

МІЖРЕГІОНАЛЬНА
АКАДЕМІЯ УПРАВЛІННЯ ПЕРСОНАЛОМ



МАУП

О. В. Гринько

**АНГЛІЙСЬКА ДІЛОВА МОВА
ПОЛІТИЧНИЙ МАРКЕТИНГ
І ДЕРЖАВНЕ УПРАВЛІННЯ**

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Пропонований практикум з англійської ділової мови призначений для студентів, які вивчають політологію, політичний маркетинг, державне управління, управління персоналом та міжнародні політичні відносини. Він складається з розділів, що містять тексти з основних тем напряму “Політичний маркетинг і державне управління”, і може бути використаний як додаткове джерело інформації з профілюючих дисциплін.

Для студентів старших курсів вищих навчальних закладів очної та заочної форм навчання, а також для всіх, хто зацікавлений в удосконаленні навичок практичного застосування англійської мови.

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Передмова

Україна визначила політичні вектори вступу до Світової Організації Торгівлі, інших міжнародних структур, а також входження в Європейський простір, зокрема у спільний освітній простір. Впровадження європейських освітніх стандартів, зокрема реалізація ідей Болонського процесу освіти, передбачає забезпечення якісного навчання, нових навчальних посібників, високого професійного рівня знань фахівців, а також володіння іноземною мовою професійного спрямування.

Сучасний розвиток суспільства висуває нові завдання перед сферою професійної освіти у вищій школі. З цією метою запроваджено нову дисципліну “Іноземна ділова мова” або “Англійська мова професійного спрямування”.

Пропонований навчальний посібник містить тексти з політології, щоб навчити студентів розуміти наукову і публіцистичну літературу з політології англійською мовою, удосконалити фундаментальні знання англійської мови через інформацію професійного спрямування.

Мета пропонованого навчального посібника — сформувати у студентів навички роботи із джерелами професійного напрямку англійською мовою в оригіналі, сприяти фундаменталізації загальної професійної освіти за допомогою її поглиблення в результаті вивчення англійської мови у професійному аспекті.

Практикум розрахований на тих, хто опанував основи граматики, має навички читання, говоріння і вміє перекладати та переказувати тексти.

Практикум містить не лише автентичний інформаційний матеріал, а й вправи на закріплення лексичного матеріалу, перевірку розуміння прочитаного та англо-український словник.

Проте наявність словника не звільняє читача від створення власного словника-мінімуму найуживаніших термінів та словосполучень з цього напрямку.

1. POLITICAL SCIENCE (Політологія)

The systematic study of government and politics is defined as political science. It deals with the making and implementing of public policy by means of decisions regarded as authoritative or binding for a society. Nowadays its emphasis upon formal institutions and legal relationships has shifted to a concern for processes, the behavior of individuals and groups, informal relationships, concepts of power, decision making, and political system. The discipline generally includes national and local government, comparative or cross-national analysis, politics and behavior, public law and judicial behavior, political theory, public administration and organizational behavior, and international relations.

In all contemporary societies the area that is subject to politics is very large.

There are many sources of statements about politics — family, friends, television, books, newspapers, teachers, politicians. Each provides information about politics, but the information can be unclear, contradictory, or even wrong. We are surrounded by competing claims regarding the political world. Political science is one way of attempting to establish the knowledge. It is a set of techniques, concepts, and attempts, whose objective is to increase the accuracy of our understanding the political world.

EXERCISES

1. Match a word in A with a word in B.

A	B
Decision	study
Public	behavior
Contemporary	science
Systematic	making
Contradictory	relations
Political	societies
Judicial	law
International	information

2. Reproduce the sentences from the text in which these expressions are used.

Translate them.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____

3. Write down 5 questions on the text.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

4. Write the words with the similar meanings to the following verbs and translate them:

- 1) to implement — _____
- 2) to emphasize upon — _____
- 3) to shift — _____
- 4) to include — _____
- 5) to surround — _____
- 6) to attempt — _____
- 7) to increase — _____

5. Retell the text.

1.1. POLITICS (Політика)

As it was mentioned politics is one of the subject matter of political science. However it is not easy to define the limits of politics as a subject for study. In the United States, for example, more than one — third of the national income is controlled and distributed by the federal, state, and local governments. These governments decide how to spend all this wealth, on items ranging from nuclear weapons to preschool education to new roads. In addition, these governments establish many rules that set limits on human behavior, from banning the use of certain words on television to regulating how people may invest their money to determining a woman's right to have an abortion. Moreover, politics includes the procedures through which governments, groups, and individuals decide how to spend the money and how behavior will be limited. All such actions and decisions are part of politics. Across different countries there are huge differences in what is considered “public” and thus a legitimate area for government activity. Some governments tell their citizens what jobs they must take, what television programs they can watch, and when they can spank their children. Clearly, politics covers a vast terrain of human life. Among the common definitions of *politics* are these:

Politics is the exercise of power.

Politics is the public allocation of things that are valued.

Politics is the resolution of conflict.

Politics is the competition among individuals and groups pursuing their interests.

Politics is the organizations and people who make and implement public policies.

Politics is the determination of who gets what, when and how.

All reflect the central notion that politics is about power, influence, interests, and values. There is also an implicit notion that politics is associated with those aspects of life that have public significance. Other aspects of life, in contrast, are private and beyond the domain of politics. But remember what is considered “public” in one country may be considered “private” in another.

EXERCISES

1. Match a word in A with a word in B.

A
Legitimate
National
Subject
Human
Preschool
Nuclear
Vast

B
terrain
matter
income
weapon
behaviour
education
area

2. Reproduce the sentences from the text in which these phrases are used. Translate them.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____

3. Write down 5 questions on the text.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

**4. Find in the text nouns that are used with the following verbs.
Translate the expressions:**

- 1) to define _____
- 2) to distribute _____
- 3) to spend _____
- 4) to establish _____
- 5) to set _____
- 6) to ban _____
- 7) to cover _____
- 8) to invest _____

5. Retell the text.

1.2. DOING POLITICS (Політична діяльність)

Politics comes alive when people engage in political action. The participation in a protest march, the attempt to persuade a friend to share your political perspective, even the act of voting can be a moment of heightened experience. Acting alone or with others, the individual who takes political action can seek to serve her most crass self-interest or the ultimate goal of global survival.

This analysis has indicated both the diverse modes of political action and also the rather modest levels of such actions reported by most people. Some people are shocked that so many people do not even bother to vote in a country such as the United States. Others are surprised that anyone really thinks that his/ her involvement in politics, whatever the level of commitment, will make any difference in the grander scheme of things. Political participation is a crucial topic for analysis because people's actions are at the heart of the political process.

To this point, the treatment of micropolitics has focused mainly on description and taxonomy — on what people believe about politics and on what political actions people are prepared to undertake.

EXERCISES

1. Match a word in A with a word or words in B.

A

- to engage
- to share
- to act
- to be
- not to bother
- to take
- to serve
- to persuade

B

- to vote
- alone or with others
- (s. one's) political perspective
- prepared political action
- crass self interest
- to share
- in political action
- to undertake

2. Reproduce the sentences from the text in which these expressions are used.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____
- 7. _____
- 8. _____

3. Write down 5 questions on the text.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- _____
- _____

4. _____

5. _____

4. Suggest nouns from the text above to the following adjectives and translate the expressions:

- 1) protest _____
2) modest _____
3) heightened _____
4) crass _____
5) global _____
6) ultimate _____
7) diverse _____
8) crucial _____

5. Retell the text.

1.3. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (Політична участь)

Political participation is the term that can be applied to all of the political actions by individuals and groups. The explicit objective of most political participation is to influence the actions or selection of political rulers. What is the range of behaviors that a person might undertake in the political world? At one extreme are people who are obsessed with politics, see political implications in most of life's actions, are constantly involved in political discussion and action, and want to make political decisions for others. At the other extreme are people who have absolutely no interest in politics, pay no attention to political phenomena, and engage in no politically relevant actions. (In some instances, such as not voting in an election, not doing something can also be a type of political participation.) The first half of this chapter focuses on individual political action, considering the range of actions between the two extremes.

An individual can engage in virtually the same political actions as a member of a group. The actions of groups can be analyzed on some additional dimensions because of their size and structure. Thus the second half of this chapter considers the activities and types of the two major forms of political groups — interest groups and political parties.

EXERCISES

1. Match a word in A with a word or words in B.

A
Political
Political
Explicit
Political
Political
Political

B
objective
actions
decisions
actions
phenomena
participation

2. Reproduce the sentences from the text in which these expressions are used.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____

3. Write down 5 questions on the text.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____

3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

4. Retell the text.

1.3.1. INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL ACTIONS (Індивідуальна політична діяльність)

Modes of Political Activity

Broadly, the modes are ranked on the basis of the effort or costs required to perform that type of political action, and the examples within each mode are ranked according to the frequency with which Americans tend to perform them. Some of the most extensive empirical and cross-national analyses of political participation have emphasized four broad categories of political participation: (1) voting, (2) campaign activities, (3) personalized contacts, and (4) communal activities.

Revolutionaries — Undertake political violence against the political order.

Protestors — Riot, engage in civil disobedience, join in public protest demonstrations. Attend protest meetings, refuse to obey unjust laws. Protest verbally if government does something morally wrong.

Government activists — Candidate for/ hold public office.

Partisan activists — Contribute money to party, candidate, issue. Attend meetings, rallies. Actively work for party, candidate, issue. Persuade others how to vote. Join and support party.

Community activists — Active in community organization. Form group to work on local problems. Contact officials on social issues. Work with others on local problems. Write letters to media. Send support or protest messages to political leaders. Engage in political discussions. Keep informed about politics.

Contact specialists — Contact local, state, or national officials on particular problems.

Voters — Vote regularly in elections.

Supporters and patriots — Show patriotism by flying flag, attending public parades, express love of country. Pay all taxes.

“Apathetics” (inactives) — No voting, no other political activity, no patriotic inputs.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences with the appropriate definition.

1. Those who vote regularly in elections are called _____
2. Those who protest verbally if government does something morally wrong are called _____
3. Those who actively work for party, candidate, issue, and persuade others how to vote are called _____
4. Those who form group to work on local problems and contact officials on social issues are called _____
5. Those who are candidates for holding public office are called _____
6. Those who do not vote, engage in other political activity, are not patriotic are called _____
7. Those who contact local, state, or national officials on particular problems are called _____

2. Retell the text.

1.3.2. GROUP POLITICAL ACTIONS (Трудова політична діяльність)

Why do people join political groups? A person might want to influence the actions of his/ her government but might believe that his/ her encourage actions will not make any difference. People tend to feel that they are relatively powerless in politics when acting alone — but there might be strength in numbers. If a person joins with many others in a political group, it is possible that the group can exercise influence in the political world, because of the group's numbers, organization, and capabilities.

Groups are extremely important in politics, because they are often the major mechanism through which individuals are linked to the political system; hence they are labeled as linkage institutions. Although there are a few political gladiators who can have a major impact on politics, most individuals, most of the time, have a minimal effect on political decisions and actions.

Even in democracies, casting a vote is the primary individual political act. But if huge numbers of votes are cast (there are more than 90 million votes cast in the US. presidential contest), one individual's vote is politically insignificant. To have a greater impact, an individual's best strategy is to combine his/ her political actions with those of others through a political group. Some political groups, such as a major political party, are wide-ranging in their goals and have a huge membership. Other groups are very focused on their objectives and have limited membership.

As an analytic concept, a group can be defined as an aggregation of individuals who interact in order to pursue a common interest. It is the pursuit of a common interest that is most crucial to this definition, since the individuals do not necessarily interact directly with one another. The factor that distinguishes a political group from other groups is that the common interest is a political objective — an interest in a particular allocation of public values.

A distinction is usually made between political interest groups and political parties, although both types fit under our general definition of political group. A political group enters a special category of political party when the group seeks not merely to influence political decisions but also to place its members in the actual roles of government, such as executives and legislators.

Although this distinction tends to become rather fuzzy among the most politically active groups, political parties as a category different from other types of political interest groups.

Organizations composed of persons who have joined together to seek their mutual interest by influencing government decisions and actions are often referred to as interest groups. Their efforts to influence government decisions are commonly described as lobbying. There can be a distinction made between institutional pressure groups and issue-oriented pressure groups.

Interest groups act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest. They try to persuade governments to pursue the policies it advocates. Persuasion takes many forms and the force of a logical and well-prepared argument can be sufficient to convince ministers or bureaucrats that a certain policy should be adopted or the arousal of the public in order to persuade government of the error of its ways. Interest groups are frequently the most reliable and best-informed link between government agencies and the portions of the public that they particularly serve. They are considered so important that governments have often gone out of their way to encourage the creation of special-interest groups.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. The factor that distinguishes a political group _____
2. A political group _____
3. Interest groups _____
4. Persuasion _____

2. Give the derivatives of the following verbs and translate them:

- 1) to influence — _____
- 2) to feel — _____
- 3) to join — _____

- 4) to exercise — _____
- 5) to link — _____
- 6) to aggregate — _____
- 7) to describe — _____
- 8) to persuade — _____
- 9) to promote — _____
- 10) to encourage — _____

3. Suggest nouns to the following adjectives:

- 1) individual _____
- 2) major _____
- 3) political _____
- 4) huge _____
- 5) presidential _____
- 6) limited _____
- 7) common _____
- 8) particular _____
- 9) special _____
- 10) mutual _____

4. Write down 5 questions on the text.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

5. Retell the text.

1.4. TYPES OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE (Типи політичних знань)

People differ greatly in their understandings about the nature of politics, the uses of political power, and the distribution of benefits. Their understandings about politics are composed of three general types of political knowledge:

(1) *descriptions* of political facts, i. e. *what* questions, which require a descriptive response based on “facts” and can be answered straightforward.

For example: Do you know when the Soviet Union ceased to exist?

The Soviet Union ceased to exist: on December 25, 1991, with the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev.

But on many questions about the political world, knowledge is subject to dispute. On some questions, it is difficult to get precise information. Suppose you want to know the number of countries with operational nuclear weapons. It was generally agreed that nine countries had operational nuclear missiles (Belarus, China, France, India, Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the United States), but the situation has changed so far. Experts are not sure about whether the other countries (Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Libya, North Korea, Pakistan, South Africa, South Korea, and Taiwan) have nuclear weapons. *If the experts cannot reach consensus on which countries belong to the “nuclear club.” Can you name the countries?* On some other questions about politics, description requires assessments that raise complicated, controversial issues about power, interests, and values. In such cases it can be difficult to reach agreement about the facts. For example:

Does every revolution end in a tyranny?

(2) *explanations* of how and why politics occurs as it does, i. e. many questions about politics are even more difficult to answer, because they ask *why* something happens and they require political knowledge in the form of explanation. For example: Why did the Iran-Iraq War occur?

Here are some alternative explanations for this lengthy and deadly war:

Historical ethnic animosity between Persian Iranians and Arabic Iraqis.

Religious conflict between Shi'a Muslims (controlling Iran) and Sunni Muslims (controlling Iraq).

Iraq's forceful demand that Iran return control of the entire Shatt-al-Arab waterway, in violation of both a 1975 treaty and international law.

A strategy developed by leaders in Iraq and Iran to divert their populations' attention from serious internal economic and political problems.

Political manipulation by leaders in other Arab states who feared that the late Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalism might spread to their states if not stopped in Iran.

Can revolution be nonviolent?

These are examples of the questions about politics that require explanation, not mere descriptive facts. Such questions are among the most fascinating in politics, but adequate explanation is often difficult because patterns of cause and effect can be extraordinarily complex.

(3) *prescriptions* of what should happen in the political world, i. e. statements about politics, including claims or assumptions that certain choices and actions are more desirable than others. These represent a third form of political knowledge, prescriptions. A prescription is a value judgment that indicates what *should* occur and *should* be done. Thus a prescription deals with "normative" political knowledge — answers to questions about what ought to be, not merely description and explanation of what is.

What should be the government's role in the provision of health care (e. g., doctors, hospitals, medication)? Some possible prescriptive responses:

The government should take no action that interferes with the private provision of health care.

The government should regulate health care providers only to prevent dangerous practices.

The government should establish policies that encourage competition among many private health care providers.

The government should provide free health care, but only for the very poor.

The government should subsidize health care for all citizens on the basis of their ability to pay.

The government should provide free health care to all citizens, paid generally from tax revenues.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. The understandings about politics are composed of three general types of political knowledge: _____

2. Descriptions of political facts require _____

3. Explanations of how and why politics occurs as it does are even more difficult to answer because _____

4. Prescriptions of what should happen in the political world deal with _____

5. In the provision of health care the government should _____

2. Write down 5 questions on the text (different from those that are in it).

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

3. Retell the text.

1.5. SOURCES OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE (Джерела політичних знань)

Which response is most appropriate? The normative political knowledge is usually based on value judgments, which are supplied by descriptive and explanatory knowledge. That is, normative political knowledge depends upon three levels of understanding: (1) the knowledge of certain facts (e. g., What is the level of health of different individuals in a particular society? What is the quality of health care provided to those individuals? How much does it actually cost to provide certain kinds of health care?); (2) personal priorities among competing values (e. g., Is unequal health care bad? How much profit should doctors be allowed to make? Should government have an extensive role in the health care system?); (3) the knowledge about why certain outcomes occur (e. g., What causes unequal health and health care? What are the effects of a government subsidy for health care on cost, on quality of care, and on taxes?).

As each individual's political knowledge is a unique combination of descriptive facts, explanations, and prescriptions about politics, the three levels of our understanding depend on the sources of our political knowledge.

(1) Authority — involves the appeal to any document, tradition, or person that is believed to possess the controlling explanation regarding a particular issue. Knowledge about politics can be based on three kinds of authority sources: *a specific authority, a general authority, or "everyone."*

Specific Authority Sources. A particular individual might place great confidence in the knowledge about politics derived from a specific authority source — a parent, or a teacher, or a friend, or a famous person. Those who are young and those who are minimally interested in politics are especially likely to rely on specific authorities for much of their political knowledge.

General Authority Sources. A general authority source is one that has substantial influence on a large proportion of people in a society. Examples are constitutions, revered leaders, widely respected media or books, and religious teachings. General authorities are especially evident as a basis for normative political knowledge. *"Everyone" as Authority.* Sometimes we are convinced that

something is true because it is a strongly held belief of many other people. If virtually every sensible person you know agrees on a “fact” about politics, there is little reason for you to disagree or challenge the “fact”. One reason to place confidence in strongly held beliefs of many people is the assumption that is unlikely so many people will be incorrect. Such knowledge has stood the “test of time,” since it could have been challenged and repudiated in the marketplace of ideas. For example, most people in the United States think it is a good idea to have a Senate and a House of Representatives, because this arrangement seems to have worked well for more than two hundred years.

There are fundamental problems with the method of authority as a way of knowing. This should be most obvious with specific authorities. You might think that your parent or best teacher or favorite celebrity has a clear grasp of important political issues, but few of the other 5 billion people in the world have any confidence in this source of your political knowledge.

And, although “everyone knows that X is true,” there is no guarantee that everyone is correct. Even “Honest Abe” Lincoln acknowledged that you can fool all of the people some of the time. Indeed, a political belief that is widely held might be particularly immune to careful assessment. Experiments in psychology have revealed the extent to which an individual’s beliefs can be altered by the beliefs of others. For example, if several respondents (collaborating with the experimenter) all give identical wrong answers, the subject can thereby be persuaded that what he/ she knows is wrong, even when it is correct.

Moreover, “everyone” (i. e., the reference group to whom we look for information and knowledge) usually consists of a limited set of people whose judgments we trust and whose cultural background we share. In such cases, we exclude individuals who might disagree with what “everyone knows.”

“Having a Senate and House of Representatives is the best arrangement” — If a two-house national legislature is such a good idea, why do most countries choose to have a single-house legislature?

In short, it is common, and perhaps inevitable, for authority sources to offer inconsistent or conflicting knowledge claims on the political world. The overall problem with all appeals to authority as

a source of knowledge is that it is extremely difficult to differentiate between alternative authority sources or even to establish widespread agreement on precisely what political knowledge a particular authority source provides.

(2) Personal thought does not rely upon outside authorities, but rather assumes that the individual can use his/ her own powers of thought to determine what he/ she knows about the political world. Such knowledge can be based on *rationality* or *intuition*, grounded in personal experience.

It is possible to feel confident that you know something on the basis of your own personal thoughts, feelings, or experiences.

Rationality. An individual can rely on his/ her own rational thought as a means for deciding that something is correct. Political knowledge can be established by the application of right reason or by the discovery of *a priori truths*. To a large extent, the reliance on rationality assumes that certain propositions are self-evident to all reasonable men and women. For example, the Preamble to the American Declaration of Independence claims that there are “self-evident” truths — that all men are created equal and that they have inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Intuition. A second form of personal thought is intuition. Here, one’s knowledge is based on feeling, on a sense of understanding or empathy, rather than on reason. You have probably had the experience of being convinced that something is correct because *it feels* right. For example, the key slogan of 1964 Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater was an explicit appeal to intuition: “In your heart, you know he’s right!”

A major problem with personal thought as a source of knowledge is that there is no method for resolving differences of opinion among individuals. It is unlikely that others always agree with what you think is obvious. The problem with intuition should be apparent. There is no reason to assume that different people will share the same intuitive feelings regarding what is true. Goldwater’s poor electoral showing (he received 39 percent of the vote) suggests that many people decided (intuitively?) that he was not right, or perhaps they decided (rationally?) that he was too far right, ideologically.

Even rational thought will not necessarily enable people to agree on political facts. Consider the key knowledge claim cited above:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all men are created equal”. This seems a clear appeal to rationality, a political fact that is self-evident to all thinking individuals. But what exactly does this claim mean? Do all men have equal physical or mental traits’ at birth? Do they grow up with equal opportunities? Are they equal before the law, regardless of the quality of legal help they can purchase? Are all women created equal too? Many legal and political struggles in the United States during the two centuries since this “self-evident” truth was proclaimed have concerned precisely what equal rights *are* assured in the American political system, with particular concern for issues of race, gender, and age.

The reliance on authority or on personal thought has a key shortcoming: neither provides a clear method for resolving disagreements about what is true. Different people accept different sources of authority and different interpretations of what an authority means. And reasonable men and women can disagree on the knowledge that emerges from their own modes of personal thought.

(3) Thus a third source of knowledge, the method of *science*, has emerged as an attempt to devise a better approach for establishing knowledge that can be agreed upon by many people. Political science applies the scientific method as a means to clarify our knowledge about the political world. Political science provides a language for talking about politics and it provides a set of methods for analyzing political phenomena. Science uses explicit methods that attempt to ensure that different people can agree regarding what they know. The goal of any science is to describe and explain — to answer the questions *What, why, and how*. There are four essential characteristics of the scientific method:

1. Science entails a *search for regularities* in the relationships among phenomena.

2. Science is *empirical* in the sense that it is concerned with phenomena that can be observed, or at least measured.

3. Science is *cumulative*, because it tentatively accepts previously established knowledge on a subject as the foundation for development of further knowledge. One can challenge existing knowledge, but it is not necessary to reestablish the knowledge base every time.

4. The method of science is *testable*. Its practitioners, “scientists,” specify the assumptions, data, analytic techniques, and in-

ference patterns that support their knowledge claims. They look for some analysis or evidence that would invalidate (“falsify”) the claim. Other scientists can evaluate all aspects of the claim and can repeat the analysis to ensure that everyone reaches the same conclusion.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Normative political knowledge depends upon three levels of understanding: _____

2. Authority involves _____

3. Knowledge about politics can be based on three kinds of authority sources: _____

4. Personal thought assumes that the individual can _____

5. The method of science has emerged as an attempt to _____

6. Political science provides _____

7. The goal of any science is _____

2. Suggest nouns from the text above to the following adjectives and translate the expressions:

1) different _____

2) particular _____

3) extensive _____

4) descriptive _____

- 5) controlling _____
- 6) specific _____
- 7) substantial _____
- 8) revered _____
- 9) cultural _____
- 10) reasonable _____

3. Answer the questions:

1. Can you think of a significant piece of your political knowledge that is derived primarily from a parent, an influential teacher, or a public figure you admire?

2. Have you ever insisted that some fact is correct because it seemed so “obvious” to you?

3. Is there any reason to assume that different people will share the same intuitive feelings regarding what is true?

4. Is it unlikely that others always agree with what you think is obvious?

5. Why does the reliance on authority or on personal thought have a key shortcoming?

6. What are the four essential characteristics of the scientific method?

4. Retell the text.

1.6. WHY IS THE STUDY OF THE POLITICAL WORLD OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE?

(Чому вивчення політичного світу так важливо?)

It is true that researchers in political science have not agreed upon a coherent set of concepts, theories, and rules of interpretation. There are many different methods used in political science, there is disagreement regarding the puzzles and problems that ought to be solved, there is little consensus on what theories or generalizations have been proven, and there is even great difficulty in operating key concepts, such as “power” or “democracy.”

The political world is far too complex and unpredictable for systematic generalizations. Politics is based on the actions and interactions of many individuals, groups, and even countries. Politics occurs in the midst of many changing conditions that can influence those actions. The range of variation in what people might do and in what conditions exist is so vast that clear “if A, then B” statements about politics are impossible. Thus it is not surprising that political analysts cannot precisely explain the causes of war, or why women vote differently from men, or what effect laws banning private handguns will have on crime rates.

The analysis of politics cannot be objective in the way assumed by the scientific method. The issues chosen for study and the manner in which variables are defined, measured, and analyzed are all powerfully influenced by the analyst’s social reality (i. e., by his/ her culture, ideas, life experiences, etc.). In this view, no one (whether Sunni Muslim or agnostic, rural Nigerian or cosmopolitan Parisian, international lawyer or migrant farm worker) can be totally objective and unbiased in the way he/ she tries to analyze political phenomena.

Since the time of Aristotle (384–322 B. C.), classical political theorists have insisted that the ultimate aim of political analysis is to discover “the highest good attainable by action.” In this view, political analysis is a noble endeavor because it helps determine what government should do in order that valued goals (e. g., social order, a good life, a just society) can be achieved.

In contrast, many of those who use the methods of contemporary political science do not assume that these methods can identify universal principles of political good or can answer normative questions. For example, they cannot provide answers to fundamental normative questions about what social goals and ends should be valued and about what means are appropriate to achieve those goals. Russian novelist Leo Tolstol’s asserted that science can provide no answer to the essential question, “What shall we do, and how shall we arrange our lives?”

Nevertheless, we need methods to reach some interpersonal agreement about political facts. Although political science lacks precise concepts and theories, it does enable us to develop better concepts, improved methods, and sound generalizations, and thereby it makes the study of the political world an exciting intellectual challenge.

Understanding politics is extremely important. As Austrian philosopher Karl Popper suggests, “we must not expect too much from reason; argument rarely settles a [political] question, although it is the only means for learning — not to see clearly, but to see more clearly than before.” In the face of fundamental value conflicts and the potential for massive political violence between individuals, groups, and nations, political knowledge might reduce the misunderstandings and misconceptions. Thus it can be the grounds for greater tolerance and wiser value judgments about political good. And enhancing *what* we know about politics should make us more effective in knowing *how* to behave politically — as voters, political activists, and political decision makers. There are different approaches to political science, and there are also different ways to be introduced into the political world. Shakespeare noted that “man is the measure of all things,” and we can add — the explorer of the political world at the most personal and individual level, who can or cannot explain *why* individuals seem to think and act certain ways. Thus the study of the political world is of crucial importance to the creation of humane social life.

EXERCISES

1. Match a word in A with a word or words in B.

A
to agree
to be
to provide
to reach
to develop
to explain

B
better concept
the causes of war
interpersonal agreements
based on actions and interactions
answers
upon a coherent set

2. Reproduce the sentences from the text in which these expressions are used. Translate them.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

3. Choose the best alternative.

1. There are many different _____ used in political science.

- a) views b) approaches c) attitudes d) methods

2. There is little _____ on what theories or generalizations have been proven.

- a) concern b) consideration c) consensus d) care

3. Politics _____ in the midst of many changing conditions that can influence those actions.

- a) appears b) takes place c) emerges d) occurs

4. It is not surprising that political _____ cannot precisely explain the causes of war.

- a) analysts b) scientists c) researchers d) viewers

5. "Man is the measure of all things," the _____ of the political world at the most personal and individual level.

- a) innovator b) explorer c) inventor d) invader

4. Write down 5 questions on the text.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

5. Retell the text.

6. Translate into English.

1. Політика — це визначення того, хто, що, коли і яким чином отримує.

2. Політика тісно пов'язана з іншими галузями знань, такими як економіка, соціологія, географія й історія.

3. Політика — це те, як ми розуміємо і будуємо свої суспільні відносини.

4. Політика — це змагання окремих осіб та організацій за втілення своїх інтересів.

5. Політологи пропонують різні класифікаційні схеми політичних систем.

6. Політика — це боротьба за владу та її утримання.

7. Політика — це найефективніший засіб (механізм) використання влади в інтересах будь-якого суб'єкта суспільно-політичного процесу.

8. Політика — це відповідна система цінностей, установок та норм, що використовуються з метою забезпечення влади.

9. Політика — це унікальний, складний комплекс і синтез найрізноманітніших типів та форм людської діяльності.

10. Політичне життя — це частина суспільного життя, пов'язана з політичною владою і реалізацією соціальних інтересів.

сів, основним змістом якого є усвідомлена й цілеспрямована політична діяльність людей.

2. HOW THE POLITICAL WORLD IS ORGANIZED (Як влаштовано політичний світ)

2.1. A POLITICAL SYSTEM (Політична система)

A political system is the pattern of human relationships through which authoritative decisions are made and carried out for a society. A political system is distinguished from other social systems by four characteristics:

- (1) it is universal in its reach, extending to all members of society;
- (2) it claims ultimate control over the use of physical coercion;
- (3) its right to make binding decisions is accepted as legitimate;
- (4) its decisions are authoritative, bearing the force of legitimacy and a substantial probability of compliance.

Since there are also characteristics of states, the term “political” system is commonly used as a label for the collectivity of relationships comprising the government and political processes of a state.

Some writers define the term more broadly to include almost any social relationship where influence is exercised or authoritative decisions made. Thus, within subsocietal groups, such as family, church, labour union, or business organization, the group decision making structure is regarded as a political system. At the international level, the authority and other influence relationships among states are often said to constitute an international political system, with various geographical (e. g. Western Europe) or organizational subsystems (e. g. China).

The term “political system” has increasingly come to replace “state” and supplement “government” as the conceptual focus of political science for several apparent reasons.

Political systems is about the politics of large numbers of people — about how the political world is organized and about the structures of government. They comprise such issues as: What is a state? What causes people to identify strongly with certain other people as a nation? How are the political system and the economic system linked? What features distinguish democracies or dictatorships? What are the arrangements through which governments organize executive and legislative power? What are the responsibilities of such political structures as the bureaucracy or the legislature?

While concepts such as state and nation are extremely useful, political scientists have sought an additional, more general and analytic concept to describe the structures and dynamics of organized politics at all levels.

The essential concept is the idea of a *system*, which is a group of components that exist in a characteristic relationship to each other and that interact on the basis of regular patterns. Because the components are interdependent, change in one component will have some effect on other components. Such change can cause minor or even major alterations in the manner in which the total system functions. In a mechanical analogy, an automobile engine can be viewed as a system, as a set of components interacting in a regular way. If one spark plug is dirty, the performance of the automobile as system will be substantially altered, and if the spark plug is removed, the system might not work at all.

The same interdependency of components is evident in human systems, such as families, sports teams, factories, or bureaucracies. The components of human systems — people in roles — are more likely to vary in the range of their actions than are the components of most mechanical systems. This means that the performance of human systems tends to be far more variable and less predictable than that of mechanical systems. Human systems function relatively smoothly as long as most of the components (the people) interact within a tolerable range of expected action. For high performance, some human systems, such as a symphony orchestra or a drill team, require far more rigid adherence to predictable roles than others, such as a jazz combo or a basketball team. Because of people's capacity to adapt and improvise, human systems can sometimes adapt effectively to unexpected circumstances. But human

variability can also result in system performance that is disorganized, with negative or even disastrous effects.

The political system is a system of behavior, and it is defined by its distinctive activities, the authoritative allocation of values for a society. This definition is central to the idea of a political system.

Political systems are composed of three types of institutions which make and resolve demands on each other — government institutions, interest groups, and political parties.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. A political system is the pattern of human relationships through which _____

2. Four characteristics of a political system are: _____

3. The term “political system” comprises such issues as: _____

4. The authoritative allocation of values for a society is _____

2. Choose the best alternative.

1. It is universal in its reach, extending to all members of _____.

a) community b) neighbourhood c) society d) public

2. It claims _____ control over the use of physical coercion.

a) total b) ultimate c) final d) eventual

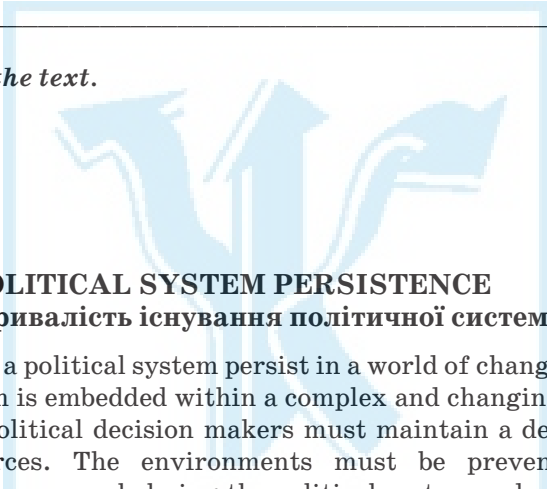
3. Change can cause minor or even major _____ in the manner in which the total system functions.

a) alterations b) changes c) fluctuations d) amendments

3. Write down 5 questions on the text.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

4. Retell the text.



**2.1.1. POLITICAL SYSTEM PERSISTENCE
(Тривалість існування політичної системи)**

How does a political system persist in a world of change? The political system is embedded within a complex and changing environment. The political decision makers must maintain a delicate balance of forces. The environments must be prevented from constraining or overwhelming the political system and must be exploited for the resources and opportunities that they present; political actors must be sensitive and accurate in their perceptions of the effects of all other components in the system; demands must be managed so that they are not irreconcilable and so they do not overload the resources available; positive support must be nurtured and negative support discouraged or suppressed through some mix of value allocations that maintain the loyalty or acquiescence of the citizens. In short, the conversion process must operate with political skill and political will.

What happens if there is insufficient political skill or political will? The pressures on the decision makers might overwhelm their capacity to respond effectively. If the political system's performance is poor, there is likely to be a reduction in the quality of the

citizens' lives, more problems from the internal and external environment, loss of support for the political system, and a rise in disorder.

At any point, it is possible that there will be changes in the political system: (1) The *authorities* who hold political positions might be replaced, by election, by political pressure, or by violence; or (2) the *regime* might change, through the implementation of new governing structures or procedures or through significant alterations in the pattern of value allocations. If these changes in the regime are massive and fundamental, it is even possible for a political system to "die."

For political systems, the last decades of the 20-th century were the most deadly in history. The obituary is headed by the Soviet Union and most of the regimes of Central and Eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia (all between 1989 and 1991). In Africa, political systems such as Ethiopia (1991), Liberia (1990), and Somalia (1991) collapsed, although there was no immediate birth of a coherent successor, and others, including Benin (1991) and Chad (1990), underwent substantial political system transformations. In the Philippines, President Ferdinand Marcos' despotic regime was overturned in 1986, and the Sandinistas' one-party rule of Nicaragua ended with the 1990 elections. Many political systems, while not "dying," have made substantial transformations away from command political economies and toward greater political democracy. Whether a particular political system actually dies can be a matter of debate, but the recent period has provided ample evidence that rapid and dramatic changes do sometimes occur within political systems.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Political actors must _____

2. Demands must be managed so that _____

3. Positive support must be _____

4. The conversion process must _____

5. The authorities who hold political positions might be _____

6. The regime might _____

2. Answer the questions:

1. How does a political system persist in a world of change?
2. What happens if there is insufficient political skill or political will?
3. What happens if the political system's performance is poor?

3. Retell the text.

**2.2. VALUES
(Цінності)**

Values are those things that have significance and importance to people. We can discuss values in terms of the idealized abstractions that inspire or justify much political action: liberty, equality, freedom, justice. Or values can be defined more specifically: they can be material goods, such as a decent house or road system; they can be services, such as quality health care or protection from crime; they can be conditions, such as security from national enemies or clean air; they can be symbolic goods, such as status. In addition to positive values, there are negative values, such as coercion or imprisonment, polluted water, epidemic disease, and so on.

By definition, values tend to be scarce resources — either there is an insufficient amount of a given value to satisfy everyone, or the enjoyment of one value by some requires a loss of value to oth-

ers. To use an example from the previous paragraph, there is no political system in which all citizens have housing that they would consider adequate. Some would view their housing as too small, or too expensive, or in the wrong location, or lacking in sufficient luxuries. Even if a state could provide everyone with identical housing, some would be dissatisfied because they want better housing or because they object to the use of their taxes or work to subsidize the housing of others. A vast arsenal of nuclear weapons in one's state may make one individual feel quite secure while making another individual extremely insecure. One person might favor large expenditures on missile systems while another would prefer to spend the resources on housing, and a third might prefer lower taxes to expenditure on either weapons or housing. Every value distribution entails trade-offs between different values as well as some inequality in the distribution of benefits and burdens. Thus there are always disagreements, competition, and even violent conflict over whose values will be served and whose will not.

Value allocations are taken as *authoritative* when the decisions are accepted as binding by people affected by the decisions. One of the most fascinating questions in political analysis is: Why do people accept the authority of the political system to allocate values in a manner that is not to their direct advantage? Why do people accept the imposition of taxes, policies, and laws that they judge to be undesirable to themselves?

The political system is meant to solve the difficult analytic problem of defining the boundaries of the political world. The domain of the political system is limited to those areas where values are being allocated "for a society" — that is, to those values where the state must act to protect and serve the public's interests. Recall the notion of *res publica*, or "things of the people." The political system, in establishing the range of value allocations included in *res publica*, also sets the boundaries of its own domain of action.

Every political system defines its boundaries of legitimate action differently. This is a crucial point reflected in the contrasting views of the role of the state. Some political systems allocate values in virtually every aspect of their citizen's lives while other systems intervene minimally. One political system might provide a total health care delivery system to all citizens, with no direct charges for doctors, hospitals, or treatment, while another system subsidiz-

es only hospitalization for the very poor. One political system might require daily religious instruction in school while another system forbids even the general discussion of religious philosophies in the schools.

Analytically, a political system could exist at any level, even one that does not have ultimate authority. This concept could certainly apply to subnational political systems (including such American examples as states, counties, and municipalities). It could also apply to a supranational system that encompasses more than one state (for example, the European Community). Perhaps a more generalized definition of the political system might describe it in terms of “the authoritative allocation of values for a collectivity.”

EXERCISES

1. Translate into English.

1. Кожне суспільство характеризується властивою лише йому системою та ієрархію цінностей.

2. Цінності — це життєво значущі предмети, природні утворення й продукти людської діяльності.

3. Розрізняють два види цінностей: пов’язані з життєвими потребами (насамперед забезпечення біологічного, фізичного життя); пов’язані з вищими, духовними потребами.

4. Нинішній стан системи цінностей, українського загалу зокрема, надто неоднозначний, складний і суперечливий.

5. В українському соціумі немає нині ціннісного консенсу-су — тут відбувається складна “гра” корпоративних, групових та індивідуальних інтересів.

2. Retell the text.

2.3. ENVIRONMENT (Середовище)

The *environment* is the name given to all those activities that are not included within the state’s activity domain of *res publica*. Thus it encompasses all those physical and social domains where the authoritative allocation of values for the society is *not* the dominant activity. Do not think of the environment as a separate physical area; the political system often operates in the same physical environment as other subsystems such as the economic environment and the social environment. The activities in the “intrasocietal” environment are occurring in the same spatial area as are the activities being performed by the political system. The environment is vast, because it includes not only all the activities within the society, but also an “extrasocietal” environment, which includes virtually every activity in the world that is external to the territory of the state.

Clearly, only a few aspects of this enormous environment are considered in any particular analysis of a political system. What is important about the concept of the environment is the idea that any aspect of the environment might affect the political system. That is, the environment provides opportunities and obstacles, resources and constraints, that are relevant to the functioning of the political system.

For example, there might be a shortage of fossil fuels within the state (i. e., in the intrasocietal ecological system). This “input” might provoke the political system to take some action (policy deci-

sion) to ensure more fuel for its citizens and its economy. Among the various policies the political system might adopt are these:

- a) stimulate additional fuel production within the society through subsidies for exploration;
- b) reduce fuel consumption through a very high fuel use tax;
- c) encourage innovative alternatives by supporting research and development of synfuels;
- d) obtain fuel resources from outside the state by using military force to capture some other state's fuel resources.

EXERCISES

1. Answer the questions:

1. What is environment?
2. What does it encompass?
3. Is it a separate physical area?
4. Why is the environment vast?
5. Where are the activities in the “intrasocietal” environment occurring?
6. What does “extrasocietal” environment include?
7. What is important about the concept of the environment?
8. What does the environment provide?
9. What are the various policies the political system might adopt?
10. Can you think of other feasible policy responses to this problem in the political system's environment?

2. Retell the text.

2.4. DEMANDS AND SUPPORTS **(Попит та підтримка)**

Among the inputs from the environment, the most direct inputs to the political system are demands and supports. Demands are wants or desires for particular value allocations. Demands might

come from individuals, groups, or systems either within or outside the society. When a citizen prefers lower taxes, or more expenditure on health care, or greater regulation of corporations, or a freeze on nuclear weapons construction, these preferences become demands to the political system when they are communicated directly by the citizen or by other actors such as spokespersons, interest groups, or political parties. (This process corresponds, in functional language, to interest articulation and political communication.)

Supports are actions by individuals or groups that indicate either favorable or unfavorable orientations toward the political system. These actions can be directed toward individual actors in the political system (e. g., Bill Clinton, Fidel Castro), toward elements of the regime (e. g., the prime minister, the Supreme Court, the municipal council), or toward a broad political community (e. g., the Sikhs, the national flag, Francophones [all peoples speaking French], the Third World, the World of Islam). Support can be positive, as when an individual pays taxes, serves in the state's military, salutes the flag, or votes. There can also be negative support, in the sense of actions that criticize or oppose the political system, such as refusing to pay taxes, avoiding military service, burning the flag, or defacing the ballot.

At the heart of the political system framework is the conversion process — the process by which political actors assess demands and supports within the context of the relevant environmental forces and then determine what values will be allocated to whom. The conversion process is treated a bit like a “black box,” in the sense that little detail is provided about how decisions are made.

Many analysts, however, have been especially interested in studying how the political system actually does make policy decisions and allocate resources, whether or not they use Easton's systems model. The most widely proposed general explanations of the decision process are the class approach, the elite approach, and the group approach. In each, certain groups in society (the dominant class, the small ruling elite, or a diversity of private groups) exercise their power and influence. The state's decision makers respond to these societal pressures, implementing the most powerful pressures as public policy. There are other analytic descriptions of the dynamics of the political decision-making system in addition to the

class, group, and elite approaches. Here are brief sketches of several of these alternatives:

In the state-centered approach, the major public decision makers act autonomously from the diversity of groups in the society. They define a national interest and then formulate and implement policies to achieve this national interest, regardless of contrary views from subunits in the government or from groups in the society.

In the public choice approach, decision makers calculate the expected utility (the net benefits minus the net costs) for each alternative decision and then select the action with the most favorable benefit-cost calculus.

In the incremental approach, choices are typically marginal changes from existing policies. In this view, decision makers lack the cognitive capacity and the comprehensive information that would enable them to calculate utilities rationally. Also, the balance of political forces has resulted in the current policy compromise. For these reasons, it is more sensible and more politically prudent to make periodic small changes that readjust policy toward their broad goals.

The bureaucratic politics approach emphasizes that a decision maker's particular role in the organization greatly influences the ways she/he structures the issue, the informations she/he receives, and the choices she/he makes. Decision makers are loyal to their own subunit and its perspective rather than to the organization as a whole. Decisions are compromises based on bargains blending the agendas and values of the different subunits involved in the process.

The organizational process approach assumes that an organization develops certain routinized, standard operating procedures which determine the flows of information, the formulation of alternatives, the patterns of interaction, and the criteria for choice. Thus the established routines for making decisions are more important than the views of particular actors.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Demands are _____
-

2. Supports are _____

3. The conversion process is _____

4. The most general explanations of the decision process are _____

5. The state's decision makers _____

6. In the state-centered approach _____

7. In the public choice approach _____

8. In the incremental approach _____

9. The bureaucratic politics approach _____

10. The organizational process approach _____

2. Retell the text.

2.5. OUTPUTS AND OUTCOMES

(Прийняття, процес втілення політичних рішень та їх наслідки)

Once political decisions have been made, they become outputs of the political system. Some analysts find it useful to distinguish *outputs*, which are the decisions and the implementation process, from the *outcomes*, which are the impacts of those decisions. Some outputs are visible and obvious, as when the political system authorizes the development of a new missile system, spends the money to build the missiles, and points them toward its enemies. But it is sometimes quite difficult to identify decisions (outputs), since they might involve subtle actions, secret policies, or even “nondecisions” that perpetuate the existing value distribution or bury issues. For example, if some people demand government subsidies for small farmers and the government does nothing, there has been an allocation decision even though no visible policy action can be identified. A policy might also be implemented in a multiplicity of ways for different people, making it difficult to specify exactly what the policy output is. For example, the state might have a law that an individual cannot kill another person, yet the state does not mete out identical punishment to all those who do kill.

Policy outcomes are another interesting subject for inquiry. Ultimately, it is the impacts of the political system’s policy choices that really affect people’s lives. What difference does that policy choice (that value allocation) make? How does the implemented policy affect people’s health, welfare, security, knowledge, self-worth? How does it influence their life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness? Even more than in the analysis of outputs, it can be extremely difficult to identify with precision the overall effects of a policy and its effects on particular individuals and groups.

EXERCISES

1. Answer the questions:

1. When do political decisions become outputs of the political system?
2. What are outputs?
3. What are outcomes?
4. Why is it sometimes quite difficult to identify outputs?
5. What are the impacts of the political system’s policy choices?

2. Translate the following:

1. Політичне рішення є елементом політичного процесу і не може перебувати в статичному стані. _____

2. Прийняття політичних рішень завжди зумовлене різноманітними інтересами. _____

3. Політика — національні інтереси, або інтереси народу; інтереси класів, соціальних груп, партій, інших організацій; особистісні інтереси та інтереси різних сил за межами країни.

3. Retell the text.

**2.6. FEEDBACK
(Зворотний зв'язок)**

The final component in the systems approach is the “feedback loop.” It is assumed that outputs might have impact on aspects of the environment and thus will affect the next round of demands and supports reaching the political system. Feedback is the term applied to the dynamics through which information about the changing nature of the political system and its environment are monitored by the system. Political actors are supposed to monitor this information, because changes in the environment, in inputs, and in the political system might require the political actors to revise the value allocations they have previously made. Feedback is characterized as a loop to emphasize that there is continuous, evolving interdependency among components in the system.

EXERCISES

1. Translate into English.

1. Групи захисту особливих інтересів формуються громадянами, які об'єднуються задля захисту конкретних інтересів своїх співвітчизників та обраних представників. _____

2. Групи приватного інтересу мають, як правило, економічну зацікавленість у пропагованій ними політиці. _____

3. Лобісти працюють над тим, щоб розширити наукові дослідження в галузі медицини, забезпечити захист озер і річок, поліпшити автомагістралі, продовжити реалізацію програми студентських позик і забезпечити захист свободи віросповідання. _____

4. Групи захисту особливих інтересів допомогли прийняти різні закони, починаючи від законів про захист основних цивільних прав і завершуючи пакетом законопроектів про скорочення бюджетного дефіциту, що сприяв формуванню збалансованого федерального бюджету. _____

5. Існує лише змагання конкуруючих еліт з більшістю громадян, які не мають прямого контролю над політичними рішеннями, що приймаються правлячою верхівкою. _____

2. Retell the text.

3. STATE (Держава)

A state is a legal entity that meets three criteria:

(1) the state operates within a territorial framework, its authority operating within fixed borders which confers citizenship on all those who are born there or live there permanently. It polices these borders, regulates the adjacent seas and airspace, provides passports for its citizens for travel abroad, and controls the passage of goods and persons into and out of its territory;

(2) the state has sovereignty, or the power to maintain order within its declared territory. The state is politically independent, recognizing no superior authority, and has the right to suppress violent internal challenges to its authority and to reject foreign interference. All sovereign states have equal legal status in the international community;

(3) the state must have some degree of legitimacy, both internal and external. Internally, it must command the loyalty, or at least the passive consent, of a sizeable majority of its citizens, so that it can exercise its political authority in reliable and durable ways. Without internal legitimacy, civil war is likely. Externally, a state must be recognized by other states as being a legitimate member of the international community. A group or party may be in de facto control of a territory, but that group is not viewed as legitimate until it receives the de jure recognition of other states, who thereby agree to exchange ambassadors, acknowledge territorial claims, conclude trade agreements, and conduct all the other official transactions of normal interstate relations.

A state is a legal concept describing a social group that occupies a defined territory and is organized under common political institutions and an effective government. Some publicists add the qualification that the group must be willing to assume the international legal obligations of statehood. States legally come into being when they are recognized by other individual members of the international community. States are the primary units of the international political and legal community. States emerged out of the collapse of the feudal order in Europe, and they stand in a relationship of sovereign equality to one another. As sovereign entities, states have the right to determine their own national objectives and the

techniques for their achievement. State freedom of action is conditioned, however, by the formal restraints of international law and international organization, and by the relationship between state power and the informal situational factors that characterize the international environment at any given time.

The role of the state in contemporary countries is two-fold:

1) to aid accumulation (that is, promote investment, profit-making, economic growth) through many ordinances, activities and expenditures, from the issuance of currency, the regulation of the money market, the subsidization of the transportation and communication infrastructure, the provision of health and education services, and the suppression of unionism and worker discontent;

2) to legitimize the political-economic system (that is, make the system acceptable to the general population) by correcting or ameliorating the worst excesses of the unregulated market through an array of measures (rent controls, unemployment insurance, inter-provincial tax transfers, pollution controls, workplace health and safety laws), by redistributing some income or lack of access to social services (progressive income taxes, medicare), and by providing services that the market will not or cannot provide to the society at large (culture and the arts, parks and recreation, a justice system, fire departments). When legitimation of the capitalist system fails, the state resorts to repressive forms of social control such as political and human rights suppression, particularly of worker and populist movements.

EXERCISES

1. Give words opposite in meaning to the words in italics:

- 1) a *legal* entity —
- 2) live *permanently* —
- 3) travel *abroad* —
- 4) *sovereignty* —
- 5) maintain *order* —
- 6) *passage* of goods —
- 7) *to reject* foreign interference —
- 8) command the *loyalty* —
- 9) *passive* consent —

- 10) *majority* of its citizens —
- 11) *international* community —
- 12) states *emerged* —
- 13) *the collapse* —
- 14) *equality* to one another —
- 15) human rights *suppression* —

2. Give Ukrainian equivalents to the following expressions:

- 1) a legal entity _____
- 2) fixed borders _____
- 3) to confer citizenship _____
- 4) to regulate the adjacent seas and airspace _____
- 5) to provide passports _____
- 6) to control the passage of goods and persons _____
- 7) to maintain order _____
- 8) to suppress violent internal challenges _____
- 9) to reject foreign interference _____
- 10) to exercise one's political authority _____

3. Complete the sentences.

1. The state operates _____

2. The state has sovereignty or the power to _____

3. The state is politically _____

4. Internally, a state must _____

5. Externally, a state must _____

6. States are _____

7. As sovereign entities, _____
8. State freedom of action is _____

4. Answer the questions:

1. What is a state?
2. Where does a state operate?
3. What does a state have?
4. What legitimacy must a state have?
5. What does a state as a legal concept describe?
6. What is the role of the state in contemporary countries?
7. What does it mean 'to aid accumulation'?
8. What does it mean 'to legitimize the political-economic system'?
9. When does a state resort to repressive forms of social control?
10. To what repressive forms of social control can a state resort?

5. Retell the text.

**4. GOVERNMENT
(Уряд)**

Government is the institutional organization of political power within a given territory that is the institutionalized process through which the internal and external aspects of state sovereignty are exercised. Many types of government exist, described by such words as democratic, authoritarian, oligarchic, dictatorial, republican, parliamentary, monarchical, presidential, unitary, and federal. Regardless of type, all governments make and enforce law, provide services for their citizens, and administer justice. The type of government is determined by the way in which legislative, execu-

utive, and judicial power is organized and distributed. The government of the nation-state is the most powerful instrument for social control yet devised by man, and takes precedence over other institutions for social control, such as family or church. Organized society implies the presence of rules applicable throughout the society, and it is government, exercising the rule-making power and the monopoly of force necessary to ensure ultimate compliance, that prevents anarchy and makes organized social living possible. The extent of control exercised by government is dependent on the relative power of the various groups in the state, and on the extent of value consensus within the society.

A government with the ability to direct and control the people of a nation, without effective interference from inside or outside the national boundaries is sovereign; it exercises sovereignty. A sovereign government is composed of a number of institutions cooperating with one another to decide how to direct and control people and how to distribute goods and services, as well as how to implement those decisions once they are made. Sometimes it is preferable that top leaders not have much power. Without power at the top, however, it is difficult to hold a nation-state together and to achieve objectives its people agree on.

Governmental institutions called legislatures have the right and the ability to decide what the laws will be.

Other governmental institutions have the right and ability to force people to obey laws; these are executive institutions.

The idea of separating powers among the various branches of government to avoid the tyranny of concentrated power falls under the larger category of checks and balances. The power is distributed between three groups: legislatures and executives which are a part of government and the third — the judiciary. The distribution of power has great impact on who makes government policy. Certain factors weaken or strengthen the government bodies and groups as they interact with one another. The relative strength of each unit, in turn, affects the ability of these government bodies to distribute resources among themselves and to different segments of the public. The power of public officials is limited. Their public actions must conform to the Constitution and to the laws made in accord with the Constitution.

Shared authority among government institutions can both encourage and restrain the abuse of power.

EXERCISES

1. Find in the text nouns that are used with the following adjectives and translate the phrases:

- 1) institutional _____
- 2) given _____
- 3) institutionalized _____
- 4) powerful _____
- 5) social _____
- 6) applicable _____
- 7) rule-making _____
- 8) ultimate _____
- 9) social _____
- 10) relative _____

2. Answer the questions:

1. What is government?
2. What types of government exist in the world community?
3. What does a government do?
4. How is the type of government determined?
5. What does organized society imply?
6. What is the extent of control exercised by government dependent on?
7. What three branches constitute the power of government?
8. What is the reason of separating powers?
9. What must public actions of public officials conform to?

3. Retell the text.

5. LEGITIMACY (Законність)

Legitimacy is the contention that the policies or actions are undertaken by appropriate officials and conform to recognized principles and accepted rules. Without legitimacy, authority can only invoke compliance by the use of force. Legitimacy is the implica-

tion of the existence of a right, as when a government is said to have, or to have been granted a right to govern based on such criteria as its popular acceptance, the legal or constitutional processes that brought it to, or maintains it in its position of authority, traditional grounds, as in the divine right of kings, or the charismatic quality of its leadership that commands a following and thus contributes to its popular acceptance. Legitimacy is the quality of being justified or willingly accepted by subordinates that converts the exercise of political power into “rightful” authority. Legitimacy reflects an underlying consensus that endows the leadership and the state with authority and that offers respect and acceptance for individual leaders, institutions, and behaviour norms. Although law serves a legitimating function, the technicality of law alone without widespread social acceptance may provide little support for the power of the lawmakers and enforcers. The consensus that provides the legitimating factor in the exercise of power may be cultivated through the sanctity of tradition, by the devotion of people to a charismatic leader, or by the acceptance of the supremacy of “legal authority” through a general belief in the supremacy of law. Legitimacy is fundamental to the maintenance of political order in society. Without it leaders must rely on coercion to maintain their power, which alone may be insufficient to preserve the stability of the system. Regimes that stay in power over a period of time generally strive for and achieve a measure of legitimacy. Legitimacy is highly subjective because individuals and groups regard a political system as legitimate or illegitimate depending upon how well it fits their own values.

EXERCISES

1. Find in the text nouns that are used with the following verbs and translate the phrases:

1) to undertake _____

2) to recognize _____

3) to accept _____

4) to invoke _____

5) to convert _____

6) to endow _____

7) to provide _____

8) to rely on _____

9) to preserve _____

10) to regard _____

2. Find in the text nouns that match the following words and translate the phrases:

1) appropriate _____

2) accepted _____

3) charismatic _____

4) constitutional _____

5) divine _____

6) legitimation _____

7) recognized _____

8) rightful _____

9) political _____

10) popular _____

11) traditional _____

12) underlying _____

3. Complete the sentences:

1. Legitimacy is _____

2. A right to govern is based on _____

3. Legitimacy reflects _____

4. Legitimacy is fundamental to _____

5. Regimes that stay in power _____

4. Retell the text.

**5.1. LEGITIMATION
(Законотворення)**

Legitimation is invoking a legal or constitutional process to make laws or rules. According to Neo-marxists, the capitalist state has three roles — fostering accumulation, providing legitimation and imposing social order (coercion). While the overriding concern of the state is organizing society in such a manner as to foster accumulation, Neo-marxists argue that accumulation must be restrained somewhat, and capitalists must be saved from themselves, i. e., too much heavy-handed pure exploitation would incite armed rebellion or at least concerted actions on the part of the workers. Therefore, the state attempts to illustrate to workers the value of the present system by providing legitimation, which is in a sense the benevolent face of capitalism. To convince workers that the existing system is legitimate and in their own best interests, the state softens the jagged edges of capitalism by providing an adequate, but not abundant, social welfare safety net, by sometimes enforc-

ing laws against pollution, and by providing some services which benefit working class people. In this way, the state is able to mediate between the various conflicting interests present in society. However, this is not a neutral style of mediation. In the Marxist view, the state's actions might have a short-term detrimental effect on accumulation and so are opposed by the capitalist class — for example, extension of workers' compensation or unemployment insurance plans. Yet these are necessary for legitimation and so are in the long-term interests of the capitalist class. In this sense, the role of the state is to maintain a relative autonomy from all classes so that it can save the capitalist class from its own greed.

A law must be written and formally introduced into a legislature as a bill. If a legislature's members have the right and ability to write, propose, introduce, amend and ultimately pass or defeat bills — determining whether they become laws — that legislature has a strong role in deciding policy.

A legislature is a body of citizens with the right and ability to create laws. Three of the systems — presidential, parliamentary, and one-party — regularly have legislatures.

Legislatures may be unicameral, or composed of one body (chamber), or bicameral, composed of two separate chambers. In a bicameral legislature, the lower chamber or house includes members representing smaller territorial units or districts. These lower house members are usually directly elected by the populace. The members of upper house in a bicameral legislature are generally elected with in larger districts, and in some cases, these members are not directly elected by voters.

EXERCISES

1. Find in the text verbs that are used with the following nouns and translate the phrases:

1) _____ legitimation

2) _____ coercion

3) _____ accumulation

4) _____ society

5) _____ rebellion

6) _____ workers

7) _____ edges

8) _____ laws

9) _____ autonomy

10) _____ the capitalist class

2. Complete the sentences:

1. Legitimation is _____.

2. The capitalist state has _____.

3. The state attempts _____.

4. The state softens _____.

5. The state is able to _____.

6. The role of the state is _____.

7. A legislature is _____.

8. Legislatures may be _____.

9. The lower chamber or house includes _____.

10. The members of upper house are _____.

3. Retell the text.

6. EXECUTIVE (Очільник)

The executive or the Head of state is the one who has relatively limited political power, performing primarily symbolic and ceremonial functions. (For example, the British monarch or in Canada, at the federal level, the governor general and in the provinces, the lieutenant governors.) While an organizational chart of the executive branch would place the executive at its pinnacle, such a positioning represents the facade rather than the reality of power.

6.1. POLITICAL EXECUTIVE (Політичний очільник)

Political Executive is the repository of extensive political power. They exercise effective political power; e. g., the British and Canadian prime ministers, the premiers of the 10 Canadian provinces. The term includes the prime minister, cabinet and bureaucracy. It is the real locus of influence in modern parliamentary systems. Theoretically subservient to the formal executive, the political executive in fact controls the monarchical element. The formal executive reigns but does not govern, while the political executive governs but does not reign. This symbiotic relationship has always been an unequal one, with the formal executive initially controlling the political executive, while the political executive governs but does not reign.

EXERCISES

1. Suggest adjectives from the above text to the following nouns and translate the expressions:

- 1) _____ power
- 2) _____ functions
- 3) _____ chart
- 4) _____ branch

- 5) _____ locus
6) _____ systems
7) _____ executive
8) _____ element
9) _____ relationship

2. Complete the sentences:

1. The executive or the Head of state is _____
2. Political Executive is _____
3. The political executive in fact _____
4. The formal executive reigns _____
5. The political executive governs _____

3. Retell the text.

**6.2. EXECUTIVE BRANCH
(Виконавча гілка влади)**

The executive branch is the branch of the government of a state charged with the responsibility of carrying out and applying the policies and laws settled and made by the legislative branch.

In the United States, the chief executive is the president. The right of the executive branch is not to turn over information to either the legislature or judiciary; it is a major means for protecting its independence and also a key defense against legislative supremacy, that is, the development of a parliamentary-style system. Within the executive branch the president has broad powers to issue regulations and directives regarding the work of federal government's many departments and agencies. The president appoints the heads and senior officials of the executive branch agencies.

6.3. EXECUTIVE FEDERALISM (Виконавчий федералізм)

In Canada, executive federalism refers to the constant process of negotiation between the two levels of government in order to keep the federal system functioning. This bargaining pattern is between the elected and appointed officials of the two levels of government. Increasingly, the critical political decisions will more frequently be referred to the federal and provincial representatives who meet at federal-provincial conferences. It is argued that this phenomenon has contributed to the continued shrinking role of Parliament and the provincial legislatures in the policy process, the causal links are likely in the reverse direction; i. e., the evolution of executive federalism is a symptom of the general impotence of legislative institutions vis-a-vis the executive branch. While executive federalism fosters decentralization and exaggerates the centrifugal forces in the federation, it is manifested in a heavy concentration of decision-making power in the hands of very tiny political elite. Certainly, where the key priority decisions are made by committees of eleven at federal-provincial conferences, democratic control is more difficult than in a system where such decisions are approved by Parliament. Thus while the dominance of any one government is being reduced as power is dispersed among several, the power of the state in general becomes more concentrated through the phenomenon of executive federalism. The problem is, in part, a lack of accountability, for the process not only reflects but contributes to the general phenomenon of increased executive domination in the political system.

Relatively fewer intergovernmental matters were handled by program officials lower down in the administrative hierarchy; instead, intergovernmental relations were conducted and supervised by cabinet ministers and senior administrators in central agencies.

EXERCISES

1. Give the derivatives of the following verbs and translate them:

1) to perform _____

- 2) to represent _____
- 3) to charge _____
- 4) to apply _____
- 5) to negotiate _____
- 6) to elect _____
- 7) to appoint _____
- 8) to exaggerate _____
- 9) to reduce _____
- 10) to approve _____

2. Fill in the gaps.

1. Such a positioning represents the facade _____ than the reality of power.
2. The executive branch is charged _____ the responsibility of carrying out and applying the policies and laws.
3. The right of the executive branch is not to turn _____ information to either the legislature or judiciary.
4. It is a key defense _____ legislative supremacy.
5. Executive federalism refers to the constant process of negotiation _____ the two levels of government.

3. Translate into English.

1. За Конституцією влада поділяється на законодавчу, виконавчу та судову.
2. Конгрес, законодавча гілка федерального уряду, складається із сенату та палати представників.
3. Влада державних урядовців обмежена.
4. Їхні урядові дії мають узгоджуватися з відповідними статтями конституції та законів, прийнятими згідно із конституцією.

5. В основі більшості політичних систем конституція — набір інструкцій, що описують фундаментальні правила політичної системи.

6. Розподіл виконавчої та законодавчої влади існує для того, щоб гарантувати систему перевірки і балансу в процесі розробки політичної стратегії і тактики та втіленням їх у життя.

7. PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT (Уряд на чолі з президентом)

Legislative and executive powers are exercised by different persons. For example, the members of the U. S. Congress cannot at the same time be members of the executive branch, and the President and cabinet members cannot be members of Congress. Further the chief executive is not chosen by, is not responsible to, and may not be removed by Congress (except through the impeachment procedure).

The chief executive is the president, elected for a certain term. The powers of the presidency are formidable, but not without limitations. In the USA the president, as the chief of formulator of public policy, often proposes legislation to Congress. The president can also veto (forbid) any bill passed by Congress. The veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote in both the Senate House of Representatives.

An election among party members to choose their delegates to the national convention, which in turn selects the party's presidential candidate, is called Presidential Primary.

Presidential System is characterized by:

(1) the structure of the executive which is singular; formal and political executive combined in a single office;

(2) the executive-legislative relationship which provides separation of powers, based on independent branches of government, maintained by a system of checks and balances; no collective responsibility of the executive to the legislature;

(3) elections — set time period for elections in some systems, with the political executive playing no role in determining when elections will be called.

In a presidential system, the members of both chambers of the legislature are chosen independently of the president, who is chief executive. This means that voters vote separately for the president and for members of the legislature.

Under presidential system president chooses cabinet from outside the legislature; upper house must confirm the appointment.

7.1. PRESIDENTIAL-PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM (Президентсько-парламентська система)

Presidential-parliamentary system is a mixed type of system of government according to which the position of President (as head of state) has responsibility for major areas of policy (especially defence and foreign policy) and is distinct from the position of Prime Minister (as head of government). The Prime Minister must gain the support of a majority of the elected members of the legislature in order to pass legislation. The President normally appoints the Prime Minister (e. g. the French Fifth Republic). The mixed system exhibits some of the aspects of fusion with respect to the relations between the political executive (support for government's program in the lower chamber; control over legislation) which characterizes parliamentary systems such as those of Britain and Canada, as well as some of the characteristics of presidential systems (e. g. direct election of the President, different terms of office for the President and Prime Minister).

EXERCISES

***1. Find in the text nouns that are used with the following verbs.
Translate the phrases:***

1) to exercise _____

2) to choose _____

3) to remove _____

4) to elect _____

5) to propose _____

6) to veto _____

7) to override _____

8) to provide _____

9) to gain _____

10) to pass _____

2. Write down your own sentences using the above phrases.

1) _____

2) _____

3) _____

4) _____

5) _____

6) _____

7) _____

8) _____

9) _____

10) _____

8. CABINET (Кабинет)

Cabinets are institutions composed of heads of most important bureaucratic institutions (which assist in implementing and enforcing laws in such areas as foreign affairs, agriculture, trade, banking, energy, the environment, social services, and defense). Cabinet members meet with chief executive to help formulate policy and propose laws. The prime minister or chancellor chooses other members of the legislature to head bureau institutions and meets those heading the most important ones as cabinet.

In the United States Cabinet is the political executive that formulates government policies and priorities. It is formed and led by the Prime Minister in federal state, such as Canada, and is comprised of members of the legislature invited by the Prime Minister to head major government departments or ministries of state. It is responsible for the introduction and passage of government legislation, the execution and administration of government policies, and the finances of the government. It is appointed by the Prime Minister keeping in mind the various cleavages of the country. The Prime Minister can promote, demote or fire cabinet ministers (with some constraints). The Prime Minister also determines the structure and procedure of Cabinet and chairs its meetings, giving the Prime Minister some measure of control over the agenda. Decisions in full cabinet are reached without a formal vote. Instead, the Prime Minister sums up the discussion and identifies the consensus which has emerged. All cabinet members must share the Cabinet consensus publicly or else resign. Cabinet is also responsible for making senior federal bureaucratic appointments.

In the United States, Cabinet has almost no influence or even an accepted group role in policy-making. The cabinet is made up of about 20 individuals, including the president, vice president, the heads of the executive departments and others — such as the CIA Director and the UN Ambassador. Technically, under the Constitution, a president is not required to even form a cabinet or to meet with it. Since there is no collective responsibility in a system based on the separation of powers principle and because its use and functions depend on the desires of the incumbent president, the American cabinet usually meets infrequently, carries little weight as a

group in the policy-making process, and performs primarily administrative tasks. Individual members of the cabinet may have considerable influence, but, if they do, it is because of their relationship with the president and not because of their cabinet title. In the American context, elevation to the cabinet is not usually a political promotion or a stepping stone to higher office (i. e., the presidency itself).

In Great Britain, Cabinet composition is based on different premises than in Canada, because the rigid representation principle regarding regional and provincial interests does not apply. Instead, ideology plays a significant role in a cabinet's composition, with all major factions traditionally induced. However, party figures with strong support in the party or the electorate are usually ignored at the leader's peril. Ministers may be appointed from either House of Parliament, although the vast majority are from the Commons, members from the House of Lords are more frequently used in British cabinets than are senators in Canadian ones, a reflection of the greater status and prestige of the upper House in Britain.

Other principles related to cabinet include the cabinet shuffle (a reallocation of ministerial responsibilities) and the principle of cabinet unity (solidarity among Ministers of government when facing the opposition or the press).

In Canada the executive committee of the Privy Council is the central decision making body in the government of Canada; it is composed of the ministers who collectively are responsible to Parliament for all the Executive decisions. It is involved in planning means for raising revenues and for preparing expenditures (both statutory appropriations and departmental estimates), spending of money through government programs and reporting to Parliament through submission of the annual statement of the Public Accounts of Canada.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Cabinet is _____

2. It is formed _____

3. It is comprised of _____

4. It is responsible for _____

5. It is appointed by _____

6. The Prime Minister can _____

7. The Prime Minister also determines _____

8. The cabinet is made up of _____

9. Other principles related to cabinet include _____

10. The executive committee of the Privy Council is _____

2. Retell the text.

8.1. CABINET GOVERNMENT
(Уряд на чолі з кабінетом міністрів)

It is a version of parliamentary democracy in which executive and legislative leadership powers are fused and concentrated in the Cabinet (Prime Minister and other chief Ministers); despite the fact that parliament is constitutionally supreme, Cabinet members are

drawn primarily from among the leading legislators, they are both individually and collectively responsible to parliament, and the Cabinet may be forced out of office by parliamentary rejection of a major Government proposal (bill) or by a vote of lack of confidence. Cabinet strength lies chiefly in the ability of its members to command a reasonably stable and disciplined working majority in parliament. Some evidence of legislative majority support was necessary initially in order for the Government to be designated by the politically weak chief-of-state (constitutional monarch or indirectly elected president). If that majority is based upon a well disciplined party or a harmonious coalition of such parties, then the Cabinet can dominate both the legislative and executive processes. It can have its policies converted into laws whose administration it supervises. Customarily, in this system the Cabinet can also have parliament dissolved and new elections called if legislative opposition becomes overwhelming and the Government does not choose to resign. The availability of this power tends to restrain indiscriminate opposition and bolsters the Government's majority. Cabinet government, therefore, can provide exceedingly strong and coordinated executive leadership within a parliamentary democratic framework. Great Britain is an outstanding example.

There is a norm according to which a cabinet member in disagreement with the policy collectively set by cabinet will resign his/ her post rather than take issue publicly with colleagues, or with the position adopted collectively by cabinet. It is called cabinet solidarity.

EXERCISES

1. Using the words given, reconstruct parts of the sentences without looking into the text.

1. powers / executive / legislative / fuse /and / in / the Cabinet / and / concentrate

2. members / primarily /Cabinet / draw / among / the / legislators / leading / from

3. parliament / majority / Cabinet / lies / in / strength / ability / reasonably / command / a / stable / the / and / disciplined / in / to

4. both / executive / and / the / can / processes / the Cabinet / dominate / legislative

5. and / government / framework / a / within / exceedingly / Cabinet / government / provide / executive / strong / leadership / parliamentary / democratic / can / coordinated

2. Suggest nouns from the above text to the following adjectives and translate the expressions:

- 1) parliamentary _____
- 2) legislative _____
- 3) weak _____
- 4) harmonious _____
- 5) indiscriminate _____
- 6) democratic _____
- 7) outstanding _____

3. Retell the text.

9. PARLIAMENT (Парламент)

In the UK Parliament is the supreme legislative body that consists of the House of Commons and the House of Lords and is called together and dissolved by the sovereign.

In the USA Congress includes the Senate, the House of Representatives and the President.

In Canada Parliament consists of the Senate, the House of Commons and the formal executive.

Parliamentarianism in its general meaning embraces all aspects of the activities of law making bodies, including rules of procedure governing their business and the conduct of their members.

Parliamentary Committees are composed of members of Parliament or senators (proportioned to party standings), they have the major role of reviewing in detail and refining the public bills after second reading, there are committees of the House, committees of the Senate, and joint committees.

A form of conference diplomacy that emphasizes the search for an agreement through the construction of majorities within continuing international institutions is called parliamentary diplomacy. It calls attention to the maneuvering of the various regional and special interest groups, which resemble legislative causing in national assemblies.

9.1. PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM (Парламентська система)

Under a parliamentary system, chief executive (usually entitled ‘prime minister’) is elected not by voters, independent of the legislature, but by the lower house of legislature. Voters elect the lower chamber of the legislature, which then selects the chief executive from among its own members; he or she, in turns, selects other members of the lower chamber to head the major ministries of bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic institutions, or government offices or bureaus, regularly assist the public office holders (decision makers, persons

holding executive positions, and judges) responsible for making legislative, executive and judicial decisions. The people who work in and manage government bureaux are often referred to collectively as the civil service, because they are servants of the citizens. Civil service workers are hired, not elected.

Parliamentary System has a split executive: that is a head of state or formal executive with relatively limited political power (e. g. the British monarch; in Canada, at the federal level the governor general, and in the provinces, the lieutenant governors) and a political executive which is the repository of extensive political power (e. g., the British and Canadian prime ministers, the premiers of the 10 Canadian provinces); the executive's relation to the legislature — a parliamentary system is based on the principle of the fusion of executive and legislative power. Whichever party has a majority of seats in the legislature it also controls the executive branch; i. e. the same group of political leaders operates both the executive and legislative institutions of government. This fusion of executive and legislative power is accomplished through the cabinet. The cabinet is collectively responsible to the legislature for its actions and retains office only so long as it receives majority support in the legislature; parliamentary government having a maximum time limit, usually five years, is set for how long a government can stay in office without returning to the people through an election to renew its mandate. Within this maximum time limit, however, elections are held at varying intervals. The timing of elections is generally within the powers of the political executive to decide.

The summary:

- (1) structure of the executive — dual: both a formal and a political executive;
- (2) executive-legislative relationship — fusion of powers: achieved primarily through the cabinet and based on the principle of collective responsibility;
- (3) elections — maximum time period fixed, with varying election periods within the maximum determined primarily by the political executive.

Under a parliamentary system prime minister chooses cabinet members from within the lower house of the legislature.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Parliament is _____

2. Parliamentarianism embraces _____

3. Parliamentary diplomacy is _____

4. Prime minister is _____

5. The lower chamber of the legislature selects _____

6. Bureaucratic institutions _____

7. Civil servants are _____

8. The people who work in and manage government bureaus _____

9. The cabinet is collectively responsible to _____

10. The cabinet retains office _____

2. Suggest nouns from the above text to the following words and translate the expressions:

1) party _____

2) major _____

- 3) public _____
- 4) second _____
- 5) conference _____
- 6) lower _____
- 7) bureaucratic _____
- 8) public _____
- 9) civil _____
- 10) majority _____

9.2. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT **(Уряд на чолі з парламентом)**

A system in which legislative and executive powers are fused is called Parliamentary government. It does not require the separate election of the head of government, as in the U. S. system, where powers are separated. The leadership of the majority in the legislature forms the cabinet, which exercises executive power. Leadership of the majority party or parties in the cabinet virtually guarantees the passage of government-sponsored legislation. This form of government operates with either a two-party or a multiparty system, such as those found in Great Britain and in Western Europe.

Parliamentary government in its various forms and adaptations is the most widely used pattern of government in the world. In its classic mould, parliamentary government is based on the ability of the legislature to grant or withhold its confidence in the executive, thus forcing the government to resign or to dissolve the legislature.

The issue is usually submitted to the people in a national election. The system ensures against protracted disagreement between the two branches.

The parties that emerged from within the legislative branch of government are parliamentary parties. They were the first to appear historically, developing out of the various factions contending for the control of the legislature. These parties have been primarily electorally oriented organizations intent on winning power rather than on implementing programs of reform. Loosely structured, except during elections, such parties have accepted the legitimacy of existing political arrangements, have rarely been ideologically inclined, and have dominated the party politics in most democratic political systems.

EXERCISES

1. Answer the questions:

1. What system is called Parliamentary government?
2. Does Parliamentary government require the separate election of the head of government?
3. Who forms the cabinet?
4. What is parliamentary government based on?

2. Match a verb in A with a word or words in B.

A	B
to accept	executive power
to force	the passage of government-sponsored legislation
to form	legitimacy
to ensure	the separate election
to exercise	against protracted disagreement
to require	the government to resign
to guarantee	the cabinet

9.3. PARLIAMENTARY SUPREMACY OR PARLIAMENTARY SOVEREIGNTY (Верховенство парламенту та його суверенітет)

Parliamentary supremacy asserts the fundamental right of the legislature to make any law whatsoever. As developed in Britain, parliamentary supremacy includes four essential features: “There is no higher legislative authority; no court can declare Acts of Parliament to be invalid; there is no limit to Parliament’s sphere of legislation; and no Parliament can legally bind its successor, or be bound by its predecessor”. In the Canadian context, however, parliamentary sovereignty is circumscribed by the political principles of federalism and judicial review. The law is what Parliament says it is and there is no legal basis for challenging its authority, since Britain has never accepted the American principle of full judicial review or the need for a bill of rights to protect human liberties.

Parliament has the authority in theory, to repeal or modify any principle set out in common law. This power is not absolute; however, the Supreme Court’s ability to declare an act ultra vires on the basis of Canada’s federal division of power is an important qualification. The entrenchment of some individual and group rights in Canada’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms also limits the extent of parliamentary supremacy by placing that body of rights beyond the reach of Parliament.

In other words parliamentary sovereignty is a principle in a parliamentary system according to which parliament can make or repeal any law it chooses. In Canada, this principle has meant that Parliament can make or repeal statute law that falls within federal jurisdiction.

9.4. PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE (Парламентські привілеї)

In Canada there is such thing as parliamentary privilege. Parliamentary privilege is the sum of the rights and privileges of both Houses of the Canadian parliament, which function to place Parliament in a position above all other institutions and individuals in

the land. These rights are held by Parliament as a whole and by each individual Member of Parliament. They include such rights as freedom from arrest arising out of civil action while the House is in session, exemption from jury duty or from subpoena as a witness, and the protection from libel actions for the content of speeches in the House and publications of the House. Another part of parliamentary privilege in Canada is the right of parliamentary committees to hear witnesses under oath, breaches of privilege are considered to be analogous to contempt of court, and are punishable by imprisonment, fine, or censure by the House itself. The real importance of parliamentary privilege has waned. Its significance today is primarily as a symbolic reminder of the principles of freedom of speech and freedom from arrest, which were at one time not so widely accepted as they are today. An important mechanism for maintaining the supremacy of Parliament can be defined as a series of rights given to the legislature and to nobody else, in order to ensure that Parliament and its members are collectively and individually free of any outside control. Parliamentary privilege gives the legislature the power to determine its own procedure, enables the legislature to discipline its own members and to determine its own membership, guarantees the right of free speech to members carrying out the public's business within Parliament itself, and finally gives the legislature the right to determine its own worth, that is, to set its own salary.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Parliamentary supremacy asserts _____

2. Parliamentary supremacy includes _____

3. Parliamentary sovereignty is _____

4. The law is _____

5. Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms limits _____

6. Parliamentary privilege is _____

7. The privileges include such rights as _____

8. An important mechanism for _____

9. Parliamentary privilege gives _____

10. The supremacy of Parliament can be _____

2. Suggest nouns from the above text to the following words and translate the expressions:

1) circumscribed by _____

2) legal basis for _____

3) principle of _____

4) the need for _____

5) an act _____

6) body of rights _____

7) freedom from _____

8) exemption from _____

9) protection from _____

10) reminder of _____

3. Define the following terms:

1) government — _____

2) sovereignty — _____

3) legislature — _____

4) chief executive — _____

5) office holder — _____

6) bureaucratic institution — _____

7) politics — _____

8) political system — _____

9) public service — _____

10) outputs — _____

**10. POLITICAL MARKETING
(Політичний маркетинг)**

There is no one universally accepted definition. According to one source, the term political marketing operates on several levels. One is mechanical, a description of a set of commercially derived techniques and their application. The other relates to orientation — the consciousness of the marketing concept on the part of politicians, their associations and the insights and behaviour that flow from them. The phenomenon of political marketing arises where:

a) there are strong linkages between politics and business, politicians are aware of sealing methods and inhabit a densely commercial milieu;

b) advertising agencies and commercial media are employed, and there are stylistic similarities to commercial advertising, as in the use of hired actors;

c) there are declining levels of popular participation in politics and therefore a need to dramatize its appeals;

d) geographically and socially mobile societies create a “value vacuum”, and political territory is open with low pre-existing loyalties;

e) large amounts of money are available to be spent on campaigning, and this itself is owing to a constitutional acceptance of the rights of wealth to purchase political power, to the crucial importance of lobbies, and to a tradition of “pork-barrel” politics;

f) politicians are prepared to modify a stance according to the counsels of research: there is notion then of electors as political consumers who demand persuasion not dogmatism.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the questions on the above text and answer them:

1. Is there _____ ?

2. Where does the term _____ ?

3. Where does the phenomenon _____ ?

4. Are there _____ ?

5. What is available _____ ?

2. Translate the following sentences into English:

1. Досить часто плутають чи ототожнюють поняття “політичний менеджмент” і “політичний маркетинг”.

2. Політичний маркетинг — це наявність певних теорій і методів, якими користуються в політиці та у політичних процесах.

3. Саме використовуючи певні теорії та методи, впливають на громадян, на суб'єктів політики.

4. Політичний маркетинг — це засоби.

3. Suggest verbs to the following phrases and translate the expressions:

1) _____ a densely commercial milieu

2) _____ advertising agencies and commercial media

3) _____ hired actors

4) popular participation in politics _____

5) _____ a “value vacuum”

6) _____ large amounts of money

7) _____ political power

8) _____ to a tradition of “pork-barrel” politics

9) _____ a stance

4. Retell the text.

**10.1. POLITICAL CULTURE
(Політична культура)**

Political culture is the broad patterns of individual values and attitudes toward political objects. These may be concrete objects such as government institutions or national symbols such as the flag, but they may also be intangibles like power. In the latter case, it is important to understand how Canadians perceive the distribution of power between themselves and government, and awareness of the political system, as well as the attitudes held about politics and political objects and the perceptions of the personal role in societal affairs. Political culture can be defined as the attitudes and beliefs people have about the political system. Its types include:

(1) fragmented political culture: one of two methods of classifying political cultures based on degree of unity with respect to fundamental values; a political culture whose “population lacks broad agreement upon the way in which political life should be conducted”;

(2) parochial political culture: is one in which a specific political system has not developed and hence no particular political role has been assumed for the individual. In a sense, then, these systems are prepolitical. While no pure parochial cultures remain in the modern era, pockets of parochialism may exist within other systems;

(3) participant political culture: is one in which the person is given an explicit political role, with various opportunities provided for participation;

(4) subject political culture: the individual is aware of the specialized political structure, is affected by its decisions, such as paying taxes or serving in the army, and may accept the legitimacy of

the system. The role of the individual is a passive one, however, confined to obeying the decisions of the state.

Political culture is the aggregate of learned, socially transmitted behaviour patterns characterizing government and politics within a society. Political culture frequently connotes the psychological dimension of political behaviour — beliefs, feelings, and evaluative orientations. A political culture is the product of the historical experience of the whole society as well as the personal experiences that contribute to the socialization of each individual. Within a national political culture one may distinguish between elite and mass subcultures, reflecting differences in the orientations of political decision makers from those of the less active citizenry. The mass culture may in turn consist of numerous subcultures, based on class, ethnic, regional or other differences. Somewhat similar phenomena have in the past been studied under such labels as national character, temperament, ethos, spirit or myth, political ideology, national political psychology, and fundamental political values.

Some analysts attempt to identify broadly shared patterns of political orientations that characterize a large group of individuals. The objective is to develop generalizations about the political culture of the group. Political culture is normally defined as the configuration of a particular people's political orientations — that is, as the belief system of many individuals. Most commonly, it is the political culture of a country or of a major (ethnic or religious) community within a country that has been studied.

The composition of the group that is studied depends on the interests of the researcher. It might be the people of a geographic community (e. g., Londoners, English, British, Europeans) or of a community of shared identity (e. g., Sikhs in the Indian state of Punjab, Sikhs in the Indian subcontinent, all Sikhs in the world) or of a community of shared meaning (e. g., French Canadians, all French-speaking peoples).

Some political analysts have tried to specify the national character of certain countries and then to predict or explain their political behavior on the basis of such characteristics. Typically, these studies have not claimed that everyone fits the national character profile, but they maintain that it is accurate for the politically relevant strata. Thus the top ruling group in Britain has been defined in

terms of English national character — control of emotions, a sense of propriety, a belief in class and national superiority, and reliance on “old boy” connections. This national character has supposedly been nurtured by a shared upper/ upper-middle class background and training at a public school (in Britain, this actually means an elite private school) followed by Oxford or Cambridge. While there are exceptions to this background (Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and John Major are notable exceptions in terms of class and early education), these features do still characterize the orientations and behavior of the great majority of the British political elite in Parliament and in the higher civil service. (Interestingly, the description of the English national character fits Margaret Thatcher quite well, despite her differences in background and gender.)

In another study, Michael Maccoby (1967) describes the 15–25 percent of Mexican males whom he terms “macho” or “supermacho” types. These men are described as aggressive and authoritarian, with a desire to dominate and a veneration of the very powerful. According to Maccoby, this characteristic type among Mexican males is composed of ready recruits for any violent, fascist political movement. While some colorful and entertaining national character studies have been done, they are now generally dismissed as caricatures with little capacity to account for the complex actual political behaviors within a country.

The bulk of survey research on political culture has attempted to improve upon our understanding of the political orientations of citizens in “democratic” societies. One major study found widespread similarities in the social and political concerns among citizens in many countries. Personal desires for a happy family life, a decent standard of living, and good health were most important, and political concerns centered on fears about war and political instability. In research the adults emphasize on “materialist” values for strong defence, order maintenance, and economic growth; in contrast, many young adults stress “postmaterialist” values for a more esthetically satisfying environment, for freedom of expression, and for more personal power in social and political life. One study found that the proportion of citizens with postmaterialist values in the United Kingdom, United States, and Germany nearly

doubled between 1970 and 1984 and was between 16 and 20 percent of the population in each country.

The extensive empirical research on political culture, as it has become more precise in its methods and more cautious about cultural biases, has revealed the considerable variability within political cultures across individuals, between groups, and over time. But it is also evident from the survey research that many societies do have a political culture — a general configuration of political beliefs that distinguishes them from certain other societies.

EXERCISES

1. Translate the following sentences into English.

1. Політична культура — це зумовлений історичними, соціально-економічними і політичними умовами якісний склад політичного життя суспільства.

2. Політична культура відображає рівень засвоєння суб'єктом — суспільством, групою, особою — відповідних політичних відносин, способів діяльності, норм і цінностей.

3. Політична культура відображає ступінь соціокультурного розвитку людини та ступінь її активності у перетворенні політичної, соціальної дійсності.

4. Політична культура — це сукупність індивідуальних позицій та орієнтацій учасників системи, політичного процесу.

5. Політична культура — це об'єктивне відображення і реалізація у процесі протистояння докорінних класових інтересів,

політичних принципів і гасел, які проголошуються політичними партіями, окремими політиками, державою.

2. Retell the text.

10.2. POLITICAL BELIEFS (Політичні погляди та переконання)

A person's cognitive orientations include what he/ she believes are political "facts." Such facts might be correct and accurate or they might be totally wrong. A person might know many things about the politics of his/ her own locality, region, and nation as well as some things about the broader political world. This knowledge might include such facts as the names of political leaders; the policies supported by particular politicians, political groups, or nations; events in political history; the features of constitutions; or the procedures and actions of a governmental agency.

Affective orientations include any feelings or emotions evoked in a person by political phenomena. For example, what (if any) feelings are stimulated in you when: you see your national flag; you hear statements critical of your country's political system; you learn of "aggressive" actions by your country's political opponents; you are faced with the option of voting in an election and you don't like the candidates; you are present at a political demonstration supporting a policy of which you disapprove. The nature and intensity of your feelings in these kinds of situations are instances of your affective orientations.

Finally, an evaluative orientation involves your synthesis of facts and feelings into a judgment about some political phenomenon. If you become aware that your government has proposed a policy that restricts the right of a woman to have an abortion, many

different thoughts might be stimulated — your knowledge about the constitutional rights of an individual to freedom of action and of the state to limit those rights; your religious, moral, or scientific beliefs about the status of a fetus; your personal knowledge of the experiences of the people who have been involved in decisions about abortions; your gut-level responses to spokespersons for and against the proposed policy. In short, your judgment about a political issue, such as the state’s policy on abortion, can be grounded in many different kinds of cognitive and affective orientations that are combined into an evaluation. Ultimately, many of the political attitudes that you would identify as your “fundamental beliefs” are likely to be evaluative orientations.

There are several stages in building our conceptual understanding of political beliefs. If we want to understand one individual’s political orientations, we might begin by identifying one or a few specific beliefs held by that person. Does the person know the name of the country’s chief executive? How does the person feel when he hears that his state’s governor has vetoed a bill to increase expenditure on health care for poor people? What is the person’s opinion on a proposal to reduce the number of nuclear weapons stockpiled by his country? (Some political analysts distinguish between opinions, attitudes, and beliefs, with each successive category being a more stable, general, and deeply held orientation. In this discussion, this distinction will not be made, although the emphasis is on orientations that are general and relatively stable.)

EXERCISES

1. Find in the text nouns that are used with the following adjectives. Translate the expressions:

1) cognitive _____

2) accurate _____

3) particular _____

4) affective _____

- 5) critical _____
- 6) aggressive _____
- 7) evaluative _____
- 8) conceptual _____
- 9) specific _____
- 10) successive _____

2. Reproduce the sentences from the text in which these expressions are used.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____
- 7. _____
- 8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

3. Retell the text.

**10.2.1. BELIEF SYSTEMS
(Система поглядів)**

Beyond the identification of specific beliefs of individuals, other interesting analyses can focus on the array of political beliefs held by an individual. The concept of belief system is often used to refer to the configuration of an individual's political orientations across political issues. A related concept used by political psychologists is an individual's opinion schema. This is a network of cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations that serves as a basic framework guiding a person as he processes political information in order to establish an opinion on a particular subject. To examine any component of an individual's belief system, one can ask a series of questions:

1. What is the content of the beliefs, the subject and the nature of the beliefs?
2. What is the salience of the beliefs — the importance or significance attached to the beliefs by the individual?
3. What is the level of complexity of the beliefs?
4. What is the consistency of the beliefs with other beliefs held by the individual?
5. How stable are the beliefs over time?
6. Do (es) the belief(s) motivate the individual to undertake any political action?

There has been some empirical research on the nature of belief systems, with a particular emphasis on the belief systems of the po-

litical elite and those of the “mass public”, that is, of ordinary people in the society. The most intensive, analytical research has focused on belief systems in the United States, and this work has been particularly influenced by the analyses of Philip Converse. In general, Converse argues that a belief system has two levels of information. One level includes relatively simple and straightforward facts or ideas, such as the notion that Mexico is a federation. The second level is constraint knowledge, in which there is a more complex understanding of the dynamics that link ideas, such as the notion that the nuclear arms race increases the instability of the international political system. In this example, the constraint knowledge includes some conception of why or how political phenomena affect each other.

EXERCISES

1. Answer the questions. Give your reasons:

1. What is the content of the beliefs, the subject and the nature of the beliefs?

2. What is the salience of the beliefs — the importance or significance attached to the beliefs by the individual?

3. What is the level of complexity of the beliefs?

4. What is the consistency of the beliefs with other beliefs held by the individual?

5. How stable are the beliefs over time?

6. Do the beliefs motivate the individual to undertake any political action?

10.2.2. BELIEF SYSTEMS AMONG MASS PUBLICS (Система поглядів загалу)

On the basis of empirical analyses of individuals' belief systems, some analysts conclude that there are important and predictable differences between the elite and the mass public in the nature and structure of their belief systems. As you might expect, the belief systems of individuals in the mass public are simpler and narrower and they include far less constraint knowledge than those of members of the elite. Within the mass public, they distinguish five gradations in the level of conceptualization in people's belief system. Only about 15 percent of the mass public have substantial constraint knowledge in their belief system. And almost half of the U.S. public is characterized by the two lowest gradations — extremely simplistic political beliefs and “political ignorance.”

While there has been continuing debate regarding the precise nature of political belief systems among mass publics, most researchers agree on certain generalizations about the citizens of Western democracies (e. g., the United States, Canada, and the Western European and Scandinavian countries). Like nearly every generalization about politics, the six generalizations below are broadly accurate for “most people” but are subject to many qualifications and some exceptions.

1. Political issues have low salience in relation to other concerns in people's lives. Although Aristotle termed the citizen homo politicus, or “political man,” most people do not locate political issues in the center of their interest and attention space.

2. People tend to focus attention on concrete issues rather than more abstract concerns.

3. Interest and knowledge are greater on immediate, short-range issues than on longer-term ones.

4. While there is relative stability in people's fundamental beliefs, there can be considerable volatility in their short-term political opinions, which tend to shift when subjected to modest changes in political information. This volatility might be due to limited interest or due to the sheer difficulty of trying to understand complicated political questions.

5. There can be significant inconsistencies across political beliefs, in the sense that people can hold contradictory positions. (For example, an American might express support for the First Amend-

ment right to free speech but deny the right of a Communist to speak at a public meeting or the right of the Ku Klux Klan to hold a public rally.)

6. The content of beliefs is often inaccurate. (In a recent survey, for example, half the Americans did not know how many U. S. senators serve their state and less than one in six knew who William Rehnquist is. You, of course, know the correct answers... don't you?)

The basic ideas have been subjected to an interesting critique. One argues that we should first study and understand how people think, not merely ask questions about their specific beliefs and then look for a pattern in their responses. In this view, each individual develops one of several different structured ways of thinking about the world. This structure evolves from a developmental learning process and is influenced by the person's social experiences. If the analyst can identify an individual's structure of thinking, then the person's political attitudes will be generally consistent and coherent within this structure. This is an intriguing alternative way to analyze the political beliefs of the mass public that could change our unflattering picture of most people's belief systems, but there is not as yet much empirical support for it.

EXERCISES

1. Translate into English.

1. Широкі маси населення — це найбільша частина громадян, які займаються політикою (причетні до неї) зрідка, або час від часу.

2. Політичну свідомість поділяють на масову, групову, індивідуальну, а також на буденну та науково-теоретичну.

3. Люди по-різному ставляться до політики.

4. Одні зацікавлені і беруть активну участь у її практичній реалізації, другі індиферентні до неї, треті зовсім її не сприймають і не цікавляться нею.

2. Write the words with the similar meanings to the following verbs and translate them:

1) conclude _____

2) might _____

3) include _____

4) distinguish _____

5) agree _____

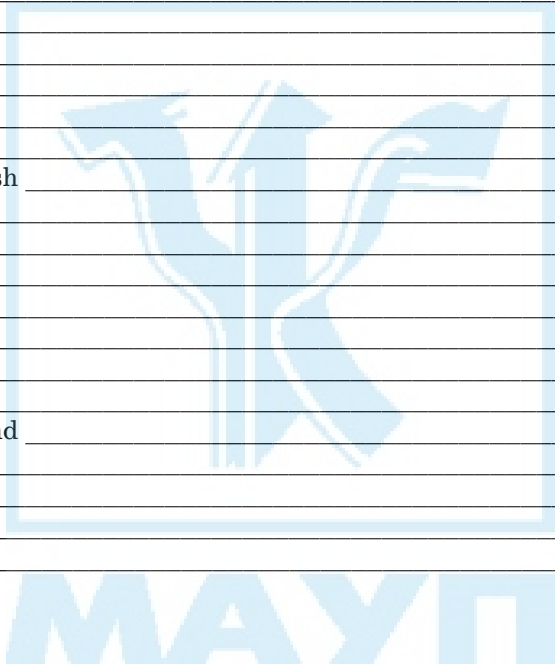
6) locate _____

7) tend _____

8) understand _____

9) express _____

10) ask _____



10.2.3. BELIEF SYSTEMS AMONG ELITES (Система поглядів еліти)

The political elite includes those who have relatively high levels of involvement in political life. Their belief systems are particularly important, because the elites are presumed to have a major role

in politics. Converse and others conclude that generalizations regarding the belief systems of the elites are the opposite of those for the mass public on each of the six points listed in the previous section. For the most part, their belief systems are characterized by relatively high levels of abstraction, accuracy, complexity, stability, and breadth. This does not mean that all members of the elite share the same political beliefs, but they do have quite sophisticated understandings about the political world.

Researchers have distinguished three belief systems. The first is considered an ideal type, that is, a pure form of a concept, idealized to reveal its essential features. It is possible that many, few, or none of the actual members of the elite have views that correspond exactly with any of these ideal-type belief systems.

Each belief system is based on different assumptions about the nature of the international political environment, the source of the major threats to national security, and the most appropriate kinds of policy responses. It would also be interesting to analyze the belief systems of this elite in other political domains, such as social welfare policies or the state's role in the economy, or to compare the beliefs of this elite with those of the elite in another country.

This research raises many interesting empirical questions. An obvious one is whether most or all individual members of the foreign policy elite have beliefs that fit clearly into one of the three belief systems. In Rosenau and Holsti's research in 1986, most of those studied held beliefs associated with the cold war internationalist perspective. A second question is whether individuals change from one belief system to another over time. Now that the Soviet Union has disintegrated, it is especially intriguing to assess how members of the American foreign policy elite have adapted their beliefs to the post-cold war world. Third, given the post-cold war context, will a new belief system emerge that differs from all three identified in the research? Fourth, if the foreign policy elite is dominated by a group that agrees on one of these belief systems, can the actual foreign policies of the state be predicted according to this framework? Little empirical work has yet been done to answer these kinds of questions raised by Rosenau and Holsti's characterization or by other scholars' hypotheses about the nature of belief systems among political elites in different countries.

EXERCISES

1. Translate into English.

1. У суспільстві реальну політику здійснюють управлінці (бюрократи), а безпосередньо така політика впливає на широкі маси.

2. Еліта постійно поповнюється, рекрутується із соціально-економічних страт.

3. Еліта — це наслідок так званого залізного закону олігархії, коли всіма урядами і політичними організаціями керує невелика група людей.

4. Правляча еліта — це невелика група людей, які домінують над іншими завдяки можливостям планувати, розробляти, ухвалювати рішення, здійснювати контроль над взаємовідносинами і процесом використання влади.

5. У разі помітного розвитку взаємин між елітою і масами, спостерігається, з одного боку, втрата інтересу мас до суспільно-політичного життя, до державної політики, а з іншого — державна політика фактично відображає і відстоює цінності не народу, маси, а правлячої політичної, економічної еліти.

10.3. POLITICAL PARTIES (Політичні партії)

Political parties are organizations designed to secure the power of the state for their leaders. The goal of political parties is to gain control of the levers of government and therefore to be able to realize their policies or programs. In democratic systems, this end is achieved through open competition in the electoral process. Their functions include: recruitment, nomination and election of political officeholders, interest articulation and aggregation, formulation of public policy and political socialization.

An interest group is transformed into a political party when it attempts to capture political power directly, by placing its members in governmental office. The political party is the broadest linkage institution in most political systems, because most parties are overarching organizations that incorporate many different interests and groups. While political systems can have thousands of political interest groups, most have only a handful of political parties.

There are six broad activities, or functions, fulfilled by political parties in most political systems: (1) they serve as brokers of ideas, (2) they serve as agents of political socialization, (3) they link individuals to the system, (4) they mobilize and recruit activists, (5) they coordinate government activities, and (6) they serve as an organized source of opposition to the governing group.

Serving as Brokers of Ideas. The first, most central activity of political parties is to serve as major brokers of political ideas. Many individuals and political groups have interests and demands regarding the policies of government. A crucial function of political parties is to aggregate and simplify these many demands into a few packages of clear alternatives. To the extent that political parties are effective in this activity, they dramatically reduce the complexity and scale of the political process for the decision maker, who must perceive and respond to the individual and group demands, and for the voter, who must select political leaders whose overall policy preferences are closest to his/ her own.

While all political parties are brokers of ideas, parties can be differentiated into two broad categories on the basis of party's intensity of commitment toward those ideas.

Ideological parties hold major programmatic goals (e. g., egalitarianism, ethnic solidarity, or Islamic fundamentalism) and are

deeply committed to the implementation of these goals to achieve comprehensive changes in the sociopolitical order. Ideological parties are usually “extreme,” within the context of their particular political culture. The Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria, the North Korean Communist Party, the Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland, the American libertarian Party, and the Green Party are examples of ideological parties.

In contrast, *pragmatic* parties hold more flexible goals and are oriented to moderate incremental policy change. To achieve electoral success, pragmatic parties might shift their position or expand the range of viewpoints they encompass. Parties of the center are characteristically pragmatic parties. Examples include the Christian Democrats in Germany, the Democratic and Republican Parties in the United States, and the Congress-I Party in India.

Facilitating Political Socialization. A related activity of political parties is their socialization of individuals into the political culture. In many political systems, individuals develop a clear “party identification.” This means that a person trusts one political party to represent her political interests. The person’s political beliefs and actions are influenced by information that a political party provides or by her perceptions of what the party supports. Even if an individual does not have strong party identification, political parties can be an important source of political knowledge.

Linking Individual and System. In its role as a linkage institution, a political party connects individuals and the political system. Most individuals rely on political groups to represent their interests within the political system. More than other groups, political parties function in a general manner to formulate, aggregate, and communicate a coherent package of demands and supports. And, if the party gains political power, it can attempt to implement those demands on behalf of the individuals whose interests it serves. Thus political parties greatly facilitate the individual’s sense of integration into the political process.

Mobilizing and Recruiting Political Activists. The political party offers a well-organized and obvious structure within which an individual can direct her political interests. It is a source of political information, of contact with other politically relevant individuals and groups, and of effective access to the political system. In many political systems, involvement with a political party is the primary

mechanism through which individuals are drawn into roles as political foot soldiers and, ultimately, as political gladiators. Often it is political parties that select the candidates for political positions or have the power to place individuals directly in positions within the political system. Whether one is considering a highly democratic polity like Great Britain or an extremely nondemocratic one like China, most or all individuals in key executive and legislative positions have achieved these positions through recruitment and selection by a political party.

Coordinating Governmental Operations. The fifth major activity of political parties is to coordinate the actions of the government. The political party can encourage or require its members to work together to achieve shared policy goals. It can establish an internal hierarchy, with party leaders (e. g., in the U. S. Senate, majority and minority leaders, whips, committee chairs) controlling the actions of the party members in the conduct of government. The parties can also provide mechanisms for facilitating cooperation and regulating conflict among different parties. Leaders of several parties might form a coalition in order to secure majority support for certain policies. Such coalitions are especially important in legislatures where no single party commands a majority. Political parties can also establish forms of power-sharing in the conduct of government business. For example, the parties can agree to formulate executive or legislative committees in a manner that reflects the political strength of the various parties.

Serving as Opposition. Finally, where the political system has more than one party, the parties not participating in the governing group can serve as an explicit and organized source of opposition. The function is most fully institutionalized in Great Britain, where the major out-of-power party in Parliament is explicitly designated as “Her Majesty’s Loyal Opposition.” The party should oppose, but never obstruct the actions of the governing party, since the opposition party remains loyal to crown and country. In Britain, the opposition party is guaranteed control of a specified amount of time during legislative sessions. The opposition leaders receive salaries to serve as a “shadow government,” with a member of the opposition serving as the alternative and potential future replacement, for each top official in the government. Hence there is a “shadow

prime minister,” a “shadow minister of defence,” and so on, who articulate what they would do if they held ministerial positions as the governing party.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Political parties are _____

2. The goal of political parties is _____

3. The goal is achieved _____

4. An interest group is transformed _____

5. There are six _____

2. Suggest nouns from the above text to the following verbs and translate the expressions:

1) to serve as _____

2) to aggregate _____

3) to reduce _____

4) to perceive _____

5) to hold _____

6) to achieve _____

7) to moderate _____

8) to expand _____

9) to rely on _____

10) to secure _____

3. Answer the questions:

1. What are the six broad activities of political parties?
2. What is the first, most central activity of political parties?
3. What are the goals of ideological parties?
4. What are the goals of pragmatic parties?
5. How do political parties facilitate political socialization?
6. How does a political party connect individuals and the political system?
7. What is the fifth major activity of political parties?
8. What is opposition and what are its functions?

4. Translate the sentences into English.

1. Політична соціалізація — це засвоєння особою певного соціального і політичного досвіду, нагромадженого суспільством і сконцентрованого в культурних традиціях, цінностях, нормах статусної та рольової поведінки.

2. Результатом політичної соціалізації є вміння людини:
а) орієнтуватися в суспільно-політичному просторі; б) брати участь у розв'язанні соціально-політичних та інших проблем, пов'язаних з управлінням справами суспільства і держави.

3. Політична соціалізація як процес залучення особи до політичного життя містить такі елементи: політичні інтереси, полі-

тичні потреби, політичні знання, політичні переконання, політичні емоції, політичну волю, політичну активність, політичну діяльність.

5. Retell the text.

10.4. POLLING
(Опитування громадської думки)

Polling is a segmentation approach to the political market. It gives shape to a mass of public opinion, divides and sub-divides it, so that the attitudes of each politically significant segment are known. This knowledge is incorporated into the framing of policy. Polling is commissioned by candidates to gauge the dimensions of voter opinion. The polls illuminate new strategic areas for possible assault and they attempt to rate the issues voters regard as important and their opinion of the candidate; they can highlight those areas where he/ she is perceived negatively and demonstrate how effective the advertising has been.

Political resources may vary from one political system to another and from one historical period to the next; a political resource is a means by which one person can influence the behaviour of other persons. Political resources include money, information, food, the threat of force, jobs, friendship, social standing, the right to make laws and to vote.

A similar analytic strategy can be used to determine what many people think about a specific issue. When the attitudes of many people are gathered, aggregated, and summarized, they constitute the most widely available data about people's political orientations: public opinion polls. Virtually every day, the media and other

sources provide data on the percentage of people who hold a certain opinion regarding a political issue. For example, a public opinion poll might gather data to answer the question: 'Do Germans oppose further immigration of non-Europeans into Germany?' On the basis of the information reported from the poll, you might decide you know what the Germans think about this issue. This information seems a stronger basis for a knowledge claim than a discussion with a few German friends or even a statement by a German political leader.

However, public opinion polls should be interpreted with care. In assessing the information, you should consider such questions as these: Did those who conducted the poll have a bias toward a particular result? Were the questions or the possible responses worded in a way that might distort people's actual opinions? Were those asked for an opinion a representative sample of the group to whom the opinion is attributed? Are different interpretations of the data possible? Even when the pollsters are unbiased, there have been instances when their estimates were quite inaccurate (e. g., predictions of how the population will vote in an election or a referendum).

EXERCISES

1. Complete sentences or parts of them and translate the ones:

1. Polling gives _____

2. Polling divides _____

3. Polling is commissioned _____

4. A political resource is a _____

5. Political resources include _____

6. Public opinion polls are _____

3. Can you answer these questions? Give reasons.

1. Do those who conduct the poll have a bias toward a particular result?

2. Are the questions or the possible responses worded in a way that might distort people's actual opinions?

3. Are those asked for an opinion a representative sample of the group to whom the opinion is attributed?

4. Are different interpretations of the data possible?

4. Translate the sentences into English.

1. Громадська думка — це один з виявів масової суспільно-політичної свідомості, що відображає ставлення народу чи певної його частини до влади.

2. Громадська думка — явище досить умовне, оскільки об'єктивно вона не є певною механічною сумою точок зору відповідної кількості людей.

3. Громадська думка є досить мінливим, непостійним явищем, що змінюється у просторі і часі.

5. Retell the text.

10.5. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (Політичний розвиток)

Political development has sometimes been equated with the growth of democratic institutions and practices. More commonly it has been associated with increasing complexity, specialization, and differentiation of political institutions in a society, regardless of their democratic or authoritarian character. A concept in political science used to describe the process of nation building and state building, especially in the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia which emerged from colonial rule after the Second World War. Political development is closely associated with the concepts of modernization and economic development, and it is now applied to processes of political change throughout the third world. The idea of political development implies that societies can consciously direct the course of their own nation building rather than submit to the blind forces of social and political evolution or revolution.

Political development can also be defined as growth and change within political systems, or change from one system to another, generally toward greater governmental capacity to cope with the demands made upon it. Political modernization is sometimes used as a synonym for political development. Development as a generic term encompasses economic and social as well as political change. The terms traditional, transitional, and modern are commonly used to designate societies in different stages of political, social, and economic development. In a premodern society political development typically involves a socialization process aimed at building mass support for a national political system, as well as creating institutions to promote more widespread political participation. As development proceeds, government takes on a new image and new responsibilities in the form of directing and servicing functions unknown to the society in the past. Government also begins to promote scientific and technological advances, general public advances, and other programs and other programs of economic and social modernization. A corps of administrators is recruited and trained in modern administrative techniques to provide efficient implementation of government policies. Political development theories help explain this process and suggest means by which development goals may be achieved.

EXERCISES

1. Suggest the attributes from the above text to the given nouns and translate the expressions:

1. _____ character

2. _____ building

3. _____ countries

4. _____ evolution

5. _____ development

6. _____ societies

7. _____ functions

8. _____ advances

9. _____ education

10. _____ techniques

2. Retell the text.

10.6. POLITICAL INTEGRATION (Політична інтеграція)

Political integration is the process by which two or more political units increase their cooperative contact with each other. The political merger of previously separate units is often regarded as a desirable or end product of the integrative process. Political integration requires formal or informal institutions for making joint decisions. In addition, integration assumes a high or rising level of transactions between the units, and the growth of perceptions of shared interests and values. Integration is sometimes regarded as a condition as well as a process. Karl Deutsch, in a frequently cited definition, identifies integration with the existence of settled expectations between states that their mutual conflicts will be resolved peacefully. In this view integration is both the condition and the process of attaining it. The condition may also be called political community.

EXERCISES

1. Define the following:

1. The process by which two or more political units increase their cooperative contact with each other is called _____
2. A desirable or end product of the integrative process can be called _____
3. Integration is _____

2. Retell the text.

11. POLITICAL IDEOLOGY (Політична ідеологія)

A political ideology is a comprehensive set of beliefs about the political world — about desirable political goals and the best ways to achieve those goals.

There are three points that might clarify the different ways in which the term political ideology is used. First, a political ideology can be composed of the political beliefs of a single individual or of a group of any size from a small set of friends to millions of people around the world. In this sense, “ideology” is used synonymously with “belief system”. Second, it is usually assumed that a political ideology displays high coherence, complexity, and salience, but it could be low on any of these dimensions. Third, the label “political ideology” is typically applied to one of a few general and comprehensive sets of beliefs, most of which are “isms”. However, any relatively complete bundle of political beliefs could be termed a political ideology.

The objective in this section is to introduce you to the basic tenets of some of the world’s most general ideologies: conservatism, liberalism, and several variations of socialism, including communism. Elements of these sets of ideas influence the political thinking of large numbers of people.

Ideologies can include a description of political reality, but they are primarily a normative expression of what ought to be. Each major ideology has its own internal logic, and each is based on assumptions and value judgments about the individual and his/her human nature, about the proper relationship between the individual and society, and about the desirability of establishing certain kinds of equality among individuals within society.

The “nature versus nurture” debate centers on disagreements about whether an individual’s fundamental beliefs and behaviors are determined primarily by innate needs and values with which he/ she is born or whether those beliefs and values are mainly a product of his/ her environment and experiences. Analysts focus on the key assumptions that political ideologies make about an individual’s innate nature (e. g., the extent to which individuals are selfish or sharing, violent or nonviolent, emotional or rational) and about the adaptability of individuals (the extent to which they can be taught or induced to act and think in a way that is against their innate nature).

What is the proper relationship between the individual and society? The highest value in social arrangements could be individual freedom of action, or it could be that the collective good is paramount and that individual freedom must be constrained to achieve that collective good.

To what extent should there be equality in what individuals do and what benefits they acquire? One position is that there should be legal equality — that every individual should be equal before the law, have equal political rights, and enjoy *equality of opportunity*. A contrasting position is that there should be material equality — that every individual deserves a comparable level of benefits and goods. This second position places high value on *equality of conditions* — adding social and economic equality to legal equality. There is also a third position which posits that people and situations are intrinsically unequal and that it is neither possible nor desirable to attempt to legislate any kind of equality.

While there is a broadly shared understanding of the general perspective of the major ideologies, you should be aware that each ideology is subject to varying interpretations across groups and especially across cultures. This variation is especially evident for the term “liberalism,” which has both a traditional meaning (described later) and also a very different meaning in the late twentieth century. Similarly, the ideology of socialism in its Marxist-Leninist form is quite distinct from its democratic socialist form.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. A political ideology is _____

2. A political ideology can be _____

3. A political ideology displays _____

4. “Political ideology” is _____

5. Ideologies can include _____

6. Political ideologies make _____

7. Each ideology is _____

2. Answer the questions:

1. How many points are there to clarify the term political ideology?

2. What is the first point?

3. What is the second point?

4. What is the third point?

5. What are some of the world's most general ideologies?

6. What is each major ideology based on?

7. What does the "nature versus nurture" debate center on?

8. What do analysts focus on?

9. What is the proper relationship between the individual and society?

10. To what extent should there be equality in what individuals do and what benefits they acquire?

11.1. CONSERVATISM
(Консерватизм)

As the word suggests, the essence of conservative ideology is to conserve the many valued elements of the system that already exists. What the conservative ideology wishes to preserve varies with the time and place, but there are certain underlying elements that are highly valued. Particular importance is placed on stability, tradition, and loyalty to God and country. The relation of the individual to society and an antipathy to egalitarianism (that is, equality of conditions) are at the core of conservatism.

Conservatism makes few assumptions about human nature. It does posit that individuals are inherently unequal in intelligence, in skills, and in status. Some individuals and groups are superior to

others, and it is clearly preferable that the superior groups be in positions of power in society and in government. Individual rationality is not usually a sound basis for decisions about appropriate social or political behavior.

Society is composed of many different groups, which are unequal in power, status, and material possessions. These groups link together in an organic whole whose members work cooperatively to maintain the social order. Individual liberty is valued, but only within a framework of mutual responsibility. No majority or government should have sufficient power to abridge the rights of the superior groups to enjoy the benefits or exercise the responsibilities associated with their greater power, status, and wealth. One of the responsibilities of the powerful is to protect the weak from severe hardships, a responsibility that the French term *noblesse oblige* — the obligations of the nobility.

Existing values and social organization have evolved slowly and have survived the test of time. Tradition and religion, rather than reason, are viewed as the most reliable sources for guiding society, since they support stability and temper change. In the words of one British conservative, “the accumulated wisdom and experience of countless generations gone is more likely to be right than the passing fashion of the moment”.

Since inequality is a natural aspect of society, it is foolish and even dangerous to seek egalitarianism. Forced equality is unwise because it disrupts the natural, cooperative hierarchy among groups and causes social conflict and unnatural change. Attempts to force equality are also unacceptable because they directly undermine individual liberty, a value of far greater importance.

In sum, conservatism attempts to prevent or slow the transition away from a society based on traditional values and social hierarchy. In twentieth-century situations where government became strong, and especially where government used its power to equalize wealth and status, conservatism argues for a return to traditional values, for a contraction of government, and for the individual freedom to be unequal.

Many who are now called conservatives or neoconservatives are really more closely aligned to the philosophy of classical liberalism (see below).

Many of the contemporary political actors who come closest to the spirit of conservatism are in certain countries in Asia and the Middle East (e. g., Brunei, Kuwait, Nepal, and Saudi Arabia) where social hierarchy, order, and traditional values are celebrated. Most contemporary conservatives are pragmatic and recognize that a return to eighteenth-century society is impossible. They accept some of the government policies implemented in their societies to equalize status and income; but even here the rationale is to change in order to preserve, as the British Conservative Party has put it. The conservative perspective is sympathetic to government intervention if the goal is to maintain or return to traditional values such as patriotism, family, and piety. Thus a conservative government might actively expand its military power to influence other countries, might support a state religion, or might make abortion illegal.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Particular importance is _____

2. _____ are at the core of conservatism.

3. Conservatism posits that _____

4. Individual rationality is _____

5. Society is _____

6. No majority or government should _____

7. The French term *noblesse oblige* _____

8. Tradition and religion _____

9. The accumulated wisdom and experience _____

10. Conservatism attempts _____

2. Retell the text.

**11.2. CLASSICAL LIBERALISM
(Класичний лібералізм)**

Each person enjoys natural rights to life, liberty, and property. In contrast to conservatism, there is no higher value in classical liberalism than these rights and the freedom of the individual to pursue these rights as an independent actor. Liberalism assumes that each person is a rational and responsible individual who is the best judge of what is in his self-interest. Thus each individual ought to be allowed to exercise freedom of action, guided by his/ her own rationality and pursuing his/ herf own interests.

A person's full capabilities can be realized only if he/ she is not limited by a social order in which tradition and hierarchy are dominant or by a government that restricts individual freedom. The ideology of classical liberalism emerged as a reaction to the conservatism of European feudal society, which was viewed as hierarchical and static, stifling individual freedom. It also repudiated mercantilism, government interventions in the economy which were viewed as benefiting only a few and severely limiting the opportunities of most.

According to liberalism, no principle justifies the limitation of individual freedom. In economic behavior, classical liberals celebrated a *laissez-faire* economy (that is, one unconstrained by government regulations) guided by enlightened self-interest and

the “invisible hand” of the market. Each individual should be free to pursue his/ her self-interest by any legal activity and to amass as much property and wealth as he/ she can. In political life, government authority, which rests on the consent of each individual to be governed, is explicitly limited so that government does not infringe on personal liberty.

While equality before the law (equality of opportunity) is important, government should not attempt to create material equality. Even in situations of hardship, government action is undesirable because it can undermine individual initiative and independence. Thus government has only a very limited role, with no responsibility for addressing inequalities.

Among the many political thinkers associated with classical liberalism were John Locke (1632–1704), Adam Smith (1723–1790), Jeremy Bentham (1748–1831), and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873). More contemporary advocates of classical liberalism (some of whom are labeled “neoconservatives”) include economists F. A. Hayek and Milton Friedman, and political commentator William F. Buckley. Many contemporary political regimes are powerfully influenced by classical liberalism. Its emphases on limited government, individual liberty, and *laissez-faire* economy are among the central themes in many debates about policy and government action.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Liberalism assumes _____

2. Each individual ought _____

3. A person’s full capabilities _____

4. No principle justifies _____

5. A *laissez-faire* economy is _____

6. Each individual should _____

7. Government authority _____

8. Even in situations of hardship _____

2. Retell the text.

11.3. SOCIALISM (Соціалізм)

In the socialist perspective, individuals are not innately selfish and aggressive. If anything, humans are social and caring by nature. To a large extent, individuals' attitudes and behaviors are determined by the environment in which they live and learn, not by invariant features of human nature. Consequently, it is crucial to create an environment that encourages individuals to place highest value on cooperation and sharing and also to believe that the most important goal for each individual is to increase the collective good of all.

While individual rights and freedom are valued, the most important value is the good of the society as a whole. Thus the individual's interests must be subordinated, or at least coordinated, with the overall interests and needs of everyone in the society. All groups, from national organizations (e. g., trade unions) to local organizations (e. g., social clubs) to the family must encourage these attitudes of cooperation and service to the common good.

The government has a crucial role, both through education and civic training and also through policies that provide every citizen

with good material living conditions and security. Thus government must take an expansive role, ensuring that every citizen has access to quality education, shelter, health care, jobs, and financial security against economic uncertainty.

Both the organic, hierarchical world of conservatism and the individualistic, self-serving world of classical liberalism result in societies in which there are huge disparities of material conditions, status, and power. From the socialist perspective, these disparities cause misery, deep alienation, and pervasive conflict in the society. Thus the ideology of socialism centers on a deep commitment to use the power and policies of the state to increase the material as well as the social and political equality of all its members. Such equality transforms people into fulfilled, happy citizens who willingly contribute to the common good.

There are significantly different variations within the ideology of socialism. Among these, two major variations should be distinguished.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences or phrases from the above text:

- 1) Individuals are _____
- 2) Humans are _____
- 3) Individuals' attitudes and behaviors are _____
- 4) to place highest value on _____
- 5) to increase _____
- 6) the most important value is _____
- 7) _____ encourage _____
- 8) government must _____
- 9) disparities cause _____

2. Retell the text.

**11.3.1. MARXIST-LENINIST SOCIALISM
(Марксистсько-ленінський соціалізм)**

This variant of socialist ideology begins with three assumptions regarding the changes necessary to produce equality and social justice. First, the old socioeconomic order will resist change by every means available, and thus change will require violent overthrow of the old order. Second, the transformation to socialism will be complex and difficult to achieve the desired equality of conditions, a powerful government must be installed. Among the government's most important tasks is the restructuring of the economic system, with public ownership of all the major resources in the society and the production and distribution of goods and services for human need. And third, a small, dictatorial leadership group must be empowered to manage the government and to effect the complex changes in the economy and society. When relative equality is achieved, both the small leadership group and the powerful government supporting it can be eliminated. They will be replaced by a decentralized, citizen-run politics and an efficient administration. The core elements of this version of socialism are the theories of Karl Marx, and its modified practical applications by V. I. Lenin in the Soviet Union and Mao Zedong in China. These variations of socialism are often termed communism or Marxism or revolutionary socialism, as well as Marxist-Leninist socialism. In the last fifty years this version of socialism has been attempted in more than sixty countries, ranging from A (Albania, Angola, Algeria) to Z (Zimbabwe). Most of the major regimes that implemented Marxist-Leninist socialism have now abandoned it.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Socialist ideology begins with _____

2. The old socioeconomic order _____

3. Thus, change _____

4. The transformation to socialism _____

5. A powerful government _____

6. The government's most important task is _____

7. A dictatorial leadership group _____

8. In the last fifty years _____

2. Retell the text.

11.3.2. DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM (Демократичний соціалізм)

A second major variation within socialist ideology is democratic socialism. This variant also treats egalitarianism as its primary goal, but it assumes that the changes can be affected by a government that comes to power and rules by democratic means, not by violence and repression. This government's authority is derived

from consent of the governed in elections. In democratic socialism, the state's policies emphasize the substantial reduction of inequalities in material conditions, power, and status, but they do not attempt to achieve complete equality of material conditions. The approach to change is gradual, placing continued importance on the protection of individual rights and freedoms, even as it transforms the socioeconomic order. The government might own some of the major economic resources in the society and it strongly regulates much of the economic system, but it does not attempt to plan and control all aspects of the economic system. An informed electorate is the surest guarantee of the survival of democracy.

The ideology of democratic socialism is rooted in such Utopian socialists as Thomas More (1478–1535), Robert Owen (1771–1856), and Claude-Henri St. Simon (1760–1825), in Fabian socialists such as George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) and Sydney (1859–1947) and Beatrice (1858–1943) Webb, and in revisionist Marxists such as Karl Kautsky (1854–1938). The ideology has been partially implemented in the contemporary “welfare state,” which is present in such countries as Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, and Sweden. It is also advocated by some of the political elites in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

One vision of the welfare state as a set of specific government policies was articulated by Englishman Sir William Beveridge in a major policy statement to the British government in 1941. Beveridge argued that the state had clear responsibility to employ public policy actively in order to overcome five tragic effects on some individuals in a society operating according to the tenets of classical liberalism:

1. *Disease*: to be combatted by public provision of subsidized or free health care services, including doctors, treatment, hospitals, and medicines.

2. *Want*: to be eliminated by public provision of sufficient money and other services to raise people above poverty.

3. *Squalor*: to be reduced by publicly owned and subsidized housing affordable to all.

4. *Ignorance*: to be eliminated by universal, free public education.

5. *Idleness*: to be overcome by government policies that ensure meaningful work for all individuals.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Democratic socialism also treats _____

2. It assumes _____

3. The government's authority is _____

4. The state's policies emphasize _____

5. The state's policies do not _____

6. The approach to change is _____

7. To combat disease _____

8. To eliminate want _____

9. To reduce squalor _____

10. To eliminate ignorance _____

11. To overcome idleness _____

2. Translate into English.

1. Національні політичні системи можна класифікувати за трьома основними формами розподілу влади і функцій: (1) унітарні держави, (2) федерації, (3) конфедерації.

2. Кожна політична система втручається у такі галузі, як культура, економіка, релігія і етика.

3. Демократія повинна не тільки надавати право голосу, а й також дозволяти громадянам і засобам масової інформації свободу слова, зібрань та політичної опозиції.

4. Більшість держав, крім декількох систем, керованих спадкоємним монархом, заявляють, що вони є демократичними.

5. Поінформований виборець — це визначальна гарантія життєздатності демократії.

3. Retell the text.

11.4. SOME OTHER ISMS (Дещо про інші “ізви”)

There are many other significant political ideologies in the contemporary political world, at least some of which are “isms.” Examples include authoritarianism, environmentalism, fascism, libertarianism, nationalism, and totalitarianism. There are also broader systems of religious-social beliefs that have great political

importance, including Islamic fundamentalism, Confucianism, and Hinduism.

In the contemporary political world, few individuals adhere absolutely to any one of these political ideologies. Almost no one has a complete grasp of the details and subtleties of any ideology, and even fewer are prepared to accept without reservation every element of an ideology. Some “true believers” do adhere almost totally to a particular ideology, and these people are the genuine ideologues. There is a larger set of people who are substantially influenced by one or more ideologies. They have developed their own system of political beliefs, which is a combination of basic principles of particular ideologies with ideas from other sources. And, as have been noted above in discussing the beliefs of mass publics, in most societies there are many individuals who have only rudimentary and inconsistent political beliefs, which are shaped by perceptions of underlying principles of one or more political ideologies.

EXERCISES

1. Answer the questions:

1. What are your general beliefs about human nature?
2. Are these beliefs consistent with your most important beliefs about how people ought to behave and do behave politically?
3. What do you think is the most sensible assumption and the most questionable assumption of conservatism? Of classical liberalism? Of socialism?
4. Can you characterize your own political belief system?
5. What are your three to five most salient political beliefs?
6. Do they deal with the same general content area?
7. If you were going to analyze the political belief system of another person on the basis of about five questions, what would you ask?

- a) _____
- b) _____
- c) _____
- d) _____
- e) _____

12. POLITICAL INTEREST GROUPS **(Групи політичних інтересів)**

Activities of Political Interest Groups

All political interest groups share the common objective of attempting to influence the allocation of public values, but there are a variety of strategies that groups can employ to achieve this purpose.

The most direct methods to achieve political objectives involve some form of political action. Such action might be taken by all group members or by some members who formally or informally represent the entire group. Depending on the political system, this might entail voting and campaign activities to influence the selection and action of political authorities. Or the group might attempt to articulate its interest to political actors by such communication techniques as letter writing, personal contact, petitions, rallies, or political violence.

Political interest groups also can provide goods or services to political actors. Such a strategy assumes that provision of goods and services will influence decision makers to be more favorably disposed toward the interests of a group. Each political system develops its own rules about the methods and amounts of money or goods that can be given legitimately to political actors. The line between legal and illegal provision of money and goods varies dramatically across political cultures. In some political systems, all that takes to shock people is the revelation that an interest group has given a political actor a small gift, but in many political systems it requires a multimillion-dollar kickback to a politician to shock the citizens and provoke action. In 1992 such multimillion-dollar payments led to the downfall of Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello, who was suspected of receiving more than \$6 million in illegal payments from various interest groups, and to the imprisonment of the kingpin of Japan's dominant Liberal Democratic Party, Shin Kanemaru, who received more than \$50 million in illegal contributions from construction companies.

In the United States extraordinary amounts of money are now contributed to political actors by interest groups. Overall, political action committees (PACs) spent \$364 million on the Congressional candidates in the 1988 election. Such contributions are legal, but it

is obvious that the money is given in the hope of influencing the making of public policies. Although cause-and-effect relationships are hard to establish, PACs for the utility companies contributed \$10.3 million to 1988 campaigns for US. Congress members, who, in turn, supported an obscure provision within federal law, which delayed the repayment of improperly collected funds from rate payers for up to 30 years, netting the utility companies a savings of \$19 billion (a handsome 1,845:1 return on investment). No one knows the amount of illegal resources that are distributed, although scandals regarding bribes and kickbacks seem to be reported more frequently in most countries. In a wry comment on American politics, humorist Will Rogers once observed that “our Congress is the best that money can buy.”

Another activity of some interest groups is the provision of data and information to those within the political system. The interest group may have specialized information that the political system would find difficult or impossible to attain from other sources. These private groups have a vested interest in the public policies that emerge, and so most actively provide data that support their own interests. For example, when the U. S. Congress considered a law requiring mandatory air bags (as a safety restraint) in automobiles, the legislators relied on information from interested groups, primarily the automobile manufacturers and the insurance companies, regarding the increased costs of auto production and the impact on injuries and compensation if air bags were required (they weren't).

In many countries, as the scale of government and the reach of public policy have expanded, many organizations in society need detailed, insider information about what the government is doing or intends to do that might affect their organization. Thus some analysts have concluded that American interest groups in Washington, D. C., now spend more time gathering information *from* the government that is relevant to their organizations' interests (e. g., changes in rules or laws) than they do providing information that might influence government policy.

Major interest groups can also exert influence through their compliance or noncompliance with the government policy process. In many countries, government actors understand that successful policy implementation is enhanced when they develop policies that

are acceptable to the affected interest groups. There are many countries (especially industrial democracies such as France, Japan, South Korea, and Sweden) in which government cultivates a special relationship with the interest group representatives of major economic organizations, such as business, labor, and farmers. When such interest groups can help the government implement policy, they enjoy a privileged position. Governance based on close cooperation with major sectoral interest groups is termed “corporatism”. For example, the British ministry responsible for agriculture and food works closely with the interest group representing the food manufacturers, so that the manufacturers, rather than the government bureaucracy, take most responsibility for inspecting and monitoring food hygiene. Obviously, an organization benefits greatly when its interest group persuades the government to allow it to regulate itself.

Each interest group must decide what mix of activities is most likely to serve its political agenda. This mix is dependent upon many things. Among the most important constraints on the interest group’s behavior are the nature of the group’s political resources, the objectives it is pursuing, and the political environment in which it is operating.

A group’s political resources are those elements, controlled by the group that can influence the decisions and actions of political actors. The political resources that are most effective can differ according to the situation and the political system. The previous section emphasized the impact of financial resources and information, but certain other political resources can also be influential: control of factors of production, social status, legality, special knowledge or skills, ability to mobilize large numbers of people (who are the source of demands or supports), capacity for social disruption, and access to decision makers. Various groups will usually have dramatically different levels of such resources. An interest group’s behavior will depend on the kinds of resources it has available and its calculation of the costs and benefits associated with using a particular mix of resources.

The objectives that interest groups pursue in the political world are as diverse as the value allocations that the political system might make. One group might want one specific thing, such as a subsidy for growing wheat, while another group might have very broad objectives, such as a set of policies to eliminate poverty. Both

the group strategies and the probability that they will be successful are related to the nature of the group's political objective. In general, an interest group is advantaged to the extent that its objective (1) is quite similar to existing policy, and (2) is a value allocation that the political system has the capacity to make. For example, the Greenpeace groups in France and Germany are more likely to influence government policies on safer disposal of nuclear wastes than to stop the development of new nuclear power stations, and these groups have little capacity to push the superpowers to nuclear disarmament.

At the most basic level, the demands that groups can make and the actions in which they can engage depend on the boundaries of acceptable political action within the particular political environment. Every example of interest group action in this chapter has focused upon a group operating in a democratic political system. An essential feature of democratic systems is that interest groups have quite extensive rights to make political demands and engage in political actions.

In democracies such as Great Britain, Italy, and Japan, professional representatives of interest groups (lobbyists) are as much a part of the accepted set of governmental actors as elected legislators and their staffs. In Japan it is common for senior government officials to "descend from heaven" (amakudari) to a high-paying lobbyist's job for a major corporate interest. In the United States there are more than 23,000 registered, full-time professional lobbyists working in Washington, D. C., and one analyst contends that the total number of people engaged primarily in lobbying activities is more than 80,000 (that is, more than 140 per Congressperson).

In contrast, repressive political systems tolerate only a very narrow range of interest group activities that are in opposition to the leadership. Such groups, especially their leaders, usually face extensive harassment and punishment from the authorities. Nonetheless, groups periodically emerge to articulate demands for political, social, and economic changes. Occasionally, the state responds positively to these demands. Some interest groups are eventually granted a major role in the political process, as happened in Poland to Solidarity, which evolved during the 1980s from an illegal trade union to a legal trade union to a government opposition movement to an important political party whose leader (Lech

Walensa) became president of the country. Other groups have successfully engaged in a combination of political violence and mass mobilization to overthrow the existing regime, as did the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in 1979.

In general however, one of the key features of a repressive political system is its capacity to stifle or crush opposition interest groups. Such groups therefore operate on the margins of the political system, ranging from small revolutionary cells such as the Sendero Luminoso in Peru to mass movements such as the democracy demonstrations in China in 1989.

EXERCISES

1. Find in the text and explain the following:

1. A political action _____

2. Provision of material resources _____

3. Exchange of information _____

4. Cooperation _____

5. Constraints on a group's behavior _____

6. Political resources _____

7. Political objectives _____

8. Political Environment _____

2. Retell the text.

12.1. TYPES OF INTEREST GROUPS (Типи груп інтересів)

The rights to free speech, free assembly and peaceful petition for the redress of grievances provide the legal basis for so-called ‘special interests’ or ‘lobbies’. Any group has the right to demand that its views be heard — by the public, by the legislature, by the executive branch and (through selective lawsuits) by the courts.

One type of interest group that has grown in number and influence in recent years is the political action committee, or PAC. Political action committees are private, independent groups, organized around a single issue or set of issues that contribute money to political campaigns for Congress or the presidency.

Private interest groups usually have an economic stake in the policies they advocate. PACs are limited in the amounts they can contribute directly to candidates in federal elections. There are no restrictions however on the amounts PACs can spend independently to advocate a point of view or to urge the election of candidate to office.

Public interest groups, in contrast, seek a collective good, the achievement of which will not selectively and materially benefit their own membership. This does not mean that such groups are necessarily correct in the positions they take, only that the element of profitable or selective self-interest is absent. Perhaps the largest public interest group is Common Cause.

Analysts suggest four types of political interest groups, which they term (1) associational, (2) institutional, (3) nonassociational, and (4) anomic.

The first type — associational interest groups are organized specifically to further political objectives of the groups’ members. One example is the British Medical Association. Another example is Common Cause, an American interest group whose citizen-members pay a membership fee to support the lobbying activities of a central staff. The leadership of Common Cause identifies political issues of significance to their members and then attempts to mobilize political action (such as letter-writing campaigns and press releases) in support of a particular position on the issue. The group also provides decision makers with information and data and contributes funds to some political candidates. Its main purpose is to reform governmental structures to make them more accountable to the public.

The second type, institutional interest groups, are organizations that were formed to achieve goals other than affecting the political system but that also act to seek political objectives. Most occupational and organizational groups recognize that the decisions of the political system sometimes have major impacts on their own interests. Thus they have a formal or informal sub-unit whose primary purpose is to represent the group's interests to the political system. For example, the University of California is a large institution of higher education, but its interests are strongly affected by local, state, and national policies on educational funding, on research funding, on regulation of research, on discrimination in admissions and hiring, on tax law, on patent law, on collective bargaining, and on many other policies. Consequently, the university has full-time professional and student lobbyists on each campus, in Sacramento, and in Washington, D. C.

Nonassociational interest groups are fluid aggregates of individuals who are not explicitly associated with a permanent organizational entity but share some common interest over certain issues and may become politically active on an issue. A loosely structured organization might temporarily emerge to plan and coordinate political activities, but the group will be temporary and relatively informal and, once the issue has lost its immediate salience, the group will disappear. If the group does become more formalized and permanent, it is transformed (analytically) from a nonassociational interest group into an associational group.

A nonassociational interest group formed when congressional discussion regarding the Tax Reform Act included a proposal to eliminate the tax-free status of fellowships for student teaching assistants. While many graduate students shared a common interest regarding this policy proposal, they did not share membership in any organization. However, some groups and spokespersons emerged who initiated letter-writing campaigns and articulated their concerns to political actors and the media. Despite their objections and those of university officials, the act did make such fellowships taxable. If an interest group emerges in your community to stop a building development, or to recall a public official, or to promote a particular law, it can be categorized as a nonassociational interest group.

Short-lived, spontaneous aggregations of people who share a political concern are identified as anomic interest groups. A riot is

the clearest example of this type of interest group — the participants tend to share a common set of political interests or grievances, which they express through a generally disorganized outpouring of emotion, energy, and violence. A political demonstration is a somewhat more organized version of anomic interest group activity. What defines an anomic political group is a group political action that emerges with little or no planning and then quickly stops.

EXERCISES

1. Define the following.

1. Private interest groups _____

2. Public interest groups _____

3. Associational interest groups _____

4. Institutional interest groups _____

5. Nonassociational interest groups _____

6. Anomic interest groups _____

2. Translate into English.

1. Групи суспільного інтересу потребують загального добра, що не стане вибірковою чи матеріальною винагородою їм за їхнє членство.

2. Встановлення контактів з урядом перетворилося в самостійну індустрію.

3. Головна мета групи суспільного інтересу “Спільна справа” — реформувати урядові структури, аби зробити їх більш підзвітними громадськості.

13. WINNING ELECTIONS (Перемога на виборах)

In a democratic nation, to gain power you must win elections. Persuading people to vote for you is a vital part of the political process. Politics often shares a vocabulary with military activity, and this is especially the case with elections: both winning elections and winning wars involve running successful campaigns.

From a linguistic point of view political campaigns are of interest because they show language being used for such a clear and central purpose. Although political campaigns, with their speeches, their written texts, their broadcasts, need to inform and instruct voters about issues that are considered to be of great importance, ultimately all the written and spoken texts that are produced during an election campaign are designed to persuade people to do one thing: to vote in a certain way.

Just how this persuasive purpose is carried out varies hugely, ranging from so-called negative campaigning, where candidates attack opponents rather than sell themselves, to more positive methods where candidates, usually not yet in power, sell themselves as a brand new product, much better than the old one that is currently being used.

Language is a vital part of this process of selling, but not the only one. Television is generally seen as the most important part of

the political battleground, and party broadcasts and/ or advertisements, paid for by the political parties, are often sophisticated media productions produced by high-profile film directors. In this unit a number of persuasive texts will be looked at. They do not give the full picture of how politicians sell themselves, but they do show how linguistic techniques of persuasion contribute to the process.

The next chapters will focus in particular on how language tells us a great deal about the ideology of those who use it — including politicians, and those who report on the work of politicians. They will focus in particular on metaphor, metonymy, analogy and transitivity, all terms which will be explained as they are discussed.

EXERCISES

1. Find in the text verbs that match the following nouns:

- 1) _____ elections
- 2) _____ a vocabulary
- 3) _____ campaigns
- 4) _____ voters
- 5) _____ people
- 6) _____ opponents
- 7) _____ a brand new product
- 8) _____ sophisticated media productions

13.1. THE PROBLEM OF TRUTH (Труднощі з правдою)

Politicians and other public figures often complain about bias in the media, about media ‘witch-hunts’ instead of reporting the truth; they claim, the media present a distorted picture which serves their own interests. The BBC is one particular focus for such complaints because it often claims to be impartial in its news reporting and concerned only with broadcasting the objective truth. Sometimes the complaints revolve around the fact that a story has been broken at all, at other times they concern the presentation of

the story, including the language used. The philosopher A. J. Ayer wrote in 1936 that ‘the terms true and false connote nothing, but function simply as marks of assertion and denial’. In other words, there is no such thing as absolute truth — what we call a truth is in fact an assertion which we ourselves believe in. By this definition truth is both relative and subjective. The whole idea of ‘truth’ is very problematic at the best of times, but when it relates to how a political story is reported then it is especially so.

When a television news team report a story, they make a number of decisions which will affect how the story is received by the audience. Where they position the camera, the sequence in which they show events and the language they use will all determine the overall picture we get. In making these decisions they are reflecting an ideological view; there is no such thing as an unbiased report, no such thing as ‘neutral’ language. It would be just possible to present the story from different perspectives, from different ideological standpoints.

This does not mean, though, that language is merely the tool of cynical manipulation; that because you can report the same story in different ways there are no such things as ethical or moral behaviour, that one political policy is no more fair and just than another. Language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping argument and political argument is ideological, in that it comes from a series of beliefs. Language is not something somehow separate from the ideas it contains, but the way language is used says a great deal about how the ideas have been shaped. When analysing the language of a political text, therefore, it is important to look at the way the language reflects the ideological position of those who have created it, and how the ideological position of the readers will affect their response too.

Philosophers distinguish between validity and truth in argument and this is a useful distinction to make here. A valid argument is one where the logic is correct; it does not have to lead to a ‘true’ conclusion. Equally, a ‘true’ conclusion can come from an invalid argument. This means that the relationship between language and truth is more complex than is sometimes thought. When a parent tells a child to ‘tell the truth’, it is a relatively straightforward matter. To expect that a political journalist, or a politician, can ‘tell the truth’ just as easily is much more problematic, because

it fails to take account of the fact that both the creator and the receiver of the text bring ideological values to it. Indeed, it could be argued that clear personal attacks on politicians are seen by the audience as just that — personal attacks. Much less likely to be seen for what they are are the news reports which claim an objectivity they cannot possibly have.

EXERCISES

1. Complete the sentences and translate them:

1. Politicians often complain _____

2. They claim the media present _____

3. Sometimes the complaints revolve _____

4. The language reflects _____

5. Language is _____

6. A valid argument is _____

7. The relationship between language and truth is _____

8. To expect that a political journalist or a politician, can ‘tell the truth’ is problematic because _____

2. Retell the text.

13.2. POLITICAL LANGUAGE (Мова політики)

Both metaphor and metonymy are frequently used in the language of politics. They are only one aspect of political discourse, but they are useful starting points for looking at some of the ways in which political language operates.

Metaphor refers to when a word or a phrase is used which establishes a comparison between one idea and another. When a politician is said to ‘take flak’ from an opponent, politics is being compared to warfare, with the politician metaphorically being shot at. On the other hand, it may be the politician who is ‘on the offensive, targeting’ his opponents by launching an attack’ on their policies.

Metonymy involves replacing the name of something with something that is connected to it, without being the whole thing. For example, the President of the United States, his government and advisors, are sometimes replaced by the much simpler term ‘The White House’, which is the presidential residence and administrative centre. Similarly, when an announcement is made by a member of the British royal family, it is often described as follows: ‘Buckingham Palace today denied claims that the royal family is out of touch with the people.’ In other words the building where they live — Buckingham Palace — replaces the name of the people who live there — the royal family. The above announcement without use of metonymy would read ‘The royal family today denied claims that they are out of touch with the people’ or ‘The Queen today denied...’

Two common sources of metaphor in politics are sport and war, both of which involve physical contests of some sort. Both politicians themselves, and those who report politics, use these metaphors. Boxing metaphors are particularly common, conveying a sense of toughness and aggression, especially when an election is seen as a fight between two main protagonists who are nearly always male. When the British Election of 1997 was announced, one newspaper had the headline ‘The Gloves Are Off’, suggesting not just boxing, but a bare-knuckle fight.

In the USA, baseball metaphors abound in politics: ‘a whole new ball game’, ‘a ball park figure’, ‘to play ball’, ‘to be back at first base’ and ‘spin’. These metaphors are increasingly used in British political discourse too, but baseball’s equivalent of game, cricket,

offers others: ‘to keep your eye on the ball’; ‘batting on a sticky wicket’; to be ‘stumped’ by or to ‘play a straight bat’ to a question.

When Blair’s supporters in 1997 wanted to suggest that if he won, his government would act promptly on issues, they used a metaphor taken from warfare and promised to ‘hit the ground running’. This phrase originates in the idea of soldiers leaping from combat helicopters and running straight into action. After Ronald Reagan’s poor showing in a televised debate in 1984, his supporters promised a campaign of ‘damage control’. The word ‘campaign’ is itself a reference to battle, and in campaigns ‘political battles are won, they lead to surrender’.

It is worth noting that this sense of politics being seen as a sort of warfare through the use of metaphors can be seen in reverse when real war is talked about. The shadow boxing of party politics, with its metaphors of battle, becomes much less gung-ho when real victims in real wars are to be explained away. In the 1990s dead civilians became ‘collateral damage’ in a form of political language which wanted to hide the horror, while the mass evacuation (and often murder) of civilians belonging to the other side became ‘ethnic cleansing’.

Metaphors from sport and war are ‘not just rhetorical devices for talking about politics, for they exemplify how people ordinarily conceive of politics for instance metaphors from sports and war often delude people into believing that negotiation and compromise are forbidden by the rules.’ In other words, because so much language which surrounds political issues is rooted in metaphors of war, contest or sport — even if we are not always consciously aware of these roots — then we have no idea that politics can be anything other than confrontational, that it could in fact involve agreement and consensus. The key metaphors of politics involve concepts of enemies and opponents, winners and losers; they do not suggest that government could be achieved through discussion, co-operation, working together.

EXERCISES

1. Define the following:

1) Metaphor _____

2) Metonymy _____

3) Common sources of metaphor in politics _____

4) Key metaphors of politics _____

13.3. A LEAFLET TO VOTERS (Листівка виборцям)

The text below is from a leaflet sent to voters in one British constituency during the election of 1997. The Referendum Party stood for one issue — that the British electors should have the chance to vote in a referendum on whether Britain should leave the European Commission, an organisation with its headquarters in Brussels.

Your last chance to vote for a referendum on who should run Britain - Westminster or Brussels.

10
Moved to Brussels

This General Election is by far the most important in Britain's history. It will decide whether our country finally surrenders her independence to Brussels and we become a mere province of Europe.

Already, we have seen our fishing industry destroyed and our businesses swamped with regulations from the army of unelected bureaucrats in Brussels.

And already, laws made by the European Commission are the laws of this land and take precedence over our own.

What's more, our economy must now be run for the benefit of the whole of Europe. The Government has surrendered the right to put us first when it comes to creating jobs and security for our future.

And if the Eurocrats have their way, we will soon be forced to abandon our 3 remaining lights — to decide foreign policy, to organise our own national security and control our own borders.

With these rights gone, Britain will be little more than a province in a new country called Europe. That is why this General Election is so crucial.

The politicians have put off discussion of further integration until after the Election. But there's no doubt what they intend.

It was the Conservatives who signed the treaties that surrendered our independence. And, as we all know. Labour are committed to Europe.

We believe the politicians have no right to surrender our national independence without a proper referendum.

We have been deceived for far too long. Most people thought they were voting for a common trading market in 1975. How wrong they were.

And now, when we realise the truth, we are being denied the democratic right to decide our future.

This is an issue which towers above party politics. That's why, on this one occasion, we ask you to lay aside your traditional party loyalty and support the Referendum Party.

In this constituency, and over 550 others around Britain, people will be standing as Referendum Party Candidates.

None is a politician, nor wishes to become one. But all care passionately that the British people should make their views on Europe heard through a referendum.

Every single vote for the Referendum Party will count. The total number of votes cast for the Party across the country will send a clear message to the politicians that the people want a referendum.

And any Referendum Party candidates elected to Parliament will fight vigorously for the interests of their constituents.

When a full referendum has been achieved, the Party will disband. Then you can vote once again for your usual party.

But now, just once, we urge you to put your country before your party.

EXERCISES

1. Look closely at the metaphorical language used in the extract. Look first at examples of metonymy. Then find the metaphorical

references to war and say what they contribute to the persuasive power of the text.

2. What other linguistic methods are used in an attempt to persuade the reader? Look for instance at the way pronouns are used, i. e. 'you', 'we', etc. Consider also the way graphological features such as highlighting parts of the text are used.

3. How are the paragraphs connected to each other so that a cohesive argument is formed?

COMMENTARY

Both the headline and the picture at the start of this leaflet use metonymy. Two placed names are used to represent two parliaments — the London district of 'Westminster' for the British parliament and 'Brussels' for the European parliament. Brussels, as representation of the European parliament, is repeated in the picture. A sign hangs from the door of number 10 saying that the occupants have left and moved to Brussels. What this actually signifies is that, according to the Referendum Party, the British government (represented by 'Number 10') has given up its power by handing it over to the European parliament in Brussels. This picture therefore sums up, in symbolic form, the content of the whole message which follows.

There are many metaphorical references to war: the Referendum Party is fighting a last-ditch battle to keep Britain free of external influence 'our' fishing industry has been 'destroyed', 'our' businesses 'swamped' by an 'army' of bureaucrats. 'Our' government has already 'surrendered' too much — this word is used three times — but the party will 'fight vigorously' on 'our' behalf. All this suggests that this is an argument about a desperate battle to survive, that many valued ways of life have been lost and that this is the very last chance to save ourselves.

Pronoun reference is always important in putting over a piece of political persuasion. The very first word 'your' gives an immediate sense that the reader is being addressed personally, although there is also a sense that 'you' is not just the single reader but also everyone in the country. Politicians often wish to suggest that even though they are trying to persuade us to a point of view, we already agree with them; thus the pronoun 'we' appears in the first paragraph and at numerous other points too. 'We' gives a sense of col-

lectivity, of us all being in this together, so ‘we have been deceived’ in the past, but no longer. Later in the extract ‘we’ becomes the Referendum Party urging us to vote for them, as in ‘we ask you to lay aside your traditional party loyalty’.

Contrast of comparison in adjectives and adverbials is called degree. Political parties like to stress the importance of their views, so not surprisingly a superlative form appears at once: this general election is ‘by far the most important’ in Britain’s history. This sense of degree is repeated later when the election is called ‘so crucial’.

Verbs and adverbials are also very strong in their meaning: this is an issue which metaphorically ‘towers’ above party politics and we all ‘care passionately’ about having our views heard.

As stated above, the picture gives, in metonymic form, the gist of the argument — that Britain has given in to Europe. Nonetheless the text needs to expand upon this and make it absolutely clear. Each paragraph has either one or two sentences and is carefully placed so that an argument is built up, leading to the inevitability of the final message — vote for the Referendum Party. The way a text develops and holds together is called cohesion. Cohesion in this extract is achieved, in particular, by the way many paragraphs open with clear connections to what has gone before. The word ‘and’ opens four paragraphs, suggesting an argument being continued, with ‘what’s more’ doing a similar job. In one case ‘already’ which opens paragraph two, is followed by ‘and already’ in paragraph three. ‘With these rights’ and ‘this is an issue’ show anaphoric demonstrative reference. The deictic words ‘these’ and ‘this’ act as anaphoric pointers. In other words, they point back to something that has already been mentioned. Cohesion is also maintained by the graphological device of bold type — every so often a step in the argument is signalled by the use of bold type. Inevitably the summation of the argument, the call to vote, is in bold print, and begins with the words ‘but now’ which indicate that something different has to happen this time because ‘we have been deceived for far too long’.

Two other points worth noting are that although this is a political leaflet calling on people to vote in an election, the word ‘politician’ is used as a term of abuse. None of this party’s candidates ‘is a politician, nor wishes to become one’. And the final call to vote, placing your country first, not only appeals to a sense of national-

ism, but also echoes the famous World War One poster saying ‘your country needs you’.

There are other areas that you may have noticed in your answers — the references to the other parties (but never in the bold print sections), the fact that deceitful opponents are ‘wrong’ but that ‘we realise the truth’, the ‘we’ referring not only to them, but to us the readers too. All of these contribute to a text whose major purpose is to persuade the reader to do just one thing — vote for the Referendum Party.

13.4. WHAT DO SLOGANS AND POSTERS STAND FOR?

(Що символізують гасла та плакати?)

Many organisations and institutions, such as public services like hospitals and the police, educational institutions like schools and colleges, and commercial companies selling products and services, now incorporate a logo and slogan into their corporate identity. This means that when the name of the institution/ company is written, it is (a) accompanied by (or even replaced by) a logo which symbolically represents an idea that we are meant to associate with the institution/ company, and (b) followed by a slogan which briefly and, it is hoped, memorably suggests something about the work of the institution or the product the company makes. These slogans are constructed to catch the attention of readers and make them think. They often do so by playing with words and meaning, and simply by having a slogan an organisation can be seen as making a claim for status; the words it uses will aim to give a positive view of the organisation’s work.

13.5. SLOGANS **(Гасла)**

Slogans are devised to sell products and institutions, so not surprisingly political parties use them as part of their persuasive pack-

age: they appear on posters, party broadcasts and wherever the parties are advertising themselves. The following are all slogans used by parties in the British election of 1997.

EXERCISES

1. Group the slogans in as many ways as you can, and say what the linguistic connections are within each group. For instance you will find some which: have similar grammatical structures; make reference to time, either directly or by implication; refer to place; contain double meanings, deliberate or otherwise.

Labour (Leading opposition party)

New
Labour
New
hope

equipping Britain for the future
new life for Britain

because Britain deserves better because you
deserve better

enough
is
enough

Britain will be better with New Labour

It's up to you
A choice of two
futures

Conservative (Government party)

Britain is booming
Don't throw it away

You can only be sure with the
Conservatives

Think before you vote

Liberal Democrats (Second opposition party)

choose Liberal Democrats

make the difference

Liberal Democrats
Making the difference

Green Party

Invest in your future

Vote Green for policies which won't
cost you the earth

Pro-Life Alliance (Anti-Abortion)

Make the right choice

Referendum Party (Anti-EEC)

Let the people decide
Put country before party

British National Party (Nationalist Neo-fascist)

Protest
For a real change vote BNP

Scottish National Party

Yes We Can — Win the Best for Scotland

COMMENTARY

There is no right answer to this activity and you may well have come up with groupings which are not mentioned below. The commentary which follows is longer than some others because these slogans highlight a number of linguistic features which are worth looking for in other data you may collect.

One group which is easily recognised involves those which contain a command verb form: 'Don't throw it away'; 'choose

Liberal Democrats'; 'make the difference'; 'Invest in your future'; 'Vote Green...'; 'Make the right choice'; 'Let the people decide'; 'Put country before party'; 'Protest... vote BNP' and 'Win the Best for Scotland'.

Another easily identified group involves reference to place: 'new life for Britain'; 'because Britain deserves better'; 'equipping Britain for the future'; 'Britain will be better with New Labour'; 'Britain is booming'; 'Win the Best for Scotland'; 'Put country before party' and 'Vote Green for policies which won't cost you the earth'. All of these, except the last one, suggest a call to patriotism, of putting your country before self. The Green Party slogan, though, suggests we must vote not to save the country but the whole planet.

When one party is in power already, and others want to gain power, it is not surprising that slogans refer to time, either directly or by implication. 'Don't throw it away' suggests 'keep what you have had and still have now'. Two slogans on the other hand refer directly to the future, and one to two futures. Other slogans imply time and change: all the Labour slogans carry this suggestion, with the words 'new' (different from old) 'better' (than it is now) and 'enough is enough' (it's time to start again).

Deliberate play with meaning occurs in two slogans. 'Vote Green for policies which won't cost you the earth' has two meanings for 'cost you the earth': one means that a Green vote will not cost you money in terms of expensive policies, the second that a green vote will not lead to the destruction of the environment. 'Make the right choice' has two meanings for 'choice': one is the way you choose to vote; the other involves not choosing to abort unborn children — although presumably the party does not actually want women to have the chance to choose.

'Make the right choice' also carries a further, unintended meaning. The word 'right' is associated with a political stance usually suggesting narrow social views; although many would feel that to vote Pro-Life Alliance is indeed to vote for a right-wing party, it is unlikely that the slogan was devised with that in mind. Similarly, 'You can only be sure with the Conservatives' carries an unintended meaning. Presumably the intention is that sureness and certainty come from the Conservatives, who had after all at that time been in power for so long. It is suggested that this is not the case with other (deliberately) unnamed parties. In English the word 'only'

can be problematic, however, its place in a sentence technically governing what it refers to.

Even if this usage is no longer adhered to strictly, some readers might still have been puzzled over the slogan: does it mean that you can be sure with the Conservatives but no other party, or does it mean that you can experience sureness with the Conservatives but nothing else?

Ambiguity and implication have already been seen in the groups above, but another way of categorising these features is to look at grammatical structures. These are slogans, which by definition must be brief, and brevity is achieved in a number of ways. One way is by the use of noun phrases, and nothing else. So ‘new hope’, ‘new life for Britain’, ‘a choice of two futures’ are phrases rather than complete sentences. They work by using implicature: the reader has to supply the ‘full’ meaning. ‘New life for Britain’, for instance, would in full read something like ‘vote Labour and you will find that life in Britain will improve’ — a sentence that carries far less impact than the single noun phrase standing alone.

Omitting words, making statements deliberately brief, is called ellipsis. The way pronouns are used is another example. Usually pronouns have reference to something that has gone before, but in some of these slogans that does not happen. ‘It’s up to you’ and ‘Don’t throw it away’ use the pronoun ‘it’ without any explicit reference. This creates a deliberate ambiguity, but also makes the reader think — what is ‘it’? In the Labour slogan it could refer to the future of the country, or the result of the election or more probably both. In the Conservative slogan it refers to past success, success that has been hard fought for, but which could easily be lost with the wrong vote.

The pronouns ‘you’/ ‘your’ also appear frequently, and again they contain ambiguity. In English, ‘you’ is both singular and plural (unlike the French *tu/vous*). This means that ‘You can only be sure...’ and ‘It’s up to you’ are addressing both you as an individual, the person with the single vote, but also you as part of a whole country’s population, who should all be working together. This slogan, as with many others in this selection, carries reminders of slogans that have gone before and a shared awareness we have of them. ‘Your country needs you’, one of the best known of all British political slogans, made exactly the same use of this unreferenced ‘you’.

The Scottish Nationalists are the only party to use the pronoun ‘we’, which is also ambiguous in its reference. The first part of its hyphenated slogan says ‘Yes We Can’, the ‘we’ referring either to them as a party, or to everybody together. Perhaps because they are speaking to a regional group, rather than the whole of Britain, they are more able to suggest an assumption that all are in this together. They are assuming a common identity rather than appealing for it, an effect which is emphasised by the affirmative ‘yes’. The whole phrase is also elliptical, because the modal verb ‘can’ is left on its own, rather than being followed by another verb. ‘Yes We Can’, with its reinforcing capital letters, is an open answer to any question — we can do anything that we want or you

The comparative form ‘better’ is used in three Labour slogans. The elliptical effect here is achieved by using a comparative form, but not making an actual comparison — better than what? Once again the reader has to supply this. The advantage of not making the comparison is that it allows each reader to supply their own mental picture of what might be better — certainly better than we have now, but in unspecified ways. Meanwhile the Scottish Nationalists (SNP) use the superlative ‘best’. Whereas the Labour Party slogans imply they are competing against the government in power, the SNP are taking on all-comers.

Two of the slogans mentioned in the paragraph above begin with the word ‘because’, and there is also an elliptical effect here. A conjunction is a word that joins together two clauses, and ‘because’ is a causal conjunction: two things are related through cause and effect. ‘Because’ can be positioned either in the middle of the two clauses — ‘she voted Green because she wanted to save the environment’ — or at the beginning — ‘Because he was fed up with all the parties, he decided not to vote’. In the two slogans ‘because Britain deserves better’/ ‘because you deserve better’, the other part of the causal relationship is omitted and so must be supplied by the reader. There is considerable scope for ambiguity here, especially as the slogans could come before the omitted clause or after it. Undoubtedly one clause the reader is meant to supply is ‘vote Labour’, but the slogan works more effectively by this being just one option among many. Both of these slogans, incidentally, were placed alongside clear visual clues that this was a Labour Party poster, just in case the reader supplied a message that included voting for

someone else — ambiguity works well in creating a message, but must not be so strong that the reader is free to miss the point entirely.

‘Equipping Britain for the future’ and ‘Making the difference’ both use the ‘-ing’ form of a verb; this is one of the most popular forms in company and organisational slogans. The effect again depends on ellipsis, because the verb is without an agent — we are not told explicitly *who* is equipping / making, although we can work it out easily enough. In addition to there being no agent there is also no aspect, because the verb is timeless, without end. The equipping / making are continuous, unbroken and so, by implication, going on forever. These slogans, therefore, could also be placed with those others that more explicitly refer to time.

One of the most visually striking ways in which political parties sell themselves during an election is by using posters. Many of these are placed on advertising billboards, and for the duration of the campaign we are encouraged to buy a political party rather than the soft drink or chocolate bar that usually occupies this space. The political parties buy billboard space because, although we can switch off their election broadcasts or throw away their leaflets unread, it is very hard for us to ignore the huge signs that surround us in our everyday environment. In many ways the parties use the techniques of selling a product to sell themselves to us.

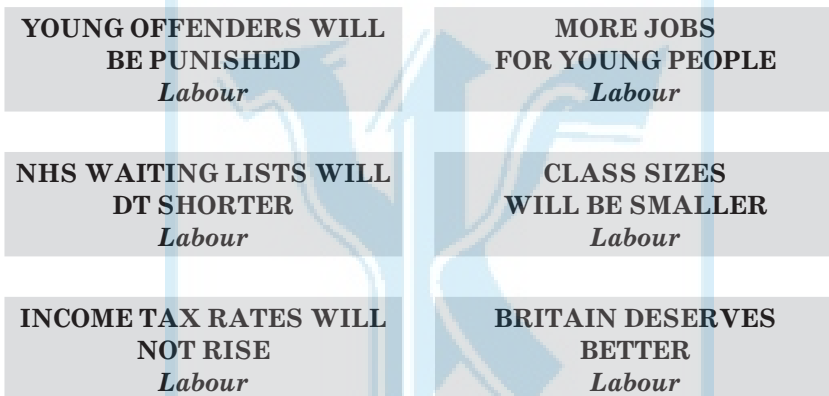
As texts, political posters must do certain things. They must catch our attention and hold it long enough for the message to be taken in. This means that they must be visually eye-catching and must not take long to read — especially as many are placed strategically along busy roads. The amount of verbal text is bound to be limited, but it will be phrased to make an impact on the reader. Sometimes a series of posters is released, either at the same time, or in sequence so that the public become used to a certain format.

The posters overleaf were all part of a campaign by Labour in the run-up to the 1997 election, and are notable because apart from the use of various colours, rather than the traditional red, they largely consist of words alone.

13.6. POSTERS (Плакати)

Obviously each poster is addressing a different issue, but at the same time as a series they have features in common. Make brief notes on (a) how these posters establish a ‘brand identity’ for Labour, and (b) how they can be grouped according to their linguistic features. Use the discussion of logos above to help you here. Finally, share your responses with a partner if possible.

General Election 1997 billboard posters



COMMENTARY

Visually, each poster has three lines of text in large block print. The ‘product’ is identified simply as Labour along with its logo, a single rose. This is in smaller print and is usually centred at the bottom of the poster.

Three of the posters include unreferenced comparatives — ‘better’, ‘smaller’, ‘shorter’. Four of the posters contain ‘will’, and three the words ‘will be’. The words ‘will be’ are not used in the same way though; ‘will be smaller’ and ‘will be shorter’ are active verbs followed by comparatives, whereas ‘will be punished’ is a passive structure. The use of passive forms allows the agent to remain unidentified: who will do the punishing is not mentioned. The final use of ‘will’ is as a modal verb in ‘will not rise’. In all cases ‘will’

can be read in two ways: without emphasis it can signify the future; or with emphasis it can suggest something definite that is going to happen.

All the texts except 'more jobs for young people', which is a phrase, are simple sentences. Because the comparative 'more' comes first, it would take too many words to complete a full sentence, which would have to be something like 'there will be more jobs for young people.' Reversing the order and saying 'young people will have more jobs' would alter the sense, suggesting that an actual promise is being made to all young people. Of all the posters this is the one which grammatically is most out of place, but it visually follows the pattern of the others, which is more important to the series as a whole.

13.7. SAINTS AND DEMONS (Святі та демони)

The posters looked at above are relatively unusual in that they rely solely upon words to get their message across. More typically, election campaign posters include significant visual material too. Increasingly this includes representations of leading political figures, especially the party leaders themselves. As with other aspects of the campaign, political parties tend to do one of two things: they either represent their own leader, in which case the poster is designed to show this person in an impressive light; or they portray their opponents, in which case they are shown in ways which ridicule them. The extent of this ridicule is a matter of fine judgement and it can sometimes backfire on the party which produces it.

Early in the British campaign of 1997, the Conservative Party, worried by the personal popularity of Tony Blair, attempted to undermine Blair's image by suggesting that behind the pleasant facade lay a dangerous man. Their 'Demon Eyes' campaign, which showed a pair of glowing red eyes peeping from behind velvet curtains represented visually this idea of danger lurking behind a smooth exterior.

The posters, though, had to be withdrawn mid-way through the campaign because opinion polls suggested that people were not responding to them in the way intended. Although the implied message was understood, it was not approved of or agreed with. Instead respondents felt that this was an unfair representation of Blair and that it showed that the Conservatives were resorting to character assassination in a desperate attempt to win votes. Far from helping the Conservative cause, it only hindered it further.

EXERCISES

1. Answer the questions:

1. Why is pronoun reference important in putting over a piece of political persuasion?
2. What is the way Political parties stress the importance of their views?
3. What is called cohesion?
4. What does a logo represent?
5. What does a slogan suggest?
6. What are slogans for?
7. What must political posters do?
8. What significant visual material do election campaign posters include?
9. Can you give any examples of posters used in elections in Ukraine?

14. INDEPENDENT WORK

(Завдання для самостійної роботи)

Translate into English.

1. Імпічмент вважається суворим заходом, тож у Сполучених Штатах Америки до нього вдаються дуже рідко.
2. Конституцію США як основний документ було укладено 17 вересня 1787 року й офіційно затверджено 4 березня 1789 року.

3. Ідея розподілу повноважень за різними гілками влади, що спрямована проти зосередження в одних руках, є складовою ланкою ширшої категорії — стримування та рівноваги.

4. Імпічмент — це звинувачення в посадовому злочині, яке законодавчий орган пред'являє найвищій посадовій особі, проте воно не призводить, як зазвичай вважають, до позбавлення волі.

5. Перша поправка до Білля про права: “свобода релігії, преси й зібрань; право звертатися до уряду з петиціями”.

6. Конституція США наділяє виконавчою владою президента.

7. Американська конституція — найдавніший серед чинних дотепер основних законів; вона стала взірцем для численних конституцій у різних країнах світу.

8. У світі існує мало посад, які б давали одній особі такі широкі повноваження, як посада президента Сполучених Штатів Америки.

9. Повсякденне втілення федеральних законів належить до функцій різних виконавчих департаментів — міністерств, що створюються Конгресом для управління специфічними галузями національних та міжнародних справ.

10. Новообраний президент успадковує бюджет, сформований і затверджений задовго до вступу на посаду, а з ним і великі витратні програми (такі як пільги ветеранам, соціальне забезпечення та медичне обслуговування літніх людей).

11. Законопроект, схвалений однією палатою, подається на затвердження другою.

12. Якщо друга палата вносить до законопроекту поправки, то погоджувальний комітет, який складається із членів обох палат, має узгодити різночитання.

13. Юридична система ґрунтується на визнанні рівності всіх індивідів, непорушності людських прав та верховенства закону.

14. Виборці делегують свою владу посадовим особам та нижчим функціонерам, яких ті призначають.

15. Усі три гілки федерального уряду — законодавча, виконавча та судова — є напіваавтономні.

16. Державні посадові особи здійснюють надану народом владу доти, поки народ задоволений їхньою поведінкою та веденням державних справ.

17. Американське самоврядування ґрунтується на низці основоположних засад.

18. Сенат затверджує запропоновані президентом кандидатури урядовців високого рангу та послів федерального уряду та ратифікує підписані договори двома третинами голосів свого складу.

19. Кількість членів Палати представників визначається Конгресом.

20. Конституція та закони, розроблені на основі її положень, а також схвалені Сенатом договори превалюють над усіма іншими законами та нормативно-виконавчими актами.

21. Політичні партії в Україні сприяють формуванню та вираженню політичної волі громадян і беруть участь у виборах. Членами таких політичних партій можуть бути лише громадяни України.

22. Урядові органи і політичні партії визначають свою діяльність як політичну.

23. Якщо і президент, і віце-президент йдуть зі своїх посад, Конституцією США передбачено, що президентська посада переходить до спікера палати представників.

24. Головне завдання політичного аналізу полягає в тому, щоб визначити, чи існують критерії, за якими можуть бути класифіковані політичні системи.

25. Якщо громадяни не мають реальної можливості змінити політичне керівництво, така політична система є диктатурою.

26. Політологи пропонують різні класифікаційні схеми політичних систем.

27. Конституційний режим працює в рамках закону — конституції — і гарантує ефективні обмеження тим, у кого в руках влада.

28. Неконституційний режим характеризується необмеженою владою без контролю.

29. Один із загальних методів, за яким класифікують політичні системи, полягає в тому, щоб відрізнити демократичні держави від недемократичних держав.

30. Коли центральний уряд має неподільний суверенітет, він може делегувати владу або функціональні обов'язки територіальним структурам, таким як департаменти, області (регіони), або префектури.

31. Прем'єр-міністр — це член законодавчого органу, якого підтримує як керівника більшість у законодавчому органі.

32. Більшість країн світу у своїй офіційній назві називають себе республіками (Республіка Афганістан, Республіка Албанія, Алжирська Народна Демократична Республіка, Народна Республіка Ангола, Аргентинська Республіка).

33. Держава не дозволяє абсолютної свободи політичної участі для опозиції.

34. Політичне керівництво, що має підтримку більшості, але не забезпечує можливості населенню відновити мандат у змаганні проти альтернативних лідерів, можна визначити як диктатуру.

35. В унітарній державі є центральний уряд, що тримає всю законну владу.

36. Федерація може бути прийнятним компромісом, якщо сильні периферійні уряди створюють центральний уряд.

37. Більшість конституцій складається з окремого письмового документа, однак деякі політичні системи не мають такого документа.

38. Фундаментальні правила впроваджені в головні статuti, прецеденти, і юридичні рішення, як у “незаписаній конституції Великобританії” або в “основних законах Ізраїлю”.

39. Конфедерація — це асоціація, в якій держави делегують частину влади до наднаціонального центрального уряду, але зберігають первинну владу.

40. Федерація має конституційний розподіл влади і функцій між центральним урядом і регіональними урядами штатів, областей, або кантонів.

English-Ukrainian Vocabulary

A

- abolish obstacles** — скасувати перешкоди
- abridge** *v.* — скорочувати (*статтю, рукопис тощо*); обмежувати; урізувати (*права*); позбавляти (*чогось — of*)
- abundant** *adj.* — рясний; багатий (*на щось — in*)
- accountable** *adj.* — відповідальний, підзвітний; бути причиною to be accountable to smb. for the money one spends — звітувати перед... про гроші
- accrue** *v.* — накопичувати, нарощувати (%)
- accumulation** *n.* — нагромадження; акумуляція; скупчення
- accuracy** *n.* — точність, правильність; старанність
- acquiescence** *n.* — мовчазна (неохоча) згода; покірність
- adherence** *n.* — прихильність, вірність; суворе дотримання
- ad hoc** — *лат.* для даного випадку
- ad hoc committee** — спеціальний комітет, тимчасовий комітет
- administrative machinery** — адміністративний апарат
- adopt** *v.* — приймати, визнавати; висувати як кандидата на виборах; брати на озброєння (військ.)
- to adopt another course of action — змінити тактику
- to adopt the attitude of an onlooker — зайняти позицію стороннього спостерігача
- to adopt smb.'s ideas — запозичувати чийсь ідеї
- affective** *adj.* — емоційний
- afore-mentioned** *adj.* — раніше згаданий
- adjacent** *adj.* — прилеглий, суміжний, сусідній
- alienation** *n.* — *юр.* відчуження (майна); віддалення, відчуженість
- align** *v.* — вишуковувати(ся); шикувати(ся); ставити в ряд; вирівнювати; націлювати; наводити
- aggregation** *n.* — збирання; складання; агрегат; скупчення; маса; конгломерат
- allege** *v.* — стверджувати, заявляти (голосливо); наводити як виправдання чи пояснення; виправдувати (чим); посилатися (на що); наводити як доказ, на підтвердження

they are alleged to have /signed a secret treaty / been bribed — стверджують, що вони/ підписали таємну угоду/ підкуплені
to allege an authority — посилатися на авторитет
to allege repeatedly [insistently] — заявляти неодноразово [наполегливо]

to allege smth. as a fact — заявляти про щось, як про безсумнівний факт

he is alleged to be untrustworthy — на нього нібито не можна покластися

to allege smth. as a reason for not doing the work — посилатися на щось, як на причину того, що робота не виконана

allocate *v.* — виділяти, призначати, асигнувати; розподіляти, встановлювати місце, локалізувати

to allocate funds for — асигнувати кошти на

to allocate duties to smb. — зобов'язувати кого-небудь, покласти обов'язки на кого-небудь

allow *v.* — дозволяти, надавати можливість, допускати

to be allowed to do smth. — мати дозвіл на виконання чогось

to allow oneself (to do) smth. — дозволяти собі (робити) щось

allow for — передбачити; враховувати; брати до уваги; робити поправку на

to allow for other expenses [future development] — враховувати інші витрати [можливі події]

to allow an inch for shrinkage — припустити дюйм на усадку

to allow a gallon for leakage — скинути галон на витік

it will take thirty minutes to get to the station, allowing for traffic delays — з урахуванням дорожніх заторів /пробок/ 30 хвилин знадобиться для того, щоб дістатися вокзалу

evidence that allows of only one conclusion — дані, на основі яких можна зробити лише один висновок

to allow smth. regularly [lavishly, intermittently] — виплачувати щось регулярно [щедро, нерегулярно]

to allow a claim [an argument] — визнавати (справедливим) претензію [вимогу]

to allow smb. a discount — надавати комусь знижку

to allow a shilling in the pound — надавати знижку в один шилінг з кожного фунта

to allow as how — визнавати, вважати, робити висновок (амер. розм.)

alter *v.* — змінювати(ся), переробляти
to alter one's mind — передумати, прийняти інше рішення

amass *v.* — збирати; скупчувати; нагромаджувати

ambiguity *n.* — двозначність; неясність; невизначеність

ambivalence *n.* — роздвоєння (*почуттів*), подвійність (*відносин*)

ameliorate *v.* — поліпшувати(ся)

amendment *n.* — виправлення; покращання, доповнення; усунення недоліків
to make [to insert, to reject] an amendment — зробити [внести, відхилити] виправлення
to second an amendment — виступити на захист виправлення, підтримати пропозицію про виправлення

amplify *v.* — розширювати, посилювати, підвищувати
to amplify the demand for a product by advertising — підвищувати попит на товар за допомогою реклами
to amplify a story — розповісти історію докладніше
to amplify on /upon/ smth. — поширюватися
to amplify difficulties — перебільшувати труднощі

anaphora *n.* — використання граматичного замітника, *напр.* займенника, що належить до попереднього слова або фрази; у риториці — повторення слова або фрази на початку наступного речення задля отримання ефекту

animosity *n.* — ворожість, злоба

anomie *n.* — (*or* *anomy*) відсутність моральних або суспільних норм поведінки та віри у індивіда чи громади

apathetic *adj.* — апатичний

apparent *adj.* — очевидний, видимий, явний
apparent to the most casual observer — (легко) виявлений випадковим спостерігачем
apparent error [deceit, contradiction] — явна помилка [обман, протиріччя]
apparent sense of a law — абсолютно зрозумілий зміст закону
apparent cause — уявна (удавана) причина
apparent indifference — удавано байдужий; такий, що здається байдужим

apparently *adv.* — очевидно, безсумнівно; як видно, за зовнішнім виглядом
he apparently likes this work — йому явно подобається ця робота
he is apparently friendly — він справляє враження дружелюбної людини

apply *v.* — прикладати, застосовувати, відноситися, звертатися, подавати заяву

to apply for a rise /амер. raise/ — просити підвищення

to apply to smb. for smth. — звертатися до когось за чим-небудь

to apply for a job [for the vacant office] — подавати заяву про прийняття на роботу

to apply as a — подавати заяву на посаду

to apply a sum of money to the payment of a debt — віддати гроші, щоб сплатити борг

to apply economic sanctions — застосувати економічні санкції

to apply an embargo — накласти ембарго

to apply pressure to get what one wants — чинити тиск, щоб досягти бажаного

this rule does not always apply — це правило не завжди застосовується

that argument does not apply in this case — цей аргумент у цьому випадку не застосовують

what I said does not apply to you — я не мав на увазі вас, мої слова не про вас

to apply one's mind to a task — ретельно виконувати завдання

appreciate *v.* — оцінювати; (високо) цінувати, бути вдячним; дорожчати

to appreciate the difficulty [the risk] — правильно оцінювати труднощі [небезпеку]

to appreciate the true force [the full meaning] — оцінити справжню силу [усе значення]

the land will appreciate greatly — земля різко подорожчає

approach *n.* — наближення, підхід; *v.* — наближатися, підходити

arrangement *n.* — приводити до порядку; розміщення в певному порядку, підготовка, класифікація, систематизація; домовленість, угода; *ком.* домовленість між боржником і кредиторами про пільги по зобов'язаннях на підставі компромісної угоди; вирішення (суперечки); врегулювання

arrangement by size — розміщення за розміром

to come to an arrangement — дійти згоди

to make arrangements for — організувати, влаштувати; вживати заходів; робити приготування

arrangement of conflict — врегулювання конфлікту

aspire *v.* — (to, after, at) прагнути, домагатися; підніматися, височіти

to aspire to a career in medicine — мріяти стати лікарем
aspire to honours [to riches] — прагнути почесей [багатства]
to aspire after glory — гнатися за славою
assault *n.* — напад; атака; штурм; приступ; нападки; *юр.* образа словами і погроза фізичним насильством
assemble *v.* — збирати, монтувати; скликати; складати
to assemble an audience — зібрати аудиторію
Parliament has assembled — зібрався парламент
to assemble information for a report — підбирати дані для доповіді
to assemble a book — складати книгу; робити збірник
assembly *n.* — зборка, вузол, монтаж; збір, збори, суспільство
assembly of stockholders — збори акціонерів
unlawful assembly — *юр.* незаконне збіговисько
to convoke /to summon/ [to hold] an assembly — скликати [проводити] збори
constituent assembly — установчі збори
United Nations General Assembly — Генеральна Асамблея Організації Об'єднаних Націй
Assembly — законодавчі збори; нижня палата законодавчого органу штату (у США)
assembly area — район зосередження
assembly point — збірний пункт
assert *v.* — твердити; заявляти; доводити; захищати; відстоювати
to assert oneself — відстоювати свої права; бути наполегливим; висувати надмірні вимоги
assets *n.* — *pl. фін.* активи (балансу); *ек.* майно; надбаня; засоби; авуари, актив; капітал; фонди
assets and liabilities — актив і пасив (балансу)
personal assets — особисте майно, власність; рухоме майно
real assets — нерухоме майно
tangible assets — матеріальні активи (реальний основний капітал)
assumption *n.* — припущення; самовпевненість, пихатість; привласнення
assumption of power — захоплення (влади);
assumption of friendliness — удавання, удавана приязнь
attain *v.* — досягати, домагатися; здобувати, одержувати
to attain aim [freedom, power] — досягти мети, одержати волю, владу
attainable *adj.* — досяжний

attempt *n.* — спроба, намагання, проба; замах

augment *v.* — збільшувати, збільшити; додавати; посилювати

august body — велична особа

austere *adj.* — сувора, штивна, статечна (поведінка)

aware *a.* — *predic* що усвідомлює (щось), що знає; обізнаний (у чомусь); свідомий, підготовлений; чуйний, розуміючий

we became aware (of) — нам стало відомо (що)

to be aware of danger — усвідомлювати небезпеку, відомий, підготовлений

he is politically aware — він політично грамотний

В

back-to-back *adj.* — компенсаційний

backward *adj.* — відсталий, пізній, спізнілий, запізнілий

balance of payments — платіжний баланс

ban *n.* — заборона, церковне прокляття, анафема; оголошення поза законом

befit *v.* — годити, підходити; личити

to befit the occasion — підходити для цієї нагоди

behavior *n.* — поведінка, манери; режим (роботи)

benefit *v.* — приносити користь, мати зиск; *n.* перевага, привілей, користь, благо; вигода; грошовий прибуток; благодіяння, милість, добра справа; пенсія, допомога (страхова, по безробіттю, через хворобу тощо); *юр.* невідсудність

public benefit — суспільне благо

for the benefit of smb. — на благо /на користь/

for your special benefit — (тільки) заради вас

to give smb. the benefit of one's experience [knowledge] — поділитися з кимось своїм досвідом [знаннями]

the book wasn't of much benefit to me — книга не принесла мені особливої користі

to get /to derive/ benefit from smth. — мати користь /вигоду/ з чогось

benevolent *adj.* — доброзичливий; милосердний

bias *n.* — відхилення, тенденція, упередження, систематична помилка

bind *v.* — в'язати, зв'язувати; зобов'язувати

bolster *v.* — підпирати, підтримувати; підбурювати, підбивати

bottleneck *n.* — вузьке місце, перешкода, завада

bounty *n.* — заохочувальна премія, щедрість

breadline *n.* — скрутне матеріальне становище

breadth *n.* — ширина; полотнище; широта; широчінь (*кругозору, поглядів*); широкий розмах; to a hair's breadth — точнісінько

bring about *v.* — викликати, бути причиною, призводити; повертати навкруги

it may bring about a change of the Cabinet — це може спричинити відставку кабінету

buffet *v.* — бити, кидати, штовхати

they were buffeted by the crowd — їх заштовхали у натовпі

the buffets of fate — удари долі

bundle *n.* — клунок; в'язка; пакунок, тюк; пучок; пакет;

bundle up *v.* — зв'язувати в клунок; збирати речі (перед від'їздом);

bundle away (off) — відсилати; спроваджувати; bundle out — швидко піти геть; вискочити

buzzword *n.* — модне слівце

С

case *n.* — випадок; обставина; стан (справ)

the case in point — цей випадок; випадок, що стосується справи; придатний приклад; довід, доказ, аргумент

in any case — у всякому разі; за будь-яких обставин

in that case — у такому випадку

in no case — ні в якому разі

in the case of — у відношенні, що стосується

that's the case — так, це так

it /that/ is not the case — це не так; справа не в цьому, нічого подібного

this is especially the case (when) — це особливо правильно (коли /у тому випадку, якщо)

if that's the case — за таких обставин, якщо це правильно /правда/

as was formerly the case — як це було /було/ раніше

such being the case — у такому випадку; оскільки це так

as the case may /might/ be — залежно від обставин (справи); залежно від обставин

should this be the case — якщо вийде (трапиться) так

as the case stands — за умов, що склалися

to meet the case — задовольняти, підходити, відповідати вимогам; розв'язати питання

as the case may require — як можуть вимагати обставини; у разі потреби
the case with me is the reverse — у мене навпаки, а в мене не так
this is a case for the government — цим має займатися держава
suppose the case were yours — уявіть, що справа стосувалася б вас
this /it/ is another case — це інша справа
an unanswerable case — незаперечні докази
the case for [against] — аргументи за [проти]
a case exists for revision of tariffs — є розуміння на користь перегляду мита
there is the strongest case for self-government — є найвагоміші аргументи на користь самоврядування
to have a case — мати що сказати у своє виправдання, на захист своєї точки зору
you have a case here — у цьому з вами можна погодитися
to have a good case — мати гарну аргументацію
you have a good case — це звучить переконливо
to make out a case — довести (щось)
to state one's case — викласти свої доводи (у суді)
to make out one's case — довести свою правоту; обґрунтувати свою точку зору; привести аргументи на користь своєї пропозиції
to base one's case on smth. — засновувати свою аргументацію на чомусь; у своїй аргументації виходити з (чого)
to put (the) case — привести приклад
to put one's case over — провести свою пропозицію, свій план (відносно чого)
to press one's case — нав'язувати свою точку зору, домагатися свого
out of case — у поганому (фізичному) стані, нездоровий, не у формі
in case for smth. — готовий до чогось
to be in a sorry case — мати жалюгідний вигляд, бути у жалюгідному стані
a case of conscience — моральна проблема; справа совісті
to get down to cases — перейти до /дістатися/ суті справи
a gone case — безнадійний випадок; пропаша справа
cautious *adj.* — обережний; передбачливий
charter *v.* — користуватися переважним правом, пільгою; дарувати (привілей); здавати в оренду, прокат (автомобіля, літака); фрахтувати

circumscribe *v.* — описувати (*геом.*); обмежувати; ставити обмеження

circumvent *n.* (the spirit of the law) — обійти, перехитрити закон

claim *v.* — вимагати, претендувати; твердити, заявляти *n.* — вимога, позов

clash *v.* — стикатися, співпадати; не підходити

cleavage *n.* — розщеплення; розходження; розкол

coercion *n.* — примушення, примус, насильство

commitment *n.* — зобов'язання; передача, доручення; *парл.* передача законопроекту в комісію; прихильність; переконання; здійснення (злочину, самогубства)

treaty commitments — договірні зобов'язання

to meet commitments — виконувати зобов'язання

to make no commitments — не зв'язувати себе зобов'язаннями

political [religious] commitment — політичні [релігійні] погляди / переконання /

commitment to action — *військ.* введення в бій

compact *n.* — домовленість, угода, згода

comparative advantage — порівняльна перевага

comply *v.* — виконувати; (with) підкорятися; уступати, погоджуватися

to comply with smb.'s request [smb.'s wish] — виконати чиєсь прохання [побажання]

to comply with users' demand — задовольняти попит споживачів

to comply with the rules — підкорятися правилам, діяти відповідно до правил

to comply with an order — коритися наказу

to comply with requirements — відповідати вимогам

in compliance with — згідно із

adequate assurance of compliance with the obligations assumed — *дил.* достатня впевненість у виконанні прийнятих зобов'язань

to coerce compliance — домогтися виконання

non-compliance with orders — *військ.* невиконання наказу

token compliance with order — формальне підпорядкування наказу

to verify compliance with the obligations — здійснювати контроль за виконанням зобов'язань

compete *v.* — змагатися, брати участь у змаганні, конкурувати

to compete against other countries in trade — конкурувати з іншими країнами в торгівлі

comprise *v.* — включати, містити в собі, складатися; охоплювати; складатися з

the Board comprises several members — комісія складається з кількох членів

concern *v.* — стосуватися, відноситися *n.* — турбота, інтерес

concert *n.* — концерт; згода; домовленість *v.* — змовлятися; домовлятися; вживати спільних заходів

confer *v.* — надавати

connote *v.* — містити в собі додаткове значення; означати

consequence *n.* — наслідок; результат; важливість, значення, висновок

the consequences of an action — наслідки вчинку

to take the consequences of smth. — відповідати /нести відповідальність/ за наслідки

in consequence — отже

in consequence of — внаслідок, у результаті (чого); завдяки (чому)

it follows as a logical consequence that... — логічним висновком цього є те, що...; звідси випливає, що...

a matter of great consequence — справа великої ваги

it is of no consequence — це неважливо /несуттєво/, це не має значення

person of consequence — впливова особа

consistency *n.* — послідовність; логічність; сумісність; погодженість; постійність

consolidated *adj.* — об'єднаний

constituency *n.* — виборці; виборчий округ

constrain *v.* — примушувати; змушувати; стримувати; обмежувати; стискувати

constraint *n.* — примус; ніяковість; незручність; скутість; напруженість

contention *n.* — твердження; боротьба, суперечка; змагання; предмет суперечки

the bone of contention — *міф.* яблуко розбрату (незгоди)

contingent *adj.* — випадковий, непередбачений

contingent liability — умовне зобов'язання

contingency plan — план на випадок непередбачених обставин

contradictory *adj.* — несумісний; супротивний, суперечний,

convince *v.* — переконувати

counsel *n.* — обговорення; обміркування; нарада

crass *adj.* — грубий, повний, цілковитий (про неуцтво)

crucial *adj.* — вирішальний; ключовий; критичний
crucial test — вирішальний іспит
crucial period [moment] — критичний період [момент]
a crucial point in the talks — переломний момент у переговорах
crucial experiment — вирішальний досвід
crucial problem — ключова проблема

D

dash *v.* — жбурляти, розбивати, руйнувати; накидати (ескіз), нестися, мчати

deadlock *v.* — глухий кут

to break (ease) the deadlock — знайти вихід з глухого кута

deceive *v.* — обманювати, свідомо вводити в оману; спантеличувати (про явища, події, факти); *розм.* розчаровувати, не виправдати сподівань

to deceive smb. into the belief that — вселити помилкову думку, начебто...

to deceive smb. as to one's intentions — вводити в оману щодо своїх намірів

decision *n.* — рішення, рішучість; вирок

decline *v.* — відкидати; відхилити (пропозицію); відмовляти(ся); зменшуватися; занепадати; гіршати

deflect *v.* — відхилити (від прямого напрямку); відхилитися; змінювати напрямок

to deflect smb.'s thoughts from smth. — відвернути чиїсь думки від чогось

to deflect to the right — відхилитися вправо

to deflect smb.'s judgement — змусити кого-небудь змінити свою думку

deictic *adj.* — такий, що безпосередньо доводить

delude *v.* — обманювати; вводити в оману; спантеличувати

demote *v.* — понижувати на посаді

dense *adj.* — густий; щільний; дурний, тупий

determine *v.* — визначати, встановлювати, вирішувати; обумовлювати, підштовхувати; зважуватися, приймати рішення; робити вибір; закінчувати, *юр.* минати (про термін дії), обмежувати (поняття)

to determine smb.'s duties — окреслити коло чиїх-небудь обов'язків

demand determines prices — попит обумовлює рівень цін

to determine smb. to smth. — спонукати кого-небудь до чого-небудь

to determine the case of — встановити причину

to determine (upon) /to be determined on/ a course of action — визначити лінію поведінки

devastation *n.* — спустошення, руйнування

devout *adj.* — благочестивий, відданий, вірний

diffusion *n.* — розповсюдження

dimension *n.* — вимір

discretionary *adj.* — відданий на власний розсуд

disinvestment *n.* — скорочення капіталовкладень, вилучення інвестиції

disparity *n.* — нерівність; невідповідність

dispose *v.* — (of) позбутися, звільнитися, відбутися, спекатись

disseminate *v.* — розповсюджувати

dissipate *v.* — розсіювати, розпорошувати, розтрачувати

distinguish *v.* — розрівняти; побачити; помітити; відрізнити(ся), відзначити(ся)

distort *v.* — спотворювати; псувати, пересмикувати; перекошувати; деформувати

to distort facts — викривляти /пересмикувати/ факти

disrupt *v.* — підривати, руйнувати, зривати

diversion *n.* — відхилення, відхід, відступ; зволікання; розвага, забава; відвід, обхідний напрямок

to create /to make/ a diversion — відхилитись, відступити, створити альтернативу

to seek diversion from smth. — намагатися відвернутися

cultural diversions — розмаїття культур

indoor diversions — розваги / ігри / у приміщенні

outdoor diversions — ігри на відкритому повітрі

the diversions of youth — утіхи / витівки молодості

diversion of traffic — відвід руха; об'їзд

diversity *n.* — розмаїття; різниця, відмінність

divestiture (divestment) *n.* — позбавлення прав

divine *v.* — віщувати; пророкувати; ворожити *adj.* — божественний; божий

Е

ecclesiastical *adj.* — духовний, церковний

edge *n.* — кінець (чогось); вістря; лезо; гострість (леза)

egalitarian *adj.* — прихильник рівноправності
egalitarianism *n.* — рух за рівноправність
eliminate *v.* — усувати, виключати; знищувати, ліквідувати; ігнорувати, не брати до уваги
to eliminate errors — усувати помилки
to eliminate a possibility — усунути можливість
to eliminate smb. from an organization — виключити кого-небудь з організації
to eliminate war — усунути можливість виникнення війни
to eliminate poverty — ліквідувати / викоренити бідність, злиденність
empiric(al) *adj.* — емпіричний; заснований на досвіді
endow *v.* — забезпечувати (постійним доходом), робити внесок, призначати дохід
endowment *n.* — дар, пожертвування, дарований фонд
enduring *adj.* — тривалий, довгочасний, витриманий до кінця
encounter *v.* — зустрічатися, зштовхнутися, стикатися
enforce *v.* — запровадити в життя (закон); натискувати; спонукати; примушувати
to enforce obedience — примусити слухатися
engage *v.* — наймати; замовляти; займатися
enlargement *n.* — розширення, збільшення; прибудова; розвиток, зростання; репродукція у збільшеному масштабі
the enlargement of the mind — духовне зростання
job enlargement — укрупнення (збільшення) технологічних операцій
ensure *v.* — забезпечувати; гарантувати; страхувати; завіряти, запевняти
to ensure independence — забезпечити незалежність
to ensure success — гарантувати успіх
in order to ensure prompt and effective action — для забезпечення швидких і ефективних дій
entail *v.* — тягти за собою
entrench *v.* — оточити (окопами), окопатися
customs entrenched by tradition — звички, закріплені традицією
envisage *v.* — розглядати, передбачати; дивитися в обличчя (небезпеки)
to envisage changes — передбачити зміни
a programme envisaged by the government — програма, накреслена урядом

the plan envisages use of automatic equipment — план передбачає використання автоматичного устаткування

the proposals envisage no land reforms — земельні реформи в цих пропозиціях не передбачені

you must envisage realities — потрібно дивитися на факти (в очі реальності)

equality *n.* — рівність; рівноправність

equate *v.* — вважати рівним; рівняти, дорівнювати; встановлювати рівність

to equate art with success — ототожнювати майстерність і успіх

erode *v.* — роз'їдати, руйнувати (поступово); підривати, псувати; вивітрувати; розмивати; піддаватися ерозії

constant worry erodes the nerves — постійні хвилювання руйнують нервову систему

escape clause — умова в контракті про можливість відмови (виконання зобов'язань)

evaluate *v.* — оцінювати; визначати кількість

evasion *n.* — відхилення (від виконання боргу і т. п.); обхід (закону і т. п.); виверт; відмовка; вигаданий привід; ухильна відповідь

tax evasion — ухильняння від сплати податків

evasions and delays — відмовки (відмагання) та зволікання

to resort to / to use / evasions — удатися до вивертів

eventual *adj.* — випадковий, можливий; остаточний, кінцевий

ethical drugs — етичні наркотики (ліки); продукти, якими насичений ринок (неходові товари)

evoke *v.* — викликати (спогади, захоплення); *юр.* зажадати справу у вищу інстанцію

evolve *v.* — розвивати, розгортати, розробляти; розвиватися, еволюціонувати; розкривати, виявляти

to evolve the powers of (the) mind — розвивати розумові здібності

to evolve a secret — розкрити таємницю

exaggerate *v.* — перебільшувати; надмірно підкреслювати

exercise *v.* — вправляти(ся), тренуватися; виконувати (обов'язки); користуватися

exert *v.* — втілювати, чинити вплив; напружувати (сили); додавати (зусилля); виявляти

to exert all one's strength — напружити всі сили

to exert every effort — докласти всіх зусиль

to exert one's leadership abilities intelligently — розумно використовувати свої організаторські здібності

expiration *n.* — видихання; закінчення (терміну)

expiration date — *спец.* термін придатності; термін зберігання

expiration of lease — закінчення терміну оренди

expiration of service — *військ.* закінчення терміну служби

the copyright will run until the expiration of fifty years after the author's death — термін дії авторського права мине лише через 50 років після смерті автора

explicit *adj.* — точний, ясний, детальний; певний, чітко висловлений

extortion *n.* — вимагання, шантаж

Ф

facilitate *v.* — полегшувати, допомагати, сприяти

to facilitate economic recovery — сприяти відновленню економіки

modern inventions facilitate housework — сучасні пристосування полегшують роботу у домі

factor *n.* — компанія, що стягує борги за дорученням торгової фірми; агент, комісіонер

fad *n.* — захоплення, повір'я

fallacy *n.* — помилка, омана; помилковість; обманливість; софізм, помилковий аргумент; софістика; помилковий висновок (у статистиці)

a statement based on fallacy — помилкове твердження

popular fallacy — поширена помилка

the fallacy of friendship — ненадійність дружби

feasible *adj.* — здійснений, придатний; можливий, ймовірний

feasible plan — здійснений план

feasible for cultivation — придатний для обробки (про ґрунт)

an explanation feasible enough — цілком придатне пояснення

fetus = **foetus** *n.* — плід, зародок, ембріон

flak *n.* — зенітна артилерія; зенітний вогонь

flee *v.* — уникати, утікати, зникати

flee the country — бігти з країни

flight *n.* — утеча, утікання

fluctuation *n.* — коливання, нестійкість

fluctuation of prices — нестійкість / коливання цін

fluctuation of population — плинність населення

fluctuation of opinion — відсутність сталої думки

forfeit *n.* — штраф, вилучення, конфіскація, втрата, розплата

formidable *adj.* — грізний, страшний; дуже важкий; непереборний; значний

fortuitous *adj.* — випадковий

foster *v.* — заохочувати; сприяти; пестити; виховувати; доглядати; вигодовувати; плекати

to foster hope — плекати надію

to foster a talent — сприяти розвитку таланту

to foster smb.'s interest in smth. — прищепити кому-небудь зацікавленість у чому-небудь

framework *n.* — каркас; зруб; коробка, рама, обрамлення; структура

the framework of society — суспільний лад; within the framework — в межах чогось

fringe benefits *n.* — додаткові виплати; пільги та привілеї

frustration *n.* — розлад, зрив, розрив; *психол.* фрустрація; розчарування; зневіра у своїх силах, *юр.* припинення зобов'язання внаслідок неможливості його виконання

the frustration of one's opponents — розгром супротивників

the frustration of one's hopes — катастрофа надій

frustration of contract — неможливість належного виконання договору

G

gauge *v.* — міряти, виміряти; перевіряти, вивіряти; калібрувати; *перен.* оцінювати (*людину*)

given *n.* — *книжн.* щось дане, вихідний факт; *a.* даний, визначений, заданий; виконаний; датований (про документ); *prep.* за наявності; з урахуванням, беручи до уваги

these are the givens of our times — це те, що притаманне нашому часу

to take it as a given of life — сприймати це як (непорушний) життєвий факт

pursuit of happiness is a human given — прагнення щастя — це сутність людського буття

given that... — при тому, що...

in a given time — через певний час; протягом визначеного терміну (within a given period)

at a given time — у визначений час

given under my hand and seal this 7th day of February — мною підписано і скріплено печаткою 7-го лютого
under the given conditions — за даних умов
of a given size — визначеного розміру
given good will, the proposal could be carried into effect — за наявності доброї волі пропозицію можна було б здійснити
glut *n.* — надлишок, надмірність, затовареність, перенасиченість
gung ho *adj.* — надзвичайно, надмірно захоплений бійкою або війською
gut *n.* — кишка; *v.* — патрати; потрошити; спустошувати; засвоювати суть (зміст), побіжно переглядаючи (книжку)

Н

halt *n.* — зупинка; привал
dead halt — різка / раптова зупинка (двигуна)
halt sign — дорожній знак “стоп”
at the halt — на місці
to come to a halt — зупинитися
to bring to a halt — (різко) зупинити
to call a halt to smth. — покласти край чому-небудь
hasten *v.* — поспішати, квапитися; підганяти; прискорювати
to hasten one’s steps — прискорити ходу
to hasten the climax — прискорити /наблизити розв’язку
to hasten the coming of peace — сприяти найшвидшому встановленню миру
haulage *n.* — перевезення; підвіз; буксування; транспортування; вартість доставки, транспортування; плата за доставку, транспортування
haulage constructor — перевізник
road haulage — автодорожнє вантажне перевезення
havoc *n.* — розгром, спустошення, хаос
hedge *v.* — укладати компенсаційну угоду, страхувати себе (від ринкової кон’юнктури); перестраховуватися, страхувати себе (від втрат); ухилятися (від ризику, відповідальності, прямої відповіді); виявляти нерішучість, баритися; вичікувати; ховатися; *n.* рамки; обмеження; компенсаційна угода, страховка, гарантія
to hedge against inflation — страхувати від інфляції
a hedge of etiquette — рамки етикету
a hedge of convention — пута умовностей, рамки конвенції

hedge clause — пункт (контракту) про гарантії
by hedge or by stile — будь-якими шляхами, будь-яким способом
over hedge and ditch — навпростець, прямо, не розбираючи
дороги
to sit on the hedge — вичікувати; дивитися, куди вітер подме
to be on the right [wrong] side of the hedge — займати правильну
[неправильну] позицію; вийти переможцем [бути переможеним]
hinder *v.* — перешкоджати; заважати; бути перешкодою
hollow out *v.* — видовбувати, викопувати
huge *adj.* — величезний, велетенський
hyphen *v.* — писати через дефіс

I

idleness *n.* — лінощі, ледарство, неробство
ignorance *n.* — неuczтво, неосвіченість
impediment *n.* — перешкода, затримка; *pl* = *impedimenta*
an impediment to progress — перешкода на шляху до прогресу
to breed impediments — чинити перешкоди
to brush aside / to remove impediments — усунути перешкоди
(перепони)
implication *n.* — передумова, умова, значення, висновок;
причетність
historical implication — історичний зміст
social implication — соціальне / суспільне значення
financial implications — фінансові наслідки
by implication — за змістом, імпліцитно
either expressly or by implication — прямо чи побічно
implement *v.* — виконувати, здійснювати; забезпечувати вико-
нання
impose *v.* — (оп, урон) обкладати (податком, митом); накладати;
вводити; нав'язувати
to impose a fine [a penalty] on smb. — накласти штраф [стягнення]
на кого-небудь
to impose limitations on smth. — накладати обмеження на що-не-
будь
to impose a duty [a task] on smb. — покласти обов'язок [задачу] на
кого-небудь
to impose silence upon smb. — змусити кого-небудь замовчати
to impose one's views on smb. — нав'язувати кому-небудь свої пог-
ляди

to impose inferior goods on smb. — нав'язувати комусь неякісні товари

to impose conditions on smb. — нав'язувати умови

to impose upon a simpleton — обдурити простака

to impose on smb.'s good nature — скористатися добродушністю

to be easily imposed upon — легко піддаватися обману

to impose upon one's hearers — справляти сильне враження на слухачів

inactive *adj.* — бездіяльний, інертний, пасивний, недіючий

inasmuch as *adj.* — оскільки, з огляду на, зважаючи на, у зв'язку із

incentive *n.* — стимул, спонукання, заохочення

incentive bonus — заохочувальна премія, стимул, спонукання

the true incentive to scientific research — справжній стимул до наукової праці

to have much incentive /many incentives/ to hard work /to work hard, to working hard — мати великий стимул для того, щоб багато працювати

group incentive — колективна форма заохочення

income *n.* — прибуток, дохід; надходження; заробіток

inconsistent *adj.* — непослідовний, суперечний; несталий, нестійкий, мінливий

increment *n.* — зростання, приріст, прибуток, надбавка, збільшення

incumbent *adj.* — доручений; покладений

indigenous *adj.* — туземний, місцевий; (to) природний, уроджений

indigenous population — корінне населення

emotions indigenous to human beings — почуття, властиві людям

induce *v.* — спонукати; переконувати, примушувати; викликати, спричиняти

indulgence *n.* — потурання примхам, поблажливість, милосердіє

in other ways — в інших випадках

in the way — поперек дороги, заважати

in-fighting *n.* — внутрішній конфлікт, внутрішня боротьба

infringement *n.* — порушення, посягання

inhibit *v.* — стримувати, пригнічувати, сковувати; забороняти, накладати заборону; стримувати, зупиняти, придушувати, заважати, перешкоджати

to inhibit smb. from smth. /doing smth./ — заборонити комусь щось робити

to inhibit the use of smth. — заборонити використання / застосування

to inhibit one's desire to do smth. — придушити (у собі) бажання зробити що-небудь

to inhibit oneself — стримувати себе

insight *n.* — прозорливість; проникливість; інтуїція; розуміння; усвідомлення

insolvent *adj.* — неплатоспроможний, неспроможний, банкрут

intangible *adj.* — невідчутний (на дотик); неловимий; нематеріальний

inundate *v.* — затопляти, затоплювати, наводнювати, наводнити, засипати, обсіпати

to be inundated with letters [invitations] — бути засипаним листами [запрошеннями]

to be inundated with visitors — бути переповненим відвідувачами

invoke *v.* — закликати, благати

Ж

jagged *adj.* — зазублений; нерівний

jeopardize *v.* — ризикувати, піддавати небезпеці

judicial *adj.* — судовий; суддівський; розсудливий, безсторонній, неупереджений

judiciary *n.* — суд; судова влада (система); **судоустрій** *adj.* — судовий, суддівський

judicious *adj.* — із здоровим глуздом, розважливий, поміркований

junk mail *n.* — реклама, що розсилається поштою

К

keen *adj.* — гострий (зір, біль); лютий, пронизливий; ревний, палкий, енергійний, заповзятливий; кмітливий

keyman *n.* — *амер.* людина, що займає провідну посаду; досвідчений фахівець

kickback *n.* — *розм.* “відкат”, хабар

kittle *adj.* — важкий; неспокійний; примхливий; ризикований; делікатний (про тему)

L

lean operations — убогі дії, погані (брудні) операції

legitimacy *n.* — законність (особ. влади)

legitimate *adj.* — законний; легітимний; правильний, розумний
v. — узаконювати, визнавати законним

lever *n.* — важіль; засіб впливу

leverage *n.* — дія важеля; підйомна сила; спосіб досягнення мети; співвідношення між власними та позиченими грошима

advertising leverage — тиск на суспільну думку під дією реклами

financial leverage — показник використання позичених засобів

leverage lease — часткова оренда

leveraged *adj.* — з великою часткою позичених коштів; з використанням кредиту

lift retaliation — відмінити заходи — відповідь

likely *adj.* — імовірний, можливий, багатонадійний

loan *n.* — позика; позичка; кредит; працівник, тимчасово переведений в іншу організацію

government loans — державні позики

domestic and foreign loans — внутрішні й іноземні позики

on loan — (даний) у борг; наданий на час (про експонат для виставки)

to have the loan of smth., to have smth. on loan — одержати в борг; одержати у тимчасове користування

locus *n.* — *лат. (pl. loci)* місцерозташування; траєкторія

locus sigilli — місце печатки (на документі)

logjam *n.* — залом, затор (при сплаві лісу); завал (на дорозі); мертва точка, глухий кут (у переговорах)

loom *v.* — нечітко вимальовуватися, з'являтися (у тумані), маячити (loom up); набувати загрозливих розмірів; загрожувати

to loom large — виглядати грізним, загрозливим

the examinations are looming up — насуваються іспити

loop *n.* — петля; *v.* — робити петлю

M

maintain *v.* — підтримувати, зберігати; обслуговувати; тримати в гарному стані (дороги, машини тощо)

to maintain contact — підтримувати зв'язок (контакт)

to maintain prices — зберігати (підтримувати) ціни на визначеному рівні

to maintain one's rights — захищати (відстоювати) свої права

to maintain one's ground — стояти на своєму; не відступати
he maintains his car himself — він сам ремонтує свою машину
to maintain that... — стверджувати (запевняти), що...; дотримувати
тися тієї думки, що...

management expertise *n.* — компетентність управління

means *n.* — засіб, спосіб

means test — перевірка матеріального становища (з метою надання допомоги)

merger *n.* — об'єднання (банків, підприємств), злиття; поглинання однією компанією іншої; *юр.* новація

industrial merger — промислове об'єднання

outright merger — пряме злиття

stock-swap merger — злиття з обміном акцій між учасниками

mete (out) *v.* — відміряти, призначати (нагороду, покарання)

milieu *n.* — оточення, середовище

mitigate *v.* — пом'якшувати; послабляти

mode *n.* — метод, спосіб; манера; форма, вид

mould *n.* — лекало; шаблон; матриця; *v.* — відливати у форму; формувати; робити за шаблоном; створювати

N

necessitate *v.* — робити необхідним, вимагати; змушувати; неминуче спричиняти, викликати

increase in population necessitates a greater food supply — ріст населення вимагає збільшення виробництва продовольства

sacrifices necessitated by war — позбавлення, викликані війною

nobility *n.* — благородство, шляхетність; дворянство, вельможне панство, знать

nurture *v.* — виховувати, навчати; вирощувати; годувати, жити; виношувати (план тощо)

O

obedience *n.* — слухняність; покірність, покора

obey *v.* — слухатися, коритися, підкорятися, виконувати наказ

obituary *n.* — список померлих; некролог

objective *n.* — мета, прагнення

obsolescence *n.* — моральна застарілість, зношення, спрацювання

obsessed *adj.* — одержимий, захоплений, заповнений (ідеєю тощо)

occur *v.* — зустрічатися, траплятися, відбуватися, спадати на думку; збігатися з іншим святом (часто про християнські свята)
delays are liable to occur — можливі затримки

it occurs to me that he is wrong — мені здається, (що) він неправий
onerous *adj.* — тяжкий, обтяжливий; заморочливий, клопітливий, клопіткий

opt out *v.* — відмовитися від участі в чому-небудь; усунутися; вийти з гри

to opt out of a task — ухилитися від виконання завдання

outright *n.* — валютний курс по терміновим угодам, що включає премію або знижку; *adj.* пряий, відкритий (не обтяжений доповненнями), досконалий; *adv.* раз і назавжди
heartly, outright manner — відкрита щира манера
an outright refusal — пряма (категорична) відмова
outright supporter [opponent] — відкритий прихильник [супротивник]

outright rogue — страшений шахрай

the outright gift — дійсний подарунок

an outright loss — повна втрата

to give an outright denial — категорично заперечувати що-небудь

outweigh *v.* — переважити, бути важче, перевершувати у вазі
the advantages outweighed the drawbacks — переваг було більше, ніж недоліків

overarch *v.* — перекривати склепінням; утворювати склепіння (арку)

override *v.* — нехтувати; відхилити; відкидати; не брати до уваги; заїздити, загнати; переїхати; топтати; давити

oversee *v.* — наглядати, спостерігати за (чим, ким); здійснювати нагляд

to oversee work — спостерігати за роботою

to oversee a factory — керувати фабрикою

Р

par *n.* — номінал, номінальна вартість, паритет

parochial *adj.* — парафіяльний; обмежений, вузький; місницький

pattern *n.* — зразок; взірець; шаблон; модель; система, структура

pave the way — прокладати шлях, підготувати підстави (ґрунт); створити умови

the agreement paves the way to a lasting peace — угода прокладає шлях до тривалого миру

peg *v.* — “заморожувати” (ціни), фіксувати

per capita *adv.* — *ек.* на душу (населення); на людину;

production of milk per capita — виробництво молока на душу населення

perceive *v.* — розуміти, усвідомлювати; осягати, відчувати

to perceive the futility of the attempt — розуміти всю даремність спроби

whatever sense perceives or thought divines — те, що сприймається почуттям чи осягається думкою

perception *n.* — сприйняття, відчуття; розуміння, усвідомлення

peril *n.* — небезпека; ризик

perquisites *n.* — побічні переваги; привілеї, прерогативи

persistent *adj.* — завзятий, наполегливий; стійкий, постійний

persistent thought — невідступна думка

to be persistent in one's intentions — бути наполегливим у своїх планах, намірах

persistent demand — постійний попит

persistent attacks — нескінченні нападки

persistence *n.* — упертість, наполегливість; витривалість, живучість, тривалість

persuasion *n.* — переконання; переконливість; пильність; віросповідання

by force or persuasion — силоміць чи переконанням

the art of persuasion — мистецтво переконання

full persuasion — повна переконаність

they are of the same persuasion — вони належать до одного віросповідання

the Methodist persuasion — секта методистів

the male persuasion — чоловіча стать

a man of French persuasion — француз за національністю

persuade *v.* — переконувати; схиляти, умовляти

to persuade smb. of smth. — переконувати кого-небудь у чому-небудь

to be persuaded of smth. — бути переконаним у чому

I am thoroughly persuaded that — я абсолютно переконаний, що...

pertain *v.* — відноситися, належати; мати відношення (до чого); підлягати (чому); бути властивим; підходити, личити

this does not pertain to my office — це не входить у мою компетенцію

pertinent *adj.* — доречний, до речі, до діла; придатний; відповідний, слушний

pertinent remark — (слухне) доречне зауваження

to say smth. pertinent — сказати щось до діла

books pertinent to the question — книги, що стосуються цього питання; книги з тематики

questions pertinent to the matter in hand — питання, що належать до цієї справи

pervasion *n.* — поширення, охоплення; просочення, наповнення

pinnacle *n.* — шпильаста вежа; вершина; кульмінація

polity *n.* — державний устрій; спосіб (форма) правління; держава

poll *n.* — список виборців; реєстрація виборців; балотування; опитування громадської думки; підрахунок голосів

polling *n.* — голосування

pork *n.* — *амер. sl.* урядові дотації (привілеї *тощо*), що надаються з політичних міркувань

portfolio investment — портфель інвестицій (банку); **investment portfolio/ securities portfolio**

posit *v.* — взяти за основу доказів; постулювати; ставити

preclude *v.* — запобігати, виключати, вилучати

to preclude any chance of failure — запобігти (виключити) усяку можливість невдачі, провалу, виходу з ладу

to be precluded from an opportunity — бути позбавленим можливості

this precluded me from performing my task — це перешкодило мені виконати моє завдання

premises *n.* — будинок (з прилеглими територіями)

prescription *n.* — приписування, припис, рекомендація; настанова; *юр.* право давності; неписаний закон

privy *adj.* — утаємничений; конфіденційний; прихований;

Privy Council — таємна рада

procurement policies — політика матеріально-технічного забезпечення, постачання, спорядження

profusion of barriers — величезна кількість (численність) бар'єрів (обмежень)

proliferation *n.* — кількісне зростання; різке нарощування; поширення

proliferation of states, embassies — зростання кількості держав, посольств

proliferation of nuclear weapons — поширення (нарощування) ядерної зброї

nuclear non-proliferation treaty — договір про непоширення ядерної зброї

proper *adj.* — властивий, підходящий, потрібний, пристойний, вірний, повний

feelings proper to mankind — почуття, притаманні людству

proper receipt — належна /складена за формою/ квитанція /розписка

in the proper way — належним чином

to put smth. to its proper use — розумно / правильно використовувати щось

to administer proper punishment — покарати належним чином

everything will come in its proper time — усе настане у свій час

they got it good and proper — вони одержали по заслuzі / що заслужили

proper word — потрібне (доречне) слово

proper behaviour — пристойна поведінка

Greece proper — власне Греція

electronics proper doesn't interest me — електроніка як така мене не цікавить

proper fraction — правильний дріб

provided *adv.* — за умови (що), якщо тільки, у тому випадку якщо

pump *v.* — працювати насосом, качати; нагнітати

to pump over — перекачувати

pump off, pump out — викачувати, відкачати; вивідувати, випитувати; висмоктувати (гроші)

to pump for information — випитувати

to pump ship — братися за згубне діло, прирікати себе на невдачу

pump priming *n.* — “бюджетне накачування”, дефіцитне фінансування

Q

quota *n.* — частка, частина, квота, норма

inspection quota — *дип.* квота інспекцій (у системі контролю за роззброюванням)

export [import] quota — експортна [імпортна] квота

to take up a quota — вибрати /використати/ квоту

taxable quota — частка товарів або прибутків, що обкладаються податком

R

raise *v.* — піднімати (= raise up); підвищувати; викликати, збуджувати; породжувати; підвищувати, збільшувати; *амер. ком.* підробити шляхом підроблення позначеної на документі суми на вищу; підвищувати по службі; *мат.* підносити до степеня; рости, виховувати (дітей); вирощувати, виводити (рослини); розводити (худобу, птахів); збирати, добувати (гроші); знімати (обмеження)

to raise controversy — викликати полеміку, суперечки

to raise difficulties — чинити перешкоди

to raise a disturbance — учинити скандал / неприємність; підняти шум

to raise smb. to defend /to the defence of smth. — підняти (кого) на захист (чого)

to raise prices — підвищити ціни

to raise production to a maximum — довести випуск продукції до максимуму

to raise the market — *ком.* підвищити ціни

to raise a question /an issue, a point — поставити /підняти, висунути питання

to raise a matter /a subject/ with smb. — заговорити з кимось на тему

to raise objections — заперечувати, висувати заперечення

to raise a claim [a demand] — пред'явити претензію [вимогу]

to raise one's voice against smth. — протестувати проти чого-небудь

to raise taxes [rent, rates] — збирати /стягувати/ податки [квартплату, збори]

to raise a subscription — збирати (гроші) по підписці

to raise a loan — зробити позику

to raise a unit — формувати частину / підрозділ

to raise an embargo [a quarantine] — скасувати ембарго [карантин]

to raise the blockade —зняти чи прорвати блокаду

to raise the wind — *сл.* роздобувати гроші

rebellion *n.* — повстання; бунт

rebuttal *n.* — спростування; представлення контрдоказів; заперечування

reconcile *v.* — мирити, помирити; заладнати; улагоджувати, врегулювати; погоджувати
to reconcile quarrels [disagreements] — улагоджувати сварки [суперечки]
to reconcile a dispute [differences] — врегулювати конфлікт [розбіжності]
to reconcile smb. to /with/ smth. — примирити (когось з чим)
to reconcile two opposite arguments [two points of view] — примирити /погодити/ два протилежних доводи [дві точки зору]
to reconcile duty and pleasure — поєднувати приємне з корисним

regard *v.* — дивитися на, брати до уваги; зважати на; стосуватися, мати відношення
with regard — що стосується
with due regard — з належною увагою
public opinion is very touchy with regard to international events — суспільна думка дуже чуйно реагує на міжнародні події
with (in) regard to, with reference to, with relation to, with respect to — що стосується, у відношенні; із приводу; відносно

require *v.* — мати потребу, потребувати, вимагати, наказувати
you are required to obey — від вас вимагають покори, вам наказують коритися
the court requires you to attend — суд вимагає вашої присутності
the situation requires calmness — ситуація вимагає спокою
one is not required to be a specialist to — немає необхідності бути фахівцем, щоб...
as circumstances may require, as occasion shall require — у разі потреби, якщо потребують обставини
if required — у разі необхідності
when required — коли буде потрібно

repatriate *v.* — репатріювати, повертатися на батьківщину

receivables *n.* — дебіторська заборгованість

repudiate *v.* — зрікатися (чогось); відкидати, не визнавати; відмовлятися від

resolve issues — вирішувати питання, залагодити спірне питання; приймати остаточні рішення; вирішувати проблеми; пояснювати
to resolve all doubts — розвіяти всі сумніви
to resolve a dispute — розв'язати суперечку
to resolve smth. into its elements — розкласти щось на складові частини

the session resolved itself into a number of working committees —
сесія розбилася на ряд робочих комітетів
to resolve (itself) into smth. — перетворюватися у що-небудь
the question resolves itself into this — питання зводиться до на-
ступного...

restriction *n.* — обмеження

without restriction — без обмеження

to impose / to place restrictions on smth. — вводити обмеження на
щось

to lift restrictions — знімати обмеження

result in *v.* — закінчуватися, призводити

the talks have resulted in a lessening of tension — переговори закін-
чилися зменшенням напруженості

retaliation *n.* — контрзахід; захід-відповідь, відплата; контрудар
in retaliation for smth. — у відповідь на...

revelation *n.* — відкриття, *церк.* одкровення, відвертість, щирість
revere *v.* — шанувати

reverse *adj.* — зворотний; перевернутий; протилежний

rival *n.* — суперник, конкурент

business rivals — конкуренти

without a rival — не має суперників; не має собі рівних, чудовий,
неперевершений; поза конкуренцією

riot *v.* — брати участь у бунті; порушувати громадський порядок

royalty *n.* — авторський гонорар (з продажу, використання на ви-
робництві), відрахування (*pl.*) власнику патенту або авторського
права

rudimentary *adj.* — елементарний; початковий; недорозвинений;
зародковий

ruthless *adj.* — безжалісний; немилосердний; жорстокий

S

sacrifice *v.* — жертвувати, приносити жертву; *ком.* продавати в
збиток

to sacrifice to the gods — робити жертвопринесення богам

salience *n.* — опуклість, випуклість; виступ, клин

scope *n.* — розмах, оточення, межі (можливостей, розуміння,
знань); масштаб, сфера, поле (діяльності)

the scope for investment — можливості для капіталовкладень

the scope of smb.'s knowledge [of smb.'s interests] — широта чий-
небудь знань [інтересів]

to be beyond the scope of smb.'s mind — бути незбагненним для розуму

to be outside the scope of authority — бути за межами компетенції

that is beyond / outside my scope — це не входить у мою компетенцію

the scope of an inquiry — галузь дослідження

the scope of the convention — *юр.* сфера застосування (цієї) конвенції

an undertaking of wide scope — велике підприємство

work within the scope of an amateur — робота, доступна і неспеціалісту в цій галузі

to be excluded from the scope of work — не входить в план / не передбачається планом роботи

the scope of the negotiations — межі (цих) переговорів

to offer more / better scope for smth. / for doing smth. — надавати більше можливостей для виконання чого-небудь

to seek scope for one's energies — шукати застосування своєї енергії

his position affords him ample scope — його посада дає йому повну свободу дій

scrap *v.* — здавати, перетворювати в брухт; викидати через непридатність

to scrap an old machine — пустити на брухт стару машину

to scrap outworn methods — відмовитися від застарілих методів

to scrap with smb. — *розм.* посваритися (зчепитися) з кимось

screen out *v.* — відхилити (кандидата на посаду); відраховувати, звільняти (співробітника через неблагонадійність); не допускати на літак (пасажира, підозрюваного в терористичних намірах)

seal *n.* — печатка, клеймо

State Seal — велика державна печатка;

Privy Seal — мала державна печатка;

to receive (to return) the seals — прийняти (здати) посаду канцлера (міністра)

secure *v.* — гарантувати безпеку; забезпечувати; охороняти; закріплювати; брати під варту; оволодівати; страхувати

seek *v.* — шукати, розшукувати; намагатися, прагнути

sentiment *n.* — почуття; думка, точка зору

we are often influenced by sentiment — нами часто рухають емоції

you don't indulge in sentiment in business — у діловому світі немає місця сентиментам

public sentiments — суспільна думка

unity of sentiment — єдність думки

to sound out sentiment diplomatically — дипломатично з'ясувати настрої

sequentially *adv.* — послідовно

set policy directions — встановлювати (затверджувати) напрямки політики

setback *n.* — затримка (розвитку і т. п.); перешкода; *ек.* регрес; спад

to suffer a setback — зазнати невдачі

siphon off *v.* — викачувати; перекачувати, направляти в інше русло, на інші нестатки (про кошти); поглинати

a good deal of the campaign fund has been siphoned off into private pockets — значна частина фонду кампанії перейшла / перекочувала у кишені приватних осіб

military spending siphons off half of federal funds — військові витрати поглинають більше половини державного бюджету

shuffle *v.* — тасувати (карти); переміщати; перемішувати

slaughter *v.* — побиття, різня, різанина, масове вбивство, забій (худоби, скота)

sought-after person — надзвичайно популярна особа

to be much sought after — мати велику популярність, бути narozxvat

to seek after smth. — прагнути чогось

to seek an explanation of smb.'s conduct — шукати пояснення вчинків / поведінки

the cause is to be sought in — причину варто шукати / причина криється у...

the reason is not far to seek — причина зрозуміла, за поясненням далеко ходити не треба

you will not have far to seek — вам не доведеться довго шукати

to seek smb.'s approval [smb.'s help /smb.'s aid/] — домагатися схвалення [допомоги]

to seek one's fortune — шукати щастя

a prize much sought after by the contestants — приз, якого завзято домагаються учасники змагання

to seek advice — просити ради, звертатися за порадою

to seek to do smth. — намагатися / прагнути щось зробити

to seek smb.'s life — зазіхати на чиєсь життя
to be (much) to seek — бути відсутнім, не бути
politeness is much to seek among them — вони не вирізняються
ввічливістю
to be sought for in — одержати пропозицію про (на)
sour the mood — псувати настрій
spank *v.* — плескати (ляскати) долонею; (від)шльопати
spillover *n.* — надлишок, побічний результат, (*pl.*) зовнішні
ефекти (екон. діяльності)
split into *v.* — розколоти на, розділити на, розбити на
the crowd split (up) into several groups — юрба розділилася на
кілька груп
the party split into two groups — партія розкололася на два
угруповання
spot *n.* — дійсний, реальний товар; покупка з негайною
доставкою
spot cash — готівка, що одразу сплачується при купівлі
spot currency market — ринок готівкової валюти
spot goods — наявні товари
stall *v.* — затримувати, тягнути (час), марудити, марнувати (час),
заважати; *спорт.* навмисно грати нижче своїх можливостей, гра-
ти на програш (за хабар); зупиняти, стопорити; застрягати, груз-
нути (у бруді, снігу)
he stalled the police for 15 minutes so his accomplices could get
away — він затримав поліцію на п'ятнадцять хвилин, щоб його
спільники встигли утекти
stance *n.* — позиція
to take up a stance — займати позицію
stand *v.* — терпіти, виносити, витримувати; зазнавати, наража-
тися
stand to gain — how do I stand to gain from it? — яка мені від цього
користь? (який мені з цього зиск)
statement *n.* — звіт, виписка, відомість, рахунок, кошторис,
баланс
stifle *v.* — душити, задушити; задихатися; зам'яти (*справу*); при-
душувати; стримувати; гасити (*полум'я*)
still-evolving — що спокійно (тихо) розвивається
stipulate *v.* — обумовлювати, висувати умовою, домовлятися
the treaty stipulates that... — договір передбачає, що...

it is stipulated that delivery shall be effected this year — обумовлено постачання в поточному році

straightforward *adj.* — прямий, чесний, простий

straightforward person — пряма (чесна) людина

straightforward answer — пряма відповідь

to be straightforward about smth. — бути відвертим стосовно чогось

strife *n.* — боротьба, ворожнеча, суперечка

squalor *n.* — бруд, занедбалість; злидні

subcompact *n.* — субконтракт, субдоговір

submit *v.* — підкоряти(ся), скорятися, підпорядковувати

subsequently *adv.* — згодом, потім

subservient *adv.* — раболіпний; підлесливий; що сприяє (є засобом) (to); корисний

subsidiary *n.* — дочірня, підконтрольна компанія (subsidiary company); *pl.* допоміжні кошти

substantial *adj.* — реальний, матеріальний; істотний, важливий, значний

successive *adj.* — наступний; що йде один за одним; послідовний

sufficient *adj.* — достатній, який підходить, придатний

this is amply sufficient to show... — цього більш ніж досить, щоб показати...

sufficient reason — *філос.* причина, з якої все існуюче є таким, як воно є, а не іншим

support *v.* — підтримувати, спиратися, утримувати, надавати підтримку, витримувати; забезпечувати; обслуговувати

to support a family — утримувати родину

to support an institution [a hospital] — жертвувати на установу [лікарню]

to support life — забезпечувати існування

to support oneself — самостійно заробляти на життя

to be supported by — жити на кошти /на утриманні, мати підтримку кого

to support logistically — забезпечувати матеріально-технічно

to support the spirits — підтримувати дух

suppression *n.* — придушення; стримування; заборона; конфіскація

surrender *v.* — здавати(ся); поступатися; підкорятися; відмовлятися

surround *v.* — оточувати, обступати

sustain *v.* — підтримувати; витримувати; підтверджувати, задовольняти; перенести; не дати припинитися, обірватися, згаснути
food sustains life — їжа підтримує життя
to sustain a conversation — підтримувати розмову
to sustain efforts — докласти зусиль
to sustain life — підтримувати життя
to sustain a shock — перенести потрясіння
to sustain a loss (losses) — зазнати збитки; зазнати втрат
to sustain a siege — витримати облогу
to sustain an objection — підтримувати заперечення
to sustain a claim — підтримувати претензію
surveillance *n.* — нагляд, перевірка
swamp *v.* — заливати; затоплювати (*про воду*); засипати, завалювати (*листами*)
swap *n.* — обмін
swiftly *adv.* — швидко; скоро, хутко
events followed swiftly on one another — події швидко відбувалися одна за іншою
swift-acting *adj.* — швидкодіючий
synergy *n.* — механізм роботи, синергія

Т

take up *v.* — піднімати; приймати, підтримувати, займати, зайнятися
to take up arms — взятися за зброю
he is entirely taken up with his business — він з головою занурився у свою справу
to take up history [modern languages] — взятися за вивчення історії [сучасних мов]
to take up one's duties again — повернутися до своїх обов'язків
to take up the lead — іти за прикладом
appeals will be taken up in the Court of Appeal — скарги будуть розглядатися в апеляційному суді
his resignation will be taken up — його відставка буде прийнята
to take smb. up sharply /short — різко узяти в шори, шпетити, вичитати
to take up the burdens of office — звалити на себе тягар службових обов'язків
to take up residence — в'їхати (у квартиру, номер); розташуватися
to take up quarters — оселитися; *військ.* зупинитися на постій

to take up the mortgage — викупити заставу
to take up the wear — компенсувати знос
to take up with smb. — приятелювати з ким
tax regulations — податкові інструкції
tenet *n.* — догмат; принцип, доктрина
terrain *n.* — місцевість, територія
tile *n.* — черепиця
to be (out) on the tiles (*sl.*) — гуляти, гульнути
think-tank — *розм.* “мозковий центр”
threat *n.* — загроза, погроза
idle threats — пусті (даремні, марні) погрози
threats and counterthreats — взаємні погрози
to use /to utter threats (against smb.) — загрозувати (кому-небудь)
to carry out a threat — виконати погрозу
to pose a threat to the cause of peace — бути загрозою для справи миру
poverty and disease are threats to society — злиденність і хвороби загрожують (становлять загрозу) суспільству
thrift *n.* — бережливість, ощадливість, економність
transaction *n.* — (ділова) угода; справа; операція (торгова); ведення (ділових операцій); акт господарської діяльності; *pl* праці, протоколи
the transaction of affairs — ведення справ
business transactions — ділові операції
profitable transaction — вигідна угода
cash transaction — угода за готівку
mixed up in shady transactions — замішаний у сумнівних угодах
turnkey project — контракт на будівництво та введення в експлуатацію об’єкту “під ключ”; закінчений об’єкт (у будівництві)

У

ultimately *adv.* — зрештою; в остаточному підсумку, остаточно
ultra vires *adv.* — поза компетенцією; з перевищенням повноважень
to act ultra vires — *юр.* зловживати своїми правами (повноваженнями)
unbridled *adj.* — нічим не стриманий, розбещений, розгнущаний, неприборканий, невгамовний

underlay *v.* — лежати в основі; залягати; прокладати; *юр.* користуватися переважним правом (на задоволення претензії)

undermine *v.* — підкопувати, руйнувати; підривати; розхитувати
to undermine smb.'s authority — підривати чий-небудь авторитет

underpin *v.* — підтримувати, підкріплювати, підпирати, підводити фундамент

undertake *v.* — починати, братися, зобов'язуватися

unilateral transfer — одностороння угода

uninsurable *adj.* — не підлягає страхуванню; може бути застрахованим

unjust *adj.* — несправедливий

unthinkable *adj.* — неймовірний; надзвичайний; немислимий; несусвітний

unthinkable joy — надзвичайна радість

it seems unthinkable that — здається неймовірним, що...

V

vary *v.* — міняти, змінювати; вносити зміни; урізноманітнити щось

to vary directly [inversely] — *мат.* змінюватися прямо [назад] пропорційно

the prices vary with the season — ціни залежать від сезону

to vary from the type — змінюватися залежно від типу

variable *n.* — *мат.* змінна (величина); *adj.* мінливий, непостійний, несталий, нестійкий

vigilant *adj.* — пильний

to be vigilant against smth. — бути пильним відносно чого, пильнувати

be sober, be vigilant — *бібл.* будь розсудливим (поміrkованим), пильним (дбайливим, чуйним)

vigorous *adj.* — сильний; енергійний

violence *n.* — сила; несамовитість, навальність; насильство; жорстокість

volatility *n.* — мінливість; непостійність; несталість

voluntary export restraints — добровільні експортні обмеження

W

want *n.* — не(до)стача, брак, відсутність; злидні, бідність; (*pl*) потреба, бажання

warrant *v.* — виправдовувати, служити підставою; поручитися; гарантувати; запевняти; *юр.* дозволяти, надавати право;

the need warrants the expenditure — ця витрата виправдана необхідністю

we are not warranted in believing — у нас немає підстав думати...

this material is warranted (to be) colour-fast — міцність фарбування тканини гарантується

the genuineness is warranted by several facts — справжність (оригінальність, достеменність) підтверджується кількома фактами

the law warrants this procedure — закон допускає (передбачає) таку процедуру

warfare *n.* — війна; прийоми ведення війни; сутичка, боротьба

wealth *n.* — багатство; достаток; матеріальні цінності, багатства

weapon *n.* — зброя; засіб, знаряддя



Список використаної та рекомендованої літератури

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