունները շահագրգռված են խորացնելու միջազգային համագործակցությունը: Սահմանափակ ռեսուրսների պայմաններում արդյունավետ դիվանագիտություն վարելը յուրահատուկ մարտահրավերներ է ծնում փոքր պետությունների համար:

Տեսակները

Գոյություն ունեն կազմակերպությունների և կառավարությունների կողմից կիրառվող դիվանագիտական տարբեր կատեգորիաներ ու ռազմավարություններ, որոնք ունեն իրենց և՛ առավելությունները, և՛ թերությունները:

- *Կանխարգելող դիվանագիտության* նպատակն է կանխել հակամարտությունների առաջացումը կամ գոյություն ունեցող վեճերի

հակամարտությունների վերաճելը կամ էլ սահմանափակել դրանց տարածումը:

- *Հանրային դիվանագիտությունը* փորձում է հաղորդակցության միջոցով ազդել ոչ թե անմիջականորեն կառավարությունների, այլ հասարակությունների վրա: Այս հաղորդակցությունը կարող է իրականացվել քարոզչության կամ քաղաքացիական դիվանագիտության տեսքով: Տեխնոլոգիական առաջընթացները և թվային դիվանագիտության ի հայտ գալը թույլ են տալիս անմիջապես հաղորդակցվել օտարերկրյա հանրության հետ: Աշխարհի առաջնորդները և դիվանագետներն ավելի ու ավելի շատ են օգտագործում ֆեյսբուքյան ու թվիթերյան դիվանագիտությունը:
- *Փափուկ ուժը*, որը Ջոզեֆ Նայի բնորոշմամբ՝ երբեմն կոչվում է սրտի և մտքի դիվանագիտություն, կիրառվում է ազդեցություն ձեռք բերելու նպատակով, սակայն հակադրվում է կոշտ ուժի ավելի հարկադրական մոտեցումներին: Շատ հաճախ փափուկ ուժը շփոթում են պաշտոնական դիվանագիտության հետ, սակայն այն առնչվում է ոչ պետական, մշակութային առումով գրավիչ գործոններին, որոնք կարող են մարդկանց հաղորդ դարձնել օտար մշակույթին:
- *Պարտիզանական դիվանագիտությունը* հաշվի է առնում գլոբալիզացիայի գործընթացում զարգացման և անվտանգության մարտահրավերները և նախատեսված է լուծելու մի շարք գլոբալ խնդիրներ՝ սկսած համաճարակային հիվանդություններից մինչև կլիմայի փոփոխություն և ռեսուրսների սակավություն: Պարտիզանական դիվանագիտությունն ընդգծում է վերացական մտածողության, խնդիրների լուծման առաջադեմ հմտությունների և արագ հարմարվողական ճանաչողության կարևորությունը:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “All war represents a failure of diplomacy.” *Tony Benn*
- “To say nothing, especially when speaking, is half the art of diplomacy.” *Will Durant*
- “Diplomacy is the art of telling plain truths without giving offense.” *Winston Churchill*

- “The war we are fighting today against terrorism is a multifaceted fight. We have to use every tool in our toolkit to wage this war - diplomacy, finance, intelligence, law enforcement, and of course, military power - and we are developing new tools as we go along.” *Richard Armitage*
- “Diplomacy is the art of telling people to go to hell in such a way that they ask for directions.” *Winston Churchill*

Supplementary Reading

China’s Alternative Diplomacy

Chinese president Xi Jinping has certainly kept China experts busy since he came to power in 2012. Xi has made major changes to Chinese policies, domestic and foreign. These policies have been quite different from those of his predecessors, keeping China scholars occupied explaining their meaning and implications. This has been particularly evident in the foreign policy sphere. China watchers have been combing through the details of the new initiatives and proposals Xi has recently introduced, such as “One Belt, One Road” (1B1R) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Even though these new initiatives are still under construction, the fact is that this has been the biggest foreign policy shift in Beijing since 1989. The bigger question here is, what is the grand strategy behind Xi’s plans?

It is known as China’s “alternative diplomacy.” Xi’s strategy is a sophisticated and progressive one. Instead of directly challenging the current existing international institutions, the Chinese are trying to create new platforms that Beijing can control or substantially influence. Through these new initiatives, Beijing aims to create a new international environment that is more favorable to China, one that will limit strategic pressures from the United States. Beijing wants to gradually take progressive, but not provocative, steps forward in these endeavors. On the surface these steps aim only to further economic development enterprises, and Beijing is trying to promote them as pure economic and trade initiatives. Below the surface, however, Beijing is trying to work for China’s greater security and long-term strategic objectives.

During APEC meeting, Beijing presented its proposals for regional integration. These included the creation of the Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific (FTAAP) and the AIIB. The FTAAP is basically a Chinese alternative to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP); rather than directly working against and undermining the TPP, it’s a Chinese version of the proposed trade bloc. Similarly, the AIIB is a Chinese version of the Asia Development Bank (ADB) and World Bank. While the

new institutions will be open to all and multilateral, they are to be centered within China. Beijing wants to maintain influence and control within the organizations and provide incentives for other states to participate. Instead of withdrawing from existing institutions and systems, China is trying to progress one step at a time. In creating its own alternatives, China maintains more control and can make a greater impact.

Scholars have long debated whether China is a status quo or revisionist state. From a Chinese perspective though, a key question for a rising nation is how to handle its relationship with existing global institutions and systems. Although China is the largest economy in Asia, Japan dominates the ADB. Japan's voting share is more than twice that of China's, and the bank's president has always been Japanese. Looking at the landscape from Beijing's point of view, this is unquestionably a biased situation. Even with the IMF, reforms to give China a greater voice have been delayed for years. In response, China's new strategy is to try to establish new institutions and platforms as tools for Beijing to play the kind of role China cannot play in the ADB or IMF. However, China has been cautious not to upset the current global system and has been taking a two-track approach in this endeavor. On the one hand it is creating new institutions, and on the other is still actively participating in existing institutions such as the World Bank, WTO, IMF and ADB.

In the realms of security and politics, China has also been working hard to strengthen or revitalize several organizations, such as the BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA). With the same alternative strategy, Beijing is trying to use these organizations to counterbalance the NATO and U.S. military alliances in Asia. Even though it cannot control these three organizations, Beijing is still trying to bolster its leadership within them.⁷

Concert of Powers

In the early 1990s, the idea of a concert of powers became popular as a recipe for managing relations between the great powers and for providing a semblance of global governance in a world without a formal government. The best-known example of such a concert was established in the early nineteenth century, and those who argued that a similar concert could be established after the cold war have used this as a basis for their claims. In 1815 the Concert of Europe was created as a mechanism to enforce the decisions of the Congress of Vienna. It was composed of the Quadruple Alliance that had defeated Napoleon and ended his imperial

⁷ <https://thediplomat.com/2015/01/chinas-alternative-diplomacy/>

adventures in Europe. The alliance consisted of four main great powers – Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Britain. In 1818 France was formally admitted to the club, but it had already played an important role in the settlements of 1815. The main priorities for the great powers of the era were to establish a stable balance of power in Europe to preserve the territorial status quo, and to sustain ‘legitimate’ conservative governments in the heart of the European continent.

Over the next 30 to 40 years the members of the Concert met regularly to consult and negotiate solutions to their disputes and to deal with broader threats to the Concert as a whole. As an exercise in sustained great power cooperation, the Concert was remarkably successful in its aims, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century. It managed to suppress revolutionary uprisings in Spain and Italy in 1820 and 1822, and to contain France from achieving supremacy in Europe. Ultimately, differences between the great powers of the era, and their joint failure to suppress forces of revolutionary change within their own borders, brought the Concert to an end. There are differences of opinion over when precisely the Concert ceased to function. Some scholars argue that the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853 signified its downfall. This was the first major armed conflict in Europe after the settlement at Vienna. Moreover, it represented an expansionist move against the weak Ottoman Empire by Russia that was contrary to the very purpose of the Concert. Others argue that despite periodic crises, the Concert managed to persist in a variety of forms until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, and after the members of the Concert had become rivals in two competing alliances. After the end of the cold war, and particularly in the years immediately following the end of the Gulf War in 1991, a number of observers raised the possibility that a new concert could be established among the great powers of the present era – the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and the leading states of the European Union. The ability of these states to cooperate in forcing Iraq to reverse its annexation of Kuwait raised hopes that they could continue to collaborate to sustain international order. There are, however, a number of differences between the great powers of the early nineteenth century and those of today. First, the Concert of Europe was composed of five roughly equal great powers. Today, it is much harder to evaluate the distribution of power in international relations. No longer is there such a close link between military power and political influence, so it is difficult to determine the appropriate criteria for membership of a contemporary concert. Second, the Concert of Europe was established in part to deal with a military and political threat in the heart of Europe. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is difficult to identify any state sufficiently threatening to the great powers to generate an incentive for any of them to form a new concert of powers. Third, all the members of the Concert of Europe

shared certain conservative values. Despite their differences, which increased as the years went by, they accepted the system of balance of power as the common framework of their endeavours.

Today, the balance of power is global rather than merely regional, and it is not difficult to identify important differences between the states often identified as potential members of a contemporary concert. Whilst they all share some common interests, it remains unclear whether any normative consensus about a legitimate international order exists among them. In light of the overwhelming superiority of the United States today, it is unlikely that other great powers (particularly China) would want to join a concert that is bound to be dominated by one state. This is not to suggest that something approximating a concert of powers does not exist or could not be developed further in the years to come. The great powers of the twenty-first century do share some common interests such as an aversion to nuclear war, global terrorism, the use of military force to change territorial boundaries, and the threat of a global economic collapse. The question is whether those interests are sufficient to generate the cooperation necessary to maintain them.⁸

⁸ Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 48.

UNIT 3

STATES: POLICIES AND GOALS

Read the text and speak on

- the demands of states on each other
- the essence of inward-looking political goals
- Aussenpolitik (outward policy)
- differences in the outward policy of states
- the preservation of independence by the state

States or political entities which wish to retain their independence, whether within their existing boundaries or by forming a community or union with some of their neighbours, are fated to communicate with other states and unions outside their own. This negotiation between political entities which acknowledge each other's independence is called diplomacy.

What then do states (including communities and unions of states) want of one another? What are their demands on each other and on the system? Each independent political entity has certain goals or objectives which it wishes to achieve, certain things which the government and perhaps the people also wish to say and do. These goals, which reflect the values of the people, may be publicly proclaimed, or they may be unspoken and perhaps only half-consciously held. Sometimes a government proclaims goals which are quite different from those it actually pursues. Because this is the language of politics, much is written about the policies of leaders and political parties, and governments in terms of long-term goals. Goals certainly come into the diplomatic dialogue between states, and especially into that part of it which is conducted in public. But what almost all states ask of one another in their day-to-day relations, what they discuss and negotiate with one another about most of the time, are their more immediate needs and requirements, and their responses to pressures and circumstances. Indeed, a government's responses to pressures, its manner of coping with problems not of its own choosing, usually go far in determining its external policy. Of course, the policies of a government are modified by its long-term goals and objectives, and its responses determined by its values: though often much less than governments like to proclaim.

A large number of the problems which confront a government, and most of the political goals of a ruler or a party, are inward-looking and domestic. Similarly, the day-to-day policies of a government are mainly concerned with the internal affairs of the state which it governs. The reason why governments value independence so

highly is because they want to be able to take these internal decisions themselves. In the modern world the government is the ultimate and decisive authority inside a state; and as the power of the state (that is, the government) over all activities within it increases, so it becomes more absolute in the sense that its decisions determine what shall happen in matters that are within its control. More particularly, inside its own domain a government can make laws and issue edicts, in the expectation that they will generally be obeyed, even if sometimes grudgingly; and it has means of law enforcement to compel those who disobey. But in so far as the problems which a government faces are due to causes outside its boundaries, in so far as what other states do affects its problems, and indeed its policies and its goals, and in so far as its policies affect other states, it is said that a government has a foreign policy. *Aussenpolitik* (outward policy) is the applicable German term. In the field of outward policy, the position of a government is entirely different from its position at home. A state is not normally strong enough, or for a number of reasons is unable or unwilling to use its strength, to coerce other states to behave as it wishes. And since if it did, the other states concerned would not be meaningfully independent, it may be said that by definition an independent state is compelled to negotiate and bargain with other states on all matters where the policies of other states affect its own. Sometimes negotiation fails, of course, and states resort to force. But not all the time, and not with all other states. Most of the time states further their interests, and make their demands on the system and respond to its pressures, by negotiation.

There have been periods of history when the political entities in a certain area had so little contact with one another that they hardly had need of outward policies. But the more closely-knitted-together a system or society of states is, and the more interdependent the individual states in that society are, the more each will be affected by the outward policies of the others, and the more obliged it will be to take account of them and to enter into a dialogue with them, whether it wants to or not. The world as a whole has never been so closely knit, so interdependent, as it is today. Consequently, there is today more diplomacy, and it is more complex, than ever before.

It is a matter of common observation that the interests and principles, and the goals of states differ: that each state has a distinct outward policy. The main reason for these differences is that the outward policy of each state is largely determined by the needs of the area concerned and of the people who live there. Thus, for instance, every government of Mauritius will be concerned to sell its sugar at a good price; every government of Russia will want to ensure safe passage through the straits out of the Black Sea; every government of Britain has to ensure imports of huge quantities of food and raw materials. But there is also an area in the

outward policy of any state which is not determined in this way but is open to choice. This area of choice varies according to the circumstances of each state, and is usually much more limited than is often supposed; but it receives a great deal of attention precisely because it is a matter of choice, and therefore of controversy. Choices are possible about some long-term goals, but more usually they involve decisions about reactions to external events and pressures, and methods of responding to them, including, ultimately, involvement in war.

Every state, whether comparatively insulated from others or highly interdependent, is above all concerned to preserve the right and ability to take its own decisions, that is its independence. This is not to say, of course, that every state or political entity wishes to stay exactly as it is, in composition and territorial extent. Certain small states, and especially their populations, are willing to merge into a larger, equally independent state. Sometimes quite large countries want to do this, especially where the populations feel that they belong to the same nation or group. The German and Italian states pooled their independence and their sovereignty in the nineteenth century to form two large nation-states. Perhaps the Arab states, or those of Western Europe, may do the same tomorrow, and agree to share in the decision-making processes of a larger state. Indeed, from ancient times many groups of similar states have merged or formed unions in order to defend their collective independence more effectively. Similarly, groups or nations which are incorporated in existing states like the United Kingdom or India, may have the will and the opportunity to secede and to form smaller states on their own. In all these cases, new states emerge, and the desire to preserve independence from other states which people consider to be outside their own entity remains as before.

The principal concern of each state is to preserve its own independence. In a system of states where the policy of each affects the others, many states recognize that they have a joint interest in maintaining their independence; and they come to see in the independence of their fellow members the means to preserve their own. It is not necessary that every state should attach importance to preserving the independence of every other state, nor that it should formally recognize all other states as having the same moral right to a separate existence as it claims for itself. For example, governments committed to national unification are apt to consider certain existing states to be entities which are destined to disappear, either by absorption or by partition. But even in the case of revolutionary regimes the maintenance of one's own independence is soon seen to involve some recognition of that of others. It is clearly shortsighted of a state to concern itself with the preservation of its own independence only, while a more powerful neighbour establishes its domination over other states, for sooner or later its turn is likely to come, and it may not be strong enough to withstand alone that increasingly

powerful neighbour. From this practical and vital involvement in the independence of other states, the concept develops that states have a general right to be independent, and that those which want to exercise this right have an interest in supporting each other in asserting it. So, states in systems come to recognize that the mutual acceptance of the principle of independence, even with exceptions, is a necessary condition of a society of states, and that diplomatic intercourse between them must therefore be based on this acceptance. Recognition of independence, where it exists, both in practice and of right, is a prerequisite of diplomacy, as a state must recognize that other states are able and entitled to take their own decisions if it is to communicate and negotiate with them effectively about how they will act.⁹

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

to be fated to communicate _____
to cope with problems _____
ultimate and decisive authority _____
to make laws and issue edicts _____
means of law enforcement _____
the field of outward policy _____
to be compelled to negotiate and bargain _____
to resort to force _____
a matter of common observation _____
in composition and territorial extent _____

to merge into a larger, equally independent state _____
to secede and form smaller states _____
to be apt to consider certain existing states to be entities _____
by absorption or by partition _____
to withstand alone the increasingly powerful neighbour _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

պահպանել/պահել անկախությունը _____
հրապարակայնորեն հռչակվել _____
անմիջական կարիքներ և պահանջներ _____

⁹ Watson, A. Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p. 40.

շահերն առաջ քաշել _____
նեղուցներով անվտանգ/հուսալի միջանցք ապահովել _____

մթերքի և հումքի հսկայական քանակի ներմուծում _____
արձագանքներ արտաքին իրադարձություններին և ճնշումներին _____

մյուսներից համեմատաբար մեկուսացված _____
հավաքական անկախությունն ավելի արդյունավետ պաշտպանել _____

կարևորել անկախության պահպանումը _____
հաստատել գերակայություն այլ պետությունների նկատմամբ _____

դիվանագիտության նախադրյալ _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Պետություններն առաջ են մղում իրենց շահերը՝ կա՛մ ներգրավվելով պատերազմի մեջ, կա՛մ երկխոսության մեջ մտնելով, կա՛մ իրենց պահանջները միմյանց պարտադրելով: Խնդիրներին դիմակայելու ձևերը շատ տարբեր են:

2. Շատ դեպքերում, երկրի ներքին խնդիրներին ուղղված՝ տեղական նշանակության նպատակները հռչակվում են՝ ամրապնդելու կառավարության գերակա և անվերապահ իշխանությունը սեփական տիրույթում:

3. Ուժեղ պետությունների արտաքին քաղաքականությունը նպատակաուղղված է պարտադրելու այլ պետություններին՝ վարվել այնպես, ինչպես իրենք են ցանկանում:

4. Ավելի թույլ պետությունների համար ընտրության խնդիր է՝ դժկամորեն հնազանդվել, թե ավելի մեծ, հավասարապես անկախ պետությանը միաձուլվել՝ սեփական որոշումները կայացնելու իրավունքն ու կարողությունը պահպանելու հնարավոր հեռանկարի տեսլական ունենալով:

5. Թե՛ գործնականում և թե՛ ըստ օրենքի ի հայտ են գալիս նոր պետություններ, և նրանց վարած քաղաքականությունն ազդում է մյուսների քաղաքականության վրա՝ վերջիններիս արտաքին քաղաքականությունը նախագծելիս:

6. Երկարաժամկետ նպատակների առումով պետությունները ձգտում են հասնել իրենց նպատակներին՝ միանալով որոշակի քաղաքական սուբյեկտների, փոփոխելով ու հարմարեցնելով իրենց քաղաքականությունը, ճանաչելով միմյանց անկախությունը՝ հետագա գործնական համագործակցության տեսլականով, կամ՝ կիրառելով միջազգային իրավունքի կիրարկման միջոցներ՝ ստիպելու այն պետություններին, որոնք չեն ենթարկվում:

7. Հանրահայտ փաստ է, որ այն պետությունները, որոնք բաց են ընտրության համար, հաճախ վայելում են երկու աշխարհների լավագույնը:

<i>most of the time</i>	<i>to coerce</i>
<i>domestic goals</i>	<i>to impose demands on each other</i>
<i>to disobey</i>	<i>to merge</i>
<i>to cope with problems</i>	<i>in practice and of right</i>
<i>political entities</i>	<i>to determine external policies</i>
<i>to further interests</i>	<i>inward-looking</i>
<i>to acknowledge independence</i>	<i>to compel</i>
<i>further practical cooperation</i>	<i>to obey grudgingly</i>
<i>ultimate and decisive authority</i>	<i>long-term goals</i>
<i>to enjoy the best</i>	<i>to preserve the right and ability</i>
<i>a possible perspective</i>	<i>to enter into a dialogue</i>
<i>to be a matter of choice</i>	<i>to modify policies</i>
<i>to be a matter of common observation</i>	<i>means of international law enforcement</i>
<i>inside one's own domain</i>	<i>to be proclaimed to foster</i>
<i>to seek to achieve</i>	<i>with a view of</i>
<i>to emerge</i>	<i>in terms of</i>
<i>outward policy</i>	

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Ուսանող 1 – Դե լա՛վ, տղանե՛ր, լրջացե՛ք: Մեզ թույլատրել են զբաղեցնել այս դահլիճը ՄԱԿ-ի մեր փորձնական նիստի համար ընդամենը երկու ժամով: Իսկ մենք դեռ չենք էլ սկսել: Իմ առաջարկած թեման է. «Արդիականացումը օրվա կարգախոսն է»:

Ուսանող 2 – Ո՛չ, ո՛չ: Ավելի տեղին կլինի «Հումանիտար իրավիճակը Աֆրիկայում» կամ «Նպատակների ընդհանրությունը»: Անցյալ անգամ մենք արդեն քննարկել ենք գիտությունը:

Ուսանող 3 – Քանի որ շատ երկրներ հանդես են գալիս զանազան փոխկապակցված օրակարգերով, ես կարծում եմ, որ մենք կարող ենք անդրադառնալ ձեր առաջարկած բոլոր թեմաներին:

Ուսանող 4 – Ուրեմն գնդակը իմ դաշտում է: Ես ներկայացնում եմ Կոնգոն: Մենք ազատ և անկախ ժողովուրդ ենք և երբեք լրջորեն չենք քննարկի մեր անկախությունն ու ինքնիշխանությունը ինչ-որ կասկածելի քաղաքական սուբյեկտի մեջ միավորելու հավանականության գաղափարը:

Ուսանող 5 – Ես հասկանում եմ ձեր քաղաքականության զարգացման հիմնական միտումները, բայց արդյոք ձեր ժողովրդի չափած կամ կիսով չափ գիտակցված արժեքները չե՞ն արտացոլում արդիականացման նրանց ցանկությունը: Ոչ միայն ձեր երկիրը, այլև բոլոր անդամ երկրները կշահեն, եթե ձեր ինքնիշխանությունը համախմբեք հավասարապես անկախ միության մեջ:

Ուսանող 4 – Ես չեմ հավատում, որ դա հնարավոր է արդար պայմաններով: Վաղ թե ուշ անդամներից մեկը կփորձի իր գերակայությունը հաստատել մյուսների վրա:

Ուսանող 5 – Հասկացա՛: Ուրեմն, դուք կարծում եք, որ նման քաղաքականությունը ոչ մի քաղցր պտուղ չի տա, միայն՝ դառը:

Ուսանող 4 – Միանգամա՛յն:

Ուսանող 6 – Ներողությո՛ւն, գործընկերներ: Ինչո՞ւ եք հրաժարվում նպատակների ընդհանրության գաղափարից: Առօրյա հարաբերություններում, անշուշտ, պետությունների միջև դիվանագիտական երկխոսության ժամանակ նպատակներ են առաջադրվում:

Ուսանող 4 – Ճի՛շտ այդպես: Պետությունների՛ միջև: Մասնավորապես, անկախ, ինքնիշխան պետությունների միջև, ոչ թե ինչ-որ կոլեկտիվ

հրեշ պետության ներսում, որն իր հատուկ նպատակներն է հետապնդում: Ինձ մի՛ ասեք հումանիտար իրավիճակը մեղմելու ու նման բաների մասին: Եթե մենք զգոն չլինենք, մեզ կա՛մ կկլանեն, կա՛մ բաժան-բաժան կանեն:

Ուսանող 5 – Մեծ հույսեր ունեմ, որ նման բան տեղի չի ունենա: Ձեր պատկերացումները միջազգային հանրության և փոխադարձ օգնության վերաբերյալ չափազանց մոայլ են: Մենք ցանկանում ենք ամեն կերպ խրախուսել մարդկանց միջև շփումները, ապահովել ոչ միայն երկրների անվտանգությունը, այլև աֆրիկյան ժողովուրդների մշակութային ինքնության գոյատևումը: Եվ մենք դեռ բավական երկար ճանապարհ ունենք անցնելու:

Ուսանող 1 – Միանգամայն բնական է, որ թեժ բանավեճ պիտի ծավալվեր: Բայց մեր ժամանակը լրացել է, և ես պետք է բանալիները հանձնեմ պահակին: Հուսով եմ, հաջորդ անգամ ավելի լավ պատրաստված կլինենք համատեղ շահերի մասին խոսելու համար և կհասցնենք ռեկորդային ժամանակում:

*half-consciously held values
to be appropriate
interconnected agendas
absolutely
to get serious
more particularly
to flare up
and the like
to consider seriously
people-to-people contacts
development trends
to discard
absorbed or partitioned
in day-to-day relations
modernizing
exactly
to establish one's domain
questionable political entity
to hand in the keys to the warden*

*an equally independent union
to be allowed to occupy
to bear no sweet fruit
to benefit
a collective monster state
commonality
to come into diplomatic dialogue
to be alert
to be too grim
mock session
with specific goals to pursue
on fair terms
to pool independence and sovereignty
to tackle proposed motions
to alleviate
unspoken
in so far as
cultural identities
mutual assistance*

to be in one's court
the very survival
a heated debate
the time is up

joint interests
to strongly encourage
a long path to travel
motion

Task 5. Match the English adjectives with their respective sets of synonyms.

external	collective, concerted, cooperative, consolidated
inward-looking	indispensable, important, integral, significant
internal	determined, crucial, resolute, conclusive
decisive	foreign, extraneous, outer
distinct	reciprocal, associated, bilateral, dependent
joint	domestic, inner, inward, intrinsic
powerful	definite, explicit, palatable, unambiguous
vital	circumscribed, isolated, confined, restricted
short-sighted	authoritative, compelling, robust, almighty
mutual	ill-considered, imprudent, ill-advised, injudicious

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

intractable geopolitical conflicts *to restore the existing international order*
military alliances *historical experience*
ethnic self-determination *refurbishing the existing system*
be conducted secretly

When American thinking on foreign policy and European diplomatic traditions encountered each other at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the differences in _____ became dramatically evident. The European leaders sought _____ according to familiar methods; the American peacemakers believed that the Great War had resulted not from _____ but from flawed European practices. In his famous Fourteen Points, Woodrow Wilson told the Europeans that, henceforth, the international system should be based not on the balance of power but on _____, that their security should depend not on _____ but on collective security, and that their diplomacy should no longer _____ by experts but on the basis of “open agreements, openly arrived at.” Clearly, Wilson had come not so much to discuss the terms for ending a war or for _____, as he had to recast a whole system of international relations as it had been practiced for nearly three centuries.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

A translator, like a witness on the stand, should hold up his right hand and swear to “tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.”

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

It is rather important to keep faithful to the original text. This is especially vital when you face certain problems, like reading and comprehension in the source language; “linguistic untranslatability” when you come across true and false friends, calque, terms; “cultural untranslatability”, when you deal with proverbs, sayings, idioms or jokes. So, sometimes it is better to find the equivalents instead of translating them.

*Diplomats have long been familiar **with the extent to which** social realities are constructed.*

*Դիվանագետները վաղուց են ծանոթ **այն բանի հետ, թե որքանով** են սոցիալական իրողությունները հստակ կառուցված:*

*The first alternative would mean a world which would have **to resign itself to** a condition of anarchy and isolation, of chronic insecurity and war.*

*Առաջին այլընտրանքը կնշանակեր մի աշխարհ, որը ստիպված պետք է **հաշտվեր** անարխիայի և մեկուսացման, քրոնիկ անապահովության և պատերազմի հետ:*

Yet, one of the most essential principles to follow is understanding the context and translating within it. This is especially vital when you are translating from or into English taking into consideration the fact that it is abundant in homonyms and all words in the English language are polysemantic.

Tip

When you have to translate a familiar word from English but you see that the meaning you know does not fit into the context/sentence to be translated, always make out if it is a component of a phrase/structure/collocation and translate as such, or just look up another meaning that fits into your context.

Task 1. Translate the following passages into Armenian paying special attention to the word “reason” and find relevant equivalents for the phrases with it.

Reason of State

Yet, a state is created for clear purposes: to protect the interests and realize the aspirations of the nation that created it. It must be true to these purposes. The state

fulfills these purposes by acting to ensure the survival, security, well-being, domestic tranquility, strategic advantage, and other interests of its nation in the most efficacious manner it can, consistent with the means its nation has decreed to be acceptable. This is why the state exists. *Reason of state* derived from these purposes justifies its actions vis-à-vis other states and peoples, whether violent or nonviolent in nature.

The first duty of diplomats as officers of their state, taking precedence over all others, is to advance its purposes and, hence, the interests of their nation. As agents of their state, diplomats cannot substitute their own morality for that of their principal. They are bound as a matter of their profession to execute actions desired by reason of state.

Reason of System

The logic of the profession of diplomacy is the pursuit of negotiated change in international relations. This logic is best expressed in an international system that enhances the prospects for the nonviolent resolution of disputes and expanded cooperation among states. Such an international order consists of norms and practices of state behavior and international legal and regulatory regimes conducive to peaceful change. The need to defend and improve international order generates a reason of system that is an important source of state policy as well as of professional ethics in diplomacy.

Reason of system compels a firm response to challenges in the international system from revolutionary power and rogue leaders who seek broadly to subvert or overthrow it. Statecraft based on reason of system may take the form of diplomacy, covert action, the use of force, or all of these.

Reason of Relationship

The normal operation of diplomacy dictates efforts to buttress relations with allies and friends and to avoid severing communication or precluding rapprochement with enemies. This course sustains existing patterns of international support for a state while leaving open the possibility that it can augment these in future, as circumstances permit. It facilitates the collection of useful intelligence and enhances the prospects for the peaceable composition of differences with other states, whether such states are allies, friends, adversaries, or enemies. In feudal state systems, in particular, *reason of friendship* with a hegemonic power may assume primary importance in the statecraft and diplomacy of lesser states. Obedience to reason of friendship is the third professional duty for diplomats.

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

The independence of all the states in a system is compatible, ճիշտ այնպես, ինչպես համատեղելի են քաղաքական կուսակցությունների իրավունքները պետության ներսում _____

_____.

This concept of compatibility is important for all collective diplomacy, և այն վերաբերում է միջազգային կյանքի այլ կողմերին, որոնք պետությունների գերակշիռ մասը համարում է խիստ ցանկալի, _____

_____.

though they are not prerequisites of a diplomatic dialogue, as independence is. For instance, peace and security դիվանագիտության կարևոր նախապայմաններ չեն _____.

Diplomacy can be very active even in wartime: within an alliance, and with neutrals, and պատերազմող պետությունների միջև _____ in order to bring the war to an end. Peace and security are not the same; and though they are bracketed together in the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the U.N. Charter, even there concepts like «խաղաղության հարկադրում», «ռազմական պատժամիջոցներ», ակնհայտորեն ցույց են տալիս, որ անվտանգության պահպանումը _____

_____.

may require the capacity and the perceived will to use military force. But peace and security are like independence in that they are also compatible. Every state can work for them without denying them to other states; and diplomacy can aim to establish and maintain them on a universal and collective basis.

Therefore, when we say that միջազգային հասարակության կամ պետությունների համակարգում անկախությունը, խաղաղությունն ու անվտանգությունը համատեղելի են _____

_____.

we mean that broadly speaking the states which desire these conditions can all attain them at once. Նմանապես, մենք կարող ենք ընդհանուր առմամբ

ասել, որ առկա է հարցերի լայն շրջանակ _____

where the interests of states differ and indeed conflict, but where solutions can be found which both parties find it in their interest to accept. For instance, if we take the issue of sugar, there is a price at which it is in the interest of the seller to sell and the buyer to buy. Քանի որ առևտուրը փոխշահավետ է _____,

the interests of the buyer and seller are opposed but not incompatible. If all the states in a system, all the political entities in an international society, had only compatible purposes, diplomacy would involve a great deal of hard bargaining, and perhaps some ill-feeling between competitors, but there would be no serious threat to peace and order in the international community.

However, in the real world ոչ բոլոր պետությունները, և, անշուշտ, ոչ բոլոր ակտիվ քաղաքական սուբյեկտներն ունեն խաղաղ ու համատեղելի նպատակներ և քաղաքականություն _____

There are at present and always have been a number of states, and of political entities that do not quite have the international position of recognized states, which consider that the world is wrongly ordered and is unjust either in general or in some particular. They do so for a number of reasons. They may have revolutionary governments, or at least governments who consider it their duty to change the way in which other states are governed (e.g., to spread communism, or democracy, or a religion like Islam). Or another state may occupy territory which they consider ought rightfully to be theirs. Or they may պահանջել հավասար հնարավորություններ առևտրի և ընդլայնման համար _____

_____ which other states monopolize (this was the complaint of Japan between the two world wars). Or they may be ապստամբական շարժումներ, որոնք ցանկանում են ստեղծել նոր և անկախ պետություններ _____

_____ or gain control of existing ones.

All these aims and demands, and other similar ones, have been considered legitimate, and indeed heroic and praiseworthy, by different peoples at different times. Ինչ վերաբերում է դիվանագիտությանը _____, what matters is that all of them are incompatible with the interests and demands of some other state or states.

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

New Trends in the Study of Foreign Policy

In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, IR scholars have increasingly **challenged the secularized nature** of IR theory and **have endorsed new theoretical approaches** that explicitly include the religious dimensions of social and political life. For example, in the context of the United States, scholars have considered how U.S. foreign policy has reflected **the ebbs and flows in the political fortunes** of various Christian religious dominations and how the foreign policy decision to go to war in Iraq in March 2003 was influenced by President George W. Bush's religious beliefs and the religiously based views of other prominent neoconservatives in the Bush administration. Outside of the U.S. context, new work investigates how religious opposition groups have influenced Israel's capacity to pursue peace making as a foreign policy option and whether religious viewpoints dominate the foreign policies of states in the Muslim world. Non-Western states may **fuse religion and the state** in ways that are markedly different from the liberal secular model. Accordingly, foreign policy researchers should continue to investigate whether and how religiously motivated actors and religiously based institutions influence foreign policy decision making and outcomes in politics characterized by religion in the public sphere. In addition to focusing on culture and religion, foreign policy analysts must further investigate the nature of foreign policy change. In light of the major shift in U.S. foreign policy sparked by the September 11 attacks – changes that continue **to have short- and long-term consequences** for both the United States and IR – scholars of foreign policy need to continue to develop **cross-national models** that demonstrate how domestic and international variables **contribute to large-scale foreign policy change**. There is a need to better understand the conditions that give rise to changes in national security and economic strategies and the circumstances under which decision makers learn and are then able **to alter established foreign policy platforms**: do the same domestic and international variables that influence the initial choice among a set of foreign policy options also influence the decision to alter foreign policy course? Does it matter if the foreign policy change is abrupt or not? Last, while the study of domestic-level influences on foreign policy **has a**

long pedigree, scholars of foreign policy have recently begun **to study the reverse causal arrow** by considering the impact of foreign policies on domestic politics, including state-societal relations and state-building and institutional development. Recent work in the subfield has also investigated the **impact of regional security conditions on the propensity** for states to democratize. A key finding in this literature is that foreign policies that support peaceful means of regional conflict resolution can influence not only the likelihood of war but also domestic institutional development, civil-military relations, and bargaining outcomes among domestic political actors. Typically, work on foreign policy focuses on just one country. The subfield boasts many seminal and new studies of the foreign policy decision-making process and foreign policy outcomes in countries as diverse as Israel, China, Japan, Cuba, and many more. A comparative study, however, permits multiple tests of theoretical propositions and **enables findings to cumulate across states with disparate histories**, regime types, and identities. Several new studies aim to compare and contrast the foreign policies of different states. Yet compared with single-country analyses, studies of comparative foreign policy are few and far between. More work remains to be done on how foreign policy is both similar and different across a diverse range of international actors.¹⁰

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the texts and discuss them.

Text A

Post-reading discussion points

- *Give some relevant examples of why some incompatible demands are equally definable.*
- *What do you think about peace and independence? Are they interrelated conceptually?*
- *What factors may cause a war?*

There are two great difficulties about incompatible demands. The first is the ‘subjectivity’ of controversial values. Independence and peace are for practical purposes objectively definable. Diplomats talking about such matters have no great difficulty in agreeing what is meant, even though concepts like independence and peace are not absolutes but mean rather different things in different contexts. Some incompatible demands are equally definable, especially concrete ones like claims

¹⁰ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 604.

to territory. But a demand for justice, a plea for a wrong to be righted, are based on subjective judgements, on which there is normally no agreement. The state against which the demand is made will probably regard it as unjust, using other criteria which are also controversial. For instance, if we take the dispute between the United Kingdom and Spain about Gibraltar, both sides have criteria of their own, according to which they are in the right. A decision by the International Court that Gibraltar is legally British would not convince the Spaniards; and votes by the General Assembly of the U.N. in favour of Spain have not convinced the British. The second and even greater difficulty about incompatible demands derives from the fact that where a state or political entity feels very strongly about what it considers to be an injustice, it or at least certain of its members tend to resort to violence in order to correct the wrong. This is especially true when the criteria or values on which one state or group bases its claim are not universally accepted. The history of Palestine over the last sixty years is a good illustration of this difficulty.

If peace were to be the supreme goal of all states, and there were to be no recourse to war or other forms of violence in order to right wrongs or to change the world, then only those wrongs could be righted and only those adjustments made which a state could be induced to accept without the use of force. It is true that the values of states change; and that a state may sometimes be persuaded to yield by argument, because its government and people acknowledge the justice of the case brought against it. For instance, imperial states may freely, and without the use of force, grant independence to colonies – as Britain, France, Spain, and other countries have done. Or a state may be induced to give way by other member states of the international system applying pressure short of force, such as economic sanctions. But in practice such changes are limited.

The renunciation in advance of the use of force in order to right a proclaimed ‘injustice’ is recognized in practice as a diplomatic formula weighted heavily in favour of the status quo. So, peace, the exclusion of violence by one political entity against another, is essentially the policy of satisfied states, weak states and states which consider that the changes they really care about can be achieved by diplomacy and the help of their friends without recourse to violence.

Peace, then, does not mean a condition in which there are no conflicts between the needs, demands and goals of states, for these are always present. It means a condition where states and political entities do not use violence against one another in pursuit of their incompatible goals. War is a highly concentrated and specialized form of violence between states. It is usually on a much larger and deadlier scale than other forms of violence, and is also usually subject to certain rules and conventions, like the treatment of prisoners, which other forms of international

violence do not respect. But like other forms of planned and organized violence, it is a means to an end. Political entities do not resort to force for pleasure, they resort to force in order to attain a political goal: for instance, in order to correct what they consider an unjust or unfair situation, or to defend what they consider just and right against violence by others.¹¹

Text B

Post-reading discussion points

- Which are the major paradigms of international relations (IR) and are they interrelated?
- What are the basic characteristic features of realism?
- Why do foreign policy choices tend to be limited?
- What do the realists claim if states face similar structural constraints and opportunities?
- What do liberal IR theorists think about the factors influencing foreign policy?
- How is constructivist IR theory associated with foreign policy?

Work on foreign policy is ubiquitous because its central focus is essential to the study of international relations (IR) more generally: understanding how decision makers perceive threats, constraints, and opportunities in their external and internal environments, and how these perceptions guide actions toward other governments and nongovernmental actors. The subfield of foreign policy is a prominent research area in the study of IR. Foreign policy research can be found across the major paradigms of IR, including realism, liberalism, and constructivism.

Paradigmatic Approaches to Foreign Policy

It is typically argued that realist IR theory does not provide a theory of foreign policy. To be sure, realist theories primarily focus on broad trends and patterns in interstate interactions and make predictions regarding aggregate state behavior. Realists generally make three interrelated claims regarding foreign policy. First, realists assert that foreign policies are largely driven by external constraints and opportunities, namely, the state's position in the international system and the system's distribution of material capabilities. While realists acknowledge that domestic politics, normative discourse, and ideas and ideologies can affect a state's foreign policy decision making, they suggest that most of the time foreign policy is

¹¹ Watson, A. *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States*. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p. 44.

a function of material factors such as international anarchy and the states' capacity for fighting wars. Since international structural conditions are constants and generate both fear and lack of trust, foreign policy choices tend to be limited and are reflective of the national interest and the need to survive. Indeed, even contemporary neoclassical realists, who attempt to bring domestic-level variables and decision makers' perceptions back into the study of foreign policy outcomes, nevertheless begin their analyses with the external pressures and incentives that states face: unit-level variables intervene between structural constraints and foreign policy choice. Second, realists claim that if states face similar structural constraints and opportunities, then their foreign policies will be remarkably similar as well. Differences in state regime types and identities, as well as new leadership and decision-making styles, are largely irrelevant to the analysis. Last, realists argue not that domestic politics and individual-level variables never matter for foreign policy decision making but rather that states that continually base foreign policies on such factors will inevitably suffer from poor foreign policy performance. That is, realists focus less on the foreign policy-making process, which may or may not be influenced by nonstructural factors, and more on the consequences of foreign policy outcomes.

Whereas realists view foreign policy choices as driven by a state's position in the international system, liberal IR theorists maintain that variation in state-societal factors influences foreign policy, even for states that face similar structural constraints and opportunities. Focusing on the domestic sources of foreign policy, scholars have examined a wide range of variables including institutional fragmentation and cohesion, public opinion, and the role of the media. In recent years, the proposition that democratic states' foreign policies are more pacific than are those of autocracies has become a cottage industry within both the subfield of foreign policy and the broader field of IR. Discussions of foreign policy decision-making processes and outcomes, particularly crises among democracies that resulted in near-wars, dominate the debate about the notion of democratic peace. For proponents, it is crucial that foreign policy match the predictions made by democratic peace theory; democratic peace theorists are interested in showing not only that in the aggregate democracies act differently abroad but also that democratically elected decision makers act and think in ways consistent with the theory. For opponents, the analysis of foreign policy crises and war and peace decisions suggests that power differentials and material capabilities matter more for the decisions of both democratically elected and authoritarian leaders. Foreign policy researchers have also used case studies of foreign policy to challenge the democratic peace theory's truncated version of domestic politics in general and democratic politics in particular. Criticism has been leveled at the democratic peace

theory's perspective on the second image, which tends to emphasize regime type (democracy vs. nondemocracy) at the expense of other domestic-level variables that also vary among democracies (e.g., civil-military relations, executive-legislative balances of power, and leadership styles). Here, foreign policy analysis has suggested that democratic states frequently endorse different foreign policy positions as a result of differing national roles and leadership orientations; that for democratically elected leaders threat perception is often based less on the regime type of opposing states, as democratic peace proponents claim, and more on the personalities and international rule-following propensities of foreign counterparts; and that domestic pathologies of democratic decision making, such as the executive's ability to manipulate information and the agenda, can lead to detrimental foreign policy outcomes.

While realist and liberal IR theorists engage the study of foreign policy, constructivist IR theory is perhaps the most closely associated with foreign policy analysis due to its emphasis on how threats and national interests are defined and framed and the ways in which external reality is shaped by agents, including foreign policy decision makers. Constructivists have examined how international and domestic norms influence the type of response that foreign policy makers will opt for when faced with an international crisis and how international events and developments are constructed as threats and problems for national security. The central argument here is that nonmaterial factors, including norms, culture, ideology, and identity, can shape decision makers' opinions regarding appropriate and inappropriate foreign policy options as well as assessments of the likely consequences of different foreign policy actions.

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Պետություն

Քաղաքական ամբողջականության տեսանկյունից պետությունը քաղաքականապես կազմակերպված այն համայնքն է, որն ապրում է կառավարման միևնույն համակարգի ներքո: Պետությունները կարող են լինել ինքնիշխան (սուվերեն) և ոչ ինքնիշխան (ոչ սուվերեն): Օրինակ՝ դաշնային (Ֆեդերալ) պետությունների անդամները (միավորները) միայն մասնակիորեն են սուվերեն, բայցևայնպես պետություններ են: Որոշ պետություններ արտաքին սուվերենի կամ գերիշխանության (հեգեմոնիայի) սուբյեկտ են: Այն պետությունները, որոնք ինքնիշխան են, հայտնի են որպես սուվերեն պետություններ: Ամերիկյան անգլերենի կրողները հաճախ պետություն և կառավարություն տերմիններն օգտագործում են

որպես հոմանիշներ, որտեղ երկու բառերն էլ ենթադրում են կազմակերպված քաղաքական խմբի առկայություն, որը որոշակի տարածքում իրականացնում է իշխանություն: Շատ հասարակություններ պետությունների կողմից կառավարվել են հազարամյակներով, մինչդեռ որոշները եղել են պետականագուրկ հասարակություններ: Ժամանակի ընթացքում կառավարման բազմաթիվ ձևեր են զարգացել՝ իրենց գոյության իրավունքը հիմնավորելով ամենատարբեր արդարացումներով (ինչպես օրինակ՝ թագավորների աստվածային իրավունքը, հասարակական պայմանագրի տեսությունը և այլն): 21-րդ դարում ժամանակակից ազգ-պետությունը պետության գերիշխող ձևն է, որի սուբյեկտը ժողովուրդն է:

Երկրների պետական կարգը կարող է սահմանվել մի քանի չափանիշներով.

- ժողովրդավարական արժեքի գնահատում՝ ժողովրդավարականից մինչև ոչ ժողովրդավարական կարգեր՝ ավտորիտարիզմ, դիկտատուրա, ռազմական ռեժիմ, գաղութատիրություն և այլն,
- եղանակը, որով որոշվում է պետության գլուխը՝ հանրապետություն, միապետություն, աստվածապետություն և այլն,
- փիլիսոփայությունը, որի վրա հիմնված է պետական կարգը՝ կոմունիզմ, կապիտալիզմ:

«Պետական կարգ» և «կառավարություն» հասկացությունները նույնական չեն. հնարավոր է մեկ պետական կարգ (օր.՝ հանրապետություն) ունեցող երկրում գործի առանձնահատուկ կառավարություն: Իսկ միատարր պետություն, դաշնություն (ֆեդերացիա) և համադաշնություն (կոնֆեդերացիա) հասկացությունները վերաբերում են սահմանադրական կարգին:

Պետության գործառույթները

Պետությունը կատարում է քաղաքական համակարգի մյուս ինստիտուտների գործունեությունից տարբերվող մի շարք գործառույթներ: Պետության գործառույթները նրա գործունեության հիմնական ուղղություններն են, որոնց միջոցով իրականացվում է պետության սոցիալական դերը, բացահայտվում է նրա գործունեության ներքին հակասական և փոխզիջումային բնույթը: Քաղաքագիտական գրականության մեջ պետության գործառույթները լինում են ներքին ու արտաքին, իսկ երբեմն էլ

դասակարգվում են ըստ գործունեության ոլորտների (տնտեսական, քաղաքական, սոցիալական, հոգևոր և այլն):

Պետության ներքին գործառույթները կենսագործվում են հասարկության ներքին կյանքում: Դրանք լուծում են տնտեսական, սոցիալական, քաղաքական, իրավական, կազմակերպչական, կրթական, մշակութային-դաստիարակչական խնդիրները: Պետության ներքին գործառույթներում կարևոր տեղ ունեն նաև առողջապահությանն առնչվող, ազգագրական, էկոլոգիական և զանազան այլ խնդիրների կարգավորումը, բնության տարերային աղետների հետևանքները վերացնելու ժամանակ բնակչությանը ցուցաբերվող օգնության կազմակերպումը և այլն:

Պետության արտաքին գործառույթը վերաբերում է նրա միջազգային գործունեությանը, մյուս պետությունների ու ժողովուրդների հետ փոխհարաբերություններին: Պետական իշխանությունը պատասխանատու է այլ երկրների հետ տնտեսական, տեխնիկական, մշակութային, սոցիալական և այլ ոլորտներում փոխշահավետ համագործակցության և դիվանագիտական հարաբերությունների հաստատման ու զարգացման համար: Կարևոր տեղ ունեն երկրի սահմանների, տարածքային ամբողջականության պահպանումը, նրա շահերի ու ինքնիշխանության պաշտպանությունը, բնակչության անվտանգության ապահովումը և այլն:

Պետության արտաքին գործառույթներն օրինաչափորեն բխում են ներքին գործառույթներից և դրանց շարունակությունն են: Միաժամանակ արտաքին գործառույթները հակադարձ ներգործություն են ունենում ներքին գործառույթների վրա: Այսպես օրինակ՝ երկրի ներսում տնտեսության, քաղաքականության և մշակույթի ոլորտներում պետության գործունեությունը հաճախակի և զգալիորեն կախված է արտաքին պայմաններից, արտաքին տնտեսական և մշակութային կապերից: Դա հատկապես տեսանելի է ներկա պայմաններում, երբ ի հայտ են եկել այնպիսի կազմավորումներ, ինչպիսիք են՝ ԵՄ, ԵԽ, ԵԱՀԿ, ԱՊՀ և այլն:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “In politics there is no place for pity.” *Otto von Bismarck*
- “Politics is the art of the possible.” *Otto von Bismarck*
- “He who knows how to flatter also knows how to slander.” *Napoleon*

- “The most disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war.”
Erasmus

Supplementary Reading

Rogue States

A state that regularly violates international standards of acceptable behavior is considered a rogue state. Over the last decade Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and North Korea have all been given this highly pejorative label. It evokes images of a state that is outwardly aggressive, a threat to international peace, highly repressive, xenophobic, and arrogant, and which has no regard for the norms of international society. It is no accident, then, that the term has found a home among some American policymakers. To refer to a state as a rogue is a way of justifying certain policy options, as well as mobilizing public support for political action against such a state. What should not be lost sight of, however, is that in most cases it is the leadership that is rogue, and not the general populace. The term does not differentiate in this regard and, in most cases, it is the people who ultimately pay the price when the international community takes collective action against the rogue state. This is particularly evident in the case of Iraq.

The sort of behaviour that the international community regards as ‘rogue behaviour’ includes the development of chemical and biological weapons, attempting to buy the materials necessary for the construction of nuclear weapons, drug trafficking, failure to live up to international treaties, sponsorship of terrorism, invasion or the unwarranted provocation of neighbouring states, and the construction of long-distance missile delivery systems. A good example of rogue behaviour is North Korea’s missile test flight over Japanese air-space in the mid-1990s. But the rogue state par excellence is undoubtedly Iraq. According to the United States, the Ba’athist regime has been involved in just about all the activities listed above. While not generally referred to as rogue states, a number of states are involved in some of the activities listed above. They are, in US foreign policy parlance, ‘countries of concern’. Serbia is a good example. The distinction between rogue states and countries of concern highlights the fact that the United States, and by extension the international community, is willing to tolerate certain violations of international law by certain states without labelling them as rogues. The international community has two main strategies for dealing with rogue states, namely containment or accommodation. Containment is, of course, a continuation of a cold war policy applied to particular states. A major component of this policy includes the imposition of sanctions. Many scholars believe that there is no

guarantee that they can be successful. Iraq's government has demonstrated over the past few years that it has managed to survive the imposition of sanctions even if many Iraqi citizens have not. Offering material rewards for complying with the wishes of the international community is another strategy that has been used against rogue states. This, of course, can be interpreted as a crude form of appeasement. Again, it is difficult to determine whether such a policy works. It remains to be seen, for example, whether the American attempt to convince North Korea to halt its nuclear weapons program in return for aid and technical assistance will succeed. One of the problems in treating particular states as rogues, pariahs or 'backlash' states is that the international community must bear some of the responsibility for their recalcitrant behaviour. This is why there is something disingenuous about policymakers who use this language to describe certain states. For example, the United States has been only too willing to prop up and court unsavoury dictators, sell them advanced military hardware, and ignore their uncivilised and repressive behaviour if it served its interests to do so. It should be noted that rogue states are partly a product of an inequitable distribution of power and wealth in the international system. The best way to ensure that states like Iran, Libya, and Iraq do not become rogues in the first place is through strategies of inclusion, restraint in the sale of weaponry, debt cancellation, and a more ethical approach to the Third World by the international community.¹²

¹² Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 280.

UNIT 4

ALLIANCES

Read the text and speak on

- basic purposes and functions of alliances
- key features of alliances
- how alliances perform their functions during wars
- the way internal politics is characterized in bilateral and multilateral alliances
- alliances as the primary means for balancing power in international politics
- the advantages of forging an alliance in peacetime

Alliances are a primary form of international relations (IR) and national security policy. In conventional usage, an alliance is a formal agreement between governments to provide military support under specific political conditions. This may include military operations separately planned and executed, or highly coordinated and integrated, and other measures such as arms transfers, intelligence sharing, and the use of bases, air space, waterways, and territory. Their most important dimensions fall into three categories: (1) basic purpose and function; (2) internal politics; and (3) external effects.

Basic Purposes and Functions

The primary function of an alliance is to combine military strength against adversaries. The combined strength may be used in various ways to advance collective and individual purposes. It is most often used for deterrence, to signal to potential aggressors that they will meet such combined resistance that aggression will not pay. But it may also be used more offensively to compel others into political submission. Both of these coercive strategies, nevertheless, hinge on the most basic alliance function, to promote cooperative warfighting, for that is what makes them credible.

Although the process is never frictionless, alliances tend to form and deform in response to shifting concentrations of power and the threats they pose. Because threats are a function of intentions as well as power, compatibility of national aims tends to drive alliance patterns. Alliances may also form along lines of ideological or religious affinity, because the shared values are likely to be endangered by common threats. In late 19th-century Europe, for example, a conservative alliance based on monarchical solidarity – the Three Emperors League of Prussia, Russia, and Austria-Hungary – formed against the spread of radicalism at home and

abroad. Thus, the political logic of combining strength against a common threat holds, even when the calculus is not determined by external power configurations alone.

When alliances fight in general wars, the common interests they stand for tend to reflect status quo or revisionist goals. The former seek to uphold the prevailing territorial divisions and political frameworks of an international system. The latter seek to overthrow them. At the start of World War II, the revisionist alliance (or “Axis”) of Germany, Italy, and Japan joined in rejecting the League of Nations, and in pursuing territorial conquests and a new international economy. It was opposed by a status quo alliance composed of Britain and France, and their allies in Eastern Europe.

But allies’ purposes are often more complicated than such broad generalities suggest, for partners will also seek parochial and perhaps contradictory aims, including control over each other. Once the Soviet Union and the United States joined Britain in World War II, their Grand Alliance sought not only to eliminate enemy regimes in Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo, but also to preserve fading empire, extend new spheres of influence over satellites, and create the United Nations and a multilateral liberal economic system. There were obvious tensions among these goals, and they were amply manifest in the international politics of the cold war.

Internal Politics

Alliances require material and/or political sacrifices. They can also multiply dangers by provoking counter-alliances and new threats. Allies will thus struggle over the distribution of the costs and benefits of their enterprise, each trying to shift obligations and dangers onto the others. Two basic organizational features shape these internal politics: the number and relative strength of the allies. Increasing the number of allies makes it harder to reconcile disparate priorities. Equality of power among allies adds to the trouble by making it harder to determine whose contributions and priorities must trump. In bilateral alliances, the internal politics are least complicated between strong and weak partners, and more complicated between roughly equal ones. In multilateral alliances of unequal partners the internal politics are yet more difficult, and most difficult of all are multilateral pacts of equals. Regardless of what form an alliance takes, each partner will try to avoid two elementary risks: The first is being abandoned by one’s allies at a moment of grave danger; the second is being entrapped in a fight for an ally’s parochial interest that harms one’s own. These twin risks pose an inherent dilemma of alliance politics, and especially during periods of international crisis, much of alliance politics reflects the strivings of each ally to navigate through it.

Although it creates the danger of entrapment, forging an alliance in peacetime is advantageous because it allows allies to send diplomatic signals and coordinate military plans and forces in ways that increase deterrence and the prospects for military victory. In principle, the more deeply allies coordinate and integrate national strategies, forces, and operations the more effective and beneficial the alliance will be. Yet even when allies agree strongly about their common political purposes, and share a high degree of trust, the business of coordinating let alone integrating military strategies, postures, and operations, can be deeply divisive – within governments as much as between them. Traditional wisdom holds that divisions will recede as common dangers increase, and grow as common dangers fade. Thus, wartime alliances tend to unravel after victory, as the Anglo-American–Soviet alliance did after World War II. However, the cleverest and most menacing adversaries will incite and exploit divisions within opposing alliances; then even great danger will not mute debilitating internal politics.

Important questions in IR concern the conditions for taming corrosive alliance politics. Shared norms and transparent decision-making may help liberal democracies to make and keep stronger alliance commitments. Institutionalized alliances, possessing routine processes for political decision-making and military coordination, supported by deliberative bodies and bureaucracies, may also be more robust. Such institutionalization, especially in an alliance of democracies, may even be transforming, creating an unusually cohesive security community in which partners tend to interpret and react to world politics in increasingly convergent ways. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) – the most institutionalized and democratic alliance in history – may for this reason have continued to function and adapt long after its main opponent, the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact, crumbled.

External Effects

Alliances are a primary means for balancing power in international politics. Most dramatically this occurs when broad alliances form against an aggressor, like Napoleonic France, that threatens to suborn the international system. Short of such extremes, alliances may foster international order and stability by spreading deterrence and predictability among states and a sense of assurance and restraint within them. But alliances have often been seen as causing more not less international warfare. First, because competitions in alliance building can create spirals of insecurity that make war more likely. Second, because once small local wars start, alliances may widen them and make them more destructive through webs of commitments on each side. That pathology is most associated with the start of World War I in 1914 when two tight alliances, with France and Russia on

one side, and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other, became deadlocked during a crisis between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. Though both were conceived as defensive alliances to prevent war, they seem to have dragged the European powers, and much of the rest of the world, into catastrophe.

The idea that alliances promote peace and stability was boosted by NATO's cold war successes in deterring a Soviet-led Warsaw Pact attack on Western Europe, and fostering cooperation within the alliance between historical enemies West Germany and France. Expectations about reproducing the latter effect motivated NATO expansion after the cold war, when former Warsaw Pact members in Eastern Europe were left in a region of strategic uncertainty without alliance safeguards. NATO's members overcame internal disputes over the scope and pace of enlargement, and agreed to expand the alliance eastward to project stability and promote democracy within the new member states. This logic for projecting security through alliance growth thus evoked the idea that democratic alliances can instill deep bonds of common identity and security community.

In the first decade of the 21st century, the strongest case for such bonding remained the Anglo-American alliance: forged in world wars, it was deepened and institutionalized bilaterally and multilaterally through NATO during decades of cold war. As their security concerns shifted to nuclear proliferation and transnational terrorism, those two allies showed surprising cohesion in fighting wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. With other NATO members, however, especially concerning Iraq, there was greater political acrimony and less evident commitment to joint effort, showing that even the deeply democratic and institutionalized transatlantic security community remains vulnerable to divisive and perhaps debilitating internal politics.

As the century unfolds, two issues concerning alliances will loom largest for students and practitioners of international relations. The first is the extent to which traditional alliance frameworks can be retooled and mobilized to redress amorphous transnational terrorist threats that are less amenable to solutions based on combined military strength. The second is the extent to which traditional alliance frameworks will come into play against the largest and fastest-growing powers. Will new alliances form and tighten in reaction to preponderant American military power? Will alliances in Asia and the Pacific endure and grow – or whither and fracture – as China's military posture and prestige climbs? The broad contours of 21st-century international politics will be defined by answers to these questions.^{13 14 15}

¹³ <https://what-when-how.com/social-sciences/alliances-social-science/>

¹⁴ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 43.

¹⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/alliance-politics>

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

to advance collective and individual purposes _____
to meet combined resistance _____
to promote cooperative war fighting _____
to drive alliance patterns _____
to form along lines of ideological or religious affinity _____
to tend to reflect status quo or revisionist goals _____
to extend new spheres of influence over satellites _____
to shift obligations and dangers onto the others _____
to pose an inherent dilemma of alliance politics _____
let alone integrating military strategies _____
to incite and exploit divisions within opposing alliances _____
to keep alliance commitments _____
to be supported by deliberative bodies _____
unusually cohesive security community _____
webs of commitments _____
to be conceived as defensive alliances _____
a region of strategic uncertainty without alliance safeguards _____
to project security through alliance growth _____
to instill deep bonds of common identity and security community _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

ենթարկել քաղաքական հնազանդության _____
կախված լինել դաշինքի ամենահիմնական գործառույթից _____
սահմանափակ/նեղ և հակասական նպատակներ _____
համաձայնեցնել անհամատեղելի առաջնահերթությունները _____
ներգրավել պայքարի մեջ _____
ստեղծել ծուղակի մեջ ընկնելու վտանգ _____
դաշինք կնքել _____
սպառնացող հակառակորդներ _____

չեզոքացնել կործանարար ներքին քաղաքականությունը _____

մեղմացնել դաշինքի քայքայիչ քաղաքականությունը _____

համընկնող ձևեր/ ուղիներ _____

տարածել զսպվածություն և կանխատեսելիություն _____

ստեղծել անկայունության ալիքներ _____

ընդլայնման մասշտաբը/ծավալը և տեմպը _____

զարմանալի համախմբվածություն ցուցաբերել _____

վերաձևափոխվել և մոբիլիզացվել _____

չեզոքացնել անդրազգային ահաբեկչական սպառնալիքները _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Դաշինքները միտում ունեն ձևավորվելու և կազմաքանդվելու՝ ի պատասխան ընդհանուր սպառնալիքների կամ ընդհանուր շահերի, կամ մարդկայությունները պահպանելու համար, և/կամ հետամուտ լինելու տարածքային ձեռքբերումների/նվաճումների:

2. Ավանդական իմաստությունը վկայում է, որ գերակա տարածքային բաժանումները և քաղաքական շրջանակները պահպանելու և թե՛ հավաքական, թե՛ անհատական նպատակներն առաջ տանելու համար պետությունները պետք է համատեղեն իրենց ռազմական ուժն ու հետախուզական տվյալների փոխանակումը ինստիտուցիոնալ դաշինքների մեջ:

3. Երբեմն դաշինքի անդամ պետությունը կարող է իր պարտավորությունները կամ նույնիսկ վտանգները շրջել մյուսների վրա՝ համարելով, որ այդ գործողության ծախսերի և օգուտների բաշխումը չի փոխհատուցվում այնպես, ինչպես ակնկալվում էր:

4. Երբ մի քանի երկրներ հայտնվում են ռազմական գործողությունների փակուղում, ազգային նպատակների համատեղելի լինելը նրանց մղում է դեպի դաշինքի ձևաչափը՝ համագործակցային պատերազմական պայքար իրականացնելու համար:

5. Թեև դաշինքներն ավելի շատ օգտագործվում են քաղաքական զսպման և այն գաղափարի առաջմղման համար, որ ագրեսիան չի արդարացվի, կողմերը կարող են նաև հետամուտ լինել ռևիզիոնիստական նպատակների և փորձել սադրել միջազգային համակարգը:

6. Միջազգային համագործակցության ոչ մի գործընթաց առանց տարաձայնությունների չի լինում, քանի որ երկրները, առաջին հերթին, միտված են իրենց ազգային շահերի պաշտպանությանը և հաճախ հետամուտ են լինում նեղ-անձնական և, հնարավոր է՝ հակասական նպատակների:

7. Դաշինքի ընձեռած երաշխիքները ամենաքիչ արդյունավետությամբ են գործում այն տարածաշրջաններում, որտեղ տիրում է ռազմավարական անորոշություն:

common threats

to uphold

to advance

enterprise

compatibility of national goals

not to pay off

to shift obligations onto others

to attempt to suborn

to pursue territorial conquest

alliance safeguards

execution of cooperative warfighting

first and foremost

promotion of an idea

political frameworks

to become deadlocked

strategic uncertainty

institutionalized alliances

prevailing territorial divisions

the distribution of costs and benefits

to seek parochial and contradictory aims

to preserve fading empires

to drive into alliance patterns

not to pay as expected

to urge to stand for

to work least effectively

intelligence sharing

to be frictionless

to pursue revisionist goals

to form and deform

deterrence

traditional wisdom holds that

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

ԲԱՆԱԿՑԱՅԻՆ ՄԵՂԱՆԻ ՇՈՒՐՁ

Բանակցող 1 – Կրկնում եմ՝ դաշինք կազմելը բխում է մեր բոլոր պետությունների շահերից: Գիտեմ, որ բազմակողմ իրավահավասարների դաշնագիր ստեղծելը ամենադժվար բանն է, բայց եթե մեզանից յուրա-

քանչյուրը մշակի երկձյուղ քաղաքականություն, մենք կկարողանանք լուծել այս բարդ խնդիրը:

Բանակցող 2 – Ճշմարիտ հայտարարություն է: Տասնամյակի ծավալմանը զուգընթաց՝ վստահության այն աստիճանը, որ մեր երկրներն ունենին այդ Կոալիցիայի նկատմամբ, արագորեն մարում է: Սկզբունքային տարբերություն կա այն բանի միջև, թե որտեղ էինք մենք վեց տարի առաջ և որտեղ ենք հիմա: Մենք պետք է ավելի կոշտ գիծ որդեգրենք:

Բանակցող 3 – Դուք իրավացի եք: Այս պահին ուժեղ դաշինքը պարտադիր է, այլապես մեր երկրները մեկ առ մեկ կարող են ներքաշվել աղետի մեջ:

Բանակցող 4 – Արդյո՞ք մեզ քիչ ժամանակ չի մնացել: Մեզ անհրաժեշտ են արագ գործողություններ և մեր տարբեր առաջնահերթությունների համաձայնեցում: Այս խնդրին ընդհանուր մոտեցումը կենսական նշանակություն ունի:

Բանակցող 1 – Այո, եթե մենք հիմա չհամախմբվենք, կարող ենք ձեռքից բաց թողնել մեր պետությունների համար բարենպաստ լուծումը:

Բանակցող 3 – Ճի՛շտ է: Ես միշտ այն կարծիքին եմ եղել, որ դաշինքները հիմնականում հղի են թակարդում հայտնվելու վտանգով, սակայն ներկա հանգամանքները նման համախմբման համար ամենահիմնավոր առիթն են ստեղծել: Համախմբվելու և դիվանագիտական ազդանշաններ ուղարկելու ժամանակը եկել է:

Բանակցող 2 – Քաղաքական այն միջավայրը, որտեղ գտնվում ենք, մեզ դեռևս հնարավորություն է տալիս հիմնելու հանձնառությունների ցանցային համակարգեր և գործելու: Նկատի ունեմ միմյանց զենք փոխանցելը և այլն:

Բանակցող 1 – Այո՛, մենք նրանց կստիպենք քաղաքականապես ենթարկվել մեզ և թույլ չենք տա, որ մեր պետությունների գլխին չարագուժորեն կախվի որևէ կործանարար ձեռնարկում:

the degree of trust

to be a true statement

at this point

one by one

to be vital

to run out of time

to develop a two-track policy

a fundamental difference

reconciling of disparate priorities

danger for entrapment

to compel into political submission
to loom over states
a multilateral pact of equals
arms transfer
destructive measures
the strongest case for such bonding
to set up webs of commitment
to send diplomatic signals
to slip away
prompt actions
to take a tougher line
to be in the interest of all states

to pool together
the political framework
to reiterate
and the like
to consolidate
to be a must
a common approach
as the decade unfolds
to be dragged into a catastrophe
to fade away quickly
a favorable solution

Task 5. Match the English nouns

a. with their definitions:

submission	a project or undertaking, especially a bold or complex one
acrimony	inherent likeness or agreement; close resemblance or connection
affinity	the state or quality of being dedicated to a cause, activity, etc.
configuration	sharpness, harshness, or bitterness of nature, speech, disposition, etc.
enterprise	the action or fact of forming a united whole
commitment	the action of accepting or yielding to a superior force or to the will or authority of another person
cohesion	an arrangement of parts or elements in a particular form, figure, or combination

b. with their respective synonyms:

submission	structure, gestalt
affinity	pledge, liability
configuration	animosity, malevolence
enterprise	solidarity, unity
commitment	endeavour, action
cohesion	docility, pliability
acrimony	compatibility, congeniality

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>military campaign</i>	<i>to consolidate</i>
<i>overthrow</i>	<i>tranquility</i>
<i>hostile action</i>	<i>combined action</i>
<i>to pledge</i>	<i>to give alliances</i>
<i>auspices</i>	<i>preservation of peace</i>
<i>to be directed</i>	<i>to renew</i>

In the European historical context, a military alliance can be viewed as a league between independent states, defined by treaty, for the purpose of _____, defensive or offensive, or both. The oldest such alliance in the world today is the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, dating back to 1373 where the then Kingdoms of England and Portugal _____ to “perpetual friendship” between the two countries. This remains in action today between the current United Kingdom and Portugal, and the two have never fought against each other in any _____.

Alliances have often been directed to specific objects carefully defined in the treaties. Thus, the Triple Alliance of 1668 between Great Britain, Sweden and the Netherlands, and the Grand Alliance of 1689 between the Holy Roman Empire, Holland, England, Spain and Saxony, both _____ against the power of Louis XIV of France. The Quadruple or Grand Alliance of 1814, defined in the Treaty of Chaumont, between Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia, had for its object _____ of Napoleon and his dynasty, and the confining of France within her traditional boundaries. The Triple Alliance of 1882 between Germany, Austria and Italy was ostensibly directed to the preservation of European peace against any possible aggressive action of France or Russia; and this led in turn, some ten years later, to the Dual Alliance between Russia and France, for mutual support in case of any _____ of the other powers.

Occasionally, however, attempts have been made _____ a more general character. Thus, the Holy Alliance of 26 September 1815 was an attempt, inspired by the religious idealism of the Emperor Alexander I of Russia, to find in the “sacred precepts of the Gospel”, a common basis for a general league of the European governments, its object being, primarily, the _____. So, too, by Article VI of the Quadruple Treaty signed at Paris on 20 November 1815 – which renewed that of Chaumont and was again renewed, in 1818, at Aix-la-Chapelle – the scope of the Grand Alliance was extended to objects of common interest not specifically

stated in the treaties. The article runs: “In order to _____ the intimate tie which unites the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the High Contracting Powers have agreed _____ at fixed intervals, either under their own or by their respective ministers, meetings consecrated to great common objects and to the examination of such measures as at each one of these epochs shall be judged most salutary for the peace and prosperity of the nations and the maintenance of the _____ of Europe”.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

If the translation respects the original, it may, and even should, be able to hold a dialog with it, face-to-face and hold its own. The aspect of respect does not mean destroying what is respected.

Jean-Yves Masson

Every language has its own grammatical design typical of it and different from others. This may pose certain difficulties to translators. For example, in English syntax is set as subject, predicate, and object while in Armenian it is free. Besides, in Armenian, a sentence does not necessarily have a subject, while in English it is needed. So, the sentence

*Առկա է զանգվածային ոչնչացման զենքի (ԶՈԶ) տարածումը կան-
խարգելող հրավական միջոցների լայն շրջանակ միաժամանակ մի-
ջազգային և ազգային մակարդակներում:*

is translated into English as:

There are a wide range of legal instruments to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) both at international and national levels.

Another difference to be pointed out is connected with infinitive and participle clauses. They denote the result, the cause of an action, they show that an action happened simultaneously with another or add information. Sometimes these phrases can be translated into Armenian with similar structures.

*But it needs help **to do** so rapidly and auspiciously.*

*Մակայն դա արագ ու բարեհաջող **անելու համար** նրան օգնություն է
պետք:*

*Continuation of a defensive diplomatic strategy **based on tactical response to events** places strategic interests at risk.*

Իրադարձություններին մարտավարական արձագանք տալու վրա հիմնված պաշտպանողական դիվանագիտական մարտավարությունն այդ դեպքում վտանգում է մարտավարական շահերը:

In other cases, a phrase, a complex object, for instance, should be translated with a sentence/clause:

Otherwise, that state may have to watch others gain an advantageous position in the reshaping world order.

Այլապես այդ պետությունը ստիպված կլինի հետևել, թե ինչպես են մյուսները շահավետ դիրք ձեռք բերում վերաձևավորվող նոր աշխարհակարգում:

Tip

When translating a participle clause, pay special attention to the form of the participle. While present participle denotes an action/state parallel to the predicate verb, perfect forms of the Infinitive and Participles denote something that precedes that of the predicate.

Task 1. Translate the sentences into Armenian paying attention to Infinitive and Participle clauses.

1. It is usually best to ensure that an alliance will expire when the conditions that brought it into being have ended or after an agreed term, unless renewed.
2. States may come to share an interest in adopting or codifying common standards for the conduct of international transactions, in raising or lowering barriers to interaction across frontiers, or in promoting or banning specific kinds of behavior by individuals or states.
3. It may give the politically useful appearance of doing something about a problem without actually having to address it.
4. This can give the other party a reason to compromise it had previously lacked, especially when the issues now linked to the original dispute touch on important interests.
5. Nevertheless, if there are practical benefits to be gained from dealing with a government likely to remain in power, withholding recognition of it is too costly to be sustainable for long.

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

Trade Blocs

A trade bloc is an intergovernmental agreement, որը միավորում է մի խումբ երկրներ՝ միջազգային առևտրում համատեղ տնտեսական օգուտներ ստանալու նպատակով _____

_____. Benefits subsequently result from the reduction or removal of trade tariffs and barriers within member countries. Although most trading blocs ներկայումս ընդգրկված են տարածաշրջանային ինտեգրման գործընթացներում և ինստիտուտներում, _____

_____ there are also nonregional relationships, որոնք, որպես կանոն, լինում են ինչպես երկկողմ, այնպես էլ միջտարածաշրջանային _____

_____.

In the 1930s, a wave of regionalism led to the formation of trade blocs in response to the detrimental effects of the Great Depression and the disintegration of the gold standard on the world economy. Another wave of trade bloc formation took place during the 1950s and 1960s երբ զարգացող երկրները որդեգրեցին արդյունաբերականացման/ինդուստրացման ռազմավարություն՝ հիմնված ներմուծման փոխարինման վրա _____

_____. Trade blocs թույլ տվեցին այս երկրներին հասնել ինքնաբավության՝ ստեղծելով տարածաշրջանային մասշտաբի էֆեկտ _____

_____. Also, during this period, European countries established the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 and the European Economic Community in 1957. More recently, since the 1990s, մեծ ալիք է նկատվում տարածաշրջանային ինտեգրման նախաձեռնություններում, որոնք շուկայի ապակարգավորումը և պետության կողմից վերահսկվող հատվածների սեփականաշնորհումը առաջնային են համարում _____

_____;
this aligns with the prevailing ideological imperatives of neoliberal globalization.

Trade blocs take many forms կախված մասնակից երկրների միջև աճող ինտեգրման աստիճանից _____.
A group of countries որոնք համաձայնում են առևտրային սակագնային նախապատվություններ սահմանել միմյանց հետ _____

_____ covering most of their traded goods and services, կազմում են ազատ առևտրի գոտի կամ տարածք _____. Member countries retain sovereignty over the determination of their respective trade policies vis-à-vis nonmember countries. Առևտրի վերաբերյալ վեճերն ու սահմանափակումները, որոնք հաճախ առաջանում են անդամների միջև, լուծվում են վեճերի կարգավորման մեխանիզմներով _____

_____ to which members have previously subscribed in the trade agreement.

Local content laws are introduced in these areas to prevent nonmember countries from initially exporting to a member country with a low external tariff, with the goal being to send the exports on to a member country that has a higher external tariff. Local content provisions require that a certain percentage of the value of the product must be sourced locally within the free trade area որը ենթակա չէ ներմուծման տուրքերին _____.

Some of the more well-known free trade areas include the recently created ASEAN-China, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Economic Community of West African States, and others. A U.S.-proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) was never created due to stiff opposition from governments and broad sectors of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) countries – Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

In addition to a liberalized intrabloc trade, մաքսային միությունն ընդունում է ընդհանուր արտաքին սակագնային կառուցվածք, որը ընդհանուր առևտրային արգելք է անդամ չհանդիսացող երկրների համար _____

_____.
Restrictions apply to the type of tariff protection that this kind of trade bloc can have. According to the principle of nondiscriminatory trade policies under Article 24 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), ընդհանուր

արտաքին սակագնի չափը չի կարող գերազանցել անդամ երկրների նախկինում գոյություն ունեցող սակագների միջինը _____

_____;
otherwise, the group must offer compensation to adversely affected nonmember countries. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) exemplifies a currently functional customs union. Other examples include the Southern African Customs Union, MERCOSUR, Arab Customs Union, Andean Community, Caribbean Community, Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), among others.

In addition to the requirements of custom unions, common markets also include the free movement of factors of production: labor and capital. 1957թ. Հռոմի պայմանագիրը ստեղծեց Եվրոպական տնտեսական համայնքը, որը, ի վերջո, նպատակ ուներ ձևավորել ընդհանուր շուկա _____

a goal that was substantially achieved by the early 1990s in Western Europe, known as the European Community.

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

Alliances

Alliances, or formal associations between two political bodies **to further their common interests**, are one of the most **recurrent phenomena** in the field of international politics. Most definitions of alliance focus on four basic elements: its formal nature (based on a treaty signed by states), its cooperative dimension (states agree to join forces to pursue some common goal), its external orientation (alliances are usually against states outside their own membership), and its military character (the content of cooperation is related to security). Overall, this conception is a correct one, **albeit** of a limited nature.

Most scholars believe that underlying all alliances are the **convergent interests** of the individual member and that the interests in question are directly linked to security, broadly defined as protection against a powerful enemy. Thus, an alliance is simply – or mostly – the union of the forces of those who, fearing that they are incapable of dealing with the enemy on their own, decide to cooperate with other states in the same situation. This is the essence of the *power aggregation model*, which is probably the most common interpretation of alliances.

However, states do not always unite against a state that threatens them. Sometimes, on the contrary, they form alliances with the latter, thus adopting a policy known as **bandwagoning**. The **dichotomy of balancing** versus bandwagoning has been hotly debated, and there is no agreement on which represents the most common behavior. Scholars such as Randall Schweller argue that the term bandwagoning should be used to refer to alliance not with the state posing the threat, but simply with strong states. From this perspective, the most important factor affecting alignment is the compatibility of various different states' political objectives rather than the power (or threat) imbalance: If one state is satisfied with the status quo, it will join a conservative alliance, even if the latter is the strongest force. On the other hand, a revisionist state will be driven more by the desire for "profit" than by the desire for security, and thus will align itself with **the strongest revisionist power in ascendance** at the time.

All those views, despite their differences, share the same conception of alliances as aggregation of power. Yet, alliances also can be seen as something profoundly different; i.e., as *tools of management*. A rapid survey of the most important alliances from 1815 to 1945 led Paul Schroeder to conclude that the wish to aggregate power against a threat is not always of vital importance for the creation of an alliance; that all alliances work, to a certain degree, restricting and controlling the actions of the allies themselves; and that certain alliances may be employed in order that even an adversary joins our side and is thereby constrained by the alliance itself. Those ideas have brought to the **forefront** the fundamental issue of **interallied relations, shedding light** on their ambiguous nature. Accordingly, some political scientists have expanded the role of threat in the creation and functioning of alliances to include threats posed by one's ally. Others have focused on how states use alliances to restrain their partners, thereby preventing war. The most important contribution, however, comes from Glenn Snyder's alliance security dilemma. In every alliance, states tend **to oscillate** between two opposite fears – **abandonment and entrapment**. The former concern is that an ally abandons us, either directly (**by abrogating a treaty**, for example) or indirectly (by denying its diplomatic support during a crisis). The latter refers to the risk of being drawn into a war provoked by **an intransigent or reckless ally**. The common response to the fear of abandonment is to "get closer" to the ally; that is, to increase those incentives that may induce the ally into keeping its **initial pledge**. The usual response to the fear of entrapment is to "get away"; that is, to reduce one's obligations or threaten to withdraw one's support. If a state chooses to get closer, it reduces the risk of abandonment but increases the risk of entrapment; on the other hand, if a state chooses to get away, the opposite will be true. Thus, the

policies adopted to prevent abandonment make entrapment that much more likely, just as the policies designed to avoid entrapment make abandonment more likely.

All this points at a striking variety of types of alliance, as can be seen not only in the degree to which the various members condition the behavior of the others, but also in the tone of their relations, which may vary from tense to cordial, and from a position of reciprocal support to one of **mutual diffidence**. One way of dealing with such a variety is by means of a typology of alliances, based on two dimensions, one internal and one external. The first allows one to distinguish between symmetric and asymmetric alliances, according to whether power relations between the allies are balanced or **skewed** in favor of one of them, respectively. In the second dimension, we have homogeneous and heterogeneous alliances, depending on whether members respond to **converging constraints** and opportunities, or on whether they react to diverging constraints and opportunities, respectively. Combining these classes of alliance, four types are obtained. In the *aggregation alliance* (homogeneous and symmetric), decisions are taken by mutual consent, and both parties obtain reasons for satisfaction from their collaboration. In the *guarantee alliance* (homogeneous and asymmetric), although the weaker party's interests are safeguarded, the content of the agreements reflects first of all the major ally's preferences. In the *hegemonic alliance* (heterogeneous and asymmetric), the two parties are in divergent positions, and the imbalance in power relations allows the major ally to drag the other ally along, imposing solutions that are at least partially damaging for the latter. And in the *deadlocked alliance* (heterogeneous and symmetric), the members, who have equal bargaining power and hold positions that are difficult to reconcile, end up paralyzing each other.¹⁶

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- *How “alliance” can be defined?*
- *Why are alliances so important?*
- *What makes a good alliance?*
- *Speak about the characteristics of strategic alliances.*
- *Why do alliances fail?*
- *How do alliances lead to war?*

¹⁶ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 43.

CENTO

The Central Treaty Organization, originally known as the Baghdad Pact, was a military alliance of the Cold War. It was formed in 1955 by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and the United Kingdom and dissolved in 1979.

The organization's headquarters were in Baghdad, Iraq, in 1955 to 1958 and in Ankara, Turkey, in 1958 to 1979. Cyprus was also an important location for CENTO because of its location in the Middle East and the British Sovereign Base Areas on the island. Modeled after NATO, CENTO committed the nations to mutual cooperation and protection, as well as non-intervention in each other's affairs. Its goal was to contain the Soviet Union by having a line of strong states along the USSR's southwestern frontier. Similarly, it was known as the 'Northern Tier' to prevent Soviet expansion into the Middle East. Unlike NATO, CENTO did not have a unified military command structure, nor were many U.S. or UK military bases established in member countries, although the U.S. had communications and electronic intelligence facilities in Iran, and operated U-2 intelligence flights over the USSR from bases in Pakistan. The United Kingdom had access to facilities in Pakistan and Iraq at various times while the treaty was in effect.

On July 14, 1958, the Iraqi monarchy was overthrown in a military coup. The new government was led by General Abdul Karim Qasim who withdrew Iraq from the Baghdad Pact, opened diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and adopted a non-aligned stance. The organization dropped the name 'Baghdad Pact' in favor of 'CENTO' at that time.

The Middle East and South Asia became extremely volatile areas during the 1960s with the ongoing Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Indo-Pakistani Wars. CENTO was unwilling to get deeply involved in either dispute. In 1965 and 1971, Pakistan tried unsuccessfully to get assistance in its wars with India through CENTO, but this was rejected under the idea that CENTO was aimed at containing the USSR, not India.

CENTO did little to prevent the expansion of Soviet influence to non-member states in the area. Whatever containment value the pact might have had was lost when the Soviets 'leap-frogged' the member states, establishing close military and political relationships with governments in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Somalia, and Libya. By 1970, the USSR had deployed over 20,000 troops to Egypt, and had established naval bases in Syria, Somalia, and South Yemen.

The Iranian revolution spelled the end of the organization in 1979, but in reality, it essentially had been finished since 1974, when Turkey invaded Cyprus. This led the United Kingdom to withdraw forces that had been earmarked to the alliance, and the United States Congress halted military aid to Turkey despite two

Presidential vetoes. With the fall of the Iranian monarchy, whatever remaining rationale for the organization was lost. Future U.S. and British defense agreements with regional countries – such as Pakistan, Egypt, and the Persian Gulf states – were conducted bilaterally.

With the withdrawal of Iran, the Secretary-General of CENTO, Turkish diplomat Kamran Gurun, announced on March 16, 1979, that he would call a meeting of the pact's council in order to formally dissolve the organization.

Turkey's role in the Baghdad Pact was one of a unique and elevated nature compared to other nations such as Iraq. It was given “special” attention by the West primarily due to their geopolitical importance. It was believed that they could draw other Arab countries, such as Iraq, closer to the projected anti-communist Arab alliance, as the former would have been of inspiration for other “like-minded” countries. It was also hoped that by agreeing to the Baghdad Pact the Turkish and the Iraqi relations would get their time in the sun. However, this optimism was not rewarded as Iraq was under constant threat of the infiltration of Turkish troops and Nuri was desperate to strike an agreement. Finally, the Turkish courting by western nations, such as the USA, did not have the outcome that was desired as Arab countries, primarily Egypt, turned hostile to the pact.¹⁷

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Հարաբերություններ Ռուսաստանի հետ և Դաշինքի ընդլայնում

1990-ական թվականներից ի վեր ՆԱՏՕ-ի ընդլայնման հարցը գտնվում է Դաշինքի աշխարհաքաղաքական քննարկումների առանցքում: 1990-ական թվականների սկզբին Դաշինքը հատկապես չէր ցանկանում հակադրվել Ռուսաստանի շահերին, դեռ մտավախություններ ուներ և ուզում էր բարեհաջող ավարտին հասցնել Եվրոպայի զինաթափման բանակցությունները և չէր ցանկանում հարցականի տակ դնել ՍԹԱԴԹ 2 համաձայնագրի վավերացումը: Այնուամենայնիվ, Դաշինքը չէր կարող արհամարհել հարևան Ռուսաստանից բացարձակ պաշտպանության վստահություն ունենալու մասին Կենտրոնական և Արևելյան Եվրոպայի երկրների ցանկությունը: Հռոմի գազաթնաժողովի ժամանակ այն առաջարկում է այդ երկրների հետ հաստատել խորհրդատվական և համագործակցության բնույթի ինստիտուցիոնալ հարաբերություններ քաղաքական և պաշտպանության բնագավառների վերաբերյալ հարցերի

¹⁷ From <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Central-Treaty-Organization>, https://owiki.org/wiki/Baghdad_Pact

շուրջ և 1991 թ. դեկտեմբերին նրանց հրավիրում է միանալու Բրյուսելում գտնվող արտգործնախարարներին՝ Հյուսիսատլանտյան համագործակցության խորհուրդը կյանքի կոչելու համար: Մա ընդլայնման առաջին ընթացակարգն էր: Երկխոսության ու համագործակցության այս դրույթի նպատակը Եվրոպայում Մառը պատերազմին վերջակետ դնելն էր: Մա Կենտրոնական ու Արևելյան Եվրոպայի շատ երկրների համար պարզապես հերթական քայլ էր, որը նրանց տալիս էր ԱՄՆ-ի մասնակցությամբ իրական երաշխավորված պաշտպանությունից օգտվելու հնարավորություն, սակայն չէր պարտադրում անդամակցություն ՆԱՏՕ-ին: Քլինթոնի նոր վարչակազմը վարանում էր և ժամանակ շահեց, մինչև 1994 թ. հունվարին կյանքի կոչեց Գործընկերություն խաղաղության համար ծրագիրը՝ Բրյուսելի գազաթնաժողովի ժամանակ: Այս ծրագիրը Ռուսաստանին և Կենտրոնական ու Արևելյան Եվրոպայի երկրներին թույլ տվեց կնքել ռազմական համագործակցության երկկողմ շրջանակային համաձայնագրեր, որոնք տարբերվում էին, բայցև անվտանգության երաշխիք էին: Բորիս Ելցինը, խոսելով ՆԱՏՕ-ին Կենտրոնական ու Արևելյան Եվրոպայի երկրների անդամակցության մասին, վերահաստատեց այն կարծիքը, որ նմանատիպ ընդլայնումը կարող էր քաղաքական և ռազմավարական ապակայունացման պատճառ դառնալ: Վերոնշյալ տարածաշրջանի երկրների մեծ մասը, առանց խանդավառության, դարձավ ԳԽՀ-ի (Գործընկերություն խաղաղության համար) անդամ, և նույնիսկ Ռուսաստանը 1994 թ. հունիսի 22-ին գրանցվեց, սակայն չօգտվեց արտոնյալ կարգավիճակից, որը ցանկանում էր ունենալ, որպեսզի շարունակեր ճանաչվել մեծ տերություն և կարողանար օրինական կերպով օգտվել ազդեցության դաշտից և պաշտպաներ իր տարածքները, ինչպես ԽՍՀՄ-ի օրոք: Վերջապես 1995 թ. Դաշինքը որոշում է անդամակցության հստակ ընթացակարգ սահմանել և մանրամասն ուսումնասիրություններ է սկսում ապագա անդամակցությունների պայմանների ու դրույթների մասին: 1996 թ. ՆԱՏՕ-ն երկկողմ քննարկումներ է սկսում թեկնածու երկրների հետ, այդ թվում նաև՝ Ռուսաստանի: 1997 թ. որոշում կայացվեց Ռուսաստանի հետ հիմնադիր ակտի տեսքով արտոնյալ համաձայնագիր կնքել, իսկ նույն թվականի դեկտեմբերին որոշվեց ընդունել Լեհաստանի, Հունգարիայի և Չեխիայի անդամակցության հայտերը: Ձուգահեռաբար, Հյուսիսատլանտյան համագործակցության նախկին խորհուրդը փոխա-

րինվում է Եվրաստլանտյան համագործակցության խորհրդով, որը այն մարմինն է, որը միավորում է Եվրաստլանտյան համագործակցության խորհրդի և Գործընկերություն հանուն խաղաղության ծրագրի կառավարումը, և յուրաքանչյուր գործընկերոջ առաջարկում է մեծ ճկունություն իր հետ համագործակցության մակարդակի ընտրության հարցում: Ամրապնդվում է Գործընկերություն հանուն խաղաղության ծրագիրը, շեշտը դրվում է քաղաքական խորհրդակցությունների և հրատապ որոշումների կայացման մեջ գործընկերների դերի մեծացման վրա: Այս դեպքում գործընկերներն իրավասություն են ստանում դիվանագիտական առաքելություններ տեղակայելու ՆԱՏՕ-ում, ինչպես նաև իրենց անձնակազմը ներառել ՆԱՏՕ-ի հրամանատարական կազմի մեջ: Ինչ վերաբերում է վավերացման ընթացակարգի ժամկետին, ԽՍՀՄ-ի արքանյակ վերոնշյալ երեք պետությունները ՆԱՏՕ-ի անդամ են դառնում 1999 թ. մարտին: Այնուհետև տեղական ժամանակ նոր անդամակցություններ չեն լինում, իսկ Դաշինքն ուշադրությունը կենտրոնացնում է իր ռազմավարությունների և առաքելությունների կատարելագործման վրա՝ նոր, հատկապես ահաբեկչական վտանգներին դիմակայելու նպատակով: Միայն Եվրոպայի երկրներին վերաբերող ընդլայնման քաղաքականությունից բացի, Դաշինքն իր գործընկերությունը զարգացնում է նաև այլ երկրների հետ: 1994 թ. մեկնարկում է Միջերկրածովյան երկխոսությունը, որը ՆԱՏՕ-ի և Միջերկրական ծովի հարավային ափի յոթ երկրների, այդ թվում Իսրայելի ու Եգիպտոսի միջև համագործակցության նախաձեռնություն է:

ՆԱՏՕ-ի քաղաքական ընդլայնում

ՆԱՏՕ-ի քաղաքական ընդլայնումը պատճառաբանվում է ատլանտյան համերաշխության շարունակական վերահաստատմամբ: 1956 թ. դեկտեմբերի 13-ին ՀԱԽ-ը (Հյուսիսատլանտյան խորհուրդ, NAC) հաստատում է ՆԱՏՕ-ի շրջանակներում ոչ ռազմական համագործակցության վերաբերյալ Երեքի կոմիտեի (The Committee of Three) հաշվետվության մեջ պարունակվող հանձնարարականները: Անդամ երկրների կամ կառավարությունների ղեկավարները հանդիպում են Փարիզում 1957 թ. դեկտեմբերի 16-19 տեղի ունեցած ՆԱՏՕ-ի առաջին գագաթնաժողովում, որի ընթացքում վերահաստատում են Ատլանտյան դաշինքի սկզբունքներն ու նպատակները: Դաշինքի քաղաքական դերի սահմանափակումները

ակնհայտորեն երևում են Սառը պատերազմի ընթացքում, երբ կարևորագույն որոշումներն ընդունվում էին ԱՄՆ-ի կողմից՝ հաճախ միայն բրիտանացիներին ու ֆրանսիացիներին՝ հատկապես Բեռլինին վերաբերող հարցերով քննարկումներին մասնակից դարձնելով, իսկ ՆԱՏՕ-ի մնացյալ անդամներին պարզապես տեղյակ պահելով արդեն ընդունված որոշումների մասին: Եվրոպացիները դետանտի մասին իրենց ձայնը լսելի են դարձնում, և 1967 թ. դեկտեմբերի 14-ին ՀԱԽ-ը ընդունում է Արմելի հաշվետվությունը Դաշնության հետագա պարտավորությունների վերաբերյալ: Ըստ Պիեր Արմելի, ով Բելգիայի արտաքին գործերի նախարարն էր, ՆԱՏՕ-ի անդամ երկրներն իրավունք ունեին միմյանց հետ առանձին երկկողմ կապեր հաստատելու ու զարգացնելու: Այսպիսի մոտեցումը չէր հակասում Արևմտյան դաշինքին հավատարմությանը, որին վերապահվում էր ռազմական հարվածի իրավունքը: 1972 թ. մայիսին Բոննում կայացած ՀԱԽ-ի նախարարական նստաշրջանում նախարարները որոշում են բազմակողմ բանակցություններ սկսել Եվրոպայի անվտանգության ու համագործակցության համաժողովի նախապատրաստական աշխատանքներ տանելու նպատակով: 1974 թ. Կիպրոսում տեղի ունեցած պետական հեղաշրջումից հետո ՆԱՏՕ-ն պահանջում է հույն սպաների դուրսբերում իր հրամանատարական կազմից: Հունաստանը լքում է Դաշինքի ռազմական կառույցները 1974թ. օգոստոսի 14-ին՝ Կիպրոս թուրքական ներխուժումից հետո, և վերամիանում է ՆԱՏՕ-ին 1980 թ. հոկտեմբերի 20-ին միայն՝ թուրքական վետոն հանելուց հետո:

1974 թ. հունիսի 26-ին ՆԱՏՕ-ի անդամ երկրների և կառավարությունների ղեկավարները Բրյուսելում կայացած երկրորդ գագաթնաժողովի ընթացքում ստորագրում են Ատլանտյան հարաբերությունների մասին հռչակագիրը: Որոշում է կայացվում անդամ երկրների և կառավարությունների ղեկավարների հանդիպումները դարձնել հաճախակի. 1974-1991 թվականների ընթացքում տեղի է ունենում 10 գագաթնաժողով: 1987 թ. փետրվարի 17-ին Վարշավայի պակտը ստորագրած անդամ երկրների և ՆԱՏՕ-ի անդամ երկրների միջև Վիեննայում կայանում են քննարկումներ՝ Եվրոպայում կանոնավոր զինված ուժերի շուրջ բանակցություններ վարելու կարգի վերաբերյալ:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations... entangling alliances with none.” *Thomas Jefferson*
- “Geography has made us neighbors. History has made us friends. Economics has made us partners. And necessity has made us allies. Those whom nature hath so joined together, let no man put asunder.” *John F. Kennedy*
- “Today’s partners can be your competitors tomorrow. And today’s competitors can be your partners tomorrow.” *Suzy Kassem*
- “Few teams sometimes fail miserably because team members wish to work in the team but they want to be recognized individually.” *Amit Kalantri*

Supplementary Reading

Regional Trade Blocs

The rapid growth of regional trading relationships in Europe, Asia, and Latin America has raised policy concerns about their impact on excluded countries and on the global trading system. Some observers worry that the multilateral system may be fracturing into discriminatory regional blocs. Others are hopeful that regional agreements will instead become building-blocks for further global trade liberalization. This is certainly not the first time in history that regionalism has been popular. There were widespread attempts at regional trading arrangements in the 1960s which largely failed. But before that, in the 1930s, there was a major fragmentation of the world trading system into competing blocs. There is little point in trying to identify the earliest regional trading arrangement in history. For as long as there have been nation-states with trade policies, they have discriminated in favour of some valued neighbours and against others.

Regional trading arrangements have at times played major roles in political history. For example, the German Zollverein, the customs union that was formed among 18 small states in 1834, was a step on the way to the creation of Germany later in the century. This precedent has not been lost on those Europeans who today wish to turn the European Union into a single state. It is somewhat easier to identify the historical origins of the obverse of regional trade blocs: the principle of nondiscriminatory trade policies. The principle goes under the name of most-favoured nation (MFN) policies. The United Kingdom adopted nondiscrimination as its trade policy early in the nineteenth century, when it undertook unilateral trade liberalization in 1846 through the famous repealing of the Corn Laws. The principle of nondiscrimination began to spread to other countries with the Anglo-

French commercial treaty of 1860. The principle says that when a country extends trade concessions to one partner, it must extend them to all. Nineteenth-century negotiators hoped that the procedure would eliminate a potentially harmful incentive that would otherwise hamper negotiations. That is, those who negotiated early had an incentive to withhold concessions, for fear that a partner who entered negotiations at a later stage would get a better bargain, from which the early partner would be excluded. As it turned out in the late nineteenth century, the system based on the nondiscrimination principle worked well and helped to reduce tariffs among an ever-growing number of countries. After the First World War, strenuous efforts of Britain and the League of Nations to reinstate the MFN clause as the basis of trading arrangements were unsuccessful. The world divided into separate blocs such as the British Commonwealth, Central Europe, and others. The victorious allies who planned the world economic system after 1945, particularly the United States, believed that the discriminatory trade practices in the 1930s had contributed to the collapse of world trade and in turn to the Great Depression. Accordingly, the MFN principle was built into the postwar trading system in the form of Article I of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The United States opposed discriminatory tariff policies, such as the British Commonwealth preferences, at the time of the GATT's founding. It soon dropped its opposition to preferences, however, in the context of European integration. The Americans considered the political desirability of peaceful European integration to be important enough to warrant an exception to the MFN principle. Between 1990 and 1994, the GATT was informed of 33 regional trading arrangements, nearly a third of all deals since 1948.

The surge in regional trading arrangements over the last 20 years constitutes a break with preceding postwar history. Previous regional agreements had been neither so numerous, nor so successful, as those of recent years. Perhaps most important, where the United States once tended to oppose them, choosing to emphasize multilateral liberalization through the GATT instead, now the United States is at the forefront of some of the largest regional initiatives. Some observers are concerned that the world is dividing into three continental trading blocs, one in the Americas centred on the United States, one in Europe centred on the European Union, and one in Pacific Asia, centred on Japan.

Formal regional trading agreements can cover a spectrum of arrangements, from small margins of preference in tariffs to full-scale economic integration. Five levels can be distinguished: preferential trade arrangements, free trade areas, customs unions, common markets, and economic unions. The loosest type of arrangement is the granting of partial preferences to a set of trading partners. If the concessions are reciprocal, the term preferential trade arrangement (PTA) may be

applied to describe the club of countries covered. If the members of a preferential trade arrangement go so far as to eliminate all tariffs and quantitative import restrictions among themselves (100 per cent preferences), then they form a free trade area (FTA). Typically, they retain varying levels of tariffs and other barriers against the products of nonmembers. The next level of integration occurs when the members of an FTA go beyond removing trade barriers among themselves and set a common level of trade barriers vis-à-vis outsiders. This at a minimum entails a common external tariff. A full customs union would also harmonise quantitative restrictions, export subsidies, and other trade distortions. Indeed, it would set all trade policy for its members as a unified whole. It would, for example, engage in any future trade negotiations with other countries with a single voice. Beyond the free exchange of goods and services among members, a common market entails the free movement of factors of production, namely labour and capital. Going beyond the free movement of goods, services, and factors, economic union involves harmonising national economic policies, including typically taxes and a common currency. The decision of the European Community to change its name to the European Union in 1994 represented a determination to proceed to this higher stage of integration. The full unification of economic policies typically would in turn require political federation.¹⁸

International Cooperation

International cooperation refers to the collaborative interactions among different actors across international borders to address common issues or problems. Such cooperation involves both governmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and may take an array of forms. Among governments, international cooperation may be bilateral, such as between the United States and Canada, or multilateral, such as among Japan, China, and Russia. Countries may also pursue collaborative actions within intergovernmental organizations (IGOs; e.g., within a global IGO such as the United Nations or within a regional IGO such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]), or nations may take shared actions within a particular supranational organization such as within the European Union. At the nongovernmental level, individuals and groups across nations may engage in international cooperation. NGOs are numerous and deal with social, economic, and political cooperation among individuals. Many are humanitarian or social groups, such as the International Red Cross or Amnesty International; others are economic units, often multinational or transnational businesses such as Exxon

¹⁸ Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p.275.

or Unilever; and still others are political organizations such as the Socialist International or the Committee on Disarmament. The important characteristic of these groups is that they are outside the control of any particular government or even groups of governments.

Just as there are numerous forms of international collaboration among governments, groups, and individuals, these different actors pursue a variety of goals through cooperative activities. One important aim focuses on pursuing greater security or resolving conflicts among states or groups. Some nations enhance their security by forming alliances. In the post-World War II years, the United States joined a number of multilateral regional organizations, such as NATO in Western Europe, the Rio Pact in Latin America, and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in Southeast Asia, and formed bilateral alliances with Japan, the Republic of China, and South Korea to protect the members from the threat of international communism. At other times, alliances are expanded to enhance the degree of security. NATO has been enlarged from its original membership of 16 nations in the early 1990s to 28 today as a way to provide greater security in central Europe for the nations that emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire. In Asia, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization was founded in 2001 among China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan to enhance security, trade, and cooperation among these member states. Other nations form temporary cooperative arrangements, something less than a formal alliance, to address a particular security issue, to mediate an issue, or to address an emerging problem. During the past decade, the six-party talks among China, Russia, Japan, the United States, South Korea, and North Korea represent a cooperative effort among these parties to persuade North Korea to abandon its development of nuclear weapons. Similarly, Britain, France, Germany, and the European Union joined together to try to dissuade Iran from pursuing nuclear weapons. IGOs may elicit cooperative actions among states to promote international security. The members of the United Nations may impose international sanctions or invoke collective actions against aggressor states, such as Saddam Hussein's Iraq, or against regions or countries in turmoil, such as the Darfur region in Sudan. Nongovernmental actors may also be asked to assist in seeking to facilitate cooperation among states in disputes. For example, the Vatican served as an intermediary between Argentina and Chile to resolve a boundary dispute.

IGOs and Trade

International cooperation may also focus on economic and environmental activities among states, IGOs, and NGOs. Bilateral and regional free-trade agreements are now prominent features of the international system. These agreements seek to reduce or eliminate tariffs among states or regions as a way to

promote greater prosperity for the signatory countries. The creation and expansion of the European Union is the premier example of this degree of cooperation and integration among states, and that supranational organization has grown over the decades from 6 original members to more than 2 dozen today. The areas of cooperation within the European Union have expanded into numerous sectors and now into a single market. Other regions have followed this example and have created such organizations as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. The World Trade Organization, the principal IGO to promote greater global trade, now has more than 150 member nations. Sometimes selected groups of nations hold periodic meetings to foster economic cooperation. The 7 leading industrial democracies – the G7 – have held yearly meetings since the mid-1970s in an effort to coordinate policy on political, economic, and environmental issues. Since 1999, the G20, composed of the finance ministers and central bankers from 19 developed and developing nations and the European Union, meet periodically to evaluate the stability of the international financial system. Finally, the United Nations may hold periodic international meetings to address a pressing issue. In December 2009, 193 nations gathered in Copenhagen, Denmark, to seek a cooperative agreement to combat global climate change. All of these kinds of cooperative efforts also serve as important venues for fostering technological innovation and collaboration.

NGOs and Foreign Aid

The number of both nations and IGOs has increased dramatically during the past several decades, but these actors have been surpassed by the meteoric rise in the number and activities of NGOs. By some estimates, the number of NGOs totaled only four hundred a century ago, but recent totals range from about six thousand to twenty-five thousand and to even more than one hundred thousand such organizations. These NGOs provide a vast network of interdependencies among the people of the world and often serve to knit the global community together. Such organizations include the traditional political, economic, and social organizations that are often immediately identified, but the array also includes educational, religious, media, fraternal, environmental, and humanitarian ones, among others. Important to note, these NGOs play an integral role in facilitating international cooperation in many policy areas. Much of the world's foreign assistance is actually distributed by NGOs or private voluntary organizations. Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, Oxfam, Bread for the World, the International Red Cross, and CARE routinely address the issue of global poverty, foster international development, and respond to natural disasters such as the 2010

earthquake in Haiti. The new modes of communication have only accelerated the rise of more and more NGOs. The growth of satellite and cable television, the cell phone, and the Internet serve as the principal means for enhancing international information exchange across all areas of the world and foster instantaneous sharing of information.¹⁹

¹⁹ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 810.

UNIT 5

ARMS CONTROL

Read the text and speak on

- the definition of arms control
- the key feature of arms control process
- cooperative security
- collective security and collective defense
- qualitative and quantitative arms racing
- approaches of different analysts about arms racing
- the concept of disarmament
- the role of arms control and disarmament

Arms control can be defined as any agreement among states to regulate some aspect of their military capability or potential. Proponents of the concept believe that while the negotiating methods, regions of concern, and weapons involved may have changed, the underlying principles and objectives of arms control remain relevant today. The arms control process is intended to serve as a means of enhancing a state's national security; it should not be pursued as an end unto itself. Arms control also should be distinguished from disarmament, the rationale for which is that armaments have been the major cause of international instability and conflict, and only through reductions in the weaponry of all nations can the world achieve peace. Proponents of disarmament have an overall goal of reducing the size of military forces, budgets, explosive power, and other aggregate measures.

Arms control falls under the rubric of cooperative security, a concept that has been used to outline a more peaceful and idealistic approach to security. One commonly accepted definition of cooperative security is a commitment to regulate the size, technical composition, investment patterns, and operational practices of all military forces by mutual consent for mutual benefit. Cooperative security is slightly different in meaning than collective security or collective defense. Collective security is a political and legal obligation of member states to defend the integrity of individual states within a group of treaty signatories, whereas collective defense is more narrowly defined as a commitment of all states to defend each other from outside aggression. By contrast, cooperative security can include the introduction of measures that reduce the risk of war, measures that are not necessarily directed against any specific state or coalition, a definition that definitely includes arms control.

Arms control is both a process and a result. On the one hand, it involves the conscious and dedicated effort by two or more parties (typically nation-states) to negotiate an improved security relationship. On the other, arms control is often manifested by an agreement to regulate some aspect of the participating states' military capabilities or potential. The agreement may apply to the location, amount, readiness, or types of military forces, weapons, or facilities, but always presupposes cooperation or joint action among the participants regarding their military programs. While not as centrally important today as it was during the second half of the twentieth century, arms control, in its broadest definition that encompasses not only traditional negotiations and agreements but also nonproliferation, counterproliferation, and disarmament, still has a role in a globalizing world that has ongoing security concerns. Arms control and other cooperative security initiatives should be seen as part of a nation-state's foreign policy toolbox, available when necessary to enhance a state's security, but seldom the only tools available; they complement rather than substitute for diplomatic, economic, and coercive military actions. Arms control was born during the cold war to stall the military conflict primarily between the former Soviet Union, and its satellite states, and the United States long enough for the West to win. With the end of the cold war in 1991, the world experienced a flush of optimism and arms control activity that reached its zenith in the mid-1990s as formal agreements and cooperative measures were signed and entered into force with astounding speed. Both sides codified lower numbers of forces to ensure that the cold war was really over, but eventually arms control found a place dealing with the new concerns of proliferation, regional instability, and economic and environmental security. The value of arms control appeared to be growing in the new world, as states attempted to stem the illegal proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to rogue nations or groups and to meet their security needs in a multipolar, more interdependent world.²⁰

Arms Race

An arms race is generally understood as a process of competitive acquisition of weaponry. The domestic and international forces driving an arms race may be as era-defining as global ideological rivalry, but evidence of hostility between the racers is a definitional requirement, usually including an assertion on each side that the buildups are necessary because of the growing arsenal of the opponent. Arms racers are often pairs of nation-states, but interactive arming may occur also between alliances, within nation-states, between armed services, within armed

²⁰ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 77.

services, or among nonstate actors. One example of complex interactions among more than two nation-states is trilateral arming among China, the United States and the Soviet Union during the cold war era. Arms racing may precede war, substitute for war, or grow out of unresolved issues following war, but as a rule, weapons production during wartime is not considered arms racing. Races are identified by the names of the participants (e.g., U.S.-Soviet Arms Race) as well as by the nature of the weaponry (e.g., the nuclear arms race). Arms races also may be distinguished according to whether they are essentially qualitative or quantitative. Qualitative arms racing means that participants compete to develop higher quality, more effective arsenals. Qualitative races are characterized by weapons whose accuracy, range, and lethality change quickly and by rapid research and development of new weapons technologies. Quantitative racing is competition in numbers of existing weaponry. Arms control specialists find that quantitative races are easier to limit by agreement than qualitative races. Rapidly moving qualitative races also facilitate agreement, but only in obsolescent technologies.

Arms races are conceptualized in several ways. One view is that arms racing can be understood as a mechanistic process like the motion of billiard balls but capable of generating unanticipated and undesired effects such as World War I, or a nuclear war catalyzed by a crisis. Other analysts see arms racing as tacit but intelligent communication, in which acquisition of weapons systems becomes a coded conversation. This view assumes that adversaries know and understand each other's political goals and that new weaponry becomes reasonably well-known on both sides, perhaps by open testing. A policy instrument conceptualization views arms racing as a device to achieve political-economic goals, foreign and domestic, deliberately and rationally. Arms racing also may be conceived as a less rational result of internal bureaucratic forces: domestic political and economic bargaining, competition among military services, incremental decision making, and failure to discard old programs. In this view, the arms buildup is a result of a military-industrial complex grafted onto the legislature. Large-scale weapons systems are seen as fruit of a patronage system and may have little to do with the outside world. Choice of adversary is then mostly a historical accident and may be altered to meet domestic political, including electoral, needs. Some scholars understand arms racing in part or in whole as an aberrant consequence of psychological pressures on decision making, so that racing is propelled by misperception, genuine psychopathology, or imperatives of gender on decision making. Larger theoretical arguments about interstate conflict dynamics have posited a role for competitive armaments processes in catastrophe theory, in the intersection of competition for resources and political alliances as well as in escalation of disputes to crises and thence to war. The fact that arms races often originate in or precipitate territorial

disputes leads to the inclusion of contiguity (close proximity, usually understood as a shared border) and geostrategic data in many explanations.²¹

Disarmament

The classical practices underlying disarmament can be found almost as far back as the beginnings of recorded Western history. Early practices were largely post-conflict impositions of limitations on military force by the victor upon the vanquished. However, there were also examples of efforts to avoid conflict by cooperating to demilitarize likely regions of contact and restrict the use of new and destructive technologies. Efforts to impose some degree of order on interstate conflict focused on the advance of legal standards toward just war. Another series of efforts included demilitarizing colonial forces and avoiding distant conflicts. The period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was marked by dramatic increases in the lethality of warfare and a parallel move toward bounding the employment of new weapons. Efforts were made to ban the use of certain systems and munitions, limit numbers of advanced systems deployed, and restrict the geographic employment of forces. Traditionally then, disarmament was used to indicate the full range of endeavors to reduce and restrict military weapons and forces through a wide variety of means, from cooperation to imposition. These efforts included the demilitarization or deconfliction of potential regions of conflict, post-conflict limitations on state forces and weapons, as well as attempts to limit and eliminate new and destructive technologies. Efforts also included regulating the conduct of warfare, from determinations of noncombatant status to precepts of just and moral uses of armed force. Until the early 1960s, the concept of disarmament was broadly used as an umbrella under which all of these arrangements and means of implementation could reside.

Arms Control and Disarmament Today

The agenda of existing, active efforts in the arena of arms control and disarmament remains extensive. The potential for nuclear proliferation – whether materials, components, systems, weapons, or expertise – keeps nuclear arms control on the agenda. Small arms and light weapons remain outside of any effective controls. Other weapons with catastrophic potential – particularly biological and chemical – while subject to international controls and even bans, remain a threat due to further development and possible proliferation. Far-reaching technological developments have opened up entire new arenas of potential and actual military development in areas such as information technology and outer

²¹ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 81.

space. Ongoing arms control efforts – unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral, formal and informal, between nations and nonstate parties in some cases – are addressing this wide agenda. Regional arms control and disarmament efforts are just emerging. Europe has long addressed security cooperation, confidence-building, and conventional arms control issues, and that effort will persist as the region continues to stake out its future course. Other regions have adopted nuclear-weapon-free zones, and some have established regional cooperative programs on a range of economic, political, and security issues. New and emerging arenas for arms control and disarmament include existing efforts among some states and nonstate actors to address controls or bans on small arms, at least academic discussion of controls on advanced conventional weapons, and emerging venues of military interest in space and cyberspace. All of these efforts are only in their infancy. Humankind has a long legacy of attempts to limit the potential and destructive results of warfare. Today, as modern technologies threaten massive destruction and suffering, nations will continue to strive for humane and measured applications of force. As long as weapons remain tools of international relations, citizens of those nations will be involved in arms control and disarmament. For nearly three generations, policy development and intellectual advancement in the field of international relations have focused on the role of arms control and used the specialized language developed for that purpose. This field of international policy will remain viable and vital into the foreseeable future.²²

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

to be pursued as an end unto itself _____

to defend the integrity of individual states within a group of treaty signatories _____

conscious and dedicated effort _____

to experience a flush of optimism _____

to be as era-defining as global ideological rivalry _____

to be capable of generating unanticipated and undesired effects _____

tacit but intelligent communication _____

to be grafted onto the legislature _____

²² Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 77.

to be propelled by misperception _____
to originate or precipitate territorial disputes _____
post-conflict impositions of limitations on military force _____

advance of legal standards toward just war _____
precepts of just and moral uses of armed force _____
to stake out the future course _____
humane and measured applications of force _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following words and phrases.

ներառվել համագործակցային անվտանգության կատեգորիայի մեջ _____

հարկադիր ռազմական գործողություններ _____

դադարեցնել ռազմական հակամարտությունը _____

հասնել գազաթնակետին _____

զարմանալի արագությամբ _____

զսպել զանգվածային ոչնչացման զենքի ապօրինի տարածումը _____

զենքի մրցակցային ձեռքբերում _____

հնացած տեխնոլոգիաներ _____

որոշումների փուլային/աստիճանական կայացում _____

հովանավորչական համակարգի արգասիք _____

արտաքին աշխարհի հետ քիչ կապ ունենալ _____

հոգեբանական ճնշումների անսովոր/արտառոց հետևանք _____

պարտվածներ _____

որոշակի չափով կարգ ու կանոն հարկադրել միջպետական հակամարտությունում _____

պատերազմի ժամանակ մահացության թվի կտրուկ աճ _____

արգելել որոշ համակարգերի և զինամթերքի օգտագործումը _____

սահմանափակել տեղակայված առաջադեմ համակարգերի քանակը _____

ջանքերի ողջ ծավալը _____
հեռահար տեխնոլոգիական զարգացումներ _____
կենսունակ և կարևոր նշանակություն ունենալ տեսանելի ապագայում

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Ազգային պետության արտաքին քաղաքականության գործիքակազմը հաճախ ներառում է սպառազինությունների վերահսկման աշխատանքներ, ինչպես նաև սպառազինությունների կուտակմանը և սպառազինությունների մրցավազքին անդրադարձող հարցեր:

2. Ջենքի նոր տեխնոլոգիաների արագ ընթացող հետազոտությունն ու մշակումը հանգեցնում են այնպիսի զենքերի ստեղծմանը, որոնց ճշգրտությունը, հեռահարությունը և մահաբերությունը շատ ավելի մեծ է, քան հնացած տեխնոլոգիաներինը:

3. Միջազգային հանրության անվտանգության համար շարունակական մտահոգություններ առաջացնող պետության դեմ նոր պատժամիջոցները ստորագրվել և ուժի մեջ են մտել ապշեցուցիչ արագությամբ:

4. Ռազմարդյունաբերական համալիր պահելը ամրագրված է հզոր պետությունների օրենսդրություններում, իսկ սպառազինության համակարգերի ձեռքբերումը դարձել է նրանց միջև կողավորված խոսակցության ձև:

5. Մինչ տարածաշրջանը շարունակում է կռել իր ապագա ուղին, ստեղծվում են համագործակցային տարածաշրջանային նոր ծրագրեր՝ ուղղված սպառազինությունների մրցակցային ձեռքբերման վերահսկողությանն ու արգելքներին, ինչպես նաև ձեռնարկվում են համագործակցային անվտանգության նախաձեռնություններ:

6. Հայեցակարգի կողմնակիցները կարծում են, որ սպառազինությունների վերահսկումը և զինաթափումը կարող են ի վերջո հանգեցնել միջուկային զենքից ազատ գոտիների, ուժի ավելի մարդասիրական և չափավոր կիրառմանը և պետությունների միջև վստահության հետագա ամրապնդմանը:

7. Այս բոլոր ջանքերը միայն իրենց սկզբնական փուլում են: Իրականում, աղետալի ներուժ ունեցող զենքերի ստեղծումը դուրս է մնացել որևէ արդյունավետ վերահսկողությունից:

<i>arms build up</i>	<i>accuracy</i>
<i>lethality</i>	<i>extensive agenda</i>
<i>to undertake</i>	<i>coded conversation</i>
<i>to be grafted onto legislature</i>	<i>to create ongoing security concerns</i>
<i>nuclear-weapon-free zones</i>	<i>cooperative security initiatives</i>
<i>to enter into force</i>	<i>catastrophic potential</i>
<i>humane and measured application of force</i>	<i>range</i>
<i>to address controls and bans</i>	<i>proponents of a concept</i>
<i>foreign policy toolbox</i>	<i>to stake out one's future course</i>
<i>to be in infancy</i>	<i>arms race issues</i>
<i>disarmament</i>	<i>further confidence-building</i>
<i>actually</i>	<i>obsolescent technologies</i>
<i>arms control efforts</i>	<i>to bring about</i>
<i>acquisition of weapons systems</i>	<i>astounding speed</i>
<i>to be outside of any effective control</i>	<i>to maintain a military-industrial complex</i>

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Լսարանում

Դասախոս – Լա՛վ: Թույլ տվեք այստեղ ավարտել իմ դասախոսությունը, և առաջարկում եմ, որ դուք անմիջապես սկսեք երկխոսությունը: Հաճույքով կպատասխանեմ ձեր հարցերին: Այո՛, խնդրե՛մ:

Ուսանող 1 – Շնորհակալություն: Այսպես, ուրեմն, այս դասախոսության հիմնական թեմաներն էին սպառազինությունների վերահսկումը և սպառազինությունների մրցավազքի գործընթացում իրականացվող համատեղ (բառացի՝ համախառն) միջոցառումները, տարբեր գործառնական պրակտիկաները և ներդրումային օրինաչափությունները: Բայց ի՞նչ կասեք այս ամենի վերաբերյալ հասարակության արձագանքի և պատասխան գործողությունների մասին:

Դասախոս – Դուք միանգամայն իրավացի եք: Ես այդ խնդրին համակողմանի չանդրադարձա: Գիտե՛ք ինչ, սա բարդ հարց է: Այն շոշափում է հասարակության այնքան լայն շերտերի շահեր, որ ազգային անվտանգության առումով խնդրի դրական լուծման հարցում որևէ համաձայնություն ակնկալելն ինձ անիրատեսական է թվում: Հենց միայն «շահեր» բառը այնքան տարբեր է մեկնաբանվում ամբողջ աշխարհում:

Ուսանող 2 – Ինչ վերաբերում է «շահերի տարբերության» գաղափարին... Հիմա, երբ մենք կանգնած ենք միջուկային սպառնալիքի առջև, արդյո՞ք հնարավոր չէ գործնականում լուծել այդ տարբերությունները: Ցանկացած խենթ առաջնորդ կարող է սեղմել այդ կարմիր կոճակը:

Դասախոս – Գիտե՛ք ինչ, տեսանելի ապագայում վերահսկողության և զինաթափման վերաբերյալ այս ակադեմիական քննարկումներն ու միջազգային խորհրդաժողովները, անշուշտ, դեռ կենսունակ և կենսական կլինեն: Եվ ոչ էլ այն կարծիքին եմ, թե միջուկային սպառնալիքը նույնչափ լուրջ է, որքան որոշ այլ մահացու մարտահրավերներ:

Ուսանող 3 – Հենց այդպե՛ս էլ կա: Մեզ համար միանգամայն պարզ է, որ զանգվածային ոչնչացման կենսաբանական և տեխնիկական զենքերը, ինչպես նաև ներկայումս արհեստական ինտելեկտի արագ զարգացումը շատ ավելի մեծ վտանգներ են պարունակում մարդկության համար: Օրերս կարդացի, որ ռոբոտների այս նոր սերունդը կարող է ինքնուրույն վերարտադրվել բոլորովին այլ նմուշաձևերով: Հասկանո՞ւմ եք ինչ նկատի ունեմ:

Ուսանող 1 – Ուզում ես ասել, որ մենք գործ ունենք նոր տեխնածին սպառնալիքի տարածման պրոբլեմի հե՞տ:

Ուսանող 3 – Ճի՛շտ այդպես: Ես հենց դա՛ նկատի ունեմ: Ամբողջ զինամթերքն ու սպառազինությունը, որոնց մասին մենք այդքան խոսում ենք՝ փոքր զենքեր, թեթև զենքեր, սովորական սպառազինություններ և այլն, ոչ մի նշանակություն չեն ունենա ռոբոտազինության և կենսաբանության ասպարեզում սպառազինությունների մրցավազքի նոր ձևերի դեմ: Եվ մեծ հարց է՝ արդյոք մենք՝ մարդիկ, կունենա՞նք այդ ամենում որոշումների կայացման մեր բաժինը:

Դասախոս – Մի՛ վիհավեք: Այդքան հոռետես մի՛ եղեք: Մինչև այժմ մարդ արարածը առանցքային դեր է խաղացել ամբողջ աշխարհում անվտանգության պահպանման գործում: Հուսանք, որ գալիք օրերին ևս մենք կկարողանանք խաղաղ և պրագմատիկ կերպով իրականացնել այս առաքելությունը: Վերջին հաշվով, աշխարհը մարդկությա՛ն տունն է, այլ ոչ թե ռոբոտների հանրության, և մենք պետք է համարժեք գործենք:

*to take questions
as for the idea*

*to engage directly in a dialogue
to be so grave as*

to remain viable and vital
over the long run
to propose
new concerns of proliferation
to touch the interests
artificial intelligence
to maintain security
to completely tackle a problem
to be pessimistic
the mere word
to proceed with the mission
to expect any concord
in the days to come
a piece of decision-making
to deal with
to be focused on
conventional arms
lethal challenges
ammunition and weaponry
investment patterns
to reproduce themselves on their own
weapons of mass destruction

to play a key role
a positive resolution of the problem
to act accordingly
to be a big question
a tricky question
in quite different patterns
to face the nuclear threat
to mean just that
right
light weapons
to sort the differences out
to keep the chin up
to push the red button
operational practices
the foreseeable future
to be interpreted
a techno-generated threat
in terms of national security
to pose far greater threats
layers of the society
exactly
aggregate measures

Task 5. Match the English nouns with their respective sets of synonyms.

rationale	unity, entirety, wholeness
rubric	insistence, avowal, contention, allegation
integrity	aegis, auspices, sponsorship, backing
commitment	doctrine, tenet, principle, canon
zenith	designation, category, class, kind
assertion	deadliness, destructiveness, mortality
lethality	hypothesis, justification, reason, explanation
patronage	closeness, juxtaposition, adjacency, propinquity
contiguity	apex, climax, culmination, crest, pinnacle
precept	pledge, obligation, promise, devoir

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>informal groupings of states</i>	<i>notable accomplishments</i>
<i>to ban the production</i>	<i>disposition</i>

*conventional force levels
ongoing*

*proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
parallel efforts*

Arms control has not been solely focused on bilateral U.S.-Soviet strategic issues since the 1970s. There have been _____ under way in multiple other fields, often led by the United Nations Conference on Disarmament. These multilateral discussions were not as highly charged politically as the bilateral efforts, but they did achieve several _____. For example, in 1972 the world agreed _____, stockpiling, and use of biological and toxin weapons (the Biological Weapons Convention), and in 1993 it agreed to a similar treaty on chemical weapons (the Chemical Weapons Convention). NATO and the Warsaw Pact came to an agreement on _____, composition, and _____ in the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty in 1990. A Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was signed in Geneva in 1996, and discussions are still _____ regarding a global Fissile Materials Cutoff Treaty. A series of nuclear-weapon-free zones has essentially denuclearized the entire Southern Hemisphere. A coalition of states and nongovernmental organizations led the effort to ban landmines in 1997 (the Ottawa Convention), and several _____ were created to prevent the _____ technologies through organizations such as the Zangger Committee, the Australia Group, the Wassenaar Arrangement, and the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

Words travel worlds. Translators do the driving.

Anna Rusconi

It is impossible to imagine the English language without such phrases as *look for*, *look forward to*, *give away*, *take off*, *cut down on*, etc. These are phrasal verbs that constitute an inseparable and characteristic feature of the language. Phrasal verbs are particularly common in the English language and a phrasal verb often has a meaning which is quite different from the original verb. A phrasal verb can be composed of a verb and a preposition, a verb and an adverb, or a verb with both a preposition and an adverb. Understanding the meaning of a phrasal verb, and then finding its equivalent in the TL might sometimes become a problem for the translator.

The thing is that some phrases, like *to look up*, may have both direct and idiomatic meanings 1. *նայել վեր*, 2. *փնտրել տեղեկություն*. In other cases, like *to take off*, the phrase may have quite different idiomatic meanings: 1. *become airborne*, 2. *remove clothing from one's or another's body*. Besides, some verbs may be separated from the preposition by an object, e.g. *He took off his coat*. /*He took his coat off*. This may create additional difficulties for translators who have to be alert all the time. So, it is necessary to make out if you are to translate a single verb or a phrasal verb.

Here you have also to keep in mind that some words, including verbs, have prepositions. In this case, the prepositions merely express the relations between words. Sometimes they may correspond to Armenian equivalents, like *an influence on* – *աղդեցություն... վրա*, but not always, e.g., *to influence* – *ազդել... վրա*; *to listen to somebody* – *լսել մեկին*.

Tip

Pay special attention to the preposition *of* and its translation. In most cases, it denotes the relationship between a part and a whole or belonging or a possessive relationship. You will produce a smoother translation if you start understanding and translating the phrase beginning with the word/words following *of*. If there are two or more phrases with *of*, then find the last one and “move backward” to the beginning. The same logic should be followed also concerning other prepositions.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Georgia –

Վրաստանի Հանրապետության արտաքին գործերի նախարարություն.

Task 1. Translate the passage paying special attention to the prepositions.

The state sets the context and rules for bargaining between institutions and individuals within its domestic jurisdiction. Diplomatic negotiation is bargaining between states. It sets the context and rules for international bargaining between nongovernmental institutions and individuals.

The citizens and corporate entities of a nation are bound by the laws passed by its legislature, the decision of its courts, and the policies of its executive organs. They negotiate within the context of the social contract these represent. Their agreements are set out in terms standardized by domestic law, legal precedent, and a common understanding of commercial practice. Their commitments will be interpreted or enforced by their domestic legal process. Their failure to live up to these commitments will subject them to legal penalties. They are not at liberty to

engage in blackmail or violent reprisal to resolve their differences or gain advantage over one another.

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

Nuclear Proliferation and Nonproliferation

Nuclear proliferation ժամանակակից միջազգային խաղաղության և անվտանգության հիմնական մարտահրավերներից մեկն է _____
_____. The standard definition of nuclear proliferation was set by the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, or NPT. The NPT implicitly defines proliferation որպես միջուկային պայթուցիկ սարքի արտադրություն և պայթեցում _____
by any state that had not done so beforehand.

In short, proliferation occurs upon a state's first nuclear test. This standard definition has been challenged from a number of perspectives. First, it is often remarked that in addition to the problem of "horizontal" proliferation, there is also the problem of "vertical" proliferation – միջուկային զենքի պաշարների կուտակում գոյություն ունեցող միջուկային տերությունների կողմից

_____. This argument may be intellectually valid, but in common parlance, proliferation is used exclusively to mean horizontal proliferation, and other terms such as build-up or arms race are used to mean vertical proliferation. Երկրորդ, ոմանք պնդում են, որ տարածումը կարող է ավելի շուտ ընկալվել որպես շարունակական գործընթաց

than as a discrete outcome. Այսպես կոչված միջուկային զենքի տարածման միջակայքը _____ ranges from the acquisition of basic nuclear scientific and technical skills to the development of a bomb-manufacturing capacity and finally to actual bomb manufacture, testing, and deployment. There has been a concerted push to roll the proliferation "red line" back from the first nuclear explosion to the production of fissile material.

Broadly speaking, there are two competing explanatory camps միջուկային զենքի տարածման երևույթը բացատրելու համար՝ _____

realism and idealism. The first, traditionally dominant realist camp takes the view that states are ultimately driven toward the bomb by the inescapable requirement of self-help in the anarchic international system. In short, in a dangerous world պետությունները պետք է ձգտեն զինվել ամենավտանգավոր զենքերով

_____ . But in contradiction to realist expectations, fewer than ten of the fifty or so states that are widely estimated to have the potential to have nuclear arsenals by now actually do have them. The persistent small number of nuclear weapons states has caused resurgent interest in the alternative, idealist perspective on proliferation. Իդեալիստական տարբեր տեսություններ կենտրոնանում են վերլուծության տարբեր մակարդակների վրա _____

International-level idealists stress the effects of international norms of nonproliferation and nuclear nonuse on depressing demand for the bomb, with the caveat որ այդ նորմերը չեն կարող զսպել այսպես կոչված խարդախ ռեժիմները _____

_____ that reject international society. Meanwhile, domestic-level idealists note that many important societal constituencies oppose nuclear weapons. Finally, individual-level idealists argue that going nuclear is a revolutionary act in world politics, which only oppositional nationalist leaders may have the motivation and certitude necessary to carry off.

Քաղաքական գործիչների ճնշող մեծամասնությունը համոզված է _____

that proliferation is a source of world disorder, but academics are divided between nuclear proliferation optimists and pessimists. Proliferation optimists contend that mutually assured destruction prevented the cold war from descending into World War III. This experience suggests to them որ միջուկային զենքով զինված աշխարհը, փաստորեն, կարող է լինել ավելի կայուն աշխարհ _____

_____ . By contrast, proliferation pessimists argue that the nuclear stability of the cold war was more apparent than real, with numerous close calls due to miscalculation, misperception, organizational dysfunction, and sheer brutality. Moreover, they argue that whatever nuclear stability did exist during the cold war is likely to be unsustainable as the

nuclear club expands – and will certainly break down if nonstate actors get the bomb.

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

Arms Control

Arms control belongs to a group of closely related views whose common theme is peace through **the manipulation of force**, and is but one of a series of alternative approaches to achieving international security through military strategies. The centrality of **the concept of disarmament was supplanted** by the term “arms control” early in the nuclear age. World War II saw the introduction of what many described as the “ultimate weapon,” or the atomic bomb, as well as **near-global technologies of delivery**. With the failure of early proposals to either **eliminate** or internationalize control over atomic weapons, the focus shifted toward limiting their development and spread and controlling their use and effects. Western academics and policy analysts soon realized that disarmament in the literal sense of eliminating nuclear weapons was not going to happen; these weapons had become a long-term reality of the international system. Thus, as they began examining these weapons and nuclear strategy, they adopted a preference for terminology that directly captured efforts **to come to grips** with “controlling” these weapons. In the mid-1950s, policymakers began rethinking an approach that had emphasized general and complete disarmament and considered instead **limited, partial measures** that would gradually **enhance confidence** in cooperative security arrangements. Thus, more modest goals under the rubric of arms control came to replace the **propaganda-laden disarmament efforts** of the late 1940s and early 1950s. International security specialists began using the term arms control in place of disarmament, which they felt **lacked precision** and **smacked of utopianism**. The seminal books on the subject published in the early 1960s all preferred arms control as a more comprehensive term. Austrian scholar Hedley Bull differentiated the two as follows: disarmament is the reduction or abolition of armaments, while **arms control is restraint internationally exercised** upon armaments policy – not only the number of weapons, but also their character, development, and use.

Multilateral efforts early in the cold war sought to affect the control of nuclear weapons by limiting the physical scope of the weapons, their testing, and their further technological development and proliferation. Multilateral agreements prior to the 1970s **banned** placing nuclear weapons in Antarctica, outer space, or the earth’s seabed. Regional nuclear-weapon-free zones also were established during this period in Latin America and later in the South Pacific, Africa, Southeast Asia,

and Central Asia. Early restrictions on atmospheric testing were supplemented by efforts to ban all atmospheric tests and eventually all weapons test explosions, even underground. The early **multilateral efforts were capped** by the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) that sought to prevent future additions to the nuclear club by establishing a framework for additional multilateral efforts extending to biological and chemical weapons and other arenas of arms control. The NPT also paid service to its **disarmament heritage** by containing a clause calling on all nuclear weapons states to seek the eventual elimination of their nuclear arsenals. With the establishment of the NPT regime, the primary focus of arms control focus during the second half of the cold war centered on bilateral strategic controls between the United States and the Soviet Union. The meaning of arms control subsequently narrowed to a focus on the formal negotiating process, characterized by staged, multiparty negotiation, implementation, and verification phases.²³

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- *Give reasons for arms races.*
- *Present some relevant examples from history about the risky character of arms races.*

Are Arms Races Risky?

Under what circumstances is arms racing dangerous? When is it stabilizing? Deterrence theorists assert that some arms races contribute to conflict stabilization, hence to peace (deterrence stability). Power equilibrium hypotheses and power transition arguments can be developed in which military power is used to restore balance and order. Racing also may preserve peace at least temporarily by substituting another arena for competition. However, arms races may be deterrence-stable (in the sense that ratios of weapons remain constant while the arsenals grow), while being neither mechanically stable, nor crisis-stable. Arms races may then be war precursors in the long term because mechanical instability can occur within deterrence stability or other forms of stability. Some types of arms races are probably more hazardous than others. Observers cannot avoid the conclusion that racing in weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is inherently dangerous. Arms racing in nuclear weapons is risky even if tightly controlled,

²³ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 78.

simply because of the inevitable environmental contamination before, during, and after the arms race, and because of the risks of accidental detonation, loss, theft, and diversion. As weapons proliferate, into whose hands they may devolve becomes a more urgent question. The specter of the “terrorist” use of WMD looms large, but it should not obscure the risk that status quo powers themselves may not be reasonable users of WMD. Does arms racing itself risk interstate war? Arms racing may be perilous because it can be a method of maximizing arsenals before initiating a war (risk of a long and severe war). Alternatively, arms racing may be misunderstood by a potential adversary as signaling imminent attack when none is intended (risk of an accidental war). Arms racing from a position of notable inferiority may even invite preemptive attack (deterrence failure). Arms racing is not typical nation-state behavior. Scholars come to contrasting conclusions about the political consequences of arms racing, depending on variations in their original assumptions, definitions of terms, conceptualizations, and initial political conditions. Outcomes are affected by dynamic factors such as power transitions and the type and form of the race and by specifics such as the nature of the weaponry, as well as the risks taken in deployment, such as instituting automatic launch-on-warning mechanisms.²⁴

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Անվտանգություն և պաշտպանություն. Հայաստանը սովորական սպառազինությունների վերահսկման միջազգային համակարգում

Այս ոլորտում ՀՀ արտաքին գործերի նախարարության համապատասխան ստորաբաժանումները զբաղվում են ՄԱԿ-ի և ԵԱՀԿ-ի շրջանակներում գործող միջազգային համաձայնագրերի, կոնվենցիաների, պաշտոնական այլ փաստաթղթերի գործաբանությամբ, որոնք ներառում են այնպիսի խնդիրներ, ինչպիսիք են՝ սովորական սպառազինությունների վերահսկումը, զինաթափումը, սպառազինությունների կրճատումը, հավաստագրումը և տեսչական ստուգումները, ինչպես նաև զինաթափմանն առնչվող այլ հարցեր՝ հակահետևակային ականները, խմբավորված զինատեսակները, որոշ սովորական սպառազինություններ և այլն: Վերոնշյալ գործունեության հիմնական նպատակը տարածաշրջանային և գլոբալ անվտանգության ու վստահության միջոցների ամրապնդումն է:

²⁴ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 82.

ԱԳ նախարարությունը նաև վերահսկում է Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպության Անվտանգության խորհրդի և Գլխավոր վեհաժողովի, ԵԱՀԿ Անվտանգության համագործակցության ֆորումի և Հակամարտության կանխարգելման կենտրոնի ընդունած տարբեր որոշումների իրագործման գործընթացը: Բացի այդ, համապատասխան մակարդակով համագործակցում է միջազգային անվտանգության հարցերով զբաղվող հեղինակավոր տարբեր վերլուծական կենտրոնների և պարբերականների (բրիտանական, շվեյցարական և այլն) հետ:

Այս աշխատանքներն իրականացվում են ՀՀ վարչապետի աշխատակազմի, պաշտպանության նախարարության, ոստիկանության, ազգային անվտանգության ծառայության, արդարադատության նախարարության, ինչպես նաև այլ նախարարությունների և գերատեսչությունների հետ սերտ համագործակցությամբ:

Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպություն

Հայաստանն ամենամյա հիմունքով համապատասխան հաշվետվություններ և տեղեկատվություն է ներկայացնում Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպություն ռազմական ծախսերի, սարքավորումների, տեխնոլոգիաների, ազգային օրենսդրության, սպառազինությունների փոխանցման, փոքր սպառազինությունների և թեթև զինատեսակների արտահանման, ներմուծման և այլնի վերաբերյալ: Հաշվետվությունների քանակն ու ծավալը կախված են Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպության Գլխավոր վեհաժողովի ընդունած բանաձևերի քանակից: Գոյություն ունի պահանջ, որի համաձայն՝ յուրաքանչյուր անդամ երկիր պարտավոր է ամենամյա հաշվետվություններ ներկայացնել ՄԱԿ-ի Զինաթափման գծով հանձնաժողովին: Օրինակ՝ 1992 թվականից գործում է Սովորական սպառազինությունների ՄԱԿ-ի Ռեգիստրը, որի շրջանակներում ՄԱԿ-ի անդամ պետություններն ամենամյա պաշտոնական տեղեկատվություն են ներկայացնում սովորական սպառազինությունների յոթ կատեգորիաների՝ մարտական տանկերի, մարտական զրահամեքենաների, մեծ տրամաչափի հրետանու, մարտական ինքնաթիռների, հարվածային ուղղաթիռների, ռազմանավերի և հրթիռների արտահանման և ներմուծման վերաբերյալ: Գործունեության այս ոլորտը ներառում է նաև ՄԱԿ-ի շրջանակներում առկա տարբեր համաձայնագրերի և կոնվենցիաների գործունեության ոլորտ հանդիսացող զենքերի որոշ տեսակներ և ռազմամթերքներ:

Այդպիսիք են Հակահետևակային ականների արգելման մասին Օտտավայի կոնվենցիան, Որոշակի սպառազինությունների մասին ՄԱԿ-ի կոնվենցիան իր հինգ արձանագրություններով և Խմբավորված զինատեսակների մասին կոնվենցիան:

Հայաստանը դեռևս չի միացել վերոհիշյալ կոնվենցիաներից ոչ մեկին: Այնուամենայնիվ, որպես դիտորդ երկիր, մշտապես մասնակցում է դրանց շրջանակներում տեղի ունեցող խորհրդաժողովներին և հանդիպումներին: Հայաստանը մշտապես հայտարարում է, որ աջակցում է վերոնշյալ պայմանագրերին և վերահաստատում իր պատրաստակամությունը՝ կամավոր հիմունքներով համապատասխան քայլեր կատարելու դրանց որոշակի դրույթների իրականացման ուղղությամբ: Այսպես, Հայաստանը՝ որպես թափանցիկության և վստահության միջոցների ամրապնդման դրսևորում, ամեն տարի ինքնակամ ՄԱԿ-ին ու ԵԱՀԿ-ին տրամադրում է հակահետևակային ականների մասին տեղեկատվություն:

Հայաստանը մեծ ուշադրություն է դարձնում միջազգային խաղաղապահ գործողություններին իր մասնակցությանը: Այս առումով, կարևորվում է ՄԱԿ-ի խաղաղապահ գործողությունների վարչության (DPKO) հետ մշտական համագործակցությունը: Գործնականում 2011թ.-ից Հայաստանը մասնակցում է Լիբանանում ժամանակավոր տեղակայված խաղաղապահ առաքելությանը (UNIFIL)՝ դիտորդի կարգավիճակով, իսկ 2014 թ. նոյեմբերի 26-ին տեղակայման վայր գործուղվեց առաջին խաղաղապահ ստորաբաժանումը:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “The nuclear arms race is like two sworn enemies standing waist deep in gasoline, one with three matches, the other with five.” *Carl Sagan*
- “Peace is not the absence of conflict; it is the ability to handle conflict by peaceful means.” *Ronald Reagan*
- “Nuclear weapons are the scourge of the earth; to mine for them, manufacture them, deploy them, use them, is a curse against God, the human family, and the earth itself.” *Philip Berrigan*
- “The emotional security and political stability in this country entitle us to be a nuclear power.” *Anthony Mason*

- “The challenge of statesmanship is to have the vision to dream of a better, safer world and the courage, persistence, and patience to turn that dream into a reality.” *Ronald Reagan*
- “Our moral imperative is to work with all our powers for that day when the children of the world grow up without the fear of nuclear war.” *Ronald Reagan*

Supplementary Reading

Arms Trade

It is somewhat ironic that the five permanent members of the United Nations' Security Council (i.e. those nominally responsible for maintaining international peace and security) are also among the biggest suppliers of conventional weapons to other states in the international system. Although many observers talked about a peace dividend after the cold war, and hopes were raised that arms industries could be converted from the production of deadly weapons to more peaceful uses, the arms trade persists as a vibrant industry in the twenty-first century. The United States remains the biggest arms supplier in the world. It has consistently controlled more than half the arms trade market over the past decade, and its sales of weapons are worth approximately US\$20 billion per year. For all the concern raised over Russian arms exports, they comprise less than one-tenth of the world trade in arms sales. Aside from the United States, Britain and France are major players in the industry, and China's exports in arms have been increasing steadily over the past few years. The arms trade refers to the transfer, from one country to another, of arms, ammunition, and combat support equipment. Such transfers are usually conducted on a commercial basis or on the basis of military assistance programs. The recipients are normally governments, although a large network of black-market channels has arisen to supply insurgents, separatist groups, and other paramilitary organizations. Whilst Third World countries account for two-thirds of all arms imports, the main recipients of the arms trade are located in the Middle East. Today, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait are the main importers of weapons from the West.

The end of the cold war was a major blow for the arms trade industry, which has shrunk to about half of its value in the 1980s. As a consequence, many defence industries face a distinctly uncertain future. With the contraction of military forces among NATO member states (including the United States and Great Britain), arms exports have become more essential to the industry while at the same time generating political controversy and public debate. In large part the controversy

reflects the attempt by the industry to achieve an ‘ethical’ approach to arms sales. Critics claim that arms sales assist repressive states in perpetrating human rights abuses, that they cause wars, that they result in increased war casualties, and that they impede economic development. Representatives of the arms trade industry take a different position. They argue that to withdraw unilaterally from the arms trade has the potential to inhibit the development of exporting states’ technological base, and thus undermine defence and foreign policy objectives. They also point out that repressive states do not need expensive, high-tech modern weaponry to abuse their citizens or to engage in genocide; such weaponry is unsuitable for that purpose. After all, up to 800,000 people were slaughtered in Rwanda in 1994, most of whom were killed with primitive machetes. Arms sales can be destabilizing but they can also be stabilizing; the ultimate underlying causes of instability are always political. Moreover, they claim that there is no evidence of a correlation between the levels of arms exports and the numbers of casualties in wars. Supporters also argue that while weapons purchases may direct some resources away from civilian use in the Third World, they have not prevented economic development. Finally, they suggest that whilst the export of arms can be used for the purposes of repression, those weapons can also be used to deter aggression and to maintain regional balances of power. Of course, such arguments are entirely self-serving, but they are worth bearing in mind if only because the burden of proof lies with those who support the arms trade rather than its opponents. There have been some important developments in recent years to regulate the arms trade. These include efforts to control the export of long-range ballistic missiles and land mines, and the promotion of greater transparency in the reporting of arms transfers. In 1991 the United Nations General Assembly voted to establish an annual register of imports and exports of major weapons systems, although the register remains a voluntary instrument. Little work has been done, however, to regulate the growing black market in arms transfers.²⁵

The SALT Era

The first effort of the bilateral U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms control process led to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and three treaties – an Interim Agreement on Offensive Weapons and Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (both signed in 1972, together called SALT I), and the 1979 SALT II treaty. Cold war tensions and a dangerous and expensive nuclear arms race, whose potential ramifications had been made evident by the Cuban Missile Crisis, spurred both the United States

²⁵ Griffiths, M., O’Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 10.

and the Soviet Union in the 1960s into a series of cooperative measures and steps toward bilateral cooperation to limit future strategic systems. With the development of sufficient capabilities in national technical means of unilateral verification, formal bilateral negotiations on SALT began in 1969. SALT I froze the total number of deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles on both sides and limited the total number of maritime strategic systems that could be deployed. It also limited the development and deployment of future antiballistic missile systems and restricted defense technologies. The two sides agreed on the outline of a follow-on agreement at the Vladivostok Summit in 1974. Subsequent negotiations led to SALT II, which placed an aggregate limit on deployed strategic launch vehicles and also limited the number of systems that could be equipped with multiple warheads.

The START Era

The second series of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union addressed force reductions through the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), leading to the START I and START II treaties and the elimination of an entire class of weapons through the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. Beginning simultaneously with the SALT talks, a broader series of East-West efforts had addressed the reduction of tensions between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. By 1987, the INF treaty negotiations came to fruition, and both sides' intermediate-range missiles were withdrawn and destroyed. A key legacy of this agreement, in addition to its precedent for elimination of an entire category of weapon systems, was its reliance on on-site inspection teams to verify missile removal and destruction on the other side's territory. The START talks began in 1982 and proceeded alongside an extensive series of nuclear confidence-building measures addressing risk reduction and data sharing. The 1992 START I Treaty required measured reductions in both nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, with intrusive verification provisions to ensure compliance. The bilateral nuclear arms control process was so firmly established that even with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the two sides were still able to quickly negotiate the 1993 START II Treaty, in which both sides agreed to further reduce their nuclear arsenals. In addition, cooperative efforts succeeded in consolidating control of Soviet nuclear systems in the Russian Republic and initiating a broad effort known as cooperative threat reduction measures to reduce the chances of proliferation from the former Soviet Union. At the 1997 Helsinki summit meeting, both countries committed themselves to continue the strategic arms reduction process to even lower levels of nuclear

warheads through a START III round, but this plan was obviated by the 2002 Moscow Treaty (officially the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty, or SORT).

The Moscow Treaty and Beyond

The Moscow Treaty called for continued reductions in both sides' arsenals of deployed strategic warheads, but with no formal verification measures to ensure compliance. Given that START was scheduled to expire in December 2009, and SORT in December 2012, the two states began negotiations on a replacement strategic agreement in earnest after Barack Obama became president of the United States in 2009.²⁶

²⁶ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 79.

UNIT 6

BARGAINING AND NEGOTIATIONS

Read the text and speak on

- the definition of bargaining
- the bargaining process
- means of leverage used in the bargaining process
- bargaining and negotiation
- different bargaining strategies
- reciprocity and deterrence in the bargaining process
- appeasement

Bargaining Process

The exercise of power involves two or more parties each trying to influence the other more than it is itself influenced. The mutual attempts to influence others constitute a bargaining process. Bargaining may be defined as tacit or direct communication in an attempt to reach an agreement on an exchange of value – that is, of tangible or intangible items that one or both parties value. Bargaining need not be explicit; sometimes the content is communicated through actions rather than an exchange of words.

A bargaining process has two or more participants and sometimes has mediators whose participation is nominally neutral. Participants have a direct stake in the outcome; mediators do not. There are one or more issues on which each participant hopes to reach an agreement on terms favorable to itself, but the participants' interests diverge on these issues, creating conflicts. These conflicts define a bargaining space – one or more dimensions, each of which represents a distance between the positions of two participants concerning their preferred outcomes. The bargaining process disposes of these conflicts by achieving agreements on the distribution of the various items of value that are at stake. The end result is a position arrived at in the bargaining space. Such agreements do not necessarily represent a fair exchange of value; many agreements are manifestly one-sided and unfair. But in a broad sense, bargains, whether fair or unfair, contain an element of mutual gain. This is possible because the items of value being exchanged have different values for the different parties.

Participants bring different means of leverage to the bargaining process. Leverage derives from power capabilities that allow one actor to influence the other to reach agreements more favorable to the first actor's interests. Leverage may operate on any of three dimensions of power: the *promise* of positive

sanctions (rewards) if the other actor gives one what one wants; the *threat* of negative sanctions (damage to valued items) if not; or an *appeal* to the other's feeling of love, friendship, sympathy, or respect for oneself. The use of violence can be a means of settling conflicts. The application of violent negative leverage can force an agreement that ends a conflict. Because such violence may also create new sources of conflict, agreements reached through violence may not last. Nonetheless, from a realist perspective violence is just another means of leverage.

Bargaining that takes place formally – usually at a table with back-and-forth dialogue – is called negotiation. Because the issues in IR are important and the actors are usually sophisticated players in a game with long-established rules and traditions, most issues of contention reach a negotiating table sooner or later. Often bargaining takes place simultaneously at the negotiating table and in the world (often in the battlefield). The participants talk in the negotiation hall while manipulating instruments of leverage outside it.

Strategies

Power strategies are plans actors use to develop and deploy power capabilities to achieve goals. Strategies include whether (and in which situations) a state is willing to use its power capabilities. The will of a nation or leader is hard to estimate: even if leaders make explicit their intention to fight over an issue, they might be bluffing.

In the context of bargaining, actors use various strategies to employ leverage in an effort to move the final agreement point closer to their own positions. One common bargaining strategy is to start with extreme demands and then gradually compromise them in an effort to end up close to one's true (but concealed) position. Another strategy is to “drive a hard bargain” by sticking closely to one's original position in the belief that the other participant will eventually accept it. Another common bargaining strategy is fractionation – splitting up a complex issue into a number of small components so that progress may be sought on solvable pieces. The opposite approach, which some bargainers prefer, is to lump together diverse issues – called linkage – so that compromises on one can be traded off against another in a grand deal.

Reciprocity and Deterrence

To have the best effect, strategic bargaining over IR outcomes should take into account the other actor's own goals and strategies. Only then can one predict which forms of leverage may induce the other actor to take the actions one desires.

Reciprocity – a response in kind to another's actions – can be an effective strategy for achieving cooperation in a situation of conflicting interests. If one side

expresses willingness to cooperate and promises to reciprocate the other's cooperative and conflictual actions, the other side has a great incentive to work out a cooperative bargain. Reciprocity can help to achieve cooperation in the sense of refraining from an undesired action. This is the intent of the strategy of deterrence – the threat to punish another actor if it takes a certain negative action. The slogan “peace through strength” reflects this approach. If deterrence works, its effects are almost invisible; its success is measured in attacks that did not occur. Generally, advocates of deterrence believe that conflicts are more likely to escalate into war when one party to the conflict is weak. In this view, building up military capabilities usually convinces the stronger party that a resort to military leverage would not succeed, so conflicts are less likely to escalate into violence. Thomas Schelling presented an important distinction in 1966 between deterrence and “compellence”. In the former case, an adversary is dissuaded from aggression that has not yet been undertaken. In the latter case, an adversary is induced, by the threat of punishment, to stop some hostile activity that is already underway. Deterrents in the latter category of compellence are easier to count and to sort for success or failure. A foreign regime is threatened with punishment unless it eliminates apartheid, terminates ethnic massacres, or meets some other criterion, and one watches to see whether or not the regime gives in. This distinction between deterrence and compellence is particularly important when one considers the possibilities of economic deterrence. Rather than deterring war by threats of nuclear retaliation, perhaps the same deterrent impact can be achieved by the threat of economic sanctions and a cutoff of trade.

One strategy used to try to compel compliance by another state is escalation – a series of negative sanctions of increasing severity applied in order to induce another actor to take some action. In theory, the less severe actions establish credibility – showing the first actor's willingness to exert its power on the issue – and the pattern of escalation establishes the high costs of future sanctions if the second actor does not cooperate. These should induce the second actor to comply, assuming that it finds the potential costs of the escalating punishments to be greater than the costs of compliance. In fact, side by side with the potential for eliciting cooperation, reciprocity in general contains a danger of runaway hostility. When two sides both reciprocate but never manage to put relations on a cooperative footing, the result can be a drawn-out, nasty, tit-for-tat exchange of punishments.²⁷

²⁷ Goldstein, J.S., Pevehouse, J.C. *International Relations*. Pearson Longman, 2012, p. 52.

Appeasement

Appeasement is an influence strategy employed by states in relations with adversaries. Mostly it is defined as a policy of easing tensions and avoiding war by eliminating an opponent's grievances. In other cases, however, it is defined as a strategy of systematic concessions, and concessions are the means by which the strategy is implemented. Thus, terms frequently associated with appeasement include inducements, positive sanctions, conciliation, and accommodation. Appeasement may be considered a subcategory of engagement. The principal mechanism by which appeasement seeks to influence an opponent's behavior is satiation – satisfying its hunger for land, status, or something else it values. But policymakers may also intend for appeasement to work through reassurance (convincing an insecure adversary that one's own intentions are benign) or socialization (demonstrating the proper way to behave in international society). Because it seeks to modify an adversary's behavior through promises and rewards, rather than threats and punishments, appeasement is often regarded as the antithesis of, and an alternative to, deterrence. However, scholars have long recognized that coercive and noncoercive approaches can, and perhaps should, be combined in mixed influence strategies.

States pursue appeasement policies for a variety of reasons. In some cases, the objective may be short-term or tactical – e.g., to buy time in order to rearm so that an adversary may be confronted more effectively. Appeasement may also serve to test the motives of a state whose intentions are ambiguous. In other cases, the goal may be strategic, such as to eliminate the possibility of war with an adversary, or even to transform a relationship from hostility to friendship. The pursuit of appeasement policies is frequently encouraged by the absence of a feasible alternative or by opposition to other options, domestically or internationally.

Appeasement is often regarded as being futile and dangerous. It is considered to be futile because it is believed, an adversary cannot be placated through concessions. Indeed, concessions are commonly thought to increase the adversary's appetite for additional gains, leading it to make further demands. Appeasement is regarded as being dangerous because it allegedly undermines the credibility of deterrent threats. Accommodation of the adversary convinces it that the appeasing state is weak and irresolute. Should the state decide to stand firm and resist additional demands, its threats to defend its interests are not believed. Deterrence fails and war results. These concerns were central to the strategy of containment pursued by the United States during the Cold War, motivating U.S. policy makers to vigorously counter efforts by the Soviet Union and other communist states to expand their influence. The conventional wisdom regarding appeasement is derived mainly from the experience of Britain and France during the 1930s, when the

leaders of those countries attempted unsuccessfully to avert a war with Nazi Germany. Many scholars have argued that Anglo-French conciliation of Germany – reflected particularly in the Munich Agreement of September 1938 – caused Hitler to discount French and British promises to defend Poland, leading him to attack that country in September 1939. In a minority opinion, other scholars have disputed this interpretation. Arguing that Hitler regarded the outcome at Munich as a crushing defeat in which he himself shrank from the prospect of war, they contend that he found Anglo-French threats to defend Poland credible but, determined not to back down again, he decided to attack anyway. In some cases, appeasement has succeeded. Perhaps the most notable instance involves British conciliation of the United States after 1895; within a period of roughly a decade, the government of Great Britain was able to fundamentally transform the relationship between the two countries, not merely eliminating the possibility of an Anglo-United States war, but also securing diplomatic and strategic cooperation from the United States.

The success or failure of any effort at appeasement must be evaluated in terms of its objectives. Frequently, an appeasement policy has both minimum and maximum aims. Some may be attained, while others may not, so that the policy may be a partial success and a partial failure. Factors important to determining whether appeasement succeeds or fails include the nature of the adversary, the inducements offered by the appeasing state and the adversary's perception of them, and the presence or absence of other reasons for the adversary to respond favorably to the policy. Generally speaking, appeasement is most likely to succeed when the adversary's aims are limited, when the adversary is motivated by insecurity rather than greed, when the concessions that are offered address the adversary's concerns directly and fully, and when there exist other reasons – for example, domestic political pressures – for the adversary to accept the concessions and modify its behavior.²⁸

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

distribution of the various items of value _____
different means of leverage _____
at table with back-and-forth dialogue _____
issues of contention _____
to deploy power capabilities to achieve goals _____

²⁸ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 66.

to stick closely to one's original position _____
 to be traded off against another in a grand deal _____
 to have great incentive to work out a cooperative bargain _____
 to be dissuaded from an aggression _____
 to deter war by threats of nuclear retaliation _____
 to establish credibility _____
 the potential for eliciting cooperation _____
 to intend for appeasement to work through reassurance _____
 to be encouraged by the absence of a feasible alternative _____
 to shrink from the prospect of war _____
 to be motivated by insecurity rather than greed _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

անմիջականորեն շահագրգռված լինել _____
 լուծել/կարգավորել հակամարտությունը _____
 լծակներ օգտագործել _____
 միավորել բազմաբնույթ խնդիրներ _____
 գերծ մնալ անցանկալի գործողությունից _____
 վերաճել պատերազմի/բռնության _____
 դիմել ռազմական լծակների _____
 ստիպել դադարեցնել թշնամական գործողությունը _____
 վերացնել ռասայական խտրականությունը _____
 դադարեցնել էթնիկ ջարդերը _____
 առևտրի դադարեցում _____
 պարտադրել զիջումներ _____
 ուժ գործադրել _____
 հարաբերությունները դնել համագործակցային հիմքերի վրա _____

 վերացնել հակառակորդի դժգոհությունները _____
 խաղաղվել/հանդարտվել զիջումների միջոցով _____
 խարխլել վստահությունը _____
 եռանդուն կերպով հակազդել ջանքերին _____
 կանխել պատերազմը _____
 անտեսել խոստումները _____
 ջախջախիչ պարտություն _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Դժվար է հաշվարկել՝ արդյոք պետությունների միջև ընթացող սակարկությունները արժեքների արդար փոխանակում են: Դրանք ավելի շուտ հարաբերությունները դնում են համագործակցային հիմքերի վրա՝ ջանալով/փորձելով դրանք թշնամությունից վերածել բարեկամության:

2. Հետզհետե հիմնական մեխանիզմը, որով ուժային պետությունը ձգտում է ազդել հակառակորդի վրա և ստիպել նրան դադարեցնել թշնամական գործողությունները, դառնում է ավելի խիստ պատժամիջոցների կիրառումը:

3. «Խաղաղություն ուժի միջոցով» կարգախոսը հակառակորդին պարտադրում է զիջումների գնալ և նրան հետ է պահում ագրեսիայից:

4. Բռնության միջոցով ձեռք բերված պայմանավորվածությունները սովորաբար երկարատև չեն, քանի որ ճնշված կողմը հաճախ հաշվի չի առնում իր խոստումները և չի նահանջում:

5. Չնայած նրանց շահերը շատ հարցերում տարբերվում էին, երկխոսության հարուստ կենսափորձ ունեցող այդ խաղացողները բանակցությունների արդյունքներից անմիջական շահ ունեին և պատրաստ էին գործի դնել իրենց բոլոր լծակները:

6. Հանդարտեցման ուղղությամբ գործադրված ցանկացած ջանքի հաջողությունը կամ ձախողումը պետք է գնահատել դրա նպատակների դիտանկյունից:

7. Զիջումները միայն մեծացնում են հավելյալ ձեռքբերումներ ունենալու հակառակորդի ախորժակը՝ նրան դրդելով ընդլայնելու իր ազդեցությունը թույլ և անվճռական պետության նկատմամբ և հիմնովին վերափոխելու իրենց միջև հարաբերությունների բնույթը՝ հնարավորություն տալով առաջինին իր օգտին գործադրելու կոշտ ուժ:

to seek to influence

not to back down

peace through strength

to exercise hard power

to induce sb to stop sth

sophisticated players

a suppressed party

to transform sth from hostility to friendship

bargaining

a back-and-forth dialogue

not to last

instruments of leverage

to dissuade the adversary from an aggression

to put the relations on a cooperative footing

<i>rather</i>	<i>in one's favour</i>
<i>to estimate</i>	<i>to be ready to manipulate</i>
<i>in terms of objectives</i>	<i>to motivate sb to expand influence</i>
<i>to compel compliance</i>	<i>application of sanctions of increasing severity</i>
<i>appetite for additional gain</i>	<i>an irresolute state</i>
<i>to discount promises</i>	<i>to diverge on many issues</i>
<i>to have a direct stake</i>	<i>hostile activity</i>
<i>to reach through violence</i>	<i>concessions</i>
<i>to fundamentally transform</i>	<i>to coerce an adversary</i>
<i>a fair exchange of values</i>	<i>the outcome of the talks</i>
<i>appeasement</i>	

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Բանակցությունների մեկնարկից մեկ զիջեր առաջ

003 – Ուրե՛մն, մենք B-ի հետ մեկտեղ ենք գործում: Հաճե՛լի՜ է: Մեզ համար հիմա խաղաքարտին դրված են արժեքավոր մի շարք բաներ: Այն-պես որ, նախընտրելի ելքին հասնելու համար մենք պետք է C-ին համոզենք, որ կան փոխադարձ շահի շատ տարրեր:

009 – Դե լա՛վ է, վե՛րջ տուր: Նրանք այնքան էլ պարզունակ չեն, որքան կարծում ես: Համոզված եղիր, որ նրանք գիտակ խաղացողներ են և լավ էլ քաջատեղյակ են մեր չհամընկնող շահերից: Նաև՝ կարիք չկա/անօգուտ է ծայրահեղ պահանջներից սկսելը: Հնարավոր է, նույնիսկ, որ վերջում մե՛նք զիջումների գնանք:

010 – Գիտե՛ք ինչ կա, հաշվի առնելով այն, թե ինչ խաղադրույք ենք կատարել, ես կնախընտրեի, որ մենք գերծ մնայինք ցանկացած անցանկալի գործողությունից: Եվ ոչ էլ, իհարկե պետք է տեղի տալ: Գիտե՛ք ինչ, թափանցիկությունը լավագույնն է: Իսկ ի՞նչ կլինի, եթե մենք բացահայտորեն դիմենք նրանց զգացմունքներին և մեր որոշ տնտեսական առավելությունները փոխանակենք քաղաքական շահով:

002 – Բլե՞ֆ եք անում/Կատա՞կ եք անում: Մենք հակադրության մեջ ենք նրանց հետ, և նրանք երբեք բաց չեն թողնի մեզ վրա ճնշում գործադրելու կամ պատիժներ կիրառելու հնարավորությունը:

001 - Ուրեմն, ի՞նչ: Մենք պիտի մնանք մեր սկզբնական դիրքորոշմա՞նը և համաձայնենք հարցերի մաս-մաս տրոհմա՞նը: Դա վտանգավոր

է: Դրա հետևանքները գրեթե անտեսանելի են: Համոզվա՞ծ եք, որ նրանք մեզանից չեն թաքցնում մի ինչ-որ ճակատագրական/կտրուկ քայլ:

003 – Հա՛, հա՛: Դա լրի՛վ ապուշ բան է: Եթե մենք համաձայնենք նրանց պայմաններին, ապա երկարաժամկետ հեռանկարում կորուստները կգերազանցեն օգուտներին: Ուրեմն, որո՞նք են լինելու մեր գործողությունները:

005 – Տղե՛րք, ինչո՞ւ մենք չենք հորդորում Բ-ին միջամտել հոգուտ մեզ: Դուք ասացիք, որ նրանք մեզ հետ են, չէ՞: Վստահ եմ, որ հենց միայն մի փոքրիկ ակնարկը Բ-ի «խաղաղություն ուժի միջոցով» կարգախոսին, բոլորի վրա սառեցնող ազդեցություն կունենա: Ի վերջո, կողմերից և ոչ մեկի «երազանքը» միջուկային հաշվեհարդարը չէ, և բոլորը ցանկանում են հասնել իրագործելի այլընտրանքային տարբերակի:

003 – Եղա՛վ, լա՛վ: Այստեղ արդեն մի փոքր գերազնահատեցիր: Բայց, կարծում եմ, որ վաղվա բանակցությունների հետևանքներն ավելի լայնածավալ կլինեն, քան մենք ակնկալում ենք: Տեսնե՛նք:

to end up with concessions

simplistic

to trade off

to be a little overstated

various items of value

to exert pressure or punishments

to be king

to be well aware of

some drastic measure

a slight hint

extreme demands

after all

political gain

to gain the preferred outcome

to outweigh the gains

to be bluffing

to agree to fractionation

to skip a chance

to give in

to be at stake

to stick to the original position

given what's at stake

to be at odds

to be completely nuts

sophisticated players

to conceal sth up the sleeves

to have a chilling effect

elements of mutual gain

to achieve a feasible alternative

competing interests

to openly appeal to feelings

to dream of nuclear retaliation

to urge sb to step in for sb else

to be in tandem with

in the long run

to refrain from any undesired action

Task 5. Match the English adjectives

a. with their Armenian equivalents:

tacit	անշոշափելի, անըմբռնելի
tangible	բարեգուր, բարեհամբույր
intangible	իրագործելի
explicit	անօգուտ, ապարդյուն
benign	շոշափելի, առարկայական
coercive	երկիմաստ, անորոշ
feasible	ենթադրելի, անխոս
ambiguous	հարկադիր
futile	որոշակի, անկեղծ, բացահայտ

b. with their respective sets of synonyms:

tacit	benevolent, favourable, congenial, beneficent
tangible	impalpable, abstract, hypothetical
intangible	forced, compulsory, compelled, mandatory
explicit	executable, accomplishable, achievable, viable
benign	palpable, actual, material, discernible
coercive	dubious, equivocal, obscure, vague
feasible	ineffective, unproductive, vain, unavailing
ambiguous	implicit, implied, implicative, inferred
futile	accurate, certain, clear-cut, unequivocal, lucid

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>to produce commensurate gains</i>	<i>wield power</i>
<i>to advance the national interest</i>	<i>to prevail in conflicts</i>
<i>mutual benefit</i>	<i>a debatable assumption</i>
<i>unpredictable</i>	<i>to make an additional assumption</i>
<i>the assumption of rationality</i>	<i>to miscalculate costs and benefits</i>
<i>rationality</i>	

Rationality

Consistent with the bargaining framework, most realists assume that those who _____ behave as rational actors in their efforts to influence others. First, _____ implies that states and other international actors can identify their interests and put priorities on various

interests. The assumption is a simplification, because the interests of particular politicians, parties, economic sectors, or regions of a country often conflict. Yet realists assume that the exercise of power attempts _____ – the interests of the state itself. But what are the interests of a state? Are they the interests of domestic groups? The need _____ with other states? The need to cooperate with the international community for _____? There is no simple answer. Some realists simply define the national interest as maximizing power _____.

Second, rationality implies that actors are able to perform a *cost-benefit analysis* – calculating the costs incurred by a possible action and the benefits it is likely to bring. Applying power incurs costs and should _____. As in the problem of estimating power, one has to add up different dimensions in such a calculation. Even a rational actor can _____, or calculate on the basis of faulty information. And, again, human behavior and luck can be _____.

In addition to _____, many realists _____ that the actor (usually states) exercising power is a single entity that can “think” about its actions coherently and make choices. This is called the *unitary actor* assumption, or sometimes the *strong leader* assumption, and it is used to describe the nature of states as international actors.

These three assumptions about rationality and the actors in IR are simplifications that not all IR scholars accept. But realists consider these simplifications useful because they allow scholars to explain events in a general way.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

A major difficulty in translation is that a word in one language seldom has a precise equivalent in another one.

Arthur Schopenhauer

Like in any sphere, terms are abundant in politics and international relations and may constitute a major challenge to anyone, as more and more terms appear in line with new phenomena and developments. New words may be coined to serve as terms or some already existing words may acquire a new meaning to fit, or simply a word that expresses the required idea may be borrowed from another language. Sometimes, however, a term is calqued (In linguistics, a **calque** or loan translation

is a word or phrase borrowed from another language by literal word-for-word or root-for-root translation).

It is noteworthy that relevant terms in various languages appear depending on, first of all, when the phenomenon/situation the term refers to “reaches” any definite language and the need arises to fill in the gap. For example, the word *framework* acquired some additional meaning in the term *framework agreement* (in international law, such an agreement between countries or groups can acknowledge that they cannot reach full agreement on all issues, but are willing to memorialize a structure by which some disagreements can be resolved) was translated into Armenian as *շրջանակային համաձայնագիր* and became widely used within the interaction with the EU.

Thus, it’s absolutely necessary to find equivalent terms in the target language. However, this might also pose certain difficulties as one language may have several synonyms of a word and the other might not. For instance, in English *treaty, agreement, convention, covenant, contract, pact, concordat, accord, convention, deal, settlement, entente* can be translated into Armenian as *պայմանագիր, համաձայնագիր, համաձայնություն* and also with borrowed words *պակտ, կոնվենցիա*. In such cases, the choice of a word is based on the general context of the document being translated.

While translating a political text special attention should be paid to the fact that terms/idioms may denote:

1. notions of a foreign reality that exist in the TL language, e.g., *rally* – *հանրահավաք*;
2. notions of a foreign reality that do not exist in the TL reality but have equivalents in the language, e.g., *National Guard* – *ազգային գվարդիա*;
3. notions of a foreign reality that have no equivalents in the TL country, e.g., *peer of the realm* – *թագավորության լորդ*.

Tip

Especially when dealing with terms, it is always recommended to find equivalents in the target language. Search official websites and documents for reliable information and terms. When working with materials in a specific field, it is recommended to compile your own glossary. This will prove quite helpful during your further work.

Task 1. Find equivalent names of the following documents in

A. Armenian:

1. Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice –

2. Pacific Settlement of International Disputes –

3. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents – _____

4. Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons – _____
5. Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) –

6. Treaty of Accession – _____
7. Brexit Agreement – _____
8. Agreement on the Protection of Classified Information –

9. Hague Hijacking Convention – _____
10. Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation – _____

B. English:

1. Միջուկային զենքը չտարածելու մասին պայմանագիր

2. Քիմիական զենքի մշակման, արտադրության, կուտակման, կիրառման արգելման և դրա ոչնչացման մասին կոնվենցիա

3. Մանրէաբանական (կենսաբանական) և թունավոր նյութեր պարունակող զենքի մշակման, արտադրության և կուտակման արգելման և դրա ոչնչացման մասին կոնվենցիա

4. Միջուկային փորձարկումների համապարփակ արգելման պայմանագիր _____

5. Անհատական գործընկերության գործողությունների ծրագիր _____

6. Համապարփակ և ընդլայնված գործընկերության համաձայնագիր _____

7. Մուտքի արտոնագրերի տրամադրումը դուրացնելու մասին համաձայնագիր _____

8. Հայաստանի Հանրապետության և Եվրոպական միության միջև առանց թույլտվության բնակվող անձանց հետընդունման մասին համաձայնագիր _____

9. Տնտեսական գործընկերության մասին համաձայնագիր _____

10. Միջազգային ծովային կազմակերպության մասին կոնվենցիա _____

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

Strategic Interest

Strategic interest is, by definition, a highly contextual notion որն արտացոլում է քաղաքականության մեջ ներգրավված անձանց նախասիրությունները _____

_____. Simply put, a strategic interest implies the preference or a set of preferences that are considered crucial by a specific actor. An actor's interests will

define its actions. Strategic interests will prescribe its behavior. Yet, as this definition makes it clear, յուրաքանչյուր կողմ ունի տարբեր շահեր _____ and values differently each option to fulfill its goals, therefore emphasizing different key enablers for its policy.

Scholars of international relations մշակել են վերլուծական գործիքներ՝ ռազմավարական փոխգործակցությունները մոդելավորելու համար _____.

Game theory is a branch of mathematics concerned with predicting bargaining outcomes. It assumes that actors are rational and that they perform cost-benefit analyses. The different games capture the fundamental dynamics of various bargaining situations. Վերլուծությունների արդյունքները կախված են այն նախասիրություններից _____.

_____ that actors are assumed to have about outcomes. Preferences ultimately կախված են կողմերի ռազմավարական շահերի բացահայտումից _____.

The identification of strategic interests ընկած է բանակցությունների, հակամարտությունների կարգավորման, արտաքին քաղաքականության և հարկադրանքի տեսությունների հիմքում _____.

A successful bargaining process implies knowledge of what the other party treasures and what scares it. This provides a range of interests that, when combined with ours, describes a zone where a possible agreement can be met by both parties. Strategic interests are those interests beyond which no agreement can be found. Alternatively, հակառակորդի ռազմավարական շահերի բացահայտումը _____.

and its denial also allows ստիպել նրան համաձայնության հասնել կամ հանձնվել _____.

In theories of international relations, interests are considered by the materialists as coming from the power structure of the international system. For the realists the distribution of material capabilities defines a state's interests. For the neorealists, the ultimate strategic interest is survival; for the classical realists, it is power. For the latter, strategic interests are those that allow power projection or

deny others the ability to do so. These can be territories, allies, or technology. For sociological approaches, interests come from ideas and cultural contexts. Also, interests are not limited to states but կարող են բիւել երկրի ներսում ձևավորված խմբերից _____

_____ or be influenced by international actors. Ռազմավարական շահերն այստեղ ընկալվում են որպես մյուս կողմի արժեքները պահպանելու համար անհրաժեշտ շահեր _____

_____.

The major limitation of these two approaches is that they are one-sided. Not only do they assume that interests are determined unilaterally by power or norms but they are also mutually exclusive. The relationship among interests, identity, and power is best conceived as reflexive, each feeding back one upon the other. Adopting this understanding ենթադրում է, որ ռազմավարական շահերը ժամանակի ընթացքում կարող են զարգանալ _____

_____ and that a dynamic approach to the analysis of strategic interest must be adopted.

This can be done by adopting a two-level game of analysis. This concept was coined by Robert Putnam, and it implies that state's strategic interests are the result of both the domestic and the international environment. Պետությունը պետք է կատարի ծախսերի և օգուտների վերլուծություն, որը, ի վերջո, կախված է _____

_____ the maximization of its utility at the domestic and international level.

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

Components of and Problems with Deterrence

Deterrence usually refers to “deterrence by punishment” (where an attacker might be able to take over a territory but is dissuaded by the prospect of **suffering retaliatory damage** at home), rather than “deterrence by denial” (where the aggressor is dissuaded from attacking simply by the knowledge that his attack would fail). This kind of deterrence is often assumed to be tied to the invention of nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them over the top of any battlefield, as the winner on the land or sea would still **suffer horrendous damage** to its cities, **inflicted** by the losing side's airplanes or missiles.

One **crucial ingredient of deterrence** is that such punishment has to be sufficient on “second strike,” that is, that the missiles or bombers or other means of inflicting this “countervalue” retaliatory destruction have to be able to survive all the “counterforce” attacks an adversary has inflicted in a first strike. If an attacker were able **to blunt all the means of retaliation** in the first strike, there would not be a deterrent. For deterrence to work, one must simply have national leaders who are normal enough in their motives **to be averse** to having their own cities destroyed and who are normal enough in their cognition processes to understand that an attack on an enemy’s home cities or home territory can bring about **retaliatory destruction**. Most national leaders, but not all, would be “rational” enough to satisfy these conditions. It is sometimes **conjectured** that a national leader driven by a great confidence in the afterlife might be difficult to deter, because such a leader would not enough mind the retaliation that could be brought to bear in this life. Much more concern might apply to nonstate actors, the leaders of various terrorist groups, or other players who do not already govern cities and hence have nothing that can be threatened with retaliation and therefore cannot be so easily deterred. One major concern about the deterrence mechanism has always pertained to the immorality of such approaches, since they depend substantially on the punishment of civilian targets. If the innocent are being threatened as a means of deterring the leaders who might **be guilty of contemplating aggression**, this conflicts with a Western or global morality that has tried to limit military attacks to military targets. The irony of deterrence is that potential attacks on civilians tend **to reinforce deterrence** and peace, while options for attacking military targets might undermine such deterrence and make war more likely. If a missile is aimed at the missile forces of the other side, it poses the threat that a first-strike attack could **preclude retaliation**. When the same missile is aimed at the cities of the other side, it reinforces the deterring prospect of retaliation. What is moral by traditional standards is thus a threat to **the reliability of mutual deterrence**, and what reinforces mutual deterrence is a challenge to morality. A different problem with deterrence pertains to whether it can be extended, that is, whether the threat of massive retaliation can be utilized to deter attacks not only on one’s own cities but on the cities or territories of one’s allies. By a certain logic, this would not be possible, because the **massive retaliatory threat** would have to be held in reserve as long as one’s own homeland had not yet been attacked.²⁹

²⁹ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 414.

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- *Give some relevant examples of sanctions and embargoes.*
- *Can sanctions be justified?*
- *Why are sanctions applied in general?*
- *Can you consider sanctions and embargoes effective in their use?*
- *What does history tell us about the effectiveness of sanctions and embargoes?*
- *What is the notion of smart sanctions, and have they ever minimized population's sufferings?*

Sanctions and Embargoes

The terms sanctions and embargos describe two particular kinds of economic penalties applied from one country (or a group of countries) on another one with a double purpose: to punish the latter by depriving it of essential goods and to force it to conform to the will of the former. Although they represent two different forms of economic coercion, these concepts are currently considered almost synonymous. Sanctions can be applied for a variety of reasons, including altering the target's behavior, removing leadership or bringing about regime change, and sending "messages" to other international actors. Sanctions can be imposed to avoid war or to signal the sender's intention to escalate to more forceful forms of influence. Domestically, sanctions can be aimed to appease a constituency that demands some course of action but does not fully support war. In this case, sanctions constitute an expressive activity, a release of internal tension directed primarily at a domestic or international audience without other ends. Finally, the use of specific sanctions does not imply that the sender wants to achieve only one objective. Various purposes are usually being met. During the oil embargo in 1973, for example, the main sender, Saudi Arabia, had three goals: the Israeli retreat from the Palestinian territories, to relaunch Saudi leadership in the Arab world, and to solidify the domestic consensus for the monarchy in the country.

Although the application of economic sanctions is growing, sanctions have never fully satisfied statesmen and policy analysts in their effectiveness. The reasons for this are manifold. First, sanctions seem unable to achieve their declared targets. Second, sanctions are slow in achieving their goals. Time affords the target the opportunity to adjust, to find new suppliers, and to mobilize public opinion, with the effect of jeopardizing sanctions' effectiveness. Third, sanctions are sometimes more costly for the sender than for the target, especially when the

sender must compensate domestic companies and neighboring countries for their lost revenues caused by the disruption of their trading routes with the target. Finally, in many cases sanctions do not work on authoritarian regimes. Sanctions may actually produce consequences directly opposite to those intended by the sender. In the case of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, sanctions strengthened his regime, while the civilian population suffered terrible hardship due to the sanctions. According to UN agencies, the destruction of Iraq's civilian infrastructure during the Gulf War (1990–1991) caused the death of more than five hundred thousand children under the age of five. To contain the devastating humanitarian impact on the target population, scholars and policymakers have tried in recent years to develop new forms of sanctions customized to maximize the target regime's costs of noncompliance while minimizing the target population's suffering. Known as *smart sanctions*, they do not target the country as a whole. Rather, they identify and target only those groups of individuals that really detain decisional power in the target country. Examples include freezing the assets of selected people, imposing limited embargos on certain goods (such as oil, weapons, or diamonds), and restricting the travel opportunities for individuals, and refusing visas. However, because smart sanctions by themselves may not always succeed in inducing early compliance of the target, usually they are integrated with other tools of influence. It is difficult to give a definitive evaluation of the effectiveness of sanctions. If sanctions have proved to be unsuccessful in many cases in which they were employed in the past, this does not diminish the fact that they may be more useful in the future. First, sanctions' efficiency should be measured based on the possible solutions available to the policymaker in a given situation. It would be misleading to talk about costs and benefits in using economic coercion if no other solution is available. Second, sanctions have proved to be successful when multilateral and proportional to the goal to be achieved. If these conditions are not met, the employment of sanctions could weaken their effectiveness and undermine the sender's credibility.³⁰

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Բանակցությունը նպատակ ունի շահեկան արդյունքի հասնել, համաձայնություն ձեռք բերել մեկ կամ մի քանի հարցերի շուրջ, որտեղ առկա է այդ հարցերից գոնե մեկի վերաբերյալ տարաձայնություն: Բանակցությունները փոխազդեցություն և գործընթաց են այն սուբյեկտների միջև, որոնք պատրաստ են փոխզիջման՝ փոխադարձ շահերի շուրջ համա-

³⁰ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1507.

ձայնությունն ձեռք բերելու համար, և միաժամանակ յուրաքանչյուրը ձգտում է հասնել իր նպատակին: Որոշումը կարող է բարենպաստ լինել ներգրավված բոլոր կողմերի համար կամ պարզապես նրանցից մեկի կամ նրանցից ոմանց համար: Բանակցող կողմերը իրավիճակը վերահսկելու և որոշում կայացնելու հավասար հնարավորություններ ունեն, ինչը ամրագրվում է պայմանագրով: Բանակցողները պետք է տեղյակ լինեն բանակցային գործընթացից և ճանաչեն մյուս բանակցողներին՝ հոգուտ իրենց որոշում կայացնելու հնարավորությունները մեծացնելու, հակասություններից խուսափելու համար:

Բանակցությունը նպատակաուղղված է տարաձայնությունների լուծմանը, անհատի կամ կոլեկտիվի համար առավելություն ստանալուն կամ տարբեր շահերի բավարարման համար արդյունքների մշակմանը: Այն հաճախ իրականացվում է դիրքորոշում առաջ քաշելով և համաձայնության հասնելու համար զիջումներ անելով: Բանակցությունների հաջող լինելը հաճախ կախված է այն բանից, թե որքան են բանակցող կողմերը վստահում միմյանց:

Բանակցությունների տեսակներ

Բանակցությունները կարող են ունենալ բազմազան ձևեր՝ սկսած Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպության բոլոր անդամների բազմակողմ համաժողովից՝ միջազգային նոր նորմ հաստատելու համար, մինչև հակամարտող կողմերի հանդիպում՝ բռնությունը դադարեցնելու կամ խնդիրը լուծելու համար: Միջնորդությունը բանակցությունների ձև է երրորդ՝ «կատալիզատոր» կողմի մասնակցությամբ, որն օգնում է հակամարտող կողմերին բանակցելու, երբ նրանք դա չեն կարող ինքնուրույն անել: Բանակցությունները կարող են համեմատվել միջնորդ դատարանի հետ, երբ երրորդ կողմը կայացնում է որոշում, որը հակամարտող կողմերը պարտավորվում են ընդունել:

Բանակցությունների տեսաբանները հիմնականում տարբերակում են բանակցությունների երկու տեսակ: Դրանց օգտագործման տարբերությունը կախված է բանակցողի մտածողությունից, նաև իրավիճակից: Տարբեր տեսաբաններ երկու ընդհանուր տեսակների համար օգտագործում են տարբեր մակնշումներ և տարբերակում են դրանք:

Տարանջատման բանակցություն

Տարանջատման բանակցությունները (Distributive negotiation) երբեմն կոչվում են նաև դիրքային կամ կոշտ բանակցություններ: Տարանջատման բանակցությունները գործում են զրոյական գումարի պայմաններում և ենթադրում են, որ կողմերից որևէ մեկը օգուտ է ստանում մյուսի հաշվին և հակառակը: Այդ պատճառով տարանջատման բանակցությունները երբեմն անվանում են նաև օգուտ-կորուստ, քանի որ մեկ անձի շահը մյուսի վնասն է: Տարանջատման բանակցություններում յուրաքանչյուր կողմ հաճախ ընդունում է ծայրահեղ կամ ֆիքսված դիրքորոշում՝ իմանալով, որ դա չի ընդունվելու, և այնուհետև մինչև որոշում ընդունելը ձգտում է հնարավորինս քիչ զիջել: Տարանջատման բանակցությունները հաճախ ներառում են այն մարդկանց, ովքեր նախկինում չեն ունեցել փոխհարաբերություններ և ոչ էլ հավանական է, որ կունենան առաջիկայում:

Միասնականացման բանակցություններ

Միասնականացման կամ ինտեգրման բանակցությունները (Integrative negotiation) կոչվում են նաև շահերի, արժանիքների վրա հիմնված կամ սկզբունքային բանակցություններ: Դա տեխնիկաների մի շարք է, որը փորձում է բարելավել բանակցային համաձայնության որակը և հավանականությունը՝ օգտվելով այն փաստից, որ տարբեր կողմեր հաճախ տարբեր ձևով են գնահատում արդյունքները: Եթե տարանջատման բանակցությունները ենթադրում են, որ կողմերի միջև բաժանվում է արժեքի ֆիքսված քանակ («ֆիքսված կարկանդակ»), միասնականացման բանակցությունները փորձում են բանակցությունների ընթացքում արժեք ստեղծել («կարկանդակն ընդլայնել»), կամ «փոխհատուցել» մեկի կորուստը մյուսի օգուտով («փոխանակում»), կամ հակամարտության հիմնախնդիրներն այնպես կառուցել կամ վերաձևակերպել, որ երկու կողմերն էլ շահեն («հաղթող-հաղթող» բանակցություն): Այնուամենայնիվ, նույնիսկ միասնականացման բանակցությունները, ամենայն հավանականությամբ, կունենան տարանջատման որոշ տարրեր, հատկապես երբ տարբեր կողմերը գնահատում են տարբեր երևույթներ նույն ձևով կամ երբ մանրամասների քննարկումը թողնված է բանակցությունների ավարտին: Թեև բանակցությունների համար զիջումը պարտադիր է, հետագո-

տությունը ցույց է տալիս, որ մարդիկ, ովքեր ավելի արագ են զիջում, ավելի քիչ հավանական է, որ փնտրեն միասնականացման և փոխշահավետ լուծումներ: Հետևաբար՝ վաղ զիջումը նվազեցնում է միասնականացման բանակցությունների հավանականությունը:

Միասնականացման բանակցությունները հաճախ ենթադրում են ավելի բարձր աստիճանի վստահություն և հարաբերությունների ձևավորում: Դրանք կարող են նաև ներառել ստեղծագործ մոտեցում փոխադարձ շահերի խնդրին: Դա ենթադրում է, որ լավ համաձայնագիրը ոչ թե մեկ կողմի առավելագույն շահ ապահովելն է, այլ բոլոր կողմերի համար առավելագույն օգուտ ապահովելը: Այս սցենարում օգուտը ոչ թե մյուս կողմի, այլ իր հաշվին է: Յուրաքանչյուրը ձգտում է մյուս կողմին տալ այնքան առավելություն, որ հաստատվի պայմանագիր, որի արդյունքն ընդունելի կլինի իր համար և հակառակը:

Բանակցային համաձայնագրի լավագույն այլընտրանք

Բանակցային համաձայնագրի լավագույն այլընտրանքը (ԲՀԼԱ) (Best alternative to a negotiated agreement – BATNA) ամենաշահավետ այլընտրանքային ուղղությունն է, որը բանակցող կողմերից մեկն օգտագործում է բանակցությունների ձախողման պարագայում կամ համաձայնագրի չկնքման դեպքում: ԲՀԼԱ-ն հաջող բանակցության կարևոր կիզակետն ու շարժիչ ուժն է: Համաձայնագրի կողմերից մեկը հիմնականում չի ընդունում ԲՀԼԱ-ից ավելի վատ համաձայնություն:

Բանակցողները ԲՀԼԱ-ն երբեմն դիտարկում են ոչ որպես անվտանգության որոգայթ, այլ բանակցություններում ճնշում գործադրելու կետ: Բանակցողի այլընտրանքային տարբերակները տեսականորեն հեշտ է գնահատել, ուստի բանակցող կողմի ԲՀԼԱ-ն կամ այլընտրանքն ընկալելու համար սովորաբար ջանք չի պահանջվում: Տարբերակները պետք է լինեն իրական, արժեքավոր և կիրառելի: Բանակցողները պետք է ծանոթ լինեն միմյանց ԲՀԼԱ-ներին և պարզեն, թե դրանք որքանով են համընկնում իրենց առաջարկներին: Որոշ մարդիկ կարող են կիրառել ագրեսիվ, հարկադիր, սպառնալից կամ խաբուսիկ մեթոդներ, որոնք հայտնի են «կոշտ բանակցային ձև» անվամբ, որի տեսական օրինակ է «հակառակորդային մոտեցման ոճի բանակցությունը» (adversarial approach style negotiation):

Այլ բանակցողներ կարող են կիրառել փափուկ ոճ՝ ընկերական, վստահելի, փոխզիջումային միջավայր ստեղծելու և հակասություններից խուսափելու համար: Ըստ Ֆիշերի և Արիի՝ երբ կոշտ բանակցությունները բախվում են փափուկ բանակցություններին, առաջին տեսակի բանակցողները սովորաբար հաղթում են իրենց դիրքերում, բայց, ըստ էության, միմյանց միջև գործող երկարաժամկետ հարաբերությունների վտանգման գնով:

Հաստատուն ԲՀԼԱ զարգացնելու համար անհրաժեշտ են հրապուրիչ այլընտրանքներ: ԲՀԼԱ-ի համար առաջարկվում է 3 կետ.

1. ստեղծել գործողությունների ցուցակ, որը կկիրառվի համաձայնության չգալու դեպքում,
2. որոշ այլընտրանքներ ձևափոխել և վերածել շոշափելի ու մասնակի այլընտրանքների,
3. ընտրել այն այլընտրանքային տարբերակը, որը համարվում է լավագույնը:

Քանի որ բանակցություններում ներգրավված են լինում տարբեր մշակույթներ, բոլոր կողմերը պետք է հաշվի առնեն մշակութային իմացական վարքագծերն ու չպետք է թույլ տան, որ դատողություններն ու կողմնակի երևույթներն ազդեն բանակցությունների վրա: Անհատականը պետք է զատել օբյեկտիվից:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “You cannot shake hands with a clenched fist” *Indira Gandhi*
- “Dialogue is used to reveal not what we want to say, but what we are trying to hide.” *William Monahan*
- “To jaw-jaw is always better than to war-war.” *Winston Churchill*
- “Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.” *Theodore Roosevelt*

Supplementary Reading

Types of Bargaining Strategies in Negotiation

Bargaining strategies help to resolve the conflict through proper communication and understanding of the situation. The two types of bargaining strategies are distributive bargaining and integrative bargaining.

Distributive Bargaining Strategy

The most identifying feature of distributive bargaining (a win-lose situation) is that it operates under zero-sum conditions, i.e., each party bargains aggressively and treats the other as an opponent who must be defeated. The core of distributive bargaining is that each party has a target point and a resistance point. The target point is what the parties would like to achieve most. Each party's target point is most of the time entirely or extremely opposite. The resistance point is the minimum result which would be accepted by the parties. The difference between these two points in each one's aspiration may range. As long as there is some overlap between the aspiration ranges, there exists a settlement range in which each one's aspiration can be met. When engaged in distributive bargaining one's tactics are a focus on trying to get one's opponent to agree to one's specific target point or to get as close to it as possible. Examples of such tactics are persuading to his/her target point and the advisability of accepting a settlement near yours arguing that your target is fair, while your opponent's is not, and attempting to get your opponent to feel emotionally generous toward you and thus accept an outcome close to your target point. A case of distributive negotiation can either be a hard one or a soft one. The hard distributive negotiation takes place when each party holds out for what it wants without any compromise. Many times, such an attitude leads to an impasse. In a soft distributive negotiation, both parties follow the give-and-take policy, make concessions, compromise on some issues and reach an agreement that is realistic and acceptable. In general, one party asks for much higher benefits than it is willing to accept, and the other party offers much less than it is willing to give.

Distributive negotiation is a necessary way of resolving differences between parties with mutually exclusive goals. Parties to the negotiation will withhold as much information as possible to gain an advantage and at the same time, they will try to get as much information from the opposing party as possible. Negotiators will generally have a very good idea as to what they are trying to accomplish, and this is perhaps the most critical point of skillful negotiation. Negotiation should focus on realistic issues and not on egos about winning and not losing.

Integrative Bargaining Strategy

The negotiation that seeks one or more settlements that create a win-win situation is called an integrative bargaining strategy. Integrative negotiation is a process in which the negotiating parties jointly work towards goals that are not mutually exclusive so that one party does not necessarily gain at the expense of the other. Regarding intra-organizational behavior, all things being equal, integrative bargaining is preferable to distributive bargaining. Integrative bargaining builds

long-term relationships and facilitates working together in the future. It bonds negotiators and allows each to leave the bargaining table feeling that he/she has achieved a victory. Integrative negotiation has two aspects to it. One is the substantive part that includes the tangible issues to be discussed and negotiated. The other aspect is the intrinsic value in the agreement, which may be long-term cordial relationship between the parties or other benefits to both parties not directly related to the substance of the issues involved. Thus, it has an important dimension of building relationships.

Distributive vs. Integrative Negotiation Strategies

1. Distributive negotiation ends up in a win-lose situation where some parties stand at an advantage and the others lose out. On the other hand, integrative negotiation creates a win-win situation for all the parties.
2. Distributive negotiation is competitive in nature and requires that every party views every other party as a competitor, while integrative negotiation is collaborative in nature and all the parties negotiate on friendly terms, acting as allies to one another.
3. Integrative negotiation works as a conflict management tool, whereas distributive negotiation intensifies the conflicts further.
4. In distributive negotiation every negotiator focuses on meeting his personal interests, regardless of the loss the others may have to face. In contrast, integrative negotiation focuses on mutual interests of all the parties and thus, comes up with constructive solutions that will be beneficial for all.

When to Use Distributive vs. Integrative Negotiation Strategies?

The list of differences between these two negotiation strategies raises the most important question – which strategy should be used in which situation?

Considering the varying approach of these two strategies, distributive negotiation is best used when one has some strong advantage points and is in a good position to bargain. Contrary to this, integrative negotiation will be most beneficial in situations where one's position is not strong but he/she still wants to win something in the bargain.

Another determinant used for choosing the right negotiation strategy is whether the bargaining resource is limited or unlimited. If it's limited one will certainly want to grab a bigger piece of the pie and thus, adopting the distributive strategy may be more advantageous.

It's also advisable to look at the long-term scenario and see whether one wants a friendly or a competitive relationship with the other negotiators. If it's just a matter of one deal and one thinks he/she will never need any sort of help from the

other negotiators in the future – distributive negotiation is the way to go. However, when long-term dependability among negotiators is noticeable, an integrative negotiation strategy is the safest choice.

The end result of a negotiation is dependent completely on the stance the negotiators adopt, thus one must understand the difference between distributive and integrative negotiation strategies to make the right move on the negotiation table.³¹

Containment

Containment is considered the fundamental goal of US national security vis-à-vis the former Soviet Union policy during the cold war. One of the chief architects of this goal, who later became a stern critic of the means employed to achieve it, was George Kennan. At the end of the Second World War Kennan was employed as a staff officer in the American embassy in Moscow. In February 1946 he sent a secret cable to Washington. After analyzing the history and nature of the Soviet regime, he concluded that unless prevented, it would probably expand into the power vacuum in central and western Europe. He reminded the US government that America had fought two wars in the twentieth century to prevent all of Europe coming under the control of a single militaristic regime. He suggested that this danger could arise again, and he recommended that Soviet expansionism be contained by American policies while there was yet time to do so without having to fight again. Kennan's analysis and his recommendation of the containment concept were not immediately accepted in Washington. It was still US policy to work with the Soviets and to try and make the United Nations (UN) succeed. But his articulate and obviously thoughtful essay was circulated first around the State Department, then more widely through the government. Kennan himself was recalled to Washington to explain his ideas further. As the months passed and Soviet actions in Europe disappointed and frustrated American hopes more and more, Kennan's view gained ground. His analysis provided a way of understanding what was occurring and why the ideal of organizing world politics in the framework of the UN system was failing. As the course that the United States was trying to take in the world proved more and more impossible, Kennan's approach gained favour as an alternative. By the winter of 1947, it was largely accepted by policymakers and incorporated into a formal document establishing it as a fundamental goal of the United States. As the cold war escalated thereafter, containment of the Soviet Union became the very bedrock of US foreign policy. So that the American public could better understand the premises of US policy, Kennan published an edited version of his long cable, with secret information

³¹ <https://www.iedunote.com/types-bargaining-strategies>

about the USSR removed. Entitled 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct', it appeared in the July 1947 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, at the time the only important American journal devoted to international relations and foreign policy. The article's author was named as 'Mr X', but it soon became widely known that the article presented what was now the American government's view. As the main justification for containment to appear in public, the 'Mr. X' article is probably the most famous essay on US foreign relations in the twentieth century. In retrospect, it is easier than it was at the time to see exactly what containment was and was not.

Kennan argued the need to imprison Soviet influence within approximately its existing boundaries, and he justified this with a careful analysis of Soviet practice, communist doctrine, and the threat that an expansion of Soviet power in Europe could pose. But containment was offered as a policy only in a loose sense of the term. It was really a concept and a policy goal. Which among many possible foreign policies and/or military policies would accomplish the goal of containment was not disclosed either in the cable or the 'Mr. X' article. In later years, George Kennan dissociated himself from many of the specific policies of the United States that were often justified in the name of containment. He argued that containment could and should be pursued by the firm defence of military-industrial 'strong points' in Western Europe and Japan, rather than the 'perimeter' of Europe and Asia. He also emphasized the need to rely on economic rather than military tools to achieve containment. Uppermost in Kennan's mind was his concern that the US contain itself from becoming a heavily militarized state. For him, there was a crucial difference between the Soviet threat and that of communism in general, particularly when the latter was used as an ideology of liberation by many states in the Third World. In Europe, the Soviet threat was less one of military invasion than the appeal of its political system to ordinary citizens struggling with the devastation and economic poverty caused by the Second World War. Thus, while he supported the provision of economic aid to Western Europe in the late 1940s, Kennan opposed the escalation of the arms race in the early 1950s and became a trenchant critic of US national security policy in the 1970s and 1980s.

Containment of the Soviet superpower was the watchword of Western policies during the cold war. During that era, regional conflicts were generated as proxy conflicts which performed the essential service of preventing a direct confrontation between the superpowers. That bipolar superpower world is now gone, and regional wars are no longer seen as proxy conflicts. If there are new containment policies, they are now directed towards regional conflicts – less because there is a greater moral concern to prevent loss of life than out of the perceived need to

prevent regional conflicts from spreading, from involving weapons of mass destruction, and from drawing in external combatants.³²

Tony Blair's 10 Principles to Guide Diplomats in International Conflict Resolution

One of the world's most famous negotiators, Tony Blair, offers 10 principles to guide diplomats in international conflict resolution. Upon his election as Prime Minister of Great Britain back in May 1997, Tony Blair made peace negotiations in Northern Ireland his first order of business, he recounts in his memoir, *A Journey: My Political Life* (Knopf, 2010).

For centuries, Northern Ireland had been divided by a bloody conflict between mostly Protestant British Unionists who sought to keep the North part of the United Kingdom and the mostly Catholic Irish Republicans who wanted the North to unite with the Republic of Ireland. As the South of Ireland raced ahead of the North economically and culturally, Blair had come to view the conflict, known as the Troubles, as "ridiculously old-fashioned."

Peace talks conducted over the next year culminated in a marathon four-day negotiating session in April 1998. After seesawing between agreement and impasse, the conflict's major players signed on to the Belfast "Good Friday" Agreement, which called in part for the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons and the creation of a power-sharing body known as the Northern Ireland Executive. It took nine more years of careful negotiation before the Executive was up and running. Blair walked away from the exhausting experience of brokering peace in Northern Ireland with a set of 10 core "principles of resolution," outlined in *A Journey*, that he believes can be generally applied to all conflicts with famous negotiators and beyond.

1. Agree on a common framework.

At the heart of the Troubles was a seemingly irreconcilable question, Blair writes: whether Northern Ireland should remain in the United Kingdom or join the Irish state by uniting with the South. Because they were fundamentally deadlocked on this issue, the task of the two sides instead was to agree on a framework for the discussion based on agreed-upon principles. As the peace talks began, Blair promoted a "principle of consent" that would keep Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom unless the majority of Northern Ireland's citizens voted for the unification of Ireland. The Irish Republicans would agree to abide by this principle

³² Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p.53.

only in exchange for power-sharing – that is, they would put down their weapons in exchange for a Northern Ireland government that fairly represented both Catholics and Protestants. The principle offered “a valid design concept” that all the parties accepted as a foundation for the difficult talks that followed, according to Blair. This type of common framework not only serves to guide parties in conflict but also effectively “traps” them into behaving consistently, writes Blair. For instance, if parties have agreed on a policing program based on equal treatment, one side cannot argue persuasively that a paramilitary army is also needed.

2. Grip the conflict relentlessly.

Blair attributes the lasting success of the Good Friday Agreement to the negotiators’ viselike grip on the implementation of the many issues under dispute. A resolution must be gripped and focused on “continually. Inexhaustibly. Relentlessly. Day by day by day by day,” writes Blair. As an example, the agreement to decommission paramilitary weapons turned complicated during the implementation phase. To ensure that the weapons of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) were indeed “put beyond use,” prominent international statesmen, including Nobel Peace Prize-winner Martti Ahtisaari were taken around the Irish countryside to examine weapons dumps. Each aspect of the Good Friday Agreement required and received this type of persistent focus, according to Blair. By contrast, he argues that the Middle East peace process has repeatedly failed because “no one has ever gripped it long enough or firmly enough.”

3. Attend to minor matters.

Mediators of conflict are often frustrated to hear disputants complaining about minor losses while overlooking their larger gains. But Blair advises against making such value judgments. Because seemingly petty issues typically are symbols of larger, critical issues, they deserve mediators’ full attention. During the Northern Ireland negotiations, for instance, Blair says he became familiar with the exact location of every single watchtower the British army used in the IRA borderland of South Armagh. The watchtowers, a surveillance tool of the British army, were a source of contention for the Republicans. Negotiating the removal of the towers had to occur “bit by bit,” says Blair. “Such small things can be traded,” writes Blair. The process of exchanging small concessions brings parties closer to an agreement but can leave them “in a state of more or less permanent complaint.” Inevitably, each side comes to believe it has moved the most. Third parties face the task of helping negotiators see the forest instead of the trees.

4. Be creative.

Ingenuity is needed “in abundant supply” to resolve tense conflicts, writes Blair. As an example, he describes how Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) leader Ian Paisley tried to delay a March 2007 deadline for reconstituting the Northern Ireland Executive, a move vehemently opposed by Irish Republican party Sinn Féin’s leader, Gerry Adams. With the agreement on the verge of collapse, Jonathan Powell, Blair’s chief of staff, proposed that Paisley receive an extra two months in exchange for meeting face-to-face with Adams for the first time. Both sides accepted, and a historic meeting took place – though only after intensive negotiations about where the two sides would sit in the meeting room. By adding the possibility of an unprecedented meeting to the discussion, Powell deflected attention from the contentious battle over a delay and opened a new opportunity for the parties to find common ground. Adding novel ideas and issues to the table is a powerful form of creativity.

5. Rely on third parties.

Left on their own, parties in conflict are unlikely to resolve their differences, writes Blair. Outside parties not only bring creativity to the negotiation but also help negotiators identify broader issues and turning points they might otherwise overlook. As an illustration, Blair describes how the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement stalled in January 2005 after a man named Robert McCartney was stabbed to death outside a bar in Northern Ireland by members of the IRA. In the midst of the outcry that followed, Blair made a speech calling on the major players to demonstrate they were ready to move forward with “acts of completion.” Next, Blair urged Republican leaders to accept that the IRA was a roadblock to the power-sharing they desired. Being one step removed from the conflict, third parties are best equipped to pinpoint such turning points and keep the process moving forward.

6. View resolution as a journey.

Because the two sides in a lingering dispute have difficulty seeing each other’s pain, conflict resolution is best viewed as a journey rather than an event, writes Blair. As a result, negotiators may need to include enough time for parties to air their grievances about the past. When the Northern Ireland talks began, Blair found that Martin McGuinness, a famous negotiator for Sinn Féin, needed to air his side’s pain and anger over past perceived injustices before he became ready to negotiate substantive issues. Blair compares the peace process to “a car driving away from a crash.” The passengers, “shaken up,” constantly look back at the wreckage in the rearview mirror even while straining to see the road ahead. The mediator is faced

with persuading each side that the other party's "faltering steps" reflect past trauma rather than a lack of good faith.

7. Prepare for disruption.

Mere months after the Good Friday Agreement was signed, the peace in Northern Ireland was shattered by the worst terrorist attack in the history of the Troubles. A bomb detonated in the market town of Omagh, killing 29 people. All the parties to the conflict condemned the attacks and vowed they would not allow their agreement to be sabotaged. The "Real IRA," the group responsible for the bombing, never recovered. "What could have been a turning back," writes Blair, "was a turning point."

By contrast, terrorist attacks in the Middle East too often cause governments to "clamp down," says Blair, alienating peacemakers and terrorists alike. Rather than viewing violence as a desperate grab for power, famous negotiators interpret it as a sign of the futility of making peace. Blair says, even "perfectly respectable and democratic elements" are likely to accuse their parties of selling out when they reach an agreement. Wise negotiators redouble their efforts when hard-liners attempt to sabotage a negotiation.

8. Capitalize on leadership.

Over the course of a long conflict, parties inevitably develop partisan ideologies that color their view of everything that follows, according to Blair. Holding on to firmly established positions during peace negotiations is the easiest path to follow. But because the process requires political risks, leaders must let go of their established ideologies. Fortunately for Blair, most of the major players in the Northern Ireland conflict had become so desperate for peace that they were willing to broaden their viewpoints. As an example, DUP leader Ian Paisley had a reputation as the "spoiler" of the Unionists for his resistance to accommodation over the years. During the peace process, however, Paisley emerged as his party's lead negotiator and ended up working tirelessly to close the deal. Blair attributes Paisley's evolution to two factors: a sense of impending mortality following a debilitating illness and a realization that the public wanted him to make peace. When strong leaders on all sides are willing to roll up their sleeves and cooperate, the odds of reaching an agreement multiply exponentially.

9. Seize on external change.

If a conflict is deeply entrenched, famous negotiators can seize on powerful external forces to shake up the status quo. The economic and cultural boom that the South of Ireland began to enjoy in the 1980s offered a sharp contrast to the conflict

in the North. Once, the South had been viewed as backward; by the mid-1990s, the North was. No longer a “unifying symbol of Irish identity,” the dispute became “a painful and unwelcome reminder of Ireland’s past,” writes Blair. The desire to catch up with their southern neighbor became a powerful catalyst for the people of Northern Ireland to seek peace. Negotiators who are looking for an end to a protracted conflict would be wise to capitalize on such external shifts.

10. Never give up.

Beyond “gripping” the conflict, parties must refuse to accept defeat. If a problem cannot be solved in the present, Blair urges, manage it until it can be solved. “A peace process never stands still – it goes forward or back,” he writes. On May 8, 2007, nine years after the Good Friday Agreement, Blair stood by, “a trifle dumbfounded,” as people who once had wanted to kill one another exchanged pleasantries and were sworn into the new Executive government of Northern Ireland, preparing to work side by side to solve shared problems. The remarkable achievement serves as a model to anyone who feels trapped in a seemingly unsolvable conflict.³³

Game Theory

Game theory is a branch of mathematics concerned with predicting bargaining outcomes. A game is a setting in which two or more players choose among alternative moves. Each combination of moves (by all players) results in a set of tangible or intangible payoffs (utility) to each player. The game theory aims to deduce likely outcomes, given the players’ preferences and the possible moves open to them.

Game theory was first used extensively in IR in the 1950s and 1960s by scholars trying to understand US-Soviet nuclear war contingencies. Moves were decisions to use nuclear weapons in certain ways, and payoffs were outcomes of war.

Different kinds of situations are represented by different classes of games, as defined by the number of players and the structure of the payoffs. One basic distinction is between zero-sum games, in which one player’s gain is by definition equal to the other’s loss, and non-zero-sum games, in which both players can gain (or lose). In a zero-sum game there is no point in communication or cooperation between the players because their interests are diametrically opposed. But in a non-zero-sum game, coordination of moves can maximize the total payoff to the

³³ <https://www.pon.harvard.edu/daily/international-negotiation-daily/international-negotiations-and-conflict-tony-blairs-10-principles-for-dispute-resolution-negotiations/>

players. Analysis of a game entails searching for a solution (or equilibrium) – a set of moves by all the players such that no player can increase its payoff by changing its move. It is the outcome at which rational players will arrive.

A commonly analyzed game in IR is known as Chicken, which represents two male teenagers speeding toward a head-on collision. The first to swerve is “chicken”. Each reasons: “If he doesn’t swerve, I must; but if he swerves, I won’t.” the player who first commits irrevocably not to swerve will win. Similarly, in the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, some scholars argued that President John F. Kennedy “won” by seeming ready to risk nuclear war if Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev did not back down and remove Soviet missiles from Cuba. (There are, however, alternative explanations of the outcome of the crisis.)

Through analysis of this and other games, IR researchers try to predict what rational actors would do in various situations. Games can capture and simplify the fundamental dynamics of various bargaining situations. However, the results of the analysis depend on the preferences that players are assumed to have about outcomes. Of course, it is difficult to know what the exact preferences of players (such as state leaders) are, since this requires intimate knowledge of a player’s goals and desires.

Practical Applications for Real World Negotiations

While it’s important to remember that Game Theory consists of sanitized models with often unrealistic assumptions, we can derive some useful principles that can improve results in real world negotiations:

- **Minimize Risk:** As the minimax theorem shows, all things being equal it is usually a good strategy to minimize your opponents’ maximum payout, even if that means that you are guaranteeing him a higher minimum.
- **Make the first offer:** Unless you are at a demonstrable informational disadvantage, it is better to go first. This allows you to frame the negotiation to your advantage. Although it’s against most people’s natural inclination, the evidence is pretty strong here.
- **Beware of Precedence:** While it’s difficult to go against convention, there is no reason to simply accept a situation where you are at a disadvantage.
- **Trust:** The ability to make commitments such as promises and threats can be extremely valuable. If you lack credibility, you lose that capacity. Sometimes it’s better to incur a cost rather than lose stature.
- **Continuity:** Open-ended commitments encourage reliability while short-term relationships abet duplicity. That’s why all tourists are suckers.

- **Reciprocity:** Rapoport's "Tit for Tat" strategy and subsequent evidence shows that you can expect to get what you give. Moreover, while there is no reason to set out on a nasty path, sometimes that's where you'll have to end up. As the Al Capone character in *The Untouchables* said "You get more with a kind word...and a gun, than you do with just a kind word."³⁴

³⁴ From <https://www.britannica.com/science/game-theory>

UNIT 7

SECURITY

Read the text and speak on

- the concept and definition of national security
- the most basic categories of assets as part of national security
- the three basic methods connected with the means of protection
- the concept of regional security
- zones of peace and agents as aspects of regional security
- the role of regional and sub-regional organizations in the maintenance of regional peace and security
- the approaches connected with the phenomenon of regional security
 - a. RSCT
 - b. the regional orders approach
 - c. the zones of peace approach

National Security Policy

National security is a phrase that is used in many different ways. Classically, it has been defined as freedom from foreign interference or influence – military, economic, or political – in domestic affairs. Quite obviously, this definition primarily involves physical security from military invasion. However, national security involves not only the defense of a nation and that nation's safety but also the protection of that nation's interests, whether they be political or economic. In order to understand national security, the following questions must be answered: Who is the foreign influence? What is being protected? What are the means of protection?

Determining who is the foreign influence is not difficult. Historically, most authorities have defined a foreign influence as including any foreign nation. In the modern world, the "who" has been expanded to include nongovernmental groups with no legitimately recognized political or geographical identity, especially independent terrorist groups such as al-Qaida. National security in the early twenty-first century necessarily includes protecting a nation from the influence, attack, or dominion of such groups. There are several basic categories of assets that must be protected as part of national security. The most basic of these assets is territory. National borders clearly define the territory of a nation. International law recognizes the right of a nation to be secure within its borders, as seen in Article IV of the United Nations (UN) charter. The second most important asset protected by national security policy is a nation's citizenry. International law extends protection

to a nation's citizens. This protection usually applies whether the citizens are within that nation's borders or within a foreign country. Third, the safety and security of a nation's military forces, whether located domestically or in another country, has been recognized to be a legitimate concern of national security.

As to the means of protection, there are three basic methods: diplomatic means, legal means, and military means. Each of these means is usually instituted according to a policy. Policy is an amorphous term and is used in many different contexts, especially in the realm of politics, but two meanings are helpful for understanding national security policy. First, a policy can be defined as a statement of the ultimate goals of a nation or government. For example, a government might announce that its nation's policy, as a matter of national security, is to protect access to vital and rare natural resources that are not located within the policy-making nation's borders but rather are found in a neighboring country. This would be a broad statement of policy goals. Second, a policy can be defined as a coherent plan to guide specific decisions and actions, whose ultimate purpose is to implement broad goals. This definition of policy has been equated with the systematic procedures aimed at implementing the policy goals. To continue the previous example, one method to implement the policy goals of securing access to those vital and rare natural resources would be to diplomatically arrange a treaty ensuring such continuing access. Another method would be to enter into a contract, enforceable by international law or arbitration, that would ensure access to those resources. A third method would be to militarily invade the neighboring country and physically seize and secure the resources. All policies have costs, some of which can make some policies untenable.³⁵

Regional Security

Regional security pertains to the theoretical and empirical conceptualization of security from a macroregional perspective. It stems from the idea that regional security has a degree of autonomy from global collective security and from national security strategies. In a globalized world, which accentuates the circulation of people, goods, and ideas and is, moreover, conducive to the permeation of national borders, it is virtually impossible to conceive security uniquely from a national perspective. Thus, by transcending bilateral relations, politics cluster regionally to protect themselves against their common regional threats. Similarly, regional security also is autonomous vis-à-vis global security in the sense that macroregions follow certain patterns that cannot be replicated universally. Regional security can be illustrated by the geographical diffusion of conflicts and

³⁵ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1086.

by the formation of zones of peace. In the post-cold war era, the majority of conflicts have a regional component. Several regions of the world are struggling with cross-border ethnic tension, illegal immigration, transnational crime, failed states, civil wars, or deficient management of common water resources. These social (ethnic), political, economic, and military linkages at the regional level that derive from intra- and interstate disputes, therefore, have created specific clusters that are recognized as regional conflict complexes, regional conflict formations, or regional peace and security clusters. The opposite also holds. Some regions seem to maintain a long-standing capacity to remove military interstate disputes from the regional political game. The term zone of peace has been commonly associated with the long periods of peaceful interchange between democratic countries, which may be portrayed by the attainment of a security community in South America (since 1883), North America (since 1917), or Australasia and Western Europe (since 1945).

In the conceptualization of regional security, another key aspect is agency. In this equation one needs to consider the role played by regional and sub-regional organizations in the maintenance of regional peace and security. According to Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, regional arrangements and agencies have been empowered to handle intraregional conflicts as they offer comparative advantages. First, as the members of an organization share the same cultural background, they are likely to be more in tune with a conflict at hand. Second, personal relationships with the leaders have developed in the past, which results in greater understanding of the situation and may result in fruitful dialogue based on personal trust. Third, as time is of the essence in a crisis situation, regional organizations could offer a more timely response, compared to bureaucratic global organizations as the United Nations or foreign states. Fourth, as the members of a regional organization are the ones who would suffer more directly the impacts of the conflict, they have a legitimate vital interest at stake in preserving regional stability.

The phenomenon of regional security has been described and explained by a gamut of different approaches, of which the most prominent are the regional security complex theory (RSCT), the regional orders approach, and the zones of peace approach. First developed by Barry Buzan, the regional security complex theory is marked by the idea that security is a relational matter based on the (positive or negative) interdependence of units at the regional level. This is the principle that leads to the formation of macroregions of security and paves the way for regions to be objects of analysis in themselves – particular locations where one can find outcomes and sources of explanations. Regional security complexes are defined as a set of units whose major processes of securitization, desecuritization,

or both are so interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another. The structure of regional complexes is composed of (1) the arrangement of units and the differentiation among them, (2) the patterns of amity and enmity, and (3) the distribution of power among the principal units. RSCT also introduced a social constructivist approach to understand the process by which issues become securitized. The process of securitization is interpreted as a speech act, by which security issues range from nonpoliticized through politicized to securitized. Security is thereby approached as a self-referential practice, in the sense that an issue becomes a security issue as the result of a practice (i.e., the securitization of a threat is the consequence of a perception by a securitization actor and not necessarily the consequence of a real and objective threat).

The second prominent theory of regional security is the regional orders approach. David Lake and Patrick Morgan introduce the idea of regional order as an important paradigm to understand regional security. The authors define a regional security complex as a set of states continually affected by one or more security externalities that emanate from a distinct geographic area. By introducing the idea of externality, they imply that a regional security complex is not contingent to territorial contiguity given that in some cases an externality of a complex has an impact on another country (or vice versa) with which the complex shares no borders. The authors contend, hence, that geography defines the physical area from which security externalities radiate, not the set of states that may be members of a regional security complex. Lake and Morgan suggest that regional security processes have a life on their own and can refract the impact of the global system. Regional complexes are used by Lake and Morgan as a launching pad to introduce the concept of regional order. Whereas a regional complex is defined by its patterns of security conceived in terms of externalities, a regional order is characterized by the way in which the states that comprise a regional complex manage their security relations. And the typology put forward by Lake and Morgan includes (1) balance of power, (2) concert of power, (3) multilateral collective security, (4) pluralistic security community, and (5) integration.

Finally, another prevalent way to approach regional security is by conceptualizing the evolution of a region as a zone of peace. Arie Kacowitz's work is devoted to explaining how peace can be maintained at the regional level, sometimes even if this process is not sustained by plural democracies. He sets out his study by defining a zone of peace as a discrete geographical region of the world in which a group of states have maintained peaceful relations among themselves for a period of at least thirty years – a generation span – though civil wars, domestic unrest, and violence might still occur within their borders, as well as

international conflicts and crisis between them. Furthermore, within this definition he differentiates among three different categories of zones of peace in an ascending order of quality and endurance: zones of negative or precarious peace, zones of stable peace, and, finally, pluralistic security communities. To explain the maintenance of regional peace, he assesses the necessary, favorable, and sufficient conditions drawing from a pool of realist/geopolitical and liberal theories: (1) regional hegemony; (2) regional balance of power; (3) common threat by a third party; (4) isolation, irrelevance, and impotence; (4) regional democracy; (5) economic development and prosperity; (6) economic interdependence, integration, and transnational links; (7) normative consensus/common cultural background; and, finally, (8) satisfaction with the territorial status quo.³⁶

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

physical security from military invasion _____

with no legitimately recognized political or geographical identity _____

a statement of the ultimate goals _____

a coherent plan to guide specific decisions and actions _____

to arrange a treaty ensuring such continuous access _____

to be enforceable by international law or arbitration _____

to accentuate the circulation of people, goods, and ideas _____

to cluster regionally to protect themselves _____

cross-border ethnic tension _____

to maintain a long-standing capacity _____

to offer comparative advantage _____

to suffer more directly the impacts of the conflict _____

to have a legitimate vital interest at stake _____

the patterns of amity and enmity _____

to be affected by security externalities _____

concert of power _____

to be sustained by plural democracies _____

³⁶ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1440.

an ascending order of quality and endurance _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

ապահովել երկրի քաղաքացիների պաշտպանությունը _____

ոչ հստակ սահմանված տերմին _____

քաղաքականության ոլորտ/տիրույթ _____

հավասարեցված լինել համակարգված ընթացակարգերի հետ _____

քաղաքականությունը դարձնել անհասանելի/անհրազոտ _____

նպաստել ազգային սահմաններ ներթափանցելուն _____

դուրս գալ երկկողմ հարաբերությունների սահմաններից _____

հակամարտությունների տարածում _____

ընդհանուր ջրային ռեսուրսների թերի/անարդյունավետ կառավարում _____

ներպետական և միջպետական վեճեր/տարաձայնություններ _____

ավելի համահունչ լինել առկա հակամարտությանը _____

կախված լինել տարածքային հարակցությունից _____

բեկել զլորալ համակարգի ազդեցությունը _____

մեկնարկային հարթակ _____

անկայուն խաղաղություն _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Բոլոր տեսակի քաղաքականություններն էլ ծախսեր են ենթադրում, որոնցից մի քանիսը կարող են միանգամայն ոչ նպատակահարմար դարձնել որոշակի քաղաքական մոտեցումներ, երբ խաղաքարտին դրված են լինում/վտանգված են լինում մի քանի երկրների կենսական շահերը:

2. Գոյություն ունի տարբեր մոտեցումների մի ամբողջություն, որոնք կարող են ճանապարհ հարթել անվտանգության մարտահրավերների առավել խաղաղ և օրինական լուծման համար:

3. Այդ տեսության հեղինակը պնդում է, որ տարածաշրջանային անվտանգության գործընթացներն ունեն իրենց ինքնուրույն կյանքի տրամաբանությունը, իսկ դրանց կարևոր պարադիգմները/դրսևորման հիմնաձևերը հասկանալը քաղաքական գործչի խնդիրն է:

4. Քաղաքական վերլուծաբանի աշխատանքի մեկ այլ կարևոր ասպեկտը/կողմը եղած տեսությունների ֆոնդից այն տեսություններն ընտրել-հանելու ունակությունն է, որոնք լավագույնս համապատասխանում են տվյալ քաղաքական համատեքստին: Նրա աշխատանքի մյուս կարևոր կողմն էլ ազգային արժեքների պաշտպանության նպատակով որոշակի ձևաչափերին կամ օրինաչափություններին հետևելու վերաբերյալ խորհրդատվությունն է:

5. Ազգային տեսլականի դիտանկյունից պաշտպանության բոլոր միջոցներն էլ հարմար են հակամարտությունները սրվելիս, այնինչ դրանց կարգավորման համար պահանջվում են ավելի հավասարակշռված և համակարգված ծրագրեր, որոնք կհանգեցնեն կոնկրետ գործողությունների ու որոշումների:

6. Քանի որ ճգնաժամային իրավիճակում ժամանակն էական նշանակություն ունի, անձնական վստահության վրա հիմնված արդյունավետ երկխոսությունն արդյունքում կարող է հանգեցնել գործի ավելի բազմակողմանի ըմբռնման, որն էլ կծառայի որպես լարվածության թուլացման հարթակ:

7. Ձախողված պետությունները, որոնք չունեն իրենց կենսական և հազվագյուտ բնական ռեսուրսների պաշտպանության համապատասխան միջոցներ, հեշտ զոհ են հարևան երկրների համար, որոնք գերադասում են ռազմական եղանակով ներխուժել և ֆիզիկապես տիրանալ այդ ռեսուրսներին:

to pave the way

to contend

vital interests

to guide specific actions

a gamut of different approaches

to result in

a life of one's own

to be feasible

to be at stake

to follow certain patterns

resolution of security issues

means of protection

to militarily invade

to have costs

failed states

to draw from the pool of theories

*to fit the given political context
escalation of conflicts
from the national perspective
to make policies untenable
a key aspect of the job
a fruitful dialogue
relief of tensions
to be easy prey
personal trust
vital and rare natural resources*

*to be of the essence
protection of national assets
important paradigms
balanced and coherent plans
regional security processes
to physically seize
greater understanding of the case
a crisis situation
to serve as launchpad*

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Ավարտական աշխատանքի պաշտպանության ժամանակ

Ուսանող – Եզրափակելով կարող ենք փաստել, որ տերությունների դաշնադրությունը/համաձայնությունը գլոբալ անվտանգության ապահովման հզոր նախապայման է: Շնորհակալություն՝ ն:

Քննական խորհրդի կողմից 1 – Շնորհակալություն՝ ն, պարոն Մ., ներկայացման համար: Այժմ կարող ենք սկսել հարց ու պատասխանը: Հարգելի՛ գործընկերներ, խնդրե՛մ, ձեր հարցերը:

Քննական խորհրդի կողմից 2 – Լա՛վ: Պարզապես սկսենք հեշտից: Որքանո՞վ են ազգային պետություններն ապահով իրենց սահմաններում:

Ուսանող – Կարծում եմ՝ ցանկացած պետության անվտանգությունը բխում է ներպետական և միջպետական վեճերից, իշխանությունների արդյունավետ կառավարումից և հստակ սահմանված ներքին ու արտաքին քաղաքականությունից:

Քննական խորհրդի կողմից 3 – Դե՛ ինչ, պարո՛ն: Իսկ խաղաղության գոտիների ձևավորումն ինչպե՞ս է ազդում ձախողված պետությունների անվտանգության վրա:

Ուսանող – Թեև խաղաղության գոտիների ձևավորումը բխում է այն գաղափարից, որ այդ գոտիներում ընդգրկված ազգերի կամ կառավարությունների վերջնական նպատակները խաղաղ և համագործակցային են, իմ կարծիքով, ամեն ինչ այլ կերպ է: Իրականում, ձախողված պետությանը երբեք թույլ չեն տա օգտվել անվտանգության այն մակարդակից ու կարգավիճակից, որից օգտվում է իր հաջողակ հարևանը: Բացի այդ, դրանք միշտ կոփտարկվեն որպես պոտենցիալ որս, որն ի վերջո կա-

րող է մասնատվել ու տարրալուծվել հարևան երկրի տարածքում: Հատկապես, եթե այն ունի բացառիկ բնական պաշարներ:

Քննական խորհրդի կողմից 3 – Այո՛, հավանաբար, որոշակի հանգամանքներում ձեր ասածը ճիշտ է: Իսկ ի՞նչ կասեք տարածաշրջանային անվտանգության համալիրների մասին:

Ուսանող – Օ՛հ, ինձ այս հարցը տվել են օրերս: Այն վերաբերում է Բարրի Բուզանի կողմից մշակված RSCT տեսությանը: Նա առաջարկեց այն գաղափարը, որ անվտանգությունը հարաբերությունների խնդիր է, որը հիմնված է տարածաշրջանային մակարդակում միավորների դրական կամ բացասական փոխկախվածության վրա: Գիտե՞ք, տարածաշրջանային համալիրների կառուցվածքի ձևաչափերն այնքան շատ են... Իսկ եթե փորձենք դրանք վերլուծել միջազգային անվտանգության շրջանակներում, մենք կներքաշվենք փոխկապակցությունների մի բարդ և խճճված ցանցի մեջ: Կարծում եմ, դժվար է դատել, արդյոք RSCT տեսությունը գործում է, թե ոչ:

Քննական խորհրդի 1-ից – Թերև՛ս... գուցե՛... Անշուշտ ճիշտ է, որ աշխարհում տեղի ունեցող բաների մեծ մասը հնարավոր չէ խցկել այս կամ այն տեսության տուփի մեջ: Դե ի՛նչ, շնորհակալությո՛ւն, պարոն Մ.:

the level and status of security

to derive (from)

to propose the idea

regional security complexes

to be welcome with questions

to be driven (into)

to affect security

interdependence of units

a mighty prerequisite

complex and sophisticated

to define properly

patterns of the structure

to state

network of interconnections

ultimate goals

a relational matter

unique natural resources

examination board

a potential prey

home and foreign policies

to be pushed into the box

to promote global security

to be dissolved (into)

to stem from the idea

within the framework

within borders

under certain circumstances

efficient management of the authorities

intra- and interstate disputes

things are different

at the regional level

to be allowed to enjoy

to be encompassed in zones

formation of zones of peace

concert of powers

Task 5. Match the English verbs with their respective sets of synonyms.

to seize	to arise, derive, emanate, develop
to pertain	to outstrip, surpass, go beyond, exceed
to stem	to balance, associate, relate, parallel
to accentuate	to assist, bolster, buoy, foster, nurture
to transcend	to imitate, copy, reproduce, simulate
to replicate	to allege, assert, claim, maintain
to conceive	to annex, confiscate, impound
to equate	to emphasize, highlight, underscore, stress
to contend	to perceive, realize, comprehend, apprehend
to sustain	to refer, relate, concern, regard

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>maintenance</i>	<i>to pre-empt</i>
<i>dissatisfaction</i>	<i>underlying unity</i>
<i>to envisage</i>	<i>to be obvious</i>
<i>inquiry</i>	<i>uniformity</i>
<i>convenient frame</i>	<i>to rest heavily</i>
<i>integral part</i>	

National Security and International Relations

The links between the fields of national security and international relations _____. International relations can be viewed as being concerned basically with two areas of _____.: the structure and process of the international system, and the behavior of different actors in the international system and the process by which they reach the decisions that guide this behavior. The field of national security obviously _____ much of the material in the latter area, since it is the study of how nations make the decisions and policies designed to maximize the protection of their internal values from external threats. Traditionally, most of this material was classified under the heading "foreign policy studies." Most studies of foreign policy, however, _____ on the concept of national interest, and the concept of national security has, in fact, emerged out of _____ with the concept of national interest.

As an organizing concept, national security has several advantages over foreign policy. First, it focuses on common elements and _____ in the external policies of all national actors. It provides a _____ of reference which opens up possibilities

of comparison between matters superficially disparate and which can help organize the welter of comparative data produced by the historical foreign policy approach. The national security orientation also adds a dimension to the concern of traditional foreign policy with conflict situations. It makes room, conceptually, for the consideration of common international interests, which could result in a simultaneous increase of security for all the actors in the international system. The _____ of the international system thus becomes a legitimate goal of national security policy. Finally, national security focuses on the _____ of the internal and external activities of states by explicitly recognizing that external behavior is an _____ of the total behavior pattern of the national system. It therefore avoids the misleading dichotomy between domestic and foreign policy, which has typified the traditional study of foreign policy, and joins the two by _____ both as designed to protect the same set of values and, ultimately, to maintain the national and even the international system.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

Translation is a journey over a sea from one shore to the other.

Sometimes I think of myself as a smuggler:

*I cross the frontier of language with my booty of
words, ideas, images, and metaphors.*

Amara Lakous

Both definite and indefinite articles should be paid special attention to while translating any text. Their primary meanings (i.e., *the – this/that, a – one, any*) can sometimes be obvious as in:

A major component of this policy includes the imposition of sanctions.

*Այս քաղաքականության մեկ կարևոր բաղադրիչ ներառում է պատ-
ժամիցոցների կիրառումը:*

In most cases, the indefinite article *a/an* has no expression in the Armenian language corresponding to its zero article as in:

The choice of an adversary is then a historical accident and may be altered to meet domestic political, including electoral needs.

*Ուստի հակառակորդի ընտրությունը հիմնականում պատմական պատահականություն է և կարող է փոխվել՝ բավարարելու ներքին քաղա-
քական, այդ թվում ընտրական, կարիքները:*

In other cases, however, the classifying meaning of the indefinite article is more obvious and should be translated via some lexical unit.

However, states do not always unite against a state that threatens them.

Բնչևէ, պետությունները միշտ չէ, որ միավորվում են ընդդեմ այնպիսի պետության, որը սպառնում է նրանց:

One way of dealing with such a variety is by means of typology of alliances.

Նման բազմազանությանն առնչվելու ուղիներից մեկը հնարավոր է դաշինքների տիպաբանության միջոցով:

Quite often, though, in its classifying role, the indefinite article can have an emphatic meaning and is rendered as -ը/-ն definite article in Armenian.

An arms race is generally understood as a process of competitive acquisition of weaponry.

Սպառազինության մրցավազքը սովորաբար հասկացվում է որպես զենքի մրցակցային ձեռքբերման գործընթաց:

Tip

Pay attention to how you translate the indefinite article -a/an from English into Armenian and remember these structures. This will make things easier when you are translating from Armenian into English.

Task 1. Translate the sentences paying attention to the indefinite article.

1. Distributive negotiation is a necessary way of resolving differences between parties with mutually exclusive goals.

2. They would put down their weapons in exchange for a Northern Ireland government that fairly represented both Catholics and Protestants.

3. If a conflict is deeply entrenched, famous negotiators can seize on powerful external forces to shake up the status quo.

4. The security dilemma describes a condition in which efforts to improve national security have the effect of appearing to threaten other states.

5. Efforts of a province or region to secede from an existing state are a special type of conflict over borders.

6. A fourth view, that of psychocultural interpretations, ascribes to ethnicity deep cultural psychological roots, which make ethnic identity extremely persistent.

7. The Latin phrase *jus ad bellum* (justice toward war) is generally used to describe the criteria by which a state has legal or moral rights to resort to force.

8. Cyberterrorism does not have a single definition.

9. In the early 1990s the idea of a concert of powers became popular as a recipe for managing relations between the great powers and for providing a semblance of global governance in a world without a formal government.

10. A state that regularly violates international standards of acceptable behavior is considered a rogue state.

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

International Security

Պատերազմի և խաղաղության, այդ թվում միջազգային անվտանգության հետ կապված խնդիրները, դարեր շարունակ եղել են միջազգային հարաբերությունների հետազոտությունների/ուսումնասիրությունների հիմնական առանձնահատկությունը _____

_____ and continue to remain dominant among IR scholarship today. One of the most well-known ideas throughout all of political science is the balance of power: the concept that states will join forces թույլ չտալ

որևէ պետության չափազանց հզորանալ միջազգային համակարգում

_____.

The theory has been offered to explain both world wars of the twentieth century, the Gulf War (1990–1991), and even the refusal of many states to support the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. Թեև զգալի հակասություններ կան այն հարցում, թե որքանով է ուժերի հավասարակշռության գաղափարը բացատրում պետության վարքը _____

_____, its endurance as a core concept in international security is unquestionable.

Any discussion of the balance of power begs the question of how power is defined and measured. Tremendous scholarship in IR has wrestled with the question of defining the concept of power. Եթե միջազգային հարաբերությունների հիմնական տեսությունները, ինչպիսին է ռեալիզմը,

_____ gain key insights into the world by examining power, scholars should be interested in discovering the type of power sought by state leaders and whether those definitions relate to historical context. Similarly, crucial to discussions of international security is the notion of state alliances. Լայնածավալ հետազոտություններն ուսումնասիրել են, թե դաշինքները խոչընդոտում, թե արագացնում են պատերազմը, ինչ տեսակի պետություններ են ընտրվում որպես դաշնակիցներ _____

_____, and the nature of burden sharing within those alliances. Հաշվի առնելով այն, որ դաշինքները, ինչպես օրինակ Հյուսիսատլանտյան դաշինքը, նույնիսկ այսօր էլ են կարևոր աշխարհաքաղաքական ոլորտում _____

_____, research on bilateral or multilateral alliances continues apace.

While early security scholarship focused almost exclusively on the great powers and their wars and alliances, significant scholarship influenced by global current events has risen in IR to explain the wars taking place beyond the great powers' realm. Մեծ ուշադրություն է դարձվում այնպիսի հարցերին, ինչ-

պիսիք են երրորդ կողմի միջամտությունը պատերազմներին _____

_____ the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations, and ethnic, religious, and civil conflicts. As the threat of great-power war subsided in the late twentieth century – after the cold war – and into the twenty-first century, IR inquiries and research have turned away from the study of great powers and their wars. Major-world-power confrontations have become less relevant and frequent համեմատած ներկայումս տեղի ունեցող համաշխարհային զինված հակամարտությունների հետ _____

_____.

No longer does IR rely solely on the billiard ball model of war, որտեղ ենթադրվում է, որ պետությունները ունիտար ռացիոնալ դերակատարներ են, որոնք ձգտում են հասնել ռազմավարական նպատակների _____

_____.

Rather, as sub-state and nonstate actors increasingly play roles in international conflicts, theories about why and how conflicts arise must change accordingly. In particular, growing research on asymmetric warfare, including terrorism, has become increasingly common in the field, paralleling the twentieth-century evolution of transnational terrorism's capabilities and activities. There are similarities between the debates about balance-of-power politics in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe and the investigation of the origins and effects of terrorist activities. As earlier scholars sought to understand թե ինչու են որոշ ազգ-պետություններ տարբեր ժամանակներում ներքաշվել ներքին և արտաքին հակամարտությունների մեջ _____

_____.

terrorism analysts seek to identify the operational patterns and political agendas, at either the societal or the individual level, որոնք կարող են հրահրել կամ կանխատեսել ահաբեկչական գործողություններ _____.

Thus, although the actors are different, the underlying questions are often similar. Finally, in the past two decades, scholars have begun to question the state-centric view of security. Due in part to increasing interest among policymakers in human security and failed states, some IR scholars now suggest that issues such as development, human rights, and genocide have eclipsed state-level conflict

dynamics as the most important line of study in the field. While this scholarly push toward human security has had only limited influence to date, the emphasis on human security issues suggests that the move away from great-power politics as the center of the security field will continue well into the future.

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

Cybersecurity

Cybersecurity concerns keeping the space provided by the computer and the Internet safe for the various users of the technology. The term ‘cybersecurity’ means the prevention of damage to, the protection of, and the restoration of computers, electronic communications systems, electronic communication services, **wire communication**, and electronic communication, including information contained **therein**, to ensure its availability, integrity, **authentication**, confidentiality, and **nonrepudiation**. Such a concern operates on several different levels and indicates how various activities bordering on the illegal and the criminal **are within the purview of** what constitutes the concern of cybersecurity.

Protecting users from criminal and illegal activities in cyberspace necessitates determining what these activities are. There are generally two types of cybercrimes: network crimes and computer crimes. Network crimes are activities that use the Internet but **do not necessarily entail corrupting or breaking into computers**. People are the victims of these crimes, such as gambling, in much the same way as those committed in the real world. Various crimes committed in cyberspace, such as **consumer fraud** or **stock manipulation**, resemble life offline with their share of scammers, crooks, and predators. Thus, **law enforcement officials** and government agencies have had to develop expertise in fighting particular types of crimes that follow crooks into cyberspace, such as “hacker hunting.” In contrast, computer crimes may or may not employ the Internet in committing the crime; a computer is its target. People are victims only in the sense that the computer is the object of the activity, that is, hacking into computers to steal data, spread computer viruses or worms, and disable computer systems.

Cybersecurity standards have also been created because sensitive information is now frequently stored on computers that are attached to the Internet. This affects the individual, businesses, and governments equally. Many tasks that were once done by hand are now carried out by computer, thus the need for security **to guard against information theft**, which leads to identity theft. Businesses need security to protect trade secrets, **proprietary information**, and customers’ personal information. The government also needs to secure their information. Various protection programs address the protection of data against unauthorized access.

Data can be secured by issuing passwords and digital certificates to authorized users. **To go beyond authorization to authentication**, the use of digital certificates and biometric techniques (fingerprints, eyes, voice, etc.) provide a more secure method. Beyond user authentication, sensitive data can be further protected through encryption, which prevents information from getting into the wrong hands. Computer systems use various cybersecurity technologies **to remedy threats**; these include the **use of routers, firewalls**, antivirus protection software, **intrusion detection systems**, intrusion protection systems, and auditing and monitoring of computer usage.³⁷

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- *The key principle of collective security.*
- *The purpose of a collective security system.*
- *Give three reasons for collective security being attractive.*
- *The League of Nations as a system of collective security.*
- *Fundamental problems with the concept of collective security.*

Collective Security

The basic principle behind this concept can be summed up in the phrase ‘one for all and all for one’. As a means of maintaining peace between states, the legal and diplomatic organization of collective security can be located midway between the two extremes of an unregulated balance of power and a world government. Although the idea of a single world government is sometimes entertained as a solution to the problem of war, it is extremely unlikely to be brought about by conscious design. The idea of collective security is attractive because it seeks to bring about some of the alleged benefits of a world government without altering the essential features of an anarchical states system.

In formal terms, collective security refers to a set of legally established mechanisms designed to prevent or suppress aggression by any state against any other state. This is achieved by presenting to potential/actual aggressors the credible threat, and to potential/actual victims the reliable promise, of effective collective measures to maintain and, if necessary, enforce the peace. Such measures can range from diplomatic boycotts to the imposition of sanctions and even military action. The essence of the idea is the collective punishment of

³⁷ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 372.

aggressors through the use of overwhelming power. States belonging to such a system renounce the use of force to settle disputes among themselves but at the same time promise to use collective force against any aggressor. In all other respects, states remain sovereign entities. The purpose of a collective security system is to maintain peace among the members of the system, not between the system and outsiders. For example, NATO is not a collective security system. It is an alliance, or perhaps it could be called a collective defense system. Ideally, in a global collective security system, alliances are unnecessary. Collective security allows states to renounce the unilateral use of force because they are assured of assistance if a state illegally uses force against them. Simultaneously, it requires that all states participate in enforcing sanctions against an aggressor.

There are three reasons why many commentators (and sometimes states) have found the idea of collective security attractive. First, it promises security to all states, not just some of the most powerful. Ideally, all states have an incentive to join such a system, since they are all subject to the threat of war. Second, in principle collective security provides much greater certainty in international relations, at least in promoting a concerted response to war. Third, collective security is focused on an apparently clear problem – that of aggression, which is typically defined as the military violation of the territorial integrity and political independence of member states.

The first major attempt to implement a system of collective security took place at the end of the First World War, with the signing of the League of Nations Covenant. With Article 10 of the Covenant, peace was guaranteed, and together with Article 16, which provided the threat of counteraction, they formed the core of collective security. Every member state was asked in Article 10 to guarantee the territorial and political integrity of all other member states. To secure this promise, each member state was (according to Article 16) automatically at war with an aggressor. The sorry history of the League of Nations in failing to maintain international peace and security (its successor, the United Nations, does not even mention the term ‘collective security’ in its Charter) reflects some fundamental problems with this concept as a means to maintain peace. First, unless collective security really is universal, and in particular includes the most powerful states in the system, it is unlikely to be effective. If the latter are outside the system, then other states cannot rely on collective security to protect themselves from the great powers. This was particularly the case in the interwar period. The United States never joined the system, and other great powers (including the Soviet Union, China, Germany, and Japan) were never permanent members of the system. Second, the effectiveness of collective security depends on states sharing the view that peace is ‘indivisible’. Aggression against any state is meant to trigger the same

behaviour amongst members, regardless of where it takes place or the identity of the aggressor and victim. This view was shared by many states at the end of the First World War in light of the manner in which that war had spread so rapidly and the degree of destruction it had caused. Nonetheless, it remains somewhat idealistic to believe that collective security can totally replace the balance of power and the calculations of national interest. For example, the refusal of some states to impose sanctions against Italy after its invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in December 1934 was due to their belief that Italy could still be a useful ally against Germany. Third, despite its apparent simplicity, the term 'aggression' is notoriously difficult to define in practice. For example, Japanese treaties with China allowed Japan to keep troops stationed on Japanese railways in Manchuria and those troops had the right of self-defense. When a bomb exploded on a railway near the city of Mukden in September 1931, the Japanese took over the city and soon had control over the whole province of Manchuria. China claimed that Japan had committed aggression. Japan claimed that it was acting in self-defense. It took the League a whole year to determine who was right, by which time the Japanese had succeeded in setting up their own puppet state in the area. Finally, the concept of collective security is deeply conservative. It is dedicated to the maintenance of the territorial status quo, identifying 'aggression' as the worst crime in international relations, and it assumes that peaceful mechanisms of territorial change exist which make war unnecessary. In the twenty-first century, when war within states rather than between them is likely to be the norm, collective security is unlikely to provide a solution even if the great powers share its basic assumptions.³⁸

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Հայաստանի Հանրապետության ազգային անվտանգության ռազմավարությունը պետության, հասարակության և անհատի անվտանգության ապահովման, կայուն զարգացման, հայ ինքնության պահպանման պետական քաղաքականության համակարգ է: Այն իրականացվում է կենսագործունեության բոլոր ոլորտների համար ժողովրդավարական արժեքների համակարգի վրա հիմնված միասնական պետական քաղաքականության մշակման և իրագործման միջոցով:

Ազգային անվտանգության ռազմավարության իրագործման հիմնական երաշխիքներն են՝

³⁸ Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. International Relations: The Key Concepts. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 38.

- պետական կառավարման համակարգի արդյունավետությունը,
- օրենքի գերակայության ապահովումը,
- ժողովրդավարական արժեքների արմատավորումը,
- դատական իշխանության անաչառությունն ու անկախությունը,
- զինված ուժերի մարտունակությունը,
- անվտանգության և իրավապահ մարմինների արդյունավետ գործունեությունը,
- արդյունավետ միջազգային ներգրավվածությունն ապահովող արտաքին քաղաքականությունը,
- սոցիալական արդարության ապահովումը:

Ազգային անվտանգության սպառնալիքներն են՝ պետության, հասարակության, ընտանիքի և անհատի գոյության դեմ ուղղված, դրանց հիմքերը խարխալող կամ հեռանկարային վտանգ ներկայացնող երևույթները, գործողություններն ու անգործությունը: Այդպիսի սպառնալիքներ կարող են ծագել երկրի ներսում (ներքին սպառնալիքներ) և երկրի սահմաններից դուրս (արտաքին սպառնալիքներ):

20-րդ դարի ավարտին վերականգնելով իր անկախությունը՝ Հայաստանի Հանրապետությունը դեռևս պահպանում է անցումային ժամանակաշրջանին բնորոշ կերպափոխման առանձնահատկությունները, որոնցով էլ պայմանավորված են հիմնական ներքին սպառնալիքները: Նույն ժամանակահատվածում Հայաստանի մերձակա տարածքներում ի հայտ եկան ներտարածաշրջանային և արտատարածաշրջանային սպառնալիքներ: Ներտարածաշրջանային սպառնալիքներն առավելապես պայմանավորված են տարածաշրջանում առկա ազգամիջյան հակամարտություններով, զինված բախումներով: Արտատարածաշրջանային սպառնալիքները հիմնականում բխում են տարածաշրջանի նկատմամբ բոլոր հիմնական ուժային կենտրոններում առկա շահերի խաչաձևումից:

Հայաստանի Հանրապետության կայուն և անվտանգ զարգացումը պահանջում է կառավարման համակարգի արդյունավետության բարձրացում, ժողովրդավարական արժեքների արմատավորում, տնտեսական աճի պահպանմանն ուղղված քայլերի ձեռնարկում: Դրա անհրաժեշտության գիտակցմամբ Հայաստանի Հանրապետությունը ձեռնամուխ է եղել համապարփակ բարեփոխումների իրագործմանը: Բարեփոխումներն իրականացվում են ազգային ինքնության պահպանման պայմանով՝ հեն-

վելով առավելապես ազգային ներուժի վրա, օգտագործելով միջազգային հանրության փորձն ու աջակցությունը: Բարեփոխումների ձգձգումը կամ ձախողումն անմիջական սպառնալիք է ազգային անվտանգությանը:

Հաստատութենական (ինստիտուցիոնալ) բարեփոխումները միտված են ժողովրդավարական պետության գորացմանը, պետական կառավարման մարմինների արդյունավետ գործունեության, դատական իշխանության անկախության և անաչառության ապահովմանը, տեղական ինքնակառավարման մարմինների լիարժեք կայացմանը, որոշումների նախապատրաստման և վերահսկողության գործընթացներում քաղաքացիական հասարակության դերի բարձրացմանը, կոռուպցիայի, մասնավորապես՝ կաշառակերության դեմ պայքարի ուժեղացմանը: Այս նպատակով Հայաստանի Հանրապետությունն իրականացնում է համապատասխան պետական հեռանկարային ծրագրեր, այդ թվում՝ հակակոռուպցիոն ռազմավարական ծրագիր, վարչական արդարադատության համակարգի ձևավորման և էլեկտրոնային կառավարման համակարգի ներդրման նախագծեր: Հայաստանի Հանրապետության ազգային անվտանգության ապահովման առաջնահերթ խնդիրներից է ճգնաժամային իրավիճակների արդյունավետ կառավարման համակարգի հաստատումը: Որպես պետության սահմանադրական կարգի պահպանության, օրենքի գերակայության, օրենսդիր, գործադիր և դատական իշխանությունների բնականոն գործունեության ապահովման հիմնարար խնդիր՝ Հայաստանի Հանրապետությունը կարևորում է իրավապահպանության բնագավառի ռազմավարական բարեփոխումները: Դրանք ուղղված են մարդու և քաղաքացու սահմանադրական իրավունքների ապահովմանը, հակաիրավական ոտնձգություններից պետության, հասարակության և անհատի պաշտպանությանը:

Հայաստանի Հանրապետության ռազմական անվտանգությունն ապահովում են մարտունակ, արտաքին սպառնալիքների հետմղման խնդիրների լուծմանը մշտապես պատրաստ զինված ուժերը: Գիտակցելով արդի մարտահրավերների նկատմամբ մեկ պետության կարողությունների սահմանափակ լինելը՝ Հայաստանի Հանրապետությունը կարևորում է ակտիվ ռազմաքաղաքական համագործակցությունն ինչպես տարածաշրջանի, այնպես էլ արտատարածաշրջանային պետությունների հետ: Հայաստանի Հանրապետության զինված ուժերը մասնակցում

են խաղաղության և անվտանգության ապահովման միջազգային գործողություններին:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “A nation that can’t control its energy sources can’t control its future.”
Barack Obama
- “Unless we have well-educated people, we’re vulnerable in our national security.” *Mark Hatfield*
- “Peacekeeping works in some situations, but it very often needs other ingredients. Peacekeeping is not the aspirin of international security.”
Jean-Marie Guehenno
- “‘National Security’ is the root password to the Constitution.” *Phil Karn*

Supplementary Reading

Understanding National Security

National security seems a simple concept with familiar resonance and clear articulations throughout history. Nation-states from their inception have sought security from external and internal threats and employed many means to survive. As the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes wrote in *The Leviathan*, security is the *raison d'être* of the Westphalian state: keeping domestic peace and safeguarding people and property against civil and foreign threats. Traditionally, external threats are highlighted, including those involving other states and matters of territory, population, and military/economic/political competition. Interstate wars, grand strategies, armaments, and alliances are emphasized. However, the internal dimension is also important; whether the time or place was early modern Europe, colonial America, Imperial Japan, or postcolonial Africa, Asia, and Latin America, issues of taxation, conscription, constitutional design, royal succession, class relations, religion, rights and liberties, food supply, and public health have all to varying degrees affected domestic stability and probabilities of conflict internally and externally.

Despite ordinary usage, the term *national security* is difficult to define. National security is the security of the nation-state, but this means little without defining the terms *nation-state* and *security*. The nation-state is commonly understood as a political-legal entity possessing a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within its territory. The state includes physical (territory, population), institutional (rules, norms, governing apparatus), and ideational (nationalism, state legitimacy) elements. The state also possesses varying types and degrees of

sovereignty. Security is more ambiguous. Most definitions of security center on the idea of freedom from threat. They include policy objectives like providing defense, preserving sovereignty over population and territory, protecting citizens' lives and property, preventing external interference, maximizing wealth and/or power, protecting economic opportunities and quality of life, promoting national values, seeking international prestige, and securing policy flexibility and leverage.

Overall, each specification of national security implies different worldviews about the meaning of security and, therein, different understandings of threats to be guarded against and values to be maximized. Traditional views emphasize maintaining national defenses; ensuring resilience/redundancy of critical infrastructure; gathering accurate intelligence to assess threats; and skillfully using diplomacy and cryptodiplomacy to protect against military threats from other states (conventional and unconventional weaponry delivered via land, sea, air, or space). Domestic threats are downplayed. External strategies may vary. Realism identifies national security with state power and ability to secure national interest, however defined. Security is achieved by maintaining self-reliance through internal balancing (strengthening national resources and military might). External balancing (alliances) is used to maintain a balance of power among states (e.g., nineteenth-century Europe) so no hegemony or coalition can predominate. Liberalism identifies national security with states applying reason and ethics to collectively and peacefully lead international relations. National security is not just state security but individual and global empowerment. Liberalism advocates international law and institutions, collective security arrangements, and disarmament. Neoliberalism also sees global strategies like promotion of free markets, international law/institutions, and transnational relations as key to national (and international) security. Neorealism, traditionally the dominant perspective on national security, identifies security (especially military security) as the prime motivation of states. Like realism, neorealism advocates internal and external balancing. Understanding that efforts to increase security might paradoxically decrease it (e.g., arms race), neorealism developed more nuanced theories of coercion, or the limited or threatened use of force to induce an adversary to behave in some way. Coercion includes deterrence (discouraging actions detrimental to coercer's interests by making perceived costs outweigh benefits) and compellence (changing target behavior by manipulating costs and benefits). Conventional and nuclear coercion and coercion short of force (e.g., sanctions) are thus key policy instruments. Last, nontraditional views of national security broaden and deepen the concept to put greater emphasis on third world security, the constructed nature of security, non-military issues (e.g., human rights, economic/political development,

the environment, demographics, public health, gender), non-state actors, and nonmilitary policy instruments.³⁹

Security Dilemma

This concept rests on the assumption that security is something for which states compete. In an anarchical international system lacking any authority capable of ensuring order, states have to look to their own efforts for protection. Striving to obtain this, they are driven to acquire more and more power in order to escape the impact of the power of other states. This, in turn, makes the others more insecure and encourages them to prepare for the worst. Since no state can ever feel entirely secure in such a world of competing states, competition follows, and the result is a rising spiral of insecurity among states.

The security dilemma describes a condition in which efforts to improve national security have the effect of appearing to threaten other states, thereby provoking military counter-moves. This in turn can lead to a net decrease in security for all states. The security dilemma encapsulates one of the many difficult choices facing some governments. On the one hand, they can relax defense efforts in order to facilitate peaceful relations; the problem here is that they may make their country more vulnerable to attack. On the other hand, they can strengthen defense preparations, but this can have the unintended consequence of undermining long-term security by exacerbating international suspicions and reinforcing pressures for arms racing. The result can be military conflict, and many commentators have argued that a paradigmatic example of the security dilemma led to the First World War. It is important to note that the security dilemma arises primarily from the alleged structure of the international system rather than the aggressive motives or intentions of states. This structural basis is exacerbated by the understandably conservative inclinations of defense planners to prepare for the worst and focus on the capabilities of their rivals rather than rely on their benign intentions. Ignorance and competition among different branches of the armed forces for government funds can fuel worst-case analysis. Thus, while the structure of the international system must be seen as a fundamental precondition for the security dilemma, its intensity is a consequence both of the inherently violent nature of military capabilities and the degree to which states perceive others as threats rather than allies. Since these two factors are variable over space and time, the intensity of the security dilemma is very unevenly distributed among states. It is worth noting how each of them can vary. First, the intensity of the security dilemma varies depending both on the degree to which one can distinguish between

³⁹ <https://what-when-how.com/social-sciences/national-security-social-science/>

defensive and offensive weapons, as well as the relationship between them. Other things being equal, and acknowledging that weapons can be used offensively and defensively, some types of weapons are more suited to defense than offence. Defensive force configurations emphasize firepower with limited mobility and range (e.g., anti-tank missiles), and offensive configurations emphasize mobility and range (e.g. fighter-bombers).

Advocates of what is called non-offensive defense believe that the security dilemma can be muted by the adoption of force configurations that are least likely to provoke counter-measures by other states. In part, this depends on the degree to which defensive military technology is superior to offensive capabilities. If potential enemies each believe that the best form of defense (and deterrence) is preparing to attack, it is not difficult to see how they could be locked into a vicious circle of mutually reinforcing suspicions. Second, the intensity of the security dilemma varies depending on the political relationship between states. Capabilities should not be examined in a political vacuum. The degree of trust and sense of common interest in the international system is neither fixed nor uniform. There is no security dilemma between Australia and New Zealand because neither state considers the other a threat to its national security.

At the end of the twentieth century, there remains no consensus about the severity of the security dilemma, particularly between states that possess nuclear weapons. On the one hand, the phenomenon of mutually assured destruction on the basis of a secure second-strike capability would seem to ensure the supremacy of defense over offence. On the other hand, there remains doubt over the credibility of a defensive capability that offers little choice between suicide and surrender. Some scholars argue that the security dilemma is particularly weak amongst the great powers, simply because the strategic and economic gains from expanding one's territorial control are very few. In an age of economic interdependence, and in light of the degree of economic integration that exists today, it could be argued that what is called a security community exists, at least in North America, Western Europe, Australasia, and among some states in East Asia. A security community is one whose members are confident that the likelihood of force being used to resolve conflicts between them is extremely low. In other parts of the world, however, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, the dynamics of the security dilemma remain a potent danger.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 291.

Occupation and Annexation

Occupation and annexation are central concepts in the study of international security. Both are common outcomes when military force is employed, yet both pose difficult practical, legal, and moral questions for states in international politics.

In general, occupation is legally defined as the effective control of a state, or group of states, over a territory to which that power has no sovereign title, without the volition of the sovereign of that territory. As opposed to annexation, occupations are, by definition, temporary. They can occur during war for the purpose of holding territory or they can occur after war for the purpose of transforming a former adversary. Military occupations can be divided into five unique types: security occupations, comprehensive occupations, restorative occupations, collateral occupations, and caretaker occupations.

Security occupations seek to prevent the occupied country from becoming a threat to the occupying power or to other states, as well as to ensure that the occupied territory does not become a destabilizing influence in its region. They refrain, however, from remaking the political or economic system of the occupied country, aiming instead only to prevent the occupied country from posing a threat to international security. For example, the Allied occupation of the Rhineland in the aftermath of World War I (1914–1918) was primarily intended to prevent the re-emergence of a powerful Germany. While France initially advocated Rhenish independence, none of the occupying powers ultimately hoped to install a particular government in the Rhineland; instead, their goal was simply to limit the ability of Germany to again pose a threat to their security. Comprehensive occupations also seek primarily to secure the interests of the occupying power and long-term stability, but they are distinct from security occupations in that they also aim to introduce a stable political system and a productive economy. Thus, comprehensive occupations are closer to what might be thought of as state-building. The U.S. occupation of Japan and the four-power occupation of Germany after World War II (1939–1945) are the best-known examples of comprehensive occupation. Restorative occupations seek to restore order in another country without imposing a new political system. Often, the motive of these occupations is to protect either the security or the economic interests of the occupying country within the occupied state by bolstering a threatened leader. These occupations may pursue the replacement of an unreliable leader, but they are not intended to install an entirely new political system. The American intervention in Nicaragua between 1927 and 1934 to oust Augusto César Sandino is an example of a restorative occupation. Collateral occupations hold foreign territory until some indemnity is repaid. For example, following the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), fifty

thousand German troops occupied six departments of France until the French paid 1.5 billion francs in war reparations. When the French finished paying on September 16, 1873, the German troops withdrew. Finally, caretaker occupations are designed simply to hold a territory until a long-term settlement of the status of the territory is devised. The only evident cases of caretaker occupations are the British occupations of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Eritrea, and Somalia in the wake of World War II. In these cases, London had no intention of retaining these territories nor did they have particularly ambitious objectives while they controlled them. Instead, Britain simply was holding these territories until the United Nations could decide their postwar fate.

In contrast to occupation, annexation refers to the permanent acquisition of a territory by a foreign power. Unlike occupation, annexing powers usually have no intention of returning sovereignty to the people of the annexed territory. Many great powers have historically been built through the process of annexation. For example, in the nineteenth century, the United States grew from its origins on the eastern coast of North America to a continental power through the process of annexation. Some of this land, such as the Louisiana Purchase, was acquired through simple financial transactions while other land was more contentiously seized from other groups and powers.⁴¹

⁴¹ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1138.

UNIT 8

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

Read the text and speak on

- the two varieties of conflicts over control of territory
- the essence of irredentism
- examples of border disputes
- secessionist movements and wars of secession
- cases of messy border problems
- treatment and definition of territorial waters
- airspace and outer space in international law
- the interests that countries pursue in the conflicts over governments

Conflict among states is not an unusual condition but an ordinary one. Most international conflicts, including the dozens of wars going on at present, are disputes about concrete grievances and demands – territorial borders, ethnic hatred, revolutions, etc.

Territorial Disputes

Among the international conflicts that concern tangible “goods”, those about territory have special importance because of the territorial nature of the state. Conflicts over control of territory are really of two varieties: territorial disputes (about where borders are drawn), and conflicts over control of entire states within existing borders. First to be considered are differences over where borders between two states should be drawn – that is, who controls a disputed piece of land. Because states value home territory with an almost fanatical devotion, border disputes tend to be among the most intractable in IR. States will seldom yield territory in exchange for money or any other positive reward. Nor do states quickly forget territory that they lose involuntarily. The goal of regaining territory lost to another state is called irredentism. This form of nationalism often leads directly to serious interstate conflicts.

Because of their association with the integrity of states, territories are valued far beyond any inherent economic or strategic value they hold. For example, after Israel and Egypt made peace in 1978, it took them a decade to settle the border dispute at Taba, a tiny plot of beachfront on which Israeli developers had built a hotel just across the old border. The two states finally submitted the issue for binding arbitration, and Egypt ended up in possession. For Egypt, regaining every

inch of territory was a matter of national honor and a symbol of its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The value states place on home territory seems undiminished despite the apparent reduction in the inherent value of territory as technology has developed. Historically, territory was the basis of economic production – agriculture and the extraction of raw materials. Winning and losing wars meant gaining or losing territory, which meant increasing wealth and hence long-term power. Today, however, much more wealth derives from trade and technology than from agriculture. The costs of most territorial disputes appear to outweigh any economic benefits that the territory in question could provide. There are exceptions, however, such as the capture of diamond-mining areas in several African countries by rebels who use the diamond revenues to finance a war. (In 2002, 40 states created a program of UN certification for legitimate diamonds, trying to keep the “conflict diamonds” off the international market.)

Secession

Efforts by a province or region to secede from an existing state are a special type of conflict over borders – not the borders of two existing states but the efforts by a sub-state area to draw international borders around itself as a new state. Dozens of secession movements exist around the world, of varying sizes and political effectiveness, but they succeed in seceding only rarely. The existing state almost always tries to hold onto the area in question.

Wars of secession can be large and deadly, and they can easily spill over international borders or draw in other countries. This spillover is particularly likely if members of an ethnic or a religious group span two sides of a border, constituting the majority group in one state and a majority in a nearby region of another state, but a minority in the other state as a whole. This pattern occurs in Bosnia-Serbia, Moldova-Russia, India-Pakistan. In some cases, secessionists want to merge their territories with the neighboring state, which amounts to redrawing the international border. International norms frown on such an outcome. The strong international norms of sovereignty and territorial integrity treat secession movements as domestic problems that are of little concern to other states. Even when secession conflicts spill over international borders, the international community tends to treat the matter lightly as long as the cross-border incursion is temporary. The general principle seems to be: “We existing states all have our own domestic problems and disaffected groups or regions, so we must stick together behind sovereignty and territorial integrity.”

Messy border problems can be created when multinational states break up into pieces. In such cases, borders that had been internal become international; since

these borders are new, they may be more vulnerable to challenge. This was the case in the former Yugoslavia, where ethnic groups had intermingled and intermarried, leaving mixed populations in most of the Yugoslav republics. When Yugoslavia broke up in 1991-1992, several republics declared their independence as separate states. Two of these, Croatia and Bosnia, contained minority populations of ethnic Serbs. Serbia seized effective control of significant areas of Croatia and Bosnia that contained Serbian communities or linked such populations geographically. Non-Serbian populations in these areas were driven out or massacred. Then, when Croatia reconquered most of its territory in 1995, Serbian populations fled. Ethnic nationalism proved stronger than multiethnic tolerance in both Serbia and Croatia.

The breakup of a state need not lead to violence, however. Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in a cooperative manner. And the breakup of the Soviet Union mostly did not lead to violent territorial disputes between republics even where ethnic groups split across new international borders.

The norm against forceful redrawing of borders does not apply to cases of decolonization. Only the territorial integrity of existing, recognized states is protected by international norms. Colonies and other territorial possessions historically were valued only as property to be won, lost, or traded in political deals and wars. The transfer of Hong Kong from British to Chinese control in 1997 illustrates how colonial territory is dispensable (Britain's perspective) while home territory is nearly sacred (China's perspective). From neither perspective do the views of the inhabitants carry much weight.

Territorial Waters

States treat territorial waters near their shores as part of their national territory. Definitions of such waters are not universally agreed upon, but norms have developed in recent years, especially after the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Waters within three miles of shore have traditionally been recognized as territorial, but there are disputes about how far out national sovereignty extends and for what purposes. UNCLOS generally allows a 12-mile limit for shipping and a 200-mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ) covering fishing and mineral rights (but allowing for free navigation). The EEZs together cover a third of the world's oceans. It is because of the EEZs that sovereignty over a single tiny island can now bring with it rights to as much as 100,000 square miles of the surrounding ocean. But these zones overlap greatly, and shorelines do not run in straight lines; numerous questions of interpretation arise about how to delineate territorial and economic waters.

Airspace

The airspace above a state is considered the territory of the state. Any airplane that wants to fly over a state's territory must have the state's permission. Outer space, by contrast, is considered international territory like the oceans. International law does not define exactly where airspace ends and outer space begins. Orbiting satellites fly higher than airplanes, move very fast, and cannot easily change direction to avoid overflying a country. Since satellites have become useful to all the great powers as intelligence-gathering tools, and since all satellites are extremely vulnerable to attack, a norm of demilitarization of outer space has developed.

Control of Governments

Despite the many minor border disputes that continue to plague the world, most of the struggles to control territory do not involve changing borders or fighting over islands. Rather, they are conflicts over which governments will control entire states within their existing borders.

In theory, states do not interfere in each other's governance, because of the norm of sovereignty. In practice, states often have strong interests in other state's governments, and try to influence who holds power in those states. Conflicts over governments take many forms, some mild and some severe, some deeply entwined with third parties and some more or less bilateral. Sometimes a state merely exerts subtle influences on another state's election; at other times, a state supports rebel elements seeking to overthrow the second state's government.

During the Cold War, both superpowers actively promoted changes of government in third-world countries through covert operations and support of rebel armies. The civil wars in Angola, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua are good examples. Both superpowers poured in weapons, money, military advisers, and so forth – all in hopes of influencing who controlled the country's government.

Occasionally, one side invades another in order to change its government. The Soviet Union did this in Czechoslovakia in 1968; the United States did not do so in Iraq in 1991 but did in 2003. The international community frowns on such overt violations of national sovereignty.⁴²

⁴² Goldstein, J.S., Pevehouse, J.C. *International Relations*. Pearson Longman, 2012, p. 124.

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

to regain territory lost to another state _____
association with the integrity of states _____
to end up in possession _____
an apparent reduction in the inherent value of territory _____
to try to hold onto the area in question _____
to span two sides of a border _____
to amount to redrawing the international border _____
to stick together behind sovereignty _____
to seize effective control _____
to carry much weight _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

կոնկրետ դժգոհություններ և պահանջներ _____
մոլեռանդ նվիրվածություն _____
տարածք զիջել _____
ծովափնյա մի փոքրիկ տարածք _____
հարցը պարտադիր ներկայացնել արբիտրաժի _____
անխախտ թվալ _____
հումքի արդյունահանում _____
գերազանցել ցանկացած տնտեսական օգուտները _____
հատել միջազգային սահմանները _____
դատապարտել նման արդյունքը _____
միջսահմանային ներխուժում _____
խառնաշփոթ սահմանային խնդիրներ _____
սահմանների բռնի/հարկադրված վերագծում _____
մեծապես համընկնել _____
սահմանազատել տարածքային և տնտեսական ջրերը _____
պատուհասել աշխարհը _____
խորը միահյուսված _____
աննշան ազդեցություն գործել _____
աջակցել ապստամբական տարրերին _____
տապալել կառավարությունը _____

զաղտնի գործողություններ _____
դատապարտել բացահայտ խախտումները _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Խճճված սահմանային խնդիրները ապացուցում են, որ էթնիկ ազգայնականությունն ավելի ուժեղ է, քան բյուրազգային հանդուրժողականությունը:

2. Միջազգային նորմերը դժկամությամբ են ընդունում միջազգային սահմանները վերագծելու ցանկացած փորձ: Միջազգային իրավունքով պաշտպանված է միայն գոյություն ունեցող և ճանաչված պետությունների տարածքային ամբողջականությունը:

3. Գաղտնի գործողությունների, ֆինանսական աջակցության և նրբորեն գործադրված ազդեցությունների միջոցով նրանք փորձում են երկրում իշխանությունը շրջել իրենց օգտին:

4. Թե՛ տեսականորեն, թե՛ գործնականում ազգային ինքնիշխանության բացահայտ խախտումները համարվում են լուրջ հանցագործություն:

5. Պետության տարածքային բնույթից ելնելով՝ նրա տարածքի յուրաքանչյուր թիզն ազգային արժանապատվության հարց է, ինչպես նաև՝ նրա ինքնիշխանության ու տարածքային ամբողջականության խորհրդանիշը:

6. Քանի դեռ որևէ էթնիկ կամ կրոնական խմբի անդամներ ապրում են սահմանի երկու կողմում ձգվող տարածքներում, տվյալ պետությունից անջատվելուն միտված սահմանային պատերազմների վտանգն ակնհայտ է:

7. Առավել դժվար կամ անլուծելի վեճերը սահմանային վեճերն են, և դրանք կարող են հեշտությամբ տարածվել-անցնել միջազգային սահմանների վրայով և կամ՝ ներքաշել այլ երկրների: Ահա թե ինչու միջազգային հանրությունը միասնաբար սատարում է ինքնիշխանությունն ու տարածքային ամբողջականությունը՝ փորձելով կա՛մ անտեսել, կա՛մ առնվազն հպանցիկ մոտենալ նման հարցերին:

overt violations

to exert subtle influence

threat of border wars

to frown (at)

to stick together (behind)

covert operations

to secede from the existing state

multiethnic tolerance

*serious offence
territorial integrity
to draw in other countries
to spin over national borders
every inch
messy border problems
to treat matters lightly*

*to span two sides of the border
to shift the power in sb's favour
territorial nature of the state
any attempt to redraw
a matter of national honour
to be most intractable*

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Երկու դիվանագետ ընկերների հեռախոսազրույցից

Քեյթ – Ինչպե՞ս հասաք այդտեղ: Ինքնաթիռո՞վ, թե՞ մեքենայով: Որ-
քա՞ն վտանգավոր է այդտեղ:

Ադամ – Ուղղաթիռով: Մի՛ անհանգստանա: Մեզ թույլ չեն տալիս
առաջնագիծ գնալ: Նրանք փորձում են մեզ վտանգից զերծ/հեռու պահել:

Քեյթ – Երբեմն պարզապես ասում եմ, երբ դու մտքիդ դնում ես թոչե՛լ
սահմանային վեճերի այդ գոտիները:

Ադամ – Գիտես, որ դա ինձանից չի կախված, դա շեֆն է: Եթե մեզ
չհաջողվի առաջին ձեռքից տեղեկատվություն ստանալ այն գործընթացի
մասին, երբ փորձում են ետ բերել մեկ այլ պետությանը զիջած տարածքը,
ինչպե՞ս կարող ենք դատողություններ անել այն կողմի վերաբերյալ, որը
փորձում է կառչել խնդրո առարկա տարածքից: Անբավարար տեղեկու-
թյուն ունենալու դեպքում մեզ կարող են վարպետորեն շահարկել-օգտա-
գործել ուրիշների տեսակետներին համապատասխանելու համար: Այս-
տեղ երկու կողմերն էլ գրեթե մոլեռանդորեն կառչած են այս հողակտո-
րին:

Քեյթ – Գիտե՞ս ինչ, մենք անշուշտ չենք կարող սև-սպիտակ վերաբեր-
մունք ունենալ այդ հարցի նկատմամբ: Պատկերացրո՛ւ իրականությունը,
թե կուզես: Մի կողմի համար դա հայրենի տարածք է, մյուսի համար՝ ըն-
դամենը տնտեսական և ռազմավարական արժեք:

Ադամ – Այո, շատ խառը պատմություն է թաքնված ետին պլանում.
սահմանների ուժով պարտադրված վերագծում անցյալում, այնուհետև՝
մարդիկ իրար են խառնվում, խառը ամուսնություններ են տեղի ունե-
նում... Մեկնաբանելու լիքը հարցեր կան:

Քեյթ – Մի՛ մոռացիր նաև, որ նրանք բազմաթիվ կապերով կապված են այդ տարածաշրջանի ծայրահեղական խմբակցությունների հետ:

Ադամ – Հա՛, իսկապես, այստեղ ձեռք ձեռքի են ընթանում տարածքի ու իշխանության համար կռիվները: Դաժա՛ն պայքար է:

Քեյթ – Քո կարծիքով ո՞ր կհասնի:

Ադամ – Գաղափար չունե՛մ: Եթե այդ գերտերությունները սկսեն առատորեն ներս լցնել զենք, փող, ռազմական խորհրդատուներ և այլն, սա կարող է վերածվել ամենատհաճ հակամարտության: Կներե՛ս, կարծես թե մեր ժամանակը սպառվում է:

Քեյթ – Հասկացա՛: Զգո՛ւյշ եղիր և, խնդրում եմ, վերադարձիր ողջ-առողջ:

to be manipulated

border dispute zones

a forceful redrawing of borders

no clue

to keep sb out of danger

to be deeply entwined

to flare up (into)

to make up one's mind

to extend

to go to the frontline

extremist factions

a messy story

to judge a party

a home territory

a black-and-white attitude

at times

to lurk at the background

to hold onto the area in question

to go hand-in-hand

to regain territory

to pour in weapons

to fit the views of others

to run out of time

a fierce struggle

intermingled and intermarried

to be almost fanatical about sth

safe and sound

first-hand info

Task 5. Match the English adjectives with their respective sets of synonyms.

intractable

inherent

binding

disaffected

dispensable

vulnerable

entwined

covert

overt

mandatory, required, imperative, compulsory

inessential, minor, trivial, insignificant

entangled, intertwined, interwoven

intransigent, unmanageable, obstinate, insoluble

apparent, definite, undisguised, obvious

exposed, unsafe, assailable, defenseless

integral, innate, intrinsic, natural

clandestine, stealthy, surreptitious, disguised

discontented, dissatisfied, uncompliant

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>contentious</i>	<i>to intensify</i>
<i>overlapping</i>	<i>to expand</i>
<i>to adjudicate</i>	<i>indivisible</i>
<i>outlying province</i>	<i>domestic backlash</i>

Territorial Disputes

Territorial disputes are defined as _____ territorial claims by one or more states. The study of territorial disputes rapidly _____ in recent years, particularly in political science. While there is no consensus on what causes or _____ territorial disputes, a number of prominent explanations include the following variables: (1) the strategic value of territory (e.g., the British-Spanish dispute over Gibraltar); (2) resources contained by the territory (e.g., the multicountry dispute over the oil-rich Spratly Islands in the Pacific); (3) long-standing historical claims (e.g., Saddam Hussein once declared Kuwait to be Iraq's long-lost thirteenth province); (4) the correspondence between borders and ethnic-group boundaries (e.g., millions of ethnic Albanians reside near, but outside Albania's boundaries); (5) a ruler's likelihood of experiencing _____ for the handling of a territorial dispute (e.g., Kyrgyz government officials resolved a territorial dispute with China but subsequently faced major political opposition and protest for "giving away" national territory). Not all territorial disputes are _____, and some boundary disputes get resolved. In 1982, Israel handed back the Sinai to Egypt following a US-brokered peace treaty. In the 1990s, the International Court of Justice _____ a long-standing dispute over the Aouzou Strip between Chad and Libya. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, China resolved border disputes with several neighboring states in order to improve the security situation in its _____. Although boundary making and boundary disputes have conventionally been treated as separate categories, they are both _____ processes with overlapping dynamics.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

All translating seems to me to be simply an attempt to accomplish an impossible task.

Wilhelm von Humboldt

The definite article has a particular role in the English language. First of all, it denotes at something specific and usually corresponds to the Armenian *-ը/-ն*. One of its most typical occurrences is with the preposition *of*.

Moreover, the fact of independence fosters suspicion and doubt.

Ավելին, անկախության փաստը խթանում է կասկած և անվստահություն:

Still, it may also have various meanings, thus demanding semantic transfer in translation.

*Consequently, **the** calculations which shape the policy of each member state towards the other are multilateral; and the dialogue between them also becomes more multilateral as the system develops.*

Հետևաբար, այն հաշվարկները, որոնք ձևավորում են յուրաքանչյուր անդամ պետության քաղաքականությունը մյուսների նկատմամբ, բազմակողմ են. և նրանց միջև երկխոսությունը նույնպես դառնում է ավելի բազմակողմ՝ համակարգի զարգացմանը զուգահեռ:

Mind the use of articles in certain phrases and structures. and their relevant translation

***The more** voluntary **the** formation of such **a** union, **the more** federal it is likely to be, with **a** greater degree of autonomy for **the** constituent parts.*

***Որքան** կամավոր լինի նման միության ձևավորումը, այն **այնքան ավելի** դաշնային կլինի, որտեղ բաղկացուցիչ միավորների ինքնավարությունը կլինի ավելի բարձր աստիճանի:*

Tip

Look out the use of articles with adjectives. Some adjectives in the positive degree used with *the* denote the whole group, are used as nouns and have a verb in the plural. In this case, they are translated into Armenian as a noun in the plural and have the definite article *-ը/-ն*, e.g., *the young* – *երիտասարդները*. Adjectives in the comparative degree may also be used with the definite article when a choice is made between two nouns. In this

case also the Armenian adjective gets the article, e.g., *the shorter one* – *ավելի կարճը*.

Task 1. Translate the passage in class in written form. Then shift your translation with another student's translation. Each student has to check this piece and comment on the mistakes or alternatives offered. After having checked and discussed each other's translations, read aloud the parts/sentences/phrases that you believe have been translated best of all.

The Wars of Yugoslav Succession

In contrast to the hardline communist regimes that emerged after the war in neighboring Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, postwar Yugoslavia pursued an independent course both in foreign policy and domestic affairs, where it ultimately pioneered a unique form of worker self-management. This economic and political liberalization led many to expect the country to weather the fall of communism in 1989 better than other communist nations.

In fact, the transition unleashed the bloodiest fighting in Europe since World War II. Though the relatively homogeneous Slovenia managed to extract itself from Yugoslavia with minimal violence, moves by Croatia, and particularly Bosnia-Herzegovina, to declare their independence met resistance from Serb minorities in those republics. These Serbs were backed by the remnants of the Serb-controlled Yugoslav People's Army and paramilitary militias. Efforts to carve out territory by Serbs and Croats in Bosnia, egged on by ultranationalist leaders, led to ethnic cleansing and genocide, with Muslims bearing the brunt of atrocities. The massacre of eight thousand Bosnian Muslims at Srebrenica in the presence of a UN peacekeeping force and the bombing of multiethnic Sarajevo by Serb forces focused world attention on the region. Though Western powers had been quick to recognize the new independent republics, they were slow to react to the fighting. One reason was the attribution of the conflict to "ancient hatreds," a theory propounded by Croat and Serb nationalists and backed by many Western politicians. The theory, however, did not explain why the region had become multicultural in the first place, why much of its history was peaceful, nor the high rates of ethnic intermarriage in postwar Yugoslavia. Public revulsion at the slaughter, however, ultimately prompted the Western powers to intervene against Serb aggression in Bosnia and force the three sides to sign the Dayton Agreement (1995) that ended the fighting and led to a UN-sponsored, NATO-led mission enforcing the peace in Bosnia. Hostilities, however, later resumed in Kosovo, with Kosovar Albanians turning to violent resistance against Serb oppression and then facing massive retaliation. Ultimately, NATO intervened through a bombing

campaign against Serbia in 1999, which ultimately led to independence for Kosovo.

The final balance of these wars was horrific. The death toll has been estimated at slightly more than one hundred thousand, and perhaps two million people were displaced from their homes. Mass torture and attempted genocide compounded the trauma, with Bosnian Muslims bearing the lion's share of the suffering. However, the effects of the war differed dramatically by territory. While Slovenia and, to a lesser extent, Croatia managed to reform their economies and turn themselves toward Europe, the other republics have faced rockier paths. Serbia democratized in 2000, but its economy remains marked by the entangling of the security forces and organized crime, its politics by significant ultranationalist forces, and its integrity by the secession of both Montenegro and Kosovo. Bosnia continues under international administration and is de facto divided into ethnic zones with efforts at resettlement and interethnic cooperation meeting scant success. Though successful in attaining its independence, Kosovo still has not been recognized by several major powers and faces an economy in shambles. There have been significant and productive debates in political science about the causes of these wars and what could have been done to prevent them. A key issue has been who is to blame. On one side stand those who single out volitional individuals or groups, especially the Serb leader Slobodan Milošević and the Croatian leader Franjo Tuđman and their allies who stirred up ethnic hatred. Some have rather pointed blame at the Slovenes or even the international community (either for recognizing the independent republics too soon or not intervening early enough). On the other side are those who point to structural forces. Susan Woodward, for example, emphasizes how persistent economic decline and state weakness left citizens dependent on national groups for security guarantees. Still others have focused on the structure of communist-era federalism and the military, the improper sequencing of regional and national elections, the dangers of democratization without prior liberalization, and even the clash of civilizations. There also have been enlightening debates about the justice and practicality of international involvement in civil wars and genocides. Particular attention has been devoted to the proper deployment of international peacemaking and peacekeeping operations, given the failures of a UN force without robust engagement policies and the apparent successes of more forceful interventions by NATO. The formation of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, which saw the first indictment of a sitting head of state and was a precedent for the International Criminal Court, also spawned a large literature on the efficacy of trials for war criminals. Critics argue that it has engaged in selective and politically inspired prosecutions, while supporters argue that it did provide justice for the victims of the war and removed important

obstacles to democratization. Finally, there have been fierce debates about the normative desirability of international support for secession and state breakup versus respect for state sovereignty, both with respect to the start of the war and as a precedent for other regions. What was a tragedy for the people of Yugoslavia has led to a flourishing literature in political science.⁴³

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

Third-Party Intervention

Third-party intervention կարող է սահմանվել որպես արտաքին դերակատարի հարկադիր կամ համագործակցային միջնորդություն ինքնիշխան պետության գործերին _____

_____ in order to influence the outcome of an internal conflict. Third parties are nonparticipants in the primary conflict and may be individuals, state governments, international organizations, or regional associations; դրանք կարող են լինել միակողմանի՝ բաղկացած մեկ հիմնական դերակատարից կամ բազմակողմ՝ բաղկացած բազմաթիվ դերակատարներից _____

The interventions themselves can be classified according to the role they play in managing the conflict. Thus, conflict prevention aims to resolve internal tensions before they lead to violence; հակամարտության լուծումը կոչված է համոզելու հակամարտող կողմերին դադարեցնել շարունակվող հակամարտությունը _____

_____, and post-conflict reconstruction seeks to consolidate a newly brokered settlement in order to prevent the reemergence of hostilities. These interventions can take place simultaneously or consecutively, involving one or more third parties working separately or in concert. Միջամտություն նախաձեռնելիս երրորդ կողմերը կարող են ընտրել համագործակցային գործիքներ/միջոցներ, որոնց համար անհրաժեշտ է հիմնական հակամարտող կողմերի համաձայնությունը _____

⁴³ From <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/central-and-southeast-european-politics-since-1989/war-of-yugoslav-succession/6B82231BDE7E23520542E8FF53895FF4>

_____, and coercive instruments, which do not require the consent of the combatants. The former includes technical and legal assistance; the provision of mediation or arbitration services; and “carrots” such as aid, loan guarantees, and membership in valued organizations. There is growing scholarly interest in the effectiveness of such incentives – sometimes called political conditionality – in inducing governments to adopt pro-minority policies, thereby reducing the risk of internal conflict. Third parties may also help to socialize governments into adopting the policies that promote interethnic peace. In coercive interventions, powerful third parties use “sticks” հակամարտության արդյունքի վրա ազդելու համար _____.

Rather than merely denying benefits such as European Union membership, trade preferences, or economic assistance, coercive instruments work by imposing costs on target governments until they adopt the desired behavior. Այս գործիքները ներառում են տնտեսական պատժամիջոցներ, նյութատեխնիկական կամ ֆինանսական աջակցություն հակամարտող մի կողմին _____.

_____, and outright military intervention. Cooperative instruments are widely believed to be more desirable for conflict prevention, whereas coercive instruments are generally reserved for conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction.

Much has been written about the motives of third-party interventions. A classic realist or instrumentalist prediction is that states intervene when intervention serves their economic or security interests. Մեկ այլ հնարավորությունն այն է, որ քաղաքական գործիչները միջամտում են այն ժամանակ, երբ ակնկալում են հաջողության հասնել _____.

_____, thereby scoring an easy victory. A domestic politics explanation holds that states intervene in conflicts when there are perceived ethnic ties between an important domestic constituency in the intervening state and one side of the conflict. This “ethnic ties” argument has also been used to explain the intervention of a state on the side of its ethnic brethren in a bid to “rescue” them երբ նրանք բախվում են ռեպրեսիվ էթնիկ մեծամասնության հետ _____.

However, quantitative analysis has shown that homeland states are no more likely to intervene on behalf of their co-ethnics when they are repressed than when they are not. Որևէ պետության մեջ էթնիկ հակամարտությունը կարող է նաև թուլացնել պետական կառույցներն այնքանով _____

_____ that it invites outside intervention by states seeking to profit from internal struggles. Interestingly, states facing their own conflicts իրականում ավելի հավանական է, որ գործեն ագրեսիվ ձևով _____ than they are to be victimized.

A relatively new field of research concerns the determinants of successful intervention. Some scholars contend that helping the stronger side to win բռնի հակամարտությունը կարգավորելու ամենաապահով և ամենաարագ ձևն է _____

_____.

However, others believe that third parties can best reduce the level of carnage by intervening against the perpetrators of atrocities – generally the more powerful side. There is also some debate over the role of third-party bias in intervention success. Some argue that interveners with a significant stake in the outcome of a conflict might be better able to commit to enforcing a peace settlement, at which point both parties feel safe enough to disarm. But others disagree, arguing that both parties must believe that the intervener does not have a stake in the conflict; otherwise, they cannot trust that the terms of the agreement will be enforced. Սովորաբար դա հակամարտության երկու կողմերի համար արտաքին անվտանգության հավաստի երաշխիքներ է պահանջում _____

_____. Data analysis shows that long-lasting peacekeeping institutions, such as demilitarized zones and dispute resolution commissions, tend to decrease the level of uncertainty for both parties and enhance the durability of peace settlements.

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian. Answer the questions below.

- What is the difference between a border and a boundary?
- What is the difference between delimitation and demarcation?
- What is the purpose of boundary demarcation today?
- How are borders demarcated?
- What is essential in demarcation or delimitation boundary process?

Boundary Making and Boundary Disputes

Although marking and disputing territory date back to premodern tribes, the formal study of boundary making and boundary disputes came of age in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the number of sovereign states and colonial territorial possessions multiplied. With them came thousands of miles of new borders that had to be sorted out, affixed, defended, and policed.

In its most technical form, boundary-making consists of the delimitation and demarcation of a boundary. Delimitation refers to the definition of a boundary in a treaty, map, or another formal document. Improvements in survey techniques, printing, and longitude measurement in eighteenth-century Europe generated more detailed maps that proved essential for state makers wishing to craft precise boundaries between sovereign territories. Demarcation refers to the physical marking of the boundary on the ground with signs, pyramids, posts, or fences. Engineers, diplomatic representatives, and local residents descend on the border with maps and survey tools in hand after delimitation is completed to physically mark where one state's sovereignty ends and another's begins. While good survey teams are essential to a proper demarcation, so too are knowledgeable locals familiar with topography and toponymy. However, local populations aren't always happy to have a new border in their vicinity and may resist state makers' attempts to partition territory and restrict access to it. In the nineteenth century, locals along the newly delimited border between Greece and the Ottoman Empire conspired to provide the demarcation commission with false place names, with the result that clusters of villages wound up on the wrong side of the boundary. Some borders are delimited but never complete demarcation. Many African state borders, for example, were affixed on maps and certified in treaties but have been marked only at official crossings. While traditional approaches to boundary making focused on geographic factors and mapping techniques, subsequent approaches in political geography and political science shifted the focus to boundary maintenance – the processes and strategies states use to regulate and restrict territorial access.

Before moving on to define boundary disputes, it is prudent to note exactly what the term boundary means. Boundaries – or borders – have been defined as

lines of separation or legally binding divisions between modern states. Yet, boundaries are also institutions of state authority. State authorities check passports at official crossings, collect customs taxes on imported goods, police against border jumping and illegal migration, and take measures to suppress the flow of contraband. States may administer their side of a boundary unilaterally or they may pool their resources and coordinate their activities with their neighbor's border authorities. Some states may demilitarize boundaries as military threats from neighboring states decline, while intensifying border policing against non-state actors such as traffickers, illegal migrants, and insurgents. Given these dynamics, border disputes have two dimensions – functional and territorial. Functional disputes arise when one state perceives that its territory and security are being adversely affected by the administration of its neighbor's boundary. For instance, if border guards on one side neglect their duties, the entire boundary zone may attract smuggling and violent activity. Even though functional boundary disputes are relatively common, most research focuses on territorial disputes.⁴⁴

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- *Irredentism and the crisis of national identity.*
- *Irredentism as one of the worst threats to international security.*
- *Speak on some examples of prominent irredentist disputes.*
- *Revanchism vs Irredentism: What is the difference?*

Irredentism

Irredentism is a territorial claim based on a national, ethnic, or historical basis. Irredentism is related to, but distinct from, secession. Irredentism is the process by which a part of an existing state breaks away and merges with another, whereas in secession merging does not take place. The importance of irredentism in international relations is based on the intersection between nationalism and the causes of war; because such a movement invariably means taking land from another state, irredentist claims have been known to provoke ethnic conflicts and territorial aggression. The continued discord between countries and states means that the potential for irredentist wars remains serious.

Despite the numerous potential cases of irredentism, and the long history of such claims' sparking armed conflict, there has been little agreement on its

⁴⁴ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 147.

causes, dynamics, or resolution. Given the complexity of irredentism, there likely are multiple and overlapping explanations for any particular case. Nonetheless, five explanatory categories can be identified: structural, realist, rational choice, domestic, and constructivist.

Structural explanations argue that the international or regional context within which the potentially irredentist state operates will play a large role in determining whether such a project is initiated and the conditions under which it ends. In most cases, this focuses on the relative support in the international system for state sovereignty versus national self-determination. If the latter is emphasized, then nationalist claims will be allowed to override the inviolability of sovereign borders; if the former is emphasized, then the legitimacy of irredentist claims will be widely rejected. The dramatic increase in irredentist conflicts during periods of major international upheaval and normative reordering is seen as important evidence in favor of this position.

Realist arguments emphasize the relative balance of power between the irredentist state in question and either the target state or the international community. In the first case, military weakness vis-à-vis the target state will force the irredentist country to relinquish its claims; in contrast, relative military strength will precipitate such a project. The more tolerant international actors (states or international organizations) are, the more an irredentist state can get away with; if they are less tolerant, then an irredentist state is forced to temper or restrict its policies. During the early years of the Wars of Yugoslav Succession, the international community did little other than rhetorical condemnation to stop Croatia's and Serbia's irredentist projects. However, once key states (particularly the United States) adopted a more robust stance, then both countries recognized the prewar borders of the Yugoslav republics.

Rational choice accounts examine the decision-making processes of elites that initiate an irredentist conflict for instrumental purposes. Two arguments fall under this rubric: elite conflict and diversionary theory. Under the first explanation, leaders will attempt to use irredentism as a tool to counter challenges from other elites by appealing to the nationalist sentiments of the populace. For example, Slobodan Milošević used irredentist claims in Kosovo, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina to rise to political preeminence in Serbia. According to the latter argument, decision-makers will initiate an irredentist conflict to divert the attention of their population from domestic problems.

Domestic-level explanations also come in two forms: demographics and regime type. The first argument holds that ethnically homogeneous states are more likely to be irredentist because the populations of ethnically divided states will be unwilling to support a project that benefits only one group and might have the

effect of altering the ethnic balance of the state if successful. The second explanation argues that democratic states are less likely to have irredentist-type conflicts between them because of increased institutional restraints on launching an irredentist project; enhanced protection for minority groups, which undermines the reasons for moving to protect one's diaspora; membership, or possible membership in international organizations that prohibit such claims; and the dynamics of democratic peace theory, in which democratic states tend to resolve their disputes peacefully.

The final explanation for irredentism is derived from the insights of constructivism, which holds generally that the social construction of ideas and concepts is instrumental in determining political outcomes. When applied to the issue of irredentism, two arguments emerge. The first asserts that the type of national identity that is dominant in a particular state or country will influence the degree to which it will become irredentist: An ethnic identity emphasizes the unity of the culturally based country across political boundaries and lends itself to the promotion of altering borders to realize a physical union of the country; a civic national identity is political in nature, usually tied to a preexisting state, and is therefore more easily limited to status quo boundaries. The second constructivist argument focuses on the ways in which the irredentist claims are justified in a society. This justification includes the arguments that assert the group's right and obligation to unify the country and the proper means by which to achieve this goal. The potential for irredentism can be reduced if this justification is somehow undermined, perhaps by reconceptualizing the country's history, the physical boundaries of the country, or the place of the country in the international community.⁴⁵

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Տարածքային վեճը որոշակի տարածքի իրավաբանական պատկանելության վերաբերյալ երկու կամ մի քանի պետությունների միջև միջազգային վեճ է: Տարածքային վեճի առաջացման հիմքը տարածքային տարաձայնություններն են, այսինքն՝ իրավական ռեժիմի հաստատման և տարածքի պատկանելության շուրջ տարաձայնությունները: Իրավական ռեժիմի սահմանումը նշանակում է տարածքը դասել հետևյալ կատեգորիաներից մեկին՝ միջազգային տարածքներ, պետական տարածքներ, խառը ռեժիմով տարածքներ: Հարկ է նկատի ունենալ, որ կողմերի տա-

⁴⁵ From Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. International Relations: The Key Concepts. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 168; <https://www.britannica.com/topic/irredentism>

րաճախին տարաձայնությունների առկայությունն ինքնին տարաճախին վեճի գոյության վկայություն չէ:

Միջազգային-իրավական տեսանկյունից տարաճախին վեճի մասին կարելի է խոսել միայն այն դեպքում, երբ առկա են վեճի կողմերը (սուբյեկտները) և նրանց կողմից ճանաչված վեճի առարկան: Տարաճախին վեճի կողմ են այն սուբյեկտները, որոնք հայտարարում են իրենց իրավունքները որոշակի տարածքի նկատմամբ: Ընդունված է համարել, որ միայն պետությունները կարող են լինել վեճի կողմեր: Այսպես, օրինակ, ժողովրդի (ազգի) ինքնորոշման պայքարը չի դիտարկվում որպես տարաճախին վեճ: Նման մոտեցման հիմք է այն փաստը, որ անկախության համար պայքարող ժողովուրդը (ազգը) մինչև սեփական պետության անկախացումն ու կազմավորումը գտնվում է այն տարածքում, որի վրա տարածվում է այլ պետության տարածքային գերակայությունը: Միջազգային կազմակերպությունները նույնպես բացառվում են վեճի հնարավոր մասնակիցներից այն պատճառով, որ նրանք չունեն իրենց տարածքը:

Բացի վիճող կողմերից, տարաձայնության լուծմանը կարող են մասնակցել այլ պետություններ, ինչպես նաև կազմակերպություններ: Այլ պետությունների մասնակցությունը սովորաբար կա՛մ կապված է նրանց կողմից միջնորդական գործառնությունների կատարման հետ, կա՛մ պայմանավորված է նրանով, որ վեճի լուծման արդյունքում կարող են շոշափվել իրենց շահերը: Վեճի լուծման մասնակից կարող են լինել միջազգային դատական և արբիտրաժային հիմնարկները, ինչպես նաև միջնորդ կազմակերպությունները: Վեճի մյուս մասնակիցները կարող են ունենալ քաղաքական կամ տնտեսական շահագրգռվածություն, սակայն, ի տարբերություն վիճող կողմերի, նման շահագրգռվածությունը զուրկ է իրավաբանական հիմքից:

Որպես տարաճախին վեճի օբյեկտ միշտ հանդես է գալիս տարածքը: Այն կարող է վեճի առարկա դառնալ ինչպես դրա պատկանելության հարցի ներկայացման, այնպես էլ դրա միջազգային իրավունքի նորմերին համապատասխանելու հարցի առաջացման հետևանքով: Իր հերթին վեճի առարկա է պետության տարածքը: Հենց այդ իրավունքի ապացույցն է, որ ապացուցման առարկա է դառնում տարաճախին վեճերի ժամանակ: Նշված օբյեկտը և վեճի առարկան տարաճախին վեճերն առանձնացնում են տարածքների հետ կապված հարցերի լուծմանն առնչվող այլ վեճերից:

Ժամանակակից միջազգային իրավունքում, որպես տարածքային վեճերի լուծման հիմնարար սկզբունք, դիտարկվում է միջազգային վեճերի խաղաղ լուծման սկզբունքը, որն ամրագրված է ՄԱԿ-ի կանոնադրությունում: ՄԱԿ-ի կանոնադրության հոդվածի 2-ի 3-րդ կետի համաձայն՝ Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպության «բոլոր անդամներն իրենց միջազգային վեճերը լուծում են խաղաղ միջոցներով այնպես, որ միջազգային խաղաղությունը, անվտանգությունն ու արդարությունը սպառնալիքի չենթարկվեն»: Այս սկզբունքը մշակվել և մանրամասնվել է 1970 թ. ՄԱԿ-ի Գլխավոր վեհաժողովի կողմից ընդունված միջազգային իրավունքի սկզբունքների մասին հռչակագրում և 1975 թ. Եվրոպայում անվտանգության և համագործակցության խորհրդակցության եզրափակիչ ակտում: Սկզբունքի զարգացման գործում կարևոր դեր են խաղացել նաև Միջազգային վեճերի խաղաղ կարգավորման մասին Մանիլայի հռչակագիրը, որն ընդունվել է ՄԱԿ-ի կողմից 1982 թվականին:

Միջազգային վեճերի խաղաղ կարգավորման սկզբունքին համապատասխան՝ դրա ժամանակակից ըմբռնման մեջ վեճի մասնակից պետությունները պետք է լուծեն իրենց վեճերը.

- բացառապես խաղաղ միջոցներով,
- բացառապես իրավունքի և արդարության հիման վրա,
- ձեռնպահ մնալով այնպիսի գործողություններից, որոնք կարող են հանգեցնել վեճի սրմանը,
- չթողնելով վեճերը չլուծված,
- լիովին օգտագործելով բոլոր հնարավոր խաղաղ միջոցներն ու ընթացակարգերը, որոնք համապատասխանում են վեճի հանգամանքներին ու բնույթին:

Միջազգային վեճերի խաղաղ կարգավորման սկզբունքը, ինչպես և միջազգային իրավունքի մյուս հիմնարար սկզբունքները, վերաբերում են հրամայական նորմերի կատեգորիային: Պետությունների փոխհարաբերություններում իմպերատիվ նորմերից որևէ շեղում չի թույլատրվում:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “No conflict, no interest.” *John Doerr*
- “Today everything is a conflict of interest.” *Sid Vicious*

- “A man will fight harder for his interests than for his rights.” *Napoleon Bonaparte*
- “Peace is not the absence of conflict, but the ability to cope with it.” *Dorothy Thomas*

Supplementary Reading

Preventive Diplomacy

The main focus of preventive diplomacy is to identify and respond to brewing conflicts in order to prevent the outbreak of violence. Supporters of preventive diplomacy believe that conflicts are easier to resolve before they become violent. Once a violent conflict has erupted, it is extremely difficult to bring it to an end. In the meantime, lives have been lost, new waves of hatred have been created, and enormous damage has been inflicted. On the other hand, some scholars argue that conflicts may not be ripe for resolution until a ‘hurting stalemate’ has set in, when the situation has become intolerable to both sides and appears likely to become very costly. When a hurting stalemate is eventually reached, by definition both parties have suffered great losses and have become desperate to compromise. Agreements that might have been unacceptable previously may appear more palatable when compared to the pain the parties are suffering or expect to endure in the future. Typically, it takes considerable time – often years – before parties to intense conflicts reach a hurting stalemate. In the interim, they all lose a great deal. Preventive diplomacy offers the possibility of avoiding much of the pain and suffering associated with violent conflict and the hurting stalemate that so often follows violence. Potential third parties (such as states or international organizations) can be most effective when they recognize that a much earlier point of intervention may be available. Before a conflict turns violent, the issues in the dispute are fewer and less complex, and conflicting parties are not highly mobilized, polarized, and armed. Significant bloodshed has not occurred, and thus a sense of victimization and a desire for vengeance are not intense. The parties have not begun to demonize and stereotype each other; moderate leaders still maintain control over extremist tendencies, and the parties are not so committed to victory that compromise involves loss of face.

However, a difficulty in applying preventive diplomacy is that very often only a very narrow window of opportunity exists during which parties may intervene to prevent the outbreak of violence. At the early stages in a conflict, the gravity of the situation may not be recognized so that no stimulus to intervene arises. Furthermore, premature intervention may actually create a self-fulfilling prophecy and even stimulate conflict in the minds of disputing parties. Early interventions that are insensitive to local conditions, the needs and interests of the parties, and

the nature of their conflict may also widen rather than narrow differences between the parties. For example, if outside parties and international institutions appear to legitimize nationalist claims for self-determination at the outset of a conflict, they may also legitimize extremist propaganda and undermine existing political authorities. At the same time, if outside parties wait too long, the threshold of violence may be crossed before preventive diplomacy can be engaged. Once that threshold is crossed, any opportunity to resolve the conflict may be seriously delayed or lost altogether. Timing the engagement of preventive diplomacy is thus an extremely critical, yet elusive, factor in the process of conflict resolution. Preventive diplomacy first requires attention to 'early warning' to detect situations that might lead to violent conflict. Protests, demonstrations, and riots may provide such early warning signals, as may repressive actions by governments to suppress dissent. Parties to disputes may themselves report threats to the peace that they have witnessed or experienced. These warnings usually appear in the midst of conflicts between states or within them. Among the most prominent warnings of an incipient conflict are irredentist appeals to secede and unify with another state, threats to expand an ongoing conflict into neighbouring states, sporadic guerrilla action by radicalized minority group members against state institutions or their representatives, and indications of potential unauthorized external intervention in ongoing internal conflicts. Early warning is not enough to trigger an appropriate response, however.

There must also be a capability to distinguish warnings of real conflicts from false alarms. The problem for preventive diplomacy is often not the inability to identify potential trouble spots but, rather, one of understanding such situations well enough to forecast which ones are likely to explode and when. However good their intentions, states and multilateral organizations may antagonize important constituencies by too many cries of 'wolf' when no violence takes place. They may also alienate parties if they try to intervene prematurely in situations that do not seem to justify early outside intervention. And they may exhaust both their willpower and their limited resources by trying to intervene in more conflicts than they can handle at any one time. Once the incipient crisis has been recognized, the next and often more difficult problem is to get the parties to enter into direct negotiations among themselves or get outsiders to intervene. Early warning does not necessarily make for easy response. Preventive diplomacy may take many forms, such as verbal diplomatic protests and denunciations, imposing sanctions, active monitoring and verification of agreements, peacekeeping, providing good offices, and other forms of third-party mediation.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 255.

Extraterritoriality

The term *extraterritoriality*, or *exterritoriality*, usually denotes the exclusion of foreign nationals from the territorial jurisdiction of the host country. The concept thereby deals with functional exceptions to the Westphalian principle of territorial sovereignty – either granted by international law or agreed on bilaterally. Exceptions under international law extend to cases such as military occupation and national ships on the high seas; bilateral military status-of-forces agreements are made routinely for externally deployed soldiers. Historically, the most classical example for extraterritoriality under international law was the doctrine on diplomatic status popularized by Hugo Grotius through his seminal work *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625). The concept is best explained through the image of an extraterritorial fictional space under the jurisdiction of the accredited country surrounding the diplomat. As this theory does not reflect state practice and international jurisdiction, it has been replaced by a concept explaining granted immunities and privileges through the functional necessity to efficiently exercise consular functions and diplomatic representation. Another historical application of extraterritorial jurisdiction concerned Western nationals in non-Western countries – such as Japan, Turkey, and China – who remained under national rule (during the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century).

In a wider sense, forms of extraterritorial rule and jurisdiction going even beyond nationals can be observed in reaction to global challenges overburdening single states. Examples are the fight against terrorism (cf. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1373 [2001], internationally prescribing specific legislation), universal jurisdiction, and international economic regulation.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 553.

UNIT 9

CONFLICTS OF IDEAS

Read the text and speak on

- ethnic conflict as a threat to international peace and security
- the origins of the terms “ethnic” and “ethnicity”
- the importance of tangible characteristics
- types of ethnic groups
- causes of ethnic hostility
- ethnocentrism

Ethnic Conflicts

If all international conflicts were strictly material in nature, it might be easier to settle them. Given enough positive leverage, any state would agree to another state's terms on a disputed issue. More difficult are the types of conflict in which intangible elements such as ethnic hatred, religious fervor, or ideology come into play.

Ethnic conflict is one of the major threats to international peace and security. The destabilization of provinces, states, and, in some cases, even whole regions is a common consequence of ethnic violence. Ethnic conflicts are often accompanied by gross human rights violations, such as genocide and crimes against humanity, and by economic decline, state failure, environmental problems, and refugee flows. Violent ethnic conflict leads to tremendous human suffering.⁴⁸

Ethnic Identity, Ethnicity, and Ethnic Group

The terms *ethnic* and *ethnicity* have their roots in the Greek word *ethnos*, which describes a community of common descent. In ethnic conflict research, the terms *ethnic group*, *communal group*, *ethnic community*, *people*, and *minority* are mostly used interchangeably. Two elements provide the basis to identify ethnic groups: first, the accentuation of cultural traits and, second, the sense that those traits distinguish the group from the members of the society who do not share the differentiating characteristics. Ethnic criteria that provide the origins of communal identity include shared historical experiences and memories, myths of common descent, a common culture and ethnicity, and a link with a historical territory or a homeland, which the group may or may not currently inhabit. Elements of common culture include language, religion, laws, customs, institutions, dress, music, crafts,

⁴⁸ Goldstein, J.S., Pevehouse, J.C. International Relations. Pearson Longman, 2012, p. 133.

architecture, and even food. Ethnic communities show signs of solidarity and self-awareness, which are often expressed by the name the group gives itself.

Ethnic identity is formed by both tangible and intangible characteristics. Tangible characteristics, such as shared culture or common visible physical traits, are important because they contribute to the group's feeling of identity, solidarity, and uniqueness. As a result, the group considers perceived and real threats to its tangible characteristics as risks to its identity. If the group takes steps to confront the threats, its ethnicity becomes politicized, and the group becomes a political actor by virtue of its shared identity. On the other side, ethnicity is just as much based on intangible factors – namely, on what people believe, or are made to believe, to create a sense of solidarity among members of a particular ethnic group and to exclude those who are not members.⁴⁹

Types of Ethnic Groups

Not all ethnic groups are politically active or engage in ethnic conflict. Depending on the political structure of the state (democracy versus authoritarian regimes) and the size and situation of the ethnic minority (large versus small portion of the society, regionally concentrated versus dispersed), ethnic groups will have different claims and will use different means to voice their demands. There are six types for categorizing the groups: ethnonationalists, indigenous peoples, ethnoclasses, communal contenders, religious sects, and national minorities.

- ***Ethnonationalists*** are large, regionally concentrated ethnic groups with a history of autonomy or separatist struggles.
- ***Indigenous peoples*** are original inhabitants, or descendants of the original inhabitants, of a colonized territory. These groups typically have traditional social, economic, and cultural customs that set them apart from the rest of the society. Even though indigenous peoples are often notably different from the dominant group (they usually are set apart not only by physical markers but also by language, religion, traditions, etc.), they tend to be badly organized, have weak connections among group members, and, consequently, are usually unable to voice their claims (mostly to land and access to resources) in a successful manner. As a result, indigenous peoples are among the most-marginalized ethnic groups in the world.
- ***Ethnoclasses*** are physically or culturally distinct groups who are typically descendants of slaves or immigrants. In many cases, these groups perform distinctive economic activities, mostly at the bottom of

⁴⁹ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ethnic-conflict>

the economic hierarchy. Ethnoclasses generally strive for equal treatment, economic opportunities, and political participation. Mobilization of these groups varies widely. Ethnoclasses have successfully pursued their interests in many Western democracies, but they remain relatively unorganized in most other places.

- ***Communal contenders*** are culturally distinct groups that have or desire a role in state power. Some of them can also be classified as ethnonationalists opting for separatism and seeking independence. They are distinguished between dominant, advantaged, and disadvantaged communal contenders. Dominant groups hold both political and economic power over other groups in their societies. Advantaged groups enjoy political benefits but are not in control of governing power. Disadvantaged communal contenders are the most common, and they often face political or economic discrimination or both. Changes to group relations involving communal contenders are particularly likely if power structures change. Intergroup shifts of relative political influence and economic prosperity can provoke violent reactions, which tend to be particularly long-lasting and disastrous. Power-sharing models that take differences and external changes into account are the only way to deal with these issues. However, as history shows, such power-sharing arrangements are often very difficult to achieve.
- ***Religious sects*** are ethnic groups that differ from the rest of their society mostly by their religious beliefs and related cultural practices. Religious minorities tend to have high group cohesion because religion is a highly salient trait. In addition, religious groups usually already possess an organizational structure, which makes mobilization of the groups particularly easy and likely. For these politicized religious minorities, their faith is what sets them apart, but their goals are political in nature (e.g., participation in the government, nondiscrimination, or the recognition of the minority).
- ***National minorities*** are groups with kinfolk in a neighboring state but who are a minority in the state in which they reside. Most of these groups have a history of political autonomy, which they strive to reinstate.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ethnic-conflict/Types-of-ethnic-groups>

Causes of Ethnic Hostility

Why do ethnic groups frequently dislike each other? Often, there are long-standing historical conflicts over specific territories or natural resources, or over one ethnic group's economic exploitation or political domination of another. Over time, ethnic conflicts may transcend these concrete historical causes and become driven not by tangible grievances (though these may well persist) but by processes described by social psychology. The ethnic group is a kind of extended kinship group – a group of related individuals sharing some ancestors. Even when kinship relations are not very close, a group identity makes a person act as though the other members of the ethnic group were family. Perhaps, as technology allows far-flung groups to congregate in cyberspace, there will be less psychological pressure to collect ethnic groups physically in a territorial nation-state.

Ethnocentrism, or in-group bias, is the tendency to see one's own group in favorable terms and an out-group in unfavorable terms, i.e. to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own ethnic culture. Ethnocentrism has been seen primarily as hostility or prejudice against a variety of outgroups. It often entails the belief that one's own race or ethnic group is the most important, and that some or all aspects of its culture are superior to those of other groups. Within this ideology, individuals judge other groups in relation to their own particular ethnic group or culture, especially with concern to language, behavior, customs, and religion. These ethnic distinctions and subdivisions serve to define each ethnicity's unique cultural identity. If people are assigned to groups based on a known but unimportant characteristic, before long the people in each group show in-group bias and begin to dislike the other group's members. In-group biases are stronger when the other group looks different, speaks a different language, or worships in a different way (or all three). All too easily, an out-group can be dehumanized and stripped of all human rights. Especially in wartime, when people see members of an out-group killing members of their in-group, dehumanization can be extreme. The restraints on war that have evolved in regular interstate warfare, such as not massacring civilians, are easily discarded in interethnic warfare.⁵¹

⁵¹ Goldstein, J.S., Pevehouse, J.C. *International Relations*. Pearson Longman, 2012, p. 135.

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

to be strictly material in nature _____
to share differentiating characteristics _____
common visible physical traits _____
to contribute to the feeling of identity, solidarity, and uniqueness _____

to be perceived as real threats _____
by virtue of shared identity _____
to be set apart by physical markers _____
the most-marginalized ethnic groups _____
to perform distinctive economic activities _____
intergroup shifts of relative political influence _____
to strive to reinstate _____
to transcend concrete historical causes _____
to be driven by tangible grievances _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

անշոշափելի տարրեր _____
էթնիկ աստելություն _____
էթնիկ բռնության հետևանք _____
մարդու իրավունքների կոպիտ խախտումներ _____

փախստականների հոսքեր _____
փոխարինաբար օգտագործվել _____
մշակութային հատկանիշների շեշտադրում _____
համայնքային ինքնության ակունքները _____
ընդհանուր ծագման հետ կապված առասպելներ _____

համերաշխության և ինքնագիտակցության նշաններ ցուցաբերել _____

բարձրաձայնել պահանջները _____
բնիկ ժողովուրդներ _____
նախընտրել անջատողականություն _____

բարձր խմբային համախմբվածություն _____
 ցայտուն հատկանիշ _____
 ազգակցական կապ ունեցող խմբեր _____
 թույլ տալ հեռահար խմբերին կուտակվել կիբերտարածքում _____

 գրկել մարդկային հատկանիշներից և մարդու իրավունքներից _____

 պատերազմը զսպող միջոցներ _____
 կոտորել խաղաղ բնակիչներին _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Էթնիկ ինքնությունը ձևավորվում է ինչպես շոշափելի, այնպես էլ անշոշափելի հատկանիշներից, որոնք իրենց արմատներն ունեն էթնիկ հանրության էվոյուցիոն զարգացման մեջ:

2. Ընդհանուր պատմական փորձառություններն ու հիշողությունը ներառվել են ընդհանուր մշակույթի մեջ, որն ընդգրկում է այնպիսի տարրեր, ինչպիսիք են՝ լեզուն, կրոնը, օրենքները, սովորույթները, հաստատությունները, հագուստը, երաժշտությունը, արհեստները, ճարտարապետությունը և նույնիսկ սնունդը:

3. Էթնիկ բռնության սովորական հետևանք են տարածաշրջանի ապակայունացումը և, որոշ չափով, տնտեսական անկումը:

4. Առավել անտեսված և արհամարհված էթնիկ խմբերը բախվում են քաղաքական կամ տնտեսական խտրականության, կամ՝ երկուսին միասին, որը ծնում է թշնամանք իրար միջև և նախապաշարմունք ուրիշների նկատմամբ:

5. Ընդհանուր տեսանելի ֆիզիկական գծերը, ինչպես նաև մշակութային հատկանիշների առանձնանշումը նպաստում են խմբի ինքնության, համերաշխության և եզակիության գիտակցմանը:

6. Բազմազգ պետությունների կառավարությունները պետք է քայլեր ձեռնարկեն ազգամիջյան հակամարտությունների ճանաչելի և իրական սպառնալիքներին դիմակայելու ուղղությամբ, ինչպես նաև իշխանության բաշխման մոդելների ներդրման միջոցով մեղմեն դրանք:

7. Կրոնական փոքրամասնությունների խիստ ակնառու հատկանիշն այն է, որ հավատքն է նրանց առանձնացնում, բայց, ամենից հաճախ, նրանց նպատակները քաղաքական բնույթի են:

a common consequence

visible traits

to have roots (in)

to some extent

perceived and real threats

evolutionary development

uniqueness

marginalized

to mitigate

ethnic identity

accentuation of cultural traits

solidarity

to take steps to confront

to be incorporated (in)

*to entail hostility and prejudice
(against)*

ethnic entity

to face discrimination

to be political in nature

crafts

power-sharing models

shared experiences

to set apart

a highly salient trait

to contribute to the feeling of identity

economic decline

interethnic conflicts

ethnic violence

multinational states

tangible and intangible characteristics

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

ՄԱԿ-ի աշխատաժողով՝ նվիրված էթնիկ հանդուրժողականությանը

Թիմի ղեկավար – Հարգելի՛ գործընկերներ, վստահ եմ, որ մենք բոլորս կատարել ենք էթնիկ հանդուրժողականության վերաբերյալ մեր տնային աշխատանքը: Իբրև սկիզբ, թո՛ւյլ տվեք ձեզանից յուրաքանչյուրին խնդրել ներկայացնել ձեր հայտարարությունները հնարավորինս հակիրճ: Գիտեմ, որ այսօր մենք իսկապես շատ խորը զգացմունքային հարցերի ենք անդրադառնում (խորը զգացմունքների դուռ ենք թակում), բայց եկե՛ք մեր խնդիրները պարզապես ներկայացնենք ավելի լայն համապատկերի մեջ: Խնդրե՛մ, Ռե՛մի: Սկսե՛նք ձեզնից:

Ռեմի – Շնորհակալությո՛ւն: Ես լրիվ նայել եմ պահանջվող գրականությունը և փորձել եմ զուգահեռներ ու համեմատություններ անցկացնել իրական կյանքի փորձառության հետ: Տեսե՛ք, էթնիկ անհանդուրժողականությունն իր բազմազան ու ավելի նուրբ արտահայտություններով ի

վերջո հանգեցնում է մարդկային ահռելի տառապանքի: Անշոշափելի տարրերը, ինչպիսիք են էթնիկ ատելությունը, կրոնական մոլեռանդությունը և գաղափարախոսությունը, անկախ այն բանից, թե որքան վարպետորեն են դրանք քողարկված, իրենց դերն ունեն: Ես նկատի ունեմ քիչ թե շատ ժողովրդավարական կամ զարգացած երկրներում տիրող իրավիճակը:

Լուբանգի – Լա՛վ ասացիք: Հուսահատ փախստականների հոսքերը շահարկվում են որպես հարկադրանքի և ճնշելու քաղաքական գործիք: Յուրաքանչյուր պետություն խաղում է իր խաղը:

Մինուկ – Գիտե՞ք, ինչ կա: Դե՛ն նետեք էթնիկ հանդուրժողականության այդ գաղափարն իբրև միամիտ և ռոմանտիկ մի բան: Երբ դանակը ոսկորին է հասնում, ամենքը երես են թեքում էթնիկ փոքրամասնությունների աղերսանքներից ու նման բաներից... Դե՛, ես այստեղ եմ պարզապես իմ համերաշխությունը ցույց տալու համար էթնիկ փոքրամասնությունների ներկայացուցիչներին և նրանց, ովքեր մտահոգված են այս խնդրով: Բայց, սովորաբար, մեզանից յուրաքանչյուրն էլ գիտի, որ մեզ նման մարդկանց մղում են դեպի տնտեսական հիերարխիայի հատակը: Եվ որքան էլ դա անմարդկային է, ավելիի հույս գրեթե չկա:

Թիմ – Օհ՛, Մինու՛կ, երբեք չէի սպասում քեզանից նման սուր դիտարկումներ: Դու իսկապե՞ս կարծում ես, որ մենք այստեղ իգուր ենք հավաքվել:

Թիմի դեկավար – Այո՛, կարծում եմ, որ Մինուկը չափազանց հոռետես է իր գնահատականների մեջ: Թեև, ավելի հաճախ, ամեն ինչ հենց այնպես է, ինչպես նա է ասում: Բայց եկե՛ք միմյանցից սովորենք տարբեր միջոցներ կիրառել մեր պահանջները բարձրաձայնելու համար: Եվ որքան ավելի կազմակերպված լինենք, այնքան ավելի լավ ձեռքբերումներ կունենանք: Եկե՛ք հետևենք վստահության և համագործակցության հարաբերություններ հաստատելու ռազմավարությանը և մշակենք մեր էթնիկ պատկանելությունը և եզակիությունը պաշտպանելու իմաստալից ուղիներ: Մի՛ խաղացեք ուժային շնաձկների օգտին՝ ցուցաբերելով անգործություն և հուսահատություն:

*to be pushed aside
subtle expression*

*to draw parallels and comparisons
to pursue a strategy*

sharp remarks
to dismiss the notion
ethnic tolerance
to tap into a lot of deep feelings
in sb's estimates
intangible elements
inducement and suppression
dehumanizing
a real-life experience
ethnicity and uniqueness
a workshop
to work out meaningful ways
things stand as sb says
nicely put
to turn a deaf ear to pleas
naïve and romantic
to disguise masterly
to define problems in a larger picture
to come into play

to be manipulated
to refer to the situation
as it is
the bottom of economic hierarchy
desperate refugee flows
to come together for nothing
you know what
to be through with reading
to voice demands
to make statements as brief as possible
to care for the issue
typically
when push comes to shove
to play into the hands of power sharks
tremendous human suffering
to display inactivity and desperation
religious fervor
to start with

Task 5. Match the English verbs

a. with their definitions:

to discard	to gather into a crowd or mass
to entail	to make great efforts to achieve or obtain something
to congregate	to restore to the former position or state
to transcend	to cast aside or dispose of; get rid of
to reinstate	to simulate or incite; give rise to
to provoke	to be or go beyond the range or limits (of a field or sphere)
to strive	to cause or involve by necessity or as a consequence

b. with their respective sets of synonyms:

to discard	to flock, collect, concentrate, convene
to entail	to abandon, eliminate, renounce, dispose of
to congregate	to bring back, reestablish, restore, revive
to transcend	to aim, seek, endeavor, attempt
to reinstate	to arouse, cause, generate, instigate
to provoke	to bring about, cause, necessitate, evoke
to strive	to surpass, outstrip, overstep, exceed

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form..

to be disdained

to gain strength

assumptions

intractable

grievances

inhuman

transnational

to sacrifice

Religious conflict

One reason ethnic conflicts often transcend material _____ is that they find expression as religious conflicts. Since religion is a core of a community's value system in much of the world, people whose religious practices differ easily _____ and treated as unworthy or even _____. When overlaid on ethnic and territorial conflicts, religion often surfaces as the central and most visible division between groups.

Nothing inherent in religion mandates conflicts – in many places members of different religious groups coexist peacefully. But religious differences hold the potential for conflict, and for making existing conflicts more _____, because religions involve core values, which are held as absolute truth. This is increasingly true as fundamentalist movements _____ in recent decades. Members of these movements organize their lives and communities around their religious beliefs; many are willing _____ and even die for those beliefs. These movements challenge the values and practices of secular political organizations – those created apart from religious establishments. Among the secular practices threatened by fundamentalist movements are the rules of the international system, whereby states are treated as formally equal and sovereign whether they are “believers” or “infidels”. As _____ belief systems, religions often are taken as a higher law than state laws and international treaties. This runs counter to the norms of the international system, and to the _____ of realism.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

Translation is not a matter of words only: it is a matter of making intelligible a whole culture.

Anthony Burgess

Because of the diverse functions and usage of the passive voice in the English language, the translator should know how to deal with it. Passive constructions are

more frequently and widely used in English, specifically in formal and academic languages than in Armenian.

Most often the passive voice is easy to translate into Armenian with a corresponding structure:

Analysis of ethnic cleansing should not be limited to the specific case of former Yugoslavia.

Էթնիկ զտումների վերլուծությունը չպետք է սահմանափակվի նախկին Հարավսլավիայի կոնկրետ դեպքով:

Sometimes, however, this might be impossible. In English, both direct and indirect objects can act as subjects in the passive voice, which means the same sentence in the active voice has two passive constructions. While in Armenian there is only one passive construction with the direct object acting as the subject. In such cases, the structure may have to be translated into the active voice with no subject:

When ethnic populations are minorities in territories controlled by rival ethnic groups, they may be driven from the land or (in rare cases) systematically exterminated.

Երբ էթնիկ բնակչությունը փոքրամասնություն է մրցակից էթնիկ խմբերի կողմից վերահսկվող տարածքներում, հնարավոր է, նրան վտարեն այդ հողից կամ (հազվադեպ դեպքերում) համակարգված ոչնչացնեն:

It is noteworthy, however, that the same principles should be observed when translating from Armenian into English:

Միջէթնիկ հարաբերությունների ուսումնասիրության ժամանակ կարևոր է հաշվի առնել պատմական գործոնները:

Historical factors are to be taken into account when studying interethnic relations.

Tip

Pay special attention to the passive voice especially when doing a translation from Armenian into English from two perspectives. Firstly, some active constructions in Armenian must be translated in the passive voice in English. Besides, some verbs in Armenian have two forms, as *լվանալ*, *լվացվել*; *հաղորդակցել*, *հաղորդակցվել* which correspond to the English *wash* and *communicate* respectively in the active voice.

Task 1. Translate the text into English.

Միջէթնիկ հարաբերություններ

Միջէթնիկ հարաբերություններն առաջին հերթին էթնոսների հաղորդակցական եղանակներն են, որոնք ուղեկցվում են յուրաքանչյուր էթնիկ խմբի և նրա առանձին ներկայացուցիչների անհատական և սոցիալական հատկանիշների փոփոխությամբ: Ինստիտուցիոնալ մակարդակի հարաբերությունները ներառում են պետական-կրթական ոլորտները, պետական ինստիտուտները, միջպետական փոխհարաբերությունները: Նման փոխհարաբերությունները հաճախ անվանում են նաև միջազգային հարաբերություններ:

Ժողովուրդները հաղորդակցվում են հիմնականում պատմական հանգամանքների արդյունքում: Միջէթնիկ հարաբերությունների ուսումնասիրության մեջ կարևոր են հաշվի առնել պատմական գործոնները և հատկապես մշակութային անցյալը, ժողովուրդների հետ հաղորդակցության փորձը: Պատմական իրադարձությունները ոչ միայն ներազգային համերաշխության կարևոր դեր ունեն, այլև միջէթնիկ հարաբերությունների լարվածության պատճառ կարող են դառնալ:

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

Ethnic groups are large groups of people who share ancestral, language, cultural, or religious ties and a common identity. Although conflicts between ethnic groups often have material aspects – մասնավորապես տարածքի և կառավարման վերահսկողության շուրջ, էթնիկ բախումն ինքնին բերում է հակակրանք կամ ատելություն _____

_____ that members of one ethnic group systematically feel toward another group. In this regard, էթնիկ հակամարտության հիմքում ընկած են ոչ թե շոշափելի, այլ անշոշափելի պատճառները _____

_____. Ethnic groups often form the basis for nationalist sentiments. Not all ethnic groups identify as nations, but in locations որտեղ մեկ էթնիկ խմբի միլիոնավոր անդամներ ապրում են որպես բնակչության մեծամասնություն իրենց նախնիների երկրում _____

they usually think of themselves as a nation. In most such cases նրանք ձգտում են ունենալ սեփական պետությունը՝ պաշտոնական միջազգային կարգավիճակով և տարածքային սահմաններով _____.

Territorial control սերտորեն կապված է էթնիկ խմբերի պետականություն ունենալու ձգտման հետ _____.

_____. Any state's borders will deviate to some extent (sometimes substantially) from the actual location of ethnic communities; as a result, members of the ethnic group will be left outside its state's borders, and members of other ethnic groups will be located within the state's border. The resulting situation can be dangerous, երբ էթնիկ խմբի մի մասը վերահսկում է պետությունը, իսկ մյուս մասն ապրում է որպես փոքրամասնություն այլ պետությունում _____.

_____ controlled by a rival ethnic group.

Other ethnic groups lack any home state. Kurds share a culture, and many aspire to create a state of Kurdistan. But Kurds live in four states – Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria – որոնք բոլորն էլ կտրականապես դեմ են նոր քրդական պետության համար սեփական տարածքի մի մասը զիջելուն _____.

In ethnic conflicts there are often pressures to redraw borders by force. When ethnic populations are minorities in territories controlled by rival ethnic groups, նրանք կարող են նույնիսկ վտարվել իրենց հողերից _____ or (in rare cases) systematically exterminated. By driving out the minority ethnic group, a majority group can assemble a more unified, more contiguous, and larger territory for its nation-state.

In extreme cases, governments use genocide – էթնիկ կամ կրոնական խմբերի համակարգված ոչնչացում _____ in whole or in part – to try to destroy scapegoated groups or political rivals. In cases both of genocide and of less extreme

scapegoating, ethnic hatreds do not merely bubble up naturally, այլ հրահրվում և ուղղորդվում են քաղաքական գործիչների կողմից՝ սեփական իշխանությունն ամրապնդելու համար _____

_____. For instance, Arab governments use antisemitism to deflect their populations' anger onto Israel.

Often, in former colonies whose borders were drawn arbitrarily, some ethnic groups span two or more states, while others find themselves sharing a state with groups that are traditionally rival or enemies. For example, Nigeria includes 250 ethnic groups, the largest being two Muslim groups in the north and two Christian groups in the south. Although Nigeria's ethnic populations are slowly developing an overarching national identity as Nigerians, հին լարվածությունը շարունակում է խաթարել քաղաքականությունը _____

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

Theories of ethnic identity

Although **communal identity** provides the foundation for the definition of ethnic groups, disagreement exists over how ethnic identity forms and how it changes over time. A first school of thought, known as the primordialist approach, explains ethnicity as a fixed characteristic of individuals and communities. According to primordialists, ethnicity is **embedded in inherited biological attributes**, a long history of practicing cultural differences, or both. Ethnic identity is seen as **unique in intensity and durability** and as an existential factor defining individual self-identification and communal distinctiveness. Mobilization of ethnic identity and ethnic nationalism is a powerful tool to engage the group in a political struggle. Ethnic divisions and ethnic conflict are considered inherent to multiethnic societies and a common phenomenon.

The primordialist focus on fixed identities, however, fails to recognize variations in ethnic group formation, ranging from relatively short-term associations to long-standing, strong, and cohesive groups with biological and historical roots. **To account for these differences**, a second approach, referred to as instrumentalist, was developed, which understands ethnicity as a device used by individuals and groups to unify, organize, and mobilize populations to achieve larger goals. Those goals are mostly of a political nature and include, among others, demands for self-governance, autonomy, access to resources and power, respect for the group's identity and culture, and minority rights. Instrumentalists

hold that ethnicity has very little or no independent ranking outside the political process and is in its character comparable to other **political affiliations** such as ideological beliefs or party membership. According to instrumentalists, ethnicity is a result of personal choice and mostly independent from the situational context or **the presence of cultural and biological traits**. Ethnic conflict arises if ethnic groups compete for the same goal – notably power, access to resources, or territory. The interests of a society's elite class play an important role in mobilizing ethnic groups to engage in ethnic conflicts. Ethnic conflict is thus similar to other political interest conflicts.

Instrumentalism is criticized by those who argue that ethnicity, in contrast to political affiliations, cannot be **willfully decided on** by individuals and is instead rooted in and regulated by the society as a whole. Advocates of another school of thought, known as social constructivism, focus on the social nature of ethnic identity. In their view, ethnicity is neither fixed nor entirely open. Ethnic identity is created by social interactions between individuals and groups and remains therefore beyond a person's choice, but it is subject to change if the social conditions change. Individuals and groups cannot avoid the fact that ethnic differences exist, but they determine for themselves what to make of those differences. Ethnic conflict depends thus **to a great extent** on the opportunities provided for the group to reach their goals. Violent conflict is caused mainly by social and political systems that lead to inequality and grievances and do not offer options for the peaceful expression of differences. Changes in social interactions, such as increased tensions or violent conflict, influence the socially constructed nature of ethnicity. Social constructivists explain the **tremendous atrocities** committed during ethnic conflicts – such as genocide and **ethnic cleansing** – by the fact that, **by virtue of ethnicity**, ultimately everyone becomes involved in the struggle, regardless of their intent.

A fourth view, that of psychocultural interpretations, ascribes to ethnicity deep cultural and psychological roots, which make ethnic identity **extremely persistent**. Psychocultural interpretation theory defines ethnic identity as originating in shared, deeply rooted worldviews that shape group members' relationships with others, their actions, and their motives. Ethnic identity cannot be changed, only made more tolerant and open-minded. Ethnic conflict engages central elements of each group's identity and **invokes fears and suspicion** about real and potential opponents. Ethnic conflict is thus not simply a political event but a drama that challenges the very existence of the group by contesting its identity. This explains why ethnic conflicts are very difficult to resolve.

In reality, some ethnic groups have identities with deep historical roots whereas others do not, and some groups have static identities whereas others have

dynamic identities. The concrete expression of ethnicity and its **propensity** to lead to violence and warfare depend on the context. Ethnic identities are adaptable to and activated by unexpected threats and new opportunities. Ethnicity cannot be politicized unless an underlying core of memories, experience, or meaning moves people to collective action. In light of this, Milton J. Esman in his book *Ethnic Politics* noted that ethnic identity usually “can be located on a spectrum between primordial historical continuities and (instrumental) opportunistic adaptations.”

Several factors contribute to the **salience** and intensity of ethnic identities. Indisputably, the strongest factor is war and violence. First, the history of common efforts, stories of sacrifices for a common goal, and memories of human suffering create strong connections among the members of affected ethnic groups. Similarly, if a group experiences economic, political, and cultural discrimination, group cohesion tends to increase. Second, a group’s ethnic identity is stronger if mass literacy is achieved. Literacy allows elements of identity to be stored in writing, which means that historical and cultural narratives can reach a mass audience and stay the same over time. Even if an ethnic identity **lies dormant** for some time, it can be revived. Finally, the identities of nonimmigrant groups **tend to be more pronounced** than the identities of immigrant ethnic groups. While immigrants often assimilate, nonimmigrant minorities generally **adhere to their traditions**, especially if they are easily distinguished from the rest of the society by **tangible traits** such as physical markers.⁵²

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- *What are the major causes of ethnic conflict?*
- *Bring some relevant examples of ethnic conflicts.*
- *How can we prevent ethnic conflicts?*

Structural and Political Factors

Weak or failed states often serve as an impetus for ethnic conflict. Mostly, such states are artificial products (e.g., former colonies) that were created without regard for the existing ethnic and political divisions within their borders, and their political and legal institutions tend to be ineffective. Violent conflicts are likely if changes in the economic situation of a state (e.g., cuts in foreign aid, corruption, administrative incompetence, and the inability to promote economic stability) are

⁵² <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ethnic-conflict#ref1226116>

associated with the deterioration of the political situation in the country and the mobilization of ethnic groups. Group rivalry can lead to military mobilization, which leads to the general armament of all ethnic groups within the state. That causes a security dilemma: by making efforts to provide a means with which to defend themselves, ethnic groups often threaten the security of others, whose reactions to that threat may, in turn, increase the threat level faced by the original group or groups. Violent conflicts and internal security dilemmas lead to massive human rights violations, refugee flows, and spillover effects with the potential to destabilize whole regions.

Ethnic geography – the geographic distribution and territorial concentration of ethnic groups in pluralistic states – also contributes to the likelihood of violent ethnic conflict. Ethnic conflict is particularly common in states with territorially concentrated ethnic groups located near a border or with ethnic kin in an adjacent state. Those groups show high levels of organization and increased group cohesion and are able to use shared homelands as a territorial base for their political struggle.

Ethnic conflict is particularly likely in states where ethnic groups lack sufficient representation in public and political institutions. Authoritarian one-party regimes with discriminatory legislation and a lack of opportunities for ethnic groups to participate in state decision-making processes are particularly prone to ethnic conflict. Liberal democracies that focus on the ideals of inclusion, political debate, and the attempt to reach consensus among all participants in the political process facilitate nonviolent ethnopolitical action and are thus less likely to experience rebellion or uprisings.

Exclusionary national ideologies may also serve as a source of conflict. Nationalism and, in an increased form, citizenship based on ethnic distinctions are especially dangerous because such ideologies tend to flourish in situations of political uncertainty and economic collapse. The existence, or lack of existence, of stable domestic intergroup relations can also have a bearing on whether violent ethnic conflict is likely to occur. Violent conflict is particularly probable if the claims of the various ethnic groups are incongruous, if groups have strength and are organized, if it is possible for groups to take action, if success is a feasible outcome, and if there is a tangible fear of suppression and discrimination on the basis of ethnicity.⁵³

⁵³ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ethnic-conflict/Structural-factors>

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Էթնոսը կամ էթնիկ խումբը մարդկանց այնպիսի հանրույթ է, որն ունի հետևյալ հիմնական առանձնահատկությունները.

1. ընդհանուր կենսաբանական ծագում, այսինքն՝ խմբի բոլոր անդամների պատկերացումներն այն մասին, որ իրենք սերված են ընդհանուր նախնիներից,
2. ընդհանուր պատմություն,
3. ընդհանուր տարածք, որտեղ ընթացել է տվյալ ազգի ձևավորումը, և որտեղ այժմ ընթանում է նրա կենսագործունեության գործընթացը,
4. ընդհանուր պետականություն,
5. ընդհանուր մշակութային ավանդույթներ և ինքնության զգացում:

Էթնիկ խմբերի ընդհանուր գծերից են մշակույթի և մշակութային ավանդույթների առանձնահատկությունները: Դրանցից են՝ լեզուն, կրոնը և այլն: «Էթնիկ խումբ» հասկացությունը շատ ավելի լայն է, քան «ազգ» հասկացությունը: Էթնիկ խմբեր են ցեղերը, ժողովուրդներն ու ազգերը: Ազգերը էթնիկ խմբերի առավել խոշոր ու զարգացած տեսակներն են: Յուրաքանչյուր ազգ պատմական երկարատև զարգացման արդյունք է, ընդ որում, ամեն մի էթնիկ խումբ չէ, որ հասնում է ազգի մակարդակի:

Միջէթնիկ հարաբերություններ

Միջէթնիկ հարաբերություններն առաջին հերթին էթնոսների հաղորդակցական եղանակներ են, որոնք ուղեկցվում են յուրաքանչյուր էթնիկ խմբի և նրա առանձին ներկայացուցիչների անհատական և սոցիալական հատկանիշների փոփոխությամբ: Ինստիտուցիոնալ մակարդակի հարաբերությունները ներառում են պետական-կրթական ոլորտները, պետական ինստիտուտները, միջպետական փոխհարաբերությունները: Նման փոխհարաբերությունները հաճախ անվանում են նաև միջազգային հարաբերություններ:

Ժողովուրդները հաղորդակցվում են հիմնականում պատմական հանգամանքների արդյունքում: Միջէթնիկ հարաբերությունների ուսումնասիրության մեջ կարևոր է հաշվի առնել պատմական գործոնները և հատկապես մշակութային անցյալը, ժողովուրդների հետ հաղորդակցու-

թյան փորձը: Պատմական իրադարձությունները ոչ միայն ներազգային համերաշխության կարևոր դեր ունեն, այլև միջէթնիկ հարաբերությունների լարվածության պատճառ կարող են դառնալ:

Հարաբերությունները, որոնք հիմնավորված են պատմական, աշխարհաքաղաքական տեղակայվածությամբ, ծավալվում են որոշակի ձևով և հետևաբար առանձնանում են իրենց բնույթով: Ժողովրդի հիշողությունը, որը պահպանում է բոլոր իրադարձությունները, ժողովուրդներին բաժանող խիստ կարևոր գործոններից է: Պատմական հաջորդ կարևորագույն գործոնը ժողովրդի սոցիալ-տնտեսական զարգացումն է, որը ծրագրավորվում է անցյալով: Քաղաքական գործոնները միջէթնիկ հարաբերություններում ներառում են երևույթների 3 տեսակ՝ պետական կազմավորումների ձևերն ու սկզբունքները, քաղաքական դիրքորոշման բնույթը, պետական-ազգային քաղաքականության տեսակները: Ընդհանուր առմամբ, քաղաքական ոլորտն արտահայտում է մարդկանց սոցիալական շահերը: Հետազոտողներն առանձնացնում են միջէթնիկ հարաբերությունների վրա ազդող սոցիալական հետևյալ գործոնները.

- սոցիալական և էթնիկ դիրքորոշումների փոխկապակցվածությունը,
- սոցիալական փոփոխությունների ազդեցությունը,
- սոցիալական շարժունության էթնիկ գործոնները:

Միջէթնիկ հարաբերությունների և փոխազդեցության անբաժանելի մասն է համարվում նաև մշակութային հակամարտությունների հաղթահարումը: Մշակութային տարբերակվածությունը հանգեցնում է նրան, որ փոխազդեցության մասնակիցները կարող են ամբողջությամբ չընկալել միմյանց և սեփական ուղերձը պատշաճ կերպով չփոխանցել: Որոշ տարբերություններ անպայման ակնհայտ են դառնում հատկապես այն ժամանակ, երբ դրանք բավական երկարատև են: Մշակութային հակամարտությունների հաղթահարմանն ուղղված է հետազոտողների կողմից առաջ քաշված 2 մոդել՝ առաջինը հիմնված է հակամարտության հաղթահարման փաստերի վրա, իսկ մյուսը՝ հույզերի կառավարման և կարգավորման վրա: Հակամարտության հաղթահարումը պահանջում է աշխարհայացքում մշակութային տարբերություններ, վարքի իմացություն և հարգանք:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “Equipping one side of an ethnic conflict and then prodding it to resolve its ethnic problems by force of arms is a very bad policy.” *Vladimir Putin*
- “Ethnic and religious conflicts remain the most intractable and dangerous problems in the world today.” *John Shattuck*
- “Religious conflict can be the bloodiest and cruelest conflicts that turn people into fanatics.” *William J. Brennan*
- “The Crimea is not a disputed territory. Unlike the case of Georgia and South Ossetia, there has been no ethnic conflict there.” *Vladimir Putin*

Supplementary Reading

Ethnic Cleansing

When ethnic populations are minorities in territories controlled by rival ethnic groups, they may be driven from the land or (in rare cases) systematically exterminated. By driving out the minority ethnic group, a majority group can assemble a more unified, more contiguous, and larger territory for its nation-state. This is what many ethnic Serbs did through the policy of ethnic cleansing after the breakup of Yugoslavia. Indeed, the very term ‘ethnic cleansing’ was coined in the context of the dissolution of Yugoslavia. It is a literal translation of the expression *etničko ciscenje* in Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian. The precise origin of this term is difficult to establish. Mass media reports discussed the establishment of ‘ethnically clean territories’ in Kosovo after 1981. At the time, the concept related to administrative and non-violent matters and referred mostly to the behaviour of Kosovo Albanians (Kosovars) towards the Serbian minority in the province. The term derived its current meaning during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–95). As military officers of the former Yugoslav People’s Army had a preponderant role in all these events, the conclusion could be drawn that the concept has its origin in military vocabulary. The expression ‘to clean the territory’ is directed against enemies, and it is used mostly in the final phase of combat in order to take total control of the conquered territory.

Analysis of ethnic cleansing should not be limited to the specific case of former Yugoslavia. This policy can occur and have terrible consequences in all territories with mixed populations, especially in attempts to redefine frontiers and rights over given territories. There is a new logic of conflict that relies on violent actions against the enemy’s civilian population on a large scale, rather than on war in the traditional sense, i.e. between armed forces. Examples of this logic and policy abound today (the extreme case being Rwanda in 1994). It is important to

underline that the policy of ethnic cleansing fundamentally represents a violation of human rights and international humanitarian law. Only when the means and methods of ethnic cleansing policies can be identified with genocidal acts, and when a combination of different elements implies the existence of intent to destroy a group as such, can such actions represent genocide. Ethnic cleansing lacks the precise legal definition that genocide has, although it has been widely used in General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions, documents of special rapporteurs, and the pamphlets of non-governmental organizations. Some suggest that ethnic cleansing is merely a euphemism for genocide. There would seem, however, to be a significant difference between them. The former seeks to 'cleanse' or 'purify' a territory of one ethnic group by use of terror, rape, and murder in order to convince the inhabitants to leave. The latter seeks to destroy the group, closing the borders to ensure that no one escapes. This observation should not be taken to imply that ethnic cleansing is not a barbaric international crime. It is most certainly punishable as a crime against humanity.⁵⁴

Religion and Conflict

Empirical analyses have established that the relationship between religion and conflict in general can be summed up as follows:

- *Religious differences make conflict more likely and more intense.* The more diverse a country's religious population, the more violent its domestic conflicts tend to be. Similarly, when religious issues are important in ethnic conflicts, political, economic, and cultural discrimination, and rebellion all tend to increase. Religious differences also make international wars more likely.
- *Religious issues influence the dynamics of conflicts.* When religious issues are important in an ethnic conflict, religious institutions tend to facilitate unrest; but they tend to suppress conflict when religious issues are not important. Similarly, in countries where it is more legitimate to invoke religion in political discourse, ethnic conflicts generally focus more on religious issues as opposed to other political, cultural, and economic issues. Also, religious differences between combatants and religious affinities between minorities and those likely to intervene make foreign intervention in ethnic conflicts more probable.
- *Religion shapes discrimination against ethnic minorities.* Religious and non-religious discrimination is more likely in states where it is legitimate

⁵⁴ Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 93.

to use religion in political discourse and in conflicts where religious issues are important. Religious discrimination is likely against minorities that are otherwise culturally similar to the majority group – that is, where religion is the chief differentiating characteristic between the majority and the minority. Perhaps connected, religious minorities seeking autonomy are more likely to suffer non-religious discrimination than ethnic minorities who are not distinguished by religion.

- *Autocratic regimes are more likely than non-autocratic regimes to discriminate against religious minorities.* Autocracies engage in higher average levels of discrimination against ethno-religious minorities than do democracies, but it is those regimes that are somewhere between full autocracies and full democracies (and that are known as semi-democracies), that discriminate the least. At the same time, regime track type seems not to be correlated with discrimination against ethnic minorities that are not religiously different from the majority group in their states.
- *Regimes in Muslim states are more autocratic.* One study finds that Muslim states are the most autocratic states in the world, based on a measure of the extent to which a state is a liberal democracy as well as on a separate measure of institutional democracy.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ <https://www.meforum.org/135/are-middle-east-conflicts-more-religious>

UNIT 10

WAR

Read the text and speak on

- the main categories that wars are divided into and their characteristics
- the just war theory and its implications
- the means to control war

Types of War

War, in the popular sense, is a conflict involving hostilities of considerable duration and magnitude. Wars are very diverse. Several types of war tend to arise from different situations and play different sorts of roles in bargaining over conflicts. Starting from the largest ones, wars may be divided into the following main categories.

Hegemonic war is a war over control of the entire world order – the rules of the international system as a whole, including the role of world hegemony. This class of wars (with variations in definition and conception) is also known as world war, global war, general war, or systemic war. The last hegemonic war was World War II. This kind of war probably cannot occur any longer without destroying civilization.

Total war is warfare by one state waged to conquer and occupy another. The goal is to reach the capital city and force the surrender of the government, which can then be replaced with one of the victor's choosing. Total war began with the mass destruction of the Napoleonic Wars, which introduced large-scale conscription and geared the entire French national economy toward the war effort. In total war, with the entire society mobilized for the struggle, the entire society of the enemy is considered a legitimate target.

Limited war includes military actions carried out to gain some objective short of the surrender and occupation of the enemy. For instance, the US-led war against Iraq in 1991 retook the territory of Kuwait but did not go on to Baghdad to topple Saddam Hussein's government. Many border wars have this character: after occupying the land it wants, a state may stop and defend its gains.

Raids are limited wars that consist of a single action – a bombing run or a quick incursion by land. In 1981, Israeli warplanes bombed an Iraqi nuclear research facility to stop Iraq from developing nuclear weapons. The action had a narrow objective – destruction of the facility – and was over within hours. Raids fall into the gray area between wars and non-wars because their destruction is limited and they are over quickly. Raiding that is repeated or fuels a cycle of

retaliation usually becomes a limited war or what is sometimes called “low-intensity conflict”.

Civil war refers to war between factions within a state trying to create or prevent, a new government for the entire state or some territorial part of it. The term “civil war” is used to mean a non-international armed conflict; it, therefore, covers any internal conflict, whatever the motive for the fighting. The aim may be to change the entire system of government, to merely replace the people in it, or to split a region off as a new state. The US Civil War of the 1860s is a good example of a secessionist civil war; the war in El Salvador in the 1980s is an example of a civil war for control of the entire state (not secessionist). It is often difficult to determine whether a conflict is truly internal or international, since other states may be involved to some extent. If it is indeed an international armed conflict, then an attacked state may seek the military assistance of any other state, which will then be acting in collective self-defense with it. An example of this was the Vietnam War, although, it should be said, many states regarded it as a civil war.

Guerrilla war, which includes certain kinds of civil wars, is warfare without front lines. Irregular forces operate in the midst of, and often hidden or protected by, civilian populations. The purpose is not to directly confront an enemy army but rather to harass and punish it so as to gradually limit its operation and effectively liberate territory from its control. Efforts to combat a guerrilla army – counterinsurgency – often include programs to “win the hearts and minds” of rural populations so that they stop sheltering the guerrillas.

In guerrilla war, without a fixed front line, there is much territory that neither side controls. Thus, guerrilla wars especially hurt civilians. The situation is doubly painful because conventional armies fighting guerrillas often cannot distinguish them from civilians and punish both together.⁵⁶

Just War Theory

Just war theory is a body of principles developed over centuries that attempt to delineate what justifies the initiation of armed conflict and what rules govern the subsequent conduct of fighting. The contemporary dominant strand of the concept developed from the Western, Judeo-Christian canon, but non-Western philosophies, including Hinduism and Islam, also have rich just war traditions. The main rival philosophies to just war theory are pacifism and political realism. The main tenets of just war theory have been incorporated into international law and custom and are enshrined in various key documents such as the United Nations Charter.

⁵⁶ Goldstein, J.S., Pevehouse, J.C. *International Relations*. Pearson Longman, 2012, p. 144.

The Latin phrase *jus ad bellum* (justice toward war) is generally used to describe the criteria by which a state has a legal or moral right to resort to force. In the Western tradition, six factors were necessary for the instigation of a just war. First, war could only be waged by a recognized, legitimate, sovereign political authority. Key to this principle was the notion that only the highest political actor, whether it is a sovereign or an elected or appointed body, had a legal monopoly on the use of force. Consequently, sub-state actors could not legitimately resort to force as a private initiative or venture because such actions would undermine the stability of society and the international system. Second, war should only be undertaken for the right goals. Conflicts were not to be initiated because of greed or revenge or antagonism. Instead, the ultimate goal of the use of force was to restore peace. Third, there had to be a just cause. Just cause has historically manifested itself in one of three ways: defense against attack, the reclamation of territory or property unlawfully taken, or to combat a recognized evil or danger to the international system. Fourth, war must be the last resort after all other options have been exhausted. Fifth, the destruction of war must not outweigh the potential benefits of the conflict. And finally, conflicts should be initiated only if there is a reasonable expectation that lasting peace may be achieved.

Jus in bello (justice in war) describes the rules of war once a conflict has begun and is based on two main tenets. Proportionality requires that combatants only use appropriate force to achieve their objectives and avoid gratuitous violence or destruction of property. Discrimination obliges belligerents to avoid direct attacks on civilians or other noncombatants. Instead, combatants should employ all necessary and proper steps to protect noncombatants from violence.

In the Western philosophical tradition, the roots of just war theory can be traced to disparate sources ranging from Plato's discussions of the proper conduct of soldiers and warfare in *The Republic* to passages in the Old and New Testaments that call for mercy toward enemies during war and efforts to avoid armed strife. The theologian St. Augustine is generally credited with developing the first extensive effort at just war theory, which included a prohibition against warfare based on hatred or greed, developed in works such as *Against Faustus*. Augustine also argued for the importance of legitimate authority in initiating conflict to maintain order, as well as the need to limit conflict. St. Thomas Aquinas codified what became the basis for contemporary just war theory in his work the *Summa Theologicae*, including the main tenets of *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*. Nonetheless, wars of conquest and religious conversion became common during the medieval period. Later contributors to just war theory included Hugo Grotius, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, and, in the contemporary period, political philosopher Michael Walzer, whose *Just and Unjust Wars* develops a secular form of just war

theory. Walzer discounts pacifism, but stresses the importance of ethical behavior in the conduct of war.

Under just war theory, preemptive war is acceptable only if an attack is imminent and all other efforts to resolve a conflict have been exhausted. Preemptive wars are distinct from preventive wars, which are waged to overcome a pending threat, but one that is not necessarily imminent. Preventive wars are generally held to be illegal under modern just war theory. The 2003 invasion of Iraq was criticized under the just war doctrine as a preventive war.⁵⁷

The Control of War

The international environment within which states and the people within them operate is regarded by many theorists as the major factor determining the occurrence and nature of wars. War remains possible as long as individual states seek to ensure self-preservation and promote their individual interests and – in the absence of a reliable international agency to control the actions of other states – rely on their own efforts. It is no accident that reforms of the international system figure prominently in many prescriptions for the prevention of war. Whereas the reform of human propensities or of the state is bound to be a long drawn-out affair if it is at all possible, relatively straightforward partial reforms of the international system may produce significant restraints upon resorting to war, and a thorough reform could make war impossible.

Some theorists, being more optimistic about the nature of states, concentrate upon the removal of the fear and suspicion of other states, which is characteristic of the present as well as of all historical political systems; others, being less optimistic, think mainly of possible controls and restraints upon the behavior of states. The underlying reasoning of both parties is generally similar. If individual states in competitive situations are governed by a short-term conception of their interests, acute conflicts between them will occur and will show a strong tendency to escalate. Thus, one state erects a tariff barrier to protect its industry against the competition of a trade partner, and the partner retaliates, the retaliatory interaction being repeated until the two countries find themselves in a trade war. Armament races show a similar tendency to escalate, particularly so in an age of rapid technological change. The economic and scientific efforts necessary to avoid falling behind rivals in the invention and development of rapidly improving weapons of mass destruction have already reached unprecedented heights. And yet, neither trade wars nor arms races necessarily end in violent conflict. There seem to be operating some restraining and inhibiting factors that prevent an automatic

⁵⁷ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 885.

escalation. Much of the theory of war concerns itself with the identification, improvement, and development of these restraining factors.⁵⁸

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

to involve hostilities of considerable duration and magnitude _____

to force the surrender of the government _____

to gear the entire economy toward the war effort _____

to fuel a cycle of retaliation _____

to split a region off _____

to delineate what justifies the initiation of armed conflict _____

to govern the subsequent conduct of fighting _____

to resort to force as a private initiative or venture _____

to avoid gratuitous violence _____

to be traced to disparate sources _____

to be credited with developing the first extensive effort _____

to seek to ensure self-preservation _____

relatively straightforward partial reforms _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

լայնածավալ զորակոչ _____

հասնել որոշակի նպատակի առանց հանձնվելու _____

տապալել կառավարությունը _____

ցամաքային արագ ներխուժում _____

ցածր ինտենսիվության բախում/հակամարտություն _____

անջատողական քաղաքացիական պատերազմ _____

պարտիզանական բանակի դեմ պայքարելու ջանքեր _____

⁵⁸ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/war/The-control-of-war>

դադարեցնել պարտիզաններին պատսպարելը _____
 գաղափարի գերակշռող տարր _____
 հիմնական դրույթներ _____
 տարբեր կարևոր փաստաթղթերում ամրագրված լինել _____

 ապօրինի կերպով վերցված տարածքի կամ գույքի հետպահանջ _____

 հակամարտության հնարավոր օգուտները գերազանցել _____

 խուսափել զինված բախումներից _____
 նվաճողական և կրոնական դավանափոխության պատերազմներ _____

 կանխարգելիչ պատերազմ _____
 հաղթահարել ակնկալվող սպառնալիքը _____
 մարդկային հակումներ _____
 երկարատև/ձգձգված գործ _____
 սահմանել սակագնային արգելք _____
 սպառազինությունների մրցավազք _____
 հասնել աննախադեպ մակարդակի _____
 զսպող գործոններ _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Արդար պատերազմի ավանդույթները ներառված են միջազգային իրավունքի և սովորույթների մեջ և ամրագրված են զանազան առանցքային փաստաթղթերում:

2. Ուժի կիրառման վերջնական նպատակը խաղաղությունը վերականգնելն է, ապօրինի բռնագրավված տարածքը կամ գույքը վերադարձնելը և միջազգային համակարգին ծանոթ չարիքի կամ վտանգի դեմ պայքարելը:

3. Միջազգային համաժողովն ընդգծում է էթիկական վարքագծի կարևորությունը պատերազմ վարելիս՝ կոչ անելով խուսափել անհիմն բռնությունից և ունեցվածքի ոչնչացումից:

4. Նվաճողական և պարտադրված կրոնափոխության պատերազմները սաստկանալու և աննախադեպ վերընթաց ապրելու միտում դրսևորեցին խաչակրաց արշավանքների ժամանաշրջանում:

5. Պարտիզանական պատերազմներում իրավիճակը կրկնակի ցավալի է, քանի որ առանց առաջնագծի պատերազմներում մեծապես տուժում է խաղաղ բնակչությունը:

6. Արդար պատերազմի տեսության հիմնական մրցակից գաղափարախոսություններն են պացիֆիզմը և քաղաքական ռեալիզմը, որոնք քննարկում են պատերազմ հրահրելու կամ ուժի դիմելու իրավական և բարոյական իրավունքները:

7. Որն էլ որ լինի կովի դրդապատճառը, կանխարգելիչ պատերազմն ընդունվում է միայն այն դեպքում, եթե պետությունը գտնվում է հարևանի պատճառած գոյատևման աղետի եզրին:

the conduct of war

unlawfully taken

main rival philosophies

to show strong tendency

to be enshrined (into)

to be doubly painful

to stress the importance

preemptive war

to be incorporated (into)

to be on the verge of survival disaster

gratuitous violence

to resort to force

to escalate

to restore peace

religious conversion

just war traditions

ultimate goal

ethical behavior

wars of conquest

to reclaim the territory or property

guerilla wars

key documents

legal or moral rights

to reach unprecedented heights

civilian population

whatever the motive

to urge

issues of investigation of war

warfare without front lines

crusaders

to combat a recognized evil

destruction of property

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Դաշնակից ուժերի շտաբում

Վարչապետ – Խորապես մտախոզված էմ, որ մինչև հիմա չենք ստացել բանակցությունների սեղանի շուրջ հարցը լուծելու մեր առաջարկի պատասխանը:

Արտգործնախարար – Այո՛, ենթադրում էմ, որ նրանք ավելի լավ այլընտրանք չեն տեսնում, քան ուժի դիմելը:

Գեներալ – Կարծում եմ՝ մենք պե՛տք է կոշտ, խելացի և ճշգրիտ միջոցներ ձեռնարկենք և թույլ չտա՛նք, որ իրենց տնտեսությունը ուղղորդեն պատերազմի ուղղությամբ:

Արտգործնախարար – Ի՞նչ նկատի ունես կոշտ ու ճշգրիտ միջոցներ ասելով: Վերջացրո՛ւ: Մենք արդեն քննարկել ենք դա և հանգել ենք այն որոշման, որ չե՛նք, հիշո՞ւմ ես, չե՛նք ձեռնարկելու և ոչ մի կանխարգելիչ միջոց: Հարցերի լուծումը պետք է լինի երկխոսության, այլ ոչ թե ճնշումների միջոցով:

Գեներալ – Բայց, ինչպես տեսնում ես, նրանք չե՛ն ընդունում այն ձեռքը, որն իրենց մեկնում են: Տարածաշրջանային դիվանագիտության իրենց վտանգավոր հետապնդումների մեջ նրանք «նստում են մի գնացք, որի համար տոմս չունեն» (փորձում են անել բաներ, որոնց իրավունքը չունեն): Մենք պե՛տք է այդ պետության նկատմամբ նման պահվածքի համար կիրառենք մեր վերահսկողության ու զսպման գործիքները:

Վարչապետ – Ո՛չ, ո՛չ: Մենք պետք է հաստատական լինենք նրանց երկար և լուրջ դիվանագիտական բանակցությունների մղելու հարցում: Մի՛ գայթակղվիր սխալ ուղի ընտրելով, անկախ նրանից, թե որքան հեշտ կամ արդյունավետ է այն:

Գեներալ – Ո՛հ, ես այնքան եմ ուզում հալածել ու պատժել թշնամու այդ բանակին:

Արտգործնախարար – Դա ընդամենը կլինի մի կարճ ձեռքբերում: Մոռացի՛ր: Մենք պիտի պրագմատիկ վերաբերմունք դրսևորենք, այսինքն՝ փափուկ ուժի միջոցով փարատենք նրանց կասկածները տարածաշրջանը որպես նոր պետություն պառակտելու մեր մտադրությունների վերաբերյալ՝ խուսափելով մեր համաձայնագրի իրական էությունը բացահայտելուց, նուրբ և խաղաղ ճանապարհով նրանց հասցնենք այդ գաղափարը:

pursuit of regional diplomacy

preemptive measures

to choose the wrong track

to resort to force

to operate controls and restraints

to take the hand that is being offered

to dispel doubts (about)

to apply tough, smart and precise measures

the real substance of the agreement

in a subtle and peaceful way

to be a short gain
to see no better alternative
to bring sb to the idea

to harass and punish
to be deeply concerned
to be tempted

to settle the question
to split the region off as a new state
to ride a train for which one does not have a ticket
to demonstrate a pragmatic attitude
to gear the economy (toward)
a long and earnest diplomatic push to negotiate

Task 5. Match the English nouns with their definitions.

magnitude	the act of stopping fighting and officially admitting defeat
conscription	the great size or extent of something; great importance
surrender	a risky or daring undertaking
incursion	the fact of changing one's religion or beliefs
retaliation	a principle or belief, especially one of the main principles of a religion or philosophy
tenet	an inclination or natural tendency to behave in a particular way
venture	angry or bitter disagreement over a fundamental issue
strife	the action of returning a military attack; reprisal
conversion	compulsory enlistment for state service, typically into the armed forces
propensity	an invasion or attack, especially a sudden or brief one

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>to preserve the safety</i>	<i>declaration of war</i>
<i>to initiate military hostilities</i>	<i>the executive purview</i>
<i>to hinder</i>	<i>to terminate</i>
<i>prone</i>	<i>to entail</i>
<i>to mitigate</i>	<i>to impede</i>
<i>to wage war</i>	<i>to conclude</i>

War Powers

War powers, broadly construed, refer to the authorities and responsibilities to initiate, conduct, and _____ hostilities or other military measures taken to defend and _____ of an organized political territory. They include the authority to begin or _____, the authority to mobilize resources necessary to

create wartime military forces, the authority to take measures to prevent or _____ an adversary's ability to operate, command, and conduct operations with armed forces, and the authority _____ a peace agreement that ends hostilities.

The term “war powers” is frequently used in a narrower sense, referring only to the initiation or _____ and not its conduct and termination. At other times, the term can be used in the singular, referring broadly to all measures taken by the government to ensure its self-preservation in the face of hostilities. Because they _____ risking the safety and property of its citizens for some common purpose, war powers are among the most sovereign and significant responsibilities of government. War powers have traditionally been considered an extension of a nation's foreign relations and therefore falling within _____. War powers also are, among the vast powers of government, viewed as the potentially most dangerous and _____ to abuse. The power _____ against enemies – foreign and domestic – also can be used to overthrow the existing political order for the personal gain of those wielding it. Yet these powers are necessary for modern government to provide for the security of its citizens. Restricting the government's power to wage war could _____ a nation's ability to defend itself. Seeing the power to wage war as necessary but dangerous, constitutional democracies have sought to divide war powers among the different branches of government _____ and check against their potential abuse.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

In translation language facility is not enough; blood and sweat are the secret.

Samuel Putnam

The considerable dissimilarity in the semantic structure of attributive groups in English and in Armenian gives rise to a number of translation problems. In English, unlike Armenian, a noun in the Nominative case can act as an attribute. This can be translated into Armenian with an adjective or a noun in different cases and even with a preposition phrase, e.g., *arms race* - *սպառազինությունների մրցավազք*, *an enemy army* - *թշնամի/թշնամու/թշնամական բանակ*, *Gas Protocol* – *Գազի վերաբերյալ արձանագրություն*.

The relationship between the attribute and the noun may refer not only to some property of the object but also to its location, purpose, cause, etc. Thus, it is

necessary to find out what the meaning of the group is in each particular case as the semantic elements have relative freedom. For example, *the Executive Committee* – գործադիր կոմիտե is translated word-for-word, while *the Executive resolution* – գործադիր մարմնի առաջարկած բանաձև explains the meaning of the phrase. Moreover, *the Executive majority* – ձայների մեծամասնությունը, որ տրվել է գործադիր մարմնի առաջարկած բանաձևի օգտին, is translated with a clause.

Things may become even more complicated because of “multi-storied” structures used in English:

the poll tax states governors conference – ընտրություններին մասնակցելու համար հարկ վճարող նահանգների նահանգապետների համաժողով
evening paper closure crisis – երեկոյան թերթերի փակման պատճառով ծագած ճգնաժամ

Tip

When you come across two or more nouns in the Nominative case (first form) following each other, always find the last one as it is the main word and should definitely be translated as a noun. As to the other nouns, they must be translated as nouns in different cases or even as adjectives.

Task 1. Translate the sentences into Armenian.

1. A conclusion of the talks could see over a million barrels a day of currently sanctioned Iranian oil coming to the world market, giving reprieve to an oil price rally as Western states scramble to find alternatives to Russian energy exports.

2. “The message is clear”, said Saman Vakil, a senior research fellow at London's Chatham House think tank.

3. The Turkish presidency said both countries have key roles to play in the changing security situation in Europe after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and their increased cooperation would have benefits for the region.

4. The so-called “citizenship bill” was first passed in 2003, during the Second Intifada.

5. Becky Anderson spoke to national security correspondent Kylie Atwood about the likelihood of America's Gulf Arab allies obliging the Biden administration.

6. In early February, the central bank hiked interest rates for a second time in three months in an effort to rein in rising prices, increasing pressure on homeowners with variable rate mortgages.

7. Mr. Ross called for the PM to step down earlier this year over lockdown parties in Downing Street – but withdrew that last week, saying the row should be “put on pause”.

8. The government lifted most lockdown restrictions last December, which brought an end to a night-time curfew for the first time in nearly two years.

9. One more big economic risk looms. The government has yet to implement fully the border checks that are needed as a result of Brexit, and there is considerable doubt over whether preparations are on track despite three previous delays.

10. Separately, the “Profile Transfer” option lets subscribers of any tier transfer their profile information – namely their watch history – to a new account that they would pay for.

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

War Termination

War termination is the cessation of any conflict with a minimum of one thousand battlefield casualties per year. Պատերազմի դադարեցման տարբեր

տեսություններ կենտրոնանում են պատերազմի դադարեցման տարբեր միջոցների վրա _____

_____, which range from ceasefires to comprehensive settlements. Theories of war termination seldom conceptualize or explain war termination as the obverse of war initiation for three reasons. First, in contrast to decisions to initiate or join wars, պատերազմի դադարեցումը հազվադեպ է տեղի ունենում միակողմանի գործողությունների միջոցով _____

_____. Wars are only terminated through unilateral action when one of the participants eliminates the other participant or coalition on the battlefield. Շատ դեպքերում երկու կողմերն էլ պետք է համագործակցեն պատերազմն ավարտելու համար _____

Second, the parties seldom consider the cessation of hostilities when contemplating the initiation or actually initiating hostilities. Third, war initiation and war termination պարտադիր չէ, որ ունենան նույն պատճառները _____

_____. Wars may bring about the emergence of new conflicts of interest. After a war has begun it is possible for it to widen or to incorporate issues in addition to those that sparked conflict in the first place. It is also possible that the issues over which the war was initially fought պարտադիր չէ, որ լուծվեն մինչև հակամարտության դադարեցումը _____

_____. Theories of war termination differ over how to identify whether a conflict has been ended. Some theories of war termination conceive of the cessation of hostilities as a discrete event that occurs at a specific time. Other theories of war termination conceptualize the termination of a conflict որպես գործընթաց, որը ներառում է մի շարք իրադարձություններ, որոնք տեղի են ունենում տվյալ ժամանակահատվածում _____

_____. rather than a single event. Both first-image and second-image theories of war termination take the form of two-level games. First-image theories emphasize the centrality of individual leaders' personalities and idiosyncrasies, but examine the interaction between leaders' personalities and constraints imposed by the international system. Similarly, second-image theories argue that interactions

between second-image and third-image variables are responsible for states' decisions to prolong or terminate. By contrast, neorealist theories argue որ պատերազմների շարունակումը կամ դադարեցումը պայմանավորված է անորոշությամբ _____

_____ surrounding competitors' capabilities and present (as well as future) intentions, as well as the size of participants' war aims. When the participants in a war possess expansive rather than limited war aims, պատերազմները, ամենայն հավանականությամբ, կձգձգվեն, քանի որ կողմերը միմյանց կոփտարկեն _____

_____ as implacably aggressive. When participants possess limited objectives, absent escalation or war widening, it is likely that the war will be terminated երբ կողմերից մեկը հասնի իր նպատակներին _____ . Participants' possession of limited objectives also հնարավորություն է տալիս երկու կողմերին բանակցելու կարգավորման շուրջ _____

_____ rather than prolong the conflict because reaching a bargain over a particular issue is not as injurious as acceding to the demands of an ambitious or imperialistic state. Theories deriving their content from rational choice approaches do not serve as an addition to the three different types of theories discussed above. Instead, rationalist explanations for war termination have utilized both second-image and third-image variables. For example, some scholars account for war termination through the creation of a theory that fuses rational choice and regime type, while other rationalist explanations for war termination combine theories of bargaining with neorealist emphases on power shifts. War termination may come about ուժերից մեկի ոչնչացման, հրադադարի կամ խնդրի խաղաղ, համապարփակ կարգավորման արդյունքում _____

_____ . Cease-fires are agreements to stop fighting but do not necessarily involve resolving the conflict(s) responsible for compelling states to fight, while comprehensive peace settlements փորձում են կարգավորել պատերազմի հիմքում ընկած հակամարտությունները _____

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

Asymmetric Wars

Asymmetric wars are historically armed conflicts in which one actor has significantly more power, usually a larger military or navy, which subsequently **compels** a weaker opponent **to undertake unconventional strategies** or tactics to overcome the quantitative or qualitative power deficit. Asymmetric wars were typically guerilla conflicts that emphasized the use of **insurgent attacks** to **disrupt supply lines** and weaken an enemy's morale. Small groups would use the weapons or materials at hand to attempt **to inflict the maximum political and military damage**. Consequently, asymmetric warfare involves the use of limited resources to result in attacks or impacts that are largely out of proportion to the weapons used. In contemporary military doctrine, asymmetric warfare is defined as any conflict in which an actor seeks **to exploit the weaknesses of an opponent** by concentrating resources or weapons against **vulnerabilities**.

Throughout history, people have reacted to invasion and occupation by powerful actors by engaging in **armed insurrections** and attacking outposts or by small deployments in battles in which the rebels could gain numeric equality, or even superiority. Such maneuvers came to be known as “hit-and-run” tactics. While asymmetric warfare is not synonymous with guerilla campaigns, insurgency groups typically used these tactics against occupying powers or domestic governments. After the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), nation-states gained a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, and the customs and rules of military conflict became increasingly formalized. Native Americans used asymmetric warfare against the better-armed European colonial forces, and their tactics were subsequently used by both sides during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and by the Americans during the Revolutionary War (1775– 1783). In the Napoleonic Wars (1795–1815), small units of Anglo-Spanish forces conducted raids and attacks on French posts during the Peninsula Campaign, prompting the deployment of ever-larger numbers of troops. Through the imperial era of the 1800s, colonial forces **endeavored to counter hit-and-run tactics by indigenous fighters** through superior weapons, **scorched-earth policies**, and **attrition**. During the Second Boer War (1899–1902), the Boer conventional troops were initially defeated by the British, but then launched a guerilla campaign with between twenty thousand and thirty thousand fighters, forcing the continued deployment of five hundred thousand imperial soldiers.

The national liberation conflicts of the post-World War II era were mainly asymmetric wars, pitting insurgents using guerilla tactics against better armed and trained colonial conventional forces. Through the cold war, both superpowers

supported subnational combatants in a series of **proxy wars**. During the Vietnam War (1961–1974), the U.S. military devoted considerable efforts to develop countermeasures against asymmetric tactics, with limited success. The Soviet Union likewise failed to counter an insurgency movement in Afghanistan during its occupation in the 1980s.⁵⁹

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

Text A

- *Why do countries go to war?*
- *Do you think the existence of nuclear weapons makes war less likely?*
- *How will wars be fought in the future? Will technology play a bigger role?*
- *Has the number of wars in the world increased or decreased over the past century?*
- *Do the countries need war to make progress?*
- *What should the countries do to reduce the risk of war in the future?*
- *Should the governments invest more or less money in their armed forces?*
- *How does information affect the conduct of war?*

The Causes of War

The great majority of international conflicts do not lead to war, but are resolved in other ways. The study of the causes of war is really an effort to understand the outbreak of war – the resort to violence as a means of leverage in international conflicts. But understanding the outbreak of war requires studying the underlying conflicts as well. The question of why war breaks out can be approached in different ways. Wars do not have a single or simple cause. Many theories about war have been put forward, but few have universal validity. Levels of analysis can help organize these theories.

The individual level. On the individual level of analysis, the question of why conflicts turn violent revolves around the issue of rationality. One theory holds that the use of war and other violent means of leverage in international conflicts is normal and reflects rational decisions of national leaders: that wars begin with conscious and reasoned decisions based on calculation, made by both parties, that they can achieve more by going to war than by remaining at peace. An opposite theory holds that conflicts often escalate to war because of deviations from

⁵⁹ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 99.

rationality in the individual decision-making processes of national leaders. A related theory holds that the education and mentality of whole populations of individuals determine whether conflicts become violent. Here, public nationalism or ethnic hatred may pressure leaders to solve conflicts violently.

Neither theory holds up very well. Some wars clearly reflect rational calculations of national leaders, whereas others clearly were mistakes and cannot be considered rational.

The domestic level. The domestic level of analysis draws attention to the characteristics of states or societies that may make them more or less prone to use violence in resolving conflicts. During the Cold War, Marxists frequently said that the aggressive and greedy capitalist states were prone to use violence in international conflicts, whereas Western leaders claimed that the expansionist, ideological, and totalitarian nature of communist states made them especially prone to using violence. In truth, both types of society fought wars regularly.

Likewise, rich industrialized states and poor agrarian ones both go to war. The potential for warfare seems to be universal across cultures, types of society, and time periods – although the importance and frequency of war vary greatly from case to case.

Some argue that domestic political factors shape a state's outlook on war and peace. For example, democratic peace suggests that democracies almost never fight other democracies, although both democracies and authoritarian states fight wars. Others claim that domestic political parties, interest groups, and legislatures play an important role in whether international conflicts become international wars.

Few useful generalizations can be made about which societies are more prone or less prone to war. The same society may change greatly over time. For example, Japan was prone to using violence in international conflicts before World War II but has been averse to such violence since then. If there are general principles to explain why some societies at some times are more peaceful than others and why they change, political scientists have not yet identified them.

The interstate level. The theories at the interstate level explain wars in terms of power relations among major actors in the international system. Power transition theory holds that conflicts generate large wars at times when power is relatively equally distributed and a rising power is threatening to overtake a declining hegemon. At this level, too, incompatible theories compete. Deterrence is supposed to stop wars by building up power and threatening its use. But the theory of arms races holds that wars are caused, not prevented, by such actions. No general formula has been discovered to show in what circumstances each of these principles holds true.

The global level. At the global level of analysis, a number of theories of war have been proposed. Of the several variations on the idea that major warfare in the international system is cyclical, one approach links large wars with long economic waves in the world economy. Another approach links the largest wars with a 100-year cycle based on the creation and decay of world orders. These cycle theories at best can explain only general tendencies toward war in the international system over time.⁶⁰

Post-reading discussion points

Text B

- *What is nationalism?*
- *How does nationalism cause war and conflict?*
- *How did nationalism affect the war?*
- *What are the positive and negative effects of nationalism?*
- *To what extent do nationalists promote instability and war?*

Nationalism

Many theories claim or imply that wars result ultimately from the allegiance of men to nations and from the intimate connection between the nation and a state. This link between the nation and the state is firmly established by the doctrine of national self-determination, which has become in the eyes of many the major basis of the legitimacy of states and the major factor in their establishment and breakup. It was the principle on which the political boundaries of eastern Europe and the Balkans were arranged after World War I and became the principal slogan of the anticolonial movement of the 20th century, finding expression in Chapter I, Article 1, of the Charter of the United Nations in the objective of “self-determination of peoples”. It is this intimate link between nationalism and statehood that renders them both so dangerous. The rulers of a state are ultimately governed in their behavior by what is loosely summed up as the “national interest,” which occasionally clashes directly with the national interests of other states.

The ideal of the nation-state is never fully achieved. In no historical case does one find all members of a particular nation gathered within one state’s boundaries. Conversely, many states contain sizable national minorities. This lack of full correlation has frequently given rise to dangerous tensions that can ultimately lead to war. A government inspired by nationalism may conduct a policy aiming at the assimilation of national minorities, as was the general tendency of central and eastern European governments in the interwar period; it may also attempt to reunite

⁶⁰ Goldstein, J.S., Pevehouse, J.C. *International Relations*. Pearson Longman, 2012, p. 122.

the members of the nation living outside its boundaries, as Adolf Hitler did. National groups that are not in control of a state may feel dissatisfied with its regime and claim self-determination in a separate state, as demonstrated in the attempt to carve Biafra out of Nigeria and the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan.

There is no rational basis for deciding on the extent to which the self-determination principle should be applied in allowing national minorities to break away. As a rule, the majority group violently opposes the breakaway movement. Violent conflicts can ensue and, through foreign involvement, turn into international wars. No suitable method has been found for divorcing nationalism from the state and for meeting national demands through adequate social and cultural provisions within a larger unit. Such an attempt in the Austro-Hungarian Empire before its dissolution in World War I failed. Even the Soviet Union was not permanently successful in containing its large proportion of national minorities.

Nationalism not only induces wars but, through the severity of its influence, makes compromise and acceptance of defeat more difficult. It thus tends to prolong the duration and increase the severity of wars. Possibly, however, this is the characteristic only of new, immature nationalisms, for nationalism has ceased to be a major cause of conflict and war among the nations of western Europe.

Nationalism is but one form of ideology: in all ages, people seem to develop beliefs and try to proselytize others. Even within particular ideological groups, schisms result in conflicts as violent as those between totally opposed creeds, and heretics are often regarded as more dangerous and hostile than opponents. As long as individual states can identify themselves with explosive differences in beliefs, the probability of a war between states is increased, and its intensity is likely to be greater.⁶¹

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Որպես կանոն՝ պատերազմը հետապնդում է հակառակորդին սեփական կամքի պարտադրման նպատակ: Քաղաքականության մի սուբյեկտը ուժի գործադրմամբ ազդում է մյուսի վարքի վրա, ստիպում նրան հրաժարվել ազատությունից, գաղափարների, սեփականության իրավունքից, հանձնել ռեսուրսներ՝ ցամաքային կամ ջրային տարածք և այլն: Քաղաքական ղեկավարությունից է կախված՝ արդյոք սկսել պատերազմը, ինչ ինտենսիվությամբ այն վարել, երբ և ինչ պայմաններով համաձայնել

⁶¹ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/war/Nationalism>

թշնամու հետ հաշտության: Քաղաքական դեկլարությունից է կախված դաշնակիցների ձեռքբերումը, կոալիցիաների ստեղծումը: Պետությունների ներքին քաղաքականությունը նույնպես մեծ ազդեցություն ունի պատերազմի ընթացքի վրա: Այսպես, թույլ իշխանություններն արագ հաջողությունների կարիք ունեն: Հաջողությունը պատերազմում կախված է ինչպես ներքին քաղաքականությունից, այնպես էլ ներքաղաքական դեկլարարության և ռազմական հրամանատարության միջև համաձայնությունից:

Պատերազմում նպատակին հասնելու հիմնական միջոցը կազմակերպված զինված պայքարն է: Որպես գլխավոր և վճռորոշ միջոց՝ կարևորվում են նաև տնտեսական, դիվանագիտական, գաղափարական, ինֆորմացիոն և պայքարի այլ միջոցները: Այս իմաստով պատերազմը կազմակերպված զինված բռնություն է, որի նպատակն է հասնել քաղաքական նպատակների: Տոտալ պատերազմը զինված բռնություն է, որը հասել է ծայրահեղ աստիճանի: Պատերազմի գլխավոր միջոց են զինված ուժերը (բանակ, ավիացիա և նավատորմ): Պատերազմի ընդհանուր նպատակը թշնամուն վերջնականապես ուժազրկելն է՝ մինչև վերջինս դադարի դիմադրել: Դրան կարելի է հասնել ոչ բարեկամական զինված ուժերին և պետություններին հաղթելու, իսկ երբեմն էլ գոյության համար անհրաժեշտ միջոցները նրանց համար անհասանելի դարձնելու միջոցով: Ռազմական առումով ավելի թույլ պետությունների հետ ուժեղ պետությունների ռազմական հակամարտությունները հանգեցնում են խաղաղության պարտադրման, ռազմական էքսպեդիցաների կամ նոր տարածքների զավթման: Փոքր պետություններում դրանք հանգեցնում են ներխուժման կամ ռեպրեսիաների, ներքին խմբավորումների ապստամբության, ներքին հակամարտությունների (քաղաքացիական պատերազմ):

Պատերազմների առաջացման հիմնական պատճառը քաղաքական ուժերի ձգտումն է օգտագործելու զինված ուժերը ներքին և արտաքին քաղաքական նպատակներին հասնելու համար: Ըստ իրենց մասշտաբի պատերազմները լինում են համաշխարհային և տարածաշրջանային: Կարևոր նշանակություն ունի նաև պատերազմների բաժանումը «ներքին» (internal warfare) և «արտաքին» (external warfare) տեսակների: Պատերազմները դասակարգվում են նաև որպես «արդարացի» և «անարդար»:

- *Արդարացի* են ազատագրական՝ անհատական կամ կոալիցիոն պատերազմները, որոնք համապատասխանում են ՄԱԿ-ի կանոնադրության հոդված 51-ին կամ ազգային-ազատագրական պատերազմները՝ ուղղված ինքնորոշման իրավունքի իրականացման սահմանափակման դեմ:
- *Անարդարացի* է «նվաճողական» կամ անօրինական ագրեսիան: Միջազգային իրավունքով բռնությունը որակվում է որպես միջազգային հանցագործություն: 1990-ական թվականներին հայտնվեց հումանիտար պատերազմ հասկացությունը, որը համարվում է բռնություն հանուն բարձրագույն նպատակի՝ էթնիկ գտման կանխում կամ խաղաղ բնակչությանը հումանիտար օգնություն:

Հիբրիդային պատերազմ

Հիբրիդային պատերազմը (hybrid warfare) ԱՄՆ-ում 20-րդ դարի վերջում ի հայտ եկած հասկացություն է այն պատերազմական ռազմավարության համար, որն իր մեջ որպես մի ամբողջություն ընդգրկում է ավանդական պատերազմը, փոքր պատերազմը և կիբերպատերազմը: Բացի այդ, «հիբրիդային պատերազմ» բառակապակցությունն օգտագործվում է միջուկային, կենսաբանական և քիմիական զենքերի, ինքնաշեն պայթուցիկ նյութերի ու սարքերի և տեղեկատվական պատերազմի միջոցների կիրառմամբ գործողությունների ամբողջությունը նշելու համար:

Արևմտյան տարածված սահմանումներից մեկի համաձայն՝ «հիբրիդային պատերազմը բացահայտ և քողարկված պատերազմական գործողությունների, սադրանքների և դիվերսիաների համակցությունն է, որը զուգորդվում է սեփական մասնակցության ժխտմամբ, ինչը զգալիորեն դժվարացնում է հիբրիդային ռազմական գործողություններին լիարժեք պատասխան տալը»: Մեկ այլ մոտեցման համաձայն՝ հիբրիդային պատերազմ է (կամ հիբրիդային ռազմական գործողություններ) բացահայտ և քողարկված, կանոնավոր և անկանոն, համաչափ (սիմետրիկ) և անհամաչափ (ասիմետրիկ), ռազմական և ոչ ռազմական գործողությունների այնպիսի ճկուն հիբրիդային խառնուրդը, որն օգտագործվում է հակամարտությունն իրականացնելու համար, ընդ որում՝ երկու պետությունների միջև պատերազմի և խաղաղության շեմի խախտումը քողարկելով միջազգային իրավունքի սկզբունքներին համաձայն:

Եվրոպական որոշ մասնագետների կարծիքով՝ հիբրիդային պատերազմը թշնամական գործողությունների մի տեսակ է, որի դեպքում հարձակվող կողմը չի դիմում դասական ներխուժման, այլ իր հետ հակամարտության մեջ գտնվող կողմին ոչնչացնում է՝ համակցելով քայքայիչ գործողություններ, սաբոտաժ, կիբերպատերազմ, ինչպես նաև հակառակորդի տարածքում գործող ապստամբներին ցուցաբերվող աջակցություն:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “If you win, you need not have to explain... If you lose, you should not be there to explain!” *Adolf Hitler*
- “Wars are poor chisels for carving out peaceful tomorrows.” *Martin Luther King Jr.*
- “You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word. It is victory, victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory, however long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival.” *Winston Churchill*
- “Mankind must put an end to war - or war will put an end to mankind.” *John F. Kennedy*
- “Military men are just dumb, stupid animals to be used as pawns in foreign policy.” *Henry Kissinger*

Supplementary Reading

War Crimes

War crimes can be defined as violations of the laws and customs of war entailing individual criminal responsibility directly under international law. From the start of warfare to the advent of contemporary humanitarian law, more than 500 cartels, codes of conduct, covenants, and other texts to regulate hostilities have been recorded. Wars in the nineteenth century encouraged international attempts to address their horrific consequences. In 1863 an international committee for the relief of military wounded – renamed the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1876 – was established. Also, in 1863, the Lieber Code, the first attempt to codify the existing laws and customs of war, came into force. The following year, the 1864 Geneva Convention aimed to protect wounded and sick soldiers on land during war, and four years later the 1868 Saint Petersburg Declaration prohibited the wartime use of certain projectiles declared contrary to the laws of humanity. The momentum of international conventions against war crimes continued into the early twentieth century. The 1899 Laws and Customs of War on

Land (Hague II) and 1907 Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague IV) made reference to laws of humanity. A Geneva Convention in 1906 also aimed to protect wounded, sick, and shipwrecked military personnel at sea during war. After World War I, the Treaty of Versailles accused William II of Hohenzollern, the former German emperor, of a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties. However, William II was not put on trial as he had gone into exile in the Netherlands. The treaty referred to prosecuting those accused of violating the laws and customs of war. In 1921 some Germans were tried in Leipzig, Germany, on charges that included the poor treatment of war prisoners. The 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibited the use of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and bacteriological weapons, and the 1929 Geneva Convention protected war prisoners as well as strengthening protections for medical personnel in wartime. During Italy's conquest of Abyssinia (1935–1936), the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), and Asian conflicts, the ICRC attempted to help victims.

At the end of World War II (1939–1945), the problem of crimes committed during the war was addressed by an international military tribunal established by France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The tribunal defined war crimes as violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations included murder, ill-treatment, or deportation of the civilian population of an occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, and wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages when such devastation was not justified by military necessity. Trials were conducted in Nuremberg, Germany, from 1945 to 1946, in which sixteen Nazi leaders were found guilty of war crimes. The proceedings of the separate international military tribunal for the Far East were held in Tokyo from 1946 to 1948, wherein twenty-five Japanese war criminals were found guilty of at least one charge (such as conspiring to wage war, waging war, atrocities, and breaching laws of war). Adolf Eichmann, who headed the office administering the extermination of European Jews and other “undesirables,” was not captured until 1960. The following year he was tried in Israel and found guilty of charges that included war crimes, for which he was executed in 1962. All of these trials set the stage for a more permanent International Criminal Court. Meanwhile, the international community saw the aftermath of World War II as a time to revise the Geneva Conventions. The first 1949 Geneva Convention protects wounded and sick soldiers on land during war. The second convention protects wounded, sick, and shipwrecked military personnel at sea during war. War prisoners and conditions of captivity are covered by the third convention, while the fourth convention protects civilians, including those in occupied territory. This marked a change from earlier conventions, which had focused on combatants.

Article 3 in the conventions covers non-international armed conflicts such as civil wars.⁶²

Wars of the Third Kind

Most armed conflicts are neither nuclear nor mechanized conventional wars between states. Instead, they fall into a very broad category which Edward Rice first identified as ‘wars of the third kind’. Such wars are usually fought in what used to be called the Third World and rely heavily, although not exclusively, on guerrilla warfare. The concept is more accurate than the term ‘low-intensity conflicts’, which sanitizes what can be extremely intense armed conflicts. They are often neither exclusively interstate conflicts nor confined within existing territorial boundaries. In each year of the 1980s and 1990s, there were between 30 and 40 wars of the third kind in progress. Until the break-up of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1990s, virtually all of them occurred in developing countries, typically between governments and opponents aspiring to take control over the state or to achieve some degree of territorial autonomy.

There are two broad types of such wars. First, there are ideological struggles, where usually two competing military forces are linked to civilian populations through a shared political commitment, such as in the liberation wars of Eritrea and Nicaragua. The second type are more fragmented conflicts, where violence becomes decentralized and its political economy extractive and exploitative (e.g. in Somalia, Liberia, and the Congo). The two types are not mutually exclusive, since, during the course of a relatively structured ideological struggle, political factionalization may cause fragmentation; equally, it cannot be assumed that the factions in such conflicts lack an ideological base. Once started, wars of the third kind are very difficult to bring to a definitive end, whether by decisive military victory or by diplomatic and political negotiation. Weapons are easily available. The state is usually fragmented. Sections of the population, especially the young, are alienated from existing systems, and rival groups easily and quickly become polarized.

There is no general theory of conflict applicable to wars of the third kind. Their roots cannot typically be found in one set of issues or attributed to one particular event. Every war has its own historical setting interacting with internal and external factors in a unique configuration. In the growing literature on these wars, some common causes or factors can be identified:

- The colonial legacy. Colonial states were typically imposed by force, with few roots among the indigenous people of colonized regions. In this

⁶² Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1751.

process, colonial authorities commonly resorted to violence to compel compliance with their rule. Today's post-independence states are often external structures forcibly imposed from above. They have inherited colonial instruments of violence and used them to subjugate their populations.

- **Ethnicity and religion.** Conflicts between ethnic groups have proliferated in recent years. While ethnic identity has been emphasized as a crucial tenet in wars of the third kind, many of these ethnic conflicts have their roots in the history of colonial state formation. By categorizing social classes along ethnic lines and deeming some groups deserving of preferential treatment, colonial authorities facilitated the structuring of relationships between dominant and subordinate ethnic groups. This laid the foundation for long-term hatred among the groups disadvantaged by such political arrangements. Rwanda is a classic example.
- **Uneven development.** Within many developing countries there may be an uneven and unequal geographical spread of economic activity, modernization, and receptivity to change.
- **Poverty.** Poverty can be both a cause and effect of wars of the third kind. Governments with violent tendencies as well as their opponents can recruit supporters and operatives whose lowest common denominator is socio-economic opportunism and desire for economic gain.
- **Poor leadership.** Many poorer states lack competent leaders. Some have conducted themselves as tribal chieftains with a belief in violence as a legitimate instrument of policy. For their political survival, they have depended on the support of military and paramilitary agencies.
- **Foreign intervention.** The speed of decolonization has left many developing countries with dependent economies based on the production of primary products and the import of manufactured goods. Poor commodity prices and large debt burdens have exacerbated wars of the third kind. More directly, foreign states have often intervened directly by supplying arms. This was particularly the case during the cold war, when conflicts in Angola, Afghanistan, and El Salvador were prolonged by the intervention of the superpowers and their support for different factions.
- **Militarism.** This means much more than the presence of the military. It refers to the dominating influence of military values, ideology, and patterns of behaviour over the political, social, economic, and foreign affairs of the state.

- The state and political development. Many poorer states remain weak not only in an economic sense, but also in terms of their internal coherence, popular legitimacy of rulers, and the development of a sense of citizenship that is shared by the vast majority of the population.

Many observers argue that wars of the third kind will continue to be the dominant form of armed conflict in the next century. Unless they threaten to spill over into the perceived sphere of influence of a great power, or take place in an area of strategic importance to more powerful states, they are unlikely to attract the sustained diplomatic efforts of the international community. Tragically, there remains a large gap between the academic interest in understanding new forms of armed conflict and policymakers' interest in responding to them.⁶³

Limits on the Methods and Means of War

Weapons

Article 22 of the Regulations Annexed to the Hague Convention of 1907 provides that "the right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited." This particular principle underpins much of the law in this area, and there are many examples of it. Article 23 of the same treaty, for instance, prohibits certain activities such as the employment of poison or poisoned weapons, killing or injuring enemy combatants treacherously, attacking those who have surrendered, or declaring that no quarter will be given. It also prohibits the employment of arms, projectiles, or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering. One reason for this approach, as stated in the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868, is that "the only legitimate object which states should endeavor to accomplish during war is to weaken the military forces of the enemy."

This principle explains, to some extent, the prohibition on the use of certain weapons. Hence, the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons was banned by the 1925 Geneva Protocol. By the Bacteriological Weapons Convention of 1972, states party to it agreed never in any circumstances to develop, produce, stockpile, retain, or acquire bacteriological or biological weapons or toxins. If a ban on chemical weapons came about, it would likely take the same form.

The use of nuclear weapons against enemy combatants is not subject to any express prohibitions. A number of international lawyers, however, take the view that their use is implicitly prohibited by the principles stated above, because radiation effects can be considered not only a form of poison but also a weapon calculated to cause unnecessary suffering. The General Assembly of the

⁶³ Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 326.

United Nations condemned their use in Resolution 1653 of 1961, but the value of this resolution is considerably weakened by the fact that, of the nuclear-weapon states, only the Soviet Union voted for it. In 1983, a Japanese court held that the use of atomic weapons against Nagasaki and Hiroshima was contrary to international law, not merely because of the type of weapon used but because bombardment, by any means, of the civilian population of those two cities was contrary to the Hague Convention of 1907.

Like nuclear weapons, incendiary weapons are not specifically banned unless used against the civilian population. It might be argued, however, that their use against enemy combatants (as opposed to military equipment) would infringe the 1925 Geneva Gas Protocol, since they could come within the prescription of “all analogous liquids, materials, or devices.”

The Vietnam War illustrated the dangers that modern weapons can cause to the environment. The use in that conflict of chemical herbicides and other methods of de-forestation, along with attempts to alter weather patterns, called the attention of the world to such activities. The result was the 1977 United Nations convention on environmental modification, which requires states not to engage in military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques having widespread, long-lasting, or severe effects. The first Protocol of 1977 also prohibits the employment of methods or means of warfare that are intended, or may be expected, to cause widespread, long-term, and severe damage to the natural environment. States are specifically directed by this protocol to consider whether any new weapons that they might develop would infringe any rules of international law.

Civilians

According to customary international law, only members of the armed forces of a party to a conflict can take part in hostilities, and the law has always attempted to draw a clear distinction between the lawful combatant, who may be attacked, and the civilian, who may not.

One of the Fundamental Rules of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, which were prepared by the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1978, requires parties to a conflict to distinguish at all times “between the civilian population and combatants in order to spare civilian population and property. Neither the civilian population as such nor civilian persons shall be the object of attack. Attacks shall be directed solely against military objectives.” The 1981 Conventional Weapons Convention specifically prohibits the use of mines, booby traps, and other similar devices and incendiary weapons directed against the civilian population or used indiscriminately, and the first Protocol of 1977 imposes very detailed target restraints in order to protect civilians. For example, aerial bombardment engaged in for the sole purpose of terrorizing the civilian population

is prohibited, and the use of aircraft to carry out such a role would therefore be illegal. Merchant ships may in limited circumstances be attacked, but they may not be sunk by a submarine without its first having placed passengers, crew, and ship's papers in a place of safety.

Neutrals

The fifth Hague Convention of 1907 declares that the territory of neutral powers is inviolable and that a neutral state has a duty to prevent a belligerent state from carrying the conflict to its territory. In particular, troops belonging to the army of a belligerent state who enter the territory of a neutral must be interned. Also, a neutral must act evenhandedly to all belligerent states; for this reason, the United Kingdom declared its neutrality in the war between Iran and Iraq (1980–88), refusing to sell either side military equipment that would have significantly enhanced its capability to prolong the conflict.

Neutral shipping may be stopped on the high seas (as occurred in the Iran-Iraq War when a British merchant vessel was stopped by an Iranian warship) to check on the carriage of contraband. In naval warfare, the 13th Hague Convention of 1907 bans belligerents from conducting military operations in the territorial waters of a neutral state, and neutrals themselves have duties imposed on them not to assist the warships of belligerent states.

Prohibited Areas of Combat

Military activities of any kind cannot be carried out on the Moon (the Moon Treaty of 1979), Antarctica (the Antarctic Treaty of 1959), or on the territory (including the airspace) or territorial waters of neutral states. In addition, nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction cannot be orbited around the Earth (the Outer Space Treaty of 1967) or placed on the seabed (the Seabed Treaty of 1971).

Prisoners of War

The third Geneva Convention of 1949 provides the basic framework of protection accorded to a prisoner of war. He is protected from the moment he falls into the power of an enemy until his final release and repatriation. No form of coercion may be inflicted on him to secure information of any kind; he need only give his name, rank, date of birth, and serial number. When an Argentine army officer captured by British forces during the Falklands conflict was alleged to have been responsible for the disappearance of French and Swedish nationals in Argentina prior to the conflict, he could not be compelled to disclose information on the subject and was released.

A prisoner of war is entitled to decent and humane treatment, to be evacuated from the combat zone, and to be granted rights and duties as similar as possible to those of the armed forces of the detaining power. No reprisals may be taken against

prisoners of war; they may not be treated in a way contrary to the Convention even though an enemy state treats its prisoners of war in such a way. Officers may not be compelled to work, and other ranks may not be compelled to do dangerous or unhealthy work. Article 52 of the third Convention of 1949 goes on to provide that the removal of mines or similar devices shall be considered dangerous labor.

In order to ensure that prisoners of war are accorded the treatment laid down in the Conventions, states must ensure that a protecting power is appointed to act on their behalf. A protecting power is a neutral state acceptable to the state that holds prisoners of war. There were no protecting powers appointed during the Vietnam War or the Iran–Iraq War, but in the Falklands conflict Switzerland acted for the United Kingdom and Brazil for Argentina. A state may allow the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to act as a substitute protecting power. The ICRC has, in addition, a right to visit prisoner-of-war camps.

Protecting powers (or the ICRC) must be kept informed if a prisoner of war is to be tried (rather than being given disciplinary punishment) for an offense, in order, for instance, that the protecting power might find the accused a lawyer. If the death penalty is imposed, it cannot be carried out for at least six months after the judgment and after sentence has been communicated to the protecting power. A prisoner of war may be tried for an offense committed prior to capture (such as a war crime), but he is entitled to retain his status as a prisoner of war even if convicted.

The use of weapons against prisoners of war attempting to escape constitutes an extreme measure and is to be preceded by warnings. The detaining power must hold an inquiry into the death of a prisoner of war and notify the protecting power. Such an incident occurred in the Falklands conflict, when a British soldier shot and killed an Argentine prisoner of war whom he believed was attempting to escape. The resultant inquiry exonerated the soldier, and a report was passed to the ICRC.

At the conclusion of hostilities prisoners of war are to be repatriated. Problems occurred at the conclusion of the Korean War when a number of North Koreans did not wish to return. A repatriation commission was established in 1953, and remaining prisoners of war were transferred to it. It has become more common to repatriate able-bodied prisoners of war before the end of hostilities. To a limited extent, this occurred in the Iran–Iraq War, but it was a major feature of the Falklands conflict.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/law-of-war/Limits-on-the-methods-and-means-of-war>

UNIT 11

ASYMMETRIC WARFARE AND TERRORISM

Read the text and speak on

- characteristics and examples of asymmetric warfare
- tactics used by guerilla fighters
- the concept of terrorism
- the potential victims of terrorism
- the terms “religious terrorism” and “international terrorism”
- the cause and effect of terrorism

Asymmetric warfare is defined as unconventional strategies and tactics adopted by a force when the military capabilities of belligerent powers are not simply unequal but are so significantly different that they cannot make the same sorts of attacks on each other. Guerrilla warfare, occurring between lightly armed partisans and a conventional army, is an example of asymmetric warfare. Terrorist tactics, such as hijackings and suicide bombings, are also considered to be asymmetric, both because they tend to involve a smaller, weaker group attacking a stronger one and also because attacks on civilians are by definition one-way warfare. War between a country that is both able and willing to use nuclear weapons and a country that is not would be another example of asymmetric warfare.

Guerrilla Warfare

The value of asymmetrical tactics can be seen most clearly in guerrilla warfare – indeed, *guerrilla* means “little war” in Spanish. Guerrilla fighters are generally fewer in number and possess fewer and less-powerful weapons than the opposing force. Guerrilla tactics include ambush, avoiding open battle, cutting communication lines, and generally harassing the enemy. Guerrilla warfare has been practiced throughout history, and it includes both military operations carried out against the rear of an enemy’s army and operations carried out by a local population against an occupying force. The aim of the guerrilla fighter is erosion of the enemy’s will to sustain the costs of continuing the war. Although usually exercising a smaller force, guerrilla fighters, especially in urban areas, can be formidable adversaries to a conventional military. Guerrilla fighters typically do not inhabit large, well-established bases, making it impossible for their enemy to exploit technological advantages such as aerial bombardment to destroy personnel and infrastructure. If the guerrillas are in an urban area, their opponents cannot use

powerful conventional weapons unless they are willing to inflict large numbers of civilian casualties and risk increasing popular support for the guerrillas. Small guerrilla or insurgent groups also tend to be less hierarchical, meaning that a force cannot be neutralized by the capture or death of a handful of leaders.⁶⁵

Terrorism

Terrorism involves calculated outrage. It represents the power to hurt in its purest form, to use the classic description of Nobel laureate Thomas Schelling. The concept refers generally to the use or threat of violence to achieve political ends, but terrorism is meant not simply to destroy. It also communicates a message to a watching audience through the shock value of its transmission. The individual victims and physical targets of terrorism are representatives or symbols of larger collectivities – states, nations, communities, social classes, or other categories. The victims are usually defenseless and caught by surprise. They may be ordinary people in public places – shopping at a market, eating in a restaurant, riding a bus, or attending religious services – or they may be national or local leaders singled out for assassination by virtue of their positions. Harming the victims warns all who can see themselves in the victims' place. Most victims of terrorism are civilians, although the line between combatants and noncombatants is often blurry, especially in intense civil conflicts. Potential victims may know that they are at risk because of the community of people they belong to or the entity they represent, but they cannot know when or where the attack will occur or who the perpetrator will be. The type of violence employed is deliberately shocking. Since the invention of dynamite in the late 19th century, terrorists have relied heavily on explosive devices, which have ranged from crude, short-range bombs to airplanes flown into buildings in the 9/11 attacks. In the 1980s, the practice of suicide bombing, and thus suicide terrorism, developed as governments became more adept at preventing terrorists from leaving bombs in public places. Nevertheless, the bombing of Pan Am 103 in 1988 and the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, the deadliest attacks against U.S. citizens before 9/11, involved bombs placed in an airplane luggage compartment or left in a vehicle. Bombings are shocking because of their indiscriminate nature and because of the horrible carnage and dramatic visual effects they produce. Bombs have the potential to cause massive casualties, and many experts fear that terrorism could become catastrophic should its users obtain nuclear, chemical, biological, or radiological materials to explode or disperse. Terrorism can also involve seizing hostages in order to bargain with governments. In the late 1960s skyjacking, kidnapping diplomats, business executives, and

⁶⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/asymmetrical-warfare>

reporters, and taking over public buildings such as embassies became almost commonplace.

Terrorism is usually associated with nonstate actors – small groups who oppose the authority of the state. It is classically referred to as a “weapon of the weak”, for those who lack the military forces or supporters to compel their adversaries to comply with their wishes. However, not everyone would exclude states as actors, and states have intervened directly through their own agents (e.g., Libya and Pan Am 103) or have assisted proxies (e.g., Iran and Hezbollah in Lebanon). Whether instigated by non-states or states, the organization of terrorism is clandestine. The perpetrators conceal themselves and try to remain anonymous. The secrecy of the planning contrasts sharply with the spectacular resulting violence. Most terrorism is domestic, involving perpetrators, victims, and targets from the same country. Its users can include revolutionaries struggling to overthrow governments, nationalists, or ethnic minorities who want independence or secession, single-issue groups, or right-wing defenders of the status quo.

In the 1980s, the term religious terrorism gained prominence in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution and the establishment of Hezbollah in Lebanon. With the emergence of al-Qaida and associated jihadist movements during the Soviet Union’s occupation of Afghanistan, religious terrorism came to be associated with Sunni Islam, although there have been violent offshoots of all major religions. The desire to replace a secular regime with a religious one may be a variant of the same revolutionary drive that leads the followers of political ideologies to want to create a new constitutional order along the lines of principles they see as just.

International terrorism was recognized as a distinct type of terrorism in the 1970s. Victims, targets, and perpetrators were of different nationalities, or the act was committed outside the boundaries of the territory in dispute. The attack at the 1972 Munich Olympics, when the Palestinian Black September organization assaulted Israeli athletes in Germany, represents this type of terrorism. In the 1970s and 1980s, Western governments, particularly that of the United States, were often targeted abroad through hijackings and kidnappings. Thus, for many years, the U.S. Department of State and the Rand Corporation tracked incidents of international, not domestic, terrorism.⁶⁶

Causes of Terrorism

The causes of terrorism lie at the individual, group, and environmental levels. Most students of terrorism would agree that a group or organization is the key agent behind campaigns of terrorism. The idea that there are specific personality

⁶⁶ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1652.

traits that determine or even predict an individual's propensity to engage in terrorism has largely been abandoned, along with the proposition that there is a terrorist psychopathology. Most "terrorists", even suicide terrorists who regard themselves as martyrs to a cause, seem to be distressingly normal. Instead, attention focuses on the social psychology of group dynamics. Identification with the group and the cause, the cohesiveness produced by danger and stress, conformity and peer pressure, and the small size of most groups influence individual and group behavior. Through belonging to the group, individuals overcome moral inhibitions against violence. Over time, groups may come to exist primarily in order to maintain themselves, rather than to accomplish a remote and elusive political objective. It is extremely difficult to link terrorism directly to environmental conditions such as poverty, lack of democracy, or the pressures and frustrations associated with globalization. For one thing, those who engage in terrorism are few, while those who experience such conditions are many. In addition, the evidence is contradictory. Repression of nonviolent political dissent would logically cause terrorism, but democracies may attract terrorism because they do not exercise the level of social surveillance that would prohibit the formation of conspiracies, are target-rich, and have a high media presence that guarantees publicity. Democracies provide opportunity, while repressive regimes provide motivation. In terms of links between economic conditions and terrorism, most members of terrorist organizations, especially the leaders, are not from the most disadvantaged sectors of their societies, although they often claim to act in the name of the dispossessed and may be genuinely committed to them. A focus on groups as the primary unit of analysis usually assumes that terrorist organizations interact strategically with friends and adversaries. For groups seeking political change, the government is typically their main opponent, but they also engage in rivalries with other like-minded groups and hostilities with opposing groups (e.g., for revolutionary groups, paramilitaries supporting the government). They also seek popular support for their cause. Thus, terrorism is a deliberate means to an end. It may intend to provoke a government into overreacting, coerce it into agreeing to concessions, arouse popular enthusiasm and demonstrate power, "spoil" peace processes, or simply attract international attention to local grievances that would otherwise be ignored. Terrorism does not require much in the way of material resources, nor does it necessitate the mobilization of large numbers of people, so it is a relatively economical choice. It may also be a way groups operating in a competitive environment distinguish themselves from their rivals.

Concentrating on the group raises questions about the possibility of establishing a typology of terrorist organizations. Most typologies classify groups in terms of their ideological orientation: left-wing, right-wing, nationalist,

religious, or mixed. Overlapping categories muddy distinctions. The Palestinian Hamas, for example, could be defined as both nationalist and religious. It is also difficult to say which other traits or characteristics might be correlated with differences among goals. Religious terrorism may be more lethal and more indiscriminate than secular terrorism. Apocalyptic ends may encourage disdain for the number of casualties or degree of precision in targeting because pleasing an earthly constituency is perhaps irrelevant. After the 9/11 attacks, some claimed that terrorism had been radically and fundamentally changed, that a new terrorism replaced the terrorism of the past. The so-called old terrorists, such as the Irish Republican Army, were presumed to be rational calculators with whom governments could bargain, whereas the new religious terrorists, such as al-Qaida, sought only destruction. But secular terrorists may not necessarily be more reasonable or casualty averse. Another dimension to consider is the structure of the organization, in particular, whether it is hierarchical or flatly networked. The development of al-Qaida after 9/11 may indicate that the classical centralized-cell structures of underground movements have been replaced by decentralized, even disconnected, and diffuse networks composed largely of local volunteers. The bombings in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005 by small groups who appeared to be al-Qaida sympathizers may indicate such a development. If this is the case, individual motivations may become more important to terrorism, and studies of radicalization and deradicalization processes, especially in Western European Muslim diasporas, are critical. However, many groups, such as Hezbollah and Hamas, remain centralized and hierarchical with social service wings. Such welfare activities are most often associated with religiously oriented groups. A certain paradox emerges: Religious groups may be the most lethal to their adversaries and the most humanitarian to their constituents.⁶⁷

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

the rear of an enemy's army _____
erosion of the enemy's will _____
to sustain the costs of continuing the war _____
to involve calculated outrage _____
by virtue of the positions _____
indiscriminate nature _____
to comply with the wishes _____

⁶⁷ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1653

to be instigated by non-states or states _____
violent offshoots _____
conformity and peer pressure _____
social surveillance _____
to prohibit the formation of conspiracies _____
to engage in rivalries _____
to provoke a government into overreacting _____
to muddy distinctions _____
pleasing an earthly constituency _____
to be casualty averse _____
to be flatly networked _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

առևանգումներ և մահապարտների ահաբեկչություններ _____

հետապնդել թշնամուն _____
հզոր, ահարկու հակառակորդներ _____
օգտագործել տեխնոլոգիական առավելությունները _____

օդային ուժակոծություն _____
պատճառել մեծ թվով քաղաքացիական զոհեր _____

սարսափելի կոտորած _____
պատանդ վերցնել _____
հեղինակություն ձեռք բերել _____
հետևել միջադեպերին _____
կանխատեսել անհատի հակվածությունը _____
հաղթահարել բարոյական արգելքները _____
իրականացնել հեռահար ու խուսափողական քաղաքական խնդիր _____

զլոբալացման հետ կապված ճնշումներ ու հիասթափություններ _____

ոչ բռնի քաղաքական այլախոհության ճնշում _____
գործել ունեզրկվածների անունից _____
ստիպել համաձայնվել զիջումների _____

խրախուսել արհամարհանքը _____
կենտրոնացված ցանցային կառուցվածքներ _____
կրոնական ուղղվածություն ունեցող խմբեր _____
հակառակորդների համար մահացու լինել _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Ահաբեկիչների զոհերը սովորաբար անպաշտպան են և անակնկալի են բերվում: Քաղաքացիական բնակչության շրջանում մեծ թվով զոհեր տալը նպատակաուղղված է հակառակորդի կամքի քայքայմանը:

2. Պետական և կուսակցական ղեկավարներին սպանության համար ընտրում-առանձնացնում են՝ ելնելով նրանց պաշտոնից, որպեսզի հասարակ մարդկանց շրջանում սարսափ տարածեն կամ որոշակի ուղերձ հաղորդեն:

3. Մահապարտ-ահաբեկչության պրակտիկան, որն արդյունքում բռնության մի ահագոյու դրսևորում է, ցնցող ազդեցություն ունի իր ոչ կանխամտածված բնույթի պատճառով:

4. Երբեմն ինչ-ինչ հեռավոր կամ պատրանքային քաղաքական նպատակներ իրագործելու համար մահապարտ-ահաբեկիչներն իրենց համարում են մեծ գործի նահատակներ:

5. Կրոնական ահաբեկչությունը, որը գրեթե սովորական է դարձել արևելյան որոշ երկրներում, փորձում է աշխարհիկ ռեժիմը փոխարինել կրոնականով:

6. Ահաբեկչական հարձակումներն այն ժողովրդավարական երկրների վրա, որոնք գործարկում են սոցիալական վերահսկողության բարձր մակարդակ և վայելում են լրատվամիջոցների բարձր ներկայություն, միջոց են կառավարություններին դրդելու արտակարգ միջոցներ ձեռնարկել կամ՝ դրանց մղելու ահաբեկիչների քաղաքական պահանջներն ու ցանկությունները կատարելուն:

7. Ուժով իրականացվող ոչ ավանդական ռազմավարություններն ու մարտավարությունները, որոնք կառավարությունը չի կարողանում չեզոքացնել իր մի քանի ղեկավարների գերեվարման կամ մահ պատճառելու միջոցով, քանզի կազմակերպությունն ունի հորիզոնական կառուցվածք, ուղղված են տեղական դժգոհությունները փարատելուն և երկրով մեկ ստեղծված հուսահատ քաղաքական իրավիճակը շտկելուն:

to be singled out
secular regime
by virtue of position
to implement by force

spectacular violence
martyrs of the cause

a handful of leaders
to be caught by surprise
to neutralize
erosion of the enemy's will
to be defenseless
to seek to replace
assassination
to enjoy high media presence

to become almost commonplace
inflicting large numbers of civilian casualties
to exercise high levels of social surveillance
to accomplish remote or illusive political objectives
unconventional strategies and tactics
to provoke sb into overacting and complying (with)
indiscriminate nature
desperate political situation
to meet the local grievances
to communicate a certain message
to be targeted
horizontal structure
the practice of suicide bombing

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Երեխաները ահաբեկչության մասին

Անհտա (10 տարեկան) – Ահաբեկչությունն ունի հաշվարկված գայ-րույթ, կատաղություն, որովհետև ահաբեկիչները դարանակալում ու հե-տապնդում են մարդկանց:

Ղերեկ (12 տարեկան) – Աղքատ երկրներում վտանգ կա, որ ահաբե-կիչները աճող ժողովրդականություն կսկսեն վայելել: Չէ՞ որ սոված մար-դու համար միևնույնն է, թե իրեն ով կշահագործի՝ իշխանությունը, թե ինչ-որ հրացանով զինյալ:

Էնդի (13 տարեկան) – Ասում են՝ ահաբեկչությունը «թույլերի զենքն է»: Բայց մահապարտները թույլ մարդիկ չեն: Նրանք շատ ուժեղ են իրենց համոզմունքներում:

Թրեյսի (15 տարեկան) – Ահաբեկչության կազմակերպումը գաղտնի է, իսկ հանցագործները կատաղի մարդիկ են: Նրանք մեծապես ապա-վինում են պայթուցիկ սարքերին և սարսափելի կոտորածներ են գործում:

Ջորջ (15 տարեկան) – Ահաբեկչության պատճառները անհատական, խմբային և բնապահպանական մակարդակներում են, մարդկանց համա-գործակցելու անկարողության, ինչպես նաև՝ նրանց ազահության ու իշ-

խանության տենչի մեջ: Իսկ ահաբեկչության ռազմարշավների ետևում կանգնած հիմնական գործակալը այն խելացի կազմակերպիչն է, որի ղեկավարությամբ ահաբեկիչները դառնում են ավելի հմուտ և վտանգավոր:

Լիլի (14 տարեկան) – Գլոբալիզացիայի հետ կապված ճնշումներն ու հիասթափությունները, նաև տեղական դժգոհությունները փարատելու և գանգատները բավարարելու շատ կառավարությունների անկարողությունը կամ չկամությունը, քանի որ նրանք բոլորն էլ ամբողջովին կոռումպացված են, ստիպում են խիզախ մարդկանց փոքր խմբերի հանդես գալ հափշտակվածների անունից և կազմակերպվել ընդհատակյա շարժումների կառույցներում:

Փոլ (10 տարեկան) – Մեր գյուղի ահաբեկչական խումբը հիմնականում կազմված է տեղացի կամավորներից:

<i>campaigns of terrorism</i>	<i>to commit horrible carnages</i>
<i>to be clandestine</i>	<i>to gain increasing popularity</i>
<i>a militant with a gun</i>	<i>to address local grievances</i>
<i>pressures and frustrations</i>	<i>to rely heavily (on)</i>
<i>perpetrators</i>	<i>greed and lust for power</i>
<i>inability of people</i>	<i>inability or unwillingness</i>
<i>a mastermind</i>	<i>calculated outrage</i>
<i>they say</i>	<i>to become more adept</i>
<i>a key agent</i>	<i>to lie at environmental levels</i>
<i>underground movements</i>	<i>to organize (oneself) into structures</i>
<i>to ambush and harass</i>	<i>explosive devices</i>
<i>local volunteers</i>	<i>to act in the name of the dispossessed</i>

Task 5. Match the English nouns

a. with their definitions:

disdain	the holding or expression of opinions at variance with those commonly or officially held
surveillance	a secret plan by a group to do something unlawful or harmful
dissent	the slaughter of a great number of people; great damage, utter defeat, or chaos
frustration	a feeling of contempt for anything regarded as unworthy
conspiracy	an act of wanton cruelty or violence; any gross violation of law or decency

inhibition	the prevention of the progress, success, or fulfilment of something
carnage	a feeling that makes one self-conscious and unable to act in a relaxed and natural way
outrage	continuous observation of a place, person, group or ongoing activity in order to gather information

b. with their respective sets of synonyms:

disdain	atrocious, evil, fury, barbarism
surveillance	scorn, aversion, despisal, disparagement
dissent	restraint, reserve, hindrance, reticence
frustration	inspection, track, spying, control
conspiracy	bloodshed, havoc, massacre, warfare
inhibition	disagreement, disapproval, discord, dissidence
carnage	plot, treason, countermining, perfidy
outrage	thwarting, disappointment, dissatisfaction, failure

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>illicit finance</i>	<i>ransom</i>
<i>money laundering</i>	<i>remittance systems</i>
<i>surveillance</i>	<i>dubious</i>
<i>to be ingrained</i>	<i>to marginalize</i>
<i>charitable donations</i>	

Financing of Terrorism

Terrorism financing, or reverse money laundering, is the process of raising and transferring funds, from legitimate or _____ sources, for future criminal activity. Though there are similarities between _____ and terrorism financing, there are also notable differences. Terrorists will minimize their use of regulated financial industries because of their need for anonymity, or in some cases because they live and operate in states where the financial system is underdeveloped. Sources of terrorism financing may be entirely legitimate, such as money obtained through regular business activities or _____. Terrorists also may use couriers or send money through, often poorly regulated, _____. In addition, there have been reports of cooperation between organized crime groups and terrorist organizations, especially in the drug trade. Terrorists have been known to raise money through the trade in gemstones,

and there has been an indication that _____ money paid to pirates may have been transferred to terrorist organizations.

States around the world subsequently amended their legislation on _____ to include terrorism financing. Conventional wisdom holds that following the money trail enhances security by allowing authorities to identify and keep track of suspect individuals and of their networks. The fight against terrorism financing has not been immune to criticism. Committing an act of terror is not necessarily expensive, and there are no guarantees that tackling terrorism financing is actually an effective way to combat terrorism. Scholars also note that financing of terror _____ in political and geostrategic struggles, as is the case, for instance, with national liberation movements and state-sponsored terrorism. The identification of terrorists by public authorities, or financial services sector firms, is also subject to mistakes leading to potential abuse. Some critics maintain that the fight against terrorism financing has been used _____ minority groups, such as Muslims, and developing states, where terrorists are thought to hide, through increased _____ of the financial system.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

All translation is a compromise – the effort to be literal and the effort to be idiomatic.

Benjamin Jowett

Because politics and international relations are closely associated with the news media, it is but natural to deliberate on the peculiarities of translating newspaper materials. Thanks to translation, news reaches more readers shaping their opinions and influencing them.

The main aim of the news media is to inform on socially significant occurrences around the world. Certain criteria regulate their style: public interest in the information, its importance, cultural, political, ethic, and aesthetic norms typical of any definite society. Articles are usually brief and carefully paragraphed consisting of not very long sentences. This means the translator has to be careful with syntactic structures.

Headlines of articles are of primary note as they both are meant to catch the eye of the reader and to give the main idea of the material. They have their own “sublanguage” and style. Mostly definite and indefinite articles, auxiliary verbs are omitted. Headlines in English usually contain verbs and it is necessary to identify

their grammatical meaning. Most often the Infinitive in headlines indicates the future and should be translated in some future tense:

Jill Biden to Attend Memorial Services for Father of White House Deputy Chief of Staff and Husband of Sen. Diann Feinstein

Ջիլ Բայդենը **կմասնակցի** Սպիտակ տան աշխատակազմի ղեկավարի տեղակալի և սենատոր Դիանա Ֆայնշտեյնի ամուսնու հիշատակի արարողությանը

Biden to Speak with Chinese President Xi Jinping Friday

Բայդենը զրուցելու է Չինաստանի նախագահ Սի Յզինպինգի հետ ուրբաթ օրը

However, the Infinitive may express also purpose:

Rules Delay Use of Cameras to Catch Fly-tippers

Կանոնների պատճառով հետաձգվում է ինքնաթափ մեքենաներին հայտնաբերելու համար տեսախցիկների օգտագործումը

The Present Indefinite and Participle II should, as a rule, be translated in some tense expressing a past or finished action/event, while Participle I denotes some current situation:

*Dover MP **Heckled** by Angry Protesters in Dover*

Պառլամենտի անդամը Դովերից **ենթարկվել է** զայրացած ցուցարարների սուր քննադատությանը

*Scotland **Becoming** Smaller under SNP*

Շոտլանդիան **փոքրանում է** ՇԱԿ (Շոտլանդիայի ազգային կուսակցություն) ներքո

*Iran's strike on Iraq **puts** US in awkward position amid nuclear talks*

Իրանի հարձակումն Իրաքի վրա անհարմար դրության մեջ է **դրել** ԱՄՆ-ին միջուկային բանակցությունների ֆոնին

One more typical feature of the newspaper style is that the reference source of information usually appears at the end of the sentence, while in Armenian it comes at the beginning:

*Scotland must shake off the "dead hand of nationalism" if it is to avoid becoming increasingly bitter and inward-looking, **the Scottish Conservative leader has said.***

Շոտլանդիայի պահպանողականների առաջնորդն **ասել է**, որ Շոտլանդիան պետք է թոթափի «ազգայնականության մեռած ձեռքը», եթե չի ցանկանում գնալով ավելի դառնացած ու փակ դառնալ:

Tip

The newspaper vocabulary is rich in terms, cliches, expressions, neologisms, and abbreviations from various spheres, like *back-bencher* – կուսակցության շարքային անդամ պառլամենտում; *domestic policy* – ներքին քաղաքականություն; *a crucial ally* – կարևոր դաշնակից; *GDP (Gross Domestic Product)* – ՀՆԱ (համախառն ներքին արդյունք); *islamophobia* – իսլամաֆորիա, etc. that have their translations in Armenian. However, when you come across a word/phrase not existing in your language, like *red tape* – թղթաբանություն; *spin doctor* – քաղաքական տեխնոլոգ, you may give an explanation, a relevant equivalent in the target language.

Task 1. Match the following journalistic cliches to their definitions and translate them into Armenian.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| a) party faithful | 1. competitive and stressful business |
| b) ivory tower | 2. any location attracting a particular group |
| c) brain drain | 3. the upper floors of skyscrapers where the CEOs' offices are located |
| d) jet set | 4. exodus of academics and highly-skilled workers |
| e) culture vulture | 5. the relationship between the United Kingdom and the USA |
| f) Mecca | 6. someone who indiscriminately "consumes" culture |
| g) rat race | 7. loyal workers and voters for a political party |
| h) turkeys voting for Christmas | 8. a person who appears to have power but is in reality ineffectual |
| i) special relationship | 9. leisured class which travels frequently |
| j) paper tiger | 10. people acting in a way that is harmful to their own interests |

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

State-sponsored Terrorism

Despite profound concerns over the growing lethality of terrorist acts committed by independent nonstate actors, ոչնչացման շատ ավելի լայն գործողություններ են հնարավոր, երբ պետություններն օժանդակում են ահաբե-

կիչներին _____.

Indeed, many perceive that the most daunting threat facing society today is state assistance in terrorist acquisition of a weapon of mass destruction – for example, a nuclear weapon. A precise definition of state-sponsored terrorism is elusive because a universally accepted definition of terrorism does not exist. Nevertheless, most definitions of state-sponsored terrorism incorporate four features:

1. an action employing բռնության կանխամտածված կիրառում կամ բռնության սպառնալիք _____.
2. an action targeting noncombatants directly and indirectly. The former գործողության անմիջական զոհերն են _____; the latter is the larger audience that the action is designed to intimidate, threaten, or coerce.
3. an action directly undertaken by a nonstate actor. While such a group is linked to and may be influenced by a state, it possesses ղեկավարություն և որոշումներ կայացնող մարմին _____ that is separate from any state.
4. an action supported, in some fashion, by a state. Support can come in the form of ֆինանսական օժանդակություն, մատակարարում, նյութատեխնիկական ապահովում _____, networking opportunities, intelligence sharing, training, diplomatic protections, physical basing of terrorists, or safe havens.

States have a long history of employing irregular forces իրենց հակառակորդներին ապակայունացնելու և վախեցնելու համար _____.

The primary advantage of using these forces is that they provide state officials with the ability to deny involvement in violent actions against their opponents. Some states have pursued the sponsorship of terrorism որպես ավելի էժան այլընտրանք՝ ավանդական զինված ուժերին _____.

Weaker states also have used clandestine backing of nonstate actors as a weapon against opponents ովքեր ունեն ավելի մեծ ռազմական և քաղաքական հզորություն _____.

When viewed through contemporary portrayals of terrorism – a term that only came into use in the last eighteenth century – some of these historical episodes fulfill many of today’s definitions of պետության կողմից հովանավորվող ահաբեկչություն

_____. Russia's assistance to Slavic revolutionary groups in the eighteenth century is frequently portrayed as an antecedent to what is commonly referred to today as state-sponsored terrorism. The peak era of state-sponsored terrorism was the cold war, during which both superpowers – the Soviet Union and the United States – engaged in sponsorship of what many perceive to be terrorism. The former, along with some of its satellite states, most notably East Germany, ֆինանսավորում, մարզում և զինում էր ահաբեկիչներին, որոնք գործում էին _____ in Europe and the Middle East. In the 1970s, the United States financed աջակողմյան ահաբեկչական ռազմականացված ստորաբաժանումները _____ in Chile երբ նրանք ձգտում էին պաշտոնանկ անել երկրի առաջնորդին _____.

Similarly, in the 1980s, the United States offered extensive support to the Nicaraguan Contras who battled in opposition to the Sandinista regime. Most experts agree that some of the Contras's actions are best defined as terrorism.

Following the demise of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, state support of terrorism became more circumspect. Ինչևէ, այս ուղղության մեջ կան կարևոր բացառություններ _____.

Most important was the ruling Taliban government that allowed al-Qaida to base itself in Afghanistan from 1996 until late 2001 when both were ejected by U.S. military forces. Moreover, states such as Cuba, Iran, Iraq, and Syria were accused of using violent proxies to pursue their goals on occasion throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. Western nations in 2010 continue to direct their concerns with state-sponsored terrorism toward Iran and Syria. Both of these states are thought to offer Hezbollah – a Shia Islamist organization based in Lebanon – financial support and weapons. Suspicions that Iran's nuclear power program հերքում է միջուկային զենքեր պատրաստելու նրա իրական նպատակը _____ have led to concerns over its sponsorship of Hezbollah as well. Thus, despite an overall decline in state sponsorship of terrorism, apprehensions today primarily revolve around terrorist acquisition of a state-supplied WMD. State sponsorship of terrorism has had a large impact on international security. It has been used կառավարությունները տապալելու և պետությունները թուլացնելու նպատակով _____.

_____. In the twenty-first century, fears that states would assist their terrorist clients in obtaining WMD have fueled U.S.

governmental action designed to change governing regimes, most notably in Iraq in 2003.

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

Ending Terrorism

Interest in the aspect of terrorism ending is much more recent than inquiry into its causes. How governments respond to terrorism is only part of the picture. The use of military force, actually rare, rarely succeeds in defeating terrorism; military force **is too blunt an instrument** for such a shadowy, **adaptive**, and **versatile adversary**. More **fine-tuned police** and intelligence work is usually the key to arresting or killing enough members of an organization **to cripple its operations**. However, if terrorist organizations can continue **to replenish their ranks** through recruitment, then violence may not end. If the government's response to terrorism only creates more **incentives for resistance**, then it can be self-defeating. Furthermore, terrorism that crosses national boundaries cannot be contained exclusively through local security initiatives. Dealing with extended terrorist networks like **al-Qaida and its cohort** requires extensive international cooperation and coordination of security measures. In some circumstances, groups abandon terrorism to enter the political process as legitimate players. The organization **remains intact and viable**, but its **strategy shifts**. This option may be associated with new, not necessarily immediately taken, opportunities for participation or resolution of civil conflicts in negotiated settlements that promote power sharing. The Irish Republican Army took many years to agree to enter politics through the implementation of the 1998 Good Friday accords. In Spain, Basque Fatherland and Liberty increased its violence when Spain transitioned to democracy in the 1970s. In Colombia in the 1980s, **government overtures** led April 19 Movement to become a political party, but the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia continued its violent opposition and became extensively involved with the drug trade.

Suppressing terrorism through the **judicious use of security countermeasures** and opening political alternatives are not incompatible government responses. In fact, both may be necessary. The first policy makes terrorism too costly to continue, while the second heightens the rewards of participation. If terrorist organizations are instrumental, they will weigh costs and benefits accordingly. Another path for terrorism's decline lies in the potential for groups **to self-destruct** or **implode** on their own. Sometimes **the ideas they espouse** have so little popular appeal that the cause dies with the group's members. This may be most characteristic of very small groups. An organization's activities

may also **alienate the constituency whose allegiance they seek**. For example, the Red Brigade's 1978 kidnapping and murder of Italy's Christian Democratic Party leader Aldo Moro marked the beginning of their decline.

Internal dissolution may proceed in tandem with government suppression. Some government efforts to end terrorism stress the decisions of the individual rather than those of the group. Governments can **offer amnesty and social reinsertion**. Policies such as Italy's **pentiti**, or **repentance**, initiative, which offered shorter prison terms to members of violent organizations who confessed, seemed effective in drawing members away from their groups. Post-9/11 **deradicalization programs aimed at individual disengagement** operate in Muslim countries such as Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia.⁶⁸

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- What is cyber terrorism and what are its common attacks?
- What are the characteristics of cyberterrorism?
- Are the users of cyberspace and their networks protected from cyberattacks?
- How do countries defend against cyberterrorism?
- Which are the most effective methods to improve network security?

Cyberterrorism

Cyberterrorism is the use of modern communication technology in the commission of terrorist activities. Although not strictly limited to the Internet, there is a strong bias toward using the Internet to exemplify the concept of cyberterrorism. Cyberterrorism does not have a single definition: in some instances, it refers to the use of the Internet to disrupt information systems by formal, recognized terrorist organizations. In other instances, cyberterrorism refers to Internet use by recognized governments that may be seen as supporting or encouraging terrorist activities. When states launch attacks using the Internet, it is usually referred to as cyberwarfare. Sometimes cyberterrorism refers strictly to activities carried out by organizations, other times to activities carried out by individuals pursuing a common goal but without a formal organization. Cyberterrorism may refer to activities executed across international borders or

⁶⁸ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1653.

within a single country. Cyberterrorists go beyond the law and the general norms of the countries they attack to accomplish a political agenda agreed on by only a small minority within the country, and with which the majority of the country usually disagrees.

Cyberterrorism is undertaken through such avenues as worms, viruses, and backdoors and has several important purposes for which it is undertaken, including extortion, the creation of economic disruption, and identity theft. The actual use of the Internet in cyberterrorism ranges from preparative acts to propaganda to carrying out an act of terrorism. Preparative acts of cyberterrorism include buying airline tickets, researching building plans, and acquiring weapons. Propaganda acts of cyberterrorism are generally limited to exhorting potential recruits into joining terrorist organizations and exhorting sympathizers to contribute money and resources. Carrying out acts of cyberterrorism on the Internet is generally limited to deluging opponents with threats or attacking computers and networks.

Much cyberterrorism is international in nature. Many groups recruit from and are active in a number of countries, and try to change the international activities of a specific country. Individuals within one country, or a small number of countries, use cyberterrorism to try to exact vengeance against another country for a perceived affront against either their homeland or their social group. Rebels fighting within one country who live and work outside of the country use the Internet to continue fighting against the government of the country through correspondence and recruitment and propaganda activities. This last situation usually occurs when a demographically identifiable group within a country fights for independence from that country or for equal or special rights. This does not negate the existence of cyberterrorist activities by groups within a single country.

As a result of the frequently international nature of cyberterrorism, many countries have started working together to combat it. Governments trying to stop cyberterrorism have used a combination of tools. Whenever possible, existing laws have been applied to stop cyberterrorism. For example, purchasing illegal weapons on the Internet equates to purchasing illegal weapons in person or through other means. There are also specific treaties aimed at halting cyberterrorism internationally. The creator of malware (malignant software) is no longer punished solely according to the laws of the country of residence. Now, when malware goes international, the country that either suffered the most damage or has the harshest punishment, depending on the specifics of the treaty being applied, issues the punishment. Law enforcement agencies and sometimes militaries are now working much more closely when pursuing cyberterrorists.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 373.

Task 2 Render the text into English and discuss it.

***Միջազգային ահաբեկչության դերը միջպետական
հարաբերություններում***

Ոչ միայն ահաբեկչական կազմավորումները, այլ նաև անհատ ահաբեկիչները կարող են իրենց ուրույն դերը խաղալ երկրների միջև հարաբերություններում, ինչպես օրինակ՝ երբ 2008 թ. հոկտեմբերի վերջին գերմանական հետախուզությունը տազնապ հայտարարեց Էրիկ Բրայնինգերի հայրենիք հնարավոր վերադարձի կապակցությամբ: Գերմանիայում ծնված 21-ամյա Բրայնինգերը, ով իսլամ էր ընդունել և մարզումներ անցել Պակիստանի և Աֆղանստանի սահմանին գտնվող ահաբեկչական ճամբարներից մեկում, հայտարարել էր, որ պատրաստվում է ինքնասպան-ահաբեկիչ դառնալ: Իսլամական ջիհադի միության կայքում տեղադրված տեսահաղորդագրության մեջ նա հանդես եկավ Գերմանիայում սպասվող ահաբեկչական գործողությունների նախազգուշացումով, քանի դեռ Բեռլինը դուրս չի բերել զորքերը Իրաքից և Աֆղանստանից: Սա առաջին դեպքը չէր, երբ Եվրոպան դեմ դիմաց հայտնվեց ահաբեկչական գործողությունների մեջ ներգրավված նորադարձ մուսուլմանների հետ: Իսկ ի՞նչ է նորադարձությունը (պրոգելիտիզմ)՝ այն գրեթե բոլոր համաշխարհային կրոններին բնորոշ երևույթ է: Յուրաքանչյուր կրոն ձգտում է հնարավորինս շատ հետևորդներ ձեռք բերել և երբեմն դիմում է այլադավաններին հավաքագրելու հնարքին: Քրիստոնեության մեջ շատ է տարածված կրոնադարձությունն ըստ հավատքի. դրա համար բավական է ընդամենը Հիսուսի Փրկչագործական առաքելության ընդունումը և մկրտության ծեսի անցկացումը: Սակայն միշտ չէ, որ քրիստոնեական համայնքը հեշտությամբ ընդունում է նորադարձներին: Օրինակ, մորիսկները (մկրտված մուսուլմանները) կամ մարրաները (մկրտված հրեաները) Իսպանիայում կամ քրիստոնեացված հրեաները նացիստական Գերմանիայում այդպես էլ չդարձան տեղական հասարակությունների մասը:

2003 թ. Ջորջ Բուշն ու իր դաշնակիցները պատերազմ սկսեցին Իրաքի դեմ: Պատերազմի հիմնական դրդապատճառներից էր սեպտեմբերի 11-ի ահաբեկչությունը: Պատերազմը իր ազդեցությունն ունեցավ ԱՄՆ-ի ու իր դաշնակիցների՝ հատկապես արաբական աշխարհի գործընկերներ-

րի հարաբերությունների վրա: Իրաքի դեմ ԱՄՆ-ի պատերազմն ավելի է սրել նրա հարաբերությունները իսլամական աշխարհի հետ՝ խթանելով մուսուլմանական ծայրահեղական կազմակերպությունների ակտիվացումը: Ահաբեկչական գործողությունների թիվն այսօր այնքան է աճել, որ անհանգստացնում է գրեթե բոլոր պետություններին: Ահաբեկչական շարժումը, ունենալով գլոբալ բնույթ, չի սահմանափակվում մեկ երկրի սահմաններով, ուստի ԱՄՆ-ի և նրա դաշնակիցների հայտարարած պատերազմը համաշխարհային ընդգրկում ունի: Այս ամենին նպաստում են նաև գլոբալիզացիան ու դրա հետևանքով ստեղծված վերազգային և միջազգային կազմակերպությունները:

Պետությունները փորձում են համատեղ պայքարել ահաբեկչության դեմ հենց այդ միջազգային կազմակերպությունների շրջանակներում: Այսպես, ՄԱԿ-ի գլխավոր մարմիններից մեկը՝ Անվտանգության խորհուրդը, նույնպես բազմիցս քննարկել է այս հարցը: «Անվտանգության խորհուրդը, գիտակցելով ահաբեկչական գործողությունների հետևանքները միջազգային անվտանգության համար, խորապես մտահոգվելով միջազգային հանրության նկատմամբ անօրինական ոտնձգության բոլոր գործողություններով, գիտակցելով ահաբեկչական բոլոր գործողությունների կանխարգելմանը և վերացմանն ուղղված բոլոր պետությունների և միջկառավարական կազմակերպությունների ջանքերին աջակցելու ու խրախուսելու գործում Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպության կարևոր դերը, լի վճռականությամբ աջակցություն ցույց տալ ահաբեկչական գործողությունների կանխարգելման արդյունավետ միջոցների ընդունմանը, մտահոգվելով այն դրությունում, որ ներկայիս տեխնիկական զարգացման պայմաններում կան այնպիսի զինատեսակներ, որոնք կարող են օգտագործվել ահաբեկչական գործողություններում՝ առանց հայտնաբերման ռիսկի՝ անվերապահորեն դատապարտում է ահաբեկչական բոլոր գործողությունները, մեթոդները և պրակտիկան որպես հանցավոր ու արդարացում չունեցող, անկախ դրանց շարժառիթներից, դրանց բոլոր ձևերից և դրսևորումներից, որտեղ և ում կողմից էլ կատարվեն, հատկապես նրանք, որոնք կարող են սպառնալ միջազգային խաղաղությանը և անվտանգությանը»: Անվտանգության խորհուրդը կոչ է անում բոլոր պետություններին անվերապահորեն հետևելու միջազգային հակաահաբեկչական կոնվենցիաներին, որոնց մասնակից են նրանք և առաջարկում է բոլոր

պետություններին առաջնահերթորեն քննարկել այն կոնվենցիաներին միանալու վերաբերյալ հարցը, որոնց մասնակից չեն նրանք և հնարավորինս արագ ընդունել դեռևս չընդունված կոնվենցիաները: Պետք է հատուկ ուշադրություն դարձնել ահաբեկչության դեմ պայքարում միջազգային համագործակցության ամրապնդման գործում Միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպության կենսական նշանակությանը և ընդգծել պետությունների, միջազգային և տարածաշրջանային կազմակերպությունների միջև առավել լայն համակարգման կարևորությունը: Ըստ Անվտանգության խորհրդի՝ ահաբեկչության դեմ առավել արդյունավետ պայքար մղելու համար պետությունները պետք է համագործակցության և համակարգման համատեքստում ընդունեն համապատասխան միջոցներ. Փոխադարձ համագործակցություն, հատկապես երկկողմ և բազմակողմ համաձայնագրերի ու կառուցակարգերի հիման վրա, ահաբեկչական գործողությունների կանխարգելման և կանխման, ահաբեկիչների ոստիկանությանը իրենց քաղաքացիներին և մյուս անձանց պաշտպանության, նման գործողությունների կատարման մեջ մեղադրվող անձանց պատասխանատվության ենթարկելու նպատակով, իր տարածքում բոլոր օրինական միջոցներով ահաբեկչական գործողությունների նախապատրաստման և ֆինանսավորման գործունեությունը կանխարգելելու և կանխելու քայլերի ձեռնարկում, ահաբեկչական գործողություններ ծրագրած, ֆինանսավորած և կատարած անձանց դատական կարգով հետապնդում և ձերբակալում, մինչև փախստականի կարգավիճակ տրամադրելը պատշաճ միջոցների ընդունում՝ ներպետական օրենսդրության և միջազգային իրավունքի համապատասխան դրույթների համաձայն, ներառյալ՝ մարդու իրավունքների ոլորտում միջազգային չափորոշիչները, որպեսզի հաստատի, որ ապաստան խնդրող անձը չի մասնակցել ահաբեկչական գործողությունների, ներպետական օրենսդրությանը և միջազգային իրավունքին համապատասխան տեղեկատվության փոխանակման և ահաբեկչական գործողությունների կանխարգելման նպատակներով վարչական և դատական հարցերով համագործակցություն:

Ահաբեկչություն

Ահաբեկչություններն ըստ բնույթի լինում են.

1. *անկազմակերպ կամ անհատական* (մեկ անձի կողմից ահաբեկչություն). այս դեպքում ահաբեկչական գործողությունն իրականացվում է մեկ կամ երկու անձանց կողմից, որոնց ետևում կազմակերպություն կանգնած չէ,
2. *կազմակերպված, խմբային*. ահաբեկչական գործունեությունը նախատեսվում և իրականացվում է կազմակերպությունների կողմից: Կազմակերպված ահաբեկչությունն առավել տարածված է ժամանակակից աշխարհում:

Ըստ նպատակի՝ ահաբեկչությունները բաժանվում են.

1. ազգայնական. հետապնդում է անջատողական կամ ազգային ազատագրական նպատակներ,
2. կրոնական. կարող է լինել տարբեր կրոնների (հինդուիստների և մուսուլմանների, մուսուլմանների և հրեաների) և մի կրոնի (բողոքական-կաթոլիկներ, սունի-շիաներ) դավանողների միջև և նպատակ ունենալ խարխալելու աշխարհիկ իշխանությունը և կրոնական իշխանություն ստեղծելու,
3. գաղափարական, սոցիալական. ուղղված է երկրի տնտեսական կամ քաղաքական համակարգի արմատական կամ մասնակի փոփոխությանը, հանրության ուշադրությունը սուր խնդրին հրավիրելուն: Երբեմն ահաբեկչության այս տեսակը կոչվում է հեղափոխական: Գաղափարական ահաբեկչության օրինակներ են անարխիստական, սոցիալիստ-հեղափոխական (էսեռական), ֆաշիստական, եվրոպական «ձախ», բնապահպանական ահաբեկչությունը և այլն:

Ահաբեկչության այս բաժանումը պայմանական է, և բոլոր ձևերի միջև կարելի է գտնել նմանություններ:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “With guns you can kill terrorists, with education you can kill terrorism.”
Malala Yousafzai
- “War is what happens when language fails.” *Margaret Atwood*
- “There never was a good war, or a bad peace.” *Benjamin Franklin*
- “All war represents a failure of diplomacy.” *Tony Benn*
- “War settles nothing.” *Dwight D. Eisenhower*

- “War can only be abolished through war ... in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.” *Mao Zedong*

Supplementary Reading

Key criteria of Terrorism

Groups accused of terrorism often prefer terms that reflect legitimate military or ideological action. However, legitimacy does not preclude the reality of terrorism: there is the famous statement: "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." But that is grossly leading. It assesses the validity of the cause when terrorism is an act. One can have a perfectly beautiful cause and yet if one commits terrorist acts, it is terrorism.

Most official definitions of terrorism focus on the nature of the act, not the validity of the cause. They outline the following key criteria: target, objective, motive, perpetrator, and legitimacy or legality of the act. Terrorism is also often recognizable by a following statement from the perpetrators.

- *Violence* – According to Walter Laqueur of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, "the only general characteristic of terrorism generally agreed upon is that terrorism involves violence and the threat of violence." However, the criterion of violence alone does not produce a useful definition, as it includes many acts not usually considered by terrorism: war, riot, organized crime, or even a simple assault. Property destruction that does not endanger life is not usually considered a violent crime, but some have described property destruction by the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front as terrorism.
- *Psychological impact and fear* – The attack was carried out in such a way as to maximize the severity and length of the psychological impact. Each act of terrorism is a “performance,” a product of internal logic, devised to have an impact on many large audiences. Terrorists also attack national symbols to show their power and to shake the foundation of the country or society they are opposed to. This may negatively affect a government's legitimacy, while increasing the legitimacy of the given terrorist organization and/or ideology behind a terrorist act. The September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon are examples of this. Attacking the World Trade Center symbolized the terrorist threat to the economic foundation of America and its capitalist ideals, and attacking the Pentagon symbolized that America's great military strength is yet vulnerable at its very core to the terrorist's power.

- *Perpetrated for a Political Goal* – Something all terrorist attacks have in common is their perpetration for a political purpose. Terrorism is a political tactic that is used by activists when they believe no other means will affect the kind of change they desire. The change is desired so badly that failure is seen as a worse outcome than the deaths of civilians. This is often where the interrelationship between terrorism and religion occurs. When a political struggle is integrated into the framework of a religious or "cosmic" struggle, such as over the control of an ancestral homeland or holy site such as Israel and Jerusalem, failing in the political goal (nationalism) becomes equated with spiritual failure, which, for the highly committed, is worse than their own death or the deaths of innocent civilians.
- *Deliberate targeting of non-combatants* – It is commonly held that the distinctive nature of terrorism lies in its intentional and specific selection of civilians as direct targets. Much of the time, the victims of terrorism are targeted not because they are threats, but because they are specific "symbols, tools, animals or corrupt beings" that tie into a specific view of the world. Their suffering accomplishes the terrorists' goals of instilling fear, getting a message out to an audience, or otherwise accomplishing their political end.
- *Unlawfulness or illegitimacy* – Some definitions of terrorism give weight to a distinction between the actions of a legitimate government and those of non-state actors, including individuals and small groups. In this view, government actions that might be violent, operate through fear, aim at political ends, and target civilians would not be terrorism if they are being pursued by agents who are accountable to legitimate governmental authority. Governmental accountability, presumably, would operate to limit and restrain the violence, both in volume and tactics. However, governments which repeatedly resort to these kinds of tactics tend to lose legitimacy, eroding the distinction between governmental and non-governmental violence.⁷⁰

Types of Terrorism

Depending on the country, the political system, and the time in history, the types of terrorism are varying. They can be generally classified into six categories:

- *Civil disorder* – A form of collective violence interfering with the peace, security, and normal functioning of the community.

⁷⁰ <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Terrorism>

- *Political terrorism* – Violent criminal behaviour designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or a substantial segment of it, for political purposes.
- *Non-Political terrorism* – Terrorism that is not aimed at political purposes but which exhibits conscious design to create and maintain a high degree of fear for coercive purposes, but the end is individual or collective gain rather than the achievement of a political objective.
- *Quasi-terrorism* – The activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and method to genuine terrorism but which nevertheless lack its essential ingredient. It is not the main purpose of the quasi-terrorists to induce terror in the immediate victim as in the case of genuine terrorism, but the quasi-terrorist uses the modalities and techniques of the genuine terrorist and produces similar consequences and reactions. For example, the fleeing felon who takes hostages is a quasi-terrorist, whose methods are similar to those of the genuine terrorist but whose purposes are quite different.
- *Limited political terrorism* – Genuine political terrorism is characterized by a revolutionary approach; limited political terrorism refers to acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not part of a concerted campaign to capture control of the state.
- *Official or state terrorism* –referring to nations whose rule is based upon fear and oppression that reach similar to terrorism or such proportions. It may be referred to as Structural Terrorism defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

Another way the typology of terrorism may be defined is:

1. Political terrorism

- *Sub-state terrorism*
 - ✓ Social revolutionary terrorism
 - ✓ Nationalist-separatist terrorism
 - ✓ Religious extremist terrorism
 - ✓ Religious fundamentalist Terrorism
 - ✓ New religions terrorism
 - ✓ Right-wing terrorism
 - ✓ Left-wing terrorism
 - ✓ Communist terrorism
- *State-sponsored terrorism*
- *Regime or state terrorism*

2. Criminal terrorism

3. Pathological terrorism

Causes motivating terrorism

Specific political or social causes have included:

- Independence or separatist movements
- Irredentist movements
- Adoption of a particular political philosophy, such as socialism (left-wing terrorism), anarchism, or fascism (possibly through a coup or as an ideology of an independence or separatist movement)
- Environmental protection (ecoterrorism)
- Supremacism of a particular group
 - ✓ Preventing a rival group from sharing or occupying a particular territory (such as by discouraging immigration or encouraging flight)
 - ✓ Subjugation of a particular population (such as lynching of African Americans)
- Spread or dominance of a particular religion – religious terrorism
- Ending perceived government oppression
- Responding to a violent act (for example, tit-for-tat attacks in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in The Troubles in Northern Ireland)

Causes for right-wing terrorism have included white nationalism, ethnonationalism, fascism, anti-socialism, and tax resistance.⁷¹

Eco-terrorism

Eco-terrorism is a type of terrorism directed at changing environmental policy. Eco-terrorists create situations in which the costs of pursuing an environmental policy outweigh the benefits of that policy. Eco-terrorists may target states, but many eco-terrorist organizations also target private firms.

Eco-terrorism and environmental terrorism are two different ideas. Eco-terrorist groups aim to protect the environment through terrorist actions against firms and states. Environmental terrorism describes a terrorist attack whose target is the environment. Terrorist groups engage in environmental terrorism when they attack a state's natural resources. For instance, terrorist attacks on a country's water supply and setting fire to national forests are both acts of environmental terrorism. Generally, eco-terrorists do not engage in environmental terrorism. Eco-terrorist organizations work to protect the environment, and therefore deliberately harming the environment is against their *raison d'être*.

⁷¹ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism#Types>

The term eco-terrorist is contested by groups defined as ecoterrorists. Members view themselves as activists rather than terrorists. Eco-terrorist groups engage in activities similar to those of other activist groups. Eco-terrorists conduct peaceful demonstrations and civil disobedience with marches, sit-ins, and protests. Furthermore, eco-terrorist groups serve as information providers, describing the effects of the state and firms on the environment. They lobby governments and businesses to change their operations to end environmentally harmful activities or adopt other sites for programs to protect animal habitats. However, what separates eco-terrorists from regular activist groups are violent acts against people and property. Eco-terrorist organizations destroy property and threaten people to pursue political goals. Furthermore, members of eco-terrorist groups justify destruction caused by their organizations as a small price to guard against larger environmental destruction. Eco-terrorist organizations claim that they are inappropriately labeled terrorists to undermine their cause. The label “terrorist” diminishes their public credibility and legitimacy as organizations.

Members of eco-terrorist groups often espouse deep ecology values, either explicitly or implicitly. Deep ecology is a system of values that at its base claims each living being has equal value. Deep ecologists object to a hierarchy evaluation of animals, making the normative claim that each animal has an equal value. While many deep ecologists are peaceful, the philosophy of deep ecology has been used to mobilize and galvanize support for eco-terrorist movements.

Eco-terrorists are distinct from other environmentalists in their commitment to violence to achieve political goals and their dissatisfaction with mainstream environmentalist movements. Eco-terrorists will seek peaceful means to pursue government or firm policy change, but they will also conduct violent acts. Eco-terrorists have gained support, membership, and notoriety since the 1970s. Emerging from the juncture of the environmentalist movement and other social movements in industrialized nations, eco-terrorism is a relatively new phenomenon. Members of eco-terrorist groups belong to different social classes. The organizations themselves may be loosely coordinated, bound by common goals and some minimum communication. The U.S. government has named several ecoterrorist groups threats to national security. The Animal Liberation Front was founded in the United Kingdom in 1976. While the Animal Liberation Front claims to protect all animals, some of its methods threaten human life. The Earth Liberation Front was founded in the United Kingdom in 1992 and now has cells in many states, including the United States. The Coalition to Save the Preserves is an eco-terrorist group that surfaced in the American Southwest to protect forests north of Phoenix, Arizona.

Eco-terrorists engage in many methods to defend the environment. A popular tactic to defend forests from logging is tree spiking. Eco-terrorists insert metal spikes in the trees themselves to dissuade loggers from chopping them down. This metal either damages the chainsaws of loggers or becomes lethal shrapnel in a lumberyard. Eco-terrorist groups have also threatened to cut the brakes of trucking firms' trucks and have attacked universities doing biogenetic research. Eco-terrorist groups also engage in arson, cutting of fishing lines, and sabotage of machinery. Eco-terrorist groups seldom assassinate leaders of firms or states. Casualties from eco-terrorism are generally the result of sabotage or arson aimed at disarming threats to the environment.⁷²

⁷² Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 469.

UNIT 12

MIGRATION

Read the text and speak on

- the characteristics of mass immigration
- the causes of mass immigration
- the demographic consequences of mass immigration
- the effects of immigration on intergroup relations
- immigration as a part of nation-building process

Mass Immigration

While human beings have migrated across the planet in large numbers for millennia, political concerns about immigration arose following the emergence of the modern nation-state, which increasingly desired to define its territorial boundaries, regulate who entered, and conscript and tax citizens. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, enormous population movements became a salient global phenomenon. Defined as the large-scale entry and usually permanent settlement of people in countries of which they are not native, mass immigration is characteristic of globalization in the twenty-first century.

Mass immigration, a corollary of mass migration and mass emigration, occurs for a wide variety of reasons, many of which are beyond the control of individual sending and receiving states. People leave their home countries en masse due to war, famine, poverty, underemployment, political oppression, religious persecution, natural disasters, forced expulsion, overcrowding, lack of opportunity, and wanderlust. They enter and settle permanently in other countries for equally diverse reasons, including economic opportunities, political freedoms, hope for a better life for their children, and sometimes because they are forcibly moved. Often the combination of powerful global push and pull forces and the great difficulty of controlling vast borders make it nearly impossible for governments to stop large-scale immigration. Consequently, in 2000 there were an estimated 56 million immigrants in Europe, nearly 50 million in Asia, over 40 million in North America, and 5.8 million in Oceania. Drawing a conceptual line between immigration and mass immigration is largely a subjective endeavor, raising the question of precisely when the former turns into the latter. On the historical spectrum of great population movements resulting in a permanent settlement, the most prominent ones have been characterized by the immigration of millions of people over decades and centuries. Modern international migration can be classified into the mercantile (1500–1800), industrial (1800–1914), interwar (1914–1945) and postindustrial

(1960 onward) periods. There is a distinction made between mass immigration before and after 1945, with an emphasis on post-World War II (1939–1945) immigration from less economically developed to highly economically developed countries.

Patterns of Mass Immigration

Patterns of mass immigration vary in nature and scope across time and space, but the European settlement of Oceania and North America stands out as particularly significant. The United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are referred to as classic countries of immigration, because mass immigration was instrumental in the nation-building process and profoundly affected the culture, society, politics, and national identity of each country. Further examples of mass immigration resulting in lasting demographic change include European immigration to Latin America, in particular Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina; the forced immigration of approximately ten million African slaves to the Americas between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries; the legal and illegal Mexican immigration to the United States from 1848 to the present; and post-World War II immigration within and to Europe. The United States, which until the 1880s had few regulations restricting entry, is among the world's most prominent countries of immigration. An estimated thirty million immigrants came to the United States between 1860 and 1920, when the number of foreign-born averaged between 13 and 15 percent of the total population. In 2006, over 37 million (12.5 percent of the total population) were foreign-born, with approximately 1.1 and 1.3 million immigrants legally entering the country in the fiscal years 2005 and 2006, respectively.

Many European countries, once the source of mass emigration, are now recipients of mass immigration. The number of foreigners living in the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, rose from 548,000 in 1950 to nearly 7.3 million in the year 2000. Currently, nearly 20 percent of the total Swiss population is foreign-born, while immigrants make up approximately one-third of Luxembourg's population. Although immigration to European countries, the United States, and Australia has been on a large scale, it is also offset by simultaneous emigration. For every ten people who immigrated to the United States in 2001, three emigrated; for every three people who entered Australia and Germany in that year, two left, and in the United Kingdom, the ratio of immigrants to emigrants was five to two. If mass immigration happens quickly, and if immigrants are racially, religiously, or linguistically different from the host population, this can stoke fears about rapidly changing national identity and lead policymakers to conclude that the country has reached its immigration capacity.

German chancellor Helmut Kohl threatened to declare a state of emergency in 1992, in part because the entry of over 438,000 asylum seekers in one year alone created a widespread sense that the country was being inundated by immigrants. Similarly, in response to persistent mass immigration from Mexico and Central America, 59 percent of California residents voted in 1994 for Proposition 187, which proposed to withhold public benefits from undocumented immigrants, and in 2005 the U.S. House of Representatives recommended the erection of a 700-mile fence between the United States and Mexico.

Mass immigration is a manifestation of globalization and will, in the future, presumably change. Rather than Europeans settling in sparsely populated continents, as they once did, Africans, Asians and others will likely immigrate in large numbers to Europe. War, global climate change, and colossal humanitarian catastrophes may lead to unprecedented forms of mass immigration. Should the Netherlands be flooded by rising sea levels, will millions of Dutch immigrate to neighboring European Union countries? Will a warmer Greenland, Canada, or Siberia be future destinations of masses of immigrants? With the worldwide population expected to rise to as many as ten billion people by the middle of the twenty-first century, mass immigration is sure to persist as a significant global challenge.⁷³

Effects of Immigration on Intergroup Relations

Immigration affects not only the ethnic, racial, religious, and linguistic makeup of immigrant-receiving countries but also conceptions of national identity and relations between the multitudes of groups that constitute pluralistic societies. In particular, it affects relations between ethnic groups, or as Max Weber describes, “those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration”. Under the best circumstances, immigration adds to and enriches the fabric of society and leads to harmonious relationships between ethnic groups. Under the worst, it causes profound socioeconomic and political change that leads to violent conflict. For many Europeans, immigrating to the New World meant an escape from poverty, increased economic prospects and political freedoms, and the beginning of a new life infused with great opportunity. Conversely, from the vantage point of the native inhabitants, European immigration was commonly associated with conquest, domination, displacement, disease, genocide, and the destruction of traditional ways of life. For the estimated ten million Africans brought to the Americas

⁷³ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1008.

between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, their forced migration experience was characterized by enslavement and extreme racial prejudice. These patterns of migration and settlement resulted in a hierarchical power structure based on race, with whites holding dominant social, economic, and political positions.

In the modern age of migration, immigration's effect on intergroup relations differs from country to country. In so-called countries of immigration, such as Canada and the United States, where immigration was part of the nation-building process, immigrants are absorbed into society relatively quickly. That is, in countries where the vast majority of the population is descended from immigrants, the inclination is to accept the notion, "We are a country of immigrants, and therefore assimilate newcomers of any background as long as they naturalize, learn the language, and respect the laws of the land." In the United States, for example, the children of immigrants born on American soil are, pursuant to the *jus soli* (birthright citizenship) principle codified in the Fourteenth Amendment, automatically citizens of the country. When immigrants and their children are quickly naturalized and granted concomitant rights and liberties, feelings of social marginalization and tension between ethnic groups are mitigated. In European countries, some of which have evolved from countries of emigration to countries of immigration, the integration and assimilation of immigrants has often been slow and fraught with intergroup conflict. This is because immigration in most European countries was not, at least in the popular imagination, an explicit part of the nation-building process. Despite growing ethnic heterogeneity, many European countries have struggled to incorporate immigrants and embrace multiculturalism. Germany officially maintained that it was not a country of immigration until 1998, at which time nearly 9 percent of the total population was classified as foreign, and only in 2000 implemented a conditional *jus soli* citizenship policy. Even so, many Germans still have difficulty accepting foreigners, especially non-European immigrants, as German, even if they are born in Germany, acquire citizenship, and speak perfect German.⁷⁴

VOCABULARY FOCUS

Task 1. Translate the phrases into Armenian.

to conscript and tax citizens _____

powerful global push and pull forces _____

to be largely a subjective endeavor _____

⁷⁴ <https://essayempire.com/examples/political-science/effects-on-intergroup-relations-of-immigration-essay/>

to stand out as particularly significant _____
to be offset by simultaneous emigration _____
to reach immigration capacity _____
in response to persistent mass immigration _____
to withhold public benefits from undocumented immigrants _____

to persist as a significant global challenge _____
to entertain a subjective belief in common descent _____
pursuant to the jus soli principle _____

Task 2. Find in the text the equivalents for the following phrases.

համատարած գլոբալ երևույթ _____
զանգվածաբար լքել երկիրը _____
բռնի/հարկադրված արտաքսում _____
ներգադրյալների հարաբերակցությունը արտագաղթողների նկատմամբ

առաջացնել վախեր _____
ապաստան հայցողներ _____
ներգադրյալներով լի լինել _____
հաստատվել սակավաթիվ մարդկանցով բնակեցված մայրցամաքներում

հանգեցնել զանգվածային ներգաղթի աննախադեպ ձևերի _____

մեծ հնարավորություններով լի նոր կյանք _____
տեղացիների տեսանկյունից _____
ստրկություն և ծայրահեղ ռասայական նախապաշարմունք _____

տալ/շնորհել համապատասխան իրավունքներ _____
միջխմբային հակամարտություններով լի լինել _____

Task 3. Translate into English using the word stock below.

1. Համաշխարհային երևույթ դարձած զանգվածային ներգաղթի մոդելներն իրենց բնույթով և ծավալով տարբերվում են տարածության և ժամանակի մեջ:

2. Վախենալով, որ երկիրը կարող է հեղեղվել ներգաղթյալներով, ինչը կհանգեցի տևական ժողովրդագրական փոփոխությունների, Խորհրդարանը որոշում ընդունեց, ըստ որի ներգաղթյալների ներհոսքը խիստ կրճատվում է:

3. Կոնֆլիկտային գոտիներից կայուն զանգվածային ներգաղթը մշտական գլխացավ է դարձել ԵՄ առաջնորդների համար, ովքեր այն զսպելու նպատակով փորձում են տարբեր միջոցներ կիրառել, ինչպես օրինակ՝ չգրանցված ներգաղթյալներին հանրային նպաստներից զրկելը:

4. Ներգաղթը հարստացնում է հասարակության կառուցվածքը, եթե էթնիկ խմբերի միջև հաստատված են լինում ներդաշնակ հարաբերություններ, և վերջիններս կազմակերպվում են բազմակարծիք հասարակությունների մեջ:

5. Այնուամենայնիվ, եթե ներգաղթը բնիկների տեսանկյունից բնութագրվում է ծայրահեղ ռասայական նախապաշարմունքներով, ապա այն կարող է հանգեցնել վիթխարի հումանիտար աղետի:

6. Մեր օրերում ժողովրդավարական հասարակությունները փորձում են իրենց մեջ առնել ներգաղթյալներին և ընդունել բազմամշակութայնությունը, թեև այն ձեռք է բերվում թանկ գնով՝ միջխմբային հակամարտությունների մշտական մեղմացմամբ և սոցիալական նպաստների ու նյութական օժանդակության ֆինանսական ծանր բեռը կրելով:

7. Հպատակագրումն այն գործընթացն է, որով երկրի քաղաքացիություն է տրվում օրինական մշտական բնակչի՝ այդ երկրի Սահմանադրությամբ սահմանված պահանջները բավարարելուց հետո:

to add to and enrich

to keep out

to vary in nature and scope

to try to incorporate

to issue a decree

naturalization

undocumented immigrants

an inflow of immigrants

lasting demographic change

a lawful permanent resident

across time and space

persistent mass immigration

patterns of mass migration

to constitute pluralistic societies

colossal humanitarian catastrophe

to be inundated by immigrants

constant mitigation of intergroup conflicts

the fabric of the society

to be gained at high price

a salient global phenomenon

social benefits and allowances

from the vantage point of the native inhabitants

*extreme racial prejudice
to meet the requirements
to embrace multiculturalism
to be critically curbed*

*harmonious relationships
to bear the heavy financial burden
a permanent headache
to withhold public benefits*

Task 4. Translate into English using the word stock below.

Հեռախոսային հաղորդագրություններ

Ա. – Դե ի՛նչ, ես այստեղ եմ մնում որպես ներգաղթյալ: Դիտի՛ր սա որպես ողջամտություն, ոչ թե քմահաճույք:

Գ. – Բայց քեզ ո՛չ ոք չի ստիպել տեղափոխվել: Իսկ իրավիճակն այստեղ ավելի վատ չէ, քան աշխարհի կեսում:

Ա. – Գիտե՞ս ինչ: Մի կողմ դի՛ր քո ինտելեկտուալի շյապան և գլխիդ քաշի՛ր սովորական մարդու գլխարկը: Իմը փախուստ է հյուծիչ, նվաստացուցիչ և տևական աղքատությունից: Ես լեզուն սովորելու կարիք չունեմ, ես տիրապետում եմ դրան: Ես հարգում եմ այս երկրի օրենքները և բարձրակարգ մասնագետ եմ իմ ոլորտում: Ընդամենը մի քանի տարի հետո, երբ քաղաքացիություն ընդունեմ, ես ամուր կկանգնեմ ոտքերիս վրա, և իմ բարեկեցությանը համարժեք կլինի այն օգնությունը, որը ես կկարողանամ տուն ուղարկել ձեզ:

Գ. – Բավականին եսասիրական է հնչում, այնպես չէ՞: Ոչ մի երաշխիք չկա, որ դու հաջողության կհասնես:

Ա. – Արդեն կա՛: Ինձ արդեն առաջարկել են իմ երագած աշխատանքը: Սա մի նոր կյանքի սկիզբ է, որը հազեցած է լինելու մեծ հնարավորություններով:

Գ. – Շնորհավորո՛ւմ եմ: Այնուամենայնիվ, ես սկզբունքորեն համաձայն չեմ: Դու մի կողմ ես նետել հայրենիքի բարգավաճման գործոնը, որը քեզ նմանների կարիքն ունի:

Ա. – Է՛հ, իմ ճշմարտությունն ապացուցելու համար ես չեմ ուզում օրինակներ բերել: Երկարաժամկետ հեռանկարում ամենաշատը հենց մեր հայրենիքը կշահի: Դա անխուսափելի է:

Գ. – Բոլորն էլ այդպես են խոսում ճամփի սկզբին: Միայն ժամանակը ցույց կտա: Սկզբում դու համեմատաբար արագ կձուլվես այդ հասարակությանը: Հետո կսկսես կասկածի տակ դնել ազգային ինքնության որոշ պատկերացումներ...

Ա. – Տե՛ր Աստված, կարո՞ղ ես կարճ կապել:

Գ. – Այո՛, կարող եմ: Հիշի՛ր, այնտեղ քեզ երբեք թույլ չեն տա զբաղեցնել գերիշխող սոցիալական, տնտեսական կամ քաղաքական դիրք: Մի բան հաստատ է՝ դու իրոք կխուսափես աղքատությունից: Եվ քո երեխաները կլինեն այդ երկրի քաղաքացիներ՝ ըստ *jus soli*-ի, պարզ է... Երջանկությունն էմ մաղթում քեզ:

<i>to naturalize</i>	<i>debilitating, humiliating and chronic poverty</i>
<i>a whim</i>	<i>to be packed with great opportunities</i>
<i>to be pretty selfish</i>	<i>there is no getting away from that</i>
<i>in the long run</i>	<i>to view sth as commonsense</i>
<i>to stand firm on the feet</i>	<i>to disregard the factor (of)</i>
<i>to disagree fundamentally</i>	<i>to question certain conceptions of national identity</i>
<i>homeland prosperity</i>	<i>the job of sb's dream</i>
<i>to master sth</i>	<i>to put aside the intellectual hat</i>
<i>to come to a close</i>	<i>to put on a common man's cap</i>
<i>a top specialist</i>	<i>to establish one's truth</i>
<i>to hold dominant position</i>	<i>to go hand-in-hand (with)</i>
<i>well-being</i>	<i>to be absorbed into the society</i>

Task 5. Match the English nouns with their definitions.

expulsion	hostility and ill-treatment, especially because of race or political or religious beliefs
persecution	the origin or background of a person in terms of family or nationality; the transmission of qualities, property, or privileges by inheritance
ratio	an attempt to achieve a goal; earnest, prolonged, and industrious effort; an enterprise or undertaking
manifestation	the extent of the area or subject matter that somebody deals with or to which it is relevant
prejudice	an event, action, or object that clearly shows or embodies something abstract or theoretical; outward or perceptible indication
scope	preconceived opinion that is not based on reason or actual experience; dislike, hostility, or unjust behavior deriving from preconceived and unfounded opinions

endeavor	the action or process of forcing someone to leave a place
descent	the relation between two similar magnitudes with respect to the number of times the first contains the second; proportional relation

Task 6. Complete the text with the appropriate word or phrase in the correct form.

<i>low-wage jobs</i>	<i>elusive</i>
<i>push-and-pull forces</i>	<i>unification provisions</i>
<i>restrictive</i>	<i>to encompass ways</i>
<i>to pose</i>	<i>to be recruited</i>
<i>to craft</i>	<i>immediate relatives</i>
<i>to integrate</i>	<i>expulsion</i>

Immigration Policy

Immigration policy refers to the laws adopted and implemented by nation-states to regulate the entry and permanent settlement of foreigners. Immigration policies _____ to control borders, _____ immigrants into society, and meet the labor needs of national economies. There is, however, significant variation in the theoretical and practical application of immigration policies around the world. The immigration policies of individual countries are shaped by such things as political history, geographic location, party politics, and governmental institutions as well as by powerful, ever-changing, global economic _____ that are beyond their control. Few countries have completely open or closed immigration policies, but some are more _____ than others.

Capitalist societies invariably need skilled as well as unskilled workers and, as a result, _____ their immigration policies to meet the labor needs of their national economies. Highly educated immigrants with special training and talents, such as medical doctors and engineers, are usually seen as having a net positive impact on the economy. Accordingly, there is considerable global competition to attract the best and brightest immigrants. At the same time, many wealthy countries need unskilled workers to fill _____, such as harvesting agricultural produce, which native-born citizens are either unwilling or unable to do. These migrants frequently _____ through guest worker programs, hired on a temporary basis, and expected to return eventually to their countries of origin. The historical record indicates, however, that temporary migrants often choose to

stay in their host countries rather than return home. When migrants remain legally, they are classified as lawful permanent residents and may, after a set number of years, acquire citizenship. Immigration policies in many liberal democracies allow the _____ – spouses, children, and parents – of legal immigrants to join them through family _____. In some cases, more distant relatives – adult children and siblings – may immigrate as well.

Border control, law enforcement, and the _____ of undocumented immigrants are persistently _____ policy goals. Potential immigrants may be denied entry if it is thought they will be a drain on public coffers, a risk to public health, or a threat to national security. However, many people enter legally as tourists, students, or guest workers and then remain illegally after their visas expire. Illegal immigration _____ enormous challenges to policy makers. Once illegal immigrants reside in a country it is difficult for governments to apprehend and remove them.

TRANSLATION FOCUS

It is the task of the translator to release in his own language that pure language that is under the spell of another, to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his re-creation of that work.

Walter Benjamin

The translation process actually comprises three main stages: translation, editing, and proofreading.

Editing or revision means checking the translated or target text (TT) against the original or source text (ST), it is a kind of comparison of the two texts to make sure that the TT transfers the idea of the ST accurately. However, it is recommended first of all to read only the TT paying attention to the sentences with unclear syntax and meaning, and to make relevant corrections. This phase is followed by comparing the texts in both languages for any possible omissions and/or changes. This must be done in an unbiased and subjective way. The editor/translator has to avoid any ambiguity or addition and maintain the style of the ST, and correct grammar, syntax, and spelling mistakes.

While editing it is significant also to adapt the terms, neologisms, units of measurement, ways of addressing people, dates, etc. to the target reader and/or find equivalents in the target language. After the bilingual check, the text must be clear and read smoothly.

Proofreading finalizes the work on the translated text. During this stage grammar, syntax, spelling, and punctuation are checked. Besides, headings, paragraphs, and layout are fixed.

Tip

Beware of spelling in English as even one letter may change the word, consequently the meaning of the whole sentence, like *complement* vs *compliment*.

While editing, focus on certain nuances, for example, on the way of addressing people. The pronoun *you* may be translated into Armenian both as *դու* and *դուք*.

Task 1. Edit and proofread the texts.

Armenia attaches great importance to universal application and effective implementation of all treaties and regimes, dealing with non-proliferation of the weapons of mass distraction (WMD), regarding them as instrumental mechanisms to preventing the proliferation of WMD.

There is a wide range of legal instruments to prevent the proliferation of WMD both on international and national levels. Thus, some of the pillars of this legislative framework are as follows:

Armenian Parliament has adopted a resolution on accession to the “Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons” (NPT) on September 24, 1991, just three days after adopting a declaration of independence on the September 21, 1991, and deposited the necessary instruments of accession with the depositaries of the NPT - the Russian federation on June 21, 1993, and USA in July 15, 1993. At the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, Armenia along with others advocated indefinite extension of the Treaty.

With the initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, an Interagency Committee (National Body), headed by the Director of Arms Control and International Security Department of MFA, was established in according with the decision of prime Minister on October 4, 2011, for the purpose to coordinate the activities of stakeholder agencies to fulfill the obligations under the “Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction”.

The National assembly of the Republic of Armenia adopted a new Criminal Code on 18 April 2003 and a law on “Export control of dual-use items and technologies and their transit across the territory of Republic of Armenia” on May 15, 2010 (replaced the law in 2003). This law intends to supporting the implementation of international obligations and commonly agreed measures in

order to fight the proliferation of weapon of mass destruction and their delivery systems, to guarantee the implementation of intentional agreements and establish an effective export control mechanisms, to create favorable conditions for integration into world trade system and acquiring of modern technologies by promoting foreign trade and investments. According to the law, the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Armenia has recognized as an authorized body in the sphere of export control of dually-use goods and technologies.

Ահաբեկչական հարցակումները հաճախ նպատակաուղղված է առավելագույնի հասցվել վախն ու հրապարակայնությունը, սովորաբար օգտագործելով պայթուցիկ նյութեր կամ թույն: Ահաբեկչական խմբերը սովորաբար շուտ ավելի մեթոդապես պլանավորում են հարձակումը և կարող են պատրաստել մասնակիցներին, գաղտնի գործակալներին ապաստան տալ և գումարներ հավաքել կողմնակիցների կամ կազմակերպված հանցագործության միջոցով: Կապ հաստատելը կատարվում են ժամանակից հեռահաղորդակցության միջոցով, կամ հին մեթոդներով, ինչպիսին են, օրինակ, սուրհանդակը: Մտահոգություն կա նաև զանգվածային ոչնչացման զենք կիրառող ահաբեկչական հարձակումների մասին:

Ահաբեկչությունը, ասիմետրիկ պատերազմի տեսակ է և ավելի տարածված է այն դեպքում երբ ուղղակի պայմանական պատերազմը չի կարող արդյունավետ լինել, քանի որ ուժերը հակամարտող տարբեր են:

Համատեքստը որտեղ օգտագործվում է ահաբեկչական մարտավարություն, հաճախ իրենից ներկայացվում է լայնամասշտաբ, չլուծված քաղաքական կոնֆլիկտ Կոնֆլիկտի տեսակները լայնորեն տարբերվում են: Պատմական օրինակներն են.

- տարածաշրջանից դուրս գալը, նոր ինքնիշխան պետություն ձևավորելու կամ այլ պետության մաս դառնալու համար,
- տարբեր էթնիկ խմբերի տարացքների կամ ռեսուսների դոմինատությունը,
- բնակչության տնտեսական կորուստ,
- կրոնական ֆանատիզմ,
- այլն:

Task 2. Translate the Armenian parts fitting them into the English text. Summarize the text.

Refugees

A refugee, as delineated by the text of the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol, is an individual or group of individuals, who, due to reasonable fear of being persecuted on the basis of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion are outside the country of their nationality and are unable, on the account of such fear, or are unwilling օգտվել այդ երկրի պաշտպանությունից; or who, not having a nationality and իրենց նախկին մշտական բնակության վայրից դուրս լինելով _____ as a result of such events, are unable, or on the account of such fear are unwilling, to return to it. The term refugee has existed ever since the start of wars, armed conflicts, քաղաքական ցնցումներ, էթնիկ անհանդուրժողականություն, կրոնական խտրականություն _____, and all the human rights abuses that can coerce an individual or group of individuals to leave their homeland and ապաստան հայցել այլ երկրում where they are protected from abuses, intolerance, persecutions, or natural disaster that they were evading. Once recognized or ընդունող երկրի կողմից փախստականի կարգավիճակ ստանալուց հետո _____, a refugee is entitled to basic rights such as emergency medical care and food supplies, and afforded the option of eventual կամավոր հայրենադարձություն _____, third country resettlement, or local integration in the host nation. The latter option although fairly common is often problematic as many nations have increased their ներգաղթի և քաղաքացիության մասին խիստ օրենքները _____ or lack the space and resources մեծ թվով փախստականների տեղավորելու համար _____. The word refugee was first recorded in France as refugie, in 1573, in the context of granting asylum and assistance to the non-native Calvinists fleeing persecution from the Spanish rulers of the Low Countries, which encompasses modern Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and parts of northern France and western Germany. Ironically, a century later the word refugee was adopted in the English language when French King Louis XIV persecuted the same Calvinists Huguenots in France

in 1724 for forty years and they fled to England. The Huguenots were refugees as a consequence of their association to a religious group being targeted իրենց երկրի ինքնիշխան իշխանությունների կողմից _____, and in peacetime without any provocation on their part. This distinguished them from an aggregate of individuals in flight. Historically, religious refugees proliferated throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, primarily due to emerging popular reformations challenging previous church powers. Major streams include the Muslim Spaniards expelled after the fall of Granada in 1492, culminating in the deportation of 275,000 people across the Mediterranean to North Africa. In the same year, 150,000 Iberian Jews were forced to leave Spain քրիստոնեություն չընդունելու պատճառով _____. These movements halted toward the mid-seventeenth century, when absolutism surrendered to benevolent despotism. The eighteenth century gave birth to a new type of refugee flow: political refugees. The revolutionary conflicts of the late eighteenth century were fought in the developing language of political ideology with the intent of advocating and implementing a particular regime. The French Revolution (1789–1799) produced about 129,000 refugees, who հրաժարվեցին հավատարմության երդում տալ _____ to the revolutionary constitution. The American Revolution (1775–1783) created a similar movement, with a conservative number estimating sixty thousand British loyalists who left for Canada or England. The refugee figures from the American Revolution were five times higher than the French Revolution, based on the refugee ratio to total population. The 18th century refugees differed from the previous type, since they տեղահանվել էին իրենց քաղաքական հայացքների պատճառով _____ and the threat they carried to the current regime or the ruling government. The 19th and the 20th centuries gave rise to nationalism and a consolidation of state boundaries, which led to the introduction of immigration laws, passports, and other իրավական խոչընդոտների _____ to enter or leave a country. Thus, in the aftermath of World War I, Europe was faced with a great humanitarian crisis due to the restrictive measures systematized on personal movement. The war լուրջ հետևանքներ ունեցավ _____ for the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian empires. Thousands of people were displaced and stateless, they could not go home and yet were unable to find sanctuary elsewhere. It was against this background that the League of Nations established the High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR), to assist refugees and successfully

negotiate refugee rights, including travel documents, education, and employment. HCR was the first international agency to help define the refugees as a population with rights. World War II left Europe with an even bigger refugee crisis, as the six years of war between 1939 and 1945 left thirty million people displaced. At the end of the war, eleven million survivors were refugees and օգնության խիստ կարիք ունեին _____ . United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was created in 1951 to assist those refugees and help states կատարել իրենց պարտավորությունները _____ toward providing asylum for these refugees. The 21st century refugee definition constitutes the classic definition with an added category of the refugee as a victim. This adds people who are displaced by societal or international violence that is not particularly directed toward them, but makes life difficult for them to remain in their own country. Because so many 21st century զինված ընդհարումներ և էթնիկ հետապնդումներ _____ occur within third world countries, many of today's refugees often ապաստան են փնտրում հարևան երկրներում _____ creating further տնտեսական դժվարություններ և՛ իրենց, և՛ ընդունող երկրի համար _____ .

Task 3. Translate the text into Armenian.

Migration

The general understanding of migration as a description of **the relocation of people** from one country to another, especially the move from a developing country **to a more affluent country**, has extended in meaning to the process of these migrants settling down in the receiving countries. Migrant families' continued stay in their new homeland has changed the focus on migration, so it is no longer thought of as a “temporary” situation. These two dimensions of migration – one as a move from one country to another, and the other as a permanent stay in the new country – bring new challenges for the receiving countries. At the same time, globalization processes increase migration dynamics and affect the sending countries, for which **brain drain** and **the relevance of remittances** are cardinal issues.

Migration has become one of the central challenges for the future; therefore, its meaning needs reevaluation. Migration as a move from one country to another is, in general, linked to the demands of the labor market in the receiving countries.

Since the late twentieth century, industrialized societies have recruited unskilled or poorly educated workers, often from other countries, mainly for low-level jobs in factories and agriculture. Host countries that signed recruitment contracts considered migration a temporary situation. For this reason, many host societies were not prepared for the extended stay of the new inhabitants and the need to address issues of the migrants' living conditions, education, and language skills. When the labor market later **became saturated** with foreign workers, many nations decided to stop the recruitment process or allow their agreements to expire. The governments of the receiving countries expected the foreign workers to return to their home countries at the end of the recruitment period. It should be emphasized that the end of the recruitment process dramatically changed the relationship between the population of the receiving countries and the new inhabitants. **Contrary to the political expectations** of the receiving countries, most of the workers decided to stay in their new homelands. When describing the identities of the new inhabitants, in particular their descendants, experts often speak of "**transnational inhabitants**" because of their knowledge of both countries – receiving and sending – and their ability to live in the cultures of both. Using outside workers to meet labor demands in specific areas changed the makeup of the receiving societies. This change has been accompanied by civil rights movements, which have sought equal rights for the **underprivileged immigrant groups**. One outcome of these movements has been the opportunity for those with foreign backgrounds **to become naturalized citizens**. However, the criteria for naturalization depend on the history of each country. Throughout the recruitment process, migrant workers and their families were referred to by differing names within political and public discourse and in different countries. In Germany, as one example, the new inhabitants were originally referred to as "guest workers" to highlight the temporary character of their stay. After it had become clear the workers and their families would not return to their country of origin in the near future, they were called "foreigners" and later were given the name "migrants." The changing names for the new inhabitants are deeply linked to their place in society and the majority society's view toward their new cohabitants.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1032.

SPEAKING AND DISCUSSION FOCUS

Task 1. Read the text and discuss it.

Post-reading discussion points

- *Which countries have the most guest workers?*
- *What is the difference between guest workers and immigrants?*
- *Why are guest workers a problem for many countries?*
- *Why do the countries need guest workers?*

Guest Workers

Guest workers are people who sell their labor in a country other than their country of citizenship. As the term implies, guest workers are different from immigrants in that guest workers are in a host country strictly to work and are expected to eventually return to their home country. The term also implies that the temporary migration is voluntary. Although various historical forms of temporary migration could be described as examples of guest workers, contemporary usage of the term generally refers to explicit policies that facilitate temporary migration for labor purposes, often bilateral agreements between sending and receiving states. Examples include Mexican agricultural workers in the United States under the bracero program from 1942 to 1964, West Germany recruiting guest workers from Italy and the Mediterranean (especially Turkey) from the mid-1950s to 1973, and Persian Gulf oil-exporting states utilizing large numbers of Asian guest workers from the mid- to late 1970s to the present.

States seek guest workers for a variety of reasons, a prime motivation being a shortage of labor at particular skill levels for a particular wage. This could be a lack of unskilled workers willing to take up what is often referred to as “3D” work – difficult, dirty, and dangerous – at a relatively low wage, or a lack of highly skilled workers able to meet the demands of particular industries, such as information technology or health care. While the demand for guest workers is often driven by market forces, it is essential to recognize how guest workers are often a form of “unfree labor” exempt from market determination of wages and working conditions. In a well-functioning labor market, where workers are free to leave their current job in search of better conditions elsewhere and employers have the recourse to hire and fire workers, workers and employers are, in a sense, in a constant negotiation over wages and working conditions. In contrast, many guest workers are severely limited in their ability to contest the conditions of their employment, as they are legally obligated to honor a contract made with a specific employer, usually for a specific period of time. Contracts and/or work visas essentially render the guest worker a captive of the employer, with the worker

having a choice only between, on the one hand, continued employment under conditions provided for in the contract, or, on the other hand, leaving the country, often with financial penalties. While it could be argued that workers are free to negotiate contracts before departure to a recipient country, there are significant information asymmetries involved, especially for workers with no overseas experience. Another common concern about guest worker programs is the possibility they will lead to permanent migration. While guest worker programs are consciously designed as a form of labor supplementation that is short of permanent migration, history demonstrates that liberal societies are reluctant to cross the invisible line of denying basic civil liberties and human rights that would be required to locate and forcibly deport guest workers who have overstayed the conditions of their employment.⁷⁶

Task 2. Render the text into English and discuss it.

Միգրացիան անհատների կամ սոցիալական խմբերի մշտական բնակավայրի փոփոխության գործընթաց է, որն արտահայտվում է նույն երկրի այլ տարածաշրջան (ներքին) կամ այլ երկիր (արտաքին) տեղափոխման ձևով: Ըստ ՄԱԿ-ի բնակչության հիմնադրամի՝ 2015 թ. աշխարհում մոտ 244 միլիոն մարդ՝ աշխարհի բնակչության 3.3%-ը, ապրել է իր ծննդավայր երկրից դուրս: ՄԱԿ-ի տվյալների հիման վրա՝ ամերիկյան *Փյու հետազոտական կենտրոնը* եզրակացնում է, որ Հայաստանում ծնվածների 25%-ը՝ մոտ 937 հազար մարդ, 2015 թ. ապրել է Հայաստանի սահմաններից դուրս: Այս ցուցանիշով Հայաստանը աշխարհում 4-րդ տեղում է՝ Բոսնիա և Հերցեգովինայից, Ալբանիայից և Ջամայկայից հետո: Հայաստանից մեկնած միգրանտների գերակշռող մասը՝ մոտ 56%-ը, հանգրվանել է Ռուսաստանի Դաշնությունում: Եվրոպական երկրներին բաժին է ընկնում միգրանտների մոտ 15%-ը, ԱՄՆ-ին և Կանադային՝ 9.5%-ը, իսկ 19.5%-ը բաժին է ընկել այլ երկրների:

Նշված ուղղություններով արտագաղթի միտումները առկա են նաև Հայաստանի երիտասարդ սերնդի շրջանում. կատարված հարցումների համաձայն շուրջ 27%-ը հակված է ներքին միգրացիայի, իսկ 30%-ը պատրաստվում է ընդհանրապես հեռանալ Հայաստանից: Նման որոշում կայացնելու համար երիտասարդները նշում են 3 հիմնական պատճառ՝ կյանքի որակը բարձրացնելու ցանկություն, ավելի լավ աշխատանք

⁷⁶ Kurian, G. Th. The Encyclopedia of Political Science. CQ Press, 2011, p. 704.

գտնելու հնարավորություն, ավելի լավ կրթություն ստանալու ցանկություն: Պոտենցիալ միգրանտների մեծ մասը՝ 36.3%-ը, նախընտրում է տեղափոխվել Ռուսաստան: Ցանկալի ուղղություններ են նաև ԱՄՆ-ը, Ֆրանսիան, Մեծ Բրիտանիան, Գերմանիան: Արտագաղթել ցանկացողները նշում են հիմնականում այն երկրները, որտեղ կա ձևավորված հայկական համայնք: Միգրացիոն հոսքերի վրա դեռևս մեծ ազդեցություն չի ունենում Եվրասիական տնտեսական միությանն (ԵԱՏՄ) անդամակցելը և դրա շրջանակներում աշխատանքային միգրացիան կարգավորող միջազգային համաձայնագրերի մշակման գործընթացը: ԵԱՏՄ-ն նախատեսում է միասնական աշխատանքային շուկայի ստեղծում, ինչի համար մտադիր է հասնել Միության տարածքում ներքին փաստաթղթերի օգտագործմանը: Եվրասիական տնտեսական հանձնաժողովի կողմից հրապարակված զեկույցի համաձայն՝ 2015 թ. Բելառուսում Հայաստանից մեկնած աշխատանքային միգրանտների թիվը կազմել է ընդամենը 383 մարդ, ինչը, սակայն, 220-ով ավել էր 2014 թ. ցուցանիշից: Մինչդեռ Ռուսաստանի դեպքում, թեպետ այդ նույն ցուցանիշը նվազել է 2.3 անգամ, անգամ այս դեպքում թիվը բավական մտահոգիչ է՝ շուրջ 125.000 մարդ:

Պատմական ակնարկ

1988-2007 թթ. Հայաստանի բնակչության միգրացիայի ծավալները փորձագետները ներկայացնում են 4 փուլով՝ ապակայունացման (1988-1991), զանգվածային արտահոսքի (1992-1994), անցում կայունացման (1995-2001), շարունակական ժամանակավոր միգրացիայի (2002-2008) փուլեր: Այս բաժանումը պայմանավորված է Հայաստանում տեղի ունեցող իրադարձություններով: Առաջին փուլը Ադրբեջանից եկած հայ փախստականների, երկրաշարժի, հասարակական-քաղաքական իրադարձությունների շրջանն էր: Երկրորդում արտագաղթի հիմնական պատճառներն էին տնտեսության քայքայումը, համատարած գործազրկությունը, կենցաղային խնդիրները: Այս ընթացքում 5 բնակչից 1-ը երկրից մեկնում էր անվերադարձ: Անցումը կայունության կատարվեց սոցիալ-տնտեսական վիճակի կայունացման, արտակարգ գործոնների ազդեցության թուլացման հետևանքով: Չորրորդ փուլում փորձագետները խոսում են արդեն արտաքին աշխատանքային միգրացիայի մասին, որում 2009 թ. տվյալներով՝ ներգրավված է եղել 230 հազար մարդ: Կարելի է

ասել, որ Հայաստանը դեռևս շարունակական միգրացիայի փուլում է: Միգրացիոն գործընթացներում Երևանից հետո ամենաշատը ներգրավված են Շիրակի, Լոռու, Գեղարքունիքի եւ Կոտայքի մարզերը, իսկ ամենաքիչը՝ Սյունիքի և Վայոց ձորի մարզերը: Հայաստանից կանոնավոր արտագաղթին զուգահեռ 2014 թ. նկատվեց ներգաղթ, որը, սակայն, շատ կոնկրետ պատճառ ուներ՝ պատերազմը Սիրիայում: Սիրիական հակամարտության մեկնարկից ի վեր Սիրիայից Հայաստան է ներգաղթել ավելի քան 17 հազար սիրիահայ, որոնցից 12 հազարը մնացել են Հայաստանում: Սիրիահայերի մյուս մասն արտագաղթել է Հայաստանից հիմնականում սոցիալ-տնտեսական խնդիրների, Հայաստանում չաղապատացվելու պատճառով:

Միգրացիայի միջազգային կազմակերպության աջակցությամբ Հայաստանի կառավարությունը մշակել է ժողովրդագրական վիճակի բարելավման 2016-2018 թթ. ազգային ծրագիր, որով ակնկալվում է հանրապետությունից միգրացիոն հոսքերի աստիճանական կրճատում: Մինչ ազգային ծրագիրն իր պտուղները կտա, Հայաստանի քաղաքացիները շարունակում են որոնել ուղիներ իրենց բարեկեցությունն այլ երկրներում գտնելու համար: 2015 թ. դրությամբ Ռուսաստանում միգրացիոն հաշվառման էր սպասում Հայաստանի շուրջ 363 հազար քաղաքացի: 2011-2015 թթ. ՌԴ քաղաքացիություն է ստացել ավելի քան 57 հազար ՀՀ քաղաքացի: ԱՄՆ մեկնելու նպատակով «Գրին քարտ» ստանալու համար Հայաստանի քաղաքացիները շարունակում են դիմումներ ներկայացնել: 2007 թ-ից ի վեր «Գրին քարտ» է շահել ավելի քան 13 հազար ՀՀ քաղաքացի, նրանցից 1277-ը՝ միայն 2016 թ.: Օրինական միգրացիայի միջնորդներ են նաև պետական կառույցները, բուհերը, բազմաթիվ մասնավոր ընկերություններ: Ընդ որում, երիտասարդների շրջանում անցկացված հարցումները ցույց են տվել, որ ԱՄՆ և Եվրոպա նախընտրում են մեկնել համալսարանում սովորելու, երիտասարդական ծրագրերին և նախաձեռնություններին մասնակցելու, արտասահմանցիների հետ շփվելու նպատակով, իսկ Ռուսաստան նախընտրում են մեկնել ընկերների, բարեկամների եւ հնարավոր գործատուների հետ կապ հաստատելու նպատակով:

Task 3. Choose one of the quotes to make a speech on.

- “Migration is an expression of the human aspiration for dignity, safety and a better future. It is part of the social fabric, part of our very make-up as a human family.” *Ban Ki-Moon*
- “We cannot and should not stop people from migration. We have to give them a better life at Home. Migration is a process, not a problem.” *William L. Swing*
- “I’m a big believer that freedom of migration is a good thing.” *Bill Gates*

Supplementary Reading:

Skilled and Unskilled Workers

Unlike unskilled workers, highly skilled and well-educated people who go abroad to work are usually not described as migrants. They are instead seen as “mobile” people able to adapt very easily to varying circumstances. In terms of integration into the majority society, highly skilled workers do not attract as much attention. This labeling of new inhabitants and their descendants as “migrant” or “mobile” illustrates the distinction in prestige and the potential for problems in integration. This difference also indicates who is not seen as a threat to the culture of the receiving country. The differing views on migrants are principally based on whether the concerned people are considered skilled or unskilled. This difference has been generated because of the permanent stay of unskilled workers, which has made them a visible component of the receiving country. In the early twenty-first century, governments focus on strict regulation of migration. In contrast to the recruitment process of the twentieth century, the more recent effort of industrialized societies is focused on recruiting highly qualified and well-educated workers. Some countries have considered temporary work and residence permits for selected workers. In order to minimize the possibility of unskilled workers and their families residing long term in the receiving country, nations have developed programs, such as providing limited residence permits, to ensure that the stay of such workers is temporary.⁷⁷

Politics of Immigration

The politics of immigration (entry) are distinct from, but closely related to, the politics of emigration (departure), remigration (return), and migration (movement) and can be defined broadly as the struggle for power related to the entry and permanent settlement of people in a nation-state. As such, a complex amalgamation

⁷⁷ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 1033.

of frequently divisive and controversial politico-economic and socio-cultural issues falls under the vast penumbra of immigration politics, ranging from border control, citizenship, national identity, and national security to labor, language, race, religion, and ethics.

The politics of immigration exist, in one form or another, in many countries but are particularly prominent in so-called classic countries of immigration, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, where immigration has played a central role in the nation-building process. Immigration in these countries is normally considered low politics, and with the exception of the humanitarian admittance of refugees and asylum seekers, policy is made mostly in terms of what is in the state's best interest. The general consensus among economists is that a solvent welfare state cannot have completely open borders, for it must be able to regulate who has access to its finite resources. Conversely, most countries also cannot live with completely closed borders, for capitalist societies invariably need both cheap and skilled labor. Policymakers thus focus on effectively regulating legal entry so as to meet the demand for workers and mitigate illegal immigration. Once migrants enter, whether legally or illegally, it is difficult for governments to force them to leave. Large-scale forced deportation is neither practically feasible nor ethical in accordance with 21st-century human rights norms. Moreover, remigration may not ultimately be desired as national economies quickly become dependent on low-skilled foreign workers to do the dirty, dangerous, and difficult jobs natives are unable or unwilling to do and on high-skilled workers to fill important niches in the labor market. In industrialized countries such as Japan and Italy, where fertility rates are below replacement levels and populations are rapidly shrinking and aging, there is also a dire need for immigrants to offset growing demographic deficits, pay taxes, and finance the social security of retirees.⁷⁸

Guest Workers to Residents to Citizens

The historical record indicates that temporary migrant laborers, or guest workers, commonly turn into permanent residents. The longer foreigners stay in a country, the harder it is for governments to deport them, and the more likely it is they will put down roots, invite family members to join them, and embed themselves inextricably into the fabric of society, thereby completing the transition from migrant to immigrant. However, problems ensue if large numbers of legal and illegal (i.e., undocumented) immigrants either cannot or will not adapt to the social, cultural, and political norms of their new country. When foreigners and their offspring become marginalized second-class members of society, a prospective

⁷⁸ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011.p.764

threat arises to the social cohesion and collective well-being of the nation-state. Government policies thus encourage immigrant integration and assimilation, and knowledge of a country's language, history, and laws are normally required to acquire citizenship. Naturalizing large numbers of foreigners has significant potential long-term consequences as electoral outcomes and the distribution of political power can change as a result. Some political parties cater to immigrant groups, calculating that when immigrants do eventually vote they will remember which party championed their cause. Left-of-center parties like the Democrats in the United States, Labour in Great Britain, and Social Democrats in Germany tend to court working-class immigrants. By contrast, their conservative Republican, Tory, and Christian Democratic counterparts, respectively, are more inclined to preserve traditional ways of life and conceptions of national identity and therefore favor restrictions on immigration. This pattern does not always hold, however, as immigration politics cuts across ideological lines. In the United States, for example, the probusiness wing of the Republican Party advocates both free markets and a flexible approach to immigration to meet labor needs. Libertarian and green parties are usually tolerant of immigrants and relatively open to immigration, while extreme nationalist parties tend to be explicitly xenophobic.⁷⁹

National and Group Identity

Immigration shapes the ethnic, racial, religious, and linguistic characteristics of the nation-state and ultimately affects conceptions of national identity. If immigration levels are high enough, native populations often feel inundated and threatened and, especially in times of economic recession, lend electoral support to nativist candidates and parties. Pat Buchanan in the United States, Jean-Marie Le Pen in France, Jörg Haider in Austria, the late Enoch Powell in Britain, and Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands are examples of politicians who have campaigned on anti-immigration platforms. In rare cases in which mass immigration leads to an increase in electoral support for neo-Fascist parties, political order and even democracy itself are threatened. So-called *émigré* politics are manifested in many ways. Some immigrants mobilize around issues of particular concern to their respective ethnic groups. Others bring the political tensions of their homelands with them and embrace the opportunity to engage in radical politics once they arrive in liberal democracies, where the freedoms of speech and press can be used to achieve political goals in their countries of origin. Kurds in Switzerland, for example, lobby for the creation of an independent Kurdistan in the Middle East; Copts in Australia advocate for the rights of their co-ethnics in Egypt; and Cubans

⁷⁹ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011.p.765

in the United States agitate for the overthrow of Fidel Castro and regime change in Cuba. Since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States and subsequent bombings in Spain and Britain, immigration is increasingly seen as a high political issue of national security. This development has brought immigration politics into a new realm in which receiving countries feel compelled to put greater emphasis on border security and more closely monitor political and religious extremism among immigrants. Ultimately, immigration raises many questions about civic and ethnic nationalism, ethical obligations to refugees and political asylum seekers, the nature of multiethnic societies, membership in the state, minority and noncitizen rights, societal change, state sovereignty, and the limits of representative government. The political challenge in the 21st-century age of globalization will be to minimize the costs while maximizing the benefits associated with immigration.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Kurian, G. Th. *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press, 2011, p. 765.

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YEREVAN STATE UNIVERSITY

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Հեղինակները հաստատում են, որ ծանոթ են «ԵՊՀ գրահրատարակչական քաղաքականությանը», և գրքում առկա փաստերը, դիրքորոշումները, կարծիքները շարադրված են հեղինակային իրավունքի և էթիկայի միջազգայնորեն ընդունված սկզբունքների պահպանմամբ:

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