

L.V. KNODEL

ENGLISH FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE

ENGLISH TEXTBOOK

KIEV - 2019

УДК 811.11:32](075)

ББК 81.2Англ:66

К 53

**Кнодель Л. В.**

К 53 English for political science (Английский для политологии) : учебник / Л. В. Кнодель. – Киев : ФОРМАНДИБА Т. П., 2019. – 323 с.

Спецкурс «Английский для политологии» предназначен для студентов юридических и политологических факультетов, которые изучают политологию, и для практиков, которые хотят усовершенствовать свои знания английского языка для улучшения своей карьеры в сфере политологии.

Спецкурс «Английский для политологии» включает такие темы: Политическая история мира; Политические системы Великобритании, США, Австралии, Канады и Новой Зеландии.

В книге приводятся оригинальные тексты на английском языке, даются всевозможные комментарии к ним, разнообразные диалоги и упражнения для закрепления специальной лексики. Спецкурс позволяет в короткие сроки значительно усовершенствовать свою языковую базу, что является первостепенным условием успешной карьеры в будущем.

Special course «English for Political science» is the textbook for students of law and political science faculties who study political science and for practical people who are eager to develop their knowledge of English to improve their careers and to climb the ladder in the field of their activities. Special course «English for Political science» consists of following topics: Political history of the world; the political systems of Great Britain; the USA; Canada; Australia; New Zealand. There are a great deal of original texts in English, are given various recommendations and comments on them, variety of dialogues and exercises to fasten knowledge of special vocabulary. Special course gives the opportunity in a short time to improve greatly your language basis, what is the main aim of successful career in future.

УДК 811.11:32](075)

ББК 81.2Англ:66

© Кнодель Л. В., 2019

© ФОРМАНДИБА Т. П., 2019

## ПЕРЕДМОВА

Згідно з реально існуючими численними джерелами, знання про політику налічує близько двох з половиною тисячоліть, а на Сході, в Стародавньому Китаї та деяких інших країнах – ще більше. Однак, у найрозвинутіших формах знання про політику виникає у європейському обширі, точніше – з політичної думки античності ("Республіка" Платона, "Політика" Аристотеля, "Про республіку" Цицерона).

Протягом двох з половиною тисячоліть з'явилося чимало досліджень наукового змісту з різноманітних проблем політології, серед яких назвемо трактат Фоми Аквінського "Про государеве правління", працю М. Падуанського "Трактат про передання влади" (XIV ст.), "Шість книг про республіку" Ж. Бодуена, класичну роботу Н. Макіавеллі "Державець".

Зародження політології як науки припало на другу половину XIX ст.

У 1857 р. в Колумбійському університеті була створена кафедра історії і політичної науки, після чого почали діяти й інші кафедри політологічного профілю. В 20-х роках XX ст. з ініціативи Чарльза Вдварда Мерріама виникла "Школа політичних наук" у Чикаго.

Однією з особливостей "Чиказької школи" було налагодження тісних взаємозв'язків із суміжними дисциплінами: психологією, економікою, соціологією, антропологією, правом. В Європі виникнення політичної науки як академічної дисципліни пов'язується з Німеччиною. Перші кафедри були відкриті при університетах Мюнхена (1814), Тюбінгена (1817) та Вюрцбурга (1822).

В 1923 р. у Франкфурті був створений "Інститут соціальних досліджень" який ввійшов до історії як "Франкфуртська школа політології". Перші кроки політології в Німеччині були зроблені під значним впливом класичної німецької філософії, зокрема праць І. Канта і Г. Гегеля.

У нашій країні вже багато чого зроблено для реформування політики в сфері вивчення іноземних мов. Розроблено проект концепції викладання іноземних мов на Україні, проект державного освітнього стандарту по іноземній мові та навчальні програми з іноземних мов.

Політика країн Європи в області іноземних мов спрямована на заохочення лінгвістичного і культурного співробітництва країн-учасниць для досягнення більшої спільності європейського співтовариства. Однією з основних характеристик професійної підготовки фахівців будь-якої сфери є підготовка з іноземної мови. Теорія і практика сучасної освіти повинні бути перетворені: професійна іншомовна компетентність стає найважливішою якістю фахівця будь-якої сфери економіки і управління.

Навчальний лексико-граматичний посібник "Political systems" призначений для професійного вивчення англійської мови в галузі права та політології.

Спеціальний курс охоплює 4 розділів: "Світова Політична історія: історичний ракурс, політична філософія, політологія, політична ідеологія", "Політичні системи: форми, основи політичних систем", "Демократія: види та форми демократії", "Політичне життя: політика, політичні партії, системи голосування", які представляють різноманітну інформацію юридичного напрямлення. В кожному з них детально розглядається і характеризується одна з юридичних проблем на основі оригінальних англійських текстів, додається словник, лексичні вправи, що допомагають закріпити рекомендований лексико-граматичний матеріал.

## FOREWORD

Politics is the "art of the possible". Political science is the study and analysis of possibilities for states and their citizens: the possibility of peace in a war-ravaged country; the possibility of democracy in an authoritarian state; the possibility of economic equity in a capitalist system; and the possibility of harmony in a system of sovereign states.

The study of politics has always been at the centre of an education geared toward sustaining and improving community life. The ancient Chinese, Greeks, and Romans regarded politics as one of the highest forms of human expression. Indigenous peoples all over the world have practiced unique and effective forms of politics for millennia.

Four-year Bachelor of Arts in Political Science degree focuses on three areas of study: politics, public policy and government; comparative politics and international relations; and political theory, philosophy, and economy. The program works to incorporate ideas, and methodology in its approach. The program will help students to understand and identify important institutions, forces, and ideas that shape society, and permit change to occur or not occur.

Students will gain an understanding of the history, values, structures, and processes of political systems, and will study the principles of effective democratic citizenship from local to international levels, along with the relationships between states and non-state actors in the wider, interdependent global system and how they organize themselves into various decision-making and administrative forums.

A degree in political science will teach students how to systematically, rigorously, and analytically evaluate competing explanations of the same event or phenomenon, and gain an understanding of whom or what exerts power.

Students will examine how political leaders understand their obligations toward each other, and how decisions are shaped by different views of what's right, what works, and what's possible in varying circumstances. Within the program, students will develop a wide range of skills that apply beyond the study of political science.

These include the ability to think clearly and critically, write and speak effectively, and to undertake primary and secondary research confidently. All of these skills are in high demand in the public and private workforce. They are highly sought after in those proceeding to law school, medical school, teacher's college, and graduate studies.

Whether you know it or not, we all participate in politics. Politics is much more than just simply voting in an election or working in a government. Reading or listening to the news, donating to aid groups, or talking with friends and families about social issues are other ways in which politics works into our everyday lives.

Thus, by studying political science, students will have a deeper and more thorough understanding of the political forces and institutions that directly affect their lives.

Plus, you will be able to make more informed decisions when it comes to election time. Aside from learning about political systems and governance, students will be exposed to a variety of other courses, including those in philosophy, law and justice, and history.

Students will develop skills sought after in a variety of career paths, including those outside of politics. Critical thinking, writing, research, and presentation skills are just a few of the skills students will perfect in this holistic and interdisciplinary program, all of which are highly transferable. Students studying political science have countless opportunities available to them. Students can interact with researchers and get real hands-on work experience, both of which are an asset to securing meaningful work upon graduation.

# CHAPTER I.

## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD

### UNIT I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

#### INTRODUCTION

The political history of the world is the history of the various political entities created by the Human race throughout their existence on Earth and the way these states define their borders. Throughout history, political entities have expanded from basic systems of self-governance and monarchy to the complex democratic and communist systems that exist today, in parallel, political systems have expanded from vaguely defined frontier-type boundaries, to the definite boundaries existing today.

#### **Boundaries of the Roman Empire**

In ancient history, civilizations did not have definite boundaries as states have today, and their borders could be more accurately described as frontiers. Early dynastic Sumer and early dynastic Egypt were the first civilizations to define their borders.

The first states of sorts were those of early dynastic Sumer and early dynastic Egypt, which arose from the Uruk period and Pre-dynastic Egypt respectively at approximately 3000 B.C. Early dynastic Egypt was based around the Nile River in the north-east of Africa, the kingdom's boundaries being based around the Nile and stretching to areas where oases existed. Early dynastic Sumer was located in southern Mesopotamia with its borders extending from the Persian Gulf to parts of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers.

By 2500 B.C. the Indian civilization, located in the Indus Valley had formed.

The civilization's boundaries extended 600 km inland from the Arabian Sea.

336 B.C. saw the rise of Alexander the Great, who forged an empire from various vassal states stretching from modern Greece to the Indian subcontinent, bringing Mediterranean nations into contact with those of central and southern Asia, much as the Persian Empire had before him. The boundaries of this empire extended hundreds of kilometers.

The Roman Empire (509 B.C.- 476 B.C.) was the first western civilization known to accurately define their borders, although these borders could be more accurately described as frontiers; instead of the Empire defining its borders with precision, the borders were allowed to trail off and were, in many cases, part of territory indirectly ruled by others.

Roman and Greek ideals of nationhood can be seen to have strongly influenced Western views on the subject, with the basis of many governmental systems being on authority or ideas borrowed from Rome or the Greek city-states. Notably, the European states of the Dark Ages and Middle Ages gained their authority from the Roman Catholic religion, and modern democracies are based in part on the example of Ancient Athens.

#### **Middle Ages – The Tang Dynasty in 700 B.C.**

China entered the Sui Dynasty, this saw a change in government and an expansion in its borders as the many separate bureaucracies unified under one banner. This evolved into the Tang Dynasty when Li Yuan took control of China in 626. By now, the Chinese borders had expanded from eastern China, up north into the Tang Empire.

The Tang Empire fell apart in 907 and split into ten regional kingdoms and five dynasties with vague borders. 53 years after the separation of the Tang Empire, China entered the Song Dynasty under the rule of Chao K'uang. Although the borders of this country expanded, they were never as large as those of the Tang dynasty, constantly being redefined due to attacks from the neighboring Tartar people known as the Khitan tribes.

In Western Europe, briefly mostly united into a single state under Charlemagne around 800 B.C., a few countries, including England, Scotland, Iceland and Norway, had already effectively become nation states by 1,000 B.C., with a kingdom (Commonwealth in Iceland's case) largely co-terminus with a people mostly sharing a language and culture.

The Carolingian Empire under Charlemagne around 800 B.C., with modern borders in orange. Over most of the continent, the peoples were emerging around ethnic, linguistic and geographical groups, but this was not reflected in political entities.

In particular, France, Italy and Germany, though recognized by other nations as countries where the French, Italians and Germans lived, did not exist as states largely matching the countries for centuries, and struggles to form them, and define their borders, as states were a major cause of wars in Europe until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the course of this process, some countries, such as Poland under the Partitions and France in the High Middle Ages, almost ceased to exist as states for periods.

The Low Countries as distinct a country as France, became permanently divided, today into Belgium and the Netherlands. Spain was formed as a nation state by the dynastic union of small Christian kingdoms, augmented by the final campaigns of the Reconquista against Al-Andaluz, the vanished country of Islamic Iberia.

### **The Aztec Empire in 1519**

In 1299 the Aztec empire arose in lower Mexico, this empire lasted over 500 years and at their prime, held over 5,000 square kilometers of land. 200 years after the Aztec and Toltec empires began; northern and central Asia saw the rise of the Mongol empire.

By the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Empire extended across Europe and Asia, briefly creating a state capable of ruling and administrating immensely diverse cultures.

In 1299, the Ottomans entered the scene; these Turkish nomads took control of Asia Minor along with much of central Europe over a period of 370 years, providing what may be considered a long-lasting Islamic counterweight to Christendom. Exploiting opportunities left open by the Mongolian advance and recession as well as the spread of Islam.

Russia took control of their homeland around 1613, after many years being dominated by the Tartars. After gaining independence, The Russian princes began to expand their borders under the leadership of many tsars. Notably, Catherine the Great seized the vast western part of Ukraine from the Poles, expanding Russia's size massively. Throughout the following centuries, Russia expanded rapidly, coming close to its modern size.

In 1700, Charles II of Spain died, naming Phillip of Anjou, Louis XIV's grandson, his heir. Charles' decision was not well met by the British, who believed that Louis would use the opportunity to ally France and Spain and attempt to take over Europe.

Britain formed the Grand Alliance with Holland, Austria and a majority of the German states and declared war against Spain in 1702.

The War of the Spanish Succession lasted 11 years, and ended when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1714. Less than 50 years later, in 1740, war broke out again, sparked by the invasion of Silesia, part of Austria, by King Frederick II of Prussia.

Britain, the Netherlands and Hungary supported Maria Theresa. Over the next eight years, these and other states participated in the War of the Austrian Succession, until a treaty was signed, allowing Prussia to keep Silesia. The Seven Years' War began when Theresa dissolved her alliance with Britain and allied with France and Russia.

In 1763, Britain won the war, claiming Canada and land east of the Mississippi. Prussia also kept Silesia. Interest in the geography of the Southern Hemisphere began to increase in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in 1642, Dutch navigator Abel Tasman during his voyages, Tasman discovered the island of Van Diemen's Land, which was later named Tasmania, the Australian coast and New Zealand in 1644.

Captain James Cook was commissioned in 1768 to observe a solar eclipse in Tahiti and sailed into Stingray Harbor on Australia's east coast in 1770, claiming the land for the British Crown. Settlements in Australia began in 1788 when Britain began to utilize the country for the deportation of convicts, with the first free settlers arriving in 1793.

Likewise New Zealand became a home for hunters seeking whales and seals in the 1790s with later non-commercial settlements by the Scottish in the 1820s and 30s.

In Northern America, revolution was beginning when in 1770, British troops opened fire on a mob pelting them with stones, an event later known as the Boston Massacre.

British authorities were unable to determine if this event was a local one, or signs of something bigger until, in 1775, Rebel forces confirmed their intentions by attacking British troops on Bunker Hill. Shortly after, Massachusetts Second Continental Congress representative John Adams and his cousin Samuel Adams were part of a group calling for an American Declaration of Independence. The Congress ended without committing to a Declaration, but prepared for conflict by naming George Washington as the Continental Army Commander.

War broke out and lasted until 1783, when Britain signed the Treaty of Paris and recognized America's independence. In 1788, the states ratified the USA Constitution, going from a confederation to a union and in 1789, elected George Washington as the first President of the USA.

### **The National Assembly**

By the late 1780s, France was falling into debt, with higher taxes introduced and famines ensuing. As a measure of last resort, King Louis XVI called together the Estates-General in 1788 and reluctantly agreed to turn the Third Estate (which made up all of the non-noble and non-clergy French) into a National Assembly. This assembly grew very popular in the public eye and on July 14, 1789, following evidence that the King planned to disband the Assembly, an angry mob stormed the Bastille, taking gunpowder and lead shot. Stories of the success of this raid spread all over the country, this sparked multiple uprisings in which the lower classes robbed granaries and manor houses.

In August of the same year, members of the National Assembly wrote the revolutionary document Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen which proclaimed freedom of speech, press and religion. By 1792, other European states were attempting to quell the revolution. In the same year Austrian and German armies attempted to march on Paris.

However, the French repelled them. Building on fears of European invasion, a radical group known as the Jacobins abolished the monarchy and executed King Louis for treason in 1793. In response to this radical uprising, Britain, Spain and the Netherlands, join in the fight with the Jacobins until the Reign of Terror was brought to an end in 1794 with the execution of a Jacobin leader, Maximillian Robespierre.

A new constitution was adopted in 1795 with some calm returning, although the country was still at war. In 1799, a group of politicians led by Napoleon Bonaparte unseated leaders of the Directory.

**Exercise 1. Render the main idea of the text briefly in English.**

**Exercise 2. Find English equivalents for the Russian ones.**

Тенденция, политические изменения, оказывать влияние, сила последовательных смен, важные аспекты политической истории, привлечение, развитие, узкая специализация, указание профессии (занятий), историческая идентичность, текущий период, национальные решения, роль обычного гражданина, международные отношения между государствами, государственные отношения, изучение идеологии, сила исторических изменений.



Alexander the Great & the Macedonian Empire

**Exercise 3. Analyze the information and make up the chart about it.**

№	Activity			
	Events	When	Where	Score
1.				

**Exercise 4. Give the definition of notion "political and diplomatic history".**

Political history is the narrative and analysis of political events, ideas, movements, and leaders. It is usually structured around the nation state. It is distinct from, but related to, other fields of history such as social history, economic history, and military history.

Generally, political history focuses on events relating to nation-states and the formal political process. According to Hegel, Political History "is an idea of the state with a moral and spiritual force beyond the material interests of its subjects: it followed that the state was the main agent of historical change". This contrasts with one, for instance, social history, which focuses predominantly on the actions and lifestyles of ordinary people, or people's history, which is historical work from the perspective of common people.

**Diplomatic history** sometimes referred to as "Rankian History" in honour of Leopold von Ranke, focuses on politics, politicians and other high rulers and views them as being the driving force of continuity and change in history. This type of *political history* is the study of the conduct of international relations between states or across state boundaries over time. This is the most common form of history and is often the classical and popular belief of what history should be. Diplomatic history is the past aggregate of the art and practice of conducting negotiations between accredited persons representing groups or nations; occurring in succession leading from the past to the present and even into the future regarding diplomacy, the conduct of state relations through the intercession of individuals with regard to issues of peace-making, culture, economics, trade and war. Diplomatic history records or narrates events relating to or characteristic of diplomacy.

**Exercise 5. Describe the aspects of political history.**

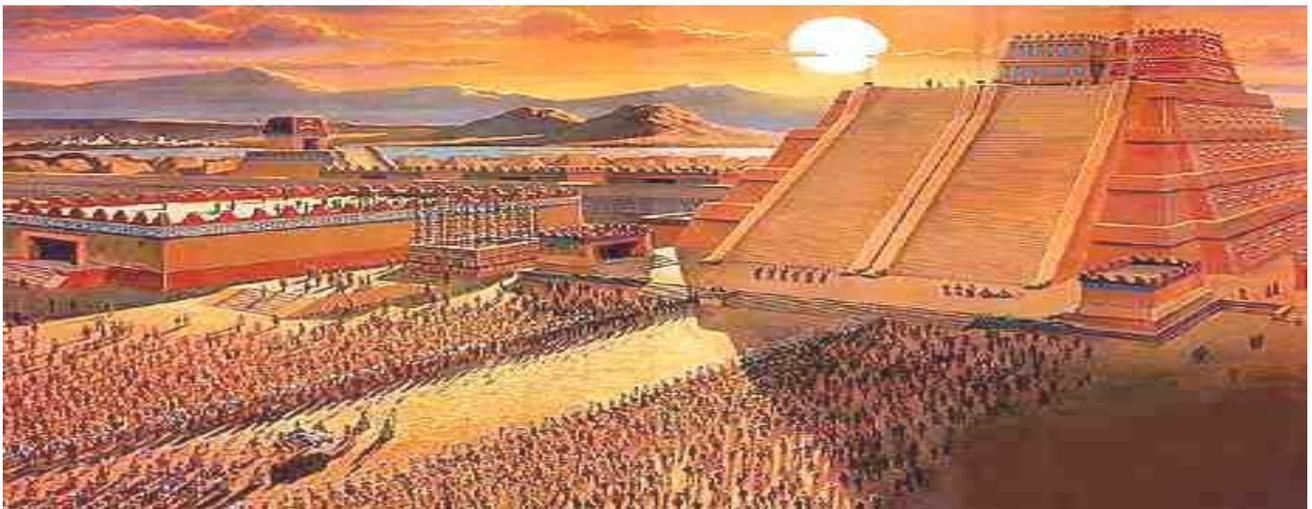
The first "scientific" political history was written by Leopold von Ranke in Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His methodologies profoundly affected the way historians critically examine sources. An important aspect of political history is the study of ideology as a force for historical change. One author asserts that "political history as a whole cannot exist without the study of ideological differences and their implications."

Studies of political history typically center on a single nation and its political change and development. Some historians identify the growing trend towards narrow specialization in political history during recent decades: "while a college professor in the 1940s sought to identify himself as a "historian", by the 1950s "American historian" was the designation".

From the 1970s onwards, new movements sought to challenge traditional approaches to political history. The development of social history and women's history shifted the emphasis away from the study of leaders and national decisions, and towards the role of ordinary citizens; "...by the 1970s "the new social history" began replacing the older style. Emphasis shifted to a broader spectrum of American life, including such topics as the history of urban life, public health, ethnicity, the media, and poverty." As such, political history is sometimes seen as the more "traditional" kind of history.



A picture describing the busy West Market in the Tang Dynasty



The center of the Aztec civilization was the Valley of Mexico, a huge, oval basin.



## MACEDONIAN EMPIRE

**Macedonia** was an ancient kingdom on the periphery of Archaic & Classical Greece, later the dominant state of Hellenistic Greece. The kingdom was founded and initially ruled by the royal Argead dynasty, which was followed by the Antipatrid & Antigonid dynasties.

Home to the ancient Macedonians, the earliest kingdom was centered on the northeastern part of the Greek peninsula, bordered by Epirus to the west, Paeonia to the north, Thrace to the east and Thessaly to the south.

Before the 4th century B.C., Macedonia was a small kingdom outside of the area dominated by the great city-states of Athens, Sparta and Thebes, and briefly subordinate to Achaemenid Persia. During the reign of the Argead king Philip II (359-336 B.C.), Macedonia subdued mainland Greece and Thrace through conquest and diplomacy.

With a reformed army containing phalanxes wielding the *sarissa* pike, Philip II defeated the old powers of Athens and Thebes in the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C.

Philip II's son Alexander the Great, leading a federation of Greek states, accomplished his father's objective of commanding the whole of Greece when he destroyed Thebes after the city revolted. During Alexander's subsequent campaign of conquest, he overthrew the Achaemenid Empire and conquered territory that stretched as far as the Indus River.

For a brief period, his empire was the most powerful in the world – the definitive Hellenistic state, inaugurating the transition to a new period of Ancient Greek civilization.

Greek arts and literature flourished in the new conquered lands and advances in philosophy, engineering, and science spread throughout much of the ancient world.

Of particular importance were the contributions of Aristotle, tutor to Alexander, whose writings became a keystone of Western philosophy.

After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., the ensuing wars of the Diadochi, the partitioning of Alexander's short-lived empire, Macedonia remained a Greek cultural & political center in the Mediterranean region along with Ptolemaic Egypt, the Seleucid Empire, and the Kingdom of Pergamon. Important cities such as Pella, Ptolemais, and Amphipolis were involved in power struggles for control of the territory. New cities were founded, such as Thessalonica by the usurper Cassander (named after his wife Thessalonike of Macedon).

Macedonia's decline began with the Macedonian Wars and the rise of Rome as the leading Mediterranean power. At the end of the Third Macedonian War in 168 B.C., the Macedonian monarchy was abolished and replaced by Roman client states.

A short-lived revival of the monarchy during the Fourth Macedonian War in 150-148 B.C. ended with the establishment of the Roman province of Macedonia.

The Macedonian kings, who wielded absolute power and commanded state resources such as gold and silver, facilitated mining operations to mint currency, finance their armies, by the reign of Philip II, a Macedonian navy.

Unlike the other *diadochi* successor states, the imperial cult fostered by Alexander was never adopted in Macedonia, yet Macedonian rulers nevertheless assumed roles as high priests of the kingdom and leading patrons of domestic and international cults of the Hellenistic religion.

The authority of Macedonian kings was theoretically limited by the institution of the army, while a few municipalities within the Macedonian commonwealth enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and even had democratic governments with popular assemblies.

## Early history & legend

The Classical Greek historians Herodotus and Thucydides reported the legend that the Macedonian kings of the Argead dynasty were descendants of Temenus, king of Argos, could therefore claim the mythical Heracles as one of their ancestors as well as a direct lineage from Zeus, chief god of the Greek pantheon. Contradictory legends state that either Perdiccas I of Macedon or Caranus of Macedon were the founders of the Argead dynasty, with either five or eight kings before Amyntas I.

The assertion that the Argeads descended from Temenus was accepted by the *Hellanodikai* authorities of the Ancient Olympic Games, permitting Alexander I of Macedon (498-454 B.C.) to enter the competitions owing to his perceived Greek heritage.

Little is known about the kingdom before the reign of Alexander I's father Amyntas I of Macedon (547-498 B.C.) during the Archaic period.

The kingdom of Macedonia was situated along the Haliacmon and Axios rivers in Lower Macedonia, north of Mount Olympus. Historian Robert Malcolm Errington suggests that one of the earliest Argead kings established Aigai(modern Vergina) as their capital in the mid-7th century B.C.

Before the 4th century B.C., the kingdom covered a region corresponding roughly to the western and central parts of the region of Macedonia in modern Greece.

It gradually expanded into the region of Upper Macedonia, inhabited by the Greek Lyncestae & Elimiotae tribes, into regions of Emathia, Eordaia, Bottiaea, Mygdonia, Crestonia, Almopia, which were inhabited by various peoples such as Thracians and Phrygians.

Macedonia's non-Greek neighbors included Thracians, inhabiting territories to the northeast, Illyrians to the northwest, Paeonians to the north, while the lands of Thessaly to the south and Epirus to the west were inhabited by Greeks with similar cultures to that of the Macedonians. A silver *octadrachm* of Alexander I of Macedon (498-454 B.C.), minted c. 465-460 B.C., showing an equestrian figure wearing a *chlamys* (short cloak) and *petasos* (head cap) while holding two spears and leading a horse

The "Ionians with shield-hats" (Old Persian cuneiform: depicted on the tomb of Xerxes I at Naqsh-e Rostam, were probably Macedonian soldiers in the service of the Achaemenid army, wearing the petasos or kausia, c.480 B.C.

A year after Darius I of Persia (522-486 B.C.) launched an invasion into Europe against the Scythians, Paeonians, Thracians, and several Greek city-states of the Balkans, the Persian general Megabazus used diplomacy to convince Amyntas I to submit as a vassal of the Achaemenid Empire, ushering in the period of Achaemenid Macedonia. Achaemenid Persian hegemony over Macedonia was briefly interrupted by the Ionian Revolt (499-493 B.C.), yet the Persian general Mardonius brought it back under Achaemenid suzerainty.

Although Macedonia enjoyed a large degree of autonomy & was never made a satrapy (province) of the Achaemenid Empire, it was expected to provide troops for the Achaemenid army. Alexander I provided Macedonian military support to Xerxes I (486-465 B.C.) during the Second Persian invasion of Greece in 480-479 B.C., and Macedonian soldiers fought on the side of the Persians at the 479 B.C. Battle of Plataea.

Following the Greek victory at Salamis in 480 B.C., Alexander I was employed as an Achaemenid diplomat to propose a peace treaty and alliance with Athens, an offer that was rejected. Soon afterwards, the Achaemenid forces were forced to withdraw from mainland Europe, marking the end of Persian control over Macedonia.

## **Involvement in the Classical Greek world**

Although initially a Persian vassal, Alexander I of Macedon fostered friendly diplomatic relations with his former Greek enemies, the Athenian & Spartan-led coalition of Greek city-states. His successor Perdiccas II (454-413 B.C.) led the Macedonians to war in four separate conflicts against Athens, leader of the Delian League, while incursions by the Thracian ruler Sitalces of the Odrysian kingdom threatened Macedonia's territorial integrity in the northeast. The Athenian statesman Pericles promoted colonization of the Strymon River near the Kingdom of Macedonia, where the colonial city of Amphipolis was founded in 437/436 B.C. so that it could provide Athens with a steady supply of silver and gold as well as timber and pitch to support the Athenian navy. Initially Perdiccas II did not take any action and might have even welcomed the Athenians, as the Thracians were foes to both of them. This changed due to an Athenian alliance with a brother and cousin of Perdiccas II who had rebelled against him. Thus, two separate wars were fought against Athens between 433 and 431 B.C. The Macedonian king retaliated by promoting the rebellion of Athens' allies in Chalcidice and subsequently won over the strategic city of Potidaea.

After capturing the Macedonian cities Therma and Beroea, Athens besieged Potidaea but failed to overcome it; Therma was returned to Macedonia and much of Chalcidice to Athens in a peace treaty brokered by Sitalces, who provided Athens with military aid in exchange for acquiring new Thracian allies.

Perdiccas II sided with Sparta in the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.) between Athens and Sparta, in 429 B.C. Athens retaliated by persuading Sitalces to invade Macedonia, but he was forced to retreat owing to a shortage of provisions in winter.

In 424 B.C., Arrhabaeus, a local ruler of Lynkestis in Upper Macedonia, rebelled against his overlord Perdiccas, and the Spartans agreed to help in putting down the revolt.

At the Battle of Lyncestis the Macedonians panicked and fled before the fighting began, enraging the Spartan general Brasidas, whose soldiers looted the unattended Macedonian baggage train. Perdiccas then changed sides and supported Athens, and he was able to put down Arrhabaeus's revolt. A Macedonian didrachm minted during the reign of Archelaus I of Macedon (413-399 B.C.). Brasidas died in 422 B.C., the year Athens and Sparta struck an accord, the Peace of Nicias, that freed Macedonia from its obligations as an Athenian ally.

Following the 418 B.C. Battle of Mantinea, the victorious Spartans formed an alliance with Argos, a military pact Perdiccas II was keen to join given the threat of Spartan allies remaining in Chalcidice. When Argos suddenly switched sides as a pro-Athenian democracy, the Athenian navy was able to form a blockade against Macedonian seaports & invade Chalcidice in 417 B.C. Perdiccas II sued for peace in 414 B.C., forming an alliance with Athens that was continued by his son and successor Archelaus I (413-399 B.C.).

Athens then provided naval support to Archelaus I in the 410 B.C. Macedonian siege of Pydna, in exchange for timber and naval equipment. Although Archelaus I was faced with some internal revolts and had to fend off an invasion of Illyrians led by Sirras of Lynkestis, he was able to project Macedonian power into Thessaly where he sent military aid to his allies. Although he retained Aigai as a ceremonial and religious center, Archelaus I moved the capital of the kingdom north to Pella, which was then positioned by a lake with a river connecting it to the Aegean Sea. He improved Macedonia's currency by minting coins with a higher silver content as well as issuing separate copper coinage.

His royal court attracted the presence of well-known intellectuals such as the Athenian playwright Euripides. When Archelaus I was assassinated (following a homosexual love affair with royal pages at his court), the kingdom was plunged into chaos, in an era lasting from 399 to 393 B.C. that included the reign of four different monarchs: Orestes, son of Archelaus I; Aeropus II, uncle, regent, murderer of Orestes; Pausanias, son of Aeropus II; Amyntas II, who was married to the youngest daughter of Archelaus I. Very little is known about this turbulent period; it came to an end when Amyntas III (393-370 B.C.), son of Arrhidaeus and grandson of Amyntas I, killed Pausanias and claimed the Macedonian throne. Amyntas III was forced to flee his kingdom in either 393 or 383 B.C. (based on conflicting accounts), owing to a massive invasion by the Illyrian Dardani led by Bardylis.

The pretender to the throne Argaeus ruled in his absence, yet Amyntas III eventually returned to his kingdom with the aid of Thessalian allies. Amyntas III was nearly overthrown by the forces of the Chalcidian city of Olynthos, but with the aid of Teleutias, brother of the Spartan king Agesilaus II, the Macedonians forced Olynthos to surrender and dissolve their Chalcidian League in 379 B.C.

Alexander II (370-368 B.C.), son of Eurydice I and Amyntas III, succeeded his father and immediately invaded Thessaly to wage war against the *tagus* (supreme Thessalian military leader) Alexander of Pherae, capturing the city of Larissa.

The Thessalians, desiring to remove both Alexander II and Alexander of Pherae as their overlords, appealed to Pelopidas of Thebes for aid; he succeeded in recapturing Larissa, in the peace agreement arranged with Macedonia, received aristocratic hostages including Alexander II's brother and future king Philip II (359-336 B.C.).

When Alexander was assassinated by his brother-in-law Ptolemy of Aloros, the latter acted as an overbearing regent for Perdiccas III (368-359 B.C.), younger brother of Alexander II, who eventually had Ptolemy executed when reaching the age of majority in 365 B.C.

The remainder of Perdiccas III's reign was marked by political stability and financial recovery. However, an Athenian invasion led by Timotheus, son of Conon, managed to capture Methone & Pydna, and an Illyrian invasion led by Bardylis succeeded in killing Perdiccas III and 4,000 Macedonian troops in battle.

### **Rise of Macedon**

Left, a bust of Philip II of Macedon (359-336 B.C.) from the Hellenistic period, located at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Right, another bust of Philip II, a 1st-century A.D. Roman copy of a Hellenistic Greek original, now in the Vatican Museums.

Map of the Kingdom of Macedon at the death of Philip II in 336 B.C. (light blue), with the original territory that existed in 431 B.C. (red outline), and dependent states (yellow)

Philip II was 24 years old when he acceded to the throne in 359 B.C. Through the use of deft diplomacy, he was able to convince the Thracians under Berisades to cease their support of Pausanias, a pretender to the throne, and the Athenians to halt their support of another pretender. He achieved these by bribing the Thracians and their Paeonian allies and establishing a treaty with Athens that relinquished his claims to Amphipolis. He was able to make peace with the Illyrians who had threatened his borders.

Philip II spent his initial years radically transforming the Macedonian army. A reform of its organization, equipment, training, including the introduction of the Macedonian phalanx armed with long pikes (*sarissa*), proved immediately successful when tested against his Illyrian and Paeonian enemies.

Confusing accounts in ancient sources have led modern scholars to debate how much Philip II's royal predecessors may have contributed to these reforms and the extent to which his ideas were influenced by his adolescent years of captivity in Thebes as a political hostage during the Theban hegemony, especially after meeting with the general Epaminondas.

The Macedonians traditionally practiced monogamy, but Philip II practiced polygamy and married 7 wives with perhaps only one that did not involve the loyalty of his aristocratic subjects or new allies. His first marriages were to Phila of Elimeia of the Upper Macedonian aristocracy as well as the Illyrian princess Audata to ensure a marriage alliance.

To establish an alliance with Larissa in Thessaly, he married the Thessalian noblewoman Philinna in 358 B.C., who bore him a son later ruler as Philip III Arrhidaeus (323-317 B.C.).

In 357 B.C., he married Olympias to secure an alliance with Arybbas, the King of Epirus and the Molossians. This marriage would bear a son who would later rule as Alexander III (better known as Alexander the Great) & claim descent from the legendary Achilles by way of his dynastic heritage from Epirus. It is unclear whether or not the Achaemenid Persian kings influenced Philip II's practice of polygamy, although his predecessor Amyntas III had three sons with a possible second wife Gygaea: Archelaus, Arrhidaeus, and Menelaus.

Philip II had Archelaus put to death in 359 B.C., while Philip II's other two half brothers fled to Olynthos, serving as a *casus belli* for the Olynthian War (349-348 B.C.) against the Chalcidian League.

While Athens was preoccupied with the Social War (357-355 B.C.), Philip II retook Amphipolis from them in 357 B.C. and the following year recaptured Pydna and Potidaea, the latter of which he handed over to the Chalcidian League as promised in a treaty.

In 356 B.C., he took Crenides, refounding it as Philippi, while his general Parmenion defeated the Illyrian king Grabos of the Grabaei. During the 355-354 B.C. siege of Methone, Philip II lost his right eye to an arrow wound, but managed to capture the city and treated the inhabitants cordially, unlike the Potidaeans, who had been enslaved.

Philip II then involved Macedonia in the Third Sacred War (356-346 B.C.). It began when Phocis captured and plundered the temple of Apollo at Delphi instead of submitting unpaid fines, causing the Amphictyonic League to declare war on Phocis and a civil war among the members of the Thessalian League aligned with either Phocis or Thebes.

Philip II's initial campaign against Pherae in Thessaly in 353 B.C. at the behest of Larissa ended in two disastrous defeats by the Phocian general Onomarchus.

Philip II in turn defeated Onomarchus in 352 B.C. at the Battle of Crocus Field, which led to Philip II's election as leader (*archon*) of the Thessalian League, provided him a seat on the Amphictyonic Council, allowed for a marriage alliance with Pherae by wedding Nicesipolis, niece of the tyrant Jason of Pherae.

Philip II had some early involvement with the Achaemenid Empire, by supporting satraps and mercenaries rebelled against the central authority of the Achaemenid king.

The satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia Artabazos II, who was in rebellion against Artaxerxes III, was able to take refuge as an exile at the Macedonian court from 352 to 342 B.C. He was accompanied in exile by his family & by his mercenary general Memnon of Rhodes. Barsine, daughter of Artabazos, and future wife of Alexander the Great, grew up at the Macedonian court. After campaigning against the Thracian ruler Cersobleptes, in 349 B.C., Philip II began his war against the Chalcidian League, which had been reestablished in 375 B.C. following a temporary disbandment.

Despite an Athenian intervention by Charidemus, Olynthos was captured by Philip II in 348 B.C., and its inhabitants were sold into slavery, including some Athenian citizens.

The Athenians, especially in a series of speeches by Demosthenes known as the Olynthiacs, were unsuccessful in persuading their allies to counterattack and in 346 B.C. concluded a treaty with Macedonia known as the Peace of Philocrates. The treaty stipulated that Athens would relinquish claims to Macedonian coastal territories, the Chalcidice, and Amphipolis in return for the release of the enslaved Athenians as well as guarantees that Philip II would not attack Athenian settlements in the Thracian Chersonese.

Meanwhile, Phocis and Thermopylae were captured by Macedonian forces, the Delphic temple robbers were executed; Philip II was awarded the two Phocian seats on the Amphictyonic Council and the position of master of ceremonies over the Pythian Games.

Athens initially opposed his membership on the council and refused to attend the games in protest, but they eventually accepted these conditions, perhaps after some persuasion by Demosthenes in his oration *On the Peace*.

Over the next few years, Philip II reformed local governments in Thessaly, campaigned against the Illyrian ruler Pleuratus I, deposed Arybbas in Epirus in favour of his brother-in-law Alexander I (through Philip II's marriage to Olympias), and defeated Cersebleptes in Thrace.

This allowed him to extend Macedonian control over the Hellespont in anticipation of an invasion into Achaemenid Anatolia. In 342 B.C., Philip II conquered a Thracian city in what is now Bulgaria and renamed it Philippopolis (modern Plovdiv).

War broke out with Athens in 340 B.C. while Philip II was engaged in two ultimately unsuccessful sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium, followed by a successful campaign against the Scythians along the Danube and Macedonia's involvement in the Fourth Sacred War against Amphissa in 339 B.C. Thebes ejected a Macedonian garrison from Nicaea (near Thermopylae), leading Thebes to join Athens, Megara, Corinth, Achaea, Euboea in a final confrontation against Macedonia at the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C. After the Macedonian victory at Chaeronea, Philip II installed an oligarchy in Thebes, yet was lenient toward Athens, wishing to utilize their navy in a planned invasion of the Achaemenid Empire. He was then chiefly responsible for the formation of the League of Corinth that included the major Greek city-states except Sparta. Despite the Kingdom of Macedonia's official exclusion from the league, in 337 B.C., Philip II was elected as the leader (*hegemon*) of its council (*synedrion*) and the commander-in-chief (*strategos autokrator*) of a forthcoming campaign to invade the Achaemenid Empire.

Philip's plan to punish the Persians for the suffering of the Greeks and to liberate the Greek cities of Asia Minor as well as perhaps the panhellenic fear of another Persian invasion of Greece, contributed to his decision to invade the Achaemenid Empire.

The Persians offered aid to Perinthus and Byzantium in 341-340 B.C., highlighting Macedonia's strategic need to secure Thrace and the Aegean Sea against increasing Achaemenid encroachment, as the Persian king Artaxerxes III further consolidated his control over satrapies in western Anatolia. The latter region, yielding far more wealth and valuable resources than the Balkans, was also coveted by the Macedonian king for its sheer economic potential.

When Philip II married Cleopatra Eurydice, niece of general Attalus, talk of providing new potential heirs at the wedding feast infuriated Philip II's son Alexander, a veteran of the Battle of Chaeronea, and his mother Olympias. They fled together to Epirus before Alexander was recalled to Pella by Philip II.

When Philip II arranged a marriage between his son Arrhidaeus and Ada of Caria, daughter of Pixodarus, the Persian satrap of Caria, Alexander intervened and proposed to marry Ada instead. Philip II then cancelled the wedding altogether and exiled Alexander's advisors Ptolemy, Nearchus, and Harpalus. To reconcile with Olympias, Philip II had their daughter Cleopatra marry Olympias' brother (and Cleopatra's uncle) Alexander I of Epirus, but Philip II was assassinated by his bodyguard, Pausanias of Orestis, during their wedding feast and succeeded by Alexander in 336 B.C.

### **Empire**

Modern scholars have argued over the possible role of Alexander III "the Great" and his mother Olympias in the assassination of Philip II, noting the latter's choice to exclude Alexander from his planned invasion of Asia, choosing instead for him to act as regent of Greece and deputy *hegemon* of the League of Corinth, and the potential bearing of another male heir between Philip II and his new wife, Cleopatra Eurydice.

Alexander III (336-323 B.C.) was immediately proclaimed king by an assembly of the army and leading aristocrats, chief among them being Antipater and Parmenion.

By the end of his reign and military career in 323 B.C., Alexander would rule over an empire consisting of mainland Greece, Asia Minor, the Levant, ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and much of Central and South Asia (modern Pakistan).

Among his first acts was the burial of his father at Aigai. The members of the League of Corinth revolted at the news of Philip II's death, but were soon quelled by military force alongside persuasive diplomacy, electing Alexander as *hegemon* of the league to carry out the planned invasion of Achaemenid Persia.

In 335 B.C., Alexander fought against the Thracian tribe of the Triballi at Haemus Mons and along the Danube, forcing their surrender on Peuce Island. Shortly thereafter, the Illyrian king Cleitus of the Dardani threatened to attack Macedonia, but Alexander took the initiative and besieged the Dardani at Pelion (in modern Albania). When Thebes had once again revolted from the League of Corinth and was besieging the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea, Alexander left the Illyrian front and marched to Thebes, which he placed under siege.

After breaching the walls, Alexander's forces killed 6,000 Thebans, took 30,000 inhabitants as prisoners of war, and burned the city to the ground as a warning that convinced all other Greek states except Sparta not to challenge Alexander again. Throughout his military career, Alexander won every battle that he personally commanded.

His first victory against the Persians in Asia Minor at the Battle of the Granicus in 334 B.C. used a small cavalry contingent as a distraction to allow his infantry to cross the river followed by a cavalry charge from his companion cavalry. Alexander led the cavalry charge at the Battle of Issus in 333 B.C., forcing the Persian king Darius III and his army to flee.

Darius III, despite having superior numbers, was again forced to flee the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C. The Persian king was later captured and executed by his own satrap of Bactria and kinsman, Bessus, in 330 B.C.

The Macedonian king subsequently hunted down and executed Bessus in what is now Afghanistan, securing the region of Sogdia in the process. At the 326 B.C. Battle of the Hydaspes (modern-day Punjab), when the war elephants of King Porus of the Pauravas threatened Alexander's troops, he had them form open ranks to surround the elephants and dislodge their handlers by using their *sarissa* pikes.

When his Macedonian troops threatened mutiny in 324 B.C. at Opis, Babylonia (near Baghdad, Iraq), Alexander offered Macedonian military titles & greater responsibilities to Persian officers & units instead, forcing his troops to seek forgiveness at a staged banquet of reconciliation between Persians and Macedonians.

Alexander perhaps undercut his own rule by demonstrating signs of megalomania.

While utilizing effective propaganda such as the cutting of the Gordian Knot, he also attempted to portray himself as a living god & son of Zeus following his visit to the oracle at Siwah in the Libyan Desert (in modern-day Egypt) in 331 B.C. His attempt in 327 B.C. to have his men prostrate before him in Bactra in an act of *proskynesis* borrowed from the Persian kings was rejected as religious blasphemy by his Macedonian and Greek subjects after his court historian Callisthenes refused to perform this ritual.

When Alexander had Parmenion murdered at Ecbatana (near modern Hamadan, Iran) in 330 B.C., this was "symptomatic of the growing gulf between the king's interests and those of his country and people", according to Errington. His murder of Cleitus the Black in 328 B.C. is described as "vengeful and reckless" by Dawn L. Gilley & Ian Worthington.

Continuing the polygamous habits of his father, Alexander encouraged his men to marry native women in Asia, leading by example when he wed Roxana, a Sogdian princess of Bactria. He then married Stateira II, eldest daughter of Darius III, and Parysatis II, youngest daughter of Artaxerxes III, at the Susa weddings in 324 B.C.

Meanwhile, in Greece, the Spartan king Agis III attempted to lead a rebellion of the Greeks against Macedonia. He was defeated in 331 B.C. at the Battle of Megalopolis by Antipater, who was serving as regent of Macedonia and deputy *hegemon* of the League of Corinth in Alexander's stead. Before Antipater embarked on his campaign in the Peloponnese, Memnon, the governor of Thrace, was dissuaded from rebellion by use of diplomacy.

Antipater deferred the punishment of Sparta to the League of Corinth headed by Alexander, who ultimately pardoned the Spartans on the condition that they submit 50 nobles as hostages. Antipater's hegemony was somewhat unpopular in Greece due to his practice (perhaps by order of Alexander) of exiling malcontents and garrisoning cities with Macedonian troops, yet in 330 B.C., Alexander declared that the tyrannies installed in Greece were to be abolished and Greek freedom was to be restored.

Kingdoms of the diadochi c. 301 B.C., after the Battle of Ipsus

-  Kingdom of Ptolemy I Soter.
-  Kingdom of Cassander.
-  Kingdom of Lysimachus.
-  Kingdom of Seleucus I Nicator.
-  Epirus.
- Other
  -  Carthage.
  -  Roman Republic.
  -  Greek States.

When Alexander the Great died at Babylon in 323 B.C., his mother Olympias accused Antipater and his faction of poisoning him, although there is no evidence to confirm this.

With no official heir apparent, the Macedonian military command became split, with one side proclaiming Alexander's half-brother Philip III Arrhidaeus (323-317 B.C.) as king & another siding with Alexander's infant son with Roxana, Alexander IV (323-309 B.C.).

Except for the Euboeans and Boeotians, the Greeks also immediately rose up in a rebellion against Antipater known as the Lamian War (323-322 B.C.). When Antipater was defeated at the 323 B.C. Battle of Thermopylae, he fled to Lamia where he was besieged by the Athenian commander Leosthenes. A Macedonian army led by Leonnatus rescued Antipater by lifting the siege. Antipater defeated the rebellion, yet his death in 319 B.C. left a power vacuum wherein the two proclaimed kings of Macedonia became pawns in a power struggle between the *diadochi*, the former generals of Alexander's army.

A council of the army convened in Babylon immediately after Alexander's death, naming Philip III as king and the chiliarch Perdiccas as his regent. Antipater, Antigonus Monophthalmus, Craterus, and Ptolemy formed a coalition against Perdiccas in a civil war initiated by Ptolemy's seizure of the hearse of Alexander the Great.

Perdiccas was assassinated in 321 B.C. by his own officers during a failed campaign in Egypt against Ptolemy, where his march along the Nile River resulted in the drowning of 2,000 of his men. Although Eumenes of Cardia managed to kill Craterus in battle, this had little to no effect on the outcome of the 321 B.C. Partition of Triparadisus in Syria where the victorious coalition settled the issue of a new regency and territorial rights. Antipater was appointed as regent over the two kings. Before Antipater died in 319 B.C., he named the staunch Argead loyalist Polyperchon as his successor, passing over his own son Cassander and ignoring the right of the king to choose a new regent (since Philip III was considered mentally unstable), in effect bypassing the council of the army as well.

Forming an alliance with Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Lysimachus, Cassander had his officer Nicanor capture the Munichia fortress of Athens' port town Piraeus in defiance of Polyperchon's decree that Greek cities should be free of Macedonian garrisons, sparking the Second War of the Diadochi (313-15 B.C.). Given a string of military failures by Polyperchon, in 317 B.C., Philip III, by way of his politically engaged wife Eurydice II of Macedon, officially replaced him as regent with Cassander. Afterwards, Polyperchon desperately sought the aid of Olympias in Epirus. A joint force of Epirotes, Aetolians, and Polyperchon's troops invaded Macedonia and forced the surrender of Philip III and Eurydice's army, allowing Olympias to execute the king and force his queen to commit suicide.

Olympias then had Nicanor and dozens of other Macedonian nobles killed, but by the spring of 316 B.C., Cassander had defeated her forces, captured her, and placed her on trial for murder before sentencing her to death.

Cassander married Philip II's daughter Thessalonike and briefly extended Macedonian control into Illyria as far as Epidamnos. By 313 B.C., it was retaken by the Illyrian king Glaucias of Taulantii. By 316 B.C., Antigonus had taken the territory of Eumenes and managed to eject Seleucus Nicator from his Babylonian satrapy, leading Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus to issue a joint ultimatum to Antigonus in 315 B.C. for him to surrender various territories in Asia. Antigonus promptly allied with Polyperchon, now based in Corinth, and issued an ultimatum of his own to Cassander, charging him with murder for executing Olympias & demanding that he hand over the royal family, King Alexander IV and the queen mother Roxana. The conflict that followed lasted until the winter of 312/311 B.C., when a new peace settlement recognized Cassander as general of Europe, Antigonus as "first in Asia", Ptolemy as general of Egypt, and Lysimachus as general of Thrace.

Cassander had Alexander IV and Roxana put to death in the winter of 311/310 B.C., and by 306-305 B.C., the *diadochi* were declared kings of their respective territories.

## THE HELLENISTIC ERA

The beginning of Hellenistic Greece was defined by the struggle between the Antipatrid dynasty, led first by Cassander (305-297 B.C.), son of Antipater, and the Antigonid dynasty, led by the Macedonian general Antigonus I Monophthalmus (306-301 B.C.) and his son, the future king Demetrius I (294-288 B.C.).

Cassander besieged Athens in 303 B.C., but was forced to retreat to Macedonia when Demetrius invaded Boeotia to his rear, attempting to sever his path of retreat. While Antigonus & Demetrius attempted to recreate Philip II's Hellenic league with themselves as dual hegemon, a revived coalition of Cassander, Ptolemy I Soter (305-283 B.C.) of Egypt's Ptolemaic dynasty, Seleucus I Nicator (305-281 B.C.) of the Seleucid Empire, and Lysimachus (306-281 B.C.), King of Thrace, defeated the Antigonids at the Battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C., killing Antigonus and forcing Demetrius into flight. Cassander died in 297 B.C., and his sickly son Philip IV died the same year, succeeded by Cassander's other sons Alexander V of Macedon (297-294 B.C.) and Antipater II of Macedon (297-294 B.C.), with their mother Thessalonike of Macedon acting as regent. While Demetrius fought against the Antipatrid forces in Greece, Antipater II killed his own mother to obtain power.

His desperate brother Alexander V then requested aid from Pyrrhus of Epirus (297-272 B.C.), who had fought alongside Demetrius at the Battle of Ipsus, but was sent to Egypt as a hostage as part of an agreement between Demetrius and Ptolemy I.

In exchange for defeating the forces of Antipater II and forcing him to flee to the court of Lysimachus in Thrace, Pyrrhus was awarded the westernmost portions of the Macedonian kingdom. Demetrius had his nephew Alexander V assassinated and was then proclaimed king of Macedonia, but his subjects protested against his aloof, Eastern-style autocracy. War broke out between Pyrrhus and Demetrius in 290 B.C. when Lanassa, wife of Pyrrhus, daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, left him for Demetrius and offered him her dowry of Corcyra. The war dragged on until 288 B.C., when Demetrius lost the support of the Macedonians and fled the country. Macedonia was then divided between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, the former taking western Macedonia and the latter eastern Macedonia.

By 286 B.C., Lysimachus had expelled Pyrrhus and his forces from Macedonia.

In 282 B.C., a new war erupted between Seleucus I and Lysimachus; the latter was killed in the Battle of Corupedion, allowing Seleucus I to take control of Thrace and Macedonia. In two dramatic reversals of fortune, Seleucus I was assassinated in 281 B.C. by his officer Ptolemy Keraunos, son of Ptolemy I & grandson of Antipater, who was then proclaimed king of Macedonia before being killed in battle in 279 B.C. by Celtic invaders in the Gallic invasion of Greece. The Macedonian army proclaimed the general Sosthenes of Macedon as king, although he apparently refused the title. After defeating the Gallic ruler Bolgios and driving out the raiding party of Brennus, Sosthenes died and left a chaotic situation in Macedonia.

The Gallic invaders ravaged Macedonia until Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius, defeated them in Thrace at the 277 B.C. Battle of Lysimachia and was then proclaimed king Antigonus II of Macedon (277-274 B.C.; 272-239 B.C.).

In 280 B.C., Pyrrhus embarked on a campaign in Magna Graecia (southern Italy) against the Roman Republic known as the Pyrrhic War, followed by his invasion of Sicily.

Ptolemy Keraunos secured his position on the Macedonian throne by giving Pyrrhus 5000 soldiers and 20 war elephants for this endeavor.

Pyrrhus returned to Epirus in 275 B.C. after the ultimate failure of both campaigns, which contributed to the rise of Rome because Greek cities in southern Italy such as Tarentum now became Roman allies.

Pyrrhus invaded Macedonia in 274 B.C., defeating the largely mercenary army of Antigonos II at the 274 B.C. Battle of Aous and driving him out of Macedonia, forcing him to seek refuge with his naval fleet in the Aegean. Ancient Macedonian paintings of Hellenistic-era military arms & armor from a tomb in ancient Mieza (modern-day Lefkadia), Imathia, Central Macedonia, Greece, 2nd century B.C.

Pyrrhus lost much of his support among the Macedonians in 273 B.C. when his unruly Gallic mercenaries plundered the royal cemetery of Aigai.

Pyrrhus pursued Antigonos II in the Peloponnese, yet Antigonos II was ultimately able to recapture Macedonia. Pyrrhus was killed while besieging Argos in 272 B.C., allowing Antigonos II to reclaim the rest of Greece. He then restored the Argead dynastic graves at Aigai and annexed the Kingdom of Paeonia.

The Aetolian League hampered Antigonos II's control over central Greece, and the formation of the Achaean League in 251 B.C. pushed Macedonian forces out of much of the Peloponnese and at times incorporated Athens and Sparta. While the Seleucid Empire aligned with Antigonid Macedonia against Ptolemaic Egypt during the Syrian Wars, the Ptolemaic navy heavily disrupted Antigonos II's efforts to control mainland Greece.

With the aid of the Ptolemaic navy, the Athenian statesman Chremonides led a revolt against Macedonian authority known as the Chremonidean War (267-261 B.C.).

By 265 B.C., Athens was surrounded and besieged by Antigonos II's forces, and a Ptolemaic fleet was defeated in the Battle of Cos.

Athens finally surrendered in 261 B.C. After Macedonia formed an alliance with the Seleucid ruler Antiochus II, a peace settlement between Antigonos II and Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt was finally struck in 255 B.C.

In 251 B.C., Aratus of Sicyon led a rebellion against Antigonos II, in 250 B.C., Ptolemy II declared his support for the self-proclaimed King Alexander of Corinth. Although Alexander died in 246 B.C. and Antigonos was able to score a naval victory against the Ptolemies at Andros, the Macedonians lost the Acrocorinth to the forces of Aratus in 243 B.C., followed by the induction of Corinth into the Achaean League. Antigonos II made peace with the Achaean League in 240 B.C., ceding the territories that he had lost in Greece. Antigonos II died in 239 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Demetrius II of Macedon (239-229 B.C.).

Seeking an alliance with Macedonia to defend against the Aetolians, the queen mother and regent of Epirus, Olympias II, offered her daughter Phthia of Macedon to Demetrius II in marriage.

Demetrius II accepted her proposal, but he damaged relations with the Seleucids by divorcing Stratonice of Macedon. Although the Aetolians formed an alliance with the Achaean League as a result, Demetrius II was able to invade Boeotia and capture it from the Aetolians by 236 B.C. The Achaean League managed to capture Megalopolis in 235 B.C., by the end of Demetrius II's reign most of the Peloponnese except Argos was taken from the Macedonians.

Demetrius II lost an ally in Epirus when the monarchy was toppled in a republican revolution. Demetrius II enlisted the aid of the Illyrian king Agron to defend Acarnania against Aetolia; in 229 B.C., they managed to defeat the combined navies of the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues at the Battle of Paxos.

Another Illyrian ruler, Longarus of the Dardanian Kingdom, invaded Macedonia and defeated an army of Demetrius II shortly before his death in 229 B.C.

Although his young son Philip immediately inherited the throne, his regent Antigonos III Doson (229-221 B.C.), nephew of Antigonos II, was proclaimed king by the army, with Philip as his heir, following a string of military victories against the Illyrians in the north and the Aetolians in Thessaly.

Aratus sent an embassy to Antigonos III in 226 B.C. seeking an unexpected alliance now that the reformist king Cleomenes III of Sparta was threatening the rest of Greece in the Cleomenean War (229-222 B.C.). In exchange for military aid, Antigonos III demanded the return of Corinth to Macedonian control, which Aratus finally agreed to in 225 B.C.

In 224 B.C., Antigonos III's forces took Arcadia from Sparta. After forming a Hellenic league in the same vein as Philip II's League of Corinth, he managed to defeat Sparta at the Battle of Sellasia in 222 B.C.. Sparta was occupied by a foreign power for the first time in its history, restoring Macedonia's position as the leading power in Greece.

Antigonos died a year later, from tuberculosis, leaving behind a strong Hellenistic kingdom for his successor Philip V. Philip V of Macedon (221-179 B.C.) faced immediate challenges to his authority by the Illyrian Dardanian and Aetolian League.

Philip V and his allies were successful against the Aetolians & their allies in the Social War (220-217 B.C.), yet he made peace with the Aetolians once he heard of incursions by the Dardani in the north and the Carthaginian victory over the Romans at the Battle of Lake Trasimene in 217 B.C. Demetrius of Pharos is alleged to have convinced Philip V to first secure Illyria in advance of an invasion of the Italian peninsula.

In 216 B.C., Philip V sent a hundred light warships into the Adriatic Sea to attack Illyria, a move that prompted Scerdilaidas of the Ardiaean Kingdom to appeal to the Romans for aid. Rome responded by sending ten heavy quinqueremes from Roman Sicily to patrol the Illyrian coasts, causing Philip V to reverse course and order his fleet to retreat, averting open conflict for the time being.

### **Conflict with Rome**

In 215 B.C., at the height of the Second Punic War with the Carthaginian Empire, Roman authorities intercepted a ship off the Calabrian coast holding a Macedonian envoy and a Carthaginian ambassador in possession of a treaty composed by Hannibal Barca declaring an alliance with Philip V. The treaty stipulated that Carthage had the sole right to negotiate the terms of Rome's hypothetical surrender & promised mutual aid in the event that a resurgent Rome should seek revenge against either Macedonia or Carthage.

Although the Macedonians were perhaps only interested in safeguarding their newly conquered territories in Illyria, the Romans were nevertheless able to thwart whatever grand ambitions Philip V had for the Adriatic region during the First Macedonian War (214-205 B.C.). In 214 B.C., Rome positioned a naval fleet at Oricus, which was assaulted along with Apollonia by Macedonian forces.

When the Macedonians captured Lissus in 212 B.C., the Roman Senate responded by inciting the Aetolian League, Sparta, Elis, Messenia, Attalus I (241-197 B.C.) of Pergamon to wage war against Philip V, keeping him occupied and away from Italy. The Aetolian League concluded a peace agreement with Philip V in 206 B.C., the Roman Republic negotiated the Treaty of Phoenice in 205 B.C., ending the war and allowing the Macedonians to retain some captured settlements in Illyria.

Although the Romans rejected an Aetolian request in 202 B.C. for Rome to declare war on Macedonia once again.

The Roman Senate gave serious consideration to the similar offer made by Pergamon and its ally Rhodes in 201 B.C. These states were concerned about Philip V's alliance with Antiochus III the Great of the Seleucid Empire, which invaded the war-weary and financially exhausted Ptolemaic Empire in the Fifth Syrian War (202-195 B.C.) as Philip V captured Ptolemaic settlements in the Aegean Sea. Although Rome's envoys played a critical role in convincing Athens to join the anti-Macedonian alliance with Pergamon and Rhodes in 200 B.C., the *comitia centuriata* (people's assembly) rejected the Roman Senate's proposal for a declaration of war on Macedonia. Meanwhile, Philip V conquered territories in the Hellespont & Bosphorus as well as Ptolemaic Samos, which led Rhodes to form an alliance with Pergamon, Byzantium, Cyzicus, and Chios against Macedonia.

Despite Philip V's nominal alliance with the Seleucid king, he lost the naval Battle of Chios in 201 B.C. and was blockaded at Bargylia by the Rhodian and Pergamene navies.

While Philip V was busy fighting Rome's Greek allies, Rome viewed this as an opportunity to punish this former ally of Hannibal with a war that they hoped would supply a victory and require few resources. The Roman Senate demanded that Philip V cease hostilities against neighboring Greek powers and defer to an international arbitration committee for settling grievances. When the *comitia centuriata* finally voted in approval of the Roman Senate's declaration of war in 200 B.C. and handed their ultimatum to Philip V, demanding that a tribunal assess the damages owed to Rhodes and Pergamon, the Macedonian king rejected it. This marked the beginning of the Second Macedonian War (200-197 B.C.), with Publius Sulpicius Galba Maximus spearheading military operations in Apollonia.

The Macedonians successfully defended their territory for roughly two years, but the Roman consul Titus Quinctius Flaminus managed to expel Philip V from Macedonia in 198 B.C., forcing his men to take refuge in Thessaly. When the Achaean League switched their loyalties from Macedonia to Rome, the Macedonian king sued for peace, but the terms offered were considered too stringent, and so the war continued.

In June 197 B.C., the Macedonians were defeated at the Battle of Cynoscephalae.

Rome then ratified a treaty that forced Macedonia to relinquish control of much of its Greek possessions outside of Macedonia proper, if only to act as a buffer against Illyrian and Thracian incursions into Greece. Although some Greeks suspected Roman intentions of supplanting Macedonia as the new hegemonic power in Greece, Flaminus announced at the Isthmian Games of 196 B.C. that Rome intended to preserve Greek liberty by leaving behind no garrisons and by not exacting tribute of any kind. His promise was delayed by negotiations with the Spartan king Nabis, who had meanwhile captured Argos, yet Roman forces evacuated Greece in 194 B.C.

Encouraged by the Aetolian League and their calls to liberate Greece from the Romans, the Seleucid king Antiochus III landed with his army at Demetrias, Thessaly, in 192 B.C., and was elected *strategos* by the Aetolians. Macedonia, the Achaean League, and other Greek city-states maintained their alliance with Rome.

The Romans defeated the Seleucids in the 191 B.C. Battle of Thermopylae as well as the Battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C., forcing the Seleucids to pay a war indemnity, dismantle most of its navy, and abandon its claims to any territories north or west of the Taurus Mountains in the 188 B.C. Treaty of Apamea.

With Rome's acceptance, Philip V was able to capture some cities in central Greece in 191–189 B.C. that had been allied to Antiochus III, while Rhodes and Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.) of Pergamon gained territories in Asia Minor.

Failing to please all sides in various territorial disputes, the Roman Senate decided in 184/183 B.C. to force Philip V to abandon Aenus and Maronea, since these had been declared free cities in the Treaty of Apamea. This assuaged the fear of Eumenes II that Macedonia could pose a threat to his lands in the Hellespont. Perseus of Macedon (179–168 B.C.) succeeded Philip V & executed his brother Demetrius, who had been favored by the Romans but was charged by Perseus with high treason. Perseus then attempted to form marriage alliances with Prusias II of Bithynia and Seleucus IV Philopator of the Seleucid Empire, along with renewed relations with Rhodes that greatly unsettled Eumenes II.

Although Eumenes II attempted to undermine these diplomatic relationships, Perseus fostered an alliance with the Boeotian League, extended his authority into Illyria and Thrace, and in 174 B.C., won the role of managing the Temple of Apollo at Delphi as a member of the Amphictyonic Council.

Eumenes II came to Rome in 172 B.C. and delivered a speech to the Senate denouncing the alleged crimes and transgressions of Perseus. This convinced the Roman Senate to declare the Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.).

Although Perseus's forces were victorious against the Romans at the Battle of Callinicus in 171 B.C., the Macedonian army was defeated at the Battle of Pydna in June 168 B.C. Perseus fled to Samothrace but surrendered shortly afterwards, was brought to Rome for the triumph of Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus, was placed under house arrest at Alba Fucens, where he died in 166 B.C. The Romans abolished the Macedonian monarchy by installing four separate allied republics in its stead, their capitals located at Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia.

The Romans imposed severe laws inhibiting many social and economic interactions between the inhabitants of these republics, including the banning of marriages between them and the (temporary) prohibition on gold and silver mining.

A certain Andriscus, claiming Antigonid descent, rebelled against the Romans and was pronounced king of Macedonia, defeating the army of the Roman praetor Publius Juventius Thalna during the Fourth Macedonian War (150–148 B.C.).

Despite this, Andriscus was defeated in 148 B.C. at the second Battle of Pydna by Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, whose forces occupied the kingdom.

This was followed in 146 B.C. by the Roman destruction of Carthage and victory over the Achaean League at the Battle of Corinth, ushering in the era of Roman Greece and the gradual establishment of the Roman province of Macedonia. At the head of Macedonia's government was the king (*basileus*). From at least the reign of Philip II, the king was assisted by the royal pages, bodyguards, companions, friends, an assembly that included members of the military, and (during the Hellenistic period) magistrates. Evidence is lacking regarding the extent to which each of these groups shared authority with the king or if their existence had a basis in a formal constitutional framework. Before the reign of Philip II, the only institution supported by textual evidence is the monarchy.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

## KINGSHIP & THE ROYAL COURT

The earliest known government of ancient Macedonia was that of its monarchy, lasting until 167 B.C. when it was abolished by the Romans.

The Macedonian hereditary monarchy existed since at least the time of Archaic Greece, with Homeric aristocratic roots in Mycenaean Greece. Thucydides wrote that in previous ages, Macedonia was divided into small tribal regions, each having its own petty king, the tribes of Lower Macedonia eventually coalescing under one great king who exercised power as an overlord over the lesser kings of Upper Macedonia.

The direct line of father-to-son succession was broken after the assassination of Orestes of Macedon in 396 B.C., clouding the issue of whether primogeniture was the established custom or if there was a constitutional right for an assembly of the army or of the people to choose another king. It is unclear if the male offspring of Macedonian queens or consorts were always preferred over others given the accession of Archelaus I of Macedon, son of Perdiccas II of Macedon and a slave woman, although Archelaus succeeded the throne after murdering his father's designated heir apparent.

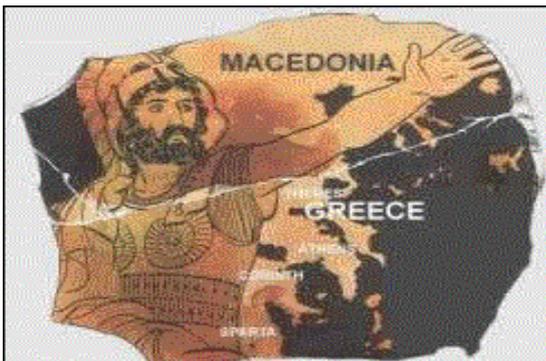
It is known that Macedonian kings before Philip II upheld the privileges and carried out the responsibilities of hosting foreign diplomats, determining the kingdom's foreign policies, and negotiating alliances with foreign powers. After the Greek victory at Salamis in 480 B.C., the Persian commander Mardonius had Alexander I of Macedon sent to Athens as a chief envoy to orchestrate an alliance between the Achaemenid Empire and Athens.

The decision to send Alexander was based on his marriage alliance with a noble Persian house and his previous formal relationship with the city-state of Athens.

With their ownership of natural resources including gold, silver, timber, and royal land, the early Macedonian kings were also capable of bribing foreign and domestic parties with impressive gifts. Little is known about the judicial system of ancient Macedonia except that the king acted as the chief judge of the kingdom.

The Macedonian kings were also supreme commanders of the military. Philip II was also highly regarded for his acts of piety in serving as the high priest of the nation. He performed daily ritual sacrifices and led religious festivals.

Alexander imitated various aspects of his father's reign, such as granting land and gifts to loyal aristocratic followers, but lost some core support among them for adopting some of the trappings of an Eastern, Persian monarch, a "lord and master" as Carol J. King suggests, instead of a "comrade-in-arms" as was the traditional relationship of Macedonian kings with their companions. Alexander's father, Philip II, was perhaps influenced by Persian traditions when he adopted institutions similar to those found in the Achaemenid realm, such as having a royal secretary, royal archive, royal pages, and a seated throne.



## **Royal pages**

The royal pages were adolescent boys and young men conscripted from aristocratic households and serving the kings of Macedonia perhaps from the reign of Philip II onward, although more solid evidence dates to the reign of Alexander the Great.

Royal pages played no direct role in high politics and were conscripted as a means to introduce them to political life. After a period of training and service, pages were expected to become members of the king's companions and personal retinue.

During their training, pages were expected to guard the king as he slept, supply him with horses, aid him in mounting his horse, accompany him on royal hunts, and serve him during *symposia* (formal drinking parties). Although there is little evidence for royal pages in the Antigonid period, it is known that some of them fled with Perseus of Macedon to Samothrace following his defeat by the Romans in 168 B.C.

## **Bodyguards**

Royal bodyguards served as the closest members to the king at court and on the battlefield. They were split into two categories: the *agema* of the *hypaspistai*, a type of ancient special forces usually numbering in the hundreds, and a smaller group of men handpicked by the king either for their individual merits or to honor the noble families to which they belonged.

Therefore, the bodyguards, limited in number and forming the king's inner circle, were not always responsible for protecting the king's life on and off the battlefield; their title and office was more a mark of distinction, perhaps used to quell rivalries between aristocratic houses.

## **Companions & friends & councils & assemblies**

The companions, including the elite companion cavalry & *pezhetairoi* infantry, represented a substantially larger group than the king's bodyguards. The most trusted or highest ranking companions formed a council that served as an advisory body to the king. A small amount of evidence suggests the existence of an assembly of the army during times of war and a people's assembly during times of peace.

Members of the council had the right to speak freely, and although there is no direct evidence that they voted on affairs of state, it is clear that the king was at least occasionally pressured to agree to their demands. The assembly was apparently given the right to judge cases of high treason and assign punishments for them, such as when Alexander the Great acted as prosecutor in the trial and conviction of three alleged conspirators in his father's assassination plot (while many others were acquitted).

However, there is perhaps insufficient evidence to allow a conclusion that councils and assemblies were regularly upheld or constitutionally grounded, or that their decisions were heeded by the king. At the death of Alexander the Great, the companions formed a council to assume control of his empire, but it was soon destabilized by open rivalry and conflict between its members. The army used mutiny as a tool to achieve political ends.

## **Magistrates & the commonwealth & local government & allied states**

Antigonid Macedonian kings relied on various regional officials to conduct affairs of state. This included high-ranking municipal officials, such as the military *strategos* and the politarch, i.e. the elected governor (*archon*) of a large city (*polis*), as well as the politico-religious office of the *epistates*. No evidence exists about the personal backgrounds of these officials.

Although they may have been chosen among the same group of aristocratic *philoi* and *hetairoi* who filled vacancies for army officers.

In Ancient Athens, the Athenian democracy was restored on 3 separate occasions following the initial conquest of the city by Antipater in 322 B.C.

When it fell repeatedly under Macedonian rule it was governed by a Macedonian-imposed oligarchy composed of the wealthiest members of the city-state. Other city-states were handled quite differently and were allowed a greater degree of autonomy.

After Philip II conquered Amphipolis in 357 B.C., the city was allowed to retain its democracy, including its constitution, popular assembly, city council (*boule*), yearly elections for new officials, but a Macedonian garrison was housed within the city walls along with a Macedonian royal commissioner (*epistates*) to monitor the city's political affairs. Philippi, the city founded by Philip II, was the only other city in the Macedonian commonwealth that had a democratic government with popular assemblies, since the assembly of Thessaloniki seems to have had only a passive function in practice.

Some cities maintained their own municipal revenues. The Macedonian king and central government administered the revenues generated by temples and priesthods.

Within the Macedonian commonwealth, some evidence from the 3rd century B.C. indicates that foreign relations were handled by the central government. Although individual Macedonian cities nominally participated in Panhellenic events as independent entities, in reality, the granting of *asylia* (inviolability, diplomatic immunity, and the right of asylum at sanctuaries) to certain cities was handled directly by the king.

Likewise, the city-states within contemporary Greek *koina* (federations of city-states, the *sympoliteia*) obeyed the federal decrees voted on collectively by the members of their league. In city-states belonging to a league or commonwealth, the granting of *proxenia* (the hosting of foreign ambassadors) was usually a right shared by local and central authorities.

Abundant evidence exists for the granting of *proxenia* as being the sole prerogative of central authorities in the neighbouring Epirote League, and some evidence suggests the same arrangement in the Macedonian commonwealth.

City-states that were allied with Macedonia issued their own decrees regarding *proxenia*. Foreign leagues formed alliances with the Macedonian kings, such as when the Cretan League signed treaties with Demetrius II Aetolicus and Antigonos III Doson ensuring enlistment of Cretan mercenaries into the Macedonian army, and elected Philip V of Macedon as honorary protector (*prostates*) of the league.



City-state

## Early Macedonian army

The basic structure of the Ancient Macedonian army was the division between the companion cavalry (*hetairoi*) and the foot companions (*pezhetairoi*), augmented by various allied troops, foreign levied soldiers, and mercenaries.

The foot companions existed perhaps since the reign of Alexander I of Macedon.

Macedonian cavalry, wearing muscled cuirasses, became renowned in Greece during and after their involvement in the Peloponnesian War, at times siding with either Athens or Sparta. Macedonian infantry in this period consisted of poorly trained shepherds and farmers, while the cavalry was composed of noblemen.

As evidenced by early 4th century B.C. artwork, there was a pronounced Spartan influence on the Macedonian army before Philip II. Nicholas Viktor Sekunda states that at the beginning of Philip II's reign in 359 B.C., the Macedonian army consisted of 10,000 infantry and 600 cavalry, yet Malcolm Errington cautions that these figures cited by ancient authors should be treated with some skepticism.

## Philip II & Alexander the Great

After spending years as a political hostage in Thebes, Philip II sought to imitate the Greek example of martial exercises and the issuing of standard equipment for citizen soldiery; succeeded in transforming the Macedonian army from a levied force of unprofessional farmers into a well-trained, professional army.

Philip II adopted some of the military tactics of his enemies, such as the *embolon* (flying wedge) cavalry formation of the Scythians.

His infantry wielded *peltai* shields that replaced the earlier *hoplon*-style shield, were equipped with protective helmets, greaves; either cuirass breastplates or *kotthybos* stomach bands, and armed with *sarissa* pikes and a dagger as a secondary weapon.

The elite *hypaspistai* infantry, composed of handpicked men from the ranks of the *pezhetairoi*, were formed during the reign of Philip II and saw continued use during the reign of Alexander the Great. Philip II was responsible for the establishment of the royal bodyguards (*somatophylakes*).

For his lighter missile troops, Philip II employed mercenary Cretan archers as well as Thracian, Paeonian, and Illyrian javelin throwers, slingers, and archers. He hired engineers such as Polyidus of Thessaly and Diades of Pella, who were capable of building state of the art siege engines and artillery that fired large bolts. Following the acquisition of the lucrative mines at Krinides (renamed Philippi), the royal treasury could afford to field a permanent, professional standing army. The increase in state revenues under Philip II allowed the Macedonians to build a small navy for the first time, which included triremes.

The only Macedonian cavalry units attested under Alexander were the companion cavalry, yet he formed a *hipparchia* (unit of a few hundred horsemen) of companion cavalry composed entirely of ethnic Persians while campaigning in Asia.

When marching his forces into Asia, Alexander brought 1,800 cavalrymen from Macedonia, 1,800 cavalrymen from Thessaly, 600 cavalrymen from the rest of Greece, 900 *prodromoi* cavalry from Thrace. Antipater was able to quickly raise a force of 600 native Macedonian cavalry to fight in the Lamian War when it began in 323 B.C. The most elite members of Alexander's *hypaspistai* were designated as the *agema*, and a new term for *hypaspistai* emerged after the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C.: the silver shields.

The latter continued to serve after the reign of Alexander the Great and may have been of Asian origin. Overall, his pike-wielding phalanx infantry numbered some 12,000 men, 3,000 of which were elite *hypaspistai* and 9,000 of which were *pezhetairoi*. Alexander continued the use of Cretan archers and introduced native Macedonian archers into the army. After the Battle of Gaugamela, archers of West Asian backgrounds became commonplace.

### Antigonid period military

The Macedonian army continued to evolve under the Antigonid dynasty. It is uncertain how many men were appointed as *somatophylakes*, which numbered eight men at the end of Alexander the Great's reign, while the *hypaspistai* seem to have morphed into assistants of the *somatophylakes*. At the Battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C., the Macedonians commanded some 16,000 phalanx pikemen. Alexander the Great's royal squadron of companion cavalry contained 800 men, the same number of cavalrymen in the sacred squadron commanded by Philip V of Macedon during the Social War of 219 B.C.

The regular Macedonian cavalry numbered 3,000 at Callinicus, which was separate from the sacred squadron and royal cavalry. While Macedonian cavalry of the 4th century B.C. had fought without shields, the use of shields by cavalry was adopted from the Celtic invaders of the 270s B.C. who settled in Galatia, central Anatolia.

Thanks to contemporary inscriptions from Amphipolis and Greia dated 218 and 181 B.C., respectively, historians have been able to partially piece together the organization of the Antigonid army under Philip V. From at least the time of Antigonus III Doson, the most elite Antigonid-period infantry were the peltasts, lighter & maneuverable soldiers wielding *peltai* javelins, swords, a smaller bronze shield than Macedonian phalanx pikemen, although they sometimes served in that capacity.

Among the peltasts, roughly 2,000 men were selected to serve in the elite *agema* vanguard, with other peltasts numbering roughly 3,000. The number of peltasts varied over time, perhaps never more than 5,000 men. They fought alongside the phalanx pikemen, divided now into *chalkaspides* (bronze shield) and *leukaspides* (white shield) regiments.

The Antigonid Macedonian kings continued to expand and equip the navy.

Cassander maintained a small fleet at Pydna, Demetrius I of Macedon had one at Pella, and Antigonus II Gonatas, while serving as a general for Demetrius in Greece, used the navy to secure the Macedonian holdings in Demetrias, Chalkis, Piraeus, and Corinth.

The navy was considerably expanded during the Chremonidean War (267-261 B.C.), allowing the Macedonian navy to defeat the Ptolemaic Egyptian navy at the 255 B.C. Battle of Cos and 245 B.C. Battle of Andros, and enabling Macedonian influence to spread over the Cyclades. Antigonus III Doson used the Macedonian navy to invade Caria, while Philip V sent 200 ships to fight in the Battle of Chios in 201 B.C. The Macedonian navy was reduced to a mere six vessels as agreed in the 197 B.C. peace treaty that concluded the Second Macedonian War with the Roman Republic, Perseus of Macedon quickly assembled some *lemboi* at the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War in 171 B.C.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score

## ANTIGONID DYNASTY

The Antigonid dynasty was a dynasty of Hellenistic kings descended from Alexander the Great's general Antigonus I Monophthalmus ("the One-eyed").

Succeeding the Antipatrid dynasty in much of Macedonia, Antigonus ruled mostly over Asia Minor and northern Syria. His attempts to take control of the whole of Alexander's empire led to his defeat and death at the Battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C.

Antigonus's son Demetrius I Poliorcetes survived the battle, and managed to seize control of Macedon itself a few years later, but eventually lost his throne, dying as a prisoner of Seleucus I Nicator. After a period of confusion, Demetrius's son Antigonus II Gonatas was able to establish the family's control over the old Kingdom of Macedon, as well as over most of the Greek city-states, by 276 B.C.

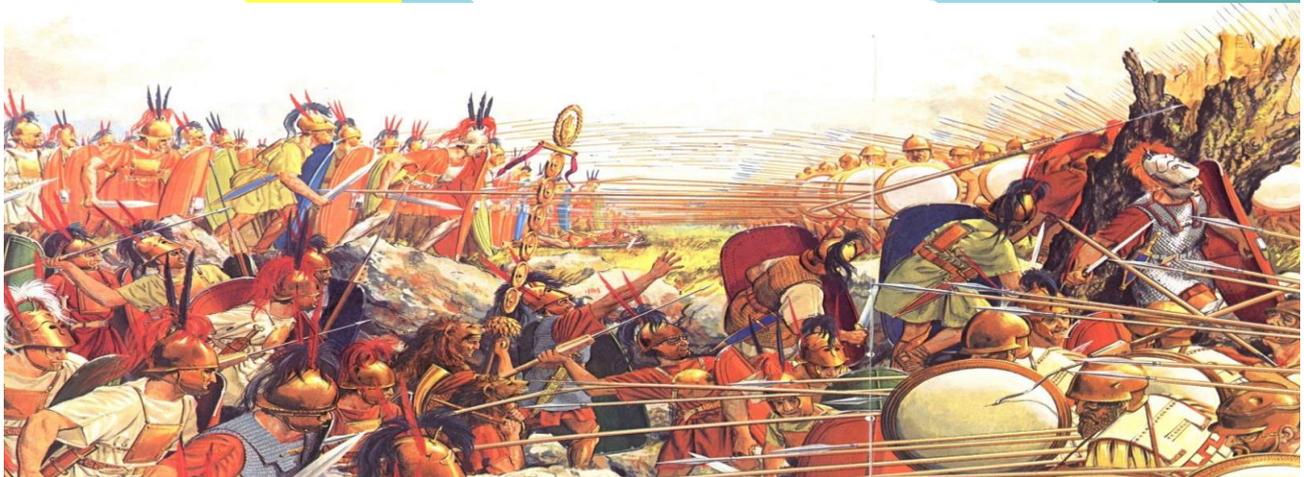
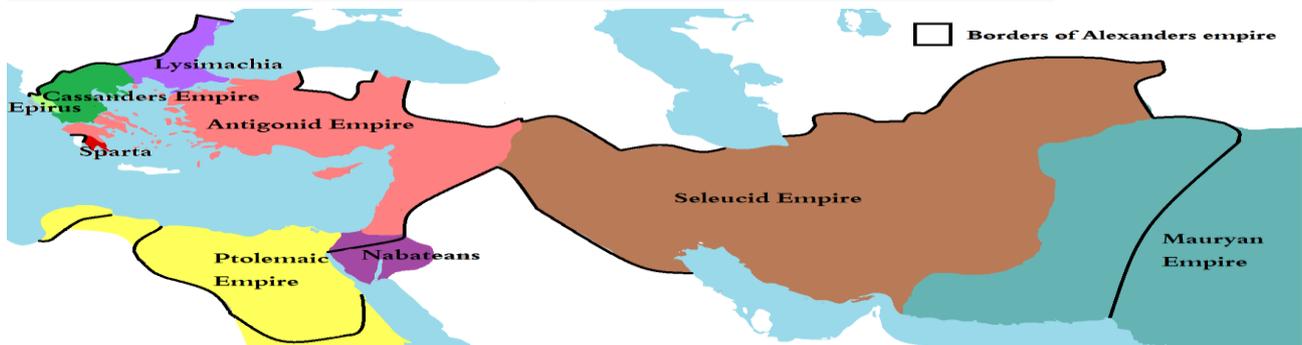
It was one of four dynasties established by Alexander's successors, the others being the Seleucid dynasty, Ptolemaic dynasty and Attalid dynasty.

The last scion of the dynasty, Perseus of Macedon, who reigned between 179-168 B.C., proved unable to stop the advancing Roman legions and Macedon's defeat at the Battle of Pydna signaled the end of the dynasty.

Antigonus I Monophthalmus (Western Asian Antigonid kingdom) 306-301 B.C. One of Alexander the Great's top generals; a major participant in the so-called "funeral games" following that king's death.

Demetrius I Poliorcetes (Macedon, Cilicia) 294-287 B.C. Son of Antigonus I Monophthalmus.

Demetrius' wife Phila was a daughter of Antipater, and ancestor of all subsequent Antigonid kings of Macedon, except Antigonus III Doson, through her son Antigonus II Gonatas. Antigonus II Gonatas (Macedon) 276-239 B.C. Son of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Phila, grandson of Antigonus I Monophthalmus. His wife, Phila, was the daughter of his sister, Stratonice. Only one known legitimate child, Demetrius II Aetolicus.



## ETHNIC IDENTITY

There is some disagreement among both ancient authors and modern scholars about the ethnic identity of the ancient Macedonians.

Ernst Badian notes that nearly all surviving references to antagonisms and differences between Greeks and Macedonians exist in the written speeches of Arrian, who lived at the time of the Roman Empire, when any notion of an ethnic disparity between Macedonians and other Greeks was incomprehensible.

Hatzopoulos argues that there was no real ethnic difference between Macedonians and Greeks, only a political distinction contrived after the creation of the League of Corinth in 337 B.C. N. G. L. Hammond asserts that ancient views differentiating Macedonia's ethnic identity from the rest of the Greek-speaking world should be seen as an expression of conflict between two different political systems: the democratic system of the city-states (Athens) versus the monarchy (Macedonia). Other academics who concur that the difference between the Macedonians and Greeks was a political rather than a true ethnic discrepancy include Michael B. Sakellariou, Malcolm Errington, and Craige B. Champion.

Any preconceived ethnic differences between Greeks and Macedonians faded by 148 B.C. soon after the Roman conquest of Macedonia.

The reigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great witnessed the demise of Classical Greece and the birth of Hellenistic civilization, following the spread of Greek culture to the Near East during and after Alexander's conquests. Macedonians then migrated to Egypt and parts of Asia, but the intensive colonization of foreign lands sapped the available manpower in Macedonia proper, weakening the kingdom in its fight with other Hellenistic powers and contributing to its downfall and conquest by the Romans.

However, the diffusion of Greek culture and language cemented by Alexander's conquests in West Asia & North Africa served as a "precondition" for the later Roman expansion into these territories and entire basis for the Byzantine Empire, according to Errington.

The ethnic Macedonian rulers of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid successor states accepted men from all over the Greek world as their hetairoi companions & did not foster a national identity like the Antigonids.

Modern scholarship has focused on how these Hellenistic successor kingdoms were influenced more by their Macedonian origins than Eastern or southern Greek traditions.

While Spartan society remained mostly insular and Athens continued placing strict limitations on acquiring citizenship, the cosmopolitan Hellenistic cities of Asia & northeastern Africa bore a greater resemblance to Macedonian cities and contained a mixture of subjects including natives, Greek & Macedonian colonists, Greek-speaking Hellenized Easterners, many of whom were the product of intermarriage between Greeks and native populations.

The deification of Macedonian monarchs perhaps began with the death of Philip II, but it was his son Alexander the Great who unambiguously claimed to be a living god.

Although the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires maintained ancestral cults and deified their rulers, kings were not worshiped in the Kingdom of Macedonia.

While Zeus Ammon was known to the Greeks prior to Alexander's reign, particularly at the Greek colony of Cyrene, Libya, Alexander was the first Macedonian monarch to patronize Egyptian, Persian, and Babylonian priesthoods and deities, strengthening the fusion of Near Eastern and Greek religious beliefs.

After his reign, the cult of Isis gradually spread throughout the Hellenistic and Roman world, while beliefs in the Egyptian god Sarapis were thoroughly Hellenized by the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt before the spread of his cult to Macedonia and the Aegean region. The German historian Johann Gustav Droysen argued that the conquests of Alexander the Great and creation of the Hellenistic world allowed for the growth and establishment of Christianity in the Roman era.

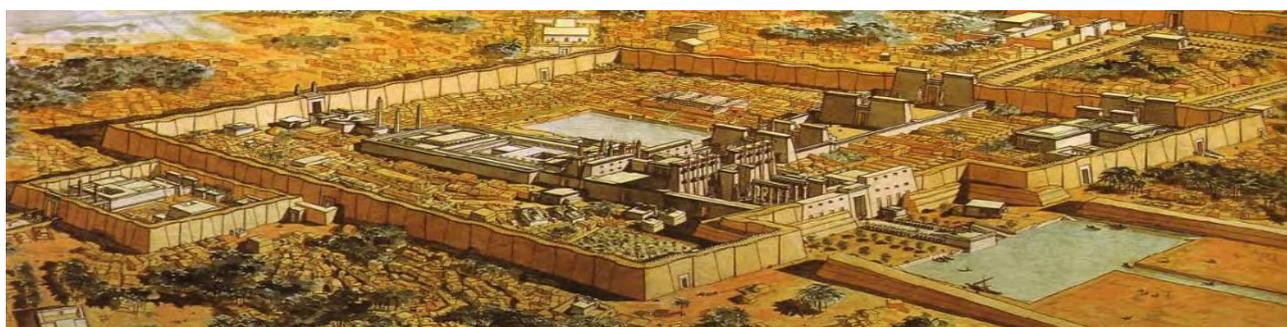
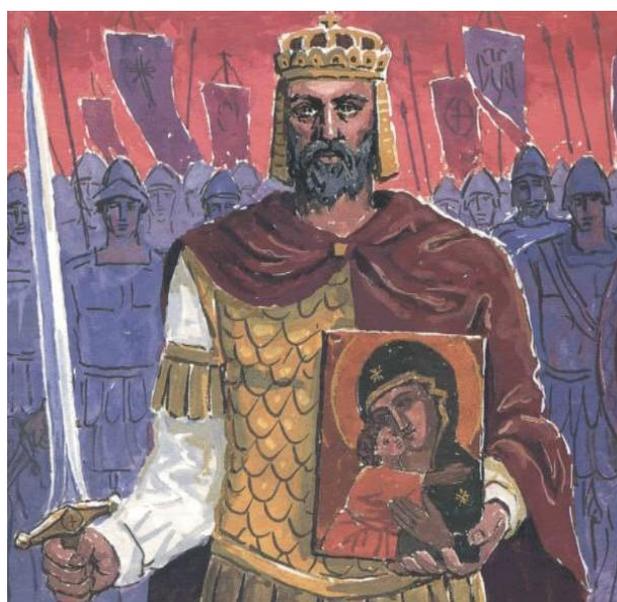
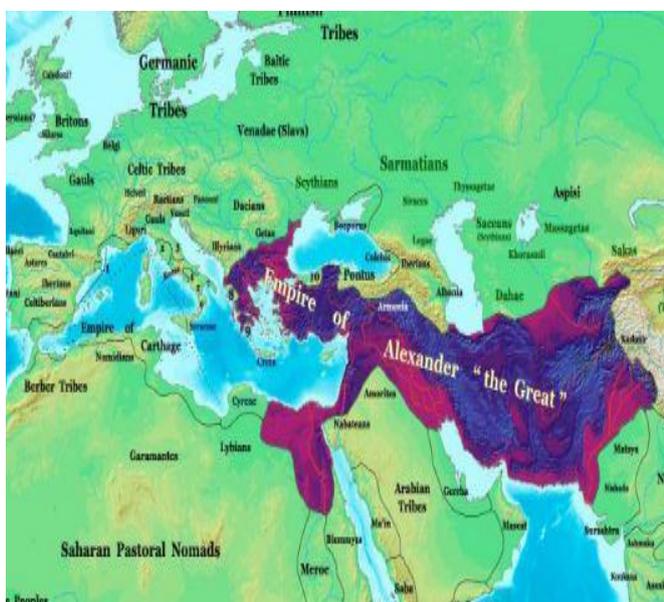
**Exercise 1.** Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.

**Exercise 2.** Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.

**Exercise 3.** Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.

**Exercise 4.** Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.

№	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score
1.				



## UNIT II. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

### INTRODUCTION

Political philosophy known as political theory, is the study of fundamental questions about the state, justice, property, rights, law, government, politics, liberty, justice and the enforcement of a legal code and laws by authority: what they are, if they are needed, what makes a government legitimate, what rights and freedoms it should protect, what form it should take, what the law is, and what duties citizens owe to a legitimate government, if any, and when it may be legitimately overthrown, if ever.

It is Ethics applied to a group of people, and discusses how a society should be set up and how one should act within a society.

In a vernacular sense, the term "political philosophy" often refers to a general view, or specific ethic, political belief or attitude, about politics, synonymous to the term "political ideology ". Political philosophy is a branch of philosophy. Within political science, a strong focus has historically been placed on the role of political philosophy (normative theory), moral philosophy and the humanities, although in recent years there has been increased focus to political theory based on quantitative methodological approaches as well as economic theory, the natural sciences and behaviouralism.

### ANCIENT TRADITIONS

#### Ancient India

Indian political philosophy in ancient times demarcated a clear distinction between (1) nation and state (2) religion and state. The constitutions of Hindu states evolved over time and were based on political and legal treatises and prevalent social institutions.

The institutions of state were broadly divided into governance, administration, defense, law and order. *Mantranga*, the principal governing body of these states, consisted of the King, Prime Minister, Commander in chief of army, Chief Priest of the King. The Prime Minister headed the committee of ministers along with head of executive (Maha Amatya).

Chanakya was a 4th-century B.C. Indian political philosopher. The *Arthashastra* provides an account of the science of politics for a wise ruler, policies for foreign affairs and wars, the system of a spy state and surveillance and economic stability of the state.

Chanakya quotes several authorities including Bruhaspati, Ushanas, Prachetasa Manu, Parasara, and Ambi, and described himself as a descendant of a lineage of political philosophers, with his father Chanaka being his immediate predecessor. Another influential extant Indian treatise on political philosophy is the *Sukra Neeti*. An example of a code of law in ancient India is the *Manusmṛti* or Laws of Manu.

#### Ancient China

Chinese political philosophy dates back to the Spring and Autumn period, specifically with Confucius in the 6th century B.C. Chinese political philosophy was developed as a response to the social and political breakdown of the country characteristic of the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period. The major philosophies during the period, Confucianism, Legalism, Mohism, Agrarianism & Taoism.

Each had a political aspect to their philosophical schools.

Philosophers such as Confucius, Mencius, and Mozi, focused on political unity and political stability as the basis of their political philosophies.

Confucianism advocated a hierarchical, meritocratic government based on empathy, loyalty, and interpersonal relationships.

Legalism advocated a highly authoritarian government based on draconian punishments and laws. Mohism advocated a communal, decentralized government centered on frugality and ascetism. The Agrarians advocated a peasant utopian communalism and egalitarianism.

Taoism advocated a proto-anarchism. Legalism was the dominant political philosophy of the Qin Dynasty, but was replaced by State Confucianism in the Han Dynasty.

Prior to China's adoption of communism, State Confucianism remained the dominant political philosophy of China up to the 20th century.

### **Ancient Greece**

Western political philosophy originates in the philosophy of ancient Greece, where political philosophy dates back to at least Plato. Ancient Greece was dominated by city-states, which experimented with various forms of political organization, grouped by Plato into five categories of descending stability and morality: monarchy, timocracy, oligarchy, democracy and tyranny. One of the first, extremely important classical works of political philosophy is Plato's *Republic*, which was followed by Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics & Politics*. Roman political philosophy was influenced by the Stoics and the Roman statesman Cicero.



## MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY

### Saint Augustine

The early Christian philosophy of Augustine of Hippo was heavily influenced by Plato. A key change brought about by Christian thought was the moderation of the Stoicism and theory of justice of the Roman world, as well emphasis on the role of the state in applying mercy as a moral example. Augustine preached that one was not a member of his or her city, but was either a citizen of the City of God (*Civitas Dei*) or the City of Man (*Civitas Terrena*). Augustine's *City of God* is an influential work of this period that attacked the thesis, held by many Christian Romans, that the Christian view could be realized on Earth.

### St. Thomas Aquinas

Thomas Aquinas meticulously dealt with the varieties of philosophy of law.

According to Aquinas, there are four kinds of law:

Eternal law ("the divine government of everything").

Divine positive law (having been "posited" by God; external to human nature).

Natural law (the right way of living discoverable by natural reason; what cannot-not be known; internal to human nature).

Human law (what we commonly call "law" – including customary law; the law of the *Communitas Perfecta*)

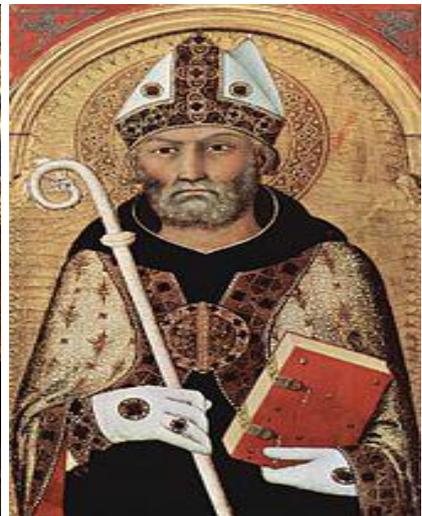
Aquinas never discusses the nature or categorization of canon law. There is scholarly debate surrounding the place of canon law within the Thomistic jurisprudential framework. Aquinas was an incredibly influential thinker in the Natural Law tradition.



Portrait of Confucius, c. 1770



Thomas Aquinas



Augustine of Hippo



## ISLAMIC POLITICAL EVOLUTION

### Mutazilite vs. Asharite

The rise of Islam, based on both the Qur'an and Muhammad strongly altered the power balances and perceptions of origin of power in the Mediterranean region.

Early Islamic philosophy emphasized an inexorable link between science and religion, and the process of ijti had to find truth – in effect *all* philosophy was "political" as it had real implications for governance. This view was challenged by the "rationalist" Mutazilite philosophers, who held a more Hellenic view, reason above revelation, known to modern scholars as the first speculative theologians of Islam; they were supported by a secular aristocracy who sought freedom of action independent of the Caliphate. By the late ancient period the "traditionalist" Asharite view of Islam had in general triumphed. According to the Asharites, reason must be subordinate to the Quran and the Sunna.

Islamic political philosophy, was, indeed, rooted in the very sources of Islam – the Qur'an and the Sunnah, the words and practices of Muhammad – thus making it essentially theocratic. However, in the Western thought, it is generally supposed that it was a specific area peculiar merely to the great philosophers of Islam: al-Kindi (Alkindus), al-Farabi (Abunaser), Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ibn Bajjah (Avempace) and Ibn Rushd (Averroes).

The political conceptions of Islam such as kudrah (power), sultan, ummah, cemaat (obligation)-and even the "core" terms of the Qur'an – ibadah (worship), din (religion), rab (master) and ilah (deity) – is taken as the basis of an analysis.

Hence, not only the ideas of the Muslim political philosophers but many other jurists and ulama posed political ideas and theories. The ideas of the Khawarij in the very early years of Islamic history on Khilafa and Ummah, or that of Shia Islam on the concept of Imamah are considered proofs of political thought. The clashes between the Ehl-i Sunna and Shia in the 7th and 8th centuries had a genuine political character. Political thought was not purely rooted in theism, however. Aristotleanism flourished as the Islamic Golden Age saw rise to a continuation of the peripaetic philosophers who implemented the ideas of Aristotle in the context of the Islamic world. Abunaser, Avicenna & Ibn Rushd were part of this philosophical school who claimed that human reason surpassed mere coincidence and revelation. They believed that natural phenomena occurs because of certain rules (made by god), not because god interfered directly (unlike Al-Ghazali and his followers).

Other notable political philosophers of the time include Nizam al-Mulk, a Persian scholar and vizier of the Seljuq Empire who composed the *Siyasatnama*, or the "Book of Government" in English. In it, he details the role of the state in terms of political affairs (how to deal with political opponents without ruining the government's image), as well as its duty to protect the poor and reward the worthy. He explains how the state should deal with other issues such as supplying jobs to immigrants like the Turkmens who were coming from the north.

### Ibn Khaldun

The 14th-century Arab scholar Ibn Khaldun is considered one of the greatest political theorists. The British philosopher-anthropologist Ernest Gellner considered Ibn Khaldun's definition of government, "...an institution which prevents injustice other than such as it commits itself", the best in the history of political theory. Government should be restrained to a minimum for as a necessary evil, it is the constraint of men by other men.

## MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Medieval political philosophy in Europe was heavily influenced by Christian thinking. It had much in common with the Mutazilite Islamic thinking in that the Roman Catholics thought subordinating philosophy to theology did not subject reason to revelation but in the case of contradictions, subordinated reason to faith as the Asharite of Islam.

The Scholastics by combining the philosophy of Aristotle with the Christianity of St. Augustine emphasized the potential harmony inherent in reason and revelation.

Perhaps the most influential political philosopher of medieval Europe was St. Thomas Aquinas who helped reintroduce Aristotle's works, which had only been transmitted to Catholic Europe through Muslim Spain, along with the commentaries of Averroes.

Aquinas's use of them set the agenda, for scholastic political philosophy dominated European thought for centuries even unto the Renaissance. Some medieval political philosophers, such as Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica*, developed the idea that a king who is a tyrant is no king at all and could be overthrown. Others, like Nicole Oresme in his *Livre de Politiques*, categorically denied this right to overthrow an unjust ruler. The Magna Carta, viewed by many as a cornerstone of Anglo-American political liberty, explicitly proposes the right to revolt against the ruler for justice's sake. Other documents similar to Magna Carta are found in other European countries such as Spain and Hungary.

### European Renaissance

During the Renaissance secular political philosophy began to emerge after about a century of theological political thought in Europe. While the Middle Ages did see secular politics in practice under the rule of the Holy Roman Empire, the academic field was wholly scholastic and therefore Christian in nature.

### Niccolò Machiavelli

One of the most influential works during this burgeoning period was Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince*, written between 1511-12 and published in 1532, after Machiavelli's death.

That work, as well as *The Discourses*, a rigorous analysis of the classical period, did much to influence modern political thought in the West. A minority (including Jean-Jacques Rousseau) interpreted *The Prince* as a satire meant to be given to the Medici after their recapture of Florence and their subsequent expulsion of Machiavelli from Florence.

Though the work was written for the di Medici family in order to perhaps influence them to free him from exile, Machiavelli supported the Republic of Florence rather than the oligarchy of the di Medici family. Machiavelli presents a pragmatic and somewhat consequentialist view of politics, whereby good and evil are mere means used to bring about an end – the acquisition and maintenance of absolute power.

Thomas Hobbes, well known for his theory of the social contract, goes on to expand this view at the start of the 17th century during the English Renaissance. Although neither Machiavelli nor Hobbes believed in the divine right of kings, they both believed in the inherent selfishness of the individual. It was necessarily this belief that led them to adopt a strong central power as the only means of preventing the disintegration of the social order.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

## EUROPEAN ENLIGHTENMENT

During the Enlightenment period, new theories about what the human was and is and about the definition of reality and the way it was perceived, along with the discovery of other societies in the Americas, and the changing needs of political societies (especially in the wake of the English Civil War, the American Revolution, the French Revolution), and the Haitian Revolution led to new questions and insights by such thinkers as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

These theorists were driven by two basic questions: one, by what right or need do people form states; and two, what the best form for a state could be. These fundamental questions involved a conceptual distinction between the concepts of "state" and "government".

It was decided that "state" would refer to a set of enduring institutions through which power would be distributed and its use justified. The term "government" would refer to a specific group of people who occupied the institutions of the state, and create the laws and ordinances by which the people, themselves included, would be bound.

This conceptual distinction continues to operate in political science, although some political scientists, philosophers, historians and cultural anthropologists have argued that most political action in any given society occurs outside of its state that there are societies that are not organized into states that nevertheless must be considered in political terms.

As long as the concept of natural order was not introduced, the social sciences could not evolve independently of theistic thinking. Since the cultural revolution of the 17th century in England, which spread to France and the rest of Europe, society has been considered subject to natural laws akin to the physical world.

Political and economic relations were drastically influenced by these theories as the concept of the guild was subordinated to the theory of free trade, Roman Catholic dominance of theology was increasingly challenged by Protestant churches subordinate to each nation-state, which also (in a fashion the Roman Catholic Church often decried angrily) preached in the vulgar or native language of each region. However, the enlightenment was an outright attack on religion, particularly Christianity. The most outspoken critic of the church in France was François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, a representative figure of the enlightenment.

After Voltaire, religion would never be the same again in France.

In the Ottoman Empire, these ideological reforms did not take place and these views did not integrate into common thought until much later. As well, there was no spread of this doctrine within the New World & the advanced civilizations of the Aztec, Maya, Inca, Mohican, Delaware, Huron & the Iroquois. The Iroquois philosophy in particular gave much to Christian thought of the time and in many cases actually inspired some of the institutions adopted in the United States: for example, Benjamin Franklin was a great admirer of some of the methods of the Iroquois Confederacy, much of early American literature emphasized the political philosophy of the natives.

### **John Locke**

John Locke in particular exemplified this new age of political theory with his work *Two Treatises of Government*. In it Locke proposes a state of nature theory that directly complements his conception of how political development occurs and how it can be founded through contractual obligation. Locke stood to refute Sir Robert Filmer's paternally founded political theory in favor of a natural system based on nature.

The theory of the divine right of kings became a passing fancy, exposed to the type of ridicule, with which John Locke treated it. Unlike Machiavelli and Hobbes but like Aquinas, Locke would accept Aristotle's dictum that man seeks to be happy in a state of social harmony as a social animal. Unlike Aquinas's preponderant view on the salvation of the soul from original sin, Locke believes man's mind comes into this world as *tabula rasa*.

For Locke, knowledge is neither innate, revealed nor based on authority but subject to uncertainty tempered by reason, tolerance and moderation.

According to Locke, an absolute ruler as proposed by Hobbes is unnecessary, for natural law is based on reason and seeking peace and survival for man.

### **Industrialization & the Modern Era**

The Marxist critique of capitalism – developed with Friedrich Engels – was, alongside liberalism and fascism, one of the defining ideological movements of the twentieth century.

The industrial revolution produced a parallel revolution in political thought.

Urbanization and capitalism greatly reshaped society.

During this same period, the socialist movement began to form. In the mid-19th century, Marxism was developed, and socialism in general gained increasing popular support, mostly from the urban working class. Without breaking entirely from the past, Marx established principles that would be used by future revolutionaries of the 20th century namely Vladimir Lenin, Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh, and Fidel Castro. Though Hegel's philosophy of history is similar to Immanuel Kant's, and Karl Marx's theory of revolution towards the common good is partly based on Kant's view of history – Marx declared that he was turning Hegel's dialectic, which was "standing on its head", "the right side up again".

Unlike Marx who believed in historical materialism, Hegel believed in the *Phenomenology of Spirit*. By the late 19th century, socialism and trade unions were established members of the political landscape. In addition, the various branches of anarchism, with thinkers such as Mikhail Bakunin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon or Peter Kropotkin, syndicalism gained some prominence. In the Anglo-American world, anti-imperialism and pluralism began gaining currency at the turn of the 20th century.

World War I was a watershed event in human history, changing views of governments and politics. The Russian Revolution of 1917 (albeit less successful, revolutions in many other European countries) brought communism – and in particular the political theory of Leninism, but on a smaller level Luxemburgism (gradually) – on the world stage.

At the same time, social democratic parties won elections and formed governments for the first time, often as a result of the introduction of universal suffrage.

From the end of World War II until 1971, when John Rawls published *A Theory of Justice*, political philosophy declined in the Anglo-American academic world, as analytic philosophers expressed skepticism about the possibility that normative judgments had cognitive content, and political science turned toward statistical methods and behavioralism.

In continental Europe, the postwar decades saw a huge blossoming of political philosophy, with Marxism dominating the field. This was the time of Jean-Paul Sartre and Louis Althusser, and the victories of Mao Zedong in China and Fidel Castro in Cuba, as well as the events of May 1968 led to increased interest in revolutionary ideology, especially by the New Left.

A number of continental European émigrés to Britain and the USA – including Karl Popper, Friedrich Hayek, Leo Strauss, Hannah Arendt, Isaiah Berlin, Eric Voegelin & Judith Shklar – encouraged continued study in political philosophy in the Anglo-American world.

But in the 1950s and 1960s they and their students remained at odds with the analytic establishment. Communism remained an important focus especially during the 1950s and 1960s. Colonialism and racism were important issues that arose. In general, there was a marked trend towards a pragmatic approach to political issues, rather than a philosophical one. Much academic debate regarded one or both of two pragmatic topics: how (or whether) to apply utilitarianism to problems of political policy, or how (or whether) to apply economic models (such as rational choice theory) to political issues.

The rise of feminism, LGBT social movements and the end of colonial rule and of the political exclusion of such minorities as African Americans and sexual minorities in the developed world has led to feminist, postcolonial, and multicultural thought becoming significant.

This led to a challenge to the social contract by philosophers Charles W. Mills in his book *The Racial Contract* and Carole Pateman in her book *The Sexual Contract* that the social contract excluded persons of colour and women respectively.

In Anglo-American academic political philosophy, the publication of John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* in 1971 is considered a milestone. Rawls used a thought experiment, the original position, in which representative parties choose principles of justice for the basic structure of society from behind a veil of ignorance. Rawls also offered a criticism of utilitarian approaches to questions of political justice. Robert Nozick's 1974 book *Anarchy, State, & Utopia*, which won a National Book Award, responded to Rawls from a libertarian perspective and gained academic respectability for libertarian viewpoints.

Contemporaneously with the rise of analytic ethics in Anglo-American thought, in Europe several new lines of philosophy directed at critique of existing societies arose between the 1950s and 1980s. Most of these took elements of Marxist economic analysis, but combined them with a more cultural or ideological emphasis.

Out of the Frankfurt School, thinkers like Herbert Marcuse, Theodor W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Jürgen Habermas combined Marxian and Freudian perspectives.

Along somewhat different lines, a number of other continental thinkers – still largely influenced by Marxism – put new emphases on structuralism and on a "return to Hegel".

Within the (post-) structuralist line (though mostly not taking that label) are thinkers such as Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, Claude Lefort, Jean Baudrillard.

The Situationists were more influenced by Hegel; Guy Debord, in particular, moved a Marxist analysis of commodity fetishism to the realm of consumption, and looked at the relation between consumerism and dominant ideology formation.

Another debate developed around the (distinct) criticisms of liberal political theory made by Michael Walzer, Michael Sandel and Charles Taylor. The liberal-communitarian debate is often considered valuable for generating a new set of philosophical problems, rather than a profound and illuminating clash of perspective.

These and other communitarians (Alasdair MacIntyre & Daniel A. Bell) argue that, contra liberalism, communities are prior to individuals and therefore should be the center of political focus. Communitarians tend to support greater local control as well as economic and social policies which encourage the growth of social capital. A pair of overlapping political perspectives arising toward the end of the 20th century are republicanism (or neo- or civic-republicanism) and the capability approach. The resurgent republican movement aims to provide an alternate definition of liberty from Isaiah Berlin's positive and negative forms of liberty, namely "liberty as non-domination".

Unlike the American liberal movement which understands liberty as "non-interference", "non-domination" entails individuals not being subject to the arbitrary will of any other person. To a liberal, a slave who is not interfered with may be free, yet to a republican the mere status as a slave, regardless of how that slave is treated, is objectionable.

Prominent republicans include historian Quentin Skinner, jurist Cass Sunstein, and political philosopher Philip Pettit. The capability approach, pioneered by economists Mahbub ul Haq & Amartya Sen & further developed by legal scholar Martha Nussbaum, understands freedom under allied lines: the real-world ability to act. Both the capability approach and republicanism treat choice as something which must be resourced. In other words, it is not enough to be legally able to do something, but to have the real option of doing it.

Current emphasis on "commoditization of the everyday" has been decried by many contemporary theorists, some of them arguing the full brunt of it would be felt in ten years' time. "Pricing" such ethical categories like personal relations or sex, though always present, pushed by media agenda, is thus seen as crossing boundaries and having adverse societal and philosophical consequences. A prominent subject in recent political philosophy is the theory of deliberative democracy. The seminal work was done by Jurgen Habermas in Germany, but the most extensive literature has been in English, led by theorists such as Jane Mansbridge, Joshua Cohen, Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson.

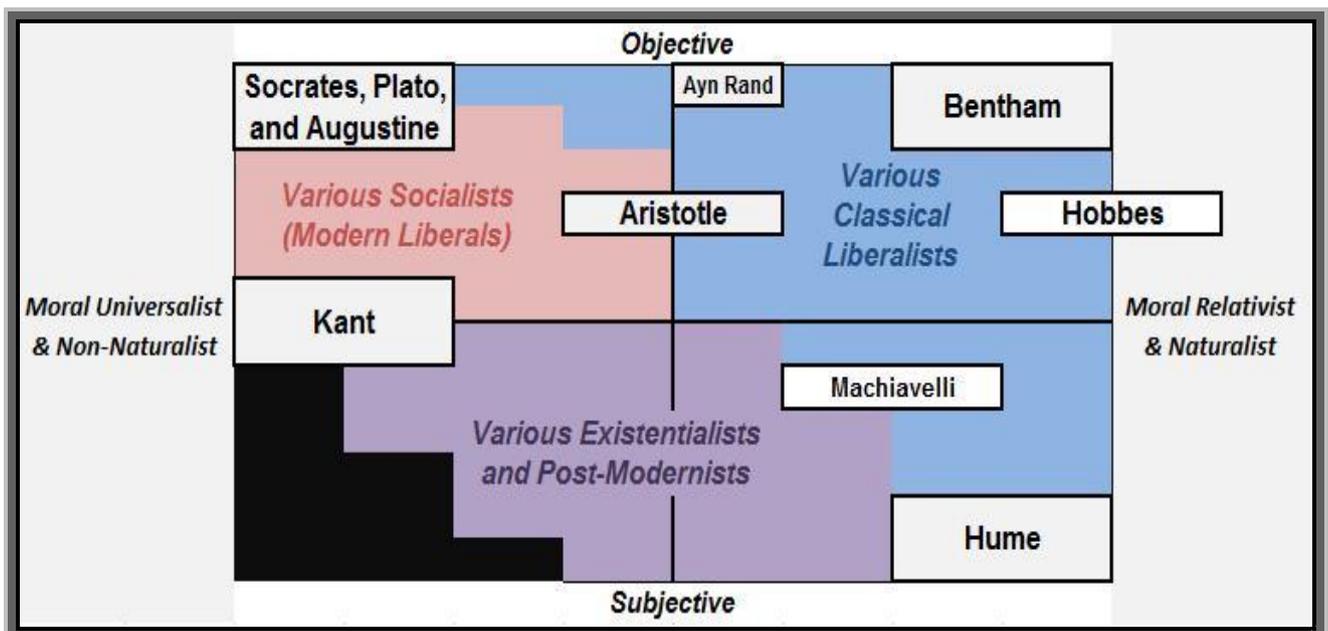
**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 4. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

No	Activity			Score
	Philosopher	When	Where	
1.				



## INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS

A larger list of political philosophers is intended to be closer to exhaustive.

Listed below are some of the most canonical or important thinkers, and especially philosophers whose central focus was in political philosophy and/or who are good representatives of a particular school of thought.

**Thomas Aquinas:** In synthesizing Christian theology and Peripatetic (Aristotelian) teaching in his *Treatise on Law*, Aquinas contends that God's gift of higher reason – manifest in human law by way of the divine virtues – gives way to the assembly of righteous government.

**Aristotle:** Wrote his *Politics* as an extension of his *Nicomachean Ethics*.

Notable for the theories that humans are social animals, and that the polis (Ancient Greek city state) existed to bring about the good life appropriate to such animals. His political theory is based upon an ethics of perfectionism (as is Marx's, on some readings).

**Mikhail Bakunin:** After Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Bakunin became the most important political philosopher of anarchism. His specific version of anarchism is called collectivist anarchism.

**Jeremy Bentham:** The first thinker to analyze social justice in terms of maximization of aggregate individual benefits. Founded the philosophical/ethical school of thought known as utilitarianism.

**Isaiah Berlin:** Developed the distinction between positive and negative liberty.

**Edmund Burke:** Irish member of the British parliament, Burke is credited with the creation of conservative thought. Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* is the most popular of his writings where he denounced the French revolution. Burke was one of the biggest supporters of the American Revolution.

**Confucius:** The first thinker to relate ethics to the political order.

**William E. Connolly:** Helped introduce postmodern philosophy into political theory, and promoted new theories of Pluralism and agonistic democracy.

**John Dewey:** Co-founder of pragmatism and analyzed the essential role of education in the maintenance of democratic government.

**Han Feizi:** The major figure of the Chinese Fajia (Legalist) school, advocated government that adhered to laws and a strict method of administration.

**Michel Foucault:** Critiqued the modern conception of power on the basis of the prison complex and other prohibitive institutions, such as those that designate sexuality, madness and knowledge as the roots of their infrastructure, a critique that demonstrated that subjection is the power formation of subjects in any linguistic forum and that revolution cannot just be thought as the reversal of power between classes.

**Antonio Gramsci:** Instigated the concept of *hegemony*. Argued that the state and the ruling class uses culture and ideology to gain the consent of the classes it rules over.

**Thomas Hill Green:** Modern liberal thinker and early supporter of positive freedom.

**Jürgen Habermas:** Contemporary democratic theorist and sociologist. He has pioneered such concepts as the public sphere, communicative action, and deliberative democracy. His early work was heavily influenced by the Frankfurt School.

**G. W. F. Hegel:** Emphasized the "cunning" of history, arguing that it followed a rational trajectory, even while embodying seemingly irrational forces; influenced Marx, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, and Oakeshott.

**Friedrich Hayek:** He argued that central planning was inefficient because members of central bodies could not know enough to match the preferences of consumers and workers with existing conditions. Hayek further argued that central economic planning – a mainstay of socialism – would lead to a "total" state with dangerous power. He advocated free-market capitalism in which the main role of the state is to maintain the rule of law and let spontaneous order develop.

**Thomas Hobbes:** Generally considered to have first articulated how the concept of a social contract that justifies the actions of rulers (even where contrary to the individual desires of governed citizens), can be reconciled with a conception of sovereignty.

**David Hume:** Hume criticized the social contract theory of John Locke and others as resting on a myth of some actual agreement. Hume was a realist in recognizing the role of force to forge the existence of states & that consent of the governed was merely hypothetical.

He introduced the concept of utility, later picked up on & developed by J.Bentham.

**Thomas Jefferson:** Politician & political theorist during the American Enlightenment. Expanded on the philosophy of Thomas Paine by instrumenting republicanism in the United States. Most famous for the United States Declaration of Independence.

**Immanuel Kant:** Argued that participation in civil society is undertaken not for self-preservation, as per Thomas Hobbes, but as a moral duty. First modern thinker who fully analyzed structure and meaning of obligation. Argued that an international organization was needed to preserve world peace.

**John Locke:** Like Hobbes, described a social contract theory based on citizens' fundamental rights in the state of nature. He departed from Hobbes in that, based on the assumption of a society in which moral values are independent of governmental authority and widely shared, he argued for a government with power limited to the protection of personal property. His arguments may have been deeply influential to the formation of the United States Constitution.

**Niccolò Machiavelli:** First systematic analysis of how politics necessitates expedient and evil actions. Gave an account of statecraft in a realistic point of view instead of relying on idealism. Machiavelli relays recommendations on how to run a well ordered republican state, as he viewed them to be better forms of government than autocracies.

**James Madison:** American politician & protege of Jefferson considered to be "Father of the Constitution" and "Father of the Bill of Rights" of the USA. As a political theorist, he believed in separation of powers and proposed a comprehensive set of checks & balances that are necessary to protect the rights of an individual from the tyranny of the majority.

**Herbert Marcuse:** Called the father of the new left. One of the principal thinkers within the Frankfurt School, and generally important in efforts to fuse the thought of Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx. Introduced the concept of "repressive desublimation", in which social control can operate not only by direct control, but also by manipulation of desire. His work *Eros and Civilization* and notion of a non-repressive society was influential on the 1960s and its counter-cultural social movements.

**Karl Marx:** In large part, added the historical dimension to an understanding of society, culture and economics. Created the concept of *ideology* in the sense of (true or false) beliefs that shape and control social actions. Analyzed the fundamental nature of class as a mechanism of governance and social interaction. Profoundly influenced world politics with his theory of communism.

**Peter Kropotkin:** One of the classic anarchist thinkers and the most influential theorist of anarcho-communism.

**Mencius:** One of the most important thinkers in the Confucian school, he is the first theorist to make a coherent argument for an obligation of rulers to the ruled.

**John Stuart Mill:** A utilitarian, and the person who named the system; he goes further than Bentham by laying the foundation for liberal democratic thought in general and modern, as opposed to classical, liberalism in particular. Articulated the place of individual liberty in an otherwise utilitarian framework.

**Baron de Montesquieu:** Analyzed protection of the people by a "balance of powers" in the divisions of a state.

**John Rawls:** Revitalized the study of normative political philosophy in Anglo-American universities with his 1971 book *A Theory of Justice*, which uses a version of social contract theory to answer fundamental questions about justice & to criticise utilitarianism.

**Mozi:** Eponymous founder of the Mohist school, advocated a form of consequentialism.

**Friedrich Nietzsche:** Philosopher who became a powerful influence on a broad spectrum of 20th-century political currents in Marxism, anarchism, fascism, socialism, libertarianism, and conservatism. His interpreters have debated the content of his political philosophy.

**Robert Nozick:** Criticized Rawls, and argued for libertarianism, by appeal to a hypothetical history of the state and of property.

**Thomas Paine:** Enlightenment writer who defended liberal democracy, the American Revolution, and French Revolution in *Common Sense* and *The Rights of Man*.

**Plato:** Wrote a lengthy dialog *The Republic* in which he laid out his political philosophy: citizens should be divided into three categories. One category of people are the rulers: they should be philosophers, according to Plato, this idea is based on his Theory of Forms.

**Pierre-Joseph Proudhon:** Commonly considered the father of modern anarchism, specifically mutualism.

**Ayn Rand:** Founder of Objectivism and prime mover of the Objectivist and Libertarian movements in mid-twentieth-century America. Advocated a complete, laissez-faire capitalism. Rand held that the proper role of government was exclusively the protection of individual rights without economic interference. The government was to be separated from economics the same way and for the same reasons it was separated from religion. Any governmental action not directed at the defense of individual rights would constitute the initiation of force (or threat of force), and therefore a violation not only of rights but also of the legitimate function of government.

**Jean-Jacques Rousseau:** Analyzed the social contract as an expression of the general will, and controversially argued in favor of absolute democracy where the people at large would act as sovereign.

**Murray Rothbard:** The central theorist of anarcho-capitalism and an Austrian School economist.

**Adam Smith:** Often said to have founded modern economics; explained emergence of economic benefits from the self-interested behavior ("the invisible hand") of artisans and traders. While praising its efficiency, Smith expressed concern about the effects of industrial labor (repetitive activity) on workers. His work on moral sentiments sought to explain social bonds which enhance economic activity.

**Socrates:** Widely considered the founder of Western political philosophy, via his spoken influence on Athenian contemporaries; since Socrates never wrote anything, much of what we know about him & his teachings comes through his most famous student, Plato.

**Carl Schmitt:** German political theorist, tied to the Nazis, who developed the concepts of the Friend/Enemy Distinction and the State of exception. Though his most influential books were written in the 1920s, he continued to write prolifically until his death (in academic quasi-exile) in 1985. He heavily influenced 20th-century political philosophy both within the Frankfurt School and among others, not all of whom are philosophers, such as Jacques Derrida, Hannah Arendt, and Giorgio Agamben.

**Baruch Spinoza:** Set forth the first analysis of *rational egoism*, in which the rational interest of self is conformance with pure reason. To Spinoza's thinking, in a society in which each individual is guided by reason, political authority would be superfluous.

**Max Stirner:** Important thinker within anarchism and the main representative of the anarchist current known as individualist anarchism.

**Leo Strauss:** Famously rejected modernity, mostly on the grounds of what he perceived to be modern political philosophy's excessive self-sufficiency of reason and flawed philosophical grounds for moral and political normativity. He argued instead we should return to pre-modern thinkers for answers to contemporary issues. His philosophy was influential on the formation of Neo-Conservatism, and a number of his students later were members of the Bush administration.

**Henry David Thoreau:** Influential American thinker on such diverse later political positions & topics such as pacifism, anarchism, environmentalism and civil disobedience who influenced later important political activists such as Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi & Leo Tolstoy.

**François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire):** French Enlightenment writer, poet, & philosopher famous for his advocacy of civil liberties, including freedom of religion and free trade.

**Bernard Williams:** A British moral philosopher whose posthumously published work on political philosophy *In the Beginning was the Deed* has been seen – along with the works of Raymond Geuss – as a key foundational work on political realism.

**Alexis de Tocqueville:** A French political scientist and diplomat, known for his works *Democracy in America* and *The Old Regime and the Revolution*.



## UNIT III. POLITICAL SCIENCE

### HISTORY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political science as a separate field is a relatively late arrival in terms of social sciences.

However, the term "political science" was not always distinguished from political philosophy; the modern discipline has a clear set of antecedents including moral philosophy, political economy, political theology, history, other fields concerned with normative determinations of what ought to be and with deducing the characteristics and functions of the ideal state.

The antecedents of Western politics can be traced back to the Socratic political philosophers, Plato (427-347 B.C.), Xenophon (c. 430-354 B.C.), Aristotle ("The Father of Political Science") (384-322 B.C.). These authors, in such works as *The Republic* and *Laws* by Plato, *The Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics* by Aristotle, analyzed political systems philosophically, going beyond earlier Greek poetic and historical reflections which can be found in the works of epic poets like Homer and Hesiod, historians like Herodotus and Thucydides, and dramatists such as Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Euripides. During the height of the Roman Empire, famous historians such as Polybius, Livy and Plutarch documented the rise of the Roman Republic, and the organization and histories of other nations, while statesmen like Julius Caesar, Cicero and others provided us with examples of the politics of the republic and Rome's empire and wars.

The study of politics during this age was oriented toward understanding history, understanding methods of governing, and describing the operation of governments. Nearly a thousand years elapsed, from the foundation of the city of Rome in 753 B.C. to the fall of the Roman Empire or the beginning of the Middle Ages.

In the interim, there is a manifest translation of Hellenic culture into the Roman sphere.

The Greek gods become Romans and Greek philosophy in one way or another turns into Roman law e.g. Stoicism. The Stoic was committed to preserving proper hierarchical roles and duties in the state so that the state as a whole would remain stable.

Among the best-known Roman Stoics were philosopher Seneca and the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Some modern commentators for failing to adequately live by his own precepts often criticize Seneca, a wealthy Roman patrician. The *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, on the other hand, can be best thought of as the philosophical reflections of an emperor divided between his philosophical aspirations and the duty he felt to defend the Roman Empire from its external enemies through his various military campaigns. According to Polybius, Roman institutions were the backbone of the empire but Roman law is the medulla.

With the fall of the Western Roman Empire, there arose a more diffuse arena for political studies. The rise of monotheism and, particularly for the Western tradition, Christianity, brought to light a new space for politics and political action. Works such as Augustine of Hippo's *The City of God* synthesized current philosophies and political traditions with those of Christianity, redefining the borders between what was religious and what was political.

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

The Arabs lost sight of Aristotle's political science but continued to study Plato's *Republic*, which became the basic text of Judeo-Islamic political philosophy as in the works of Alfarabi and Averroes; this did not happen in the Christian world, where Aristotle's *Politics* was translated in the 13th century & became the basic text as in the works of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

### **Renaissance**

During the Italian Renaissance, Niccolò Machiavelli established the emphasis of modern political science on direct empirical observation of political institutions and actors.

Machiavelli was also a realist, arguing that even evil means should be considered if they help to create and preserve a desired regime. Machiavelli therefore argues against the use of idealistic models in politics, and has been described as the father of the "politics model" of political science. Later, the expansion of the scientific paradigm during the Enlightenment further pushed the study of politics beyond normative determinations.

### **Enlightenment**

The works of the French philosophers Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot to name a few are paragon for political analysis, social science, social and political critic. Their influence leading to the French revolution has been enormous in the development of modern democracy throughout the world. Like Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, well known for his theory of the social contract, believed that a strong central power, such as a monarchy, was necessary to rule the innate selfishness of the individual but neither of them believed in the divine right of kings.

John Locke, on the other hand, who gave us *Two Treatises of Government* and who did not believe in the divine right of kings either, sided with Aquinas and stood against both Machiavelli and Hobbes by accepting Aristotle's dictum that man seeks to be happy in a state of social harmony as a social animal. Unlike Aquinas' preponderant view on the salvation of the soul from original sin, Locke believed man comes into this world with a mind that is basically a *tabula rasa*. According to Locke, an absolute ruler as proposed by Hobbes is unnecessary, for natural law is based on reason and equality, seeking peace and survival for man.

The new Western philosophical foundations that emerged from the pursuit of reason during the Enlightenment era helped pave the way for policies that emphasized a need for a separation of church and state. Principles similar to those that dominated the material sciences could be applied to society as a whole, originating the social sciences.

Politics could be studied in a laboratory as it were, the social milieu.

In 1787, Alexander Hamilton wrote: "...The science of politics like most other sciences has received great improvement". Both the marquis d'Argenson and the abbe de Saint-Pierre described politics as a science; the former was a philosopher and the latter – an allied reformer of the enlightenment. Other important figures in American politics who participated in the Enlightenment were Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson.

The Darwinian models of evolution and natural selection exerted considerable influence in the **late 19th century**. Society seemed to be evolving ever upward, a belief that was shattered by World War I. "History is past politics and politics present history" was the motto of the first generation of American political scientists, 1882-1900.

The motto had been coined by the Oxford professor Edward Augustus Freeman, and was enshrined on the wall of the seminar room at Johns Hopkins University where the first large-scale training of American and political scientists began.

The founding professors of the field included Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins, John Burgess & William Dunning at Columbia, Woodrow Wilson at Princeton, Albert Bushnell Hart at Harvard. Their graduate seminars had a thick historical cast, which typically reflected their experience in German University seminars. However, succeeding generations of scholars progressively cut back on the history and deliberate fashion. The second generation wanted to model itself on the physical sciences.

In the Progressive Era in the USA (1890s-1920s), political science became not only a prestigious university curriculum but also an applied science that was welcomed as a way to apply expertise to the problems of governance. Among the most prominent applied political scientists were Woodrow Wilson, Charles A. Beard, and Charles E. Merriam. The American Political Science Association, established in 1903, is the largest professional association of political scientists.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

Political behaviouralism – политический бихевиоризм (направление методологии политической науки, согласно которому поведение является центральной категорией политической науки, поведение индивида или социальных групп надо выявлять эмпирическим путем с применением количественных методов, эмпирической социологии и социальной психологии; получило развитие в 1920-30-е гг. благодаря работам Ч. Мерриама "Новые аспекты политики" (1924) и Г. Лассуэлла "Психопатология и политика" (1934); согласно политическому бихевиоризму, в содержание политической науки не входят теоретические дисциплины, опирающиеся на нормативный, ценностный подход, как политическая философия, политическая этика, история политических идей и некоторые другие; бихевиористы отрицают подлинную научность предшествующих политических теорий и уподобляют политологию естественным наукам, основанным на точных эмпирических, математических, кибернетических и тому подобных методах; в 60-х гг. 20 в. радикально настроенные политологи-бихевиористы вообще противопоставляли политическую науку политической теории, под которой понималась отрасль, занимающаяся политической этикой и историей политических идей; современные сторонники бихевиоризма обычно не столь категоричны в отрицании политической теории; однако и они признают в качестве научных лишь эмпирико-аналитические концепции, построенные на базе конкретных, эмпирических фактов и верифицируемых (проверяемых на опыте) гипотез; при этом отрицаются связанные с ценностным подходом нормативные теории, исследующие сущность и смысл существования государства и общества, разрабатывающие политические идеалы и пути их реализации, а также историко-диалектические концепции, занимающиеся критическим анализом общества, раскрытием лежащих в основе политики противоречий и закономерностей; логическим следствием бихевиористской позиции является разделение политических знаний на две части: на нормативные знания, связанные с ценностями и оценками, требованиями и пожеланиями, и на строго научные знания, основанные на фактах)

**Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 4. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score
1.				

## POLITICAL BEHAVIOURALISM

*Behaviouralism* is an empirical approach, which emerged in the 1930s in the USA. It emphasized an objective, quantified approach to explain and predict political behavior.

Guy says "*Behaviouralism*" emphasized the systematic understanding of all identifiable manifestations of political behaviour. However, it meant the application of rigorous scientific and statistical methods to standardize testing and to attempt value free inquiry of the world of politics. For the behaviouralist, the role of political science is primarily to gather and analyze facts as rigorously and objectively as possible.

Petrov says "Behavioralists generally felt that politics should be studied much in the same way hard sciences are studied". It is associated with the rise of the behavioral sciences, modeled after the natural sciences. As Guy notes, "The term behaviouralism was recognized as part of a larger scientific movement occurring simultaneously in *all* of the social sciences, now referred to as the behavioural sciences". This means that behaviouralism tries to explain behavior with an unbiased, neutral point of view.

Behaviouralism seeks to examine the behavior, actions, and acts of *individuals* – rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries and groups in different social settings and explain this behaviour as it relates to the political.

Gunnell argues that since the 1950s the concept of system was the most important theoretical concept used by American political scientists.

The idea appeared in sociology and other social sciences but David Easton specified how it could be best applied to behavioral research on politics.

Canadian universities until the 1950s were led by British trained scholars for whom political science was not a high priority. Canadians favoured the study of political economy.

After 1950, younger scholars increasingly took American PhDs and Canadian departments promoted behaviouralism and quantification. Political science operates on a smaller scale in European universities compared to American ones. Law professors or professors of philosophy handled traditionally political studies. American impulses toward behaviouralism have made the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) a unifying force.

In ancient India, the antecedents of politics can be traced back to the *Rig-Veda*, *Samhitas*, *Brahmanas*, the Mahabharata and Buddhist *Pali Canon*. Chanakya (c. 350-275 B.C.) was a political thinker in Takshashila.

Chanakya wrote the *Arthashastra*, a treatise on political thought, economics and social order. It discusses monetary and fiscal policies, welfare, international relations; war strategies in detail, among other topics. The Manusmriti, dated to about two centuries after the time of Chanakya is another important Indian political treatise.

Ancient China was home to several competing schools of political thought, most of which arose in the Spring and Autumn Period. These included Mohism (a utilitarian philosophy), Taoism, Legalism (a school of thought based on the supremacy of the state), and Confucianism.

Eventually, a modified form of Confucianism (heavily infused with elements of Legalism) became the dominant political philosophy in China during the Imperial Period. This form of Confucianism deeply influenced and were expounded upon by scholars in Korea and Japan.

Modern scholarship has rapidly developed in the 21st century.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 2. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 3. Find English equivalents for the Russian ones.**

Школа политической мысли, доминирующая политическая философия, научный труд (трактат), благосостояние, общественный строй, глубокое влияние, включать, интерпретировать, подробно, превосходство, стратегия, ученый, справляться (с чем-л.), юрист, прошлое, прослеживаться, влиять, современный, гуманитарные науки, политология, действовать, политический договор, датироваться, основываться, научная школа, международные отношения, военные стратегии, финансово-денежная политика, мыслитель, объединяющая сила, способствовать.

**Exercise 4. Read the passage and explain the notion "international history".**

*World History, or International history*, is a field of historical study that emerged as a distinct academic field in the 1980s. It examines history from a global perspective.

World History looks for common patterns that emerge across all cultures. World historians use a thematic approach, with two major focal points: integration (how processes of world history have drawn people of the world together) and difference (how patterns of world history reveal the diversity of the human experience). The study of world history is in some ways a product of the current period of accelerated globalization.

This period is tending both to integrate various cultures and to highlight their differences.

The advent of World History as a distinct field of study was heralded in the 1980s by the creation of the World History Association and of graduate programs at a handful of universities.

Over the past 20 years, scholarly publications, professional and academic organizations, and graduate programs in World History have proliferated. It has become an increasingly popular approach to teaching history in USA high schools and colleges.

**Exercise 5. Analyze the history of political thinking in Antiquity.**

Plato's Republic & Aristotle's Politics secured the two of the most influential political Greek philosophers. As an academic discipline, Western political philosophy has its origins in ancient Greek society, when city-states were experimenting with various forms of political organization including monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, and democracy.

Roman political philosophy was influenced by the Stoics, and the Roman statesman Cicero wrote on political philosophy. Independently, Confucius, Mencius, Mozi and the Legalist school in China, and the *Laws of Manu* and Chanakya in India were very famous for their works.

All sought to find means of restoring political unity and political stability; in the case of the former three through the cultivation of virtue, in the last by imposition of discipline.

In India, Chanakya, in his *Arthashastra*, developed a viewpoint, which recalls both the Legalists and Niccol Machiavelli. Ancient Chinese civilization and Indian civilization resembled Greek civilization in that there was a unified culture divided into rival states.

In the case of China, philosophers found themselves obliged to confront social and political breakdown, and seek solutions to the crisis that confronted their entire civilization.

The early Christian philosophy of Augustine of Hippo was by and large a rewrite of Plato in a Christian context. The main change that Christian thought brought was to moderate the Stoicism and theory of justice of the Roman world, and emphasize the role of the state in applying mercy as a moral example. Augustine preached that one was either a citizen of the City of God (*Civitas Dei*) or the City of Man (*Civitas Terrena*). Augustine's *City of God* is an influential work of this period that refuted the thesis, after the First Sack of Rome that the Christian view could be realized on Earth at all.

**Exercise 6. Analyze the philosophy of Medieval Islam and render its score.**

The rise of Islam, based on both the Qur'an & Muhammad strongly altered the power balances and perceptions of origin of power in the Mediterranean region. Early Islamic philosophy emphasized an inexorable link between science and religion.

In effect, *all* philosophy was "political" as it had real implications for governance.

This view was challenged by the Mutazilite philosophers, who held a Greek view and were supported by secular aristocracy who sought freedom of action independent of the Caliphate. By the late medieval period, the Asharite view of Islam had in general triumphed. Islamic political philosophy, was, indeed, rooted in the very sources of Islam, i.e. the words and practices of Muhammad. However, in the Western thought, it is generally supposed that it was a specific area peculiar merely to the great philosophers of Islam: Avicenna, Avempace and Averroes. The political conceptions of Islam is taken as the basis of an analysis.

Hence, not only the ideas of the Muslim political philosophers but also many other jurists posed political ideas and theories. The 14<sup>th</sup> century Arab scholar Ibn Khaldun is considered one of the greatest political theorists. The British philosopher-anthropologist Ernest Gellner considered his definition of government, "an institution which prevents injustice other than such as it commits itself", the best in the history of political theory.

Islamic political philosophy did not cease in the classical period. Despite the fluctuations in its original character during the medieval period, it has lasted even in the modern era.

Especially with the emergence of Islamic radicalism as a political movement, political thought has revived in the Muslim world. These political ideas have caught on an enthusiasm especially in Muslim youth in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Exercise 7. Describe the European Renaissance.**

During the Renaissance, secular political philosophy began to emerge after about a century of theological political thought in Europe. While the Middle Ages did see secular politics in practice under the rule of the Holy Roman Empire, the academic field was wholly scholastic and therefore Christian in nature.

One of the most influential works during this burgeoning period was N. Machiavelli's *The Prince*, written in 1511-12 and published in 1532, after Machiavelli's death.

That work, as well as *The Discourses*, a rigorous analysis of the classical period, did much to influence modern political thought in the West. A minority (including Jean-Jacques Rousseau) could interpret *The Prince* as a satire meant to give the Medici after their recapture of Florence and their subsequent expulsion of Machiavelli from Florence.

Though the work was written for the di Medici family in order to perhaps influence them to free him from exile, Machiavelli supported the Republic of Florence rather than the oligarchy of the di Medici family. At any rate, Machiavelli presents a pragmatic and somewhat consequentialist view of politics, whereby good and evil are mere means used to bring about an end, i.e. the secure and powerful state.

Thomas Hobbes, well known for his theory of the social contract, goes on to expand this view at the start of the 17<sup>th</sup> century during the English Renaissance.

John Locke in particular exemplified this new age of political theory with his work *Two Treatises of Government*. In it Locke proposes a state of nature theory that directly compliments his conception of how political development occurs and how it can be founded through contractual obligation. Locke stood to refute Sir Robert Filmer's paternally founded political theory in favor of a natural system based on nature in a particular given system!

**Exercise 8. Give the main idea of the passage.**

During the Enlightenment period, new theories about what the human was and is and about the definition of reality and the way it was perceived, along with the discovery of other societies in the Americas, and the changing needs of political societies (especially in the wake of the English Civil War, the American Revolution and the French Revolution) led to new questions and insights by such thinkers as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu and John Locke. These theorists were driven by two basic questions: one, by what right or need do people form states; and two, what the best form for a state could be.

These fundamental questions involved a conceptual distinction between the concepts of "state" and "government". It was decided that "state" would refer to a set of enduring institutions through which power would be distributed and its use justified.

The term "government" would refer to a specific group of people who occupied; indeed still occupy the institutions of the state, and create the laws and ordinances by which the people, themselves included, would be bound. This conceptual distinction continues to operate in political science, although some political scientists, philosophers, historians and cultural anthropologists have argued that most political action in any given society occurs outside of its state, and that there are societies that are not organized into states which nevertheless must be considered in political terms. Political and economic relations were drastically influenced by these theories as the concept of the guild was subordinated to the theory of free trade. Roman Catholic dominance of theology was increasingly challenged by Protestant churches subordinate to each nation-state, which preached in the vulgar or native language of each region. In the Ottoman Empire, these ideological reforms did not take place and these views did not integrate into common thought until much later. As well, there was no spread of this doctrine within the New World and the advanced civilizations of the Aztec, Maya, Inca, Mohican, Delaware, Huron and especially the Iroquois. The Iroquois philosophy in particular gave much to Christian thought of the time and in many cases actually inspired some of the institutions adopted in the USA.

**Exercise 9. Answer the questions.**

1. What is the political history of the world like? 2. How have political entities expanded throughout history? 3. What were states in ancient history like? 4. What are the main features of The Tang dynasty at Middle Ages? 5. What were the differences between The Aztec Empire and The Mongol Empire? 6. What is the short characteristic of early modern era? 7. What role did The National Assembly play in France in the 18<sup>th</sup> century? 8. What does political history describe? 9. What does diplomatic history refer to? 10. What aspects of political history are there? 11. What is the world history like? 12. What kind of stages did the history of political thinking have? 13. What are the differences between the philosophy of Medieval Europe and Medieval Islam? 14. What are the main features of the European Renaissance? 15. What are the main features of European Age of Enlightenment? 16. What characteristic of the Industrialization and the Modern Era can you give? 17. What is a political system like?

**Exercise 10. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score
1.				



Eugene Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* (1830, Louvre) a painting created at a time where old and modern political philosophies came into violent conflict. A debate has been raging in the discipline of political science for at least a decade, over the nature of the scientific status and methods of the discipline.

***Exercise 11. Compare philosophy of Medieval Europe and Islam.***

Medieval political philosophy in Europe was heavily influenced by Christian thinking. It had much in common with the Islamic thinking in that the Roman Catholics also subordinated philosophy to theology. Perhaps the most influential political philosopher of medieval Europe was St. Thomas Aquinas who helped reintroduce Aristotle's works, which had only been preserved by the Muslims, along with the commentaries of Averroes. Aquinas's use of them set the agenda for scholastic political philosophy, dominated European thought for centuries.

***Exercise 12. Give a short characteristic of the Industrialization and the Modern Era.***

Karl Marx and his theory of Communism developed along with Friedrich Engels proved to be one of the most influential political ideologies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The industrial revolution produced a parallel revolution in political thought.

Urbanization and capitalism greatly reshaped society. During this same period, the socialist movement began to form. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Marxism was developed, and socialism in general gained increasing popular support, mostly from the urban working class.

By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, socialism and trade unions were established members of the political landscape. In addition, the various branches of anarchism and syndicalism gained some prominence. In the Anglo-American world, anti-imperialism and pluralism began gaining currency at the turn of the century.

World War I was a watershed event in human history. The Russian Revolution of 1917 (and similar, albeit less successful, revolutions in many other European countries) brought communism – and in particular the political theory of Leninism, but also on a smaller level Luxemburgism (gradually) – on the world stage. At the same time, social democratic parties won elections and formed governments for the first time, often because of the introduction of universal suffrage.

However, a group of central European economists lead by Austrians Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek identified the collectivist underpinnings to the various new socialist and fascist doctrines of government power as being different brands of political totalitarianism.

## POLITICAL SCIENCE

Historically the successive patterns of the subfields that political science has found it useful to adopt fall into four major categories: universalism (moral philosophy), legalism (Staatslehre), realism (political process), and behaviouralism.

Methodological considerations have some important bearing on the movement toward the latest patterning of the subfields, but we can leave discussion of this aspect for the following section. Although the actual changes from one pattern to the next occurred in a relatively slow and imperceptible way, they brought about major upheavals in the kinds of data to which political science has directed its attention. The period of *universalism* was by far the longest and least homogeneous or distinctive. It encompasses the time from the founding of conscious political reflection in Greek antiquity to somewhere in the nineteenth century.

The subject matter of politics was fully integrated with the general study of society, that is, with universal moral philosophy. Each scholar was what we might today call a general or universal social scientist. Without specialization in the study of political matters, there was no reason for special subdivisions of inquiry to arise. The social philosopher was free to follow his own political interests, as dictated by the problems of the day.

The subject matter was as varied as the history of Western political thought. After the centuries in which a political interest was indistinguishable from universal philosophy, the emergence of the legalistic Staatslehre School in the 19th century opened up a new era.

Imported from Germany into the USA by J. W. Burgess and others, it was reinforced by the positivistic utilitarianism of Bentham and Austin.

For a brief time it sounded a note harmonious with scholarly opinion in the USA, in tune as this opinion already was with specialism. The Staatslehre School provided a body of knowledge devoted to the study of the state. It is true that the state was narrowly defined as a collection of legal norms and empirically confined to formal legal structures.

Nevertheless, concentration on the state, even in this way, did enable those in the USA who later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century began to call themselves political scientists to appropriate, albeit unobtrusively, this body of knowledge as their own.

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the flow of texts in the USA – from J. W. Burgess, W. W. Willoughby, R. G. Gettell, J. W. Garner, and others – clearly revealed that as a specialized discipline of political science began to take shape for the first time, it absorbed & adapted the formal *legalism* of the Staatslehre School as the core of its concerns.

Thus, political science turned to the investigation of the nature and origin of the legally conceived state, particularly with respect to its sovereign properties and the growth of law.

To these were added detailed descriptions of the legal provisions for the forms of governments and for the formal powers of the electorates, the judiciary, the administrative services, the executive department. This objective formal description was fortified with traditional philosophical inquiry into the ends of government and the state.

Although in Europe political research remained confined to legal forms well into the 20th century, the American environment could not tolerate such restriction for long.

The social problems of a rapidly growing industrial society & the political complexities accompanying the large-scale immigration of varied ethnic groups clearly called for more accurate and increased knowledge about the *realities* of political life.

Behind these social and political needs, in the intellectual sphere, pragmatism as a social philosophy pressed for contact with and interpretation of social experiences.

However, we may account for the early demise of the Staatslehre approach in the USA; its conscious rejection ultimately led political investigation into entirely new substantive paths. In this third phase, political science began to penetrate beneath the legal forms to the political realities, identified in due course as the underlying political process.

To legal form and structure were added non-legal and informal processes.

World War II, political science consisted of four main fields with names that clearly mirror these legalistic origins & practical interests: political philosophy or theory, national government, comparative government, and international relations.

Political philosophy showed the strongest ties with the past. In the area of national government, the practical criteria of the legalistic phase led political science to open up all institutional aspects of Western democracy for major exploration: the executive, legislature, judiciary, administration. The basic organization here was regional: at the national, state (provincial, department), and local (municipal, township, county) level. "How to improve them" was the immediate, implicit, and persistent theme.

The **behavioural movement** in political science came to full bloom after World War II. In common with a tendency that pervaded all of the social sciences, political science began to probe in earnest for the concrete behaviour that goes to make up the activities broadly described both as legal structures and as informal groups. It turned to the individual – his attitudes, motivations, values, and cognitions. The new level of reality in the political process that was thereby uncovered was very much a product of the discovery of new techniques for the study of human behaviour in an interactive situation; both the methods for the exploration of a new level of subject matter and the new kinds of data arose simultaneously and as different aspects of the same general research trends.

The decades after World War II have witnessed a marked growth in scientific consciousness in all disciplines, accompanied by a spreading appreciation of the place of theory in scientific methodology itself. This has given added impetus in political science to the search for scientifically more respectable and acceptable criteria for analysing the boundaries and intrinsic unity of the discipline.

The decline of pure empiricism in the other social sciences has helped to provide the incentives in political science to search even more intensively for a theoretical matrix that would give direction and analytic purpose to empirical research and that would draw all the basic subdivisions of political science together into a conceptually consistent unity. Not that consensus at the theoretical level has been achieved, or is even in the offing.

But experimentation with alternative theoretical frameworks and analytic models promises to reveal the intrinsic coherence of political science as a discipline.

Developments of this kind give strong evidence that political science has been slowly evolving from its synthetic past into a theoretical future. As this happens, political science will join its neighbouring disciplines as one of the basic social sciences.

**Exercise 1. Render the main idea briefly in English.**

**Exercise 2. Translate the notions.**

*Political philosophy* – политическая философия – исторически первая форма существования политической науки; определенный взгляд на природу политической жизни общества и на принципы политической системы.

*Political ideology* – политическая идеология (система принципов политического устройства общества, опирающаяся на определенные ценности).

**Exercise 3. Analyze the information and make up the chart about it.**

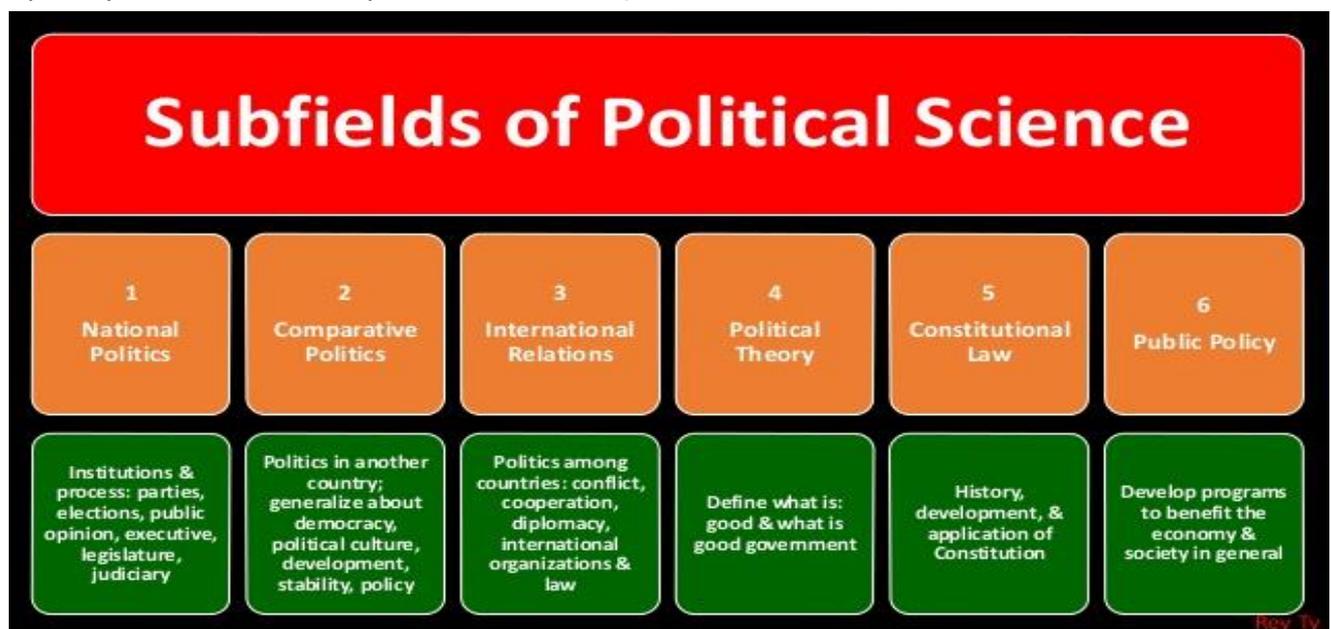
№	Activity			
	Notion	When	Where	Score
1.	Universalism			
2.	Legalism			
3.	Realism			
4.	Behaviouralism			

**Exercise 4. Remember the notion.**

Political science – the branch of knowledge that deals with the state and systems of government; the scientific analysis of political activity and behaviour. Political science is the study of the ways in which political power is acquired and used in a country.

Political science – политология, политическая наука изучающая механизмы функционирования политической сферы и ее субъектов: государственных органов и учреждений, политических партий или общественных организаций; в частности предметом политической науки являются: способы разработки и проведения в жизнь государственной политики; регулирование общественно-политических отношений; весь комплекс проблем, составляющих понятие демократии, и др.

Political theory – политическая теория (раздел политической науки, объединяющий общетеоретические дисциплины, опирающиеся на нормативный, ценностный подход: политическую философию, политическую этику, истории политических идей и некоторые другие; согласно концепции политического бихевиоризма, политическая теория противопоставляется политической науке, опирающейся на строго научные, преимущественно эмпирические методы)



## UNIT IV. POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

### IDEOLOGY & ITS STUDY

Ideology, and its study, have been subject to an interpretational tug-of-war among political theorists that, until recently, has devalued their status as an object of scholarship. Disputes have raged over the scientific standing of ideology, its epistemological status, and its totalitarian and liberal manifestations.

Many political philosophers have eschewed its group orientation, and the more recent interest of students of ideology in ordinary political language and in the unconscious and the indeterminate. Following an historical survey of changing fashions and more durable features in the analysis of ideology, it is argued that ideology should be explored as the most typical form of political thinking that its study conducts political theorists to the heart of the political. Ideology is now seen as ubiquitous, while the methodologies through which ideologies are studied take on board conceptual malleability & ideational pluralism, offer bridges between identifying "social facts" and their inevitable interpretation.

#### **Ideology: The problem-child of political analysis**

We are saddled with a difficult word, "ideology". Here is a term once designed to signify the study of ideas, even the science of ideas, yet it has come to denote one area of the domain it is supposed to study (the word 'politics' has, at many UK departments of politics, curiously travelled in the opposite trajectory).

Moreover, as a term invoking a subject-matter the word "ideology" has proved to be very off-putting for the general public – the combination of ideas and "logies" seems to indicate the kind of high abstraction that is remote from the experience and the language of regular people, even though it is the latter on which ideology studies have come to be chiefly focused. In the Anglo-American world, with its naïve myths of political pragmatism, ideology is all too often an alien implant, something concocted by spinners of dreams, otherworldly intellectuals, or machinators with totalitarian designs.

In the European mainland, with its far greater familiarity with abstract theorizing, ideology is an obnoxious kind of grand theory attached particularly to its tempestuous early and mid-20th century history in which fascists faced communists in a bid to dominate the world. Intellectually, the reception of ideology has been inspired by the theoreticians who, following Marx and Engels, became its sworn enemies.

Nevertheless, the term is very common, though not beloved, among scholars, writers and academics, and it has an illustrious pedigree, although regrettably a notorious one.

If, as Max Lerner stated, ideas are weapons, M. Lerner, *Ideas are Weapons: The History and Use of Ideas*. View all notes ideology (in the singular) is a loose cannon when used professionally. We find it in the "slash & destroy" mode when used to rubbish another point of view. Daniel Bell referred to the 'trap of ideology', to "apocalyptic fervour" and "dreadful results" and to ideologists as "terrible simplifiers".

D. Bell view all notes and encounter it as if behind a magic screen, whose removal suddenly enables the initially hidden and pernicious attributes of a doctrine, Weltanschauung or set of social practices to become hideously exposed by the knowledgeable ideology-critic.

Much as the Emperor's new clothes dissolved through the eyes of a child.

Marx and Engels wrote of ideology as an upside-down sublimation, a set of "reflexes and echoes of the life process", of "phantoms formed in the human brain" detached from the world. Describing the ruling class as "conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting of the illusion of the class about itself their chief source of livelihood", they saw the demystification and consequent elimination of ideology as dependent not only on the actual ending of class rule, but on the intellectual process of "outing" ideology: "One must separate the ideas of those ruling for empirical reasons, under empirical conditions and as empirical individuals, from these actual rulers, and thus recognize the rule of ideas or illusions in history".

They meet ideology as an instrument of "totalitarian seduction", an all-encompassing system of ideas based on a "single truth" & a drive for self-justification, primarily representative of the 20th century.

K. D. Bracher, in *The Age of Ideologies: A History of Political Thought in the 20th Century* comes across it as a lazy synonym for any set of ideas (historians are occasionally guilty of that). We encounter it in endless textbooks as a simple descriptor for a discrete set of major political belief systems, invariably including liberalism, conservatism, socialism, fascism and the rest of the pack.

He discovers it – thoroughly demonstrated by the collection of articles in this issue and the next – as a fundamental and variegated feature of social life, opened up to sophisticated scrutiny through increasingly refined tools of analysis that are employed by different disciplines to further their understanding of the areas they investigate.

Among political theorists, ideology is buffeted by the winds of academic fashion, reflecting not only substantive foci of interest but reigning methodologies – indeed, almost a justification of the dominant ideology thesis itself, in the shape of "dominant methodologies" concealed from many of their users.

At one point in time they find it caught in the debate over whether the study of politics is a science or an art. At another it appears against the backdrop of a liberalism fighting to retrieve ground against the twin onslaughts of communism and fascism.

At a third, it falls prey to the methodological individualism that has typified much Western – especially American – social science. At a fourth point, it is appropriated by a convergence of new developments in linguistics, philosophy and psychology to recover its Marxist critical edge – critical, however, in the sense that it is once again exposed as a dissimulative device. But those developments also encourage a critical stance in a non-Marxist sense, as a reflective exploration of the features of ideology.

At a fifth point, it is reconstructed as the most typical and accessible form of political thinking. In between it has been pronounced dead – twice – resurrected – twice! – thus, outclassing one central creed of a well-established religion, religion of course being a set of beliefs and practices with which ideology is sometimes thought to be in competition.

No wonder then that political theorists, chiefly political philosophers, are baffled. For political philosophers who have been trained to identify, explore and prescribe enduring truths, sustained by reason or by logic, such vacillation is difficult to tolerate. The fact of two-pronged change – in the nature of the substantive content of ideologies and in the nature of the methodologies to which the term "ideology" is harnessed – is unpalatable for universalizers and purveyors of eternal truths, but quite common among social scientists possessing an historical or comparative sense.

For universalizers, change is either deviant or the teleological unfolding of an emerging constant. Moreover, the vital dual distinction between an ideology on the one hand and its students on the other explains another perennial confusion reigning among philosophical critics of ideology. They fail to distinguish between a condemnation of the ideas conveyed by ideologies & a disavowal of the scholarly practice of studying ideologies that runs something like this: "How can serious scholars bother to investigate such inferior forms of thinking, let alone learn something from them? Surely the results of such research cannot rise above the paucity of the material!".

Analytical and ethical philosophers are not used to detaching themselves from the object of their study, having sought out *a priori* only its most superior instances with which they can in principle empathize, and believing to have included their own cogitations seamlessly within the compass of their subject-matter.

Nor can it be denied that the concept of ideology as the wielding of pernicious power still has a hold on political theorists. They require a term to express and denounce systemic abuse and obfuscation through the force of superimposed ideas, at some remove from what "actually is", and "ideology" has served them well as a word, even though abuse and obfuscation are contingent features of power. However, while the substantive concreteness of ideology mutates and the quality of its products fluctuates, it is – notwithstanding the Marxists or the analytical and ethical philosophers – a universal phenomenon of immeasurable significance to the study of politics.

That is an immense challenge to political theorists, among which students of ideology are to be counted as full and core members: to reclaim the high ground of first-rate analysis when it comes to ideology while insisting on its crucial centrality to understanding politics and thinking about politics, without being contaminated either by scholarly prejudices or by the rather slippery nature of the concept, and ephemerality of some of the phenomena, that ideology signifies.

### **Studying ideology: A scientific endeavour?**

The above settings to ideology merit scrutiny in greater detail. If Destutt de Tracy aspired to create a science of ideology, of judging and reasoning, of knowing how our ideas were formulated and then directing them to produce happiness.

When positioning ideology on an epistemological dimension, its antecedents reflect the 19th-century positivist legacy concerning the status of the social sciences that was still debated animatedly until the 1970s and the arrival of the so-called "linguistic turn".

A typical case in point is Sartori, locating ideology – as did Marx from a very different perspective – on a truth-error dichotomy, and contrasting it specifically with "science and valid knowledge", questioning its applicability to "the real world" because it did not "fall under the jurisdiction of logic and verification".

G. Sartori, in "Politics, ideology, and belief systems", said that perspective related to predominant mid-century views about the closed totality of ideology – deductive, rationalistic and non-empirical, a state of "dogmatic impermeability both to evidence and to argument".

For political theorists following that route, ideology signalled dalliance with illiberal, unsubstantiated and flawed ways of thinking, and the clear message was yet again: "keep away if you have any claims to scholarship", now understood as the striving for empirically falsifiable knowledge rather than the philosophers' insistence on the deductive nature of analysis.

On the other side of the debate was a growing tendency to accord ideology serious standing, but only through narrowing its domain to that of observable representations of social reality. Instead of shying away from a phenomenon pronounced too unscientific to matter, or too unpleasant to approach, many scholars now agreed that whatever its inchoate nature, and whatever the messages it conveyed, ideology could be *studied* scientifically or, rather, its external and visible symptoms could.

In a trend report published by Norman Birnbaum in 1960, a case was made for the sociological study of ideology, though it referred more broadly to its psychological bases through Freud and Erikson.

Noting the "evolution of ideology into science" and the "bracketing" of theoretical issues of ideology in the mid-20th century, Birnbaum emphasized the empirical and behaviourist facets of ideology: mass communications and mass society (Riesman); anthropology, in particular myths, symbols & language (Lévi-Strauss); attitude studies & political behaviour surveys, employing aggregating and disaggregating quantitative findings (R.E. Lane).

That kind of science was outside the orbit of political theory – at the time still largely focused on the historical study of individuals or on perennial and decontextualized conceptual and philosophical issues – because it abandoned the grand theorizing to which political theorists had become habituated, and because much of it relied on the budding quantitative approaches developing in political science that were seen as increasingly impenetrable by, or irrelevant for, political theorists.

The "empiricism" of political theorists related rather to the study of past iconic individuals and their texts. Alternatively, empiricism was eschewed altogether in favour of theories of the good life and exercises in utopia.

Political theorists knew that ideologies existed, but could not find a way to incorporate them into their scholarship – they were produced by ideologues, a perverted & mischievous form of intellectual lowlife. They had nothing to say about ideology as a concept, because it appeared to fail both tests of normative significance and of academic relevance.

The epistemology of political theory and its status were not an issue for most theorists; they were simply participating in a proud practice, in which distinguished thinkers had engaged from the times of the ancient Greeks.

Moreover, any recognition that ideologies were phenomena worthy of investigation by political theorists was partly blocked by the contentions of scholars inspired by the social criticism of the Frankfurt School. They displayed the misguided suspicion that to be interested in the here and now betrayed an innate conservatism. In Birnbaum's apt words, it was a "disdain for that sort of sociological description which legitimates what it describes, by refusing to acknowledge that things could be otherwise".

### **The battle of ideologies & their competing epistemologies**

There was another setting to the standing of ideology in political theory.

The immediate pre- and post-war periods were times of unusually intense ideational battles revolving around a kind of Gramscian hegemony over the world. Those conflicts did not evolve around civilization & its discontents, but around civilization and its annihilators.

Fascism, communism and what was variably called democracy or liberalism locked horns in a pattern far more symmetrical than was recognized by the latter's adherents in the allegedly free world: all were promoters of non-negotiable principles that sought the status of universal truths, and all became hardened in that battle of the absolutes.

It may be a truism that a potent enemy imposes its contours on those who attempt to defend themselves against it. Western political theory, especially its strong American component, had always toyed with a sense of mission: educating, inspiring, directing, converting – indeed to some extent this is still regarded as a central pedagogical responsibility of US political philosophers. While vehemently opposed to the ideas and doctrines emanating from Germany, Russia and to a lesser extent, Italy, they were dazzled by the power and sweep of what Bell called "the conversion of ideas into social levers".

This is where the action-orientation of ideology suddenly became evident: ideas were clearly seen to have dramatic outcomes in terms of world events, the sheer efficiency of ideological dissemination, particularly in the case of Nazism, was something of which academic thought-practices could only dream.

The response of creative normative theory was not to produce an antidote, a new scepticism or a genuine pluralism that would undermine the epistemic certainty of total theory, but to construct a weaker totalizing epistemology of its own. Sometimes, as with McCarthyism, totalitarianism was mirrored in practice by its counterpart; more usually, the virtues of liberalism were extolled with the kind of simplicity and passion that had previously assisted in marketing fascist and communist ideas so successfully.

Recently, even neo-conservatism has discovered the allure of reducing the Western political heritage to the ostensibly easily exportable duo of "freedom and democracy".

Although the short-term political benefits of that ideologizing of political theory were notable, its costs were heavy. Liberalism became a mobilizing tool in the hands of Popper, Talmon, Berlin, & others, both through the sketchy generalizations with which its rivals were portrayed, in the deep conviction that it offered fixed anchors against human evil.

Even the Rawlsian enterprise – a slightly later offshoot of the retreat from relativism – was cast in that mode, of constructing a grand theory founded on an overlapping consensus of such persuasive force that all rational and ethical people could, and would, subscribe to it. It was a message that Western liberals had sounded in the post-war Nuremberg trials – a series of acts that blended political vengeance and moral repugnance, dressed up in the juridical language of a return to an unchallengeable universal ethic.

The relentless spatial drive of Nazi Lebensraum and of communist revolution had found their match in liberal universalism – indeed, more than found their match, as it survived them both – while political theorists continued to ignore the legitimate diversity of political thinking in their midst. Now it was not so much truth as reasonableness that became epistemologically irrefutable.

The end of ideology – of that insidious and menacing untouchable – loomed reassuringly large, but only because liberalism was infused with a large dose of otherworldly utopianism that encouraged a vast outbreak of misrecognizing ideology. Utopia had become not a species of ideology but a barrier to its acknowledgement.

The relativism that Mannheim and other theorists had allocated to ideology was almost fatally sidelined. That relativism, based on the assumed objective variance of social group experiences, mainly but not only those of class, lay dormant for 20 years until a new diversity, based on the assumed subjective malleability of language, perception, conceptualization, took its place in due course.

Mannheim's epistemology eventually matured and permitted later theorists to broach the possibility of choices between reasonable and unreasonable relativisms.

That epistemological pluralism came to reject absolutism only through acknowledging that social and political understandings and practices were subject to change over time and space; that even within one socio-cultural sphere legitimate political ends could diverge and compete, and the means to their attainment vary; that class was no longer the key to that variance; yet, nevertheless, that reason, common-sense and, indeed, morality could still disallow many understandings and solutions.

The second kind of relativism, inspired by certain extreme versions of postmodernism, permitted – when handled carelessly – the obliteration of most qualitative differentials among understandings and practices, and allowed advocates of moral and philosophical certainties to ridicule the retreat from absolutism as crude nihilism.

Moreover, normative political theorists had no intention of learning from the techniques and political nous of ideologists, from what actually takes place when political ideas flow through a society. They might have become acquainted with the methods of disseminating such ideas through efficient political organization & means of communication. They might have found out how to adapt to their benefit existing ideas already in broad circulation by means of such reconfiguration. They might even have taken political emotions seriously, although the 20th century had revealed many to be too hot to handle.

They did none of that. Instead, they turned away from the world of politics in a manner that few past political theorists had contemplated, thus condemning most of their efforts to practical sterility and to public invisibility.

### **From individuals to groups**

In the meantime, the study of ideology had to contend with another kind of bias, individualism. Political theory has thrived principally on a form of hero-worship and intellectual cults surrounding gifted individuals, men of genius or of contemporary significance, at the expense of the social and cultural milieux that contributed to shaping them.

The initial inaccessibility of a paradigmatic shift towards groups saw political theorists ensnared in the notion of the individual as producer and creator, snobbishly attracted only to superior thought-products and deeply suspicious of earlier organic theories of state and society that had emphasized the significance of groups.

Once again, complex theories of ideology were unable to knock on the doors of political theory. When ideology was considered in a non-overtly hostile temper, it was chiefly in a watered-down sense of its Marxist meaning, as a set of beliefs located somewhere loosely between sinister prejudice, common assumptions about society, and sweeping metaphysical solutions to the world's ills.

The more sophisticated study of ideology had to await the renewal of interest of political theory in group phenomena and that was some time in coming. Philosophers had, from the point of view of ideology-research, blazed a false trail with the invention of the spurious liberal-communitarian dichotomy in the 1980s.

As political theory – more specifically, as political philosophy – the two could be artificially constructed as opposites; but the ideology called "liberalism" had long contained features of sociability and of group dynamics that were "communitarian". A decade later, the more promising politics of identity, which did possess the potential to open the door to ideological variability, chose to take such identity to refer to "genuine" or "authentic" sets of values crucial to the flourishing of minority groups, not to disputable self-images.

## Identifying ideologies in the world of politics

The question of the ubiquity of ideology within the realm of politics, however oscillating it may prove to be, brings with it the following considerations.

By politics it is understood any human interaction that involves power transactions, the ranking and distribution of significant goods, the mobilization of support, the organization of stability as well as instability, and decision-making for collectivities that includes the construction of – or resistance to – political plans and visions.

**To sum up:** the rehabilitation of ideology both as social phenomenon & as analytical tool has shifted it from just a class or mass occurrence to a general feature of political thinking.

A *political ideology* is a coherent set of views on politics and the role of the government. Consistency over a wide range of issues is the hallmark of a political ideology.

However, given the often contradictory variables that go into molding public opinion and political values (outlined in the previous sections), there is reason to question whether Americans think in ideological terms at all. The exceptions would be the activists in political parties or in groups that espouse specific causes. In contrast to other countries, Americans have shown essentially no interest in political ideologies either on the extreme left (communism) or the extreme right (fascism). American politics functions largely in the middle of the political spectrum as a contest between liberals and conservatives.

*Classic liberalism* held to the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, which holds that the government should be small and keep out of most areas of American life (the economy, community life, personal morality). What is called liberalism today is quite different.

Liberals believe government has an important place both as a regulator in the public interest and to assist those with lower incomes. On the other hand, they still oppose government intervention in matters of personal autonomy.

Only *libertarians* still espouse classical liberalism, but Americans holding this political ideology are scattered across various political parties, including the Republicans, the Democrats, and various third parties such as the Libertarian, Reform, and Green parties.

*Conservatives* feel there is too much government interference, particularly at the federal level, in the economy. This belief translates into calls for lower taxes, reduced spending on social programs, and deregulation. However, many conservatives welcome government support to further their moral agenda. Liberals & conservatives take opposing positions on crime, with the former concerned with the underlying socioeconomic causes and the latter focusing on the deterrent effect of punishment.

Perhaps because most Americans see themselves as *moderates*, politicians find it difficult to stay within the ideological boundaries of liberalism or conservatism. Many stress their credentials as fiscal conservatives while taking liberal positions on social issues.

Others take a *populist* line, embracing active governmental intervention in both economic and cultural spheres. Pat Buchanan, who has run for president under both Republican and Reform labels, usually offers populist appeals. Alabama Governor George Wallace, a presidential candidate in 1968 and 1972, usually endorsed populist positions.

**Exercise 1. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

No	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score

## DEFINITIONS OF IDEOLOGY

Ideologies are the sets of basic beliefs about the political, economic, social and cultural affairs held by the majority of people within a society.

**Absolutism.** System where the rulers have unlimited control.

**Anarchism.** Society without government, laws, police or other authority. System of self-control.

**Aristocracy.** The privilege of social class whose members possess disproportionately large percentage of society's wealth, prestige and political influence.

**Autocracy.** Supreme political power is in the hands of one person whose decisions are unregulated.

**Capitalism.** Right-wing political system where the principal means of production and distribution are in private hands.

**Communism.** Extreme left-wing ideology based on the revolutionary socialist teachings of Marx. Collective ownership and a planned economy. Each should work to their capability and receive according to their needs.

**conservatism.** Governmental system where the existing institutions are maintained, emphasizing free-enterprise and minimal governmental intervention.

**Democracy.** Government by the people usually through elected representatives.

**Dictatorship.** Government by a single person with absolute control over the resources of the state.

**Egalitarianism.** Belief where all citizens have equal rights and privileges.

**Fascism.** Extreme right-wing ideology where the existing social order is protected by the forcible suppression of the working class.

**Imperialism.** The extension of power & rule beyond established geographical boundaries.

**liberalism.** Representative government, free-speech, abolition of class privilege and state protection of the individual.

**Marxism.** Developed by Marx & Engels, it proposes that all is subject to change & resistance to change necessitates the overthrow of the system through class struggle.

**Maoism.** Interpretation of Marxist communism emphasizing the development of agriculture.

**Monarchy.** A form of rule in which the head of state is a King or Queen.

**Nationalism.** The unification of the state and release from foreign rule.

**Oligarchy.** A system of government in which virtually all power is held by a small number of wealthy people who shape policy to benefit themselves.

**Populism.** Collective noun for the ideologies which demand the redistribution of political power and economic leadership to the 'common people'.

**Socialism.** Left-wing political system where the principal means of production, distribution and exchange are in common ownership.

**Theocracy.** Rule by the church.

**Totalitarianism.** Government control of all activities.

**Trotskyism.** Form of Marxism incorporating the concept of permanent revolution.

# THE MAIN FEATURES OF TWO WINGS OF IDEOLOGY

## THE LEFT

**Liberty.** The freedom of speech and the right to dissent.

**Equality.** A classless society with the redistribution of wealth through a welfare state.

**Fraternity.** The communal brotherhood, working and living as one.

## THE RIGHT

**Authority.** The preservation of order through an evolved authority.

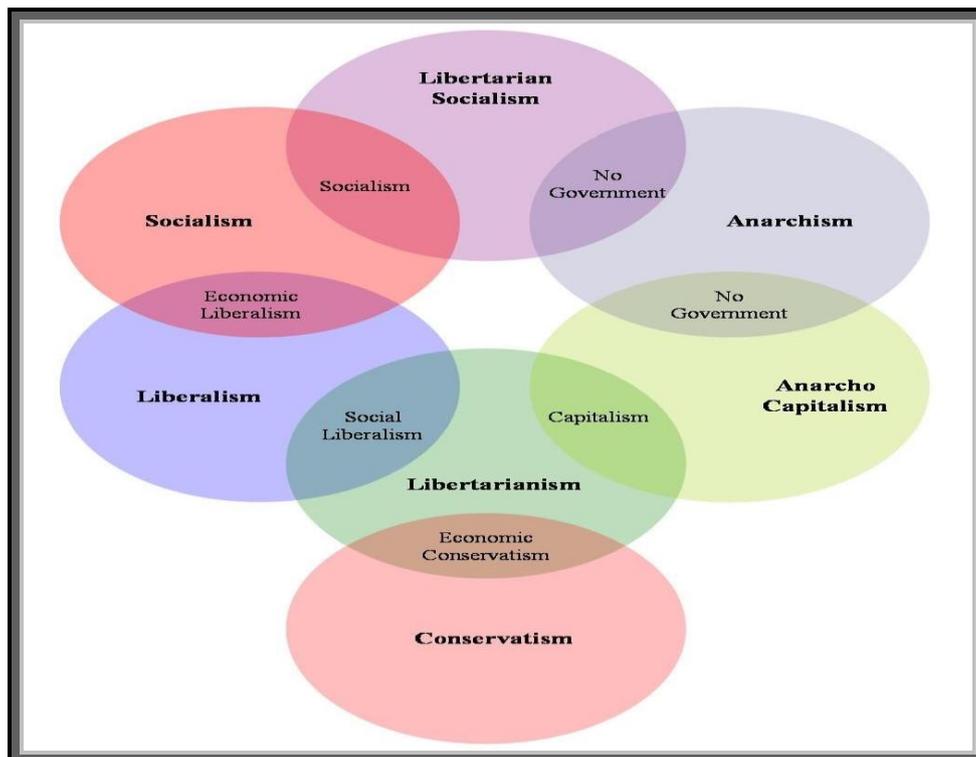
**Hierarchy.** The continuation of the existing social order.

**Property.** The right to private ownership.

Ideology has re-emerged as an important topic of inquiry among social, personality, and political psychologists. In this review, we examine recent theory and research concerning the structure, contents, and functions of ideological belief systems.

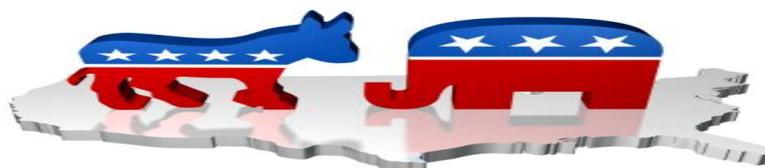
Political ideologies shape policy debates & choices. The two major political parties in the United States, the Democratic and Republican Parties, correspond closely with liberal and conservative ideologies, respectively. These ideologies influence policy debates in the United States, which often concern the appropriate amount of government intervention in the economy or in social behavior. Although there's a strong correlation between an individual's ideology and their party choice, many Americans hold a range of opinions on economic and social issues that don't fit neatly onto a simple "left-right" continuum. For this reason, some political scientists have proposed a political "spectrum" that charts individual beliefs on multiple dimensions.

In social studies, a *political ideology* is a certain set of ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of a social movement, institution, class or large group that explains how society should work and offers some *political* and cultural blueprint for a certain social order.



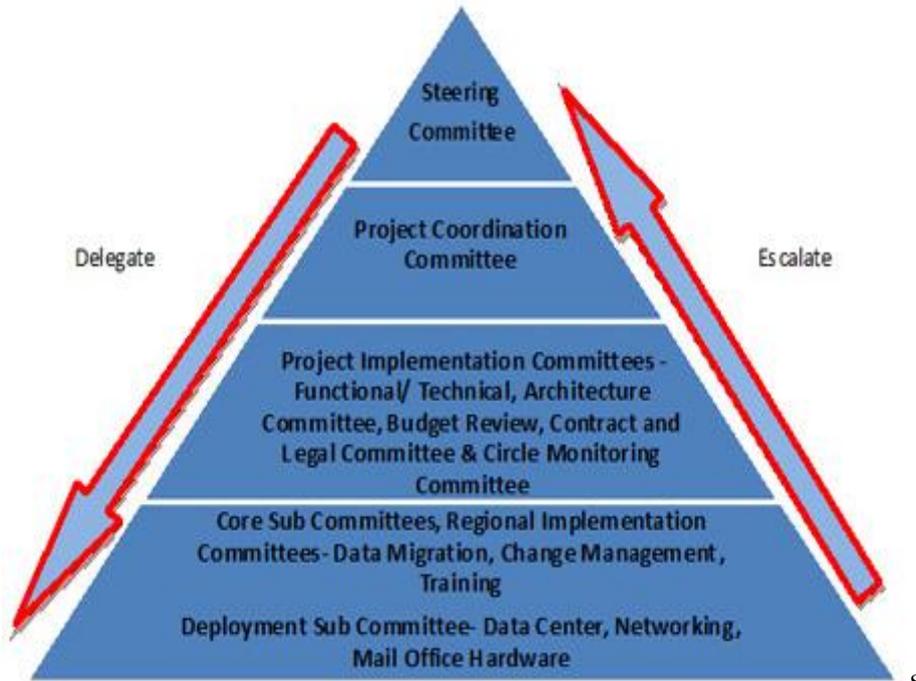
## DOMINANT USA IDEOLOGIES & PARTIES

Term	Definition
<b>conservative ideology</b>	conservatives tend to believe that government should be small, operating mainly at the state or local level, favoring minimal government interference in the economy and prefer private sector-based solutions to problems; "social conservatives" believe that government should uphold traditional morality, and therefore should impose restrictions on contraception, abortion, and same-sex marriage – conservatives are said to fall on the "right wing" of the axis of political beliefs, a convention that dates from the place where conservatives sat in assembly during the French Revolution.
<b>Democratic Party</b>	one of the two main political parties in the United States; founded in 1828 by supporters of Andrew Jackson, the Democratic Party is the world's oldest active political party – although its platform has transformed many times over the years, today the core values of the Democratic Party align with liberal ideology
<b>liberal ideology</b>	the definition of liberalism has changed over time, but modern-day liberals tend to believe that government should intervene in the economy and provide a broad range of social services to ensure well-being and equality across society; Liberals usually believe that the government should not regulate private sexual or social behaviors, and are said to fall on the "left wing" of the axis of political beliefs – a convention that dates from the place where supporters of the revolution sat in assembly during the French Revolution.
<b>progressive ideology</b>	'progressive' is used interchangeably with "liberal" by many today; others argue that the two terms are distinct, but this isn't universally accepted. Those who consider the terms separate may say that liberals believe in protecting previously disadvantaged groups from discrimination, while progressives believe it's the government's job to address past wrongs and reform systemic issues that caused those disadvantages in the first place.
<b>Republican Party</b>	one of the two main political parties in the United States; founded in 1854 by anti-slavery activists, the Republican Party's platform has transformed over the years to address issues of concern to its constituents; today, the core values of the Republican Party align with conservative ideology



## OTHER IDEOLOGIES & PARTIES

Term	Definition
<b>communitarian</b>	communitarians tend to support legislation that emphasizes the needs of communities over the rights of the individual; they are likely to be economically liberal, but socially conservative
<b>Green Party</b>	the fourth largest party in the United States; founded in 2001, the Green Party favors a strong federal government; Green Party candidates often run on a platform of grassroots democracy, nonviolence, social justice, and environmentalism
<b>Libertarian Party, libertarian ideology</b>	the third largest party in the United States; founded in 1971 by people who felt that the Republican and Democratic parties no longer represented the libertarian intentions of the founders; libertarians favor limited government intervention in personal, social, and economic issues
<b>nationalists</b>	nationalists tend to promote the interests of their nation, and often believe in the superiority of their nation over others



Differences between left & right ideologies



## CHAPTER II. POLITICAL SYSTEMS

### UNIT I. FORMS OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

#### INTRODUCTION

A political system defines the process for making official government decisions.

It is compared to the legal system, economic system, cultural system, & other social systems. However, this is a very simplified view of a much more complex system of categories involving the questions of who should have authority and what the government influence on its people and economy should.

**Political system**, the set of formal legal institutions that constitute a "government" or a "state". This is the definition adopted by many studies of the legal or constitutional arrangements of advanced political orders.

More broadly defined, however, the term comprehends actual as well as prescribed forms of political behaviour, not only the legal organization of the state but also the reality of how the state functions. Still more broadly defined, the political system is seen as a set of "processes of interaction" or as a subsystem of the social system interacting with other nonpolitical subsystems, such as the economic system. This points to the importance of informal sociopolitical processes and emphasizes the study of political development.

Traditional legal or constitutional analysis, using the first definition, has produced a huge body of literature on governmental structures, many of the specialized terms that are a part of the traditional vocabulary of political science, and several instructive classifying schemes. Similarly, empirical analysis of political processes and the effort to identify the underlying realities of governmental forms have yielded a rich store of data and an important body of comparative theory.

The third definition has inspired much scholarly work that employs new kinds of data, new terms, and some new concepts and categories of analysis.

Anthropologists generally recognize four kinds of political systems, two of which are uncentralized and two of which are centralized.

#### Uncentralized systems

**Band society.** Small family group, no larger than an extended family or clan; it has been defined as consisting of no more than 30 to 50 individuals. A band can cease to exist if only a small group walks out. **Tribe.** Generally larger, consisting of many families. Tribes have more social institutions, such as a chief or elders. More permanent than bands. Many tribes are sub-divided into bands.

#### Centralized governments

**Chieftdom.** More complex than a tribe or a band society, and less complex than a state or a civilization. Characterized by pervasive inequality and centralization of authority.

A single lineage/family of the elite class becomes the ruling elite of the chieftdom. Complex chieftdoms have two or even three tiers of political hierarchy. "An autonomous political unit comprising a number of villages or communities under the permanent control of a paramount chief".

### **Sovereign state**

A sovereign state is a state with a permanent population, a defined territory, a government and the capacity to enter into relations with other sovereign states.

### **Supranational political systems**

Supranational political systems are created by independent nations to reach a common goal or gain strength from forming an alliance.

### **Empires**

Empires are widespread states or communities under a single rule. They are characterized by the rulers desire for unanimous religious affiliation or posing as threat for other empires in times of war. Empires often made considerable progress in ways of democratic structures, creating and building city infrastructures, and maintaining civility within the diverse communities. Because of the intricate organization of the empires, they were often able to hold a large majority of power on a universal level.

### **Leagues**

Leagues are international organizations composed of states coming together for a single common purpose. In this way leagues are different from empires, as they only seek to fulfill a single goal. Often leagues are formed on the brink of a military or economic downfall. Meetings and hearings are conducted in a neutral location with representatives of all involved nations present.

***Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

***Exercise 2. Give the definition of the notion "political system".***

A *political system* is a system of politics and government. It is usually compared to the legal system, economic system, cultural system, and other social systems. It is different from them, and can be generally defined on a spectrum from left, e.g. communism, to the right, e.g. fascism. However, this is a very simplified view of a much more complex system of categories involving i.e. the view on who will have the authority, the view of religious questions and the government's influence on its people and economy. There are several definitions of "political system":

- A political system is a complete set of institutions, interest groups (such as political parties, trade unions, lobby groups), the relationships between those institutions and the political norms and rules that govern their functions (constitution, election law).
- A political system is composed of the members of a social organization who are in power.
- A political system is a system that necessarily has two properties: a set of interdependent components and boundaries toward the environment with which it interacts.
- A political system is a concept in which theoretically regarded as a way of the government makes a policy and to make them more organized in their administration.
- A political system is one that ensures the maintaining of order and sanity in the society and at the same time makes it possible for some other institutions to also have their grievances and complaints put across in the course of social existence.

### **Commonalities between political systems**

- Interdependent parts: Citizens and Government.
- Boundaries: Citizenship Territory Property.

**Exercise 3. Characterize the basic forms of political systems.**

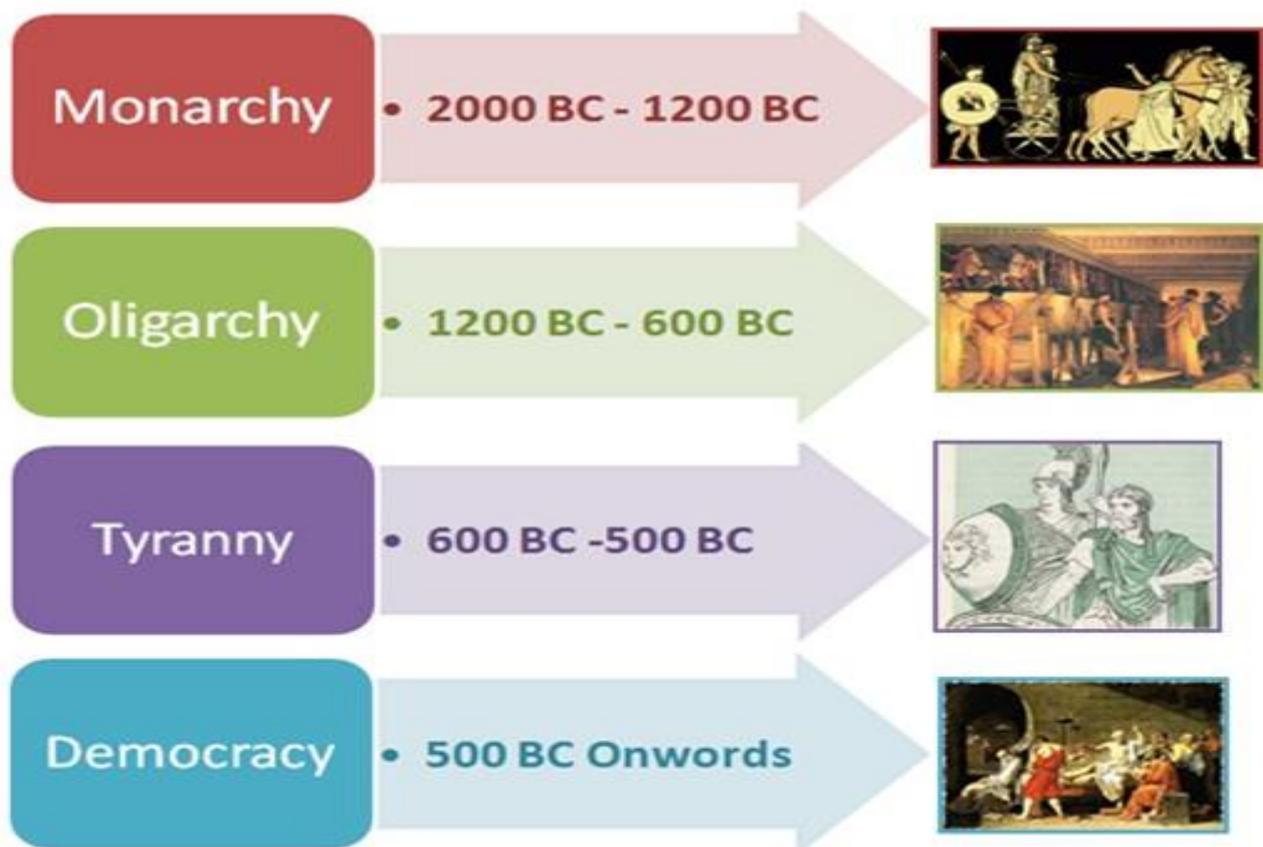
The following are examples of political systems, some of which are typically mutually exclusive (Monarchy and Republic), while others may (or may not) overlap in various combinations (Democracy and Westminster system, Democracy and Socialism).

- Anarchism.
- Democracy.
- Monarchy. Monarchies are one of the oldest political systems known, developing from tribal structure with one person the absolute ruler.
- Republic. The first recorded Republic was in India in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.
- Socialism. Degrees of socialism (state run economies or services) have been present in political systems since antiquity; the modern socialist movement largely originated in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century and spawned democratic socialism.
- Sultanates. A political structure claiming to be Islamic: Monarchy and Theocracy.
- Islamic Democracy. A political structure claiming to be both Islamic and democratic.
- Theocracy.
- Westminster system.
- Feudalism.

**Anthropological forms of political systems**

- Anthropologists generally recognize four kinds of political systems.
- Uncentralized systems: Band and Tribe.
- Centralized systems: Chiefdom and State.

**Exercise 4. Read the information & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**



# ANTHROPOLOGICAL FORMS OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

## Definitions

Considerable debate takes place over how best to characterize tribes. Some of this debate stems from perceived differences between pre-state tribes and contemporary tribes; some of this debate reflects controversy that is more general over cultural evolution and colonialism. In the popular imagination, tribes reflect a way of life that predates, and is more "natural", than that in modern states. Tribes also privilege primordial social ties, are clearly bounded, homogeneous, parochial, and stable. Thus, many believed that tribes organize links between families (including clans and lineages), and provide them with a social and ideological basis for solidarity that is in some way more limited than that of an "ethnic group" or of a "nation".

Anthropological and ethnohistorical research has challenged all of these notions.

Anthropologist Elman Service presented a system of classification for societies in all human cultures based on the evolution of social inequality and the role of the state. This system of classification contains four categories:

- Hunter-gatherer bands, which are generally egalitarian.
- Tribal societies in which there are some limited instances of social rank and prestige.
- Stratified tribal societies led by chieftains.
- Civilizations, with complex social hierarchies and organized, institutional governments.

Members of bands would form more clearly bounded and centralized polities, because such polities could begin producing surpluses that could support a standing army that could fight against states, and they would have a leadership that could co-ordinate economic production and military activities.

In some countries, such as the USA of America and India, tribes are polities that have been granted legal recognition and limited autonomy by the state.

Current research suggests that tribal structures constituted one type of adaptation to situations providing plentiful yet unpredictable resources. Such structures proved flexible enough to co-ordinate production and distribution of food in times of scarcity, without limiting or constraining people during times of surplus.

A **band** is typically, but not always, composed of a single community. Many bands, especially in British Columbia, control multiple Indian reserves, that is, multiple parcels of land. Although bands currently have considerable control over their reserve land, strictly speaking neither the band itself nor its members owns the land.

Rather, the land is held in trust for the band by the Crown. The term "band" is historically related to the anthropological term band society, but as a legal and administrative unit the band need not correspond to a band in this sense. Some bands draw their members from two or more ethnic groups due to the disruption of traditional ways by colonization and/or the administrative convenience of Canada. The functioning of a band is controlled by the Indian Act, the legislation that defines the position of status Indians. The band government is controlled by a chief councilor and council. The number of councillors is determined by the number of band members, with a minimum of two in addition to the chief councilor.

A **band society** is the simplest form of human society. A band generally consists of a small kin group, no larger than an extended family or clan; it has been defined as consisting of no more than 30 to 50 individuals. Bands have a loose organization.

Their power structure is often egalitarian and has informal leadership; the older members of the band generally are looked to for guidance and advice and decisions are often made on a consensus basis. However, there are no written laws and none of the specialized coercive roles (police) typically seen in societies that are more complex.

Bands' customs are almost always transmitted orally. Formal social institutions are few or non-existent. Religion is generally based on family tradition, individual experience, or counsel from a shaman. All known band societies hunt and gather to obtain their subsistence. Bands are distinguished from tribes in that tribes are generally larger, consisting of many families. **Tribes** have more social institutions, such as a chief, big man, or elders.

Tribes are more permanent than bands; a band can cease to exist if only a small group walks out. Many tribes are in fact sub-divided into bands.

A *tribe* is a social group of humans connected by a shared system of values and organized for mutual care, defense, and survival beyond that which could be attained by a lone individual or family. A "tribe" is defined in anthropology. When viewed historically or developmentally, a tribe is a mutual care system, which, unlike a kingdom or state or other schema, is oriented around kinship and shared beliefs. Tribes can well exist simultaneously with other schema such as states or other systems. They might consist of a social group existing before the development of, or outside of, states. Tribes are the most enduring and successful social survival system that has ever existed on earth. Tribes can exist within or without a state or kingdom and may or may not depend on the state or kingdom to endure.

Many anthropologists use the term to refer to societies organized largely based on kinship, especially corporate descent group. Some theorists hold that tribes represent a stage in social evolution intermediate between bands and states. Other theorists argue that tribes developed after, and must be understood in terms of their relationship to states.

The English word "tribe" occurs in 13<sup>th</sup> century Middle English literature as referring to one of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. From 242-240 B.C. the Tribal Assembly in the Roman Republic was organized in 35 Tribes (4 "Urban Tribes" and 31 "Rural Tribes").

The Latin word as used in the Bible translates as Greek "race, tribe, clan". In the historical sense, "tribe", "race" or "clan" can be used interchangeably.

Historically, some tribes were formed from bands that came together from time to time for religious ceremonies, hunting, or warfare. Among the Native Americans of the USA and the First Nations of Canada, some tribes are made up of official bands that live in specific locations. Band societies historically were found throughout the world, in a variety of climates, but generally in sparsely populated areas. With the spread of the modern nation-state to all corners of the globe, there are very few true band societies left.

Some historic examples include the Shoshone of the Great Basin, the Bushmen of southern Africa, the pygmies in Africa and some groups of Indigenous Australians.

A **hunter-gatherer** society is one whose primary subsistence method involves the direct procurement of edible plants and animals from the wild, foraging and hunting without significant recourse to the domestication of either. Hunter-gatherers obtain most from gathering rather than hunting; up to 80% of the food is obtained by gathering.

The demarcation between hunter-gatherers and other societies, which rely more upon domestication, is not a clear-cut one, as many contemporary societies use a combination of both strategies to obtain the foodstuffs required to sustain themselves.

Hunting and gathering was presumably the subsistence strategy employed by human societies for more than two mln years, until the end of the Mesolithic period.

The first hunter-gatherers may have lived in mixed habitats, which allowed them to collect seafood, eggs, nuts, and fruits and scavenge the occasional dead animal, and in this sense were more meat scavengers than actual hunters.

Rather than killing large animals themselves for meat, they used carcasses of large animals killed by other predators or carcasses from animals that died by natural causes.

The transition into the subsequent Neolithic period is chiefly defined by the unprecedented development of nascent agricultural practices. Agriculture originated and spread in several different areas including the Middle East, Asia, Mesoamerica; the Andes beginning as early as 10,000 years ago.

Many groups continued their hunter-gatherer ways of life, although their numbers have perpetually declined partly because of pressure from growing agricultural & pastoral communities. Many of them reside in arid regions and tropical forests in the developing world. Areas, which formerly were available to hunter-gatherers, were and continue to be encroached upon by the settlements of agriculturalists.

In the resulting competition for land use, hunter-gatherer societies either adopted these practices or moved to other areas. In addition, Jared Diamond has blamed a decline in the availability of wild foods, particularly animal resources.

As the number and size of agricultural societies increased, they expanded into lands traditionally used by hunter-gatherers. This process of agriculture-driven expansion led to the development of complex forms of government in agricultural centers.

Because of the now near-universal human reliance upon agriculture, the few contemporary hunter-gatherer cultures usually live in areas seen as undesirable for agricultural use.

Hunter-gatherer societies tend to be relatively mobile or "nomadic", given their reliance upon the ability of a given natural environment to provide sufficient resources in order to sustain their population and the variable availability of these resources owing to local climatic and seasonal conditions. Their population densities tend to be lower than those of agriculturalists, since cultivated land is capable of sustaining population densities 60-100 times greater than land left uncultivated.

Individual band societies tend to be small in number (10-30 individuals), but these may gather together seasonally to temporarily form a larger group (100 or more) when resources are abundant. In a few places where the environment is especially productive, such as that of the Pacific Northwest coast or Jomon-era Japan, hunter-gatherers are able to settle permanently. Hunter-gatherer settlements may be permanent, temporary, or some combination of the two, depending upon the mobility of the community.

Mobile communities typically construct shelters using impermanent building materials, or they may use natural rock shelters, where they are available. Hunter-gatherer societies also tend to have relatively non-hierarchical, egalitarian social structures.

This might have been more pronounced in the more mobile societies, which generally are not able to store surplus food. Thus, full-time leaders, bureaucrats, or artisans are rarely supported by these societies. In addition to social and economic equality in hunter-gatherer societies, there is often though not always sexual parity as well. A vast amount of ethnographic and archaeological evidence demonstrates that the sexual division of labor in which men hunt and women gather wild fruits and vegetables.

It is an extremely common phenomenon among hunter-gatherers worldwide.

The sexual division of labour may have arisen to allow humans to acquire food and other resources more efficiently. It would, therefore, be an over-generalization to say that men always hunt and women always gather.

The transition from hunting and gathering to agriculture is not necessarily a one-way process. It has been argued that hunting and gathering represents an adaptive strategy, which may still be exploited, if necessary, when environmental change causes extreme food stress for agriculturalists. In fact, it is sometimes difficult to draw a clear line between agricultural and hunter-gatherer societies, especially since the widespread adoption of agriculture and resulting cultural diffusion that has occurred in the last 10,000 years.

Many hunter-gatherers consciously manipulate the landscape through cutting or burning undesirable plants while encouraging desirable ones, some even going to the extent of slash-and-burn to create habitat for game animals.

These activities are on an entirely different scale than those associated with agriculture, but they are nevertheless domestication on some level. Today, almost all hunter-gatherers depend to some extent upon domesticated food sources either produced part-time or traded for products acquired in the wild. Some agriculturalists also regularly hunt and gather (e.g. farming during the frost-free season and hunting during the winter).

Still others in developed countries go hunting, primarily for leisure.

In the Brazilian rainforest, groups which recently did or continue to rely on hunting and gathering techniques seem to have adopted this lifestyle, abandoning most agriculture, as a way to escape colonial control and as a result of the introduction of European diseases reducing their populations to levels where agriculture became difficult.

### **Modern Context**

In the early 1980s, some anthropologists and archaeologists attempted to demonstrate that contemporary groups usually identified as hunter-gatherers do not, in most cases, have a continuous history of hunting and gathering, and that in many cases their ancestors were agriculturalists and/or pastoralists who were pushed into marginal areas because of migrations, economic exploitation, and/or violent conflict. Some of the theorists who advocate this "revisionist" critique imply that because the "pure hunter-gatherer" disappeared not long after colonial contact began, nothing meaningful can be learned about prehistoric hunter-gatherers from studies of modern ones.

There are contemporary hunter-gatherer peoples who, after contact with other societies, continue their ways of life with very little external influence.

***Exercise 1. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.***

***Exercise 2. Answer the questions.***

1. What are band society and hunter-gatherer society like? 2. Is the transition from hunting and gathering to agriculture necessarily a one-way process? 3. What is modern context of the society development like? 4. What is domestication like? 5. Why has the sexual division of labour arisen? 6. What do all hunter-gatherers depend on today?

***Exercise 3. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

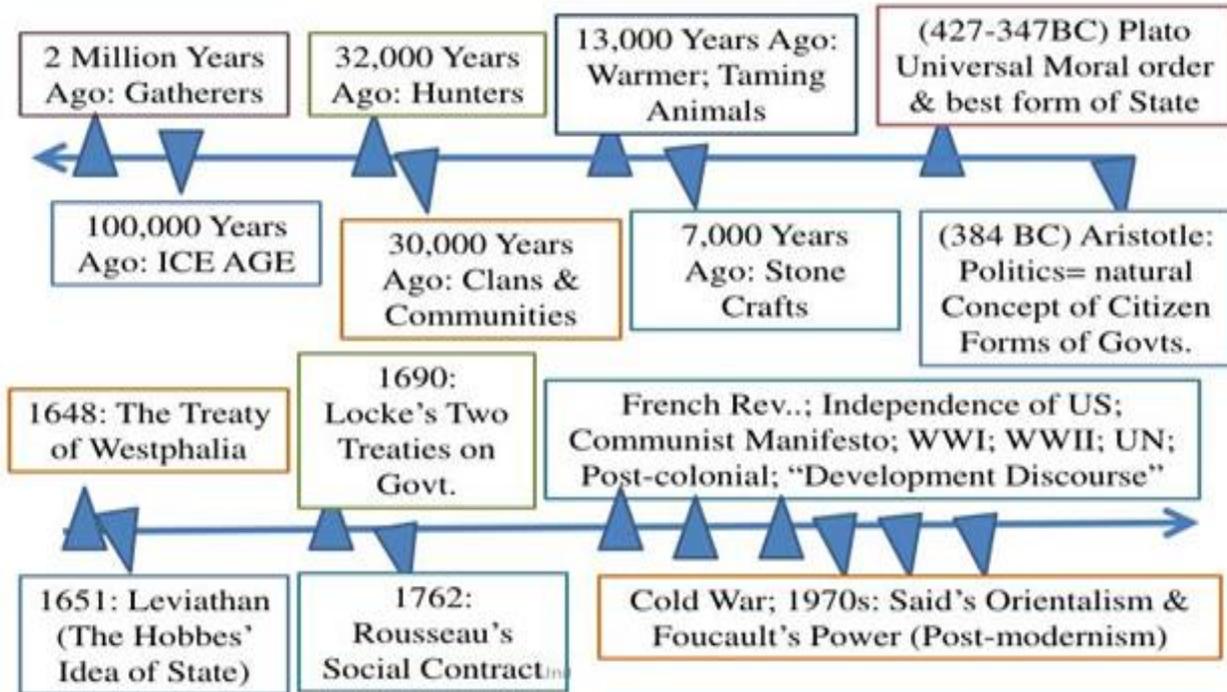
***Exercise 4. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.***

***Exercise 5. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.***

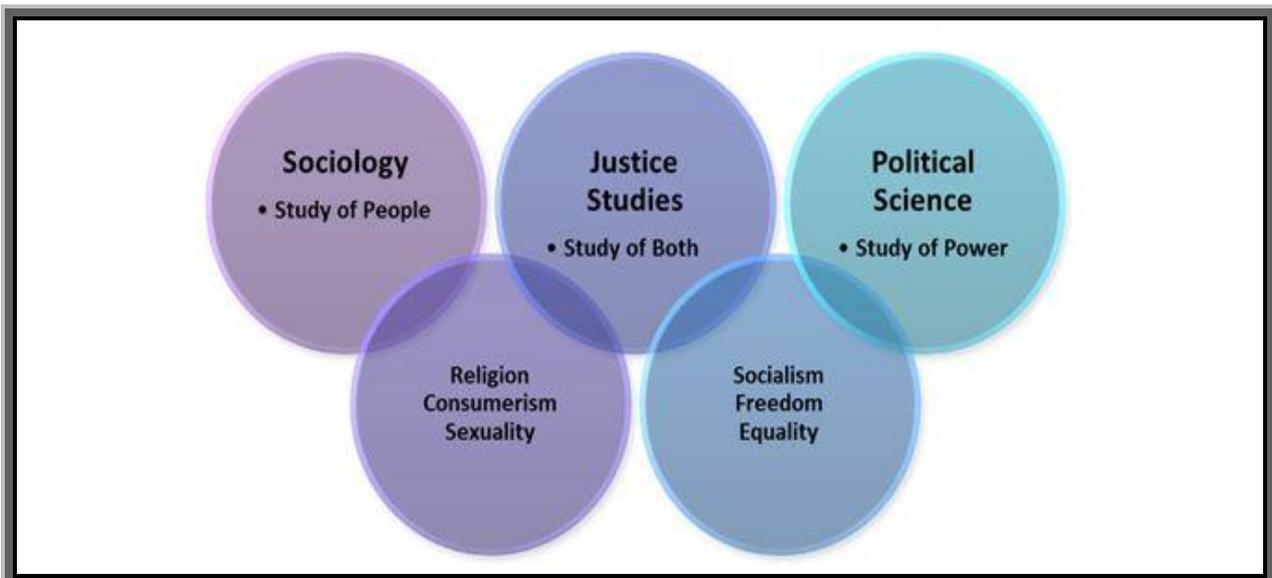
**Exercise 6. Digest the information on social movements briefly in English.**

There are some modern social movements related to the hunter-gatherer lifestyle:

- *Anarcho-primitivism*, which strives for the abolishment of civilization and the return to a life in the wild.
- *Freeganism* involves gathering of discarded food in the context of an urban or suburban environment.
- *Gleaning* involves the gathering of food that traditional farmers have left behind in their fields.
- *Paleolithic diet*, which strives to achieve a diet similar to that of ancient hunter-gatherer groups.



Political-antropological position



## SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

**Lineage Bonded Societies** are a type of Acephalous Society, predicated on claims of a common ancestor. A lineage-bonded society is, by population, the smallest classification of Acephalous Society. Beyond a certain size threshold, claims of common lineage become untenable, and the social ties resulting from those claims destabilize.

A lineage-bonded society that outgrows its limits may break apart into subgroups.

Such branches would then either become separate lineage-bonded societies, or would merge with a neighboring society. When two lineage-bonded societies merge in such a way, the outcome is a land-bonded society. These societies are similar to band societies.

A **chiefdom** is a type of complex society of varying degrees of centralization that is led by an individual known as a chief.

In anthropological theory, one model of human social development rooted in ideas of cultural evolution describes a chiefdom as a form of social organization more complex than a tribe or a band society, and less complex than a state or a civilization. Chiefdoms are characterized by pervasive inequality of people and centralization of authority.

At least two inherited social classes (elite & commoner) are present (Ancient Hawaiian chiefdoms had four social classes), social class can often be changed by extraordinary behavior during an individual's life. A single lineage / family of the elite class will be the ruling elite of the chiefdom, with the greatest influence, power, and prestige.

Kinship is typically an organizing principle, while marriage, age, gender can affect one's social status and role. A single simple chiefdom is generally composed of a central community surrounded by or near a number of smaller subsidiary communities.

All of these communities recognize the authority of a single kin group or individual with hereditary centralized power, dwelling in the primary community. Each community will have its own leaders, which are usually in a tributary and/or subservient relationship with the ruling elite of the primary community. A complex chiefdom is a group of simple chiefdoms controlled by a single paramount center, and ruled by a paramount chief.

Complex chiefdoms have two or even three tiers of political hierarchy. Nobles are clearly distinct from commoners and do not usually engage in any form of agricultural production.

The higher members of society consume most of the goods that are passed up the hierarchy as a tribute. Chiefdoms have been shown by anthropologists and archaeologists to be a relatively unstable form of social organization. They are prone to cycles of collapse and renewal, in which tribal units band together, expand in power, fragment through some form of social stress, and band together again. The possible alternatives to the chiefdoms in the prehistoric South-West Asia are the nonhierarchical systems of complex a cephalous communities with a pronounced autonomy of single-family households.

### **Exercise 1. Read the information and give a short summary of it.**

A **sovereign state** is a political association with effective sovereignty over a geographic area and representing a population. A state usually includes the set of institutions that claim the authority to make the rules that govern the people of the society in that territory, though its status as a state often depends in part on being recognized by a number of other states as having internal and external sovereignty over it. In sociology, the state is normally identified with these institutions: in Max Weber's influential definition, it is that organization that "(successfully) claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory".

**Exercise 2. Describe the definitions of a state.**

Although the term often includes broadly all institutions of government or rule – ancient and modern – the modern state system bears a number of characteristics that were first consolidated beginning in earnest in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the term "state" acquired its current meaning. Thus, the word is often used in a strict sense to refer only to modern political systems. In casual usage, the terms "country", "nation", "state" are often used as if they were synonymous; but in a more strict usage they can be distinguished:

- **Nation** denotes a people who are believed to or deemed to share common customs, origins, and history. However, the adjectives *national* and *international* refer to matters pertaining to what are strictly *states*, as in *national capital*, *international law*.
- **State** refers to the set of governing and supportive institutions that have sovereignty over a definite territory and population.

**Exercise 3. Give a short description of the scope of a state.**

The word "state" and its cognates in other European languages ultimately derive from the Latin *status*, literally "standing" but meaning "condition" or "status". With the revival of the Roman law in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Europe, this Latin term was used to refer to the legal standing of persons (such as the various "estates of the realm" – noble, common, and clerical), and in particular the special status of the king. The word was associated with Roman ideas (dating back to Cicero) about the "condition of the republic". In time, the word lost its reference to particular social groups and became associated with the legal order of the entire society and the apparatus of its enforcement.

**Exercise 4. Characterize the modern criteria.**

In 1815 at the Congress of Vienna the Final Act only recognized 39 sovereign states in the European diplomatic system, in future new states would have to be recognized by other states, and that meant in practice recognition by one or more of the great powers.

The *constitutive theory* was developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to define what is and is not a state. With this theory, the obligation to obey international law depends on a entity's recognition by other countries. Because of this, new states could not immediately become part of the international community or be bound by international law, and recognized nations did not have to respect international law in their dealings with them.

One of the major criticisms of this law is the confusion caused when some states recognize a new entity, but other states do not, a situation the theory does not deal with.

Hersch Lauterpacht, one of the theory's main proponents, suggested that it is a state's duty to grant recognition as a possible solution. However, a state may use any criteria when judging if they should give recognition and they have no obligation to use such criteria. Many countries may only recognize a state if it is to their advantage.

One of the criteria most commonly cited by micronations with regard to difficulty getting international recognition is the Montevideo Convention, which was signed on December 26 1933 by the USA, Honduras, El Salvador, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, Paraguay, Mexico, Panama, Bolivia, Guatemala, Brazil, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Colombia, Chile, Peru and Cuba but it never received international consensus. It has four conditions that an entity must meet to become a country:

- a permanent population;
- defined territory;
- government;
- capacity to enter into relations with other states.

## TYPOLOGIES OF GOVERNMENT

The most important type of political system in the modern world is the nation-state.

The world today is divided territorially into more than 190 countries, in each of which a national government claims to exercise sovereignty – or the power of final authority – and seeks to compel obedience to its will by its citizens. This fact of the world's political organization suggests the distinction employed in the following section among supranational, national, and subnational political systems.

### **Supranational political systems**

The formation of supranational relationships is a principal result of the division of the world into a number of separate national entities, or states, that have contact with one another, share goals or needs, and face common threats.

In some cases, as in many alliances, these relationships are short-lived and fail to result in significant institutional development. In other cases, they lead to interstate organizations and supranational systems. The discussion below examines several types of supranational political systems, together with historical and contemporary examples of them. Because they are composed of peoples of different cultures and ethnic backgrounds, all empires are ultimately held together by coercion and the threat of forcible reconquest.

Imposing their rule on diverse political structures, they are characterized by the centralization of power and the absence of effective representation of their component parts. Although force is the primary instrument of imperial rule, it is true that history records many cases of multiethnic empires that were governed peaceably for considerable periods and were often quite successful in maintaining order within their boundaries. The history of the ancient world is the history of great empires – Egypt, China, Persia, imperial Rome – whose autocratic regimes provided relatively stable government for many subject peoples in immense territories over many centuries.

Based on military force and religious belief, the ancient despotisms were legitimized also by their achievements in building great bureaucratic and legal structures, in developing vast irrigation and road systems, and in providing the conditions for the support of high civilizations. Enhancing and transcending all other political structures in their sphere, they could claim to function as effective schemes of universal order.

In contrast to the empires of the ancient world, the colonial empires of more recent times fell far short of universal status. In part, these modern European empires were made up of "colonies" in the original Greek sense; peopled by immigrants from the mother country, the colonies established political structures similar to those of the metropolitan centre and were often able to exercise a substantial measure of self-government.

In part, the European empires were composed of territories inhabited by native populations and administered by imperial bureaucracies.

The government of these territories was generally more coercive than in the European colonies & more concerned with protection and supervision of the commercial, industrial, and other exploitative interests of the imperial power. The disintegration of these empires occurred with astonishing speed. The two world wars of the 20th century sapped the power of the metropolitan centres, while their own doctrines of democracy, equality, and self-determination undermined the principle of imperial rule.

Powers such as Britain and France found it increasingly difficult to resist claims to independence couched in terms of the representative concepts on which their home governments were based, and they lacked the military and economic strength to continue their rule over restive native populations. In the two decades after 1945, nearly all the major colonial territories won their independence; the great colonial empires that had once ruled more than half the world were finally dismembered.

### **Leagues**

One of the commonest forms of supranational organization in history is that of leagues, generally composed of states seeking to resist some common military or economic threat by combining their forces. This was the case with the early city leagues, such as the Achaean and Aetolian leagues in ancient Greece and the Hanseatic and the Swabian leagues in Europe; and to a great extent it was the case with the League of Nations.

Other common features of leagues include the existence of some form of charter or agreement among the member states, an assembly of representatives of the constituent members, an executive organ for the implementation of the decisions of the assembly of representatives, and an arbitral or judicial body for adjudicating disputes.

The League of Nations was one of the great experiments in supranational organization of the 20th century and the predecessor in several important respects of the United Nations.

The Covenant of the League was drafted by a special commission of the Peace Conference after World War I, with Pres. Woodrow Wilson of the USA as its leading advocate, and approved by a plenary conference of the victorious powers in 1919.

The initial membership of the League consisted of 20 states. The USA failed to take membership in the League, but by 1928 the organization had a total membership of 54. The machinery of the League consisted of

- an Assembly of all the member countries, acting through agents of their governments;
- a council on which the great powers were permanently represented and to which the other member powers were elected by the Assembly for three-year terms;
- a Secretariat to administer the internal affairs of the League;
- a number of specialized agencies, such as the International Labour Organisation, that were responsible for implementing various economic and humanitarian programs on an international basis.

The Covenant required that international disputes be submitted to peaceful settlement with a provision for adjudication or arbitration by the Permanent Court of International Justice or for intervention by the Council of the League.

The Covenant provided for the use of financial and economic penalties, such as embargoes, to enforce the decisions of the League and for joint military action against convicted aggressors. In practice, however, the League failed its most important tests and was unable to master the crises that led to World War II and its own collapse.

**Confederations** are voluntary associations of independent states that, to secure some common purpose, agree to certain limitations on their freedom of action and establish some joint machinery of consultation or deliberation. The limitations on the freedom of action of the member states may be as trivial as an acknowledgment of their duty to consult with each other before taking some independent action or as significant as the obligation to be bound by majority decisions of the member states.

Confederations usually fail to provide for an effective executive authority and lack viable central governments; their member states typically retain their separate military establishments and separate diplomatic representation; and members are generally accorded equal status with an acknowledged right of secession from the confederation.

The term *federationis* used to refer to groupings of states, often on a regional basis, that establish central executive machinery to implement policies or to supervise joint activities. In some cases such groupings are motivated primarily by political or economic concerns; in others, military objectives are paramount.

Historically, confederations have often proved to be a first or second step toward the establishment of a national state, usually as a federal union. Thus, the federal union of modern Switzerland was preceded by a confederation of the Swiss cantons; Germany's modern federal arrangements may be traced to the German Confederation of the 19th century (the *Deutsche Bund*); the federal constitution of the USA is the successor to the government of the Articles of Confederation. In some other cases, confederations have replaced more centralized arrangements, as, for example, when empires disintegrate and are replaced by voluntary associations of their former colonies. The British Commonwealth, or Commonwealth of Nations, and the French Community are cases of this type.

An example of confederal arrangements that gave birth to a federal union is the Articles of Confederation (1781-89) that preceded the Constitution of the USA.

The Articles established a Congress of the confederation as a unicameral assembly of ambassadors from the 13 states, each possessing a single vote. The Congress was authorized to appoint an executive committee of states *to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the USA, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with*; in turn, the committee of states could appoint a presiding officer or president for a term of one year.

The Congress could appoint such other committees and "civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the USA" and was given the authority to serve as "the last resort or appeal in all disputes and differences, now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more states".

Although the Congress was given authority in important areas such as the regulation of foreign affairs, the establishment of coinage and weights and measures, the appointment of officers in the confederation's land and naval forces, and the issuance of bills of credit, all its powers were in fact dependent for their enforcement upon the states.

The Congress lacked both an independent source of revenue and the executive machinery to enforce its will directly upon individuals.

As the language of the Articles summarized the situation, *each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the USA in Congress assembled.*

The Commonwealth (formerly the British Commonwealth of Nations) is an example of a confederation born as the result of the decentralization and eventual disintegration of an empire. The original members in 1931 were the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, the Irish Free State (Ireland), Newfoundland, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa.

In 1949 Newfoundland became a province of Canada, and Ireland withdrew from the Commonwealth. In 1961 South Africa withdrew from the organization, although it rejoined in 1994.

Several new Commonwealth members in the latter half of the 20th century were newly independent former British colonies, such as Malaysia (1957), Cyprus (1961), Kiribati (1979), Brunei (1984). Namibia joined in 1990 upon gaining independence from South Africa. By the early 21st century, the Commonwealth had grown to include more than 50 members. It had embraced countries – Mozambique (1995) and Rwanda (2009) – that lacked colonial ties to Britain.

The Statute of Westminster (1931) established that all members were equal in status. The London Declaration (1949) permitted members to be republics, although all member countries must recognize the British monarch as the symbolic head of the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth governments are represented in the capitals of other Commonwealth countries by high commissioners equal in status to ambassadors.

The Commonwealth Secretariat organizes meetings, keeps the membership informed, and implements its collective decisions. Member countries have benefited from trade privileges, technical assistance, and educational exchanges. In the second half of the 20th century, the Commonwealth formulated a mission of promoting democracy, economic development, and human rights.

The European Union (EU) is a supranational organization that, while resisting strict classification as either a confederation or a federation, has both confederal and federal aspects. Its predecessor, the European Communities (EC) – comprising the European Coal and Steel Community, established in 1952; the European Economic Community (Common Market), established in 1958; and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) – quickly developed executive machinery exercising significant regulatory and directive authority over the governments and private business firms of the member countries.

When the communities were subsumed under the EU in 1993, the EU inherited this executive authority. Yet, despite the EU's central executive machinery (a key feature of a federal system), each of the member governments retains a substantial measure of national sovereignty – an important aspect of confederal arrangements.

### **National political systems**

The term *nation-state* is used so commonly and yet defined so variously that it will be necessary to indicate its usage in this article with some precision and to give historical and contemporary examples of nation-states. To begin with, there is no single basis upon which such systems are established. Many states were formed at a point in time when a people sharing a common history, culture, and language discovered a sense of identity.

This was true in the cases of England and France, for example, which were the first nation-states to emerge in the modern period, and of Italy and Germany, which were established as nation-states in the 19th century. In contrast, however, other states, such as India, the Soviet Union, and Switzerland, came into existence without a common basis in ethnicity, culture, or language. It must also be emphasized that contemporary nation-states are creations of different historical periods and of varied circumstances.

Before the close of the 19th century, the effective mobilization of governmental powers on a national basis had occurred only in Europe, the USA, and Japan. It was not until the 20th century and the collapse of the Ottoman, Habsburg, French, and British empires that the bulk of the world could be organized on a national basis.

This transformation continued with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which ceased to exist in 1991, and Yugoslavia, which finally disappeared from the map in 2003.

In 1920 the League of Nations had recognized seven nation-states as "Great Powers" – the United Kingdom, France, the USA, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia – and it eventually admitted more than 40 other states to membership. Its successor, the United Nations, had more than 190 member states in the early 21st century.

States in the post-Cold War world include the Great Powers, which, along with Canada, now constitute the highly industrialized countries known as the Group of Eight (G8); numerous other populous and prominent countries, such as Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, Egypt, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and Venezuela; a host of other states, from the tiny Pacific island country of Nauru to the vast Central Asian country of Kazakhstan.

The characteristics that qualify these variously composed and historically differing entities as nation-states and distinguish them from other forms of social and political organization amount in sum to the independent power to compel obedience from the populations within their territories.

The state is a territorial association that may range in size from Russia to Singapore, in population from China to Luxembourg, and that claims supremacy over all other associations within its boundaries. As an association, the state is peculiar in several respects: membership is compulsory for its citizens; it claims a monopoly of the use of armed force within its borders; and its officers, who are the government of the state, claim the right to act in the name of the land and its people.

A definition of the state in terms only of its powers over its members is not wholly satisfactory. Although all states make a claim to supremacy within their boundaries, they differ widely in their ability to make good their claims.

States are often challenged by competing associations within their boundaries; their supremacy is often more formal than real; and they are sometimes unable to maintain their existence. Moreover, a definition in terms of power alone ignores the fact that there are great differences among states in the structures they employ for the exercise of power, in the ways they use power, and in the ends to which they turn their power.

Some of these differences are explored in the discussion that follows of two general categories of nation-states: the unitary state and the federal state.

Partly from administrative necessity and partly because of the pressures of territorial interests, nearly all modern states provide for some distribution of governmental authority on a territorial basis. Systems in which power is delegated from the central government to subnational units and in which the grant of power may be rescinded at the will of the central government are termed unitary systems.

Systems in which a balance is established between two autonomous sets of governments, one national and the other provincial, are termed federal. In federal systems, the provincial units are usually empowered to grant and take away the authority of their own subunits in the same manner as national governments in unitary systems. Thus, although the USA is federally organized at the national level, each of the 50 states is in a unitary relationship to the cities and local governments within its own territory.

***Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

***Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.***

***Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.***

## UNITARY NATION-STATES

A great majority of all the world's nation-states are unitary systems, including Bulgaria, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Japan, Poland, Romania, the Scandinavian countries, Spain, and many of the Latin American and African countries.

There are great differences among these unitary states, however, specifically in the institutions and procedures through which their central governments interact with their territorial subunits.

In one type of unitary system, decentralization of power among subnational governments goes so far that in practice, although not in constitutional principle, they resemble federal arrangements. In Great Britain, there are important elements of regional autonomy in the relationship between Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland and the national government in London; the complex system of elected local governments, although in constitutional theory subject to abrogation by Parliament, is in practice a fixed and fairly formidable part of the apparatus of British government.

In other unitary systems of this type, decentralization on a territorial basis is actually provided for constitutionally, and the powers of locally elected officials are prescribed in detail. Thus, the Japanese constitution specifies certain autonomous functions to be performed by local administrative authorities.

A second type of unitary system makes less provision for territorial decentralization of authority and employs rather strict procedures for the central supervision of locally elected governments. The classic example of this type is pre-1982 France.

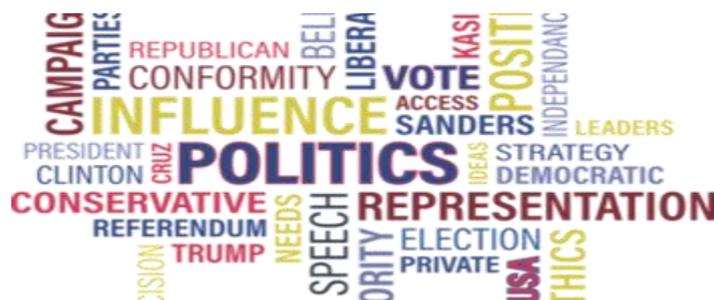
Until March 1982, when a law on decentralization went into effect, the French administrative system was built around *départements*, each headed by a *préfet*, and subdivisions of the *départements*, termed *arrondissements*, each headed by a *sous-préfet*.

The *préfets* and *sous-préfets* were appointed by the government in Paris to serve as agents of the central government and also as the executives of the divisional governments, the *conseils généraux*, which were composed of elected officials.

The system thus combined central supervision of local affairs through appointed officials with territorial representation through locally elected governments.

Yet a third type of unitary system provides for only token decentralization. In such cases, the officials responsible for managing the affairs of the territorial subdivisions are appointees of the central government, and the role of locally elected officers is either minimal or nonexistent. Examples of this kind of arrangement include Germany under Adolf Hitler and several formerly communist countries.

The Third Reich was divided into 42 *Gaue*, each headed by a *gauleiter* chosen for his personal loyalty to Hitler. In eastern Europe, the people's councils or people's committees were named by the centrally organized communist parties; their appointment was confirmed by elections with one slate of candidates.



## FEDERAL SYSTEMS

In federal systems, political authority is divided between two autonomous sets of governments, one national and the other subnational, both of which operate directly upon the people. Usually a constitutional division of power is established between the national government, which exercises authority over the whole national territory, provincial governments that exercise independent authority within their own territories.

Of the 8 largest countries in the world by area, 7 – Russia, Canada, the USA, Brazil, Australia, India, and Argentina – are organized on a federal basis. (China, the third largest, is a unitary state.) Federal countries include Austria, Belgium, Ethiopia, Germany, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Switzerland, the United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela, among others.

The governmental structures and political processes found in these federal systems show great variety. One may distinguish, first, a number of systems in which federal arrangements reflect rather clear-cut cultural divisions. A classic case of this type is Switzerland, where the people speak four different languages – German, French, Italian, and Romansh – and the federal system unites 26 historically & culturally different entities, known as cantons and demicantons. The Swiss constitution of 1848, as modified in 1874, converted into the modern federal state a confederation originally formed in the 13th century by the three forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden.

The principal agencies of federal government are a bicameral legislature, composed of a National Council representing the people directly and a Council of States representing the constituent members as entities; an executive branch (Bundesrat) elected by both houses of the legislature in joint session; and a supreme court that renders decisions on matters affecting cantonal and federal relations. The Russian Federation's arrangements, although of a markedly different kind, also reflect the cultural and linguistic diversity of the country. Depending on their size and on the territories they have historically occupied, ethnic minorities may have their own autonomous republic, region, or district.

These divisions provide varying degrees of autonomy in setting local policies and provide a basis for the preservation of the minorities' cultures. Some of these areas were integrated into the Russian Empire centuries ago, after the lands were taken from the Mongols of the Golden Horde, and others resisted occupation even late in the 19th century. It is not uncommon for Russians to constitute a plurality of the population in these areas.

The national government consists of the executive branch, led by the nationally elected president; the parliament; and a judicial branch that resolves constitutional matters. In other systems, federal arrangements are found in conjunction with a large measure of cultural homogeneity. The Constitution of the USA delegates to the federal government certain activities that concern the whole people, such as the conduct of foreign relations and war and the regulation of interstate commerce and foreign trade; certain other functions are shared between the federal government and the states; the remainder are reserved for the states. Although these arrangements require two separate bodies of political officers, two judicial systems, and two systems of taxation, they also allow extensive interaction between the federal government and the states.

Thus, the election of Congress & the president, the process of amending the Constitution, the levying of taxes. Innumerable other functions necessitate cooperation between the two levels of government and bring them into a tightly interlocking relationship.

## SUBNATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Although national government is the dominant form of political organization in the modern world, an extraordinary range of political forms exists below the national level – tribal communities, the intimate political associations of villages and towns, the governments of regions and provinces, the complex array of urban and suburban governments, and the great political and administrative systems of the cities and the metropolises.

These subnational entities are, in a sense, the basic political communities – the foundation on which all national political systems are built.

### **Tribal communities**

The typical organization of humankind in its early history was the tribe. Today, in many parts of the world, the tribal community is still a major form of human political organization. Even within more formal political systems, traces can still be found of its influence. Some of the *Länder* of modern Germany, such as Bavaria, Saxony, or Westphalia, have maintained their identity since the days of the Germanic tribal settlements.

In England, too, many county boundaries can be explained only by reference to the territorial divisions in the period after the end of the Roman occupation.

In many African countries the tribe or ethnic group is still an effective community and a vehicle of political consciousness.

(Some African scholars, viewing the term *tribe* as pejorative and inaccurate, prefer to use *ethnic group* or other similar terms to describe such communities.) Most African countries are the successors to the administrative units established by colonial regimes and owe their present boundaries to the often arbitrary decisions of imperial bureaucracies or to the territorial accommodations of rival colonial powers. The result was often the splintering of the tribal communities or their aggregation in largely artificial entities.

Tribal loyalties continue to hamper nation-building efforts in some parts of the world where tribes were once the dominant political structure. Tribes may act through formal political parties like any other interest group. In some cases they simply act out their tribal bias through the machinery of the political system, and in others they function largely outside of formal political structures.

In its primary sense, the tribe is a community organized in terms of kinship, and its subdivisions are the intimate kindred groupings of moieties, gentes, and totem groups. Its territorial basis is rarely defined with any precision, and its institutions are typically the undifferentiated and intermittent structures of an omnifunctional social system.

The leadership of the tribe is provided by the group of adult males, the lineage elders acting as tribal chiefs, the village headmen, or the shamans, or tribal magicians.

These groups and individuals are the guardians of the tribal customs and of an oral tradition of law. Law is thus not made but rather invoked; its repository is the collective memory of the tribal council or chief men. This kind of customary law, sanctioned and hallowed by religious belief, nevertheless changes and develops, for each time it is declared something may be added or omitted to meet the needs of the occasion.

**Exercise 1. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score

## RURAL COMMUNITIES

The village has traditionally been contrasted with the city: the village is the home of rural occupations and tied to the cycles of agricultural life, while the inhabitants of the city practice many trades, and its economy is founded on commerce and industry.

The village is an intimate association of families, while the city is the locus of a mass population; the culture of the village is simple and traditional, while the city is the centre of the arts and sciences and of a complex cultural development. The village and the city offer even sharper contrasts as political communities.

Historically, the village has been ruled by the informal democracy of face-to-face discussion in the village council or by a headman whose decisions are supported by village elders or by other cooperative modes of government; urban government has never been such a simple matter, and monarchical, tyrannical, aristocratic, and oligarchic forms of rule have all flourished in the city. In the village, the boundaries among political, economic, religious, and other forms of action have not been as clearly drawn as in cities.

The origins and development of the apparatus of government can be seen most clearly in the simple political society of the rural community. The transformation of kin-bound societies with their informal, folk-sustained systems of sociopolitical organization into differentiated, hierarchical societies with complex political structures began with the enlargement of the rural community – an increase in its population, the diversification of its economy, or its interaction with other communities.

The rudimentary organs of communal government were elaborated, the communal functions received more specialized direction, and leadership roles were institutionalized.

This was sometimes a process that led by gradual stages to the growth of cities. Elsewhere, however, as in the case of ancient Attica, the city was established as the result of a process of *synoikismos*, or the uniting of a number of tribal or village communities.

This was undoubtedly the origin of Athens, and, according to its legendary history, Rome also was established as a result of the forcible unification of the tribes that dwelt on the hills surrounding the Palatine Hill.

Even in the nation-states of today's world, the contrasts between the village or the town and the city as centres of human activity are readily apparent. In the country, life is more intimate, human contacts more informal, the structure of society more stable. In the city, the individual becomes anonymous, the contacts between people are mainly formal, and the standing of the individual or the family in society is subject to rapid change.

In many contemporary systems, the differences in the forms of government of rural and urban communities appear to be growing less pronounced.

In the USA, rural institutions have been seriously weakened by the movement of large numbers of people to the city. The township meeting of New England and other forms of direct citizen participation in the affairs of the community have declined in importance and have often been displaced by more formal structures and the growth of local governmental bureaucracies.

**Exercise 1. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score

## **STATES & GOVERNMENT TYPES & POLITICAL SYSTEMS**

The concept of the state can be distinguished from two related concepts with which it is sometimes confused: the concept of a form of government or regime, such as democracy or dictatorship, and the concept of a political system.

Thus, generally speaking, the term "state" refers to the instruments of political power, while the terms regime or form of government refers more to the way in which such instruments can be accessed and employed. Some scholars have suggested that the term "state" is too imprecise and loaded to be used productively in sociology and political science, and ought to be replaced by the more comprehensive term "political system".

The "political system" refers to the ensemble of all social structures that function to produce collectively binding decisions in a society. In modern times, these would include the political regime, political parties, and various sorts of organizations. The term "political system" thus denotes a broader concept than the state.

### **The Historical development of the state**

The earliest forms of the state emerged whenever it became possible to centralize power in a durable way. Agriculture and writing are almost everywhere associated with this process. Agriculture is allowed for the production and storing of a surplus.

This in turn allowed and encouraged the emergence of a class of people who controlled and protected the agricultural stores and thus did not have to spend most of their time providing for their own subsistence. In addition, writing made possible the centralization of vital information. Some political philosophers believe the origins of the state lie ultimately in the tribal culture, which were based on the coercion of the weak by the strong.

However, anthropologists point out that extant band – and tribe-level societies are notable for their lack of centralized authority, and that highly stratified societies – states – constitute a relatively recent break with the course of human history.

### **The State in classical antiquity**

The history of the state in the West usually begins with classical antiquity. During that period, the state took a variety of forms, none of them very much like the modern state.

There were monarchies whose power (like that of the Egyptian Pharaoh) was based on the religious function of the king and his control of a centralized army.

There were also large, quasi-bureaucratized empires, like the Roman Empire, which depended less on the religious function of the ruler and more on effective military and legal organizations and the cohesion of an aristocracy. Perhaps the most important political innovations of classical antiquity came from the Greek city-states and the Roman Republic.

The Greek city-states before the 4<sup>th</sup> century granted citizenship rights to their free population, and in Athens these rights were combined with a directly democratic form of government that was to have a long afterlife in political thought and history.

In contrast, Rome developed from a monarchy into a republic, governed by a senate dominated by the Roman aristocracy. The Roman political system contributed to the development of law, constitutionalism and to the distinction between the private and the public spheres.

The story of the development of the specifically modern state in the West typically begins with the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire. This led to the fragmentation of the imperial state into the hands of private and decentralized lords, whose political, judicial, and military roles corresponded to the organization of economic production.

In these conditions, according to Marxists, the economic unit of society corresponded exactly to the state on the local level. The state-system of feudal Europe was an unstable configuration of suzerains and anointed kings.

A monarch, formally at the head of a hierarchy of sovereigns, was not an absolute power who could rule at will; instead, relations between lords and monarchs were mediated by varying degrees of mutual dependence. It was ensured by the absence of a centralized system of taxation. This reality ensured that each ruler needed to obtain the "consent" of each estate in the realm. This was not quite a "state" in the Weberian sense of the term, since the king did not monopolize either the power of lawmaking (which was shared with the church) or the means of violence (which were shared with the nobles).

The formalization of the struggles over taxation between the monarch and other elements of society (especially the nobility and the cities) gave rise to what is now called the *Standestaat*, or the state of Estates, characterized by parliaments in which key social groups negotiated with the king about legal and economic matters. These estates of the realm sometimes evolved in the direction of fully-fledged parliaments, but sometimes lost out in their struggles with the monarch, leading to greater centralization of lawmaking and coercive (chiefly military) power in his hands. Beginning in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, this centralizing process gave rise to the absolutist state.

### **The Modern state**

The rise of the "modern state" as a public power constituting the supreme political authority within a defined territory is associated with Western Europe's gradual institutional development beginning in earnest in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, culminating in the rise of absolutism and capitalism.

As Europe's dynastic states – England under the Tudors, Spain under the Habsburgs, and France under the Bourbons – embarked on a variety of programs designed to increase centralized political and economic control, they increasingly exhibited many of the institutional features that characterize the "modern state".

This centralization of power involved the delineation of political boundaries, as European monarchs gradually defeated or co-opted other sources of power, such as the Church and lesser nobility. In place of the fragmented system of feudal rule, with its often indistinct territorial claims, large, unitary states with extensive control over definite territories emerged.

This process gave rise to the highly centralized and increasingly bureaucratic forms of absolute monarchical rule of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the principal features of the contemporary state system took form, including the introduction of a standing army, a central taxation system, diplomatic relations with permanent embassies, and the development of state economic policy – mercantilism.

Cultural and national homogenization figured prominently in the rise of the modern state system. Since the absolutist period, states have largely been organized on a national basis.

The concept of a national state, however, is not synonymous with nation-state.

Even in the most ethnically homogeneous societies there is not always a complete correspondence between state and nation, hence the active role often taken by the state to promote nationalism through emphasis on shared symbols and national identity.

It is in this period that the term "state" is first introduced into political discourse in more or less its current meaning. Although Niccolò Machiavelli is often credited with first using the term to refer to a territorial sovereign government in the modern sense in *The Prince*, published in 1532.

It is not until the time of the British thinkers Thomas Hobbes and John Locke and the French thinker Jean Bodin that the concept in its current meaning is fully developed.

Today, most Western states more or less fit the influential definition of the state in Max Weber's *Politics as a Vocation*. According to Weber, the modern state monopolizes the means of legitimate physical violence over a well-defined territory.

Moreover, the legitimacy of this monopoly itself is of a very special kind, "rational-legal" legitimacy, based on impersonal rules that constrain the power of state elites.

However, in some other parts of the world states do not fit Weber's definition as well. They may not have a complete monopoly over the means of legitimate physical violence over a definite territory, or their legitimacy may not be adequately described as rational-legal. However, they are still recognizably distinct from feudal and absolutist states in the extent of their bureaucratization and their reliance on nationalism as a principle of legitimation.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 2. Compare empirical and juridical senses of the word "state".**

The word "state" has both an empirical and a juridical sense; entities can be states either *de facto* or *de jure* or both. Empirically (or *de facto*), an entity is a state if, as in Max Weber's influential definition, it is that organization that has a "monopoly on legitimate violence" over a specific territory. Such an entity imposes its own legal order over a territory, even if it is not legally recognized as a state by other states (e.g., Taiwan).

Juridically (*de jure*), an entity is a state in international law if it is recognized as such by other states, even if it does not actually have a monopoly on the legitimate use of force over a territory. Only an entity juridically recognized as a state can enter into many kinds of international agreements and be represented in a variety of legal forums, such as the United Nations.

## STATE VERSUS GOVERNMENT

An organized political community that lives under a single system of government	The system by which a state or community is controlled
More or less permanent	Temporary
Political entity that is immaterial and non-physical	Generally refers to a group of people
Employs its power through the government	Controls the state at a given time
	<small>Pediaa.com</small>

## STATE & CIVIL SOCIETY

The modern state is both separate from and connected to civil society. The nature of this connection has been the subject of considerable attention in both analyses of state development and normative theories of the state. Classical thinkers, such as Thomas Hobbes, J. J. Rousseau, I. Kant emphasized the identity of the state and society, while modern thinkers, by contrast, beginning with G. W. F. Hegel and Alexis de Tocqueville, started to emphasize the relations between them as independent entities.

Jurgen Habermas, has argued that civil society may form an economic base for a public sphere, as a placed in political superstructure domain of extra-institutional engagement with matters of public interest trying to influence the state and yet necessarily connected with it. Some Marxist theorists, such as Antonio Gramsci, have questioned the distinction between the state and civil society altogether, arguing that the former is integrated into many parts of the latter. Others, such as Louis Althusser, maintain that civil organizations such as churches, schools, and even trade unions are part of an "ideological state apparatus".

In this sense, the state can fund a number of groups within society that, while autonomous in principle, are dependent on state support. Privatization, nationalization, and the creation of new regulatory bodies also change the boundaries of the state in relation to society.

### State & International System

Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the entirety of the world's inhabitable land has been parceled up into states with more or less definite borders claimed by various states. Earlier, quite large land areas had been either unclaimed or uninhabited, or inhabited by nomadic peoples who were not organized as states. Currently more than 200 states comprise the international community, with the vast majority of them represented in the United Nations.

These states form what International relations theorists call a system, where each state takes into account the behavior of other states when making their own calculations.

From this point of view, states embedded in an international system face internal and external security and legitimation dilemmas. Recently the notion of an "international community" has been developed to refer to a group of states who have established rules, procedures, and institutions for the conduct of their relations. In this way the foundation has been laid for international law, diplomacy, formal regimes, and organizations.

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, the globalization of the world economy, the mobility of people and capital, and the rise of many international institutions all combined to circumscribe the freedom of action of states. These constraints on the state's freedom of action are accompanied in some areas, notably Western Europe, with projects for interstate integration such as the European Union. However, the state remains the basic political unit of the world, as it has been since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The state is therefore considered the most central concept in the study of politics, and its definition is the subject of intense scholarly debate. By modern practice and the law of international relations, a state's sovereignty is conditional upon the diplomatic recognition of the state's claim to statehood.

Degrees of recognition and sovereignty may vary. However, any degree of recognition, even recognition by a majority of the states in the international system, is not binding on third-party states. The legal criteria for statehood are not obvious. Often, the laws are surpassed by political circumstances. However, one of the documents often quoted on the matter is the Montevideo Convention from 1933, the first article of which states.

The state as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications: (a) a permanent population; (b) a defined territory; (c) government; (d) capacity to enter into relations with the other states.

### **Contemporary approaches to the study of the state**

There are three main traditions within political science and sociology that shape "theories of the state": the pluralist, the Marxist, and the institutionalist. In addition, anarchists present a tradition, which is similar to, but different from, the Marxian one.

Each of these theories has been employed to gain understanding on the state, while recognizing its complexity. Several issues underlie this complexity.

First, the boundaries of the state sector are not clearly defined, while they change constantly. Second, the state is not only the site of conflict between different organizations, but also internal conflict and conflict within organizations.

Some scholars speak of the "state's interest", but there are often various interests within different parts of the state that are neither solely state-centered nor solely society-centered, but develop between different groups in civil society and different state actors.

**Pluralism** has been very popular in the USA. In fact, it might be seen as the dominant vision of politics in that country. Within this tradition, Robert Dahl sees the state as either (1) a neutral arena for settling disputes among contending interests or (2) a collection of agencies which themselves act as simply another set of interest groups. With power diffused across society among many competing groups, state policy is a product of recurrent bargaining.

Although pluralism recognizes the existence of inequality, it asserts that all groups have an opportunity to pressure the state. The pluralist approach suggests that the modern democratic state's actions are the result of pressures applied by a variety of organized interests. Dahl called this kind of state a **polyarchy**.

In some ways, the development of the pluralist school is a response to the "power elite" theory presented in 1956 by the sociologist C. Wright Mills concerning the U.S. and furthered by research by G. William Domhoff, among others. In that theory, the most powerful elements of the political, military, and economic parts of U.S. society are united at the top of the political system, acting to serve their common interests.

**Marxist theories** of the state were relatively influential in continental Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. However, it is hard to summarize the theory developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. For Marxist theorists, the role of modern states is determined or related to their role in capitalist societies. In contrast to liberal or pluralist views, the American economist Paul Sweezy and other Marxian thinkers have pointed out that the main job of the state is to protect capitalist property rights in the means of production.

At first, this seems hardly controversial. After all, many economics and politics textbooks refer to the state's crucial role in defending property rights and in enforcing contracts.

Nevertheless, the capitalists own a share of the means of production that is far out of proportion to the capitalists' role in the total population.

More importantly, in Marxian theory, ownership of the means of production gives that minority social power over those who do not own the means of production (the workers). Because of that power to exploit and dominate the working class, the state's defense of them is nothing but the use of coercion to defend capitalism as a class society. Instead of serving the interests of society as a whole, in this view the state serves those of a small minority of the population.

Among Marxists, as with other topics, there are many debates about the nature and role of the capitalist state.

One division is between the "instrumentalists" and the "structuralists". Unless they are ready to actually mobilize the working population to revolutionize society and move beyond capitalism, "sober" state managers will pull back from anti-capitalist policies.

In any event, they would likely never go so far as to "rock the boat" because of their acceptance of the dominant ideology encouraged by the prevailing educational system.

In a non-capitalist system such as feudalism, Marxian historians have said that the state did not really exist in the sense that it does today (using Weber's definition).

That is, the central state did not monopolize force in a specific geographic area.

The feudal king typically had to depend on the military power of his "lieges".

This meant that the country was more of an alliance than a unified whole. Further, the difference between the state and civil society was weak: the feudal lords were not simply involved in "economic" activity (production, sale, etc.) but also "political" activity: they used force against their serfs (to extract rents), while acting as judge, jury, and police.

After all, no society has ever completely abolished classes. In addition, no self-described "socialist" country has been able to do without a military defense against capitalist invasion or destabilization. The *anarchists* share many of the Marxian propositions about the state.

In contrast, anarchists argue that a country's collective interests can be served without having a centralized organization. The maintenance of law and order does not require that there be a sector of society that monopolizes the legitimate use of force. It is possible for society to prosper without a state, even without a long period of classes "withering away."

In fact, anarchists see the state as a parasite that can and should be abolished. Anarcho-capitalists envision a free market guided by the invisible hand offering critical or valuable functions traditionally provided by to replace the state; other anarchists (Bakunin & Kropotkin in the 19<sup>th</sup> c.) tend to put less emphasis on markets, arguing for a form of socialism without the state. Such socialism would require worker self-management of the means of production & the federation of worker organizations in communes, which will then federate into larger units. Anarchists consider the state to be the institutionalization of domination and privilege.

According to key theorists, the state emerged to ratify and deepen the dominance of the victors of history. Naturally, enough, many fractions of the ruling classes and even the oppressed classes strive to control the state, forming different and ever-changing alliances. They also reject the need for a state to serve the collective needs of the people.

Hence, they reject not only the current state, but the Marxian idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead, they see the state as an inherently oppressive force, which takes away the ability of people to make decisions about the things that affect their lives.

Both the Marxist and pluralist approaches view the state as reacting to the activities of groups within society, such as classes or interest groups.

In particular, the "new *institutionalism*", an approach to politics that holds that behavior is fundamentally molded by the institutions in which it is embedded, asserts that the state is not an 'instrument' or an "arena" and does not "function" in the interests of a single class.

Scholars working within this approach stress the importance of interposing civil society between the economy and the state to explain variation in state forms. Since the state controls the means of coercion, and given the dependence of many groups in civil society on the state for achieving any goals they may espouse.

State personnel can to some extent impose their own preferences on civil society.

The rise of the modern state system was closely related to changes in political thought, especially concerning the changing understanding of legitimate state power.

Early thinkers introduced two important concepts in order to justify sovereign power: the idea of a state of nature and the idea of a social contract.

The first concept describes an imagined situation in which the state – understood as a centralized, coercive power – does not exist, and human beings have all their natural rights and powers; the second describes the conditions under which a voluntary agreement could take human beings out of the state of nature and into a state of civil society.

**Exercise 1. Summarize the information briefly in English.**

**Exercise 2. Make up dialogues from the information above and carry them on in class.**

**Exercise 3. Give definitions to the following words: power, force, authority.**

**Exercise 4. Find the odd word out.**

1. Monarchy – an oligarchy – a dictatorship – authority – democracy.
2. A prince – a monarch – a queen – a king – a prime-minister.
3. Shoot – murder – kill – execute – assassinate – imprison.

**Exercise 5. Match the words with their definition.**

1. A set of plans or actions that are agreed on by a government, political party or other organization.	a. political
2. Interested or involved in politics.	b. policy
3. Someone who has a job in politics.	c. politics
4. The idea and activities that are involved in getting power in an area of governing it.	d. politician

**Exercise 6. Guess these words according to their meanings.**

1. (n) – controlling a country & its people in a very strict way, without allowing another political party
2. (n) – government by someone who takes power by force and doesn't allow elections
3. (n) – a system of government in which a country is ruled by a king or queen

**Exercise 7. Change the words into nouns.**

Governmental, presidential, religious, influential, educational, significant, national, economic.

**Exercise 8. Give synonyms to this list of words.**

Impact, fate, contemporary, to trust, issue, outlook, persuasion, to reign.

**Exercise 9. Answer the questions.**

1. What is political socialization?
2. What are the principal institutions of political socialization?
3. How can the schools be influential?
4. Do parents views have an important impact on their children's outlook?
5. What do educational institutions generally reflect?
6. What is the role of mass media?
7. Who usually participates in political organizations on a local or national level?
8. How many important concepts are there in order to justify sovereign power?

**Exercise 10. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 11. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

## GOVERNMENT & POLITICS

A *political system* is a cultural universal and a social institution formed in every society.

Each society must have a political system *because politics* is deciding who gets what, when and *how*. *Power* is at the heart of a political system, for it is defined as the ability to exercise one's will over others. Power relations can involve large organizations, small groups, or even people in an intimate association.

There are three basic sources of power within any political system – force, influence and authority. *Force* is the actual or threatened use of coercion to impose one's will on others. When leaders imprison or even execute political dissidents, they are applying force; so, too, are terrorists when they seize an embassy or assassinate a political leader.

*Influence*, on the other hand, refers to the exercise of power through a process of persuasion. A citizen may change his or her political position because of the newspaper editorial, an expert testimony, or a stirring speech at a rally by a political activist.

The term *authority* refers to power that has been institutionalized and is recognized by the people over whom it is exercised. Sociologists commonly use this term in connection with those who hold legitimate power through elected or publicly acknowledged positions.

Each society establishes a political system by which it is governed.

In modern industrial societies there are five basic types of government: monarchy, oligarchy, dictatorship, totalitarianism and democracy. A *monarchy* is a form of government headed by a single member of a royal family, usually a king, or a queen. At present, monarchs hold true governmental power in only a few nations, such as Monaco. Most monarchs have little practical power and primarily serve ceremonial purposes.

An *oligarchy* is a form of government in which a few individuals rule. Today, it usually takes the form either of military rule, like in the developing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, or of a ruling group as is the case with the Communist Parties of some countries in Europe and Asia, the Soviet Union including.

A *dictatorship* is a government in which one person has nearly total power to make and enforce laws. Typically, dictators seize power by force and are usually bitterly hated by the population over whom they rule with an iron hand.

Frequently, dictatorships develop such overwhelming control over people's lives that they are called totalitarian. Totalitarianism involves complete governmental control over all aspects of social and political life in a society. Both Nazi Germany under Hitler and the Soviet Union after the October Revolution are classified as totalitarian states.

Political scientists have identified six basic characteristics of a totalitarian state: Large-scale use of ideology. One-party system. Control of weapons. Terror. Control of the media. Control of the economy. Through such methods, totalitarian governments have complete control over people's destinies.

In a literal sense, democracy means government by the people. The word «democracy» is originated in two Greek roots – "demos", meaning "the common people", and "kratia", meaning "rule". Of course, it would be impossible for all the people of a country to vote on every important issue that comes about. Consequently, democracies are generally maintained through a mode of participation known as *representative democracy*, in which certain individuals are selected to speak for the people.

**Exercise 1. Speak about the sociological analysis of social institutions.**

**Exercise 2. Read the information & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 3. Read and translate the text using a dictionary if necessary.**

Each society has its own ways of governing itself & making decisions; each generation must be encouraged to accept a society's basic political values and its particular methods of decision-making. *Political socialization* is the process by which individuals acquire political attitudes and develop patterns of political behavior.

The principal institutions of political socialization are the family, schools, and the media. Many observers see the family as playing a particularly significant role in this process, as parents' views have important impacts on their children's outlook.

The schools can be influential in political socialization, too, since they provide young people with information and analysis of the political world. All societies, even democracies, use educational institutions for this purpose and political education generally reflects the norms and values of the prevailing political order. Like the family and schools, the mass media can have obvious effects on people's thinking and political behavior.

Today, many speeches given by a nation's leaders are designed not for immediate listeners, but for the larger television audience.

Yet, a number of studies have reported that the media do not tend to influence the masses of people directly. Messages passed through the media first reach a small number of opinion leaders including teachers, religious authorities, and community activists, and later, these leaders «spread the word» to others over whom they have influence.

In theory, a representative democracy functions most effectively if the majority of its citizens get involved in the political process. Unfortunately, this is hardly the case in our contemporary societies. Though the majority is familiar with the basics of the political life, but, only a small minority (often members of the higher social classes) actually participates in political organizations on a local or national level.

Sociologists note that people are more likely to participate actively in political life if they feel that they have the ability to influence politicians and the political order. In addition, citizens are willing to become involved if they trust political leaders or feel that an organized political party represents their interests. Without question, in an age marked by revelation of political corruption at the highest level, many members of all social groups feel powerless and distrustful. As a result, many view political participation, including voting at presidential elections, as a waste of time.

**Exercise 4. Speak about the citizen's participation in political life in the USA, Great Britain.**

**Exercise 5. What is your opinion about following notions?**

- Ideas of government.
- System of government.
- Modern democracies.
- Political systems.
- Elections.
- Extreme governments.
- Political organizations.
- Political socialization.

**Exercise 6. Give adjectives to the following words.**

Power (n), force (n), policy (n), democracy (n), totalitarianism (n), dictatorship (n), sociology (n), president (n).

**Exercise 7. Read the text, title & translate it, using a dictionary if necessary.**

When we speak about models of power structure, it is important to answer the following questions: Who really holds power in a society? Do "we the people" really run the country through elected representatives? Or is there small elite of people that governs behind the scenes? It is difficult to determine the location of power in a society as complex as modern industrial ones. In exploring these critical questions, social scientists have developed two basic views of a nation's power structure: the elite and the pluralist models.

*The elite model* is a view of society as ruled by a small group of individuals who share a common set of political and economic interests. Very often it is *the power elite*, if all power – industrial, military, governmental – rests in the hands of a few who control the fate of a state. Some sociologists do not fully accept this power elite model and suggest that, in this case, a society is run and controlled by a social upper class that is *a ruling class* that exercises the dominant role in politics, economy and government.

By contrast, *the pluralist model* is a view of society in which many conflicting groups within a community have access to governmental officials and compete with one another in an attempt to influence policy decisions. Without a question, the pluralist and elite models have little in common and each describes a dramatically different distribution of power. Yet, each model offers an accurate picture of the political life in contemporary society. Power in various areas rests in the hands of a small number of citizens (elite view), yet within contemporary society there are a great number of political institutions and agencies with differing ideas and interests (pluralist model).

Thus, we may end this discussion with one common point of the elite and pluralist perspective – power in a contemporary political system is unequally distributed; all citizens may be equal in theory, yet those high in a nation's power structure are "more equal".

**Exercise 8. Find in the text English equivalents of the following ones.**

Осуществлять свою волю, принуждение, навязывать волю, заключить в тюрьму, совершить политическое убийство, убеждать (убеждения), передовица, показание (свидетельство), страстная речь, применять власть над кем-либо, обладать законной властью, руководить (управлять), править, как в случае, создавать и проводить в жизнь законы, захватывать власть силой, часто, широкомасштабный, судьба (2), в буквальном смысле, голосовать, следовательно, выбирать, говорить от имени народа, приобретать политические взгляды, взгляды родителей, мировоззрение, преобладать (преобладающий), оказывать явное влияние на, мышление, теоретически, к сожалению, быть знакомым с основами, участвовать (участие), доверять, представлять интересы, несомненно, обнаруживать (признание, открытие), недоверчивый, президентские выборы, пустая трата времени, выборные, представители, за кулисами, исследовать критический вопрос, иметь общие интересы, иметь доступ к чему-либо, государственные чиновники, иметь мало общего, находиться в руках (власть).

**Exercise 9. Give definitions of the following words.**

- A small group of people who have a lot of power or advantages (elite).
- A situation in which people of different races, religions, cultures, politics, etc. live together in a society (pluralism).
- Modern, or relating to the present time (contemporary).

**Exercise 10. Find the odd word out.**

- A group – a community – a society – a model;
- observers – political leaders – sociologists – politicians – governmental – officials – individuals;
- dictatorship – oligarchy – pluralism – monarchy.

**Exercise 11. Study the word-combinations and use them in sentences of your own.**

To exercise one's will over smb., to impose one's will on smth., to apply force, to assassinate a political leader, because of, in connection with, to hold legitimate power, to enforce laws, to seize power by force, to be bitterly hated by, to develop overwhelming (complete) control over, in a literal sense, to vote on an issue, to speak for the people, to acquire political attitudes, to provide smb. with smth., to have an effect (an impact) on, to influence smb. directly, to have influence over, in theory, get involved in, to trust smb., to be willing to do smth., to be likely to do smth., to represent smb's interests, to feel distrustful, to view smth. as a waste of time, to run a country (to govern country), to govern smth. behind the scenes, to share interests, power rests, to have access to, to compete with, to have little (much) in common with.

**Exercise 12. Supply the missing words & word-combinations choosing among those below.**

1) Power is the ability to ... one's will over others. 2) Force is the actual or ... use of coercion ... one's will on others. 3) Influence is the exercise of power through a process of ... 4) Authority refers to those who hold ... power through ... or publicly ... positions. 5) Each society ... a political system by which it is ... . 6) Most monarchs have little practical power and primarily ... ceremonial purposes. 7) A dictator is a person who has nearly ... power to make and ... laws. 8) Frequently, dictatorships develop ... control over people's lives. 9) One of the characteristics of a totalitarian state is ... use of ideology. 10) Political socialization is the process by which individuals... political... and develop ... of political behavior. 11) The family plays a particularly ... role in political socialization. 12) Parents'... have an important... on children's ... . 13) Schools ... young people with information and analysis of the political world. 14) Political education generally... the norms and values of the ... political order. 15) The mass media can have ... effects on people's ... and political behavior. 16) A number of studies have ... that the media do not ... to influence the masses of people.... 17) Unfortunately, this is... the case in our contemporary societies. 18) Citizens are ...to participate in political life if they ... political leaders or feel that they ... their interests. 19) In an age ... by revelation of political... people feel powerless and ... .20) As a result, many view political participation as ....21)... the pluralist and elite models have little ... and each describes a ..., different distribution of power. 22) Power in various areas ... in the hands of a small number of citizens.

*Rests, without question, in common, dramatically, a waste of time, marked, corruption, distrustful, willing, trust, represent, hardly, reported, tend, directly, obvious, thinking, reflects, prevailing, provide, views, impact, outlook, significant, acquire, attitudes, patterns, large-scale, overwhelming, total, enforce, sense, establishes, governed, legitimate, elected, acknowledged, persuasion, threatened, to impose, exercise.*

**Exercise 13. Compare philosophy of Medieval Europe and Medieval Islam.**

Medieval political philosophy in Europe was heavily influenced by Christian thinking. It had much in common with the Islamic thinking in that the Roman Catholics also subordinated philosophy to theology. Perhaps the most influential political philosopher of medieval Europe was St. Thomas Aquinas who helped reintroduce Aristotle's works, which had only been preserved by the Muslims, along with the commentaries of Averroes. Aquinas's use of them set the agenda for scholastic political philosophy, dominated European thought for centuries.

**Exercise 14. Read the text and answer the following questions.**

1. Why is a political system a cultural universal? 2. How can you prove that power is at the heart of a political system? 3. What basic sources of power are there within any political system? 4. What differs "force" from "influence" as sources of power? 5. In what connection do sociologists commonly use the term "authority"? 6. What are the basic forms of government in contemporary industrial society? 7. What differs the monarchy from the oligarchy? 8. Why do dictatorships frequently develop into totalitarianism? 9. What are the basic characteristics of a totalitarian state? 10. What does "democracy" mean in a literal sense and in practice? 11. Through what process do members of a society acquire their political attitudes and develop patterns of political behavior? 12. How can you prove that the family, schools and the media are the principal institutions of political socialization? 13. How can you characterize the process of involving people in political activities in theory and in practice? 14. What models of power structure do you know? 15. Do they offer an accurate picture of the political life in contemporary society? Why so? 16. What is one common point of both models? Do you agree with this statement?

**Exercise 15. Speak and discuss.**

I. 1. What is a political system? 2. Why must each society have a political system? 3. How is the power defined? 4. What three basic sources of power are there? 5. When is force usually used? 6. How is influence used in politics? 7. What are the five basic types of government in modern industrial societies? 8. What six basic characteristics of a totalitarian state have been identified by political scientists? 9. In a literal sense, democracy means "government by the people", doesn't it? 10. What is a representative democracy?

II. 1. Has each society its own ways of governing itself? 2. What is political socialization? 3. The principal institutions of political socialization are the family, schools and the media, aren't they? 4. What institution has the most important impact on the person's outlook? 5. Are many speeches given by nation's leaders designed for immediate listeners or the larger television audience? 6. When does a representative democracy function most effectively in theory? 7. Is the majority of our modern societies' citizens involved in the political process? 8. Are citizens willing to become involved if they trust political leaders? 9. Can our political leaders be fully trusted? 10. Is it difficult to determine the location of power in a society as complex as modern industrial ones? 11. What are the two basic views of a nation's power structure? 12. What is the elite model? 13. What is the difference between the power elite and a ruling class? 14. What is the pluralist model? 15. What is the common point of the elite and pluralist models?

**Exercise 16. Discuss the following topics thinking like sociologists.**

1. The former Soviet Union: a representative democracy or a totalitarian state? 2. The present organization of the Russian system of power and authority. 3. Political socialization and its agents in the Ukrainian society. 4. The process through which you have acquainted your political outlook. 5. The influence of the Ukrainian mass media on the country's political campaign. Can Ukrainians be considered active or apathetic in their political behavior? Why? 6. The distribution of power in the Ukrainian political system: are there any citizens "more equal" in our country.

**Exercise 17. Translate the sentences into Russian.**

1. I did not think it politic to express my reservations. 2. There are the cumbersome bureaucracy and politicking of the European Community. 3. If it seems politic to do a particular thing, that seems to be the most sensible thing to do in the circumstances. 4. Many towns often found it politic to change their allegiance. 5. Politicking means often derogatory engage in political activity. 6. News of this unseemly politicking invariably leaks into the press.

## GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURES

The study of governmental structures must be approached with great caution, for political systems having the same kind of legal arrangements and using the same type of governmental machinery often function very differently. A parliament, for example, may be an important and effective part of a political system; or it may be no more than an institutional facade of little practical significance.

A constitution may provide the framework within which the political life of a state is conducted; or it may be no more than a piece of paper, its provisions bearing almost no relationship to the facts of political life. Political systems must never be classified in terms of their legal structures alone: the fact that two states have similar constitutions with similar institutional provisions and legal requirements should never, by itself, lead to the conclusion that they represent the same type of political system.

To be useful, the study of governmental structures must always proceed hand in hand with an investigation of the actual facts of the political process: the analyst must exercise the greatest care in distinguishing between form and reality and between prescription and practice. Approached in this way, an examination of the organizational arrangements that governments use for making decisions and exercising power can be a valuable tool of political inquiry.

Few states in the modern world have constitutional arrangements that are more than a century old. Indeed, the vast majority of all the world's states have constitutions written in the 20th or 21st century. This is true of states that were defeated in World War II, such as Germany, Italy, Japan, of other states that experienced civil war and revolutions in the course of the last century, such as the successor states of the Soviet Union, Spain, and China. The UK and the USA are almost alone among major contemporary nation-states in possessing constitutional arrangements that predate the 20th century.

Even in Britain and the USA, the 20th century saw much change in the governmental system. In the USA, the relationship of legislature and executive at both the national and the state levels was significantly altered by the growth of bureaucracies and the enlargement of the executive's budgetary powers.

In Britain, even more far-reaching changes occurred in the relationship between the prime minister and Parliament and in Parliament's role in supervising the executive establishment. In both countries the appearance of the welfare state, the impact of modern technology on the economy, and international crises resulted in major alterations in the ways in which the institutions of government function and interact. The modern student of constitutional forms and institutional arrangements confronts an endlessly changing world.

In many parts of the world, in countries as different as France, Pakistan, Argentina, and Tanzania, there have been continuing experiments with new constitutions.

The adoption of new constitutions also has been a major aspect of political change in the successor states of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

All systems, moreover, even without formal constitutional change, undergo a continual process of adjustment and mutation as their institutional arrangements respond to and reflect changes in the social order and the balance of political forces. The ancient distinction among monarchies, tyrannies, oligarchies, constitutional governments, like other traditional classifications of political systems, is no longer very descriptive of political life.

## Oligarchy

In the Aristotelian classification of government, there were two forms of rule by the few: aristocracy and its debased form, oligarchy. Although the term *oligarchy* is rarely used to refer to contemporary political systems, the phenomenon of irresponsible rule by small groups has not vanished from the world.

Many of the classical conditions of oligarchic rule were found until the 20th century in those parts of Asia in which governing elites were recruited exclusively from a ruling caste – a hereditary social grouping set apart from the rest of society by religion, kinship, economic status, prestige, and even language.

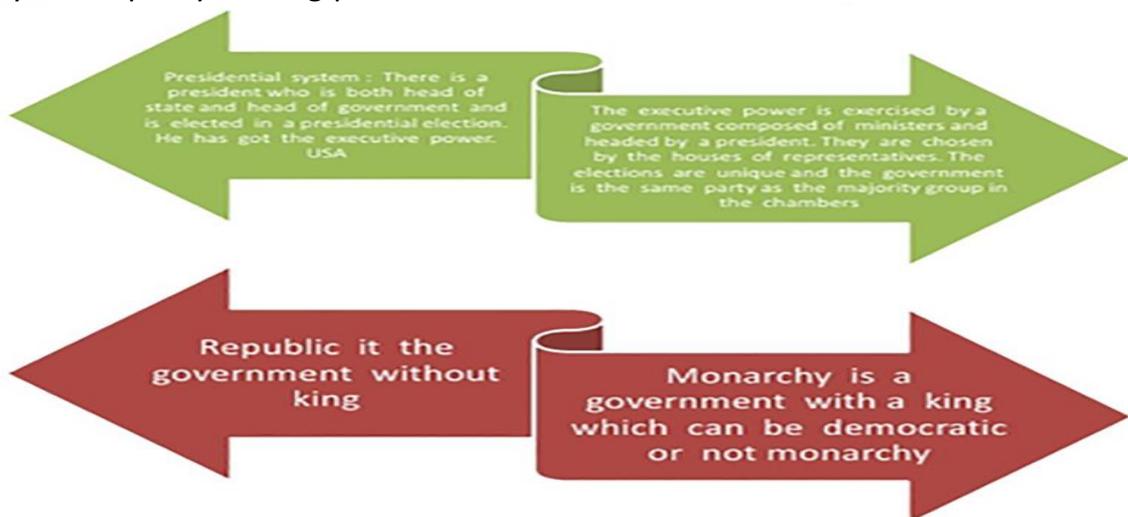
In the contemporary world, in some countries that have not experienced the full impact of industrialization, governing elites are still often recruited from a ruling class – a stratum of society that monopolizes the chief social and economic functions in the system. Such elites have typically exercised power to maintain the economic and political status quo. The simple forms of oligarchic rule associated with pre-industrial societies are, of course, rapidly disappearing.

Industrialization produces new, differentiated elites that replace the small leadership groupings that once controlled social, economic, and political power in the society.

The demands of industrialization compel recruitment on the basis of skill, merit, and achievement rather than on the basis of inherited social position and wealth. New forms of oligarchic rule have made their appearance in many advanced industrial societies.

Although governing elites in these societies are no longer recruited from a single class, they are often not subjected to effective restraints on the exercise of their power. Indeed, in some circumstances, the new elites may use their power to convert themselves into a governing class whose interests are protected by every agency of the state.

Oligarchic tendencies of a lesser degree have been detected in all the great bureaucratic structures of advanced political systems. The growing complexity of modern society and its government thrusts ever greater power into the hands of administrators and committees of experts. Even in constitutional regimes, no fully satisfactory answer has been found to the question of how these bureaucratic decision makers can be held accountable and their powers effectively restrained without, at the same time, jeopardizing the efficiency and rationality of the policy-making process.



Types of democracy systems

## THERE ARE FIVE MAIN POLITICAL SYSTEMS

When we speak of political systems, it's difficult to determine what the most common types are. After all, many political systems are similar, or have similar roots. Many countries actually have republics of some kind – variants of democracy.

As you study political science, it can be helpful to understand some of the most common types of political systems from around the world.

Understanding different political systems is important. Each political system has its advantages and disadvantages. It is worth considering the merits of other political systems, and perhaps incorporating some of the ideas into your own system. Some of the five more common political systems around the world include: Here are some overviews of these five fairly recognizable political systems:

### **Democracy**

We often hear the United States referred to as a democracy. Indeed, many refer to the U.S. as a representative democracy. A democracy in a more traditional sense is a political system that allows for each individual to participate. There are two rather popular types of democracy:

**Direct Democracy:** Many scholars point to Athens as an example of direct democracy.

Technically, every citizen has an equal say in the workings of government. (The qualifications for being considered a citizen are completely different.) Citizens could show up at a meeting, and then directly participate in the governing process, and the process of making laws.

**Representative Democracy:** In a representative democracy set-up, citizens elect representatives who actually make the law. The United States operates similarly to this principle. Citizens elect legislators who, in turn, make laws. In the U.S., even the president isn't elected directly; representatives called electors make the decision (although designated electors usually vote according to the wishes of the citizens in their states).

Other types of democracy include versions known as deliberative democracy, in which citizens approach decision making by considering different viewpoints and options, as well as democratic socialism, in which citizens help make decisions or vote for policies that are socialistic in nature. There are other types of democracy as well. The defining characteristic is some level of citizen participation in the political system

### **Republic**

In theory, a republic is a political system in which the government remains mostly subject to those governed. Some scholars define any political system in which the citizens legitimize the government. As such, some (including Montesquieu) consider the U.S. a republic. Indeed, there are those that believe that any form of government that is not based on heritage or authoritarian governance. In some cases, a representative democracy (or any form of democracy) might be considered a republic. Some of the types of republics that you might see include: Crowned (a constitutional monarchy might be considered a crowned republic); Single Party; Capitalist; Federal (the United States is often referred to as a federal republic); Parliamentary. The main characteristic of a republic is that the government is subject to the people, and leaders can be recalled. Some even make the argument that an oligarchy, which is rule by a few citizens, or a group of citizens, is a form of republic, since the government is subject to the wishes of some of the governed.

## **Monarchy**

A king may be a ceremonial head of state, as in a parliamentary democracy, or he may be a head of government, perhaps even functioning as an absolute ruler.

In the first case his duties may be little different from those of an elected president in many republican parliamentary regimes; in the second his role may be much the same as a dictator in an autocratic regime.

It may be said of the reigning dynasties of modern Europe that they have survived only because they failed to retain or to acquire effective powers of government.

Royal lines have been preserved only in those countries of Europe in which royal rule was severely limited prior to the 20th century or in which royal absolutism had never firmly established itself. More successful dynasties, such as the Hohenzollerns in Germany, the Habsburgs in Austria-Hungary, and the Romanovs in Russia, which continued to rule as well as to reign at the opening of the 20th century, paid with the loss of their thrones.

Today in countries such as Great Britain, the Netherlands, or Denmark, the monarch is the ceremonial head of state, an indispensable figure in all great official occasions and a symbol of national unity and of the authority of the state, but is almost entirely lacking in power. Monarchy in the parliamentary democracies of modern Europe has been reduced to the status of a dignified institutional facade behind which the functioning mechanisms of government – cabinet, parliament, ministries, and parties – go about the tasks of ruling.

The 20th century saw the demise of most of the hereditary monarchies of the non-Western world. Thrones toppled in Turkey, China, in most of the Arab countries, in the principates of India, in the tribal kingdoms of Africa, in several countries of Southeast Asia.

The kings who maintain their position do so less by the claim of legitimate blood descent than by their appeal as popular leaders responsible for well-publicized programs of national economic and social reform or as national military chieftains.

In a sense, these kings are less monarchs than monocrats, and their regimes are little different from several other forms of one-man rule found in the modern world.

When most of us think of a monarchy, we think of the political systems of medieval European countries. In a monarchy, a ruler is not usually chosen by the voice of the people or their representatives. Often a monarch is the head of state until he or she abdicates or until death. In many cases a monarch is the final word in government. There may be functionaries to make decisions and run the political system, but the monarch has discretion with the laws, and how they are enforced.

However, as with other political systems, there are different types of monarchies.

The type that many of us think of as common is the absolute monarchy, in which the monarch truly has the ultimate say in matters of government. However, most monarchies in political systems today do not follow this method.

Many of them, especially in the developed world, have limits. Constitutional monarchies fall into this category (and are sometimes considered republics as well). In this type of monarchy, the ruler is the head of state, but a constitution limits the power, and others make laws. The U.K., Denmark, Kuwait, Spain, Sweden, Tuvalu, and many more are examples of constitutional monarchies.

Other types of monarchies include duchies, grand duchies, elective monarchy (the monarch is actually elected), and non-sovereign monarchy.

## **Communism**

In most cases, a communist state is based on the ideology of communism as taught by Marx and/or Lenin. However, some argue that these political systems are not true to the ideals espoused by these revolutionary thinkers.

Communist states are often dominated by a single party, or a group of people. A planned economy is often part of the governing class, and in many cases resources are taken and then redistributed to others, at the top of the system. Sometimes communists call themselves "workers' states" or "socialist", but there are very real differences in their operation. In a lot of cases, citizens are required to do certain jobs, or have some of their life decisions – especially concerning where they can live and what jobs they can do. Communism is often considered an authoritarian political system.

## **Dictatorship**

Another authoritarian form of government is the dictatorship. Normally, a dictator is the main individual ruling the country. While there are lackeys and others who work for the dictator, he or she makes most of the decisions, and usually has enforcers. In some cases, the political system is run by a small group of people.

Dictators are not restricted by constitutions or parliaments. The governed are usually not consented in any way. Elections held are usually affairs in which the dictator is the only candidate. One of the more common types of dictatorship is the military dictatorship, in which a military organization governs, running the political system.

Sometimes, the military just exerts a great deal of pressure on the government, running the country *de facto*. In many cases, very few benefit from the decisions made in a dictatorship. While authoritarian political systems have the advantage of quick decisions being made, many citizens prefer other forms of government – those that allow them greater participation in the political process.

While royal rule, as legitimized by blood descent, had almost vanished as an effective principle of government in the modern world, monarchy – a term that comprehends the rule of non-Western royal absolutists, of generals and strongmen in Latin America and Asia, of a number of leaders in postcolonial Africa; of the totalitarian heads of communist states – still flourished. Indeed, the 20th century, which witnessed the careers of Atatürk, Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, Francisco Franco, Mao Tse-tung, Juan Perón, Tito, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sukarno, Kwame Nkrumah, and Charles de Gaulle, could appear in history as the age of plebiscitary dictatorship.

In many of the states of Africa and Asia, for example, dictators quickly established themselves on the ruins of constitutional arrangements inherited from Western colonial powers. In some of these countries, presidents and prime ministers captured personal power by banning opposition parties and building replicas of the one-party systems of the communist world. In other new countries, the armies seized power, and military dictatorships were established. Whether as presidential dictatorships or as military dictatorships, the regimes that came into being appear to have had common roots in the social and economic problems of the new state.

The constitutional systems inherited from the colonial powers proved unworkable in the absence of a strong middle class; local traditions of autocratic rule retained a powerful influence. The army, one of the few organized forces in society, was often the only force capable of maintaining order.

A tiny intellectual class was impatient for economic progress, frustrated by the lack of opportunity, deeply influenced by the example of authoritarianism in other countries.

The dictatorships that resulted proved highly unstable, and few of the individual dictators were able to satisfy for long the demands of the different groups that supported their bids for power.

Although similar in some respects to the dictatorships of the new countries, the caudillos of 19th- and 20th-century Latin America represented a very different type of monocratic rule. In its 19th-century form, *caudillismo* was the result of the breakdown of central authority. After a brief period of constitutional rule, each of the former Spanish colonies in the Americas experienced a collapse of effective national government.

A self-proclaimed leader, usually an army officer, heading a private army typically formed from the peasantry with the support of provincial landowners, established his control over one or more provinces, and then marched upon the national capital.

The famous 19th-century caudillos – Antonio López de Santa Anna of Mexico or Juan Manuel de Rosas of Argentina, for example – were thus essentially provincial leaders who seized control of the national government to maintain the social and economic power of provincial groups. The 20th-century dictatorships in Latin American countries had different aims. The modern caudillo proved to be less a provincial leader than a national one.

The Perón regime was established by nationalistic army officers committed to a program of national reform and ideological goals. 20th-century dictators in Latin America allied themselves with a particular social class, attempting either to maintain the interests of established economic groupings or to press social reforms.

Dictatorship in the technologically advanced, totalitarian regimes of modern communism was distinctively different from the authoritarian regimes of either Latin America or the postcolonial states of Africa and Asia. Nazi Germany under Hitler and the Soviet Union under Stalin are the leading examples of modern totalitarian dictatorships.

The crucial elements of both were the identification of the state with the single mass party and of the party with its charismatic leader, the use of an official ideology to legitimize and maintain the regime, the employment of a terroristic police force and a controlled press, and the application of all the means of modern science and technology to control the economy and individual behaviour.

The two systems may be distinguished in several ways. Fascism, in its National Socialist form, was primarily a counterrevolutionary movement that mobilized middle- and lower middle-class groups to pursue nationalistic and militaristic goals and whose sole principle of organization was obedience to the Führer.

By contrast, Soviet communism grew out of a revolutionary theory of society, pursued the goal of revolutionary overthrow of capitalist systems internationally, and employed the complex bureaucratic structures of the Communist Party as mechanisms of governmental organization. Western constitutional democracies have provided examples of another type of contemporary dictatorship. At various points in the 20th and 21st centuries, during periods of domestic or foreign crisis, most constitutional regimes conferred emergency powers on the executive, suspending constitutional guarantees of individual rights or liberties or declaring some form of martial law.

The constitutions of some Western democracies explicitly provide for the grant of emergency powers to the executive in a time of crisis to protect the constitutional order.

In many cases, of course, such provisions have been the instruments with which dictators have overthrown the regime.

Thus, the proclamation of emergency rule was the beginning of the dictatorships of Mussolini in Italy, of Kemal Atatürk in Turkey, of Józef Piłsudski in Poland, of António de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal, of Franz von Papen and Hitler in Germany, and of Engelbert Dollfuss and Kurt von Schuschnigg in Austria. In other democracies, however, constitutional arrangements have survived quite lengthy periods of crisis government.

After World War II, in both the USA and Britain, the use of extraordinary powers by the executive came to a halt with the end of the wartime emergency. Similarly, although the 1958 constitution of the Fifth Republic of France contained far-reaching emergency powers conferred on the president – "when the institutions of the Republic, the independence of the nation, the integrity of its territory or the fulfillment of its international obligations are threatened with immediate and grave danger, and when the regular functioning of the constitutional authority is interrupted" – their implicit threat to the constitutional order has not been realized.

Many forces at work in the late 20th and early 21st centuries have appeared to lend impetus to the rise of monocratic forms of rule. In nearly all political systems, the powers of chief executives have increased in response to the demanding social, economic, and military crises of the age. The complex decisions required of governments in a technological era, the perfectionist impulses of the great bureaucratic structures that have developed in all industrialized societies, and the imperatives of national survival in a nuclear world continue to add to the process of executive aggrandizement. The question for many constitutional regimes is whether the limitation and balance of power that are at the heart of constitutional government can survive the growing enlargement of executive power.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

## There are five core types of political systems.

- |                             |   |   |                |
|-----------------------------|---|---|----------------|
| 1. Representative Democracy | → |  | United States  |
| 2. Direct Democracy         | → |  | Ancient Greece |
| 3. Monarchy                 | → |  | Saudi Arabia   |
| 4. Constitutional Monarchy  | → |  | United Kingdom |
| 5. Dictatorship             | → |  | North Korea    |

## FORMS OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Society, incorporated in the state, operates within certain political & economic systems. The way, in which the legal and economic development field the country depends living conditions of people, socioeconomic development, its reputation in the international arena.

**Political system** of society called the set of relations of political subjects that are related by the nature of power and control society, organized the only normative value basis. Accumulated over thousands of years of experience political interaction within the state formed in a few basic systems in globally dominant political system is democracy.

**Democracy** – A form of government in state based on the recognition of people's source of power. Democratic form Board formed even in ancient Greece. But while the slaves and foreigners did not included the citizens, that the people of the country.

The same is true of some medieval states, called democracies, but much of the society is attributed to the people, whose representatives were entitled to vote.

So frequently used terms such as "slaveholding democracy" "Feudal democracy", "bourgeois democracy", "Socialist democracy" and so on. In today's world rather often mix the concept of "democracy" (democracy) with its specific manifestation – a form of government, now the most common in countries with market and mixed economies, particularly in the U.S. and Western Europe.

The main absolute power of a democratic government is elected, the division of state power into three branches – legislative, executive and judicial branches, subordinate minority majority, minority rights, the existence of political rights and freedoms.

**Theocracy** – A form of state government in which political power belongs to the clergy or head of the church. This term may look new, and though he has more than nine centuries. It is used in the first century A.D. by historian Josephus Joseph from Jerusalem.

Classic example of theocratic form of government is the Vatican and Brunei. The elements present in the state theocracy rule Iran.

**Totalitarianism** – Form government, characterized by absence of democratic freedoms and full state control over all aspects of society – economy, religion, family and others.

Totalitarianism especially for those dictatorial regimes XX century.

As Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Soviet Union, the Frankish Spain. Totalitarian regimes sought to subordinate the entire society state through a monopoly on information, advocacy, public official ideology, mandatory for citizens of terror secret services, one-party system of compulsory membership of citizens in the ruling party controlled mass organizations.

In our time totalitarian, rather neo-totalitarian government typical for *Democratic People's Republic*.

**Authoritarianism** – This form of rule in the state, when all or most of the power authority is concentrated in the hands one person or group of persons. When authoritarian role of representative body's power is reduced to nothing or understated. Characterized by *authoritarian rule* for absolute monarchies (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates), *military dictatorships* (in different times: Argentina, Uruguay, Cambodia), *personal tyrannies* (in different times: Haiti, Nicaragua, Somalia) *vozhdytskyh modes* (Libya, Cuba).

**Exercise 1. Characterize the forms of state government. Which ones are predominant in the modern world?**

**Exercise 2. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 3. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes**

Form of Government	Description of Governmental Form
totalitarianism	total governmental control
authoritarianism	micromanagement of citizens via government structure; military control, tyranny
monarchy	rule of one; undivided rule; typically hereditary rule; backed by oligarchical power
oligarchy	rule of few (well-connected, socially, financially, physically powerful); elites rule
republic	indirect rule of citizens through representatives; rule of law; limited government
direct democracy	rule of citizens; simple majority rule; no restraint on majority
anarchy	no order/control; no government structure; power vacuum



## UNIT II. BASIC FORMS OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

### FEUDALISM



### FEUDAL SOCIETY

Feudalism, in its most classic sense, refers to the Medieval European political system composed of a set of reciprocal legal and military obligations among the warrior nobility, revolving around the three key concepts of lords, vassals, and fiefs. Although derived from the Latin, then in use, the term "feudalism" and the system it describes were not conceived of as a formal political system by the people living in the Medieval Period.

There is no broadly-accepted modern definition of feudalism. The term, which was coined in the early modern period (17<sup>th</sup> century), was originally used in a political context, but other definitions of feudalism exist. Since at least the 1960s, many medieval historians have included a broader social aspect, sometimes referred to as a "feudal society".

Still others since the 1970s have re-examined the evidence and concluded that feudalism is an unworkable term and should be removed entirely from scholarly and educational discussion, or at least used only with severe qualification and warning.

Outside of a European context, the concept of feudalism is normally used only by analogy, most often in discussions of Japan under the shoguns, and sometimes medieval and Gondarine Ethiopia. However, some have taken the feudalism analogy further, seeing it in places as diverse as ancient Egypt, the Parthian empire, the Indian subcontinent, and the antebellum American South. The term "feudal" has also been applied – often inappropriately or pejoratively – to non-Western societies where institutions and attitudes similar to those of medieval Europe are perceived to prevail.

Ultimately, the many ways the term "feudalism" has been used has deprived it of specific meaning, leading many historians and political theorists to reject it as a useful concept for understanding society. The social and economic system, which characterized most European societies in the Middle Ages, goes by the name of feudalism. The system, in its most basic essence, is the granting of land in return for military service.

The center of the feudal system in medieval Europe was the king, and a medieval king was, above everything else, a warrior.

From the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries – the heyday of feudalism – the most important element in making war was the armored and mounted knight. To maintain a retinue of knights was, however, very expensive.

In return for providing the king with warriors, tenants-in-chief were granted large holdings of land. A grant of land was known as a feud or a fief, hence the term feudalism.

The tenants-in-chief (commonly called barons in England) received their lands directly from the king and, in turn, leased parts of their estates to the knights, who in their turn gave leases to yeomen. This idealized description was subject to many variations.

In some areas, feudalism scarcely gained a hold. In Germanic areas allodial ownership of land was more common. In the Italian peninsula, Roman law remained the more important organizing structure. Feudalism, by its very nature, gave rise to a hierarchy of rank, to a predominantly static social structure in which every man knew his place.

According to it, he owed service and from whom it was that he received his land. In order to preserve existing relationships in perpetuity, rights of succession to land were strictly controlled by various laws, or customs, of entail.

The most rigid control was provided by the custom of primogeniture, by which all property of a deceased landholder must pass intact to his eldest son. Every man was the vassal, or servant, of his lord. The man swore fealty to his lord, and in return, the lord promised to protect him and to see that he received justice.

Feudalism was the expression of a society in which every man was bound to every other by mutual ties of loyalty and service. Feudal society was characterized by military landholders and working peasants. The nobility included bishops, for the church was one of the greatest of medieval landowners. Near the bottom of the social pyramid were the agricultural laborers, or villains, and beneath them, the serfs.

Until the rise of powerful monarchies with central bureaucracies, it was the lord of the manor who was the real ruler of society. The peasant worked the land for him and owed him a number of feudal dues (increasingly commuted to money payments over time); justice was dispensed in the manorial courts.

Customs varied, but it was common for a peasant to have a small plot, or to share a communal plot, on which to grow food for himself and his family and to be entitled to gather firewood from forestland for the hearth fire.

More common than single plots, however, was the system of dividing the land into strips, with each household's strips scattered about the manor.

Western feudalism, evolving in turbulent eighth-century France, offered aristocratic landowners potential security in the absence of law and order.

By concession or usurpation, major landowners assumed substantial legal & governmental power from the central government and proceeded through private arrangements with lesser landowners to create local militias for defensive purposes. Inherently particularistic and initially undisciplined, feudalism enveloped the monarchy itself. Feudalism evolved its own system of law and code of ethics for its members as it spread throughout Europe to assume a dominant role in the political and cultural history of the Middle Ages.

Introduced to England in 1066 by William the Conqueror, who substantially curbed the powers of all feudal vassals while retaining considerable central authority, feudalism incorporated three elements: personal, property, governmental. All members enjoyed specific rights but were bound by feudal law to perform fixed obligations.

## LORDS & VASSALS & FIEFS

Three primary elements characterized feudalism: lords, vassals and fiefs; the structure of feudalism can be seen in how these three elements fit together.

A lord was a noble who owned land, a vassal was a person who was granted possession of the land by the lord, and the land was known as a fief. In exchange for the fief, the vassal would provide military service to the lord. The obligations and relations between lord, vassal and fief form the basis of feudalism. Before a lord could grant land (a fief) to someone, he had to make that person a vassal.

This was done at a formal and symbolic ceremony called a commendation ceremony composed of the two-part act of homage and oath of fealty. During homage, the lord and vassal entered a contract in which the vassal promised to fight for the lord at his command. "Fealty" denotes the fidelity owed by a vassal to his feudal lord.

"Fealty" refers to an oath that more explicitly reinforces the commitments of the vassal made during homage. Such an oath follows homage. Once the commendation was complete, the lord and vassal were now in a feudal relationship with agreed-upon mutual obligations to one another.

The lord's principal obligation was to grant a fief, or its revenues, to the vassal; the fief is the primary reason the vassal chose to enter into the relationship. In addition, the lord sometimes had to fulfill other obligations to the vassal and fief. One of those obligations was its maintenance.

Since the lord had not given the land away, only loaned it, it was still the lord's responsibility to maintain the land, while the vassal had the right to collect revenues generated from it. Another obligation that the lord had to fulfill was to protect the land and the vassal from harm. The vassal's principal obligation to the lord was to provide "aid", or military service. Using whatever equipment the vassal could obtain by virtue of the revenues from the fief, the vassal was responsible to answer to calls to military service on behalf of the lord.

This security of military help was the primary reason the lord entered into the feudal relationship. In addition, the vassal sometimes had to fulfill other obligations to the lord.

One of those obligations was to provide the lord with "counsel," so that if the lord faced a major decision, such as whether or not to go to war, he would summon all his vassals and hold a council. The vassal may have been required to yield a certain amount of his farm's output to his lord. The vassal was also sometimes required to grind his own wheat and bake his own bread in the mills and ovens owned and taxed by his lord.

The land-holding relationships of feudalism revolved around the fief. Depending on the power of the granting lord, grants could range in size from a small farm to a much larger area of land. The size of fiefs was described in irregular terms quite different from modern area terms (see medieval land terms).

The lord-vassal relationship was not restricted to members of the laity; bishops and abbots, for example, were also capable of acting as lords. There were thus different "levels" of lordship and vassalage. The King was a lord who loaned fiefs to aristocrats, who were his vassals.

The aristocrats, through subinfeudation, were lords to their own vassals, Knights who were in turn lords of the manor to the peasants who worked on the land. Ultimately, the Emperor was a lord who loaned fiefs to Kings, who were his vassals. This traditionally formed the basis of a "universal monarchy" as an imperial alliance and a world order.



### Evolution of the term

The word "feudalism" was not a medieval term but an invention of 16<sup>th</sup> century French and English lawyers to describe certain traditional obligations between members of the warrior aristocracy. The earliest known use of the term "feudal" was in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (1614), when the system it purported to describe was rapidly vanishing or gone entirely.

No writer in the period in which feudalism was supposed to have flourished ever used the word itself. It was a pejorative used to describe any law or custom that was seen as unfair or outdated. Most of these laws and customs were related in some way to the medieval institution of the fief, and thus lumped together under this single term.

"Feudalism" comes from the French word coined during the French Revolution. Not until 1748 did it become a popular and widely used word, thanks to Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, writers of the Enlightenment wrote about feudalism in order to denigrate the antiquated system of French monarchy.

This was the Age of Enlightenment when writers valued Reason and the Middle Ages were viewed as the "Dark Ages". Enlightenment authors generally mocked and ridiculed anything from the "Dark Ages" including Feudalism, projecting its negative characteristics on the current French monarchy as a means of political gain.

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, John Horace Round and Frederic William Maitland, both historians of medieval Britain, arrived at different conclusions as to the character of English society before the Norman conquest in 1066.

Extant sources reveal that the early Carolingians had vassals, as did other leading men in the kingdom. This relationship did become more and more standardized over the next two centuries, but there were differences in function and practice in different locations.

In the German kingdoms that replaced the kingdom of Eastern Francia, as well as in some Slavic kingdoms, the feudal relationship was arguably more closely tied to the rise of Serfdom, a system that tied peasants to the land. Moreover, the evolution of the Holy Roman Empire greatly affected the history of the feudal relationship in central Europe. (Cleric, knight and peasant) If one follows long-accepted feudalism models, one might believe that there was a clear hierarchy from Emperor to lesser rulers, be they kings, dukes, princes, or margraves.

These models are patently untrue: the Holy Roman Emperor was elected by a group of seven magnates, three of whom were princes of the church, who in theory could not swear allegiance to any secular lord. The French kingdoms seem to provide clear proof that the models are accurate, until we take into consideration the fact that the bond was only as strong as the lord – in this case, not strong at all. Clearly, it was possible for "vassals" to openly disparage feudal relationships.

The autonomy with which the Normans ruled their duchy supports the view that, despite any legal "feudal" relationship, the Normans did as they pleased. In the case of their own leadership, however, the Normans utilized the feudal relationship to bind their followers to them. It was the influence of the Norman invaders, which strengthened and to some extent institutionalized the feudal relationship in England after the Norman Conquest.

**Exercise 1. Render the main idea of the text briefly in English.**

**Exercise 2. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

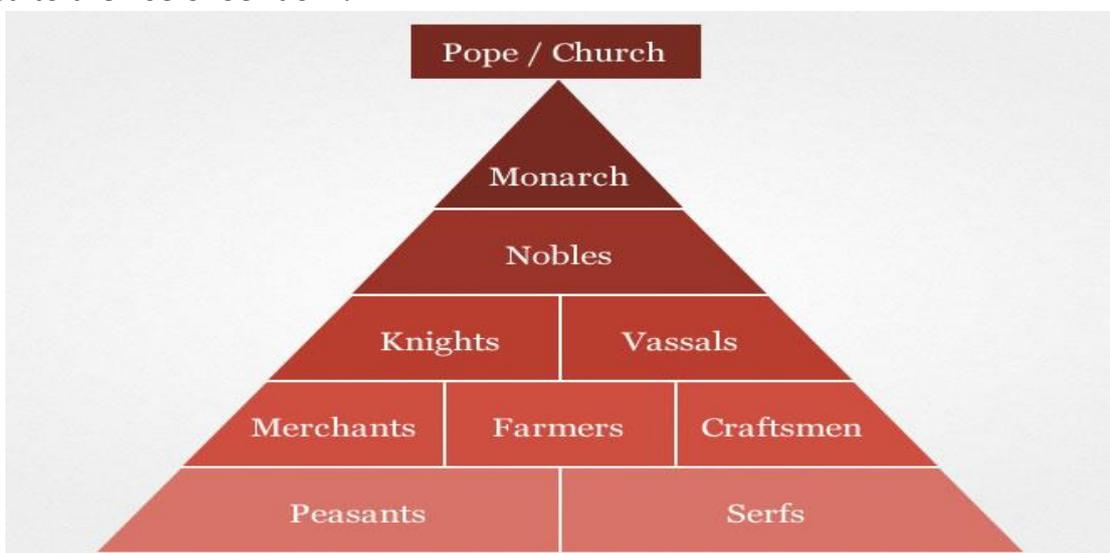
**Exercise 3. Read the information & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 4. Analyze the information and make up the chart about it.**

№	Activity			
	Events	When	Where	Score
1.				

**Exercise 5. Answer the questions.**

1. What is Feudalism like? 2. How many concepts are there? 3. There is no broadly-accepted modern definition of feudalism, is it? 4. When was the term coined? 5. Where is the concept of feudalism normally used? 5. Where is the term implied? 6. Who was the center of the feudal system in medieval Europe? 7. What is the heyday of feudalism like? 8. What was more common in German areas? 9. Who was the vassal, or servant, of his lord? 10. What did the man swear to his lord? 11. What kind of society Was Feudalism the expression? 12. What was Feudal society characterized by? 13. When was the word "feudalism" invented? 14. How was the evolution of the term developed? 15. Whose concept on feudalism was highly influential in the 20<sup>th</sup> century? 16. Who did the Normans utilize the feudal relationship to bind their followers to them? 17. Did the early Carolingians have vassals, as did other leading men in the kingdom? 18. Did the relationship become more and more standardized over the next two centuries? 19. Were there differences in function and practice in different locations? 20. What was in the German kingdoms that replaced the kingdom of Eastern Francia, as well as in some Slavic kingdoms? 21. Was the feudal relationship arguably more closely tied to the rise of Serfdom?

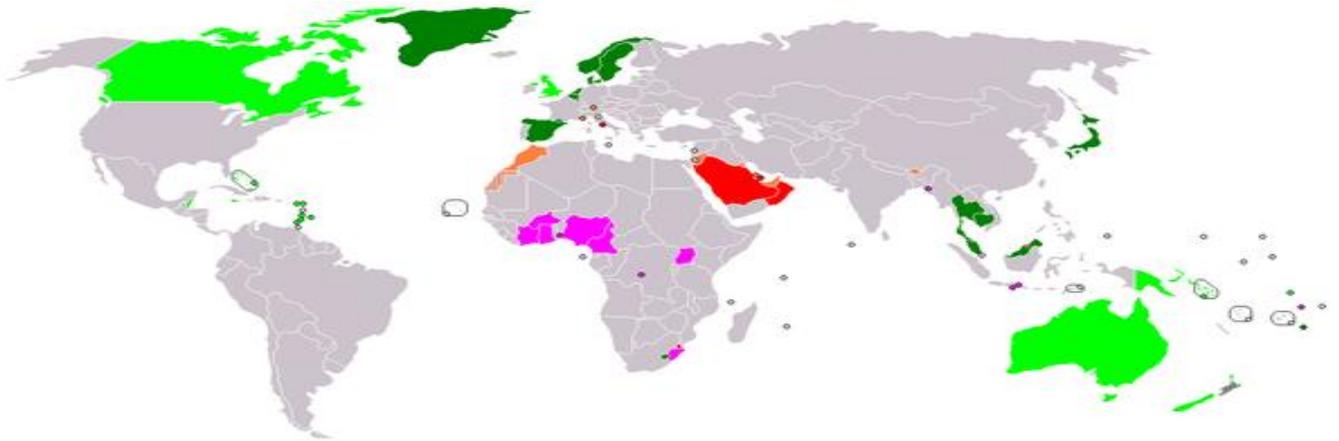


## MONARCHY

A **monarchy** is a form of government in which supreme power is absolutely or nominally lodged with an individual, who is the head of state, often for life or until abdication, and "is wholly set apart from all other members of the state". The person who heads a monarchy is called a **monarch**. It was a common form of government in the world during the ancient and medieval times. There is no clear definition of monarchy. Holding unlimited political power in the state is not the defining characteristic, as many constitutional monarchies such as the United Kingdom and Thailand are considered monarchies.

Hereditary rule is often a common characteristic, but elective monarchies are considered monarchies (the pope, sovereign of the Vatican City State, is elected by the College of Cardinals) and some states have hereditary rulers, but are considered republics (such as the stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, or the Great Council of Chiefs in Fiji).

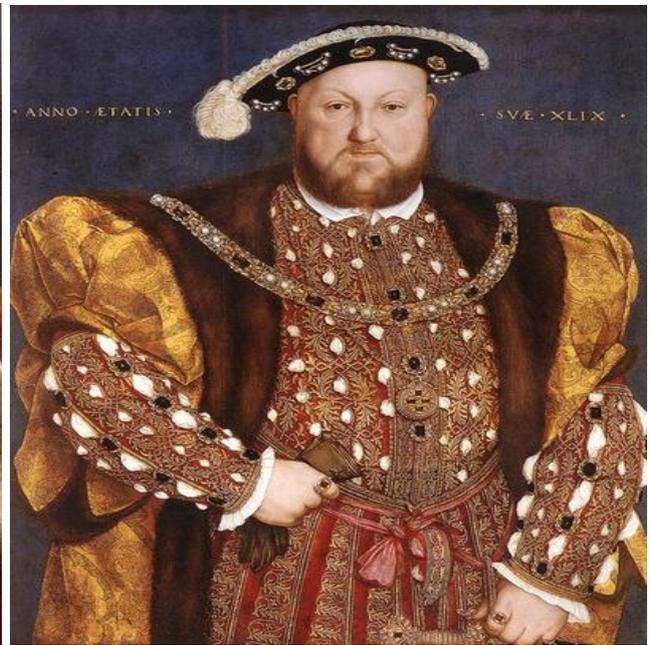
Currently, 44 nations in the world have monarchs as heads of state, 16 of which are Commonwealth realms that recognize Queen Elizabeth II as their head of state.



- Absolute monarchy
- Semi-constitutional monarchy
- Constitutional monarchy
- States in personal union with a constitutional monarch, such as many Commonwealth realms
- Subnational monarchies (partial)

The word "monarch" comes from the Greek "one / singular", and "leader / ruler / chief") which referred to a single, at least nominally absolute ruler. With time, the word has been succeeded in this meaning by others, such as autocrat or dictator. In modern use the word "monarch" generally is used when referring to a traditional system of hereditary rule, with elective monarchies often considered as exceptions.





## CHARACTERISTICS & ROLE

Today, the extent of monarch's powers varies. In an **absolute monarchy**, the monarch rules as an autocrat, with absolute power over the state and government – for example, the right to rule by decree, promulgate laws, and impose punishments. Absolute monarchies are not necessarily authoritarian; the enlightened absolutists of the Enlightenment were monarchs who allowed various freedoms. In a **limited monarchy** (Charte or Octroi), it is another form of monarchy in the early stage of constitutional monarchy when the constitution not yet formulated. The monarch has limited political power under a rule of law.

In a constitutional monarchy, the monarch is largely a ceremonial figurehead subject to a constitution. Sovereignty rests formally with and is carried out in name of the Crown, but politically rests with the people, as represented by the parliament or other legislature.

Constitutional monarchs have limited political power, and are constituted by tradition and precedent, popular opinion, or by legal codes or statutes. They serve as symbols of continuity and the state and carry out largely ceremonial functions.

Still, many constitutional monarchs retain certain privileges (inviolability, sovereign immunity, an official residence) and powers (to grant pardons, to appoint titles of nobility).

Additionally, some monarchs retain reserve powers, such as to dismiss a prime minister, refuse to dissolve parliament, or withhold Royal Assent to legislation, effectively vetoing it.

Most states only have a single monarch at any given time, although two monarchs have ruled simultaneously in some countries (diarchy), as in the ancient Greek city-state of Sparta.

There are examples of joint sovereignty of spouses or relatives (William and Mary in the Kingdoms of England and Scotland). A regent may rule when the monarch is a minor, absent, or debilitated. Monarchy, especially absolute monarchy, sometimes is linked to religious aspects; many monarchs once claimed the right to rule by the will of a deity (Divine Right of Kings, Mandate of Heaven), a special connection to a deity (sacred king) or even purported to be divine kings, or incarnations of deities themselves (imperial cult).

In Islam, a caliph is a head of state who is both a temporal leader (of the caliphate, Islamic state) and a religious one. Many monarchs have been styled Defender of the Faith; some hold official positions relating to the state religion or established church.

Monarchs have various titles, including king or queen, prince or princess (Sovereign Prince of Monaco), emperor or empress (Emperor of Japan, India), or even (grand) duke (Grand Duke of Luxembourg) or duchess. Many monarchs are distinguished by styles, such as "Royal Highness" or "By the Grace of God".

Monarchs often take part in certain ceremonies, such as a coronation. Monarchies are associated with political or socio-cultural hereditary rule, in which monarchs rule for life and pass the responsibilities and power of the position to their children. Most monarchs, both historically and in the modern day, have been born and brought up within a royal family, the center of the royal household and court. Growing up in a royal family (when present for several generations it may be called a dynasty), future monarchs were often trained for the responsibilities of expected future rule. Different systems of succession have been used, such as proximity of blood, primogeniture, and agnatic seniority (Salic law).

**Salic law** was an important body of traditional law codified for governing the Franks in the early Middle Ages during the reign of King Clovis I in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and reflects very ancient usage and practices. While traditionally most modern monarchs have been male, many female monarchs have ruled in history.

The term "queen regnant" may refer to a ruling monarch, while a queen consort may refer to the wife of a reigning king.

Form of governments may be hereditary without being considered monarchies, such as that of family dictatorships, or political families in many democracies.

Monarchies have existed throughout the world, although in recent centuries many states have abolished the monarchy and become republics. Advocacy of republics is called republicanism, while advocacy of monarchies is called monarchism.

The principal advantage of hereditary monarchy is the immediate continuity of leadership, usually with a short interregnum (as seen in the classic phrase "The King is dead. Long live the King!"). In some cases monarchs are dependent on other powers.

In the British colonial era indirect rule under a paramount power existed, such as princely state under the British Raj. In other cases, the monarch's power is limited, not due to constitutional restraints, but to effective military rule. In the late Roman Empire, the Praetorian Guard several times deposed Roman Emperors and installed new emperors.

The Hellenistic kings of Macedon and of Epirus were elected by the army, which was similar in composition to the *ecclesia* of democracies, the council of all free citizens; military service often was linked with citizenship among the male members of the royal house.

Military domination of the monarch has occurred in modern Thailand and in medieval Japan (a hereditary military chief, the shogun was the de facto ruler, although the Japanese emperor nominally ruled).

In Fascist Italy the Savoy monarchy under King Victor Emmanuel III coexisted with the Fascist single-party rule of Benito Mussolini; Romania under the Iron Guard and Greece during the Axis occupation were much the same way. Spain under Francisco Franco was officially a monarchy, although there was no monarch on the throne. Upon his death, Franco was succeeded as head of state by the Bourbon heir, Juan Carlos I, who proceeded to make Spain a democracy with himself as a figurehead constitutional monarch. A self-proclaimed monarchy is established when a person claims the monarchy without any historical ties to a previous dynasty.

Napoleon I of France declared himself Emperor of the French and ruled the First French Empire after previously calling himself First Consul following his seizure of power in the coup of 18 Brumaire. Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Empire declared himself "Emperor." Yuan Shikai crowned himself Emperor of the short-lived "Empire of China" a few years after the Republic of China was founded. In a personal union, the same person serves as monarch of separate independent states. Sometimes titles are used to express claims to territories that are not held in fact (for example, English claims to the French throne) or titles not recognized (antipopes). A pretender is a claimant to an abolished throne or to a throne already occupied by somebody else. Abdication is when a monarch resigns. Unique or unusual situations exist in several countries:

- In Malaysia, the federal king, called the Yang di-Pertuan Agong ("Paramount Ruler") is elected for a five-year term from and by the hereditary rulers (mostly sultans) of nine of the federation's constitutive states, all on the Malay peninsula.
- Andorra currently is the world's sole co-principality. Located in the Pyrenees between Spain and France, it has two co-princes: the Bishop of Urgell (a prince-bishop) in Spain and the President of France. It is the only situation in which an independent country's monarch is democratically elected by the citizens of another country.

***Exercise 1. Summarize the information briefly in English.***

**Exercise 2. Explain the score of some notions in English.**

*Salic law* – a law excluding females from dynastic succession as the alleged fundamental law of the French monarchy; a Frankish law book extant in Merovingian & Carolingian times.

*Ecclesia* (in formal Church usage) is a congregation. It is the assembly of citizens of an ancient Greek state. *Ecclesial* is relating to or constituting a Church or denomination.

*Absolute monarchy* is a monarchy without constitutional limits. *Limited monarchy* is another term for constitutional monarchy. *Constitutional monarchy* is a monarchy governed according to a constitution that limits and defines the powers of the sovereign.

*The Raj* is British sovereignty in India. *Octroi* is a duty levied in some countries on various goods entering a town or city.

**Exercise 3. Describe the definitions of monarch & succession.**

The rules for selection of monarchs vary from country to country. In constitutional monarchies the rule of succession generally is embodied in a law passed by a representative body, such as a parliament. In an elective monarchy, monarchs are elected or appointed by some body (an electoral college) for life. In an elective monarchy, the monarch is elected but otherwise serves as any other monarch. Historical examples of elective monarchy include the Holy Roman Emperors (chosen by prince-electors but often coming from the same dynasty) and the free election of kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Three elective monarchies exist today, Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates are 20<sup>th</sup>-century creations, while one (the papacy) is ancient. In a hereditary monarchy, the position of monarch is inherited by one's relatives according to a statutory or customary order of succession, usually within one royal family tracing its origin back to a historical dynasty or bloodline.

Sometimes the order of succession is affected by rules on gender.

Matrilineality determined the royal lineage in Ancient Egypt for over 3000 years. Agnatic succession bars females. A female may rule as monarch only when the male line dating back to a common ancestor is exhausted.

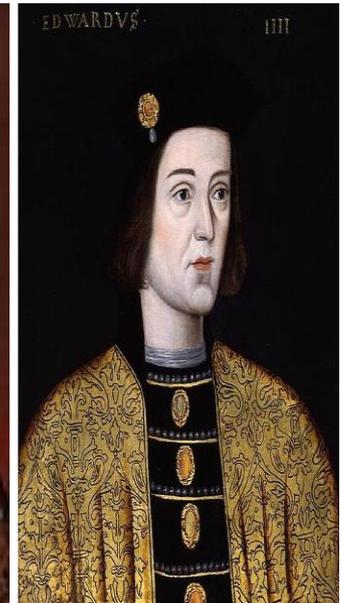
In 1980, Sweden became the first European monarchy to declare equal (full cognatic) primogeniture, meaning that the eldest child of the monarch, whether female or male, ascends to the throne. Sometimes religion is affected; under the Act of Settlement 1701 all Roman Catholics are ineligible to be the British monarch and are skipped in the order of succession. Primogeniture, in which the eldest child of the monarch is first in line to become monarch, is the most common system. In the case of the absence of children, the next most senior member of the collateral line becomes monarch.

Other systems include tanistry (semi-elective) and gives weight to merit law. In complex cases the system of primogeniture competed with conflicting principle of proximity of blood, and outcomes were idiosyncratic. In some monarchies, such as Saudi Arabia, succession to the throne usually first passes to the monarch's next eldest brother, and only after that to the monarch's children. Appointment by the current monarch is another system, used in Jordan.

In this system, the monarch chooses the successor, who may (not) be a relative.

A **monarch** is the person who heads a **monarchy**, a form of government in which the country or entity usually ruled or controlled by an individual who usually rules for life or until abdication. Monarchs may be autocrats (absolute monarchy) or ceremonial heads of state who exercise little or no power or only reserve power, with actual authority vested in a parliament or other body (constitutional monarchy).

Some monarchies are non-hereditary.





### Monarchs in Africa

A series of Pharaohs ruled Ancient Egypt over the course of three millennia (circa 3150 B.C. to 31 B.C.) until it was conquered by the Roman Empire. In the same period, several kingdoms flourished in the nearby Nubia region. Central Africa hosted the Kanem Empire (700-1376). In East Africa, the Aksumite Empire and later the Ethiopian Empire (1270-1974) were ruled by a series of monarchs. Haile Selassie, the last Emperor of Ethiopia, was deposed in a communist coup. Southern Africa was isolated from other cultures until the modern era, but did later feature kingdoms like the Kingdom of Kongo (1400-1914).

### Monarchs in Europe

Prince was a common title within the Holy Roman Empire, along with a number of higher titles listed below. Such titles were granted by the Emperor, while the titulation of rulers of sovereign states was generally left to their own discretion, most often choosing *King* or *Queen*. Such titulations could cause diplomatic problems, and especially the elevation to Emperor or Empress was seen as an offensive action. During the 19th and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries most small monarchies in Europe disappeared, merging to form larger entities, and so *King* the most common title for male rulers and *Queen* has become the most common title today for female rulers. Today in Europe, there are seven kingdoms, one grand duchy, one duchy, one papacy, and three principalities (Liechtenstein, Wales and Monaco), excluding the peculiar case of Andorra and one "Lord of Mann" – the title for the monarch of Isle of Man.

### Monarchs in Asia

In China, "king" is the usual translation for the term *wang*, the sovereign before the Qin dynasty and during the Ten Kingdoms period. During the early Han dynasty, China had a number of small kingdoms, each about the size of a county and subordinate to the Empress or Emperor of China. The Japanese monarchy is now the only monarchy to still use the title of Emperor.

## Monarchs in America

The concept of monarchy existed in the Americas long before the arrival of European colonialists. When the Europeans arrived they referred to these tracts of land within territories of different aboriginal groups to be kingdoms, and the Europeans as Kings, particularly hereditary leaders, often referred to the leaders of these groups. Many of the leaders were queens, but this was not understood by the Europeans, who had no knowledge of the indigenous history or languages, much less an understanding of matrilineality pre-colonial titles that were used.

The first local monarch to emerge in North America after colonization was Augustin I, who declared himself Emperor of Mexico in 1822. Mexico again had an emperor, Maximilian I from 1863 to 1867. In South America, Brazil had a European royal house ruling as emperor between 1822 and 1889, under Emperors Pedro I and Pedro II. These American emperors were deposed due to complex issues, including pressure from the highly republican USA, which had declared it independent of the British monarch in 1776. The British, worried about U.S. colonial expansion, invasion following the American Civil War, and the fact that the U.S. had aided the Mexican republican rebels in overthrowing Maximilian I, pushed for the union of the Canadian provinces into a country in 1867.

With Confederation, Canada became a self-governing nation, which was considered a kingdom in its own right, though it remained subordinate to the United Kingdom.

Thus, Victoria was monarch of Canada, but not sovereign of it. It was not until the passing of the Statute of Westminster that Canada was considered to be under a distinct Canadian Crown, separate to that of the British, and not until 1953 that the Canadian monarch, at the time Elizabeth II, was titled by Canadian law as Queen of Canada. Between 1931 and 1983, nine other previous British colonies attained independence as kingdoms, all, including Canada, in a personal union relationship under a shared monarch. Therefore, though today there are legally ten American monarchs, one person occupies each distinct position.

### **Exercise 4. Characterize the classification of titles.**

A particular case is the French co-prince of Andorra, a position held by the elected President of France. Nonetheless, he is still generally considered a monarch because of the traditional use of a monarchical title. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong of Malaysia is considered a monarch despite only holding the office for five years at a time.

On the other hand, several lifetime dictators around the world have not been formally classified as monarchs, but that may be more to do with international political sensitivities than with semantics.

Male Title	Female Title	Realm	Examples
Emperor	Empress	Empire	Brazil, Mexico, Sapa Inca
King	Queen	Kingdom	Canada, Jamaica, Barbados, the Bahamas, Grenada, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Saint Kitts and Nevis

### **Exercise 5. Explain the history of monarchy.**

**Exercise 6. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Monarch	When	Where	Score
1.				

**Exercise 7. Tick off sentences that have the meaning found in the texts. Some sentences do not have equivalents in the texts at all.**

1. There is no clear definition of monarchy. 2. Hereditary rule is not often a common characteristic. 3. Elective Monarchies are not considered monarchies 4. Some states have not hereditary rulers. 5. Some states are considered republics. 6. Currently, 50 nations in the world have monarchs as heads of state. 7. 20 nations are Commonwealth realms that recognize Queen Elizabeth II as their head of state. 8. In a constitutional monarchy the monarch is largely a ceremonial figurehead subject to a constitution. 9. The Crown rests with the people, as represented by the parliament or other legislature. 10. Constitutional monarchs have limited political power. 11. Monarchs serve as symbols of continuity and the state and carry out largely ceremonial functions. 12. Many constitutional monarchs retain certain privileges and powers. 13. Some monarchs don't retain reserve powers. 14. Most states have a single monarch at any given time. 15. Absolute monarchy is not linked to religious aspects. 16. Many monarchs once claimed the right to rule by the will of a deity. 17. Monarchs often take part in certain ceremonies, such as a coronation. 18. Monarchies are associated with political or socio-cultural hereditary rule. 19. Most monarchs, both historically and in the modern day, have been born and brought up within a royal family. 20. Different systems of succession have been used. 21. Several life-time dictators around the world have not been formally classified as monarchs. 22. The concept of monarchy existed in the Americas long before the arrival of European colonialists.

**Exercise 8. Analyze the information and use it in practice.**

**Exercise 9. Compare the different political systems.**



King Louis XVI of France



Marie Antoinette, King Louis XVI and their children

## ANARCHISM

Anarchism is a political philosophy that advocates stateless societies often defined as self-governed voluntary institutions, but that several authors have defined as more specific institutions based on non-hierarchical free associations.

Anarchism holds the state to be undesirable, unnecessary, or harmful. While antistatism is central, anarchism entails opposing authority or hierarchical organization in the conduct of human relations, including, but not limited to, the state system. As an anti-dogmatic philosophy, anarchism draws on many currents of thought and strategy. Anarchism does not offer a fixed body of doctrine from a single particular worldview, instead fluxing and flowing as a philosophy.

There are many types and traditions of anarchism, not all of which are mutually exclusive.

Anarchist schools of thought can differ fundamentally, supporting anything from extreme individualism to complete collectivism. Strains of anarchism have been divided into the categories of social and individualist anarchism or similar dual classifications.

Anarchism is usually considered a radical left-wing ideology, and much of anarchist economics and anarchist legal philosophy reflect anti-authoritarian interpretations of communism, collectivism, syndicalism, mutualism, or participatory economics. The first known use of this word was in 1539. *Anarchist* was the term adopted by Maximilien de Robespierre to attack those on the left whom he had used for his own ends during the French Revolution but was determined to get rid of, though among these "anarchists" there were few who exhibited the social revolt characteristics of later anarchists.

There would be many revolutionaries of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century who contributed to the anarchist doctrines of the next generation, such as William Godwin and Wilhelm Weitling, but they did not use the word *anarchist* or *anarchism* in describing themselves or their beliefs.

Since the 1890s from France, the term *libertarianism* has been used as a synonym for anarchism and was used almost exclusively in this sense until the 1950s in the USA.

Its use as a synonym is still common outside the USA. On the other hand, some use *libertarianism* to refer to individualistic free-market philosophy only, referring to free-market anarchism as *libertarian anarchism*.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was the first political philosopher to call himself an anarchist, marking the formal birth of anarchism in the mid-19th century. The French Pierre-Joseph Proudhon is regarded as the first *self-proclaimed* anarchist, a label he adopted in his groundbreaking work, *What is Property?*, published in 1840.

It is for this reason that some claim Proudhon as the founder of modern anarchist theory. He developed the theory of spontaneous order in society, where organization emerges without a central coordinator imposing its own idea of order against the wills of individuals acting in their own interests; his famous quote on the matter is, "Liberty is the mother, not the daughter, of order". In *What is Property?* Proudhon answers with the famous accusation "Property is theft". In this work, he opposed the institution of decreed "property", where owners have complete rights to "use and abuse" their property as they wish.

He contrasted this with what he called "possession", or limited ownership of resources and goods only while in more or less continuous use. Later, however, Proudhon added that "Property is Liberty", argued that it was a bulwark against state power. His opposition to the state, organized religion, and certain capitalist practices inspired subsequent anarchists, and made him one of the leading social thinkers of his time. A surge of popular interest in anarchism occurred in western nations during the 1960s and 1970s.

Anarchism was influential in the Counterculture of the 1960s and anarchists actively participated in the late sixties students and workers revolts. In the United Kingdom in the 1970s, this was associated with the punk rock movement, as exemplified by bands such as Crass and the Sex Pistols.

### **Jamaica 1720**

In the letter Sir Nicholas Lawes, Governor of Jamaica, wrote to John Robinson, the Bishop of London, in 1720 goes on to complain that these "estated men now are like Jonah's gourd" and details the humble origins of the "creolians" largely lacking an education and flouting the rules of church and state. In particular, he cites their refusal to abide by the Deficiency Act, which required slave owners to procure from England one white person for every 40 enslaved Africans, thereby hoping to expand their own estates and inhibit further English / Irish immigration. Lawes describes the government as being "anarchical, but nearest to any form of Aristocracy". "Must the King's good subjects at home who are as capable to begin plantations, as their Fathers, and themselves were, be excluded from their Liberty of settling Plantations in this noble Island, for ever and the King and Nation at home be deprived of so much riches, to make a few upstart Gentlemen Princes?"

### **Spain 1936**

After General Francisco Franco declared war on the Spanish government in 1936 (Spanish civil war) the government lost control over much of Spain. Resistance to the rebels was often organized through the confederation of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, and the Iberian Anarchist Federation. The Spanish Revolution occurred almost immediately after the failed coup of Franco, leading to the formation of worker's collectives all over Republican Spain. This has been hailed as the best example of a functioning anarchist system. Anarchists were instrumental in keeping the country running and holding back the Francoists, until they were attacked by the Republican government and their Communist allies. The government was subsequently defeated by Franco, leading to 40 years of Francoist dictatorship in Spain.

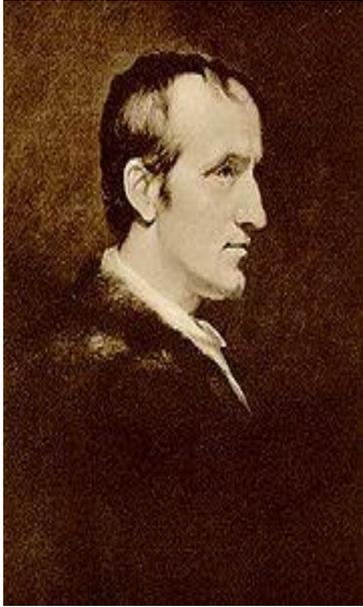
### **Somalia**

Before the Islamic Courts Union took control, large parts of southern Somalia were effectively functioning without a central government. However, an economic survey by the World Bank found that distribution of wealth in the country was more equitable, and the extent of extreme poverty was lower than that found in nominally more stable West African nations. According to the same paper, although southern Somalia was effectively operating without a federal government before the rise to prominence of the Islamic Courts Union, it was not an anarchist society in the sense that society was more or less chaotic than organized non-coercively. Despite this, a libertarian think tank reported that living standards in Somalia increased – in absolute terms, relative to the pre-Somali Civil War era, and relative to other nations in Africa – during this period.

***Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

***Exercise 2. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.***

№	Activity			
	State of government	When	Where	Score
1.				



W. Goldwin



W. Weitling



Pierre-Joseph Proudhon



Hakim Bey



M. Bakunin



P. Kropotkin

**Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 4. Try to understand the notions.**

**Anarchy** (from Greek: "without ruler") may refer to any of the following:

- "No rulership or enforced authority".
- "Absence of government; a state of lawlessness due to the absence or inefficiency of the supreme power; political disorder".
- "A social state in which there is no governing person or group of persons, but each individual has absolute liberty (without the implication of disorder)".
- "Absence or non-recognition of authority and order in any given sphere".
- A society free from coercive authority of any kind is the goal of proponents of the political philosophy of anarchism (anarchists).
- Independent from rule or authority.
- Legitimacy of a state is gained through consent, not through coercion.

**Exercise 5. Analyze the Schools of thought in the field of anarchism.**

**Exercise 6. Describe the anarchy after the collapse of a state.**

The tumult of the **English Civil War** led the term to be taken up in political philosophy. Anarchy was one of the issues at the Putney Debates of 1647.

As people began to theorize about the English Civil War, Anarchy came to be more sharply defined, albeit from differing political perspectives:

- 1651 Thomas Hobbes (Leviathan) describes the Natural Condition of Mankind as a war of all against all, where man lives a brutish existence. For the savage people in many places of America, except the government of small families, the concord whereof depend on natural lust, have no government at all, and live at this day in that brutish manner.

Hobbes finds three basic causes of the conflict in this state of nature: competition, diffidence and glory. The first men invade for gain; the second, for safety; and the third, for reputation. In the state of nature, every man has a right to every thing, even to then go for one another's body but the second law is that, in order to secure the advantages of peace, that a man be willing, when others are so too... to lay down this right to all things; and be contented with so much liberty against other men as he would allow other men against himself. This is the beginning of contracts/covenants; performing of which is the third law of nature. Injustice, therefore, is failure to perform in a covenant; all else is just.

- 1656 James Harrington (The Commonwealth of Oceana) uses the term to describe a situation where the people use force to impose a government on an economic base composed of either solitary land ownership (absolute Monarchy), or land in the ownership of a few (mixed Monarchy). He distinguishes it from Commonwealth, the situation when both land ownership and governance shared by the population at large, seeing it as a temporary situation arising from an imbalance between the form of government and the form of property relations.

During the **French Revolution**, the period of brutal violence in which many members of high-ruling families were killed has been described as anarchy. The reign of terror was mainly conducted by the radical egalitarian wing of the revolution.

Targets were not only aristocrats but also fellow revolutionaries who were deemed too moderate, and were sent to guillotine.

Armand II, Duke of Aiguillon came before the National Assembly (French Revolution) in 1789 and shared his views on the anarchy. Armand II was later exiled because he was viewed as being opposed to the revolution's violent tactics. Professor Chris Bossche commented on the role of anarchy in the revolution: In the French Revolution, the narrative of increasing anarchy undermined the narrative in which the revolutionaries were striving to create a new social order by writing a constitution.



The storming of the Bastille, 14 July 1789

## ANARCHIST SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

Anarchist schools of thought had been generally grouped in two main historical traditions, individualist and collectivist ones, which have some different origins, values and evolution. The individualist wing of anarchism emphasizes negative liberty, i.e. opposition to state or social control over the individual, while those in the collectivist wing emphasize positive liberty to achieve one's potential and argue that humans have needs that society ought to fulfill, "recognizing equality of entitlement".

In chronological and theoretical sense there are classical – those created throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century – and post-classical anarchist schools -those created since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and after. Individualist anarchism comprises several traditions, which hold that "individual conscience and the pursuit of self-interest should not be constrained by any collective body or public authority".

Individualist anarchism is supportive of property being held privately, unlike the social (socialist, collectivist) communitarian wing which advocates common ownership. Individualist anarchism has been espoused by individuals such as Max Stirner, William Godwin, Henry David Thoreau, Josiah Warren, Albert Jay Nock and Murray Rothbard. William Godwin, usually considered an individualist anarchist, is regarded as producing the first philosophical expression of anarchism.

### **Individualist anarchism**

In 1793, Godwin who has often been cited as the first anarchist, wrote *Political Justice*, which some consider to be the first expression of anarchism. Godwin, a philosophical anarchist, opposed revolutionary action and saw a minimal state as a present "necessary evil" that would become increasingly irrelevant and powerless by the gradual spread of knowledge.

Godwin advocated extreme individualism, proposing that all cooperation in labor be eliminated on the premise that this would be most conducive with the general good.

Godwin was a utilitarian who believed that all individuals are not of equal value, with some of us "of more worth and importance' than others depending on our utility in bringing about social good. Therefore, he does not believe in equal rights, but the person's life that should be favored. This aspect of Godwin's philosophy, stripped of utilitarian motivations, was developed into a more extreme form, called "egoism" later by Max Stirner.

Stirner's *The Ego and Its Own*, published in 1844, is a founding text of the philosophy. According to Stirner's conception, the only limitation on the rights of the individual is their power to obtain what they desire, without regard for God, state, or moral rules.

By "property" he is not referring to things but to other people as well.

Stirner advocated self-assertion and foresaw "associations of egoists" where respect for ruthlessness drew people together. Even murder is permissible "if it is right for me".

Max Stirner saw the state as illegitimate but did not see individuals as having a duty to eliminate it nor does he recommend that they try to eliminate it; rather, he advocates that they disregard the state when it conflicts with their autonomous choices and go along with it when doing so is conducive to their interests. However, while he thought there was no duty to eliminate state, he does think it will eventually collapse because of the spread of egoism. In Russia, individualist anarchism inspired by Max Stirner combined with an appreciation for Friedrich Nietzsche attracted a small following of bohemian artists and intellectuals such as Lev Chernyi, as well as a few lone wolves who found self-expression in crime and violence.

They rejected organizing, believing that only unorganized individuals were safe from coercion and domination, believing this kept them true to the ideals of anarchism. This type of individualist anarchism inspired anarcho-feminist Emma Goldman. Though Stirner's egoism is individualist, it has also influenced some anarcho-communists.

### **The American tradition**

Another form of individualist anarchism was advocated by the "Boston anarchists", American individualists who supported private property exchangeable in a free market. They advocated the protection of liberty and property by private contractors and endorsed exchange of labor for wages. They did not have a problem that "one man employ another" or that "he direct him", in his labor but demanded that "all natural opportunities requisite to the production of wealth be accessible to all on equal terms and that monopolies arising from special privileges created by law be abolished".

They believed state monopoly capitalism (defined as a state-sponsored monopoly) prevented labor from being fully rewarded. Even among the 19<sup>th</sup> century American individualists, there was not a monolithic doctrine, as they disagreed amongst each other on various issues including intellectual property rights and possession versus property in land.

A major cleft occurred later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Tucker and some others abandoned natural rights and converted to an "egoism" modeled upon Stirner's philosophy.

Some "Boston anarchists", like Tucker, identified themselves as "socialist" – a term which at the time denoted a broad concept – by which he meant a commitment to solving "the labour problem" by radical economic reform. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the heyday of individualist anarchism had passed, although it was later revived with modifications by Murray Rothbard and the anarcho-capitalists in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, as a current of the broader libertarian movement, and the anti-capitalist strain by intellectuals such as Kevin Carson.

### **Mutualism**

Mutualism began in 18<sup>th</sup> century English and French labor movements before taking an anarchist form associated with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in France and others in the USA.

Proudhon's ideas were introduced by Charles A. Dana, to individualist anarchists in the USA including Benjamin Tucker and William Batchelder Greene. Mutualist anarchism is concerned with reciprocity, free association, voluntary contract, federation, and credit and currency reform. According to Greene, in the mutualist system each worker would receive "just and exact pay for his work; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount".

Mutualism has been retrospectively characterized sometimes as being economic individualism; other times as ideologically situated between individualist and collectivist forms of anarchism. Proudhon first characterized his goal as a "third form of society, the synthesis of communism and property".

### **Collectivist anarchism**

Collectivist anarchism, referred to as *revolutionary socialism*, commonly associated with Mikhail Bakunin and Johann Most. Unlike mutualists, collectivist anarchists oppose all private ownership of the means of production, instead advocating that ownership be collectivized.

This was to be achieved through violent revolution, first starting with a small cohesive group through acts of violence, or "propaganda by the deed", which would inspire the workers as a whole to revolt and forcibly collectivize the means of production.

However, collectivization was not to be extended to the distribution of income, as workers would be paid according to time worked, rather than receiving goods being distributed "according to need" as in anarcho-communism. Collectivist anarchism arose contemporaneously with Marxism but opposed the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat, despite the stated Marxist goal of a collectivist stateless society.

### **Anarchist communism**

Anarchist communists propose that the freest form of social organization would be a society composed of self-governing communes with collective use of the means of production, organized by direct democracy, and related to other communes through federation.

However, some anarchist communists oppose the majoritarian nature of direct democracy, feeling that it can impede individual liberty and favor consensus democracy. In anarchist communism, as money would be abolished, individuals would not receive direct compensation for labour (through sharing of profits or payment) but would have free access to the resources and surplus of the commune. According to anarchist communist Peter Kropotkin and later Murray Bookchin, the members of such a society would spontaneously perform all necessary labour because they would recognize the benefits of communal enterprise and mutual aid.

### **Anarcho-syndicalism**

Platformism is an anarchist communist tendency in the tradition of Nestor Makhno, who argued for the "vital need of an organization which, having attracted most of the participants in the anarchist movement, would establish a common tactical and political line for anarchism and thereby serve as a guide for the whole movement".

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, anarcho-syndicalism arose as a distinct school of thought within anarchism. With greater focus on the labour movement than previous forms of anarchism, syndicalism posits radical trade unions as a potential force for revolutionary social change, replacing capitalism and the state with a new society, democratically self-managed by the workers.

Anarcho-syndicalists seek to abolish the wage system and private ownership of the means of production, which they believe lead to class divisions.

Important principles include workers' solidarity, direct action (such as general strikes and workplace recuperations), and workers' self-management.

This is compatible with other branches of anarchism, and anarcho-syndicalists often subscribe to anarchist communist or collectivist anarchist economic systems. Its advocates propose labour organization as a means to create the foundations of a trade union centered anarchist society within the current system and bring about social revolution. An early leading anarcho-syndicalist thinker was Rudolf Rocker, whose 1938 pamphlet *Anarchosyndicalism* outlined a view of the movement's origin, aims and importance to the future of labour.

### **Post-classical schools of thought**

Temporary Autonomous Zone theorist Hakim Bey is an influential figure in post-leftist anarchist circles. Anarchism continues to generate many eclectic and syncretic philosophies and movements; since the revival of anarchism in the U.S. in the 1960s, a number of new movements and schools have emerged. Anarcho-capitalism developed from radical anti-state libertarianism as a rejuvenated form of individualist anarchism, it draws from ideas like Austrian School, law and economics or public choice, while the burgeoning feminist and environmentalist movements also produced anarchist offshoots.

Post-left anarchy is a tendency, which seeks to distance itself from the traditional "Left" and to escape the confines of ideology in general. Post-leftists argue that anarchism has been weakened by its long attachment to contrary "leftist" movements, single issue causes and calls for a synthesis of anarchist thought; a specifically anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement outside the leftist milieu. Post-anarchism is a theoretical move towards a synthesis of classical anarchist theory and poststructuralist thought. It draws from a wide range of ideas including post-modernism, autonomist marxism, post-left anarchy, situationism and post-colonialism. Another recent form of anarchism critical of formal anarchist movements is insurrectionary anarchism, which advocates informal organization and active resistance to the state.

### **Anarcho-capitalism**

Anarcho-capitalism ("free market anarchism") is "based on a belief in the freedom to own private property, a rejection of any form of governmental authority or intervention, and the upholding of the competitive free market as the main mechanism for social interaction".

Because of the historically anti-capitalist nature of much of anarchist thought, the status of anarcho-capitalism within anarchism is disputed particularly by communist anarchists.

### **Anarcho-feminism**

Anarcho-feminism is a synthesis of radical feminism and anarchism that views patriarchy (male domination over women) as a fundamental manifestation of compulsory government – to which anarchists are opposed. Anarcho-feminism was inspired in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by the writings of early feminist anarchists.

Anarcho-feminists, like other radical feminists, criticize and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education and gender roles. Many anarcho-feminists are especially critical of marriage.

Anarcho-feminists view patriarchy as a fundamental problem in society and believe that the feminist struggle against sexism and patriarchy is an essential component of the anarchist struggle against the state and capitalism. Green anarchism is a school of thought within anarchism, which puts an emphasis on environmental issues. Important contemporary currents are social ecology and anarcho-primitivism.

**Veganarchism** is the political philosophy of veganism (animal liberation) & green anarchism.

### **Social anarchism**

The term social anarchism is often used to identify communitarian forms of anarchism that emphasize cooperation and mutual aid.

Social anarchism includes anarcho-collectivism, anarcho-communism, libertarian socialism, anarcho-syndicalism, social ecology and sometimes mutualism.

### **As a social movement**

Anarchism as a social movement has regularly endured fluctuations in popularity. Its classical period, which scholars demarcate as from 1860 to 1939, is associated with the working-class movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the Spanish Civil War-era struggles against fascism. Anarchists were especially active in the abolition of slavery, and have been active in the labor movement, civil rights, women's liberation, both anti-capitalism and pro-capitalism (with varying definitions of capitalism), the anti-war movement, both anti-globalization and pro-globalization, tax resistance, and other forms of anarchist activism.

## The First International

Collectivist anarchist Mikhail Bakunin opposed the Marxist aim of dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of universal rebellion, and allied himself with the federalists in the First International before his expulsion by the Marxists. In Europe, harsh reaction followed the revolutions of 1848, wherein ten countries experienced brief or long-term social upheaval as groups carried out nationalist revolutions. After most of these attempts at systematic change ended in failure, conservative elements took advantage of the divided groups of socialists, anarchists, liberals, and nationalists, to prevent further revolt.

In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association united diverse revolutionary currents including French followers of Proudhon, Blanquists, Philadelphes, English trade unionists, socialists and social democrats. Due to its links to active workers' movements, the International became a significant organization. Karl Marx became a leading figure in the International and a member of its General Council. Proudhon's followers, the mutualists, opposed Marx's state socialism, advocating political abstentionism.

**Abstentionism** is standing for election to a deliberative assembly while refusing to take up any seats won or otherwise participate in the assembly's business. Abstentionism differs from an election boycott in that abstentionists participate in the election itself. Abstentionism has been used by Irish nationalist political movements in the United Kingdom and Ireland since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Exercise 1. Compare the main divisions of the anarchism movement.**

**Exercise 2. Express the main points of the fight against fascism.**

In the 1920s and 1930s, the rise of fascism in Europe transformed anarchism's conflict with the state. Italy saw the first struggles between anarchists and fascists. Italian anarchists played a key role in the anti-fascist organization *Arditi del Popolo*, which was the strongest in areas with anarchist traditions and marked up numerous successful victories, including repelling Blackshirts in the anarchist stronghold of Parma in August 1922.

In France, where the far right leagues came close to insurrection in the February 1934 riots, anarchists divided over a united front policy. In Spain, the CNT initially refused to join a popular front electoral alliance, and abstention by CNT supporters led to a right wing election victory. But in 1936, the CNT changed its policy and anarchist votes helped bring the popular front back to power. Months later, the former ruling class responded with an attempted coup causing the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). In response to the army rebellion, an anarchist-inspired movement of peasants and workers, supported by armed militias, took control of Barcelona and of large areas of rural Spain where they collectivized the land.

**Exercise 3. Discuss the main points of anarchism.**

- Anarchism is a philosophy.
- Anarchism is a social movement.
- Anarchism is a political philosophy.

**Exercise 4. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Modern movement	When	Where	Score
1.				

**Exercise 5. Analyze the internal issues and debates.**

Anarchism is a philosophy, which embodies many diverse attitudes, tendencies and schools of thought; as such, disagreement over questions of values, ideology and tactics is common.

The compatibility of capitalism, nationalism and religion with anarchism is widely disputed. Similarly, anarchism enjoys a complex relationship with ideologies such as Marxism, communism and capitalism. Anarchists may be motivated by humanism, divine authority, enlightened self-interest or any number of alternative ethical doctrines. Phenomena such as civilization, technology (e.g. within anarcho-primitivism and insurrectionary anarchism), and the democratic process may be sharply criticized within some anarchist tendencies and simultaneously lauded in others. Anarchist attitudes towards race, gender and the environment have changed significantly since the modern origin of the philosophy in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

On a tactical level, while propaganda of the deed was a tactic used by anarchists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. the Nihilist movement), contemporary anarchists espouse alternative methods such as nonviolence, counter-economics and anti-state cryptography to bring about an anarchist society. The diversity in anarchism has led to widely different use of identical terms among different anarchist traditions, which has led to many definitional concerns in anarchist theory.

**Exercise 6. Try to understand the quotes.**

"Anarchism is a social movement that seeks liberation from oppressive systems of control including but not limited to the state, capitalism, racism, sexism, speciesism, religion".

"Anarchists advocate a self-managed, classless, stateless society without borders, bosses, or rulers where everyone takes collective responsibility for the health & prosperity of themselves and the environment".

"Anarchism is not a romantic fable but the hard-headed realization, based on five thousand years of experience, that we cannot entrust the management of our lives to kings, priests, politicians, generals, and county commissioners".

"Anarchism is founded on the observation that since few men are wise enough to rule themselves, even fewer are wise enough to rule others". *Edward Abbey*

"Crowned heads, wealth and privilege may well tremble should ever again the black and red unite". *Otto Von Bismarck*

"People have only as much liberty as they have the intelligence to want and the courage to take". "Ask for work. If they don't give you work, ask for bread. If they do not give you work or bread, then take bread". *Emma Goldman*

"Every society has the criminals it deserves". *Emma Goldman*

"You cannot buy the revolution. You cannot make the revolution. You can only be the revolution. It is in your spirit, or it is nowhere". *Ursula K. Le Guin*

"That is what I have always understood to be the essence of anarchism: the conviction that the burden of proof has to be placed on authority, and that it should be dismantled if that burden cannot be met". *Noam Chomsky*

"Your pretty empire took so long to build, now, with a snap of history's fingers, down it goes". *Alan Moore*

**Exercise 7. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 8. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 9. Write a small essay on the topic.**

## MAIN ASPECTS OF FREEDOM

Aristotle contrasted rule by the (democracy / polity), with rule by the few (oligarchy / aristocracy), and with rule by a single person (tyranny or today autocracy/monarchy). He thought that there was a good and a bad variant of each system (he considered democracy – the degenerate counterpart to polity). For Aristotle the underlying principle of democracy is freedom, since only in a democracy the citizens can have a share in freedom. In essence, he argues that this is what every democracy should make its aim.

There are two main aspects of freedom: being ruled and ruling in turn, since everyone is equal according to number, not merit, and to be able to live as one pleases. But one factor of liberty is to govern and be governed in turn; for the popular principle of justice is to have equality according to number, not worth, and if this is the principle of justice prevailing, the multitude must of necessity be sovereign and the decision of the majority must be final and must constitute justice, for they say that each of the citizens ought to have an equal share; so that it results that in democracies the poor are more powerful than the rich, because there are more of them and whatever is decided by the majority is sovereign. This then is one mark of liberty which all democrats set down as a principle of the constitution.

Among political theorists, there are many contending conceptions of democracy.

*Aggregative democracy* uses democratic processes to solicit citizens' preferences and then aggregate them together to determine what social policies society should adopt.

Under *minimalism*, democracy is a system of government in which citizens give teams of political leaders the right to rule in periodic elections. Direct democracy, on the other hand, holds that citizens should participate directly, not through their representatives, in making laws and policies. Proponents of direct democracy offer varied reasons to support this view. Political activity can be valuable in itself, it socializes and educates citizens, and popular participation can check powerful elites. Most importantly, citizens do not really rule themselves unless they directly decide laws and policies.

*Deliberative democracy* is based on the notion that democracy is government by discussion. Deliberative democrats contend that laws and policies should be based upon reasons that all citizens can accept. The political arena should be one in which leaders and citizens make arguments, listen, and change their minds.

*Radical democracy* is based on the idea that there are hierarchical and oppressive power relations in society. Democracy's role is to make visible and challenge those relations by allowing for difference, dissent and antagonisms in decision making processes.

In contemporary usage, the term *democracy* refers to a government chosen by the people, whether it is direct or representative. The term *republic* has many different meanings, but today often refers to a representative democracy with an elected head of state, such as a president, serving for a limited term, in contrast to states with a hereditary monarch as a head of state, even if these states also are representative democracies with an elected or appointed head of government such as a prime minister.

The Founding Fathers of the USA rarely praised and often criticized democracy, which in their time tended to specifically mean direct democracy.

### **Moral Decay**

Traditional Asian cultures, in particular, that of Confucian and Islamic thought, believe that democracy results in the people's distrust and disrespect of governments or religious sanctity.

The distrust and disrespect pervades to all parts of society whenever and wherever there is seniority and juniority, for example between a parent and a child, a teacher and a student.

This in turn is suggested to be the cause of frequent divorces, teenage crimes, vandalism, hooliganism and low education attainment in Western societies, all of which are lower in Asian societies. It is argued by Islamists that moral decay occurs when there is no longer a respectable leader who sets high moral standards and when a politically free environment creates excessive individuality.

### **Political Instability**

More recently, democracy is criticized for not offering enough political stability. As governments are frequently elected on and off there tends to be frequent changes in the policies of democratic countries both domestically and internationally.

Even if a political party maintains power, vociferous, headline grabbing protests and harsh criticism from the mass media are often enough to force sudden, unexpected political change. Frequent policy changes with regard to business and immigration are likely to deter investment and so hinder economic growth. For this reason, many people have put forward the idea that democracy is undesirable for a developing country in which economic growth and the reduction of poverty are top priority.

Democracy is criticized for frequent elections due to the instability of coalition governments. Coalitions are frequently formed after the elections in many countries (India) and the basis of alliance is predominantly to enable a viable majority, not an ideological concurrence. This opportunist alliance not only has the handicap of having to cater to too many ideologically opposing factions, but it is usually short lived since any perceived or actual imbalance in the treatment of coalition partners, or changes to leadership in the coalition partners themselves, can very easily result in the coalition partner withdrawing its support from the government.

### **Western Influence**

Democratic institutions, and the notion of equality, are counter to the traditions and cultures of many regions, which perceive these as western influences with little relevance to their political setup. In this line of thinking, it is usually supposed that the west is promoting or *engineering* democracy to further its own financial interests. This standpoint is sometimes vindicated when the USA, which plays a very vocal lip-service to democracy throughout the world, has subverted the democratic governments, or refused to accept the results of elections.

#### ***Exercise 1. Characterize constitutional monarchs & upper chambers.***

Initially after the American and French revolutions the question was open whether a democracy, in order to restrain unchecked majority rule, should have an elitist upper chamber, the members perhaps appointed meritorious experts or having lifetime tenures, or should have a constitutional monarch with limited but real powers. Some countries (as Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Scandinavian countries, Thailand, Japan and Bhutan) turned powerful monarchs into constitutional monarchs with limited or, often gradually, merely symbolic roles. Often the monarchy was abolished along with the aristocratic system (as in France, China, Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Greece and Egypt). Many nations had elite upper houses of legislatures which often had lifetime tenure, but eventually these lost power (as in Britain) or else became elective and remained powerful (as in the USA).

**Exercise 2. Define non-democratic democracies.**

Mere elections are just one aspect of the democratic process. If one examines the central tenets of democracy, i.e. equality and freedom, these are frequently absent in ostensibly democratic countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, and to some extent India, with its stubborn caste system and vote-bank politics. Moreover, in many countries, democratic participation is less than 50% at times, which makes them democracies only in name. The Election of individual(s) instead of ideas is the primary disrupter of democracy.

**Exercise 3. Answer the questions.**

1. What is democracy like? 2. Can a democracy denote either direct or indirect rule by the people? 3. What does democracy describe in political theory? 4. Is there any specific, universally accepted definition of "democracy"? 5. How many varieties of democracy are there? 6. Popular sovereignty is common but not a universal motivating philosophy for establishing a democracy is it? 7. Where does democracy have its origins? 8. What is timocracy like? 9. Who contrasted democracy the system of "rule by the governed" with the alternative systems of monarchy, oligarchy, and timocracy? 10. What is a possible example of primitive democracy? 11. Were there various systems of democracy during the Middle Ages? 12. What was the first elected parliament? When was it? 13. What kind of democracy was during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries? 13. 20<sup>th</sup> century transitions to liberal democracy have come in successive "waves of democracy", haven't they? 14. What does representative democracy involve? 15. What is parliamentary democracy like? 16. What is liberal democracy like? 17. What kinds of constitutional democracy are there? 18. How did Aristotle describe democracy? How many contending conceptions of democracy are there? 20. What are criteria against democracy like?

**Exercise 4. After reading the passage shortly describe the notion "Islamic democracy".**

Known as **Islamic democracy**, two kinds of democratic states can be recognized in the Islamic countries. The basis of this distinction has to do with how comprehensively Islam is incorporated into the affairs of the state. A democratic state which recognizes Islam as state religion, such as Malaysia, Pakistan, Algeria or Bangladesh. Some religious values are incorporated into public life, but Islam is not the only source of law. Islamist democracy offers more comprehensive inclusion of Islam into the affairs of the state. Islamist democracy is a highly controversial topic. Most Islamic democracies fall under the first definition, leading many analysts to dismiss the compatibility of Islam with democracy. Critics of the concept of Islamic democracy argue that Islam and secularism are opposite forces, that theocracy is incompatible with democracy, and that Islamic culture lacks the liberal social attitudes of democratic societies.

Others argue that the concepts of liberalism and democratic participation were already present in the medieval Islamic world. The democratic ideal of a "government by the people" is compatible with the nation of an Islamic democracy. It is compatible with the nation of an Islamic democracy. Deliberations of the Caliphates were not democratic in the modern sense (rather, decision-making power lay with a council of notables or clan patriarchs), they show that some appeals to popular consent are permissible (though not necessarily required) within Islam. In the early Islamic Caliphate, the head of state, the Caliph, had a position based on the notion of a successor to Muhammad's political authority, who, according to Sunnis, were ideally elected by the people or their representatives. Later Caliphates during the Islamic Golden Age had a lesser degree of democratic participation.

But since "no one was superior to anyone else except on the basis of piety and virtue" in Islam, and following the example of Muhammad, later Islamic rulers often held public consultations with the people in their affairs.

**Exercise 5. Analyzing the text and explain the notion "sultan".**

**Sultan** is an Islamic title, with several historical meanings. A sultan is a ruler in some Muslim countries. Originally it was an Arabic language abstract noun meaning "strength", "authority", or "rulership", derived from words meaning "authority" or "power".

Later, it came to be used as the title of certain Muslim rulers who claimed almost full sovereignty in practical terms (i.e., the lack of dependence on any higher ruler), without claiming the overall Caliphate, or it was used to refer to a powerful governor of a province within the caliphate. It then developed some further meanings in certain contexts.

At later stages, lesser rulers assumed the title "sultan", as was the case for the earlier leaders of today's royal family of Morocco. Today, only the Sultan of Oman, the Sultan of Brunei (both sovereign nations), the Sultans of Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor and Terengganu (within the constitutive states of the federation) in Malaysia, and the titular sultans of Provinces in the southern Philippines and Java (Indonesia) regions still use the title. The sultan's domain is properly called a **sultanate**.

The very first to carry the title of "sultan" was the Turkmen chief Mahmud of Ghazni (ruled 998-1030 CE). Later, "sultan" became the usual title of rulers of Seljuk and Ottoman Turks and Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers in Egypt. In the later stages "sultan" was used mostly for the wives of the emperor. Among those modern hereditary rulers who wish to emphasize their secular authority under the rule of law, the term is gradually being replaced by "king".

In the Ottoman dynastic system, male descendants of the ruling enjoyed a style including Sultan, so this normally monarchic title is used equivalent to a western prince of the blood. In certain Muslim states, Sultan was also an aristocratic title, the Sultan Valide was the title reserved for the mother of the ruling sultan.

**Exercise 6. Try to understand the single-root words.**

Rule – ruled – to rule – ruling – ruleless – rulership.

**Exercise 7. After understanding the whole information, compare the main features between various forms of democracy in the form of short notes.**



Sultan Mehmed II: Ottoman Empire



the Sultanate of Oman

## SOCIALISM

**Socialism** refers to any one of various theories of economic organization advocating state or cooperative ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods, and a society characterized by equal opportunities/means for all individuals with a more egalitarian method of compensation based on the full product of the laborer.

Modern socialism originated in the late 18th-century intellectual and working class political movement that criticized the effects of industrialization and private ownership on society. Karl Marx posited that socialism would be achieved via class struggle and a proletarian revolution, and would be a transitional stage between capitalism and communism (the final stage in which class dichotomies and the state itself ceased to exist). The utopian socialists, including Robert Owen, tried to found self-sustaining socialist communities within a capitalist society. Henri de Saint Simon, the first individual to coin the term "socialism", was the original thinker who advocated technocracy and industrial planning.

The first socialists predicted a world improved by harnessing technology and combining it with better social organization, and many contemporary socialists share this belief. Early socialist thinkers tended to favor an authentic meritocracy combined with rational social planning, while many modern socialists have a more egalitarian approach.

Socialists mainly share the belief that capitalism unfairly concentrates power and wealth among a small segment of society that controls capital, creates an unequal society, and does not provide equal opportunities for everyone in society.

Therefore socialists advocate the creation of a society in which wealth and power are distributed more evenly based on the amount of work expended in production, although there is considerable disagreement among socialists over how and to what extent this could be achieved. Socialism is not a concrete philosophy of fixed doctrine and program; its branches advocate a degree of social interventionism & economic rationalization, opposing each other. Another dividing feature of the socialist movement is the split between reformists and the revolutionaries on how a socialist economy should be established.

Some socialists advocate complete nationalization of the means of production, distribution, exchange; others state control of capital within the framework of a market economy. Socialists inspired by the Soviet model of economic development have advocated the creation of centrally planned economies directed by a state that owns all the means of production. Others, including Yugoslavian, Hungarian, German and Chinese Communists in the 1970s and 1980s, instituted various forms of market socialism, combining co-operative and state ownership models with the free market exchange and free price system (but not free prices for the means of production).

Social democrats propose selective nationalization of key national industries in mixed economies, with private ownership of property and of profit-making business. Social democrats also promote tax-funded welfare programs and regulation of markets.

Many social democrats, particularly in European welfare states, refer to themselves as "socialists", introducing a degree of ambiguity to the understanding of what the term means. Libertarian socialism (including social anarchism and libertarian Marxism) rejects state control and ownership of the economy altogether and advocates direct collective ownership of the means of production via co-operative workers' councils and workplace democracy.

Linguistically, the contemporary connotation of the words "socialism" and "communism" accorded with the "adherents" & "opponents" cultural attitude towards religion.

In Christian Europe, of the two, communism was believed the atheist way of life. In Protestant England, the word "communism" was too culturally and aurally close to the Papist Roman Catholic "communion rite", hence English atheists denoted themselves socialists.

The last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century marked a period of major crisis for Communists in the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc, where the growing shortages of housing and consumer goods, combined with the lack of individual rights to assembly & speech, began to disillusion Communist party members. With the rapid collapse of Communist party rule in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991, the Soviet version of socialism has effectively disappeared as a worldwide political force. In the postwar years, socialism became increasingly influential throughout the so-called Third World.

Countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America frequently adopted socialist economic programs. In many instances, these nations nationalized industries held by foreign owners.

The Soviet Union had become a superpower through its adoption of a planned economy, albeit at enormous human cost. This achievement seemed hugely impressive from the outside; convinced many nationalists in the former colonies, not necessarily communists or even socialists, of the virtues of state planning and state-guided models of social development.

This was later to have important consequences in countries like China, India and Egypt, which tried to import some aspects of the Soviet model. In some Latin American countries, socialism has re-emerged in recent years, with an anti-imperialist stance, the rejection of the policies of neo-liberalism, and the nationalization or part nationalization of oil production, land and other assets. Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and Bolivian President Evo Morales, for instance, refer to their political programs as socialist. Chavez has coined the term "21<sup>st</sup> century socialism" ("Socialism of the 21<sup>st</sup> century").

After winning re-election in December 2006, President Chavez said, "Now more than ever, I am obliged to move Venezuela's path towards socialism".

In the developing world, some elected socialist parties and communist parties remain prominent, particularly in India and Nepal. The Communist Party of Nepal in particular calls for multi-party democracy, social equality, and economic prosperity.

In China, the Chinese Communist Party has led a transition from the command economy of the Mao period to an economic program they term the socialist market economy or "socialism with Chinese characteristics". The Left Party in Germany has grown in popularity.

African socialism continues to be a major ideology around the continent. The People's Republic of China, Cuba, North Korea, Laos and Vietnam are states remaining from the first wave of socialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

***Exercise 1. Answer the questions.***

1. What is socialism like? 2. Where did modern socialism originate? 3. What was K. Marx point of view on socialism? 4. Who was the utopian socialist? 5. Where did early socialist thinkers tend? 6. What kind of belief did socialists mainly share? 7. What did they advocate? 8. Where and when were various forms of market socialism instituted? 9. What do social democrats propose? 10. What do some democrats also promote? 11. What was believed the atheist way of life in Christian Europe? 12. What was the word "communism" culturally and aurally close in Protestant England? 13. What has effectively disappeared as a worldwide political force? Why and when was it?

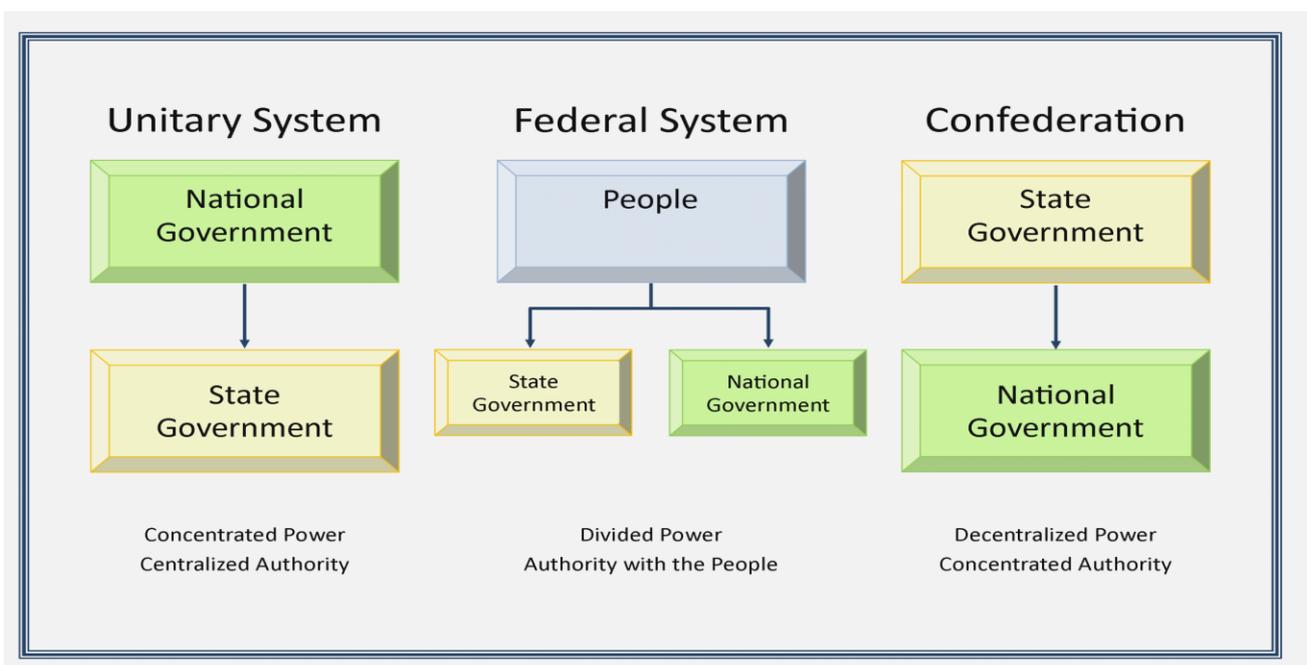
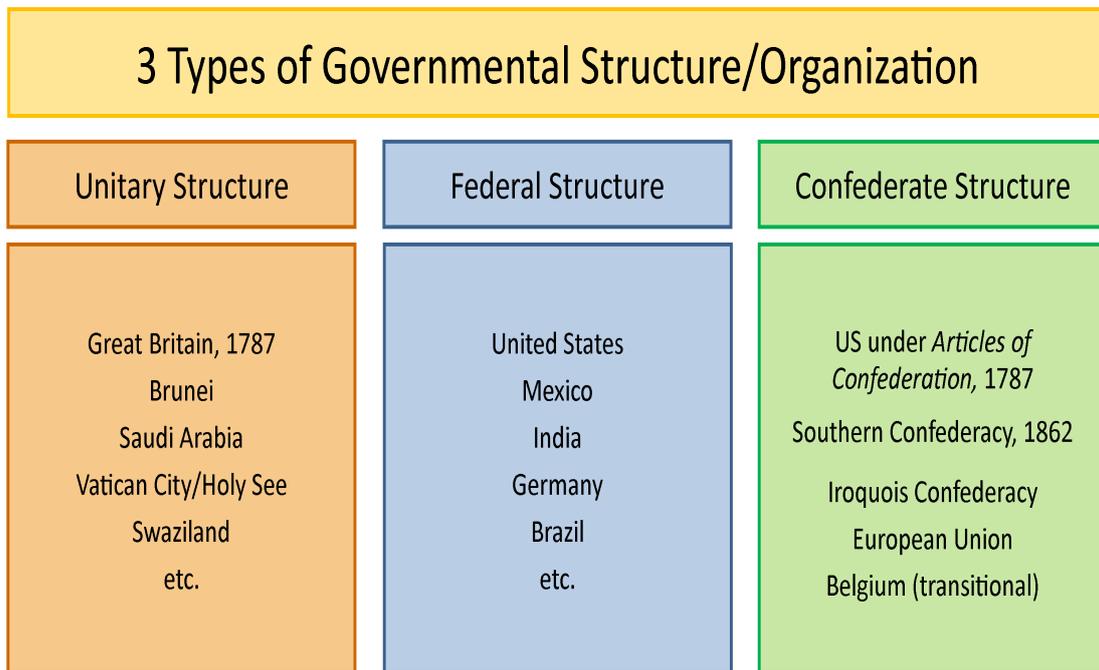
**Exercise 2. Explain the score of some notions in English.**

*Socialism* is a political and economic theory of social organization which advocates that the means of production, distribution, and exchange should be owned or regulated by the community as a whole. The term "socialism" has been used to describe positions as far apart as anarchism, Soviet state Communism, and social democracy; however, it necessarily implies an opposition to the untrammelled workings of the economic market.

The socialist parties that have arisen in most European countries from the late 19th century have generally tended towards social democracy.

*Socialism* is a set of left-wing political principles whose general aim is to create a system in which everyone has an equal opportunity to benefit from a country's wealth. Under socialism, the country's main industries are usually owned by the state.

**Exercise 3. Interpret the main ideas of the passage above.**



## REPUBLIC

A republic is a state or country that is not led by a monarch, in which the people have an impact on its government. The word "republic" is derived from the Latin phrase "*res publica*", which can be translated as "public thing".

Both modern and ancient republics vary widely in their ideology and composition.

The most common definition of a republic is a state without a monarch, but many historical republics contained an aristocratic class with hereditary titles and privileges.

In republics such as the USA and France the executive is legitimated both by a constitution and by popular suffrage. James Madison defined "republic" in terms of representative democracy as opposed to direct democracy, and this usage is still employed by many viewing themselves as "republicans". In modern political science, republicanism refers to a specific ideology that is based on civic virtue and is considered distinct from ideologies such as liberalism. Most often, a republic is a sovereign country, but there are sub-national entities that are referred to as republics. Niccolo Machiavelli described the governance and foundation of the ideal republic.

The idea of a republic first appeared in the writings of Italian scholars of the Renaissance, most importantly Niccolo Machiavelli. Machiavelli divided governments into two types, principalities ruled by a monarch and republics ruled by the people.

In medieval Northern Italy, a number of city-states had commune or signoria based governments. In the late Middle Ages writers, such as Giovanni Villani, began thinking about the nature of these states and the differences from the more common monarchies. These early writers used terms such as "*libertas populi*" to describe the states.

The terminology changed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as the renewed interest in the writings of Ancient Greece and Rome caused writers to prefer using classical terminology. To describe non-monarchial states writers, most importantly Leonardo Bruni, adopted the Latin word "*res publica*". While Bruni and Machiavelli used the term to describe the non-monarchial states of Northern Italy, "*res publica*" has a set of interrelated meanings in the original Latin. The term can quite literally be translated as "public matter". It was most often used by Roman writers to refer to the state and government, even during the period of the Roman Empire.

The English word "commonwealth" derives from a direct translation of *res publica*, and its use in English is closer to how the Romans used the term "*res publica*".

Niccolo Machiavelli defined "republic" by stating that "all states, all the dominions that have had or now have authority over men have been and now are either republics or principedoms". Today the term "republic" still most commonly means a system of government which derives its power from the people rather than from another basis, such as heredity or divine right. This remains the primary definition of republic in most contexts.

This bipartite division of government types differs from the classical sources; the earlier of Machiavelli's own works, which divided governments into three types, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. As Machiavelli wrote, the distinction between an aristocracy ruled by a select elite and a democracy ruled by a council appointed by the people became cumbersome. By the time Machiavelli began work on *The Prince* he had decided to refer to both aristocracy and democracies as republics. A further set of meanings for the term comes from the Greek word "*politeia*". Cicero, among other Latin writers, translated "*politeia*" as "*res publica*" and it was in turn translated by Renaissance scholars as "republic".

This is not a very accurate translation and the term "politeia" is today usually translated as "form of government or regime". Until modern times, the form of government for almost all states was monarchy. During the classical period, the Mediterranean region was home to several states that are now known as the classical republics.

Several republics also developed during the Middle Ages in the merchant dominated city-states. Beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century larger states began becoming republics, and in the 21<sup>st</sup> century only a minority of countries are monarchies. According to Wilfried Nippel, the concept of the "republic" itself was not a meaningful concept in the classical world. There are number of states of the classical era that are today by convention called republics.

These include the city states of ancient Greece such as Athens and Sparta and the Roman Republic. The structure and governance of these states was very different from that of any modern republic. There is a debate about whether the classical, medieval, and modern republics form an historic continuum. JGA Pocock has played a central role, arguing that there is a distinct republican tradition that stretches from the classical world to the present. Other scholars disagree. Paul Rahe, for instance, argues that the classical republics had a form of government with few links to those in any modern country.

The political philosophy of the classical republics has had a central influence on republican thought throughout the subsequent centuries. A number of classical writers discussed forms of government alternative to monarchies and later writers have treated these as foundational works on the nature of republics.

Philosophers & politicians advocating for republics, such as Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Adams, and Madison, relied heavily on these sources. Aristotle discusses various forms of government. One form Aristotle named "politeia" consisted of a mixture of the other forms he argued this was one of the ideal forms of government. Polybius expanded on many of these ideas, again focusing on the idea of mixed government.

In the pre-modern period, republics are generally considered to have been a solely European phenomena, and states in other parts of the world with similar governments are not generally referred to as republics. Some early states outside of Europe had governments that are sometimes today considered similar to republics.

In the ancient Near East, a number of cities of the Eastern Mediterranean achieved collective rule. Arwad has been cited as one of the earliest known examples of a republic, in which the people, rather than a monarch, are described as sovereign. In ancient India, a number of Maha Janapadas were established as republics by the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The Israelite confederation of the era before the United Monarchy has been considered a type of republic. Over time the classical republics were either conquered by empires or became one themselves. Most of the Greek republics were annexed to the Macedonian Empire of Alexander. The Roman Republic expanded dramatically conquering the other states of the Mediterranean that could be considered republics, such as Carthaginian Republic. The Roman Republic itself then became the Roman Empire.

**Exercise 1. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

No	Activity			
	Republic	When	Where	Score
1.				



Mercantile republics



Giovan Battista Tiepolo, Neptune offers the wealth of the sea to Venice, 1748-50. This painting is an allegory of the power of the Republic of Venice.

In Europe new republics appeared in the late Middle Ages when a number of small states embraced republican systems of government. These were generally small, but wealthy, trading states in which the merchant class had risen to prominence.

Haakonssen notes that by the Renaissance Europe was divided with those states controlled by a landed elite being monarchies and those controlled by a commercial elite being republics. Across Europe, a wealthy merchant class developed in the important trading cities. Despite their wealth, they had little power in the feudal system dominated by the rural land owners, and across Europe began to advocate for their own privileges and powers. The more centralized states, such as France and England, granted limited city charters. In the more loosely governed Holy Roman Empire, 51 of the largest towns became free imperial cities. While still, under the dominion of the Holy Roman Emperor most power was held locally and many adopted republican forms of government.

The same rights to imperial immediacy were secured by the major trading cities of Switzerland. The towns and villages of alpine Switzerland had, courtesy of geography, also been largely excluded from central control. Unlike Italy and Germany much of the rural area was thus not controlled by feudal barons, but instead by independent farmers who used communal forms of government.

When the Hapsburgs tried to reassert control over the region both rural farmers and town merchants joined the rebellion. The Swiss were victorious, and the Swiss Confederacy was proclaimed, and Switzerland has retained a republican form of government to the present. Italy was the most densely populated area of Europe, one with the weakest central government. Many of the towns thus gained considerable independence and adopted commune forms of government. Completely free of feudal control, the Italian city-states expanded, gaining control of the rural hinterland.

The two most powerful were the Republic of Venice and its rival the Republic of Genoa. Each was large trading ports, and further expanded by using naval power to control large parts of the Mediterranean. It was in Italy that an ideology advocating for republics first developed. Writers such as Bartholomew of Lucca, Brunetto Latini, Marsilius of Padua, and Leonardo Bruni saw the medieval city-states as heirs to the legacy of Greece and Rome.

The dominant form of government for these early republics was control by a limited council of elite patricians. In those areas that held elections, property qualifications or guild membership limited both who could vote and who could run.

In many states, no direct elections were held and council members were hereditary or appointed by the existing council. This left the great majority of the population without political power, and riots and revolts by the lower classes were common. The late Middle Ages saw more than two hundred such risings in the towns of the Holy Roman Empire.

Similar revolts occurred in Italy, notably the Ciompi Revolt in Florence.

### **Protestant Republics**

While the classical writers had been the primary ideological source for the republics of Italy, in Northern Europe the Protestant Reformation would be used as justification for a new set up republics. Most important was Calvinist theology, which developed in the Swiss Confederacy, one of the largest and most powerful of the medieval republics.

John Calvin did not call for the abolition of monarchy, but he advanced the doctrine that the faithful had the right to overthrow irreligious monarchs. Calvinism also espoused a fierce egalitarianism and an opposition to hierarchy. Advocacy for republics appeared in the writings of the Huguenots during the French Wars of Religion.

Calvinism played an important role in the republican revolts in Britain and the Netherlands. Like the city-states of Italy and the Hanseatic League both were important trading centers, with a large merchant class prospering from the trade with the New World. Large parts of the population of both areas also embraced Calvinism.

The Dutch Revolt, beginning in 1568, saw the Dutch Republic reject the rule of Hapsburg Spain in a long conflict that would last until 1648. In 1641, the English Civil War began. Spearheaded by the Puritans and funded by the merchants of London the revolt was a success, and King Charles I was executed. In England James Harrington, Algernon Sydney, and John Milton became some of the first writers to argue for rejecting monarchy and embracing a republican form of government. The English Commonwealth was short lived, and the monarchy soon restored.

The Dutch Republic continued in name until 1795, but by the mid 18th century the stadholder had become a de facto monarch. Calvinists were also some of the earliest settlers of the British and Dutch colonies of North America.

***Exercise 1. Compare the government of mercantile, protestant and liberal republics.***

***Exercise 2. Analyze the information and make up the chart about it.***



## LIBERAL REPUBLICS

These initial republican revolts early modern Europe also saw a great increase in monarchical power. The era of absolute monarchy replaced the limited and decentralized monarchies that had existed in most of the Middle Ages. It also saw a reaction against the total control of the monarch as a series of writers created the ideology known as liberalism.

Most of these Enlightenment thinkers were far more interested in ideas of constitutional monarchy than in republics. The Cromwell regime had discredited republicanism; most thinkers felt that republics ended in either anarchy or tyranny. Thus, philosophers like Voltaire opposed absolutism while at the same time being strongly pro-monarchy.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Montesquieu did praise republics, and looked on the city-states of Greece as a model, but both also felt that a nation-state like France, with 20 mln people, would be impossible to govern as a republic. Rousseau described his ideal political structure of small self-governing communes.

Montesquieu felt that a city-state should ideally be a republic, but maintained that a limited monarchy was better suited to a large nation. The American Revolution thus began as a rejection only of the authority of the English parliament over the colonies. With the Declaration of Independence the leaders of the revolt firmly embraced republicanism.

The leaders of the revolution were well versed in the writings of the European liberal thinkers, and also in history of the classical republics. John Adams had notably written a book on republics throughout history. The French Revolution was also not republican at its outset. Only after the Flight to Varennes removed most of the remaining sympathy for the king was a republic declared and Louis XVI sent to the guillotine.

The stunning success of France in the French Revolutionary Wars saw republics spread by force of arms across much of Europe as a series of client republics were set up across the continent. The rise of Napoleon saw the end of the First French Republic, and his eventual defeat allowed the victorious monarchies to put an end to many of the oldest republics on the continent, including Venice, Genoa, and the Dutch.

Outside Europe, another group of republics was created as the Napoleonic Wars allowed the states of Latin America to gain their independence. Liberal ideology had only a limited impact on these new republics. The main impetus was the local European descended Creole population in conflict with the Peninsular governors sent from overseas.

The majority of the population in most of Latin America was of either African or Amerindian decent, and the Creole elite had little interest in giving these groups power and broad based popular sovereignty. Simon Bolivar was both the main instigator of the revolts and one of its most important theorists was sympathetic to liberal ideals.

However, felt that Latin America lacked the social cohesion for such a system to function and advocated autocracy as necessary. In Mexico, this autocracy briefly took the form of a monarchy in the First Mexican Empire, and Brazil gained independence as a monarchy and the Empire of Brazil lasted until 1899. In the other states, various forms of autocratic republic existed until most were liberalized at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

19<sup>th</sup> century France would see the creation of the briefly lived Second French Republic in 1848 and Third French Republic in 1871. Spain saw the briefly lived First Spanish Republic, but the monarchy was soon restored. By the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, France and Switzerland remained the only republics in Europe. This would change in the aftermath of the First World War when several of the largest empires would collapse, being replaced by new republics.

The German Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Russian Empire, and Ottoman Empire all collapsed and were replaced by republics. New states gained independence during this turmoil, and many of these, such as Poland and Finland, chose republican forms of government.

Republican ideas were spreading, importantly to Asia. The USA began to have considerable influence in East Asia in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with Protestant missionaries playing a central role. The liberal and republican writers of the west also exerted influence. These combined with native Confucian inspired political philosophy that had long argued that the populace had the right to reject unjust government that had lost the Mandate of Heaven.

Two short-lived republics were proclaimed in East Asia, the Republic of Formosa and the First Philippine Republic. China had seen considerable anti-Qing sentiment, and a number of protest movements developed calling for constitutional monarchy.

The most important leader of these efforts was Sun Yatsen whose Three Principles of the People combined American, European, and Chinese ideas. The Republic of China was proclaimed on January 1, 1912.

***Exercise 1. Explain the score of liberal republics.***

Strictly speaking, any real or hypothetical state organized along the principles of socialism may be called a socialist state. The term "socialist republic" is used by those socialists who wish to emphasize that they favour a republican form of government. Furthermore, since socialism purports to represent the interests of the working class, many socialists refer to a state organized according to their principles as a workers' state.

***Exercise 2. Read the information and digest it.***

**Communist republics**

Communist states such as Vietnam require that their leaders adhere to that ideology and to the line of the Communist party.

The years after the Second World War saw most of the remaining European colonies gain their independence, and most became republics. The two largest colonial powers were France and the United Kingdom. Republican France encouraged the establishment of republics in its former colonies. Great Britain attempted to follow the model it had for its earlier settler colonies of creating independent commonwealth realms still linked under the same monarchy. While most of the settler colonies and the smaller states of the Caribbean retained this system, it was rejected by the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia who revised their constitutions and became monarchies.

In the Middle East Britain followed a different model.

It installed local monarchies in several colonies and mandates including Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Yemen, and Libya. In subsequent decades revolutions and coups overthrew a number of monarchs and installed republics. Several monarchies remain, and the Middle East is the only part of the world where several large states are ruled by monarchs with almost complete political control.

### Islamic republics

Islamic political philosophy has a long history of opposition to absolute monarchy, notably in the work of Al-Farabi. The law, sharia, took precedence over the will of the ruler, and electing rulers by means of the Shura was an important doctrine. While the early caliphate maintained the principles of an elected ruler, later states became hereditary or military dictatorships though many maintained some pretense of a consultative shura.

None of these states are typically referred to as republics. The current usage of republic in Muslim countries is borrowed from the western meaning, adopted into the language in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The 20<sup>th</sup> century saw republicanism become an important idea in much of the Middle East as monarchies were removed in many states of the region.

Some such as Iraq and Turkey became secular republics. In Iran the Iranian Revolution overthrew the monarchy & created an Islamic Republic based the ideas of Islamic democracy.

### Exercise 3. Describe the structure of the government.

Types of Governments					
Type	Head of State	Decision Maker	Acquisition of Power	Length of Rule	Political Freedoms Determined by:
Militant Dictatorship	Dictator	Dictator	Military	Death or Overthrow	Dictator
Absolute Monarchy	King / Queen	King / Queen	Divine Right thru Birth	Death or Overthrow	King / Queen
Limited Monarchy	King / Queen (or Prime Minister)	King / Queen (and Representatives)	Divine Right thru Birth & Elections	Death or Overthrow or End Term	Bill of Rights
Oligarchy	Small Group of Leaders	Small Group of Leaders	Intellectuals and Wealthy	Death or Overthrow	Oligarchs
Democracy (Republic)	President	President & Representatives	Constitution and Elections	End of Term	Bill of Rights
Direct Democracy	N/A	Citizens	All Citizens thru Elections	N/A	All Citizens
Anarchy	N/A	N/A	No One Has Power over Anyone Else	N/A	Everyone Does as They Please

# THE STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

## Head of a state

With no monarch, most modern republics use the title president for the head of state. Originally used to refer to the presiding officer of a committee or governing body in Great Britain the usage was also applied to political leaders, including the leaders of some of the Thirteen Colonies (originally Virginia in 1608); in full, the "President of the Council".

The first republic to adopt the title was the USA of America. Keeping its usage as the head of a committee the President of the Continental Congress was the leader of the original congress. When the new constitution was written the title of President of the USA was conferred on the head of the new executive branch.

Today almost all republics use the title president for the head of state. If the head of state of a republic is also the head of government, this is called a presidential system. There are a number of forms of presidential government. A full-presidential system has a president with substantial authority and a central political role.

The USA was the first example of such a system, and the basis for the model adopted elsewhere. In other states, the legislature is dominant and the president's role is almost purely ceremonial and apolitical, such as in Germany and India. These states are parliamentary republics and operate similarly to constitutional monarchies with parliamentary systems where the power of the monarch is also greatly circumscribed.

In parliamentary systems the head of government, most often titled prime minister, exercises the most real political power. Semi-presidential systems have a president as an active head of state, but have a head of government with important powers.

The rules for appointing the president and the leader of the government, in some republics permit the appointment of a president and a prime minister who have opposing political convictions: in France, when the members of the ruling cabinet and the president come from opposing political factions, this situation is called cohabitation. In some countries, like Switzerland and San Marino, the head of state is not a single person but a committee (council) of several persons holding that office. The Roman Republic had two consuls, appointed for a year.

### Selection

In liberal democracies, presidents are elected, either directly by the people or indirectly by a parliament or council. Typically, in presidential and semi-presidential systems the president is directly elected by the people, or is *de facto* directly elected such as in the USA. In states with a parliamentary system the president is usually elected by the parliament. This indirect elections subordinate the president to the parliament, and also gives the president limited legitimacy and turns most presidential powers into reserve powers that can only be exercised under rare circumstance. There are exceptions where elected presidents have only ceremonial powers, such as in the Republic of Ireland.

### Blurred Lines

The distinction between a republic & a monarchy are not always clear. The constitutional monarchies of the former British Empire and Western Europe today have almost all real political power vested in the elected representatives, with the monarchs only holding theoretical and rarely used reserve powers. Real legitimacy for political decisions comes from the elected representatives and is derived from the will of the people.



## TYPES OF REPUBLICS

In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, most states that are not monarchies label themselves as republics either in their official names or their constitutions. There are a few exceptions: the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Israel and the Russian Federation. Israel, Russia, and Libya would meet many definitions of the term "republic", however.

Since the term "republic" is so vague by itself, many states felt it necessary to add additional qualifiers in order to clarify what kind of republics they claim to be. Here is a list of such qualifiers and variations on the term "republic":

- *Without* other qualifier than the term *Republic* – for example France and Turkey.
- *Parliamentary republic* – a republic with an elected Head of state, but where the Head of state and Head of government are kept separate with the Head of government retaining most executive powers, or a Head of state akin to a Head of government, elected by a Parliament.
  - *Federal republic*, confederation or federation – a federal union of states or provinces with a republican form of government. Examples include Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Germany, India, Russia and Switzerland.
  - *Islamic Republic* – Countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran are republics governed in accordance with Islamic law. (Note: Turkey is a distinct exception and is *not* included in this list; while the population is predominantly Muslim, the state is a staunchly secular republic.)
  - *Arab Republic* – for example, Syria its name reflecting its theoretically pan-Arab Ba'athist government.
  - *People's Republic* – Countries like China, North Korea are meant to be governed for and by the people, but with indirect elections. The term *People's Republic* is used to differential themselves from the earlier republic of their countries before the people's revolution, like Republic of China and Republic of Korea.
  - *Democratic Republic* – Tends to be used by countries who have a particular desire to emphasize their claim to be democratic; these are typically Communist states and/or ex-colonies. Examples include the German Democratic Republic (no longer in existence) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
  - *Commonwealth* – Both words (English and Polish) are derived from the Latin word *res publica* (literally "common affairs"). Used for both the current Republic of Poland, and the old Nobility Commonwealth. Apart from the Polish term, it should be noted that some subnational entities with republican governments (e.g. Virginia and Puerto Rico), as well as some sovereign monarchies (e.g. Australia and The Bahamas), also style themselves "commonwealths."
  - *Free State* – Sometimes used as a label to indicate implementation of, or transition from a monarchical to, a republican form of government. Used for the Irish Free State (1922–1937) under an Irish Republican government, while still remaining associated with the British Empire.
  - Venezuela has been using, since the adoption of the 1999 constitution, the title of Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.
  - Other modifiers are rooted in tradition and history and usually have no real political meaning. San Marino, for instance, is the "Most Serene Republic" while Uruguay is "Republica Oriental", which implies it lies on the eastern bank of the Uruguay River.

**Exercise 1. Explain the score of some notions in English.**

**Exercise 2. Analyze the information and use it in practice.**

**Exercise 3. Describe sub-national republics.**

In general being a republic also implies sovereignty as for the state to be ruled by the people it cannot be controlled by a foreign power.

States of the USA are required, like the federal government, to be republican in form, with final authority resting with the people. This was required because the states were intended to create and enforce most domestic laws, with the exception of areas delegated to the federal government and prohibited to the states. The founding fathers of the country intended most domestic laws to be handled by the states, although, over time, the federal government has gained more and more influence over domestic law.

Requiring the states to be a republic in form was seen as protecting the citizens' rights and preventing a state from becoming a dictatorship or monarchy, and reflected unwillingness on the part of the original 13 states (all independent republics) to unite with other states that were not republics. Additionally, this requirement ensured that only other republics could join the union.

In the example of the USA, the original 13 British colonies became independent states after the American Revolution, each having a republican form of government.

These independent states initially formed a loose confederation called the USA and then later formed the current USA by ratifying the current U.S. Constitution, creating a union of sovereign states with the union or federal government also being a republic. Any state joining the union later was also required to be a republic.

**Exercise 4. Explain the term "republicanism".**

The term "republic" originated from the writers of the Renaissance as a descriptive term for states that were not monarchies. These writers, such as Machiavelli, also wrote important prescriptive works describing how such governments should function.

These ideas of how a government and society should be structured is the basis for an ideology known as classical republicanism or civic humanism. This ideology is based on the Roman Republic and the city-states of Ancient Greece and focuses on ideals such as civic virtue, rule of law, and mixed government.

**Exercise 5. Explain the definition.**

The term "republic" is not commonly used to refer to pre-classical city-states, especially if outside Europe and the area, which was under Graeco-Roman influence. However, some early states outside Europe had governments that are sometimes today considered similar to republics. In the ancient Near East, a number of cities of the Eastern Mediterranean achieved collective rule. Arwad has been cited as one of the earliest known examples of a republic, in which the people, rather than a monarch, are described as sovereign.

The Israelite confederation of the era before the United Monarchy has also been considered a type of republic. In Africa, the Axum Empire was organized as a confederation ruled similar to a royal republic. Similarly the Igbo nation of what is now Nigeria.

Ancient Nepal had number of early republics such as Licchavi Republic of Vaishali, Sakya republic of Kapilvastu (Present day Lumbini zone, Nepal, the birthplace of Buddha) and the Videha republic of Mithila (Present day Janakpur zone of Nepal, birthplace of Sita).

In the early 20th century a number of Indian scholars, most notably as K.P. Jayaswal, argued that a number of states in ancient India had republican forms of government.

## CROWNED REPUBLIC

In political science, a crowned republic is an informal term with two distinct meanings.

Historically the term "crowned republic" refers to a nation that was nominally a republic, but whose head of state was de facto hereditary, or otherwise assumed the trappings of a monarchy. Examples include:

- Republic of Venice.
- Commonwealth of England (1649-1660, under Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell and his son and successor Richard Cromwell).
- Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569-1791).
- Dutch Republic (whose head of state, the Stadtholder, had been hereditary within the House of Orange-Nassau since 1747). Although not usually thought of as a crowned republic, the Roman Empire, which succeeded the Roman Republic around 27 B.C., was likewise nominally a republic and the Roman Emperor's status was merely that of *primus inter pares*, or first among equals. This legal fiction became increasingly meaningless as the emperors consolidated their power; however, it was maintained at least to a ceremonial degree until the very end of the Roman Empire; 476 in the Western Roman Empire. In the East the Emperor became known as *King over Kings, Ruling over Rulers*, so it is not known how this fitted in.

The Byzantine Empire, centered on Constantinople, adopted or imitated most Roman institutions, including that of the Senate; however, though the Emperors were nominally raised to the purple by "the Senate, the Army, and the People of Constantinople", the Byzantine Senate was never a true partner in governance, and lost all of its effective power in the reign of Leo VI, though it continued as an institution to the end of the Empire.

Some meaningful traces of its republican origins remained to the Empire, however; the autocratic power was never imagined to be vested in a single family or bloodline, and even when the transmission of power occurred between members of a single family, it was not strictly hereditary.

Byzantine dynasties thus tended to be short-lived, and violent transfers of power were not uncommon; legitimacy of rule came not from descent, but from the fact of possessing power. There are few nations today that meet the criteria as historical crowned republics.

Two examples, however, may be Fiji and North Korea. Fiji politically abolished its constitutional monarchy through republican military coups in the 1980s and recognizes a president as head of state; but whose hereditary chiefs, themselves an indigenous trapping of monarchy, continues to recognize the former Queen of Fiji as their current Paramount Chief.

Fiji continues to display a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II on its coinage and celebrates the birthday of both Her Majesty and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

In North Korea, an isolationist socialist republic, Kim Il Sung was succeeded by his son, Kim Jong Il, effectively making this the only hereditary succession in the remnants of the Communist Bloc. Reportedly, Kim Jong-un, son of Kim Jon Il, is the designated successor. It has been suggested that Nikolai Lukashenko is being promoted as a potential successor to Alexander Lukashenko, the autocratic president of Belarus. In the modern era, the term "crowned republic" sometimes refers to the opposite: rather than a nominal republic whose head of state takes on monarchical airs, it can refer to a nation that is a nominal monarchy but in which the people by their citizenship may be seen as ultimately holding power over the nation's affairs.

This may apply to a constitutional monarchy where the sovereign personally exercises little political influence, whether vested with executive authority or not.

## CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLIC

A constitutional republic is a state where the head of state and other officials are elected as representatives of the people, and must govern according to existing constitutional law that limits the government's power over citizens. In a constitutional republic, executive, legislative, and judicial powers are separated into distinct branches and the will of the majority of the population is tempered by protections for individual rights so that no individual or group has absolute power.

The fact that a constitution exists that limits the government's power makes the state *constitutional*. That the head(s) of state and other officials are chosen by election, rather than inheriting their positions, and that their decisions are subject to judicial review makes a state *republican*. The Federal Republic of Germany and its sixteen *Bundeslander*.

A **federal republic** is a federation of states with a republican form of government.

A federation is the central government. The states in a federation also maintain the federation. Usage of the term *republic* is inconsistent but, as a minimum, it means a state or federation of states that does not have a monarchy. In English, before the merger of the two German states in 1990, the phrase "Federal Republic" was often used to refer to West Germany (within its pre-1990 borders), in contrast with the German Democratic Republic, otherwise called East Germany.

### Historic

- Republic of the Seven United Netherlands (1581-1795).
- "Great Colombia" (1819-1831) (federal republic until 1886; unitary republic after 1886).
- Paraguay (1813-1876).
- Weimar Republic (German Empire 1919-1933).
- Union of Burma (1948-1962).
- Federal Republic of Cameroon (1961-1972).
- Uganda (1962-1966).
- Czechoslovakia (1969-1992).
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1922-1991).
- Yugoslavia (1945-2003).

### The Power of Parliament

In contrast to republics operating under either the presidential system or the semi-presidential system, the head of state usually does not have broad executive powers as an executive president would, because many of those powers have been granted to a head of government (usually called a prime minister). However, the head of government and head of state may form one office in a parliamentary republic (such as South Africa, Botswana and Nauru), but the president is still selected in much the same way as the prime minister is in most Westminster systems. This usually means that they are the leader of the largest party or coalition of parties in parliament. In some instances, the President may legally have executive powers granted to them to undertake the day-to-day running of government (as in Finland) but by convention they either do not use these powers or they use them only to give effect to the advice of the parliament and/or head of government. Some parliamentary republics could therefore be seen as following the semi-presidential system but operating under a parliamentary system.

**Exercise 1. Describe the types of republics.**

**Exercise 2. Summarize the information briefly in English.**

## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT



Parliamentary republics around the world, shown in Orange (Parliamentary republics with a non-executive President) and Green (Parliamentary republics with an executive President linked to Parliament). Constitutional monarchies are shown in red.

Typically, parliamentary republics are states that were previously constitutional monarchies, with the position of head of state hitherto a monarch (and, in the case of some Republics in the Commonwealth of Nations, formerly represented by a Governor General) being replaced by an elected non-executive president (as is the case in the Republic of Ireland, Malta, Trinidad and Tobago, India and Vanuatu). The term "**socialist state**" (**socialist republic**, **workers' state**) can carry one of several different (but related) meanings:

- Strictly speaking, any real or hypothetical state organized along the principles of socialism may be called a *socialist state*. The term *socialist republic* is used by those socialists who wish to emphasize that they favour a republican form of government. Furthermore, since socialism purports to represent the interests of the working class, many socialists refer to a state **organized according** to their principles as a *workers' state*.

- According to Marxism-Leninism, socialism is a stage of social and economic development that will replace capitalism, and will in turn be replaced by communism. Thus, in Marxist-Leninist terms, a *socialist state* is a state that has abolished capitalism and is moving towards communism.

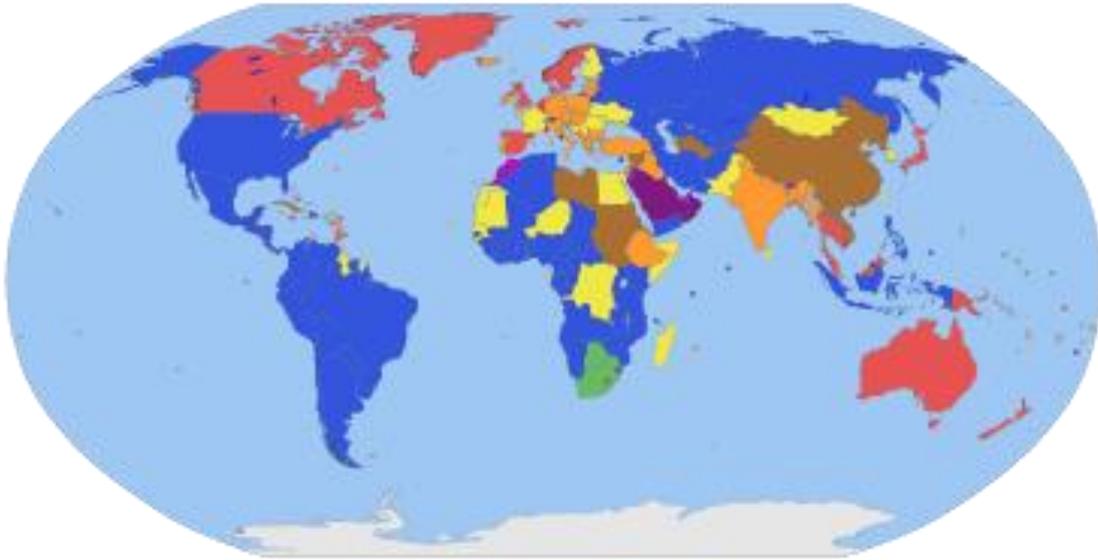
- The first example was the Soviet Union, which was proclaimed a "socialist state" in its 1936 Constitution and a subsequent 1977 one. Another well-known example is the People's Republic of China, which is a "socialist state" according to its 1982 Constitution of the People's Republic of China. In the West, such states are commonly known as "communist states".

- Some other countries use the term "socialist" in their official name or constitution without claiming to follow Communism or any of its derivatives. In such cases, the intended meaning of "socialism" can vary widely, and sometimes the constitutional references to socialism are left over from a previous period in the country's history. Examples of countries using the word "socialist" in a non-communist sense in their names include the *Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka* and the *Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya*. Countries with non-communist references to socialism in their constitutions include India and Portugal. Nazi Germany was another such state; while it was never officially designated as "Nazi Germany" it nonetheless was also a socialist state, following National Socialism.

- Because there are several different branches of socialism, a country's claim to the label of "socialist state" or "socialist republic" is almost always disputed by some branch.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords and phrases that best convey the gist of the information.**

## PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM



Presidential republics with a full presidential system are denoted in **blue**. Countries with a semi-presidential system are denoted in **yellow**. Presidential republics with an executive presidency chosen by the parliament are denoted in **green**.

A **presidential system** is a system of government where an executive branch exists and *presides* (hence the name) separately from the legislature, to which it is not accountable and which cannot, in normal circumstances, dismiss it. It owes its origins to the medieval monarchies of France, England and Scotland in which executive authority was vested in the Crown, not in meetings of the estates of the realm (i.e., parliament): the Estates-General of France, the Parliament of England or the Estates of Scotland.

The concept of separate spheres of influence of the executive and legislature was emulated in the Constitution of the USA, with the creation of the office of the USA.

In England and Scotland (since 1707 as the Kingdom of Great Britain, and since 1801 as the United Kingdom) the power of a separate executive waned to a ceremonial role and a new executive, answerable to parliament, evolved while the power of the USA' separated executive increased.

This has given rise to criticism of the USA presidency as an "imperial presidency" though some analysts dispute the existence of an absolute separation, referring to the concept of "separate institutions sharing power". Although not exclusive to republics, and applied in the case of absolute monarchies, the term is often associated with republican systems in the Americas.

The defining characteristic of a republican presidential system is how the executive is elected, but nearly all presidential systems share the following features:

- The president does not propose bills but has the power to veto acts of the legislature and, in turn, a supermajority of legislators may act to override the veto. This practice is derived from the British tradition of royal assent in which an act of parliament cannot come into effect without the assent of the monarch.
- The president has a fixed term of office. Elections are held at scheduled times and cannot be triggered by a vote of confidence or other such parliamentary procedures. In some countries, there is an exception to this rule, which provides for the removal of a president in the event that they are found to have broken a law.

- The executive branch is impersonal. Members of the cabinet serve at the pleasure of the president and must carry out the policies of the executive and legislative branches. However, presidential systems frequently require legislative approval of presidential nominations to the cabinet as well as various governmental posts such as judges. A president generally has power to direct members of the cabinet, military or any officer or employee of the executive branch, but generally has no power to dismiss or give orders to judges.

- The power to pardon or commute sentences of convicted criminals is often in the hands of the heads of state in governments that separate their legislative and executive branches of government.

Countries that feature a presidential system of government are not the exclusive users of the title of *President* or the republican form of government. For example, a dictator, who may or may not have been popularly or legitimately elected may be and often is called a president.

Likewise, many parliamentary democracies are republics and have presidents, but this position is largely ceremonial; notable examples include Germany, India, Ireland and Israel.

Some national presidents are "figurehead" heads of state, like constitutional monarchs, and not active executive heads of government. In contrast, in a full-fledged presidential system, a president is chosen by the people to be the head of the executive branch.

Presidential governments make no distinction between the positions of head of state and head of government, both of which are held by the president.

Most parliamentary governments have a symbolic head of state in the form of a president or monarch. That person is responsible for the formalities of state functions as the figurehead while the constitutional prerogatives of head of government are generally exercised by the prime minister.

Such figurehead presidents tend to be elected in a much less direct manner than active presidential system presidents. A few nations, such as Ireland, do have a popularly elected ceremonial president. A few countries (South Africa) have powerful presidents who are elected by the legislature.

These presidents are chosen in the same way as a prime minister, yet are heads of both state and government. These executives are titled "president", but are in practice similar to prime ministers. Other countries with the same system include Botswana, the Marshall Islands, and Nauru. Incidentally, the method of legislative vote for president was a part of Madison's Virginia Plan & was seriously considered by the framers of the American Constitution.

Presidents in presidential systems are always active participants in the political process, though the extent of their relative power may be influenced by the political makeup of the legislature and whether their supporters or opponents have the dominant position therein. In some presidential systems such as Weimar Germany, South Korea or the Republic of China (on Taiwan), there is an office of prime minister or premier but, unlike in semi-presidential or parliamentary systems, the premier is responsible to the president rather than to the legislature.

### **Advantages of presidential systems**

Supporters generally claim four basic advantages for presidential systems:

- **Direct mandate** – the president is often elected directly by the people. To some, this makes the president's power more legitimate than that of a leader appointed indirectly. In the USA, the president is elected neither directly nor through the legislature, but by an electoral college.

- **Separation of powers** – a presidential system establishes the presidency and the legislature as two parallel structures. Supporters claim that this arrangement allows each structure to supervise the other, preventing abuses.
- **Speed and decisiveness** – some argue that a president with strong powers can usually enact changes quickly. However, others argue that the separation of powers slows the system down.
- **Stability** – a president, by virtue of a fixed term, may provide more stability than a prime minister who can be dismissed at any time.

**Exercise 1. Digest the score of presidential republic briefly in English.**

**Exercise 2. Explain the score of the notion "direct mandate".**

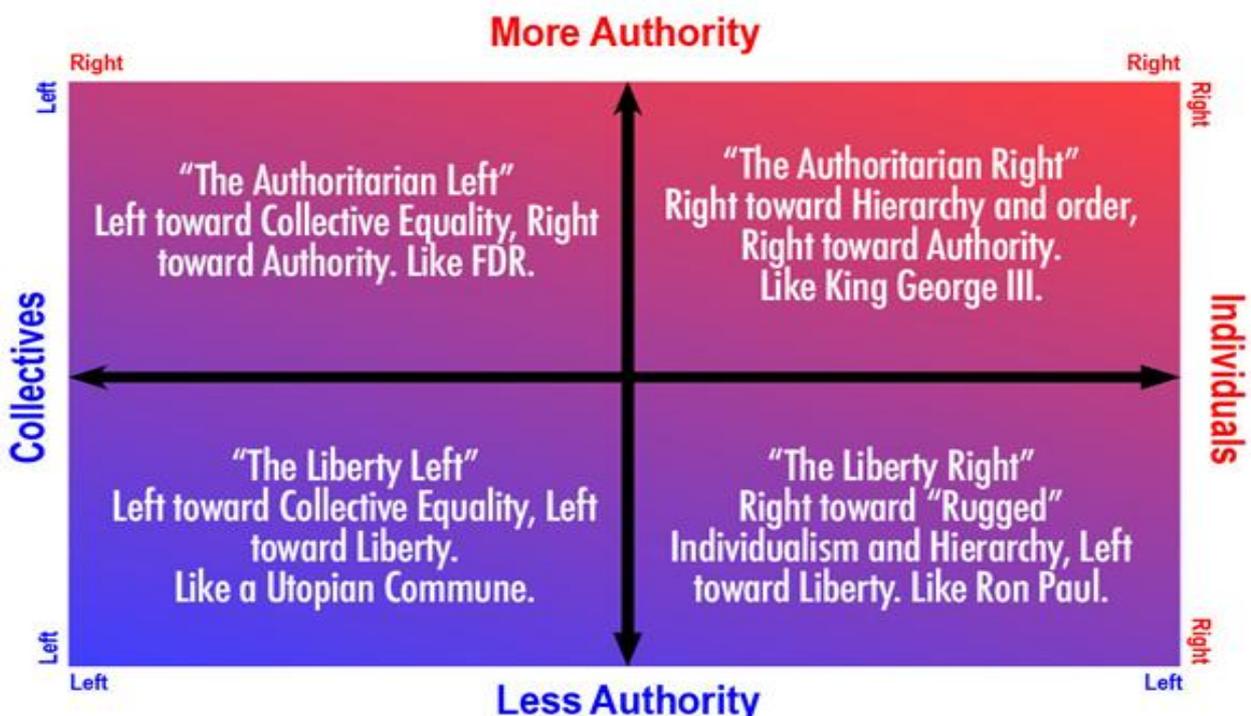
A prime minister is usually chosen by a majority of the people's representatives, while a president is usually chosen directly by the people. According to supporters of the presidential system, a popularly elected leadership is inherently more democratic than one chosen by a legislative body, even if the legislative body was itself elected, to rule.

Through making more than one electoral choice, voters in a presidential system can more accurately indicate their policy preferences. For example, in the USA, some political scientists interpret the late Cold War tendency to elect a Democratic Congress and a Republican president as the choice for a Republican foreign policy and a Democratic domestic policy. It is also stated that the direct mandate of a president makes him or her more accountable.

The reasoning behind this argument is that a prime minister is "shielded" from public opinion by the apparatus of state, being several steps removed.

Critics of this view note, however, that presidents cannot typically be removed from power when their policies no longer reflect the wishes of the citizenry. In the USA, presidents can only be removed by an impeachment trial for "High Crimes and Misdemeanors", whereas prime ministers can typically be removed if they fail a motion of confidence in their government.

**Exercise 3. Explain the separation of powers.**



## THE SEPARATION OF POWERS

The fact that a presidential system separates the executive from the legislature is sometimes held up as an advantage, in that each branch may scrutinize the actions of the other. In a parliamentary system, the executive is drawn from the legislature, making criticism of one by the other considerably less likely. A formal condemnation of the executive by the legislature is often regarded to be a vote of no confidence.

According to supporters of the presidential system, the lack of checks and balances means that misconduct by a prime minister may never be discovered. Writing about Watergate, Woodrow Wyatt, a former MP in the UK, said "don't think a Watergate couldn't happen here, you just wouldn't hear about it".

Critics respond that if a presidential system's legislature is controlled by the president's party, the same situation exists. Proponents note that even in such a situation a legislator from the president's party is in a better position to criticize the president or his policies should he deem it necessary, since a president is immune to the effects of a motion of no confidence. In parliamentary systems, party discipline is much more strictly enforced.

If a parliamentary backbencher publicly criticizes the executive or its policies to any significant extent then he/she faces a much higher prospect of losing his/her party's nomination, or even outright expulsion from the party. Despite the existence of the no confidence vote, in practice, it is extremely difficult to stop a prime minister or cabinet that has made its decision.

To vote down important legislation that has been proposed by the cabinet is considered to be a vote of no confidence is thus means the government falls and new elections must be held, a consequence few backbenchers are willing to endure. Hence, a no confidence vote in some parliamentary countries, like Britain, only occurs a few times in a century.

Although most parliamentary governments go long periods without a no confidence vote, Italy, Israel, and the French Fourth Republic have all experienced difficulties maintaining stability. When parliamentary systems have multiple parties and governments are forced to rely on coalitions, as they do in nations that use a system of proportional representation, extremist parties can theoretically use the threat of leaving a coalition to further their agendas.

Many people consider presidential systems to be more able to survive emergencies.

A country under enormous stress may, supporters argue, be better off being led by a president with a fixed term than rotating premierships. France during the Algerian controversy switched to a semi-presidential system as did Sri Lanka during its civil war, while Israel experimented with a directly elected prime minister in 1992.

In France and Sri Lanka, the results are widely considered to have been positive.

However, in the case of Israel, an unprecedented proliferation of smaller parties occurred, leading to the restoration of the previous system of selecting a prime minister.

The fact that elections are fixed in a presidential system is considered to be a welcome "check" on the powers of the executive, contrasting parliamentary systems, which often allow the prime minister to call elections whenever he sees fit, or orchestrate his own vote of no confidence to trigger an election when he cannot get a legislative item passed. The presidential model is said to discourage this sort of opportunism, and instead force the executive to operate within the confines of a term he cannot alter to suit his own needs. Theoretically, if a president's positions and actions have had a positive impact on their respective country.

Then it is likely that their party's candidate (possibly) will be elected for another term in office. Critics generally claim three basic disadvantages for presidential systems:

- **Tendency towards authoritarianism** – some political scientists say that presidentialism is not constitutionally stable. According to some political scientists, such as Fred Riggs, *presidentialism* has fallen into authoritarianism in nearly every country it has been attempted.

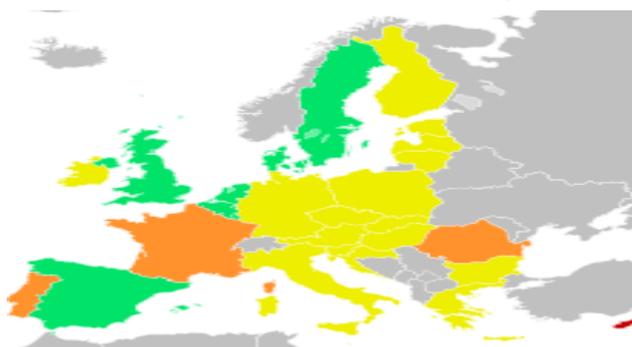
- **Separation of powers** – a presidential system establishes the presidency and the legislature as two parallel structures. Critics argue that this creates undesirable gridlock, and that it reduces accountability by allowing the president and the legislature to shift blame to each other.

- **Impediments to leadership change** – it is claimed that the difficulty in removing an unsuitable president from office before his or her term has expired represents a significant problem. In parliamentary systems, unpopular leaders can be quickly removed by a vote of no confidence, a procedure, which is reckoned to be a "pressure release valve" for political tension. Removing a president through impeachment is a process mandated by the constitution and is usually made into a very difficult process; by comparison the process of removing a party leader is governed by the rules of the party in question.

Nearly all parties (including governing parties) have a relatively simple and straightforward process for removing their leaders. If a premier sustains a serious, enough blow to his/her popularity and refuses to resign on his/her own prior to the next election, then members of his/her party face the prospect of losing their seats.

Therefore, other prominent party members have a very strong incentive to initiate a leadership challenge in hopes of mitigating damage to the party. A premier facing a serious challenge will resolve to save face by resigning before he/she is formally removed – Margaret Thatcher's relinquishing of her premiership being a prominent, recent example.

Years later, Bagehot's observation came to life during World War II, when Neville Chamberlain was replaced with Winston Churchill. Finally, many have criticized presidential systems for their alleged slowness in responding to their citizens' needs. Often, the checks and balances make action extremely difficult.



- presidential republic
- semi-presidential republic
- parliamentary republic
- parliamentary constitutional monarchy

**Exercise 1. Describe the differences between cabinet systems.**

**Exercise 2. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

No	Activity			
	Notion	When	Where	Score
1.				

## A PRESIDENTIAL & A CABINET SYSTEM

A number of key theoretical differences exist between a presidential and a cabinet system:

- In a presidential system, the central principle is that the legislative and executive branches of government should be separate. This leads to the separate election of president, who is elected to office for a fixed term; only removable for gross misdemeanor by impeachment and dismissal. By contrast, in parliamentarism, the executive branch is led by a council of ministers, headed by a Prime Minister, who are directly accountable to the legislature and often have their background in the legislature.

- The legislature exists for a set term of office and cannot be dissolved ahead of schedule. By contrast, in parliamentary systems, the legislature can typically be dissolved at any stage during its life by the head of state, usually on the advice of either Prime Minister alone, by the Prime Minister and cabinet, or by the cabinet.

- In a presidential system, the president usually has special privileges in the enactment of legislation, namely the possession of a power of veto over legislation of bills, in some cases subject to the power of the legislature by weighed majority to override the veto. It is extremely rare for the president to have the power to directly propose laws, or cast a vote on legislation. The legislature and the president are thus expected to serve as checks and balances on each other's powers.

- Presidential system presidents may be given a great deal of constitutional authority in the exercise of the office of Commander in Chief, a constitutional title given to most presidents. In addition, the presidential power to receive ambassadors as head of state is usually interpreted as giving the president broad powers to conduct foreign policy.

However, semi-presidential systems may reduce a president's power over day to day government affairs, semi-presidential systems commonly give the president power over foreign policy. Presidential systems also have fewer ideological parties than parliamentary systems. Sometimes in the USA, the policies preferred by the two parties have been very similar. This pattern prevails in Latin American presidential democracies and the Philippines as well. In practice, elements of both systems overlap. Though a president in a presidential system does not have to choose a government answerable to the legislature, the legislature may have the right to scrutinize his or her appointments to high governmental office, with the right, on some occasions, to block an appointment. Some countries, such as France have similarly evolved to such a degree that they can no longer be accurately described as either presidential or parliamentary-style governments, and are instead grouped under the category of semi-presidential system.

### Democracies with a presidential system of government

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Afghanistan</li> <li>• Argentina</li> <li>• Belarus</li> <li>• Bolivia</li> <li>• Brazil</li> <li>• Chile</li> <li>• Colombia</li> <li>• Costa Rica</li> <li>• Cyprus</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ecuador</li> <li>• El Salvador</li> <li>• Guatemala</li> <li>• Haiti</li> <li>• Honduras</li> <li>• Indonesia</li> <li>• Iraq</li> <li>• Kenya</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mexico</li> <li>• Nicaragua</li> <li>• Nigeria</li> <li>• Panama</li> <li>• Peru</li> <li>• Philippines</li> <li>• Republic of China</li> <li>• Seychelles</li> <li>• Dominican Republic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South Korea</li> <li>• Sri Lanka</li> <li>• Suriname</li> <li>• Tanzania</li> <li>• Uganda</li> <li>• USA</li> <li>• Uruguay</li> <li>• Sierra Leone</li> <li>• Zambia</li> </ul>
---	--	--	--

## FEDERATION & CONFEDERATION

A **federation** (Latin: "covenant"), also known as a **federal state**, is a type of sovereign state characterized by a union of partially self-governing states or regions united by a central (federal) government. In a federation, the self-governing status of the component states is typically constitutionally entrenched and may not be altered by a unilateral decision of the central government. The form of government or constitutional structure found in a federation is known as **federalism** (see also federalism as a political philosophy).

It can be considered the opposite of another system, the unitary state. The government of Germany with 16 federated Lander is an example of a federation, whereas neighboring Austria and its Bundeslander was a unitary state with administrative divisions that became federated, and France by contrast has always been unitary.

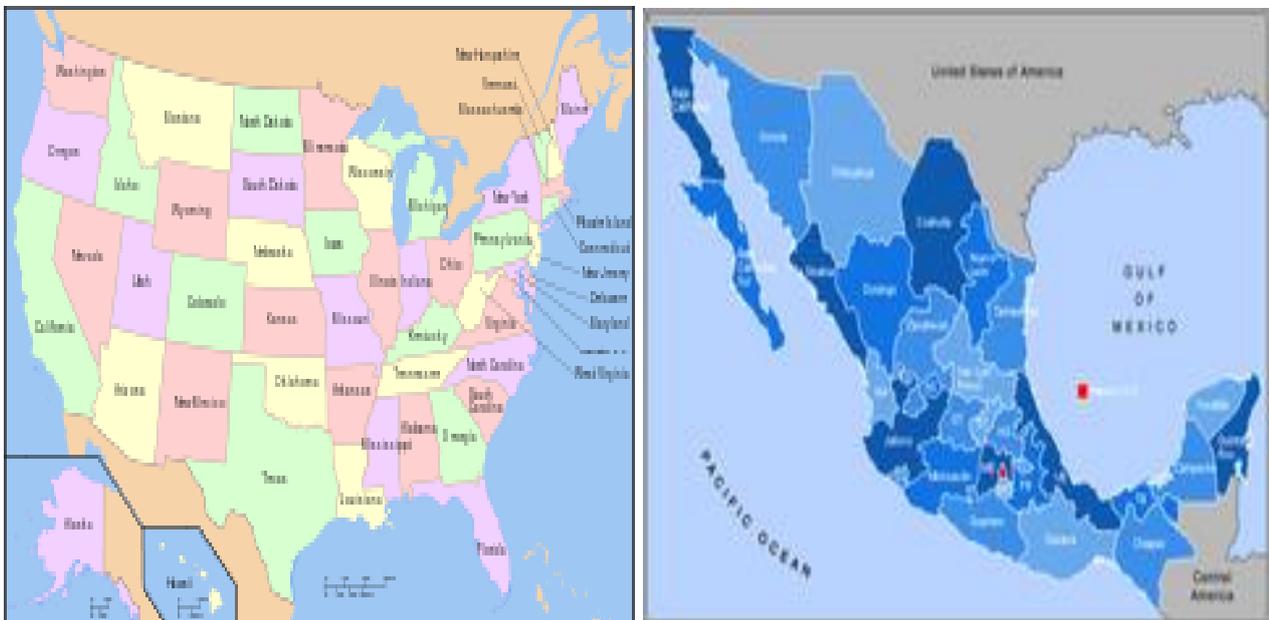
Federations may be multi-ethnic, or cover a large area of territory, although neither is necessarily the case. Federations are most often founded on an original agreement between a number of sovereign states based on mutual concerns or interests.

The initial agreements create a stability that encourages other common interests and each brings the disparate territories closer and gives them all even more common ground.

At some time this is recognized and a movement is organized to merge more closely. Other times, especially when common cultural factors are at play such as ethnicity and language, some of these steps in this pattern are expedited and compressed.

The international council for federal countries, the Forum of Federations, is based in Ottawa, Ontario. It helps share best practices amongst countries with federal systems of government, and currently includes nine countries as partner governments.

### Federations & other forms of state



A map of the USA, showing its 50. A map of the UMS (Mexico), showing its 31 constituent states.

In a federation, the component states are regarded as in some sense sovereign, insofar as certain powers are reserved to them that may not be exercised by the central government. However, a federation is more than a mere loose alliance of independent states. The component states of a federation usually possess no powers in relation to foreign policy and so they don't enjoy independent status under international law.

Some federations are called asymmetric because some states have more autonomy than others. An example of such a federation is Malaysia, in which Sarawak and Sabah entered the federation on different terms and conditions to the states of Peninsular Malaysia.

A federation often emerges from an initial agreement between a number of separate states. The purpose can be the will to solve mutual problems or to provide for mutual defense, or to create a nation state for an ethnicity spread over several states.

The former was the case with the USA and Switzerland, the latter with Germany.

However, as the history of countries and nations varies, the federalism system of a state can be quite different from these models. Australia, for instance, is unique in that it came into existence as a nation by the democratic vote of the citizens of each State who voted "yes" in referendums to adopt the Australian Constitution. Brazil, otherwise, has experienced both the federal and the unitary state through its history; some present day States of the Federation retain the borders set during Portuguese colonization (previous to the very existence of Brazilian state), whereas the latest State (Tocantins) was created by the 1988 Constitution, chiefly for administrative reasons. Eight of ten of the World's largest countries by area are governed as Federations.

A **unitary state** is sometimes one with only a single, centralized, national tier of government. However, unitary states often include one or more self-governing regions.

The difference between a federation and this kind of unitary state is that in a unitary state the autonomous status of self-governing regions exists by the sufferance of the central government, and may be unilaterally revoked.

While it is common for a federation to be brought into being by agreement between a number of formally independent states, in a unitary state self-governing regions are often created through a process of devolution, where a formerly centralized state agrees to grant autonomy to a region that was previously entirely subordinate.

Thus, federations are often established voluntarily from "below" whereas devolution grants self-government from "above". It is often part of the philosophy of a unitary state that, regardless of the actual status of any of its parts, its entire territory constitutes a single sovereign entity or nation-state, and that by virtue of this the central government exercises sovereignty over the whole territory *as of right*. In a federation, on the other hand, sovereignty is often regarded as residing notionally in the component states, or as being shared between these states and the central government.

The distinction between a federation and a unitary state is often quite ambiguous.

A unitary state may closely resemble a federation in structure and, while a central government may possess the theoretical right to revoke the autonomy of a self-governing region, it may be politically difficult for it to do so in practice. The self-governing regions of some unitary states also often enjoy greater autonomy than those of some federations. For these reasons, it is argued that some modern unitary states are *de facto* federations.

Spain is suggested as one possible *de facto* federation as it grants more self-government to its autonomous communities than most federations allow their constituent parts. For the Spanish parliament to revoke the autonomy of regions such as Galicia, Catalonia or the Basque Country would be a political near-impossibility, though nothing bars it legally.

Additionally, some regions such as Navarra or the Basque Country have full control over taxation & spending, transferring a small payment to the central government for the common services (army, foreign relations, macroeconomic policy).

In the People's Republic of China, a form of de facto federation has evolved without formal legislation. This has occurred as largely informal grants of power to the provinces, to handle economic affairs and implement national policies. This has resulted in a system some have termed "de facto" federalism with Chinese characteristics" (in reference to Deng Xiaoping's policy of socialism with Chinese characteristics).

Constitutionally, the power vested in the special administrative regions of the People's Republic is granted from the Central People's Government, through decision by the National People's Congress. To revoke the autonomy of the Special Administrative Regions of Hong Kong and Macau is a great political challenge if not impossible altogether.

The European Union (EU) is not a *de jure* federation but some academic observers conclude that it is one, after 50 years of institutional evolution caused by the European Court of Justice. The European Union possesses attributes of a federal state.

However, its central government is far weaker than that of most federations and the individual members are sovereign states under international law, so it is usually characterized as an unprecedented form of supra-national union. The EU has responsibility for important areas such as trade, monetary union, agriculture, fisheries. Nonetheless, EU member states retain the right to act independently in matters of foreign policy and defense; enjoy a near monopoly over other major policy areas such as criminal justice and taxation. The proposed Treaty of Lisbon would codify the Member States' right to leave the Union, but would at the same time also provide the European Union with more power in many areas.

An empire is a multi-ethnic state or group of nations with a central government established usually through coercion (on the model of the Roman Empire).

An empire will often include self-governing regions but these will possess autonomy only at the sufferance of the central government. The term "empire", except where used metaphorically, is usually reserved for an entity headed by an emperor, although his or her constitutional role may be purely ceremonial. An empire may, in some cases, consist of multiple kingdoms organized together in a federation with a high king designated as an emperor.

One example of this was Imperial Germany. Today's Russia is defined as a federation in its Constitution (Article 5), and Russia's federal subjects, the constituent republics, oblasts, krais, the federal-level cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg, as well as one autonomous oblast and four autonomous (national) okrugs, are equal in legal terms, save for some symbolic features allowed to republics (constitution, president, national language). Some regions (Yakutia) have concluded agreements with the Federation so as to modify the degree of their autonomy. According to an amendment passed in December 2004, governors and presidents of Russia's constituent regions, who were previously elected by popular vote, are now proposed by the President of Russia for the approval of the local parliament.

Myanmar (formerly Burma) is claimed to have adopted federation status (the country's official name is "Union of Myanmar"). However, after General Ne Win seized power Burma in 1962 and abolished the Constitution of the Union of Burma, the country adopted a unitary system under his military dictatorship.

**Exercise 1. Read the information & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 2. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 4. Make up some dialogues from the information above.**

## CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

In a federation, the division of power between federal and regional governments is usually outlined in the constitution. It is in this way that the right to self-government of the component states is usually constitutionally entrenched. Component states often possess their own constitutions, which they may amend as they see fit, although in the event of conflict the federal constitution usually takes precedence. In almost all federations the central government enjoys the powers of foreign policy and national defense. Were this not the case a federation would not be a single sovereign state, per the UN definition.

Notably, the states of Germany retain the right to act on their own behalf at an international level, a condition originally granted in exchange for the Kingdom of Bavaria's agreement to join the German Empire in 1871. Beyond this, the precise division of power varies from one nation to another. The constitutions of Germany and the USA provide that all powers not specifically granted to the federal government are retained by the states.

The Constitution of Canada states that powers not explicitly granted to the provincial governments are retained by the federal government.

Much like the US system, the Australian Constitution allocates to the Federal government (the Commonwealth of Australia) the power to make laws about certain specified matters, which were considered too difficult for the States to manage, so that the States retain all other areas of responsibility.

Under the division of powers of the European Union in the Lisbon Treaty, powers are not either exclusively of European competence or shared between EU and states are retained by the constituent states. In Canada, the provincial governments derive all their powers directly from the constitution. In contrast, the territories are subordinate to the federal government and are delegated powers by it. Where every component state of a federation possesses the same powers, we are said to find "symmetric federalism".

Asymmetric federalism exists where states are granted different powers, or some possess greater autonomy than others do. This is often done in recognition of the existence of a distinct culture in a particular region or regions.

In Spain, "historical communities" such as Navarre, Galicia, Catalonia, and the Basque Country have more powers than other autonomous communities, partly to deal with their distinctness and to appease nationalist leanings, partly out of respect of privileges granted earlier in history. It is common that during the historical evolution of a federation there is a gradual movement of power from the component states to the center, as the federal government acquires additional powers, sometimes to deal with unforeseen circumstances.

The acquisition of new powers by a federal government may occur through formal constitutional amendment or simply through a broadening of the interpretation of a government's existing constitutional powers given by the courts.

Usually, a federation is formed at two levels: the central government and the regions (states, provinces, territories); little to nothing is said about second or third level administrative political entities. Brazil is an exception, because the 1988 Constitution included the municipalities as autonomous political entities making the federation tripartite, encompassing the Union, the States, and the municipalities. Each state is divided into municipalities with their own legislative council and a mayor, which are partly autonomous from both Federal and State Government. Each municipality has a "little constitution", called "organic law". Mexico is an intermediate case; municipalities are granted full-autonomy by the federal constitution.

Their existence as autonomous entities ("free municipality") is established by the federal government and cannot be revoked by the states' constitutions. Moreover, the federal constitution determines which powers and competencies belong exclusively to the municipalities and not to the constituent states.

However, municipalities do not have an elected legislative assembly. Federations often employ the paradox of being a union of states, while still being states in themselves.

This paradox stems from the fact that states in a federation maintain all sovereignty that they do not yield to the federation by their own consent.

This paradox was corrected by Tenth Amendment to the USA Constitution, which reserves some powers and rights to the people that even the states can't alienate.

The sharing of sovereignty between a federation and its constituent states sometimes makes it difficult to differentiate between a sovereign state and a non-sovereign state.

The structures of most federal governments incorporate mechanisms to protect the rights of component states. One method, known as "intrastate federalism", is to directly represent the governments of component states in federal political institutions.

Where a federation has a bicameral legislature the upper house is often used to represent the component states while the lower house represents the people of the nation as a whole. A federal upper house may be based on a special scheme of apportionment, as is the case in the senates of the USA and Australia, where each state is represented by an equal number of senators irrespective of the size of its population.

Alternatively, or in addition to this practice, the members of an upper house may be indirectly elected by the government or legislature of the component states, as occurred in the US prior to 1913, or be actual members or delegates of the state governments, as, for example, is the case in the German Bundesrat and in the Council of the European Union.

The lower house of a federal legislature is directly elected, with apportionment in proportion to population, although states may sometimes still be guaranteed a certain minimum number of seats. In Canada, the provincial governments represent regional interests and negotiate directly with the central government. A First Ministers conference of the prime minister and the provincial premiers is the de facto highest political forum in the land, although it is not mentioned in the constitution.

Federations often have special procedures for amendment of the federal constitution. As well as reflecting the federal structure of the state this may guarantee that the self-governing status of the component states cannot be abolished without their consent. An amendment to the constitution of the USA must be ratified by three-quarters either of the state legislatures, or of constitutional conventions specially elected in each of the states, before it can come into effect.

In referendums to amend the constitutions of Australia and Switzerland it is required that a proposal be endorsed not just by an overall majority of the electorate in the nation as a whole, but also by separate majorities in each of a majority of the states or cantons. In Australia, this latter requirement is known as a *double majority*.

Some federal constitutions also provide that certain constitutional amendments cannot occur without the unanimous consent of all states or of a particular state.

The US constitution provides that no state may be deprived of equal representation in the senate without its consent. In Australia, if a proposed amendment will specifically impact states, then it must be endorsed in the referendum held in each of those states.

Any amendment to the Canadian constitution that would modify the role of the monarchy would require unanimous consent of the provinces. The German Basic Law provides that no amendment is admissible at all that would abolish the federal system.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 2. Explain the notion "federalism as a political philosophy".**

The meaning of "federalism", as a political movement, and of what constitutes a "federalist", varies with country and historical context. Movements associated with the establishment or development of federations can be either centralizing or decentralizing.

For example, at the time those nations were being established, "federalists" in the USA and Australia were those who advocated the creation of strong central government. Similarly, in European Union politics, federalists are mostly those who seek greater EU integration. In contrast, in Spain & post-war Germany, federal movements have sought decentralization: the transfer of power from central authorities to local units.

In Canada, where Quebec separatism has been a political force for several decades, the "federalist" force is dedicated to keeping the federation intact and adapting the federal structure to better suit Quebec interests.

A **confederation**, in modern political terms, is a permanent union of sovereign states for common action in relation to other states. Usually created by treaty but often later adopting a common constitution, confederations tend to be established for dealing with critical issues such as defense, foreign affairs, or a common currency, with the central government being required to provide support for all members. The nature of the relationship among the states constituting a confederation varies considerably.

Likewise, the relationship between the member states and the central government, and the distribution of powers among them, is highly variable.

Some looser confederations are similar to international organizations, while tighter confederations may resemble federations. In a non-political context, confederation is used to describe a type of organization, which consolidates authority from other semi-autonomous bodies. Examples include sports confederations or confederations of Pan-European trades unions. The word "confederation" refers to the process of (or the event of) confederating; i.e., establishing a confederation (or by extension a federation).

In **Canada**, Confederation generally refers to the Constitution Act, 1867 which initially united three colonies of British North America (Province of Canada, Province of New Brunswick and Province of Nova Scotia), and to the subsequent incorporation of other colonies and territories; Canada, however, is a federation, not a confederation.

**Switzerland**, officially known as the Swiss Confederation, is the most notable modern example of a confederation. It has been a confederacy since its inception, in 1291, and so remains to the present day. The Old Swiss Confederacy was originally created as an alliance among the valley communities of the central Alps. The Confederacy facilitated management of common interests (free trade) and ensured peace on the important mountain trade. It should be noted, however, that Switzerland is a confederation only in name, as its political system has all the characteristics of a federation.

**Exercise 3. Analyze the information and make up the chart about it.**

	Country	When	Where	Score
--	---------	------	-------	-------

**Exercise 4. Give the description of Iroquois Confederacy.**

The **Iroquois Confederacy** (the "League of Peace and Power", the "Five Nations"; the "Six Nations"; or the "People of the Longhouse") is a group of First Nations, Native Americans that consist of six nations: the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga, the Seneca and the Tuscarora. The Iroquois have a representative government known as the Grand Council. The Grand Council is the oldest governmental institution still maintaining its original form in North America. Each tribe sends chiefs to act as representatives and make decisions for the whole nation.

**Exercise 5. Explain the form of government of European Union.**

Some might argue that the EU is confederation — but this assertion turns out to be a simplistic approach, since it does not hold against critical appraisal. Indeed, contrary to the very definition of "confederation", the EU has very limited powers regarding external relations and defense. As far as money is concerned, only 16 out of the 27 Member States share a common currency, thus falling short of being a characteristic feature of the whole. As a consequence, it is much more appropriate to conclude, as some academic observers do, that it has elements of a federation. Europe has charted its own brand of constitutional federalism. Nevertheless, for the purposes of the analysis here, the EU has the necessary attributes of a federal system.

**Exercise 6. Compare the main features of confederation vs federation.**

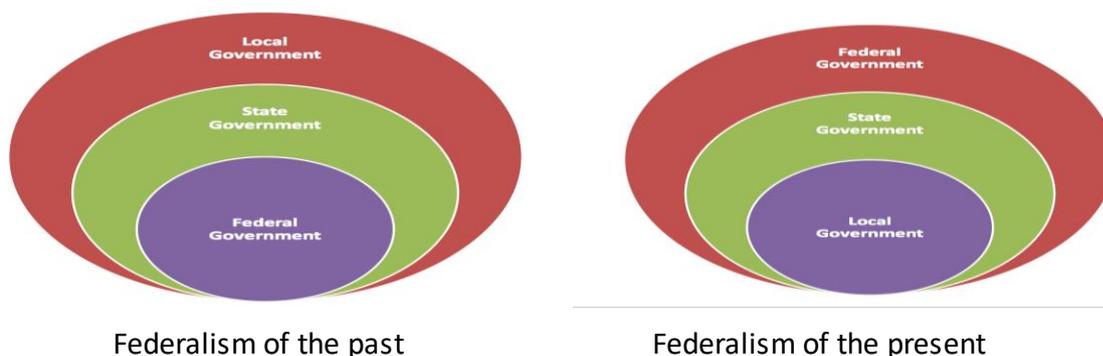
By definition, the difference between a confederation and a federation is that the membership of the member states in a confederation is voluntary, while the membership in a federation is not. A confederation is most likely to feature these differences over a federation:

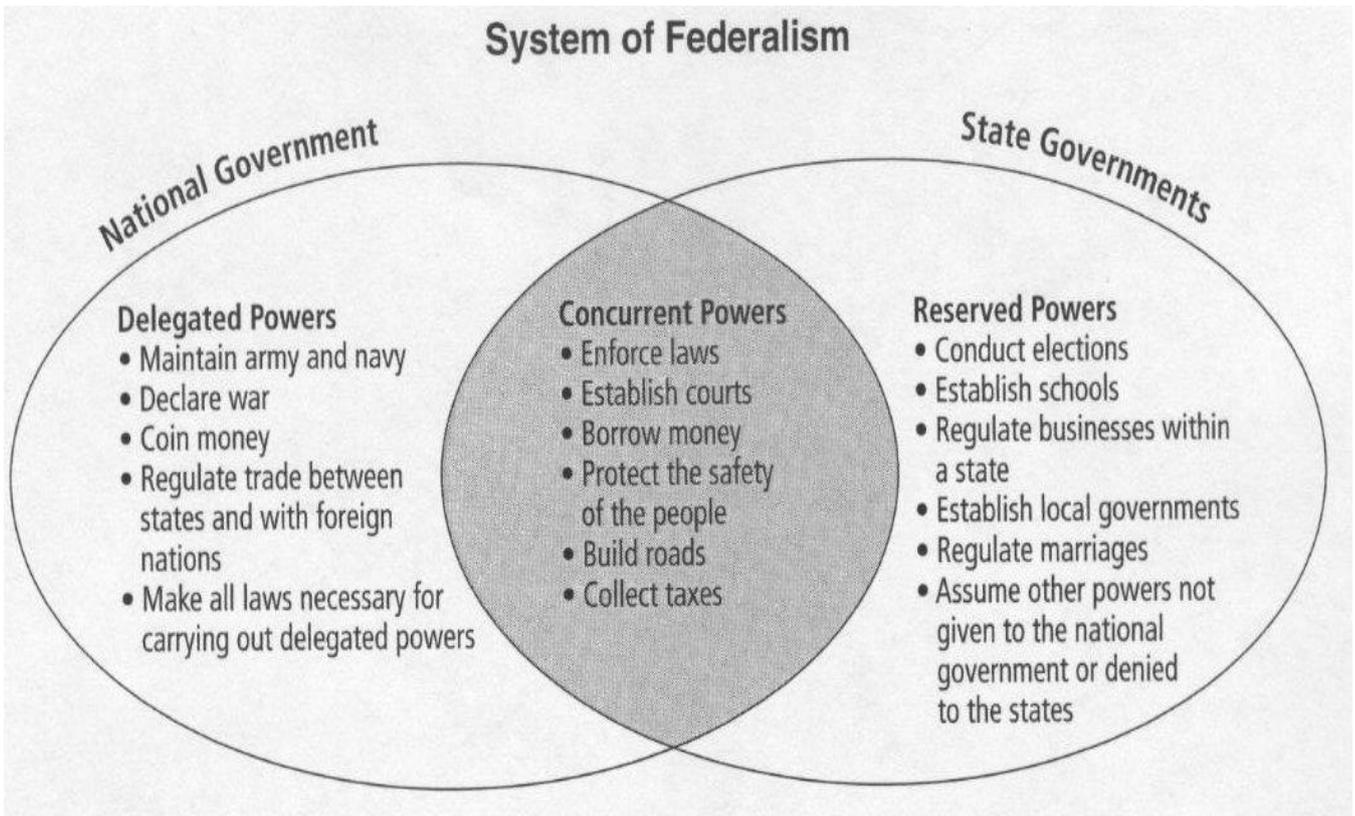
- (1) No real direct powers: many confederal decisions are externalized by member-state legislation.
- (2) Decisions on day-to-day-matters are not taken by simple majority but by special majorities or even by consensus or unanimity (veto for every member).
- (3) Changes of the constitution, usually a treaty, require unanimity.

**Exercise 7. Describe other technical terms.**

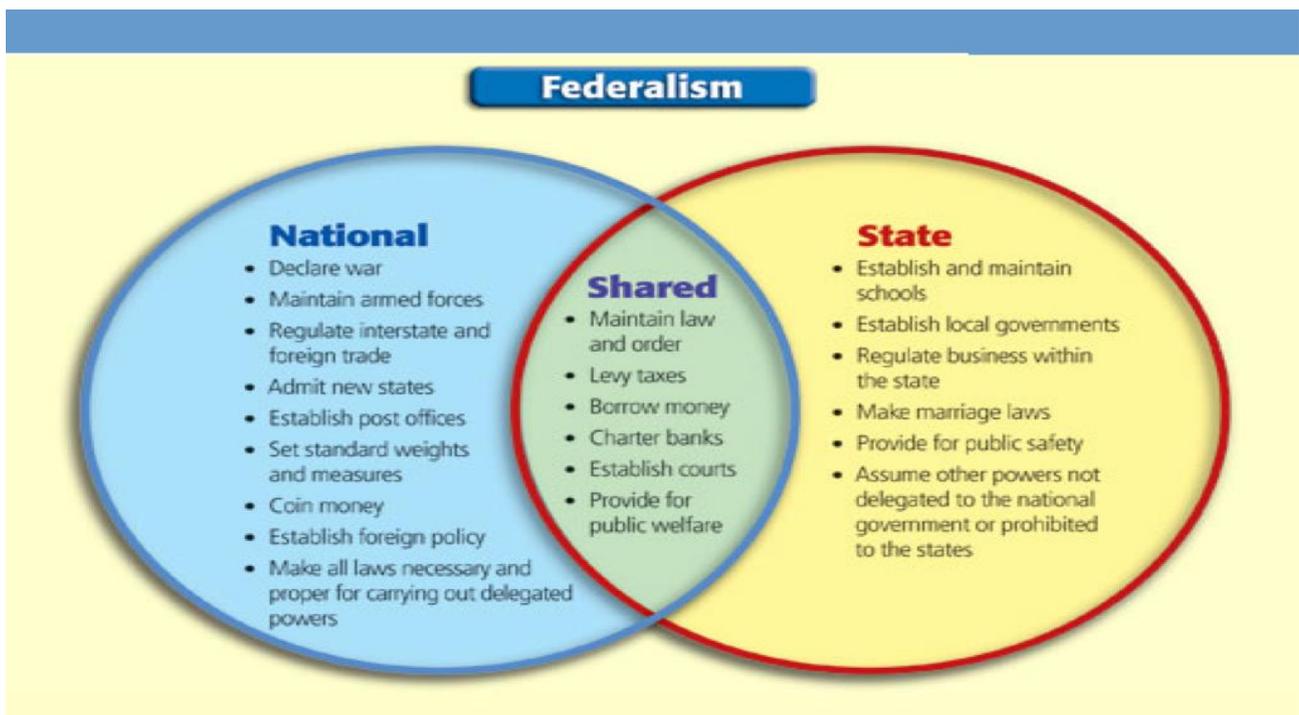
- *Fiscal federalism* – federalism involving the transfer of funds between different levels of government.
- *Formal federalism* ("constitutional federalism") – the delineation of powers is specified in a written constitution.
- *Executive federalism* ("administrative federalism").

**Exercise 8. Compare the governing systems and executive-legislative relations.**





**Federalism:** The notion of divided power was clearly spelled out in the Constitution written in 1787. Under the federal system, powers are divided in the Constitution between national and state authority. Those powers given to the national government are delegated powers. Powers left to the state are reserved powers, and powers given to both the national and state government are called concurrent powers. While federalism was part of the foundation of the new nation, this system also became a focus of disputes between those who believed in state dominance and those who believed the central government should have more power.



## PRESIDENTIAL & PARLIAMENTARY & HYBRID SYSTEMS

The relations among a country's governing institutions differ depending on whether a country has a presidential, parliamentary or hybrid political system. Although each country has its own variance on these political typologies, some conclusions have been drawn about the characteristics of each of these systems and their relationship to political conflict and executive and legislative power. These generalisations are useful for helping to determine characteristics of political systems of other nations, but actual practice varies between nations within each type. This paper examines the following three aspects of executive-legislative relations:

- **Separation of powers** – the extent to which the powers of government are separated functionally between branches of government.
- **Removal from office** – how each system defines the conditions for removing the executive and dissolving the government; and
- **The structure of legislative parties and leadership** – the influence that the governing system has on the structures developed by parties in the legislature; degree of hierarchical control, internal discipline, latitude for openness to representing local differences.
- **Party discipline** is needed to keep control of the executive, a need that varies among the three systems.

The USA (US) has a presidential system, as do countries it has influenced regionally, culturally or militarily, including Latin American countries and the Philippines.

With the exception of the US, presidential systems in the past have often been associated with politically unstable and authoritarian regimes. Countries that have adopted a form of the parliamentarianism include the United Kingdom (UK), much of continental Europe, Israel, and Japan, many of the former British colonies in Africa and Asia, and most Caribbean countries. The French hybrid system has provided a model for a number of countries and is highlighted throughout this section. Countries that have adopted the French Model include former French colonies in West Africa – such as Cote D'Ivoire, Gabon, Mali, and Senegal – a few eastern European states, such as Poland & Bulgaria. Portugal has a hybrid system, with similar elements as the French model. The Portuguese system has influenced former colonies like Mozambique and Angola.

### Separation of Powers

Key differences among the three systems include the extent to which the powers of government are separated functionally between branches, and in the powers, one branch does or does not have over another. These include the extent, to which the executive can control the legislative branch, or the extent to which the legislature can control the executive (oversight), and the extent to which the legislative branch controls the capacity to legislate. One important area of control and competition is the capacity to introduce and approve legislation, and these vary considerably among the three systems. In a presidential system, political and administrative powers are divided between the executive, legislative and judicial branches. Officials in these branches serve different terms of office and different constituencies. In a parliamentary system, Parliament is sovereign and executive authority (the Prime Minister & Cabinet) is derived from the legislature. In a hybrid system, executive power is shared between a separately elected President and a Prime Minister.

## **Presidential**

In a presidential system, the President (who is the chief executive as well as the symbolic head of government) is chosen by a separate election from that of the legislature.

The President then appoints his or her cabinet of ministers (or "secretaries" in US parlance). Ministers/Secretaries usually are not simultaneously members of the legislature, although their appointment may require the advice and consent of the legislative branch.

Because the senior officials of the executive branch are separately elected or appointed, the presidential political system is characterised by a separation of powers, wherein the executive and legislative branches are independent of one another.

Presidents have great control over their cabinet appointees who serve at the President's pleasure, and who are usually selected for reasons other than the extent of their congressional support (as in parliamentary systems). In general, the British Prime Minister is more constrained to represent his/her parliamentary party in the Cabinet. The U.S. represents the strongest form of presidentialism, in the sense that the powers of the executive and legislative branches are separate, and legislatures (national and state) often have significant powers.

## **Parliamentary**

Parliamentary systems, unlike presidential systems, are typified by a fusion of powers between the legislative and executive branches. The Prime Minister (who is the chief executive) may be elected to the legislature in the same way that all other members are elected.

The Prime Minister is the leader of the party that wins the majority of votes to the legislature (either de facto, or in some cases through an election held by the legislature).

The Prime Minister appoints Cabinet Ministers. However, unlike in the presidential systems, these members are typically themselves legislative members from the ruling party or ruling coalition. Thus, in a parliamentary system, the constituency of the executive and legislature are the same.

If the ruling party is voted out of the legislature, the executive also changes.

Continued co-operation between the executive and legislature is required for the government to survive and to be effective in carrying out its programs.

## **Hybrid**

The term "hybrid" generally refers to a system with a separately elected President who shares executive power with the Prime Minister. The President usually has the constitutional power to select the Prime Minister. If the constitution and/or political circumstances tend to place the emphasis on the powers of the President, it is sometimes termed a semi-presidential system. If, on the other hand, the Prime Minister and the legislative leaders enjoy more power than the President does, it may be referred to as a semi-parliamentary system.

For political reasons, Presidents generally appoint leaders of the ruling coalition to the post of Prime Minister, although they are not required to do so constitutionally. The Prime Minister may or may not be a member of the President's political party, depending upon what party or coalition of parties maintains the majority in the legislature.

The French system is the hybrid model most often cited as a semi-presidential system. The President has broad powers in some areas where his power is well defined, such as in the conduct of foreign affairs. The day-to-day running of the government is left to the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

## **Legislative – Executive Terms & Removal from Office**

A key difference between presidential and parliamentary systems lies in the power to remove a chief executive or to dissolve the legislature. In parliamentary systems, the chief executive's term of office is directly linked with that of the legislature, while in presidential systems the terms are not linked.

### **Presidential**

In a presidential system, in line with the notion of a separation of powers, presidents and members of the legislature are separately elected for a given length of time. Presidents have no authority to remove members of the legislature. Premature removal of either legislative members or the President can only be initiated by a vote in the lower legislative chamber and under particular conditions.

Thus, under normal circumstances, even if the political party that the President represents becomes a minority in either or both houses of the legislature, the President will remain in his position for the full term for which he was elected. A number of Latin American presidential systems have provided an additional constitutional check on the power of the President in this regard, likely due to a history of authoritarian executive rule. For example, in Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Paraguay, a President is not allowed to serve more than one elected term. In other countries, including Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala and the US, the President is not allowed to serve for more than two consecutive terms.

### **Parliamentary**

In a parliamentary system, the Prime Minister can be removed from office in two ways.

The first is through a "no-confidence" motion, which is typically filed by the opposition or a coalition of opposition parties. The no confidence motion calls for a vote in the legislature to demonstrate that the legislature no longer has confidence in the Prime Minister (the Chief Executive) and his cabinet of Ministers. If the vote passes by a majority, the Executive, including the Prime Minister, is forced to step down. Since the Prime Minister and his cabinet of ministers are members of the legislature, this brings about new legislative elections.

The term of the Prime Minister, therefore, is generally linked to that of the rest of the legislature. However, the Prime Minister can be removed by his/her own party members, in a setting outside of the legislature. For example, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was removed by party vote and replaced by John Major during the Conservative Party caucus. Such a removal, whereby the party decides to change its leader, does not force legislative elections.

### **Hybrid-French**

Unlike in a parliamentary system, the legislature in France cannot force the resignation of the President. Rather, the President may dissolve the parliament's Lower House, the National Assembly (but not the upper house, Senate).

Further, the President appoints, and can remove the Prime Minister, who is effectively the head of the cabinet and legislature. Similar to the parliamentary model, the National Assembly can also force the government (the Prime Minister and legislative leaders) to resign by passing a motion of censure. Thus, in the French model, while the Prime Minister is vulnerable to removal from both the legislature and the President, the President cannot be removed prior to the end of his/her electoral term.

## **Party Discipline**

Party discipline, simply defined, refers to the practice of legislators voting with their parties. It is typically stronger in parliamentary systems than in presidential because the "executive" government requires majority party cohesiveness for its own survival.

In countries that are transitioning to a two or multiparty system – whether presidential, hybrid or parliamentary – party discipline may be generally weak owing to the fact that parties may be newer, lack a strong internal structure and constituent base and/or lack experience in operating in a multiparty legislature.

### **Presidential**

Parties in presidential systems tend to be less structured than parties in parliamentary systems. Failure to vote with one's party does not threaten to bring the government down.

Therefore, members of the legislature are freer to identify with regional, ethnic, economic or other divisions when considering policy issues. This tendency is likely strengthened in presidential systems – such as the US – that also employ a *first-past-the-post* electoral system.

Because they are usually directly elected and identifiable with particular districts or regions, many members see a duty to their constituents (in a district or state) as the first priority, with allegiance to a party and its platform as secondary. While the legislators are under some pressure to vote with their party, particularly on important votes, the consequences of not doing so are not as serious to the individual legislator and to the system.

Because legislatures and executives are elected separately and often for different terms, it is not uncommon for them to be controlled by different parties.

### **Parliamentary**

Parliamentary systems in developed countries are characterized by parties that are highly structured and tend toward unified action, bloc voting and distinct party platforms.

This party discipline is required in parliamentary systems primarily because deviation from the party line could result in bringing down the government. Parliamentary systems require that the "executive" and legislative members come to agreement upon issues, lest it force the dissolution of the government. In addition, majority parties in parliamentary systems are perceived by voters to have a mandate to run the country.

Therefore, each party may develop a system of punishments and rewards.

The following are common attributes mentioned by supporters of the two systems based on party discipline:

#### **Advantages of weaker party discipline in presidential systems.**

- Relations between individual members and constituents tend to be stronger.
- The President and individual members are directly accountable to the voters.
- In deeply divided societies, some theorists argue that the parliamentary system can lead to one party controlling the state and locking other ethnic or regional groups out of power.

#### **Advantages of stronger party discipline in parliamentary systems.**

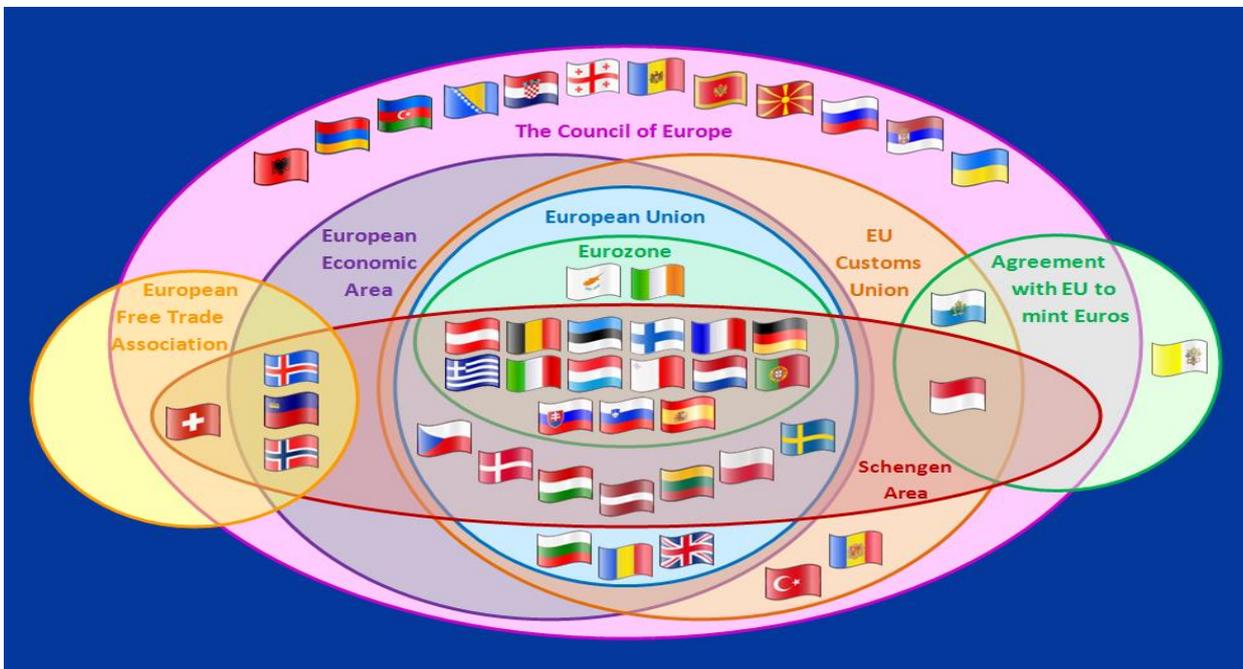
- Parties and stable party coalitions within parliament can be held accountable to the public based on their promotion of the party platform.
- The chief executive can be made accountable to her/his party and the parliament as a whole by a vote of no confidence at any time.
- Highly organized parties can act as a link between party leaders and constituents at local levels.

## Hybrid-French System

France's transition from a parliamentary to a semi-presidential or hybrid system has been credited with resolving the instability created by shifting party alliances and resulting changes in government. The French hybrid system functions more smoothly when the majority party in parliament is also the party of the President, but this needs not always be the case. However, the French system has sometimes resulted in a situation of cohabitation, whereby the separately elected President may face a Prime Minister and majority party in the legislature from a party different than his own. This situation has the potential to combine the possible negative aspects of both presidential and parliamentary systems, leading to conflict and deadlock. As in a parliamentary system, party discipline is encouraged, as deviation would potentially bring down the majority party and its Prime Minister. At the same time, party discipline may discourage cooperation with the President, paralyzing the policy-making process. The Prime Minister is encouraged to play a balancing role, maintain the confidence of both the President and the legislature.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**



## UNIT III. VARIOUS FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

### INTRODUCTION

**Aristocracy** is a form of government, in which a select few such as the most wise, strong or contributing citizens rule, often starting as a system of cooption where a council of prominent citizens add leading soldiers, merchants, land owners, priests, or lawyers to their number. Aristocracy deforms when it becomes hereditary elite.

Aristocracies have most often been deformed to hereditary plutocratic systems. They sometimes include a monarch who although a member of the aristocracy, rules over it as well as over the rest of society. The term "aristocracy" is derived from the Greek language "aristokratia", meaning "the rule of the best".

**Authoritarianism** describes a form of government characterized by an emphasis on the authority of the state in a republic or union. It is a political system controlled by nonelected rulers who usually permit some degree of individual freedom.

Theodore M. Vestal has written that authoritarianism is characterized by "highly concentrated and centralized power structures", in which political power is generated and maintained by a "repressive system that excludes potential challengers" and uses political parties and mass organizations to "mobilize people around the goals of the government".

*The principles are:*

- rule of men, not rule of law;
- rigged elections;
- all important political decisions made by unelected officials behind closed doors;
- a bureaucracy operated quite independently of rules, the supervision of elected officials, or concerns of the constituencies;
- the informal and unregulated exercise of political power.
- *Leadership* that is "self-appointed and even if elected cannot be displaced by citizens' free choice among competitors". No guarantee of civil liberties or tolerance for meaningful opposition.
- *Weakening of civil society*: "No freedom to create a broad range of groups, organisms, and political parties to compete for power or question the decisions of rulers", with instead an "attempt to impose controls on virtually all elements of society".
- *Political stability maintained by* "control over and support of the military to provide security to the system and control of society; a pervasive bureaucracy staffed by the regime; control of internal opposition and dissent; creation of allegiance through various means of socialization".

#### **Authoritarianism & totalitarianism**

Sodrol argues that the while both authoritarians and totalitarianism are forms of autocracy, they differ in "key dichotomies": Unlike their bland and generally unpopular authoritarian brethren, totalitarian dictators develop a charismatic 'mystique' and a mass-based, pseudo-democratic interdependence with their followers via the conscious manipulation of a prophetic image.

Concomitant role conceptions differentiate totalitarians from authoritarians.

Totalitarian self-conceptions are largely teleological. The tyrant is less a person than an indispensable "function" to guide and reshape the universe. Authoritarians view themselves as individual beings, largely content to control; and maintain the status quo.

Totalitarianism is generally considered to be an extreme version of authoritarianism. Building on the work of Yale political scientist Juan Linz, Paul C. Sondrol of the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs has examined the characteristics of authoritarian and totalitarian dictators and organized them in a chart:

Features	Totalitarianism	Authoritarianism
Charisma	High	Low
Role conception	Leader as function	Leader as individual
Ends of power	Public	Private
Corruption	Low	High
Official ideology	Yes	No
Limited pluralism	No	Yes
Legitimacy	Yes	No

### Authoritarian-libertarian

Authoritarianism and libertarianism refer to the amount of individual freedom each person possesses in that society relative to the state.

One author describes authoritarian political systems as those where "individual rights and goals are subjugated to group goals, expectations & conformities", while libertarians generally oppose the state and hold the individual as sovereign.

In their purest form, libertarians are anarchists, who argue for the total abolition of the state, of political parties and of other political entities, while the purest authoritarians are, by definition, totalitarians who support state control over all aspects of society.

Classical Liberalism (*laissez-faire liberalism*) is a doctrine stressing individual freedom and limited government. This includes the importance of human rationality, individual property rights, free markets, natural rights, the protection of civil liberties, constitutional limitation of government, and individual freedom from restraint as exemplified in the writings of John Locke, Adam Smith, David Hume, David Ricardo, Voltaire, Montesquieu and others.

According to the libertarian Institute for Humane Studies, "the libertarian", or "classical liberal", perspective is that individual well-being, prosperity, and social harmony are fostered by "as much liberty as possible" and "as little government as necessary".

For anarchist political philosopher L. Susan Brown "Liberalism and anarchism are two political philosophies that are fundamentally concerned with individual freedom yet differ from one another in very distinct ways.

Anarchism shares with liberalism a radical commitment to individual freedom while rejecting liberalism's competitive property relations".

Consequently, the utilization of power for personal aggrandizement is more evidence among authoritarians than totalitarians. Lacking the binding appeal of ideology, *authoritarians support their rule by a mixture of instilling fear and granting rewards to loyal collaborators*, engendering a *kleptocracy*. Thus, compared to totalitarian systems, authoritarian systems may leave a larger sphere for private life, lack a guiding ideology, tolerate some pluralism in social organization, lack the power to mobilize the whole population in pursuit of national goals, and exercise their power within relatively predictable limits.

An **autocracy** is a form of government in which the political power is held by a single, self-appointed ruler. The term "autocrat" is derived from the Greek word meaning "self-ruler", or "one who rules by himself"). Compare with oligarchy ("rule by the few") and democracy ("rule by the people"). Today it is usually seen as synonymous with "*despot, tyrant, dictator*", though each of these terms originally had a separate and distinct meaning.

Autocracy is not synonymous with totalitarianism, as the latter concept was forged in 1923 to distinguish modern regimes from traditional dictatorships. Nor is it synonymous with *military dictatorship*, as these often take the form of "collective presidencies" such as the South American *juntas*. However, an autocracy may be totalitarian or be a military dictatorship. The term "*monarchy*" differs in that it emphasizes the hereditary characteristic, though some Slavic monarchs, specifically Russian Emperors traditionally included the title "autocrat" as part of their official styles. This usage originated in the Byzantine Empire, where the term "autocrat" was traditionally employed in Greek to translate the Latin "imperator", and was used along with *Basileus* to mean "emperor".

Historically, many monarchs ruled autocratically but eventually their power was diminished and dissolved with the introduction of constitutions giving the people the power to make decisions for themselves through elected bodies of government.

The autocrat needs some kind of power structure to rule. Very few rulers were in the position to rule with only their personal charisma and skills, however great these may be, without the help of others.

Most historical autocrats depended on their nobles, the military, the priesthood or others, who could turn against the ruler and depose or murder them. As such, it can be difficult to draw a clear line between historical autocracies and oligarchies.

**Demarchy** ("Dem" being short for *demos* meaning people, and "-archy" meaning rule) is a hypothetical political system run by randomly selected decision makers who have been selected by sortition. Demarchy attempts to achieve democratic representation without needing elections - it has been referred to as "democracy without elections".

Demarchy was first proposed by the Australian philosopher John Burnheim, whose political model removed the need for the state or bureaucracies. These randomly selected groups, sometimes termed "policy juries", "citizens' juries", or "consensus conferences" would deliberately make decisions about public policies in much the same way that juries reach verdicts on criminal cases. Demarchy attempts to overcome some of the functional problems with conventional Representative democracy, which is often subject to manipulation by special interests and a division between professional policymakers (politicians and lobbyists) vs. a largely passive, uninvolved and often uninformed electorate.

**Despotism** is a form of government by a single authority, either an individual or tightly knit group, which rules with absolute political power. In its classical form, despotism is a state where a single individual (the *despot*) wields all the power and authority.

He is embodying the state, everyone else is a subsidiary person.

This form of despotism was common in the first forms of statehood and civilization; the Pharaoh of Egypt is exemplary of the classical Despot. The term now implies tyrannical rule. Despotism can mean tyranny (dominance through threat of punishment & violence), or absolutism; or dictatorship (a form of government, in which the ruler is an absolute dictator, not restricted by a constitution, laws or opposition). However, in enlightened absolutism (benevolent or enlightened despotism), which came to prominence in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe, absolute monarchs used their authority to institute a number of reforms in the political systems and societies of their countries. This movement was quite probably triggered by the ideals of the Age of Enlightenment.

Although the word has a pejorative meaning nowadays, it was once a legitimate title of office in the Byzantine Empire. Just as the word *Byzantine* is often used in a pejorative way, the word *despot* had equally negative connotations. In fact, *Despot* was an Imperial title, first used under Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) who created it for his appointed heir Alexius-Bela. It was typically bestowed on sons-in-law and later sons of the Emperor and, beginning in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it was bestowed to foreign princes. The Despot wore elaborate costumes similar to the Emperor's and had many privileges. Despots ruled over parts of the empire called *Despotates*. The British government is cited to have reduced the American people under absolute despotism in the USA Declaration of Independence: "But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism.

It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security".

A **dictatorship** is defined as an autocratic form of government, in which the government is ruled by an individual, the dictator, without hereditary ascension.

It has three possible meanings: Roman dictator is a republic political office of the Roman Republic. Roman dictators were allocated absolute power during times of emergency. Their power was originally neither arbitrary nor unaccountable, being subject to law and requiring retrospective justification.

Authoritarian forms of government	
<b>Autocratic</b>	Absolute monarchy · Despotism · Dictatorship · Enlightened absolutism · Tyranny
<b>Totalitarian</b>	Fascism · Stalinism · Theocracy · Totalitarian democracy
<b>Other</b>	Illiberal democracy · Military dictatorship · Military junta · Oligarchy · Single-party state

There were no such dictatorships after the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., and later dictators such as Sulla and the Roman Emperors exercised power much more personally and arbitrarily. A government controlled by one person or a small group of people. In contemporary usage, dictatorship refers to an autocratic form of absolute rule by leadership unrestricted by law, constitutions, or other social and political factors within the state.

For some scholars, dictatorship is a form of government that has the power to govern without consent of those being governed, while totalitarianism describes a state that regulates nearly every aspect of public and private behavior of the people.

In other words, dictatorship concerns the source of the governing power (where the power comes from) and totalitarianism concerns the scope of the governing power (what is the government). In this sense, dictatorship (government without people's consent) is a contrast to democracy (government whose power comes from people) and totalitarianism (government controls every aspect of people's life) opposes pluralism (government allows multiple lifestyles and opinions). Though the definitions of the terms differ, they are related in reality, as most of the dictatorship states tend to show totalitarian characteristics. When governments' power does not come from the people, their power is not limited and tends to expand their scope of power to control every aspect of people's life.

A **military dictatorship** is a form of government wherein the political power resides with the military. It is similar but not identical to a stratocracy, a state ruled directly by the military. A military dictatorship may be official or unofficial, and as a result may not actually qualify as *stratocratic*. Mixed form also exists, where the military exerts a very strong influence without being entirely dominant. The typical military dictatorship in Latin America was ruled by a *junta* (derived from a Spanish word which can be translated as "conference" or "board"), or a committee composed of several officers, often from the military's most senior leadership, but in other cases less senior, as evidenced by the term *colonels' regime*, where the military leaders remained loyal to the previous regime.

Other military dictatorships are entirely in the hands of a single officer, sometimes called a *caudillo*, the senior army commander. In either case, the chairman of the junta or the single commander may often personally assume office as head of state.

In the Middle East and Africa, military governments more often came to be led by a single powerful person, and were autocracies in addition to military dictatorships.

They worked to develop a personality cult and became the face of the nation inside and outside their countries. Most military dictatorships are formed after they have overthrown the previous government. One very different pattern was the one followed by Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq and Kim Ir-sung's regime in North Korea, both of which began as one-party states, but over the course of their existence turned into military dictatorships as their leaders donned uniforms and the military became closely involved in the government. Conversely, other military dictatorships may gradually restore significant components of civilian government while the senior military commander still maintains executive political power. In Pakistan, ruling Generals have held singular referendums to elect themselves President of Pakistan for additional terms forbidden by the constitution.

In the past, military juntas have justified their rule as a way of bringing political stability for the nation or rescuing it from the threat of "dangerous ideologies"

In Latin America the threat of communism was often used, while in the Middle East the desire to oppose Israel and later Islamic fundamentalism proved an important motivating pattern.

Military regimes tend to portray themselves as non-partisan, as a "neutral" party that can provide interim leadership in times of turmoil, and also tend to portray civilian politicians as corrupt & ineffective. One of the almost universal characteristics of a military government is the institution of martial law or a permanent state of emergency. Although there are exceptions, military regimes usually have little respect for human rights and use whatever means necessary to silence political opponents as opposing the army as enemies.

A military regime is also rarely willing to leave power unless forced to by popular revolt, whether active or imminent.

Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East have been common areas for military dictatorships.

One of the reasons for this is the fact that the military often has more cohesion and institutional structure than most of the civilian institutions of society.

Military dictatorships can be contrasted with other forms of dictatorship.

In most current and historical Communist states, the center of power rests among civilian party officials, and very careful measures (such as political commissars and frequent rotations) are taken to prevent the military from exercising independent authority. Since the 1990s, military dictatorships have become less common.

Reasons for this include the fact that military dictatorships no longer have much international legitimacy, as well as the fact that many militaries having unsuccessfully ruled many nations are now inclined not to become involved in political disputes. As the Cold War began to wind down, in the Middle East, regimes such as those of Syria and Egypt that were once clearly military dictatorships have switched to other forms of despotism.

The term *epistemocracy* designates a utopian type of society and government in which people of rank, including those holding political office, are those who possess epistemic humility – such persons are termed epistemocrats. The French writer Michel de Montaigne was a modern epistemocrat.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to assert authority on the basis of one's uncertainty. Since society demands knowledge, leaders who are assertive, even if they are incorrect, still gather people together. As Charles Darwin noted, ignorance more frequently begets confidence than does knowledge.

*Ethnocracy* is a form of government where representatives of a particular ethnic group hold a number of government posts disproportionately large to the percentage of the total population that the particular ethnic group(s) represents and use them to advance the position of their particular ethnic group(s) to the detriment of others.

The minority ethnic groups are systematically discriminated against by the state and may face repressions or violations of human rights at the hands of state organs. Ethnocracy can also be a political regime which is instituted on the basis of qualified rights to citizenship, and with ethnic affiliation (defined in terms of race, descent, religion, or language) as the distinguishing principle. Ethnocracies are generally considered to be non-democratic in nature.

Ethnocracies are characterized by their control system – the legal, institutional, and physical instruments of power deemed necessary to secure ethnic dominance. The degree of system discrimination will tend to vary greatly from case to case and from situation to situation. If the dominant group (whose interests are to serve & whose identity meant to represent) constitutes a small minority (20% or less) of the population within the state territory, extreme degrees of institutionalized suppression will probably be necessary to sustain the status quo.

An *exilarchy* is a form of government, usually theocratic or monarchic, that is established and constituted for rule over an ethnic or religious diaspora rather than over the place of origin whence the diaspora originates.

This entails that the exilarch in power usually only has cultural and honorary powers over his or her subjects, as such subjects are ultimately under the political governance of their host countries of residence or citizenship. An exilarchy may or may not be the same as a government in exile, depending upon whether or not the exilarch's government claims jurisdiction over the homeland that is currently governed by an opposing government.

**Geniocracy** is the framework for a system of government which was first proposed by Rael (leader of the International Raelian Movement) in 1977 and which advocates problem-solving and creative intelligence as criteria for regional governance.

The term **geniocracy** comes from the word "Genius" and proposes a system that is designed to select for intelligence and compassion as the primary factor for governance.

While having a democratic electoral apparatus, it differs from traditional liberal democracy by instead suggesting that both candidates for office and the body electorate should meet a certain minimal criterion of problem-solving or creative intelligence.

The thresholds proposed by the Raelians are 50% above the mean for an electoral candidate and 10% above the mean for an elector.

**Gerontocracy** is a form of oligarchical rule in which an entity is ruled by leaders who are significantly older than most of the adult population. Often the political structure is such that political power within the ruling class accumulates with age, so that the oldest hold the most power. Those holding the most power may not be in formal leadership positions, but often dominate those who are. Gerontocracy's stability is seen as its strength, which can be more appropriate for institutions that teach principles that do not vary over time.

In institutions that have to cope with rapid change, the decreased faculties of the aged can potentially be a handicap in providing effective leadership. Such a form of leadership is common in communist states in which the length of one's service to the party is held to be the main qualification for leadership. In the time of the Eight Immortals of Communist Party of China, it was quipped, "the 80-year-olds are calling meetings of 70-year-olds to decide which 60-year-olds should retire". Party leader Mao Zedong was 82 when he died, while Deng Xiaoping retained a powerful influence until he was nearly 90.

In the Soviet Union, gerontocracy became increasingly entrenched starting in the 1970s, at least until March 1985, when a dynamic, young, ambitious leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev took power. Cuba is a gerontocracy: "Although the population is now mainly black or mulatto and young, its rulers form a mainly white gerontocracy".

Other Communist countries with leaders in their 70s or 80s have included

- Albania (First Secretary Enver Hoxha was 76 at death).
- Czechoslovakia (President Gustav Husak was 76 at his resignation).
- East Germany (General Secretary & head of state Erich Honecker was 77 when forced out).
- Hungary (General Secretary Janos Kador was 75 when forced out).
- Laos (President Nouhak Phoumsavanh was 83 at retirement).
- North Korea (President Kim Il-sung was 82 at death).
- Romania (General Secretary & President N.Ceauşescu was 70 when executed).
- Vietnam (President Truong Chinh was 80 at retirement).
- Yugoslavia (President Josip Broz Tito was 87 at death).
- Georgia's Party head Vasil Mzhavanadze was 70 when forced out.
- His Lithuanian counterpart Antanas Snieskus was 71 at death.

Gerontocracy is common in religious theocratic states such as Iran, in which leadership is concentrated in the hands of religious elders. Despite the age of the senior religious leaders, however, parliamentary candidates in Iran must be under 75.

In India, a democracy, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M Karunanidhi, born in 1924, illustrates the phenomenon. Samburu society is said to be a gerontocracy.

In 2004, a study estimated that following countries are approaching gerontocracy where most voters are over 50 years old:

- Finland and Switzerland were gerontocracies in 2012.
- France, Germany, and USA will be gerontocracies by 2015.
- Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway, Portugal, and Sweden will be gerontocracies by 2019.

The sociologists have concluded that Germany's last chance for a partial transition to a funded pension system will be before 2016. Some U.S. senators are disproportionately old and positions of power within the legislatures – such as chairmanships of various committees – are usually bestowed upon the more experienced. S. Thurmond, a U.S. senator from South Carolina, left office at age 100 after almost half a century in the body.

A **military junta** is a government led by a committee of military leaders. The term derives from the Spanish and Portuguese "junta" meaning committee, specifically a board of directors. Sometimes it becomes a military dictatorship, though the terms are not synonymous.

**Well-known military juntas:**

- Bolivian military juntas (1970-1971 and 1980-1982).
- Nigerian Military Juntas (1966-1979 and 1983-1998).
- Greek Military Junta (1967-1974) called "The Regime of the Colonels".
- Peruvian Military Junta (1968-1980).
- Brazilian Military Junta (1969).
- Government Junta of Chile (1973-1990).
- Derg in Ethiopia (1974-1987).
- Junta of National Reconstruction in Nicaragua (1979-1985).
- Revolutionary Government Junta of El Salvador (1979-1982).
- Military Council of National Salvation in Poland (1981-1983).
- Haitian Military Junta (1991-1994).
- State Peace and Development Council in Myanmar (Burma) (1988-present).
- Council for National Security in Thailand (2006-2008).
- National Salvation Junta in Portugal (1974-1976).
- National Reorganization Process in Argentina (1976-1983).
- Korean Military Junta.

**Klerostocracy**, as kleros is the Greek word for casting lots. Klerostocracy would literally mean, "Rule by random selection". In Book 4 of Aristotle's *The Politics* it is thought to be democratic for the offices to be assigned by lot, for them to be elected (assigned by vote) oligarchic.

**Kritocracy** is a government ruled by judges. A kritocracy should be contrasted with a kritarchy. Both are governments ruled by judges, but the difference lies in the manner of the judgment's conception. Judgments in a kritocracy are arrived at by the personal opinions of the judge, whereas judgments in a kritarchy are arrived at by judging whether a person's natural rights have been violated.

**Kritarchy** is a form of order springing from judgements made from principles of natural rights. It may have existed in Israel during the period of time described in the Book of Judges and exists in Somalia under the rule of Xeer law.

**Logocracy** is the rule of, or government by, words. It is derived from the Greek logos – "word" and from kratos – to "govern". The term can be used either positively, ironically or negatively.

**Meritocracy** is a system of a government or other organization wherein appointments are made and responsibilities are given based on demonstrated talent and ability (merit), rather than by wealth (plutocracy), family connections (nepotism), class privilege (oligarchy), friends (cronyism), seniority (gerontocracy), popularity (as in democracy) or other historical determinants of social position and political power. In a meritocracy, society rewards (by wealth, position, and social status) those who show talent and competence as demonstrated by past actions or by competition. Napoleonic (Revolutionary) France is considered to have been meritocratic. After the revolution of 1792 hardly a member of the former elite remained.

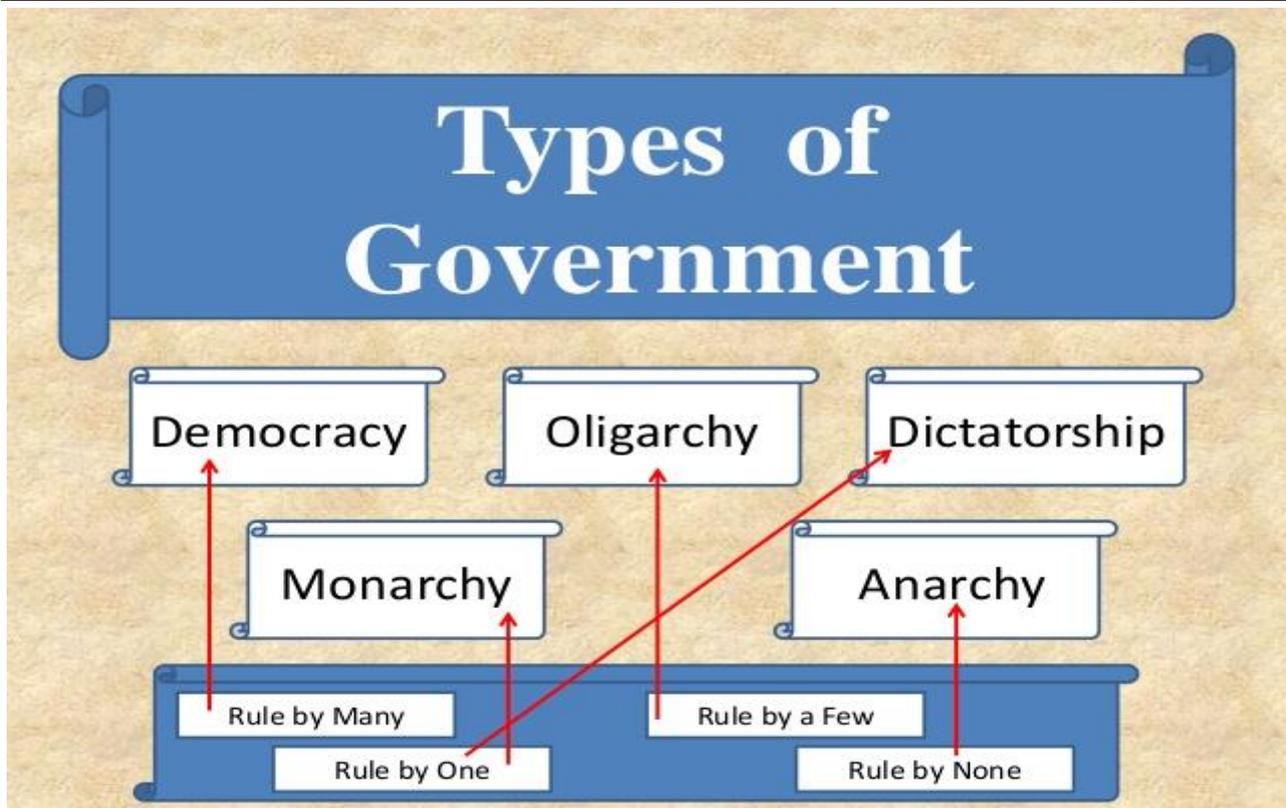
When Napoleon rose to power, there was no ancient base from which to draw his staff, and he had to choose the people he thought best for the job, including officers from his army, revolutionaries who had been in the peoples' assembly, and even some former aristocrats such as prime minister Talleyrand. This policy was summed up in Bonaparte's often-quoted phrase "careers open to the talented", "the tools to him that can handle them". A later non-meritocratic practice, however, was Bonaparte's appointment of family members and Corsican friends to important positions (specifically regional leadership); loyalty may have been a more important factor than sheer merit in performance, a common case in political situations. Plato's concept of the ideal government presented in his *Republic* is innately meritocratic.

**Exercise 1.** Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.

**Exercise 2.** Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.

**Exercise 3.** Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.

№	Activity			
	Form of government	When	Where	Score
1.				



## Theocracy

A government where priests rule in the name of God or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided, or consistent with the principles of a particular religion.

## Autocracy

A government controlled by absolute power, & in the hands of a single person with minimal restraints on the decisions & lack of any mechanisms of popular control.

## Technocracy

A government where scientists & technical experts are in control of the state, & where rulers are selected on the basis of their knowledge/skill rather than wealth/power.

## Fascism

A way of ruling that advocates total control of the people and seeks to promote the ancestral & cultural values & eradicate foreign influences.

## Anarchy

Anarchy is a state of absence of law, a state of lawlessness and disorder (usually resulting from a failure of government).

## Monarchy

A government where supreme authority is vested in a single & usually hereditary figure, such as a king, & whose powers can vary from absolute to none at all.

## Oligarchy

Rule of the few.  
This is a form of power structure in which power effectively rests with a faction of persons or families.

## Plutocracy

Government ruled by the rich or power provided by wealth, often used to describe a wealthy class ruling a government, often from behind the scenes.

## Tyranny

Government or authority of an absolute ruler; arbitrary exercise of power over subjects not requisite for the purposes of government/approved by law and justice.

## Totalitarian

A totalitarian system is one in which a single political authority regulates total control over state, that is centralized and dictatorial.

## Federation

## Communism

## MERITOCRATIC STATES

Thomas Jefferson was a strong advocate of meritocratic types of government, believing them superior to all other known forms of government; in more general terms, he believed a noble "natural aristocracy" would arise to look after the common good.

Among modern nation-states, the Republic of Singapore claims to be meritocratic; placing a great emphasis on identifying and grooming bright young citizens for positions of leadership. The Singaporean interpretation places overwhelming emphasis on academic credentials as objective measures of merit. Meritocracy is a central political concept in Singapore, due in part to the circumstances surrounding the city-state's rise to independence.

Singapore was expelled from neighboring Malaysia in 1965 because of the unwillingness of the majority of its population, mostly ethnic Chinese, to accept a "special position" for the self-proclaimed Bumiputra (Malay for "inheritors of the earth"), the Malays.

The concept of meritocracy is unstable as its constituent ideas are potentially contradictory.

The egalitarian aspect of meritocracy, for example, can come into conflict with its focus on talent allocation, competition, and reward. In practice, meritocracy is often transformed into an ideology of inequality and elitism. In Singapore, meritocracy has been the main ideological resource for justifying authoritarian government and its pro-capitalist orientation.

Through competitive scholarships, stringent selection criteria for party candidacy, and high ministerial salaries, the ruling People's Action Party has been able to co-opt talent to form a "technocratic" government for an "administrative state".

Another example is 19th-century Finland, which was formally ruled by an autocrat, though in practice governing was exercised by the educated class. Although ancestry and inherited wealth did influence one's educational opportunities, education and not ancestry was the principal requirement for admittance to, and promotion within, the civil service and government. Well into the mid-20th century, academic degrees remained important factors for politicians asking for the electorate's confidence.

Likewise, one's military rank in reserves has been a decisive factor on selecting leaders and managers both in the public and the private sector. Even today, most Finnish managers are amongst those who have attained either an NCO (non-commissioned officer) or a reserve officer rank during their conscript tour of duty.

Lasting 1,112 years, the Republic of Venice at times used a system based on meritocracy to decide the membership of its ruling council. Each year, citizens were assessed based on the number of merit points earned through their successes – in academia, with works of art, in business ventures, and so on – and the top names were appointed to the council.

The council's role was legislative, judicial and executive, and it elected a Doge, on the understanding that any councillor who voted to appoint a Doge who later took Venice to war and lost would, along with that Doge, be put to death.

**Noocracy**, or "aristocracy of the wise", as defined by Plato, is a social and political system that is "based on the priority of human mind", according to Vladimir Vernadsky. It was also further developed in the writings of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

The word itself is derived from Greek "nous" meaning "mind" or "intellect", and "kratos" – "authority" or "power". One of the first attempts to implement such political system was perhaps Pythagoras' "city of the wise" that he planned to build in Italy together with his followers, the order of "mathematikoi".

In modern history, similar concepts were introduced by Vladimir Vernadsky, who did not use this term however, but the term "Noosphere", and Franc.

As defined by Plato, Noocracy is considered to be the future political system for the entire human race, replacing Democracy ("the authority of the crowd") and other forms of government. There is the counter-opinion by Eric Hoffer, sometimes called the "longshoreman philosopher" for his unorthodox views.

Hoffer scorned the Platonic concept of the "philosopher-king" as being "rule by schoolmasters", implying that Plato exhibited the human tendency to exaggerate the importance of one's own activity or livelihood.

Mikhail Epstein defined it as "the thinking matter increases its mass in nature and geo- and biosphere grow into noosphere, the future of the humanity can be envisioned as **noocracy** – that is the power of the collective brain rather than separate individuals representing certain social groups or society as whole".

**Ochlocracy** is government by mob or a mass of people, or the intimidation of constitutional authorities. In English, the word "mobocracy" is sometimes used as a synonym.

As a pejorative for majoritarianism, it is akin to the Latin phrase *mobile vulgus* meaning "the fickle crowd", from which the term "mob" originally derives.

As a term in civics it implies that there is no formal authority whatsoever, not even a commonly accepted view of anarchism, and so disputes are raised, contended and closed by brute force – *might makes right*, but only in a very local and temporary way, as another mob or another mood might just as easily sway a decision. It is often associated with demagoguery and the rule of passion over reason. In ancient Greek political thought ochlocracy was considered as one of the three "bad" forms of government (tyranny, oligarchy and ochlocracy) as opposed to the three "good" forms of government (monarchy, aristocracy and democracy). The distinction between "good" and "bad" was made according to whether the government form would act in the interest of the whole community ("good") or special interests ("bad").

Historians often comment on mob rule as a factor in the rise of Rome and its maintenance, as the city of Rome itself was large – between 100,000 and 250,000 citizens – while the aristocracy and even military was very small by comparison to the citizenry. With weapons also being crude, the military force did not exist that could have dealt with a revolt from the larger populace.

There was a constant need to keep people fed, distracted, and in awe of the power of the state. Those who could do this ruled not only Rome, but also the whole of the Roman Empire.

An **oligarchy** is a form of government in which power effectively rests with a small elite segment of society distinguished by royal, wealth, intellectual, family, military or religious hegemony. The word oligarchy is from the Greek words for "few" and "rule".

Such states are often controlled by politically powerful families whose children are heavily conditioned and mentored to be heirs of the power of the oligarchy. Oligarchies have been tyrannical throughout history, being completely reliant on public servitude to exist.

Although Aristotle pioneered the use of the term as a synonym for rule by the rich, for which the exact term is plutocracy, oligarchy is not always a rule by wealth, as oligarchs can simply be a privileged group. Some city-states from Ancient Greece were oligarchies.

### **Oligarchy vs. monarchy**

As early societies may have become oligarchies as an outgrowth of an alliance between rival tribal chieftains or as the result of a caste system.

Oligarchies can often become instruments of transformation, by insisting that monarchs or dictators share power, thereby opening the door to power-sharing by other elements of society (while oligarchy means "the rule of the few", monarchy means "the rule of the one").

One example of power-sharing from one person to a larger group of persons occurred when English nobles banded together in 1215 to force a reluctant King John of England to sign the Magna Carta, a tacit recognition both of King John's waning political power and of the existence of an incipient oligarchy (the nobility).

**Panarchism** is a political philosophy emphasizing each individual's right to freely join and leave the jurisdiction of any governments they choose, without being forced to move from their current locale.

The word "panarchy" was invented and the concept proposed by a Belgian political economist, Paul Emile de Puydt in an article called "Panarchy" published in 1860.

**Plutocracy** is rule by the wealthy or power provided by wealth. In a plutocracy, the degree of economic inequality is high while the level of social mobility is low. This can apply to a multitude of government systems, as the key elements of plutocracy transcend and often occur concurrently with the features of those systems. The word "plutocracy" is derived from the ancient Greek root "ploutos", meaning wealth and "kratein", meaning to rule or to govern.

The term "plutocracy" is generally used to describe two distinct concepts: one of a historical nature and one of a modern political nature. The former indicates the political control of the state by an oligarchy of the wealthy. Examples of such plutocracies include some city-states in Ancient Greece, the civilization of Carthage, the Italian merchant republics of Venice, Florence, Genoa.

### **Modern Political systems**

The second usage of plutocracy is a pejorative reference to a disproportionate influence the wealthy are said to have on political process in contemporary society; the USA is a plutocracy in which there is a "fusion of money and government."

Positive influence includes campaign contributions; negative influence includes refusing to support the government financially by refusing to pay taxes, threatening to move profitable industries elsewhere, bribes, and so on. It can also be exerted by the owners and ad buyers of media properties, which can shape public perception of political issues.

Recently, there have been numerous cases of wealthy individuals and organizations exerting financial pressure on governments to pass favorable legislation.

Most western democracies permit partisan organizations to raise funds for politicians, and it is well known that political parties frequently accept significant donations from various individuals (either directly or through corporate institutions).

Ostensibly, this should have no effect on the legislative decisions of elected representatives; however, it would be unlikely that no politicians are influenced by these contributions. Some describe these donations as bribes, legally they are not. In the USA, campaign finance reform efforts seek to ameliorate this situation.

However, campaign finance reform must successfully challenge officials who are beneficiaries of the system, which allows this dynamic in the first place. This has led many reform advocates to suggest taxpayer dollars be used to replace private campaign contributions, these reforms are often called clean money, clean elections reform as opposed to simply campaign finance reform which does not address the conflict of interest involved where most or all of the campaign money is from private, often for-profit sources.

A Plutocracy is a government controlled by a minuscule proportion of extremely wealthy individuals found in most societies. In many forms of government, those in power benefit financially, sometimes enough to belong to the aforementioned wealthy class.

Classically, a plutocracy was an oligarchy – a government controlled by the wealthy few.

Usually this meant that these "plutocrats" controlled the executive, legislative and judicial aspects of government, the armed forces, and most of the natural resources. To a certain degree, there are still some situations in which private corporations and wealthy individuals may exert such strong influence on governments, that the effect can arguably be compared to a plutocracy.

If there are no forms of control within the society, the plutocracy can easily collapse into a kleptocracy, "reign of thieves", where the powerholders attempt to confiscate as much public funds as possible as their private property.

A kleptocratic state is usually thoroughly corrupt, has very little production and its economy is unstable. Many failed states represent kleptocracies.

The term "**puppet state**" (marionette government) describes a nominal sovereignty controlled effectively by a foreign power. The term refers to a government controlled by the government of another country as if a puppeteer controls the strings of a marionette.

A puppet state has been described as an entity, which in fact lacks independence, preserves all the external paraphernalia of independence, but in reality is only an organ of another state who has set it up and whose satellite it is.

### **The First puppet states**

England effectively controlled the *de facto* crown of France during its control of Paris from 1419 to 1436 during the Hundred Years' War. John of Lancaster, 1st Duke of Bedford served as the "regent" until his death in September 1435. Nonetheless, France south of the Loire River except for Gascony did not recognize this as legal and continued to recognize the Dauphin as king.

During the Seven Years' War, Britain effectively gained its first foothold of substantial area on the Indian subcontinent by supporting Mir Jafar's claim to the title of Nawab of Bengal at the expense of Siraj ud-Daulah. However, the British demands of tribute proved to be excessive and, after Dutch intervention on Mir Jafar's behalf, the East India Company replaced him with Mir Qasim.

When Qasim attempted to stand up to British policies, hostilities lead to the Battle of Buxar and British rule expanded to include most of eastern India.

The first puppet state in modern European history, in the sense of a state which claimed popular legitimacy but which was significantly dependent on an external power, was the Batavian Republic, established in the Netherlands under French revolutionary protection. The first puppet states, in the sense of new states whose creation was made possible by the intervention of a foreign power, were the Italian republics created in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries with the assistance and encouragement of Napoleonic France. See French client republics.

In 1895, Japan detached Korea from its tributary relationship with China, giving it formal independence which was in reality only a prelude to Japanese annexation.

In 1896 Britain established a puppet state in Zanzibar.

**Corporatocracy** or **Corpocracy** is a form of government where a corporation, a group of corporations, or government entities with private components, control the direction and governance of a country. Though there are currently no true corporatocracies in the world, there are a number of people who have criticized governments for being *de facto* corporatocracies. Some have argued that corporations exert their influence through the WTO (an international agency), although this is hotly debated.

Many Western governments based on a capitalist system have been accused of being corporatocracies. Many corporations contribute abundantly to political candidates and causes.

This creates a dependency of the politician on the corporation – in order to keep his power and wealth. He might be obliged to "pay back" to the corporation using his political influence. Some say the term **corporatocracy** has no real place in the lexicon, adding that corporations are primarily fictional entities possessing no real power.

In fact, it is the people behind those corporations that hold the power. In that sense, a corporatocracy is nothing more than a democracy where the class which owns the means for producing wealth is fighting for its best interests. However, corporations have been ruled to be considered a "person" legally, so meaning they have the ability to exert power.

It is significant that the richest 1 % globally own almost 40 % of the world, and that most of these same people have significant ties to the richest and most influential corporations.

The concept of a government run by corporations or instances where governments are actually weaker (politically, financially, and militarily) than corporations is a theme often used in both political fiction and science fiction. In these instances the dominant corporate entity is usually dubbed a mega-corporation.

## Forms of Government

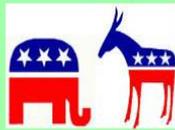
### Monarchy

A form of government in which all or most of the power is in the hands of one individual, the monarch.



### Democracy

A system in which the power is shared by all the people. "Government by the people"



### Dictatorship

Is a government controlled by one person.



### Communism

Is the doctrine of the conditions of the liberation of the proletariat.



### Anarchy

Absence of government and absolute freedom of the individual.



If you are confused on Anarchy, watch this video.



Also, check out this helpful but long video.



## CONSOCIATIONAL STATE

Political scientists define a consociational state as a state, which has major internal divisions along ethnic, religious, or linguistic lines, with none of the divisions large enough to form a majority group, yet nonetheless manages to remain stable, due to consultation among the elites of each of its major social groups. Consociational states are contrasted with states with majoritarian electoral systems.

Classical examples of consociational states are Belgium, Switzerland, Lebanon, and the Netherlands. Because of the Good Friday Agreement (Belfast Agreement), Northern Ireland has become a consociational region, within the United Kingdom. Consociational polities often have these characteristics:

- Coalition cabinets, where executive power is shared between parties, not concentrated in one. Many of these cabinets are oversized; they include parties not necessary for a parliamentary majority.
- Balance of power between executive and legislative.
- Decentralized and federal government, where (regional) minorities have considerable independence.
- Asymmetric bicameralism, where it is very difficult for one party to gain a majority in both houses. Normally one chamber represents regional interests and the other national interests.
- Proportional representation, to allow minorities to gain representation too.
- Organized and corporatist interest groups, which represent minorities.
- A rigid constitution, which prevents government from changing the constitution without consent of minorities.
- Judicial review, which allow minorities to go to the courts to seek redress against laws that they see as unjust.
- Elements of direct democracy, which allow minorities to prevent legislation.
- Proportional employment in the public sector.
- A neutral head of state, either a monarch with only ceremonial duties, or an indirectly elected president, who gives up his party affiliation after his election.
- Referendums are only used to allow minorities to block legislation: this means that they must be a citizen's initiative and that there is no compulsory voting.
- Equality between ministers in cabinet, the prime minister is the *primus inter pares*.
- An independent central bank, where experts set out monetary policies.

In this view, Switzerland, a country with no clear majority group, is a prime example of such a consensus democracy. Examples of this include: the frequent use of referendums, its confederal structure, and the tradition that all large parties are included in the cabinet, creating oversized coalition governments. This can be directly linked to the many minorities Switzerland has: its population consists of both Protestants & Roman Catholics; French-, German-, Italian-, Romans-speaking groups. Singapore is another example of a consociational state.

**Theocracy** is a form of government in which a god or deity is recognized as the state's supreme civil ruler, or in a broader sense, a form of government in which a state is governed by immediate divine guidance or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided.

In Biblical Greek, "theocracy" means "the rule by God". The word has been mostly used to label certain politically unpopular societies as somehow less rational or developed.

The concept is used in sociology and other social sciences, but the term is often used inaccurately, especially in popular rhetoric. Taken literally or strictly, theocracy means rule by God or gods and refers primarily to an internal "rule of the heart", especially in its biblical application. The common, generic use of the term, as defined above in terms of rule by a church or analogous religious leadership, would be more accurately described as an ecclesiology (government by church leaders).

For believers, theocracy is a form of government in which divine power governs an earthly human state, either in a personal incarnation or, more often, via religious institutional representatives (i.e., a church), replacing or dominating civil government.

Theocratic governments enact theonomic laws (The term *theonomy* has been used to describe various views, which see the God revealed in the Bible as the sole source of human ethics). Theocracy should be distinguished from other secular forms of government that have a state religion, or are merely influenced by theological or moral concepts, and monarchies held "By the Grace of God".

A theocracy may be monist in form, where the administrative hierarchy of the government is identical with the administrative hierarchy of the religion, or it may have two 'arms,' but with the state administrative hierarchy subordinate to the religious hierarchy.

Theocratic tendencies have been found in several religious traditions including Judaism, Islam, Confucianism, Hinduism, and among Christianity: Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Protestantism, Mormonism. Historical examples of Christian theocracies are the Byzantine Empire (A.D. 330-1453) and the Carolingian Empire (A.D. 800-888).

An example often given from Antiquity is Pharaonic Egypt when the king was a divine or semi-divine figure who ruled largely through priests. Properly speaking this was originally a caesaropapist order, rather than a theocratic one, since the worldly rulers took charge of religion, rather than vice versa, but once the pharaoh (since Ramses the Great) was recognized as a living (incarnated) god both definitions concurred.

**Caesaropapism** is the idea of combining the power of secular government with, or making it superior to, the spiritual authority of the Christian Church; especially concerning the connection of the Christian Church with government. In its extreme form, it is a political theory in which the head of state, notably the Emperor ("Caesar", by extension an "equal" King), is the supreme head of the church ("papa", pope or analogous religious leader). In this form, it inverts theocracy, in which institutions of the Church are in control of the state.

In ancient Greece & Rome denying the gods of the state was a crime. In ancient Rome, the emperors were often deified.

Geneva, during the period of John Calvin's greatest influence and the Massachusetts Bay Colony of the "Puritans" had many characteristics of Protestant theocracies. During the short reign (1494-1498) of Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican priest, the city of Florence could have been considered a theocracy. During his rule, un-Christian books, statues, poetry, and other items were burned (in the Bonfire of the Vanities), sodomy was made a capital offense, and other Christian practices became law.

Andorra has been a parliamentary democracy since 1993 Prior to 1993, Andorra was a co-principality with two heads of state: the head of state of France (a king or president), and the Spanish bishop of Urgel.

While the current system of government permits democratic voting for representatives in parliament, the Bishop of Urgel remains one of the titular heads of state of the country.

While an independent state, the Central Tibetan Administration (the Tibetan Government in Exile) performs oversight of social service programs for the Tibetan exile community in India and abroad, including health, education, religion and cultural programs.

The 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama is officially the Head of State of the Central Tibetan Administration.

The CTA defines itself as a democracy, governed constitutionally by the 1991 Charter of Tibetans in Exile. Iran's government is described as a "theocratic republic".

Iran's head of state, or Supreme Leader, is an Islamic cleric appointed for life by an elected body called Assembly of Experts. The Council of Guardians, considered part of the executive branch of government, is responsible for determining if legislation is in line with Islamic law and customs (the Sharia), and can bar candidates from elections, and greenlight or ban investigations into the election process.

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a monarchy with a legal system based on Islamic law, the Sharia. Secular laws have been established to govern areas – such as commercial disputes – not handled under traditional Islamic law.

The Israeli legal system recognizes Jewish, Muslim, and Christian customary law in certain inter-personal matters. Certain religious distinctions are recognized within the legal system; compulsory military service is not required of non-Jewish, non-Druze citizens.

The Law of Return grants preferential status to some non-Israeli Jews in immigration matters. In 1948, David Ben-Gurion met with religious Jewish leaders to establish a status quo that provides broad guidance on the role of religious institutions in Israeli life, and concessions made to religiously observant Jewish interests. In particular, the Chief Rabbinate of Israel has authority over certain matters relating to Jewish family life and conversion, even among non-Orthodox and secular Jews.

Constitutional theory defines a **timocracy** as either: a state where only property owners may participate in government; a government where rulers are selected and perpetuated based on the degree of honor they hold relative to others in their society, peer group or class. The more extreme forms of timocracy where power derives from wealth rather than honour, may shift in their form and become a plutocracy where the wealthy and powerful use their power to entrench their wealth. The word derives from the Greek words meaning "honour" or "worth" and "rule".

Plato produced the earliest surviving text using the term in the rule-by-honor sense.

He describes four forms of unjust state, with timocracy as the preferable of the four and closest to the ideal society. The city-state of Sparta provided Plato with a real-world model for this form of government. Modern observers might describe Sparta as a totalitarian or one-party state, although the details we know of its society come almost exclusively from Sparta's enemies. The idea of militarism often attaches to the honor-oriented timocracy.

This form of timocracy is very similar to meritocracy, in the sense that individuals of outstanding character or faculty are placed in the seat of power.

**Theodemocracy** is a political system theorized by founder of the Latter Day Saint movement (Mormons) J. Smith. As the name implies, theodemocracy was meant to be a fusion of traditional republican democratic rights under the USA Constitution combined with theocratic elements. He described it as a system under which God and the people held the power to rule in righteousness.

Smith believed that this would be the form of government that would rule the world upon Christ's Second Coming, which he believed was imminent.

This polity would constitute the "Kingdom of God" which was foretold by the prophet Daniel in the Old Testament. Theodemocracy was also an influence for the short lived State of Deseret in the American West. Theodemocracy is a separate concept from the ideal Mormon community of Zion. Zion was not itself a political system, but rather an association of the righteous. Theodemocracy in turn was not a religious organization, but a governmental system, which would potentially include people of many religious denominations and be institutionally separate from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

**Totalitarianism** is a term employed by some political scientists, especially those in the field of comparative politics, to describe modern regimes in which the state regulates nearly every aspect of public and private behavior. The most influential scholars of totalitarianism, such as Karl Popper, Hannah Arendt, Carl Friedrich, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Juan Linz have each described totalitarianism in a slightly different way. Common to all definitions is the attempt to mobilize entire populations in support of the official state ideology, and the intolerance of activities which are not directed towards the goals of the state, entailing repression or state control of labour unions, churches or political parties. Totalitarian regimes maintain themselves in political power by means of secret police, propaganda disseminated through the state-controlled mass media, regulation and restriction of free discussion and criticism, the use of mass surveillance, and widespread use of terror tactics.

**Exercise 1. Find some more information on the topic and write a small essay.**

**Exercise 2. Comment on the given details about modern forms of government.**

**Exercise 3. Answer the questions.**

1. How many states in the world do not explicitly name their government forms? 2. How many kingdoms are there in the world? 3. How many nations use the word "republic"? 4. Which states emphasize that their provinces have a fair amount of autonomy from the central government? 5. How many nations specifically dictate that they are Islamic republics? 6. How many nations simply refer to themselves as states? 7. What are regime types like? 8. How many regime types do you know? 9. Is it easy to identify a form of government? 10. When is it especially problematic? 11. What appears to be a disparity between being able to identify a form of government and identifying the necessary characteristics of that form? 12. What is it in political science to create as typologies of political systems? 13. What kinds of approaches are there? 14. What do governments in practice exploit? 15. Have the basic principles of many popular movements' deep implications for the form of government? 16. What is common to all definitions of a state name? 17. What does state ideology do towards, the intolerance of activities which are not directed to the goals of the state? 18. How do totalitarian regimes maintain themselves in political power? 19. Can you name the most influential scholars of totalitarianism?

**Exercise 4. Transfer the given information from the text onto a table.**

№	Activity				
	Forms of government	Definition	When	Where	Score
1.					

**Exercise 5. Summarize the information on forms of government.**

17 states in the world do not explicitly name their government forms in their official name, but most have an official name, which identifies their form of government, or at least the form of government toward which they are striving:

- Australia, the Bahamas, and Dominica are each officially a commonwealth.
- Luxembourg is a grand duchy.
- The United Arab Emirates is a collection of Muslim states, each an emirate in its own right.
- Russia, Switzerland, and Saint Kitts and Nevis are each a federation.
- Libya is a Jamahiriya

There are 33 kingdoms in the world, but only 18 named as such. The other 15 are known as realms. Jordan is specifically titled the "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan", while Britain is formally the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

- Andorra, Liechtenstein, and Monaco are each a principality.
- The word "republic" is used by 9 nations in their official names. Many specify a type of republic: China as well as Bangladesh are titled a "people's republic"; India a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic; North Korea a "democratic people's republic"; Egypt and Syria "Arab republics"; Guyana a "cooperative republic"; Algeria is a "democratic and popular republic", Vietnam a "socialist republic", Sri Lanka a "democratic socialist republic".

- States which wish to emphasize that their provinces have a fair amount of autonomy from the central government may specifically state this: Germany and Nigeria are each a federal republic, Ethiopia is a federal democratic republic, the Comoros is a federal Islamic republic, and Brazil is a federative republic.

Venezuela is "Bolivarian republic" which is meant to emphasize its descentance from Simon Bolivar. Uruguay is "Oriental republic" which hints to it being successor of the Provincia Oriental del Río de la Plata. Government ideology is a common signifier appended to "republic". Besides the Comoros, four other nations specifically dictate that they are Islamic republics.

Asian nations influenced by Maoism may emphasize their belief system by specifying the People as a whole in their official names: Laos is a people's democratic republic, and Bangladesh and China are people's republics. Vietnam is a socialist republic. Finally, Tanzania emphasizes the cohesion of its state as a united republic.

- Eleven nations simply refer to themselves as states, but a handful specifies what kind of state. Micronesia is made up of federated states, Papua New Guinea and Samoa emphasize that they are independent states, while the USA of America and the United Mexican States are made up of constituent states.

- Brunei and Oman are sultanates.
- Burma simply states that it is a union.
- Pakistan, Mauritania, Iran, and Afghanistan have officially (& respectively) named themselves as Islamic Republic.

**Exercise 6. Analyze the information of government and translate all definitions.**

Aristocracy, authoritarianism, demarchy, despotism, dictatorship, military dictatorship, epistemocracy, ethnocracy, exilarchy, geniocracy, gerontocracy, military junta, klerostocracy, kritocracy, kritarchy, logocracy, meritocracy, noocracy, ochlocracy, oligarchy, panarchism, plutocracy, "puppet state", corporatocracy, consociational state, theocracy, caesaropapism, timocracy, theodemocracy, totalitarianism.

**Exercise 7. Explain all attributes of government shortly in English.**

Beyond official typologies, it is important to think about regime types by looking at the general attributes of the forms of government:

- Traditional / pre-modern (clan / kinship-based, chiefdom) or modern (bureaucracies).
- Personalistic or impersonal.
- Autocracy (totalitarianism or authoritarianism), oligarchy, or democracy.
- Elective or hereditary.
- Direct or indirect elections.
- Secular, state religion with religious toleration, theocratic.
- Republic or monarchy.
- Constitutional monarchy or absolute monarchy.
- Majority government or coalition government.
- Single-member district or proportional representation.
- Party system: Non-partisan, single-party; dominant-party; two-party; multi-party.
- Separation of powers (executive, legislative, judicial) or no separation of powers.
- Parliamentary, presidential, or semi-presidential.
- Single or multiple executive (Switzerland has seven executives of the Swiss Federal Council, France has a dual executive of the Prime Minister and President; the USA has a single executive, the President).
- Composition of the legislative power (rubber stamp or active).
- Unicameralism or bicameralism, tricameralism and tetracameralism).
- Number of coalitions or party-appointed legislators in assemblies.
- Confederation, federation, or unitary.
- Voting system:
  - Plurality ("first past the post").
  - Majoritarian (50 % plus one), including two-round (runoff) elections.
  - Supermajoritarian (from 55 to 75 %) – Senate cloture rules, entrenched clauses, absolute majorities.
  - Unanimity – (100 %) – corporate governance for board of directors.
- Type of economic system.
- Prevalent ideologies and cultures.
- Strong institutional capacity or weak capacity.
- *De facto* (effective control) or *De jure* (nominal control) of government.
- Sovereign, semi-sovereign, not sovereign.



## EMPIRICAL & CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS

On the surface, identifying a form of government appears to be easy. Most would say that the USA is a democratic republic while the former Soviet Union was a totalitarian state. However, as Kopstein and Lichbach argue, defining regimes is tricky.

Defining a form of government is especially problematic when trying to identify those elements that are essential to that form. There appears to be a disparity between being able to identify a form of government and identifying the necessary characteristics of that form. For example, in trying to identify the essential characteristics of a democracy, one might say "elections." However, both citizens of the former Soviet Union and citizens of the USA voted for candidates to public office in their respective states.

In political science, it has long been a goal to create a typology or taxonomy of polities, as typologies of political systems are not obvious. It is especially important in the political science fields of comparative politics and international relations.

One approach is to further elaborate on the nature of the characteristics found within each regime. A system generally seen as a representative democracy (for instance Canada, India and the USA) may also include measures providing for: a degree of direct democracy in the form of referendums and for deliberative democracy in the form of the extensive processes required for constitutional amendment. Another complication is that a number of political systems originate as socio-economic movements and are then carried into governments by specific parties naming themselves after those movements. Experience with those movements in power, and the strong ties they may have to particular forms of government, can cause them to be considered as forms of government in themselves.

Islamism is also often included on a list of movements that have deep implications for the form of government. Indeed, many nations in the Islamic world use the term "Islamic" in the name of the state. However, these governments in practice exploit a range of different mechanisms of power (for example debt and appeals to nationalism).

This means that there is no single form of government that could be described as "Islamic" government. Islam as a political movement is therefore better seen as a loose grouping of related political practices rather than a single, coherent political movement.

The basic principles of many other popular movements have deep implications for the form of government those movements support and would introduce if they came to power. For example, bioregional democracy is a pillar of green politics.

***Exercise 1. Describe empirical & conceptual problems.***

***Exercise 2. Summarize the information briefly in English.***



## UNIT IV. WESTMINSTER SYSTEM



### INTRODUCTION

The Westminster system is a democratic parliamentary system of government modelled after the politics of the United Kingdom. This term comes from the Palace of Westminster, the seat of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The system is a series of procedures for operating a legislature. It is used in the national legislatures and sub-national legislatures of most Commonwealth upon being granted responsible government.

The beginning was with the first of the Canadian provinces in 1848 and the six Australian colonies between 1855 and 1890. There are other parliamentary systems whose procedures differ considerably from the Westminster system. Important features of the Westminster system include the following:

- a sovereign or head of state who is the nominal or theoretical holder of executive power, and holds numerous reserve powers, but whose daily duties mainly consist of performing the role of a ceremonial figurehead. Examples include the British monarch, the presidents of many countries and state/provincial governors in federal systems;
- a head of government (or head of the executive), known as the prime minister (PM), premier or first minister, who is officially appointed by the head of state. The head of government is the leader of the largest elected party in parliament;
- a *de facto* executive branch usually made up of members of the legislature with the senior members of the executive in a cabinet led by the head of government; such members execute executive authority on behalf of the nominal or theoretical executive authority;
- an elected legislature, often bicameral, in which at least one house is elected, although unicameral systems also exist; legislative members are usually elected by district in first-past-the-post elections (as opposed to country-wide proportional representation).

Exception to this are New Zealand that changed to proportional representation and Israel that always used country wide proportional representation;

- parliamentary opposition (a multi-party system);
- a lower house of parliament with an ability to dismiss a government by "withholding (blocking) Supply" (rejecting a budget), passing a motion of no confidence, or defeating a confidence motion. The Westminster system enables a government to be defeated, or forced into a general election, independently of a new government being chosen;
- a parliament which can be dissolved and elections called at any time;
- parliamentary privilege, which allows the Legislature to discuss any issue deemed by itself to be relevant, without fear of consequences stemming from defamatory statements or records thereof;
- minutes of meetings, known as Hansard, including an ability for the legislature to strike discussion from these minutes.

Most of the procedures of the Westminster system have originated with the conventions, practices and precedents of the Parliament of the UK, which are a part of what is known as the Constitution of the UK.

Unlike the unwritten British constitution, most countries that use the Westminster system have codified the system in a written constitution. However, uncodified conventions, practices and precedents continue to play a significant role in most countries.

The pattern of executive functions within a Westminster System is quite complex.

In essence, the head of state, a monarch or president, is a ceremonial figurehead who is the theoretical, nominal or de jure source of executive power within the system.

In practice, such a figure does not actively exercise executive powers, even though executive authority may be exercised in his/her name.

The head of government, usually called the prime minister or premier, will ideally have the support of a majority in the responsible house, and must in any case be able to ensure the existence of no absolute majority against the government.

If the parliament passes a resolution of no confidence, or refuses to pass an important bill such as the budget, then the government must either resign so that a different government can be appointed or seek a parliamentary dissolution so that new general elections may be held in order to re-confirm or deny the government's mandate.

Executive authority within a Westminster System is essentially exercised by the Cabinet, along with more junior ministers, although the head of government usually has the dominant role within the ministry. In the United Kingdom, the sovereign theoretically holds executive authority, even though the Prime Minister of the UK and the Cabinet effectively implement executive powers. In a parliamentary republic like India, the President is the de jure executive, even though executive powers are essentially instituted by the Prime Minister of India and the Council of Ministers.

As an example, the Prime Minister and Cabinet (as the de facto executive body in the system) generally must seek the permission of the head of state when carrying out executive functions. If, for instance the British Prime Minister wished to dissolve parliament in order for a general election to take place, the Prime Minister is constitutionally bound to request permission from the sovereign in order to attain such a wish.

This power (along with others such as appointing ministers in the government, appointing diplomats, declaring war, signing treaties) are known as the Royal Prerogative.

In modern times they are exercised by the sovereign solely on the advice of the Prime Minister. Since the British sovereign is a constitutional monarch, he or she abides by the advice of his or her ministers, except when executing reserve powers in times of crisis.

This custom also occurs in other Westminster Systems in the world, in consequence from the influence of British colonial rule. In Commonwealth Realms such as Canada, New Zealand or Australia, the Prime Minister is obligated to seek permission from the Governor-General when implementing executive decisions, in a manner similar to the British practice.

An analogous scenario exists in Commonwealth Republics, such as India or Trinidad and Tobago. The head of state will often hold meetings with the head of government and cabinet, as a means of keeping abreast of governmental policy and as a means of advising, consulting and warning ministers in their actions. Such a practice takes place in the United Kingdom and India.

In the UK, the sovereign holds confidential weekly meetings with the Prime Minister to discuss governmental policy and to offer her opinions and advice on issues of the day.

In India, the Prime Minister is constitutionally bound to hold regular sessions with the President, in a similar manner to the aforementioned British practice.

In essence, the head of state, as the theoretical executive authority, "reigns but does not rule". This phrase means that the head of state's role in government is generally ceremonial and as a result does not directly institute executive powers. The reserve powers of the head of state are sufficient to ensure compliance with some of their wishes.

However, the extent of such powers varies from one country to another and is often a matter of controversy. Such an executive arrangement first emerged in the UK.

Historically, the British sovereign held and directly exercised all executive authority. George I of Great Britain was the first British monarch to delegate some executive powers to a Prime Minister and a cabinet of the ministers, largely because he was also the monarch of Hanover in Germany and did not speak fluent English.

Over time, arrangement continued to exercise executive authority on the sovereign's behalf. Such a concept was reinforced in *The English Constitution* (1876) by Walter Bagehot, who emphasized the "dignified" and "efficient" aspects of government.

In this sense, Bagehot was stating that the sovereign should be a focal point for the nation, while the PM and cabinet actually undertook executive decisions.

### **Role of the head of a state**

The head of state or his/her representative (such as a governor general), formally invites the head of government to form a government (that is, an administration).

In the UK, this is known as kissing hands. There are notable exceptions to the above in the Republic of Ireland, where the President of Ireland has a mandate through direct election. The prime minister prior to appointment by the President of Ireland is nominated by the democratically elected lower house. Because of the mandate and the potentially significant constitutional powers of the Irish president, some authorities believe the Irish constitution is as similar to semi-presidential systems as it is to Westminster.

Similarly, under the constitutions of some Commonwealth countries, a president or Governor-General may possess clearly significant reserve powers.

One example is the Australian constitutional crisis of 1975, in which the Governor-General dismissed the Prime Minister, who held a majority in the Australian House of Representatives.

Because of differences in their written constitutions, the formal powers of presidents and Governors-General vary greatly from one country to another.

However, as Governors-General are not directly elected, they lack the popular mandate held, by an Irish president.

Because of this, Governors-General rarely risk the public disapproval, which could result from their making unilateral and/or controversial uses of their powers.

Although the dissolution of the legislature and the call for new elections is formally done by the head of state, by convention the head of state acts according to the wishes of the head of government. In exceptional circumstances, the head of state may either refuse a dissolution request, as in the Canadian King-Byng Affair, or dismiss the government, as in the Australian crisis of 1975. Either action is likely to bend or break existing conventions.

The Lascelles Principles were an attempt to create a convention to cover similar situations, but have not been tested in practice.

### **Cabinet Government**

In The English Constitution, Bagehot emphasized the divide of the constitution into two components, the Dignified (that part which is symbolic) and the Efficient (the way things actually work and get done), and called the Efficient "Cabinet Government". Although there have been many works since emphasizing different aspects of the "Efficient", no one has seriously questioned Bagehot's premise that the divide exists in the Westminster system. Members of the Cabinet are collectively seen as responsible for government policy.

All Cabinet decisions are made by consensus; a vote is rarely taken in a Cabinet meeting. All ministers, whether senior and in the Cabinet, or junior ministers, must support the policy of the government publicly regardless of any private reservations.

When a Cabinet reshuffle is imminent, a lot of time is taken up in the conversations of politicians and in the news media, speculating on who will, or will not, be moved in and out of the Cabinet by the Prime Minister.

The appointment of ministers to the Cabinet, threat of dismissal from the Cabinet, is the single most powerful constitutional power which a Prime Minister has in the political control of the Government in the Westminster system. Linked to Cabinet government is the idea, at least in theory, that ministers are responsible for the actions of their departments. It is no longer considered to be an issue of resignation if the actions of members of their department, over whom the minister has no direct control, make mistakes or formulate procedures, which are not in accordance with agreed policy decisions.

One of the major powers of the Prime Minister under the Westminster system is to decide when a fellow minister is accountable for the actions of a department. The Official Opposition & other major political parties not in the Government will mirror the governmental organization with their own Shadow Cabinet made up of Shadow Ministers.

### **Bicameral & Unicameral Parliaments**

In a Westminster system, some members of parliament are elected by popular vote, while others are appointed. All Westminster-based parliaments have a lower house with powers based on those of the House of Commons (under various names), comprising local, elected representatives of the people. Most has a smaller upper house, which is made up of members chosen by various methods:

- De facto appointees of the cabinet or premier (such as the Canadian Senate and most members of the British House of Lords).
- Direct election (such as the Australian Senate).
- Election by sub-national governments (such as the Indian Rajya Sabha).
- Membership determined only by heredity (91 members of the House of Lords).

In Britain, the lower house is the de facto legislative body, while the upper house practices restraint in exercising its constitutional powers and serves as a consultative body. In other Westminster countries, the upper house can sometimes exercise considerable power. Some Westminster-derived parliaments are unicameral for two reasons:

- some, such as the Parliament of New Zealand have abolished their upper houses;
- others never had them (the Parliament of Malta & the Papua New Guinea Parliament).

Australia is, in many respects, a unique hybrid with influences from the USA Constitution as well as from the traditions and conventions of the Westminster system. Australia is exceptional because the government faces a fully elected upper house, the Senate, which must be willing to pass its budgets. Although government is formed in the lower house, the House of Representatives, the support of the Senate is necessary in order to govern.

The Senate maintains the ability similar to that held by the British House of Lords, prior to the enactment of the Parliament Act 1911, to block supply against the government of the day. A government that is unable to obtain supply can be dismissed by the Governor-General: however, this is generally considered a last resort and is a highly controversial decision to take, given the conflict between the traditional concept of confidence as derived from the lower house and the ability of the Senate to block supply.

***Exercise 1. Describe the ceremonies.***

The Westminster system has a very distinct appearance when functioning, with many British customs incorporated into day-to-day government function.

A Westminster-style parliament is usually a long, rectangular room, with two rows of seats and desks on either side.

The chairs are positioned so that the two rows are facing each other. Traditionally, the opposition parties will sit in one row of seats, and the government party will sit in the other. Of course, sometimes a majority government is so large that it must use the "opposition" seats as well. In the lower house at Westminster (the House of Commons) there are lines on the floor in front of the government and opposition benches that members may cross only when exiting the chamber.

Other ceremonies sometimes associated with the Westminster system include an annual Speech from the Throne (or equivalent) in which the Head of State gives a special address to parliament about what kind of policies to expect in the coming year.

***Exercise 2. Define the score of Political Action Committee.***

РАС (Public Accounts Committee) – комитет политических действий, создаваемый политической партией, профсоюзом, общественной или профессиональной организацией или группировкой (political action groups) с целью оказания политической, моральной и финансовой поддержки кандидатам своей партии в предвыборной борьбе. Первый комитет политических действий учрежден в 1943 Конгрессом производственных профсоюзов.

***Exercise 3. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

***Exercise 4. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.***

**Exercise 5. Explain the criticisms of the system.**

The office of a Westminster prime minister is often criticized for being too powerful, as he or she effectively determines when "consensus" is reached in cabinet, cabinet members do not have much independence to actively disagree with government policy, even for productive reasons. A cabinet member may be forced to resign simply for opposing one aspect of a government's agenda, even though they agreed with the majority of other proposals. Westminster cabinets have a tendency to be very large. As cabinet is the chief organ of power and influence in the government, members of parliament may actively lobby for a position in cabinet once their party is elected to power.

The Prime Minister, who is also party leader, will have an active interest in promoting as many of these members from his own party as possible.

Westminster governments usually do not have a very strong tradition of separation of powers, in practice. Though the head of state, be it governor-general, monarch, or president, will have nominal powers to "check" those of the prime minister, in practice these individuals are usually regarded as little more than figureheads who are not expected to actively intervene in day-to-day politics. It must be noted, however, that Prime ministers under any Westminster system do not have ample freedom to appoint a large variety of individuals, such as judges, cabinet ministers, and other senior bureaucrats. However, it must also be remembered that prime ministers can usually do only as much as public opinion and the balance of party membership of parliament will let them do.

It is relatively rare that a prime minister will have a big enough majority to cancel opposition from smaller parties; in practice, government in most parliamentary systems is made up of coalitions, and prime ministers must keep the coalitions happy.

The threat posed by non-confidence votes is often used to justify extremely well-disciplined legislative parties in Westminster systems. In order to ensure the government always has the confidence of the majority of the house, the political culture of Westminster nations often makes it highly unusual for a legislator to vote against their party.

Critics argue this in turn undermines the freedom and importance of Members of Parliament (MPs) in day-to-day legislating, making cabinet the only organ of government where individual legislators can aspire to influence the decisions of the government. Most senior policy will be made at the cabinet level, regardless of what individual MPs may or may not decide in committee, thus reducing the strength of committees. Their greatest power is often the ability to force a government to reveal certain pieces of information.

**Exercise 6. Render the main idea of the text briefly in English.**



The Sansad Bhavan Parliament in Delhi, India



The Parliament in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

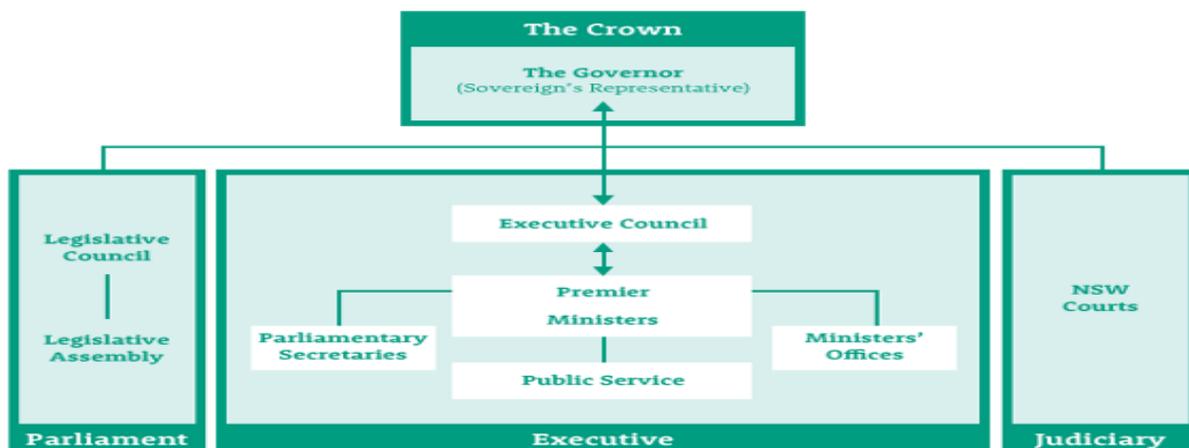
**Exercise 7. Describe Current countries with this system.**

**Countries that use variations on the theme of the Westminster system include:**

▪ Antigua & Barbuda	▪ Haiti	▪ New Zealand
▪ Australia	▪ India	▪ Pakistan
▪ Bahamas	▪ Ireland	▪ Papua New Guinea
▪ Bangladesh	▪ Israel	▪ Saint Kitts and Nevis
▪ Barbados	▪ Jamaica	▪ Saint Lucia
▪ Belize	▪ Japan	▪ Singapore
▪ Bermuda	▪ Malaysia	▪ Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
▪ Canada	▪ Malta	▪ Trinidad and Tobago
▪ Dominica	▪ Mauritius	▪ Tuvalu
▪ Grenada	▪ Nauru	▪ United Kingdom

**Former countries**

- The Union of South Africa between 1910 and 1961, and the Republic of South Africa between 1961 and 1984. The 1983 constitution abolished the Westminster system in South Africa.
- Rhodesia between 1965 and 1979, and Zimbabwe between 1980 and 1987. The 1987 constitution abolished the Westminster system.
- Nigeria following the end of British colonial rule in 1960, which resulted in the appointment of a Governor-General and then a President. The system ended after Nigeria became a republic in 1963.
- Ceylon between 1948 and 1972, and Sri Lanka from 1972 until 1978 when the constitution was remodelled into a presidential system.
- Burma following independence in 1948 until the 1962 military coup d'état.
- Fiji between 1970 and 1987.
- Guyana between 1966 and 1970. Presidential system established in 1980.
- Kenya between 1963 and 1964.



## TOPICAL VOCABULARY

**politics** – политика а) искусство управлять б) политическая жизнь

slackwater politics – политика "тихой заводи"

above politics – внепартийная позиция

gutter politics – грязная политика (методы политической борьбы, не признающие норм морали)

local (parish-pump) politics – местная политическая жизнь

machine politics – политиканство "партийной машины" (беспринципная партийная деятельность глав партийного руководства)

national politics – национальная политика

party politics – политика партии

practical politics – конкретная, практическая политика; политическое мероприятие; политиканство, политические махинации; политическая деятельность; политические махинации; политические убеждения; стиль поведения, принципы поведения, отношения в определённой сфере

office politics – служебные отношения

lunar politics – вопросы, не имеющие практического значения;

peanut politics – продажная политика; (мелкое, дешёвое) политиканство

to play politics – вести политическую игру (соблюдая собственные интересы)

Mr. Balfour has seized the opportunity to play politics, and has apparently come out squarely in favor of trade preference. – Мистер Бальфур воспользовался возможностью вести политическую игру и решительно выступил в пользу торговых преференций.

Вести нечестную политическую игру, пользоваться нечестными средствами для достижения политических целей. The people of the country as a whole are tired of seeing political parties trying to play politics. – Американскому народу надоело наблюдать за тем, как партии ведут нечестную политическую игру.

to be engaged in politics – заниматься политикой

to talk politics – говорить о политике / о политических событиях

**political** – политический

political life – политическая жизнь

political asylum – политическое убежище

political news – новости на политические темы

The Chinese civilization differs from ours in the economic and political organization of the country. – Китайское общество отличается от нашего политическими и экономическими принципами организации.

political capital – политический капитал *Syn. political mileage*

Hopefully Bush can halt the decline, and use his political capital to good effect. – Надеюсь, что президент Буш знает, как использовать свой политический капитал, чтобы остановить падение рейтинга.

political science – политология

political machinery – государственный аппарат

political awareness – восприятие политической ситуации

political campaign – политическая кампания

political committee – политический комитет

political mileage – "политический километраж", политический капитал, выгода (первоначально означало денежную компенсацию транспортных расходов члену законодательного собрания США). For some of our leadership, there's a form of political ambulance chasing where you rely on the classic scenario of white cop, black victim, and there's political mileage in that. – Кое-кто наверху "охотится" за преступлениями, где роли распределяются по классическому сценарию: белый полицейский и чернокожая жертва, потому что это – политический капитал.

political offence (crime) – преступление по политическим мотивам

For the purposes of extradition none of the following offences shall be regarded as a political offence. – При рассмотрении запроса об экстрадиции перечисленные ниже правонарушения не считаются преступлениями по политическим мотивам.

political prisoner – "узник совести", политзаключённый; политик; политический обозреватель *Syn. politician* представитель, атташе *Syn. political agent, political resident*

Senator Allen met Nov. 20, 2002, in his (Washington, D.C.) office with the wife of a Cuban political prisoner. – 20 ноября 2002 сенатор Аллен принял в своем офисе в Вашингтоне (округ Колумбия) супругу кубинского политзаключённого.

The task of the Founding Fathers was to devise political machinery that would enable the divergent aims of the 13 colonies to be reconciled. – Перед отцами нации стояла задача создать систему государственного устройства, учитывающую интересы каждой из 13 колоний.

political division – административно-территориальное деление *Syn. administrative-territorial entity*

political executive – глава правительства; председатель исполнительного комитета партии; выборный глава исполнительной власти

political factors analysis – анализ политических факторов

political leverage – политическое давление, влияние

political asylum – политическое убежище

political absenteeism – политический абсентеизм, уклонение от участия в голосовании по политическим вопросам

political action committee – комитет политических действий

political advertising – политическая реклама

political adviser – консультант по политическим вопросам

political allegiance – политическая принадлежность

political animal – интересующийся политикой, участвующий в политической деятельности; "политическое животное"

I'm not really a political animal. – Честно сказать, политикой я не интересуюсь.

The human being should be considered the priority objective in a political war. Once his mind has been reached, the "political animal" has been defeated, without necessarily receiving bullets. – Таким образом, в идеологической войне человека следует считать целью № 1. Проникнув в его сознание, мы убьём в нём инстинкт "политического животного" и выиграем сражение, не сделав ни единого выстрела.

political authority – политическая, государственная власть

political bias – политическая дискриминация

political body – политический орган

political marketing – политический маркетинг *Syn. political candidate marketing*

political branches of government – "политические ветви" правительства (легислатура, исполнительная власть)

political bribery – взяточничество в сфере политики

political capacity – должность в политическом аппарате

political case – дело, имеющее политическое значение; неподсудное дело;

политический преступник

political charge – обвинение в политическом преступлении

political circles – политические круги

political conspiracy – политический заговор

political corporation – публично-правовая корпорация

political correctness – терпимость к инакомыслию; политкорректность

political corruption – коррупция в политике или с политической целью

political crime – политическое преступление

political department – политическая власть

political departments – "политические власти" (законодательная и исполнительная)

political direction – политическое направление

political disaster – политическая катастрофа

political disorder(s) (unrest) – политические беспорядки

political district (unit) – административный район, округ

political environment – политическое окружение

political espionage – политический шпионаж

political intelligence – политическая разведка

political executive – председатель исполнительного комитета политической партии;

выборный глава исполнительной власти

political figure – политический деятель

political foe – политический противник

political freedom – политическая свобода

political fund – политический фонд

political gathering – политический митинг

political government – регулирование политическими методами; политически ответственное правительство

political heat – накал политических страстей

Political Idealism – "школа политического идеализма"

political illegality – незаконная политическая акция

political killer – лицо, совершившее убийство по политическим мотивам

political killing – убийство по политическим мотивам; террористический акт

political law – государственное право

political legitimacy – политическая легитимация (способ утверждения политической власти – традиционная, харизматическая или рационально-бюрократическая)

political levy – взнос члена партии

political machine – "партийная машина" (партийная мафия)

political nationality (legal nationality) – гражданство

political pay-off – взятка, данная или полученная в политических целях

political post – политический пост

political power – политическая, государственная власть

political privilege – политическая привилегия (право правительственных чиновников не разглашать информацию официального характера)

political programme – политическая программа, политический курс

political question – политический вопрос (за рамки юридического полномочий; требующий для решения функций исполнительной и законодательной властей)

political question – политический вопрос; вопрос, входящий в компетенцию исполнительной и законодательной власти (но не судебной власти)

political refugee – политический беженец; эмигрант

political rights – политические права

political scientist – политолог

political situation – политическое положение

political sociology – политическая социология *Syn. sociology of politics*

political strategist – политический стратег; политтехнолог

political strike – политическая забастовка (с предъявлением каких-л. требований к правительству с целью оказать на него давление по политическим мотивам)

political structure – политическое устройство

political suicide – политическое самоубийство

Divorce is political suicide in that state of yours. – В вашем штате развод – это конец политической карьеры.

political suspect – подозреваемый в совершении политического преступления

political system – политическая система, государственный строй

political terror – политический террор

political terrorism – политический терроризм

political theory – политическая теория

political vote – "политическое голосование" (в законодательных собраниях)

political weapon – политическое орудие

**politically** – политически, с государственной / политической точки зрения

politically indifferent – обдуманно, расчётливо, хитро *Syn. deliberately*;

аполитичный *Syn. apolitical, unpolitical*

politically correct – РС политкорректный, общественно приемлемый

politically viable – жизнеспособный в конкретных стратегических условиях

politician – политик; государственный деятель; политикан

master politician – настоящий политический боец

machine politician – политикан, тесно связанный с партийной машиной

peanut politician – мелкий политикан

Pimps, gamblers and red-nosed bums; peanut politicians, pugilists in sweaters; tinhorn sports and tall longshoremen in overalls. An endless pageant of East Side life passed through the wicker doors of Jake Wolf's saloon. – Сутенеры, шулеры и красноносые босяки, мелкие политиканы, боксеры в свитерах, стилиги и высоченные грузчики в спецовках. Бурливым, нескончаемым потоком вливался Ист-Сайд в распахнутые двери кабачка Джека Вулфа.

**politick** – заниматься политической деятельностью, принимать участие в политической деятельности; политиканствовать

**politicker** – политик; политический деятель *Syn. politico, politician*

**politico** – политикан; человек, придерживающийся чётких политических взглядов

**politicking** – политическая активность, политиканство

**politicy** – политично, обдуманно, проницательно; расчётливо *Syn. shrewdly* 3) ловко, умело *Syn. artfully, craftily*

**politicize** – обсуждать политические вопросы; рассуждать о политике; полемизировать рассматривать с политической точки зрения; придавать политический характер

We talk and squabble and politicize about education as a vote-catching agency. – Мы говорим, пререкаемся и полемизируем по поводу вопросов образования, просто как агентство по привлечению избирателей. He historicizes and politicizes the whole legend. – Он придаёт легенде исторический и политический смысл.

**Exercise 1. Analyze the topical vocabulary and learn it by heart.**

**Exercise 2. Translate the extract and explain the notion "peanut politics".**

Мелкое, дешевое политиканство – продажная, популистская политика, при которой в целях привлечения сторонников внимание обращается на второстепенные политические проблемы в ущерб проблемам, имеющим ключевое значение для государства. Peanut politician – мелкий, продажный политикан.

**Exercise 3. Translate the definition of political correctness.**

Политкорректность – социальное явление в США – идеология, предписывающая выработку и употребление "нейтральных" терминов вместо того, чтобы называть вещи своими именами, так как это, с точки зрения этой идеологии, поможет сгладить различия и противоречия в обществе ("свои имена", утверждают сторонники "политкорректности", оскорбительны для тех, кого ими называют), так, вместо Negro предписывается употреблять Afro-American, вместо old – chronologically gifted и т. д. Это явление исторически возникло из феминизма; успешность крайне сомнительна; служит поводом для насмешек и основой для массы карикатур и анекдотов.

**Exercise 4. Translate the extract and explain the notion "politically correct".**

Политкорректный – общественно приемлемый. Речь идет о термине, формулировке, отобранных с целью не оскорбить и не задеть представителей какой-либо этнической, социальной, возрастной и т.п. группы. Общественно приемлемыми считаются слова [African-American, financially challenged, hearing impaired, senior] в отличие от "неприемлемых" [Negro (black), poor, deaf, old].

Стремлением предотвратить дискриминацию женщин в языковом употреблении продиктовано также появление в английском языке местоимения общего рода: "Студенту следует решить, какое поприще ему (ей) выбрать". Повышенное внимание к подбору общественно приемлемых языковых средств стало особенно заметным в 1980-90-е.

**Exercise 5. Translate the extract and give a short characteristic of Political Idealism.**

"Школа политического идеализма" – направление в американской историографии; оформилось в 1850-е. Представители этой школы (Д. Перкинс, Бимис) провели фундаментальные исследования по внешней политике США и международным отношениям и решили, что в основе внешней политики США лежит уважение законов, международного права, принципов гуманизма. Идеализм, романтизм – приверженность человека высоким нравственным идеалам или теории, которая значительно отличается от действительности)

Idealism – the unrealistic belief in or pursuit of perfection. Idealism is the beliefs and behaviour of someone who has ideals and who tries to base their behaviour on these ideals. She never lost her respect for the idealism of the 1960s. This experience has tempered their idealism.

**Exercise 6. Translate the words of Aristotle.**

Аристотель утверждал, что человек – "политическое животное" и поэтому несет в себе инстинктивное стремление к совместному жительству»; развитие общества идёт от семьи к общине, а от неё к государству – высшей формой общественных связей.

**Exercise 7. Translate the definition of political fund.**

Политический фонд – предназначенный для финансирования предвыборной кампании, самих выборов, политический фонд профсоюза, из которого производятся взносы в фонды партии лейбористов, и финансируется политическая деятельность профсоюза; взносы в политический фонд профсоюза выплачиваются его членами добровольно.

**Exercise 8. Translate the extract and define the notion "bossism".**

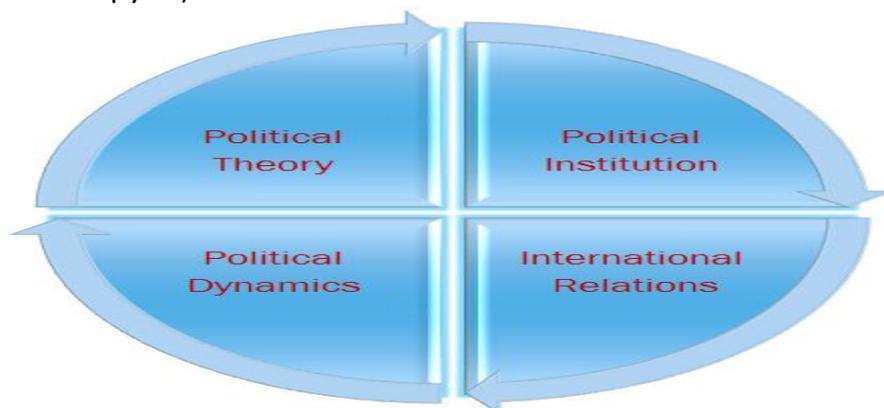
Боссизм – негласная иерархия партийного руководства на местном уровне; подразумевает безусловное подчинение интересов партии и ее членов диктату ее босса. Получил широкое распространение в конце XIX – начале XX вв. в обеих политических партиях. Его рост совпал по времени с бурной урбанизацией и усилением влияния европейской иммиграции. Снижение влияние боссизма и боссов на политическую жизнь также вызвано определенными реформами, включая введение прямых первичных выборов, системы заслуг при найме госслужащих, программ соцобеспечения, конкурсов на получение контрактов и т.п. Избавление от боссизма стало основной целью реформирования власти на муниципальном уровне.

**Exercise 9. Translate the extract and characterize Political Question Doctrine.**

Доктрина "политического вопроса" – правовая доктрина Верховного суда США, согласно которой некоторые вопросы конституционного характера являются политическими и не подлежат судебному рассмотрению, а должны быть переданы в органы исполнительной или законодательной власти для рассмотрения и принятия по ним решения. Обычно это касается вопросов, которые грозят втянуть судебную власть в серьезные политические споры или не имеют перспектив реального решения.

**Exercise 10. Translate the extract and define the political sociology.**

Политическая социология – отрасль социологии, занимающаяся изучением политических институтов, функционированием и распределением власти в обществе, а также изучением взаимоотношений политической сферы с другими сферами общественной жизни и политических институтов с другими социальными институтами; политика рассматривается через призму анализа социальной структуры и неформальных социальных институтов, личностей и малых групп).



## CONSTITUTION

A constitution is a system for government – often codified as a written document – that establishes the rules and principles of an autonomous political entity.

In the case of countries, this term refers specifically to a national constitution defining the fundamental political principles, and establishing the structure, procedures, powers and duties, of a government. Most national constitutions also guarantee certain rights to the people.

The term **constitution** can be applied to any overall law that defines the functioning of a government, including several historical constitutions that existed before the development of modern national constitutions.

Constitutions concern different kinds of political organizations. They are found extensively in regional government, at supranational (European Union), federal (USA Constitution), state or provincial (Constitution of Maryland), and sub-national levels. They are found in many political groups, such as political parties, pressure groups, and trade unions. Non-political entities such as corporations and voluntary associations, whether incorporated or not, may have a constitution. The constitution of a legally incorporated entity is more usually styled as its memorandum and articles of association (U.S. incorporation). The term **constitution** comes from a Latin term denoting an important law, one proclaimed by the Roman emperor ("constitutiones principis").

Later, the term was widely used in canon law for an important determination, especially by the Pope, which are now referred to as *apostolic constitutions*. Generally, every constitution confers specific powers to an organization or institutional entity, established upon the primary condition that it abides by the said constitution's limitations.

The Latin term "*ultra vires*" describes activities of officials within an organization or polity that fall outside the constitutional or statutory authority of those officials.

An example from the constitutional law of nation-states would be a provincial government in a federal state trying to legislate in an area exclusively enumerated to the federal government in the constitution, such as ratifying a treaty. *Ultra vires* gives a legal justification for the forced cessation of such action, which might be enforced by the people with the support of a decision of the judiciary, in a case of judicial review.

A violation of rights by an official would be *ultra vires* because a (constitutional) right is a restriction on the powers of government, and therefore that official would be exercising powers he doesn't have. When an official act is unconstitutional, i.e. it is not a power granted to the government by the Constitution, that act is *null and void*, and the nullification is ab initio, that is, from inception, not from the date of the finding.

It was never "law", even though, if it had been a statute or statutory provision.

Sometimes the problem is not that a statute is unconstitutional, but the application of it is and a court may decide that while there are ways it could be applied that are constitutional, that instance was not allowed or legitimate. Historically, the remedy for such violations have been petitions for common law writs, such as *quo warranto*.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 2. Remember the notion.**

*Ultra vires* – вне компетенции; с превышением полномочий, правоспособности; принцип "ультра вирес", принцип специальной правоспособности корпораций.

## HISTORY & DEVELOPMENT

### Early legal codes

Excavations in modern-day Iraq by Ernest de Sarzec in 1877 found evidence of the earliest known code of justice, issued by the Sumerian king Urukagina of Lagash *ca* 2300 B.C.. Perhaps the earliest prototype for a law of government, this document itself has not yet been discovered; however it is known that it allowed some rights to his citizens.

It is known that it relieved tax for widows and orphans, and protected the poor from the usury of the rich. Detail from Hammurabi's stele shows him receiving the laws of Babylon from the seated sun deity. After that, many governments ruled by special codes of written laws. The oldest such document still known to exist seems to be the Code of Ur-Nammu of Ur (*ca* 2050 B.C.). Some of the better-known ancient law codes include the code of Lipit-Ishtar of Isin, the code of Hammurabi of Babylonia, the Hittite code, the Assyrian code and Mosaic law.

### Later constitutions

In 621 B.C., a scribe named Draco wrote the laws of the city-state of Athens; and being quite cruel, this code prescribed the death penalty for any offence. In 594 B.C., Solon, the ruler of Athens, created the new *Solonian Constitution*. It eased the burden of the workers, however it made the ruling class to be determined by wealth (plutocracy), rather than by birth (aristocracy).

Cleisthenes again reformed the Athenian constitution and set it on a democratic footing in 508 B.C. Aristotle (*ca* 350 B.C.) was one of the first in recorded history to make a formal distinction between ordinary law and constitutional law, establishing ideas of constitution and constitutionalism, and attempting to classify different forms of constitutional government. The most basic definition he used to describe a constitution in general terms was "the arrangement of the offices in a state".

In his works *Constitution of Athens*, *Politics*, and *Nicomachean Ethics* he explores different constitutions of his day, including those of Athens, Sparta, and Carthage.

He classified both what he regarded as good and bad constitutions, and came to the conclusion that the best constitution was a mixed system, including monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements. He distinguished between citizens, who had the exclusive opportunity to participate in the state, and non-citizens and slaves who did not.

The Romans first codified their constitution in 449 B.C. as the *Twelve Tables*. They operated under a series of laws that were added from time to time, but Roman law was never reorganised into a single code until the *Codex Theodosianus* (A.D. 438); later, in the Eastern Empire the *Codex repetitæ prælectionis* (534) was highly influential throughout Europe. This was followed in the east by the *Ecloga* of Leo III the Isaurian (740) and the *Basilica* of Basil I (878). The *Edicts of Ashoka* established constitutional principles for the 3rd century B.C. Maurya king's rule in Ancient India.

Many of the Germanic peoples that filled the power vacuum left by the Western Roman Empire in the Early Middle Ages codified their laws. One of the first of these Germanic law codes to be written was the Visigothic *Code of Euric* (471).

This was followed by the *Lex Burgundionum*, applying separate codes for Germans and for Romans; the *Pactus Alamannorum*; and the Salic Law of the Franks, all written soon after 500.

In 506, the *Breviarum* or "*Lex Romana*" of Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, adopted and consolidated the *Codex Theodosianus* together with assorted earlier Roman laws.

Systems that appeared somewhat later include the *Edictum Rothari* of the Lombards (643), the *Lex Visigothorum* (654), the *Lex Alamannorum* (730) and the *Lex Frisionum* (ca 785). These continental codes were all composed in Latin, whilst Anglo-Saxon was used for those of England, beginning with the Code of Ethelbert of Kent (602).

In ca. 893, Alfred the Great combined this and two other earlier Saxon codes, with various Mosaic & Christian precepts, to produce the *Doom Book* code of laws for England. In ca. 893, Alfred the Great combined this and two other earlier Saxon codes, with various Mosaic and Christian precepts, to produce the *Doom Book* code of laws for England.

Japan's *Seventeen-article constitution* written in 604, reportedly by Prince Shōtoku, is an early example of a constitution in Asian political history. Influenced by Buddhist teachings, the document focuses more on social morality than institutions of government *per se* and remains a notable early attempt at a government constitution.

Another is the *Constitution of Medina*, drafted by the prophet of Islam, Muhammad, in 622. It is said to be one of the earliest constitutions, which guarantees basic rights to religions and adherents as well as reinforcing a judiciary process regarding the rules of warfare, tax and civil disputes. In Wales, the *Cyfraith Hywel* was codified by Hywel Dda c. 942-950. The *Pravda Yaroslava*, originally combined by Yaroslav the Wise the Grand Prince of Kiev, was granted to Great Novgorod around 1017, and in 1054 was incorporated into the *Russkaya Pravda*, that became the law for all of Kievan Rus. It survived only in later editions of the 15th century.

The *Gayanashagowa*, or "oral" constitution of the Iroquois nation, has been estimated to date from between 1090 and 1150. It is also thought to have provided a partial inspiration for the US Constitution and Bill of Rights, as was recognized by the US Congress in a resolution passed in October, 1988.

In England, Henry I's proclamation of the Charter of Liberties in 1100 bound the king for the first time in his treatment of the clergy and the nobility. This idea was extended and refined by the English barony when they forced King John to sign *Magna Carta* in 1215.

The most important single article of the *Magna Carta*, related to "*habeas corpus*", provided that the king was not permitted to imprison, outlaw, exile or kill anyone at a whim – there must be due process of law first. This provision became the cornerstone of English liberty after that point.

The social contract in the original case was between the king and the nobility, but was gradually extended to all of the people. It led to the system of Constitutional Monarchy, with further reforms shifting the balance of power from the monarchy and nobility to the House of Commons. Between 1220 and 1230, a Saxon administrator, Eike von Repgow, composed the *Sachsenspiegel*, which became the supreme law used in parts of Germany as late as 1900.

In 1236, Sundiata Keita presented an oral constitution federating the Mali Empire, called the *Kouroukan Fouga*. Meanwhile, around 1240, the Coptic Egyptian Christian writer, Abul Fada'il Ibn al-'Assal, wrote the *Fetha Negest* in Arabic. Ibn al-'Assal took his laws partly from apostolic writings and Mosaic law, and partly from the former Byzantine codes.

There are a few historical records claiming that this law code was translated into Ge'ez and entered Ethiopia around 1450 in the reign of Zara Yaqob.

Even so, its first recorded use in the function of a constitution (supreme law of the land) is with Sarsa Dengel beginning in 1563.

The *Fetha Negest* remained the supreme law in Ethiopia until 1931, when a modern-style Constitution was first granted by Emperor Haile Selassie I. Stefan Dulan, Emperor of Serbs and Greeks, made & enforced Dulan's Code in Serbia, in two state congresses: in 1349 in Skopje and in 1354 in Serres.

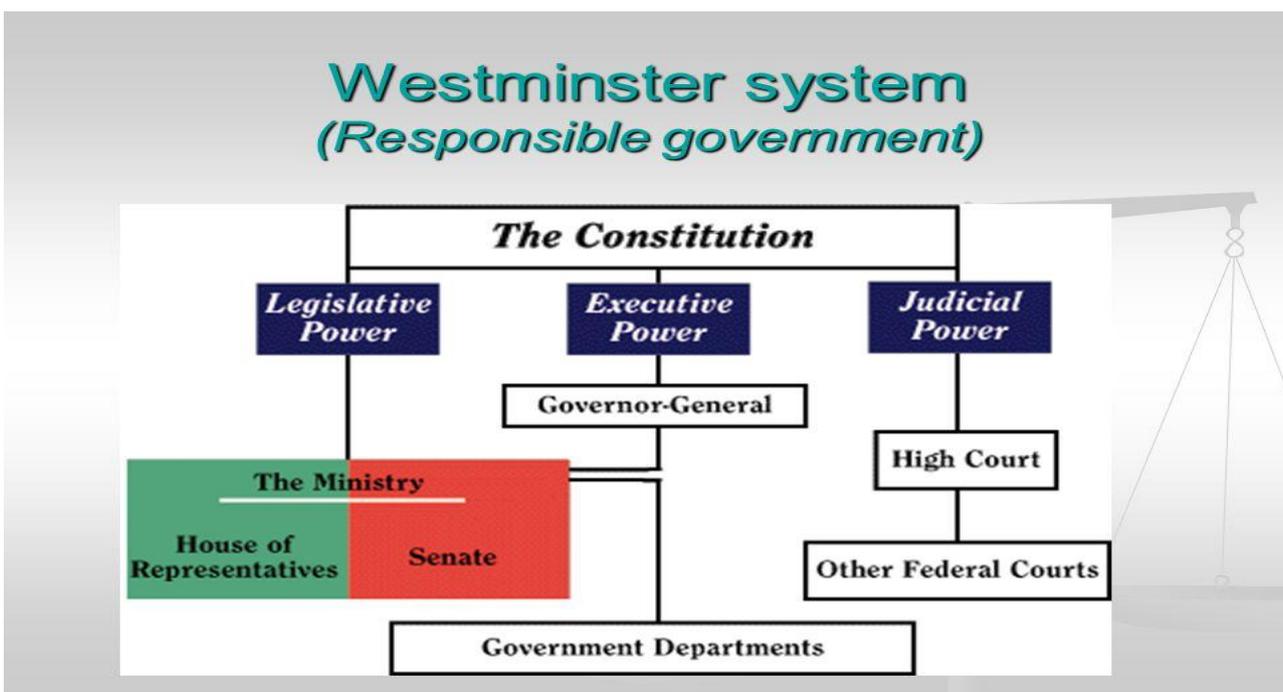
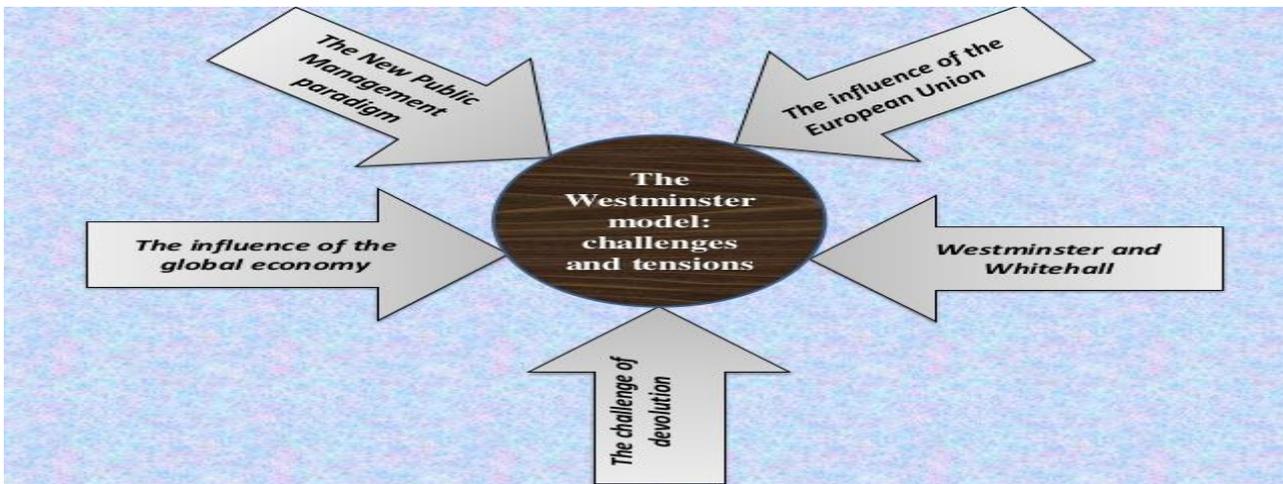
In China, the Hongwu Emperor created and refined a document he called *Ancestral Injunctions* (first published in 1375, revised twice more before his death in 1398).

These rules served in a very real sense as a constitution for the Ming Dynasty for the next 250 years.

**Exercise 1. Analyze the information, which is in the highlight, and use it in practice.**

**Exercise 2. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

No	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score
1.				



## WHITEHALL MODEL OF GOVERNMENT

At the centre of the Civil Service side of the British Government are the headquarters and policymaking functions of government departments, often referred to as "Whitehall", employing around 40,000 people.

Although they account for only 10 % of the Civil Service, they play a particularly important role, alongside ministers, in shaping public policy and legislation, conducting relations with the rest of the world and other levels of government in the United Kingdom, managing tax and spending, and shaping public services.

Whitehall, the Civil Service and public services. Public service employment in the UK is 4.4 mln. 56 % of this, 2.4 mln, in education and the NHS; 9 % of this (0.4 mln) in the Civil Service. Whitehall consists of: 15 main departments accountable to a Secretary of State and dealing with a defined sphere of policy and public service activity; 5 and the Treasury, Cabinet Office and No10, collectively known as "the Centre", supporting the Chancellor, Chief Secretary and Prime Minister on the management of government policy, business and spending.

The mechanisms leading from policy formation and decisions in Whitehall to their impact on people's lives vary greatly, depending on the nature of the task and how the relationship between the state and society works in different areas of the economy.

To be effective, however, all departments need to deploy the levers at their disposal (money, people, legislation, regulation) to affect the behaviour of the wider public service, private companies, and NGOs working for government, private business, and the public.

Where delivery involves public services, the formal relationship between them and central government varies, for largely historical reasons. Some important public services happen to be part of the Civil Service, others are not.

The expression "Whitehall Model" has a certain heuristic value for describing four key features of the British civil service, namely political neutrality, generalism, life-long career paths and a strong policy advisory role. This model has been challenged by politicization, changes in career management and recruitment as well as increasing competition from other sources of policy advice.

The UK civil service's role in relation to ministers seems to have become increasingly defined in managerial terms and decreasingly as policy advisers, not least because a range of other individuals and bodies (advisers, consultants, think tanks, party research departments) now share this role. While it appears to be enjoying a diminishing policy role, the senior civil service has not, at least so far, managed to occupy the high ground in its managerial role. The biggest change in the model is a collapse of confidence in the civil service, not only among citizens, but also among politicians and civil servants themselves.

Observing the civil service over the decade of devolution might lend support to the persistence of existing administrative traditions. The traditional understanding of the British civil service is in terms of the "Whitehall model", comprising the prominent traits of the political neutrality of civil servants, the tradition of the administrative "generalist", life-long career paths and the strong policy-advice role exercised by top officials.

In the case of Wales, these traditional features of the Whitehall model were exercised in the Welsh Office (1964-1999), a territorial rather than a functional department.

One decade later, there is little discussion or debate over the home civil service link.

In the UK as a whole, the traditional model of neutrality, anonymity and secrecy had been weakened by outsourcing, flexibility and target setting since the 1980s, long before devolution reached the statute books. All UK government departments have had the freedom since 1996 to set the pay, gradings and recruitment arrangements of their staff at the levels below the Senior Civil Service.

In practice, especially during Margaret Thatcher's term in office, some appointments were regarded as being based on either personal or political criteria.

However, the British permanent civil service is characterized as non-formally politicized in practice as prescribed by the formal regulations described.

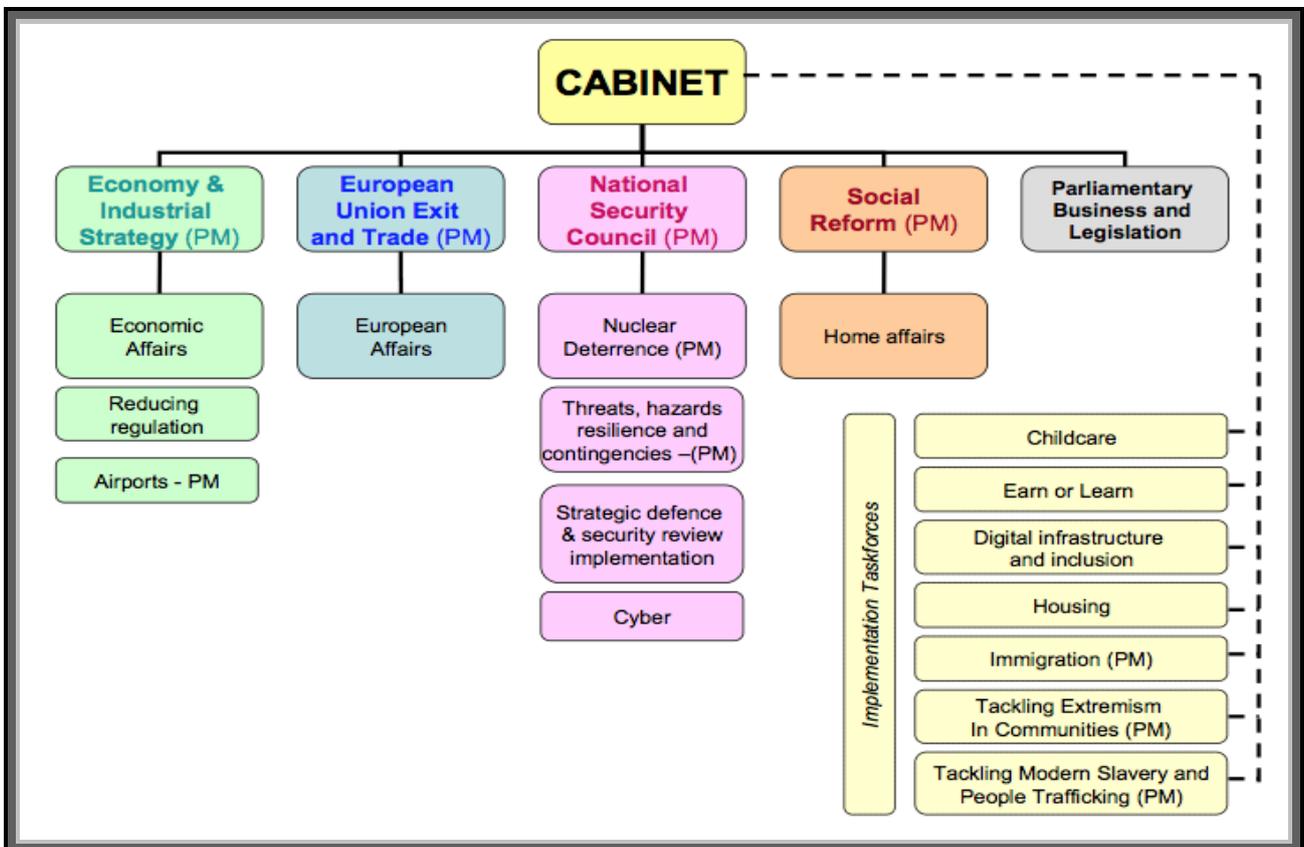
A third type, "non-politicization", is characterized by the non- replacement of senior officials after government changes and internal recruitment. A strictly party-politically neutral civil service is a key element of the "Whitehall Model" which describes lasting features of the UK civil service and its relations to politics. Hence, the politicization of bureaucratic careers has many facets, including whether executive politicians enjoy formal powers to replace officials upon taking office, whether formal powers apply to the top level or further down the hierarchy, and from which candidate pool officials are recruited.

That said Aucoin's initial concerns about the impact of structural changes intended to politicise and externalise the policy process are still relevant. For several decades, analysts have warned that the traditional "Whitehall model" was breaking down. New Labour apparently continued the assault on the permanent non-partisan civil service.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**



## MODERN TRENDS IN GOVERNANCE

A wave of rapid innovation has left these and other thinkers concerned about the transformative effects of today's emerging technologies on society and world affairs.

The promised benefits of breakthroughs in artificial intelligence, quantum computing, biotechnology, additive manufacturing, and other technologies are dazzling, almost beyond belief. But these advances carry immense risks too, and the twin penumbra of myopia and hype cloud our foresight, limiting the vision we need to take informed actions and ensure positive outcomes.

New technologies portend pressing policy dilemmas, and the decisions we take – or fail to take – today may lock us into trajectories that we cannot correct tomorrow.

To mitigate risks, national governments and non-state actors must adopt a global perspective and pursue international cooperation. After all, innovation is too transnational an enterprise, information too indifferent to borders, and civilization too interconnected for purely national solutions.

With this reality in mind, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has named the governance of emerging technologies as one of his top five priorities for 2019.

While such innovations "can turbocharge" peacemaking and sustainable development, he warns that they "are outpacing our capacity to reckon with their profound impacts".

In a similar vein, we at the *Internationalist* will consider over the next several months how emerging technologies are transforming world politics and explore how global governance reforms might help us navigate the murky waters ahead.

Let's begin with a brief definition. According to one group of academics, an emerging technology is a radically novel, rapidly growing innovation that upends previous knowledge & promises to alter interactions among actors and institutions in important socioeconomic spheres. Such innovations have inherently uncertain implications, and this haziness makes it easy to over (under) hype them at various stages in their development.

Nevertheless, emerging technologies pose recurrent quandaries for policymakers. Among the trickiest is how to spur beneficial innovation and application while curbing harmful developments. Granting too much freedom to innovators or misallocating venture capital can exacerbate risks, while adopting heavy-handed regulations – assuming meaningful regulation is even possible – risks killing the proverbial golden goose.

Governments must make (defer) decisions in situations of radical uncertainty – be prepared to adjust those rules as the impacts of innovation become more apparent and circumstances change. Compounding difficulties, governmental bodies often lack adequate resources and expertise to come to grips with new technologies.

Overall, the blistering pace of breakthroughs has left domestic regulation – to say nothing of global governance – in the dust.

Finally, there are the dilemmas of collective action in a world of independent, and competitive, sovereign states.

On the one hand, national governments have a shared interest in cooperating to mitigate the risks of innovations, as well as limiting the fallout from regulatory arbitrage, which allows private actors to exploit lax standards or enforcement in certain jurisdictions. On the other hand, governments are competing hard to dominate these frontier technologies, most notably in the incipient and much hyped AI competition between the United States and China. Our own attitude dovetails with that of historian and futurist Yuval Noah Harari.

He classifies technological disruption (alongside nuclear war and climate change) as one of three problems "that make a mockery of all national borders, and that can only be solved through global cooperation". Future installments in this blog series will analyze the transformative implications of distinctive emerging technologies – as well as potential convergence and interactions – for global governance. Each post will briefly describe a category of innovation, survey its potential benefits and risks, and suggest multilateral pathways that might advance international standards and rules.

Where relevant, we will highlight lessons from history, including strategies for engaging private sector actors in self-policing/regulation. We undertake this with some humility, aware that many of our assessments, predictions, proposals will be underdeveloped or incorrect, given inherent uncertainty about how this fast-changing technological landscape will evolve – and interact with existing human institutions.

Over the next several months, we plan to focus on some of the following areas:

**Artificial Intelligence (AI).** Scientists and inventors have long attempted to endow machines with human faculties, with limited success. Recent software & hardware innovations (the availability of immense troves of data) have eroded past constraints and expanded the sphere of automatable functions.

Only yesterday, DeepMind announced that its AlphaStar system had trounced professional players at the electronic sports game Starcraft II, a longstanding "grand challenge" for AI research due to its complexity. Although AI is still in its relative infancy – the relevant technologies tend to be brittle, and have narrow applications – the field's societal effects are already tremendous. Driverless vehicles, deep fakes (high-fidelity visual and auditory simulacra), and high-frequency trading algorithms suggest a vast range of applications. The world is only beginning to grapple with AI's implications for global security, employment, human rights, and other fundamental issues.

**Quantum Computing.** Mathematical proofs have shown that quantum computers, which take advantage of quantum mechanical phenomena to solve complex problems, can outperform classical computers (no matter how advanced) in at least some domains.

With these systems becoming more powerful and rudimentary quantum computers now available for online use, a boom in research and application is in the making and likely to spur scientific discovery. On the other hand, quantum decryption could compromise traditional cybersecurity on a massive scale. Unsurprisingly, states are emphasizing quantum computing research and development as a strategic imperative.

**Space Technologies.** Activity in outer space has surged, thanks in part to advances in technologies such as reusable rockets and microsattellites. Dramatically lower upfront costs are democratizing space, lowering barriers to entry in a domain once restricted to leading powers. The nascent scramble for space raises the enticing possibility of a multiplanetary civilization but presents major challenges for space traffic management, debris mitigation, arms control, commercial exploitation, and other areas.

**Nanotechnology.** Scientists continue to make significant strides in nanotechnology, which involves the manipulation of materials at an atomic, molecular, and supramolecular scale. By working at this miniscule scale, engineers are able to create entirely new materials, some capable of self-assembly, including useful devices with applications in the fields of medicine, energy production, and consumer goods, among others. Legitimate concerns exist about the impact of nanomaterials on human & environmental health.

**Distributed Ledger Technology:** This denotes a decentralized system for recording and verifying transactions, based on the synchronized, replicated sharing of digital data among disparate actors. The premier example, blockchain, permits all parties in the network to verify contracts and payments. Distributed ledgers have enormous potential to facilitate cooperation where trust has previously been lacking, ranging from verifying compliance with nuclear nonproliferation commitments to ensuring the integrity of global supply chains. At the same time, the absence of a centralized intermediary poses challenges to sovereign state authority, not least in the area of financial transactions.

**Internet of Things (IoT):** Increasingly, devices – from cars to appliances to apparel— are linked to digital networks, allowing them to communicate with one another and generate massive amounts of useful data. While this connectivity is largely positive, it creates vulnerabilities, among these a loss of individual privacy, greater exposure to cybercrime, and expanded security threats. Such considerations, as well as more straightforward economic motives, help explain the intense international competition to dominate 5G, or the fifth generation of wireless technology, which promises to catalyze growth of the IoT.

**Additive Manufacturing (AM).** Popularly known as "3D printing", additive manufacturing is the use of computer equipment to create three-dimensional objects through the successive layering of substances, such as polymers & metals, according to digital specifications.

Its advantages include precision, efficiency, and flexibility.

According to its champions, AM has the potential to launch a new industrial revolution, with ecological as well as economic benefits. At the same time, it promises to disrupt global supply and value chains, as well as traditional development models.

**Biotechnology:** The recent application of CRISPR/Cas9 to gene editing has spurred a revolution in the field, with vast implications for personalized medicine, as well as the creation of gene drives that can affect the distribution of genes within a natural population.

In parallel, advances in synthetic biology are permitting scientists to design artificial biological systems and create entirely novel forms of life. While these trends have great therapeutic and public health promise, they could undermine biosafety and biosecurity, whether through negligence or malevolence – including by placing deadly capacities in the hands of state or nonstate actors.

**Human Enhancement.** This phrase refers to the application of technology to the human physiology to overcome normal limitations. Examples include augmenting the body with cybernetic systems, including brain-computer interfaces and exoskeletons; developing more sophisticated nootropics, so-called "smart drugs" that improve cognitive capabilities; & expanding gene editing technologies to extend lifespans and alter the human germ line.

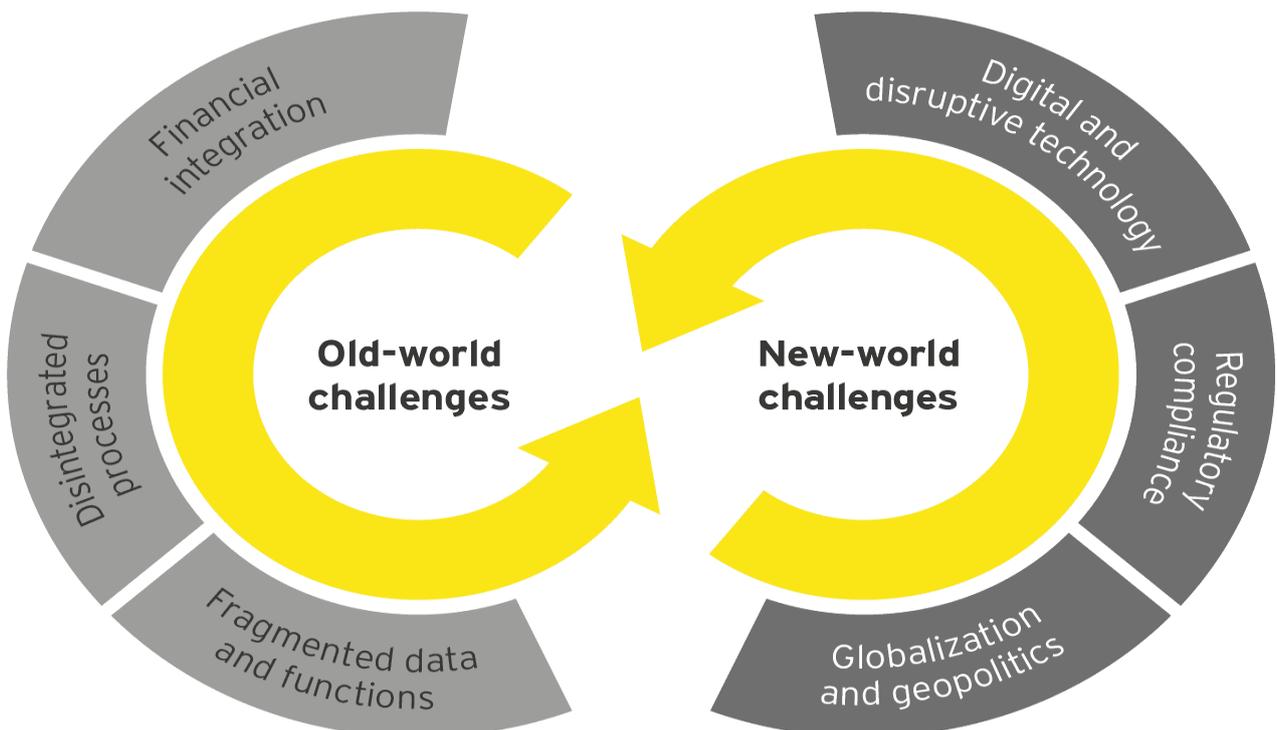
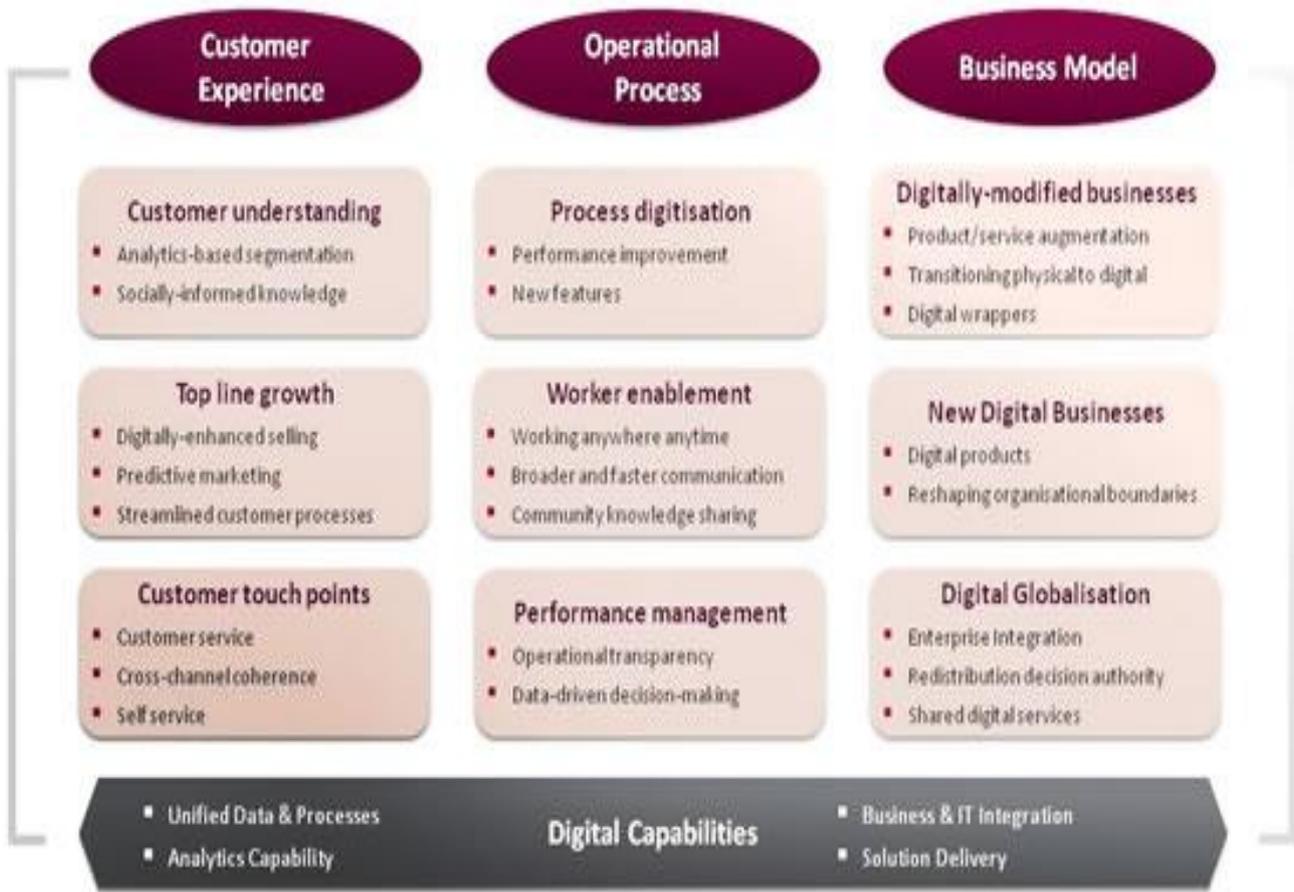
**Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems:** We are at the leading edge of a revolution in warfare, as the United States and other nations develop and begin to deploy sophisticated drones, so-called killer robots, and swarm technologies.

These innovations provide warfighters with greater flexibility, as well as asymmetric capabilities. But the diffusion of autonomous, lethal technologies could threaten international stability and violate international humanitarian law and the laws of war.

This list of breakthrough technologies is hardly exhaustive. It could easily expand to encompass other emerging innovations, from hypersonic missiles to hyperloops, from supersonic commercial planes to fusion power, from advanced energy storage to geoengineering.

Having has its own peculiarities, all have the potential to transform world politics.

As it has throughout history, innovation will drive demands for new norms and legal rules, at the global and domestic level. The difficulty for policymakers lies in thinking clearly about the dilemmas of innovation, and about the opportunities and obstacles for more effective global governance of transformative technologies. We hope that this series will help them do so.



## MODERN CONSTITUTIONS

The earliest written constitution still governing a sovereign nation today may be that of San Marino. The *Leges Statutae Republicae Sancti Marini* was written in Latin and consists of six books.

The first book, with 62 articles, establishes councils, courts, various executive officers and the powers assigned to them. The remaining books cover criminal and civil law, judicial procedures and remedies. Written in 1600, the document was based upon the *Statuti Comunali* (Town Statute) of 1300, itself influenced by the *Codex Justinianus*, and it remains in force today.

In 1639, the Colony of Connecticut adopted the Fundamental Orders, which is considered the first North American constitution, and is the basis for every new Connecticut constitution since, and is also the reason for Connecticut's nickname, "the Constitution State". England had two short-lived written Constitutions during Cromwellian rule, known as the Instrument of Government (1653), and Humble Petition and Advice (1657).

*Agreements and Constitutions of Laws and Freedoms of the Zaporizian Host* can be acknowledged as the first European constitution in a modern sense. It was written in 1710 by Pylyp Orlyk, *hetman* of the Zaporozhian Host. This "*Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk*" (as it is widely known) was written to establish a free Zaporozhian-Ukrainian Republic, with the support of Charles XII of Sweden. It is notable in that it established a democratic standard for the separation of powers in government between the legislative, executive, and judiciary branches, well before the publication of Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*.

This Constitution also limited the executive authority of the *hetman*, and established a democratically elected Cossack parliament called the General Council. However, Orlyk's project for an independent Ukrainian State never materialized, and his constitution, written in exile, never went into effect. Other examples of early European constitutions were the Corsican Constitution of 1755 and the Swedish Constitution of 1772.

All of the British colonies in North America that were to become the 13 original USA, adopted their own constitutions in 1776 and 1777, during the American Revolution (and before the later Articles of Confederation and USA Constitution), with the exceptions of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts adopted its Constitution in 1780, the oldest still-functioning constitution of any U.S. state; while Connecticut and Rhode Island officially continued to operate under their old colonial charters, until they adopted their first state constitutions in 1818 and 1843, respectively.

The USA Constitution, ratified June 21, 1788, was influenced by the British constitutional system and the political system of the United Provinces, plus the writings of Polybius, Locke, Montesquieu, and others. The document became a benchmark for republican and codified constitutions written thereafter. Next were the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Constitution of May 3, 1791, and the French Constitution of September 3, 1791.

Because of the turmoil of the French revolution, the absolute monarchy of Denmark lost its personal possession of Norway to another absolute monarchy, Sweden. However, the Norwegians managed to infuse a radically democratic and liberal constitution in 1814, adopting many facets from the American constitution and the revolutionary French ones; but maintaining a hereditary monarch limited by the constitution.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 3. Make up some dialogues from the information above.**

## PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN

After tribal people first began to live in cities and establish nations, many of these functioned according to unwritten customs, while some developed autocratic, even tyrannical monarchs, who ruled by decree, or mere personal whim. Such rule led some thinkers to take the position that what mattered was not the design of governmental institutions & operations, as much as the character of the rulers. This view can be seen in Plato, who called for rule by "philosopher-kings". Later writers, such as Aristotle, Cicero and Plutarch, would examine designs for government from a legal and historical standpoint.

The Renaissance brought a series of political philosophers who wrote implied criticisms of the practices of monarchs and sought to identify principles of constitutional design that would be likely to yield more effective & just governance from their viewpoints.

This began with revival of the Roman law of nations concept and its application to the relations among nations, and they sought to establish customary "laws of war and peace" to ameliorate wars and make them less likely. This led to considerations of what authority monarchs or other officials have and don't have, from where that authority derives, and the remedies for abusing such authority.

A seminal juncture in this line of discourse arose in England from the Civil War, the Cromwellian Protectorate, the writings of Thomas Hobbes, Samuel Rutherford, the Levellers, John Milton, and James Harrington, leading to the debate between Robert Filmer, arguing for the divine right of monarchs, on the one side, and on the other, Henry Neville, James Tyrrell, Algernon Sidney, and John Locke.

What arose from the latter was a concept of government being erected on the foundations of first, a state of nature governed by natural laws, then a state of society, established by a social contract or compact, which bring underlying natural or social laws, before governments are formally established on them as foundations.

Along the way, several writers examined how the design of government was important, even if the government were headed by a monarch. They classified various historical examples of governmental designs, typically into democracies, aristocracies, or monarchies, considered how just and effective each tended to be and why, and how the advantages of each might be obtained by combining elements of each into a more complex design that balanced competing tendencies.

Some, such as Montesquieu, also examined how the functions of government, such as legislative, executive, and judicial, might appropriately be separated into branches.

The prevailing theme among these writers was that the design of constitutions is not completely arbitrary or a matter of taste. They generally held that there are underlying principles of design that constrain all constitutions for every polity or organization.

Each built on the ideas of those before concerning what those principles might be.

The later writings of Orestes Brownson would try to explain what constitutional designers were trying to do. According to Brownson there are, in a sense, three "constitutions" involved: the first the *constitution of nature* that includes all of what was called "natural law". The second is the *constitution of society*, an unwritten and commonly understood set of rules for the society formed by a social contract before it establishes a government, by which it establishes the third, a *constitution of government*.

The second would include such elements as the making of decisions by public conventions called by public notice and conducted by established rules of procedure.

Each constitution must be consistent with, derive its authority from, the ones before it, as well as from a historical act of society formation or constitutional ratification.

Brownson argued that a state is a society with effective dominion over a well-defined territory, that consent to a well-designed constitution of government arises from presence on that territory, and that it is possible for provisions of a written constitution of government to be "unconstitutional" if they are inconsistent with the constitutions of nature or society.

Brownson argued that it is not ratification alone that makes a written constitution of government legitimate, but that it must be competently designed and applied.

Other writers have argued that such considerations apply not only to all national constitutions of government, but also to the constitutions of private organizations, that it is not an accident that the constitutions that tend to satisfy their members contain certain elements, as a minimum, or that their provisions tend to become very similar as they are amended after experience with their use. Provisions that give rise to certain kinds of questions are seen to need additional provisions for how to resolve those questions, and provisions that offer no course of action may best be omitted and left to policy decisions.

Provisions that conflict with what Brownson and others can discern are the underlying "constitutions" of nature and society tend to be difficult or impossible to execute, or to lead to unresolvable disputes. Constitutional design has been treated as a kind of metagame in which play consists of finding the best design and provisions for a written constitution that will be the rules for the game of government, and that will be most likely to optimize a balance of the utilities of justice, liberty, and security. An example is the metagame Nomic.

### **Governmental constitutions**

Most commonly, the term *constitution* refers to a set of rules and principles that define the nature and extent of government. Most constitutions seek to regulate the relationship between institutions of the state, in a basic sense the relationship between the executive, legislature and the judiciary, but also the relationship of institutions within those branches. For example, executive branches can be divided into a head of government, government departments/ministries, executive agencies and a civil service/bureaucracy.

Most constitutions also attempt to define the relationship between individuals and the state, and to establish the broad rights of individual citizens. It is thus the most basic law of a territory from which all the other laws and rules are hierarchically derived; in some territories it is in fact called "Basic Law".

The following are features of democratic constitutions that have been identified by political scientists to exist, in one form or another, in virtually all national constitutions.

***Exercise 1. Characterize principles of constitutional design.***

***Exercise 2. Make up some dialogues from the information above.***

***Exercise 3. Digest the information briefly in English.***

***Exercise 4. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.***

№	Activity			
	Constitution	When	Where	Score
1.				

## CODIFICATION

A fundamental classification is codification or lack of codification.

A codified constitution is one that is contained in a single document, which is the single source of constitutional law in a state. An uncoded constitution is one that is not contained in a single document, consisting of several different sources, which may be written or unwritten. Most states in the world have codified constitutions.

Only three have uncoded constitutions: Israel, New Zealand, the United Kingdom.

The most obvious advantages of codified constitutions are that they tend to be more coherent and more easily understood, as well as simpler to read.

However, codified constitutions are relatively rigid; they still yield a potentially wide range of interpretations by constitutional courts. Codified constitutions are often the product of some dramatic political change, such as a revolution. The USA Constitution was written and subsequently ratified less than 25 years after the American Revolution.

The process by which a country adopts a constitution is closely tied to the historical and political context driving this fundamental change. This becomes evident when one compares the elaborate convention method adopted in the USA, with the MacArthur-inspired post war constitution foisted on Japan. The legitimacy of codified constitutions has often been tied to the process by which they are initially adopted. States that have codified constitutions normally give the constitution supremacy over ordinary statute law.

That is, if there is any conflict between a legal statute and the codified constitution, all or part of the statute can be declared *ultra vires* by a court, and struck down as unconstitutional.

In addition, an extraordinary procedure is often required to make a constitutional amendment. These procedures may involve:

- obtaining  $\frac{2}{3}$  majorities in the national legislature;
  - the consent of regional legislatures;
- a referendum process.

Some other procedure that makes obtaining a constitutional amendment more difficult than passing a simple law.

Constitutions may provide that their most basic principles can never be abolished, even by amendment (for example, the German Federal Constitution states in relevant part that the country has to be a democratic, a federal, and a social republic, in which the state powers have to:

- leave dignity of man inviolable;
- where rule of law prevails;
- where sovereignty lies with the people.

Indeed, the German Federal Constitution further provides that it may not be altered). In case a formally valid amendment of a constitution infringes these principles protected against any amendment, it may constitute a so-called *unconstitutional constitutional law*.

The Constitution of Australia is an example of a constitution where the constitutional law derives mainly from a single written document, but other written documents are considered parts of the constitution. The Constitution of India is the longest codified constitution in the world. It is unique in that it incorporates codes from many other constitutions, such as those of Japan, Malaysia. Uncoded constitutions (unwritten constitutions) are the product of an "evolution" of laws and conventions over centuries.

By contrast, to codified constitutions, in the Westminster tradition that originated in England, uncoded constitutions include written sources:

- constitutional statutes enacted by the Parliament;
- House of Commons Disqualification Act 1975;
- Northern Ireland Act 1998;
- Scotland Act 1998;
- Government of Wales Act 1998;
- European Communities Act 1972;
- Human Rights Act 1998).

**Unwritten sources:**

- constitutional conventions;
- observation of precedents;
- royal prerogatives;
- custom and tradition, such as always holding the General Election on Thursdays.

Together these constitute the British constitutional law.

In the days of the British Empire, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council acted as the constitutional court for many of the British colonies such as Canada and Australia which had federal constitutions. In states using uncoded constitutions, the difference between constitutional law and statutory law (i.e. law applying to any area of governance) in legal terms is nil. Both can be altered or repealed by a simple majority in Parliament.

In practice, democratic governments do not use this opportunity to abolish all civil rights, which in theory they could do.

**Exercise 1. Explain the notion "codification".**

**Exercise 2. Explain the notions "written versus unwritten / codified versus uncoded".**

**Exercise 3. Characterize the main political notions.**

**Exercise 4. Explain the score of some notions in English.**

Constitution is a body of fundamental principles or established precedents according to which a state or other organization is acknowledged to be governed.

The Constitution is the basic written set of principles and precedents of federal government in the US, which came into operation in 1789 and has since been modified by twenty-six amendments. The constitution of a country or organization is the system of laws which formally states people's rights and duties.

**Exercise 5. Translate the words and word-combinations into Russian.**

To adopt (establish) a constitution; to ratify a constitution; to draw up (frame, write) a constitution; to amend constitution; to violate constitution; state constitution; written constitution; unwritten constitution; constitution of nature; constitution of the universe; constitution of things; constitution of society; the constitution of one's mind; constitution of the court; draft constitution; elective constitution; mixed constitution; working constitution; a constitutional monarchy; a constitutional amendment; constitutional rights/constraints; a constitutional weakness; by constitutional means; constitutional form of government; constitutional reform; constitutional action; constitutional adjudication; constitutional alteration; constitutional activity; constitutionality; constitutionally;

**Exercise 6. Render the information on distribution of sovereignty.**

**Exercise 7. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

## TYPES OF CONSTITUTION

The distinction between regular and constitutional law is still somewhat arbitrary, usually depending on the traditional devotion of popular opinion to historical principles embodied in important past legislation. Several Acts of Parliament such as the Bill of Rights, Human Rights Act and, prior to the creation of Parliament, Magna Carta are regarded as granting fundamental rights and principles, which are treated as almost constitutional.

The term *written constitution* is used to describe a constitution that is entirely written, which by definition includes every codified constitution. However, some constitutions are entirely written but, strictly speaking, not entirely codified.

The term *written constitution* is used interchangeably with *codified constitution*, similarly *unwritten constitution* is used interchangeably with *uncodified constitution*. This usage with respect to written & codified constitutions can be inaccurate.

Strictly speaking, *unwritten constitution* is never an accurate synonym for *uncodified constitution*, because all modern democratic constitutions consist of some written sources, even if they have no different technical status than ordinary statutes. Another term used is *formal (written) constitution*: "The United Kingdom has no formal constitution".

This usage is correct, but it should be construed to mean that the United Kingdom does not have a codified constitution, not that the UK has no constitution of any kind, which would not be correct. A constitution can be written but not codified.

Codified would suggest written in one document. This means that a constitution that has a number of written sources is still written, but not codified.

Constitutions may provide that, for the purpose of clarity, only a law expressly amending or supplementing the Constitutional text itself may amend them.

The German Federal Constitution does expressly, and the constitutional tradition of the German federal states do at least in an implied manner, provide for this. The presence or lack of entrenchment is a fundamental feature of constitutions. Entrenchment is an inherent feature in most written constitutions. The US constitution is an example of an entrenched constitution, and the UK constitution is an example of a constitution that is not entrenched. The procedure for modifying a constitution is called *amending*.

Sometimes, the reason for this is that the constitution is considered supreme law, such as according to the supremacy clause in the US constitution. Regardless of whether a constitution has this technical status, all states with an entrenched constitution recognize the difference between constitutional law and ordinary statutory law.

Procedures for ratification of constitutional amendments vary between states. In a federal system of government, the approval of a majority of state/provincial legislatures may be required. Alternatively, a national referendum may be required in some states, such as in Australia. In constitutions these are not entrenched, no special procedure is required for modification.

In the small number of countries with unentrenched constitutions, the lack of entrenchment is because the constitution is not recognized with any higher legal status than ordinary statutes. In the UK, passing laws, which modify sources of the constitution, whether they are written or unwritten, are passed on a simple majority in Parliament.

The concept of "amendment" does not apply, as the constitution can be altered as easily in terms of procedure as any national law.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

## DISTRIBUTION OF SOVEREIGNTY

Constitutions establish where sovereignty is located in the state. There are three basic types of distribution of sovereignty: federal, unitary and confederal. A federal system of government will inevitably have a constitution that recognizes the division of sovereignty between the center and peripheral/provincial regions of the state.

The Canadian Constitution is an example of this, dividing power between the federal government and the provinces. A unitary constitution recognizes that sovereignty resides only in the center of the state. In the UK, the constitutional doctrine of Parliamentary sovereignty dictates that sovereignty is ultimately contained at the center. However, some unitary states (Spain) may delegate more and more power to sub-national governments until the state functions in practice much like a federal state.

Confederal constitutions are rare; there is often dispute to whether so-called "confederal" states are actually federal. In a confederacy, sovereignty is located in peripheral regions/provinces and only limited power is granted to the center. A historical example of a confederal constitution is the Swiss Federal Constitution. Constitutions usually explicitly divide power between various branches of government.

The standard model, described by the Baron de Montesquieu, involves three branches of government: executive, legislative & judicial.

Some constitutions include additional branches, such as an auditory branch.

Constitutions vary extensively as to the degree of separation of powers between these branches. In presidential and semi-presidential systems of government, department secretaries/ministers are accountable to the president, who has patronage powers to appoint and dismiss ministers. The president is accountable to the people in an election.

In parliamentary systems, ministers are accountable to Parliament, but it is the prime minister who appoints and dismisses them. In Westminster systems, this power derives from the monarch (or head of state in Westminster-style republics, such as India and the Republic of Ireland), a component of Parliament.

There is the concept of a vote of no confidence in many countries with parliamentary systems, which means that if a majority of the legislature vote for a no confidence motion, then the government must resign, and a new one will be formed, or parliament will be dissolved and a general election called.

Italian political theorist Giovanni Sartori noted the existence of national constitutions, which are a facade for authoritarian sources of power. While such documents may express respect for human rights or establish an independent judiciary, they may be ignored when the government feels threatened or entirely dishonoured in practice.

An extreme example was the Constitution of the Soviet Union that on paper supported freedom of assembly or freedom of speech; however, citizens who acted accordingly were summarily imprisoned. The example demonstrates that the protections and benefits of a constitution are provided less through its written terms than through deference by government and society to its principles.

***Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

***Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.***

***Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.***

## SPECIFY CONSTITUTIONAL COURTS

The constitution is often protected by a certain legal body in each country with various names, such as *supreme*, *constitutional* or *high* court. This court judges the compatibility of legislation with the provisions and principles of the constitution, which is termed "constitutionality".

Especially important is the court's responsibility to protect constitutionally established rights and freedoms. In constitutions without the concept of supreme law, such as the UK constitution, the concept of "constitutionality" has little meaning, and constitutional courts do not exist. A "constitutional violation" is an action or legislative act that is judged by a constitutional court to be contrary to the constitution, that is, "unconstitutional".

An example of constitutional violation by the executive could be a politician who abuses the powers of his constitutionally-established office.

An example of constitutional violation by the legislature is an attempt to pass a law that would contradict the constitution, without first going through the proper constitutional amendment process. A constitutional court is normally the court of last resort, the highest judicial body in the government.

The process of judicial review is then integrated into the system of courts of appeal.

This is the case, for example, with the Supreme Court of the USA or Supreme Court of India. Cases must normally be heard in lower courts before being brought before the Supreme Court, except cases for which the Supreme Court has original jurisdiction.

Some other countries dedicate a special court solely to the protection of the constitution, as with the German Constitutional Court.

Most constitutional courts are powerful instruments of judicial review, with the power to declare laws "unconstitutional", that is, incompatible with the constitution. The effect of this ruling varies between governments, but it is common for the courts' action to rule a law unenforceable, as is the case in the USA.

However, many courts have the problem of relying on the legislative and executive branches' co-operation to properly enforce their decisions.

In the USA, the Supreme Court's ruling overturning the "separate but equal" doctrine in the 1950s depended on individual states co-operation to enforce. Some failed to do so, prompting the federal government to intervene.

Other countries, such as France, have a Constitutional Council which may only judge the constitutionality of laws before the ratification process.

Some countries, mainly those with uncodified constitutions, have no such courts at all – for example, as the United Kingdom traditionally functions under the principle of parliamentary sovereignty: the legislature has the power to enact any law it wishes.

However, through its membership in the European Union, the UK is now subject to the jurisdiction of European Union law and the European Court of Justice; similarly, by acceding to the Council of Europe's European Convention on Human Rights, it is subject to the European Court of Human Rights. In effect, these bodies are constitutional courts that can invalidate or interpret UK legislation for compliance with international treaty obligations, first established as a principle by the *Factortame* case.

***Exercise 1. Summarize the information briefly in English.***

***Exercise 2. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

***Exercise 3. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.***

## LEGISLATION

Legislation ("statutory law" is law which has been promulgated ("enacted" by a legislature or other governing body. The term may refer to a single law, or the collective body of enacted law, while "statute" is used to refer to a single law. Before an item of legislation becomes law it may be known as a bill, which is typically also known as "legislation" while it remains under active consideration. Legislation can have many purposes: to regulate, to authorize, to provide (funds), to sanction, to grant, to declare or to restrict. In some jurisdictions legislation must be confirmed by the executive branch of government before it enters into force as law.

Under the Westminster system, an item of primary legislation is known as an Act of Parliament after enactment: using the powers in the Act, NSW and Northern Territory secondary legislation may be introduced through Regulations or Orders.

Legislation is usually proposed by a member of the legislature (e.g. a member of Congress or Parliament), or by the executive, whereupon it is debated by members of the legislature and is often amended before passage. Most large legislatures enact only a small fraction of the bills proposed in a given session. Whether a given bill will be proposed and enter into force is generally a matter of the legislative priorities of government.

Those who have the formal power to *create* legislation are known as legislators, while the judicial branch of government may have the formal power to *interpret* legislation.

The act of law making is sometimes known as legislating. Under the doctrine of separation of powers, the law-making function is primarily the responsibility of the legislature. However, there are situations where legislation is enacted by other means (most commonly when constitutional law is enacted). These other forms of law-making include referendums and constitutional conventions.

The term **legislation** is sometimes used to describe these situations, but other times, the term is used to distinguish acts of the legislature from these other lawmaking forms, which have been scaled down.

A **legislature** is a type of representative deliberative assembly with the power to create and change laws. The law created by a legislature is called legislation or statutory law. Legislatures are known by many names, the most common being parliament and congress, although these terms have more specific meanings.

The main job of the legislature is to make and amend laws. In parliamentary systems of government, the legislature is formally supreme and appoints the executive. In presidential systems of government, the legislature is considered a power branch, which is equal to and independent of the executive. In addition to enacting laws, legislatures usually have exclusive authority to raise taxes and adopt the budget and other money bills.

The primary components of a legislature are one or more *chambers* or *houses*: assemblies that debate and vote upon bills. A legislature with only one house is called unicameral.

A bicameral legislature possesses two separate chambers, usually described as an upper house and a lower house, which often differ in duties, powers, and the methods used for the selection of members. Much rarer have been tricameral legislatures; the most recent existed in the waning years of white-minority rule in South Africa. In most parliamentary systems, the lower house is the more powerful house while the upper house is merely a chamber of advice or review.

However, in presidential systems, the powers of the two houses are often similar or equal.

In federations, it is typical for the upper house to represent the component states; the same applies to the supranational legislature of the European Union.

For this purpose, the upper house may either contain the delegates of state governments, as is the case in the European Union and in Germany and was the case in the USA before 1913. Or be elected according to a formula that grants equal representation to states with smaller populations, as is the case in Australia and the modern USA.

Because members of legislatures usually sit together in a specific room to deliberate, seats in that room may be assigned exclusively to members of the legislature.

In parliamentary language, the term *seat* is sometimes used to mean that someone is a member of a legislature. Saying that a legislature has 100 "seats" means that there are 100 members of the legislature, and saying that someone is "contesting a seat" means they are trying to get elected as a member of the legislature. By extension, the term *seat* is often used in less formal contexts to refer to an electoral district itself, as for example in the phrases "safe seat" and "marginal seat".

Organic statute is a calque from the French "*Ruglement Organique*"; literally "regulations for an organ", with "organ" meaning an organization or governmental body.

The term is traditionally used for statutes of various organizations for organic laws (substitutes of constitutions) in various countries, especially dependent ones.

**Statutory law** or statute law is written law (as opposed to oral or customary law) set down by a legislature (as opposed to regulatory law promulgated by the executive branch or common law of the judiciary). Statutes are enacted in response to a perceived need to clarify the functioning of government, improve civil order, to codify existing law, or for an individual or company to obtain special treatment. Examples of statutory law comprehend traditional civil law and modern civil code systems in contrast to common law.

Statutes may originate with national, state legislatures or local municipalities. Statutes of lower jurisdictions are subordinate to the law of higher.

The term **codified law** refers to statutes that have been organized ("codified") by subject matter; in this narrower sense, some but not all statutes are considered "codified."

The entire body of codified statute is referred to as a "code", such as the USA Code, the Ohio Revised Code or the New Hampshire Revised Statutes Annotated. A common example of an uncodified statute (in this narrow sense) would be the section or sections of an Act of Congress that provides for the effective date of the Act, or effects on individual parties.

The substantive provisions of the Act could be codified (arranged by subject matter) in one or more titles of the USA Code while the **effective date** provisions – remaining uncodified – would be available by reference to the USA Statutes at Large. Another meaning of "codified law" is a statute that takes the common law in a certain area of the law and puts it in statute or code form. Another example of statutes that are not typically codified is a "*private law*" that may originate as a private bill, a law affecting only one person or a small group of persons.

An example was divorce in Canada prior to the passage of the Divorce Act of 1968. It was possible to obtain a legislative divorce in Canada by application to the Canadian Senate, which reviewed and investigated petitions for divorce, which would then be voted upon by the Senate and subsequently made into law.

In the United Kingdom Parliament, private bills were used in the nineteenth century to create corporations, grant monopolies & give individuals attention to be more fully considered by the parliament. The government may also seek to have a bill introduced *unofficially* by a backbencher so as not to create a public scandal; such bills may be introduced by the *loyal opposition* – members of the opposition parties.



## CHAPTER III. DEMOCRACY

### INTRODUCTION

A democracy is a political system, or a system of decision-making within an institution or organization or a country, in which all members have an equal share of power.

Modern democracies are characterized by two capabilities that differentiate them fundamentally from earlier forms of government: the capacity to intervene in their own societies and the recognition of their sovereignty by an international legalistic framework of similarly sovereign states.

Democratic government is commonly juxtaposed with oligarchic and monarchic systems, which are ruled by a minority and a sole monarch respectively.

Democracy is generally associated with the efforts of the ancient Greeks & Romans, who were themselves considered the founders of Western civilization by the 18th century intellectuals who attempted to leverage these early democratic experiments into a new template for post-monarchical political organization.

The extent to which these 18th century democratic revivalists succeeded in turning the democratic ideals of the ancient Greeks and Romans into the dominant political institution of the next 300 years is hardly debatable, even if the moral justifications they often employed might be. Nevertheless, the critical historical juncture catalyzed by the resurrection of democratic ideals and institutions fundamentally transformed the ensuing centuries and has dominated the international landscape since the dismantling of the final vestige of empire following the end of the Second World War.

Modern representative democracies attempt to bridge the gulf between the Hobbesian "state of nature" and the grip of authoritarianism through "social contracts" that enshrine the rights of the citizens, curtail the power of the state, and grant agency through the right to vote. While they engage populations with some level of decision-making, they are defined by the premise of distrust in the ability of human populations to make a direct judgement about candidates or decisions on issues.

*Democracy* is a form of government in which the right to govern is vested in the citizens of a country or a state and exercised through a majority rule. It is derived from the Greek "popular government", which was coined from "people" and "rule, strength" in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to denote the political systems then existing in some Greek city-states, notably Athens following a popular uprising in 508 B.C.

A democracy can denote either direct or indirect rule by the people. In political theory, democracy describes a small number of related forms of government and a political philosophy.

Even though there is no specific, universally accepted definition of "democracy", there are two principles that any definition of democracy includes. The first principle is that not all citizens, invested with the power to govern, have equal access to power and the second that all citizens enjoy legitimized freedoms and liberties. There are several varieties of democracy, some of which provide better representation and more freedoms for their citizens than others.

The "majority rule" is often described as a characteristic feature of democracy, but without responsible government.

It is possible for the rights of a minority to be abused by the "tyranny of the majority". An essential process in representative democracies is competitive elections that are fair both substantively, and procedurally.

Furthermore, freedom of political expression, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are essential so that citizens are informed and able to vote in their personal interests.

Popular sovereignty is common but not a universal motivating philosophy for establishing a democracy. In some countries, democracy is based on the philosophical principle of equal rights.

Many people use the term "democracy" as shorthand for liberal democracy, which may include additional elements such as political pluralism, equality before the law, the right to petition elected officials for redress of grievances, due process, civil liberties, human rights, and elements of civil society outside the government.

In the USA, separation of powers is often cited as a supporting attribute, but in other countries, such as the UK, the dominant philosophy is parliamentary sovereignty (though in practice judicial independence is generally maintained).

In other cases, "democracy" is used to mean direct democracy. Though the term "democracy" is typically used in the context of a political state, the principles are also applicable to private organizations and other groups. Democracy has its origins in Ancient Greece. However, other cultures have significantly contributed to the evolution of democracy such as Ancient India, Ancient Rome, Europe, and North and South America. Democracy has been called the "last form of government" and has spread considerably across the globe.

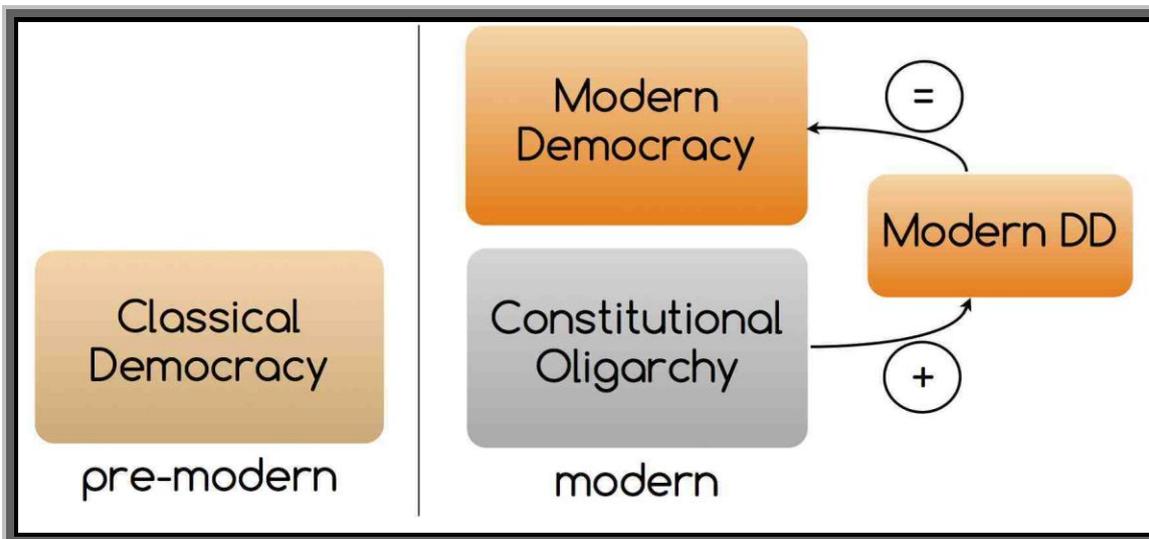
**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 4. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score
1.				



## HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY

The term "democracy" first appeared in ancient Greek political and philosophical thought. The philosopher Plato contrasted democracy, the system of "rule by the governed", with the alternative systems of monarchy (rule by one individual), oligarchy (rule by a small elite class) and timocracy (a political unit or system in which possession of property serves as the first requirement for participation in government). Although Athenian democracy is today considered by many to have been a form of direct democracy, originally it had two distinguishing features: firstly the allotment (selection by lot) of ordinary citizens to government offices and courts, and secondarily the assembly of all the citizens. All the male Athenian citizens were eligible to speak and vote in the Assembly, which set the laws of the city-state; citizenship was not granted to women, or slaves.

Of the 250,000 inhabitants only some 30,000 on average were citizens.

Of those 30,000, perhaps 5,000 might regularly attend one or more meetings of the popular Assembly. Most of the officers and magistrates of Athenian government were allotted; only the generals and a few other officers were elected. A possible example of primitive democracy may have been the early Sumerian city-states.

In Bihar, India is also one of the first governments in the world to have elements of what we would today consider democracy, similar to those found in ancient Greece.

A similar proto-democracy or oligarchy existed temporarily among the Medes in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., but which ended after the Emperor Darius the Great declared that the best monarchy was better than the best oligarchy or best democracy.

Even though the Roman Republic contributed significantly into certain aspects of democracy, such as Laws, it never became a democracy. The Romans had elections for choosing representatives, but again women, slaves, and the large foreign population were excluded. The votes of the wealthy were given more weight and almost all high officials, such as being member of Senate, came from a few wealthy and noble families.

Democracy Index as published in January 2007. The palest blue countries get a score above 9.5 out of 10 (with Sweden being the most democratic country at 9.88), while the black countries score below 2 (with North Korea being the least democratic at 1.03).

A serious claim for early democratic institutions comes from the independent "republics" of India, which existed as early as the sixth century B.C. and persisted in some areas until the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The evidence is scattered and no pure historical source exists for that period. Modern scholars note that the word "democracy" at the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. had been degraded and could mean any autonomous state no matter how oligarchic it was.

Anthropologists have identified forms of proto-democracy that date back to small bands of hunter-gatherers that predate the establishment of agrarian, sedentary societies and still exist virtually unchanged in isolated indigenous groups today. In these groups of generally 50-100 individuals, often tied closely by familial bonds, decisions are reached by consensus or majority and many times without the designation of any specific chief. Given that these dynamics are still alive and well today, it is plausible to assume that democracy in one form or another arises naturally in any well-bonded group or tribe.

These types of democracy are commonly identified as tribalism, or *primitive democracy*. In this sense, a *primitive democracy* usually takes shape in small communities or villages when there are face-to-face discussions in a village council or with a leader who has the backing of village elders or other cooperative forms of government.

This becomes more complex on a larger scale, such as when the village and city are examined more broadly as political communities.

All other forms of rule – including monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy, and oligarchy – have flourished in more urban centers, often those with concentrated populations.

The concepts (name) of democracy and constitution as a form of government originated in ancient Athens circa 508 B.C. In ancient Greece, where there were many city-states with different forms of government, democracy was contrasted with governance by elites (aristocracy), by one person (monarchy), by tyrants (tyranny), etc.

### **Proto-democratic societies**

In recent decades scholars have explored the possibility that advancements toward democratic government occurred somewhere else (other than Greece) first, as Greece developed its complex social and political institutions long after the appearance of the earliest civilizations in Egypt and the Near East.

### **Mesopotamia**

Studying pre-Babylonian Mesopotamia, Thorkild Jacobsen used Sumerian epic, myth, and historical records to identify what he has called *primitive democracy*.

By this, Jacobsen means a government in which ultimate power rests with the mass of free male citizens, although "the various functions of government are as yet little specialised the power structure is loose".

In early Sumer, kings like Gilgamesh did not hold the autocratic power that later Mesopotamian rulers wielded. Rather, major city-states functioned with councils of elders and "young men" (likely free men bearing arms) that possessed the final political authority, and had to be consulted on all major issues such as war.

The work has gained little outright acceptance. Scholars criticize the use of the word "democracy" in this context since the same evidence also can be interpreted convincingly to demonstrate a power struggle between primitive monarchy and noble classes, a struggle in which the common people function more like pawns rather than any kind of sovereign authority. Jacobsen conceded that the vagueness of the evidence prohibits the separation between the *Mesopotamian democracy* from a *primitive oligarchy*.

### **Indian Subcontinent**

Another claim for early democratic institutions comes from the independent "republics" of India, *sanghas* and *ganas*, which existed as early as the 6th century B.C. and persisted in some areas until the 4th century. The evidence for this is scattered, however, and no pure historical source exists for that period. In addition, Diodorus – a Greek historian who wrote two centuries after the time of Alexander the Great's invasion of India – mentions, without offering any detail that independent and democratic states existed in India.

Modern scholars note the word *democracy* at the time of the 3rd century B.C. and later suffered from degradation and could mean any autonomous state, no matter how oligarchic in nature. The Mahajanapadas were the sixteen most powerful and vast kingdoms and republics of the era, there were a number of smaller kingdoms stretching the length and breadth of Ancient India. Among the Mahajanapadas and smaller states, the Shakyas, Koliyas, Mallas, and Licchavis followed republican government.

Key characteristics of the *gana* seem to include a monarch, usually known by the name *raja*, and a deliberative assembly.

The assembly met regularly. It discussed all major state decisions. At least in some states, attendance was open to all free men. This body had full financial, administrative, and judicial authority. Other officers, who rarely receive any mention, obeyed the decisions of the assembly.

Elected by the *gana*, the monarch apparently always belonged to a family of the noble class of *Kshatriya Varna*. The monarch coordinated his activities with the assembly.

In some states, he did so with a council of other nobles. The Licchavis had a primary governing body of 7,077 rajas, the heads of the most important families.

On the other hand, the Shakyas, Koliyas, Mallas, and Licchavis, during the period around Gautama Buddha, had the assembly open to all men, rich and poor.

Early "republics" or *Gaṇa sangha*, such as Mallas, centered in the city of Kusinagara, and the Vajji confederation, centered in the city of Vaishali, existed as early as the 6th century B.C.E and persisted in some areas until the 4th century C.E. The most famous clan amongst the ruling confederate clans of the Vajji Mahajanapada were the Licchavis.

The Magadha kingdom included republican communities such as the community of Rajakumara. Villages had their own assemblies under their local chiefs called Gramakas.

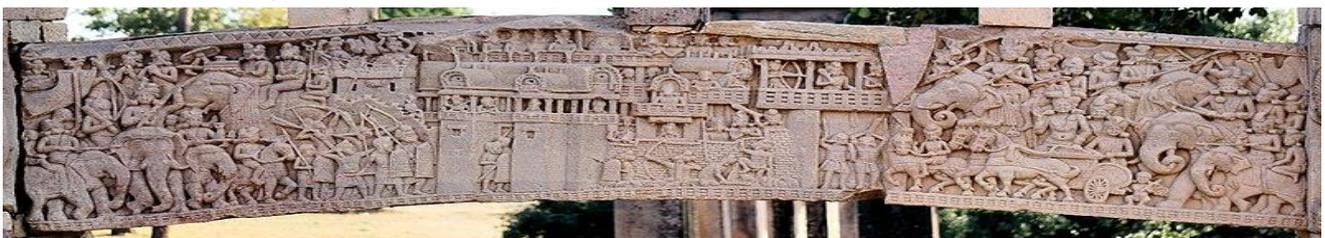
Their administrations were divided into executive, judicial, and military functions.

Scholars differ over how best to describe these governments, and the vague, sporadic quality of the evidence allows for wide disagreements. Some emphasize the central role of the assemblies and thus tout them as democracies; other scholars focus on the upper-class domination of the leadership and possible control of the assembly and see an oligarchy or an aristocracy. Despite the assembly's obvious power, it has not yet been established whether the composition and participation were truly popular.

The first main obstacle is the lack of evidence describing the popular power of the assembly. This is reflected in the *Arthashastra*, an ancient handbook for monarchs on how to rule efficiently. It contains a chapter on how to deal with the *sangas*, which includes injunctions on manipulating the noble leaders, yet it does not mention how to influence the mass of the citizens – a surprising omission if democratic bodies, not the aristocratic families, actively controlled the republican governments. Another issue is the persistence of the four-tiered Varna class system. The duties and privileges on the members of each particular caste – rigid enough to prohibit someone sharing a meal with those of another order – might have affected the roles members were expected to play in the state, regardless of the formality of the institutions.

A central tenet of democracy is the notion of shared decision-making power.

The absence of any concrete notion of citizen equality across these caste system boundaries leads many scholars to claim that the true nature of *ganas* and *sanghas* is not comparable to truly democratic institutions.



Mallas defending the city of Kusinagara, as depicted at Sanchi. Malla was an ancient Indian republic (*Gaṇa sangha*) that constituted one of the *solasa* (sixteen) Mahajanapadas (great kingdoms) of ancient India as mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikaya*.

## Sparta

Ancient Greece, in its early period, was a loose collection of independent city states called poleis. Many of these poleis were oligarchies. The most prominent Greek oligarchy, and the state with which democratic Athens is most often and most fruitfully compared, was Sparta. Yet Sparta, in its rejection of private wealth as a primary social differentiator, was a peculiar kind of oligarchy and some scholars note its resemblance to democracy.

In Spartan government, the political power was divided between four bodies:

- two Spartan Kings (diarchy);
- gerousia (*Council of Gerontes* (Elders), including the two kings);
- the ephors (representatives of the citizens who oversaw the Kings);
- the apella (assembly of Spartans).

The two kings served as the head of the government. They ruled simultaneously, but they came from two separate lines. The dual kingship diluted the effective power of the executive office. The kings shared their judicial functions with other members of the gerousia who had to be over the age of 60 and were elected for life.

In theory, any Spartan over that age could stand for election. However, in practice, they were selected from wealthy, aristocratic families. The gerousia possessed the crucial power of legislative initiative.

Apella, the most democratic element, was the assembly where Spartans above the age of 30 elected the members of the gerousia and the ephors, and accepted or rejected gerousia's proposals. Finally, the five ephors were Spartans chosen in apella to oversee the actions of the kings and other public officials and, if necessary, depose them. They served for one year and could not be re-elected for a second term.

Over the years, the ephors held great influence on the formation of foreign policy and acted as the main executive body of the state. Additionally, they had full responsibility for the Spartan educational system, which was essential for maintaining the high standards of the Spartan army. As Aristotle noted, ephors were the most important key institution of the state, but because often they were appointed from the whole social body it resulted in very poor men holding office, with the ensuing possibility that they could easily be bribed.

The creator of the Spartan system of rule was the legendary lawgiver Lycurgus. He is associated with the drastic reforms that were instituted in Sparta after the revolt of the helots in the second half of the 7th century B.C.

In order to prevent another helot revolt, Lycurgus devised the highly militarized communal system that made Sparta unique among the city-states of Greece. All his reforms were directed towards the three Spartan virtues: equality (among citizens), military fitness, and austerity. It is probable that Lycurgus delineated the powers of the two traditional organs of the Spartan government, the gerousia and the apella.

The reforms of Lycurgus were written as a list of rules/laws called Great Rhetra, making it the world's first written constitution. In the following centuries, Sparta became a military superpower, and its system of rule was admired throughout the Greek world for its political stability. In particular, the concept of equality played an important role in Spartan society. The Spartans referred to themselves as *ὄμοιοι* (*Homoioi*, *men of equal status*).

It was reflected in the Spartan public educational system, agoge, where all citizens irrespective of wealth or status had the same education. This was admired universally by contemporaries such as Herodotus & Xenophon to philosophers such as Plato & Aristotle.

In addition, the Spartan women, unlike elsewhere, enjoyed "every kind of luxury and intemperance" including rights such as the right to inheritance, property ownership, and public education. Overall, the Spartans were remarkably free to criticize their kings and they were able to depose and exile them.

However, despite these *democratic* elements in the Spartan constitution, there are two cardinal criticisms, classifying Sparta as an oligarchy.

First, individual freedom was restricted, since as Plutarch writes "*no man was allowed to live as he wished*", but as in a "*military camp*" all were engaged in the public service of their polis. Second, the gerousia effectively maintained the biggest share of power of the various governmental bodies. The political stability of Sparta meant that no significant changes in the constitution were made. The oligarchic elements of Sparta became even stronger, especially after the influx of gold and silver from the victories in the Persian Wars.

In addition, Athens, after the Persian Wars, was becoming the hegemonic power in the Greek world and disagreements between Sparta and Athens over supremacy emerged.

These led to a series of armed conflicts known as the Peloponnesian War, with Sparta prevailing in the end. However, the war exhausted both poleis and Sparta was in turn humbled by Thebes at the Battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. It was all brought to an end a few years later, when Philip II of Macedon crushed what remained of the power of the factional city-states to his South.

### **Athens**

Athens is often regarded as the birthplace of democracy and remains an important reference-point for democracy. Athens emerged in the 7th century B.C., like many other poleis, with a dominating powerful aristocracy. However, this domination led to exploitation, creating significant economic, political, and social problems. These problems exacerbated early in the 6th century; and, as "*the many were enslaved to few, the people rose against the notables*". At the same time, a number of popular revolutions disrupted traditional aristocracies. This included Sparta in the second half of the 7th century B.C.

The constitutional reforms implemented by Lycurgus in Sparta introduced a hoplite state that showed, in turn, how inherited governments can be changed and lead to military victory. After a period of unrest between the rich and poor, Athenians of all classes turned to Solon to act as a mediator between rival factions, and reached a generally satisfactory solution to their problems.

Solon (c. 638 – c. 558 B.C.), an Athenian (Greek) of noble descent but moderate means, was a lyric poet and later a lawmaker; Plutarch ranked him as one of the Seven Sages of the ancient world. Solon attempted to satisfy all sides by alleviating the suffering of the poor majority without removing all the privileges of the rich minority. Solon divided the Athenians into four property-classes, with different rights and duties for each.

As the Rhetra did in Lycurgian Sparta, Solon formalized the composition and functions of the governmental bodies. All citizens gained the right to attend the Ecclesia (Assembly) and to vote. The Ecclesia became, in principle, the sovereign body, entitled to pass laws and decrees, elect officials, and hear appeals from the most important decisions of the courts.

All but those in the poorest group might serve, a year at a time, on a new Boule of 400, which was to prepare the agenda for the Ecclesia.

The higher governmental posts, those of the archons (magistrates), were reserved for citizens of the top two income groups.

The retired archons became members of the Areopagus (Council of the Hill of Ares), which like the Gerousia in Sparta, was able to check improper actions of the newly powerful Ecclesia. Solon created a mixed timocratic and democratic system of institutions.

Overall, Solon devised the reforms of 594 B.C. to avert the political, economic, and moral decline in archaic Athens and gave Athens its first comprehensive code of law.

The constitutional reforms eliminated enslavement of Athenians by Athenians, established rules for legal redress against over-reaching aristocratic archons, and assigned political privileges on the basis of productive wealth rather than of noble birth. Some of Solon's reforms failed in the short term, yet he is often credited with having laid the foundations for Athenian democracy.

### **Democracy under Cleisthenes & Pericles**

Even though the Solonian reorganization of the constitution improved the economic position of the Athenian lower classes, it did not eliminate the bitter aristocratic contentions for control of the archonship, the chief executive post.

Peisistratus became tyrant of Athens three times from 561 B.C. and remained in power until his death in 527 B.C. His sons Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded him.

After the fall of tyranny (510 B.C.) and before the year 508-507 was over, Cleisthenes proposed a complete reform of the system of government, which later was approved by the popular Ecclesia. Cleisthenes reorganized the population of citizens into ten tribes, with the aim to change the basis of political organization from the family loyalties to political ones; improve the army's organization. He introduced the principle of equality of rights for all male citizens, *isonomia*, by expanding access to power to more citizens.

During this period, Athenians first used the word "democracy" (Greek: δημοκρατία – "rule by the people") to define their new system of government. In the next generation, Athens entered its Golden Age, becoming a great centre of literature and art.

Greek victories in Persian Wars (499-449 B.C.) encouraged the poorest Athenians (participated in the military campaigns) to demand a greater say in the running of their city.

In the late 460s, Ephialtes and Pericles presided over a radicalization of power that shifted the balance decisively to the poorest sections of society, by passing laws, which severely limited the powers of the Council of the Areopagus and allowed thetes (Athenians without wealth) to occupy public office.

Pericles became distinguished as the Athenians' greatest democratic leader, even though he has been accused of running a political machine.

In the following passage, Thucydides recorded Pericles, in the funeral oration, describing the Athenian system of rule: "Its administration favours the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a *democracy*. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if no social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition. The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends to our ordinary life". The Athenian democracy of Cleisthenes and Pericles was based on freedom of citizens (through the reforms of Solon) and on equality of citizens (*isonomia*).

They were introduced by Cleisthenes and later expanded by Ephialtes and Pericles. To preserve these principles, the Athenians used lot for selecting officials.

Casting lots aimed to ensure that all citizens were "*equally*" qualified for office, and to avoid any corruption allotment machines were used.

Moreover, in most positions chosen by lot, Athenian citizens could not be selected more than once; this rotation in office meant that no one could build up a power base through staying in a particular position. The courts formed another important political institution in Athens; they were composed of a large number of juries with no judges, and they were selected by lot on a daily basis from an annual pool, chosen by lot.

The courts had unlimited power to control the other bodies of the government and its political leaders. Participation by the citizens selected was mandatory, and a modest financial compensation was given to citizens whose livelihood was affected by being "drafted" to office. The only officials chosen by elections, one from each tribe, were the *stratego*i (generals), where military knowledge was required, and the *treasurers*, who had to be wealthy, since any funds revealed to have been embezzled were recovered from a treasurer's private fortune. Debate was open to all present and decisions in all matters of policy were taken by majority vote in the Ecclesia (compare direct democracy), in which all male citizens could participate (in some cases with a quorum of 6000).

The decisions taken in the Ecclesia were executed by the Boule of 500, which had already approved the agenda for the Ecclesia. The Athenian Boule was elected by lot every year and no citizen could serve more than twice.

Overall, the Athenian democracy was not only *direct* in the sense that decisions were made by the assembled people, but also *directest* in the sense that the people through the assembly, boule, and courts of law controlled the entire political process and a large proportion of citizens were involved constantly in the public business.

Even though the rights of the individual (probably) were not secured by the Athenian constitution in the modern sense, the Athenians enjoyed their liberties not in opposition to the government, but by living in a city that was not subject to another power and by not being subjects themselves to the rule of another person.

### **The birth of political philosophy**

Within the Athenian democratic environment, many philosophers from all over the Greek world gathered to develop their theories. Socrates (470-399 B.C.) was the first to raise the question, further expanded by his pupil Plato (died 348/347), about the relation/position of an individual within a community. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) continued the work of his teacher, Plato, and laid the foundations of political philosophy. The political philosophy developed in Athens was, in the words of Peter Hall, "*in a form so complete that hardly added anyone of moment to it for over a millennium*".

Aristotle systematically analyzed the different systems of rule that the numerous Greek city-states had and divided them into three categories based on how many ruled: the many (democracy/polity), the few (oligarchy/aristocracy), a single person (tyranny, or today: autocracy/monarchy).

For Aristotle, the underlying principles of democracy are reflected in his work *Politics*: "Now a fundamental principle of the democratic form of constitution is liberty – that is what is usually asserted, implying that only under this constitution do men participate in liberty, for they assert this as the aim of every democracy.

But one factor of liberty is to govern and be governed in turn; for the popular principle of justice is to have equality according to number, not worth.

If this is the principle of justice prevailing, the multitude must of necessity be sovereign and the decision of the majority must be final and must constitute justice, for they say that each of the citizens ought to have an equal share; so that it results that in democracies the poor are more powerful than the rich, because there are more of them and whatever is decided by the majority is sovereign. This then is one mark of liberty, which all democrats set down as a principle of the constitution.

One is for a man to live, as he likes; for they say that this is the function of liberty, inasmuch as to live not as one likes is the life of a man that is a slave. This is the second principle of democracy, and from it has come the claim not to be governed, preferably not by anybody, or failing that, to govern and be governed in turns; and this is the way in which the second principle contributes to equalitarian liberty."

### **Decline & revival & criticisms**

The Athenian democracy, in its two centuries of life-time, twice voted against its democratic constitution (both times during the crisis at the end of the Peloponnesian War of 431 to 404 B.C.), establishing first the Four Hundred (in 411 B.C.) and second Sparta's puppet régime of the Thirty Tyrants (in 404 B.C.E). Both votes took place under manipulation and pressure, but democracy was recovered in less than a year in both cases.

Reforms following the restoration of democracy after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants removed most law-making authority from the Assembly and placed it in randomly selected law-making juries known as "nomothetai". Athens restored its democratic constitution again after King Phillip II of Macedon (reigned 359-336 B.C.E) and later Alexander the Great (reigned 336-323 B.C.) unified Greece, but it was politically over-shadowed by the Hellenistic empires. Finally, after the Roman conquest of Greece in 146 B.C., Athens was restricted to matters of local administration.

However, democracy in Athens declined not only due to external powers, but also due to its citizens, such as Plato and his student Aristotle. Because of their influential works, after the rediscovery of classics during the Renaissance, Sparta's political stability was praised, while the Periclean democracy was described as a system of rule where either the less well born, the mob (as a collective tyrant), or the poorer classes held power.

Only centuries afterwards, after the publication of *A History of Greece* by George Grote from 1846 onwards, did modern political thinkers start to view the Athenian democracy of Pericles positively. In the late 20th century scholars re-examined the Athenian system of rule as a model of empowering citizens and as a "post-modern" example for communities and organizations alike.

### **Rome & the Roman Republic**

Even though Rome is classified as a Republic and not a democracy, its history has helped preserve the concept of democracy over the centuries. The Romans invented the concept of classics and many works from Ancient Greece were preserved. Additionally, the Roman model of governance inspired many political thinkers over the centuries, and today's modern (representative) democracies imitate more the Roman than the Greek models.

Rome was a city-state in Italy next to powerful neighbours; Etruscans had built city-states throughout central Italy since the 13th century B.C. In the south were Greek colonies. Similar to other city-states, Rome was ruled by a king. However, social unrest and the pressure of external threats led in 510 B.C.

The last king was deposed by a group of aristocrats led by Lucius Junius Brutus.

A new constitution was crafted, but the conflict between the ruling families (patricians) & the rest of the population, the plebeians continued.

The plebs were demanding for definite, written, secular laws. The patrician priests, who were the recorders and interpreters of the statutes, by keeping their records secret used their monopoly against social change.

After a long resistance to the new demands, the Senate in 454 B.C. sent a commission of three patricians to Greece to study and report on the legislation of Solon and other lawmakers. When they returned, the Assembly in 451 B.C. chose ten men – a decemviri – to formulate a new code, and gave them supreme governmental power in Rome for two years. This commission, under the supervision of a resolute reactionary, Appius Claudius, transformed the old customary law of Rome into Twelve Tables and submitted them to the Assembly (passed them with changes) and they were displayed in the Forum for all who would and could read.

The Twelve Tables recognised certain rights and by the 4th century B.C., the plebs were given the right to stand for consulship and other major offices of the state.

The political structure as outlined in the Roman constitution resembled a mixed constitution and its constituent parts were comparable to those of the Spartan constitution: two consuls, embodying the monarchic form; the Senate, embodying the aristocratic form; and the people through the assemblies. The consul was the highest-ranking ordinary magistrate. Consuls had power in both civil and military matters.

While in the city of Rome, the consuls were the head of the Roman government and they would preside over the Senate and the assemblies.

While abroad, each consul would command an army. The Senate passed decrees, which were called *senatus consultum* and were official advices to a magistrate.

However, in practice, it was difficult for a magistrate to ignore the Senate's advice.

The focus of the Roman Senate was directed towards foreign policy. Though it technically had no official role in the management of military conflict, the Senate ultimately was the force that oversaw such affairs. It managed Rome's civil administration.

The requirements for becoming a senator included having at least 100,000 denarii worth of land, being born of the patrician (noble aristocrats) class, having held public office at least once before. New Senators had to be approved by the sitting members.

The people of Rome through the assemblies had the final say regarding the election of magistrates, the enactment of new laws, the carrying out of capital punishment, the declaration of war and peace, and the creation (or dissolution) of alliances.

Despite the obvious power the assemblies had, in practice, the assemblies were the least powerful of the other bodies of government. An assembly was legal only if summoned by a magistrate and it was restricted from any legislative initiative or the ability to debate.

Even the candidates for public office as Livy writes "*levels were designed so that no one appeared to be excluded from an election and yet all of the clout resided with the leading men*". Moreover, the unequal weight of votes was making a rare practice for asking the lowest classes for their votes. Roman stability, in Polybius' assessment, was owing to the checks each element put on the superiority of any other: a consul at war required the cooperation of the Senate and the people. If he hoped to secure victory and glory, and could not be indifferent to their wishes.

This was not to say that the balance was in every way even: Polybius observes that the superiority of the Roman to the Carthaginian constitution (another mixed constitution) at the time of the Hannibalic War was an effect of the latter's greater inclination toward democracy than to aristocracy. Moreover, recent attempts to posit for Rome personal freedom in the Greek sense – *eleutheria*: living as you like – have fallen on stony ground, since *eleutheria* (an ideology & way of life in the democratic Athens) was anathema in the Roman eyes. Rome's core values included order, hierarchy, discipline, and obedience.

These values were enforced with laws regulating the private life of an individual.

The laws were applied in particular to the upper classes, since the upper classes were the source of Roman moral examples. Rome became the ruler of a great Mediterranean Empire. The new provinces brought wealth to Italy; fortunes were made through mineral concessions and enormous slave run estates. Slaves were imported to Italy and wealthy landowners soon began to buy up and displace the original peasant farmers.

By the late 2nd century, this led to renewed conflict between the rich and poor and demands from the latter for reform of the constitution. The background of social unease and the inability of the traditional republican constitutions to adapt to the needs of the growing empire led to the rise of a series of over-mighty generals, championing the cause of either the rich or the poor, in the last century B.C.

### **Transition to Empire**

Over the next few hundred years, various generals would bypass or overthrow the Senate for various reasons, mostly to address perceived injustices, either against themselves or against poorer citizens or soldiers.

One of those generals was Julius Caesar, where he marched on Rome and took supreme power over the republic. Caesar's career was cut short by his assassination at Rome in 44 B.C. by a group of Senators including Marcus Junius Brutus. In the power vacuum that followed Caesar's assassination, his friend and chief lieutenant, Marcus Antonius, and Caesar's grandnephew Octavian who was the adopted son of Caesar, rose to prominence. Their combined strength gave the triumvirs absolute power.

However, in 31 B.C. war between the two broke out. The final confrontation occurred on 2 September 31 B.C., at the naval Battle of Actium where the fleet of Octavian under the command of Agrippa routed Antony's fleet.

Thereafter, there was no one left in the Roman Republic who wanted to, or could stand against Octavian, and the adopted son of Caesar moved to take absolute control.

Octavian left the majority of Republican institutions intact, though he influenced everything using personal authority and ultimately controlled the final decisions, having the military might to back up his rule if necessary.

By 27 B.C. the transition, though subtle, disguised, and relying on personal power over the power of offices, was complete. In that year, Octavian offered back all his powers to the Senate; in a carefully staged way, the Senate refused and titled Octavian *Augustus* – "the revered one". He was always careful to avoid the title of *rex* – "king", and instead took on the titles of *princeps* – "first citizen" and *imperator*, a title given by Roman troops to their victorious commanders.

The Roman Empire had been born. Once Octavian named Tiberius as his heir, it was clear to everyone that even the hope of a restored Republic was dead. Most likely, by the time Augustus died, no one was old enough to know a time before an Emperor ruled Rome.

The Roman Republic had been changed into a despotic régime, which, underneath a competent and strong Emperor, could achieve military supremacy, economic prosperity, & a genuine peace, but under a weak or incompetent one saw its glory tarnished by cruelty, military defeats, revolts, and civil war. The Roman Empire was eventually divided between the Western Roman Empire which fell in 476 A.D. the Eastern Roman Empire (the Byzantine Empire), which lasted until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A.D. The Germanic tribal thing assemblies described by Tacitus in his *Germania*. The Christian Church well into the 6th century A.D. had its bishops elected by popular acclaim. The *collegia* of the Roman period: associations of various social, economic, religious, funerary and sportive natures elected officers yearly, directly modeled on the Senate of Rome.

### **Institutions in the Medieval Era**

During the Middle Ages, there were various systems involving elections or assemblies, although often only involving a small amount of the population, such as the election of Uthman in the Rashidun Caliphate, the election of Gopala in Bengal, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Althing in Iceland, certain medieval Italian city-states such as Venice, the tuatha system in early medieval Ireland, the Veche in Novgorod and Pskov Republics of medieval Russia, Scandinavian Things, The States in Tirol and Switzerland and the autonomous merchant city of Sakai in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Japan. However, participation was often restricted to a minority, and so may be better classified as oligarchy. Most regions in medieval Europe were ruled by clergy or feudal lords. A little closer to modern democracy were the Cossack republics of Ukraine in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries: Cossack Hetmanate and Zaporizhian Sich.

The highest post – the Hetman – was elected by the representatives from the country's districts. Because these states were very militarized, the right to participate in Hetman's elections was largely restricted to those who served in the Cossack Army and over time was curtailed effectively limiting these rights to higher army ranks. The Parliament of England had its roots in the restrictions on the power of kings written into Magna Carta.

The first elected parliament was De Montfort's Parliament in England in 1265.

However only a small minority actually had a voice; Parliament was elected by only a few percent of the population (less than 3% in 1780.), and the system had problematic features such as rotten boroughs. The power to call parliament was at the pleasure of the monarch (usually when he or she needed funds).

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the English Bill of Rights was enacted in 1689, which codified certain rights and increased the influence of the Parliament.

The franchise was slowly increased and the Parliament gradually gained more power until the monarch became largely a figurehead.

Democracy was seen to a certain extent in bands and tribes such as the Iroquois Confederacy. However, in the Iroquois Confederacy, only the males of certain clans could be leaders and some clans were excluded. Only the oldest females from the same clans could choose and remove the leaders. This excluded most of the population.

An interesting detail is that there should be consensus among the leaders, not majority support decided by voting, when making decisions. Band societies, such as the Bushmen, which usually number 20-50 people in the band often do not have leaders and make decisions based on consensus among the majority.

In Melanesia, farming village communities have traditionally been egalitarian and lacking in a rigid, authoritarian hierarchy.

Although a "Big man" or "Big woman" could gain influence, that influence was conditional on a continued demonstration of leadership skills, and on the willingness of the community.

Every person was expected to share in communal duties, and entitled to participate in communal decisions. However, strong social pressure encouraged conformity and discouraged individualism.

Most of the procedures used by modern democracies are very old. Almost all cultures have at some time had their new leaders approved, or at least accepted, by the people; have changed the laws only after consultation with the assembly of the people or their leaders. Such institutions existed since before the times of the *Iliad* or of the *Odyssey*, modern democracies are derived from or inspired by them, or what remained of them.

Nevertheless, the direct result of these institutions was not always a democracy. It was often a narrow oligarchy, as in Venice, or even an absolute monarchy, as in Florence, in the Renaissance period; but during the medieval period guild democracies did evolve.

#### **Early institutions included:**

The continuations of the early Germanic thing.

The Witenagemot (folk moot) of Early Medieval England, councils of advisors to the kings of the petty kingdoms and then that of a unified England before the Norman Conquest.

The Frankish custom of the Märzfeld or *Camp of Mars*.

In the Iberian Peninsula, in Portuguese, Leonese, Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan and Valencian customs, cortes were periodically convened to debate the state of the Realms.

Tynwald, on the Isle of Man, claims to be one of the oldest continuous parliaments in the world, with roots back to the late 9th or 10th century.

The Althing, the parliament of the Icelandic Commonwealth, founded in 930.

It consisted of the 39, later 55, *goðar*; each owner of a *goðarð*; and each hereditary *goði* kept a tight hold on his membership, which could in principle be lent or sold.

Thus, when Burnt Njal's stepson wanted to enter it, Njal had to persuade the Althing to enlarge itself so a seat would become available. However, as each independent farmer in the country could choose what *goði* represented him, the system could be claimed as an early form of democracy. The Alþing has run nearly continuously to the present day.

The Althing was preceded by less elaborate "things" (assemblies) all over Northern Europe. The *Thing of all Swedes*, which took place annually at Uppsala at the end of February or in early March. As in Iceland, the law speaker presided over the assemblies, but the Swedish king functioned as a judge. A famous incident took place circa 1018, when King Olof Skötkonung wanted to pursue the war against Norway against the will of the people. Þorgnýr the Law Speaker reminded the king in a long speech that the power resided with the Swedish people and not with the king. When the king heard the din of swords beating the shields in support of Þorgnýr's speech, he gave in. Adam of Bremen wrote that the people used to obey the king only when they thought his suggestions seemed better in war his power was absolute.

The Swiss Landsgemeinde.

The election of Uthman in the Rashidun Caliphate (7th century).

The election of Gopala in the Pala Empire (8th century).

The *túatha* system in early medieval Ireland. Landowners and the masters of a profession or craft were members of a local assembly, known as a *túath*.

Each *túath* met in annual assembly, which approved all common policies, declared war or peace on other *tuatha*, and accepted the election of a new "king"; normally during the old king's lifetime, as a *tanist*.

The new king had to be descended within four generations from a previous king, so this usually became, in practice, a hereditary kingship; although some kingships alternated between lines of cousins. About 80 to 100 *túatha* coexisted at any time throughout Ireland. Each *túath* controlled a more or less compact area of land, which it could pretty much defend from cattle-raids, and this was divided among its members.

The Ibadites of Oman, a minority sect distinct from both Sunni and Shia Muslims, have traditionally chosen their leaders via community-wide elections of qualified candidates starting in the 8th century. They were distinguished early on in the region by their belief that the ruler needed the consent of the ruled. The leader exercised both religious and secular rule. The Papal election, 1061. The guilds, of economic, social and religious natures, in the later Middle Ages elected officers for yearly terms.

The city-states (republics) of medieval Italy, as Venice and Florence, and similar city-states in Switzerland, Flanders and the Hanseatic league had not a modern democratic system but a guild democratic system. The Italian cities in the middle medieval period had "lobbies war" democracies without institutional guarantee systems (a full-developed balance of powers). During late medieval and renaissance periods, Venice became an oligarchy and others became "Signorie". They were, in any case in late medieval times, not nearly as democratic as the Athenian-influenced city-states of Ancient Greece (discussed above), but they served as focal points for early modern democracy.

Veche, Wiece – popular assemblies in Slavic countries.

In Poland *wiece* have developed in 1182 into the Sejm – the Polish parliament.

The *veche* was the highest legislature and judicial authority in the republics of Novgorod until 1478 and Pskov until 1510. The *elizate* system of the Basque Country in which farmholders of a rural area connected to a particular church would meet to reach decisions on issues affecting the community and to elect representatives to the provincial *Batzar Nagusiak/Juntos Generales*.

The rise of democratic parliaments in England and Scotland: Magna Carta (1215) limiting the authority of powerholders; first representative parliament (1265).

The Magna Carta implicitly supported what became the English writ of habeas corpus, safeguarding individual freedom against unlawful imprisonment with right to appeal.

The emergence of petitioning in the 13th century is some of the earliest evidence of this parliament being used as a forum to address the general grievances of ordinary people.

### **Indigenous people of America**

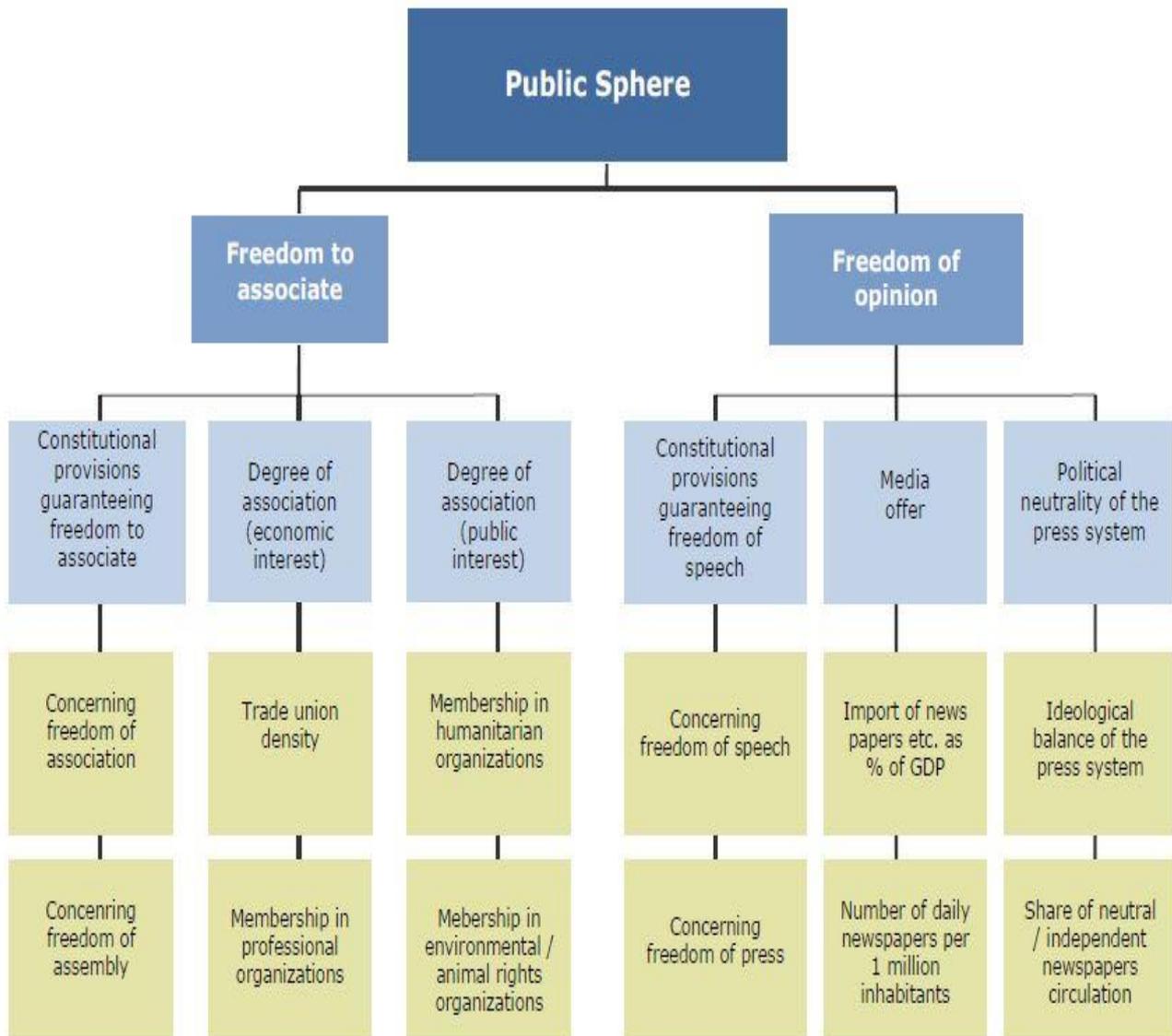
Historian Jack Weatherford has argued that the ideas leading to the USA Constitution and democracy derived from various indigenous peoples of the Americas including the Iroquois. Weatherford claimed this democracy was founded between the years 1000-1450. It lasted several hundred years that the U.S. democratic system was continually changed and improved by the influence of Native Americans throughout North America.

Temple University professor of anthropology and an authority on the culture and history of the Northern Iroquois Elizabeth Tooker has reviewed these claims and concluded they are myth rather than fact. The idea that North American Indians had a democratic culture is several decades old, but not usually expressed within historical literature.

The relationship between the Iroquois League & the Constitution is based on a portion of a letter written by B. Franklin and a speech by the Iroquois chief Canasatego in 1744. Tooker concluded that the documents only indicate that some groups of Iroquois and white settlers realized the advantages of a confederation, and that ultimately there is little evidence to support the idea that eighteenth century colonists were knowledgeable regarding the Iroquois system of governance.

What little evidence there is regarding this system indicates chiefs of different tribes were permitted representation in the Iroquois League council, and this ability to represent the tribe was hereditary. The council itself did not practice representative government, and there were no elections; deceased chiefs' successors were selected by the most senior woman within the hereditary lineage in consultation with other women in the clan.

Decision-making occurred through lengthy discussion & decisions were unanimous, with topics discussed being introduced by a single tribe. Tooker concludes that "...there is virtually no evidence that the framers borrowed from the Iroquois" and that the myth is largely based on a claim made by Iroquois linguist and ethnographer J.N.B. Hewitt which was exaggerated and misinterpreted after his death in 1937. The Aztecs also practiced elections, but the elected officials elected a supreme speaker, not a ruler.



## EARLY MODERN ERA MILESTONES

Norman Davies notes that Golden Liberty, the Nobles' Democracy (Rzeczpospolita Szlachecka) arose in the Kingdom of Poland and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

This foreshadowed a democracy of about ten percent of the population of the Commonwealth, consisting of the nobility, who were an electorate for the office of the King. They observed *Nihil novi* of 1505, *Pacta conventa* and King Henry's Articles (1573).

*The Case of Proclamations* (1610) in England decided that "the King by his proclamation or other ways cannot change any part of the common law, or statute law, or the customs of the realm" that "the King hath no prerogative, but that which the law of the land allows him". *Dr. Bonham's Case* (1610), decided that "in many cases, the common law will control Acts of Parliament". The Virginia House of Burgesses, established in 1619, is the first representative legislative body in the New World.

The Mayflower Compact, signed in 1620, an agreement between the Pilgrims, on forming a government between themselves, based on majority rule.

During a period of renewed interest in Magna Carta, the Petition of Right (1628) was passed by the Parliament of England. It established, among other things, the illegality of taxation without parliamentary consent and of arbitrary imprisonment.

The idea of the political party with factions took form in Britain around the time of the English Civil War (1642-1651). Soldiers from the Parliamentary New Model Army and a faction of Levellers freely debated rights to political representation during the Putney Debates of 1647. The Levellers published a newspaper (*The Moderate*) & pioneered political petitions, pamphleteering and party colours.

Later, the pre-war Royalist (then Cavalier) and opposing Parliamentary groupings became the Tory party and the Whigs in the Parliament. English Act of Habeas Corpus (1679), safeguarding individual freedom against unlawful imprisonment with right to appeal; one of the documents integral to the Constitution and the history of the parliament of the UK. William Penn wrote his Frame of Government of Pennsylvania in 1682. The document gave the colony a representative legislature and granted liberal freedoms to the colony's citizens. A bill of rights is enacted by the Parliament of England in 1689.

The Bill of Rights 1689 set out the requirement for regular parliaments, free elections, rules for freedom of speech in Parliament, and limited the power of the monarch.

It ensured (with the Glorious Revolution of 1688) that, unlike much of the rest of Europe, royal absolutism would not prevail.

### 18th & 19th century milestones

1707: The first Parliament of Great Britain is established after the merger of the Kingdom of England and the Kingdom of Scotland under the Acts of Union 1707. From around 1721-42, Robert Walpole, regarded as the first prime minister of Great Britain, chaired cabinet meetings, appointed all other ministers, and developed the doctrine of cabinet solidarity.

1755: The Corsican Republic led by Pasquale Paoli with the Corsican Constitution

From the late 1770s: new Constitutions and Bills explicitly describing and limiting the authority of powerholders, many based on the English Bill of Rights (1689).

Historian Norman Davies calls the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Constitution of May 3, 1791 "the first constitution of its kind in Europe".

The USA: the Founding Fathers rejected "democracy" as defined by the Greeks, preferring instead "a natural aristocracy", whereby only the landed gentry were entitled to a place in Congress. The Americans, as with the British, took their cue from the Roman republic model: only the patrician classes were involved in government.

1776: Virginia Declaration of Rights.

USA Constitution ratified in 1788, created bicameral legislature with members of the House of Representatives elected "by the People of the several states", and members of the Senate elected by the state legislatures. The Constitution did not originally define who was eligible to vote, leaving that to the constituent states, which mostly enfranchised only adult white males who owned land.

Although not described as a democracy by the founding fathers, the US founders shared a determination to root the American experiment in the principle of natural freedom and equality.

The Constitution, adopted in 1788, provided for an elected government and protected civil rights and liberties. In the colonial period before 1776, only adult white male property owners could vote. Enslaved Africans, free black people and women were not extended the franchise.

On the American frontier, democracy became a way of life, with widespread social, economic and political equality. Democracy only became a way of life for men.

Women still were not permitted to vote by the constitution of the USA. Likewise, the frontier did not produce much democracy in Canada, Australia or Russia.

In 1789, Revolutionary France adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and, although short-lived, the National Convention was elected by all males.

1791: the USA Bill of Rights ratified.

1790s: First Party System in U.S. involves invention of locally rooted political parties in the USA; networks of party newspapers; new canvassing techniques; use of caucus to select candidates; fixed party names; party loyalty; party platform (Jefferson 1799);

1800: peaceful transition between parties

1780s: development of social movements identifying themselves with the term "democracy": Political clashes between "aristocrats" & "democrats" in Benelux countries changed the semi-negative meaning of the word "democracy" in Europe, which was until then regarded as synonymous with anarchy, into a much more positive opposite of "aristocracy".

1789-1799: the French Revolution.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen adopted on 26 August 1789 which declared that "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights" and proclaimed the universal character of human rights.

Universal male suffrage established for the election of the National Convention in September 1792, but revoked by the Directory in 1795.

Slavery abolished in the French colonies by the National Convention on 4 February 1794, with Black people made equal to White people ("All men, without distinction of colour, residing in the colonies are French citizens and will enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution") Slavery was re-established by Napoleon in 1802.

1791: The Haitian Revolution a successful slave revolution established a free republic.

1792: Sierra Leone : December 1792 : local election in Freetown colony : about 1000 old slave "Black loyalists" coming from Canada, elected tythingmen (probably 30) & hundredors (probably 3).

First election in Africa before local elections in South Africa in 1837, general election in Liberia in 1840, election of a member of parliament of France in Senegal in 1848 and local in 4 towns of Senegal in 1872, about 126 elections in Algeria between 1848 and 1961, parliamentary election in Cap in 1854, parliamentary election in Egypt in 1883.

True African democracy based on elections open to the people was born in Egypt in 1923. Its greatest craftsman was Saad Zaghloul, Egyptian prime minister in 1924 and founder of the Wafd party and essential figure of African history.

### **The United Kingdom**

1807: The Slave Trade Act banned the trade across the British Empire after which the U.K. established the Blockade of Africa and enacted international treaties to combat foreign slave traders.

1832: The passing of the Reform Act, which gave representation to previously under represented urban areas in the U.K. and extended the voting franchise to a wider population.

1833: The Slavery Abolition Act was passed, which took effect across the British Empire from 1 August 1834.

1810: 24 of September: Opening session of the Cortes of Cádiz, with representatives of all Spanish provinces, including those in America.

1820: First Cortes Gerais in Portugal under a Constitutional Charter.

1835: Serbia's first modern constitution.

1837: February 3: Local election in South Africa (British colony) in the city of Beaufort West, the first city organizing the election of a municipal council after the Cape Town Ordinance of 1836 (Order 9 from 1836)

By the 1840s almost all property restrictions were ended and nearly all white adult male citizens could vote; and turnout averaged 60-80% in frequent elections for local, state and national officials. In Reconstruction after the Civil War (late 1860s) the newly freed slaves became citizens with (in the case of men) a nominal right to vote.

New Zealand granted suffrage to (native) Maori men in 1867, white men in 1879, and women in 1893, thus becoming the first major nation to achieve universal suffrage.

1848: Universal male suffrage was re-established in France in March of that year, in the wake of the French Revolution of 1848.

1848: Following the French, the Revolutions of 1848, although in many instances forcefully put down, did result in democratic constitutions in some other European countries, among them Denmark and Netherlands.

1850s: introduction of the secret ballot in Australia; 1872 in UK; 1892 in USA.

1853: Black Africans given the vote for the first time in Southern Africa, in the British-administered Cape Province.

1856: USA – property ownership requirements were eliminated in all states, giving suffrage to most adult white males. However, tax-paying requirements remained in five states until 1860 and in two states until the 20th century.

1870: USA – 15th Amendment to the Constitution, prohibits voting rights discrimination on the basis of race, colour, or previous condition of slavery.

1878-80: William Ewart Gladstone's UK Midlothian campaign ushered in the modern political campaign.

1893: New Zealand is the first nation to introduce universal suffrage by awarding the vote to women (universal male suffrage had been in place since 1879).

1905: Persian Constitutional Revolution, first parliamentary system in middle east.

### **The secret ballot**

The notion of a secret ballot, where one is entitled to the privacy of their votes, is taken for granted by most today by virtue of the fact that it is simply considered the norm.

However, this practice was highly controversial in the 19th century; it was widely argued that no man would want to keep his vote secret unless he was ashamed of it.

The two earliest systems used were the Victorian method and the South Australian method. Both were introduced in 1856 to voters in Victoria and South Australia.

The Victorian method involved voters crossing out all the candidates whom he did not approve of. The South Australian method, which is more similar to what most democracies use today, had voters put a mark in the preferred candidate's corresponding box.

The Victorian voting system also was not completely secret, as it was traceable by a special number. The stone inscriptions in a temple say that ballot elections were held in South India by a method called Kudavolai system. Kudavolai means the ballot sheet of leaf that was put secretly in a pot vessel called "kudam". The details are found inscribed on the walls of the village assembly hall.

Actually, the once village-assembly hall is the present temple.

The details show that the village had a secret ballot electoral system and a written Constitution, prescribing the mode of elections.

The three 20th century waves of democracy, based on the number of nations 1800-2003 scoring 8 or higher on Polity IV scale, another widely used measure of democracy.

The end of the First World War was a temporary victory for democracy in Europe, as it was preserved in France and temporarily extended to Germany. Already in 1906 full modern democratic rights, universal suffrage for all citizens was implemented constitutionally in Finland as well as a proportional representation, open list system.

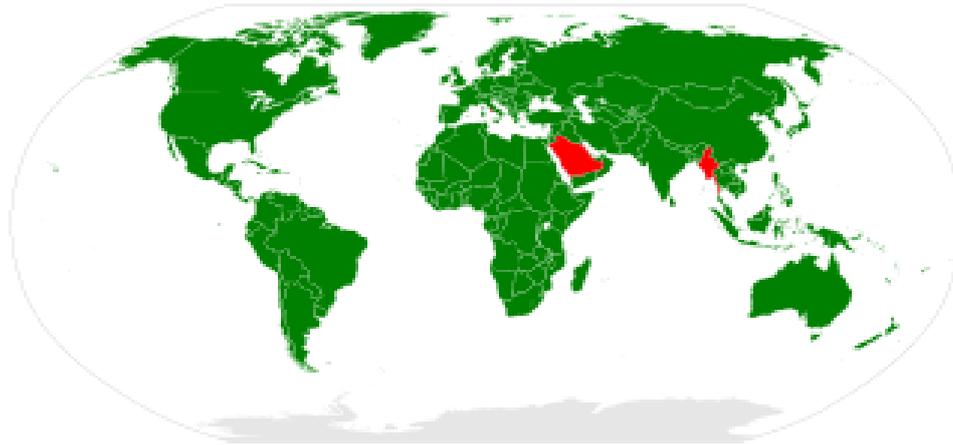
The terrible economic impact of the Great Depression hurt democratic forces in many countries. The 1930s became a decade of dictators in Europe and Latin America.

In 1918, the United Kingdom granted the right to vote to women over 30 who met a property qualification the right to vote, a second one was later passed in 1928 granting women and men equal rights.

However, women were not eligible to stand for parliament until 1919. Liberal democracies were few and often short-lived before the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and various nations and territories have claimed to be the first with universal suffrage.

World War I and the dissolution of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires resulted in the creation of new nation-states from Europe, most of them at least nominally democratic. In the 1920s, democracy flourished, but the Great Depression brought disenchantment, and most of the countries of Europe, Latin America, and Asia turned to strongman rule or dictatorships. Fascism and dictatorships flourished in Nazi Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal, as well as nondemocratic regimes in the Baltics, the Balkans, Brazil, Cuba, China, and Japan, among others.

On August 18, 1920 the 19th Amendment (Amendment XIX) to the USA Constitution was adopted which prohibits the states & the federal government from denying the right to vote to citizens of the USA on the basis of sex.



Since World War II, democracy has gained widespread acceptance. This map displays the official self-identification made by world governments with regard to democracy, as of March 2008. It shows the *de jure* status of democracy in the world. ■ Governments self-identified as democratic ■ Governments not self-identified as democratic: Vatican City, Saudi Arabia, Myanmar and Brunei. 20<sup>th</sup> century transitions to liberal democracy have come in successive "waves of democracy", variously resulting from wars, revolutions, decolonization, religious and economic circumstances.

World War II brought a definitive reversal of this trend in Western Europe.

French women got the right to vote in 1944, but did not actually cast their ballot for the first time until April 29, 1945. The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 granted full U.S. citizenship to America's indigenous peoples, called "Indians" in this Act.

(The 14th Amendment guarantees citizenship to persons born in the U.S., but only if "subject to the jurisdiction thereof"; this latter clause excludes certain indigenous peoples.)

The act was signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge on 2 June 1924. The act further enfranchised the rights of people's resident within the boundaries of the USA.

### **Post-World War II**

World War II was ultimately a victory for democracy in Western Europe, where representative governments were established that reflected the general will of their citizens. However, many countries of Central and Eastern Europe became undemocratic Soviet satellite states.

In Southern Europe, a number of right-wing authoritarian dictatorships (most notably in Spain and Portugal) continued to exist.

MaxRange data has defined and categorised the level of democracy and political regime type to all states and months from 1789 to this day and updating.

MaxRange shows a dramatic expansion of democracy, especially from 1989.

The third wave of democracy has been successful and covered major parts of previous autocratic areas. MaxRange can show detailed correlations between success of democracy and many relevant variables, such as previous democratic history, the transitional phase and selection of institutional political system. Even though the number of democratic states has continued to grow since 2006, the share of weaker electoral democracies has grown significantly. Japan had moved towards democracy during the Taishō period during the 1920s, but it was under effective military rule in the years before and during World War II.

The country adopted a new constitution during the postwar Allied occupation, with initial elections in 1946.

## **Decolonisation & civil rights movements**

The successful democratization of the American, British, and French sectors of occupied Germany (disputed), Austria, Italy, and the occupied Japan served as a model for the later theory of regime change. However, most of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet sector of Germany was forced into the non-democratic Soviet bloc.

The war was followed by decolonization, and again most of the new independent states had nominally democratic constitutions. India, however emerged as the world's largest democracy and continues to be so. In the decades following World War II, most western democratic nations had mixed economies and developed a welfare state, reflecting a general consensus among their electorates and political parties.

World War II planted seeds of democracy outside Europe and Japan, as it weakened, with the exception of the USSR and the USA, all the old colonial powers while strengthening anticolonial sentiment worldwide.

Many restive colonies/possessions were promised subsequent independence in exchange for their support for embattled colonial powers during the war. The aftermath of World War II resulted in the United Nations' decision to partition the British Mandate into two states, one Jewish and one Arab.

On 14 May 1948 the state of Israel declared independence and thus was born the first full democracy in the Middle East. Israel is a representative democracy with a parliamentary system and universal suffrage. India became a Democratic Republic in 1950 after achieving independence from Great Britain in 1947.

After holding its first national elections in 1952, India achieved the status of the world's largest liberal democracy with universal suffrage, which it continues to hold today.

Most of the former British and French colonies were independent by 1965 and at least initially democratic; those that were formerly part of the British Empire often adopted the Westminster parliamentary system. The process of decolonisation created much political upheaval in Africa and parts of Asia, with some countries experiencing often rapid changes to and from democratic and other forms of government. In the USA of America, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act enforced the 15th Amendment.

The 24th Amendment ended poll taxing by removing all tax placed upon voting, which was a technique commonly used to restrict the African American vote. The Voting Rights Act also granted voting rights to all Native Americans, irrespective of their home state. The minimum voting age was reduced to 18 by the 26th Amendment in 1971.

## **Late Cold War & after**

In the 1950s and 1960s, economic growth was high in both the western and Communist countries. By 1960, the vast majority of nation-states were nominally democracies. A subsequent wave of democratization brought substantial gains toward true liberal democracy for many nations. Spain, Portugal (1974), and several of the military dictatorships in South America returned to civilian rule in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Argentina in 1983, Bolivia, Uruguay in 1984, Brazil in 1985, and Chile in the early 1990s). This was followed by nations in East and South Asia by the mid- to late 1980s.

Economic malaise in the 1980s, along with resentment of communist oppression, contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the associated end of the Cold War, and the democratization and liberalization of the former Eastern bloc countries.

The most successful of the new democracies were those geographically and culturally closest to Western Europe, and they are now members or candidate members of the European Union.

The liberal trend spread to some nations in Africa in the 1990s, most prominently in South Africa. Some recent examples of attempts of liberalization include the Indonesian Revolution of 1998, the Bulldozer Revolution in Yugoslavia, the Rose Revolution in Georgia, the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, the Cedar Revolution in Lebanon, and the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan.

New waves of democracy swept across Southern Europe in the 1970s, as a number of right-wing nationalist dictatorships fell from power. Later, in Central & Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, the communist states in the USSR sphere of influence were replaced with liberal democracies. Much of Eastern Europe, Latin America, East and Southeast Asia, and several Arab, central Asian and African states, and the not-yet-state that is the Palestinian Authority moved towards greater liberal democracy in the 1990s and 2000s.

An analysis by the U.S. Government funded Freedom House shows that there was not a single liberal democracy with universal suffrage in the world in 1900, but that in 2000, 120 of the world's 192 nations, or 62% were such democracies. They count 25 nations, or 13% of the world's nations with "restricted democratic practices" in 1900 and 16, or 8% of the world's nations today.

They counted 19 constitutional monarchies in 1900, forming 14% of the world's nations, where a constitution limited the powers of the monarch, and with some power devolved to elected legislatures, and none in the present.

Other nations had, and have, various forms of non-democratic rule. While the specifics may be open to debate (New Zealand actually enacted universal suffrage in 1893, but is discounted due to a lack of complete sovereignty and certain restrictions on the Māori vote), the numbers are indicative of the expansion of democracy during the 20th century. In the 21st century, democracy movements have been seen across the world.

In the Arab world, an unprecedented series of major protests occurred with citizens of Egypt, Tunisia, Bahrain, Yemen, Jordan, Syria & other countries across the MENA region demanding democratic rights. This revolutionary wave was given the term Tunisia Effect, as well as the Arab Spring. The Palestinian Authority took action to address democratic rights.

In Africa, continent of 55 countries, a process of democratization began in 1990 at the end of the Cold War in the transition from single parties to multiparty.

However, undemocratic regimes began to organize elections: as a result, the diversions of electoral processes upstream essentially, the day of the vote or the compilation of the minutes, in some cases of inversion of final result, have become very common.

Out of 55 countries, the process of continental democratization seems almost stalled since 2005 because of the resistance of some 20 non-democratic regimes, most of which originated in the 1980s.

In Iran, following a highly disputed presidential vote fraught with corruption, Iranian citizens held a major series of protests calling for change and democratic rights (see: the 2009-2010 Iranian election protests and the 2011 Iranian protests).

The 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq led to a toppling of Saddam Hussein and a new constitution with free and open elections. In Asia, the country of Burma (Myanmar) had long been ruled by a military junta; however, in 2011, the government changed to allow certain voting rights and released democracy-leader Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest.

However, Burma still will not allow Suu Kyi to run for election and still has major human rights problems and not full democratic rights. However, this was later partially abrogated with the election of Suu Kyi's national league for democracy party and her appointment as the de facto leader of Burma (Myanmar) with the title "state councillor", as she is still not allowed to be president and therefore leads through a figurehead, Htin Kyaw. Human rights, however, have not improved.

In Bhutan, in December 2005, the 4th King Jigme Singye Wangchuck announced that the first general elections would be held in 2008, and that he would abdicate the throne in favour of his eldest son. Bhutan is currently undergoing further changes to allow for a constitutional monarchy. In the Maldives, protests and political pressure led to a government reform, which allowed democratic rights and presidential elections in 2008.

These were however undone by a coup in 2018. Not all movement has been pro-democratic however. In Poland and Hungary, so-called "illiberal democracies" have taken hold, with the ruling parties in both countries considered by the EU and civil society to be working to undermine democratic governance.

In Europe, the Spanish government refused to allow a democratic vote on the future of Catalunya, a decision causing months of instability in the region.

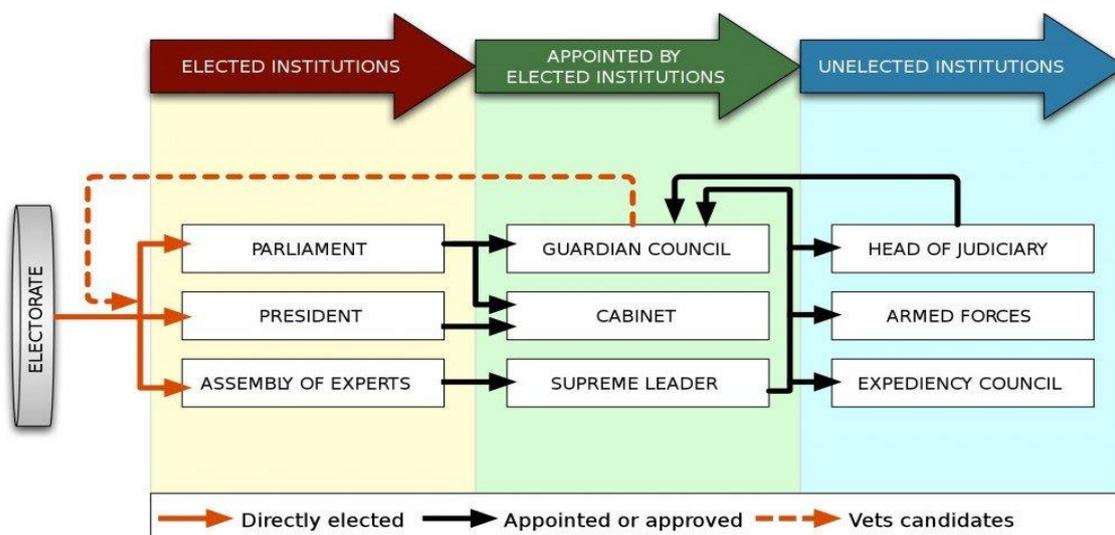
Meanwhile, in Thailand a military junta twice overthrew democratically elected governments and has changed the constitution in order to increase its own power.

The authoritarian regime of Han Sen in Cambodia also dissolved the main opposition party and effectively implemented a one-man dictatorship. There are also large parts of the world such as China, Russia, Central and South East Asia, the Middle East and much of Africa, which have consolidated authoritarian rule rather seeing it weaken.

Under the influence of the theory of deliberative democracy, there have been several experiments since the start of the new millennium with what are called deliberative fora, places where citizens and their representatives assemble to exchange reasons.

One type of deliberative forum is called a minipublic: a body of randomly chosen or actively selected citizens that represents the whole population. The use of random selection to form a representative deliberative body is known as sortition.

Citizens' assemblies have been used in Canada (2004, 2006) and the Netherlands (2006) to debate electoral reform and in Iceland (2009 and 2010) for broader constitutional change.



## TYPES OF DEMOCRACIES

Currently, there are 123 countries that are democratic, and the trend is increasing (up from 40 in 1972). As such, it has been speculated that this trend may continue in the future to the point where liberal democratic nation-states become the universal standard form of human society.

**Representative democracy** involves the selection of government officials by the people being represented. If the head of state is also democratically elected is also called a democratic republic. The most common mechanisms involve election of the candidate with a majority or a plurality of the votes. Some representative democracies also incorporate elements of direct democracy, such as referendums. A characteristic of representative democracy: the representatives are elected by the people to act in their interest; they retain the freedom to exercise their own judgment as how best to do so.

**Parliamentary democracy** is where government is appointed by parliamentary representatives as opposed to a "presidential rule" by decree dictatorship. Under a parliamentary democracy, government is exercised by delegation to an executive ministry and subject to ongoing review, checks and balances by the legislative parliament elected by the people.

A **Liberal democracy** is a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities.

**Direct democracy** is a political system where the citizens participate in the decision-making personally, contrary to relying on intermediaries or representatives.

The supporters of direct democracy argue that democracy is more than merely a procedural issue (voting). Most direct democracies to date have been weak forms, relatively small communities, usually city-states. However, some see the extensive use of referenda, as in California, as akin to direct democracy in a very large polity with more than 20 mln in California.

In Switzerland, five mln voters decide on national referendums and initiatives two to four times a year. Direct democratic instruments are well established at the cantonal and communal level. No direct democracy is in existence outside the framework of a different overarching form of government.

**Participatory Polity** is a theoretical form of democracy that is ruled by a Nested Council structure. The guiding philosophy is that people should have decision-making power in proportion to how much they are affected by the decision.

Local councils of 25-50 people are completely autonomous on issues that affect only them, these councils send delegates to higher-level councils who are again autonomous regarding issues that affect only the population affected by that council.

A council court of randomly chosen citizens serves as a check on the tyranny of the majority, and rules on which body gets to vote on which issue. Delegates can vote differently than their sending council might wish, but are mandated to communicate the wishes of their sending council. Delegates are recallable at any time. Referenda are possible at any time via votes of the majority of lower level councils; however, not everything is a referendum as this is most likely a waste of time. Socialist thought has several different views on democracy. Social democracy, democratic socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat are some examples.

Many democratic socialists and social democrats believe in a form of participatory democracy and workplace democracy combined with a representative democracy.

Anarchists are split in this domain, depending on whether they believe that a majority-rule is tyrannical or not. The only form of democracy considered acceptable to many anarchists is direct democracy. Iroquois society had a form of participatory democracy and representative democracy. Iroquois government & law were discussed by Benjamin Franklin & Thomas Jefferson.

Though some others disagree, some scholars regard it to have influenced the formation of American representative democracy. Sometimes called "democracy without elections", sortation is the process of choosing decision makers via a random process.

The intention is that those chosen will be representative of the opinions and interests of the people at large, and be more fair and impartial than an elected official. The technique was in widespread use in Athenian Democracy and is still used in modern jury selection.

**Consensus democracy** requires varying degrees of consensus rather than just a mere democratic majority. It typically attempts to protect minority rights from domination by majority rule. **Interactive Democracy** seeks to utilize information technology to involve voters in law making. It provides a system for proposing new laws, prioritizing proposals, clarifying them through parliament and validating them through referendum.

Qualified majority voting (QMV) is designed by the Treaty of Rome to be the principal method of reaching decisions in the European Council of Ministers.

This system allocates votes to member states in part according to their population, but heavily weighted in favour of the smaller states. This might be seen as a form of representative democracy, but representatives to the Council might be appointed rather than directly elected.

Some might consider the "individuals" being democratically represented to be states rather than people, as with many other international organizations.

European Parliament members are democratically directly elected on the basis of universal suffrage as an example of a supranational democratic institution. Aside from the public sphere, similar democratic principles and mechanisms of voting and representation have been used to govern other kinds of communities and organizations.

- Many non-governmental organizations decide policy and leadership by voting.
- Most trade unions choose their leadership through democratic elections.
- Cooperatives are enterprises owned and democratically controlled by their customers.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 2. Try to understand the notions.**

Participatory democracy; constitutional democracy; parliamentary democracy; industrial democracy; demands for greater democracy; to restore democracy; to favour/to support democracy; fledging democracy; spread of democracy; to establish democracy; to bring about democracy; to broaden democracy; to call for full-blooded democracy; to destroy democracy; to develop democracy; to embrace multiparty democracy; to ensure democracy; to establish democracy; to evolve straight towards democracy; to extinguish democracy; to fortify democracy; to foster democracy; to imperil democracy; to increase democracy; to obstruct democracy; to promote democracy; to put limits to democracy; to recover / to restore democracy in a country; to return a country to democracy; to return to parliamentary democracy; to stamp out democracy; to stifle democracy; to subvert the transition to democracy; to take the country back to full democracy; to threaten democracy; to turn the corner towards democracy; advent of democracy; all-round development of democracy; boost towards democracy; budding democracy; consistent democracy.

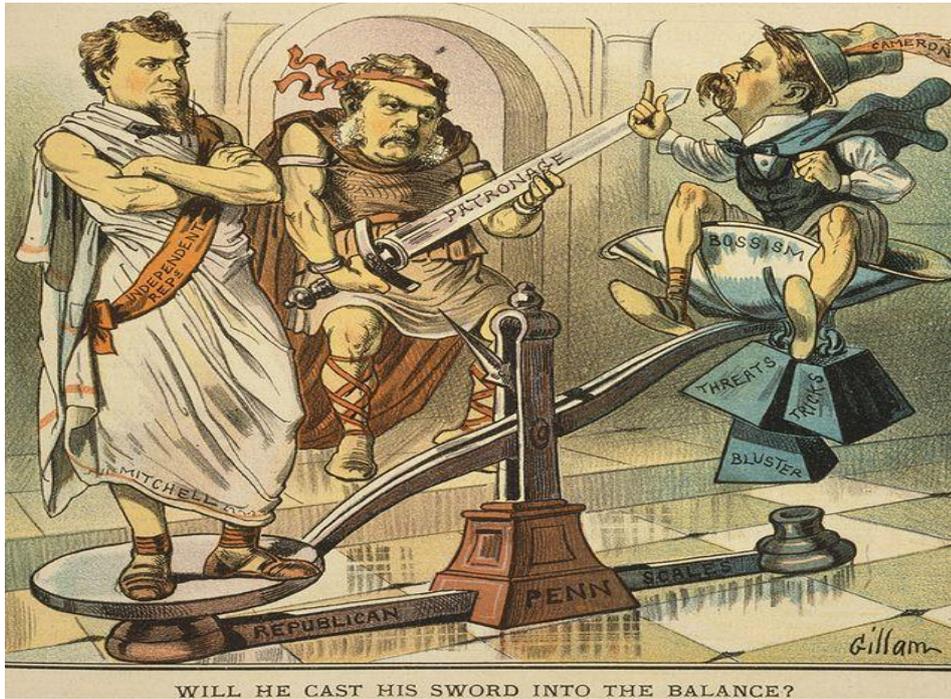
## TOPICAL VOCABULARY

advent of democracy – появление демократии  
bourgeois democracy – буржуазная демократия  
broad democracy – широкая демократия  
broadening of democracy – расширение демократии  
cautious step towards democracy – осторожный шаг в сторону демократии  
country's movement towards democracy – движение страны к демократии  
defense of democracy – защита демократии  
demolition of democracy – уничтожение демократии  
dilution of local democracy – ослабление демократии на местах  
emerging democracy – нарождающаяся демократия  
fragile democracy – хрупкая демократия  
free and open democracy – свободная и открытая демократическая страна  
fully-blown democracy – полностью сформировавшаяся демократия  
furtherance of democracy – содействие развитию демократии  
genuine democracy – подлинная демократия  
giant stride towards democracy – крупный шаг по направлению к демократии  
grassroots democracy – демократия для масс  
great campaigner for democracy – великий борец за демократию  
industrial democracies – (промышленно) развитые капиталистические страны  
inner-party democracy – внутривнутрипартийная демократия  
lack of democracy – отсутствие демократии  
mature democracy – развитая демократия  
multiracial democracy – демократия для всех рас  
multiparty democracy – многопартийная демократия  
newly restored democracies – недавно восстановленные демократические государства  
outbreak of democracy – неожиданный подъем демократии  
participatory democracy – демократия прямого участия  
peaceful transition to democracy – мирный переход к демократии  
popular democracy – народная демократия  
radical extension of democracy – радикальное расширение демократии  
real democracy – подлинная демократия  
representative democracy – представительная демократия  
restoration of democracy – восстановление демократии  
safeguards for democracy – гарантии демократии  
Scandinavian-style socialist democracy – соцдемократия скандинавского типа  
secular democracy – светское демократическое государство  
semblance of democracy – подобие демократии  
social democracy – социал-демократия  
street democracy – "уличная демократия" (митинги, демонстрация и т.п.)  
struggle for democracy – борьба за демократию  
tarnished view of democracy – невысокое мнение о демократии  
trade-union democracy – профсоюзная демократия  
transition to democracy – переход к демократии  
visionary democracy – видимая демократия, показная демократия

western-style democracy – демократия западного типа  
world democracy – всемирная демократия  
constitutional democracy – конституционная демократия  
parliamentary democracy – парламентская демократия  
to restore democracy – восстанавливать демократию  
to favour/to support democracy – быть сторонником демократии  
spread of democracy – распространение демократии  
industrial democracy промышленная [производственная] демократия  
to bring about democracy – добиваться установления демократии  
to broaden democracy – проводить демократические преобразования  
to call for full-blooded democracy – призывать к созданию полнокровной демократии  
to destroy democracy – уничтожать демократию  
to develop democracy – развивать демократию  
to embrace multiparty democracy – устанавливать многопартийную демократию  
to ensure democracy – обеспечивать развитие демократии  
to establish democracy – устанавливать демократический строй  
to evolve straight towards democracy – двигаться по демократическому пути  
to extinguish democracy – подавлять демократию  
to fortify democracy – укреплять демократию  
to foster democracy – способствовать развитию демократии  
to imperil democracy – ставить демократию под угрозу  
to increase democracy – расширять демократию  
to obstruct democracy – препятствовать развитию демократии  
to promote democracy – способствовать развитию демократии  
to put limits to democracy – ограничивать демократию  
to recover /restore democracy in a country; to take the country back to full democracy –  
(полностью) восстанавливать демократию в стране  
to return a country to democracy – восстанавливать демократию в стране  
to return to parliamentary democracy – возвращаться к парламентской демократии  
to stamp out democracy – уничтожать демократию  
to stifle democracy – душить демократию  
to subvert the transition to democracy – срывать переход к демократии  
to threaten democracy – угрожать демократии  
to turn the corner towards democracy – встать на путь демократического развития  
retreat from democracy – отход от демократии  
safeguards for democracy – гарантии демократии  
the country continues to be committed to democracy – страна продолжает идти по  
пути демократии  
democracy rally митинг в защиту демократии  
democratic government – демократическое правительство  
democratic system – демократическая система  
democratic labour market – демократичный [свободный] рынок труда  
democratic decision making – демократическое принятие решений

**Exercise 1. Analyze the topical vocabulary, learn it and make up sentences with it.**

**Exercise 2. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**



## CHAPTER IV. POLITICAL LIFE

### UNIT I. POLITICS

#### INTRODUCTION

Politics (Greek: meaning "affairs of the cities") refers to a set of activities associated with the governance of a country, or an area. It involves making decisions that apply to members of a group. It refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance – organized control over a human community, particularly a state.

The academic study focusing on just politics, which is therefore more targeted than general political science, is referred to as politology (not to be confused with politicology, a synonym of political science). In modern nation-states, people have formed political parties to represent their ideas. They agree to take the same position on many issues and agree to support the same changes to law and the same leaders.

An election is usually a competition between different parties. Some examples of political parties worldwide are: the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, the Conservative in the United Kingdom, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in Germany and the Indian National Congress in India.

Politics is a multifaceted word. It has a set of fairly specific meanings that are descriptive and nonjudgmental ("the art or science of government" and "political principles"), but does often colloquially carry a negative connotation.

The word has been used negatively for many years: the British national anthem as published in 1745 calls on God to "Confound their politics", and the phrase "play politics", for example, has been in use since at least 1853, when abolitionist Wendell Phillips declared: "We do not play politics; anti-slavery is no half-jest with us".

A variety of methods are deployed in politics, which include promoting one's own political views among people, negotiation with other political subjects, making laws, and exercising force, including warfare against adversaries. Politics is exercised on a wide range of social levels, from clans and tribes of traditional societies, through modern local governments, companies and institutions up to sovereign states, to the international level.

A political system is a framework which defines acceptable political methods within a given society. The history of political thought can be traced back to early antiquity, with seminal works such as Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics* and the works of Confucius.

The word comes from the same Greek word from which the title of Aristotle's book *Politics* (Πολιτικά, *Polis*) also derives; *polis* means "affairs of the cities".

The book title was rendered in Early Modern English in the mid-15th century as "Polettiques"; it became "politics" in Modern English. The singular *politic* first attested in English 1430 and comes from Middle French *politique*, in turn from Latin *politicus*, which is the Latinization of the Greek πολιτικός (*politikos*), meaning amongst others "of, for, or relating to citizens", "civil", "civic", "belonging to the state", in turn from πολίτης (*polites*), "citizen" and that from πόλις (*polis*), "city".

Formal politics refers to the operation of a constitutional system of government and publicly defined institutions and procedures.

Political parties, public policy or discussions about war and foreign affairs would fall under the category of Formal Politics. Many people view formal politics as something outside of themselves, but that can still affect their daily lives.

Semi-formal politics is politics in government associations such as neighborhood associations, or student governments where student government political party politics is often important. Informal politics is understood as forming alliances, exercising power and protecting and advancing particular ideas or goals.

Generally, this includes anything affecting one's daily life, such as the way an office or household is managed, or how one person or group exercises influence over another.

Informal Politics is typically understood as everyday politics, hence the idea that "politics is everywhere". The origin of the **state** is to be found in the development of the *art of warfare*. Historically speaking, all political communities of the modern type owe their existence to successful warfare.

Kings, emperors and other types of monarchs in many countries including China and Japan, were considered divine. Of the institutions that ruled states, that of kingship stood at the forefront until the American Revolution put an end to the "divine right of kings".

Nevertheless, the monarchy is among the longest-lasting political institutions, dating as early as 2100 B.C. in Sumeria to the 21st century A.D. British Monarchy. Kingship becomes an institution through the institution of hereditary monarchy.

The king often, even in absolute monarchies, ruled his kingdom with the aid of an elite group of advisors, a council without which he could not maintain power. As these advisors and others outside the monarchy negotiated for power, constitutional monarchies emerged, which may be considered the germ of constitutional government.

The greatest of the king's subordinates, the earls and dukes in England and Scotland, the dukes and counts in the Continent, always sat as a right on the council. A conqueror wages war upon the vanquished for vengeance or for plunder but an established kingdom exacts tribute. One of the functions of the council is to keep the coffers of the king full.

Another is the satisfaction of military service and the establishment of lordships by the king to satisfy the task of collecting taxes and soldiers.

### **Forms of political organization**

There are many forms of political organization, including states, non-government organizations (NGOs) and international organizations such as the United Nations. States are perhaps the predominant institutional form of political governance, where a state is understood as an institution and a government is understood as the regime in power.

According to Aristotle, states are classified into monarchies, aristocracies, timocracies, democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies. Due to changes across the history of politics, this classification has been abandoned. All states are varieties of a single organizational form, the sovereign state. All the great powers of the modern world rule on the principle of sovereignty.

Sovereign power may be vested on an individual as in an autocratic government or it may be vested on a group as in a constitutional government.

Constitutions are written documents that specify & limit the powers of the different branches of government. Although a constitution is a written document, there is an unwritten constitution. The unwritten constitution is continually being written by the legislative and judiciary branch of government; this is just one of those cases in which the nature of the circumstances determines the form of government that is most appropriate.

England did set the fashion of written constitutions during the Civil War but after the Restoration abandoned them to be taken up later by the American Colonies after their emancipation and then France after the Revolution and the rest of Europe including the European colonies. There are many forms of government. One form is a strong central government as in France and China.

Another form is local government, such as the ancient divisions in England that are comparatively weaker but less bureaucratic. These two forms helped to shape the practice of federal government, first in Switzerland, then in the USA in 1776, in Canada in 1867 and in Germany in 1871 and in 1901, Australia. Federal states introduced the new principle of agreement or contract. Compared to a federation, a confederation has a more dispersed system of judicial power.

In the American Civil War, the argument by the Confederate States that a State could secede from the Union was deemed unconstitutional by the supreme court.

According to professor A. V. Dicey in *An Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*, the essential features of a federal constitution are:

A written supreme constitution in order to prevent disputes between the jurisdictions of the Federal and State authorities.

A distribution of power between the Federal and State governments.

A Supreme Court vested with the power to interpret the Constitution and enforce the law of the land remaining independent of both the executive and legislative branches.

**Global politics** include different practices of political globalization in relation to questions of social power: from global patterns of governance to issues of globalizing conflict.

The 20th century witnessed the outcome of two world wars and not only the rise and fall of the Third Reich but also the rise and relative fall of communism.

The development of the atomic bomb gave the USA a more rapid end to its conflict in Japan in World War II. Later, the hydrogen bomb became the ultimate weapon of mass destruction. Global politics also concerns the rise of global and international organizations.

The United Nations has served as a forum for peace in a world threatened by nuclear war, "The invention of nuclear and space weapons has made war unacceptable as an instrument for achieving political ends". Although an all-out final nuclear holocaust is radically undesirable for man, "nuclear blackmail" comes into question not only on the issue of world peace but also on the issue of national sovereignty. On a Sunday in 1962, the world stood still at the brink of nuclear war during the October Cuban Missile Crisis from the implementation of U.S. vs Soviet Union nuclear blackmail policy.

According to political science professor Paul James, global politics is affected by *values*: norms of human rights, ideas of human development, beliefs such as cosmopolitanism about how we should relate to each: Cosmopolitanism can be defined as a global politics that, firstly, projects a sociality of common political engagement among all human beings across the globe, secondly, suggests that this sociality should be either ethically or organizationally privileged over other forms of sociality.

William Pitt the Elder, speaking before the British House of Lords, 9 January 1770, observed: "Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it".

This was echoed more famously by John Dalberg-Acton over a century later: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

**Political corruption** is the use of legislated powers by government officials for illegitimate private gain. Misuse of government power for other purposes, such as repression of political opponents and general police brutality, is not considered political corruption.

Neither are illegal acts by private persons or corporations not directly involved with the government. An illegal act by an officeholder constitutes political corruption only if the act is directly related to their official duties and/or power.

The corruption in third World dictatorships is usually more blatant. Government cronies may be given exclusive right to make arbitrage profit by exploiting a fixed rate mechanism in government currency. In democracies corruption is often more indirect.

Trade union leaders may be given priority in housing queues, giving them indirectly a worth of millions. Forms of corruption vary, but include corruption, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, patronage, graft, and embezzlement. While corruption may facilitate criminal enterprise it may be legal but considered immoral. Worldwide, bribery alone is estimated to involve over \$1 trn annually. A state of unrestrained political corruption is known as a kleptocracy, literally meaning "rule by thieves".

A **political party** is a political organization that typically seeks to attain and maintain political power within government, by participating in electoral campaigns, educational outreach or protest actions. Parties often espouse an expressed ideology or vision bolstered by a written platform with specific goals, forming a coalition among disparate interests.

Political science, the study of politics, examines the acquisition & application of power.

Political scientist Harold Lasswell defined politics as "who gets what, when, and how". Related areas of study include political philosophy, which seeks a rationale for politics and an ethic of public behaviour, as well as examining the preconditions for the formation of political communities; political economy, which attempts to develop understandings of the relationships between politics and the economy and the governance of the two; and public administration, which examines the practices of governance. The philosopher Charles Blattberg, who has defined politics as "responding to conflict with dialogue", offers an account which distinguishes political philosophies from political ideologies.

Political analysts and politicians divide politics into left wing and right wing politics, often using the idea of center politics as a middle path of policy between the right and left.

This classification is comparatively recent (it was not used by Aristotle or Hobbes, for instance), and dates from the French Revolution era, when those members of the National Assembly who supported the republic, the common people and a secular society sat on the left and supporters of the monarchy, aristocratic privilege and the Church sat on the right

The meanings behind the labels have become more complicated over the years.

A particularly influential event was the publication of the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. The *Manifesto* suggested a course of action for a proletarian revolution to overthrow the bourgeois society and abolish private property, in the belief that this would lead to a classless and stateless society.

The meaning of left-wing & right-wing varies considerably between different countries and at different times, but generally speaking, it can be said that the right wing often values tradition and inequality while the left wing often values progress & egalitarianism, with the center seeking a balance between the two such as with social democracy, libertarianism or regulated capitalism. According to Norberto Bobbio, one of the major exponents of this distinction, the Left believes in attempting to eradicate social inequality.

Believing it to be unethical or unnatural while the Right regards most social inequality as the result of ineradicable natural inequalities, and sees attempts to enforce social equality as utopian or authoritarian. Some ideologies, notably Christian Democracy, claim to combine left and right wing politics. According to Geoffrey K. Roberts and Patricia Hogwood, "In terms of ideology, Christian Democracy has incorporated many of the views held by liberals, conservatives and socialists within a wider framework of moral and Christian principles".

Movements which claim or formerly claimed to be above the left-right divide include Fascist Terza Posizione economic politics in Italy and Peronism in Argentina.

**Political structure** is a term commonly used in political science. In a general sense, it refers to institutions or groups & their relations to each other, their patterns of interaction within political systems and to political regulations, laws and the norms present in political systems in such a way that they constitute the political landscape of the political entity.

In the social domain, its counterpart is social structure. Political structure also refers to the way in which a government is run.

### **Bossism**

Bossism, in the history of the United States, is a system of political control centering about a single powerful figure and a complex organization of lesser figures bound together by reciprocity in promoting financial and social self-interest.

Bossism was a very large issue in the late 19th century and the early 20th century, where machines such as Tammany Hall controlled politics in their regions through influencing financing of campaigns and influence via owing of favours to arrange patronage public appointments. It has been claimed that bossism reached its pinnacle under James A. Farley when he worked to combine unions, big city machines, Southerners and Catholics to help accelerate the forming of the New Deal Coalition which rallied behind Franklin D. Roosevelt in his election to the Presidency in 1932.

It has been alleged that all of President Roosevelt's non-cabinet level appointments were screened by Farley before they were allowed to be confirmed on the basis of party loyalty due to patronage. Farley's ability to build up the Democratic Party's national political machine coupled with the Solid South, the big city bases and the populist vote made it the most organized and most powerful in American history.

Farley had such control and intimate knowledge of the workings of his machine that it was said that he was seen as a prophet by many for reportedly correctly predicting the states he would carry in two consecutive national elections and came close to predicting the margin of votes by which Roosevelt would carry these states.



## UNIT II. POLITICAL PARTIES

### INTRODUCTION

Political parties perform an important task in government. They bring people together to achieve control of the government, develop policies favorable to their interests or the groups that support them, and organize and persuade voters to elect their candidates to office. A political party is an organized group of people, often with common views, who come together to contest elections and hold power in the government.

The party agrees on some proposed policies and programmes, with a view to promoting the collective good or furthering their supporters' interests. While there is some international commonality in the way political parties are recognized and in how they operate, there are often many differences, and some are significant.

Many political parties have an ideological core, but some do not, and many represent ideologies very different from their ideology at the time the party was founded.

Many countries, such as Germany and India, have several significant political parties, and some nations have one-party systems, such as China and Cuba. The USA is in practice a two-party system but with many smaller parties also participating and a high degree of autonomy for individual candidates.

#### **Political factions**

Political factions have existed in democratic societies since ancient times.

Plato writes in his Republic on the formation of political cliques in Classical Athens, the tendency of Athenian citizens to vote according to factional loyalty rather than for the public good. In the Roman Republic, Polybius coined the term *ochlocracy* (literally, "rule of the mob") to describe the tendency of politicians to mobilise popular factionalist sentiment against their political rivals.

Factional politics remained a part of Roman political life through the Imperial period and beyond, and the poet Juvenal coined the phrase "bread and circuses" to describe the political class pandering to the citizenry through diversionary entertainments rather than through arguments about policy. "Bread and circuses" survived as part of Byzantine political life – the Nika revolt during the reign of Justinian was a riot between the "Blues" and the "Greens" – two chariot racing factions at the Hippodrome, who received patronage from different Senatorial factions and religious sects.

The patricians who sponsored the Blues and the Greens competed with each other to hold ever grander games and public entertainments during electoral campaigns, in order to appeal to the citizenry of Constantinople.

The first modern political factions can be said to have originated in early modern Britain. The first political factions, cohering around a basic, if fluid, set of principles, emerged from the Exclusion Crisis and Glorious Revolution in late 17th century England.

The Whigs supported Protestant constitutional monarchy against absolute rule; the Tories, originating in the Royalist ("Cavalier") faction of the English Civil War, were conservative royalist supporters of a strong monarchy as a counterbalance to the republican tendencies of Whigs.

They were the dominant political faction for most of the first half of the 18th century.

The Whigs supported the Hanoverian succession of 1715 against the Jacobite supporters of the deposed Roman Catholic Stuart dynasty, and were able to purge Tory politicians from important government positions after the failed Jacobite rising of 1715.

The leader of the Whigs was Robert Walpole. He maintained control of the government in the period 1721-1742; his protégé was Henry Pelham (1743-1754). As the century wore on, the factions slowly began to adopt more coherent political tendencies as the interests of their power bases began to diverge.

The Whig party's initial base of support from the great aristocratic families widened to include the emerging industrial interests and wealthy merchants.

As well as championing constitutional monarchy with strict limits on the monarch's power, the Whigs adamantly opposed a Catholic king as a threat to liberty, and believed in extending toleration to nonconformist Protestants, or dissenters.

A major influence on the Whigs were the liberal political ideas of John Locke, and the concepts of universal rights employed by Locke and Algernon Sidney.

Although the Tories were out of office for half a century, for most of this period (at first under the leadership of Sir William Wyndham) the Tories retained party cohesion, with occasional hopes of regaining office, particularly at the accession of George II (1727) and the downfall of the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole in 1742. They acted as a united, though unavailing, opposition to Whig corruption and scandals. At times they cooperated with the "Opposition Whigs", Whigs who were in opposition to the Whig government.

However, the ideological gap between the Tories and the Opposition Whigs prevented them from coalescing as a single party. They finally regained power with the accession of George III in 1760 under Lord Bute.

When they lost power, the old Whig leadership dissolved into a decade of factional chaos with distinct "Grenvillite", "Bedfordite", "Rockinghamite", and "Chathamite" factions successively in power, and all referring to themselves as "Whigs".

Out of this chaos, the first distinctive parties emerged. The first such party was the Rockingham Whigs under the leadership of Charles Watson-Wentworth and the intellectual guidance of the political philosopher Edmund Burke.

Burke laid out a philosophy that described the basic framework of the political party as "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed". As opposed to the instability of the earlier factions, which were often tied to a particular leader and could disintegrate if removed from power, the party was centred around a set of core principles and remained out of power as a united opposition to government.

In *A Block for the Wigs* (1783), James Gillray caricatured Fox's return to power in a coalition with North. George III is the blockhead in the centre. A coalition including the Rockingham Whigs, led by the Earl of Shelburne, took power in 1782, only to collapse after Rockingham's death. The new government, led by the radical politician Charles James Fox in coalition with Lord North, was soon brought down and replaced by William Pitt the Younger in 1783. It was now that a genuine two-party system began to emerge, with Pitt leading the new Tories against a reconstituted "Whig" party led by Fox.

By the time of this split the Whig party was increasingly influenced by the ideas of Adam Smith, founder of classical liberalism.

As Wilson and Reill (2004) note, "Adam Smith's theory melded nicely with the liberal political stance of the Whig Party and its middle-class constituents".

The modern Conservative Party was created out of the "Pittite" Tories of the early 19th century. In the late 1820s disputes over political reform broke up this grouping.

A government led by the Duke of Wellington collapsed amidst dire election results. Following this disaster Robert Peel set about assembling a new coalition of forces.

Peel issued the Tamworth Manifesto in 1834 which set out the basic principles of Conservatism – the necessity in specific cases of reform in order to survive, but an opposition to unnecessary change, that could lead to "a perpetual vortex of agitation".

Meanwhile, the Whigs, along with free trade Tory followers of Robert Peel, independent Radicals, formed the Liberal Party under Lord Palmerston in 1859, and transformed into a party of the growing urban middle-class, under the long leadership of William Ewart Gladstone.

Although the framers of the 1787 USA Constitution did not anticipate that American political discourse would become partisan, political controversies in the early 1790s over the extent of federal government powers saw the emergence of two proto-political parties: the Federalist Party and the Democratic-Republican Party, which were championed by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, respectively.

However, a consensus reached on these issues ended party politics in 1816 for nearly a decade, a period commonly known as the Era of Good Feelings.

The splintering of the Democratic-Republican Party in the aftermath of the contentious 1824 presidential election led to the re-emergence of political parties. Two major parties would dominate the political landscape for the next quarter-century: the Democratic Party, led by Andrew Jackson, the Whig Party, established by Henry Clay from the National Republicans and from other Anti-Jackson groups. When the Whig Party fell apart in the mid-1850s, its position as a major U.S. political party was filled by the Republican Party.

The second half of the 19th century saw the adoption of the party model of politics across Europe. In Germany, France, Austria and elsewhere, the 1848 Revolutions sparked a wave of liberal sentiment and the formation of representative bodies and political parties.

The end of the century saw the formation of large socialist parties in Europe, some conforming to the teaching of Karl Marx, others adapting social democracy through the use of reformist and gradualist methods. At the same time, the political party reached its modern form, with a membership disciplined through the use of a party whip and the implementation of efficient structures of control.

The Home Rule League Party, campaigning for Home Rule for Ireland in the British Parliament was fundamentally changed by the great Irish political leader Charles Stewart Parnell in the 1880s.

In 1882, he changed his party's name to the Irish Parliamentary Party and created a well-organized grass roots structure, introducing membership to replace "ad hoc" informal groupings. He created a new selection procedure to ensure the professional selection of party candidates committed to taking their seats; in 1884 he imposed a firm "party pledge" which obliged MPs to vote as a bloc in parliament on all occasions.

The creation of a strict party whip and a formal party structure was unique at the time. His party's efficient structure and control contrasted with the loose rules and flexible informality found in the main British parties, which came to the Parnellite model.

***Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

## THE STRUCTURE OF A POLITICAL PARTY

A political party is typically led by a party leader (the most powerful member and spokesperson representing the party), a party secretary (who maintains the daily work and records of party meetings), party treasurer (who is responsible for membership dues) and party chair (who forms strategies for recruiting and retaining party members, chairs party meetings). Most of the above positions are also members of the party executive, the leading organization which sets policy for the entire party at the national level.

The structure is far more decentralized in the USA because of the separation of powers, federalism and the multiplicity of economic interests and religious sects.

Even state parties are decentralized as county and other local committees are largely independent of state central committees. The national party leader in the U.S. will be the president, if the party holds that office, or a prominent member of Congress in opposition.

Officially, each party has a chairman for its national committee who is a prominent spokesman, organizer and fund-raiser, but without the status of prominent elected office holders. In parliamentary democracies, on a regular, periodic basis, party conferences are held to elect party officers, snap leadership elections can be called if enough members opt for such. Party conferences are held in order to affirm party values for members in the coming year. American parties meet regularly, again, are more subordinate to elected political leaders.

Depending on the demographic spread of the party membership, party members form local or regional party committees in order to help candidates run for local or regional offices in government. These local party branches reflect the officer positions at the national level. It is customary for political party members to form wings for current or prospective party members, most of which fall into the following two categories:

- identity-based: including youth wings and armed wings;
- position-based: including wings for candidates, mayors, governors, professionals.

The formation of these wings may have become routine but their existence is more of an indication of differences of opinion, intra-party rivalry, the influence of interest groups, or attempts to wield influence for one's state or region. These are useful for party outreach, training and employment. Many young aspiring politicians seek these roles and jobs as stepping stones to their political careers in legislative or executive offices.

The internal structure of political parties has to be democratic in some countries.

In Germany establishes a command of inner-party democracy.

### **Parliamentary parties**

When the party is represented by members in the lower house of parliament, the party leader simultaneously serves as the leader of the parliamentary group of that full party representation; depending on a minimum number of seats held, Westminster-based parties typically allow for leaders to form frontbench teams of senior fellow members of the parliamentary group to serve as critics of aspects of government policy.

When a party becomes the largest party not part of the Government, the party's parliamentary group forms the Official Opposition, with Official Opposition frontbench team members often forming the Official Opposition Shadow cabinet.

When a party achieves enough seats in an election to form a majority, the party's frontbench becomes the Cabinet of government ministers. They are all elected members. There are members who attend party without promotion.

The freedom to form, declare membership in, or campaign for candidates from a political party is considered a measurement of a state's adherence to liberal democracy as a political value. Regulation of parties may run from a crackdown on or repression of all opposition parties, a norm for authoritarian governments, to the repression of certain parties which hold or promote ideals which run counter to the general ideology of the state's incumbents (or possess membership by-laws which are legally unenforceable).

Furthermore, in the case of far-right, far-left and regionalism parties in the national parliaments of much of the European Union, mainstream political parties may form an informal cordon sanitaire, which applies a policy of non-cooperation towards those "Outsider Parties" present in the legislature which are viewed as "anti-system" or otherwise unacceptable for government.

*Cordons sanitaire*, however, have been increasingly abandoned over the past two decades in multi-party democracies as the pressure to construct broad coalitions in order to win elections – along with the increased willingness of outsider parties themselves to participate in government – has led to many such parties entering electoral and government coalitions. Starting in the second half of the 20th century, modern democracies have introduced rules for the flow of funds through party coffers, e.g. the Canada Election Act 1976, the PPRA in the U.K. or the FECA in the U.S.

Such political finance regimes stipulate a variety of regulations for the transparency of fundraising and expenditure, limit or ban specific kinds of activity and provide public subsidies for party activity, including campaigning.

Partisan style varies according to each jurisdiction, depending on how many parties there are, and how much influence each individual party has.

### **Nonpartisan systems**

In a nonpartisan system, no official political parties exist, sometimes reflecting legal restrictions on political parties. In nonpartisan elections, each candidate is eligible for office on his or her own merits. In nonpartisan legislatures, there are no typically formal party alignments within the legislature. The administration of George Washington and the first few sessions of the USA Congress were nonpartisan. Washington also warned against political parties during his Farewell Address.

In the USA, the unicameral legislature of Nebraska is nonpartisan but is elected and often votes on informal party lines. In Canada, the territorial legislatures of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut are nonpartisan. In New Zealand, Tokelau has a nonpartisan parliament.

Many city and county governments in the USA and Canada are nonpartisan.

Nonpartisan elections & modes of governance are common outside of state institutions.

Unless there are legal prohibitions against political parties, factions within nonpartisan systems often evolve into political parties.

### **Uni-party systems**

In one-party systems, one political party is legally allowed to hold effective power.

Although minor parties may sometimes be allowed, they are legally required to accept the leadership of the dominant party. This party may not always be identical to the government, although sometimes positions within the party may in fact be more important than positions within the government.

North Korea and China are examples; others can be found in Fascist states, such as Nazi Germany between 1934 and 1945. The one-party system is thus often equated with dictatorships and tyranny. In dominant-party systems, opposition parties are allowed, and there may be even a deeply established democratic tradition.

But other parties are widely considered to have no real chance of gaining power.

Sometimes, political, social and economic circumstances, and public opinion are the reason for others parties' failure. Sometimes, typically in countries with less of an established democratic tradition, it is possible the dominant party will remain in power by using patronage and sometimes by voting fraud. In the latter case, the definition between dominant and one-party system becomes rather blurred.

Examples of dominant party systems include the People's Action Party in Singapore, the African National Congress in South Africa, the Cambodian People's Party in Cambodia, the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan, and the National Liberation Front in Algeria.

One-party dominant system existed in Mexico with the Institutional Revolutionary Party until the 1990s, in the southern USA with the Democratic Party from the late 19th century until the 1970s, in Indonesia with the *Golkar* from the early 1970s until 1998.

### **Bi-party systems**

Two-party systems are states such as Honduras, Jamaica, Malta, Ghana and the USA in which there are two political parties dominant to such an extent that electoral success under the banner of any other party is almost impossible.

One right wing coalition party and one left wing coalition party is the most common ideological breakdown in such a system but in two-party states political parties are traditionally catch all parties which are ideologically broad and inclusive.

The USA has become essentially a two-party system, since a conservative (the Republican Party) & liberal (the Democratic Party) party has usually been the status quo within American politics. The first parties were called Federalist & Republican, followed by a brief period of Republican dominance before a split occurred between National Republicans and Democratic Republicans.

The former became the Whig Party and the latter became the Democratic Party.

The Whigs survived only for two decades before they split over the spread of slavery, those opposed becoming members of the new Republican Party, as did anti-slavery members of the Democratic Party.

Third parties (the Libertarian Party) often receive little support and are very rarely the victors in elections. Despite this, there have been several examples of third parties siphoning votes from major parties that were expected to win (Theodore Roosevelt in the election of 1912 and George Wallace in the election of 1968).

As third party movements have learned, the Electoral College's requirement of a nationally distributed majority makes it difficult for third parties to succeed.

Thus, such parties rarely win many electoral votes, although their popular support within a state may tip it toward one party or the other. Wallace had weak support outside the South. More generally, parties with a broad base of support across regions or among economic and other interest groups, have a great chance of winning the necessary plurality in the U.S.'s largely single-member district, winner-take-all elections.

The tremendous land area and large population of the country are formidable challenges to political parties with a narrow appeal.

The UK political system, while technically a multi-party system, has functioned generally as a two-party ("two-and-a-half party") system; since the 1920s the two largest political parties have been the Conservative Party and the Labour Party. Before the Labour Party rose in British politics the Liberal Party was the other major political party along with the Conservatives. Though coalition and minority governments have been an occasional feature of parliamentary politics, the first-past-the-post electoral system used for general elections tends to maintain the dominance of these two parties, though each has in the past century relied upon a third party to deliver a working majority in Parliament.

(A plurality voting system leads to a two-party system, a relationship described by Maurice Duverger and known as Duverger's Law.) There are numerous other parties that hold or have held a number of seats in Parliament.

### **Multi-party systems**

Multi-party systems are systems in which more than two parties are represented and elected to public office. Australia, Canada, Nepal, Pakistan, India, Ireland, UK & Norway are examples of countries with two strong parties and additional smaller parties that have obtained representation. The smaller or "third" parties may hold the balance of power in a parliamentary system may be invited to form a part of a coalition government together with one of the larger parties, or may provide a supply and confidence agreement to the government; or may instead act independently from the dominant parties.

More commonly, in cases where there are three or more parties, no one party is likely to gain power alone; parties have to work with each other to form coalition governments.

This is the case in Germany on national and state level, and in most constituencies at the communal level. Furthermore, since the forming of the Republic of Iceland there has never been a government not led by a coalition, usually involving the Independence Party or the Progressive Party. A similar situation exists in the Republic of Ireland, where no one party has held power on its own since 1989.

Since then, numerous coalition governments have been formed. These coalitions have been led exclusively by either Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael. Political change is often easier with a coalition government than in one-party or two-party dominant systems.

If factions in a two-party system are in fundamental disagreement on policy goals, or even principles, they can be slow to make policy changes, which appears to be the case now in the U.S. with power split between Democrats and Republicans.

Still coalition governments struggle, sometimes for years, to change policy and often fail altogether, post World War II France and Italy being prime examples. When one party in a two-party system controls all elective branches, however, policy changes can be both swift and significant. Democrats Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson were beneficiaries of such fortuitous circumstances, as were Republicans as far removed in time as Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan. Barack Obama briefly had such an advantage between 2009 and 2011.

***Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.***

***Exercise 2. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.***

No	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score

## FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are funded by contributions from party members and other individuals, organizations, which share their political ideas (trade union affiliation fees) or could benefit from their activities (corporate donations) or governmental, public funding.

Political parties, still called factions by some, especially those in the governmental apparatus, are lobbied vigorously by organizations, businesses and special interest groups such as trade unions. Money and gifts-in-kind to a party, or its leading members, may be offered as incentives. Such donations are the traditional source of funding for all right-of-centre cadre parties. Starting in the late 19th century these parties were opposed by the newly founded left-of-centre workers' parties. They started a new party type, the mass membership party, and a new source of political fundraising, membership dues.

From the second half of the 20th century on parties which continued to rely on donations or membership subscriptions ran into mounting problems. Along with the increased scrutiny of donations there has been a long-term decline in party memberships in most western democracies which itself places more strains on funding. For example, in the United Kingdom and Australia membership of the two main parties in 2006 is less than an 1/8 of what it was in 1950, despite significant increases in population over that period.

In some parties, such as the post-communist parties of France and Italy or the Sinn Féin party and the Socialist Party, elected representatives (incumbents) take only the average industrial wage from their salary as a representative, while the rest goes into party coffers. Although these examples may be rare nowadays, "rent-seeking" continues to be a feature of many political parties around the world.

In the United Kingdom, it has been alleged that peerages have been awarded to contributors to party funds, the benefactors becoming members of the House of Lords and thus being in a position to participate in legislating. Famously, Lloyd George was found to have been selling peerages. To prevent such corruption in the future, Parliament passed the Honours (Prevention of Abuses) Act 1925 into law.

Thus, the outright sale of peerages and similar honours became a criminal act.

However, some benefactors are alleged to have attempted to circumvent this by cloaking their contributions as loans, giving rise to the "Cash for Peerages" scandal.

Such activities as well as assumed "influence peddling" have given rise to demands that the scale of donations should be capped. As the costs of electioneering escalate, so the demands made on party funds increase. In the UK some politicians are advocating that parties should be funded by the state; a proposition that promises to give rise to interesting debate in a country that was the first to regulate campaign expenses (in 1883).

In many other democracies such subsidies for party activity (in general or just for campaign purposes) have been introduced decades ago. Public financing for parties and/ or candidates (during election times and beyond) has several permutations and is increasingly common. Germany, Sweden, Israel, Canada, Australia, Austria and Spain are cases in point.

More recently among others France, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands and Poland have followed suit. There are two broad categories of public funding, direct, which entails a monetary transfer to a party, and indirect, which includes broadcasting time on state media, use of the mail service or supplies. According to the Comparative Data from the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, out of a sample of over 180 nations, 25% of nations provide no direct or indirect public funding,

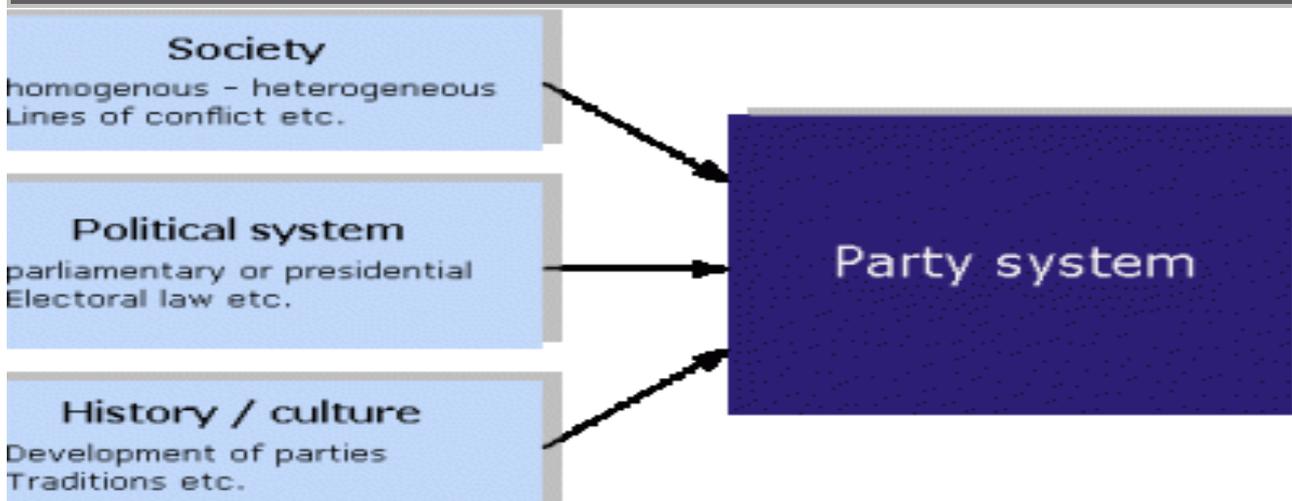
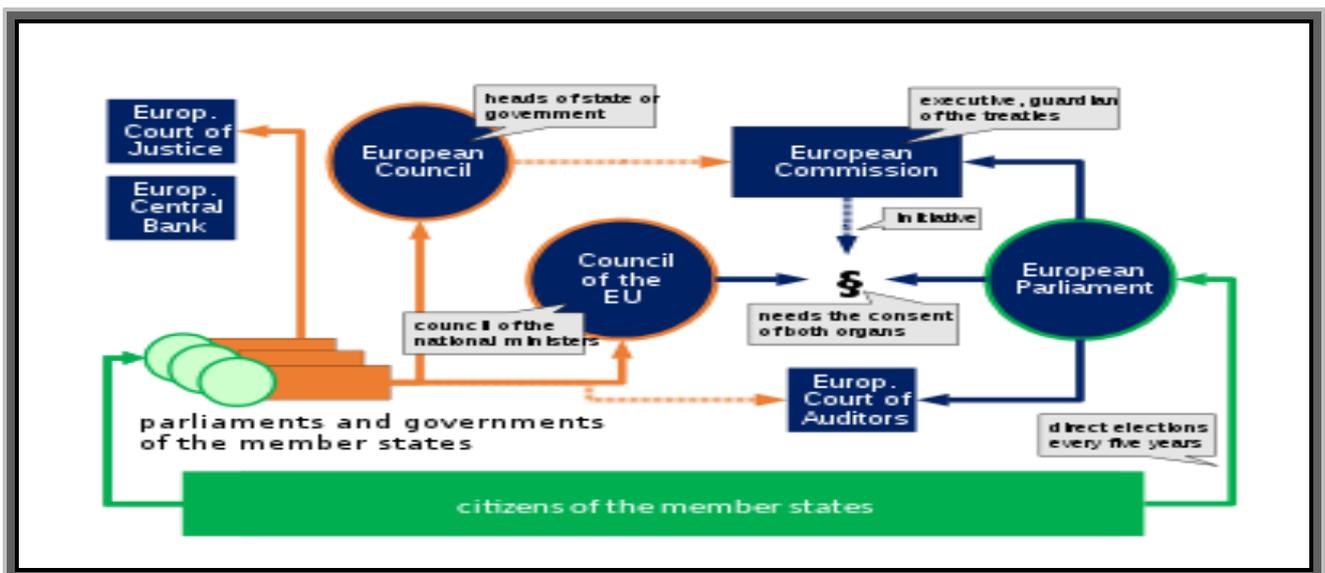
58% provide direct public funding and 60% of nations provide indirect public funding. Some countries provide both direct and indirect public funding to political parties.

Funding may be equal for all parties or depend on the results of previous elections or the number of candidates participating in an election.

Frequently parties rely on a mix of private and public funding and are required to disclose their finances to the Election management body.

In fledgling democracies funding can also be provided by foreign aid. International donors provide financing to political parties in developing countries as a means to promote democracy and good governance. Support can be purely financial or otherwise. Frequently it is provided as capacity development activities including the development of party manifestos, party constitutions & campaigning skills. Developing links between ideologically linked parties is another common feature of international support for a party.

Sometimes this can be perceived as directly supporting the political aims of a political party, such as the support of the US government to the Georgian party behind the Rose Revolution. Other donors work on a more neutral basis, where multiple donors provide grants in countries accessible by all parties for various aims defined by the recipients. There have been calls by leading development think-tanks, such as the Overseas Development Institute, to increase support to political parties as part of developing the capacity to deal with the demands of interest-driven donors to improve governance.



## COLOURS & EMBLEMS & SYMBOLS

Generally speaking, over the world, political parties associate themselves with colours, primarily for identification, especially for voter recognition during elections.

- Blue generally denotes conservatism.
- Yellow is often used for liberalism or libertarianism.
- Red often signifies social democratic, socialist or communist parties.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>
- Green is associated with green politics, Islamism, agrarianism & Irish republicanism.
- Orange is the traditional colour of Christian democracy.
- Black is generally associated with fascist parties,

Going back to Benito Mussolini's blackshirts, but also with Anarchism.

Similarly, brown is sometimes associated with Nazism, going back to the Nazi Party's tan-uniformed storm troopers.

Colour associations are useful for mnemonics when voter illiteracy is significant.

Another case where they are used is when it is not desirable to make rigorous links to parties, particularly when coalitions and alliances are formed between political parties and other organizations: "Purple" (Red-Blue) alliances, Red-green alliances, Blue-green alliances, Traffic light coalitions, Pan-green coalitions, and Pan-blue coalitions.

Political colour schemes in the USA diverge from international norms. Since 2000, red has become associated with the right-wing Republican Party and blue with the left-wing Democratic Party. However, unlike political colour schemes of other countries, the parties did not choose those colours; they were used in news coverage of 2000 election results and ensuing legal battle and caught on in popular usage. Prior to the 2000 election the media typically alternated which colour represented which party each presidential election cycle. The colour scheme happened to get inordinate attention that year, so the cycle was stopped lest it cause confusion the following election.

### Emblems & Symbols

The emblem of socialist parties is often a red rose held in a fist. Communist parties often use a hammer to represent the worker, a sickle to represent the farmer, or both a hammer and a sickle to refer to both at the same time. The emblem of Nazism, the swastika or "*hakenkreuz*", has been adopted as a near-universal symbol for almost any organised white supremacist group, even though it dates from more ancient times.

Symbols can be very important when the overall electorate is illiterate.

In the Kenyan constitutional referendum, 2005, supporters of the constitution used the banana as their symbol, while the "no" used an orange. During the 19th & 20th century, many national political parties organized themselves into international organizations along similar policy lines. **Notable examples are**

The Universal Party,  
International Workingmen's Association (the First International),  
the Socialist International (the Second International),  
the Communist International (the Third International),  
the Fourth International, as organizations of working class parties,  
the Liberal International (yellow),  
Christian Democratic International,  
the International Democrat Union (blue).

Organized in Italy in 1945, the International Communist Party, since 1974 headquartered in Florence has sections in six countries. Worldwide green parties have recently established the Global Greens. The Universal Party, The Socialist International, the Liberal International, and the International Democrat Union are all based in London.

Administrations (Hong Kong) outlaw formal linkages between local and foreign political organizations, effectively outlawing international political parties.

French political scientist Maurice Duverger drew a distinction between "cadre" parties and "mass" parties. Cadre parties were political elites that were concerned with contesting elections and restricted the influence of outsiders, who were only required to assist in election campaigns.

Mass parties tried to recruit new members who were a source of party income and were often expected to spread party ideology as well as assist in elections.

Socialist parties are examples of mass parties, while the Conservative Party in the UK and the German Christian Democratic Union in Germany are examples of hybrid parties.

In the USA, where both major parties were cadre parties, the introduction of primaries and other reforms has transformed them so that power is held by activists who compete over influence and nomination of candidates.

Klaus von Beyme categorised European parties into nine families, which described most parties. He was able to arrange seven of them from left to right: Communist, Socialist, Green, Liberal, Christian democratic, Conservative and Libertarian. The position of two other types, Agrarian and Regional/Ethnic parties varied.

An **elite party** is a political party consisting of members of the societal elite, particularly members of parliament, who agree to co-operate politically in the spirit of principles and goals. The first to describe this party model was Edmund Burke in 1770. More recently, the elite party model has been outlined by Maurice Duverger.

Elite parties form as groupings of elite members particularly in situations where an individual politician's political standing can be secured without the support of large populations.

An elite party can form internally in the parliament and its political power is derived from that of its individual members. Elite parties have practically no extra-parliamentary structure and are generally more flexible than mass parties. The central role of independent, powerful individuals implies that their structure is often loose and that their policy may be internally disputed due to disagreements between individual members. As Duverger states, in elite parties "the members of Parliament play a key role".

Gunther and Diamond described that elite parties consists of parties of local notables or clientelistic parties based on notables. These are weakly organised and mobilize support through personal resources of the notables or through vertical patron-client networks. Elite parties are contrasted to mass parties that largely consist of "masses" of laymen. Mass parties can be democratic, such as decentralized liberal parties, or massive but centrally controlled like Nazi or Communist parties; these are occasionally classified separately. Elite parties, despite their origin in the elite, need not to be elitist and may represent any ideology. For example, there have been elite parties supporting ideologies as diverse and conflicting as classical liberalism, nationalism and aristocracy/elitism.

A prominent example of a political system based on elite parties were the Hats and Caps parties in Sweden during the Age of Liberty (1719–1772).

**Exercise 1. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

## **MOST INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE WORLD**

Political parties should be the representation of the people to the government.

However, there are times when their goals for power, idealism & greed take precedence while relegating the concerns of the people to the backseat. It can become callous when opposing parties use the people as pawns in their struggles. Here are the 25 most ruthless political parties to ever hold power and the effect that their policies had on the world.

Every nation is run by a certain ideology, or you can say a political ideology, and their social and economic sectors are highly influenced by it as well. Presently, there are 195 nations in the world, in which UN (United Nations) has recognized 193 nations in total.

Almost every nation has some kind of political structure, like – Constitutional Republic, Republic Democratic, Republic, Parliamentary republic, Federal Republic, Islamic Republic, and the Socialist Republic. It can be a possibility as well, that different parties in a single nation following different forms, for example in the USA, where Republicans and Democrats exist together. It is a matter of time and mandate, which political ideology rules the roost in any nation, but there is a rich history of different political parties in the world, and here, we are gonna explain them by their journey, principles, and ideologies one by one succinctly.

**Democratic Party, USA** – the oldest voter-based political party in the world and its heritage can be traced back to the anti-federalists of the 1790s. From two centuries of its existence, it has changed significantly in its structure and stances on different social aspects. It is known for supporting or tolerated slavery in the 19th century and for the opposition to civil reforms after the American Civil war. But later, or in the mid of 20th century, it had gone under some kind transformation in its ideology and known as a party for supporting organized labor, the civil rights of minorities, and progressive reforms.

The party has registered many massive victories in the elections, the latest being is Barack Obama, who served the presidency from 2009-2017.

However, the latest win has registered by the Republican Party candidate Donald Trump and become president of the USA.

**Communist Party of China** – known as founding & ruling party of People's Republic of China and founded in 1921 by Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao. As China follows Communism socialism with some exceptions of Socialism with Chinese characteristics, so the party is the single ruling dispensation in the country. Presently, it has more 85 mln members, thus known as one of the largest political parties in the world. It is the only party which looks over any minor and major policy shift and controls the central, provincial, and the local bodies of lawmaking. Current, CPC is headed by the President Xi Jinping.

**Conservative Party, United Kingdom** – following center-right ideology and known as the oldest political party in the United Kingdom. A staunch supporter of the free market and individual achievements, they rely on these two factors for the economic prosperity.

It is because of their firm conviction; the United Kingdom is keeping a separate currency, which is pound, despite being a European Union member.

Presently, the party has a total of 150000 paid-up supporters and comprised of – Voluntary Party, Parliamentary Party, and Professional Party.

The conservative party is well-known for its myriad internal factions or ideologies.

Such as – Liberal, Social, One-nation, Traditional, Neo-conservatism, Thatcherism, Hard Euroscepticism, Pro Europeanism, Christian democracy, Localism, Green Conservatism.

**Christian Democratic Union of Germany** – a leading center-right party in German Politics and also known as Christian Democratic and liberal-conservative political party in Germany. Presently, the ruling dispensation is CDU and as a leader, Angela Merkel is serving as the current Chancellor of Germany. It was established on 26 June 1945 in the wake of the need of new political order in Germany after the collapse of Nazi Dictatorship at the end of World War II. As a conservative party, the CDU has always been taking a strong stance on giving stringent punishment for serious criminal offenses. It has laid his emphasis on curtailing the red tape and preservation of cultural traditions.

**United Russia** – The United Russia was established in December 2001 through a merger of the Unity Party and the Fatherland-All Russia party. However, it has no innate ideology, but in 2009, they claimed "Russian Conservatism" as their official ideology.

Usually, the party appeal to non-ideological voters, thus, political scientists called it as a "party of power", as it embraces some specific politicians and officials.

The party claimed that it had 1.98 mln members, which was about 30 % of the Russian population. Incumbent chairman of United Russia is Dmitry Medvedev, who is also the prime minister of the country under the presidency of Vladimir Putin.

**Bhartiya Janta Party, India** – the world’s largest party in terms of primary membership and the current ruling dispensation of the world's biggest democracy. BJP’s origins lie in Bhartiya Jan Sangh formed in the 1951 by Shyama Prasad Mookerjee.

After 1977 general election, after being served in the power, Janata Party dissolved in 1980 with the Jana Sangh to establish BJP. From the revolutionary movement of Ram Janma Bhoomi, it had first come into ruling dispensation through 1998 election under the collation of NDA (National Democratic Alliance). Its political position in Right-wing or Majoritarianism, which has been constant since its establishment. It has strong ideological and organizational links to RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh), which is a Hindu Nationalist Group and known for selfless services to the nation.

**African National Congress, South Africa** – a social democratic party, which has been in the ruling dispensation in the nation since post-apartheid era. The party began with the election of Nelson Mandela in the 1994 elections. Since then, ANC has been at the helm of affairs in South Africa and currently headed by the Jacob Zuma, South African President.

Founded in 1912 with a primary goal to give blacks equal participation in every social and economic institution. Until now, it has done a commendable job to ensure black inclusion in the mainstream development and enforcing RET (Radical Economic Transformation) to realize black empowerment in real means. Of late, many conspiracies to break ANC have been attempted by the white capitalist lobbies and internal witch hunts, but it survived every attack under the leadership of Jacob Zuma, who is the leader of conviction and a strong determination.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

No	Activity			
	Party	When	Where	Score
1.				

## THE WORLD'S OLDEST POLITICAL PARTIES

If there's one topic that's sure to turn a boring gathering into a lively one – for better or for worse – it's politics. Opinions on political parties have both divided and united people over the decades, and they have been doing so for countless years. Here's a list of ten of the world's oldest political parties.

### **The Conservative Party of the United Kingdom**

Year: 1834; Country: United Kingdom

Ideology: Conservatism, Economic liberalism, British unionism

The Conservative Party, known officially as the Conservative and Unionist Party, is the current governing party in the United Kingdom and is the largest party in local government. It had humbler beginnings in 1834 after being formed from the remnants of the Tories – a nickname sometimes still given to this party today. This centre-right party was one of the two most dominant parties in the United Kingdom during the 19th century, with its rival being the Liberal Party. The two parties then joined into one and became the party we know now.

Today, the Conservative Party is one of the two leading parties in the United Kingdom, rivalling the Labour Party.

### **The Whig Party of the USA**

Year: 1834; Country: USA

Ideology: Nationalism, Conservatism, American System

While the United Kingdom had a Whig Party, the Whig Party of the USA is the one that makes it to number seven of our list. Formed from the remnants of the National Republican Party and the Anti-Masonic Party, it was the leading party opposing Andrew Jackson.

The Whig Party named itself after the American Whigs who fought for the independence of the USA in the 18th century. A total of four USA presidents identified as part of the Whig Party while they were in office. Due to tension regarding slavery and other similar issues, the party fell apart and dissolved in 1854.

### **Anti-Masonic Party**

Year: 1828; Country: USA

Ideology: Anti-Masonry, American School

The Anti-Masonic Party, known also as the Anti-Masonic Movement, was America's first third party. Founded in February 1828, it mainly opposed Freemasonry and came about after the disappearance of former Mason and Mason critic William Morgan.

The right-wing party achieved a surprising success in the elections of 1828 and began to make other political moves and consider other causes. However, as the 1830s went on, an increasing number of members of the party left to join America's Whig Party. The Anti-Masonic Party was eventually dissolved in the December of 1840.

### **National Republican Party**

Year: 1828; Country: USA

Ideology: Jeffersonianism, American School

Known as the Anti-Jacksonians, the National Republican Party was one of the branches that split off of the Democratic-Republican Party in America. The party was formed to oppose Andrew Jackson's leadership when he was elected President in 1828.

Henry Clay was the nominee who ran against Jackson in 1832, but lost the election.

Two short years later, the party dissolved as Jackson's opponents formed another party known as the Whig Party – not to be confused with the Whigs of the United Kingdom.

### **The Democratic Party of the USA**

Year: 1828; Country: USA

Ideology: Modern liberalism, Social liberalism (mainly)

The Democratic Party is the world's oldest political party that continues to operate till this day. It was founded on the 8th of January, 1828, by the supporters of President Andrew Jackson. From the get-go, this party has maintained a more liberal view of social and economic issues, and many of those views have been maintained till today.

The party's modern ideologies today have to do with liberalism, equality, and belief in the welfare state. Universal health care, labour union support, affordable college tuition, environmental protection, equal opportunity, and economic intervention are some of the party's main focuses.

### **The Democratic-Republican Party**

Year: 1794; Country: USA

Ideology: Agrarianism, Anti-Federalism, Jeffersonianism, Republicanism

The Democratic-Republican Party, known also as the Jeffersonian Republicans, was a party formed by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison primarily to oppose the policies of the Federalist Party, which we'll talk about in a latter entry. It was the first official republican party and served as the base for what is now the oldest American political party that is still operating. This party controlled the USA government from 1801 to 1825 during the First Party System, but began to split in 1824, branching off into two independent parties. One of them was the Democratic Party, known also as the Jacksonians, and that party continues to operate in the United States till this day, making it the world's oldest operational political party.

### **The Federalist Party**

Year: 1789; Country: USA

Ideology: Federalism, Hamiltonianism, Centralization, Classical conservatism, Modernization, American School. This party, known as the Boner Party, was America's first every political party. Founded by Alexander Hamilton, they focused on economic growth and financial stability. After suffering a big loss to the Democratic-Republican party in the election of 1800, the Federalist Party never came back into power. They regained some strength in the War of 1812, lost it after the War of 1815, and slowly disappeared during the Era of Good Feelings. Eventually, the party was dissolved in 1824. Despite their short-lived tenure, the Federalist Party continued to have a long, lasting effect on the policy of the Supreme Court thanks to Chief Justice John Marshall. Their ideologies helped to shape America's federal government, based upon strong financial ground.

### **The Tories**

Year: 1678; Country: United Kingdom

Ideology: Right-wing toricism

The Tories, alongside the Whigs, which will talk about shortly, is one of the earliest known political parties to exist in the world. Formed in 1678 from the Cavalier group, known also as the Royalists, they were originally formed to oppose the Exclusion Bill.

A bill, which sought to remove James, Duke of York, as the heir of the throne. Apart from that, their purpose was to oppose the ideologies of the Whigs, another political party.

The Tories were dissolved officially in 1834, though they ceased operations as a political party in the early 1760s. The term "Tories" was continually used by political writers to describe their ideologies, even after they were dissolved.

**The Whigs**

Year: 1678; Country: United Kingdom

Ideology: Liberal Whiggism

Alongside the Tories, the Whigs were the world’s oldest and first political party.

Originally known as the Roundheads, or the Parliamentarians, The Whigs opposed absolute monarchy and found their beginnings fighting against Charles I of England and the Cavaliers. They were central to the Revolution of 1688, known as the Glorious Revolution, which saw the overthrowing of King James II of England. This resulted in the Whigs gaining complete control over the government from the years 1715 to 1760, with their reign ending as King George III allowed Tories to return to the governing system. Throughout the decades, the Whigs supported revolutionary causes, such as the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the Catholic church. They were dissolved on the 6th of June 1859 with the transition to the Liberal Party, which was a mix of members of the Whig party and free trade radicals and Tory party members.

The greatest political party in the world is the **Chinese Communist Party**.

Lifted 600 mln people out of poverty within 3 decades.

Transformed a billion strong country from a poverty stricken backwater to a world superpower, with the world’s largest economy (larger than both the US and the EU, GDP PPP) and the third most powerful military.

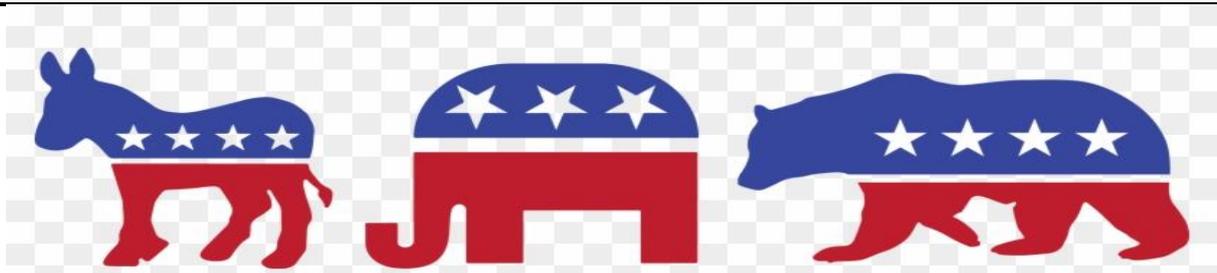
Its a meritocracy where you are promoted based on your achievements and not on rhetoric.

Boasts a membership of 80 mln plus people.

The US Democratic Party is the oldest and historically one of the most adaptable and successfully parties in the history of the world, whether you credit its founder as Jefferson or Jackson. It has changed from being a pro-slavery conservative rural party into to an urban progressive party and is now morphing to a party that represents the reformist mercantile coastal America versus the dying social conservative Heartland.

**Exercise 1. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Party	When	Where	Score
1.				



## THE PARTY LINE

In politics, the party line is an idiom for a political party or social movement's canon agenda, as well as ideological elements specific to the organization's partisanship.

The common phrase toeing the party line describes a person who speaks in a manner that conforms to his political party's agenda. Likewise, a party-line vote is one in which most or all of the legislators from each political party voted in accordance with that party's policies. In several countries, a whip attempts to ensure this. The Marxist-Leninist concept of democratic centralism involves strict adherence to, and defense of, a communist party's positions in public. According to American educator Herbert Kohl, writing about debates in New York in the late 1940s and early 1950s:

The term "politically correct" was used disparagingly, to refer to someone whose loyalty to the CP line overrode compassion, and led to bad politics. It was used by Socialists against Communists, and was meant to separate out Socialists who believed in egalitarian moral ideas from dogmatic Communists who would advocate and defend party positions regardless of their moral substance. On the other hand, in inner-party debate sessions, the line can be questioned, criticized, and changed if necessary.

Used loosely, the phrase "the party line" may also refer to the non-party organizations such as religious groups, business offices, or a social network that may have a semi-official organizational policy or position that is unrelated to any political party.

A political **stump speech** is a standard speech used by a politician running for office.

Typically, a candidate who schedules many appearances prepares a short standardized stump speech that is repeated verbatim to each audience, before opening to questions.

The term derives from the early American custom in which candidates campaigned from town to town and stood upon a sawed off tree stump to deliver their speech.

In presidential campaigns in the USA, a candidate's speech at his or her party's presidential nominating convention usually forms the basis for the stump speech for the duration of the national campaign. Stump speeches are not meant to generate news, outside of local media covering a candidate's appearance. National media usually ignore their contents in their daily news coverage. The predictability of stump speeches gives reporters a general indication that the candidate will soon conclude his speech. An example of this comes from Governor of New York Nelson Rockefeller, who would constantly use the phrase "the brotherhood of man, under the fatherhood of God" toward the end of his speeches during his multiple bids for the Republican Party presidential nomination. Reporters covering Rockefeller came to abbreviate the expression as BOMFOG.

In politics, a **mandate** is the authority granted by a constituency to act as its representative.

The concept of a government having a legitimate mandate to govern via the fair winning of a democratic election is a central idea of representative democracy. New governments who attempt to introduce policies that they did not make public during an election campaign are said not to have a legitimate *mandate* to implement such policies.

Elections, especially ones with a large margin of victory, and are often said to give the newly elected government or elected official an implicit mandate to put into effect certain policies. When a government seeks re-election they may introduce new policies as part of the campaign and are hoping for approval from the voters, and say they are seeking a "new mandate". In some languages, a "mandate" can mean a parliamentary seat won in an election rather than the electoral victory itself.

## PARTY PLATFORM

A political party platform or program is a formal set of principal goals, which are supported by a political party or individual candidate, in order to appeal to the general public, for the ultimate purpose of garnering the general public's support and votes about complicated topics or issues.

"Plank" is the term often given to the components of the political platform – the opinions and viewpoints about individual topics, as held by a party, person, or organization.

The word "plank" depicts a component of an overall political platform, as a metaphorical reference to a basic stagemade out of boards or planks of wood.

The metaphor can return to its literal origin when public speaking or debates are actually held upon a physical platform.

A party platform is sometimes referred to as a manifesto or a political platform. Across the Western world, political parties are highly likely to fulfill their election promises.

The first known use of the word platform was in 1535. The word platform comes from Middle French *plate-forme*, literally meaning "flat form". The political meaning of the word to reflect "statement of party politics" is from 1803, probably originally an image of a literal platform on which politicians gather, stand, and make their appeals.

A 2017 study in the *American Journal of Political Science* found that for 12 countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, UK, USA) found that political parties in government fulfill their election promises to voters to a considerable extent. The study determined that:

Parties that hold executive office after elections generally fulfill substantial percentages, sometimes very high percentages, of their election pledges, whereas parties that do not hold executive office generally find that lower percentages of their pledges are fulfilled.

The fulfillment of pledges by governing executive parties varies across governments in ways that reflect power-sharing arrangements. The main power-sharing arrangement that impacts pledge fulfillment distinguishes between single-party governments and coalitions, not between governments with and without legislative majorities. We found the highest percentages of pledge fulfillment for governing parties in the United Kingdom, Sweden, Portugal, Spain, and Canada, most of which governed in single-party executives.

We found lower percentages for governing parties in Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Bulgaria, Ireland, and Italy, most of which governed in coalitions. Pledge fulfillment by U.S. presidential parties lies at the higher end of coalition governments, which suggests that U.S. presidents are more constrained than governing parties in single-party parliamentary systems, but less constrained than most governing parties in multiparty coalitions. Other research on the USA suggests that Democratic and Republican Congress People voted in line with their respective party platforms 74% and 89% of the time, respectively.

**Exercise 1. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 2. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Event	When	Where	Score
1.				

## FAMOUS POLITICAL PLATFORMS

The Ninety-Five Theses of Martin Luther in 1517, opposed practices of the Catholic Church at that time (both a religion and a political territory), and led to the establishment of Protestantism

Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776) advocated freedom from the rule of Great Britain for the American Colonists and proposed a constitution for the new USA

Tamworth Manifesto in 1834, a political manifesto issued by Sir Robert Peel, 2nd Baronet, in a run-up to the British general election of 1835 that laid down the principles upon which the modern Conservative Party was founded from the old Tory party.

Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx's 1848 Communist Manifesto, called for the abolition of private property and applied a scientific understanding to the development of society through socialism into a society without money-usage, social classes, or state coercion, which would be called "communism".

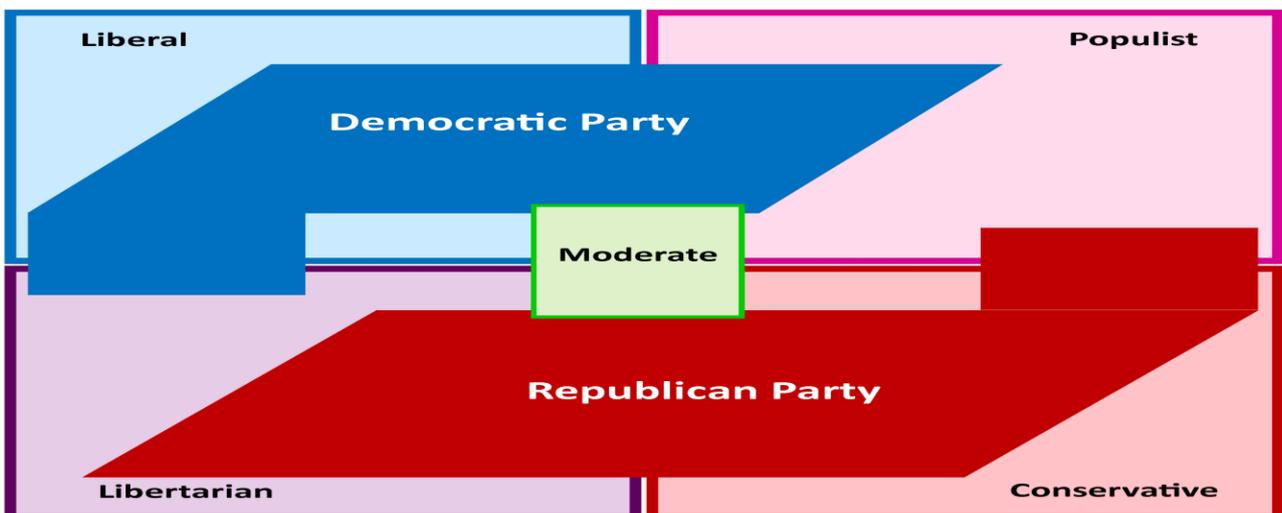
- Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 New Deal.
- The 1948 USA Democratic Party's platform including civil rights.
- Lyndon Baines Johnson's War on Poverty, 1965.
- The 1993 Liberal Party of Canada Red Book.
- The 1994 Republican congressional Contract with America.
- Mike Harris's 1995 Common Sense Revolution.
- 100-Hour Plan of the USA Democratic Party in 2006.

**Exercise 1.** Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.

**Exercise 2.** Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.

**Exercise 3.** Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.

№	Activity			
	Political Platform	When	Title	Score
1.				



## REFERENDUMS

A referendum is a direct vote in which an entire electorate is invited to vote on a particular proposal. This may result in the adoption of a new law. In some countries, it is synonymous with a plebiscite or a vote on a ballot question. Some definitions of "plebiscite" suggest that it is a type of vote to change the constitution or government of a country.

However, some other countries define it differently.

Australia defines "referendum" as a vote to change the constitution, "plebiscite" as a vote that does not affect the constitution.

In Ireland, the vote to adopt its constitution was called a "plebiscite", but a subsequent vote to amend the constitution is called a "referendum", and so is a poll of the electorate on a non-constitutional bill. The word referendum is often a general word used for both legislative referrals and initiatives.

**Referendum** is the gerundive form of the Latin verb *refero*, literally "to carry back" (from the verb *fero*, "to bear, bring, carry" plus the inseparable prefix *re-*, here meaning "back". As a gerundive is an adjective, not a noun, it cannot be used alone in Latin and must be contained within a context attached to a noun such as *Propositum qui referendum est populo*, "A proposal which must be carried back to the people".

The addition of the verb *sum* (3rd person singular, *est*) to a gerundive, denotes the idea of necessity or compulsion, that which "must" be done, rather than that which is "fit for" doing. Its use as a noun in English is thus not a strictly grammatical usage of a foreign word, but is rather a freshly coined English noun, which therefore follows English grammatical usage, not Latin grammatical usage.

This determines the form of the plural in English, which according to English grammar should be "referendums". The use of "referenda" as a plural form in English (treating it as a Latin word and attempting to apply to it the rules of Latin grammar) is thus insupportable according to the rules of both Latin and English grammar alike. The use of "referenda" as a plural form is posited hypothetically as either a gerund or a gerundive by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which rules out such usage in both cases as follows:

*Referendums* is logically preferable as a plural form meaning "ballots on one issue" (as a Latin gerund, referendum has no plural). The Latin plural gerundive "referenda", meaning "things to be referred", necessarily connotes a plurality of issues.

It is closely related to the political agenda, "those matters which must be driven forward", from *ago*, to drive (cattle); and the memorandum, "that matter which must be remembered", from *memoro*, to call to mind.

The name and use of the "referendum" is thought to have originated in the Swiss canton of Graubünden as early as the 16th century.

The term "plebiscite" has a generally similar meaning in modern usage, and comes from the Latin *plebiscita*, which originally meant a decree of the *Concilium Plebis* (Plebeian Council), the popular assembly of the Roman Republic.

Today, a referendum can be referred to as a plebiscite, but in some countries the two terms are used differently to refer to votes with differing types of legal consequences. For example, Australia defines "referendum" as a vote to change the constitution, and "plebiscite" as a vote that does not affect the constitution. In contrast, Ireland has only ever held one plebiscite, which was the vote to adopt its constitution, and every other vote has been called a referendum.

Plebiscite has been used to denote a non-binding vote count such as the one held by Nazi Germany to "approve" in retrospect the so-called Anschluss with Austria, the question being not "Do you permit?" but rather "Do you approve?" of that which has most definitely already occurred. The term referendum covers a variety of different meanings.

A referendum can be binding or advisory. In some countries, different names are used for these two types of referendum. Referendums can be further classified by who initiates them: mandatory referendums prescribed by law, voluntary referendums initiated by the legislature or government, and referendums initiated by citizens. A deliberative referendum is a referendum specifically designed to improve the deliberative qualities of the campaign preceding the referendum vote, and/or of the act of voting itself.

From a political-philosophical perspective, referendums are an expression of direct democracy. However, in the modern world, most referendums need to be understood within the context of representative democracy. Therefore, they tend to be used quite selectively, covering issues such as changes in voting systems, where currently elected officials may not have the legitimacy or inclination to implement such changes.

Since the end of the 18th century, hundreds of national referendums have been organised in the world; almost 600 national votes were held in Switzerland since its inauguration as a modern state in 1848. Italy ranked second with 72 national referendums: 67 popular, 3 constitutional, one constitutional and one advisory referendum.

A referendum usually offers the electorate a choice of accepting or rejecting a proposal, but this is not necessarily the case. In Switzerland, multiple choice referendums are common. Among several other instances, two multiple choice referendums held in Sweden, in 1957 and in 1980, offered voters three options; in 1977, a referendum held in Australia to determine a new national anthem was held in which voters had four choices.

In 1992, New Zealand held a five-option referendum on their electoral system; and in 1982, Guam had one of six options, with an additional blank option for anyone(s) wishing to vote for their own seventh option. A multiple choice referendum poses the question of how the result is to be determined. If no single option receives the support of an absolute majority (more than half) of voters resort can be made to the two-round system or the alternative vote (AV, IRV, PV, STV).

In 2018 the Citizens' Assembly considered referendums in Ireland, with 76% supporting allowing more than two options, and 52% favouring STV in such cases.

Other people regard a non-majoritarian methodology like the Modified Borda count, MBC as more inclusive and more accurate.

Swiss referendums offer a separate vote on each of the multiple options as well as an additional decision about which of the multiple options should be preferred.

In the Swedish case, in both referendums the "winning" option was chosen by the Single Member Plurality ("first past the post") system. In other words, the winning option was deemed to be that supported by a plurality, rather than an absolute majority, of voters. In the 1977, Australian referendum, the winner was chosen by the system of preferential instant-runoff voting, IRV or PV. Polls in Newfoundland (1949) and Guam (1982), for example, were counted under a form of the two-round system, and an unusual form of TRS was used in the 1992 New Zealand poll. Although California does not have deliberate multiple-choice referendums in the Swiss or Swedish sense (in which only one of several counter-propositions can be victorious).

The losing proposals are wholly null and void, it does have so many yes-or-no referendums at each Election Day that the State's Constitution provides a method for resolving conflicts when two or more inconsistent propositions are passed on the same day. This is a de facto form of approval voting – the proposition with the most "yes" votes prevails over the others to the extent of any conflict. Another voting system that could be used in multiple-choice referendum is the Condorcet rule.

### **Criticism of populist aspect**

Critics of the referendum argue that voters in a referendum are more likely to be driven by transient whims than by careful deliberation, or that they are not sufficiently informed to make decisions on complicated or technical issues. Voters might be swayed by propaganda, strong personalities, intimidation, and expensive advertising campaigns.

James Madison argued that direct democracy is the "tyranny of the majority".

Some opposition to the referendum has arisen from its use by dictators such as Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini who, it is argued, used the plebiscite to disguise oppressive policies as populism. Dictators may make use of referendums as well as show elections to further legitimize their authority such as Benito Mussolini in 1934, Adolf Hitler in 1936, Ferdinand Marcos in 1973, Park Chung-hee in 1972, and Francisco Franco in 1947.

Hitler's use of plebiscites is argued as the reason why, since World War II, there has been no provision in Germany for the holding of referendums at the federal level.

In recent years, referendums have been used strategically by several European governments trying to pursue political and electoral goals.

### **Patten's criticism**

British politician Chris Patten summarized many of the arguments used by those who oppose the referendum in an interview in 2003, when discussing the possibility of a referendum in the United Kingdom on the European Union Constitution:

I think referendums are awful. The late and great Julian Critchley used to say that, not very surprisingly, they were the favourite form of plebiscitary democracy of Mussolini and Hitler. They undermine Westminster.

What they ensure, as we saw in the last election, is that if you have a referendum on an issue, politicians during an election campaign say: "Oh, we're not going to talk about that, we don't need to talk about that, that's all for the referendum." So during the last election campaign, the euro was hardly debated. I think referendums are fundamentally anti-democratic in our system, I wouldn't have anything to do with them. On the whole, governments only concede them when governments are weak.

Some critics of the referendum attack the use of closed questions. A difficulty which can plague a referendum of two issues or more is called the separability problem. If one issue is in fact, or in perception, related to another on the ballot, the imposed simultaneous voting of first preference on each issue can result in an outcome that is displeasing to most.

Several commentators have noted that the use of citizens' initiatives to amend constitutions has so tied the government to a mishmash of popular demands as to render the government unworkable. *The Economist* has made this point about the US State of California, which has passed so many referendums restricting the ability of the state government to tax the people and pass the budget that the state has become effectively ungovernable. Calls for an entirely new Californian constitution have been made.

A similar problem however arises when elected governments accumulate excessive debts. That can severely reduce the effective margin for later governments.

A **manifesto** is a published declaration of the intentions, motives, or views of the issuer, be it an individual, group, political party or government. A manifesto usually accepts a previously published opinion or public consensus or promotes a new idea with prescriptive notions for carrying out changes the author believes should be made. It often is political or artistic in nature, but may present an individual's life stance.

Manifestos relating to religious belief are generally referred to as creeds. It is derived from the Italian word *manifesto*, itself derived from the Latin *manifestum*, meaning clear or conspicuous. Its first recorded use in English is from 1620, in Nathaniel Brent's translation of Paolo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*: "To this citation he made answer by a Manifesto". Similarly, "They were so farre surprised with his Manifesto, that they would never suffer it to be published".

**Message discipline** is the concept that **politicians** and other public policy advocates should talk about what is relevant to achieve their aims, and not allow themselves to be sidetracked either by their own thoughts or the questions of **press** or audience. The term is finding its way into business, both in advertising and internal communications.

When a politician repeats the same thing *ad nauseam*, or uses a question on one subject as a launching point to talk about a different subject, he or she is said to be exercising message discipline. Message discipline may involve a subordination of irrelevant personal opinions, or a subordination of fluctuating desires to say what others want to hear versus maintaining an unwavering devotion to the message as it reaches out to greater numbers of potential audience members.

Message discipline is often practiced around wedge issues. Devolving to talking points (practicing message discipline) around issues such as same-sex marriage or abortion rights can be a powerful weapon in the politician's arsenal, either clouding a difficult line of questioning from an interviewer, or motivating the candidates' base to vote.

Key to defining wedge issues and practicing message discipline are the selection of terms that low-information voters<sup>[2]</sup> will rally around.

In a business context, message discipline is the practice of reducing and managing the number of messages going from headquarters and marketing functions to field organizations as well as front-line employees.

This goal-oriented, structured, strategic communication, is believed to drive operational excellence in organizations, as it reduces the clutter and mixed messages that sometimes afflict communications through organizational layers.

Message discipline is criticised by educated voters who see it as a method of obfuscation from what the electorate sees as important. Overly simplistic and repeated communications of the message is seen as dumbing down and can meet with cynicism of the electorate.

**Exercise 1. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 2. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

No	Activity			
	Notion	When	Where	Score
1.				

## PARTICRACY

Particracy is a *de facto* form of government where one or more political parties dominate the political process, rather than citizens and/or individual politicians.

As argued by Italian political scientist Mauro Calise in 1994, the term is often derogatory, implying that parties have too much power – in a similar vein, in premodern times it was often argued that democracy was merely rule by the demos, or a poorly educated and easily misled mob. Efforts to turn "particracy" into a more precise scholarly concept so far merely appear partly successful. Particracy tends to install itself as the cost of campaigning and the impact of the media increase so that it can be prevalent at the national level with large electoral districts but absent at a local level; a few prominent politicians of renown may hold enough influence on public opinion to resist their party or dominate it.

The ultimate particracy is the one-party state, although in a sense that is not a true party, for it does not perform the essential function to rival other parties. There it is often installed by law, while in multi-party states particracy cannot be imposed or effectively prevented by law. In multi-party regimes, the degree of individual autonomy within each can vary according to the party rules and traditions, and depending on whether a party is in power, and if so alone (mostly in a *de facto* two party-system) or in a coalition.

The mathematical need to form a coalition on the one hand prevents a single party from getting a potentially total grip, on the other hand provides the perfect excuse not to be accountable to the voter for not delivering the party program promises.

The party system which developed in the Federal Republic of Germany after World War II provides examples of particracies. More explicitly than in most European parliamentary systems, parties play a dominant role in the German Federal Republic's politics, far outstripping the role of individuals. Article 21 of the Basic Law states that "the political parties shall participate in the forming of the political will of the people. They may be freely established. Their internal organization must conform to democratic principles.

They must publicly account for the sources of their funds".

The 1967 "Law on Parties" further solidified the role of parties in the political process and addressed party organization, membership rights, and specific procedures, such as the nomination of candidates for office. The educational function noted in Article 21 (participation in the "forming of the political will") suggests that parties should help define public opinion rather than simply carry out the wishes of the electorate.

On the other side of the Iron Curtain, the former German Democratic Republic (or East Germany, 1949-1990) was hardly democratic, but at least in theory more democratic than the USSR in as far as the dominant Socialist Unity Party allowed the existence of eternally minority small interest-group parties in the National Front.

In the West, the USA, in which the Democratic and the Republican parties have been in power continuously since before the American Civil War, could be viewed as a particracy.

Particracy is one of the reasons for the 2010–2011 Greek protests.

Some scholars<sup>1</sup> have characterized the Mexican PRI party as a "state party" or as a "perfect dictatorship" for ruling Mexico for over 70 years (1929-2000), later losing power for 12 years and regaining it in 2012. The Republic of Ireland can be seen<sup>1</sup> as a particracy. Since the foundation of the state, one of two parties – Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael – has always led the government, either on its own or in coalition. Fianna Fáil is one of the most successful political parties in history.

From the formation of the first Fianna Fáil government on 9 March 1932 until the election of 2011, the party was in power for 61 of 79 years. Fine Gael held power during the remaining years.

Brazil could be considered a partocracy, and some consider the country a plutocracy. It has been alleged that Italian parties have retained too much power in the First Republic, screening the choices citizens had in elections; this electoral law would reinstate fixed electoral lists, where voters can express a preference for a list but not for a specific candidate.

This can be used by parties to guarantee virtual re-election to unpopular but powerful figures, who would be weaker in a first-past-the-post electoral system.

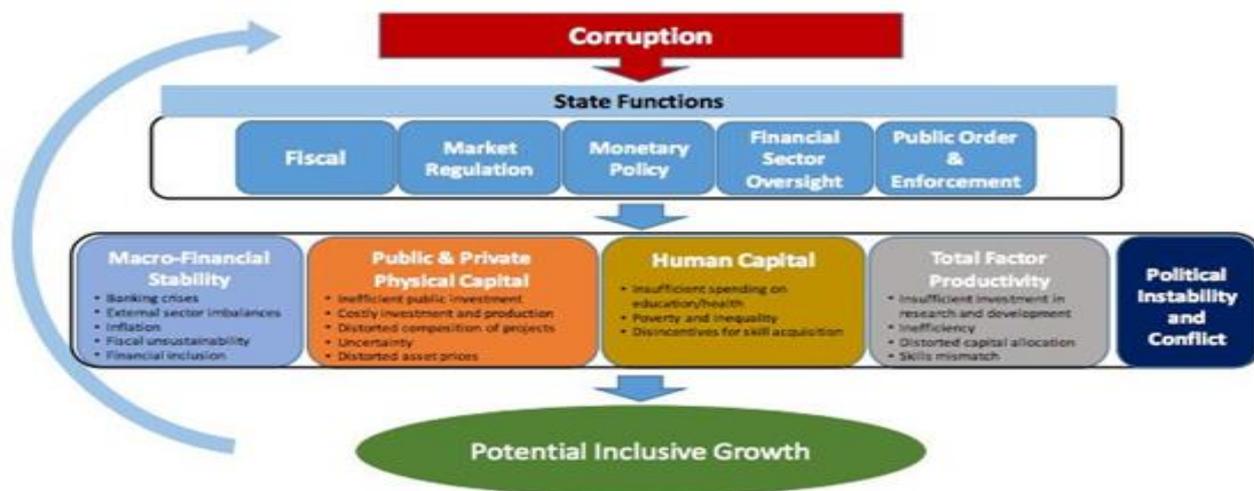
The nearly pure proportional representation system of the First Republic had resulted not only in party fragmentation and therefore governmental instability, but also insulation of the parties from the electorate and civil society. This was known in Italian as *partitocrazia*, in contrast to democracy, resulted in corruption and pork-barrel politics.

The Italian constitution allows, with substantial hurdles, *abrogative referendums*, enabling citizens to delete laws or parts of laws past by Parliament (with exceptions).

A reform movement known as *COREL* (Committee to Promote Referendums on Elections), led by maverick Christian Democracy member Mario Segni, proposed three referendums, one of which was allowed by the Constitutional Court of Italy (at that time packed with members of the Italian Socialist Party and hostile to the movement).

The June 1991 referendum therefore asked voters if they wanted to reduce the number of preferences, from three or four to one in the Chamber of Deputies to reduce the abuse of the open-list system by party elites and ensure accurate delegation of parliamentary seats to candidates popular with voters. With 62.5% of the Italian electorate voting, the referendum passed with 95% of those voting in favor. This was seen as a vote against the *partitocrazia*, which had campaigned against the referendum.

Emboldened by their victory in 1991 and encouraged by the unfolding Mani pulite scandals and the substantial loss of votes for the traditional parties in the 1992 general elections, the reformers pushed forward with another referendum, abrogating the proportional representation system of the Italian Senate and implicitly supporting a plurality system that would theoretically force parties to coalesce around two ideological poles, thereby providing governmental stability. This referendum was held in April 1993 and passed with the support of 80% of those voting. This caused the Giuliano Amato government to collapse three days later.



## ONE-PARTY DOMINANT SYSTEM

A dominant-party system is a system where there is "a category of parties/political organisations that have successively won election victories and whose future defeat cannot be envisaged or is unlikely for the foreseeable future".

Many are *de facto* one-party systems, and often devolve into *de jure* one-party systems. Usually, the dominant party consistently holds majority government, without the need for coalitions. Examples commonly cited:

- United Russia (EP) in Russia;
- the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey;
- Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) in Serbia;
- SMER-SD in Slovakia;
- Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro (DPS) in Montenegro;
- the People's Action Party (PAP) in Singapore;
- the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa;
- the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan;
- Awami League in Bangladesh;
- MPLA in Angola;
- the ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe.

Opponents of the "dominant party" system or theory argue that it views the meaning of democracy as given that it assumes that only a particular conception of representative democracy (in which different parties alternate frequently in power) is valid.

One author argues that "the dominant party system" is deeply flawed as a mode of analysis and lacks explanatory capacity. But it is a very conservative approach to politics".

Its fundamental political assumptions are restricted to one form of democracy, electoral politics and hostile to popular politics. This is manifest in the obsession with the quality of electoral opposition and its sidelining or ignoring of popular political activity organised in other ways. The assumption in this approach is that other forms of organisation and opposition are of limited importance or a separate matter from the consolidation of their version of democracy". One of the dangers of dominant parties is "the tendency of dominant parties to conflate party & state & to appoint party officials to senior positions irrespective of their having the required qualities". However, in some countries this is common practice even when there is no dominant party. In contrast to one-party systems, dominant-party systems can occur within a context of a democratic system.

In a one-party system other parties are banned, but in dominant-party systems other political parties are tolerated, and (in democratic dominant-party systems) operate without overt legal impediment, but do not have a realistic chance of winning; the dominant party genuinely wins the votes of the vast majority of voters every time.

Under authoritarian dominant-party systems, which may be referred to as "electoralism" or "soft authoritarianism", opposition parties are legally allowed to operate, but are too weak or ineffective to seriously challenge power, perhaps through various forms of corruption, constitutional quirks that intentionally undermine the ability for an effective opposition to thrive, institutional and/or organizational conventions that support the status quo, occasional but not omnipresent political repression, or inherent cultural values averse to change.

In some states opposition parties are subject to varying degrees of official harassment and most often deal with restrictions on free speech (such as press club).

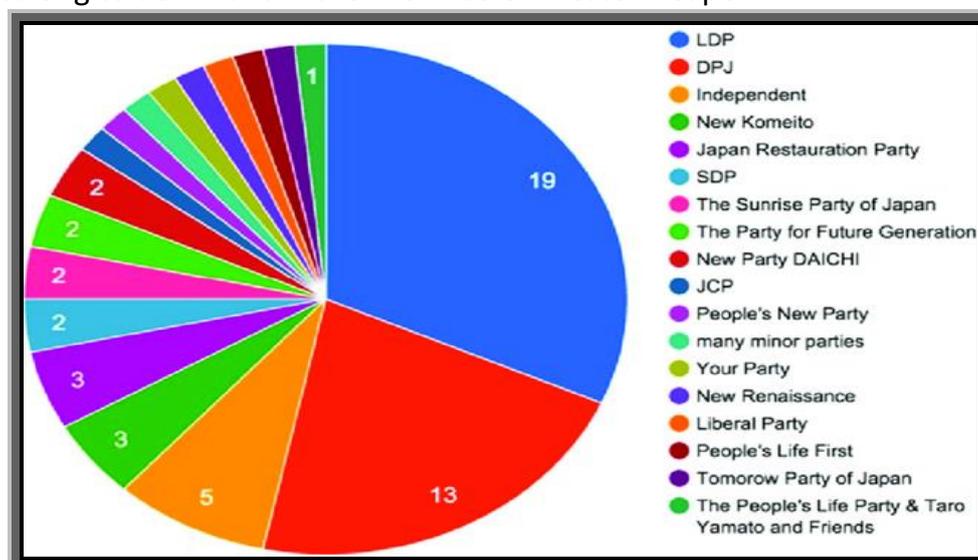
Lawsuits against the opposition, rules or electoral systems (as gerrymandering of electoral districts) designed to put them at a disadvantage. In some cases outright electoral fraud keeps the opposition from power. On the other hand, some dominant-party systems occur, at least temporarily, in countries that are widely seen, both by their citizens and outside observers, to be textbook examples of democracy.

An example of a genuine democratic dominant-party system would be the pre-Emergency India, which was almost universally viewed by all as being a democratic state, even though the only major national party at that time was the Indian National Congress.

The reasons why a dominant-party system may form in such a country are often debated: Supporters of the dominant party tend to argue that their party is simply doing a good job in government and the opposition continuously proposes unrealistic or unpopular changes, while supporters of the opposition tend to argue that the electoral system disfavors them (for example because it is based on the principle of first past the post), or that the dominant party receives a disproportionate amount of funding from various sources and is therefore able to mount more persuasive campaigns.

In states with ethnic issues, one party may be seen as being the party for an ethnicity or race with the party for the majority ethnic, racial or religious group dominating, the African National Congress in South Africa (governing since 1994) has strong support amongst Black South Africans, the Ulster Unionist Party governed Northern Ireland from its creation in 1921 until 1972 with the support of the Protestant majority.

Sub-national entities are often dominated by one party due the area's demographic being on one end of the spectrum. The current elected government of the District of Columbia has been governed by Democrats since its creation in the 1970s, Bavaria by the Christian Social Union since 1957, Madeira by the Social Democrats since 1976, Alberta by Progressive Conservatives 1971-2015. On the other hand, where the dominant party rules nationally on a genuinely democratic basis, the opposition may be strong in one or more subnational areas, possibly even constituting a dominant party locally; an example is South Africa, where although the African National Congress is dominant at the national level, the opposition Democratic Alliance is strong to dominant in the Province of Western Cape.



Political affiliations

## SINGLE-PARTY SYSTEM

A one-party state, single-party state, one-party system, or single-party system is a type of state in which one political party has the right to form the government, based on the existing constitution. All other parties are either outlawed or allowed to take only a limited and controlled participation in elections. Sometimes the term *de facto one-party state* is used to describe a dominant-party system that, unlike the one-party state, allows (at least nominally) democratic multiparty elections, but the existing practices or balance of political power effectively prevent the opposition from winning the elections.

One-party states explain themselves through various methods.

Most often, proponents of a one-party state argue that the existence of separate parties runs counter to national unity. Others argue that the one party is the vanguard of the people, and therefore its right to rule cannot be legitimately questioned.

The Soviet government argued that multiple parties represented the class struggle, which was absent in Soviet society, and so the Soviet Union only had one party, namely the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Some one-party states only outlaw opposition parties, while allowing allied parties to exist as part of a permanent coalition such as a popular front. However, these parties are largely or completely subservient to the ruling party and must accept the ruling party's monopoly of power as a condition of their existence. Examples of this are the People's Republic of China under the United Front, the National Front in former East Germany and the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland in North Korea. Others may allow non-party members to run for legislative seats, as was the case with Taiwan's Tangwai movement in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the elections in the former Soviet Union.

Within their own countries, dominant parties ruling over one-party states are often referred to simply as *the Party*. In reference to the Soviet Union, *the Party* meant the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; in reference to the pre-1991 Republic of Zambia, it referred to the United National Independence Party. Most one-party states have been ruled by parties forming in one of the following three circumstances: an ideology of Marxism–Leninism and international solidarity (the Soviet Union for most of its existence); some type of nationalist or fascist ideology (Italy under B. Mussolini); parties that came to power in the wake of independence from colonial rule.

One-party systems often arise from decolonization because a single party gains an overwhelmingly dominant role in liberation or in independence struggles.

One-party states are usually considered to be authoritarian, to the extent that they are politically totalitarian. On the other hand, not all authoritarian or totalitarian states operate upon one-party rule. Some, especially amongst absolute monarchies and military dictatorships, have no need for a ruling party, and therefore make all political parties illegal.

The term "communist state" is sometimes used in the West to describe states in which the ruling party subscribes to a form of Marxism-Leninism. However, such states may not use that term themselves, seeing communism as a phase to develop after the full maturation of socialism, and instead use descriptions such as "people's republic", "socialist republic", or "democratic republic". One peculiar example is Cuba where, despite the role of the Communist Party being enshrined in the constitution, no party, including the Communist Party, is permitted to campaign or run candidates for election. Candidates are elected on an individual referendum basis without formal party involvement.

## A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

A two-party system is a party system where two major political parties dominate the government. One of the two parties typically holds a majority in the legislature and is usually referred to as the *majority* or *governing party* while the other is the *minority* or *opposition party*. Around the world, the term has different senses.

In the USAs, Jamaica, Malta, the sense of *two-party system* describes an arrangement in which all or nearly all elected officials belong to one of the only two major parties, and third parties rarely win any seats in the legislature. In such arrangements, two-party systems are thought to result from various factors like winner-takes-all election rules.

In such systems, while chances for third-party candidates winning election to major national office are remote, it is possible for groups within the larger parties, or in opposition to one or both of them, to exert influence on the two major parties.

In contrast, in the United Kingdom and Australia and in other parliamentary systems and elsewhere, the term *two-party system* is sometimes used to indicate an arrangement in which two major parties dominate elections but in which there are viable third parties which do win seats in the legislature, in which the two major parties exert proportionately greater influence than their percentage of votes would suggest.

Explanations for why a country with free elections may evolve into a two-party system have been debated. A leading theory, referred to as Duverger's law, states that two parties are a natural result of a winner-take-all voting system.

### Commonwealth countries

In countries such as Britain, two major parties emerge which have strong influence and tend to elect most of the candidates, but a multitude of lesser parties exist with varying degrees of influence, and sometimes these lesser parties are able to elect officials who participate in the legislature. In political systems based on the Westminster system, which is a particular style of parliamentary democracy based on the British model and found in many commonwealth countries, a majority party will form the government & the minority party will form the opposition, and coalitions of lesser parties are possible.

In the rare circumstance in which neither party is the majority, a hung parliament arises. Sometimes these systems are described as *two-party systems* but they are usually referred to as *multi-party systems*. There is not always a sharp boundary between a two-party system & a multi-party system. A two-party system becomes a dichotomous division of the political spectrum with an ostensibly right-wing & left-wing party:

- the Nationalist Party vs. the Labour Party in Malta;
- Liberal/National Coalition vs. Labor in Australia;
- Republicans vs. Democrats in the USA;
- the Conservative Party vs. the Labour Party in the United Kingdom.

Other parties in these countries may have seen candidates elected to local or subnational office. Historian John Hicks claims that the USA has never possessed for any considerable period of time the two party system in its pure and undefiled form. In some governments, certain chambers may resemble a two-party system and others a multi-party system. The politics of Australia are largely two-party (the Liberal / National Coalition is considered a single party at a national level due to their long-standing alliance in forming government compete for the same seat) for the House of representative.

However, third parties are more common in the Australian Senate, which uses a proportional voting system more amenable to minor parties.

In the politics of Canada, while having a multiparty system federally and in the largest provinces of British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba as well as the smaller New Brunswick, Newfoundland & Labrador, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island & Yukon Territory many of the provinces have effectively become two-party systems in which only two parties regularly get members elected. The English speaking countries of the Caribbean while inheriting their basic political system from Great Britain have become two party systems.

The politics of Jamaica are between the People's National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party. The politics of Guyana are between the People's Progressive Party and APNU, which is actually a coalition of smaller parties.

The politics of Trinidad and Tobago are between the People's National Movement and the People's Partnership which is a coalition. The Politics of Belize are between the United Democratic Party and the People's United Party. The Politics of the Bahamas are between the Progressive Liberal Party and the Free National Movement. The politics of Barbados are between the Democratic Labour Party and the Barbados Labour Party.

The politics of Zimbabwe are effectively a two party system between the Robert Mugabe founded Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front and the opposition coalition Movement for Democratic Change.

**India** has a multi-party system but also shows characteristics of a two party system with the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and National Democratic Alliance (NDA) as the two main players. It is to be noted that both UPA and NDA are not two political parties but alliances of several smaller parties. Other smaller parties not aligned with either NDA or UPA exist, and overall command about 20% of the 2009 seats in the Lok Sabha and had further increased to 28% in 2014 general elections

### **Latin America**

Most Latin American countries also have presidential systems very similar to the US often with winner takes all systems. Due to the common accumulation of power in the Presidential office both the official party and the main opposition became important political protagonists causing historically two-party systems.

Some of the first manifestations of this particularity was with the liberals & conservatives that often fought for power in all Latin America causing the first two-party systems in most Latin American countries, which lead to civil wars in places like Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Venezuela, the Central American Republic and Peru, with fights focusing specially on opposing/ defending the privileges of the Catholic Church & the creole aristocracy.

Primitive two-party systems included the Pelucones vs Pipiolos in Chile, Federalists vs Unitarians in Argentina, Colorados vs Liberals in Paraguay & Colorados vs Nationals in Uruguay.

However, as in other regions, the original rivalry between liberals and conservatives was overtaken by a rivalry between center-left (often social-democratic) parties vs center-right liberal conservative parties, focusing more in economic differences than in cultural and religious differences as it was common during the liberal vs conservative period.

After the democratization of Central America following the end of the Central American crisis in the 90s former far-left guerrillas & right-wing authoritarian parties, now in peace, make some similar two-party systems in countries like Nicaragua, El Salvador.

**Malta** is somewhat unusual in that while the electoral system is single transferable vote (STV), traditionally associated with proportional representation, minor parties have not earned much success. Politics is dominated between the centre-left Labour Party and the centre-right Nationalist Party, with no third parties winning seats in Parliament between 1962 and 2017.

There is general agreement that the USA has a two-party system; historically, there have been few instances in which third party candidates won an election. In the First Party System, only Alexander Hamilton's Federalist Party and Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party were significant political parties. Toward the end of the First Party System, the Republicans dominated a one-party system (primarily under the Presidency of James Monroe).

Under the Second Party System, the Democratic-Republican Party split during the election of 1824 into Adams' Men and Jackson's Men.

In 1828, the modern Democratic Party formed in support of Andrew Jackson.

The National Republicans were formed in support of John Quincy Adams. After the National Republicans collapsed, the Whig Party and the Free Soil Party quickly formed and collapsed. In 1854, the modern Republican Party formed from a loose coalition of former Whigs, Free Soilers and other anti-slavery activists. Abraham Lincoln became the first Republican president in 1860. During the Third Party System, the Republican Party was the dominant political faction, but the Democrats held a strong, loyal coalition in the Solid South.

During the Fourth Party System, the Republicans remained the dominant Presidential party, although Democrats Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson were both elected to two terms. In 1932, at the onset of the Fifth Party System, Democrats took firm control of national politics with the landslide victories of Franklin D. Roosevelt in four consecutive elections. Other than the two terms of Republican Dwight Eisenhower from 1953 to 1961, Democrats retained firm control of the Presidency until the mid-1960s.

Since the mid-1960s, despite a number of landslides (such as Richard Nixon carrying 49 states and 61% of the popular vote over George McGovern in 1972; Ronald Reagan carrying 49 states and 58% of the popular vote over Walter Mondale in 1984), Presidential elections have been competitive between the predominant Republican and Democratic parties & no one party has been able to hold the Presidency for more than three consecutive terms.

In the election of 2012, only 4% separated the popular vote between Barack Obama (51%) and Mitt Romney (47%), although Obama won the electoral vote by a landslide (332-206). Throughout every American party system, no third party has won a Presidential election or majorities in either house of Congress. Despite that, third parties and third party candidates have gained traction and support.

In the election of 1912, Theodore Roosevelt won 27% of the popular vote and 88 electoral votes running as a Progressive. In the 1992 Presidential election, Ross Perot won 19% of the popular vote but no electoral votes running as an Independent.

South Korea has a multi-party system that has sometimes been described as having characteristics of a two-party system. Furthermore, the Lebanese Parliament is mainly made up of two bipartisan alliances. Although both alliances are made up of several political parties on both ends of the political spectrum the two way political situation has mainly arisen due to strong ideological differences in the electorate.

Once again this can mainly be attributed to the winner takes all thesis.

Historically, Brazil had a two-party system for most of its military dictatorship (1964-1985): the military junta banned all existing parties when it took power and created a pro-government party, the National Renewal Alliance and an official opposition party, the Brazilian Democratic Movement. The two parties were dissolved in 1979, when the regime allowed other parties to form.

A report in *The Christian Science Monitor* in 2008 suggested that Spain was moving towards a "greater two-party system" while acknowledging that Spain has "many small parties". However a 2015 article published by *WashingtonPost.com* written by academic Fernando Casal Bértoa noted the decline in support for the two main parties, the People's Party (PP) and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) in recent years, with these two parties winning only 52 % of the votes in that year's regional and local elections.

He explained this as being due to the Spanish economic crisis, a series of political corruption scandals and broken campaign promises. He argued that the emergence of the new Citizens and Podemos parties would mean the political system would evolve into a two-bloc system, with an alliance of the PP and Citizens on the right facing a leftist coalition of PSOE, Podemos and the United Left.

There are several reasons why, in some systems, two major parties dominate the political landscape. There has been speculation that a two-party system arose in the USA from early political battling between the federalists and anti-federalists in the first few decades after the ratification of the Constitution, according to several views.

In addition, there has been more speculation that the winner-takes-all electoral system as well as particular state and federal laws regarding voting procedures helped to cause a two-party system. Political scientists such as Maurice Duverger and William H. Riker claim that there are strong correlations between voting rules and type of party system.

Jeffrey D. Sachs agreed that there was a link between voting arrangements and the effective number of parties.

Sachs explained how the first-past-the-post voting arrangement tended to promote a two-party system: The main reason for America's majoritarian character is the electoral system for Congress. Members of Congress are elected in single-member districts according to the "first-past-the-post" (FPTP) principle, meaning that the candidate with the plurality of votes is the winner of the congressional seat. The losing party or parties win no representation at all. The first-past-the-post election tends to produce a small number of major parties, perhaps just two, a principle known in political science as Duverger's Law.

Smaller parties are trampled in first-past-the-post elections.

Consider a system in which voters can vote for any candidate from any one of many parties. Suppose further that if a party gets 15% of votes, then that party will win 15% of the seats in the legislature. This is termed *proportional representation* or more accurately as *party-proportional representation*. Political scientists speculate that proportional representation leads logically to multi-party systems, since it allows new parties to build a niche in the legislature: because even a minor party may still obtain at least a few seats in the legislature, smaller parties have a greater incentive to organize under such electoral systems than they do in the USA. In contrast, a voting system that allows only a single winner for each possible legislative seat is sometimes termed a plurality voting system or single-winner voting system and is described as a *winner-takes-all* arrangement. Each voter can cast a single vote for any candidate within any given legislative district.

But the candidate with the most votes wins the seat, although variants, such as requiring a majority, are sometimes used. What happens is that in a general election, a party that consistently comes in third in every district is unlikely to win any legislative seats even if there is a significant proportion of the electorate favoring its positions.

This arrangement strongly favors large and well-organized political parties that are able to appeal to voters in many districts and hence win many seats, and discourages smaller or regional parties. Politically oriented people consider their only realistic way to capture political power is to run under the auspices of the two dominant parties.

In the U.S., 48 states have a standard *winner-takes-all* electoral system for amassing presidential votes in the Electoral College system. The *winner-takes-all* principle applies in presidential elections, since if a presidential candidate gets the most votes in any particular state, *all* of the electoral votes from that state are awarded.

In all but two states, Maine and Nebraska, the presidential candidate winning a plurality of votes wins all of the electoral votes, a practice called the **unit rule**.

Duverger concluded that "plurality election single-ballot procedures are likely to produce two-party systems, whereas proportional representation and runoff designs encourage multipartyism". He suggested there were two reasons why *winner-takes-all* systems leads to a two-party system. First, the weaker parties are pressured to form an alliance, called a *fusion*, to try to become big enough to challenge a large dominant party and, in so doing, gain political clout in the legislature.

Second, voters learn, over time, not to vote for candidates outside of one of the two large parties since their votes for third party candidates are usually ineffectual. As a result, weaker parties are eliminated by voters over time.

Duverger pointed to statistics and tactics to suggest that voters tended to gravitate towards one of the two main parties, a phenomenon which he called *polarization*, and tend to shun third parties. Some analysts suggest that the Electoral College system in the USA, by favoring a system of winner-takes-all in presidential elections, is a structural choice favoring only two major parties. Gary Cox suggested that America's two-party system was highly related with economic prosperity in the country: the bounty of the American economy, the fluidity of American society, the remarkable unity of the American people, most important, the success of the American experiment have all mitigated against the emergence of large dissenting groups that would seek satisfaction of their special needs through the formation of political parties.

An effort in 2012 by centrist groups to promote ballot access by Third Party candidates called Americans Elect spent \$15 mln to get ballot access but failed to elect any candidates.

The lack of choice in a two-party model in politics has often been compared to the variety of choices in the marketplace. Politics has lagged our social and business evolution.

There are 30 brands of Pringles in our local grocery store. How is it that Americans have so much selection for potato chips and only two brands – and not very good ones – for political parties? Third parties, meaning a party other than one of the two dominant parties, are possible in two-party systems, but they are unlikely to exert much influence by gaining control of legislatures or by winning elections. While there are occasional opinions in the media expressed about the possibility of third parties emerging in the USA. Political insiders such as the 1980 presidential candidate John Anderson think the chances of one appearing in the early 21st century is remote.

A report in *The Guardian* suggested that American politics has been "stuck in a two-way fight between Republicans and Democrats" since the Civil War, and that third-party runs had little meaningful success. Third parties in a two-party system can be:

- Built around a particular ideology or interest group.
- Split off from one of the major parties.
- Focused on a charismatic individual.

When third parties are built around an ideology which is at odds with the majority mindset, many members belong to such a party not for the purpose of expecting electoral success but rather for personal or psychological reasons.

In the U.S., third parties include older ones such as the Libertarian Party and the Green Party and newer ones such as the Pirate Party. Many believe that third parties don't affect American politics by winning elections, but they can act as "spoilers" by taking votes from one of the two major parties. They act like barometers of change in the political mood since they push the major parties to consider their demands.

An analysis in *New York Magazine* by Ryan Lizza in 2006 suggested that third parties arose from time to time in the nineteenth century around single-issue movements such as abolition, women's suffrage, and the direct election of senators, but were less prominent in the twentieth century.

A so-called *third party* in the United Kingdom are the Liberal Democrats. In the 2010 election, the Liberal Democrats received 23% of the votes but only 9% of the seats in the House of Commons. While electoral results do not necessarily translate into legislative seats, the Liberal Democrats can exert influence if there is a situation such as a hung parliament. In this instance, neither of the two main parties (at present, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party) have sufficient authority to run the government.

Accordingly, the Liberal Democrats can in theory exert tremendous influence in such a situation since they can ally with one of the two main parties to form a coalition.

This happened in the Coalition government of 2010. Yet in that more than 13% of the seats in the British House of Commons are held in 2011 by representatives of political parties other than the two leading political parties of that nation, contemporary Britain is considered by some to be a multi-party system, and not a two-party system.

The two party system in the United Kingdom allows for other parties to exist, although the main two parties tend to dominate politics; in this arrangement, other parties are not excluded and can win seats in Parliament.

In contrast, the two party system in the USA has been described as a duopoly or an enforced two-party system, such that politics is entirely dominated by either the Republicans or Democrats, and third parties rarely win seats in Congress.

Some historians have suggested that two-party systems promote centrism and encourage political parties to find common positions which appeal to wide swaths of the electorate. It can lead to political stability, which leads, in turn, to economic growth.

Historian Patrick Allitt of the Teaching Company suggested that it is difficult to overestimate the long term economic benefits of political stability. Sometimes two-party systems have been seen as preferable to multi-party systems because they are simpler to govern, with less fractiousness and greater harmony, since it discourages radical minor parties, while multi-party systems can sometimes lead to hung parliaments.

Italy, with a multi-party system, has had years of divisive politics since 2000, although analyst Silvia Aloisi suggested in 2008 that the nation may be moving closer to a two-party arrangement. The two-party has been identified as simpler since there are fewer voting choices. One analyst suggested the two-party system, in contrast with proportional representation, prevented excessive government interference with economic policy.

Two-party systems have been criticized for downplaying alternative views, being less competitive, encouraging voter apathy since there is a perception of fewer choices, and putting a damper on debate within a nation. In a proportional representation system, lesser parties can moderate policy since they are not usually eliminated from government.

One analyst suggested the two-party approach may not promote inter-party compromise but may encourage partisanship. In *The Tyranny of the Two-party system*, Lisa Jane Disch criticizes two-party systems for failing to provide enough options since only two choices are permitted on the ballot. She wrote:

Herein lies the central tension of the two-party doctrine. It identifies popular sovereignty with choice, and then limits choice to one party or the other.

If there is any truth to Schattschneider's analogy between elections and markets, America's faith in the two-party system begs the following question: Why do voters accept as the ultimate in political freedom a binary option they would surely protest as consumers? This is the tyranny of the two-party system, the construct that persuades USA citizens to accept two-party contests as a *condition* of electoral democracy.

There have been arguments that the winner-take-all mechanism discourages independent or third-party candidates from running for office or promulgating their views. Ross Perot's former campaign manager wrote that the problem with having only two parties is that the nation loses "the ability for things to bubble up from the body politic and give voice to things that aren't being voiced by the major parties".

One analyst suggested that parliamentary systems, which typically are multi-party in nature, lead to a better "centralization of policy expertise" in government.

Multi-party governments permit wider and more diverse viewpoints in government, and encourage dominant parties to make deals with weaker parties to form winning coalitions. Analyst Chris Weigant of *the Huffington Post* wrote that "the parliamentary system is inherently much more open to minority parties getting much better representation than third parties do in the American system". After an election in which the party changes, there can be a "polar shift in policy-making" when voters react to changes.

Political analyst A. G. Roderick, writing in his book *Two Tyrants*, argued that the two American parties, the Republicans and Democrats, are highly unpopular in 2015, and are not part of the political framework of state governments, and do not represent 47% of the electorate who identify themselves as "independents". He makes a case that the American president should be elected on a non-partisan basis, and asserts that both political parties are "cut from the same cloth of corruption and corporate influence".

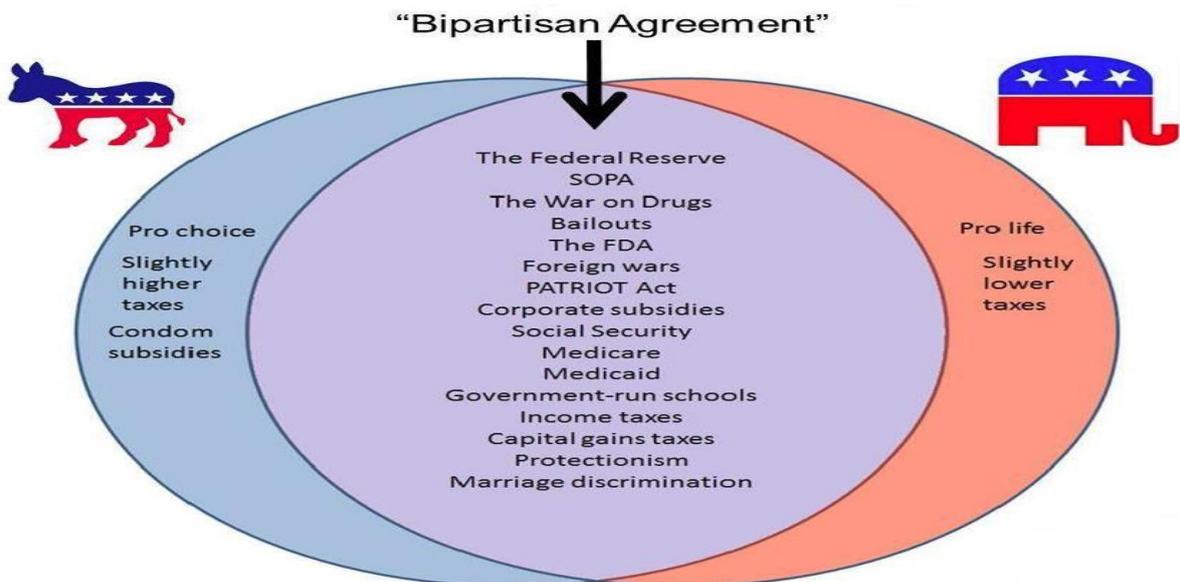
**Exercise 1. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Notion	When	Where	Score
1.				



Worst of the worst

Of the 50 countries designated as Not Free the following 13 have the worst aggregate score for political rights & civil liberties.



## BEGINNINGS OF PARTIES IN BRITAIN & THE USA

The two-party system, in the sense of the looser definition, where two parties dominate politics but in which third parties can elect members and gain some representation in the legislature, can be traced to the development of political parties in the United Kingdom.

There was a division in English politics at the time of the Civil War and Glorious Revolution in the late 17th century.

The Whigs supported Protestant constitutional monarchy against absolute rule and the Tories, originating in the Royalist ("Cavalier") faction of the English Civil War, were conservative royalist supporters of a strong monarchy as a counterbalance to the republican tendencies of Parliament. In the following century, the Whig party's support base widened to include emerging industrial interests and wealthy merchants.

The basic matters of principle that defined the struggle between the two factions, were concerning the nature of constitutional monarchy, the desirability of a Catholic king, the extension of religious toleration to nonconformist Protestants, other issues that had been put on the liberal agenda through the political concepts propounded by John Locke, Algernon Sidney and others.

Vigorous struggle between the two factions characterised the period from the Glorious Revolution to the 1715 Hanoverian succession, over the legacy of the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the nature of the new constitutional state. This proto two-party system fell into relative abeyance after the accession to the throne of George I and the consequent period of Whig supremacy under Robert Walpole, during which the Tories were systematically purged from high positions in government.

However, although the Tories were dismissed from office for half a century, they still retained a measure of party cohesion under William Wyndham and acted as a united, though unavailing, opposition to Whig corruption and scandals.

At times they cooperated with the "Opposition Whigs", Whigs who were in opposition to the Whig government; however, the ideological gap between the Tories and the Opposition Whigs prevented them from coalescing as a single party.

The old Whig leadership dissolved in the 1760s into a decade of factional chaos with distinct "Grenvillite", "Bedfordite", "Rockinghamite", and "Chathamite" factions successively in power, and all referring to themselves as "Whigs". Out of this chaos, the first distinctive parties emerged. The first such party was the Rockingham Whigs under the leadership of Charles Watson-Wentworth and the intellectual guidance of the political philosopher Edmund Burke. Burke laid out a philosophy that described the basic framework of the political party as "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed".

As opposed to the instability of the earlier factions, which were often tied to a particular leader and could disintegrate if removed from power, the two party system was centred on a set of core principles held by both sides and that allowed the party out of power to remain as the Loyal Opposition to the governing party.

A genuine two-party system began to emerge, with the accession to power of William Pitt the Younger in 1783 leading the new Tories, against a reconstituted "Whig" party led by the radical politician Charles James Fox. The two party system matured in the early 19th century era of political reform, when the franchise was widened and politics entered into the basic divide between conservatism and liberalism.

That has fundamentally endured up to the present.

The modern Conservative Party was created out of the "Pittite" Tories by Robert Peel, who issued the Tamworth Manifesto in 1834 which set out the basic principles of Conservatism; the necessity in specific cases of reform in order to survive, but an opposition to unnecessary change, that could lead to "a perpetual vortex of agitation".

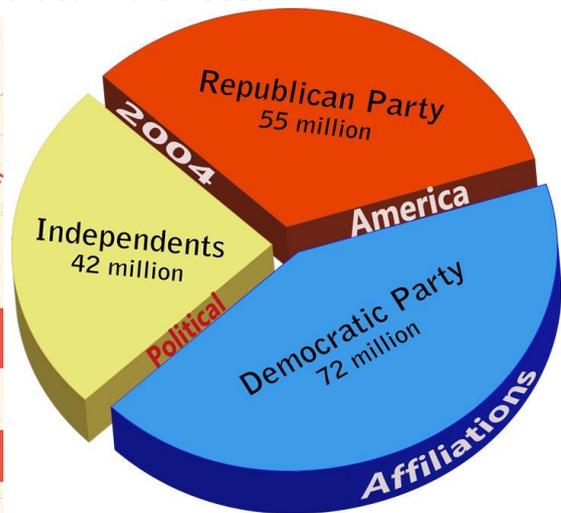
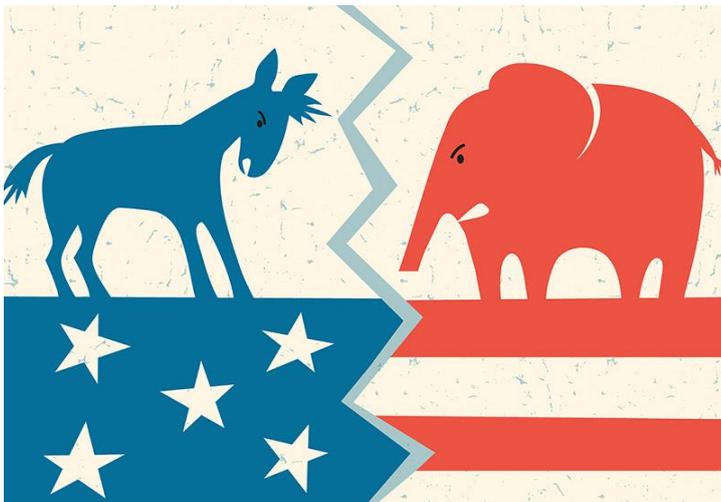
Meanwhile, the Whigs, along with free trade Tory followers of Robert Peel, independent Radicals, formed the Liberal Party under Lord Palmerston in 1859, and transformed into a party of the growing urban middle-class, under the long leadership of William Ewart Gladstone.

The two party system had come of age at the time of Gladstone and his Conservative rival Benjamin Disraeli after the 1867 Reform Act.

**History of American political parties**

Although the Founding Fathers of the USA did not originally intend for American politics to be partisan, early political controversies in the 1790s saw the emergence of a two-party political system, the Federalist Party & the Democratic-Republican Party, centred on the differing views on federal government powers of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and James Madison. However, a consensus reached on these issues ended party politics in 1816 for a decade, a period commonly known as the Era of Good Feelings.

Partisan politics revived in 1829 with the split of the Democratic-Republican Party into the Jacksonian Democrats led by Andrew Jackson, and the Whig Party, led by Henry Clay. The former evolved into the modern Democratic Party and the latter was replaced with the Republican Party as one of the two main parties in the 1850s.



**History of Major US Political Parties**

Years	Major Political Parties	
1792-1824	Federalists	Democratic-Republicans
1828-1854	Democrats	Whigs
1854-Present	Democrats	Republicans

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

A political organization is any organization that involves itself in the political process, including political parties, non-governmental organizations, advocacy groups & special interest groups. Political organizations are those engaged in political activities (lobbying, community organizing, campaign advertising) aimed at achieving clearly-defined political goals, which typically benefit the interests of their members. While parties are one type of political organization that may engage in some or all of those activities, they are distinct in that they typically focus on supporting candidates for public office, winning elections and controlling government. The most well-known type of political organization is the political party.

Political parties are directly involved in the political processes of countries with party systems, of which there are several types. In single-party systems, one political party exercises control over the government. Unlike under other systems, single-party systems do not necessarily extend democratic privileges to the citizens. This means that citizens have little say regarding political subjects. Some of the most common types are democratic multi-party systems, single party dictatorships, and two party systems.

### Democratic systems

In democratic multi-party systems such as India, Pakistan, etc., there is no restriction on the number of parties allowed to be in operation at any given time. Under these types of systems, people are free to participate in the political process both through elections and by forming their own political parties as they please. Single-party systems are:

#### single-party systems

-  China
-  Cuba
-  Laos
-  North Korea
-  Vietnam

#### two-party systems

-  Australia
-  Malta
-  Nepal
-  United Kingdom
-  USA

### Two-party systems

Two-party systems are similar to multiparty systems in that power is not concentrated in one party and that parties have to consider the opinion of the general public in order to retain power by winning elections. Most two-party systems are technically multiparty systems but all power is effectively concentrated amongst two parties or coalitions.

Another type of political organization is the party coalition. A party coalition is a group of political parties operating together in parliament. Oftentimes, party coalitions are formed after elections have taken place and no party has clearly won a majority seat in parliament (the AAP-Congress Government in Delhi).

Other coalitions are formed prior to elections and are effectively agreements between two or more parties to run jointly in elections and to pursue similar agendas (the National Democratic Alliance in India, and the Liberal/National Coalition in Australia).

A labor union (trade union) is a political organization formed to promote the interests of workers. Labour unions have various roles in modern politics, including:

- Organising strike actions and general strikes.
- Negotiating with employers on behalf of workers.
- Ensuring that workers aren't fired without severance pay.
- Assuring that workers receive reasonable salaries.

## UNIT III. VOTING SYSTEM

### INTRODUCTION

A voting system (electoral system) allows voters to choose between options, often in an election where candidates are selected for public office. Voting can be used to award prizes, to select between different plans of action, or by a computer program to find a solution to a problem. Voting can be contrasted with consensus decision making and hierarchical or authoritarian systems. A voting system contains rules for valid voting, and how votes are aggregated to yield a final result. The study of formally defined voting systems is called voting theory, a subfield of political science, economics or mathematics. Voting theory began formally in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and many proposals for voting systems have been made.

Voting systems are either majority rule, proportional representation or plurality voting. Given the simplicity of majority rule, those who are unfamiliar with voting theory are often surprised that another voting system exists, or that "majority rule" systems can produce results not supported by a majority. If every election had only two choices, the winner would be determined using majority rule alone.

However, when there are three or more options, there may not be a single option that is preferred by a majority. Different voting systems may give very different results, particularly in cases where there is no clear majority preference.

A voting system specifies the form of the *ballot*, the set of allowable votes, and the *tallying method*, an algorithm for determining the outcome. This outcome may be a single winner, or may involve multiple winners such as in the election of a legislative body.

The voting system may specify how voting power is distributed among the voters, and how voters are divided into subgroups (constituencies) whose votes are counted independently. The real-world implementation of an election is generally not considered part of the voting system. Though a voting system specifies the ballot abstractly, it does not specify whether the actual physical ballot takes the form of a piece of paper, a punch card, or a computer display. A voting system also does not specify whether or how votes are kept secret, how to verify that votes are counted accurately, or who is allowed to vote. These are aspects of the broader topic of elections and election systems.

In a simple plurality ballot, the voter is expected to mark only one selection.

Different voting systems have different forms for allowing the individual to express his or her vote. In ranked ballot or "preference" voting systems, such as Instant-runoff voting, the Borda count, or a Condorcet method, voters order the list of options from most to least preferred. In range voting, voters rate each option separately on a scale.

In plurality voting ("first-past-the-post"), voters select only one option, while in approval voting, they can select as many as they want. In voting systems that allow "plumping", like cumulative voting, voters may vote for the same candidate multiple times.

Some voting systems include additional choices on the ballot, such as write-in candidates, none of the above option, or a no confidence in that candidate option. Many elections are held to the ideal of "one person, one vote", meaning that every voter's votes should be counted with equal weight.

This is not true of all elections, however. Corporate elections, for instance, usually weight votes according to the amount of stock each voter holds in the company, changing the mechanism to "one share, one vote".

Votes can be weighted unequally for other reasons, such as increasing the voting weight of higher-ranked members of an organization. Voting weight is not the same thing as voting power. In situations where certain groups of voters will all cast the same vote (political parties in a parliament), voting power measures the ability of a group to change the outcome of a vote. Groups may form coalitions in order to maximize their voting power. In some German states, most notably Prussia and Sachsen there was before 1918 a weighted vote system known as the Prussian three-class franchise, where the electorate would be divided into three categories based on the amount of income tax paid. Each category would have equal voting power in choosing the electors.

Some voting systems are weighted in themselves, for example if a supermajority is required to change the status quo. An extreme case of this is unanimous consent, where changing the status quo requires the support of every voting member.

If the decision is whether to accept a new member into an organization, failure of this procedure to admit the new member is called blackballing. A different mechanism that favors the status quo is the requirement for a quorum, which ensures that the status quo remains if not enough voters participate in the vote.

Quorum requirements often depend only on the total number of votes rather than the number of actual votes cast for the winning option; however, this can sometimes encourage dissenting voters to refrain from voting entirely in order to prevent a quorum.

### **Constituencies**

Often the purpose of an election is to choose a legislative body made of multiple winners. This can be done by running a single election and choosing the winners from the same pool of votes, or by dividing up the voters into constituencies that have different options and elect different winners.

Some countries, like Israel, fill their entire parliament using a single multiple-winner district (constituency) or multiple member electorate, while others, like the Republic of Ireland or Belgium, break up their national elections into smaller multiple-winner districts, and yet others, like the USA or the United Kingdom, hold only single-winner elections.

Some systems, like the Additional member system, embed smaller districts within larger ones. The way in which constituencies are created and assigned seats can dramatically affect the results. Apportionment is the process by which states, regions, or larger districts are awarded seats, usually according to population changes as a result of a census.

Redistricting is the process by which the borders of constituencies are redrawn once apportioned. Both procedures can become highly politically contentious due to the possibility of both malapportionment, where there are unequal representative to population ratios across districts, and gerrymandering, where electoral districts are manipulated for political gain. A particularly ill case was the English Rotten Boroughs, abandoned towns who still were represented in parliament. Single-winner systems can be classified based on their ballot type. **One vote** systems are those in which a voter picks one choice at a time.

In **ranked** voting systems, each voter ranks the candidates in order of preference.

In rated voting systems, voters give a score to each candidate.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords and phrases that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 2. Describe the single or sequential vote methods.**

The most prevalent single-winner voting method, by far, is plurality ("first-past-the-post", "relative majority", or "winner-take-all"), in which each voter votes for one choice, and the choice that receives the most votes wins, even if it receives less than a majority of votes. Runoff methods hold multiple rounds of plurality voting to ensure that the winner is elected by a majority. Top-two runoff voting, the second most common method used in elections, holds a runoff election between the top two options if there is no majority. In elimination runoff elections, the weakest candidate is eliminated until there is a majority.

In an exhaustive runoff election, no candidates are eliminated, so voting is simply repeated until there is a majority. A nonpartisan primary election is also used as a two round runoff process. The two candidates with the most votes in the open primary pass to the general election. The difference between a runoff and an open primary is that a winner is never chosen in the primary, while the first round of a runoff can result in a winner if one candidate has over 50% of the vote. Random ballot is a method in which each voter votes for one option, and a single ballot is selected at random to determine the winner. This is mostly used as a tiebreaker for other methods.

**Exercise 3. Explain ranked voting methods.**

In a typical ranked ballot, a voter is instructed to place the candidates in order of preference. Also known as *preferential voting methods*, these methods allow each voter to rank the candidates in order of preference. Often it is not necessary to rank all the candidates: unranked candidates are usually considered to be tied for last place. Some ranked ballot methods also allow voters to give multiple candidates the same ranking.

The most common ranked voting method is instant-runoff voting (IRV), also known as the "alternative vote" or simply "preferential voting", which uses voters' preferences to simulate an elimination runoff election without multiple voting events.

As the votes are tallied, the option with the fewest first-choice votes is eliminated. In successive rounds of counting, the next preferred choice still available from each eliminated ballot is transferred to candidates not yet eliminated. The least preferred option is eliminated in each round of counting until there is a majority winner, with all ballots being considered in every round of counting.

The Borda count is a simple ranked voting method in which the options receive points based on their position on each ballot. A class of similar methods is called positional voting systems. Other ranked methods include Coombs' method, Supplementary voting, Bucklin voting, and Condorcet method. Condorcet methods, or pairwise methods, are a class of ranked voting methods that meet the Condorcet criterion.

These methods compare every option pairwise with every other option, one at a time, and an option that defeats every other option is the winner. An option defeats another option if a majority of voters rank it higher on their ballot than the other option.

Another simple method is Copeland's method, in which the winner is the option that wins the most pairwise contests, as in many round-robin tournaments. The Schulze method and Ranked Pairs are two recently designed Condorcet methods that satisfy a large number of voting system criteria. The Kemeny-Young method is a Condorcet method that fully ranks all the candidates from most popular to least popular.

**Exercise 4. Define other voting methods.**

## VOTING METHODS

Rated ballots allow even more flexibility than ranked ballots, but few methods are designed to use them. Each voter gives a score to each option; the allowable scores could be numeric (for example, from 0 to 100) or could be "grades" like A/B/C/D/F.

Rated ballots can be used for ranked voting methods, as long as the ranked method allows tied rankings. In **range voting**, voters give numeric ratings to each option, and the option with the highest total score wins.

**Approval voting** where voters may vote for as many candidates as they like can be seen as an instance of range voting where the allowable ratings are 0 and 1.

### Multiple-winner methods

Seats won by each party in the 2005 German federal election, an example of a proportional voting system. A vote with multiple winners, such as the election of a legislature, has different practical effects than a single-winner vote. Often, participants in a multiple winner election are more concerned with the overall composition of the legislature than exactly which candidates get elected. For this reason, many multiple-winner systems aim for proportional representation, which means that if a given party gets X% of the vote, it should also get approximately X% of the seats in the legislature. Not all multiple-winner voting systems are proportional.

### Non-proportional & semi-proportional methods

Many multiple-winner voting methods are simple extensions of single-winner methods, without an explicit goal of producing a proportional result. Bloc voting, or *plurality-at-large*, has each voter vote for  $N$  options and selects the top  $N$  as the winners.

Because of its propensity for landslide victories won by a single winning slate of candidates, bloc voting is non-proportional.

### Proportional methods

Truly proportional methods make some guarantee of proportionality by making each winning option represent approximately the same number of voters. This number is called a *quota*. If the quota is 1000 voters, then each elected candidate reflects the opinions of 1000 voters, within a margin of error. This can be measured using the Gallagher Index.

Most proportional systems in use are based on party-list proportional representation, in which voters vote for parties instead of for individual candidates. For each quota of votes a party receives, one of their candidates wins a seat on the legislature. The methods differ in how the quota is determined or, equivalently, how the proportions of votes are rounded off to match the number of seats. The methods of seat allocation can be grouped overall into highest averages methods and largest remainder methods.

Independently of the method used to assign seats, party-list systems can be *open list* or *closed list*. In an open list system, voters decide which candidates within a party win the seats. In a closed list system, the seats are assigned to candidates in a fixed order that the party chooses. The Mixed Member Proportional system is a mixed method that only uses a party list for a subset of the winners, filling other seats with the winners of regional elections, thus having features of open list and closed list systems.

In contrast to party-list systems, the Single Transferable Vote is a proportional representation system, in which voters rank individual candidates in order of preference.

**Specify semi-proportional methods**

A simpler method called Cumulative voting (CV) is a semi-proportional voting system in which each voter has  $n$  votes, where  $n$  is the number of seats to be elected.

Voters can distribute portions of their vote between a set of candidates, fully upon one candidate, or a mixture. This ballot design, used in cumulative voting, allows a voter to split his vote among multiple candidates. Cumulative voting is a common way of holding elections in which the voters have unequal voting power, such as in corporate governance under the "one share, one vote" rule. Cumulative voting is used as a multiple-winner method, such as in elections for a corporate board.

Cumulative voting is not fully proportional because it suffers from the same spoiler effect of the plurality voting system without a run-off process. A group of like-minded voters divided among "too many" candidates may fail to elect any winners, or elect fewer than they *deserve* by their size. The level of proportionality depends on how well-coordinated the voters are.

**Exercise 1. Analyze the history of voting system.**

**Exercise 2. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**



Jean-Charles de Borda, an early voting theorist.  
 The Marquis de Condorcet, another early voting theorist.  
 Kenneth Arrow, a pioneer of modern voting theory.

	Voting System		
	Paper Ballot	Electronic	Online
Advantages	Ease of usage Portability	Convenience High Tallying Speed Flexibility	Portability Mobility High Voting Speed Reusability Flexibility
Disadvantages	Low Voting Speed Low Tallying Speed Booth Capture	Attack Vulnerability Inequality	Complexity Security Issues

## EARLY DEMOCRACY

An **electoral system** is a set of rules that determine how elections and referendums are conducted how their results are determined. Political electoral systems are organized by governments, while non-political elections may take place in business, non-profit organisations and informal organisations.

Electoral systems consist of sets of rules that govern all aspects of the voting process: when elections occur, who is allowed to vote, who can stand as a candidate, how ballots are marked and cast, how the ballots are counted (electoral method), limits on campaign spending, and other factors that can affect the outcome. Political electoral systems are defined by constitutions and electoral laws, are typically conducted by election commissions, and can use multiple types of elections for different offices.

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

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

The study of formally defined electoral methods is called social choice theory or voting theory, this study can take place within the field of political science, economics, or mathematics, and specifically within the subfields of game theory and mechanism design.

Impossibility proofs such as Arrow's impossibility theorem demonstrates that when voters have three or more alternatives, it is not possible to design a ranked voting electoral system that reflects the preferences of individuals in a global preference of the community, present in countries with proportional representation and plurality voting.

In ancient Greece & Italy, the institution of suffrage already existed in a rudimentary form at the outset of the historical period. In the early monarchies, it was customary for the king to invite pronouncements of his people on matters in which it was prudent to secure its assent beforehand. In these assemblies the people recorded their opinion by clamouring (a method, which survived in Sparta as late as the 4th century B.C.), or by the clashing of spears on shields.

Voting has been used as a feature of democracy since the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., when democracy was introduced by the Athenian democracy. However, in Athenian democracy, voting was seen as the least democratic among methods used for selecting public officials, and was little used, because elections were believed to inherently favor the wealthy and well-known over average citizens. Viewed as more democratic were assemblies open to all citizens, and selection by lot (known as sortition), as well as rotation of office.

One of the earliest recorded elections in Athens was a plurality vote that it was undesirable to "win": in the process called ostracism, voters chose the citizen they most wanted to exile for 10 years. Most elections in the early history of democracy were held using plurality voting or some variant, but as an exception, the state of Venice in the 13th century adopted the system we now know as approval voting to elect their Great Council.

Generally, the taking of votes was effected in the form of a poll. The practice of the Athenians, which is shown by inscriptions to have been widely followed in the other states of Greece.

It was to hold a show of hands, except on questions affecting the status of individuals: these latter, which included all lawsuits and proposals of ostracism, in which voters chose the citizen they most wanted to exile for ten years, were determined by secret ballot (one of the earliest recorded elections in Athens was a plurality vote that it was undesirable to win, namely an ostracism vote).

At Rome the method which prevailed up to the 2nd century B.C. was that of division (*discessio*). But the system became subject to intimidation and corruption. Hence a series of laws enacted between 139 and 107 B.C. prescribed the use of the ballot (*tabella*), a slip of wood coated with wax, for all business done in the assemblies of the people. For the purpose of carrying resolutions a simple majority of votes was deemed sufficient.

As a general rule equal value was made to attach to each vote; but in the popular assemblies at Rome a system of voting by groups was in force until the middle of the 3rd century B.C. by which the richer classes secured a decisive preponderance.

Most elections in the early history of democracy were held using plurality voting or some variant, but as an exception, the state of Venice in the 13th century adopted approval voting to elect their Great Council.

The Venetians' method for electing the Doge was a particularly convoluted process, consisting of five rounds of drawing lots (sortition) and five rounds of approval voting. By drawing lots, a body of 30 electors was chosen, which was further reduced to nine electors by drawing lots again. An electoral college of nine members elected 40 people by approval voting; those 40 were reduced to form a second electoral college of 12 members by drawing lots again. The second electoral college elected 25 people by approval voting, which were reduced to form a third electoral college of nine members by drawing lots.

The third electoral college elected 45 people, which were reduced to form a fourth electoral college of 11 by drawing lots. They in turn elected a final electoral body of 41 members, who ultimately elected the Doge. Despite its complexity, the method had certain desirable properties such as being hard to game and ensuring that the winner reflected the opinions of both majority and minority factions. This process, with slight modifications, was central to the politics of the Republic of Venice throughout its remarkable lifespan of over 500 years, from 1268 to 1797.

By drawing lots, a body of 30 electors was chosen, which was further reduced to nine electors by drawing lots again. The electoral college of nine members elected 40 people by approval voting; those 40 were reduced to form a second electoral college of 12 members by drawing lots again.

The second electoral college elected 25 people by approval voting, which were reduced to form a third electoral college of nine members by drawing lots. The third Electoral College elected 45 people, which were reduced to form a fourth electoral college of 11 by drawing lots. They in turn elected a final electoral body of 41 members, who ultimately elected the Doge.

Despite its complexity, the system had certain desirable properties such as being hard to game and ensuring that the winner reflected the opinions of both majority and minority factions.

This process was used with little modification from 1268 until the end of the Republic of Venice in 1797, and was one of the factors contributing to the durability of the republic.

Voting theory became an object of academic study around the time of the French Revolution. Jean-Charles de Borda proposed the Borda count in 1770 as a method for electing members to the French Academy of Sciences. His system was opposed by the Marquis de Condorcet, who proposed instead the method of pairwise comparison that he had devised.

Implementations of this method are known as Condorcet methods. He also wrote about the Condorcet paradox, which he called the *intransitivity of majority preferences*.

Later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the related topic of apportionment began to be studied.

The impetus for research into fair apportionment methods came, in fact, from the USA Constitution, which mandated that seats in the USA House of Representatives had to be allocated among the states proportionally to their population, but did not specify how to do so.

A variety of methods were proposed by statesmen, such as Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and Daniel Webster. Some of the apportionment methods discovered in the USA were in a sense rediscovered in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as seat allocation methods for the newly proposed system of party-list proportional representation.

The result is that many apportionment methods have two names: for instance, *Jefferson's method* is equivalent to the d'Hondt method, as is *Webster's method* to the Sainte-Laguë method, while *Hamilton's method* is identical to the Hare largest remainder method

Jean-Charles de Borda proposed the Borda count in 1770 as a method for electing members to the French Academy of Sciences. His method was opposed by the Marquis de Condorcet, who proposed instead the method of pairwise comparison that he had devised.

Implementations of this method are known as Condorcet methods.

He wrote about the Condorcet paradox, which he called the *intransitivity of majority preferences*. However, recent research has shown that the philosopher Ramon Llull devised both the Borda count and a pairwise method that satisfied the Condorcet criterion in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscripts in which he described these methods had been lost to history until they were rediscovered in 2001. Later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, apportionment methods came to prominence due to the USA Constitution, which mandated that seats in the USA House of Representatives had to be allocated among the states proportionally to their population, but did not specify how to do so.

A variety of methods were proposed by statesmen such as Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and Daniel Webster. Some of the apportionment methods devised in the USA were in a sense rediscovered in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as seat allocation methods for the newly proposed method of party-list proportional representation. The result is that many apportionment methods have two names; *Jefferson's method* is equivalent to the d'Hondt method, as is *Webster's method* to the Sainte-Laguë method, while *Hamilton's method* is identical to the Hare largest remainder method.<sup>[17]</sup>

The Single Transferable Vote system was devised by Carl Andrae in Denmark in 1855, in England by Thomas Hare in 1857. Their discoveries may or may not have been independent.

STV elections were first held in Denmark in 1856, and in Tasmania in 1896 after its use was promoted by Andrew Inglis Clark. Party-list proportional representation was first implemented to elect European legislatures in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, with Belgium implementing it first in 1899. Since then, proportional and semi-proportional methods have come to be used in almost all democratic countries, with most exceptions being former British colonies.

### **Single-winner revival**

Perhaps influenced by the rapid development of multiple-winner electoral systems, theorists began to publish new findings about single-winner methods in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. This began around 1870, when William Robert Ware proposed applying STV to single-winner elections, yielding instant-runoff voting (IRV). Soon, mathematicians began to revisit Condorcet's ideas and invent new methods for Condorcet completion.

Edward J. Nanson combined the newly described instant runoff voting with the Borda count to yield a new Condorcet method called Nanson's method. Charles Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll, proposed the straightforward Condorcet method known as Dodgson's method as well as a proportional multiwinner method based on proxy voting.

Ranked voting electoral systems eventually gathered enough support to be adopted for use in government elections. In Australia, IRV was first adopted in 1893, and continues to be used along with STV today. In the USA in the early-20th-century progressive era, some municipalities began to use Bucklin voting, although this is no longer used in any government elections, and has even been declared unconstitutional in Minnesota.

### **Recent developments**

The use of game theory to analyze electoral systems led to discoveries about the effects of certain methods. Earlier developments such as Arrow's impossibility theorem had already shown the issues with Ranked voting systems. Research led Steven Brams and Peter Fishburn to formally define and promote the use of approval voting in 1977.

Political scientists of the 20th century published many studies on the effects that the electoral systems have on voters' choices and political parties, on political stability.

A few scholars studied which effects caused a nation to switch to a particular electoral system. One prominent current voting theorist is Nicolaus Tideman, who formalized concepts such as strategic nomination and the spoiler effect in the independence of clones criterion.

Tideman devised the ranked pairs method, a Condorcet method that is not susceptible to clones. The study of electoral systems influenced a new push for electoral reform beginning around the 1990s, with proposals being made to replace plurality voting in governmental elections with other methods.

New Zealand adopted mixed-member proportional representation for the 1993 general elections and STV for some local elections in 2004. After plurality voting was a key factor in the contested results of the 2000 presidential elections in the USA.

Various municipalities in the USA began to adopt IRV, although some of them subsequently returned to their prior method. However, attempts at introducing more proportional systems were not always successful; in Canada there were two referendums in British Columbia in 2005 and 2009 on adopting an STV method, both of which failed. In the United Kingdom, a 2011 referendum on adopting Instant-runoff voting saw the proposal rejected.

In other countries there were calls for the restoration of plurality or majoritarian systems or their establishment where they have never been used; a referendum was held in Ecuador in 1994 on the adoption the two round system, but the idea was rejected.

In Romania a proposal to switch to a two-round system for parliamentary elections failed only because voter turnout in the referendum was too low. Attempts to reintroduce single-member constituencies in Poland (2015) and two-round system in Bulgaria.

Electoral systems can be compared by different means. Attitudes towards systems are highly influenced by the systems' impact on groups that one supports or opposes, which can make the objective comparison of voting systems difficult.

There are several ways to address this problem: one approach is to define criteria mathematically, such that any electoral system either passes or fails. This gives perfectly objective results, but their practical relevance is still arguable. Another approach is to define ideal criteria that no electoral system passes perfectly, and then see how often or how close to passing various methods are over a large sample of simulated elections.

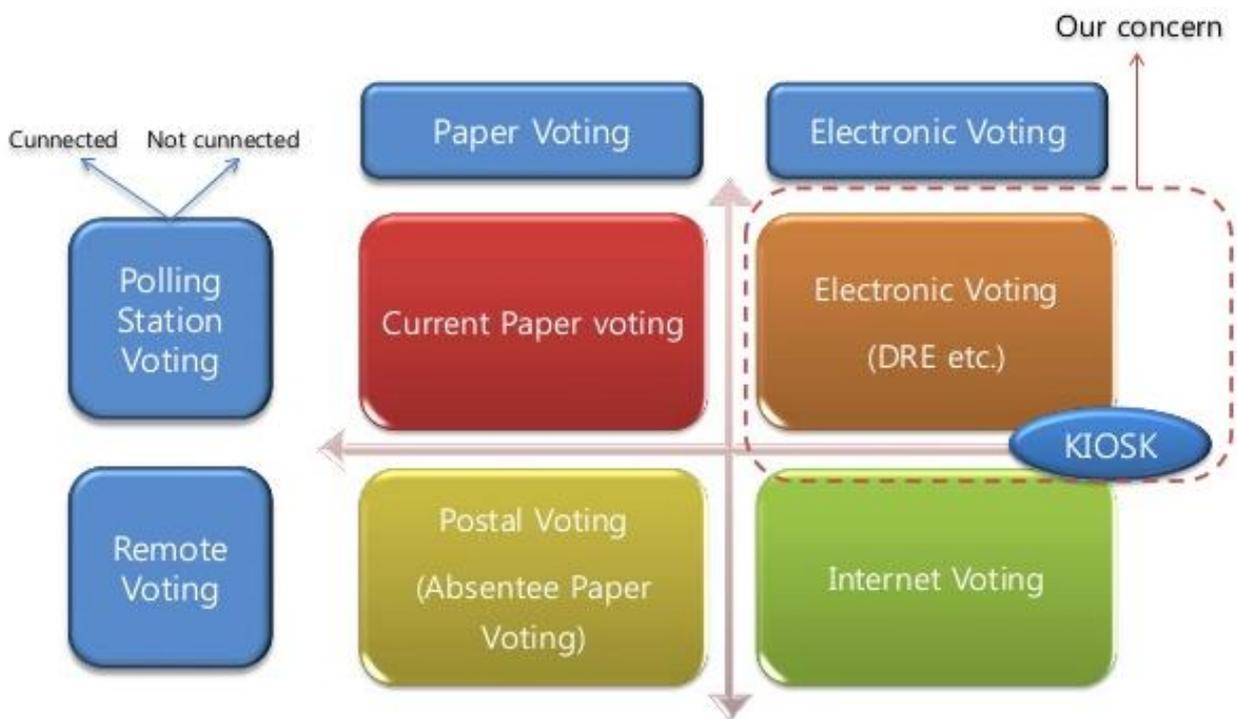
This gives results which are practically relevant, but the method of generating the sample of simulated elections can still be arguably biased.

A final approach is to create imprecisely defined criteria, and then assign a neutral body to evaluate each method according to these criteria. This approach can look at aspects of electoral systems which the other two approaches miss, but both the definitions of these criteria and the evaluations of the methods are still inevitably subjective.

Arrow's and Gibbard's theorems prove that no system using ranked voting or cardinal voting, can meet all such criteria simultaneously. Instead of debating the importance of different criteria, another method is to simulate many elections with different electoral systems, and estimate the typical overall happiness of the population with the results, their vulnerability to strategic voting, their likelihood of electing the candidate closest to the average voter, etc.

**Exercise 1. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.**

**Exercise 2. Explain the influence of game theory.**



## TYPES OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

### Plurality systems

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

It is the second most common system used for presidential elections, being used in 19 countries. In cases where there are multiple positions to be elected, most commonly in cases of multi-member constituencies, plurality voting is referred to as bloc voting or plurality-at-large. This takes two main forms.

In one form voters have as many votes as there are seats and can vote for any candidate, regardless of party – this is used in eight countries.

There are variations on this system such as limited voting, where voters are given fewer votes than there are seats to be elected (Gibraltar is the only territory where this system is in use) and single non-transferable vote (SNTV), in which voters are only able to vote for one candidate in a multi-member constituency, with the candidates receiving the most votes declared the winners; this system is used in Afghanistan, Kuwait, the Pitcairn Islands and Vanuatu. In the other main form of bloc voting, also known as party bloc voting, voters can only vote for the multiple candidates of a single party. This is used in five countries as part of mixed systems.

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

### Majoritarian systems

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

Both are primarily used for single-member constituencies.

Majoritarian voting can take place in a single round using instant-runoff voting (IRV), whereby voters rank candidates in order of preference; this system is used for parliamentary elections in Australia and Papua New Guinea. If no candidate receives a majority of the vote in the first round, the second preferences of the lowest-ranked candidate are then added to the totals. This is repeated until a candidate achieves over 50% of the number of valid votes. If not all voters use all their preference votes, then the count may continue until two candidates remain, at which point the winner is the one with the most votes.

A modified form of IRV is the contingent vote where voters do not rank all candidates, but have a limited number of preference votes. If no candidate has a majority in the first round, all candidates are excluded except the top two, with the highest remaining preference votes from the votes for the excluded candidates.

Then added to the totals to determine the winner. This system is used in Sri Lankan presidential elections, with voters allowed to give three preferences. The other main form of majoritarian system is the two-round system, which is the most common system used for presidential elections around the world, being used in 88 countries. It is used in 20 countries for electing the legislature. If no candidate achieves a majority of votes in the first round of voting, a second round is held to determine the winner.

In most cases the second round is limited to the top two candidates from the first round, in some elections more than two candidates may choose to contest the second round; in these cases the second round is decided by plurality voting.

Some countries use a modified form of the two-round system, such as Ecuador where a candidate in the presidential election is declared the winner if they receive 40% of the vote and is 10% ahead of their nearest rival, or Argentina (45% plus 10% ahead), where the system is known as ballotage.

An exhaustive ballot is not limited to two rounds, but sees the last-placed candidate eliminated in the round of voting. Due to the large potential number of rounds, this system is not used in any major popular elections, but is used to elect the Speakers of parliament in several countries and members of the Swiss Federal Council. In some formats there may be multiple rounds held without any candidates being removed until a candidate achieves a majority, a system used in the USA Electoral College.

### **Proportional systems**

Proportional representation is the most widely used electoral system for national legislatures, with the parliaments of over eighty countries elected by various forms of the system. Party-list proportional representation is the single most common electoral system is used by 80 countries, involves voters voting for a list of candidates proposed by a party.

In closed lists systems voters don't have any influence over the candidates put forward by the party, but in open list systems voters are able to both vote for the party list and influence the order in which candidates will be assigned seats. In some countries, notably Israel and the Netherlands, elections are carried out using "pure" proportional representation, with the votes tallied on a national level before assigning seats to parties.

However, in most cases several multi-member constituencies are used rather than a single nationwide constituency, giving an element of geographical representation.

However, this can result in the distribution of seats not reflecting the national vote totals. As a result, some countries have leveling seats to award to parties whose seat totals are lower than their proportion of the national vote.

In addition to the electoral threshold, the minimum percentage of the vote that a party must obtain to win seats, there are several different methods for calculating seat allocation in proportional systems, typically broken down into the two main types; highest average and largest remainder.

Highest average systems involve dividing the votes received by each party by a series of divisors, producing figures that determine seat allocation; examples include the d'Hondt method (there are variants including Hagenbach-Bischoff) or the Webster/ Sainte-Laguë method. Under largest remainder systems, party's vote shares are divided by the quota (obtained by dividing the number of votes by the number of seats available). This usually leaves some seats unallocated, which are awarded to parties based on the largest fractions of seats that they have remaining.

Examples of largest remainder systems include the Hare quota, Droop quota, the Imperiali quota and the Hagenbach-Bischoff quota.

Single transferable vote (STV) is another form of proportional representation, but is achieved by voters ranking candidates in a multi-member constituency by preference rather than voting for a party list; it is used in Malta and the Republic of Ireland.

To be elected, candidates must pass a quota (the Droop quota being the most common).

Candidates that pass the quota on the first count are elected. Votes are then reallocated from the least successful candidates until the number of candidates that have passed the quota is equal to the number of seats to be filled.

### **Mixed systems**

In several countries, mixed systems are used to elect the legislature.

These include parallel voting and mixed-member proportional representation.

In parallel voting systems, which are used in 20 countries, there are two methods by which members of a legislature are elected; part of the membership is elected by a plurality or majority vote in single-member constituencies and the other part by proportional representation. The results of the constituency vote has no effect on the outcome of the proportional vote.

Mixed-member proportional representation, in use in eight countries, also sees the membership of the legislature elected by constituency and proportional methods. But the results of the proportional vote are adjusted to balance the seats won in the constituency vote in order to ensure that parties have a number of seats proportional to their vote share. This may result in overhang seats, where parties win more seats in the constituency system than they would be entitled to based on their vote share. Variations of this include the Additional Member System and Alternative Vote Plus, in which voters rank candidates, and the other from multi-member constituencies elected on a proportional party list basis.

A form of mixed-member proportional representation, Scorporo, was used in Italy from 1993 until 2006.

### **Additional features**

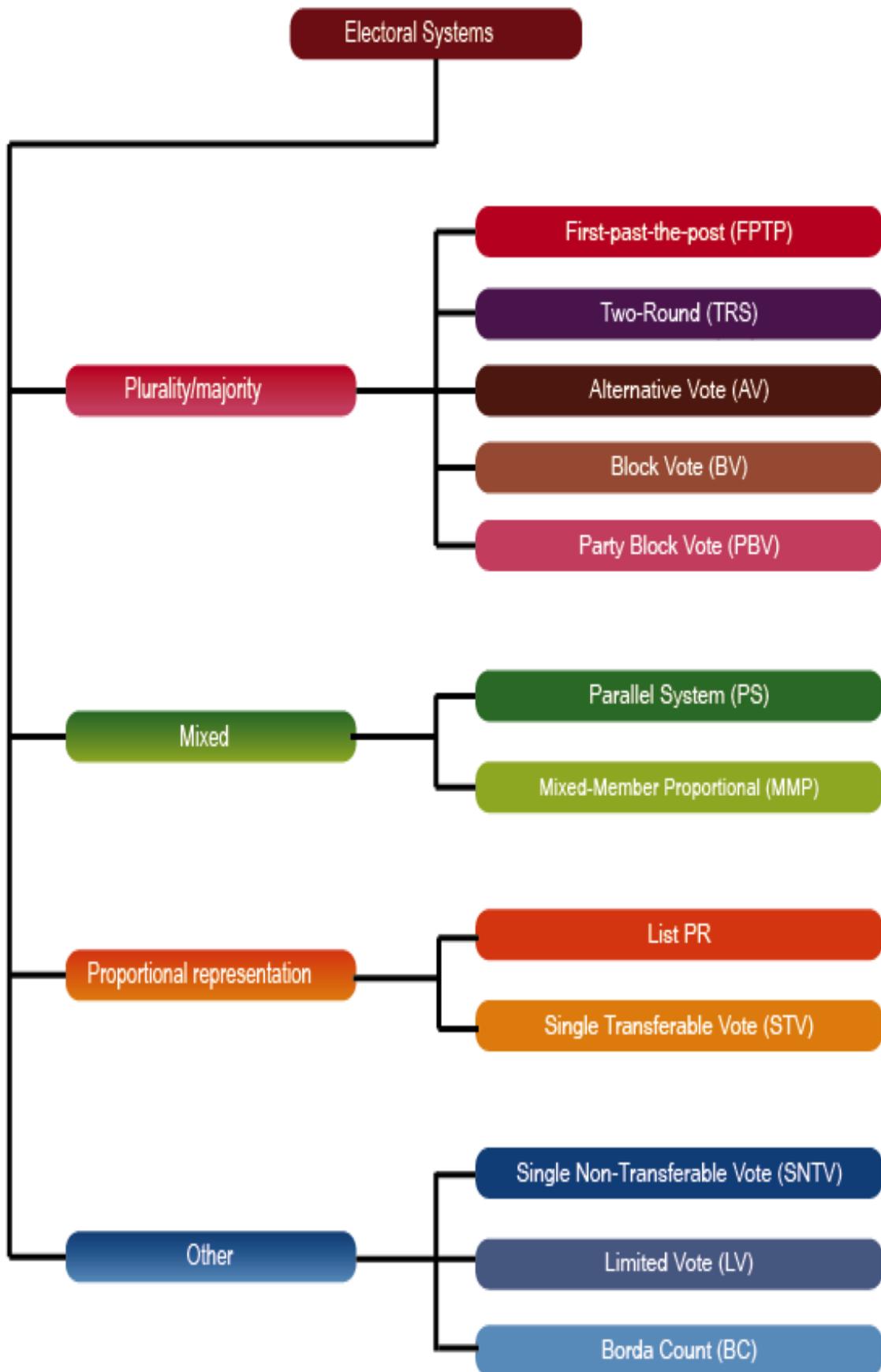
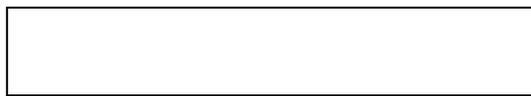
Some electoral systems feature a majority bonus system to either ensure one party or coalition gains a majority in the legislature, or to give the party receiving the most votes a clear advantage in terms of the number of seats.

In Greece the party receiving the most votes is given an additional 50 seats, San Marino has a modified two-round system, which sees a second round of voting featuring the top two parties or coalitions if there is no majority in the first round. The winner of the second round is guaranteed 35 seats in the 60-seat Grand and General Council.

In Uruguay, the President and members of the General Assembly are elected by on a single ballot, known as the double simultaneous vote. Voters cast a single vote, voting for the presidential, Senatorial and Chamber of Deputies candidates of that party. This system was also previously used in Bolivia and the Dominican Republic.

### **Primary elections**

Primary elections are a feature of some electoral systems, either as a formal part of the electoral system or informally by choice of individual political parties as a method of selecting candidates, as is the case in Italy. Primary elections limit the risk of vote splitting by ensuring a single party candidate.



The election system families

In Argentina they are a formal part of the electoral system and take place two months before the main elections; any party receiving less than 1.5% of the vote is not permitted to contest the main elections. In the USA, there are both partisan and non-partisan primary elections.

### **Indirect elections**

Some elections feature an indirect electoral system, whereby there is either no popular vote, or the popular vote is only one stage of the election; in these systems the final vote is usually taken by an electoral college.

In several countries, such as Mauritius or Trinidad and Tobago, the post of President is elected by the legislature. In others like India, the vote is taken by an electoral college consisting of the national legislature and state legislatures. In the USA, the president is indirectly elected using a two-stage process; a popular vote in each state elects members to the electoral college that in turn elects the President. This can result in a situation where a candidate who receives the most votes nationwide does not win the electoral college vote, as most recently happened in 2000 and 2016.

### **Systems used outside politics**

In addition to the various electoral systems in use in the political sphere, there are numerous others, some of which are proposals and some of which have been adopted for usage in business (electing corporate board members) or for organisations but not for public elections. Ranked systems include

- Bucklin voting' the various Condorcet methods (Copeland's, Dodgson's, Kemeny-Young, Maximal lotteries, Minimax, Nanson's, Ranked pairs, Schulze);
- the Coombs' method;
- positional voting.

There are several variants of single transferable vote, including CPO-STV, Schulze STV and the Wright system. Dual-member proportional representation is a proposed system with two candidates elected in each constituency, one with the most votes & one to ensure proportionality of the combined results. Biproportional apportionment is a system whereby the total number of votes is used to calculate the number of seats each party is due, followed by a calculation of the constituencies in which the seats should be awarded in order to achieve the total due to them.

Cardinal electoral systems allow voters to score candidates independently.

The complexity ranges from approval voting where voters simply state whether they approve of a candidate or not to range voting, where a candidate is scored from a set range of numbers. Other cardinal systems include

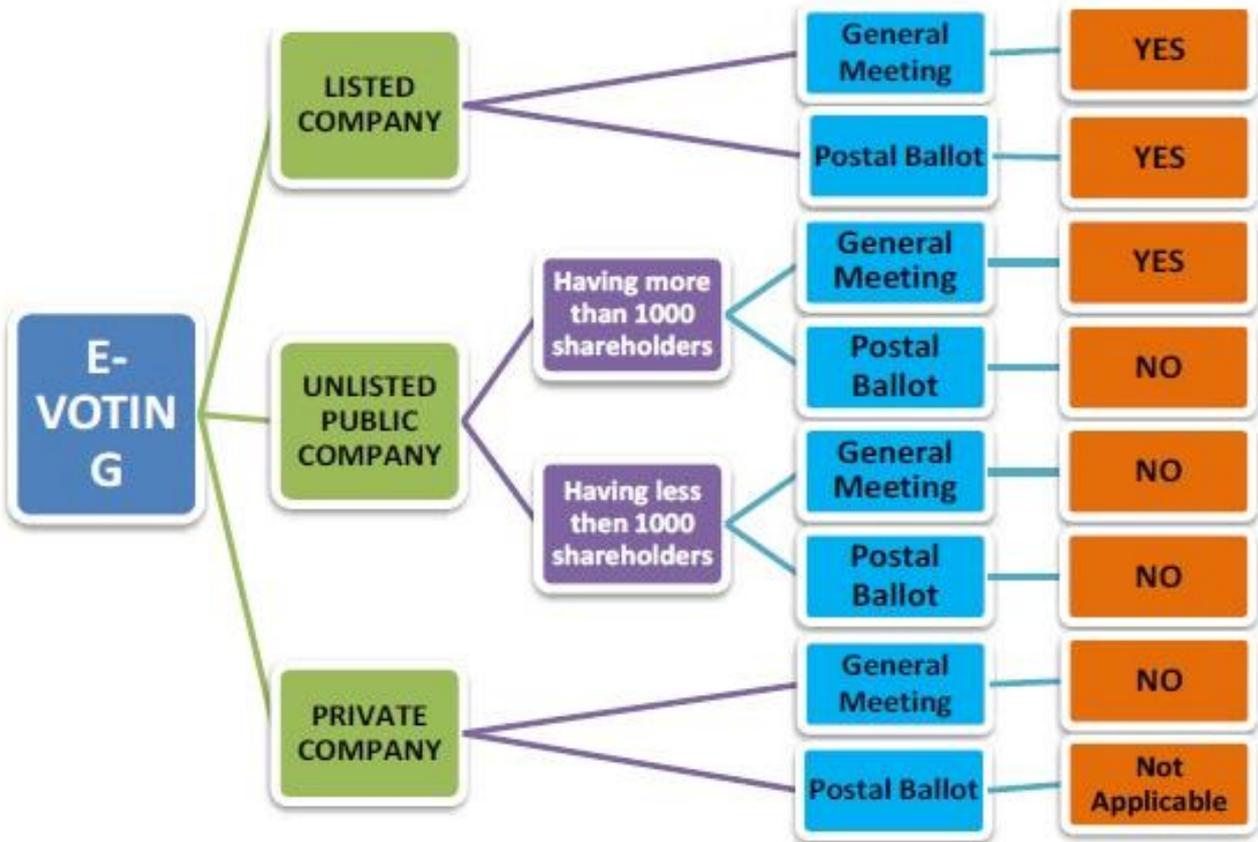
- proportional approval voting;
- sequential proportional approval voting;
- satisfaction approval voting;
- majority judgment.

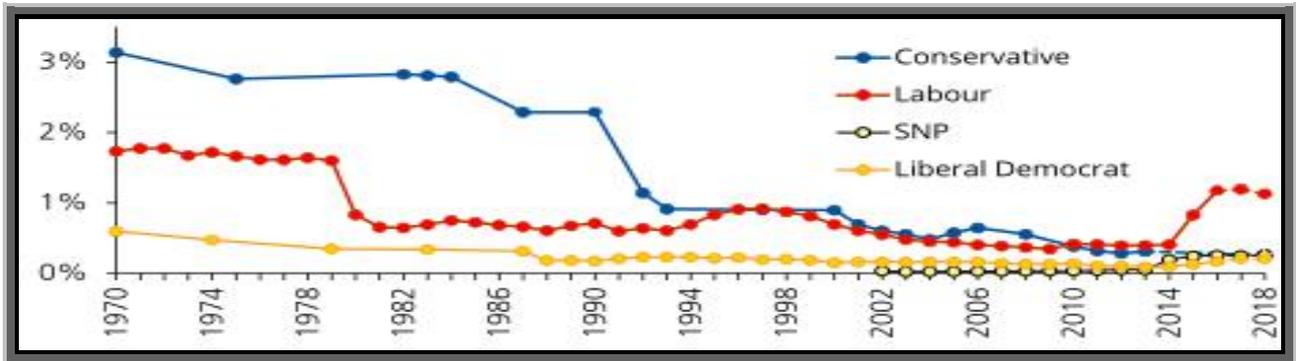
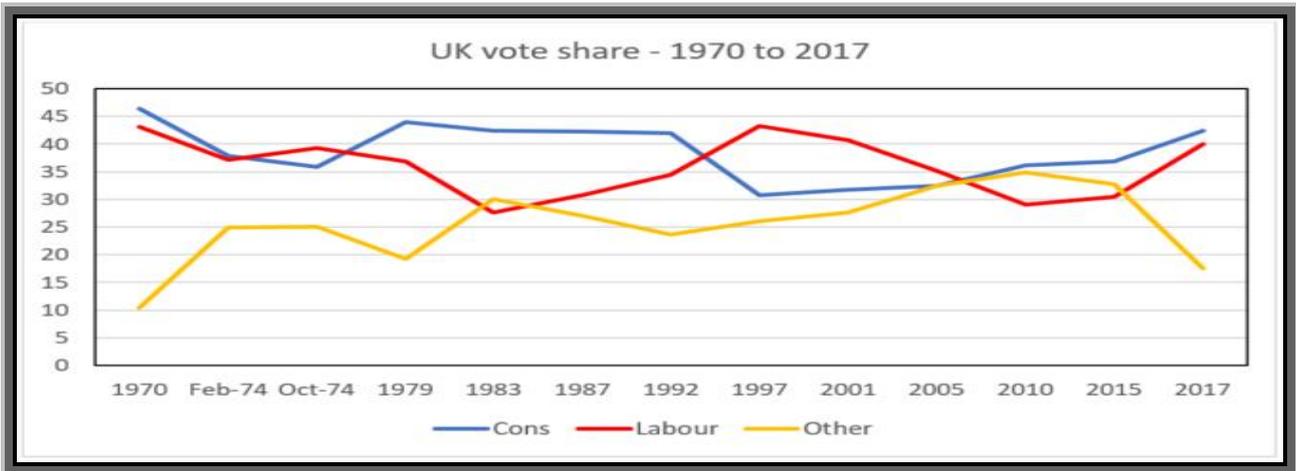
Historically, weighted voting systems were used in some countries. These allocated a greater weight to the votes of some voters than others, either indirectly by allocating more seats to certain groups (the Prussian three-class franchise), or by weighting the results of the vote. The latter system was used in colonial Rhodesia for the 1962 and 1965 elections.

The elections featured two voter rolls (the "A" roll being largely European and the 'B' roll largely African); the seats of the House Assembly were divided into 50 constituency seats and 15 district seats. Although all voters could vote for both types of seats, "A" roll votes were given greater weight for the constituency seats and "B" roll votes greater weight for the district seats. Weighted systems are still used in corporate elections, with votes weighted to reflect stock ownership.

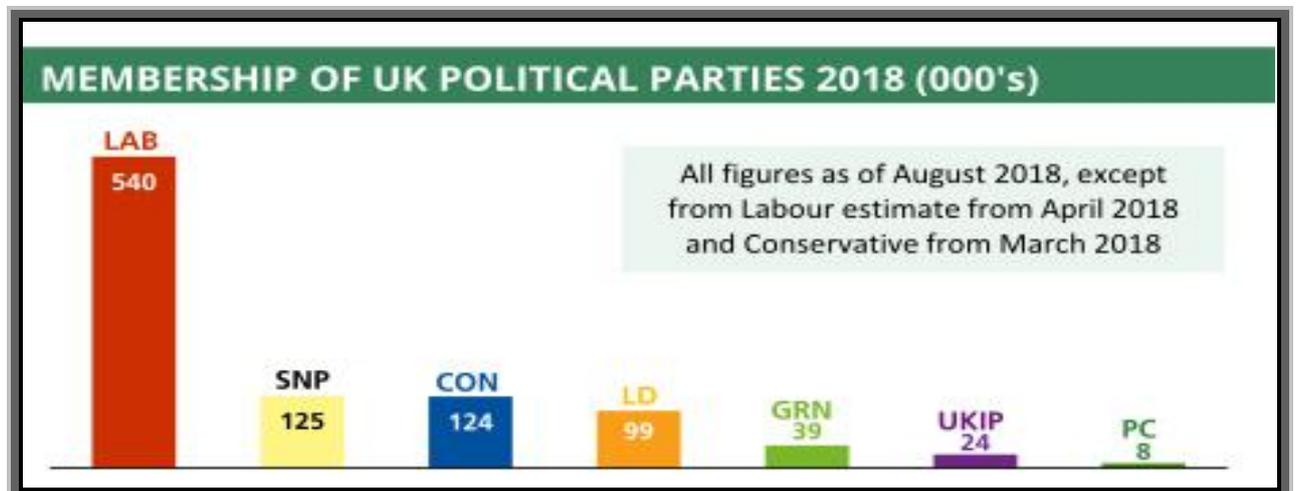
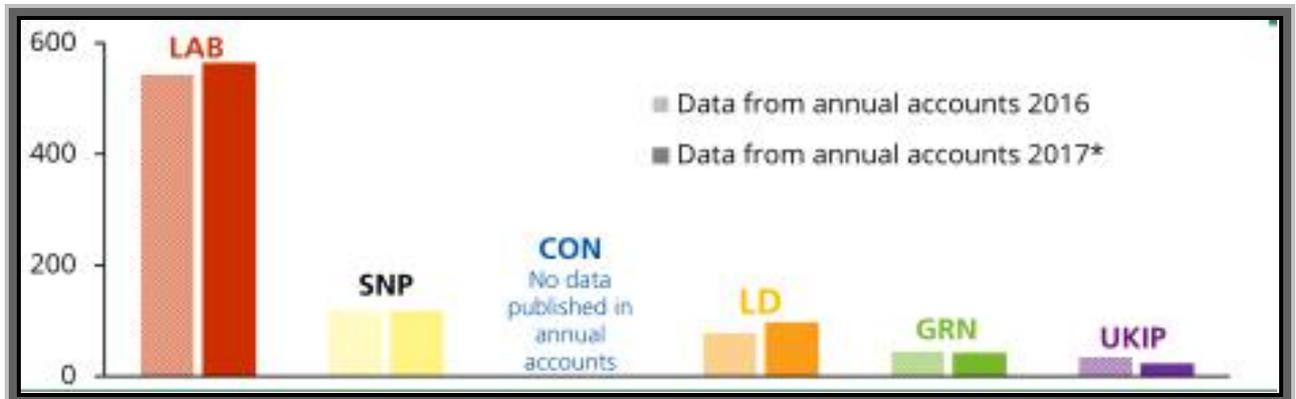
- Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.*
- Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.*
- Exercise 3. Choose the keywords that best convey the gist of the information.*
- Exercise 4. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.*

№	Activity			
	Voting	When	Where	Score
1.				



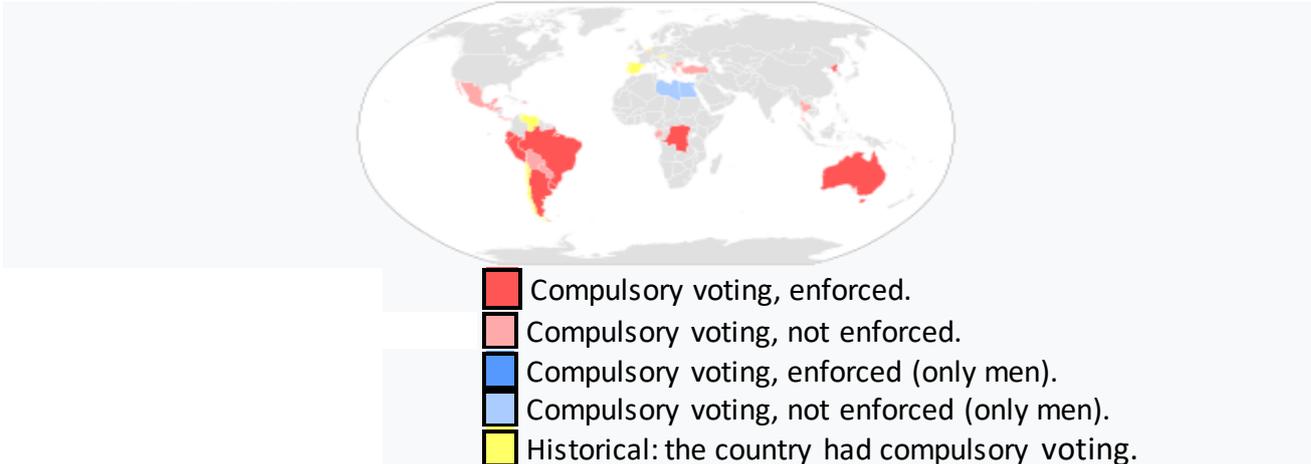


Membership as proportion of the electorate



## RULES & REGULATIONS

In addition to the specific method of electing candidates, electoral systems are characterised by their wider rules & regulations, which are usually set out in a country's constitution or electoral law. Participatory rules determine candidate nomination and voter registration, in addition to the location of polling places and the availability of online voting, postal voting, and absentee voting. Other regulations include the selection of voting devices such as paper ballots, machine voting or open ballot systems, and consequently the type of vote counting systems, verification and auditing used.



Electoral rules place limits on suffrage and candidacy. Most countries's electorates are characterised by universal suffrage, but there are differences on the age at which people are allowed to vote, with the youngest being 16 and the oldest 21 (although voters must be 25 to vote in Senate elections in Italy).

People may be disenfranchised for a range of reasons, such as being a serving prisoner, being declared bankrupt, having committed certain crimes or being a serving member of the armed forces. Similar limits are placed on candidacy (passive suffrage), and in many cases the age limit for candidates is higher than the voting age.

A total of 21 countries have compulsory voting, although in some there is an upper age limit on enforcement of the law. Many countries also have the none of the above option on their ballot papers. In systems that use constituencies, apportionment or districting defines the area covered by each constituency.

Where constituency boundaries are drawn has a strong influence on the likely outcome of elections in the constituency due to the geographic distribution of voters.

Political parties may seek to gain an advantage during redistricting by ensuring their voter base has a majority in as many constituencies as possible, a process known as gerrymandering. Historically rotten & pocket boroughs, constituencies with unusually small populations, were used by wealthy families to gain parliamentary representation.

Some countries have minimum turnout requirements for elections to be valid.

In Serbia this rule caused multiple re-runs of presidential elections, with the 1997 election re-run once and the 2002 elections re-run three times due insufficient turnout in the first, second and third attempts to run the election. The turnout requirement was scrapped prior to the fourth vote in 2004. Similar problems in Belarus led to the 1995 parliamentary elections going to a fourth round of voting before enough parliamentarians were elected to make a quorum.

Reserved seats are used in many countries to ensure representation for ethnic minorities, women, young people or the disabled. These seats are separate from general seats, and may be elected separately (in Morocco where a separate ballot is used to elect the 60 seats reserved for women and 30 seats reserved for young people in the House of Representatives), or be allocated to parties based on the results of the election.

In Jordan the reserved seats for women are given to the female candidates who failed to win constituency seats but with the highest number of votes, whilst in Kenya the Senate seats reserved for women, young people and the disabled are allocated to parties based on how many seats they won in the general vote.

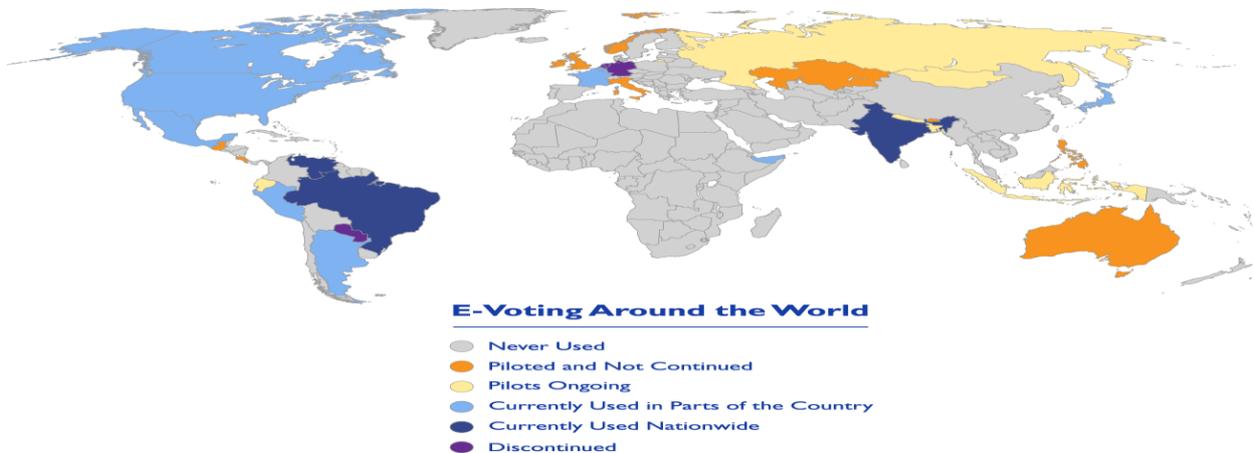
Some countries achieve minority representation by other means, including requirements for a certain proportion of candidates to be women, or by exempting minority parties from the electoral threshold, as is done in Poland, Romania and Serbia.

**Exercise 1. Add some information & make up a small report and give a talk in class.**

**Exercise 2. Read the text & pick up the essential details in the form of quick notes.**

**Exercise 3. Transfer the given information from the passages onto a table.**

№	Activity			
	Country	When	Where	Score
1.				



## GAME THEORY

After John von Neumann and others developed the mathematical field of game theory in the 1940s, new mathematical tools were available to analyze voting systems and strategic voting. This led to significant new results that changed the field of voting theory. The use of mathematical criteria to evaluate voting systems was introduced when Kenneth Arrow showed in Arrow's impossibility theorem that certain intuitively desirable criteria were actually mutually contradictory, demonstrating the inherent limitations of voting theorems.

Arrow's theorem is easily the single most cited result in voting theory, and it inspired further significant results such as the Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem, which showed that strategic voting is unavoidable in certain common circumstances.

The use of game theory to analyze voting systems also led to discoveries about the emergent strategic effects of certain systems. Duverger's law is a prominent example of such a result, showing that plurality voting often leads to a two-party system. Further research into the game theory aspects of voting led Steven Brams and Peter Fishburn to formally define and promote the use of approval voting in 1977.

While approval voting had been used before that, it had not been named or considered as an object of academic study, particularly because it violated the assumption made by most research that single-winner methods were based on preference rankings.

Voting theory has come to focus on **voting system criteria** almost as much as it does on particular voting systems. Now, any description of a benefit or weakness in a voting system is expected to be backed up by a mathematically defined criterion. Recent research in voting theory has largely involved devising new criteria and new methods devised to meet certain criteria.

Political scientists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century published many studies on the effects that the voting systems have on voters' choices and political parties, and on political stability. A few scholars also studied what effects caused a nation to change for a particular voting system.

One prominent current voting theorist is Nicolaus Tideman, who formalized concepts such as strategic nomination and the spoiler effect in the independence of clones criterion.

The advent of the Internet has increased the interest in voting systems. Unlike many other mathematical fields, voting theory is generally accessible enough to non-experts that new results can be discovered by amateurs, and frequently are.

The study of voting systems has influenced a new push for electoral reform that is going on today, with proposals being made to replace plurality voting in governmental elections with other methods. Various municipalities in the USA have begun to adopt instant-runoff voting in the 2000s.

New Zealand adopted Mixed Member Proportional for Parliamentary elections in 1993 and Single Transferable Vote for some local elections in 2004. The Canadian province of British Columbia held two unsuccessful referenda (in 2005 and 2009) to adopt a STV system.

The Province of Ontario held a Referendum on October 10, 2007, on whether to adopt a Mixed Member Proportional system. It was defeated. An even wider range of voting systems is now seen in non-governmental organizations.





## LIST OF REFERENCE BOOKS

- A Dictionary of Political Biography. Who's Who in the 21th Century World Politics. – Edited by Dennis Kavanaugh. – Oxford; NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Buckner P. Canada and the British Empire. – Oxford University Press. – pp. 37–40.
- Curzon L.B. Basic Law/ L.B. Curzon. – The M&E Handbook Series, 1994. – pp. 230-31.
- Encyclopedia Britannica On line 2010.
- Justice & the Law. – London: Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1999. – pp. 45.
- International Encyclopedia of Public Policy and Administration. – Jay M. Shafritz, editor in chief. 4 vols. – Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.
- Language & the Law/ Ed. John Gibbons. – Longman group Ltd., 1994. – P. 56-78.
- Magocsi P. R. Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples/ P. R. Magocsi. – University of Toronto Press, 2015. – p.1048.
- McDowall, D. An illustrated History of England / D. McDowall. – London: Longman, 1989. – pp.7-35.
- Penrith, D. Live & Work in Australia/ D. Penrith. – Crimson Publishing, 2013. – 478 p.
- Riley A. English for Law/ A. Riley. – London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1991. – pp. 9.
- Russell F. English Law and Language/ F. Russell, Ch. Locke. – London: Cassell Publishers Ltd, 1992. – pp. 91.
- Swan M. Practical English Usage/ Swan M. – International student's edition. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. – 350 p.
- Swan M. How English Works. A Grammar Practice Book / M. Swan, C. Walter. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. – 780 p.
- The Black's Law Dictionary. – London, 1995. – 1567 p.
- The Blackwell Dictionary of Political Science: a User's Guide to its Terms. – Frank Bealey. – Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.
- The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought. – Edited by David Miller; advisory eds. – Janet Coleman et al. – NY: B. Blackwell, 1987.
- The Concise Encyclopedia of Ethics in Politics and the Media. – Edited by Ruth Chadwick. – San Diego: Academic Press, 2001.
- The Dictionary of the 20th-century: World Politics. – Jay M. Shafritz. – NY: H. Holt, 1993.
- Thomson A. J. A Practical English Grammar. / A. J. Thomson, A. V. Martinet. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. – 145 p.
- Thomson A. J. A Practical English Grammar. Exercises 1/ A. J. Thomson, A. V. Martinet. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. – 220 p.
- Thomson A. J. A Practical English Grammar. Exercises 2/ A. J. Thomson, A. V. Martinet. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. – 120 p.
- Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary. – New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 1992. – 1788 p.

## CONTENTS

№	CHAPTERS & PARAGRAPHS	Pages
1.	Foreword	3-4
2.	Chapter I. Political history of the world	
3.	Unit I. Historical backgrounds	5
4.	Unit II. Political philosophy	33
5.	Unit III. Political science	46
	Unit IV. Political ideology	57
6.	Chapter II. Political systems	
7.	Unit I. Forms of political systems	68
8.	Unit II. Basic forms of political systems	108
9.	Unit III. Various forms of government	172
10.	Unit IV. Westminster system	194
11.	Chapter III. Democracy	228
12.	Chapter IV. Political life	
13.	Unit I. Politics	257
14.	Unit II. Political parties	262
15.	Unit III. Voting system	301
16.	List of Reference books	322
17.	Contents	323

