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Кафедра английского языка № 1

*Иностранные языки в МГИМО*

Д. А. Крячков

Английский язык для магистратуры  
Международные отношения и зарубежное регионоведение

Учебник

Уровень C1

English For Students  
of International Relations and Regional Studies  
Masters Programme  
Level C1

*Допущено Учебно-методическим объединением вузов Российской Федерации  
по образованию в области международных отношений  
в качестве учебника для студентов вузов, обучающихся  
по направлениям подготовки (специальностям)  
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Цель данного учебника — дальнейшее комплексное развитие иноязычной коммуникативной компетенции студентов, обеспечивающей их успешную деятельность с применением английского языка в профессиональной сфере. Охватывает модули «Практика речи» и «Язык профессии».

Для студентов магистратуры по направлениям «Международные отношения» и «Зарубежное регионоведение».

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## ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

Данный учебник предназначен для студентов магистратуры по направлениям “Международные отношения” и “Зарубежное регионоведение” в МГИМО (У) МИД России, а также других вузах, имеющих соответствующие направления подготовки. Его цель — дальнейшее комплексное развитие иноязычной коммуникативной компетенции студентов магистратуры, обеспечивающей их успешную деятельность с применением английского языка в профессиональной сфере.

Учебник подготовлен в соответствии с программой дисциплины “Иностранный язык международного общения” “Английский язык” Уровень — “Магистратура”, разработанной на кафедре английского языка № 1 МГИМО (У) МИД России, и охватывает модули “Практика речи” (первый семестр) и “Язык профессии” (второй и третий семестры). Учебник рассчитан на три семестра (не менее 140 аудиторных часов) и нацелен на достижение выпускниками магистратуры уровня С1 по Общеввропейской шкале языковых компетенций.

Разнообразие материала и разноуровневость заданий<sup>1</sup> позволяют использовать учебник в преподавании английского как первого и английского как второго иностранного языка.

В основе учебника лежат следующие принципы:

1. **Компетентностный подход**, предполагающий не только получение студентами комплекса знаний, умений и навыков, но и формирование их готовности к ведению практической деятельности в профессиональной сфере с использованием иностранного языка, а также создание фундамента для дальнейшего самообразования. Данный УМК позволяет развивать как *общекультурные*, так и *профессиональные* компетенции.

К числу *общекультурных* компетенций, формируемых у студента, в частности, относятся<sup>2</sup>:

- умение системно мыслить, выявлять международно-политические смыслы и значения проблем, попадающих в фокус профессиональной деятельности;
- способность самостоятельно приобретать с помощью информационных технологий и использовать в практической деятельности новые знания и умения,
- умение свободно осуществлять устную и письменную коммуникацию на иностранном языке международного общения, отличном от языка региона специализации, на деловом и профессиональном уровне;
- владение навыками публичного выступления на профессиональные и научные темы, умение доводить собственные выводы, предложения, аргументы до сведения специалистов и неспециалистов;
- способность представлять информационные материалы широкой аудитории с применением современных программных средств обработки и редактирования информации, в том числе на иностранном языке международного общения и языке региона специализации;

<sup>1</sup> Помимо заданий базового уровня в учебнике есть два уровня повышенной сложности, помеченные  и  соответственно.

<sup>2</sup> Здесь и далее приводятся лишь приоритетные компетенции, формируемые у студентов в ходе работы с учебником, их список не является исчерпывающим. Примеры приводятся как из ФГОС ВПО по направлению “Международные отношения”, так и ФГОС ВПО по направлению “Зарубежное регионоведение”.

- стремление к непрерывному самообучению и саморазвитию;
- развитие креативности мышления, профессиональной инициативы, инициации позитивных перемен.

Примерами *профессиональных компетенций*<sup>1</sup> являются:

- умение применять иностранные языки для решения профессиональных вопросов;
  - владение профессиональной терминологией и понятийным аппаратом сферы международной деятельности на русском и иностранных языках;
  - готовность к кооперации с коллегами и работе в коллективе, к организации работы малых коллективов исполнителей;
  - владение политически корректной устной и письменной речью в рамках профессиональной тематики на русском и иностранных языках;
  - готовность вести диалог, переписку, переговоры на иностранном языке в рамках уровня поставленных задач;
  - наличие уверенных навыков построения реферативного письменного текста и устного представления мнений по международно-политической проблематике;
  - умение работать с материалами СМИ, составить обзоры прессы по заданным темам;
  - умение находить, собирать и первично обобщать фактический материал, делая обоснованные выводы;
  - умение профессионально грамотно анализировать и пояснять позиции Российской Федерации по основным международным проблемам.
2. **Междисциплинарность**, обусловленная необходимостью формирования *профессионально-ориентированной* коммуникативной компетенции, предполагает определенную опору на специальные дисциплины, что позволяет говорить об изменении статуса иностранного языка с *цели* обучения на *средство* углубления профессиональных знаний. Реализация принципа достигается благодаря профессионально ориентированному отбору содержания, методов обучения и способов организации учебно-познавательной деятельности студентов.
  3. **Дифференцированный подход**, предполагающий несколько уровней сложности заданий, позволяет выбирать задания той сложности, которая соответствует уровню сформированности компетенций обучающегося. В учебнике предлагаются задания базового и продвинутого уровней, а также задания повышенной сложности, что позволяет выбрать материал, соответствующий уровню развития компетенций конкретной группы студентов.
  4. **Автономность обучаемых** предполагает развитие способности студентов в определенной степени нести ответственность за свою учебную деятельность по овладению иностранным языком, а также желания приобрести умения и навыки, позволяющие осуществлять самосовершенствование в контексте непрерывного образования (*life-long learning*). Данный принцип реализуется не только благодаря заданиям, направленным на самостоятельный поиск и анализ информации (в частности, в рамках подготовки презентаций, круглых столов, дебатов) и развитие способности мотивированного планирования (например, в рамках выполнения групповых проектных работ), но и вследствие акцента на соответствующих формах организации учебно-познавательной деятельности (индивидуальные, парные и групповые формы работы).

<sup>1</sup> В целях данного Предисловия подразделение на подвиды профессиональных компетенций не производится.

Учебник включает *восемь* тематических уроков, семестровую проектную работу “Написание обоснования выбора темы магистерской диссертации” и ряд приложений.

В рамках первого, “переходного” семестра, позволяющего студентам адаптироваться к обучению в магистратуре и предъявляемым требованиям, предполагается изучение тем социально-политического характера, в последующие акцент делается на внешнеполитической проблематике. В силу широкого предметного охвата будущей профессиональной деятельности магистрантов, обучающихся по направлениям “Международные отношения” и “Зарубежное регионоведение”, оба тематических блока могут быть отнесены к разряду профессионально значимых.

Развитие профессиональной коммуникативной компетенции осуществляется в рамках следующих **предметно-лексических тем**:

1. Проблемы современного общества (*Unit 1. Fix Modern Society!*).
2. Различные виды дискриминации как причина социальной разобщенности (*Unit 2. The Ism Schism*).
3. Религиозный фактор в современном мире. Роль религии в политике и международных отношениях (*Unit 3. Faith Today: a Bomb of Destruction, a Barrier of Division or a Bridge of Cooperation?*).
4. Особенности дипломатии в эпоху глобализации и развития информационных технологий (*Unit 4. Diplomacy in the Mirror of Globalization*).
5. Система международных отношений и современный миропорядок. Многосторонний подход в международных отношениях (*Unit 5. How the World Works*).
6. Концепция силы в международных отношениях (*Unit 6. Might Makes Right?*).
7. Глобальные угрозы. Борьба с терроризмом (*Unit 7. Fighting the Hydra*).
8. Особенности внутренней политики и внешнеполитического курса России на современном этапе (*Unit 8. Russia: a Part of the World or Apart from the World?*).

Языковой материал учебника аутентичен, тексты отличаются профессиональной направленностью и представляют собой выступления политических деятелей, материалы из специализированных изданий, журнальных и газетных аналитических статей, интернет-ресурсов.

В соответствии со статьей 1274 Гражданского кодекса Российской Федерации все материалы средств массовой информации используются в данном учебнике в качестве иллюстраций (в широком смысле) учебного характера; в объеме, оправданном поставленной целью и методикой, и с обязательным указанием имени автора, произведение которого используется, и источника заимствования. Автор и источник текста указаны непосредственно после самого текста, полные выходные данные приведены в разделе “Список литературы” в конце учебника.

## МЕТОДИЧЕСКАЯ ЗАПИСКА

Каждый урок учебника имеет четкую структуру, облегчающую навигацию, и включает несколько разделов: Reading 1, Reading 2, Comprehension, Vocabulary, Building a Word Bank, Talk and Discussion и Mixed Bag.

Раздел **Reading 1** предназначен для введения в тему урока. Выполнение дотекстовых заданий (**Lead-in**) позволяет актуализировать имеющиеся у обучаемых знания по тематике урока и подготовить к восприятию текста раздела. Текст в разделе Reading 1 предназначен для *аудиторного* ознакомительного или поискового чтения без словаря с целью понимания макроструктуры текста, его основного содержания, линии доказательств, аргументации автора или с целью извлечения информации согласно поставленной задаче соответственно.

Текст в разделе **Reading 2** является основным текстом урока; он предназначен для *внеаудиторного* изучающего чтения в целях полного и точного понимания всей информации, представленной в тексте эксплицитно и имплицитно, на основе интерпретации содержания как на языковом, так и на дискурсивном уровнях. Проверка понимания осуществляется на занятии (фронтально или в парах — в зависимости от уровня подготовки обучаемых). Текст этого раздела является источником “активного словаря”, подлежащего усвоению, а также основой отдельных заданий на развитие навыков устной и письменной речи.

Раздел **Comprehension** предназначен для проверки понимания основного текста урока. Предлагаемые упражнения также способствуют развитию навыков перевода и информационно-аналитической работы. Особое внимание следует уделить заданию на выделение темы (основного предмета изложения) и тезиса текста (суждения автора о предмете изложения), традиционно вызывающему сложности у студентов как в содержательной части (например, тема определяется слишком узко/широко), так и в части формальной (например, тезис передается словосочетанием, а не предложением).

Раздел **Vocabulary** содержит список лексических единиц, подлежащих усвоению (Ex. 4a, b), и систему упражнений, направленных на их активизацию во время аудиторных занятий и самостоятельной работы. Поскольку на данном этапе обучения студенты обладают достаточно высоким уровнем языковой компетенции, при отборе лексики на первый план выходит не столько ее частотность, сколько адекватность стоящим коммуникативным задачам. Это объясняет включение в списки “активной лексики” единиц, актуальных для профессионально-ориентированной коммуникации, но не относящихся к разряду высокочастотных, а также акцент на том значении, в котором лексическая единица реализуется в тексте.

Лексические единицы не сопровождаются русскими эквивалентами; поиск русского соответствия осуществляется студентом самостоятельно на основе анализа контекста употребления и работы со словарями с последующим контролем на занятии. Рекомендуется обращать внимание студентов на русские эквиваленты активной лексики, используемые в профессиональной литературе.

В отдельных случаях приводятся наиболее частотные словосочетания с единицей и/или устойчивые выражения (Ex. 4 b).

Исходя из компетентностного подхода, основной задачей при работе с лексикой урока является формирование лексической компетенции. В этой связи важное место отводится упражнениям, направленным на системное усвоение лексических единиц в их парадигматических и синтагматических отношениях (задания на сочетаемость, синонимию/антонимию, перефразирование), что позволяет изучать лексические единицы не изолированно, а в увяз-

ке с уже хорошо знакомыми единицами, и развивать вероятностное прогнозирование как один из важных элементов коммуникативной компетенции.

Выполнение заданий на сочетаемость (например, Ex. 6) предполагает самостоятельную работу студентов с комбинаторными словарями (например, Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English или он-лайн словарь <http://oxforddictionary.so8848.com/>) и/или корпусами текстов (в одном из приложений дается краткая инструкция пользования корпусом Corpus of Contemporary American English). Особое внимание следует уделить сочетаемости в собственных примерах студентов.

Упражнение на перевод с русского на английский, проверяющее усвоение лексики урока, имеет два уровня сложности — базовый и продвинутый — и предполагает выполнение в письменном виде с последующей проверкой преподавателем и выполнением работы над ошибками в случае необходимости.

Основная задача раздела **Building a Word Bank** — расширение “тематического” словаря. Его состав варьируется в зависимости от специфики предметно-лексической темы, но обязательно включает задание на сочетаемость с ключевыми словами-понятиями и самостоятельную работу по составлению тематического списка.

Раздел **Talk and Discussion** тематически связан с текстом раздела Reading 2 и содержит задания для развития подготовленной и неподготовленной монологической и диалогической речи. Задания на обсуждение текста и проблематики, связанной с темой урока, могут выполняться в различных форматах — фронтально, в парах или мини-группах. Предлагаемая процедура проведения дебатов и круглых столов прописана в соответствующих упражнениях, но может быть скорректирована в зависимости от уровня обучаемых и их потребностей.

Начиная с третьей темы, вводится коллективная проектная работа, которая может выполняться вместо предусмотренной в данном разделе простой презентации по одному из аспектов темы. Проектная работа предполагает совместный поиск решения проблемы или доказательство какого-нибудь утверждения, связанного с темой урока; ее кульминацией является коллективная презентация результата. Хотя в задании предлагается выбрать тему из нескольких предложенных, следует поощрять инициативу студентов и принимать предложенные ими темы. Определенная часть проектной работы осуществляется во внеаудиторное время (поиск и анализ информации, подготовка и проведение опроса мнений), однако все обсуждения, предусмотренные процедурой выполнения проектной работы, рекомендуется проводить на занятиях. Поскольку на всех этапах выполнения этого задания, в т.ч. на этапе сбора и анализа информации, предполагается использование исключительно английского языка, проектная работа отнесена к заданиям повышенной трудности. Если уровень языковой подготовки студентов не позволяет выполнить проектную работу на надлежащем уровне, рекомендуется ограничиваться подготовкой обычных презентаций до тех пор, пока студенты не почувствуют себя достаточно уверенно для выполнения этого задания.

Важное место занимают неподготовленные монологические высказывания по тематике урока (*impromptu talks*). В силу особенностей формата (заранее заданная тема/направление ее развития, ограниченное время на обдумывание и презентацию, отсутствие опор и возможности делать записи) студенты испытывают серьезные трудности с выбором адекватной стратегии построения высказывания (описание, рассуждение, аргументация) и композиционной структурой (наличие вступления, основной части, заключения), далеко не всегда высказывания последовательны, логичны, достаточно развернуты и соответствуют заданной

теме. В этой связи на начальном этапе выполнения этого задания рекомендуется, если это оправданно условиями работы в конкретной группе студентов, несколько увеличить время на обдумывание и собственно высказывание, а также уделять больше внимания анализу выступлений, вовлекая самих студентов в обмен мнениями.

Раздел **Editing and Writing** содержит задания на повторение правил использования пунктуации, написание аналитических обзоров по результатам опросов общественного мнения, резюме текстов (summary)<sup>1</sup>. Со всеми видами творческих письменных работ рекомендуется практиковать взаимное редактирование (peer editing) на основе системы критериев, используемых преподавателем при проверке соответствующих заданий. Представляется, что такой вид работы не только дает возможность получить замечания и комментарии в режиме “реального времени”, но и способствует развитию критического мышления, помогает студентам лучше понять особенности выполняемого задания и применяемые критерии оценки и в конечном итоге развивает навыки редактирования собственных текстов.

Начиная с третьего урока вводится еще один вид работы — написание критической рецензии на статью, связанную с тематикой магистерской диссертации. Рецензия на научную статью представляет собой письменный текст, сочетающий реферирование исходного текста и создание нового текста с элементами рациональной оценки. Хотя рецензия и связана с исходным текстом, она является оригинальным произведением, содержащим критический анализ рецензируемого текста и не сводящимся к краткому изложению его основных положений. Среди дидактических целей обучения написанию рецензии — дальнейшее развитие умений аналитического чтения, реферативного изложения, аргументированного и логичного обоснования суждений, в т.ч. оценочного характера, а также ознакомление со спецификой и нормативными требованиями языка научной литературы, что, по сути, готовит студентов к семестровой проектной работе в третьем семестре.

В третьем семестре работа над разделом **Editing and Writing** идет параллельно с выполнением семестровой проектной работы по написанию обоснования выбора темы магистерской диссертации.

В раздел **Mixed Bag** включены задания на предлоги (первая часть задания — словосочетания из основного текста, вторая часть — повышенной сложности), а также упражнения на повторение артиклей, видо-временных и неличных форм глагола, cloze-тесты, задания на смешанные лексико-грамматические трудности (Use of English), дополнительный текст. При выполнении грамматических заданий представляется целесообразным просить студентов сопровождать предлагаемые варианты ответов комментариями-объяснениями с опорой на соответствующую справочную литературу. Тексты большинства упражнений данного раздела носят полемичный характер и могут быть использованы как отправная точка для дискуссии по теме урока.

Проектная работа “**Написание обоснования выбора темы магистерской диссертации**”, выделенная в отдельный урок, выполняется на протяжении третьего семестра параллельно с прохождением предметно-лексических тем и таким образом дополняет предусмотренные в каждом уроке раздел **Editing and Writing**.

Каждая часть проекта, соответствующая главе в обосновании выбора темы, выполняется в три этапа (ознакомление, тренировка, практическая реализация). Результатом проекта является письменная работа объемом не более пяти печатных страниц, а также устная

<sup>1</sup> Написание резюме текстов в группах, овладевших этим навыком, может быть заменено на его устное представление в парах или мини-группах.

■ Д. А. Крячков

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презентация. За письменную работу рекомендуется выводить среднеарифметический балл оценок за два аспекта: за композиционную структуру, логичность, содержание — с одной стороны, и за соответствие используемых языковых и стилистических средств поставленной коммуникативной задаче — с другой. Студентам с невысоким уровнем языковой подготовки предлагается только устное выполнение проектной работы.

Среди прочего, рекомендуется обращать особое внимание на необходимость избегать недокументированных заимствований (плагиата).

“Написание обоснования выбора темы магистерской диссертации” является итоговым видом работы и выносится на экзамен. Она позволяет проверить сформированность навыка аналитико-синтетической обработки информации и ее компрессии, проверяет навык логичного и аргументированного изложения, а также знание языкового (лексического, синтактико-грамматического), стилистического и композиционного своеобразия текстов научного стиля.

Для развития навыков аудирования предполагается использование пособия Т. В. Алиевой и Ю. Н. Ефремовой “TED TASKS. PART 2. WATCHING TO SUMMARIZE”, тематически связанного с данным учебником.

\* \* \*

Данный учебник в течение нескольких лет используется в практической работе на кафедре английского языка № 1 МГИМО (У) МИД России.

Автор выражает глубокую признательность профессору кафедры английского языка № 1 Е. Б. Ястребовой, ст. преп. кафедры английского языка № 1 Ю. Н. Ефремовой и всем коллегам за поддержку и ценные предложения.

# UNIT I

**FIX  
MODERN  
SOCIETY!**



## READING 1

### LEAD-IN

1. Brainstorm to draw up a list of ills our society is plagued by. Which of them do you find the most worrisome? Are all of these problems “universal”, or are there any only Russia has to grapple with? Which of the problems can be easily solved? Why? Why have the other problems been keeping a tenacious grip on society?
2. What is morality? What role do morality and values play in our life? Does “the loss of moral depth to life” so widely spoken about these days have anything to do with the growing number of problems?
3. In 1931 German existentialist Karl Jaspers published his work *The Spiritual Situation of the Time*<sup>1</sup>. How would you define the spiritual situation of the modern age?

*Skim the text based on a lecture given by Christina Hoff Sommers, a former philosophy professor who taught ethics, to find out what she thinks about the moral state of today’s youth.*

*How would you answer the questions the author addresses at the end of the excerpt?*

### ARE WE LIVING IN A MORAL STONE AGE?

We would think that as we develop greater intelligence, with time, and at a period when scientific advancement has reached its apogee that our social and moral understanding would follow a similar trend. But is this really the scenario? The evidence around us and that which has been assembled over the past decades tells us a different story, one that many of us will most certainly find disturbing.

This was demonstrated by Jay Leno’s show. He frequently does “man-on-the-street” interviews, and one night he collared some young people to ask them questions about the Bible. “Can you name one of the Ten Commandments?” he asked two college-age women. One replied, “Freedom of speech?” Mr. Leno said to the other, “Complete this sentence: Let he who is without sin...” Her response was “have a good time?” Mr. Leno then turned to a young man and asked “Who, according to the Bible, was eaten by a whale?” The confident answer was “Pinocchio.”

As with many humorous anecdotes, the underlying reality is not funny at all. These young people are morally confused. They are the students I and other teachers of ethics see every day. Like most professors, I am acutely aware of the “hole in the moral ozone.” One of the best things our schools can do for America is to set about repairing it — by confronting the moral nihilism that is now the norm for so many students.

Conceptually and culturally today’s young people live in a moral haze. Ask one of them if there are such things as “right” and “wrong,” and suddenly you are confronted with a confused, tongue-tied, nervous, and insecure individual. The same person who works weekends for Meals on Wheels, who volunteers for a suicide prevention hotline or a domestic violence shelter might tell you, “Well, there really is no such thing as right or wrong. It’s kind of like whatever works best for the individual. Each person has to work it out for himself.” The trouble is that this kind of answer, which is

<sup>1</sup> *Die geistige Situation der Zeit* (In English, this work is usually entitled *Man in the Modern Age*)

so common as to be typical, is no better than the moral philosophy of a sociopath. I often meet students incapable of making even one single confident moral judgment. And it's getting worse. The things students now say are more and more unhinged.

We have been thrown back into a moral Stone Age; many young people are totally unaffected by thousands of years of moral experience and moral progress. The notion of objective moral truths is in disrepute. The most apparent signs of moral decay are the escalating prevalence of out-of-wedlock births, the break-up of families and the upsurge of criminal activity. While these facts can be proven by statistics, there are other signs that are more of a matter of value such as the decline in civility, the ever decreasing integrity in both public and private life, and choosing litigation even in the most minuscule of disputes.

We should understand that the problem is not that young people are ignorant, distrustful, cruel, or treacherous. And it is not that they are moral skeptics. To put it bluntly, they are conceptually clueless; they are suffering from "cognitive moral confusion."

So what is to be done? How can we improve young people's knowledge and understanding of moral history? How can we restore their confidence in the great moral ideals? How can we help them become morally articulate, morally literate, and morally self-confident?

We need to bring back the great books and the great ideas. We need to transmit the best of our political and cultural heritage. We need to refrain from cynical attacks against our traditions and institutions. We need to teach our young people to understand, respect, and protect the institutions that protect us and preserve our kindly, free, and democratic society.

This we can do. And we will find that the lives of our morally enlightened children will be saner, safer, more dignified, and more humane.

## READING 2

*Read the text in detail and decide whether you agree with the author's view on the problems society faces today.*

### THE DEATH OF INTIMACY

**Martin Jacques**

*Guardian*

It has become almost an article of faith in our society that change is synonymous with progress. The present government has preached this message more than most, while it is a philosophy that most people seem to live by. It is nonsense, of course. Change has never always been good. And recent surveys indicating that we are less happy than we used to be suggest a profound malaise at the heart of western society and modern notions of progress. The findings are not surprising. The very idea of what it means to be human — and the necessary conditions for human qualities to thrive — are being eroded. The reason we no longer feel as happy as we once did is that the intimacy on which our sense of well-being rests — a product of our closest, most intimate relationships, above all in the family — is in decline. In this context, three trends are profoundly changing the nature of our society.

10 First, the rise of individualism, initially evident in the 1960s, has made self the dominant interest, the universal reference point and one's own needs as the ultimate justification of everything. We live in the age of selfishness.

Second, there has been the relentless spread of the market into every part of society. The marketisation of everything has made society, and each of us, more competitive. The logic of the

market has now become universal, the ideology not just of neoliberals, but of us all, the criterion we use not just about our job or when shopping, but about our innermost selves, and our most intimate relationships. The prophets who announced the market revolution saw it in contestation with the state: in fact, it proved far more insidious than that, eroding the very notion of what it means to be human. The credo of self, inextricably entwined with the gospel of the market, has hijacked the fabric of our lives. We live in an ego-market society.

Third, there is the rise of communication technologies, notably mobile phones and the Internet, which are contracting our private space, erasing our personal time and accelerating the pace of life. Of course, we remain deeply social animals. We enjoy many more relationships than we used to: cafe culture has become the symbol of our modern conviviality. But quantity does not mean quality. Our relationships may be more cosmopolitan but they are increasingly transient and ephemeral. Our social world has come to mirror and mimic the rhythms and characteristics of the market, contractual in nature. Meanwhile, the family — the site of virtually the only life-long relationships we enjoy — has become an ever-weaker institution: extended families are increasingly marginal, nuclear families are getting smaller and more short-lived, almost half of all marriages end in divorce, and most parents spend less time with their pre-school children.

The central site of intimacy is the family — as expressed in the relationship between partners, and between parents and children. Intimacy is a function of time and permanence. It rests on mutuality and unconditionality. It is rooted in trust. As such, it is the antithesis of the values engendered by the market.

Yet even our most intimate relationships are being corroded by the new dominant values. There is an increasingly powerful tendency to judge love and sex by the criteria of consumer society — in other words, novelty, variety and disposability. Serial monogamy is now our way of life. Sex has been accorded a status, as measured by the incidence of articles in newspapers, not to mention the avalanche of online porn, that elevates it above all other considerations. Unsurprisingly, love — which belongs in the realm of the soul and spirit rather than the body — becomes more elusive.

It is the deterioration in the parent-child relationship, though, that should detain us most. This, after all, is the cradle of all else, where we learn our sense of security, our identity and emotions, our ability to love and care, to speak and listen, to be human.

The parent-child, especially the mother-child, relationship stands in the sharpest contrast of all to the laws of the market. It is utterly unequal, and yet there is no expectation that the sacrifice entails or requires reciprocation. On the contrary, the only way a child can reciprocate is through the love they give, and the sacrifice they make, for their own children.

But *this most precious* of all human relationships is being amended and undermined. As women have been drawn into the labour market on the same scale as men, they are now subject to growing time-scarcity, with profound consequences for the family, and especially children. The birth rate has fallen to historic new lows. That most fundamental of human functions, reproduction, is beleaguered by the values of the ego-market society. Couples are increasingly reluctant to make the inevitable “sacrifices” — cut in income, loss of time, greater pressure — that parenthood involves.

Parents are now spending less time with their babies and toddlers. The effects are already evident in schools. In a study published by the government’s Basic Skills Agency last year, teachers claim that half of all children now start school unable to speak audibly and be understood by others, to respond to simple instructions, recognise their own names or even count to five. In order

60 to attend to our own needs, our children are neglected, our time substituted by paying for that of others, videos and computer games deployed as a means of distraction. And the problem applies across the class spectrum. So-called "money-rich, time-scarce" professionals are one of the most culpable groups. Time is the most important gift a parent can give a child, and time is what we are less and less prepared to forgo.

It is impossible to predict the precise consequences of this, but a growing loss of intimacy and a decline in emotional intelligence, not to mention a cornucopia of behavioural problems, are inevitable. Judging by this week's survey of the growing emotional problems of teenagers, they are already apparent. Such changes, moreover, are permanent and irrecoverable. A generation grows up knowing no different, bequeathing the same emotional assumptions to its offspring.

70 But it is not only in the context of the changing texture of human relationships that intimacy is in decline. We are also becoming less and less intimate with the human condition itself. The conventional wisdom is that the media has made us a more thoughtful and knowledgeable society. The problem is that what we learn from the media is less and less mediated by personal experience, by settled communities that provide us with the yardstick of reality, based on the accumulated knowledge of people whom we know and trust. Indeed, society has moved in precisely the opposite direction, towards an increasingly adolescent culture which denigrates age and experience. In the growing absence of real-life experience we have become prey to what can only be described as a voyeuristic relationship with the most fundamental experiences.

80 Death — which most of us now only encounter in any intimate way in our 40s, through the death of a parent — has become something that we overwhelmingly learn about and consume through the media. But as such it is shorn of any pain, any real understanding, wedged between stories about celebrity or the weather, instantly forgotten, the mind detained for little more than a minute, the grief of those bereaved utterly inconceivable, the idea that their lives have been destroyed forever not even imaginable in our gratification-society: pain is for the professionals, not something to detain the ordinary mortal.

The decline of settled community and the rise of the media-society has desensitised us as human beings. We have become less intimate with the most fundamental emotions, without which we cannot understand the meaning of life: there are no peaks without troughs. Life becomes shopping.

90 So what is to be done, I hear the policy-wonks say. Nothing much, I guess. But the observation is no less important for that. What, after all, could be more important than our humanity? Perhaps if enough people realise what has happened, what is happening, we might claw back a little of ourselves, of what we have lost.

## COMPREHENSION

*Ex. 1. Identify the topic and the thesis of the text. Make sure they are neither too broad nor too narrow. You may want to use the following suggestions:*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a)  | b)  |
| • The article "... " by .... discusses/ outlines/ describes/ illustrates/ shows/ explores/ focuses on ... | • According to the author, ...            |
| • "... " offers a detailed and practical introduction to ....   | • The author argues/claims/posits that... |
| • "... " is a detailed/critical account of ....   | • As the author sees it, ....             |
| • "... " is an essential guide to ....  | • The author sets out to prove that....   |
|   | • The author is keen to point out that... |

Ex. 2. Suggest Russian equivalents for these word combinations from the text.

the death of intimacy	conventional wisdom
ultimate justification	yardsticks of society
to fall to historic new lows	policy wonks

Ex. 3. Think of several questions to bring out the main ideas and arguments the author puts forward in support of his thesis.

## VOCABULARY

Ex. 4. Translate the following words and phrases; reproduce the context in which they are used in the text (the lines of the text are indicated to help you).

an article of faith (1–10)	transient (20–30)	elusive (40–50)
to erode (1–10)	antithesis (30–40)	to entail (40–50)
insidious (10–20)	to engender (30–40)	to attend to (60–70)
to hijack (10–20)	incidence (30–40)	to forgo (60–70)
marginal (20–30)	deterioration (to deteriorate) (40–50)	to denigrate (70–80)

Ex. 5. Match some of the words and phrases from Ex. 4 with their opposites below.

central, harmless, clear (idea, concept), honest, improvement, significant, achievable (goal), to commend, to put an end to smth, to keep, to praise, enduring, to build up (confidence)

Ex. 6. For each word given below find at least four words from the box that can go with it. Some words from the box can go into several groups. Can you continue the lists? Use the expressions in sentences of your own.

to decide	importance	dangerously	feelings	to take smth as
differences	influence	profit	to become	low
to lead to	intentions	to reduce	nature	morale
to remain	among	move	to assess	comfort
of suicide	confidence	smth in exchange for	relationships	happiness
gradual	an opportunity	to halt	goal	terrorist
effect	socially	irreversible	terrorist	answer

insidious

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

marginal

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

article of faith

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

incidence

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

to forgo

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

deterioration

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

elusive

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

to erode

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

transient

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Ex. 7. Suggest stylistically neutral synonyms for the following words. Supply contexts to bring out the difference between synonyms in each pair.



malaise

to engender

to become prey to

to forgo

insidious

to denigrate

to be shorn of

to thrive

Ex. 8. Express the same idea using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 instead of the underlined parts.

1. Some feel that multinational corporations, soap operas, newspapers, advertising and large sections of the music industry promote a uniform culture based on materialism and relationships that are not meant to last long, whereby the individual is reduced to the level of passive consumer.
2. Many religious traditions claim that the ability to care for others is part of being human.
3. A lot has been done and continues to be done by churches in spite of the attempts of the skeptical world to present churches in the negative light.
4. Many believe that today the Christmas holiday has been overwhelmed by consumerism from the gifts to Santa to trees and candy.
5. Protectionism is the direct opposite of free trade.
6. Violence on television and other media is thought to play a significant role in fostering aggressive behavior, particularly among children.
7. Cyberspace is often criticized as a realm of superficial and short-lived relationships.
8. Leaders of the Muslim community in the United States have routinely asserted that Islam is a religion of peace that was taken control of by fanatics on September 11.
9. There's now a much lower rate of childhood diseases than in bygone times.
10. The belief that radical groups are not "deterable" once in possession of certain destructive capabilities has gained a firm footing in the current administration.
11. The P-5 have told the country that consequences of its failure to comply with the demands of the UN Security Council would be grave.
12. Many people understand racism as deliberate, overt forms of speech and action that belittle people of another race. But sometimes it can take more subtle forms.
13. Several of the animals want some of the milk for themselves, but Napoleon distracts them, saying that they have more important things to take care of and that he will take care of it.
14. Religious conflicts are peripheral in space, temporary in time, and insignificant in importance.
15. Without norms of morality, society would turn into chaos, and the human race would go downhill and even risk its own extinction.
16. The health authorities should be made aware of the hazardous health effects of environmental pollution, which are difficult to detect and check at the initial stage.
17. Even when the crisis hit the world, the affluent section of society was unable to give up some of their privileges.
18. One of the difficulties in discussing intimacy is that it is a concept that is difficult to define.
19. Many have deeply held beliefs that improved press coverage will help solve many of the problems commonly found in undemocratic states.
20. Family planning services are meant to make the number of abortions smaller.
21. "We trust that UN High Commissioner for Human Rights will immediately and forcefully oppose any efforts to usurp the language and idea of human rights to promote anti-Zionism

- or to blacken Western democracies," said the delegate in response to the information about Louise Arbour's endorsement of the Arab Charter on Human Rights.
22. Unspoken expectations and lack of trust can gradually undermine any relationship right from the start.
  23. The manhunt for the sniper who has been long looked for and yet remains free has now become so intense that police with heavy weapons have begun stopping and searching vehicles along the main freeway.
  24. Society dominated by market values encourages us to believe in values which are here today and gone tomorrow and neglect the more lasting and positive ones that we have inherited from the past generations.
  25. Memories are like stones; time and distance destroys them gradually like acid.

*Ex. 9. Complete the following sentences using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 in their correct form.*

1. One can't help but notice that today there are more marriage break-ups and more couples in \_\_\_\_\_ relationships.
2. Many try to define moral behavior, but a sharp border between moral and immoral behavior remains \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Any school should make every effort to \_\_\_\_\_ the moral, spiritual and emotional needs of a child, and good teachers should recognise that the cultivation of the intellect is linked to the education of a child's disposition and behaviour'.
4. Contemporary conflicts are characterized by a high \_\_\_\_\_ of civilian deaths.
5. During the divorce proceedings, his wife said he spent too much time in the office and didn't \_\_\_\_\_ problems at home.
6. Have the jokes in *kids'* animated films become *too adult*? You have to wonder if adults have \_\_\_\_\_ kids' movies to the point of making them too grown-up for children
7. In 1995, the Taliban — then a \_\_\_\_\_ sect of dangerous, hardline fundamentalists — fought its way to power in Afghanistan.
8. In the US, the issue of gun control is a very important one because they do have an increasing \_\_\_\_\_ of violence in their communities.
9. It seems few are willing to stand up and recognize the often \_\_\_\_\_ influence of TV on our society. I especially agree with the comment that news coverage is an endless litany of murders and rapes. Let's put crime in its place, rather than showcasing it day after day.
10. It won't help you to succeed if you alienate your allies by \_\_\_\_\_ their *moral* integrity.
11. She climbed into the carriage knowing it would perhaps be for the last time; maintaining the horses and the grooms was a luxury she would have to \_\_\_\_\_.
12. For a city dweller staying healthy is an \_\_\_\_\_ goal no matter what you do.
13. Society is different from what it was a decade ago. Many elements of today's reality are the \_\_\_\_\_ of what people were used to back then.
14. Some Western scholars described post-Soviet Russia as "Zaire with permafrost, "weak, poor headed nowhere in particular" and a "\_\_\_\_\_ power".
15. Most Muslims can't understand why for Europeans the burqa represents the very \_\_\_\_\_ of liberty, free will, and equality.
16. The notion that unity and peace in Europe are two sides of the same coin is \_\_\_\_\_ for modern pro-Europeans.

17. Marriage is a bond that brings with it responsibilities and \_\_\_\_\_ sacrifices and compromises.
18. The scandal \_\_\_\_\_ a storm of criticism of the church hierarchy.
19. We have to admit that calls to restrain human activity harming the environment had only a \_\_\_\_\_ impact on the industry.
20. We shouldn't be driven to despair by what can sometimes seem like a gradual \_\_\_\_\_ of morals caused by hedonism and the effects of globalization.
21. The idea that globalization \_\_\_\_\_ national sovereignty has long been an \_\_\_\_\_ among many political scientists.
22. A great position \_\_\_\_\_ great responsibility.

Ex. 10. Complete the following sentences. Where necessary add a sentence or two to make your examples more meaningful. The first sentence has been done for you.



E.g. \_\_\_\_\_ is not enough to engender \_\_\_\_\_ → *Dissent alone is not enough to engender social change; it will be impossible to reform the country without a strong civil society and resources.*

1. \_\_\_\_\_ is not enough to **engender** \_\_\_\_\_.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ is the **antithesis** of everything Western.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ may lead to a high **incidence** of \_\_\_\_\_.
4. By \_\_\_\_\_ you have **denigrated** \_\_\_\_\_, which is totally unacceptable.
5. Clearly, the government's decision to \_\_\_\_\_ will **engender** harsh criticism as \_\_\_\_\_.
6. We firmly believe that \_\_\_\_\_ threatens to dangerously **erode** \_\_\_\_\_.
7. I don't want to **denigrate** \_\_\_\_\_, but \_\_\_\_\_.
8. In an **insidious** attempt to \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_.
9. It is well-known that civil servants **forgo** \_\_\_\_\_ in exchange for \_\_\_\_\_.
10. It's been always **an article of faith** among/for \_\_\_\_\_ that \_\_\_\_\_.
11. \_\_\_\_\_ is a direct **antithesis of** \_\_\_\_\_.
12. We have to admit that \_\_\_\_\_ will only have a **marginal** effect on \_\_\_\_\_.
13. We hope that \_\_\_\_\_ will **engender** greater appreciation of \_\_\_\_\_.
14. It is accepted as an **article of faith** that \_\_\_\_\_ builds character.
15. \_\_\_\_\_ **entails** a lot of responsibility.
16. I'll agree that \_\_\_\_\_ can bring certain **transient** pleasures, but it/they will not \_\_\_\_\_.

Ex. 11. Answer the following questions using the words and phrases from Ex. 4.

1. Can you think of situations when **forgoing** morality would be acceptable?
2. How do you understand the idea that religion has **hijacked** morality? Will you agree with Sir Arthur C. Clarke's assessment that this is 'the greatest tragedy in mankind's entire history'?
3. How high is the **incidence** of substance abuse among students?
4. What may help reduce the **incidence** of binge drinking?
5. Who do you think should **attend to** the needs of the marginalized? The government? Charity organizations?
6. Why is the moral decline of modern society taken as **an article of faith** by most people?
7. What do you think can prevent a relationship from **deteriorating**?

8. Does friendship necessarily **entail** the willingness to make sacrifices?
9. What can **erode** people's trust in the government? What can restore it?
10. What are you ready to **forgo** comfort/pleasures, etc. for?
11. What **engenders** patriotism? How can it be sustained?

Ex. 12. Translate the following sentences paying special attention to the words in bold type. Make up sentences of your own with words built on the same pattern.



1. The family — the site of virtually the only life-long relationships we enjoy — has become an **ever-weaker** institution. 2. Globalization is characterized by 'complex connectivity,' 'the rapidly developing and **ever-densening** network of interconnections and interdependences that characterize modern life. 3. There is genuine cause for concern about the rate at which cultures (African and non-African) are being undermined in a world that is bound together by **ever-stronger** economic ties. 4. The future role of environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) will be profoundly affected by the evolution of this **ever-changing** structure known as the nation state. 5. Rather than over-simplify or ignore policy concerns, the proliferating and **ever-present** mass media provide ample coverage of policy positions.

Ex. 13. Choose the best word.



**moral — morale — morals — morality — mores**

1. A young Iranian woman suspected of loose \_\_\_\_\_ was beaten and then burned alive by her father and brother.
2. In Aesop's fables, the \_\_\_\_\_ of the story is written in the last line.
3. In some cultures covering up is a means to protect yourself and to protect your \_\_\_\_\_.
4. It is an era of so-called "political correctness", when anyone who stands up for conventional \_\_\_\_\_ can be and often is subject to criticism and condemnation.
5. It is essential to boost employee \_\_\_\_\_ — a positive atmosphere and outlook plays an important role in the success of a company.
6. Many see marriage and the family mightily challenged by contemporary \_\_\_\_\_ of consumerism, greed, individualism, secularism, hedonism and relativism.
7. Religion may not be used to incite international dissension, to undermine society's \_\_\_\_\_ foundations or social harmony.
8. The army is in a crisis, with low \_\_\_\_\_ and poor prospects.
9. The international community in general agrees that States have a \_\_\_\_\_ obligation to provide appropriate reparations to victims of terrorism.
10. The social \_\_\_\_\_ of India, that is the attitudes, culture and traditions of India vary greatly and are profoundly influenced by spiritual heritage.
11. We need to instill better \_\_\_\_\_ in our children and teach our youth family values; to do this we need to start spending quality time with our children.

Ex. 14. Translate the sentences using the vocabulary of the unit.

**A.**

1. В СССР все высказывания лидера партии признавались **непременной истиной**.
2. Многие считают, что моральные устои общества постепенно **размываются**.

3. Любой историк может привести примеры **опасного** влияния политики на систему ценностей общества.
4. Мораль феодального общества была полной **противоположностью** морали античного общества.
5. Нарушение закона **влечет за собой** наказание.
6. Она пыталась завоевать авторитет путем **дискредитации** коллег.
7. Люди могут **отказаться** от всего, только не от морали.
8. Какая организация должна **заниматься** вопросами морали?
9. Новые времена **породили** новые формы геополитики.
10. Несмотря на многочисленные усилия, цель обеспечения грамотности для всех остается **недостижимой**.
11. Между людьми существуют лишь **незначительные** различия (существенно отличаются лишь способы их выражения).
12. Как отличить настоящую любовь от **мимолетного** чувства?
13. **Ухудшения** жизни людей приводит к постепенному **ухудшению** здоровья (use -ing forms where possible).
14. Эти меры должны улучшить ситуацию в стране и снизить **уровень** преступности (crime).
15. Религию часто обвиняют в том, что она **узурпировала** мораль.

**В.**

1. Мораль — **расплывчатое** и туманное понятие, не имеющее какого-либо четкого определения, поэтому и апеллировать (to invoke) к ней в каком-либо вопросе — глупо и бессмысленно. 
2. Дэн Сяопин (Deng Xiaoping) не уставал повторять: "Нельзя преувеличивать ошибки Мао Цзэдуна (Mao Zedong); преувеличивать их — значит, **чернить** его, чернить нашу партию и наше государство".
3. Ученые пришли к выводу, что длительные отношения **сопряжены** с более низкой **распространенностью** психических проблем (mental issues/disorders).
4. Важно повышать уровень правовой грамотности молодежи, **уделять внимание** таким проблемам как молодежный алкоголизм, наркомания, **закладывать** (to instill) новые моральные ценности, только после этого можно будет говорить о роли молодежи в становлении гражданского общества.
5. В XX веке<sup>1</sup> традиционная мораль **подвергается дискредитации**, и под воздействием потребительства развивается новая, гедонистическая культура.
6. Закрепленная в "Декларации прав человека" незыблемость частной собственности сегодня воспринимается **как непреложная истина**.
7. Счастье всегда **мимолётно**. Когда это состояние затягивается (to linger), перестаёшь его замечать.
8. Кто смог бы **отказаться** от возможности провести зиму в Риме, центре мироздания?
9. Министру в первую очередь предстоит **заняться** вопросами усиления правоохранительных функций ведомства.
10. По утверждению сайентологов их система — полная **противоположность** церкви, в которой царит диктат.

<sup>1</sup> In English, Arabic numerals are used to refer to centuries rather than Roman ones.

11. Политика и сама личность этого президента США **породили** в Европе враждебность и даже презрение к стране.
12. Разрушение нравственной основы (moral foundations) общества **ослабляет** мораль и уничтожает право. Сегодня социологи признают, что даже самые хорошие законы не работают, если в обществе нет нравственных основ.
13. Чрезмерная любовь к **преходящим** благам (pleasures) этого мира является основной причиной возникновения таких негативных моральных качеств как алчность, жадность, зависть.
14. Мир — это одна из насущнейших потребностей человечества. Однако для бесчисленного числа людей в разных местах планеты мир остается **труднодостижимой** целью.
15. **Ухудшение** демографической ситуации, рост количества детей, рожденных вне брака, количества разводов — все эти факторы носят устойчивый характер.
16. С развитием общества религия играет все более **ограниченную** роль и охватывает все более узкую сферу социальной жизни, теряет прежнюю власть над умами и душами.
17. Экономическая изоляция от остальной части оккупированной территории обусловила большую **распространенность** бедности среди палестинцев в Иерусалиме по сравнению с израильтянами, проживающими в городе.
18. С самого начала суровые карательные меры, предусмотренные за ношение оружия на территории школы, **вызвали** серьезную полемику в педагогической среде.
19. В докладе отмечается, что расизм принимает новые **коварные** формы, которые обретают жизнь под прикрытием (under the pretext) свободы слова.
20. Мораль опирается на силу общественного мнения. Нарушение норм морали не **влечет за собой** вмешательства государственных органов.
21. Передача власти более эффективному, законному национальному органу оказалась под угрозой из-за попыток различных политических лидеров **захватить контроль над** переходным процессом или сорвать его.

## BUILDING A WORD BANK

*Ex. 15. Below is a list of words and phrases related to the state of modern society. Think of collocations they can form; use the internet or consult a dictionary of collocations where necessary.*

morals, moral decline, relationship, moral values, marketization

*Ex. 16. Make up your own list of topic-related vocabulary necessary to speak on the issue and share it with the class.*

## TALK and DISCUSSION

*Ex. 17. Discuss the ideas from the text in Reading 2.*

### A. Modern society

1. Change has never always been good.
2. We live in the age of selfishness.
3. The logic of the market has now become universal, the ideology not just of neoliberals, but of us all, the criterion we use not just about our job or when shopping, but about our

innermost selves, and our most intimate relationships.... Our social world has come to mirror and mimic the rhythms and characteristics of the market, contractual in nature.

4. The media has made us a more thoughtful and knowledgeable society.
5. ... society has moved ... towards an increasingly adolescent culture which denigrates age and experience.
6. The decline of settled community and the rise of the media-society has desensitized us as human beings. ... Life becomes shopping.
7. In the growing absence of real-life experience we have become prey to what can only be described as a voyeuristic relationship with the most fundamental experiences.

#### B. Relationships today

1. The intimacy on which our sense of well-being rests — a product of our closest, most intimate relationships, above all in the family — is in decline.
2. There is an increasingly powerful tendency to judge love and sex by the criteria of consumer society — in other words, novelty, variety and disposability.
3. Our relationships may be more cosmopolitan but they are increasingly transient and ephemeral.
4. Love — which belongs in the realm of the soul and spirit rather than the body — becomes more elusive.

#### C. Social problems in general

Do you agree with the author's treatment of the issue? Why (not)? Which points made in the article do you find the most important/relevant to your life or society in general today? Which points made in the article do you feel do not apply to you or society in general today? How do the author's views on the subject differ from the views held by people in our culture or other societies? What can, should or is being done to address the issues raised by the author?

*Ex. 18. Explain and expand on what the following concepts mean.*

(lack of) moral fibre	a moral duty (to do sth)
a moral right (to do sth)	a moral issue
moral scruples	moral integrity
moral standards	moral crusade
moral majority	moral climate

*Ex. 19.*

*a) Discuss your answers to the questions.*

1. How do we define what is morally right? Do we rely on modern science, religious leaders, best friends, personal experience, God's word, or government? Is the notion of what is (im)moral immune to change or is it mutable? Why?
2. Do we always act morally? Do you find it easy to live according to your moral values? Why or why not? Does society reward moral behavior?

b) *What is the morally right thing to do in the following cases? Discuss your reasons and possible alternative solutions to the one that you propose. Is what you would 'actually' do different from what you 'should' do? If so, why?*

1. A ship is sinking. You have a lifeboat that only holds 20 people, and you have 25. Do you put 25 in and everybody dies, or do you throw out five and kill them?
2. Should the wealthier members of society be forced to pay through taxation, for the poorer members? If so, how much?
3. A rich man and a poor man commit the same type of crime. The rich man is fined \$10,000 while the poor man is sent to jail for one year. Is this fair?
4. You run an orphanage and have had a hard time making ends meet. A car dealership offers you a new van worth \$15,000 for free if you will falsely report to the government that the dealership donated a van worth \$30,000. You really need the van and it will give you an opportunity to make the children happy. Do you agree to take the van?
5. You are shopping and notice a woman stuffing a pair of stockings into her purse. Do you report her?
6. Should the theft of \$1,000 be punished more than the theft of \$100?
7. Pick any one of the above questions and try to consider why someone might answer it differently than you. Can you offer reasons for their views? Are any of these reasons persuasive?

*Ex. 20. Make a 5–7 min. Power Point presentation on the moral state (problems), social relations, family patterns or the changing value system of the country/region you specialize in. Your talk will be based on solid evidence (published opinion poll results, newspaper/academic articles, research, etc.) rather than on your general understanding of the situation. Make sure your sources are introduced before the presentation.*

- A. **Before the presentation. As a class, devise a peer assessment form. Make sure you discuss the following:**
1. the structure of the presentation and the function(s) of each part;
  2. ways to ensure your presentation is clear and easy to follow. Check online resources to find out what signpost language can be used. Make a list of transitional phrases/linking words. Share your findings with the group;
  3. technical aspects of the presentation, such as fonts, the number of slides and the amount of text.
  4. presentation delivery, in particular, pace, eye-contact, body language, voice variation and use of notes.
- B. **After the presentation. Using the peer assessment form, provide feedback on your fellow students' performance.**

*Ex. 21. Debate: The Moral Maze of Politics.*

*In two teams debating against each other, discuss if politics can be moral and ethical.*

*You may want to focus on the following questions:*

1. Are morality and politics compatible? Is there a code of ethics in politics in general and diplomacy in particular? How would you frame the concept of moral/ethical action in politics —



“doing all possible good” or “avoiding gross wrong”? Does the political end always justify the means? Does the political realm affect the moral state of society?

2. Do you think proximity to politics may breed a certain amount of cynicism in diplomats? Is it acceptable in this business? Do diplomats sometimes have to abandon their personal moral sense when representing their state? Do you believe in the principle “My country, right or wrong?” Do you think that justice, fairness and conscience can and should be sacrificed to duty and responsibility?

**A. Preparation: class work**

1. Decide on the criteria that can be used to judge a debate.
2. Choose one student to judge the debate.
3. Divide into two teams.

**B. Preparation: team work**

1. Each member of the team is to find an article in support of your team’s view and summarize it to the team.
2. Identify what arguments will best support your case and arrange them in a logical order.
3. Make a list of functional phrases (expressing opinion, agreement/disagreement, etc.) to be used during the debate.

**C. Holding the debate**

1. Each team presents their arguments.
2. Each presentation is followed by two or three counterarguments/questions from the rival team and a response from the presenting team.

**D. Feedback**

The debate is assessed by the student judge against the set criteria.

*Ex. 22. Impromptu talk:*

- a) *discuss the following guidelines on how to make impromptu talks;*
- b) *practise making impromptu talks.*

Suggested topics:

- moral decline;
- the changing nature of human relationships;
- morality and politics;
- marketization of society;
- the influence of politics on the moral state of society.

The impromptu talk is a talk in which the presenter speaks at the moment asked, without preparation and usually without any prior notice. Such talks are quite common in everyday life; they function as a means for the immediate exchange of opinions in business, government, education and other social settings. You may already have used this form and not even thought about it. For instance, you may have been in class and have been asked to analyze a piece of writing or comment on someone’s ideas.

Although the impromptu talk is the least structured of all presentation forms, you may want to remember the following tips:

#### **Presentation Techniques:**

- Always have an **introduction** (reiterate the topic area about which you were asked to speak), **main body** (don't include too many details; keep to the main points of the topic) and **conclusion**.
- Be organized (instead of trying to 'rehearse' the entire talk when getting ready, concentrate on choosing an appropriate strategy — see below; think of what points should be included and in what order, what examples can substantiate your position).
- Keep your time. Being able to talk through the time required is better than finishing before the time limit expires. Also think of some tricks you may use if you draw a blank.

#### **Possible Strategies of Development:**

- Express an opinion.
- Address cause and effect.
- Break the topic into components.
- Discuss the past, present and future.

#### **Impromptu Talk Procedure**

1. Topic is announced.
2. One minute is allowed for silent preparation (no note-taking is allowed).
3. Speaker is designated.
4. a) Topic is presented by the speaker for about two minutes.  
b) Presentation is followed by the class (no interruption is allowed).
5. Presentation is analyzed and assessed:
  - a) by the class to answer the question: "How is it different from/similar to my interpretation of the topic?"
  - b) by the professor against these parameters:
    - relevance of ideas and contents (whether or not the subject has been fully developed; absence of superfluous details);
    - logic and structure (which also includes the use of connectives);
    - accuracy (relevant vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation);
    - adequate tone and voice production.

*Ex. 23. Comment on these ideas.*

1. Never let your sense of morals get in the way of doing what's right (Isaac Asimov).
2. Every man, in his own opinion, forms an exception to the ordinary rules of morality (William Hazlitt).
3. Once spirit was God, then it became man, and now it is even becoming mob (Friedrich Nietzsche).
4. What can you say about a society that says God is dead and Elvis is alive? (Irv Kupcinet).
5. Society is like a schoolmaster who estimates boys according to their conformity to a standard that is easiest for running a school (Henry Sedgwick).

Ex. 24. Render the following texts into English and comment on them. What purpose do you think their authors pursued?



A.

### ИСПОВЕДЬ НА РУССКУЮ ТЕМУ “Монетизация” морали угрожает будущему страны

ДЕСЯТИЛЕТИЯМИ нам внушали, что в России (“стране героев и ученых”) обитает особый, живущий по “моральному кодексу строителей коммунизма” народ.

Когда в начале 90-х годов советские плакаты были отправлены в запасники Исторического музея, обнаружилось, что с русским человеком что-то не так. На подвиг он, конечно, всегда готов... Но между подвигами то убьет кого-то в пьяной драке, то соседскую избу из зависти спалит, то собственную мать-старушку ограбит.

Недавно в редакцию “АиФ” из небольшого приволжского городка пришло горькое письмо. Точно человек после долгого запоя или болезни пришел в себя и решил исповедаться: “У нас в городе половина мужиков — алкаши. Слоняются возле автобусной станции или пивных ларьков. Вкалывают одни женщины. Вот газеты пишут: мол, молдаване, азербайджанцы, таджики заполонили Россию, хватаются за любую работу, лишь бы семью поддержать. А наши...”

Претензии к “качеству российского человеческого материала” высказываются не впервые.

#### **НАЦИЯ ОБЛОМОВЫХ?**

В ЯНВАРЕ 1936 года в статье, посвященной памяти Ленина, Н. Бухарин назвал русских “нацией Обломовых” — растяпы, бездельники, азиаты.

А сегодня, все чаще высказывается опасение, что талантливой нации, дававшей миру гениальных ученых, писателей, композиторов, врачей, полководцев, грозит вырождение. Под влиянием пьянства, стрессов, плохого питания и медицинского обслуживания на свет появляется все больше неполноценных детей.

Пессимисты предрекают: через 50 лет наступит крах русской нации, что к середине XXI века население России сократится чуть ли не вдвое. Последняя перепись населения показала, что места убывающих русских активно занимают азербайджанцы, ингуши, чеченцы — люди с другими традициями, бытовыми навыками, с другой культурой и религией.

Но власть, похоже, озабочена чем угодно, но только не состоянием нации. Не слишком тревожится и “общественность”, заиклившись на “угрозе демократии”. В списке рисков и угроз национальной безопасности России, составленном Советом по национальной стратегии (в него входят более 20 известных экономистов, социологов и политологов), “**морально-психологический кризис нации**” поставлен на последнее место.

Принято считать, что главной причиной кризиса нации является бедность. На этом построена и задача № 1, выдвинутая В. Путиным, — ликвидация бедности. Однако все не так однозначно. По мнению ряда крупных экспертов, доля экономических факторов в кризисе нации составляет около 30%. Остальные 70% — духовное неблагополучие, дефицит позитивных эмоций, утрата нравственных ориентиров.

Молодежь теряется перед вопросом, “что такое хорошо и что такое плохо”. Не знает, с кого делать жизнь с Путина, Фридмана или с Верки Сердючки. И неудивительно: о нравственных ценностях нам теперь рассказывают не В. Распутин, не А. Приставкин, не Д. Лихачев, не Д. Гранин, а известный банкир, жизненное кредо которого — “богатые — избранные Бога, а бедный пусть поможет себе сам”. Недавно китайская ассоциация книгоиздателей

признала Валентина Распутина лучшим писателем года. А у нас, в России, В. Распутин или А. **Солженицын** идут по графе “списанные герои”. Властителями дум стали В. Сорокин и эстрадные смехачи-похабники. Идет “монетизация” нации и морали.

...

Да, у нас пока нет объединяющей национальной идеи. Нас удерживает вместе не столько надежда на луч шее, сколько воспоминания о прошлой войне, о жертвах родителей, об остатках великой культуры.

Но большинству из нас еще понят но и близко слово “Родина”. И если мы не хотим окончательно превратиться в “потерянное поколение”, если не хотим, чтобы наши дети стали “поколением пепси”, нужно, чтобы национальное возрождение стало целью № 1 государственной политики.

Только вот в чем оно заключается?

*(По материалам статьи В. Костикова, АиФ)*

## **Б.**

Сегодня моральный аспект играет значительную роль буквально в каждой дискуссии по вопросам внешней политики. Иногда это идет на пользу, иногда — нет, но при любом раскладе дело от этого усложняется. Случаев, когда в игру вступает этический фактор, на удивление много, и все они далеко не однозначны.

Мораль, этика, ценности, общечеловеческие принципы — весь набор высоких идеалов, связанных с международными отношениями и прежде являвшихся объектом внимания в основном лишь проповедников и ученых, ныне укоренился если не в сердцах, то, по крайней мере, в умах многих внешнеполитических деятелей. Они снова оперируют понятиями, которые в течение почти ста лет отметались, как “вильсоновские”. Форма может быть разной: призыв к смене режима, к гуманитарной интервенции, к продвижению демократии и прав человека, но почти всегда основным этическим принципом остается защита прав личности.

Было бы ошибкой расценивать повышение значимости международной этики только как постмодернистскую версию “бремени белого человека”, хотя поведение некоторых политиков и дает для этого определенные основания. Сегодня разные религиозные и культурные сообщества во всем мире разделяют эти ценности. Движения в поддержку демократии, движения, требующие справедливого наказания для военных преступников, больше не являются чисто американским или западным явлением. И хотя, возможно, кое-кто из американских деятелей по-прежнему использует на международной арене язык морали как прикрытие для традиционной стратегии национальной безопасности, очевидно, что в основе лежит более глубокая тенденция.

Наиболее ярким примером того, какую важность приобрел этический фактор в сфере международной политики, является гуманитарная интервенция. До начала 1990-х годов никто и помыслить не мог о том, что одно государство может вторгнуться на территорию другого суверенного государства, чтобы прекратить массовое кровопролитие (геноцид, этническую чистку — называйте, как хотите). Казалось, что право государств и отдельных групп внутри государства осуществлять массовые преследования и убийства мирных граждан незыблемо, дано самим Господом Богом. Однако этому основному принципу международной политики был нанесен серьезный урон. ООН санкционировала ввод войск на территорию Боснии и Сомали, а Организация американских государств одобрила возглавляемое Соединенными

Штатами вторжение в Гаити. Подумать только, мир признал, что нравственность важнее, чем суверенитет.

Не стоит забывать о том, что страны мира зачастую оказываются на разных морально-этических позициях: не все в свое время одобрили Конвенцию о предупреждении преступления геноцида и наказании за него, создание Международного уголовного суда, Конвенцию о полном запрещении противопехотных мин и Киотский протокол. Некоторые страны отказываются участвовать в этих и других подобных соглашениях, утверждая, что их условия чересчур болезненно отразятся на их интересах. Такого рода конфликты между этикой и прагматикой разрешить нелегко; следовательно, они и впредь останутся источником трений. Но все же лучше спорить о таких вопросах, как глобальное потепление климата и запрещение противопехотных мин, чем вести традиционную войну за власть.

Да, морально-этические соображения и впредь крайне редко будут определять внешнюю политику государств, особенно если речь пойдет о национальной безопасности. Да, продолжатся дискуссии о достоинствах и недостатках той или иной системы морально-этических ценностей. Да, в разных странах будут бушевать споры о том, что важнее — этические или практические соображения и в каких случаях первые должны превалировать. Даже при том что сегодня универсальные ценности играют более значительную роль во внешней политике многих государств, эта политика будет отягощена противоречиями и лицемерием. И действительно, в мире в большинстве случаев по-прежнему будет господствовать мораль сильного, а этические соображения почти неизбежно станут отодвигаться на второй план. Но ведь раньше они и вовсе не принимались в расчет. Второе место, отводимое подобным соображениям, говорит о том, что отныне правителям будет сложнее игнорировать или нарушать нормы, которые мир все чаще относит к разряду универсальных ценностей.

Мы вошли в новую эру: если раньше гуманные идеалы напрямую противопоставлялись “эгоистическим” интересам государства, то теперь острота конфликта хотя и остается, но во многом она сглажена. Сегодня и высокие идеалы, и эгоизм считаются необходимыми составляющими национальных интересов. И несмотря на связанные с этим старые и новые политические проблемы, нынешняя ситуация идет на пользу и Америке, и большей части остального мира.

*(По материалам статьи Л. Гелба и Дж. Розенталя в журнале “Россия в глобальной политике”)*

## EDITING and WRITING

*Ex. 25. Observe how information is presented in the sentences in B. and complete the rules in A. Compare them with the Russian rules related to mechanics and style.*

### A.

- In titles all main words are \_\_\_\_\_. Articles, prepositions, conjunctions and the like are not \_\_\_\_\_ unless they are the \_\_\_\_\_ or the \_\_\_\_\_ word of the title or consist of \_\_\_\_\_ or more letters.
- All adjectives derived from proper nouns are \_\_\_\_\_.
- Titles of longer/independent works (books, plays, magazines, films, etc.) are either \_\_\_\_\_ (when typed) or \_\_\_\_\_ (in writing).

■ Английский язык для магистратуры

- d. For titles of newspapers, magazines or journals, an initial 'the' is \_\_\_\_\_ or \_\_\_\_\_ even it is part of the title.
- e. Titles of shorter works (poems, songs, articles, etc.) are \_\_\_\_\_<sup>1</sup>.
- f. The author's name is \_\_\_\_\_ unless reference is made to his/her \_\_\_\_\_.

**B.**

- a. *And the Band Played On* is a 1993 film that chronicles the early days of AIDS.
- b. *Human Happiness and Morality: A Brief Introduction to Ethics*, among other things, contains answers to "What makes a right act right?"
- c. Nicholas S. Wade, a Science reporter for the *Washington Post* asserts that religion might have an evolutionary basis. He suggests that religion evolved because it helped early hunter gatherers survive.
- d. In his article "The Death of Intimacy" published in the *Guardian* newspaper, Martin Jacques claims that our self-centered, market-driven culture reduces people to commercial objects to be used and discarded at whim.
- e. The Met's previous *Tosca* production, by the Italian director Franco Zeffirelli, premiered in 1985 and played in New York for over 20 years.
- f. *Morality Among Nations: An Evolutionary View* offers a pathbreaking synthesis of sociobiology and international relations theory.

Ex. 26. Edit the following sentences bearing in mind the rules you revised in ex. 25.

- 1. in the book conflict resolution *through* non-violence: science and *ethics*, the authors raise a number of important issues
- 2. Grounded in Dr. John F. Femartini's inspirational teachings, *The heart of love: how to go beyond fantasy to find true relationship* helps you apply his philosophy and revolutionary understanding of human behavior specifically to your situation.
- 3. *The art of getting by* directed by Gavin Wiesen received negative critical reviews
- 4. S. Huntington's essay "The clash of civilizations?" published in the "Foreign affairs" in 1993 continues to fascinate scholars from across the world.

Ex. 27. Edit the following extract from a review of a book by Sam Harris (Focus: mechanics and language accuracy). The number of mistakes is indicated in the right-hand column.

1	In his last book, "The moral landscape", S. Harris is concerned with the sorry state of moral	5
2	thinking among and religious and secular people in the west. While the first are convinced	3
3	that moral truths are handed down from on high, the last are perpetually confused	1

<sup>1</sup> Rules c and d do not extend to legal documents, religious books (e.g., the Bible or the Koran) or parts of these works.

4	frequently believing that morals are relative, the product of arbitrary tradition and social	0
5	conditioning. S. Harris hopes to sweep aside both kinds of confusion, persuading his readers	2
6	that objective moral truths exist and that we possess a (properly secular) mean for	1
7	discovering them.	0
8	Its clear that Harris' mission in "The moral landscape" is loosely connected to his earlier one.	5
9	Religion has, for millennium, been thought the primary source of morality. But if, as Harris	1
10	believes, religion is and flawed and wicked, an alternative is needed. Science can provides it.	2

Ex. 28. Write a summary of the text in Reading 2.

Ex. 29. Write a rebuttal to one of the author's arguments (Reading 2) — the one you feel is the weakest and least convincing. Begin your rebuttal by summarizing the argument and then argue against it, pointing out its weaknesses.



Ex. 30. Discuss the following tips on survey report writing.

A survey report is a paper that in a clear and structured way analyses the results of a study. In the humanities, survey reports aim at providing the reader with information that can be used to make decisions and to take further action. As any well-structured piece of writing, survey reports consist of an introduction, a body and a conclusion.

**Introduction.** A good introduction outlines the purpose of the report and provides background information about the conducted research.

- The purpose of this paper is to ...
- This paper reports on the results obtained ....
- The study was designed to ...
- This report contains the results of a survey administered to ..... regarding their attitudes toward ...
- Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted by ..... among a nationwide sample of ..... adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period ....
- The questions were supposed to/ meant to/ aimed at ...
- This report contains the results of four surveys of ..... conducted to establish ..... The surveys were conducted quarterly over a twelve-month period to account for seasonal variations, with the same house-holds approached each quarter. Questions were asked about ..... Background variables were sex, age, marital status, country of birth and occupation.

**Body.** The body presents the key aspects of the survey: what was done, what was found and what this means. While analyzing the findings, make use of comparison/contrast, generalizations and cautious language.

- Fully 82% say ... and almost as many (71%) say ...
- A 57% majority said
- Just 17% say
- In addition to the interest in ..., the poll found a 56% majority saying it is very important to ...
- Many also gave high priority to ...
- The (results of the) survey suggest(s) women ...
- Three-in-ten (29%) say
- When asked ..., half (49%) say ....
- While half of the women polled choose ....., only ... of men ....
- While the poll finds no decline in interest in... , not as many respondents say ....
- At the same time, there are strong indications that ... do not place much importance on ...
- Responses were similar for both genders in reporting ...
- The respondents are divided in their attitudes toward
- A modest majority (54%)
- Education plays a major role in attitudes toward ... While 57% of college graduates think that ..., support drops among those with some college (49%) or a high-school degree (42%) and is lowest among those who did not finish high school (34%). There are no significant differences between the races with respect to ....

**Conclusion.** The purpose of the Conclusion is to restate in a shortened form the *most significant points* from your analysis and to make a general statement about the significance thereof. Note that no new information should be included in this section<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For more detailed guidelines see Е.Б. Ястребова, Л.Г. Владыкина, М.В. Ермакова Курс английского языка для студентов языковых вузов = Coursebook for Upper Intermediate Students : учебник для вузов / — М. : Экзамен, 2007.

Ex. 31. Write a survey report based on the opinion poll results. Compare the median results with those of Russia (see below) and the country/region you specialize in<sup>1</sup>.

The Pew Research Center's 2013 Global Attitudes survey asked 40,117 respondents in 40 countries what they thought about eight topics often discussed as moral issues: extramarital affairs, gambling, homosexuality, abortion, premarital sex, alcohol consumption, divorce, and the use of contraceptives. For each issue, respondents were asked whether this is morally acceptable, morally unacceptable, or not a moral issue.

U=UNACCEPTABLE  
A=ACCEPTABLE  
N=NOT A MORAL ISSUE

Do you personally believe that \_\_\_\_\_ is morally acceptable, morally unacceptable, or is it not a moral issue?

Median percentages of each issue based on 40 countries				Russia			
ISSUE	U%	A%	N%	ISSUE	U%	A%	N%
Extramarital Affairs	78	7	10	Homosexuality	72	9	9
Gambling	62	11	19	Extramarital Affairs	69	7	9
Homosexuality	59	20	13	Gambling	62	10	18
Abortion	56	15	12	Alcohol Use	44	26	13
Premarital Sex	46	24	16	Abortion	44	25	10
Alcohol Use	42	22	24	Premarital Sex	30	40	10
Divorce	24	36	22	Divorce	22	46	13
Contraception Use	14	54	21	Contraception Use	7	62	19

### MIXED BAG

Ex. 32. Fill in the gaps with the correct adverb or preposition where necessary.

a)

to be synonymous \_\_\_ progress  
to live \_\_\_ a philosophy  
\_\_\_ the heart \_\_\_ society  
to be \_\_\_ decline  
to be contractual \_\_\_ nature  
to be the antithesis \_\_\_ smth  
to judge \_\_\_ the criteria of consumer society  
to rest \_\_\_ mutuality

to be measured \_\_\_ smth  
to stand \_\_\_ sharp contrast  
\_\_\_ the same scale as smb  
to attend \_\_\_ our own needs  
to become prey \_\_\_ smth  
to be shorn \_\_\_ pain  
to forgo \_\_\_ smth

<sup>1</sup> See "Global Views on Morality" available at <http://www.pewresearch.org/>

**b)**

1. Immigrant have parents brought their children \_\_\_ the West to give them new opportunities, but they do not want them to fall prey \_\_\_ Western temptations.
2. A vast majority of Americans believe that morality is \_\_\_ decline in the United States.
3. Asian and African states are not prepared to wage war \_\_\_ the same scale as Western countries because their governments are not as stable, funding is not as great, and the tradition of militarism does not exist.
4. Do those in power *live* \_\_\_ a different *moral* code than the rest of us?
5. Innovation is \_\_\_ *the heart* \_\_\_ economic growth and development.
6. Moral relativism stands \_\_\_ contrast \_\_\_ moral absolutism, which sees morals as fixed by an absolute human nature.
7. A country's soft power rests \_\_\_ its resources of culture, values, and policies.
8. Religious faith is the antithesis \_\_\_ rationality.
9. Self-control is the ability to forgo \_\_\_ immediate desires.
10. Some believe that living a *moral* life is *synonymous* \_\_\_ living a religious life.
11. Values are universal \_\_\_ nature and transcend the boundaries of nationality, culture and religion.
12. We must first attend \_\_\_ our own needs for love before we can love others.
13. A thriving economy requires as efficient a market as possible, shorn \_\_\_ any kind of exclusions.
14. Your successes in life are measured \_\_\_ the value you give to others.



**c)**

1. After a decades-long explosion \_\_\_ births \_\_\_ unmarried teens and a growing number of AIDS cases among young adults, forgoing \_\_\_ pre-marital sex is finding new respect.
2. A man's moral worth is not measured \_\_\_ what his religious beliefs are but rather \_\_\_ what emotional impulses he has received \_\_\_ Nature \_\_\_ his lifetime
3. Do not fall prey \_\_\_ the false belief that mastery and domination are synonymous \_\_\_ manliness.
4. Europe's culture rests \_\_\_ common ground of experiences that evolved \_\_\_ \_\_\_ the continent's history and the development of its values, summed \_\_\_ in the Conventions of the Council of Europe and the Preamble \_\_\_ the Lisbon Treaty. These European values, whatever their national and regional origins, are the essential basis \_\_\_ which the process of European integration rests.
5. \_\_\_ contrast \_\_\_ an aristocratic society where only privileged individuals are free moral agents, Victorians put a premium \_\_\_ ordinary virtues attainable \_\_\_ ordinary people.
6. \_\_\_ today's society the pursuit \_\_\_ profit has become synonymous \_\_\_ the pursuit \_\_\_ happiness.
7. International relations is the branch \_\_\_ study concerned \_\_\_ foreign affairs. It is both academic and political \_\_\_ nature.
8. It is ironical that while personal responsibility is \_\_\_ decline moral indignation is \_\_\_ the increase.
9. Knowledge is not attained \_\_\_ chance; it must be sought for \_\_\_ ardor and attended \_\_\_ diligence
10. Man does not live \_\_\_ bread alone, but \_\_\_ every word that proceeds \_\_\_ \_\_\_ the mouth of God."



11. Modern people fall prey \_\_\_ their own dreams, ambitions and visions \_\_\_ higher wages while ignoring \_\_\_ that they effectively enslave themselves as they are forgetting what the really important values are.
12. Relations \_\_\_ Jews and Poles \_\_\_ occupied Poland were complicated \_\_\_ nature, especially in the Polish underground movements.
13. Some Pakistani believe that today \_\_\_ their mullah-ridden society religion has been shorn \_\_\_ all moral content and has been reduced just \_\_\_ a mechanical ritualization whereby all sins can be washed away \_\_\_ a mere ritual.
14. The legal and ethical definitions \_\_\_ what is right are the antithesis \_\_\_ each other, but most writers use them \_\_\_ synonyms. They confuse power \_\_\_ goodness, and mistake law \_\_\_ justice.
15. The system of war-prevention which lies \_\_\_ the heart \_\_\_ the UN is a very old collective security idea: smaller, weaker countries will be protected \_\_\_ potential military aggression \_\_\_ the part of larger, stronger ones \_\_\_ a commitment to come \_\_\_ the aid of any country that is attacked.
16. We were aware that the 1.5 million inhabitants of Gaza were starving, as the U.N. special rapporteur \_\_\_ the right \_\_\_ food had found that acute malnutrition \_\_\_ Gaza was \_\_\_ the same scale as \_\_\_ the poorest nations \_\_\_ the southern Sahara, \_\_\_ more than half of all Palestinian families eating only one meal \_\_\_ a day.

Ex. 33.

a) *In the following passage insert articles where necessary. Account for their use.*

b) *Reread the passage and comment on the author's point of view.*

Many different people and groups have same belief and for various reasons. Whether they are religious or not, message is always same however. Morality is in trouble.

Personally, I don't think this is case. This view that things were somehow so much more "moral" or "acceptable" back in old days isn't founded on anything but nostalgia of popular culture of time. Yes, it's true that television shows didn't even mention sex back in 50s. It's also true that movies back then didn't have body counts in thousands like today's movies do. What we need to keep in mind however is that morality which was displayed in popular culture and morality of actual culture were very very different.

Let's talk about obvious cases right off bat. People claim that morality has been on decline over past few decades. I say they are wrong. I don't think it can be denied that over past few decades we've made monumental strides in becoming much more tolerant and moral society. Back in "good old days", rape was often acceptable because women "were asking for it". Husbands were allowed to beat up and torture their wives with no penalty. Blacks were treated as inferior and were often murdered for no reason. Jews were viewed as inferior and were not permitted in live in many areas. People were allowed to beat up and kill homosexuals because they were viewed as "wrong". Women and blacks were not allowed to hold jobs. Blacks and whites were not allowed to date. Need I continue? There are many more examples I could give. Are these "moral foundations" that people would like to restore?

Of course, it is still unclear how far back "good old days" really are. I mean, when exactly did we hit peak of morality? Perhaps these people are referring to time even earlier than 1940s and 1950s. Perhaps they are referring to time when slavery was legal? How about when Spanish Inquisition was viewed as 'noble'? How about when slaughtering of Indians was thought of as okay?

I'm not saying that moral values we hold today are perfect. I am saying however, that strides in morality we've made over past few decades cannot be ignored. People have rights which are finally starting to be recognized. Hate due to ignorance is becoming less and less acceptable today, and that's something to be proud of. People are waking up and realizing that old "moral foundations" need changing and improving. Morality hasn't been on decline; it's been on the rise. While there are undeniable problems in our society, they are problems which can be fixed with modern moral values. They can be fixed with values that respect everyone, even those who are female, Jewish, black and homosexual.

*Ex. 34. Use the verbs in parentheses in the correct tense and voice form.*

(from the analysis of a public opinion poll results) Suggestions that we **(to reverse)**<sub>1</sub> the disastrous social and cultural trends of the past 30 years and **(to returning)**<sub>2</sub> to a happier state **(to be)**<sub>3</sub> interesting, cheery, and unpersuasive. Perhaps that **(to happen)**<sub>4</sub>, perhaps we **(to return)**<sub>5</sub> to the healthier climate of the 1930s, '40s, and '50s, but it **(to be)**<sub>6</sub> at least equally likely, if still worse **(not to lie ahead)**<sub>7</sub>, that we **(to have)**<sub>8</sub> to learn to live in the degraded moral climate that **(to surround)**<sub>9</sub> us now. The implications of the chart showing a rising percentage of Americans who **(to identify)**<sub>10</sub> "a letdown in moral values" as one of the "major causes of our problems today" (from 50 percent to 62 percent in 28 years) **(to be)**<sub>11</sub> thoroughly ambiguous. Either Americans **(to be)**<sub>12</sub> more moral today than they **(to be)**<sub>13</sub> in 1970, which **(to be)**<sub>14</sub> possible, if you **(to remember)**<sub>15</sub> 1970, or the problems **(to become)**<sub>16</sub> so much worse that public alarm **(to rise)**<sub>17</sub>. In any event, the public that **(to alarm)**<sub>18</sub> **(to be)**<sub>19</sub> the same public that **(to support)**<sub>20</sub> the worst of our popular entertainment and refuses to be "judgmental" about the behavior of others. The public's view of the damage done by dissipating morals **(to rise)**<sub>21</sub> simultaneously with the pathologies tracked in the other charts, which is not a cause for optimism. Alarm is not, it appears, synonymous with a determination to reform.

But what about the other charts? They **(to show)**<sub>22</sub> calamitous rises in pathologies followed, quite recently, by slight declines. That hardly **(to signify)**<sub>23</sub> the end of the bull market in social corruption. The decades-long explosion of illegitimate births **(to show)**<sub>24</sub> a slight decline for whites and a more substantial one for blacks whose rates **(to be)**<sub>25</sub> much greater to begin with. The same modest decline **(to show)**<sub>26</sub> by the overall rate of abortions. The great jump in abortion rates **(to follow)**<sub>27</sub> Roe v. Wade, which **(to carry)**<sub>28</sub> a moral message as well as an (unsupported) legal conclusion. Abortion rates **(to be)**<sub>29</sub> still far above the pre-Roe rate. Studies **(to indicate)**<sub>30</sub> that about nine-tenths of all abortions **(to do)**<sub>31</sub> for reasons of personal convenience, not for reasons of health or danger to the mother's life. That in itself **(to be)**<sub>32</sub> a dismaying cultural indicator.

So it **(to go)**<sub>33</sub> through most of the rest of the charts: high numbers and percentages followed by very slight to quite moderate declines for such activities as recreational sex, teenage sex, divorce, number of children involved in divorce, crimes, use of illicit drugs, and adolescent suicides. Some of this **(to be)**<sub>34</sub> clearly misleading. Crime, for example, **(to expect)**<sub>35</sub> to increase dramatically as a larger and more violent generation of young males **(to arrive)**<sub>36</sub>. The strong rise in per capita charitable donations **(to be)**<sub>37</sub> likely due more to prosperity and an exuberant economy than to any moral transformation.

The statistics on religiousness **(to be)**<sub>38</sub> surely deceptive. A great many Americans **(to attend)**<sub>39</sub> church, but many — probably most — of the people in the pews **(to do)**<sub>40</sub> not accept all of the teachings of their religion but **(to pick)**<sub>41</sub> and **(to choose)**<sub>42</sub> the more agreeable items. Few reli-

gions **(to stress)**<sub>43</sub> morality rather than personal comfort and therapy. There **(to be)**<sub>44</sub> much talk from the pulpit about God's love but little about sin. The dominant culture **(to invade)**<sub>45</sub> mainline religions so that "religiousness" necessarily **(not to mean)**<sub>46</sub> improved moral behavior. There is disagreement whether traditional biblical religion **(to revive)**<sub>47</sub> and the depth and staying power of any revival **(to remain)**<sub>48</sub> to be seen.

*Ex. 35. Use of English. Choose the best variant.*

In these United States money is/are (1) our common/usual/ordinary (2) denominator. It is the absolute standard of access and status — the "top/bottom/low/high (3) line," because/since/as (4) we say x/in/on/at (5) these days. Not only commerce but education, justice, art, the environment, health care, and often liberty itself must correspond to/meet/answer (6) the standards and bow to the demands of money. There is preciously/precious (7) little among us that isn't/is (8) rationed, administered, and ultimately valued, in terms/in ways/by way/on terms (9) of money. The Constitution alike/aside (10), most Americans consider themselves as/x (11) free insofar as they have access to money.

The "American dream" has come/gone/arrived (12) to mean an ideal not of liberty but of prosperity. Our unconscious or half-conscious definition of liberty has become "prosperity." Contemporary politics is based/is basing (13) on this equation. Most of our lives revolve around/about (14) doing/making (15) money (as opposed to the humane/human (16), communal value of our work, which was the standard for many eras), and most of us judge ourselves/x (17) according to what we can show for our money. In America money is, if not quite omnipotent, at least omnipresent.

Money plays covert, even insidious, roles in our most intimate relationships. Divorcees/Divorceant/Divorces (18) who vie viciously for each other's money is/are (19) only taking/bringing/setting (20) to light what lived in their love from the beginning: the need to be valued — a need that tends to turn ferociously concrete when things go amok/bad (21). Our secrecy/mystery/conspiracy (22) about our salaries is a secrecy/mystery/conspiracy (23) about how we are valued. Among men especially, the contest/contestation (24) of who will pick up the check is a contest/contestation (25) of dominance, and this is only one of the gentler ways men make money felt in their friendships.

*Ex. 36. Fill in the gaps with any suitable word.*



Is there a place for morality in the \_\_\_\_\_ (1) of foreign policy? Foreign policy realists may deny morality and ethics a place in their formulation of foreign policy and label anyone who argues for it as \_\_\_\_\_ (2), but countries that dismiss morality as an important factor may be doing so at their own \_\_\_\_\_ (3).

The arguments \_\_\_\_\_ (4) placing morality at the foundation of foreign policy formulation are numerous and include: (i) countries are here to \_\_\_\_\_ (5) their own "national interests" and not those of others; (ii) morality towards foreigners is not a factor to be included in a country's "national interest"; and (iii) touting morality conveys \_\_\_\_\_ (6) and undermines the projection of power, inducing further conflict.

But even Hans Morgenthau, who is known chiefly for his \_\_\_\_\_ (7) on national interest, in many contexts \_\_\_\_\_ (8) moral values. In a remarkable article "The Present Tragedy of

America" he writes that the US "is being judged by other nations and it is judged by itself in terms of its compliance with the moral standards it has \_\_\_\_\_ (9) for itself".

Morality should be related to goals — short-run and long-run. The \_\_\_\_\_ (10) of nuclear war is already a declared objective of many countries' foreign policy. But much more than a nuclear war should be \_\_\_\_\_ (11). Today more attention should be given to \_\_\_\_\_ (12) all use of military force among nations. Though the lazy equation of a "moral" foreign policy with denunciation and/or threats of military \_\_\_\_\_ (13) deeply misunderstands the role of morality in foreign policy. A \_\_\_\_\_ (14) moral foreign policy would be \_\_\_\_\_ (15) to saving lives whenever possible.

Therefore \_\_\_\_\_ (16) should also be on positive peacemaking, on the use and strengthening of multilateral \_\_\_\_\_ (17). Foreign policy objectives take on a new dimension with our \_\_\_\_\_ (18) to protect the global environment and to cooperate in the use of such unlocated resources as those in the ocean beds for the \_\_\_\_\_ (19) of all the world's peoples.

Needless to say, \_\_\_\_\_ (20) must be set in regard to means. Ends do \_\_\_\_\_ (21) means, but there is no end that that \_\_\_\_\_ (22) every means. There was great moral revulsion in the US when it was \_\_\_\_\_ (23) that the CIA had been \_\_\_\_\_ (24) in plots to assassinate Castro and other foreign leaders. When assassination takes place as an episode in foreign policy, not only does it \_\_\_\_\_ (25) questions and \_\_\_\_\_ (26) the revulsions which we should associate with all such acts of violence against persons, but also there is no way of \_\_\_\_\_ (27) the spreading distrust and the international poison which would follow it.

Ex. 37.

a) Read the following extract from an article and identify its topic and thesis.

b) Think of a possible title.

c) Comment on the ideas of the article.

Suppose you actually do have an angel over your shoulder telling you the right thing to do. That angel probably wouldn't tell you anything you didn't already know. A recent study in *Science* aimed at uncovering how we experience morality in our everyday lives suggests that religious people are no more moral — or immoral — than non-religious people. Whether or not we believe that divine precepts give us guidance, our behavior is remarkably similar.

The fact that atheists are apparently as moral as believers will be counterintuitive to some. In Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*, Dmitri Karamazov famously worries, "But what will become of men then...without God and immortal life? All things are lawful then, they can do what they like?"

Yet Dmitri Karamazov is wrong. People who don't fear that justice will be meted out in an after-life are apparently no more vicious, cruel, or licentious than a believer.

The current study breaks new ground in a few different ways. Perhaps most importantly, previous psychological studies of moral responses relied on observations in laboratory settings. This study, however, uses a method that allows researchers to escape the lab and catch glimpses of how participants think about morality as they go about their lives. Researchers using the method, known as "ecological momentary assessment," periodically contact participants to report their feelings.

In this study, over 1,200 people were texted five times a day over the course of three days. The texts asked if they'd committed, experienced, or heard moral or immoral acts in the previous hour. If a participant answered yes, there were follow-up questions that prompted him or her to describe the event and some of his or her reactions to it. The researchers collected over 13,000

responses, almost 4,000 of which described a moral or immoral event. The acts ranged from the mundane to the unexpected.

“There have been hundreds of morality studies, and the vast majority have involved presenting people with hypothetical scenarios or dilemmas and directly asking them to make moral judgments,” wrote Jesse Graham, assistant professor of psychology at the University of Southern California. “This has told us a lot, but it hasn’t told us much about how morality plays out in daily life. This study’s use of smartphone technology allows for a more ecologically valid picture of what kinds of moral events and situations people actually encounter outside the lab.”

The main notable difference between religious and non-religious people was that while both groups reported experiencing similar moral emotions, such as shame and gratitude, religious people who described their feelings were somewhat more intense.

The study did not limit itself to comparing views of religious and non-religious people. It also compared the views of people with different political ideologies. According to one recently proposed psychological theory, the Moral Foundations Theory, there are several different grounds for finding an act moral or immoral. One act may be considered immoral because it harms someone. Another act, however, may be considered immoral not because it is harmful but because it evinces disloyalty. Previous laboratory experiments using the Moral Foundations Theory framework had shown that liberals and conservatives emphasize different moral foundations. For example, conservatives are more likely to cite acts that exhibit respect for authority as moral, while liberals are more likely to consider acts that exhibit fairness as moral. The current study confirmed these differences between liberals and conservatives outside the laboratory, but not to a striking degree.

The researchers deliberately refrained from defining “moral” and “immoral” for study participants. Leaving the definition of “morality” open enabled the researchers to see the variety of acts that some people considered moral or immoral. “There’s always the tradeoff between the clarity of telling participants exactly what you’re looking for, and the risk of missing important aspects of their moral lives,” said Graham. “For instance, if I think morality is fundamentally about fairness and justice, and define it as such for participants, then I will get a more precise and specific set of moral events from them, but I will miss a lot of what they find morally good or bad.”

There’s some reason, though, to think most people were pretty much on the same moral page. All the moral and immoral acts that participants texted to researchers were each independently rated by several judges who did not know the purpose of the study nor anything about the participants. There was a remarkable level of agreement. The judges in aggregate differed from the participant in their opinion of the morality of an act less than 1 percent of the time.

# UNIT II

## THE -ISM SCHISM



## READING 1

### LEAD-IN

1. Complete the following sentences about people's characteristics and compare your variants.

All politicians (are) ...

All male hairdressers (are) ...

All rich people (are) ...

All Americans (are) ...

All men (are) ...

All women (are) ...

All teachers (are) ...

All guest workers from CIS countries (are)...

Do any of the resulting sentences contain prejudice and stereotypes? If so, what factors (attitudes of your parents/friends, the mass media/books, personal experience, etc.) may have contributed to their emergence?

2. Is it possible to grow to adulthood without harboring at least some prejudice toward certain groups? How do prejudices translate into discrimination?
3. Is discrimination inevitably wrong? Is there 'positive' or 'necessary' discrimination?

*Skim the text to find out if the author is of the same opinion.*

*Think of a possible title.*

Just about the worst crime you can commit these days is to be discriminatory. But how else do we tell right from wrong, good from bad?

In everyday life, people do discriminate. They pick apple pie over peach pie, for no other reason than liking apple pie better. That doesn't offend the peach pie, nor should it. Customers are free to choose where to put their money, and can choose one store for the simple reason of liking it better than the other — or, as above, to dismiss qualified suppliers on any irrational grounds. That constitutes 'discrimination', yet is perfectly legal.

Discrimination means differentiating between what is desirable and what is not. It is a subjective evaluation of things, events and persons, and by human nature we do tend to distinguish between good and bad, useful and useless, desirable and unattractive. Laws against 'discrimination' as such — that is, laws that are overly broad — deny us the right to differentiate in certain fields of life, and conversely assign others rights to not be discriminated against.

This is, as a principle of law, rather abstract, and a significant departure from how we live our lives. In daily life we discriminate who to visit, who to date, who to start projects with etc. We do so based on personal evaluations and prejudices (well- or ill-founded), but generally we do have the right to evaluate things personally and act upon our judgment. 'Discrimination' simply isn't a crime in the same sense that 'theft' or 'rape' is.

### **Then, why do we have laws against 'discrimination'?**

There has been a general condemnation of being 'prejudiced', that is, having preconceived ideas. The notion behind this is that prejudice results in widespread damaging behavior, is the root cause of problematic attitudes such as anti-Semitism, and that by eradicating prejudice one can prevent future crimes originating from unjustified prejudice.

But prejudice makes sense. If you're in a jungle and see that on one side of a tree there is a striped head, on the other side a striped tail, the prejudiced person will conclude "Tiger!" and get out of there fast. The person prejudiced against prejudice would have a similar reaction, but

would force himself to say: “Really, I can’t permit myself to be prejudiced against tigers, and the tiger may even feel offended if I do something to indicate that I don’t like it. Thus better to walk on and pretend nothing is amiss.” Here, as in other cases, natural selection clearly favors prejudice.

### **Fort Hood, political correctness, and the fear of facing actual problems**

The problem is that if we don’t have the guts to differentiate between ‘Good’ and ‘Evil’, and to act accordingly, we get eaten. Or shot, as was the case at Fort Hood, where Maj. Nidal Malik Hasan should have been suspended from service long before he managed to shoot 41 people, killing 31 of them. Fear of ‘discriminating’ constrained the hand of the intelligence services, with fatal results. Political correctness is no longer annoying and frustrating. It’s no longer a restraint on common sense and speech. It’s dangerous and deadly.

‘Political correctness’, ‘religious sensitivity’, ‘anti-discrimination’ — the problem has many names. Yet, they have a common core — a denial of our right to act in accordance with our values. International organizations and human rights committees deal with problems on levels of abstraction bordering on the absurd — thus the generic condemnation of ‘discrimination’.

While anti-discrimination laws are originally well intentioned, with the European history of anti-Semitism in the background, they have now come to a point where they are repressive, not protective of the freedom of European citizens. Likes and dislikes, attraction and revulsion are natural features of human life, and cannot be legislated away. The immediate risk from the frivolous application of anti-discrimination law is that certain ethnic groups are effectively granted impunity to behave in ways normally considered socially unacceptable.

A ‘license to misbehave’, granted to Arabs and other ethnic groups, can only cause an increase in actual racism, a problem that no amount of state coercion can cure. If this path is followed, unruly vigilante groups may form in response. This is not a good way.

To a certain extent, discrimination is the source of the survival of a people or a culture. If a group of people is unwilling to discriminate against another group of people, it will go extinct. A culture that is unwilling to discriminate against others will get eaten out by those that are willing to do. It’s simple game theory here. Besides this, the only incentive for someone to integrate is being discriminated against if he doesn’t integrate.

What we really need is to repeal the broad anti-discrimination laws and focus on laws that deal with actual physical crimes: Threats, violence, damaging property and the like. Removing the legal stigmatization of ‘racist’ will permit the common sense of common people to sort out the small conflicts in daily life. While such a reform would disempower ‘anti-discrimination’ groups and constitute a snub to the European Union, it would — much more significantly — restore power to where it belongs in a democracy: the citizens at large.

### Notes:

1. The Fort Hood shooting took place on November 5, 2009, at Fort Hood, the most populous US military base in the world, located in Texas. The accused perpetrator is Nidal Malik Hasan, a U.S. Army major serving as a psychiatrist. Hasan is an American-born Muslim of Palestinian descent. Internal Army reports indicate officers within the Army were aware of Hasan’s tendencies toward radical Islam since 2005. Additionally, investigations before and after the shooting discovered e-mail communications between Hasan and his imam. After communications between the two were forwarded to FBI terrorism task forces in 2008, they determined that Hasan was not a threat prior to the shooting.

2. vigilante ['vɪdʒɪ'lænti] — someone who illegally punishes criminals and tries to prevent crime, usually because they think the police are not doing this effectively.

## READING 2

*Read the text in detail to find out the main reasons for discrimination.*

### WHY WE DISCRIMINATE

(based on a post by Dr. Anthony Stringer)

As a male in this culture, one of the most embarrassing confessions I have ever had to make is that I'm not into sports. I am, in fact, so not into sports that until more recently I actually thought the Superbowl was bowling. My daughter, to my horror, likes basketball. After five years of dance lessons she would actually prefer me to take her to see the Atlanta Hawks instead of the Atlanta Ballet. I don't know where I went wrong. Fortunately for my marriage, my wife is not into sports either. With the one exception of the Olympics. This year, the Winter Olympics galvanized her. Particularly the skating events in Nagano. I didn't watch. At least not in the intense way that my wife did.

10 But when my wife is transfixed by one Olympic event or another, I can't help but catch an image or two from the television set. What I notice in those occasional, fleeting images, is not so much what sport is being played as the physical characteristics of the athletes. By and large, the Russians look like Russians, the Chinese look like Chinese, the French look like the French, the Nigerians look like Nigerians. But the Americans look like everybody else in the world. That athlete who looks African, Jewish, or Japanese, could be from Africa, Israel, or Japan. Or they could be from America. For good or ill, this country has always been and will certainly always be a mongrel nation. The image of America once was a white male. And in many places in the world it was an ugly, vilified image. But that image is long gone.

20 We have not dealt well with our mongrel status over the years. I won't recite a litany of past and current prejudices, persecution and acts of discrimination; stigma and the 'fear of the unknown' have always been with us, playing a central role in dividing people, cultures and races. But I do want to go to the question of why there is so much friction in this place where cultures meet, where disparate ethnic and religious traditions rub up against each other.

Quite literally prejudice means to pre-judge or to form an opinion about something before all the facts are gathered. One of the earliest psychological explanations of prejudice described it as: "an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalisation towards a group as a whole or towards an individual because they are a member of that group." The first thing that this explanation tells us is that prejudice is not something logical or based in fact, but rather, on a series of assumptions, half-truths and guesses. Secondly, it tells us is that prejudice is based on generalisation — on a whole host of characteristics and qualities that we assume a person has, based purely on the fact that he or she is a member of a particular group.

30 If prejudice is an attitude, then discrimination is the manifestation of that prejudice and a stigma, or a 'label', is the result. But how does a prejudiced, negative view affect the people being stigmatised, and why does this lead to a label being placed on them? A great deal of prejudice is unconscious, reflected in the basic stereotyped assumptions that we make about others every day. These generalisations affect our behaviour and cause us to discriminate against whole sections of society. Eventually, large groups become 'ghettoised' and the people within these groups feel isolated and alone.

There is no master key to understanding why we discriminate. Rather, what we have at our disposal is a ring of keys, each of which opens one gate of understanding of why intercultural contact, inter-racial contact, inter-religious contact can engender friction. There are a half dozen answers to the question of why we develop prejudices, why we discriminate.

40 Frequently we make false generalisations — not through malice or hatred, but just because, in many cases, it is easier to do so than to understand the real differences and complexities of our world. Whilst we may think that comments such as: ‘black people are good at sport’ or ‘women are more romantic than men’, or ‘Jewish people are good at making money’ are innocent enough, they all contain assumptions and half-truths that we use to categorise and ultimately stereotype the people who ‘belong’ to those groups. The belief that Japanese are shrewd, sly, and treacherous may be true about some Japanese, as it would be of some members of any other ethnic or racial group. But it is preposterous to apply it to all members of a group. One holding such a belief may feel uneasy about trusting, dealing with, or associating with Japanese people. Rather than trying to process the complex nature of things, it is far simpler for us to generalise our experiences.

50 Psychologists who work within this school of thought suggest that prejudice is a consequence of our natural tendency to categorise the world in order to make sense of it. Such stereotypes are not based on fact but rather on what we think is right from our limited experiences and upbringing. Besides life is so short, and the demands upon us for practical adjustments so great, that we cannot let our ignorance detain us in our daily transactions. We have to decide whether objects are good or bad by classes. Rough and ready rubrics, however coarse and broad, have to suffice.

Other theories suggest that we need scapegoats. People on whom we can project blame for whatever we are unhappy about. And there is no better scapegoat than the person who seems least like us. Our schools would be a lot less violent if it weren't for the African Americans. The neighborhood would be a lot cleaner if it weren't for the Puerto Ricans. Taxes wouldn't be so high

60 if it weren't for having to support the welfare mothers. All good scapegoats for what ails us. By tearing someone or something down, we elevate our position. It is so easy to tear down; by contrast, building up takes work, time and sacrifice. To substantiate our denigrating practices we slander, we libel, we twist the facts, we hide the context, we elucidate on horror stories from times past, we claim to be ‘chosen one’ in eternal circles, and we tout the accomplishments of others. A million-and-one combination of tactics, strategies and excuses to elevate our stature at the expense of someone else without one single good reason.

There are also sociological theories that posit we learn prejudice against other groups as part of being socialized into our own group. One theory, known as Social Learning Theory, had a profound impact on our understanding of why we are prejudiced and what we can do to reduce

70 prejudice in society. Social Learning Theory accepts that individual bigotry is only one part of the explanation behind prejudice, and suggests that there are many other factors influencing our behaviour towards people. This theory places a strong emphasis on the values of our parents and friends which we absorb, where we live, and what culture we belong to. All of these factors have a significant impact on which people and groups we believe are ‘like us’ and which we want to hold at arm's length. Maleness for example, is not just biologically defined, it is also culturally defined. The biological part happens naturally enough, but the cultural part we have to learn. And as we learn that being male means being strong, rational, unemotional, in control, and yes, into sports, we also learn that femaleness is the opposite. It is being weak, flighty, emotional, powerless, and unathletic. Hence, we learn our prejudices as we acquire our identities. Men make good presi-

80 dents, but not women. Men make good hockey players, but not women.

But perhaps the most disturbing theory is simply that prejudice is part of our very nature as human beings. One of the earliest attempts to try and understand the nature of prejudice, stated that prejudice was something hidden deep within each of us and ingrained in all of our personalities. Prejudice is the natural reaction of fear and suspicion automatically stimulated in the brain by the appearance of someone physically different from ourselves. This explains why humans naturally feel more comfortable around people of the same skin color. So to be human is to be prone to prejudice.

90 In the 60s and 70s, a social psychologist with the good old American name of Henri Tajfel, conducted a series of experiments that seemed to show the inevitability of human prejudice. Tajfel would divide people into entirely arbitrary groups. There were groups formed on the basis of whether you preferred one painting over another or, when you had to make a rough guess of how many dots were on a page, whether you overestimated or underestimated.

100 Why anyone would care about a distinction so trivial is beyond comprehension. Yet, in experiment after experiment, Tajfel found that such distinctions were sufficient to trigger prejudiced behavior. Prejudice in favor of people like you — that is, dot over-estimators. And prejudice against the Evil Empire of under-estimators. Such prejudices, formed in a laboratory experiment lasting only a few hours were in fact sufficient to overwhelm any impact of prior positive real life experiences with the person now viewed as belonging to the foreign group. It doesn't exactly make you feel good about the human capacity for intelligence. Perhaps another way of dividing people, however, is into those who perpetually see the glass half empty vs. those who are bound and determined to see the glass half full. I suspect I fall into the latter category, because I actually find cause for hope in Tajfel's seemingly damning experiments. Yes, Tajfel's experiments point to the human propensity for prejudiced behavior. But they also point to human malleability. For an experience as artificial and trivial as dot counting to have such a profound effect on our behavior, we must be mutable creatures indeed. Prejudice so easily formed cannot help but be vulnerable to corrective experience. A sense of oneself and to what one belongs that is so easily contracted, cannot, I believe, resist being expanded.

110 We have sometimes seemed, in our brief history on this planet, to heap one disgraceful act on top of another. But our saving grace as a species has always been our capacity for change. We have seen how easily we can change for the worse. I have not stopped believing, however, in the possibility of our changing for the better. I believe, our large capacity for prejudice is well-matched by a generous capacity for change.

## COMPREHENSION

*Ex. 1. Identify the topic and the thesis of the text. Make sure they are neither too broad nor too narrow.*

*Ex. 2. Suggest Russian equivalents for these word combinations from the text.*

fleeting images	faulty generalization	to elevate our stature
a mongrel nation	a host of qualities	to hold at arm's length
vilified image	to become 'ghettoised'	human malleability
to recite a litany of prejudices	master key	a sense of oneself
to rub up against each other	to twist the facts	

*Ex. 3. Think of several questions to bring out the main ideas and arguments the author puts forward in support of his thesis.*

**VOCABULARY**

Ex. 4. Translate the following words and phrases, reproduce the contexts in which the words in (a) are used in the text (the lines of the text are indicated to help you).

a)

- |                                |                         |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| stigma (to stigmatise) (10–20) | to posit (60–70)        |
| assumption (to assume) (20–30) | bigotry (bigot) (70–80) |
| prejudice (10–20)              | profound (60–70)        |
| disparate (disparity) (20–30)  | to trigger (90–100)     |
| to process (40–50)             | propensity (100–110)    |
| to substantiate (60–70)        |                         |

b)

to attach a stigma to smth, to carry a stigma, to trigger a memory/reaction, etc., profound influence/impact/consequences, a profound sense of guilt, economic disparity, the disparity in wealth, religious/racial bigotry, to make an assumption, to assume responsibility, to substantiate one's claims, deep-seated prejudice, to overcome prejudice, without prejudice to smth

Ex. 5. Match some of the words and phrases from Ex. 4 with their opposites below.

alike, approval, disprove, honor, reluctance, shallow, similar, slight, tolerance

Ex. 6. For each word given below find at least three words from the box that can go with it. Some words from the box can go into several groups. Can you continue the lists? Use the expressions in sentences of your own.

against	differences	natural	to disregard
associated with	effect	needs	to eradicate
change(s)	erroneous	social	to have
crisis	groups	to challenge	to overcome
debate	interests	to cheat	widespread

stigma	to trigger	assumption	disparate
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
	propensity	profound	prejudice
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____

Ex. 7. Suggest stylistically neutral synonyms for the following words. Supply contexts to bring out the difference between synonyms in each pair.



- |                 |             |            |          |          |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|----------|----------|
| preposterous    | to engender | to suffice | to ail   | to posit |
| to substantiate | to elevate  | propensity | profound | hence    |

*Ex. 8. Express the same idea using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 instead of the underlined parts.*

1. A failing state is almost always the product of a collapse of the power structures providing political support for law and order, a process generally caused and accompanied by internal violence.
2. Because HIV is mostly a sexually transmitted disease, it's easy for individuals with pre-existing negative attitudes about homosexuality, sex trade, promiscuity or sexually transmitted infections to humiliate and discriminate against people living with HIV/AIDS.
3. For the first time in history, capitalism has spread its reach to the remotest parts of the world and claims to be a global system.
4. Iraq had the overwhelming support of the vast majority of Jordanians, and the US intervention in the Gulf had the effect of uniting previously discordant political and social strands behind the King.
5. It has become fashionable among political scientists to claim that there is a causal link between democracy and peace, extrapolating from the observation that democracies tend not to go to war with one another.
6. It was during the 1990s that the transatlantic disagreement over American plans for missile defense emerged and many Europeans began grumbling about the American predisposition to choose force and punishment over diplomacy and persuasion.
7. Receiving welfare is highly disapproved of in U.S. society, fostering feelings of failure and self-blame.
8. Shortly after the KKK's formation, Nathan Bedford Forrest, a former slave trader and Confederate general, took charge of the organization and turned it into a militaristic, hierarchical entity.
9. The aim of the examination is to test high-level ability to understand, write and variously handle the general and special varieties of English used in business.
10. The First World War and its impact on British society was to have an immense significance for the emergence of British fascism.
11. The fundamental postulate of the European policy is that solving the Israeli-Palestinian situation will lead to a greater peace in the Middle East
12. The world revolution of 1968 was brought about by the discontents of all those who had been left out in the well-organized world order of U.S. hegemony.
13. There has always been considerable social disgrace attached to the venereal diseases, probably more so in the country than the town.
14. Where an allegation of harassment has been backed by facts, disciplinary action may be taken against the harasser, including dismissal or expulsion
15. You do run the risk of being called a die-hard dogmatist any time you speak up for traditional values.

*Ex. 9. Complete the following sentences using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 in their correct form.*

1. Just as the German language was \_\_\_\_\_ during World War I and even legislated against, similar sentiments surfaced during the Second World War regarding the Italian language.
2. Today, in Europe and elsewhere, there is a widespread \_\_\_\_\_ that all Muslims think one way and all non-Muslims another.

3. A \_\_\_\_\_ is someone who hates another simply because of that person's race, religion, or national origin.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ is fueled by faulty assumptions made about entire classes of people.
5. Research on age discrimination has frequently \_\_\_\_\_ that there is consistent discrimination against older employees.
6. Charlemagne was a charismatic man who held his widespread and \_\_\_\_\_ peoples together as much by force of personality as by force of arms.
7. A major reason why people decide to have nothing to do with religion is that, in the name of religion, much injustice, violence and \_\_\_\_\_ has been perpetrated.
8. American military strength has produced a \_\_\_\_\_ to use that strength.
9. The intervention in Somalia by the United States and the United Nations was \_\_\_\_\_ by a humanitarian crisis, notably at Baidoa.
10. It was certainly clear, as the 1970s drew to a close, that the nationalities question was by no means destined for the historical obsolescence to which official spokesmen wished to \_\_\_\_\_ it, and even Brezhnev, recommending the adoption of the 1977 Constitution, warned that it would be not just unLeninist but actually "dangerous" if the steady convergence of the Soviet nations were artificially accelerated.
11. Stereotypes, structured sets of beliefs about social groups, can be viewed as categories that can bias the way we \_\_\_\_\_ information, organize and store it in memory, and make judgments about members of those categories.
12. The events of "Bloody Sunday" had a \_\_\_\_\_ effect on the political consciousness of all classes.
13. In Algeria the nomenklatura of the National Liberation Front failed and \_\_\_\_\_ a revolt of the young, the underclass and the excluded.
14. \_\_\_\_\_ and discrimination associated with HIV/AIDS are universal and are the greatest barriers to preventing further infections; providing adequate care, support and treatment; and, easing the impacts of HIV/AIDS.
15. A tribal chieftain, Haji Ghulam, argues that with little or no government development, and rising unemployment, it is the right of tribals to grow opium and \_\_\_\_\_ it.
16. Bill Joy, the father of Java software and co-founder of Sun Microsystems, \_\_\_\_\_ with some feeling of guilt that "our most powerful 21st-century technologies ... are threatening to make humans an endangered species."

Ex. 10. Complete the following sentences. Where necessary add a sentence or two to make your examples more meaningful.



1. \_\_\_\_\_ has recently **assumed** particular relevance/significance since \_\_\_\_\_.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ lost its **stigma** a long time ago.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ **triggers** fear and rejection because \_\_\_\_\_.
4. \_\_\_\_\_, and you are a **bigot** if you disagree!
5. Attitudes towards \_\_\_\_\_ are (wrongly) based on the **assumption** that \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Do you think that people of **disparate** cultures can \_\_\_\_\_?
7. His remark that \_\_\_\_\_ made him sound like a **bigot**.
8. **Profound** reforms must be launched to \_\_\_\_\_
9. **Stigma** attached to \_\_\_\_\_ can(not) be easily \_\_\_\_\_ because \_\_\_\_\_.
10. The underlying **assumption** of the article is that \_\_\_\_\_.

11. Victims of **prejudice** based on \_\_\_\_\_ often \_\_\_\_\_.
12. Women/men have a natural **propensity** \_\_\_\_\_.
13. \_\_\_\_\_ must become our primary objective without **prejudice** to \_\_\_\_\_.
14. \_\_\_\_\_ **substantiates** the view that \_\_\_\_\_.

Ex. 11. Answer the following questions using the words and phrases from Ex. 4. and Ex. 6.

1. Why do you think no **stigma** is attached to plagiarism in Russia?
2. Do you think all students have a 'natural' **propensity** to cheat in class?
3. What are some of the consequences of a growing **disparity** in wealth distribution within society?
4. Should the media **assume** responsibility for perpetuating certain gender, racial or other kinds of stereotypes?
5. Do emotions interfere with your ability to **process** information or do you always remain cool-headed?
6. What can **trigger** changes in the perception of women in certain professions (e.g., in diplomacy)?
7. Are **prejudices** and **bigotry** inevitable in a heterogeneous society?
8. What erroneous **assumptions** underlie ageism?

Ex. 12. Translate the following sentences paying special attention to the phrases in bold. Make up sentences of your own containing set expressions with 'and'.



1. **By and large**, the Russians look like Russians, the Chinese look like Chinese, the French look like the French, the Nigerians look like Nigerians. But the Americans look like everybody else in the world.
2. Western leaders such as George W. Bush and Tony Blair have reiterated **time and again** that the war against terrorism has nothing to do with Islam. It is a war against evil.
3. The key to understanding the ruin of our national economy over the course of the past thirty-five years, is that the Clinton-Gore Administration, like those of Nixon, Carter, Reagan, and Bush earlier, were **one and all** dupes of the leading popular charlatan in economics teaching, the Mont Pelerin Society's silliest neo-liberal fanatic, Professor Milton Friedman.
4. In the wake of the Gulf War, Iraq defaulted on its debts to **all and sundry**.
5. A society's commitment to gender equality and sexual liberalization proves **time and again** to be the most reliable indicator of how strongly that society supports principles of tolerance and egalitarianism.
6. **Over and above** the planned transfer of powers within the EU, it seemed that the national state was to lose its sovereignty and substance in every dimension: financial resources, the power to shape things politically and economically, information and cultural policy.
7. If the Iraqi brethren were to ask for the participation of an Arab force on their land, we would **there and then** look into this matter, and do what is appropriate.
8. The USA is busy signing trade agreements with **all and sundry**, subverting what little leverage the EU could have possessed.

Ex. 13. Choose the best word.



**disparate(ly) — desperate(ly)**

1. I do want to go to the question of why there is so much friction in this place where cultures meet, where disparate/desperate ethnic and religious traditions rub up against each other.

2. In the 1950s, the Germans, still in disparate/desperate need of moral and political rehabilitation, were intent only on rebuilding their economy and keeping their heads below the international parapet.
3. It was not until the creation of the Afghan mujahideen in the 1980s that the disparate/desperate elements, mullah and foot soldier, dreamers and doers, came together to be forged in a fighting force.
4. Nationalism was once a force of integration and unification, a movement aimed at bringing together disparate/desperate clans, tribes, and cultural fragments under new, assimilationist flags.
5. Poverty is part of a vicious cycle of conflict, disease and weak governance that disparately/desperately needs to be broken.
6. The disparate/desperate movements of protest were for a moment united in massive resistance.
7. The duke's local supporters in East Anglia appear not only disparate/desperate but also relatively insignificant.
8. They are disparate/desperate to re-negotiate the transatlantic relationship. They want more power and independence.
9. With the advent of multimedia, the disparate/desperate information sectors, such as television, film, telephones, books, newspapers and records, will become increasingly integrated industries.

#### **false — faulty**

1. One of the earliest psychological explanations of prejudice described it as: "an antipathy based on false/faulty and inflexible generalisation towards a group as a whole or towards an individual because they are a member of that group."
2. Human dissection was not permitted in the classical world ("the dignity of the human body" forbade it), which is why Greco-Roman works on anatomy are so false/faulty.
3. The claim that the magnetic compass reached Europe from China through Islam is false/faulty.
4. False/faulty claims about religion and science have been used as weapons in the battle to "free" the human mind from the "fetters of faith."
5. In parliament, opposition party tactics were to capitalize on popular discontent with government economic policy by opposing specific measures, such as price increases, on the grounds that they were either inopportune or part of a generally false/faulty government economic strategy.
6. According to surveys by the International Labor Organization allegations that foreign-owned plants in "sweatshop industries" (such as footwear and apparel) pay lower wages and provide inferior working conditions turn out to be false/faulty.
7. Many psychological theories refer to false/faulty parent-child relationships, such as abnormal experiences in early childhood having a lasting effect and influence on personality.

#### **prosecute (prosecution) — persecute (persecution)**

1. I won't recite a litany of past and current prejudices, prosecution/persecution and acts of discrimination; stigma and the 'fear of the unknown' have always been with us, playing a central role in dividing people
2. In general, it was not acceptable for Subjects to rebel, but the way in which Philip II prosecuted/persecuted the Netherlands Protestants gave them a right to "abjure" their earlier loyalty to the Spanish Crown.

3. Multinational entities such as the World Trade Organization, NATO, and the U.N. have existed for a long time, but Europe is increasingly vesting core government prerogatives — the power to prosecute/persecute and judge, the power to regulate and make law, and soon perhaps the power to tax and make war — in bodies that are accountable to governments, not voters.
4. The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act was enacted to deal with the Mafia and organized crime. RICO basically lets the government (or individual bodies) prosecute/persecute a person who directs or promotes crime without getting his hands dirty.
5. People came to America because they were seeking adventure and profit or were being prosecuted/persecuted for their difference or because they had no opportunities in their homelands
6. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from prosecution/persecution
7. Persons who discriminate are subject to the law and may be prosecuted/persecuted
8. Religious terrorism can be quite extreme in its tactics. Not only does it strive to avenge a long history of prosecution/persecution and injustice, but it frequently carries out preemptive attacks.

**to affect — to effect**

1. How does a prejudiced, negative view effect/affect the people being stigmatized?
2. Forces working in collaboration are more likely to effect/to affect change than forces operating independently.
3. we do care about health care and we want to do something to effect/affect positive reform.
4. The Chinese leaders initiated reforms to effect/affect a gradual transition to a free-market economy.
5. Modifications in family organization induced by economic and demographic transition have been complemented by moral, ideological, and religious trends that also effect/affect the institution of marriage.
6. Even the most 'political' or 'revolutionary' art cannot effect/affect social change, unless certain socio-economic and political conditions are present.
7. During the Franco-Iroquois peace after 1665, Jesuit missionary efforts effected/affected the conversion of hundreds of Iroquois into Christianity.
8. According to the Council, 10 million Roma in the EU are disproportionately effected/affected by discrimination, violence, unemployment, poverty, bad housing and health standards.

*Ex. 14. Translate the sentences using the vocabulary of the unit.*

**A.**

1. В некоторых странах проституция не **считается позорным** занятием.
2. Что **вызвало** перемены во внешнеполитическом курсе страны?
3. Современное общество состоит из очень **разнородных** социокультурных групп.
4. Как следует бороться с религиозной **неприязнью**?
5. В ходе встречи не удалось преодолеть **глубокие** разногласия между курдами и арабами.
6. Любой стереотип основан на ошибочном **мнении** толпы.
7. Результаты исследования **подтвердили** заявления ученых.
8. Сколько времени необходимо для **обработки** заявления на визу?

9. Чтобы искоренить глубоко въевшиеся **предрассудки**, необходимо уделить особое внимание образованию молодежи.
10. По результатам опроса в некоторых регионах молодежь имеет большую **склонность** к ксенофобии.
11. Автор **утверждает**, что дискриминация неискоренима.

**В.**

1. В начале третьего тысячелетия в международных отношениях происходят **глубокие** перемены.
2. В некоторых культурах плагиат **не считается постыдным** явлением или воровством.
3. В повседневном употреблении "раса" стала синонимом внешних признаков человека, при этом цвет кожи **приобрел** незаслуженно большое **значение**.
4. Большинство людей по-прежнему боится обращения к психиатру и того **постыдного клейма** "психически больного", которое в нашей стране было неременным следствием такого обращения.
5. Верно ли столь широко распространенное **мнение**, что мигранты отнимают рабочие места у местного населения?
6. Во многих странах поместить престарелого родственника в дом престарелых не **считается постыдным**.
7. Данные, поступающие со спутников, **перерабатываются** компьютерами и превращаются в пригодную для использования информацию.
8. Как Вы думаете, действительно ли многие народы имеют **склонность** к шовинизму.
9. Кампания против "нелегальной миграции" **вызовет** волну ксенофобии.
10. Когда я пробую объяснить людям, что оккультные упражнения несовместимы с христианством, меня нередко просто обзывают **узколобым фанатиком** и нетерпимым фашистом.
11. Мировое сообщество осуждает любое проявление **неприязни** по этническому и религиозному признакам.
12. Ученые **утверждают**, что в результате потепления климата растаявшие ледники уже подняли уровень воды в Средиземном море.
13. Некоторые, стремясь искоренить **предрассудок**, истребляют заодно добродетель, честность и религию (Дж. Свифт).
14. Несмотря на **полярность** высказываемых точек зрения, все солидарны в одном — системе образования и отечественную науку в самом ближайшем будущем действительно ждут **радикальные** перемены.
15. Румыния собиралась импортировать иранскую нефть через порт Костанза и затем **перерабатывать** ее на специально построенных нефтеперегонных заводах (refineries).
16. Сторонники расовой дискриминации нередко используют научные данные о разнице между расами для **обоснования** своих политических взглядов.
17. Тому, кого однажды признали преступником, трудно в дальнейшем избавиться от этого **клейма** и восстановить свое прежнее положение в обществе.
18. **Утверждать**, что наше правительство ничего не знает о тоннах кокаина, привозимых в страну нелегальными мигрантами, значит жить в мире иллюзий.
19. ЦИК **обработала** 50,96 % протоколов местных избирательных комиссий.
20. Эти страны сумели сбалансировать свои **несопоставимые** интересы.



## BUILDING A WORD BANK

*Ex. 15. Below is a list of words and phrases related to unfair treatment. Think of collocations they can form; use the internet or consult a dictionary of collocations where necessary.*

human rights, prejudice, discrimination, bias, stereotype, equal treatment, intolerance, harassment, inequality, disparity, oppression

*Ex. 16. Sort out the words and phrases used to describe SEXISM, AGEISM, and RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.*

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| — condescending attitudes;              | — to set age limits in the hiring process;          | — to be a major determinant of life chances;                    |
| — ethnic minorities;                    | — gender-based inequalities;                        | — to confine smb to the bottom of the organizational hierarchy; |
| — gender-appropriate behavior;          | — to view age as mental and physical deterioration; | — to force into retirement;                                     |
| — to spark episodes of ethnic violence; | — to treat smb as a second class citizen;           | — to use pejorative language to refer to...                     |
| — male dominance;                       | — glass ceiling;                                    |   |
| — female feticide                       |   |   |

*Ex. 17. Make up your own list of topic-related vocabulary necessary to discuss the issue and share it with the class.*

## TALK and DISCUSSION

*Ex. 18. Discuss your answers to the questions.*

1. Which of the theories mentioned in the text do you find the most plausible?
2. Can the principle of "When faced with a phenomenon, choose the most obvious explanation" be applied to prejudice and discrimination?
3. Do you share the author's optimism about people's ability to overcome prejudice?
4. What common stereotypes based on prejudice can you think of? How might they have appeared? Why do you think some stereotypes are so resilient? Can society be freed of them?
5. To what extent do individuals rely on stereotypes?
6. Discuss the consequences of being a target of prejudice.
7. Have you ever been discriminated against? If so, how did it feel?

*Ex. 19. Explain and expand on what the following concepts mean.*

hate crime	racial profiling	affirmative action
xenophobia	ageism	male chauvinism
sexism	ethnocentrism	reverse discrimination
ableism	institutional racism	classism

*Ex. 20. Discuss your answers to these questions. Use the active vocabulary and the phrases from Ex. 15, 16 and 17.*

**A. Sexism**

The West has long been walking on eggshells about equal treatment of men and women, be it in the workplace or everyday life. The attention given to 'oppression of women' has elevated it to the status of a major social problem.

- a) Is similar importance attached to sexism in Russia? The country/region you specialize in? Why (not)?
- b) Do you think there are cultures where sexism is endemic?
- c) Discuss the role of women in Russia/the countries or regions you specialize in. You may want to provide a historical perspective of the problem, dwell on women's marriage, divorce, child custody, or inheritance rights, compare vocational opportunities men and women have, point out (fe)male-dominated industries (and whether such gender preferences are justified), discuss the concept of "women's proper place" and other stereotypes harbored by men (society in general), assess the role of feminist movements.

**B. Ageism**

William Shakespeare wrote, "Crabbed age and youth cannot live together." Little seems to have changed since those times, and despite the looming generation imbalance, some old people find it increasingly difficult to get along with the younger generation and feel discriminated against, especially in the workplace.

- a) What stereotypical assumptions is ageism based on?
- b) How can these stereotypes be excluded from the workplace and everyday life?
- c) What are the advantages of having an older employee on the staff?
- d) How widespread do you think ageism is in this country? In the country/region you specialize in?
- e) Is age discrimination endemic in society?
- f) Should the government take action to give older people the rights and equality they need and deserve?
- g) Are young people ever discriminated against?

**C. Racism**

As ethnically homogeneous societies are not numerous, the issue of interaction between ethnic groups is high on the agenda all over the world.

- a) Does ethnic diversity inevitably lead to ethnic division and conflict?
- b) Define race and ethnic discrimination.
- c) Speak about major legal instruments in this area (e.g. the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination — 1965).
- d) What ethnic groups most often experience discriminatory treatment in Russia and the countries/regions you specialize in?
- e) What forms can discrimination take?
- f) What roles do cultural and religious factors assume?
- g) In some countries, inter-ethnic tension can be compounded by the activities of various supremacist groups, such as skinheads in Russia. Are they just a 'bunch of hooligans', a puppet movement, or a serious political force?

- h) Speak about a large scale persecution of an ethnic group (the Holocaust, ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia, tribal genocide in Rwanda, etc.).

*Ex. 21. Make a 5–7 min. Power Point presentation on classism in education, family life, employment or another area of life in the country/region you specialize in.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 20).

*Ex. 22. Debate: Is preferential treatment necessary to redress the balance in society?*



In two teams debating against each other, discuss if preferential treatment policies (such as affirmative action, for example) can eventually help achieve the level playing field, thus ending discrimination.

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 21).

You may want to focus on the following questions:

Are preferential treatment policies necessary to create equal opportunities or are they a zero sum game? Should they be pursued on a permanent basis or should they be of a limited duration? Does affirmative action contradict the principles of meritocracy?

*Ex. 23. Practise making impromptu talks.*

Suggested topics:

- glass ceiling;
- ageism as an endemic problem in modern society;
- ableism in education/employment;
- xenophobia;
- what it takes to overcome prejudice.

*Ex. 24. Round table discussion: The End of Multiculturalism? The Rising Tides of Intolerance.*

A round table discussion is a simulation exercise aimed at developing speaking and debating skills. It is a highly participative activity, which reflects a variety of perspectives on the subject under consideration.

The format of the debate requires that there be a moderator/facilitator, who keeps the ball rolling, and a number of participants acting in accordance with the roles assigned to them.

**Moderator:** Ensures that proper discussion takes place and that the time schedule is followed. Should be intentionally provocative, stimulating debate between and among the various participants and should control the course of the discussion. Outlines the issues associated with multiculturalism to be discussed during the round table and provides a brief initial impetus (preferably using an open question to get the discussion started). It is important that (s)he should not dominate and that the discussion should not turn into a ping-pong question and answer exercise. Occasionally, the moderator comments on the discussion, acknowledges its value thus far, provides a very brief personal reflection on the topic, or reminds — where necessary — of the issues to be

addressed, thus providing the participants with points to focus on. (S)He is also expected to take stock of the discussion; the moderator may want to focus particularly on the areas of convergence and divergence.

**Roles:**

1. Role 1. Representative of the Russian Migration Service. Presents the 'migration' aspect of the problem. Focuses on the RF's approach to migrants and their integration into society. All conclusions as to the seriousness of inter-ethnic intolerance in this country are substantiated with documents and results of opinion polls (the use of visuals is particularly welcome).
2. Roles 2 & 3 Representatives of countries which have a good record of addressing multicultural issues (focus on aspects other than migration, e.g. compare 'multicultural integration' and 'multicultural coexistence', what it means 'to belong to a community', etc.).
3. Roles 4 & 5 Representatives of countries where multiculturalism appears to have failed; speak about the problems it has led or is likely to lead to (focus on aspects other than migration, e.g. compare 'multicultural integration' and 'multicultural coexistence', what it means 'to belong to a community', etc.).
4. Role 6. A historian. Offers a snapshot of the Soviet experience in this area and lessons (if any) it has to offer. Explains to what extent its relative success was due to Soviet propaganda, restricted mobility, religious policy, etc.
5. Role 7. An ultra-right activist.
6. Role 8. A representative of a country promoting ethnic homogeneity. Speaks about the situation in his/her country and changes (if any) recent global processes have brought about.
7. Role 9. A representative of an ethnic minority group. Speaks about his/her experience with multiculturalism (has a free hand to choose the country (s)he represents).
8. Role 10. A representative of an educational institution from a multicultural country. Speaks about quotas as a tool of integration; gives examples from various countries.

**Before:** Preparation involves both technical (i.e. arranging the desks to ensure eye-contact, preparing name plates, etc) and substantive (reading for the role, preparing introductory remarks and arguments) aspects.

As part of the preparation, you are supposed to fill out a role play card (see Appendix 1) and submit it to your professor before the activity.

Remember: a round table discussion is NOT small talk based on broad, sometimes unsubstantiated assumptions. You should be well-prepared to be able to make a meaningful contribution. Discuss with your professor what criteria will be used to assess your performance.

Besides the web-sites of the relevant organizations, the following links may be useful in your preparation:

1. Patrick J. Buchanan "The End of Multiculturalism" // <http://www.amconmag.com/blog/2010/10/18/the-end-of-multiculturalism/>
2. Thomas Sowell "The Multicultural Cult" // [http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2010/10/19/the\\_multicultural\\_cult\\_107634.html](http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2010/10/19/the_multicultural_cult_107634.html)
3. Н. Злобин Крах мультикультурализма и национальная доктрина России // [http://portal-nko.ru/biblio/\\_article/?id=393](http://portal-nko.ru/biblio/_article/?id=393)

**During:** After an introduction made by the moderator, the participants may take turns responding to the questions raised or, alternatively, start with brief statements of their overall positions. Since as many voices as possible should be heard, the participants will keep their contributions brief and signal their request to speak by raising their hand. The moderator will try and allow as many contributions as possible, but may also decide to include participants whose voices have not yet been heard before allowing others to take the floor. A mere statement of your position on the issue is not sufficient.

*Ex. 25. Render the following texts into English and comment on them. What purpose do you think their authors pursued?*



**A.**

### **RATIO ECONOMICA: СТРАНА ЗДОРОВЫХ**

Одно из самых бросающихся в глаза отличий Москвы от Лондона или Нью-Йорка — практически полное отсутствие на улицах инвалидов-колясочников или других людей с ограниченными возможностями. То же происходит и в офисах. Вряд ли многие могут сказать, что вместе с ними работают люди с ограниченными возможностями. Российские инвалиды зачастую заперты в своих квартирах и не имеют возможности работать в полную силу.

По разным данным, в России более 10 млн инвалидов. По оценке Минздрава, 2 300 000 инвалидов находятся в трудоспособном возрасте, из них 800 000 хотят работать, но не могут трудоустроиться. Возможность работать для инвалидов гораздо важнее, чем для прочих граждан: уменьшается социальная изоляция, улучшается психологическое состояние.

Один из возможных вариантов увеличения занятости инвалидов — перенести обязанность нанимать инвалидов на предприятия. В России уже существует система квот, обязывающих предоставлять 2% рабочих мест инвалидам на предприятиях с более чем 100 работниками. Зачастую такие квоты неэффективны и предприятия предпочитают заплатить штраф, чем нанимать инвалидов. Может быть, стоит увеличить штрафы и фактически заставить предприятия нанимать инвалидов? Или по крайней мере обязать предприятия оборудовать рабочие места для работников-инвалидов?

Намного более действенный вариант предлагает бывший профессор права Мичиганского университета Самуэль Багенстос. Он соглашается с результатами экономических исследований о том, что “антидискриминационные” и “заставляющие” меры по увеличению занятости инвалидов не работают. Он считает, что будущее законодательной политики — в уменьшении “структурных барьеров” для инвалидов.

Такие барьеры особенно значительны в России, где в большинстве крупных городов нет пандусов для инвалидных колясок, специально оборудованных автобусов или транспорта для инвалидов. Еще хуже состояние дел в сельской местности, где проживает примерно 15–20%. Важная часть уменьшения барьеров — это предоставление условий для реабилитации инвалидов. Исследование, проведенное в 1990-х гг. Центральным НИИ экспертизы трудоспособности и организации труда инвалидов, показало, что 60% инвалидов нуждаются в тех или иных мерах профессиональной реабилитации. Потребность в профессиональной реабилитации особенно высока (80%) у инвалидов молодого и среднего возраста. В профессиональной ориентации нуждается каждый пятый, а в профобучении — почти каждый десятый инвалид, в трудовой адаптации — 25% инвалидов.

Не менее значительны и барьеры для образования. Недавнее исследование социологов Высшей школы экономики “Проблема доступности высшего образования для инвалидов” показывает, что получение высшего образования не гарантирует для инвалидов должности, соответствующей квалификации: лишь 16% обладателей дипломов вузов работают на должности, требующей высшего образования, более половины выпускников вузов являются безработными (54%). А среди инвалидов — выпускников средних специальных учебных заведений незанятых еще больше (62%).

Казалось бы, кроме них самих и их близких кому нужны инвалиды? Политики знают, что инвалиды — это огромная политическая сила. Особенно если убрать “структурные барьеры” и дать им возможность голосовать. В 2008 г. на президентских выборах в США проголосовало 15 млн американцев-инвалидов (т.е. почти столько же, сколько афроамериканцев: 16 млн) — на 4 млн больше, чем на выборах в 2000 г. Одна из главных причин — принятие закона Help America Vote Act в 2002 г., который обеспечил доступность для инвалидов всех участков, где проходили выборы.

Впрочем, общество должно заботиться об инвалидах не потому, что это выгодно. А потому, что инвалиды — такие же граждане, как и все остальные. И в обществе, которое хочет считать себя справедливым, они заслуживают тех же возможностей.

wheelchair users, physically challenged, (disability) employment quota, accessibility, to improve employment rates for people with disabilities, wheelchair ramps, vocational rehabilitation/counseling/training, work adaptation training

*(По материалам статьи С. Гуриева, О. Цывинского, “Ведомости”)*

## **В.**

### **НЕПРИЯЗНЬ К МИГРАНТАМ КАК ФОРМА САМОЗАЩИТЫ**

Проблема отношения к мигрантам подчас выходит за пределы общей миграционной проблематики, характеризуя состояние российского общества в целом, его важнейшие ценностные представления. С некоторой натяжкой здесь можно применить известный афоризм: в современной России мигрантофобия возможна и без значительного числа мигрантов. Уровень враждебности по отношению к иноэтничным и иноконфессиональным группам, да и просто к приезжим, непропорционально велик в сопоставлении с реальными изменениями условий жизни коренного населения, которые вызывает или может вызывать миграция.

При этом нелюбовь к приезжим носит не идеологический характер (реальная база поддержки националистов не превышает пяти–семи процентов, рекрутируемых из маргинальных молодежных групп), а скорее бытовой, ситуативный. Неприятие “инородцев” зачастую имеет чисто поведенческие корни: сталкиваясь со слишком активным, экспрессивным культурным типом, обыватель испытывает растерянность, не знает, как реагировать, раздражается и развивает упреждающую (иногда встречную) агрессию. Враждебное отношение к мигрантам естественным образом способствует сплочению иноэтничных групп, их готовности помогать “своим”, упорно стремиться к успеху. Все это, в свою очередь, воспринимается русскими как экспансия, желание занять лучшее положение в обществе, так или иначе “оттеснить коренное население”, “выжить русских с насиженных мест”.

Относительные экономические успехи чужаков (реальные или воображаемые) нарушают представления коренного населения о должном порядке гратификации, согласно которому местные жители (вообще русские) обладают заведомым преимуществом при распределении жизненных благ. То, что другие их обгоняют, воспринимается как жестокая несправедливость. Осознание собственной неудачи (несоответствия запросов и реальных достижений) делает невозможным позитивное отношение к другому, признание его успехов, более того, подталкивает к поиску в другом моральных изъянов, позволивших ему добиться большего.

К сожалению, сомнительный тон известных деклараций о потоплении злодеев в местах общего пользования настраивает население на столь же решительный лад во взаимодействии с любыми лицами, вызывающими подозрения уже хотя бы своей инаковостью. Разумеется, эта немудреная риторика сама по себе не рождает ксенофобию — она лишь придает форму давно копившемуся неясному чувству раздражения и обиды, вызванному узостью личных перспектив и разобщенностью общества. Сразу на весь мир не обидишься — вот и приходится искать критерии разграничения “своих” и “чужих”. В отсутствие механизмов гражданского взаимодействия, сколько-нибудь весомого опыта межкультурных контактов такими критериями становятся самые очевидные, внешние признаки принадлежности к общности: место рождения, язык, стиль одежды и поведения. В ситуации внутренней осады эти признаки превращаются в пароль, рассчитанный на отсеечение “чужих”. Однако исходная задача при этом так и остается нерешенной: исключение чужаков не дает позитивных оснований для формирования общности “своих”.

Анастасия Леонова

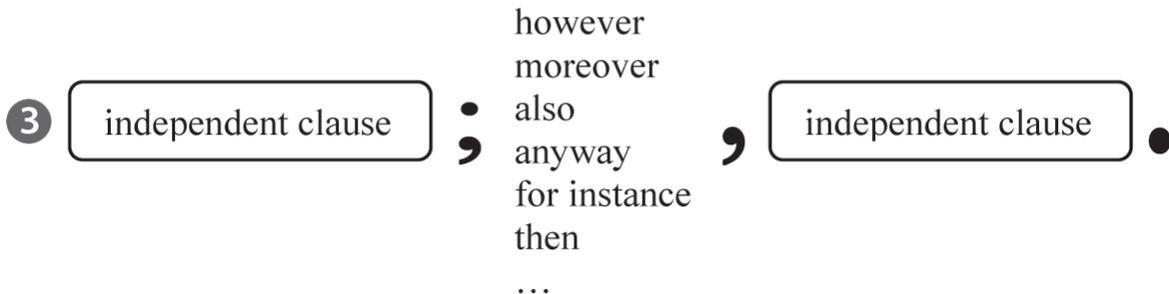
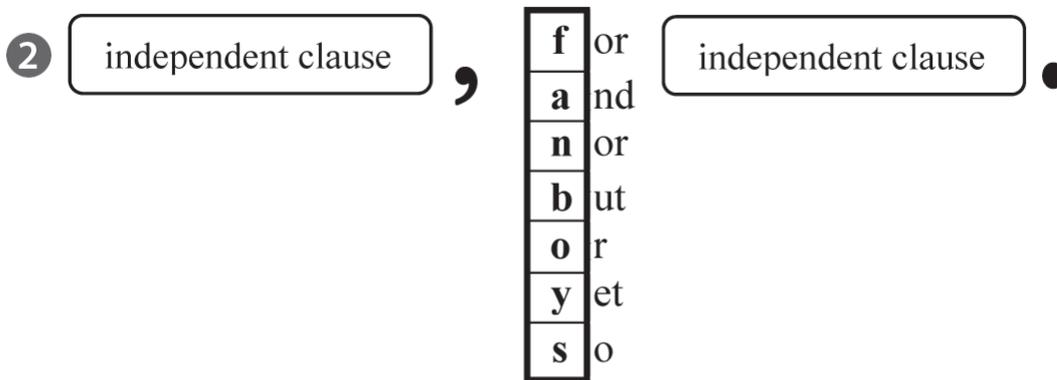
*Ex. 26. Comment on these ideas.*

1. Our prejudices are our mistresses; reason is at best our wife, very often heard indeed, but seldom minded (Lord Chesterfield, *Letters to His Son*).
2. Everyone is a prisoner of his own experiences. No one can eliminate prejudices — just recognize them (Edward R. Murrow).
3. There is a tendency to judge a race, a nation or any distinct group by its least worthy members (Eric Hoffer).
4. Disability is a matter of perception. If you can do just one thing well, you're needed by someone (Martina Navratilova).
5. Sexual, racial, gender violence and other forms of discrimination and violence in a culture cannot be eliminated without changing culture (Charlotte Bunch).

**EDITING and WRITING**

Ex. 27. Observe how the sentences in B are punctuated and match them with diagrams in A. Formulate the rules. Compare them with the Russian punctuation rules.

A.



B.

- a. Bigotry is fueled by faulty assumptions made about entire classes of people; hence, a white supremacist hates African Americans, Asians, Hispanics and others en masse.
- b. Statistically teens are not the only age group that shows an increased propensity to be involved in fatal car crashes, but those other groups still have full use of their driving privileges.
- c. The nature of discrimination and harassment is very specific; that's why allegations often cannot be substantiated by evidence other than the applicant's claims.
- d. There also was evidence that petitioner failed to substantiate her claim of discrimination based on disability.

*Ex. 28. Edit the following sentences bearing in mind the rules you revised in ex. 27.*

1. In the US, a lot of states have legislation outlawing workplace discrimination bases on marital status but Texas hasn't adopted any yet
2. As of now, there are no extensive studies showing how implicit discrimination affects hiring however researchers posit that people's unconscious racial and ethnic associations do influence their hiring decisions.
3. Social studies have confirmed that prejudice especially rises when groups are in direct competition for jobs.
4. The income gap in the U.S. is at its widest disparity yet people still aspire to be like the rich.
5. Huntington's disease has historically been one of the most stigmatised disorders and the profound discrimination against individuals with a family history of Huntington's disease provides a strong incentive for families to conceal the disease.
6. Will Mexican Americans advance socially, economically, and politically like earlier European immigrants or will racism and discrimination consign many to an economic underclass?
7. Discrimination can take a variety of different forms it can be direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, harassment, or victimization.
8. Prejudices may bring support from significant others so rejecting prejudices may lead to losing social support.

*Ex. 29. Edit the following extract from a review of a book by Hal Vaughan (focus: punctuation, mechanics and language accuracy). The number of mistakes is indicated in the right-hand column.*

1.	A new book about the life of Coco Chanel aims to strengthening claims, that the	2
2.	french designer collaborated with the Nazis during the World War II as a spy code-	2
3.	named 'Westminster'	1
4.	The book "Sleeping with the enemy: Coco Chanel's secret war" by Paris-based	5
5.	american journalist H.Vaughan claims, that not only was the designer the lover of a	3
6.	german officer but they were spies who went on missions in Madrid and Berlin to help	3
7.	recruit new agents willing to serve Germany	1
8.	The author reveals, that Chanel was more than just a nazi sympathizer and collaborator,	3
9.	she was a numbered nazi agent working for abwehr In addition, the book claims	3
10.	Chanel was deep anti-semitic long before it became a question of pleasing the Germans	3

*Ex. 30. Write a summary of the text in Reading 2.*

Ex. 31. Write a survey report based on the opinion poll results. Use the tips Unit 1 (Ex. 30).

1. ARE THERE ANY ETHNIC GROUPS IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD THAT RESIDENTS OF YOUR AREA FEEL IRRITATED ABOUT, OR ARE THERE NO SUCH GROUPS?

	Total Russia	GENDER		AGE		
		male	female	18–35	36–54	above 55
there are	38	37	39	45	36	32
there aren't	52	53	51	47	54	56
hard to answer	10	9	11	8	10	13

2. DO YOU PERSONALLY DISLIKE ANY ETHNIC GROUP?

	Total Russia	GENDER		AGE		
		male	female	18–35	36–54	above 55
Yes	29	27	31	35	29	22
No	67	70	65	61	68	74
hard to answer	4	4	4	4	3	5

3. IN YOUR VIEW, SHOULD FOREIGNERS BE RESTRICTED FROM ENTERING YOUR REGION OR TOWN?

	Total Russia	GENDER		AGE		
		male	female	18–35	36–54	above 55
should	63	63	63	65	63	61
shouldn't	27	28	26	26	29	27
hard to answer	10	9	11	9	8	13

4. AND SHOULD ANY RESTRICTIONS BE IMPOSED ON THE ENTRY TO YOUR REGION OR TOWN OF PEOPLE FROM OTHER RUSSIAN AREAS?

	Total Russia	GENDER		AGE		
		male	female	18–35	36–54	above 55
should	40	39	40	40	40	39
shouldn't	49	50	47	49	49	48
hard to answer	11	10	13	10	11	13

5. SPEAKING OF PARTICULAR NATIONALITIES, SHOULD THEY BE RESTRICTED FROM ENTERING YOUR REGION OR TOWN?

	Total Russia	GENDER		AGE		
		male	female	18–35	36–54	above 55
should	63	60	65	65	65	57
shouldn't	27	32	23	26	27	29
hard to answer	10	8	12	10	8	14

6. IF A DECISION WERE MADE TO EXPEL THE REPRESENTATIVES OF A SPECIFIC ETHNIC GROUP FROM YOUR REGION, WOULD YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THIS MOVE?

	Total Russia	GENDER		AGE		
		male	female	18–35	36–54	above 55
approve	52	51	53	51	55	49
disapprove	34	36	31	35	32	34
hard to answer	14	13	15	13	13	17

**MIXED BAG**

Ex. 32. Fill in the gaps with the correct adverb or preposition where necessary.

**a)**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ___ my horror                              | ___ the expense of someone else           |
| to play a central role ___ smth            | to learn prejudice ___ other groups       |
| to be based ___ generalisation             | to be socialized ___ ones' own group      |
| to affect ___ the people being stigmatised | factors influencing ___ our behaviour ___ |
| to discriminate ___ sections of society    | people                                    |
| to have smth ___ one's disposal            | a significant impact ___ smth             |
| to be key ___ understanding smth           | to be prone ___ prejudice                 |
| a half ___ dozen ___ answers ___ the       | to be ___ comprehension                   |
| question                                   | human propensity ___ prejudiced behavior  |
| good ___ making money                      | capacity ___ change                       |
| to apply smth ___ all members of a group   | to change ___ the better                  |

**b)**

- Employees are socialized \_\_\_ organizations, just as people are socialized \_\_\_ societies.
- Even though it sounds positive to say that Asian Americans are good \_\_\_ math, it's still a stereotype.
- How does the stigma surrounding mental health actually affect \_\_\_ people's lives?
- It is illegal to discriminate \_\_\_ people in recovery from alcoholism and drug addiction.



5. Of all the “isms” that connote stereotyping or prejudice \_\_\_ a group of people, ageism may be the strangest
6. Racial prejudice is discrimination based \_\_\_ the color of ones skin.
7. Religion continues to play a central role \_\_\_ American life
8. Scientist say that the key \_\_\_ understanding and conquering HIV/AIDS stigma is to study both sides of the coin, the people who stigmatize and the ones who are being stigmatized.
9. Some believe that religious people are more prone \_\_\_ racism than non-religious people.
10. Stereotypes can also be used to promote one group \_\_\_ the expense \_\_\_ another
11. Stereotypes can be basic or complex generalizations which people apply \_\_\_ individuals or groups based \_\_\_ their appearance, behaviour and beliefs.
12. The author admits that there are no easy answers \_\_\_ the question \_\_\_ why Hispanics continue to be the “underclass of American society,” but he does make the assumption that education — that is “the lack \_\_\_ it” — has a role to play.
13. The capacity \_\_\_ mindless stereotyping and mindless revenge \_\_\_ anyone who looks vaguely like “the enemy” is a deeply entrenched tradition.
14. The court said the authorities should use all the means \_\_\_ their disposal, including cutting government funding, to fight any discrimination \_\_\_ schools.
15. The language we use to describe people can strongly influence \_\_\_ our behavior towards them.
16. The nature of love is so far \_\_\_ comprehension.
17. There has been growing recognition that corruption, including bribery, extortion and misappropriation, has a particularly insidious impact \_\_\_ developing nations
18. \_\_\_ some people private schools have a certain stigma attached \_\_\_ them, relating \_\_\_ criticisms of elitism, and although this is something that is less \_\_\_ an issue these days, pockets of elitism do still exist within the private school system.
19. True, racism hasn’t been eliminated, but there has been change \_\_\_ the better.
20. Turning to adjust the camera, I discovered \_\_\_ my horror that I had forgotten to put film in the camera.
21. When Huntington singles out “the Muslim propensity \_\_\_ violent conflict,” scholars rarely reproach him openly \_\_\_ cultural bigotry. Instead they deride him for his “propensity \_\_\_ violent generalization.”

Ex. 33.

a) In the following passage insert articles where necessary. Account for their use.

b) Reread the passage and comment on the author’s point of view.

In 18th- and 19th-century Britain, there was division between “respectable” society and those who lived in slums. People who lived in these slums were often described as more like animals than human beings.

“Proper” people of that era had both disgust and fascination for those who lived in these un-touchable realms. They went slumming into poor neighborhoods, sort of poverty tourism that is equivalent of today’s reality TV or brawlers that appear on “Jerry Springer Show.”

Today we once again have sharp social divide between people who live in “respectable” meritocracy and those who live beyond it. In one world almost everybody you meet has at least been to college, and people have very little contact with features that are sometimes a part of the other world: prison, meth, payday loans, a flowering of nonmarriage family forms. In one world, people

assume they can control their destinies. In the other, some people embrace the now common motto: "It don't make no difference."

Widening class distances produce class prejudice, classism. This is prejudice based on visceral attitudes about competence. People in "respectable" class have meritocratic virtues. View about those in untouchable world is that they are short on these things. They are disorganized. They are violent and scary. This belief has some grains of truth because of childhood trauma, stress of poverty and other things. But this view metastasizes into vicious, intellectually lazy stereotype. Before long, animalistic imagery is used to describe these human beings.

This class prejudice is applied to both white and black poor, whose demographic traits are converging. But classism combines with latent and historic racism to create particularly malicious brew. People are now assigned a whole range of supposedly underclass traits based on single glimpse at skin color.

During civil-rights era, there was always debate about what was civil-rights issue and what was economic or social issue. Now that distinction has been obliterated. Every civil-rights issue is also economic and social issue. Classism intertwines with racism.

*Ex. 34. Use the verbs in parentheses in the correct tense and voice form.*

Unlike the French case, in which the escalation of anti-Jewish violence **(to follow)**<sub>1</sub>, the rhythms of Middle East politics, anti-Semitic incidents in Germany **(to be)**<sub>2</sub> a regular feature of everyday life since reunification. Their rise first **(to become)**<sub>3</sub> manifest amidst the wave of xenophobic and racist violence which **(to sweep)**<sub>4</sub> across Germany in the early 1990s and which since that time barely **(to abate)**<sub>5</sub>. Whereas the targets of the most notorious racist attacks **(to be)**<sub>6</sub> persons — foreign asylum-seekers or Turkish "guest-workers" — the targets of the anti-Semitic incidents **(to tend)**<sub>7</sub>, for most of this period to have a strictly symbolic character. Indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise. After all, as an obvious legacy of the Nazi regime's "Jewish policy," there **(to be)**<sub>8</sub> until recently an almost infinitesimally small number of persons of Jewish ancestry living in Germany.

Thus, the anti-Semites in Germany **(to have)**<sub>9</sub> to content themselves largely with attacks on the residual artifacts of an earlier Jewish existence — Jewish cemeteries or the few remaining synagogues — or on memorials to the events which **(to extinguish)**<sub>10</sub> that existence. On the night of September 4–5, 2002, for example, vandals **(to set)**<sub>11</sub> fire to the so-called Museum of the Death March in the Belower Forest. The museum **(to owe)**<sub>12</sub> its name to one of the final chilling episodes in the history of the Third Reich. In April 1945, as allied forces **(to close)**<sub>13</sub> on Berlin, inmates of the nearby Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück concentration camps **(to evacuate)**<sub>14</sub> by the SS and **(to lead)**<sub>15</sub> on a forced march toward the north and west. Thousands **(to die)**<sub>16</sub>, hundreds of them in the Belower Forest, falling victim to exhaustion, the elements, and the exactions of their guards. The arson attack on the Belower memorial **(to occur)**<sub>17</sub> exactly 10 years to the day after the "Jewish barracks" at the Sachsenhausen camp **(to destroy)**<sub>18</sub> in an earlier arson attack. The perpetrators of the latest attack **(to spray-paint)**<sub>19</sub> swastikas and SS runes on memorial columns standing across from the museum building. On the columns' pedestal, in meter-high letters running three meters across, they **(to spray-paint)**<sub>20</sub> the phrase "Juden haben kurze Beine": "Jews **(to have)**<sub>21</sub> short legs." The phrase **(to make)**<sub>22</sub> allusion to the German proverb "lies **(to have)**<sub>23</sub> short legs," implying that their credibility is short-lived, and hence indirectly to what Holocaust deniers **(to label)**<sub>24</sub> the "Auschwitz lie."

The destruction of the Museum of the Death March **(to do)**<sub>25</sub> receive some coverage in the American press, but the everyday acts of anti-Semitic vandalism that **(to become)**<sub>26</sub> part of everyday life in Germany for over a decade now rarely **(to do)**<sub>27</sub>.

Ex. 35. Use of English. "It's Lonely at the Top. But it's Comforting to Look Down Upon Everyone at the Bottom."

- a) Choose the best variant.  
b) Comment on the issue of elitism in education.

Elitism is the attitude or belief that some individuals, by virtue of wealth, intellect, or training are superior to others. Elitists believe that society/the society (1) should be led by a select/elected/select-ed (2) group of people. They favor those with wealth, power, education, and/or intellect over the more workaday "regular/common/lay (3) person". Elitists can be found everywhere but are most commonly seen in upper management, Hollywood, media/the media (4), and the halls of government. The principal/principle (5) difference between an elitist and an expert is that experts are recognized by others for their skill or training whence/whereas/hence (6) elitists see themselves as superior.

The aura of elitism pervades the high/higher (7) education system as well. Today the emphasis is no longer primary/primarily (8) on learning for the sake of learning, or research for the sake of knowledge production. Instead there is a growing emphasis being placed on titles and prestige. This is where the growing emphasis on 'elite' universities and 'elite' students stems from.

The increased pursuit of high/higher (9) education by students from 'prestigious' universities has prompted academic institutions to invest more time and resources into marketing themselves as 'elite'. By hiring academics/academicians/academia (10) with strong reputations, by maintaining memberships in university networks with other 'elite' institutions and by focusing on producing up-to-date, cutting edge research, universities lure/attract/draw (11) the 'best and the brightest' students. Top students seek admission of/in/to (12) top universities and likewise top universities seek the attendance of top students. Thus students as well as universities perpetuate/preserve/complete (13) the cycle of 'elitism' in academics/academicians/academia (14) by focusing on normative credentials and qualifications as sources of prestige.

What is wrong about elitism in education? The main problem is that academic elitism and social separation feed off each other. Elite universities are becoming institutes/institutions (15) that systematically discriminate against poor and middle-class students. These schools are serving less as vehicles of upward social mobility than as transmitters of privilege from generation to generation. Prestigious universities across the globe, especially private ones, pass over exceptionally qualified students in favor of students which/that/whose (16) parents are wealthy alumni/alumnus/alumna (17) or generous donors. Increasingly, a parent's substantive/substantial (18) donation to a university's endowment fund/foundation (19) or building campaign — not a student's academic merit — is the determining factor of admission of/in/to (20) the country's top private universities.

The true lesson that elite universities are teaching us, therefore, is that money, status, and connections are the new determinants of success. A person's wallet, not his effort, is the great distinguisher of the twenty-first century.

Ex. 36. Fill in the gaps with any suitable word.



Some complain that on \_\_\_\_\_ (1), working women are paid only 77 cents for every dollar \_\_\_\_\_ (2) by a man. Asians \_\_\_\_\_ (3) more than Hispanics; blacks less than whites. Mormons \_\_\_\_\_ (4) more than Muslims; Jews more than Jehovah's Witnesses. And Polish Americans \_\_\_\_\_ (5) more than Puerto Ricans.

Does that \_\_\_\_\_ (6) America is a racist and religiously bigoted country?

The \_\_\_\_\_ (7) behind such \_\_\_\_\_ (8) is that the sexes are equal in capacity, aptitude, drive and interest, and if there is a \_\_\_\_\_ (9) in pay, only bigotry can explain it. But are there not other, simpler answers for why women \_\_\_\_\_ (10) less?

Perhaps half of women \_\_\_\_\_ (11) the job market during their lives to \_\_\_\_\_ (12) children, which puts them behind men who never leave the workforce. Women gravitate to teaching, nursing, \_\_\_\_\_ (13) and service work, which pay less than jobs where men \_\_\_\_\_ (14): mining, manufacturing, \_\_\_\_\_ (15) and the military.

Sports have become a national obsession, and among the most rewarded professions in fame and fortune. And TV viewers prefer to watch male athletes \_\_\_\_\_ (16) in baseball, basketball, football, hockey, golf, tennis and boxing.

L.S. lost his job as president of Harvard for \_\_\_\_\_ (17) that women have less \_\_\_\_\_ (18) for higher math and that may explain why they are \_\_\_\_\_ (19) on Ivy League faculties in the sciences, economics and math. Would not that male \_\_\_\_\_ (20) help explain why men are \_\_\_\_\_ (21) in investment banking and corporate finance, where salaries are among the highest?

Some politicians want the government to more closely \_\_\_\_\_ (22) all businesses until women reach pay \_\_\_\_\_ (23). Whence comes this egalitarian fanaticism?

Not from our Declaration of Independence, which spoke of all men being \_\_\_\_\_ (24) in their Creator-endowed rights to life, liberty and the \_\_\_\_\_ (25) of happiness. Nor from the America Revolution, which was about liberty not equality, not this alien ideology of egalitarianism. Equality is not even mentioned in the Constitution or the Bill of Rights, and the 14th Amendment's "equal protection" clause did not even make an appearance until after the Civil War. And that was about equal justice \_\_\_\_\_ (26) law, not the socioeconomic equality of all Americans.

Except in God-\_\_\_\_\_ (27) and constitutional rights, we are not equal. We are all unequal. The utopian \_\_\_\_\_ (28) of equality is but the banner of every power-hungry politician in modern history. And the rise of the egalitarian society means the death of the free society.

Ex. 37.

a) Read the following article and identify its topic and thesis.

b) Think of a possible title.

c) Comment on the ideas of the article.

Have you heard about "trigger warnings," the latest thought control lunacy that has found its way onto college campuses? I weep for our children as they try to navigate the insanity in our society fronting as being protective of their interests.

Trigger warnings are disclaimers that are attached to literature or other content to alert students to potentially traumatic subject matter the literature may contain. The most common types of warnings to date have reportedly involved rape, sexual abuse and mental illness.

Until recently, the warnings were mostly on feminist-oriented Internet message boards and blogs, but now they've gravitated to some of our universities, many of which never found a kooky idea they didn't embrace. In addition to expanding their jurisdictional scope, they have also increased in their range of forbidden topics. In many venues, trigger warnings now apply to all kinds of isms "racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, cissexism, ableism, and other issues of privilege and oppression," as exemplified by an Oberlin College document concerning triggers.

What is the rationale for warning readers that they might encounter these isms in the flagged literature? Well, according to the Oberlin document, "a trigger is something that recalls a traumatic event to an individual. Reactions to triggers can take many different forms; individuals may feel

any range of emotion during and after a trigger. Experiencing a trigger will almost always disrupt a student's learning and may make some students feel unsafe in (the) classroom."

Are we to assume that every piece of writing that in some way touches on the subject of racism, for example, will produce an adverse reaction for any reader who has ever experienced any type of racism at any level? Will all writings that describe or depict some form of sexism or perceived sexism spark a traumatic memory for those who have ever been slighted by this ism?

So what if literature causes readers to feel emotions? Isn't that one of its purposes? Even if certain writings evoke certain negative emotions, does it necessarily follow that they "will almost always disrupt a student's learning and may make some students feel unsafe in (the) classroom"?

Isn't it just as likely that emotions spawned by some of these isms will enhance a student's learning? Don't people sometimes learn how not to behave by pointing to examples, real or fictional, of unacceptable behavior? Abraham Lincoln, according to legend, thought Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did a great deal to educate people to the horrors of slavery and racism. But even if writings that contain "trigger content" don't necessarily yield positive consequences, do you believe that they almost always disrupt a student's learning or make some students feel unsafe? Are you serious?

How will a student's learning be disrupted by literature that contains such content? Are students really that fragile?

Apparently so, according to some of their fellow students. Recently, student leaders at the University of California, Santa Barbara passed a resolution urging officials to institute mandatory trigger warnings on class syllabuses. Professors who present "content that may trigger the onset of symptoms of" posttraumatic stress disorder would be required to issue advance alerts and allow students to skip those classes.

Yes, skipping classes. That's the answer. That sure won't disrupt the students' learning, now will it?

Like so much of liberalism, this entire trend is insultingly patronizing. It assumes students and whomever else such alerts will be given to are incapable of handling stress, potentially unsettling information or any adverse circumstances whatever. Isn't college supposed to help prepare students for life, as well as impart academic information? How can you prepare a student for life when you shelter him from adversity?

Do some of today's young liberals want cradletograve security to encompass emotional security now, as well as financial dependence on government? What gives these intermeddling types the idea that no one can function in society without their perpetual micromanaging superintendence?

Beyond their apparently low opinion of their fellow human beings, it seems that those behind this warning craze are, like their fellow liberals, just too preoccupied with expanding classes of victimhood, emphasizing groups in society rather than individuals (another sign of their relatively low opinion of human beings) and pitting these various groups against one another.

Why do they want to keep throwing isms in our face? Why do they want to always create new ones? It's obvious that they want to see men and women, blacks and whites, straights and gays, etc., in a permanently adversarial state. I don't think most people want to view the world that way.

Personally, I would appreciate it if these troublemakers would lighten up and accept that most of us don't harbor the hostility they must have themselves and want to project onto us. People have enough trouble without officious malcontents trying to forever stir up more.

You all have too much time on your hands. Please get back to your schoolwork and start treating your fellow students with respect rather than as emotional invalids, for there is a far better chance you are maladjusted than they are.

*David Limbaugh*

# UNIT III

**FAITH TODAY:**  
A BOMB OF DESTRUCTION,  
A BARRIER OF DIVISION  
OR A BRIDGE  
OF COOPERATION?



## READING 1

### LAED-IN

1. What is religion? Which of the following explanations do you find the most accurate?
  - a. Religion helps people make sense of events which would otherwise be incomprehensible (E.B. Tylor and James Frazer).
  - b. Religion is a form of mass neurosis and exists only as a response to deep emotional conflicts and weaknesses; it is nothing more but a by-produce of psychological distress (Sigmund Freud).
  - c. A daughter of Hope and Fear, explaining to Ignorance the nature of the Unknowable (Ambrose Bierce).
  - d. Religion is an illusion whose chief purpose is to provide reasons and excuses to keep society functioning just as it is (Karl Marx).
2. What does it mean to be religious? Do the following practices have anything to do with being religious? Why (not)?

— attending services;	— giving alms;
— being baptized;	— going to church frequently/regularly
— actively participating in the life of one's religious community/parish;	— going to confession regularly;
— decorating one's home with icons;	— participating in religious ceremonies and rites;
— fasting;	— saying prayers;
— following the teachings of a religion;	— wearing a cross/crucifix/star of David/star and crescent, etc.;
— following/keeping commandments;	— observing religious holidays.
— reading the Bible/Koran/ Talmud/etc. on a regular basis;	

*Skim the article by Colin Sedgwick, pastor of the Lindsay Park Baptist church, Kenton, Middlesex, to see where 'professionals' stand on what it means to be religious.*

*Compare the author's views with your ideas.*

### **GIMME THAT ORGANISED RELIGION**

**Colin Sedgwick**

*The Guardian*

We are often told that people are wide open to the idea of the spiritual — the religious, the numinous, call it what you like — but have no time for organised religion. And so the churches are emptying while they pursue their quest elsewhere.

Well yes, organised religion can be a curse, no doubt about that. It can become a habit, a drug, a prison. I heard of a minister who, having conducted his last service before retirement, never entered the doors of a church again. His religion had been operating on auto-pilot and, when the plane eventually landed, he could not run away quickly enough.

But while recognising the dangers of such barren religiosity, it is worth asking what people who have no time for organised religion actually want. Unorganised religion? Disorganised religion?

I suspect that what they are, in fact, looking for is private religion — that is, religion they can practice with minimal interruption to their normal routine and without having to bother about burden-

some responsibilities. “I want the feelgood factor, but not the cost of commitment” — that, in reality, is what such people are saying. Putting it bluntly, private religion is essentially selfish religion.

It is, after all, far easier to burn incense at home in a dimly lit room, or sit meditatively in an empty church, or scan the stars on a solitary hillside walk than it is to help with the washing-up at the end of a service, or play table-tennis with the local yoof on a Friday night after a hard week, or turn out on a cold evening for a difficult church meeting. But these things, in reality, are a large part not only of what organised religion is about, but, more to the point, of what true religion is about.

True religion is inescapably corporate and unashamedly down-to-earth. Yes, it starts in a personal, intimate encounter between the individual and God. But it never ends there. Christian baptism, for example, the sacrament of initiation, is initiation not only into Christ, but also into his community. You cannot become a Christian without becoming part of the body of Christ, the church.

And the church is not some nebulous, mystical entity. No, it is precisely those people you have to learn to love, even if you do not particularly like them: that man with the maddening habit of talking too much, that woman who never stops grumbling. And it is responsibility: working, serving and sacrificing.

This is not to dismiss the reality or the importance of the numinous: God forbid! But it is to locate it precisely where it belongs — in the sheer ordinariness of life in general, and religious observance in particular.

“I want God, but I don’t want organised religion.” It sounds fine. Who, in their senses, wants to be like those poor saps on the parochial church council? But, sorry, you cannot have it that way; God is simply not available on those terms.

Your private religion may afford you a brief satisfaction; there is, no doubt, such a thing as a spiritual placebo effect. But for the real thing — the true encounter with God — there is nothing else for it; you have to roll up your sleeves and get out your diary, not to mention shouldering that rather disagreeable bit of penal apparatus, the cross.

Hard? Yes. But this is the way to enlightenment, glory and joy. There is no other.

#### Notes:

<i>numinous</i>	= mystic
<i>incense</i>	= a substance that creates a strong but pleasant smell when burned, often used in religious ceremonies
<i>yoof</i>	= (Br., not standard humorous) young people
<i>parochial church</i>	= related to a particular parish (i.e. a church district)

## READING 2

*Read the text in detail to find out what the author thinks about religion.*

### IS RELIGION MORE THE PROBLEM THAN THE ANSWER?

**John Senter Compere**

I think a case can be made that religion gets a free ride in this country.

“Never discuss religion or politics with your customers” is a standard business maxim. The reason is obvious. People’s religious and political belief systems are apt to be untouchable by logic. Or evidence. Or anything else approaching intelligent discourse. And a businessperson cannot risk alienating potential customers by challenging deeply-held notions and expect to stay in business.

Fair enough. Business success is tough enough to achieve under the best of circumstances; no sense deliberately making it harder.

But what about the larger public arena? Politics certainly gets its share of public discussion, with supporters and detractors on almost every subject vigorously arguing their positions.

10 But have you noticed, the same cannot be said for religion? It's almost automatically assumed as a good thing, the foundation of our country. Even when some bizarre event involving religion comes along, like the Heaven's Gate cult mass suicide, it is presented as an extreme case of what may be troublesome about religion in general.

What, pray tell, could possibly be troublesome about religion in general, you ask. Plenty. But first, permit me a brief diversion to give you some perspective on where I'm coming from. Honest debate requires it.

I have up-close and personal knowledge about religion from the inside. I was born into and raised in an extremely religious tradition. My father was a Southern Baptist minister. My mother's family is also deeply steeped in religious vocation, with ministers and missionaries all over the place.

20 So having been baptized a Christian at age eight, with a tearful profession of faith in Jesus as is customary in such churches, I "surrendered" to the ministry at age 13 or so. I preached my first sermon when I was 15 and was ordained a full-fledged minister at age 18, serving as pastor of two rural churches throughout my college days. I was the featured speaker at many functions of the college ministerial society, since platform skills came somewhat naturally to me because of my background.

I loved what I was doing and couldn't have been more sincere. Except for one thing. I began to think for myself. Serious questions about the religious indoctrination I had imbibed began in college, even though I attended a conservative religious institution. They continued in seminary. When I sought answers, I was told, "Kick the rock. When you've finished kicking it, you'll know it's a rock." And other no-think pap of that genre. Well, it wasn't so. The more I investigated the basic  
30 tenets of the faith, the more certain I became that Christianity was no more valid than any of the religions I had been taught were false.

Nonetheless, I loved being a minister and wanted to serve people. I decided to try to ignore my inability to believe such basic doctrines as biblical inspiration, the divinity of Jesus, the necessity of religious salvation, and plunge into living a devout life of service in a simple setting. Although I had been something of a star during seminary days, often preaching at the campus church to my fellow students and professors, upon graduation I refused to play politics and accepted a simple country church.

I served this and then a similar one in the poor part of the city for seven years. It became increasingly harder to do with integrity. At age 32 I faced a choice: either get out of religion or risk  
40 becoming publicly phony and privately cynical, as I saw happening to many of my minister friends. I chose to get out.

Now, let's return to my opening contention that religion is being given a free ride. What I mean is the automatic assumption that religion is a good thing, that it makes people better, that America was founded on religious principles, that without religion immorality would completely take over. Horsefeathers!

John Lennon's signature song "Imagine" was, unfortunately, ahead of its time. What if there were no religion? Well, let's see.

1. Most of the world's wars would not have been fought. Start with the wars the bible glorifies against the "enemies of God" and come all the way through the Holy Roman Empire, the  
50 Crusades, the cruel colonization of less developed countries by Christian countries who were

sure God was on their side, to the modern-day conflict in the Middle East between warring factions who are all convinced they have religious sanction for their battles.

2. Many of the worst atrocities would not have been committed. I'll mention just a few. The Inquisition in which believers (people of religious faith all) were tortured and killed because their brand of orthodoxy was not acceptable, burning at the stake of religious reformers who dared deviate from the party line, witch trials and drownings of innocent, simple people (most of them women) who found disfavor with religious (most of them male) leaders, slavery of Africans by staunch religious people who justified it on biblical grounds, and the shameful treatment of Native Americans who were considered savages in spite of their deep respect for the land and for the sanctity of their word (in stark contrast with their Christian plunderers).
3. Insidious prejudice could not hide behind religious shields. Without question one of the most powerful appeals of religion is the desire to be a part of the in-group. Religion promises that in spades, all the while claiming (and perhaps intending) to be egalitarian. When you've gone through the initiation ceremony, sort of like the plebes at a military institute, it's just real easy to feel superior to those who haven't. Such prejudice, sometimes masquerading as evangelistic concern, is pandemic with religions.
4. All the money spent in support of organized religion would be available for more direct, more useful humanitarian effort. Think of the multiplied billions of dollars that have been poured into organized religion through the centuries. The temples, the cathedrals, the mosques, the churches. Edifices that glorify some god? Not unless the god is an idiot. It's easy to see that the religious gurus of primitive cultures, however sincere they were, however revered, were a drain on the system. Somebody else had to do the work they were not doing, to say nothing of their demands for sacrificial giving to the god they represented. Today's professional religionists, again however sincere, are no different. They have to be paid, and their churches have to be supported.
5. It would be clearer that, although all people are created with equal rights to the pursuit of happiness, not all people are equally likely to live responsibly, no matter what. The church (as a symbol of organized religion) has some very good, generous, unselfish people in it. It also has some very bad, stingy, selfish people in it. If religion *really*, in and of itself, had the power to change people, all religious people would be beneficent and kind. I don't mean "without sin," to use the common religious phrase; I just mean basically good. Anybody with half a smidgen of intellectual honesty knows that's not the case. It isn't clear whether there is a higher percentage of responsible people within religion than without, but I suspect that if there is, it isn't statistically significant.

We operate on the assumption that the overwhelming majority of people believe religion is important and good. I challenge that assumption. We know that at least half the population of this country seldom or never attends a religious function. If we think about it, we also know that a hefty percentage of those who are active religiously do so for something other than religious reasons. Community approval, social contacts, business and political expectations. I don't know how large the percentage of people who are genuinely faithful is, but I suspect it's much smaller than the noise it makes.

People have every right, of course, to be as religious as they choose, so long as the practice of their religion doesn't infringe on the rights of others. Many, many good, honest, sincere people are totally convinced that their religious views are not only right, but are what make them good, honest, and sincere. My parents are among them. I respect them, all the sincere believers. I also think

they are, unfortunately, deluded. Even so, their very goodness has seen religion do many humane and wonderful things — education, hunger relief, care for the homeless. These things often need some sort of organization to occur effectively. It just doesn't have to be a religious organization, based on superstitious notions about salvation and eternal life.

100 I would like to see a world in which, instead of pouring our resources of time, money and energy into religious coffers, we tried building a more humane society among those who are so inclined. And that we quit assuming that religion is sacred.

Oops! If religion isn't sacred, is anything? Perhaps not.

Or perhaps everything is.

## COMPREHENSION

*Ex. 1. Identify the topic and the thesis of the text. Make sure they are neither too broad nor too narrow.*

*Ex. 2. Suggest Russian equivalents for these word combinations from the text.*

business maxim

no-think pap

intelligent discourse

minister

up-close and personal knowledge

opening contention

evangelistic concern

religion gets a free ride

*Ex. 3. Think of several questions to bring out the main ideas and arguments the author puts forward in support of his thesis.*

## VOCABULARY

*Ex. 4. Translate the following words and phrases, reproduce the context in which the words in (a) are used in the text (the lines of the text are indicated to help you).*

a)

to make a case (1–10)

integrity (30–40)

to alienate (alienation) (1–10)

to deviate (50–60)

perspective (10–20)

to masquerade (60–70)

faith (faithful) (20–30)

sanctity (60–70)

indoctrination (to indoctrinate) (20–30)

to glorify (70–80)

tenets (30–40)

to infringe (infringement) (90–100)

b) to have a case for/against, a strong/weak case, to present a case, to put faith in, to accept smth with blind faith, people of different faiths, interfaith dialogue, to maintain/ lose integrity, to compromise/to undermine integrity, tool of indoctrination, to engage in indoctrination, a key tenet, to hold to the tenet, from a historical/financial perspective, to keep smth in perspective, to adopt a historical perspective

*Ex. 5. Match some of the the words and phrases from Ex. 4 with their opposites below.*

denial, dishonesty, to adhere to, to attract, to denigrate, to disprove, to protect

Ex. 6. For each word given below find at least three words from the box that can go with it. Some words from the box can go into several groups. Can you continue the lists? Use the expressions in sentences of your own.

a belief in....	supporters	to regain
basic	the idea that...	to uphold
further	to adhere to	to violate
of democracy	to be designed to	unshakable
property	to cross a line that may....	voters
to lose		

sanctity	to alienate	tenet(s)	faith	to indoctrinate (sb. with ...)
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Ex. 7. Suggest stylistically neutral synonyms for the following words. Supply contexts to bring out the difference between synonyms in each pair.



to imbibe	to be given a free ride	edifice	beneficent
contention	insidious	to revere	smidgen

Ex. 8. Express the same idea using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 instead of the underlined parts.

1. Efforts to fill people with religious ideas have become an important component of Jemaah Islamiyah strategy.
2. Muslims reject the global order as unjust and feel rejected and estranged because they find no meaningful mechanism to address the perceived inequality between the Muslim world and the West.
3. If people lived their lives following the moral principles they believe in, the world would be a safer, healthy and fulfilling place.
4. If science allows itself to be hijacked by fundamentalists, whether religious or anti-religious, its intellectual standards and principles will be compromised.
5. In writing a research paper, your objective is to put forward arguments so that any reasonable person would be convinced of the reasonableness of your thesis.
6. It has been said that nothing shows the moral bankruptcy of a society more than a disregard for the principle that human life is sacred.
7. Long before the attacks on the World trade Center on September 11, 2001, large parts of the world had lived with and resisted terrorism that often disguised as liberation struggles: Sri Lanka, Bosnia, Rwanda.
8. Most believers are convinced that without faith our life will be shorn of its moral dimension, its identity and purpose.
9. Partly on account of their educational brainwashing many Saudis are avid consumers of anti-Semitism, both vintage imported versions from Europe and fresh creations from the pens of contemporary Arabs.

10. People no longer have confidence in their political system and politicians; they are seeking refuge in religion in pursuit of their cause.
11. The law clearly states at public universities the Bible cannot be taught within a religious framework.
12. The poem wasn't written to give a realistic account of war but to show respect and immortalize those men who were killed in the war.
13. The principle that property should be respected and guarded means little or nothing to those born, bred and trapped in poverty.
14. The radical currents within Islam question virtually every single pillar of European society today and Western society in general.
15. The separation of church and state is no longer a reality. Let's get our heads out of the sand and try not to paint the rosy picture of the situation.
16. Those who no longer hold on to society's values must be brought back into line.
17. We should keep the faith, but we should take a sensible approach to it.
18. When Buddhism was first introduced into Japan in the 6th century, principles followed by followers of Buddhism forbade the taking of life and hence eating meat from terrestrial animals, so preventing the development of a land source of animal protein.
19. The reemergence of religion in politics stems from the feeling of isolation and antagonism created by aspects of modern life such as capitalism and bureaucratization.

*Ex. 9. Complete the following sentences using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 in their correct form.*

1. An official shall, after leaving the service, continue to behave with \_\_\_\_\_ and discretion as regards the acceptance of certain appointments or benefits.
2. A mobile phone that \_\_\_\_\_ as a gun may sound like a device concocted for 007, but it's the latest hidden weaponry to show up on the radar of law-enforcement agencies.
3. An understanding of the \_\_\_\_\_ of Hinduism is necessary for an understanding of the Indian culture.
4. Centers for Islamic ideological \_\_\_\_\_ working under cover of legitimate bodies include the Society for Social Reform funded by Kuwait and Muslim seminaries in the Tatarstan cities of Kazan.
5. From an early date, the imperial palaces at Constantinople incorporated decorative schemes that emphasized and \_\_\_\_\_ imperial power and dominion.
6. In December 1989, East German schools withdrew school history books which \_\_\_\_\_ now disgraced former leaders.
7. One of the main \_\_\_\_\_ of behaviourism is that behaviour can be shaped through reinforcement by reward.
8. A man \_\_\_\_\_ acts according to his morals, ethics, and conscience.
9. The movie is basically just a piece of anti-Bush propaganda \_\_\_\_\_ as a documentary.
10. The report prepared by eight leading international lawyers and professors of law drawn from four countries \_\_\_\_\_ against the illegality of the way British and U.S. troops fought the war.
11. To understand the Soviet interpretation of the revolution, it is essential to grasp the cardinal \_\_\_\_\_ of Marxism-Leninism.

12. Religion is thought to be a powerful tool of \_\_\_\_\_; some believe it is used to control people and is much powerful than political \_\_\_\_\_.
13. You must not lose \_\_\_\_\_ in humanity. Humanity is an ocean; if a few drops of the ocean are dirty, the ocean does not become dirty.
14. Most religions are based on simple but important principles: treating others as you would wish to be treated, forgiving so you were not imprisoned by bitterness and hatred, keeping wealth in \_\_\_\_\_, taking care of the poor, and building communities of trust.
15. From a Marxist \_\_\_\_\_, the primary liberal right is the right to economic liberty: the right to own property, to buy and sell, and to exchange goods and services.
16. The First Amendment prohibits the making of any law "respecting an establishment of religion", impeding the free exercise of religion, \_\_\_\_\_ on the freedom of speech and \_\_\_\_\_ on the freedom of the press.
17. From a religious \_\_\_\_\_, the axis of world division is not between cultures but between devout believers of the main world religions on the one hand, and secularists and modernists in all countries, on the other.
18. New York Times columnist Tom Friedman, quoting an Iranian woman, tells a story about the education of young boys in Middle Eastern countries. The boys are taught by clerics completely through \_\_\_\_\_. They are fed information to remember but aren't allowed to think about it. No discussion, no involvement, no interaction is tolerated.
19. Despite great diversity among peoples and religions, most Americans subscribed to a Protestant Christian faith. Groups that \_\_\_\_\_ from that mainstream often found themselves the objects of suspicion.
20. The basic unity of the followers of all \_\_\_\_\_ is emphatically stressed in the Holy Quran and the creation of discord and disunity by terrorism or otherwise has no place in Islam.
21. For Marx, when people seek solace in religion they are compensating for their sense of \_\_\_\_\_ and suffering: it masks and mitigates the true nature of the exploitative structures of capitalism that oppress the lower classes.
22. All world religions affirm the \_\_\_\_\_ of human life.

*Ex. 10. Complete the following sentences.*

*Where necessary add a sentence or two to make your examples more meaningful*



1. Because of \_\_\_\_\_, many \_\_\_\_\_ lose **faith** in \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Should \_\_\_\_\_ be allowed to participate in the **indoctrination** of \_\_\_\_\_?
3. \_\_\_\_\_ may undermine the **integrity** of the church.
4. An important tenet of \_\_\_\_\_ is that \_\_\_\_\_.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ is a dangerous cult that **masquerades** as \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Most believers are convinced that **deviating** from \_\_\_\_\_ will lead to \_\_\_\_\_.
7. The **sanctity** of life has always \_\_\_\_\_.
8. According to the \_\_\_\_\_ **perspective** on religion, it \_\_\_\_\_.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ will put a new **perspective** on \_\_\_\_\_.
10. I'm convinced that any **infringement** of the church and state separation should be \_\_\_\_\_.
11. \_\_\_\_\_ is one of the main **tenets** of all world religions.
12. Discussion of \_\_\_\_\_ in the classroom may **alienate** those students who \_\_\_\_\_.

Ex. 11. Answer the questions using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 and Ex. 6.

1. What does 'acting with **integrity**' mean? How easy do you think it is?
2. From a historical **perspective**, what role does religion play in international conflicts?
3. In the age of new religions, how can one distinguish between a new cult and a sect **masquerading** as an innocuous denomination?
4. Do you think religion brings people together or does it **alienate** them from one another?
5. How can the **sanctity** of marriage be upheld in the modern age?
6. What role do you see for **interfaith** dialogue in world politics?
7. What is the difference between **indoctrination** and instruction?
8. Do you think **faith** is incompatible with science and logic?
9. Will your friend's decision to convert to another religion **alienate** you?

Ex. 12. Translate the sentences using the vocabulary of the unit.

**A.**

1. Взаимоотношение религии и науки необходимо рассматривать с исторической **точки зрения**.
2. Влияют ли религиозные **догматы** на общественную жизнь?
3. Вступив в секту, люди утрачивают способность **здорово оценивать ситуацию**.
4. Главный герой романа адвокат Аттикус Финч справедлив, благороден, всегда **верен своим принципам**.
5. Любая власть стремится упрочить своё положение с помощью идеологической **обработки** населения.
6. Многие психологи **приводят убедительные доказательства** необходимости религии в современном обществе.
7. Мы должны сделать все, чтобы защитить **неприкосновенность** Конституции.
8. На встрече с израильским премьер-министром Ариэлем Шароном президент США Джордж Буш потребовал от Израиля не **отклоняться** от плана дорожной карты.
9. Не стоит **слепо верить** всем новостям из Интернета.
10. Некоторые религиозные учения **отталкивают** людей от Бога.
11. Новый закон **нарушает** права мигрантов.
12. Россия призывает все государства-члены ООН осудить **прославление** нацистов и их приспешников.
13. Секты могут **маскироваться под** различные миротворческие, экологические, образовательные и т. п. проекты.

**B.**

1. Автор весьма убедительно **доказывает**, что религиозное мышление было уместно и необходимо в мире, где воевали мечами и копьями, но в мире с атомными бомбами и нанотехнологиями оно становится самоубийственным для цивилизации.
2. Ваше эссе должно быть написано последовательно, вы должны придерживаться фактов и не **отклоняться** от темы.
3. Во многих странах приняты законы, призванные защищать **неприкосновенность** брака.
4. Макиавелли критикует христианство, которое **прославляет** смирение (humility) и не учит силе, выжить без которой невозможно.



5. Механизм идеологической **обработки**, сложившийся в США, существенно отличается от пропаганды тоталитарных режимов.
6. Каждый гражданин наделен правом на свободное выражение мнений как устно, так и в письменном виде до тех пор, пока это не противоречит **догматам** ислама.
7. Любая религия прививает человеку иррациональное мышление, заставляет **слепо верить в постулаты** (в том числе абсурдные) и поступать вопреки всяким доводам логики.
8. Обвинение в адрес правительства, выдвинутое в репортаже, носило серьезный характер, но Би-би-си не ставила под сомнение **честность** премьер-министра.
9. Понимание религии как ложного сознания, привычное в российской историографии советского периода, не позволяет **адекватно оценить** роль религии в истории.
10. С религиозной **точки зрения** материальное благополучие не является свидетельством духовного благополучия человека, которого обладает им.
11. Согласно международным правовым нормам о правах человека власти страны не имеют права **посягать** на религиозные убеждения граждан.
12. Считается, что если журналист задает слишком много вопросов, он ставит под **сомнение** честность власти.
13. Хотя борьба Мора (Thomas More) и Эразма (Erasmus) против церковного мракобесия (obscurantism), суеверий и пороков католического духовенства была важна, не следует **упускать из виду**, что, они хотели всего лишь избавить церковь от схоластических догм и не стремились избавить человечество от религии.
14. Цинизм (который **маскируется** как право на свободу и счастье и объявляет себя свободным от долга) порождает ответный цинизм. Россия гибнет от цинизма.
15. Главная проблема фанатика в том, что он перестает думать. Он не может **здорово оценивать** ситуацию, а вместо обычных человеческих рассуждений он постоянно цитирует священное писание.
16. Отменив санкции против этой страны, ЕС не смог **остаться верным своим принципам**, т.к. оставил на произвол судьбы борцов за права человека, которых продолжают сажать в тюрьмы по политическим мотивам.

## BUILDING A WORD BANK

*Ex. 13. Translate the following sentences paying special attention to how 'religion' words are used. Use them in sentences of your own.*

1. Jehovah's Witnesses go door to door, trying to **convert** people to their religion.
2. The Muslim religion forbids any **depictions** of God.
3. Islam is the **principal religion** of the Middle East, Asia, and of the northern half of Africa.
4. What a great world this would be if people would spend as much energy **practising** their **religion** as they spend quarrelling about it.
5. The government has passed a law **abolishing prayer** in public schools.
6. Survivors of the disaster **lit candles** and **chanted prayers** for the dead.
7. In Serbia, every Christian family has a **patron saint** which they **pray to** for protection.
8. Some people **come to faith** very gradually over a long period of time... Others come to faith almost in an instant.
9. In the Middle Ages, Christian societies used force to **uphold faith**: "Believe it or else".

10. You don't need religion to **keep faith alive**.
11. British Airways is facing legal action and calls for a boycott by Christians after it ruled an employee could not display a **crucifix** the size of a five pence piece on her necklace.
12. In the late 3rd century the pagan philosopher Porphyry stated that promising any criminal that he would be **absolved** of his sins and **enter paradise** as long as he was **baptized** before he died undermined the very foundations of a society of decent human beings.

Ex. 14. Explain the difference (if any) between the words below. Illustrate their use in sentences of your own.



1. to christen — to baptize;
2. faith — church (as in *Catholic church*) — sect — cult;
3. church — temple — mosque — synagogue;
4. religious — holy — spiritual — sacred — divine

Ex. 15. Suggest English equivalents for the following words. Use them in sentences of your own.

верующий, служба, подавать милостыню, конфессия, неверный (сущ.), заповедь, мусульманин, православный, многоконфессиональный (многоконфессиональность), иудей, буддист, паства.

Ex. 16. Below is a list of words and phrases related to religion. Think of collocations they can form; use the internet or consult a dictionary of collocations where necessary.

faith, sin, belief, religion, church, separation of church and state, religiosity, secularization

Ex. 17. Below is a list of phrases related to the separation of church and state. Translate them. Use in sentences of your own.

tight bonds between ...	to be engaged in discriminatory practices
to restrict the activities of	to protect religion from the coercive power of government
to dictate (sth) to ...	to keep superstition out of the government
to advance a religion	to promote particular religious beliefs
equality before the law	to favor one religion over another
low/high state interference	to raise a denomination to the status of an official religion
to inhibit a religion	to be free of inter-religious strife
	to control organized religious bodies

Ex. 18. Make up your own list of topic-related vocabulary necessary to discuss the issue and share it with the class.

## TALK and DISCUSSION

Ex. 19. Support or challenge the arguments of the author of the text in Reading 2.

Ex. 20. Explain and expand on what the following concepts mean.

established religion	the Big Bang theory vs creationism
free exercise of religion	interfaith dialogue

inter-religious strife	the Ten Commandments
blue law	the clergy
separation of church and state	the laity
freedom of conscience	to proselytize

*Ex. 21. Discuss your answers to these questions. Use the active vocabulary and the phrases from Ex. 13–18.*

**A. Religion on the personal level**

For centuries, intellectuals have been promising the end of religion; every generation has been confident that soon people will 'outgrow' belief in the supernatural.

- Why do people need religion? Do religions help humanity? Think of possible reasons why it has been predicted that all societies will eventually secularize as they modernize.
- Do you think religion is crumbling now? Why (not)? What accounts for the current trend?
- What can be regarded as indicators of people's religiosity? Does private religiosity (as opposed to formal religious participation) count? (see also Reading 1)

**B. Religion on the social level**

Though some may speak about the resurgence of religion, its social role is diminishing. Today belief in God tends to be a personal option rather than a compelling necessity.

- Discuss the social significance of religion in this country and the region you specialize in. Does it help to establish social cohesion? Does it still explain or introduce norms to society? Can it be regarded as an important tool of socialization?
- Does religion tend to play a more functional role in poorer states?
- Do societies live in accordance with church-dictated codes?
- What role does religion play in non-religious institutions? Is it used to perpetuate the existing social orders?

**C. Religion at School**

The presence and extent of religion in public schools is one of the most difficult and contentious issues when it comes to the separation of church and state. On the one hand are those who sincerely believe that a lack of religion in the schools "teaches" atheism, resulting in a decline in morality. On the other hand are those who sincerely believe that state sanctioned religion and state supported religious observances infringe on the religious liberties of all students.

- Should prayers be allowed in public schools?
- Do you think religion should be included in public school curricula?
- Should there exist specialized religious schools?
- Do you support the teaching of evolution or creationism?

What are the developments in this sphere in the regions/countries you specialize in?

*Ex. 22. Make a 5–7 min. Power Point presentation on a world religion/the principal religion of the region/country you specialize in.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 20).

Do your presentations support or speak against Mahatma Gandhi's idea that "Even as a tree has a single trunk but many branches and leaves, there is one religion — human religion — but any number of faiths."

*Ex. 23. Debate: Do We Need Separation of Church and State?*

In two teams debating against each other, discuss if the principle of separation of church and state should be upheld. Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 21).

You may want to focus on the following questions:

Why do most democracies put a premium on keeping the state and religion apart? Does the principle of separation of church and state ensure that the government remains the government of all citizens rather than the government of one denomination/religious tradition? Does a marriage between church and state inevitably involve the transfer of money? Are politicians who do not believe in God unfit for public office? Should religious leaders influence government decisions or how people vote in elections?

*Ex. 24. Project work.*

Project work is a collective activity aimed at analyzing and — where applicable — solving a certain problem/proving a point. Apart from enhancing communicative skills, project work activities encourage students to apply knowledge from across the curriculum, thus turning English from a study objective into a study medium.



**Stages:**

1. selecting the topic (students are encouraged to come up with their own topic or choose one from the suggested list);
2. problem analysis and planning (brainstorming, allocating work to group members);
3. collecting info and generating a solution;
4. writing and editing;
5. making a presentation;
6. evaluation.

**Important:**

1. After choosing the topic, the team will have a brainstorming session during which the problem will be identified and questions to be addressed formulated; the efficiency of the team at this stage will to a great extent determine how successful the project is going to be.
2. Apart from various sources chosen at the discretion of the team members, each project work will be based on an opinion poll of at least ten people on issues relevant to the topic; the poll will be devised and carried out by the team; the results will be incorporated into the presentation.
3. The work load will be shared among the team members, which does not mean, though, that each individual will work in isolation; project work is a team effort. Each team member's contribution to the project will be specified in the presentation either in the intro or concluding remarks.
4. It is advisable that all the members of the team participate in the presentation; each speaker is given no more than 5 minutes.

5. Discuss the evaluation criteria with your professor. Those will include the use of active vocabulary.

**Possible project work topics:**

1. Religion on the March/Decline of Religion.
2. The Role of World Religions in the Region You Specialize In.
3. Separation of Church and State: Myths and Reality (either in Russia or the country/region you specialize in).
4. Religion as a Force for Good/Bad.

*Ex. 25. Practise making impromptu talks.*

Suggested topics:

- what it means to be religious;
- interfaith dialogue;
- freedom of conscience;
- religion and international conflict.

*Ex. 26. Round table discussion. The Role of Religion in International Relations*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 2 (ex. 24).

**Roles:**

**Role 1:** Historian. You offer a historical perspective on the role of religion in promoting international conflicts.

**Role 2:** Historian. You offer a historical perspective on the role of religion in promoting international peace.

**Role 3:** Russian Foreign Ministry official. Concentrate on how cooperation with the Russian Orthodox Church helps pursue the country's foreign policy interests.

**Roles 4&5:** Representative of a major religion. Speak on what role religion can play in international affairs either on the official or grass-roots level.

**Roles 6&7:** Representative of a major organization promoting interfaith dialogue (The Organization of the Islamic Conference, the World Council of Churches, the Conference of European Churches, the Buddhist International Alliance, etc). Focus on the role of intercultural and inter-civilizational dialogue in global politics and how religion can help diplomats in maintain international peace and stability.

**Role 8:** Political Scientist. Discuss the role religion plays in shaping social attitudes, thus affecting the values at the heart of foreign policies (you may want to concentrate on some particular country). Alternatively, you can focus on how politicians use religion in their interests.

**Role 9:** Researcher specializing in a particular region/country whose foreign policy is to a certain extent affected by religion.

Besides the web-sites of the relevant organizations, the following links may be useful in your preparation:

- Jeffrey Haynes "Religion, 'soft power' and international relations" // [http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper\\_5026.pdf](http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_5026.pdf)
- David Wessels "Religion in International Politics" // [http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper\\_4073.pdf](http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_4073.pdf)

- John Rees “The Next Big Thing? Why Religion May (Not) Shape International Relations in the 21st Century // [http://researchonline.nd.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1027&context=arts\\_conference](http://researchonline.nd.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1027&context=arts_conference)
- David Smock “Religion in World Affairs: Its Role in Conflict and Peace // <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr201.pdf>

*Ex. 27. Render the following texts into English and comment on them. What purpose do you think their authors pursued?*



**A.**

В Нью-Йорке состоялся “Диалог высокого уровня по поощрению межрелигиозного и межкультурного взаимопонимания и сотрудничества на благо мира”. Россию на этой встрече представлял заместитель министра иностранных дел Александр Яковенко и митрополит Оренбургский и Бузулукский Валентин. Отвечая на вопросы “РГ”, высокопоставленный российский дипломат объяснил, насколько религия влияет на работу ООН.

**Российская газета:** Насколько активно сотрудничает ООН с религиозными объединениями?

**Александр Яковенко:** История взаимоотношений ООН с религиозными структурами ведется от истоков ее создания: “Комиссия церкви по международным делам”, ставшая позднее частью Всемирного совета церквей, внесла вклад в разработку Устава ООН и Всеобщей декларации прав человека.

В настоящее время основной канал участия конфессий в делах ООН — это религиозные НПО. Более ста из них объединены в “Комитет религиозных НПО”, который является самой авторитетной структурой в этой области. Около 200 НПО имеют консультативный статус при Экономическом и Социальном Совете, то есть могут участвовать в работе Совета и его разнопрофильных органов. В последнее время при поддержке МИД России к работе ООН подключаются и наши отечественные организации гражданского общества, включая такие известные объединения, как Всемирный русский народный собор, Императорское православно-палестинское общество и Российский фонд мира.

**РГ:** В каких еще проектах такого рода в рамках ООН участвует Россия?

**Яковенко:** Мы поддерживаем “Альянс цивилизаций”, который был создан в 2005 году с целью консолидировать усилия государств и гражданского общества для преодоления поляризации цивилизаций, в первую очередь западной и исламской. Приоритетные направления его работы — образование, молодежь, миграция и СМИ. Россия является активным членом Группы друзей “Альянса цивилизаций” — неофициального объединения государств и международных организаций, содействующих реализации его задач. Первый форум Альянса состоялся в январе 2008 года в Мадриде.

Россия — партнер Трехстороннего форума по межрелигиозному сотрудничеству на благо мира, объединяющего представителей государств, учреждений ООН и неправительственных организаций. Кстати, Трехсторонний форум был одним из истоков идеи Диалога высокого уровня.

Важно, что эти неформальные структуры не подменяют собой межправительственные органы ООН, а оказывают экспертное содействие их работе и служат площадкой для открытого обмена мнениями, что не всегда возможно в рамках официальных заседаний.

**РГ:** А есть ли собственные российские проекты в этой области?

**Яковенко:** В обширном списке наших инициатив международного масштаба в этой области можно выделить Всемирный саммит религиозных лидеров, который состоялся в Москве в 2006 году и объединил видных деятелей из около 50 стран. При поддержке российских Центра национальной славы и Фонда Андрея Первозванного регулярно проходят сессии Мирового общественного форума “Диалог цивилизаций”. МИД России активно способствовал осуществлению этих проектов.

*(По материалам Российской газеты)*

High-level Dialogue on Interreligious and Intercultural Understanding and Cooperation for Peace, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, World Council of Churches, Committee of Religious NGOs, to be in consultative status with ECOSOC, World Russian People’s Council, Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society, Alliance of Civilizations, Tripartite Forum on Interfaith Cooperation for Peace, St Andrew the First Called Foundation, Center of National Glory Board

**В.**

### **РЕЛИГИОЗНЫЙ ФАКТОР В МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЯХ**

Современный этап мирового развития опровергает распространенные представления о том, что роль мировоззренческих предпосылок человеческого поведения снижается. На фоне размывания идеологического компонента политики существенно возросла роль религиозных установок. Противоречия глобализации повсеместно затормозили процесс ухода религии в область “личной духовности”. Как показывает международный опыт, религия все больше определяет образ жизни приверженцев ислама, а религиозный ренессанс в разных формах ощущается среди христианских и других религиозных общин. Религиозные деятели активно высказываются по вопросам международной политики. Их встречи, предшествующие началу официальных конференций “Г-20”, стали важным публичным элементом этого формата.

Современная конфессиональная динамика характеризуется не только активизацией религиозной жизни. Существенно изменилась численность основных конфессиональных групп населения земли. Теперь среди них преобладают мусульмане, главным образом суннитского толка. Значимость количественных изменений в ведущих религиозных общностях усиливается в свете интенсификации миграционных процессов. Главные миграционные потоки идут из зоны распространения ислама в зону стран, чья культура сложилась под влиянием христианских ценностей. Фактически это означает экстенсивный рост численности мусульман и необходимость качественно менять деятельность всех ветвей христианства.

Наряду с изменением численности религиозных групп, характерной чертой конфессиональной динамики является эффект “перемешивания” мирового конфессионального пространства. В нынешнем десятилетии этот эффект оказывает все большее влияние и на деятельность РПЦ, которая стремится укрепить связи с зарубежными православными общинами.

Таким образом, сейчас мировые религии переживают период трансформации. В этой связи повышается общественный запрос на сотрудничество религиозных и административных элит в сфере социального госуправления. Для государственных участников такое взаи-

модействие позволяет сохранить или даже упрочить потенциал “мягкой силы” на международной арене, а для религиозных кругов — укрепить статус своих лидеров в ходе адаптации к условиям глобализации.

### **Религиозные организации в контексте международного сотрудничества**

Включение религиозных организаций в международное сотрудничество характерно не только для постбиполярного периода. Однако эта практика получила особое развитие под влиянием таких крупных инициатив, как “Диалог цивилизаций” (иранский проект) и “Партнерство цивилизаций” (российский проект), а также усилий Ватикана по установлению взаимодействия с мусульманами и иудеями. Существенную роль играет и политика РПЦ по развитию межцерковных связей.

Однако четких представлений о координации усилий, которые предпринимаются церковными и гражданскими организациями, пока не сложилось. Частичная формализация идеи о роли религии в контексте “Диалога цивилизаций” отражена в тексте “Родосской декларации 2009”. В ней указывается, что мировые религии способны играть особо важную роль в укреплении духовных и гуманистических ценностей, напоминая людям об их ответственности за общее благо человечества. Другими словами, религии и религиозные структуры рассматриваются в качестве посредника стратегических гражданских инициатив.

Практическое участие религиозных организаций в развитии международного сотрудничества особенно заметно на таких направлениях деятельности, как искоренение бедности и борьба с ВИЧ/СПИДом в Африке, где во многом благодаря программам католической и протестантских церквей удалось замедлить распространение этого заболевания. Мобилизация усилий и повышение нравственного авторитета религиозных организаций рассматривается и как важнейший элемент антитеррористической борьбы. Речь идет об объединении представителей всех религиозных традиций в совместном осуждении действий террористов, которое последовательно проводится пока только христианскими и буддистскими религиозными структурами.

*(По материалам экспертного комментария  
К. Боришполец на портале МГИМО)*

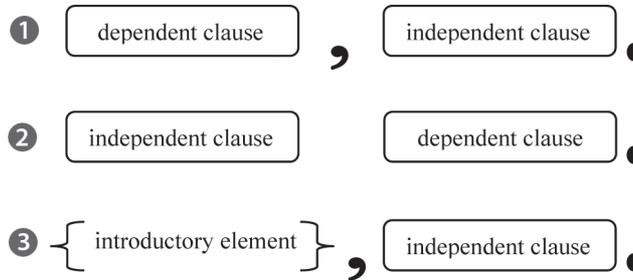
### *Ex. 28. Comment on these ideas.*

1. Going to church has as much chance of making you religious as going to a garage has of making you a mechanic.
2. This is my simple religion. There is no need for temples; no need for complicated philosophy. Our own brain, our own heart is our temple; the philosophy is kindness (Dalai Lama).
3. God is looking for spiritual fruit not religious nuts.
4. Faith is like a fire — it can warm a home or burn it down.
5. “If there were no God, it would have been necessary to invent him” (Voltaire).
6. The church is always trying to get other people to reform; it might not be a bad idea to reform itself a little, by way of example” (Mark Twain).

## EDITING and WRITING

Ex. 29. Observe how the sentences in B are punctuated and match them with diagrams in A. Formulate the rules. Compare them with their Russian counterparts.

### A.



### B.

1. Although I had been something of a star during seminary days, upon graduation I refused to play politics and accepted a simple country church.
2. The foreign policy implications of religion are evident when it comes to Islam as well
3. If religion *really* had the power to change people, all religious people would be beneficent and kind.
4. Partly on account of their educational brainwashing, many Saudis are avid consumers of anti-Semitism.
5. You won't teach your kids religion if you don't practice it.
6. To a believer the Bible offers many proofs of God's help at times when all hope seemed lost

Ex. 30. Edit the following sentences bearing in mind the rules you revised in ex. 29 and the previous unit.

1. As the world becomes more religious religion will also likely alter relations in the traditional nation-state system.
2. At a basic level religion will be an important factor in understanding the general foreign policy orientations of many countries.
3. A new kind of world is in the making and the people, states, and religious communities that compose the global South are making it.
4. Avoid heated discussions about religion, if the topic comes up in the wrong place or at the wrong time.
5. The religious resurgence is not simply defined by the growth of fundamentalism, but is occurring through a variety of renewed rituals and practices.
6. Religiously divided populations from Indonesia to Nigeria have clashed in recent years; and fresh Muslim-Christian conflicts are erupting in Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya.
7. Although many conflicts are the result of politics, economics, and governmental mismanagement religious ideas do matter.
8. It's not easy to keep your faith, when things go horribly wrong.
9. While agreeing that the world had not yet fully learned to "rejoice in the richness of diversity" the representative of Norway pointed out that the practical steps needed for improved dialogue. Freedom of religion could not be achieved without freedom of speech and freedom of speech was a prerequisite for any valuable dialogue

10. Rounding out the debate the representative of Côte d'Ivoire stressed, that his country's experience demonstrated the extent to which the adoption of the culture of peace could foster development and help promote integration.
11. There is no necessary conflict between science and religion, if the nature of religion is properly understood.
12. In social terms the reappraisal of the role of religion is explained by a crisis of the modern age
13. If any church is free to influence and control government and thereby achieve a favored status all churches are at risk of falling into disfavor with government
14. In the first few years of the twenty-first century the interaction between religions and international politics has been a notable feature of the global landscape.
15. In civilizations from Mesopotamia to Egypt to Mexico historians find religions at the core of identities among humans gathered in groups both large and small.
16. From a religious viewpoint the axis of world division is not between cultures, but between believers and secularists
17. In the Middle Ages Christian societies used force to uphold faith.
18. When Buddhism was first introduced into Japan in the 6th century, Buddhist tenets forbade the taking of life.

*Ex. 31. Write a summary of the text in Reading 2.*

*Ex. 32. Write a survey report based on the following data<sup>1</sup>.*

1. "In your opinion, should churches and other houses of worship keep out of political matters, or should they express their views on day-to-day social and political questions?"

Keep Out	Express Views	Unsure
44%	51%	5%

2. "Do you think it is appropriate for religious leaders to urge people to vote for or against a political candidate, or is that not appropriate?"

	Appropriate	Not appropriate	Unsure
ALL reg. voters	27%	70%	3%

3. "How important is it for a candidate to have STRONG religious beliefs, regardless of whether those beliefs are the same as yours? Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?"

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not at all important	Unsure
ALL reg. voters	27%	36%	16%	20%	1%

<sup>1</sup> The data come from the following sources:

- Pew Research Center/Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life survey conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Aug. 5–10, 2004
- Quinnipiac University Poll. July 8–13, 2008
- CBS News Poll. June 26–28, 2007.
- Gallup Poll. Jan. 15–18, 2007.

4. "Do you think it is appropriate for political candidates to talk about their religious beliefs as part of their political campaigns, or do you think this is not appropriate?"

	Appropriate	Not appropriate	Unsure
ALL reg. voters	50%	48%	2%

5. "Would you like to see organized religion have more influence in this nation, less influence, or keep its influence as it is now?"

More	Less	As it is now	Other (vol.)	Unsure
27%	32%	39%	—	2%

Ex. 33. Read the following sample book review (abridged) and analyze it using the guidelines that follow.

ERIC O. HANSON *Religion and Politics in the International System Today*  
New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 345 pp.

1. With the terrorist attacks of September 11, scholars and practitioners of international affairs converged suddenly on a pragmatic consensus: Religion matters. Academic and policy institutions of the international relations establishment have a history of neglecting to fully integrate religion into their agendas, but the rise of religiously motivated terrorism and fear of an impending "clash of civilizations" has resulted in a scramble to catch up.
2. While such efforts are welcome, many of the approaches have been from a largely secular academic vantage point full of ideas about the inevitability of secularization. Furthermore, there has been a tendency to treat religion only as part of the problem, not as part of the solution.
3. Eric O. Hanson's book, *Religion and Politics in the International System Today*, is an exception in several respects. Hanson has published extensively on religion and international affairs, particularly with respect to the global role of the Catholic Church. This latest and far more wide-ranging work is therefore not the product of a Johnny-come-lately discovery of religion as a subfield of social science. Armed with impressive breadth of awareness of religion-and-politics research, Hanson moves from region to region, exploring the diverse forms of Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu, and Buddhism formulations of religious politics. What the author shows, in a thorough and thoughtful way, is that the possibilities of religious politics are richer and more enduring than the momentary flashes of the extremists' bombs would lead us to believe.
4. The book is divided into two sections. The first (chapters 1 through 4) presents a "new paradigm" for understanding contemporary global politics, and offers definitions of religion and discussions of both religious perspectives on politics and political perspectives on religion. The second (chapters 5 through 10) presents 5 regional surveys—the West, East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East/North Africa, Latin America—and a summary chapter.
5. Hanson begins by pointing out that we lack a theory to complement analyses limited to a single religion or region, which would enable us to understand the post-Cold War relationship of religion and politics worldwide. And though he wonders whether one is possible, he does propose a "post-Cold War paradigm," which takes seriously both the significant role of religion and the reality of the four rapidly integrating global systems — economic, military, and communications systems and of course politics.

6. Hanson posits that political–religious responses depend on three factors: the level of interaction, ranging from local to global; the nature of the religious tradition; and regional or national cultures of political–religious interaction. The paradigm is at the heart of a series of regional studies covering most of the globe (but not sub-Saharan Africa). These studies are full of pertinent observations, such as the fact that, in Europe, the weakening of institutional religion makes the xenophobic use of ethnic-based religion more likely, and that Islamic *jihad* presently occurs in the global communication system rather than in the political, economic, or military systems.
7. But Hanson is not a neutral observer. He is a political scientist who stresses Catholic conceptions of the “global common good”. The final chapter makes international political–religious policy recommendations to “serve world peace, justice and order”. For instance, he rightly stresses the increasingly non-Western character of Christianity and the rising percentage of world population belonging to Christianity and Islam, making those two religions indispensable for North–South mediation. But his final “global religious–political rules” are a mixed bag. Some of the “nine rules” are very specific and seem to arise from Iraq; others are overly optimistic regarding a common inter-religious basis for fighting violence, defending religious freedom, and creating a global religious alliance against unilateralist nation-states (despite his own affirmation that neither “generic religion” nor “spirituality lite” will suffice).
8. One might also carp at Hanson’s idea that the world’s future has already arrived in Silicon Valley; and that global culture industries are making widespread religious conversion improbable, since people “lose the ability to stand in the presence of the Sacred”. The chapter on Latin America (excluding the parts on the Philippines and “world Christianity”) is far shorter than on other regions and contains several factual errors. Together with the omission of sub-Saharan Africa, the weakness of the Latin American section means that Christianity in the global south (now the heartland of the Christian world) is not very well served.
9. Nonetheless, Hanson does bring great breadth of expertise to bear on this complex topic, and this book does lend insight, particularly with respect to the effects of globalization on the religion-politics nexus. The book’s larger effort to articulate a new “post-Cold War paradigm” for understanding international affairs may not be convincing, but its more substantive theme is intriguing and hopeful: namely, that religions can play an enduring positive role in promoting human dignity and reconciliation. Especially for college students, who along with scholars and diplomats are identified by Hanson as the intended audience, reading this volume will not only be educational, it will also be challenging, as it “combines conventional liberal and conservative approaches to international affairs by advocating religious pluralism integrated into all four global systems as an alternative to the current compartmentalized, secular Western policy”.

### Review as a whole

1. What do you think is the main aim of the review?
2. What paragraphs make the review different from a summary?
3. Which of these adjectives do you think best describe the style of the review: positive, lavish, superfluous, succinct, malicious, judgmental, neutral, categorical, favourable, in-depth....

### Structure

1. Analyze the structure of the review. Identify the intro, the body, and the conclusion.
2. What information does each part contain?

## Contents

1. How and in what part of the paper does the reviewer identify the book under review and its author?
2. What information about the author does the reviewer include in his review? In what part does it appear? To what end?
3. How does the reviewer summarize the main idea/argument/focus of the book? Do you believe it to be a successful thesis? Why (not)?
4. Analyze the way the main ideas of the book are presented. Is the content of the book conveyed chapter by chapter or as an entire book? Is the summary of the book's main ideas placed in a particular section or is some summary dispersed throughout other parts of the review? Is the reviewer specific enough? If so, how does he avoid vagueness? If not, what could be done to improve the review?
5. Which of the following criteria does the review use to evaluate the book?
  - the timeliness of the book;
  - the degree to which the article makes an original contribution;
  - the logic of the view put forward;
  - the validity of the evidence put forward;
  - the theoretical framework used (its validity or appropriateness);
  - the methodology used, e.g. research, analysis, case studies (appropriateness, clarity, weaknesses/strength);
  - the validity of conclusions;
  - the thoroughness with which the book treats the topic;
  - the book's value compared to that of other works on the topic;
  - other (specify).

## Style

Analyze how the reviewer expresses his reaction to the work under review. What language is used to evaluate the original text?

*Ex. 34. If you have analyzed the suggested sample review thoroughly enough, you will easily complete the following rules summarizing the essential features of a review.*

1. A review is a \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Unlike a summary, a review \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The most important elements of a review are: \_\_\_\_\_.
4. The introduction should include \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The body of the review should include \_\_\_\_\_.
6. The conclusion should include \_\_\_\_\_.

*Ex. 35. Write a critical review of the text in Reading 2. You may find the following tips useful:*

### A. Pre-writing

1. Read the article thoroughly without making notes.
2. Re-read the article making analytical notes which highlight the main ideas, the purpose of the article, the methodology used (where applicable), the main conclusions, instances of faulty logic.

3. Against what criteria can the article be assessed?
4. What are the weaknesses of the article?
5. What are the strengths of the article?
6. You may also want to take into consideration if the article is objective or subjective, if the author ignores relevant information thus distorting the facts; how well the author has achieved the overall purpose of the article

### B. Writing

1. Write a draft of the review. Be mindful of the rules you have worked out in Ex. 32.
2. The body of the review can be written on the following pattern:
  - an analytical summary of the main findings/arguments/conclusions of the article;
  - strengths/usefulness of article;
  - weaknesses/limitations of the article especially for your purposes;
  - Or you might put these together so that each paragraph includes all three.

### C. Revising

Use the following guidelines when revising your review.

## REVISER'S CHECKLIST

### A. Review as a whole

1. Does the review give accurate information about the author, date and article in the introduction?
2. Does the introduction summarize the purpose and the main idea of the article?
3. Does the review show evidence of analytical thinking in the summary section?
4. Have a number of criteria been used to evaluate the article?
5. Does the review analyze both the strengths and the weaknesses of the article?
6. Does the review contain a final evaluation of the article?
7. Does the review use tentative language?

### B. Vocabulary and style.

1. Does the review make sufficient reference to the author of the article?
2. Does the review make appropriate use of reporting verbs?
3. Does the review make appropriate use of summarizing vocabulary?
4. Does the review make appropriate use of evaluation vocabulary?
5. Does the review provide clear transitions between paragraphs?

## MIXED BAG

Ex. 36. Fill in the gaps with the correct adverb or preposition where necessary.

a)

to be untouchable \_\_\_ logic

a perspective \_\_\_ smth

knowledge about religion \_\_\_ the inside

to surrender \_\_\_ the ministry

to do smth \_\_\_ integrity

to find disfavor \_\_\_ smb

to justify smth \_\_\_ biblical grounds

respect \_\_\_ smth/smb

\_\_\_ stark contrast \_\_\_ smth

to hide \_\_\_ religious shields

to happen \_\_\_ smb  
 to be founded \_\_\_ smth  
 to be \_\_\_ of one's time  
 the war \_\_\_ smb  
 to be \_\_\_ smb's side  
 to have sanction \_\_\_ smth  
 to burn smb \_\_\_ the stake  
 to deviate \_\_\_ the party line

to feel superior \_\_\_ smb  
 to masquerade \_\_\_ evangelical concerns  
 \_\_\_ support \_\_\_ organized religion  
 resources available \_\_\_ humanitarian effort  
 to pour resources \_\_\_ religious coffers  
 to be a drain \_\_\_ the system  
 rights \_\_\_ the pursuit of happiness  
 to operate \_\_\_ the assumption that...  
 to infringe \_\_\_ the rights of others

**b)**

1. People's religious belief systems are apt to be untouchable \_\_\_ logic.
2. \_\_\_ Europe, many immigrants do not speak the language of the host country adequately, lack \_\_\_ many skills and have become a drain \_\_\_ the country's welfare system.
3. The absence of respect \_\_\_, and understanding \_\_\_ religion in the West is a major stumbling block \_\_\_ improving relations \_\_\_ Islamic countries. According to the Treasury Department "The Holy Land Foundation masquerades \_\_\_ a charity, while its primary purpose is to fund HAMAS."
4. In all cultures, humans pour resources \_\_\_ elaborate religious buildings and rituals.
5. Realist and liberal approaches \_\_\_ international relations operate \_\_\_ the assumption that religion is irrelevant \_\_\_ state behavior.
6. Even \_\_\_ times of war, a government cannot treat \_\_\_ all immigrants from the enemy's country or all adherents of the enemy's religion as enemies. To strip a person \_\_\_ his rights \_\_\_ life, liberty, or property without some concrete evidence of his sympathy \_\_\_ or assistance \_\_\_ the enemy is to punish the innocent \_\_\_ the sins of the guilty.
7. The arguments \_\_\_ support \_\_\_ secularism vary widely \_\_\_ the claim that secularism is a movement \_\_\_ modernization, and away from traditional religious values \_\_\_ the idea that state secularism has served \_\_\_ a greater extent to protect religion \_\_\_ governmental interference.
8. Only actions that infringe \_\_\_ the rights of others can properly be termed crimes.
9. We should move beyond a functionalist approach \_\_\_ the role of religion \_\_\_ promoting conflict or peace \_\_\_ a fuller appreciation of the complexity of issue and the unique spiritual and religious resources available \_\_\_ peacebuilding.
10. Racism is an ideology or a view that makes its adherents feel superior \_\_\_ the human race \_\_\_ which they belong, and that such feeling produces a racist attitude.
11. Many are convinced that scientology should not be allowed to hide \_\_\_ religious laws of any kind as it is just a tax dodge business.
12. Ours is an age of complexity and unpredictability \_\_\_ stark contrast \_\_\_ the recent Cold War period of relative simplicity and certainty.
13. Pope John Paul laid out a new perspective \_\_\_ the role of women in the Church.
14. As divisions deepened \_\_\_ North and South \_\_\_ the decades immediately preceding \_\_\_ the Civil War, the white church increasingly sought to justify slavery \_\_\_ biblical grounds.
15. I've seen a lot of the corrupting influence of politics \_\_\_ the inside, the corners that were cut in fund raising, the refusal to speak truth \_\_\_ power and the refusal to hold accountable those in power.
16. Religions ask \_\_\_ their believers to surrender \_\_\_ a higher power.

17. There can be no religious sanction \_\_\_ a war \_\_\_ secular states just because they are not 'governed by divine laws.
18. Originally, burning \_\_\_ the stake was primarily used for women convicted \_\_\_ treason (men convicted \_\_\_ treason were hanged, drawn and quartered). Later, burning \_\_\_ the stake became a popular punishment \_\_\_ men and women accused \_\_\_ heresy or witchcraft. \_\_\_ the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, as many as 200,000 people were burned \_\_\_ the stake \_\_\_ witchcraft.
19. If any church is free to influence and control government and thereby achieve a favored status, all churches are \_\_\_ risk \_\_\_ falling into disfavor \_\_\_ government and facing \_\_\_ discriminatory treatment. One of the primary aims of the First Amendment is to prevent just that.
20. A public official \_\_\_ integrity understands that acceptance of a sworn obligation to uphold the Constitution can never be reconciled \_\_\_ conduct never intended to come within the Constitutional purview.
21. What happened \_\_\_ the Jewish people \_\_\_ Hitler should not be seen \_\_\_ exceptional but \_\_\_ exemplary of what can be done \_\_\_ the name \_\_\_ managing minority populations.
22. \_\_\_ ancient Greece and Rome, law, both public and private, was founded \_\_\_ religion.
23. While the Charter was \_\_\_ of its time in 1945, the reverse is true today, because the world has evolved \_\_\_ the point that it has entered \_\_\_ a post-Westphalia era in which humanitarian law is just as compelling as the law of treaties freely entered \_\_\_ by States.
24. The chief Iranian religious leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, once called \_\_\_ a holy war \_\_\_ the West: "The struggle \_\_\_ American aggression, greed, plans and policies will be counted \_\_\_ a jihad, and anybody who is killed \_\_\_ that path is a martyr."
25. The English Reformation had King Henry VIII \_\_\_ its side, bringing the great opportunity \_\_\_ which the Reformers of England had been waiting.

Ex. 37.

- a) *In the following passage insert articles where necessary. Account for their use.*
- b) *Reread the passage again and comment on the author's point of view.*

### WHEN SCIENCE MEETS RELIGION

\_\_\_ (1) Science is increasingly indispensable in \_\_\_ (2) today's society, particularly in \_\_\_ (3) light of the many daunting challenges that \_\_\_ (4) humanity now faces, ranging from \_\_\_ (5) global climate change to \_\_\_ (6) bioethics. \_\_\_ (7). Technological advances are unrecognizably changing \_\_\_ (8) human culture. \_\_\_ (9) question is now whether \_\_\_ (10) humanity, and \_\_\_ (11) morals, is lying forgotten on the road of discovery.

\_\_\_ (12) Many scientists, whilst brilliant in their field, are often guilty of ignoring the wider implications of their research, and become fixated on \_\_\_ (12) result. They become caught up in their elegant theories, and innovative experiments, without asking whether they should be pursuing \_\_\_ (13) line of research.

\_\_\_ (14) Ethical questions are \_\_\_ (15) integral part of \_\_\_ (16) scientific process, and should always be built into \_\_\_ (16) steps of \_\_\_ (17) scientific research process. It has always faced questions about \_\_\_ (18) ethics and \_\_\_ (18) morality during \_\_\_ (19) experimental design process, and also in determining how \_\_\_ (20) results are used.

To this day, Oppenheimer regrets \_\_\_ (21) results of his nuclear research, but it cannot be undone. \_\_\_ (22) exposure of servicemen to \_\_\_ (23) unknown health effects of \_\_\_ (24) radiation was extremely immoral, but was dwarfed by \_\_\_ (25) tragedies at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, unrec-

essary crimes against \_\_\_ (26) humanity. \_\_\_ (27) sole reason for this attack was so that \_\_\_ (28) US military could study \_\_\_ (29) effects of radiation sickness over \_\_\_ (30) period of time.

In \_\_\_ (31) same way that philosophy underlies \_\_\_ (32) basic reasoning process governing the structure and validity of \_\_\_ (33) scientific research, religion should play a greater part in \_\_\_ (33) ethics. \_\_\_ (34) Ethical concerns are not solely \_\_\_ (35) province of \_\_\_ (36) religion, and those with or without \_\_\_ (37) faith have \_\_\_ (38) right to express their views upon \_\_\_ (39) subject, as long as they are reasoned, and well thought out.

\_\_\_ (40) Esteemed scientists stating that 'people who believe in \_\_\_ (41) God are idiots' are as intolerant as \_\_\_ (42) religious leaders ranting that those who do not subscribe to their restricted view of \_\_\_ (43) world are evil, and deserve \_\_\_ (44) death and \_\_\_ (45) eternal damnation.

For too long, there has been little overlap between the two fields, and this contributes to \_\_\_ (46) extremism. \_\_\_ (47) path surely lies somewhere in \_\_\_ (48) middle, where \_\_\_ (49) religious bodies are able to question \_\_\_ (50) ethics, without being shouted down, and \_\_\_ (51) scientists are allowed to establish their theories without attacks from those who believe in the literal truth of ancient texts.

*Ex. 38. Use the verbs in parentheses in the correct tense and voice form. Discuss the relevance of the issues raised in this extract for Russia and the region you specialize in.*

We **(to witness)**<sub>1</sub> an alarming resurgence of a religious intolerance we thought the U.S. and Europe **(to outgrow)**<sub>2</sub>. Not since the anti-Catholic movement of the late 19th century the U.S. **(to know)**<sub>3</sub> a religious panic such as the one that now **(to link)**<sub>4</sub> Muslims to terrorism, **(to forbid)**<sub>5</sub> the building of mosques in many U. S. cities and towns, and **(to poison)**<sub>6</sub> the climate of community, school and workplace relations in communities across the nation.

Europe has similar issues to contend with, and more urgently, because European traditions always **(to emphasize)**<sub>7</sub> religious homogeneity and assimilation to a greater extent than U.S. traditions. From the burqa bans **(to propose)**<sub>8</sub> in France and Catalonia to regulations **(to govern)**<sub>9</sub> the wearing of the headscarf in schools (France, Germany) and government offices and buildings (parts of Belgium and Germany, proposals in the Netherlands), fear and suspicion of Muslims is everywhere.

It **(to look)**<sub>10</sub> like intolerance is the new trend, and a more baneful trend for the world's future can hardly be imagined. How might this poisonous trend be stopped?

Fear and suspicion **(to be)**<sub>11</sub> powerful forces, but we **(to have)**<sub>12</sub> resources to combat them: clear consistent thinking; specific political/legal principles based on equal respect for human dignity; and the sympathetic imagination.

Clear thinking **(to be)**<sub>13</sub> the first thing that we all urgently need. Many arguments **(to make)**<sub>14</sub> in recent exchanges are inconsistent and self-serving, **(to propose)**<sub>15</sub> restrictions for the newcomer group that one not **(to prepare)**<sub>16</sub> to tolerate in the case of one's own group, or, more generally, **(to treat)**<sub>17</sub> similar cases dissimilarly without a reason. (Do people propose to ban Christian churches on the grounds that criminals have often invoked Christianity in defending horrible crimes?) **(To expose)**<sub>18</sub> such deficiencies can be very helpful, because most people want to reason well and are embarrassed when it **(to show)**<sub>19</sub> that they are reasoning badly.

But we also need specific political and legal principles. Both the U.S. and Europe long **(to commit)**<sub>20</sub> to an idea of equal human dignity, and to principles of religious liberty and toleration **(to base)**<sub>21</sub> upon this idea. This commitment entails that the space of religious free exercise must be

ample, and that it must be equal for all, whether majority or minority. Often **(to attain)**<sub>22</sub> true equality requires special “accommodation” of minority practices, because such daily matters as the choice of work days and holidays, or laws about drugs and military service, **(to tailor)**<sub>23</sub> to the religious needs of the majority and are heedless of minority requirements.

Because intolerance so often **(to cause)**<sub>24</sub> by fear, however, we also need to confront it on the emotional level, **(to use)**<sub>25</sub> everything we know about the workings of emotions such as fear, sympathy, disgust, and respect. One thing we know is that demonization of “the other” is far easier if people **(to know)**<sub>26</sub> nothing much about this “other,” never **(to encourage)**<sub>27</sub> to think what the world **(to look)**<sub>28</sub> like from that different viewpoint. In order to move beyond a climate of fear, then, we need more than good principles: we need the cultivation of sympathy, and therefore we need approaches through education and rhetoric, not just through argument.

*Ex. 39. Use of English. Cyber Church: Future Church?*

*a) Choose the best variant.*

*b) Comment on the influence of technologies on religion. Should religions change?*

*How much? How do religions preserve continuity with their pasts?*

*How important is this?*

Controlled with/by (1) unseen hands, the three-dimensional cartoon surrogates act like/as (2) sinners, saints and skeptics in an unusual cyber church that is spreading/stretching/extending (3) reality.

Ten/Tens of (4) thousands of computer users worldwide have stepped across the electronic threshold of Church of Fools since it opened in May as a three-month/ a three-months (5) experiment to reach people who don't go near/come to/come up to (6) brick-and-mortar churches, its English founders say.

It's also attracting curious churchgoing Christians.

And, as any pastor knows, shepherding a congregation isn't always a piece of angel food cake.

“What we're doing is similar with/to (7) churches in difficult urban situations,” said Goddard/Goddard said (8). “We don't want to eject people just because they're not behaving themselves/behaving (9) in the way churches traditionally expect. Our aim is to welcome people who don't normally go to a/the/x (10) church, so ‘difficult’ people are in/by/on (11) definition who we're aiming for.

Designed in a Romanesque style, Church of Fools offers a regular/habitual (12) Sunday service led by a male or female minister figure or a bishop, impromptu weekday services, private prayer, occasional counseling/councilling (13) and freewheeling group discussions via text. The novice/novel/novelty (14) for a faith-based site is its three-dimensional cartoon avatars, figures that/which/whose (15) actions can be controlled by individual computer users. Goddard thinks this is the first cyber church with them. Since they are/ Though they are/ X (16) slow-moving by/in/on (17) game standards, there are men and women figures, including some that look like/are likely/look as if (18) Ned Flanders, Homer's evangelical neighbor on *The Simpsons*.

Most visitors enter a/the/x (19) church as eavesdropping observers, each represented by/ representing (20) a ghostlike avatar that's invisible for/to (21) others. Up to 500 x/at/in (22) a time can wander a/the/x church, walk down to a discussion lounge, give a blessing or make 11 other gestures privately.

The site is independent, but it has an Anglican flavor/flavoring (23). A/The/X (24) Church of England priest from York conducts services and drops in to talk and pray with visitors pretending

to be/via/as if he were (25) the minister avatar. The bishop avatar is modeled after the bishop of London, who provided the sermon for the first service on x/the (26) May 11 and interacted with visitors at the church entrance through the avatar. About 60.000/60,000 (27) people visited the site the first two days, Goddard said. Now, 10.000/10,000 to 12.000/12,000 come per day.

A/The/X church is somewhere in what Milwaukee thinker, speaker and writer Richard Thieme calls sacred digital space. Just as speech, writing and the printing press transformed a/the/x (28) religion along with the rest of x/the/a (29) society, electronic communication is having a profound effect on humane/human (30) identity, said Thieme/Thieme said, a former Episcopal priest who speaks and writes about “life on the edges, especially the human dimension of technology and work.”

“We are redefining ourselves, what it means to be humane/human (31),” said Thieme/Thieme said. “We really are. And therefore new forms of spirituality will emerge. You couldn't have predicted/could not be predicting/couldn't predict (32) the Reformation, but after it happened you could predict that it would happen/would have happened/will happen (33).

“I have not looked to the traditional religious structures to be the place where the new paradigm is going to emerge, in/by/on (34) definition. Because they're institutionally committed to preserving the old.”

The site's freedom of expression is a charm/temptation/an attraction (35), even for conventional Christians.

“You're sitting at home with a keyboard, and you can just type it and send it off and nobody's going to come to your house and knock on the door and say, ‘I disagree with you’ and get into an argument with you,” Ryan Burg said/said Ryan Burg, 35, an active member of First Congregational United Church of Christ in Sheboygan.

“I'm a seeker. I'm always interested to hear what others have to say about their own life/lives (36) and take what they've learned and see if I can apply it to who I am. You get people from all over the world who come in. If I go to my church, I'm going to be talking to people who come from Sheboygan County and have the same values that I do.”

(After Tom Heinen's “Late for church? Try online” printed in *Journal Sentinel*)

Ex. 40. Fill in the gaps with any suitable word.



**A.**

Before the development of increasingly \_\_\_\_\_ (1) international relations, religion was a \_\_\_\_\_ (2) source of competition and sometimes \_\_\_\_\_ (3) in many parts of the world. By the time of the Treaty of Westphalia, religion was an \_\_\_\_\_ (4) aspect of European conflict, discord and instability, involving rival religious faiths (both \_\_\_\_\_ (5)-Christian and Christianity versus Islam). Over time, however, religion's \_\_\_\_\_ (6) for international relations appeared to \_\_\_\_\_ (7) significantly, linked to the \_\_\_\_\_ (8) of politically centralized, increasingly secular states — initially in Western Europe and then via colonialism to much of the rest of the world.

Now religion is back. Once Islamic terrorism \_\_\_\_\_ (9) religion in the international spotlight, it suddenly became harder to \_\_\_\_\_ (10).

One can speak of numerous religious actors in international relations, with various concerns that go \_\_\_\_\_ (11) a narrow focus on religious fundamentalism and anti-modernism.

State-related religious actors. Certain countries, for example, the USA, India, \_\_\_\_\_ (12) and Saudi Arabia, have religious actors enjoying \_\_\_\_\_ (16) relationships with government.

The result is that such religious actors can sometimes \_\_\_\_\_ (17) foreign policies. Religion's greatest \_\_\_\_\_ (18) on the international system is through its significant \_\_\_\_\_ (19) on domestic politics. They try to \_\_\_\_\_ (20) public opinion through the media, demonstrations, or via think tanks thus encouraging states to \_\_\_\_\_ (21) foreign policies that they believe are most in \_\_\_\_\_ (22) with their religious values and goals.

Non-state religious actors. They are religious individuals or movements that act in both domestic and international \_\_\_\_\_ (23), often engaging with other \_\_\_\_\_ (24) traditions in their concern with various global issues, including conflict \_\_\_\_\_ (25) and human development. These focus on transnational religious networks.

How do religious actors \_\_\_\_\_ (26) outcomes in international relations? While their goals vary, they will typically attempt to \_\_\_\_\_ (27) objectives through the application of '\_\_\_\_\_ (28) power'. Religions have special potential for \_\_\_\_\_ (29) system-wide change because they \_\_\_\_\_ (30) boundaries, have \_\_\_\_\_ (31) for the full range of society's institutions and ideas, and compellingly motivate individuals who are in their thrall. It is not an \_\_\_\_\_ (32) that the origin of the sovereign states system was catalyzed by a religious upheaval, the Protestant Reformation. This raises the \_\_\_\_\_ (33) that comparable new upheavals could once again produce far-reaching changes in the international system.

## B.

As the world becomes more religious, religion will also likely \_\_\_\_\_ (1) relations in the traditional nation-state system. At a basic level, religion will be an \_\_\_\_\_ (2) factor in understanding the general foreign policy orientations of many countries. There will undoubtedly be exceptions — Western states supported Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo over Christians, to take one \_\_\_\_\_ (3) — but many historical examples suggest that religion \_\_\_\_\_ (4) collective identities and guides foreign policy. Germany's Catholics \_\_\_\_\_ (5) the country to recognize Catholic Croatia's \_\_\_\_\_ (6) from Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the Cold War. \_\_\_\_\_ (7) states such as Greece and Russia opposed NATO's bombing of Orthodox Serbia in 1999.

The foreign policy \_\_\_\_\_ (8) of religion are evident when it comes to Islam as well. Saudi Arabia's cultural diplomacy has \_\_\_\_\_ (9) the country's influence in the Islamic world by spreading its more rigid form of Islam, upsetting local Islamic practices and long-standing traditions of religious toleration and coexistence. Meanwhile, Iran has pursued an equally \_\_\_\_\_ (10) religious diplomacy, exporting its messianic form of Shiism across the Arab world and supporting sectarian movements in Lebanon (Hezbollah), the Palestinian territories (Hamas), and Iraq.

Another potentially \_\_\_\_\_ (11) factor in international relations is the \_\_\_\_\_ (12) of Christianity on foreign policy orientation. The political scientist Walter Russell Mead has argued that the global rise of Christianity is \_\_\_\_\_ (13) for U.S. foreign policy. Christianity, he says, is "the world's most pro-American \_\_\_\_\_ (14)" because it is \_\_\_\_\_ (15) with American beliefs and ideas, supports religious freedom, and helps \_\_\_\_\_ (16) the kind of values conducive to democracy and economic development. The religious dimensions are a growing \_\_\_\_\_ (17) of U.S. foreign policy and explain (to a large \_\_\_\_\_ (18)) legislation in the past decade on human trafficking, religious freedom, the violence in Darfur, and human rights in North Korea.

Globalization and its \_\_\_\_\_ (19) on religious trends will undoubtedly \_\_\_\_\_ (20) domestic conditions as well. Religiously divided populations from Indonesia to Nigeria have

clashed in recent years, and fresh Muslim-Christian conflicts are \_\_\_\_\_ (21) in Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya. Statistics on civil unrest \_\_\_\_\_ (22) that once a minority religious group in a given country \_\_\_\_\_ (23) 10–20 percent of the population, it can sufficiently resist policies promoting religious harmony and can even sustain struggle for liberation.

Clearly, other factors \_\_\_\_\_ (24) to such strife besides religion. Yet although many conflicts are the result of politics, economics, and governmental mismanagement, religious ideas do \_\_\_\_\_ (25). Collective action depends on how social groups \_\_\_\_\_ (26) the world in which they live and how they \_\_\_\_\_ (27) their own identities in relation to the identities of others. The way religious institutions address literacy, schooling, governance, human rights, and interreligious dialogue can support governments' ability to \_\_\_\_\_ (28) to crises surrounding these issues or exacerbate religious strife.

*Ex. 41.*

*a) Read the following article and identify its topic and thesis.*

*b) Think of a possible title.*

*c) Comment on the ideas of the article.*

The news media continue to stretch the boundaries of religion far beyond the usual parameters in the American popular imagination. Is belief in climate change a religion, as Rep. Steve King asserts? Did Steve Jobs create a new iReligion with all his visionary iProducts? Has Jerry Garcia from the Grateful Dead achieved the status of a spiritual icon?

Look on the pages of HuffPost, follow the religion headlines in Google news, read through the posts at Patheos, and you will see that religion is no longer simply a matter of faith in God. Instead, it is ... anything and everything imaginable. The truth about religion is that there is no one Truth but rather multiple versions of many possible truths.

Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, called religion a neurosis and claimed that it was, at bottom, an illusion; Karl Marx, who called for the workers of the world to unite, famously stated that religion was the opiate of the masses; William James, American pragmatist and innovative psychologist, defined religion as the feelings, acts, and experiences of individuals in their solitude as it relates to their apprehension of the divine; 20th century theologian Paul Tillich asserted that religion is an expression of ultimate concern.

The great religious traditions all provide very different teachings about religious truth: no god and impermanence in Buddhism; multiple gods and one underlying cosmic reality in Hinduism; one God who created the cosmos and humans in the three monotheistic religions; and among indigenous religious cultures throughout the world, an understanding that sacred powers permeate the cosmos with a variety of spiritual truths tied to these powers.

Who is right? Where can one locate the ultimate authority on these matters? Is it the Bible? The Koran? The Rig Veda? Science? Fox News? In our increasingly pluralistic and religiously diverse world, is there only one arbiter of truth, reality, the meaning of life in these sacred matters?

We have fundamentalist atheists on one side of the spectrum wanting to get rid of religion and all of its toxicity; on the other side are religious fundamentalists looking to purify the world of all the false religions. The rest of us in the middle — Christians, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Nones — are learning to live with the unavoidable fact that multiple religious perspectives and communities must learn to live together if not harmoniously than at least with a minimum amount of respect and toleration.

I was pleased to see the announcement recently of a new office for Faith-Based Community Initiatives in the U.S. Department of State and to hear Secretary of State John Kerry proclaim that if he went back to college today he would probably major in comparative religions.

What are the truths about religion? Here are a few:

1. Religion is a constant, and will not go away. It is built into our DNA, so to speak, even for Nones like me who don't attend church, believe in God, or follow a particular creed. The sacred is always embedded in social life and elemental to our notions of right and wrong, experiences of transcendence, and understanding of the purpose and meaning of life.
2. Even though religion is a constant, it is never the same around the world and through time. There is no one essence — not “God” or “Spirit” or “Mana” — but instead the religious life manifests in a myriad of forms, rituals, beliefs, myths, and moral systems. It can be associated with just about anything: gods or surfing; movies or sacred texts; rock and roll or UFOs.
3. No one has a monopoly on religious truth. What's sacred for someone is profane to someone else. In this sense, religion is messy, conflicted, and highly contested — conditions anyone familiar with the history of religions can identify.
4. Religion is a force of good in the world and, paradoxically, one of the most destructive forces motivating horrible bloodshed and hatred throughout history, in the present, and into the future. The powers of religion cannot be generalized nor made universal. It is not either good or evil, but has the capacity for both.
5. Religion is not simply about revelation or spiritual truth; it is most at home in the physical body as it experiences suffering and aging, sex and ecstasy, the mundane and altered states of consciousness, birth and death — universal characteristics of human life we all share.

(Based on Gary Laderman's post on the *Huffington Post* website)



# **UNIT IV**

## **DIPLOMACY IN THE MIRROR OF GLOBALIZATION**



## READING 1

### LEAD-IN

- Globalization, the 'big idea' of the late twentieth century, is believed to be transforming societies and the world order. However, it lacks a universal definition. How would you define globalization? What does globalization consist in? In what ways is globalization a-territorial and multidimensional?
- What aspects of human life are likely to be affected by globalization?
- What globalization forces/agents can you think of?

*Scan the text to find what misconceptions about globalization exist and what the author thinks about them.*

*Comment on the author's arguments.*

### BEYOND GLOBOPHOBIA

**Doug Henwood**

*The Nation*

"Globalization" has been on so many lips that it's easy to forget how recently it entered daily speech. After flatlining its way through the 1980s and early '90s, "globalization" — as a word, at least — took off in a near-vertical ascent in the late 1990s.

What does it mean exactly? Like many deeply ideological words, it's rarely defined; everyone knows what it means. Elites mean something like the internationalization of economic, political and cultural life, as if these haven't long been internationalized. Non-elites seem to mean everything bad that's happened lately. Thirty Americans were convened by a market researcher and asked what globalization meant to them. Some responses: "Nothing's personal...it's all machines." "No more privacy." "There's no mystery anymore..." Pressed for detail, respondents complained about speedup, the "fight for the dollar," powerlessness, growing gaps between haves and have-nots, the deterioration of healthcare. An impressive array of complaints, but it's not clear how "globalization" is their cause. They sound like venerable complaints about capitalism.

Experts often do little better. The French international relations analyst Dominique Moïsi defined globalization as "complexity, interaction and simultaneity," a phrase that could also describe a crowd chatting in a bar. The British sociologist Bob Jessop avers that the word "is best used to denote a multicentric, multiscalar, multitemporal, multiform, and multicausal process... the complex, emergent product of many different forces operating on many scales." Indeed.

Whatever it is, globalization is usually taken as a recent arrival. But from the first, capitalism has paid little respect to national borders. After the breakup of the Roman Empire, Italian bankers devised complex foreign-exchange instruments to evade church prohibitions on interest. Those cross-border capital flows moved in tandem with trade flows.

International flows of investment capital were particularly robust in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, against a backdrop of free trade and exchange rates fixed under the gold standard. Indeed, flows to developing countries were larger in relation to the world economy during this first "golden age" of financial globalization than they are today.

Globalization is thought to be the source of many economic ills. Is it? We, First Worlders, have to be very careful when complaining about its pressure on living standards, since the initial European

rise to wealth depended largely on the colonies, and we still derive benefit from cheap labor and cheap resources.

Are globalized economies more unequal than nonglobalized ones? The consulting firm A. T. Kearney has been computing a yearly globalization index for *Foreign Policy* magazine. If you chart the relation of the index to country rankings for inequality, the results are not what a typical anti-globalization activist would expect.

The relation is far from perfect, but if anything, more globalized countries are less unequal than less globalized ones. Western European social democracies are more globalized than the United States but less unequal. South Korea is much more globalized than Brazil but less unequal; so is Mexico. The point is not that promoting globalization would promote equality, but that the foregrounding of globalization as the cause of inequality isn't a simple case to make. Income distribution depends more on domestic institutions like unions and welfare states than on internationalization.

Has "globalization" contributed to inequality? While it's an article of faith among activists that it has, it's actually quite difficult to prove the case either way: It all depends on how you define and measure. Most studies by economists focus on recent history — but over the long term, global income gaps have widened considerably. According to economic historian Angus Maddison's estimates, African and American incomes were roughly equal in 1600 (because the Americans measured were the native population), but with industrialization, they started diverging in earnest. American incomes were three times Africa's in 1820, five times in 1870, ten times in 1913, and twenty times in 1998. When was the moment of "globalization"?

Capitalism has always produced poverty alongside wealth, and capitalism has from the first been an international and internationalizing system — so it makes little sense to try to isolate the "global" aspect as the major culprit in the production of inequality.

Another image in need of a rethink is that of a "global assembly line." The share of world output accounted for by US multinationals has changed little over the past two decades: Over the seventeen-year period, old-fashioned exports have actually grown faster than production by US multinationals abroad. Output by foreign branches of US multinationals accounted for less than 2 percent of world product in 1999, a share that has changed little over the past two decades.

That's not to say that production isn't being internationalized in some areas. But it's concentrated mainly in a few industries — autos, electronics, textiles. And the multinationalization that has occurred is much more selective than global. Auto production, for example, is increasingly integrated among the three NAFTA countries, neighbors with long borders and long ties. In this case, "regionalization" is a better description than "globalization."

Among some antiglobo activists, there's a strange nostalgia for the nation-state, as if it's one of the innocent structures that globalization is undermining. In the narrow economic sense, fond memories of the pre-1980 protectionist regimes are often evoked. Like many nostalgias, the historical record doesn't justify the sentiment. Even the most protected developmental state is shaped by external forces; the height of the tariff walls and the vigor of the state intervention themselves are testimony to that. But they seem to flourish in particular historical enclaves, like the Latin American import-substitution model from the 1930s through the debt crisis of the early 1980s, and run into trouble when their moment passes. By the late 1960s, for example, growth slowed in Latin America as import-substitution reached its limits. Domestic firms were inefficient, and average incomes were too low to sustain a home consumer market. Labor agitation was met with repression.

Instead of chasing nationalist chimeras, why not go “globalization” one better? Many activists in the wrongly named “antiglobalization” movement still talk locally, even as they’re acting and thinking globally. This might be a good time to junk local self-reliance as an ideal and embrace a deeply global perspective.

## READING 2

*Read the text in detail to find out how the modern age is influencing the world of diplomacy.*

### WHAT IF THERE IS A REVOLUTION IN DIPLOMATIC AFFAIRS?

(Based on *The Emergency of Noopolitik* by David Ronfeldt and John Arquilla)

The next big revolution of the information age should occur in the realm of diplomacy. The United States has been undergoing a revolution in business affairs since the 1960s, and has also undertaken a revolution in military affairs since the late 1980s. Now the time is ripe for a counter-part revolution in diplomatic affairs (RDA).

There are good reasons why the business and military worlds are in the throes of information-driven revolutions and the diplomatic world is not. A key reason is that those worlds are driven by internal and external competition, in the first case between corporations, in the second between military services. In addition, the business and military worlds are eager for technological enhancements that extend their global reach, even if that means radically altering their traditional  
10 ways of organizing and strategizing.

None of this has been the case in the diplomatic world. The U.S. State Department, for example, has not been subjected to much organizational competition. It has shown little interest in technology, and lags in adopting it. Moreover, it has not suffered a defeat like Vietnam that would prompt a search for radical innovation. In short, it has had few impulses to cease being an elite preserve for classic diplomacy.

Diplomacy is in trouble almost everywhere, and its main institutions need reconstruction from the ground up. It is currently facing a crisis of relevance and effectiveness. A rising tide of violence, inequality, and unaddressed threats provides powerful testament not only to the socialization of globalization’s costs and the privatization of its benefits, but to the abject failure of diplomacy to  
20 engage remedially.

However, the diplomatic world is now beginning to feel the heat of competition, especially from agile non-state actors that are being strengthened by the information revolution. These range from those with which foreign services want to cooperate, such as transnational nongovernmental organizations involved in disaster relief and humanitarian efforts, to those that spell conflict, such as transnational terrorist and criminal organizations. Another significant change for the diplomatic world is that technologists are on the verge of producing new tools that are as relevant for the diplomatic world as they have been for the business and military worlds.

While the heat of competition and the allure of new technology have so far motivated only a few diplomats to want an RDA, most are at least aware that the information revolution is roiling  
30 their world. Like leaders in the business and military worlds, diplomats remark increasingly, even plaintively, that advanced communications and other aspects of the information revolution are altering the nature of diplomatic time and space — they are quickening the pace of diplomacy and forcing open its once largely closed processes.

*The Emergence of Noopolitik — A New Paradigm for Diplomacy.*

The end of the Cold War has brought two major shifts that appeal to grand strategists. The first concerns political and military dynamics. The bipolar system has expired, and the world is returning to a loose, multipolar, balance-of-power system, with *possibilities* for U.S. dominance in key military areas. Since this shift is largely about interstate relations, it arouses the theorists and practitioners of realpolitik. The second shift is economic: the enormous growth of market systems  
40 woven together in global trade and investment webs. This shift began long before the Cold War ended and is now ascendant.

Meanwhile, a third, emerging shift is often noted: the intensification of the information revolution, with its implications that knowledge is power, that power is diffusing to non-state actors, and that global interconnectivity is generating a new fabric for world order. Information has always been important to statecraft. But it is moving from being a subsidiary to becoming an overarching concern; “information” matters more than ever. Many theorists and strategists do not seem to know quite what to do with this shift. Some view it as spelling a paradigm change.

Our view is that the structures and dynamics of world order are changing so deeply that a new paradigm is needed; indeed, it is already emerging, especially in nongovernmental circles consisting of civil-society actors. Our term for it is *noopolitik*. By *noopolitik* we mean an approach to  
50 statecraft, to be undertaken as much by non-state as by state actors, that emphasizes the role of informational soft power in expressing ideas, values, norms, and ethics through all manner of media. This makes it distinct from realpolitik, which stresses the hard, material dimensions of power and treats states as the determinants of world order.

Noopolitik makes sense because trends exist that make it increasingly viable: the growing web of global interconnection, the continued strengthening of global civil-society actors, the rise of soft power. These trends do not spell the obsolescence of realpolitik, but they are at odds with it. To a lesser degree, they are also at odds with the tenets of liberal internationalism.

*Global Interconnection.* The era of global interdependence began in the 1960s, and many trends  
60 its theorists emphasize continue to come true. Interdependence was spurred by the rise of transnational and multinational actors, especially multinational corporations and multilateral organizations. Now, a new generation of actors — such as news media, electronic communications services, and human rights organizations — are increasingly “going global,” some to the point of claiming that they are “stateless” and denying that they are “national” or “multinational” in character.

*Growing Strength of Global Civil Society.* No doubt, states will remain paramount actors in the international system. The information revolution will lead to changes in the nature of the state, but not to its “withering away.” At the same time, non-state actors will continue to grow in strength and influence. The next trend to expect is a gradual worldwide strengthening of transnational NGOs that represent civil society. As this occurs, there will be a rebalancing of relations among state,  
70 market, and civil-society actors around the world — in ways that favor noopolitik over realpolitik.

Noopolitik upholds the importance of nonstate actors and requires that they play strong roles. Why? NGOs often serve as sources of ethical impulses (which is rarely the case with market actors), as agents for disseminating ideas rapidly, and as nodes in networked apparatuses of “sensory organizations” that can assist with conflict anticipation, prevention, and resolution. Indeed, because of the information revolution, advanced societies are on the threshold of developing a vast sensory apparatus for watching what is happening around the world. This apparatus is not new, because it consists partly of established government intelligence agencies, corporate market-research departments, news media, and opinion-polling firms. What is new is the looming scope and scale of

this sensory apparatus, as it increasingly includes networks of NGOs and individual activists who  
80 monitor and report on what they see in all sorts of issue areas, using open forums, specialized  
Internet mailing lists, and Web postings, as tools for rapid dissemination.

Against this background, the states that emerge strongest in information-age terms — even  
if by traditional measures they may appear to be smaller, less powerful states — are likely to be  
the states that learn to work conjointly with the new generation of non-state actors. Strength may  
thus emanate less from the “state” per se than from the “system” as a whole. And this may mean  
placing a premium on state-society coordination, including the toleration of “citizen diplomacy”  
and the creation of “deep coalitions” between state and civil-society actors.

*Rise of Soft Power.* The information revolution, as noted earlier, is altering the nature of power, in  
large part by making soft power more potent. This does not mean that hard power and realpolitik  
90 are obsolete, or even in abeyance. Hard power — men and missiles, guns and ships — still counts.  
But on the day-to-day level, “soft power” is the more interesting coin. Today there is a much bigger  
payoff in getting others to want what you want, and that has to do with the attraction of one’s  
ideas, with agenda-setting, with ideology and institutions, and with holding out big prizes for  
cooperation, such as the vastness and sophistication of one’s market.

Proponents of realpolitik would probably prefer to stick with treating information as an adjunct  
of the standard political, military, and economic elements of diplomacy and grand strategy; the very  
idea of intangible information as a basis for a distinct dimension of statecraft seems antithetical to re-  
alpolitik. Realpolitik allows for information strategy as a tool of propaganda, deception, and manipu-  
lation, but seems averse to accepting “knowledge projection” as amounting to a true tool of statecraft.

100 Both state and nonstate actors may be guided by noopolitik; but rather than being state-cen-  
tric, its strength may well stem from enabling state and nonstate actors to work conjointly. The  
driving motivation of noopolitik cannot be national interests defined in statist terms. National  
interests will still play a role, but should be defined more in society-wide than state-centric terms  
and be fused with broader interests in enhancing the transnationally networked “fabric” in which  
the players are embedded. While realpolitik tends to empower states, noopolitik will likely em-  
power networks of state and nonstate actors. Realpolitik pits one state against another, but noo-  
politik encourages states to cooperate in coalitions and other mutual frameworks.

Kissinger may be said to epitomize the zeitgeist and practice of realpolitik. Who may stand for  
the zeitgeist of noopolitik? One name that comes to mind is George Kennan. He has always been  
110 mindful of realpolitik; yet, his original notion of *containment* was not essentially military. Rather, it  
was centered on the idea of creating a community of interests, based on shared ideals, that would  
secure the free world while dissuading the Soviet Union from aggression, and eventually persuad-  
ing it to change. This seems an early expression of noopolitik. Today, leaders like Nelson Mandela  
and George Soros, not to mention a host of less renowned individuals who have played leading  
roles in civil-society activist movements, reflect the emergence of noopolitik.

Some of the best exemplars of its emergence involve “social netwars” waged by civil-society ac-  
tivists. While all-out military wars, such as World Wars I and II, represent the conflictual heights and  
failures of realpolitik, nonmilitary netwars may prove the archetypal conflicts of noopolitik. The Nobel  
Prize-winning campaign to ban land mines; NGO-led opposition to the Multilateral Agreement on  
120 Investment; the Greenpeace-led campaign against French nuclear testing in the South Pacific; the  
swarming of transnational NGOs in defense of the Zapatista insurgents in Mexico; and information-  
age efforts by Burmese and Chinese dissidents, with support from U.S.-based NGOs, to press for hu-  
man rights and political reforms in these countries all exemplify how transnational civil-society net-

works, in some cases with strong support from states, can practice noopolitik, with varying degrees of success, to change the policies of states that persist in emphasizing the traditional politics of power.

These cases substantiate that the practice of noopolitik is already emerging and that traditional ideas about “peace through strength” may give way to new ideas of “peace through knowledge.” These cases also show that ideas themselves, particularly ones with deep ethical appeal, may be fused with new communications technologies and organizational designs to create a new model of power and diplomacy that governments will increasingly encounter and have to heed.

Notes:

**Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI)** was negotiated between members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development between 1995 and 1998. Its purpose was to develop multilateral rules that would ensure international investment was governed in a more systematic, uniform, and fair way between states.

**Zapatista** originally referred to a member of the revolutionary guerrilla movement founded around 1910 by Emiliano Zapata, whose Liberation Army of the South fought during the Mexican Revolution for the redistribution of agricultural land. The modern Zapatista movement is seen by some in the anti-corporate globalization movement as a model for resistance and for local democratic organization.

**Netwar** is an information-age conflict that is defined by the use of network forms of organization, doctrine, and strategy, made possible by the information revolution.

## COMPREHENSION

*Ex. 1. Identify the topic and the thesis of the text. Make sure they are neither too broad nor too narrow.*

*Ex. 2. Suggest Russian equivalents for these word combinations from the text.*

the realm of diplomacy	from the ground up
in the throes of information-driven revolutions	a host of shortcomings
the socialization of globalization's costs	overarching concern
the privatization of globalization's benefits	to spell a paradigm change
theorists and practitioners of realpolitik	statecraft

*Ex. 3. Think of several questions to bring out the main ideas and arguments the authors put forward in support of their thesis.*

## VOCABULARY

*Ex. 4. Translate the following words and phrases, reproduce the contexts in which the words in (a) are used in the text (the lines of the text are indicated to help you).*

a)

to be ripe for smth (1–10)

dimension (dimensions) (50–60)

viable (50–60)

odds (50–60)

premium (80–90)

agenda (90–100)

to amount to smth (90–100)

to be on the threshold of smth (70–80)	(in)tangible (90–100)
to disseminate (70–80)	to empower (empowerment) (100–110)
to uphold (70–80)	to epitomize (epitome) (100–110)

b) to set the agenda, to be high on the agenda, political/economic/legislative agenda, the next item on the agenda, hidden agenda, to be at odds with, the odds are stacked against sb, against all the odds, tangible proof, to uphold the law, to uphold human rights, a moral/economic/political dimension to smth, to add a new dimension to sth., to put/place a premium on smth, to be at a premium, an issue of international dimensions, to be the epitome of success

Ex. 5. Match some of the words and phrases from Ex. 4 with their opposites below.

abstract, harmonious, insignificant, obvious, substantial, sufficient, to keep secret, to limit opportunities, to oppose, to underestimate, to withhold, unachievable, unsuitable

Ex. 6. For each word given below find at least three words from the box that can go with it. Some words from the box can go into several groups. Can you continue the lists? Use the expressions in sentences of your own.

to pursue	spiritual	results
alternative	policy	solution
benefits	improvement	to increase
to acquire	information	tradition
to overcome	there is no ~ in	economic
democracy	knowledge	way to do smth
ideas	against	to ignore
to promote	principles	lurking behind smth

tangible	to uphold	to disseminate	hidden agenda
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
dimension	empowerment	viable	the odds
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Ex. 7. Suggest stylistically neutral synonyms for the following words. Supply contexts to bring out the difference between synonyms in each pair.



in the throes of	subsidiary	paramount	to emanate
ascendant	obsolescence	conjointly	antithetical

Ex. 8. Express the same idea using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 instead of the underlined parts.

1. Soft power is abstract, but not a chimera.
2. Our countries are entering a new era in our relations with BRICS.

3. According to the defense minister, a transformed military will consider adaptability to emergent situations and rapid responsiveness the most important.
4. The Arab Spring clearly demonstrated that those who ignore the fast-emerging cyber aspect of international relations do so at their own peril.
5. Companies in which foreign capital's share was more than half of the total capital constituted 63.1 per cent of all joint-stock companies.
6. Few principles can be held as a typical example of America's unique national character as can the First Amendment
7. We cannot go back to the medieval times when the Church took over the spiritual control of Western Europe, deciding what is morally right for society.
8. Soft power issues are, at present, in the focus of attention of educationalists, policy makers and researchers.
9. The information revolution has changed the landscape of information gathering, which inevitably has introduced changes to the role of diplomats.
10. The ministry's spokesperson reiterated that additional sanctions would effectively be the same as an attempt at toppling the regime.
11. The theories which sociologists and economists use to explain business life almost entirely run counter to one another.
12. The UN resolution stresses that gender equality and broader opportunities for women are key elements in the reduction of their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.
13. In the age of WikiLeaks, the freedom to circulate information and its corollary, the freedom to know what those in power have said or done in secret, have found ever more vigorous proponents, but also those who ask whether it has its limits.
14. With political and financial support of Member States, we are now working on several fronts to bring about visible improvements in U.N. peacemaking capacity.
15. EU leaders endorsed the decision of EU Foreign Ministers to suspend talks on the accession of the country to the Union.
16. Traditional international relations theory posits there is no alternative that can successfully replace the nation-state in such realms of life as the provision of peace and order within borders and collective action abroad.
17. Despite enormous difficulties and for the first time in decades, British diplomacy is advancing not retreating.
18. Besides the obvious economic benefits, the presence of international organizations in Vienna also creates many immaterial benefits for the host country.
19. We believe that the resolution should not be part of covert attempts to yet again institute regime change and should be considerably toned down.
20. Paradoxically, interdependence brought about by globalization gives rise to profound uncertainties and high risks; information is scarce and therefore highly valued.
21. States often have non-state actors implement policies that they cannot perform themselves due to certain constraints. Yet, by outsourcing its activities, the state is outsourcing its legitimacy, broadening opportunities and competences of non-state actors, and losing control over them.
22. The leaders and opinion makers are increasingly criticising the dominant policies and their effects; the time may thus have come for a 'paradigm shift' away from a model based on competitiveness, greed and market expansion.

23. The UN has more than once pointed out that humanitarian challenges have now become particularly serious and large-scale and thus cannot be addressed by individual states.
24. Diplomats often function as spies, which can put at risk their ability to conduct normal diplomatic activities and makes it more likely that they can be expelled for espionage.

*Ex. 9. Complete the following sentences using the words and phrases from Ex.4 in their correct form.*

1. A \_\_\_\_\_ is a secret reason for doing something because it will bring you an advantage.
2. Although the coercive power's reputation for successfully using armed force in the past *improves the* \_\_\_\_\_ of coercive *diplomacy* being effective, it does not guarantee a favorable outcome.
3. Democracy can yield a range of \_\_\_\_\_ benefits by encouraging stability and good governance, which are essential for economic prosperity.
4. EU enlargement has proved to be the only \_\_\_\_\_ policy for stabilising the countries of the western Balkans region and stimulating their political and economic progress.
5. As Wikileaks releases have demonstrated, what a country's leader or a minister may say in private is often \_\_\_\_\_ his public pronouncements.
6. There are always moral \_\_\_\_\_ to scientific advances because with every such development at least the following question arises: Is it moral or desirable to put into practice everything that our new capacities enable us to do.
7. Suggestions to stay longer in Darfur would feed the Sudanese suspicion that the presence of the UN serves the \_\_\_\_\_ of some of the member states.
8. The UN is to universally \_\_\_\_\_ human rights of all peoples, regardless of where they live.
9. The Soviet Union was South Korea's second-largest communist trading partner (after China); in 1989 bilateral trade between the two countries \_\_\_\_\_ \$599 million.
10. With 68 percent of players being African American, the National Football League of 1998 appears to be the model societal institution that \_\_\_\_\_ racial harmony and equal opportunity.
11. This president's second term was supposed to be an opportunity to make his mark on the world stage, but instead he's just struggling to redefine his foreign policy record, and the \_\_\_\_\_ look stacked against him.
12. Many consider the Western form of governance that \_\_\_\_\_ the liberal democratic values of freedom of speech superior to the repressive dictatorships Iran and Libya?
13. Given the reset in our relations, the time \_\_\_\_\_ for major international actors to devise a security architecture capable of maintaining peace and security throughout the world.
14. The US has no formal diplomatic relations with Iran, which is \_\_\_\_\_ Washington and other western governments over its nuclear program.
15. We stand \_\_\_\_\_ an era in which the political, social, and economic organization will be different from anything we have known so far. In the next few decades, our leaders will recognize recognize the changing system and provide an appropriate collective response.
16. In the realist school, power is associated with the possession of certain \_\_\_\_\_ resources, including population, territory, economic and military strength.
17. For traditional diplomatic institutions, having to work with a greater number of civil society actors means \_\_\_\_\_ state/non-state coordination, including the creation of state/non-state coalitions.

18. Today, the contrast between North and South Korea could not be sharper. South Korea is the \_\_\_\_\_ of a Cold War success, an open economy showing the triumph of capitalism over communism.
19. In an age where huge amounts of data can be \_\_\_\_\_ instantaneously via the internet or be transported in a memory stick the size of a pen, no secret can be safe.
20. In response to natural disasters, time is always \_\_\_\_\_.
21. Traditional foreign policy tools are increasingly complimented by newly innovated and adapted technologies that \_\_\_\_\_ groups of individuals to achieve their own aims.

*Ex. 10. Complete the following sentences. Where necessary add a sentence or two to make your examples more meaningful.*



1. In an era of globalization, \_\_\_\_\_ would **amount to** \_\_\_\_\_.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ provides **tangible** proof of \_\_\_\_\_'s involvement in \_\_\_\_\_.
3. To overcome gender prejudices so widespread in the diplomatic service and to promote women's **empowerment**, \_\_\_\_\_.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ are/is bound to be **high on the agenda** if public diplomacy is to \_\_\_\_\_.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ has/have added a new **dimension** to international relations and changed \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Given the \_\_\_\_\_ of international relations, \_\_\_\_\_ is the only **viable** solution to \_\_\_\_\_.
7. The **odds** of \_\_\_\_\_ are very slim.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ can be used as a platform to **disseminate** ideas about \_\_\_\_\_.
9. The trend toward \_\_\_\_\_ **epitomized** by \_\_\_\_\_ will continue to gather momentum.
10. Another way of **upholding** \_\_\_\_\_ is to \_\_\_\_\_.
11. \_\_\_\_\_ is/are **at odds with** the government's claims that \_\_\_\_\_.
12. I don't think there's any **hidden agenda** lurking behind \_\_\_\_\_.

*Ex. 11. Answer the following questions using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 and Ex. 6.*

1. What **dimension(s)** of globalization do you think has (have) affected the foreign policy of the country you specialize in most of all?
2. Can the aspiration to **uphold** human rights serve as grounds for interference in another state's domestic affairs?
3. Do you see any **hidden agenda** in the EU's enlargement policy or NATO's expansion?
4. What recent decision, event or process do you think best **epitomizes** Russia's foreign policy?
5. Are there any **tangible** results of track-two diplomacy?
6. Can a diplomat express his or her views publicly if they are **at odds** with the foreign policy of the country (s)he serves?
7. What are the **odds** there will be another Cold War?
8. What ways of **disseminating** foreign policy messages/views to global audiences does the country you specialize in use?
9. How can modern technologies **empower** diplomacy?
10. Does the use of force in international relations always **amount** to the violation of international law?
11. Does public diplomacy have a **viable** future?

Ex. 12. As David Crystal rightly observed, “English is a kind of vacuum cleaner of language — it sucks in vocabulary from any language it can get.”



**A.**

Translate the following sentences containing foreign words. Which of the words come from the text?

bona fide [ˌbɒnə 'faɪdi]

quid pro quo [ˌkwɪd prəʊ 'kwəʊ]

carte blanche [ˌkɑː(r)t 'blɑːntʃ]

par excellence [pɑː(r) 'eksə,ləːns]

ad hoc [ˌæd 'hɒk]

raison d'être [ˈreɪ zɒn 'deɪ trə]

weltanschauung [ˈvɛlt,an,ʃaʊʊŋ]

zeitgeist [ˈzaɪt,gaɪst]

realpolitik [reɪ'ɑːlˌpɒlɪ,tɪk]

per se [ˌpɜː(r) 'seɪ]

1. In our hospital, a good deal of the work is done in **ad hoc** teams as required by an individual patient's diagnosis and condition.
2. A nation's motto is always a reflection of the current **zeitgeist**.
3. Our **weltanschauung** is the lens through which we interpret ourselves and our relationship to the world around us.
4. The policy of **Realpolitik** was formally introduced to the Nixon White House by Henry Kissinger. The policy meant dealing with other powerful nations in a practical manner rather than on the basis of political doctrine or ethics.
5. The Cold War was over, the Warsaw Pact was dissolved, and with the collapse of the Soviet Union NATO seemed to have lost its main **raison d'être**.
6. If it is true that Britain has lost an empire but not yet found a role, Germany is a country with an identity crisis **par excellence**.
7. The museum curator verified that the newly discovered painting was a **bona fide** Picasso
8. German wunderkind FW Murnau was invited to Hollywood and given **carte blanche** to make whatever film he wanted.
9. There **was a quid-pro-quo**: Butler backed Lincoln for a second term, and Lincoln kept Butler in a job.

**B.**

Complete the sentences with one of the words/word combinations from A.

1. A \_\_\_\_\_ agreement is one entered into genuinely without attempt to fraud.
2. As early as 1920 the Ministry set up a committee to study the regional problems of South Wales: the first example in Britain of \_\_\_\_\_ regional planning.
3. If the purpose of the EU is reduced to economic efficiency, it means then it has no necessary \_\_\_\_\_ at all, and we can all forget about the whole exercise.
4. In light of the WikiLeaks releases, politicians across the globe believe reputation management to be ever more relevant as the \_\_\_\_\_ of the time is all about transparency and the right to information.
5. Sovereignty is certainly the cornerstone '\_\_\_\_\_ ' of modern international law, as well as more widely of the contemporary international political order.
6. These days he is given \_\_\_\_\_ to photograph any event from the inside whilst the others remain on the outside.

7. US silence on the issue of Russia's war was a \_\_\_\_\_ for Moscow's quiescence on military action in Afghanistan.

**C.**

*Answer the following questions:*

- How would you characterize the current zeitgeist of international relations.
- What is the raison d'être of NATO/the EU/the WTO?
- Give an example of a quid-pro-quo in foreign relations,
- Give an example of an ad hoc committee/commission.
- Who do you consider a statesman par excellence?
- What is the difference between Realpolitik and Noopolitik in a nutshell?
- How would you describe the weltanschauung of today's university students?

*Ex. 13. Translate the following sentences using the vocabulary of the unit.*

**A.**

- Женщины **привносят новые элементы** в политическую культуру.
- Общепризнанно, что сегодня транснациональные корпорации наравне с правительствами **определяют повестку дня** мировой политики.
- Евразийский научный форум высветил проблемы **международного масштаба**.
- Действительно ли мир находится **на пороге** нового этапа экономической глобализации?
- В ближайшем будущем нашей цивилизации у демократии не будет **жизнеспособной** альтернативы.
- Для многих Викиликс стал **олицетворением** понятия "свобода слова".
- Тенденции, идущие **вразрез с** процессом глобализации, все еще сильны.
- Несмотря на все трудности**, правительство смогло провести реформу банковского сектора.
- Необходимо **наделить** международные НПО **более широкими правами** в отношении контроля за государствами.
- Российско-американская конфронтация повышает **вероятность** раскола мира на "Большой Запад" и "Евразийский не-Запад".
- Есть ли **реальные** доказательства изменений в международных отношениях?
- По мнению автора, **пришло время** менять систему международных отношений.
- Интернет стал инструментом **распространения** демократических идей.
- Специалисты, хорошо разбирающиеся в культурных вопросах и международных отношениях, **ценятся на вес золота**.
- Должны ли американские НПО **поддерживать** демократические ценности в других государствах?
- Для политика неприятие (rejection) влияния глобализации **равносильно** политическому самоубийству.
- Нарушение перемирия **противоречит** духу конструктивного диалога.

**B.**

- Правительства заявляют о своей решимости **отстаивать** права человека, но когда дело касается их собственной политики, проявляют склонность к репрессиям.



2. Перед современным обществом стоит невероятно трудная задача остановить саморазрушение мира, заложить основы принципиально нового управляемого, **жизнеспособного** мироустройства.
3. Тайвань пытается вступить в ООН с 1993 года, но каждый раз получает отказ — прежде всего из-за противодействия Китая, который считает Тайвань частью территории КНР и выступает против вступления Тайваня в ООН, полагая, что членство в этой международной организации фактически будет **равносильно** признанию Тайваня как независимого государства.
4. Задача цифровой дипломатии не столько в **распространении** каких-то идей, сколько в прислушивании к тому, что люди говорят, и предоставлении им площадки для выражения мнений.
5. В условиях глобализации **одна из первостепенных задач** мирового сообщества — предотвращение конфронтационности и использования силовой политики.
6. Правительству удалось внедрить в политические дискуссии, идущие в партиях, среди общественности, социальных движений, свои тезисы и тем самым **определить направление** этих дискуссий.
7. Когда военные методы не давали **ощутимых** результатов, Александр Македонский применял и дипломатические средства.
8. Планы правительства вдвое увеличить расходы на строительство дорог **идут вразрез** с обещаниями премьер-министра сделать решения кабинета более “экологичными”.
9. Нынешний курс этой страны вызывает у всех нас глубокую озабоченность, и **пришло время** Совету Безопасности ООН подкрепить (reinforce) международную дипломатию международными санкциями.
10. По словам организаторов, проведение Всемирного социального форума в Индии добавило **новые аспекты** в движение против глобализации.
11. Европейский союз, успех которого превзошел все реальные ожидания, **символизирует** собой преимущества и пользу многосторонности и международного сотрудничества.
12. 65 лет назад, когда **все было против** нашей страны, когда наша армия не была готова к войне, а правительство неправильно оценивало ситуацию, народ нашел в себе силы и мы смогли одолеть несколько напавших на нашу страну стран.
13. Из-за политических ошибок **на пороге** нового тысячелетия Россия почти потеряла возможность самостоятельно **определять пути** собственного развития.
14. Некоторые крупные международные организации **ставят во главу угла** своей деятельности не только мониторинг соблюдения прав человека, но и универсализацию собственного толкования многих прав и свобод.
15. Политика “открытых дверей” **символизирует** основные принципы демократии — свободу выбора своего пути развития.
16. Использование новых коммуникационных технологий **расширяет возможности** НПО оказывать прямое воздействие на политические настроения в любой стране мира.
17. Свобода Интернета — одна из главных задач американской дипломатии. Но, борясь с цензурой, мы не добиваемся каких-то **скрытых целей**, а всего лишь хотим помочь людям по всему миру свободно общаться друг с другом.
18. Признание права палестинского народа на суверенитет и самоопределение повышает **вероятность** достижения мира между Израилем и Палестиной.

## BUILDING A WORD BANK

Ex. 14. Below is a list of words and phrases related to diplomacy. Think of collocations they can form; use the internet or consult a dictionary of collocations where necessary.

innovation, negotiations, track-two diplomacy, new tools, interstate relations, realpolitik/noopolitik, interconnection, nonstate actors

Ex. 15. Make up your own list of topic-related vocabulary necessary to discuss the issue and share it with the class.

## TALK and DISCUSSION

Ex. 16. Discuss the ideas from the text in Reading 2.

1. [The diplomatic world] has had few impulses to cease being an elite preserve for classic diplomacy.
2. It is currently facing a crisis of relevance and effectiveness. A rising tide of violence, inequality, and unaddressed threats provides powerful testament not only to the socialization of globalization's costs and the privatization of its benefits, but to the abject failure of diplomacy to engage remedially.
3. [T]he diplomatic world is now beginning to feel the heat of competition, especially from agile non-state actors that are being strengthened by the information revolution.
4. [T]echnologists are on the verge of producing new tools that are as relevant for the diplomatic world as they have been for the business and military worlds.
5. [G]lobal interconnectivity is generating a new fabric for world order.
6. [T]raditional ideas about "peace through strength" may give way to new ideas of "peace through knowledge."
7. Comment on the arguments the authors use to substantiate the idea that a new paradigm in international relations is emerging.

Ex. 17. Explain and expand on what the following concepts mean.

paradigm	non-state actors
statecraft	subnational actors
e-diplomacy (cyber diplomacy)	supranational actors
public diplomacy	transnational issues
track-one/track-two diplomacy	intermestic issues
shuttle diplomacy	intergovernmental organizations

Ex. 18. Sort out the following characteristics of various types of diplomacy so as to prepare short descriptions of diplomatic activities. Flesh out your descriptions with a few more details. Give examples from the history of the country/region you specialize in.

coercive diplomacy	public diplomacy
gunboat diplomacy	shuttle diplomacy
track-two diplomacy	dollar diplomacy
preventive diplomacy	track-one diplomacy

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— official diplomatic efforts;</li> <li>— to act on behalf of the state;</li> <li>— to back one's demand with a threat of punishment for non-compliance.</li> <li>— to be a supplement to ...;</li> <li>— to be better funded than...;</li> <li>— to be supported by informational, security, and logistical resources;</li> <li>— to be the foreign policy equivalent of the term 'public relations';</li> <li>— to correct misperceptions and unfounded fears;</li> <li>— to cultivate public opinion in other countries;</li> <li>— to further foreign policy aims through use of economic power;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— to increase one's financial leverage over the country by...</li> <li>— to mobilize support of another state's citizens in favor of one's policy/viewpoint...;</li> <li>— to pave the way for...</li> <li>— to prevent disputes from arising;</li> <li>— to prevent disputes from escalating into conflicts;</li> <li>— to serve as a mediator between;</li> <li>— to travel frequently back and forth between;</li> <li>— to use back channel measures;</li> <li>— to use navies to send a political message;</li> <li>— to use the threat of force</li> <li>— to find grounds for compromise by building up a personal connection and understanding between...;</li> </ul>
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*Ex. 19. Discuss your answers to these questions. Use the active vocabulary and the phrases from ex. 14 and 15.*

**A. International relations**

- a. Give a definition of international relations.
- b. What were the main features of international relations in the Cold War era? What ideas dominated the Cold War world? What barriers did the Iron Curtain create? What anxieties were peculiar to that age?
- c. In what way(s) does the modern system of IR differ from that of the Cold War? What are the main actors in international relations? To what extent do you think diplomacy is affected by globalization of business and finance? What is the role of new actors (non-state, subnational and supranational) claiming a seat at the diplomatic table? What are transnational and intermestic issues?

**B. Communication and IT**

- a. How have communications and transportation breakthroughs affected international relations in general and the conduct in diplomacy in particular? Do you agree that they have made international relations and diplomacy more democratic and less secretive? What do you think about diplomats' efforts to use social media to 'make foreign policy less foreign'?
- b. How does enhanced transparency redefine the notion of information security? Do you think the WikiLeaks releases and global surveillance disclosures will lead to further communication advances or will force diplomatic services around the world to revert to old communication tools?

**C. Track-two diplomacy**

- a. What is track-two diplomacy? Who was the term coined by? Is it different from public diplomacy? Who does it involve? When is it resorted to? What are the strengths and the limitations of track-two diplomacy?

- b. Is it a substitute for or a complement to track-one diplomacy? What is the main purpose of track-two diplomacy?
- c. Can you give examples of (successful) track-two diplomacy efforts from the country/region you specialize in?

*Ex. 20. Make a 5–7 min. Power Point presentation on NGO involvement in international relations.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 20).

*Ex. 21. Debate: Is There a Future for Virtual Diplomacy?*

In two teams debating against each other, discuss if going digital is the only way for diplomacy to keep up with the pressure and challenges of the modern world.

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 21).

You may want to focus on the following questions:

What diplomatic activities can be 'digitized'? Under what circumstances would you consider it feasible to set up a virtual embassy? What would be some of the (dis)advantages of a virtual embassy for different countries (e.g., developing/developed)? Does virtual representation have any limits? Are e-negotiations possible? If yes, what spheres do you think they can be effective in?

*Ex. 22. Project work.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 24).

**Possible project work topics:**

- The Future of Public Diplomacy.
- Russian Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Blueprint for MFA Reform\* (it is recommended that all the students of the group take part in this project; the presentation then should be made in front of another group/other groups).
- A Blueprint for Russian Public Diplomacy.
- E-Diplomacy Today and in the Future: Myth or Reality?
- Technologies that Shape the Conduct of Diplomacy.
- Why Diplomacy Should Not Change.

*Ex. 23. Practise making impromptu talks.*

**Suggested topics:**

- we are all public diplomats;
- globalization and inequality;
- track-one and track-two diplomacy;
- globalization and world politics;
- have modern technologies changed diplomacy.

Ex. 24. Render the following texts into English and comment on them. What purpose do you think their authors pursued?



**A.**

Быстроменяющийся облик международных отношений предъявляет к дипломатии требования активности и инициативности, в противном случае время, благоприятное для воздействия на международную среду, может быть упущено. Поэтому совет, который получил в свое время один из американских дипломатов, придя на работу в государственный департамент: наблюдай, анализируй, докладывай, но главное, ни во что не вмешивайся — вряд ли окажется уместным в наше время.

Новой чертой современной дипломатии является ее *многоплановость*. Если раньше регулирование международных отношений дипломатическими средствами фактически сводилось к вопросам внешней политики и торговли, то во второй половине XX в. круг вопросов резко расширился. Объектом обсуждения и регулирования стали такие области, как разоружение, экология, терроризм, социальные вопросы и многие другие.

Развитие средств коммуникации также оказало большое влияние на дипломатию. Появление таких средств технической связи, как телефонная, факсимильная, электронная почта, видеосвязь и другие, которые были невозможны в прошлых столетиях, влечет за собой значительную интенсификацию межгосударственного диалога. Этому способствует и возможность быстрого передвижения из различных точек земного шара.

Следующая особенность развития мира, кардинальным образом повлиявшая на дипломатию, состоит в демократизации международных отношений и активном выходе на мировую арену негосударственных участников. Дипломатия все больше попадает под контроль общественности и ввиду больших возможностей средств массовой информации, и ввиду необходимости ратификации многих документов, и, наконец, из-за того, что на международную арену все чаще стали выходить не государственные структуры, а различного рода движения — этнические, религиозные и др., а также общественные организации и академические круги, которые занялись традиционными дипломатическими проблемами — поиском согласия в конфликтных ситуациях, предоставлением посреднических услуг и т. п.

В результате в конце 70-х — начале 80-х годов XX в. стало формироваться *“второе направление дипломатии” (track-two diplomacy)* в отличие от ее *“первого направления”*, т. е. официальной дипломатии. Представителями второго направления в основном являются исследователи, журналисты, дипломаты в отставке.

Деятельность на *“втором направлении дипломатии”* ориентирована главным образом на урегулирование конфликтных ситуаций. Один из активных представителей *“второго направления дипломатии”* американский автор Дж. Монтвиль определил его как *“неофициальное, неформальное взаимодействие между членами враждебных друг другу общностей или наций, целью которого является разработка стратегий, оказание влияния на общественное мнение, а также организация человеческих и материальных ресурсов, которые могли бы способствовать разрешению конфликта”*. Ее главная задача — создать благоприятные условия для улучшения взаимопонимания между сторонами и нахождения ими самими решения в той или иной ситуации.

(По материалам учебника *Современные международные отношения* под ред. А. В. Торкунова)

**В.**

1)

Госсекретарь Хиллари Клинтон назвала цифровую дипломатию “искусством управления государством в XXI веке”. Речь идет о модернизации дипломатии. Мы живем в век цифровых технологий, в мире, в котором у людей все больше возможностей связываться друг с другом. Поэтому мы выходим напрямую на людей, в том числе в странах, где нас не очень любят.

Одна из самых сильных сторон США — это наш уровень технологий, инноваций и образования. Если привнести все это в дипломатию, это позволит нам более эффективно отвечать на внешнеполитические вызовы — от борьбы с наркокартелями в Мексике, до борьбы с коррупцией в Конго.

Хотя и считается, что дипломатия — консервативная сфера, у дипломатов нет “иммунитета” к влиянию интернета, и абсолютное большинство моих коллег это понимают. Кроме того, в Госдепе хорошо помнят, что интернет и социальные сети сделали для Барака Обамы во время президентской кампании 2008 года.

Следует понимать, что задача цифровой дипломатии не столько в распространении месседжей, сколько в прислушивании к тому, что люди говорят, и предоставлении им площадки для выражения мнений. И в этом заключается разница между вещавшим на СССР “Голосом Америки” и “цифровой дипломатией”. “Голос” был четко нацелен на коммуникацию с целью демократизации. Цифровая дипломатия направлена на решение проблем и внешнеполитических вызовов, а не на достижение какой-то глобальной политической цели. Скажем, в Мексике невероятно влиятельны наркокартели. Наши специалисты разработали программу, при которой люди могут анонимно сообщать о правонарушениях посредством SMS. И когда люди знают, что это безопасно для них, они охотно используют эти технологии. Другой пример — это Гаити после землетрясения: мы дали им возможность бесплатно с помощью SMS сообщать о раненых, нехватке бензина, лекарств и еды. Кроме того, с помощью этой программы можно было легко делать пожертвования в адрес пострадавших. Меньше чем за две недели ею воспользовались 80 тыс. человек. Мы собрали более \$35 млн добровольных пожертвований.

С самого первого дня существования США мы считали своей обязанностью бороться за универсальные права человека — свободу самовыражения, собраний и информации. И мы не будем извиняться перед кем-то за то, что помогаем людям пользоваться этими правами. Важно помогать людям бороться за свободу СМИ, за право высказывать свое мнение без страха оказаться за решеткой. В ответ на обвинения в том, что мы якобы нарушаем закон, помогая, например, жителям Китая обходить firewall, я сказал бы, что вместо “нарушаем закон” лучше говорить “способствуем продвижению универсальных прав”, закрепленных в документах ООН: свободы самовыражения и политических прав вне зависимости от того или иного закона.

(По материалам интервью А.Росса газете “Коммерсантъ-Daily”)

2)

“Цифровая дипломатия” это использование дипломатами интернета для достижения своих целей через влияние на зарубежную аудиторию и взаимодействие с ней. На практике этот подход может реализоваться по-разному: как через блоги американских послов и сайты министерств, так и через тщательный анализ сообщений по важной для США тематике в социальных сетях, вовлечение пользователей в диалог или в некие действия.

Проблема в том, что Госдеп смешивает такие понятия, как публичная дипломатия и борьба за свободу интернета. К перечисленным выше видам деятельности следует добавить меры по обучению пользователей интернета из авторитарных стран методам обхода фильтров. А это может быть расценено как попытка насаждения демократии и вмешательство во внутренние дела, ведь когда при поддержке Госдепа США создаются специальные программы по обходу интернет-фильтров конкретных стран, трудно говорить, что это не является вмешательством в их внутренние дела.

В конечном итоге это может привести к еще большей цензуре и регулированию интернета со стороны властей некоторых стран. Угроза вмешательства извне может побудить авторитарные режимы сильнее закрутить гайки.

В США политики, дипломаты и журналисты традиционно преувеличивают роль интернета в продвижении демократии. Показательна в этом смысле дискуссия о так называемых Twitter-революциях в Молдавии и Иране, при том что на момент массовых народных волнений число пользователей этого сервиса в Кишиневе и Тегеране не превышало несколько десятков человек.

Власти таких стран, как Китай и Иран, внимательно следят за громкими заявлениями США о роли интернета в координации антиправительственных акций и принимают контрмеры. Каждая необдуманная фраза Хиллари Клинтон или Алека Росса может привести к ужесточению информационной политики авторитарных стран.

Говоря о политике США в этой области, необходимо также упомянуть, с одной стороны, заявления американских дипломатов о свободе интернета и информации в сети и с другой — их же критическую реакцию на деятельность сайта WikiLeaks.

И это не единственное противоречие в действиях американских чиновников. Так, американское правительство, в том числе и Госдеп, вкладывает деньги в создание анонимайзеров. Получается, что с одной стороны, власти США выступают за частичную цензуру в сети (в случае с пиратством или публикацией правительственных документов), а с другой — они финансируют программы, помогающие ее обходить.

Еще один пример. С одной стороны, власти США много говорят о политике прозрачности, но при этом общественности не представляется информация о взаимодействии Госдепа и таких гигантов Кремниевой долины, как Google, Facebook и Twitter. Одним из последствий этой “дружбы” является то, что власти некоторых стран, в том числе и России, видят в этих компаниях инструмент Вашингтона и стремятся ограничить их присутствие.

Пожалуй, поддержка Вашингтоном онлайн-демократии — это худшее, что когда-либо случалось с интернетом. Интернет слишком ценный ресурс для того, чтобы использовать его в качестве агента цифровой дипломатии Вашингтона.

(По материалам интервью Е.Морозова газете “Коммерсантъ-Daily”)

## EDITING and WRITING

Ex. 25. Write a summary of the text in Reading 2.

Ex. 26. Read the following sample book review and analyze it using the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 33).

*Guerrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations*

By Daryl Copeland

Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009

First Edition

- 1 As the erstwhile global village goes heteropolar, it is coming to resemble something akin to a patchwork of gated communities surrounded by seething seas of shantytowns. In the environment where competing sources of power and influence collide, tensions will be generated and sparks will fly, which will inevitably make diplomacy ever more complex. While many are quick to recognize this, few can suggest how diplomacy can be brought in line with the demands of the diverse yet deeply interconnected world. In his provocative, thoughtful, and cutting edge *Guerrilla Diplomacy*, Daryl Copeland provides a very clear and bold blueprint for the reform of diplomatic practice. In his view, the diplomatic world should change if it is to retain its relevance and purpose in the age of globalized relations.
- 2 Daryl Copeland served in the Canadian diplomatic service for nearly thirty years, with postings in various countries, and in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Ottawa, working particularly on communications and policy planning. He thus brings a practitioner's eye to his topic and the passion of an individual who believes that there has to be — and that there is — a better way.
- 3 The book starts by analysing the changes that followed the end of the Cold War and then goes on to describe globalisation and the new world order. This first part lays the foundation for later analysis. The second part of the book is concerned with 'drivers for change': global security threats, the link between security and development, and the changing influence of science and technology. This is followed by an intensive look at the foreign ministry, the diplomatic service, and diplomats themselves. As a result, Copeland calls for, a new kind of diplomat, a new approach to diplomacy and reform of the foreign ministry.
- 4 The book's title is striking and thought-provoking. It immediately invokes associations with small groups, ambush, and mobility, ideas not traditionally associated with diplomacy. Copeland describes the term 'guerrilla diplomacy' as a special form of public diplomacy that engages in horizontal rather than hierarchical communication, takes cross-cultural communication seriously, and resembles a grassroots approach to diplomatic practices. 'Guerrilla diplomats use all of the tools of public diplomacy — but combine them with some of the classic qualities of guerrilla warfare: agility, adaptability, improvisation, self-sufficiency, and popular support'. He also offers a new unique set of skills needed in the diplomatic profession of the 21st century: accessibility, flexibility, cultural awareness, and a catalytic and transformational orientation. According to Copeland, this is a much needed adaptation to the changed international atmosphere of the 21st century.

- 5 Copeland's proposed response to what he considers a diplomatic performance gap centers on public diplomacy and its more extreme, perhaps more powerful form, which he labels guerrilla diplomacy. His basic point seems to be that states such as Canada and the United States must make "human-centered development" paramount. To do so, their Foreign Service personnel must connect with a broad range of individuals, not just counterparts in various ministries. Public diplomacy and guerilla diplomacy therefore seek to have contact with societies, to understand them, and to influence them.
- 6 Public diplomacy, of course, is not unknown in Washington or elsewhere. What has been said on this subject echoes some of Copeland's discussion, a discussion that relies on a repetition of catch phrases such as networking and advocacy, branding and maintaining the credibility of the brand, creating networks of communication with individuals in the other society, and most importantly, creating a "genuine dialogue" where one listens as much or even more than one talks, "connecting with a population rather than a state," and providing intelligence back to one's own government about the concerns and interests of others.
- 7 The author's perspective on change on the level of the foreign ministry and of the foreign service seems to be somewhat more specific.
- 8 First, Copeland points to the need to re-focus the diplomatic service and concentrate on core competencies which lie, according to Copeland, in connecting to people abroad and the national image abroad. He proposes 'to begin a carefully planned and phased withdrawal from day-to-day work on particularistic issues.' By leaving such issues as environmental law or resource regulation to the relevant ministries, the diplomatic service avoids turf battles and can focus on its core competencies. Second, Copeland proposes the creation of virtual desks. Organised by topic or region, these could bring together a wide network of experts — extending far beyond the foreign ministry. Third, Copeland calls for making greater use of the internet and other electronic media. For example, when talking about blogging he states that 'responsive foreign ministries and some senior officials are doing it, and so too should more ambassadors, especially those posted to trouble spots'.
- 9 The book's most valuable contribution lies not in the assertion that we live in the age of globalization and that globalization has altered the way in which international policy is conducted — this is certainly not new; rather it is in its holistic approach and in the intriguing analysis of diplomatic practices and their need for adaptation and reform. Copeland's description of the qualities of the guerrilla diplomat and the workings of a foreign ministry are wise and insightful. His belief in the possibilities of diplomacy and the primacy of talk over war are well underlined in the examples given and the proposals for change made. Copeland is not afraid to include science and technology in his analysis and to talk about the possibilities the internet and new social media have to offer for advancing diplomacy.
- 10 However, there are several points on which I would like to sound a note of caution. First, I remain to be convinced of the almost universal application of methods of guerrilla diplomacy. What Copeland's analysis really needs is a presentation of guerrilla diplomacy at work, with extensive case studies — or if those are too sensitive (or unavailable), then with extensive fictional illustrations of what guerilla diplomacy might look like on the ground and how the results might feed into policy formulation and implementation, or into building a persuasive brand. They should suggest in some detail — even fictional detail — how guerilla diplomacy is likely to have a meaningful impact on dealing with development and globalization issues.

- 11 Second, Copeland's advice and practical proposals are inspiring and visionary and rooted in his deep reflections on the diplomatic ecosystem. Yet, in a world where many foreign ministries choose not to embrace the possibilities of new communication technologies and social media platforms (after all, only a few governments and foreign services use Facebook, twitter, Youtube, or Second Life), he might be overestimating the possibilities for change within a profession still marked by tradition and conservatism. He also acknowledges that many of his proposals would lead to the end of centralised control over communication and that this is something for which many governments are simply not ready.
- 12 With its research base, *Guerrilla Diplomacy* looks like a textbook, but it is not a standard one. Its tone is conversational, and it is truly enjoyable to read. When choosing this book, do not expect to learn about the basics of diplomacy such as conventional bilateral and multilateral diplomacy or the Geneva Convention on Diplomatic Relations. With its holistic approach, the book is, rather, a tool for navigation through a complex and intertwined system of multiple actors, levels, and problems and a guideline for advancing the role of diplomacy in a changed world. The book poses many challenges to the traditional view on diplomacy. However, even if one does not conform at all with the specific perspective Copeland takes, the book remains a valuable read for its insights into the workings of the "diplomatic ecosystem" and its thought-provoking proposals for adaptation of this system. Definitely, it will be appreciated by undergraduate and graduate students alike. Practitioners may have more than quibbles with Copeland's solutions to the marginalization of diplomacy, but they are unlikely to disagree fundamentally with his diagnosis.

*Ex. 27. Choose an article from an academic journal on the topic connected with your research and write a critical review of this article following the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 35).*

### MIXED BAG

*Ex. 28. Fill in the gaps with the correct adverb or preposition where necessary.*

**a)**

- to be \_\_\_ the throes \_\_\_ revolutions
- to be eager \_\_\_ technological enhancements
- to be \_\_\_ the verge of producing new tools
- to be relevant \_\_\_ the diplomatic world
- shifts that appeal \_\_\_ grand strategists
- power is diffusing \_\_\_ non-state actors
- to be important \_\_\_ statecraft
- to be distinct \_\_\_ realpolitik
- to be \_\_\_ odds \_\_\_ smth
- \_\_\_ a lesser degree
- to be "national" or "multinational" \_\_\_ character
- to be \_\_\_ the threshold \_\_\_ smth
- \_\_\_ this background
- to be smaller \_\_\_ traditional measures

**b)**

1. A good diplomat knows how to present their government's positions in terms that are appealing \_\_\_ local interests and sensibilities.
2. \_\_\_ the background \_\_\_ reports that Russia is to increase its military expenditure \_\_\_ 60 per cent, and last fall held its largest military exercise in the Baltic Sea \_\_\_ the 1980s, the controversial Mistral arms deal between France and Russia is giving rise \_\_\_ fears in Sweden that the country's security may be compromised.
3. Bilateralism is increasingly giving way \_\_\_ multilateralism and multilateral relations now conducted \_\_\_ the framework of international organisations with either general or specialised competencies
4. China, and \_\_\_ a lesser degree Russia, have acted to dilute harsh sanctions proposed \_\_\_ the U.S. and its Western allies on the Security Council, leading to compromise penalties enacted \_\_\_ the council that are milder than the West had originally hoped.
5. Coercive diplomacy is distinct \_\_\_ deterrence in that coercive diplomacy is a response to a hostile action already taken while deterrence attempts to prevent a hostile action.
6. Coercive diplomacy needs to be distinguished \_\_\_ deterrence, a strategy that employs threats to dissuade an adversary \_\_\_ undertaking a damaging action \_\_\_ the future.
7. Cultural diplomacy is a form of diplomacy that places a premium \_\_\_ cultural recognition and understanding as a basis \_\_\_ dialogue
8. Democracies must persist \_\_\_ their public diplomacy efforts that rely \_\_\_ digital media and encourage their proliferation.
9. Diplomacy makes use \_\_\_ peaceful methods, generally persuasive though \_\_\_ times coercive, but not amounting \_\_\_ use of force, to explain and attain a nation state's objectives.
10. Diplomatic agencies that "thrive" \_\_\_ the new environment, even if \_\_\_ traditional measures they appear to be relatively weak, are likely to be the ones that learn to work conjointly \_\_\_ the new generation of non-state actors.
11. \_\_\_ the cold war United Nations peace-keeping operations were largely military \_\_\_ character and were usually deployed after a cease-fire but before a settlement of the conflict \_\_\_ question had been negotiated.
12. Early Russian diplomacy in the fourteenth \_\_\_ eighteenth centuries was starkly \_\_\_ odds \_\_\_ existing international rules.
13. Fearful \_\_\_ projecting weakness, Khamenei is averse \_\_\_ compromise \_\_\_ both domestic and international contexts.
14. Given the pace of change \_\_\_ the digital world \_\_\_ a whole, the conduct of diplomacy is set to undergo a major evolution as these technologies shake up the status quo.
15. If the strife between Israelis and Palestinians continues, the practice of suicide bombers may diffuse \_\_\_ Europe.
16. In a world in which some are trying to pit different religions \_\_\_ each other, we should send a clear message: we are \_\_\_ tolerance, and \_\_\_ radicalism.
17. \_\_\_ the aftermath \_\_\_ WikiLeaks disclosures, diplomats and leaders will be mindful \_\_\_ what they say \_\_\_ foreign interlocutors, but how long this will last remains to be seen.
18. Many states' motivations for upholding sanctions \_\_\_ Iran stem \_\_\_ fears of another country developing nuclear weapons.
19. New disclosures from WikiLeaks documents reveal Israel's goal to keep Gaza \_\_\_ the verge \_\_\_ economic collapse.



20. North Korea is believed to be \_\_\_ the throes \_\_\_ one of the worst economic crises in decades.
21. Small states' diplomacy puts a higher premium \_\_\_ persuasion and consensus building as distinct \_\_\_ power play \_\_\_ the conduct of international relations.
22. Some sources claim that after years of fruitless diplomacy, Iran is \_\_\_ the threshold \_\_\_ becoming a nuclear power.
23. South Korea is eager \_\_\_ active denuclearization of the peninsula.
24. The acquisition of new technologies must be geared \_\_\_ supporting the key priorities of diplomacy.
25. The impetus \_\_\_ creating a global noosphere is more likely to emanate \_\_\_ activist NGOs, other civil-society actors (e.g., churches and schools), and private individuals dedicated \_\_\_ freedom of information and communications and \_\_\_ the spread of ethical values and norms.
26. The logic employed to justify WikiLeaks manoeuvres and persuade us in righteousness \_\_\_ its motives is that 'secret diplomacy is antithetical \_\_\_ an open society, and that state secrets have not always been used \_\_\_ noble purposes.
27. The spread of technology, global political shifts and the rise \_\_\_ democracies have all placed a premium \_\_\_ the value of public diplomacy.

Ex. 29.

- a) In the following passage insert articles where necessary. Account for their use.
- b) Reread the passage and comment on the author's point of view.

Behind rhetoric of globalization — rhetoric found in public as well as academic debate — lie three broad accounts of nature and meaning of globalization today, referred to here as hyperglobalist, sceptical, and transformationalist views.

Hyperglobalists argue that we live in increasingly global world in which states are being subject to massive economic and political processes of change. These are eroding and fragmenting nation-states and diminishing power of politicians. In these circumstances, states are increasingly the 'decision-takers' and not the 'decision-makers'.

Sceptics strongly resist this view and believe that contemporary global circumstances are not unprecedented. In their account, while there has been intensification of international and social activity in recent times, this has reinforced and enhanced state powers in many domains.

Transformationalists argue that globalization is creating new economic, political and social circumstances which, however unevenly, are serving to transform state powers and context in which states operate. They do not predict outcome — indeed, they believe it is uncertain — but argue that politics is no longer, and can no longer simply be, based on nation-states.

What is to be made of these different positions? Are we, or are we not, on edge of global shift with massive political, economic and cultural implications?

Ex. 30. Use the verbs in parentheses in the correct tense and voice form.

In 2007 the Maldives **(to become)**<sub>1</sub> the first country in the world **(to open)**<sub>2</sub> a Virtual Embassy. The Maldives Virtual Embassy **(to locate)**<sub>3</sub> in the Diplomatic Quarter of Diplomacy Island in Second Life, an on-line space **(to design)**<sub>4</sub> to allow new avenues for diplomatic **(to represent)**<sub>5</sub> and

**(to negotiate)**<sub>6</sub>, especially for small and **(to develop)**<sub>7</sub> countries that have a **(to limit)**<sub>8</sub> diplomatic outreach in the “real” world. Diplomacy Island is the brainchild of Diplo Foundation, a non-profit organisation which **(to work)**<sub>9</sub> to help **(to develop)**<sub>10</sub> countries participate **(to mean)**<sub>11</sub> in international affairs.

The official inauguration ceremony **(to take place)**<sub>12</sub> simultaneously in the real world (Geneva) and in the virtual world (Second Life), with participants in both “place” and “space” able to watch the speeches, interact with each other, and explore the Maldives Embassy and the rest of Diplomacy Island.

**(To speak)**<sub>13</sub> ahead of the opening ceremony, which **(to host)**<sub>14</sub> by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Dr. Srgjan Kerim, President Designate of the UN General Assembly said “Modern diplomacy should follow the changes of today’s world. Diplo’s virtual diplomacy initiative, with Diplomacy Island and Virtual Embassies, **(to herald)**<sub>15</sub> new developments in the diplomatic practice.”

At the opening of the Maldives Virtual Embassy, the Maldives Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Abdulla Shahid **(to emphasize)**<sub>16</sub> how information technology and particularly the internet can **(to harness)**<sub>17</sub> by small countries **(to help)**<sub>18</sub> them **(to participate)**<sub>19</sub> meaningfully in international relations:

“The Maldives is not a big country but that **(not to mean)**<sub>20</sub> we **(not to have)**<sub>21</sub> a valuable contribution **(to make)**<sub>22</sub> in international affairs. The Maldives well **(to known)**<sub>23</sub> as a tourist destination, but we are also a country that **(to experience)**<sub>24</sub> rapid economic, social and political development over recent years; while our vulnerability to sea-level rise **(to put)**<sub>25</sub> us at the forefront of the global debate on climate change. The Virtual Embassy offers another channel for us **(to provide)**<sub>26</sub> information on the country, **(to offer)**<sub>27</sub> our viewpoint on issues of international concern, and **(to interact)**<sub>28</sub> with our partners in the international community. I warmly **(to welcome)**<sub>29</sub> anyone **(to interest)**<sub>30</sub> in the Maldives **(to pay)**<sub>31</sub> us a visit in Second Life”.

Ex. 31.

- a) *Use of English. Globalization and the State.*
- b) *Choose the best variant.*
- c) *Comment on the influence of globalization on the nation state.*

Anti-globalism activists often depict the McDonald’s, Disney, and Coca-Cola corporations as agents of globalism or cultural imperialism — a new form of economical/economic (1) and political domination. Critics of globalism argue that any business enterprise capable to manipulate/of manipulate/of manipulating (2) personal tastes will thrive, whereas state authorities/authority (3) everywhere will lose control over the distribution of goods and services. According to this view of world power, military force is perceived as/of as (4) hopelessly out-of-the way/out of step/out of the firing line (5) or even powerless; the control of culture (and its production) is seen as far/by far (6) more important than the control of political and geographic limits/borders/frontiers (7). Certainly, it is true that national boundaries are increasingly permeable and any effort by nations to exclude global pop culture usually makes the banned/barred/illegal (8) objects all irresistible/all the most irresistible/all the more irresistible (9).

Arguments regarding the overrosion/corrosion/erosion (10) of state sovereignty are particularly unsettling for nations that have become consumers not/then/rather than/than/rather

than (11) producers of digital technology. the/a/x (12) Post-Soviet Russia, the/a/x (13) post-Mao China, and the/a/x (14) post-Gaullist France are but three examples of Cold War giants facing uncertain futures in the emerging global system. French intellectuals and politicos/politicians (15) have seized upon anti-globalism as an organizing/organized (16) ideology in the absence of other unifying/unified (17) themes. In *Les cartes de la France à l'heure de la mondialisation* (2000; "France's Assets in the Era of Globalization"), French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine announced/denounced/renounced (18) the United States as a "hyperpower" that promotes "uniformity" and "unilateralism." Speaking for the French intelligentsia, he argued that France should take the plunge/take the lead/take the veil (19) in building a "multipolar world." Ordinary/Regular/The rank and file (20) French citizens also were concerned about/with (21) losing their national identity, particularly as the regulatory power of the European Union began to have an effect/affect/sway (22) everyday life. Sixty percent of respondents in a 1999 L'Expansion poll agreed that globalization represented the greatest threat/risk/jeopardy (23) to the French way of life.

Ex. 32. Fill in the gaps with any suitable word.



When public diplomacy issues are discussed, \_\_\_\_\_ (1) tends to be on major powers that are particularly active in this field — China, Israel, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States and a few others. But Romania has now announced that it wants to \_\_\_\_\_ (2) the big guys' club, and it is taking \_\_\_\_\_ (3) steps toward doing so.

A new public diplomacy program has been \_\_\_\_\_ (4) within the office of Romania's president, Traian Basescu, who has put his personal \_\_\_\_\_ (5) behind its efforts. At a conference in Bucharest last week marking the beginning of the new public diplomacy venture, Basescu said, "Romania is proud of itself," and he criticized the common \_\_\_\_\_ (6) of Romania as the source of other countries' crime problems. This \_\_\_\_\_ (7) is at least in part a product of racism directed toward Romania's Roma, or Gypsy, population, members of which are actively \_\_\_\_\_ (8) against throughout much of Europe.

Former foreign minister Cristian Diaconescu, along with his colleague Dan Dima, is directing the public diplomacy \_\_\_\_\_ (9), which he defines as "the management of external perception... that aims to offer to the international realm the necessary arguments for a solid structuring of our credibility and reputation abroad." For those tempted to think Romania just needs a new "brand" identity, Diaconescu said that \_\_\_\_\_ (10) of Romania "cannot be magically created out of imaginative promotion, but must be built on policy."

All this is encouraging, but Basescu's team is in the \_\_\_\_\_ (11) of domestic political battling that is far nastier than anything seen in other countries. The president and the current foreign minister belong to different political parties and are so at \_\_\_\_\_ (12) that the foreign ministry chose to send no representative to the kick-off conference. This needs to be \_\_\_\_\_ (13). In any country, successful public diplomacy requires a long-term commitment that transcends \_\_\_\_\_ (14).

Romania's new \_\_\_\_\_ (15) on reaching out to foreign publics — not just other governments — should be considered a useful step forward in a \_\_\_\_\_ (16) of ways. It is likely to benefit Romania's regional \_\_\_\_\_ (17) and it will widen the circle of public diplomacy practitioners. In Europe, the collective political blood pressure tends to reach \_\_\_\_\_ (18) peaks. Public diplomacy may prove a helpful \_\_\_\_\_ (19).

Ex. 33.

a) Read the following extract from an article and identify its topic and thesis.

b) Think of a possible title.

c) Comment on the ideas of the article.

In the digital world, the momentum is always with the upstarts. They are the gamechangers.

Once upon a time, Amazon were upstarts and the people who changed the rules of book retailing — now, for good or (mostly) ill, they are the gatekeepers of the book industry. For TV, Netflix are the ones who are shifting the goalposts. In news media, look to BuzzFeed. Right across the digital spectrum, it is the newbies who end up re-writing how content and services are delivered.

So could the same happen in diplomacy? Could a digitally adept nation change the rules of public engagement and become an influence far beyond their physical and financial resources? Why not?

For one thing, the digital diplomacy space needs positive presences. In some ways, it has become a slightly moribund arena, with innovation at a premium. It's a digital cliché, of course, but diplomacy needs its disruptors.

In recent years, digital diplomacy has become communications heavy, dependent on social media, but light on bright ideas, and there has been something of a minor vacuum, into which others have moved. At the extreme end, this has included the Israeli armed forces tweeting warnings/threats to those in the Gaza strip, and, of course, the grotesque propaganda of ISIS forces.

In the face of such extremes, the established players in digital diplomatic circles look a little tired, concentrating on upbeat communications, rather than invention or function, to look beyond the outputs of soft power and more towards digital as a driver of new relationships, with states and non-state actors, that can help create new policies. The time is right for new countries to step into that world and punch way above their weight, gaining influence above and beyond their more risk averse counterparts.

Unlikely as it may seem, Iran has found firm digital ground, not least with its use of social media. President Rouhani has, seemingly, found time to tweet both to all and sundry and to foreign leaders and managed to humanise the world's view of his government. The Twitter account @MeetIran openly admits it is 'dedicated to providing a more nuanced idea of #Iran. One tweet at a time', which has, shamefully, prompted one blogger to coin the word "Twipoganda".

On a more granular level, and proving that people react better to other people than to organisations, the likes of British Ambassador Tom Fletcher in Beirut have shown that creating networks and improving communications ('talking to people' in old money) can reap dividends in terms of the access and influence it engenders.

But while there are exemplars of good practice amongst countries big and small, sustained excellence has not been reached for some time. The opportunity is there, and its one that's worth taking, the prize is an important one.

The big shift that digital diplomacy can give us is not that governments can communicate regularly on new platforms, it's that they can do so with new groupings. Digital platforms enable people to group together for reasons other than mere geography and created bonds determined by something other than the traditional sense of nationhood. Some might be yolked together by region, rather than nation, or by religion, by economics, by gender, or by ideas. In the digital sphere, these groupings are every bit as legitimate, and often more vocal, than groupings decided by borders and flags.

These groups do not have the mechanics of traditional diplomacy, the ability to match ambassador to ambassador and to share the same arcane procedures. In this new world, a diplomat's clients are changing. Post-digital, post Arab Spring, and in a time of ISIS and Boko Haram, a diplomat is looking at groups which are based around a whole new set of values and loyalties that are not related to those borders drawn hundreds of years ago. Indeed, some members of those interest groups/fanatics/extremists are in your own country.

Those who the diplomat must engage with have shape-shifted, and hard diplomacy is difficult with people who don't share the same view of the rule of law; soft power is harder when faced with al Qaeda members in Arsenal shirts, and digital diplomacy is harder when groupings are fluidly forming in public and hidden areas of the web.

But a diplomat has to engage with these groups — because they are possible challenges to the nation that he/she represents. There're a few challenges — you have to find them first. And you have to engage with them when they have no duty to engage with you. A diplomat's job description, effectively, includes 'speak to other diplomats, foreign ones included' in amongst the list of core tasks. But a fluid group of people who have gathered round an abstract idea don't have any contract or job description, they don't wear white shirts and dark ties, and they may not want to respond, or converse in the way you want to. Where's the treaty, the protocols, the agreements, the furniture of diplomacy?

While we are in a period of change, it's only just beginning; the notion of nation still remains hugely strong. A diplomat can legitimately call on that concept as their main job. But it's altering and the speed of change is increasing. A diplomat is facing a different set of challenges and dealing with them will require a different skill-set. Some will have it, some do have it — but many do not. Digital diplomacy will no longer be about a certain elan on Twitter, it will be about identifying non-state actors and the channels of their choice, with which to monitor and engage with them to form new relationships.

And into that space, new nations can stand tall, just as new groupings can. On digital platforms, the size of your army doesn't matter (nor, really, does the size of your followers), it's the influence and use to which you put those platforms — changing the way people think and act and using the crowd to inform policy decisions, while being, to some degree, agnostic about who you consider to be fit for connection.

Any country can begin to re-define this space, the incentive is with new, smaller nations, with less traditional power bases, to do so. The stage is set.

(Based on Jimmy Leach's post at <http://www.huffingtonpost.com>)

# UNIT V

## HOW THE WORLD WORKS



## READING 1

### LEAD-IN

1. Suggest an explanation of the concept 'the world order'? Is this term a recent coinage? Is 'world disorder' its opposite? Compare 'the world order' with 'a new world order'?
2. What makes up the world order? Consider the following constituents: international community, collective defence, collective security, sovereignty, spheres of influence, international law. Can you continue the list?

*Skim the text to find out what the author thinks about the changes taking place in the world.*

### THE REAL NEW WORLD ORDER

**Alan Caruba**

*American Daily*

You don't have to be a Ph.D. to know that we are now in a period of transition between the world as it existed at the end of World War II, the international organizations created at that time, and today's world that is made up of more democracies than have existed at any time since the founding of our own nation.

Emerging from the horror of WWII in which an estimated sixty million people died, the world was divided between the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. It was a world determined to avoid a third World War. Out of this emerged the United Nations, an institution that was largely the creation of Soviet agents in the US State Department and their counterparts in Russia. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization also came into being to defend Europe against the potential of aggression from the Soviet Union that had created a buffer of satellite states to include East Germany. A 'Cold War' existed until the fall of the Soviet Union.

Now both international organizations have come to the end of their usefulness. The UN has a long history of being unable to avert war anywhere and NATO, whose purpose was to defend Europe against the Soviet Union, is no longer needed. The dithering of both over the prospect of war with Iraq are examples of their death throes. The establishment of the European Union, composed of Socialist states, is already showing signs of strain as socialism contributes inexorably to that continent's economic problems and sovereign European nations discover their independence is of greater value than this new, huge bureaucracy.

The New York Times columnist, Thomas Friedman, postulates that we now exist in a world divided between nations striving for order, i.e., the absence of war, and those for whom war is a necessity, i.e., dictatorships that require an external enemy to divert their populations from the fact they are enslaved. What Friedman overlooks, however, is that democracies do not go to war with one another, so it is vital that democracy be spread everywhere, that people be encouraged to overthrow despotic governments in favor of self-rule.

The history of the past half-century since WWII amply demonstrates that democracy can be achieved. The three nations who contested the power of free nations, Germany, Italy and Japan, were not only defeated, but thereafter put on the path to becoming democratic, free states. Following the United States' determined containment of Soviet efforts to spread Communism Poland freed itself of Soviet domination and Communism. The fall of the Soviet Union freed its satellite nations. Spain, after Franco died, became a democracy. Taiwan, freed of its oligarchy, became a thriving democracy.

In its annual report Freedom House, noted that “Freedom and democracy made significant worldwide program in 2002 despite threats posted by global terrorism.” The report noted that “29 countries demonstrated forward progress in freedom, a dramatic increase from one year ago,” cited Brazil, Lesotho, Senegal, and Yugoslavia, has having “entered the ranks of free countries.”

Even in Muslim and Arab nations, Freedom House found progress in Bahrain, calling it partly free, while noting “civic ferment in Iran and Kuwait” as well as progress in Qatar. Progress was noted in Afghanistan, Albania, Comoros, Tajikistan, and Turkey.

These days, Freedom House considers 89 countries to be well on the path to democracy and freedom, up from 43 in 1972. I cited this because I believe there is a worldwide undercurrent, a demand from ordinary people, for greater freedom. This is why 56 countries are now considered partly free, an increase from 38 in 1972.

There are, however, 47 countries that Freedom House designates as not free, a sharp decline from 69 in 1972. These are nations in which basic political rights and civil liberties. Not surprisingly, almost 60 percent of those denied such rights and liberties, 2.2 billion people, live in the People’s Republic of China.

As always, since its inception at the beginning of the last century, Communism remains the primary threat to democracy and freedom. The other area of the world that remains mired in despotism is the Middle East. And as the US sets about changing that, it is being opposed by the other hotbed of Socialism, the European Union. It is the EU that has been one of the major financial supporters of the Palestinians in their ceaseless efforts to destroy Israel. It comes as no surprise that most of the Eastern bloc nations of the EU have lined up to support the US agenda for Iraq because they have fresh memories of Soviet domination.

So, a new world order is emerging and it is not one envisioned by the One World advocates who would put the United Nations in charge of the planet. It is a world divided between democracy and despotism. As the UN and NATO slip into irrelevance and eventual dissolution, it has fallen to the United States to champion real freedom, real democracy. The spread of global communications, travel, and business will continue to enhance this effort.

If we remain determined to shape a new and better world of separate, sovereign nations, this new century will be a happier one.

## READING 2

*Read the text in detail to find out what a world without a hegemon may look like.*

### A WORLD WITHOUT POWER

**Niall Ferguson**

*Hoover Digest*

Critics of U.S. global dominance should pause and consider the alternative. If the United States retreats from its hegemonic role, who would supplant it? Not Europe, not China, not the Muslim world — and certainly not the United Nations. Unfortunately, the alternative to a single superpower is not a multilateral utopia but the anarchic nightmare of a new Dark Age.

We tend to assume that power, like nature, abhors a vacuum. In the history of world politics, it seems, someone is always the hegemon or bidding to become it. Today, it is the United States; a century ago, it was the United Kingdom. Before that, it was France, Spain, and so on. The famed nineteenth-century German historian Leopold von Ranke, doyen of the study of statecraft, por-

trayed modern European history as an incessant struggle for mastery, in which a balance of power  
10 was possible only through recurrent conflict.

The influence of economics on the study of diplomacy only seems to confirm the notion that history is a competition between rival powers. In his best-selling 1987 work, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*, Yale University historian Paul Kennedy concluded that, like all past empires, the U.S. and Russian superpowers would inevitably succumb to overstretch. But their place would soon be usurped, Kennedy argued, by the rising powers of China and Japan, both still unencumbered by the deadweight of imperial military commitments.

Power, in other words, is not a natural monopoly; the struggle for mastery is both perennial and universal. The “unipolarity” identified by some commentators following the Soviet collapse  
20 cannot last much longer, for the simple reason that history hates a hyperpower. Sooner or later, challengers will emerge, and back we must go to a multipolar, multipower world.

But what if esteemed theorists are all wrong? What if the world is actually heading for a period when there is no hegemon? What if, instead of a balance of power, there is an absence of power?

Such a situation is not unknown in history. Although the chroniclers of the past have long been preoccupied with the achievements of great powers — whether civilizations, empires, or nation-states — they have not wholly overlooked eras when power receded.

Unfortunately, the world’s experience with power vacuums is hardly encouraging. Anyone who dislikes U.S. hegemony should bear in mind that, rather than a multipolar world of competing great powers, a world with no hegemon at all may be the real alternative to U.S. primacy. Apolarity  
30 could turn out to mean an anarchic new Dark Age — an era of waning empires and religious fanaticism; of endemic plunder and pillage in the world’s forgotten regions; of economic stagnation and civilization’s retreat into a few fortified enclaves.

#### Pretenders to the Throne

Why might a power vacuum arise early in the twenty-first century? The reasons are not especially hard to imagine.

— **The clay feet of the U.S. colossus.** Powerful though it may seem — in terms of economic output, military might, and “soft” cultural power — the United States suffers from at least three structural deficits that seem likely to limit the effectiveness and duration of its quasi-imperial role in the world. The first factor is the nation’s growing dependence on foreign capital to finance ex-  
40 cessive private and public consumption. It is difficult to recall any past empire that long endured after becoming so dependent on lending from abroad.

The second deficit relates to troop levels: The United States is a net importer of people and cannot, therefore, underpin its hegemonic aspirations with true colonization. At the same time, its relatively small volunteer army is already spread very thin as a result of major and ongoing military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Finally, and most critically, its republican institutions and political traditions make it difficult to establish a consensus for long-term nation-building projects. With a few exceptions, most U.S. interventions in the past century have been relatively short lived. Recent trends in public opinion toward the war in Iraq suggest that the U.S. electorate is even less ready to sacrifice blood and treasure in foreign fields than it was during  
50 the Vietnam War.

— **“Old Europe” grows older.** Those who dream that the E.U. might become a counterweight to the U.S. hyperpower should continue slumbering. Impressive though the E.U.’s enlargement has been — not to mention the achievement of a monetary union — the reality is that demography

condemns the E.U. to a decline in international influence. With fertility rates dropping and life expectancies rising, West European societies may, within fewer than 50 years, have median ages in the upper 40s. “Old Europe” will soon be truly old. Europeans therefore face an agonizing choice between Americanizing their economies (i.e., opening their borders to much more immigration, with all the cultural changes that would entail) or transforming their union into a fortified retirement community. Meanwhile, the E.U.’s stalled institutional reforms mean that individual Euro-  
60 pean nation-states will continue to exercise considerable autonomy outside the economic sphere, particularly in foreign and security policy.

— **China’s coming economic crisis.** Optimistic observers of China insist the economic miracle of the past decade will endure, with growth continuing at such a sizzling pace that within 30 or 40 years China’s gross domestic product will surpass that of the United States. Yet it is far from clear that the normal rules for emerging markets have been suspended for Beijing’s benefit. First, a fundamental incompatibility exists between the free market economy, based firmly on private property and the rule of law, and the communist monopoly on power, which breeds corruption and impedes the creation of transparent fiscal, monetary, and regulatory institutions. As is common in  
70 “Asian tiger” economies, production is running far ahead of domestic consumption — thus making the economy heavily dependent on exports — and far ahead of domestic financial development.

— **The fragmentation of Islamic civilization.** With birthrates in Muslim societies more than double the European average, the Islamic countries of northern Africa and the Middle East are bound to put pressure on Europe and the United States in the years ahead. If, to give just one example, the population of Yemen will exceed that of Russia by 2050 (as the United Nations forecasts, assuming constant fertility), there must be either dramatic improvements in the Middle East’s economic performance or substantial emigration from the Arab world to aging Europe. Yet the subtle Muslim colonization of Europe’s cities — most striking in French cities like Marseille, where North Africans populate whole suburbs — may not necessarily portend the advent of a new and menacing “Eurabia.” In fact, the Muslim world is as divided as ever and not merely along the traditional  
80 fissure between Sunnis and Shiites. It is also split between those Muslims seeking a peaceful modus vivendi with the West (an impulse embodied in the Turkish government’s desire to join the E.U.) and those drawn to the revolutionary Islamic Bolshevism of renegades such as al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. Opinion polls from Morocco to Pakistan suggest high levels of anti-American sentiment but not unanimity. In Europe, only a minority expresses overt sympathy for terrorist organizations; most young Muslims in England clearly prefer assimilation to jihad. We are a long way from a bipolar clash of civilizations, much less the rise of a new caliphate that might pose a geopolitical threat to the United States and its allies.

In short, each of the potential hegemonies of the twenty-first century — the United States, Europe, and China — seems to contain within it the seeds of decline; and Islam remains a diffuse  
90 force in world politics, lacking the resources of a superpower.

### Dark and Disconnected

What would an apolar future look like?

The answer is not easy, as there have been very few periods in world history with no contenders for the role of global, or at least regional, hegemon. One must go back in history to find a period of true and enduring apolarity — as far back, in fact, as the ninth and tenth centuries.

In this era, the two halves of the old Roman Empire — now divided between Rome and Byzantium — were receding from the height of their power. The leadership of the West was divided

between the pope, who claimed to lead all Christendom, and the heirs of Charlemagne<sup>1</sup>, who divided up his short-lived empire under the Treaty of Verdun in 843.

100 The weakness of the old empires allowed new and smaller entities to flourish. Connections between these entities were minimal or nonexistent. This condition was the antithesis of globalization. It was a world broken up into disconnected, introverted civilizations.

One feature of the age was that, in the absence of strong secular polities, religious questions often produced serious convulsions. Indeed, religious institutions often set the political agenda. By the eleventh century, the pope felt confident enough to humble the Holy Roman emperor Henry IV during the battle over which of them should have the right to appoint bishops. In the Muslim world, it was the ulema (clerics) who truly ruled. This ascendancy of the clergy helps explain why the period ended with the extraordinary holy wars, the first of which was launched by European Christians in 1095.

110 Yet this apparent clash of civilizations was in many ways just another example of the apolar world's susceptibility to long-distance military raids directed at urban centers by more backward peoples. The Vikings repeatedly attacked West European towns in the ninth century. Byzantium, too, was raided in 860 by invaders from Rus, the kernel of the future Russia. This "fierce and savage tribe" showed "no mercy," lamented the Byzantine patriarch. It was like "the roaring sea . . . destroying everything." Such were the conditions of an anarchic age.

Small wonder that the future seemed to lie in creating small, defensible, political units: the Venetian republic — the quintessential city-state, which was conducting its own foreign policy by 840 — or Alfred the Great's England, arguably the first thing resembling a nation-state in European history, created in 886.

### Superpower Failure

120 Could an apolar world today produce an era reminiscent of the age of Alfred? It could, though with some important and troubling differences.

Certainly, one can imagine the world's established powers — the United States, Europe, and China — retreating into their own regional spheres of influence. But what of the growing pretensions to autonomy of the supranational bodies created under U.S. leadership after the Second World War? The United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization each considers itself in some way representative of the "international community." Surely their aspirations to global governance are fundamentally different from the spirit of the Dark Ages.

130 Yet universal claims were also an integral part of the rhetoric of that era. All the empires claimed to rule the world; some, unaware of the existence of other civilizations, may even have believed that they did. The reality, however, was not a global Christendom or an all-embracing Empire of Heaven, but political fragmentation. And that is also true today. The defining characteristic of our age is not a shift of power upward, to supranational institutions, but downward. With the end of states' monopoly on the means of violence and the collapse of their control over channels of communication, humanity has entered an era characterized as much by disintegration as by integration. The writ of the international community is not global at all. It is, in fact, increasingly confined to a few strategic cities such as Kabul and Pristina. In short, it is the nonstate actors who truly wield global power — including both the monks and the Vikings of our time.

So what is left? Waning empires. Religious revivals. Incipient anarchy. A coming retreat into fortified cities. These are the Dark Age experiences that a world without a hyperpower might

<sup>1</sup> [ˈʃɑ:ləmɛɪn]

140 quickly find itself reliving. The trouble is, of course, that this Dark Age would be an altogether more dangerous one than the Dark Age of the ninth century. For the world is much more populous — roughly 20 times more — meaning that friction between the world's disparate "tribes" is bound to be more frequent. Technology has transformed production; now human societies depend not merely on fresh water and the harvest but also on supplies of fossil fuels that are known to be finite. Technology has upgraded destruction, too; it is now possible not just to sack a city but to obliterate it.

For more than two decades, globalization has raised living standards throughout the world, except where countries have shut themselves off from the process through tyranny or civil war. The reversal of globalization — which a new Dark Age would produce — would certainly lead to  
150 economic stagnation and even depression.

The worst effects of the new Dark Age would be felt on the edges of the waning great powers. The wealthiest ports of the global economy — from New York to Rotterdam to Shanghai — would become the targets of plunderers and pirates. With ease, terrorists could disrupt the freedom of the seas, targeting oil tankers, aircraft carriers, and cruise liners, while Western nations frantically concentrated on making their airports secure. Meanwhile, limited nuclear wars could devastate numerous regions, beginning in the Korean peninsula and Kashmir, perhaps ending catastrophically in the Middle East. In Latin America, wretchedly poor citizens would seek solace in evangelical Christianity imported by U.S. religious orders. In Africa, the great plagues of AIDS and malaria would continue their deadly work.

160 For all these reasons, the prospect of an apolar world should frighten us today a great deal more than it frightened the heirs of Charlemagne. If the United States retreats from global hegemony its critics at home and abroad must not pretend that they are ushering in a new era of multipolar harmony or even a return to the good old balance of power.

Be careful what you wish for. The alternative to unipolarity would not be multipolarity at all. It would be apolarity — a global vacuum of power. And far more dangerous forces than rival great powers would benefit from such a not-so-new world disorder.

## COMPREHENSION

*Ex. 1. Identify the topic and the thesis of the text. Make sure they are neither too broad nor too narrow.*

*Ex. 2. Suggest Russian equivalents for these word combinations from the text.*

a new Dark Age	life expectancies
power abhors a vacuum	an agonizing choice
doyen of the study of statecraft	a fortified retirement community
succumb to overstretch	at a sizzling pace
economic output	the rule of law
a net importer	modus vivendi
nation-building projects	introverted civilizations
fertility rates	the writ of the international community

*Ex. 3. Think of several questions to bring out the main ideas and arguments the author puts forward in support of his thesis.*

**VOCABULARY**

Ex. 4. Translate the following words and phrases, reproduce the context in which the words in (a) are used in the text (the lines of the text are indicated to help you).

a)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| commitment (to commit) (10–20)         | overt (80–90)                          |
| primacy (20–30)                        | susceptibility (susceptible) (100–110) |
| to underpin (40–50)                    | reminiscent (120–130)                  |
| incompatibility (incompatible) (60–70) | to disrupt (150–160)                   |
| to impede (impediment) (60–70)         | to usher in (160–170)                  |

b) to commit oneself, to make a commitment to a cause, to reduce one’s commitment to smth, a committed individual, to commit resources/troops, etc., to be underpinned by... (e.g. about a policy/a current situation in some area/etc.), to be incompatible with smth, incompatibility with/between, to be an impediment to smth., susceptible to smth,

Ex. 5. Match some of the words and phrases from Ex. 4 with their opposites below.

to organize, dissimilar, to put an end to smth, immunity, concealed, to advance, inferiority

Ex. 6. For each word given below find at least three words from the box that can go with it. Some words from the box can go into several groups. Can you continue the lists? Use the expressions in sentences of your own.

aggression	elections	to challenge	progress
bigotry	genuine	to fulfill	racism
career	life	to reaffirm	to enjoy
communication	operation(s)	to struggle for	development
economic	plan	to take on	balance

commitment	primacy	to impede	(c)overt	to disrupt
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Ex. 7. Translate the following sentences paying special attention to the phrases with ‘commitment’.



a.

- Ban said that though he is soft-spoken, “that does not mean that I lack leadership or **commitment**.”
- The President **made a commitment** to the development of a hydrogen economy.
- Colombia **made a commitment** to the progressive eradication of child labour.
- Russia has **taken on commitments** to restrict its military presence in northwestern Europe.
- The European Union is **a committed** actor in international *multilateral* work on human rights.
- Both sides **reaffirmed commitment** to the Indus Water Treaty 1960.
- The company’s press release said that it would not **reduce its commitment** to oil- and gas-related activities.

**b.**

1. The government's (**политика укрепления фискальной дисциплины**) lead to a strong budgetary surplus in 2006.
2. Governments also (**подтвердили свою приверженность**) principles of freedom of the press and freedom of information.
3. Many multilateral organizations (**не выполняют свои обязательства**) that had been prescribed in the international texts.
4. With the disappearance of the Soviet threat, it was feared that the US might (**принимать менее активное участие в обеспечении**) European defence.
5. Sweden is (**убежденный сторонник**) of multilateral organisations and particularly of the UN system.

*Ex. 8. Express the same idea using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 instead of the underlined parts.*

1. The countries participating in the five-yearly Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference expressed their willingness and intention to promote a world free of nuclear weapons.
2. As the Cold War threat receded, America chose to reduce its involvement in Continental Air Defense. America turned to other priorities, mostly overseas.
3. Between 1945 and 1985, ninety-seven states initiated 591 foreign open military interventions within 269 international armed conflicts.
4. In a region that is likely to suffer from droughts, wise water use and land management are a necessity.
5. In the late 1990s the Foreign Office pursued an 'ethical' foreign policy at the heart of which lies a strong adherence to international law. (2)
6. Some governments believe that the UN is an obstacle to the implementation of their foreign policies.
7. The African Group stressed the need for the recognition of central importance of multilateral negotiations, with bilateral and plurilateral talks being the exception.
8. The Blair government said it would never do anything to challenge the dominant role of NATO in European security.
9. The conflict in Georgia has spurred public disputes similar to that of the Cold War, pitting the West against Russia.
10. The emergence of a new center of power may upset the existing balance and drastically change the international situation.
11. Many insist that the ideology of the United Nations and the United States are disparate.
12. The existing multilateral arrangements that collectively form the basis of global governance are insufficient in number and oftentimes incoherent in their philosophies.
13. The report proposes measures to foster effective governance in Ukraine and reduce Ukraine's vulnerability and propensity to be a target of Russian pressure.
14. The Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I was intended to establish a world of peace based on the principle of national self-determination.
15. The two leaders ... reiterated their pledge not to let terrorism obstruct the peace process.
16. The World Conference on Human Rights urges the eradication of all forms of discrimination against women, both hidden and unconcealed.

17. Turkey's EU candidacy has always been beset by numerous problems, primarily because of a notable reluctance of the EU to give an unequivocal opinion on the issue of Turkey's membership.

*Ex. 9. Complete the following sentences using the words and phrases from ex. 4 in their correct form.*

1. Technology has \_\_\_\_\_ in a new era of education in which teachers and students may be miles apart
2. \_\_\_\_\_ hostility by certain governments to multilateralism in general, and to disarmament in particular, inevitably impacts the UN itself.
3. China's development can only bring up opportunities for Asian countries and contribute to Asia's economic growth, and will never \_\_\_\_\_ success of others.
4. Both rebels and the government must understand that, if outbreaks of violence continue, they will \_\_\_\_\_ humanitarian assistance.
5. Democracy is \_\_\_\_\_ with the glorification of Nazism, which insults the memory of millions of victims of Nazi crimes.
6. India's growth is \_\_\_\_\_ by a vibrant and growing entrepreneurial class.
7. WTO members must agree that UN treaties have \_\_\_\_\_ over trade rules, and must therefore update the WTO agreements to incorporate human rights standards .
8. Although Soviet and American federalism differed markedly, under both systems the central government enjoyed \_\_\_\_\_ in the field of foreign relations.
9. UN human rights chief says Afghan law restricting women's rights is \_\_\_\_\_ of the Taliban era.
10. United States administrations and politicians have repeatedly challenged the \_\_\_\_\_ of international human rights law, citing the supremacy of US law.
11. With democratic rule in Belgrade, the West sought to reduce its \_\_\_\_\_ to Kosovo and push for the province's reintegration into Serbia .
12. The campaign to demonize Israel cripples the functioning of the UN.... The \_\_\_\_\_ bias against one state undermines its credibility and integrity.
13. Police and courts are understaffed, underpaid and \_\_\_\_\_ to bribes and threats.
14. Speculation abounds whether the rise of BRIC will \_\_\_\_\_ and depose the existing world order.
15. The IMF head recently stated that we could soon see conditions " \_\_\_\_\_ of the 1930s depression" and that each and every country on earth will be \_\_\_\_\_ to the crisis.
16. A nuclear armed Iran is likely to \_\_\_\_\_ the balance of power in the Middle East and may threaten Israel's position.
17. While the NPT has successfully \_\_\_\_\_ the spread of nuclear weapons, some nations in unstable regions have managed to acquire nuclear weapons, increasing the risk of a nuclear war.
18. For many in international relations, the sudden relaxation of Cold War tensions \_\_\_\_\_ 'a world without enemies'.

*Ex. 10. Complete the following sentences. Where necessary add a sentence or two to make your examples more meaningful.*

1. \_\_\_\_\_ is/are totally **incompatible** with the evolving world order.



2. \_\_\_\_\_'s economic/political/military/cultural **primacy** in \_\_\_\_\_ is **underpinned** \_\_\_\_\_.
3. After \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ reduced its **commitment** to \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Despite \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ showed little interest in **committing** resources \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Globalization challenges the **primacy** of \_\_\_\_\_.
6. In order to fulfill **commitments** to/under \_\_\_\_\_, the Member States \_\_\_\_\_.
7. In the context of an ongoing **covert** \_\_\_\_\_, it is unlikely that \_\_\_\_\_.
8. It is believed that \_\_\_\_\_ can potentially **disrupt** \_\_\_\_\_.
9. Perhaps, \_\_\_\_\_ is the greatest **impediment** to \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Russia, like the rest of the world, is **susceptible** to \_\_\_\_\_.
11. The Internet has **ushered** in \_\_\_\_\_.
12. UN Security Council resolutions enjoy **primacy** over \_\_\_\_\_.
13. What do you think makes \_\_\_\_\_ more **susceptible** to \_\_\_\_\_?
14. What happened in \_\_\_\_\_ is **reminiscent** of \_\_\_\_\_.

*Ex. 11. Answer the following questions using the words and phrases from ex. 4 and 6.*

1. Is the **primacy** of one country over others a necessary prerequisite for a stable world?
2. What can **disrupt** the world order?
3. What do you regard as the greatest **impediment** to a harmonious world order?
4. To what extent do you think the color revolutions and recent uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa were spurred by **covert** foreign intervention?
5. Is the existing international system more or less **susceptible** to the unilateral pressure of individual countries than in the past?
6. What can be done to increase the Member States' **commitment** to the UN as a guarantor of collective security?
7. What changes in international relations were **ushered** in by the end of the Cold War?
8. Is the US likely to reduce its **commitment** to European security in the near future?

*Ex. 12. Translate into English using the vocabulary of the unit.*

**A.**

1. Человек в толпе становится более **подверженным** влиянию.
2. В заявлении Президента России военная операция против Югославии была названа **неприкрытой** агрессией и нарушением Устава ООН.
3. Участники встречи подтвердили **приверженность** своих стран Уставу ООН.
4. Есть ли сейчас державы, способные оспорить (to challenge) военное **первенство** США?
5. Применение силы **несовместимо** с целями и принципами Устава ООН.
6. С точки зрения некоторых западных политологов, Евразия является **помехой** американскому лидерству и установлению нового мирового порядка.
7. Нынешняя система международных отношений **напоминает** классический "европейский концерт", существовавший вплоть до начала Первой мировой войны.
8. Этот конфликт может **ознаменовать собой** новый кризис в отношениях между странами.
9. Необходимо предотвратить попытки **сорвать** выборы.
10. Миротворческие усилия Африканского Союза должны **подкрепляться** авторитетом Совета Безопасности.

**В.**

1. Погоня за абсолютной властью **несовместима** с демократическими устремлениями.
2. НАТО нередко обвиняют в том, что под предлогом борьбы за демократические идеалы совершается **неприкрытая** агрессия.
3. Война — основное средство **разрушения** равновесия или установления нового равновесия сил.
4. Генассамблея ООН подтвердила свою **приверженность** принятию мер на глобальном уровне в целях полной ликвидации расизма, расовой дискриминации, ксенофобии.
5. “Ряд совместных спецопераций позволил **сорвать** планы террористов по совершению акций на территории стран Содружества”, — сообщил Директор ФСБ.
6. В настоящее время мир стоит перед решающим выбором, которому суждено определить, будет ли новый мировой порядок основан на многосторонних международных соглашениях и **верховенстве** международного права или же на односторонней гегемонии единственной сверхдержавы мира.
7. По заявлению министра, **в основе** всей общей политики страны **лежит** философия совместной созидательной работы.
8. Наша задача заключается в том, чтобы **положить начало** эре соблюдения закона в каждой области — от мира и безопасности до развития.
9. По мнению политологов **господство** одной державы неизбежно толкает ряд стран к тому, чтобы создать оружие массового поражения.
10. Иран **стал принимать менее активное участие** в поисках путей урегулирования конфликта в Афганистане, предпочитая занимать выжидательную позицию.
11. Россия должна взять курс на развитие отношений с теми странами, сотрудничество с которыми может стать **подспорьем** в решении первоочередных задач национального возрождения.
12. Тяжёлое финансовое положение многих африканских государств будет, по всей видимости, **препятствовать** осуществлению планов России по широкому экономическому участию в регионе.
13. **Открытая** дискриминация в современном обществе проявляется реже, чем это было десятилетие тому назад.
14. В треугольнике США — Китай — Россия основная задача Вашингтона — предотвращение формирования враждебной коалиции, которая могла бы бросить вызов американскому **первенству**.
15. После вступления в ВТО Китай, выполняя взятые на себя **обязательства**, непрерывно расширяет доступ на собственный рынок.
16. Сегодня псевдолибералы поддерживают программы, совершенно **несовместимые** с принципами и доктринами старого либерализма.
17. Участники заседания обсудили и проблемы, которые **мешают** выполнению программы “Здоровье”.
18. Многие из того, что опубликовано на сайте *WikiLeaks*, порой **напоминает** бульварное чтиво.
19. Человек в массе становится более **подверженным** воздействию.
20. Эти выборы **ознаменовали начало** нового этапа политической истории страны, значительно изменив расстановку политических сил.



## BUILDING A WORD BANK

*Ex. 13. Below is a list of words and phrases related to the world order. Think of collocations they can form; use the internet or consult a dictionary of collocations where necessary.*

world order, global dominance, hegemony, balance of power, unipolarity, a counterweight to, empire, nation-state, spheres of influence, global governance, international community, supranational institutions, global power

*Ex. 14. Make up your own list of topic-related vocabulary necessary to discuss the issue and share it with the class.*

## TALK AND DISCUSSION

*Ex. 15. Discuss the ideas from the text in Reading 2.*

1. Power, in other words, is not a natural monopoly; the struggle for mastery is both perennial and universal.
2. [H]istory hates a hyperpower. Sooner or later, challengers will emerge, and back we must go to a multipolar, multipower world.
3. Anyone who dislikes U.S. hegemony should bear in mind that, rather than a multipolar world of competing great powers, a world with no hegemon at all may be the real alternative to U.S. primacy. Apolarity could turn out to mean an anarchic new Dark Age.
4. [E]ach of the potential hegemons of the twenty-first century seems to contain within it the seeds of decline; and Islam remains a diffuse force in world politics, lacking the resources of a superpower.
5. Could an apolar world today produce an era reminiscent of the age of Alfred? It could, though with some important and troubling differences.
6. The defining characteristic of our age is not a shift of power upward, to supranational institutions, but downward.... [I]t is the nonstate actors who truly wield global power.
7. [T]he prospect of an apolar world should frighten us today a great deal more than it frightened the heirs of Charlemagne.
8. If the United States retreats from global hegemony its critics at home and abroad must not pretend that they are ushering in a new era of multipolar harmony or even a return to the good old balance of power.
9. The alternative to unipolarity would not be multipolarity at all. It would be apolarity — a global vacuum of power.

*Ex. 16. Explain and expand on what the following concepts mean.*

world order	global governance
balance of power	hegemon
multipolarity	disaggregated state
sphere of influence	cooperative security

*Ex. 17. Discuss your answers to the questions. Use the active vocabulary and the phrases from ex. 13 and 14.*

**A. Global governance**

- a. What is the difference between global governance and global government? Which do you think is the better Russian equivalent of the term 'global governance' — 'мировое регулирование' or 'глобальное управление'? Why?
- b. How is the world 'governed' in the absence of a global government? What international institutions share the responsibility of global governance? Do you share the view that these institutions' output is nothing more than just a sum of their member-states' inputs?
- c. Does the current architecture of global governance reflect the redistribution of influence that is taking place in the world? What can be done to enhance its representativeness?
- d. What is your overall assessment of multilateral organizations' performance? Do you think the world generally benefits from the rule-based regulatory framework? What if all those institutions hadn't been established?

**B. The global financial regime**

- a. Give a brief overview of the current machinery of global financial cooperation; speak about major actors, its legal and institutional framework, its overarching goals, etc. What are some of its strengths and weaknesses? What has been done to adjust to the changes in the international distribution of economic power?
- b. What is the principal institution for managing financial crises ('financial crises firefighter' — *Economist*)? How successful has it been in addressing the global financial and economic downturn and why?
- c. How have the recent global crises affected international financial institutions and their functions? What arrangements have been created to help cushion against future financial crises? Do the recent global financial meltdown and the remaining volatility show that the global economy is poorly governed?

**C. The global human rights regime**

- a. What international arrangements (both global and regional) can be considered part of the international human rights regime?
- b. What is the seminal international human rights document?
- c. Speak about the most important dimensions of the human rights issue. What mechanisms are in place to ensure respect for human rights? Do human rights violations have a national or international character? How are decisions in this field enforced? Are they binding?
- d. What can be done to establish effective accountability mechanisms to ensure that rights are implemented in practice and violations are minimized if not eradicated altogether?
- e. Do NGOs have any role to play in promoting respect for human rights?

**D. The global nuclear regime**

- a. What are the main components of the global nuclear regime? When and why was the need for international control of nuclear energy recognized? Do you think it arose out of the desire to preserve the balance of power, out of proliferation concerns or for other reasons?
- b. When was nuclear energy used to generate electricity for the first time? Speak about the evolution of attitudes toward nuclear energy. What dangers is 'nuclear renaissance'

fraught with? What are some of the problems nuclear energy production is associated with? What is being done to reduce nuclear risks?

- c. When did the first nuclear weapon appear? How did the non-proliferation regime start? What are the three pillars of the NPT? Give a brief overview of the current non-proliferation efforts (speak about major conventions in force, the IAEA safeguards system, nuclear free zones, recent conferences and symposia). How successful do you think non-proliferation has been so far? What are some of the deficiencies of the NPT? Is the idea of a nuclear free world feasible?

**E. Hegemony: empire by another name?**

- a. What are the main attributes of a hegemon?
- b. Does the world need a hegemon for establishing order? What purpose does a hegemon serve in the international arena? What are its motives? Does a hegemon always pursue its self-interests? Can a hegemon be altruistic? Can the term hegemony be used interchangeably with 'empire' and 'dominance'? What problems does hegemony give rise to a) for the international community? b) for the hegemon itself?
- c. What are the manifestations of US hegemony? What are the pillars of US hegemony? Is the world moving away from US hegemony?

*Ex. 18. Make a 5–7 min. Power Point presentation on a global governance institution of your choice (focus on its mandate, competencies, capacities and effectiveness) or a regional integration association and its international stature. Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 20).*

*Ex. 19. Debate: The World We Live In: Multipolarity vs Nonpolarity*

In two teams debating against each other, discuss how you would characterize the existing world order (you do not have to confine yourselves to multipolarity or nonpolarity). Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 21).

You may want to focus on the following questions:

How would you characterize the post-bipolar world? Did the end of the Cold War result in a multipolarity? Why (not)? Is a polycentric world order always beneficial? Does globalization promote the existing world order? Is there any difference between multipolarity and nonpolarity? Is a nonpolar world bound to turn into a 'cauldron' of instability (see the text in Reading 2)? What challenges does a nonpolar world pose to diplomacy? Is unipolarity a thing of the past? What is needed for an efficient multipolar world to emerge? What is multipolarity fraught with in terms of geopolitics?

*Ex. 20. Project work.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 24).



**Possible project work topics:**

1. UN Security Council reform.
2. NATO's raison d'être.
3. The role of the region/country you specialize in global governance.

4. Global governance institutions as a threat to national sovereignty (only one area should be chosen for analysis — e.g., human rights, finances and trade, environmental pollution, conflict resolution, peacekeeping, etc).
5. Regional nuclear challenges (the region you specialize in).

*Ex. 21. Practise making impromptu talks.*

**Suggested topics:**

- the world without a hegemon;
- today's world order;
- global governance institutions;
- nation-states and spheres of influence.

*Ex. 22. Round table discussion. The UN: UNhelpful, UNrealistic, UNproductive?*

Discuss the main aim of the UN in the modern world and its credibility. How successfully has the UN been addressing the problems it was tasked to resolve? Is it the best forum for the management of world affairs?

Follow the guidelines in Unit 2 (ex. 24).

**Roles:**

**Role 1:** A UN Representative. Supports Dag Hammerskjöld's<sup>1</sup> idea that "the UN was not created to take humanity to heaven, but to save it from hell." Convinced that the UN is the source of global legitimacy. Fully supports the leading role of the organization and believes that given its successes in various areas the UN should be strengthened. Strongly opposes the idea of a world run by one country.

**Role 2:** A US think tank representative. Believes that the UN has been rendered redundant; given the existing world order, the world would benefit from one hegemon, which could unite the world around some idea (e.g. spreading democracy), as 'too many cooks spoil the broth'. Questions the viability of the UN.

**Role 3:** A NATO representative. Questions the very idea of global governance/regulation. Believes that global affairs, including crises, should be dealt with on an ad hoc basis by those actors which are most fit to do so.

**Role 4:** A representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry. Promotes the position of the RF.

**Role 5:** A representative of a multilateral organization. Firmly believes that the future of the world lies in multipolarity. Convinced that the UN is just a scapegoat for the failures of leading governments to agree or to act. Despite possible shortcomings, it is the only way to ensure that everyone's voice is counted, which may help avert conflicts in the future.

*Ex. 23. Render the following texts into English and comment on them. What purpose do you think their authors pursued?*



**A.**

ООН, как и любой другой международный институт, требует постоянной адаптации к меняющимся реалиям. Реформенный процесс в ООН, по сути, идет с момента ее создания в 1945 году. Реформы, однако, не самоцель. Конечной целью преобразований должно стать укрепление центральной координирующей роли ООН в мировых делах, повышение

<sup>1</sup> ['dɑ:g 'hɑmər,ʃɔʊld]

эффективности Всемирной организации, ее способности оперативно, но “качественно” реагировать на вызовы и угрозы современности. Решения здесь должны приниматься на основе самого широкого согласия государств-членов, оптимально — консенсуса.

ООН не стоит на месте: есть конкретные результаты предпринятых в последние годы, особенно после саммита 2005 года, мер по реформированию Организации. В частности, значительным событием стало создание в 2006 году Совета ООН по правам человека, ставшего главным межправительственным органом системы ООН по развитию взаимодействия в правозащитной сфере. Итоги первых лет его деятельности позволяют сделать вывод о некотором снижении уровня конфронтации и политизации в этой чувствительной для многих государств сфере.

В 2006 году была учреждена Комиссия ООН по миростроительству (UN Peacebuilding Commission), которая осуществляет важную деятельность по координации комплексного содействия со стороны ООН странам, пережившим конфликты, для обеспечения их экономического восстановления, укрепления госинститутов, законности и правопорядка. Создан и функционирует Фонд ООН по миростроительству (UN Peacebuilding Fund), куда Россия наряду с другими государствами вносит свой посильный вклад.

Наиболее свежий пример крупных реформенных шагов в ООН — принятие 2 июля 2010 резолюции Генеральной Ассамблеи по вопросам общесистемной согласованности (General Assembly resolution on System-wide Coherence). Безусловно, главным моментом в этом документе является решение о создании новой, “гибридной” структуры в системе Организации, отвечающей за проблематику гендерного равенства и расширения возможностей женщин (empowerment). В рамках данной меры намечена консолидация четырех ныне существующих соответствующих институтов и механизмов ООН, что должно способствовать устранению элементов дублирования и повышению эффективности в работе Организации на гендерном направлении.

В том, что касается реформы Совета Безопасности — самой “горячей” темы реформенной повестки, — то в этой сфере говорить об обозначении контуров такого согласия еще рано. Сближения подходов государств-членов пока не просматривается. Цель этой реформы мы также видим в том, чтобы в результате возросла практическая отдача от работы Совета Безопасности, оперативность принятия им решений. Разумеется, при всех вариантах расширения состава Совета статус нынешних постоянных членов СБ, включая право вето, должен оставаться неизменным.

(По материалам статьи В.И.Чуркина “ООН — непревзойденный игрок на мировом поле”, “Международная Жизнь”)

## Б.

Запад неуклонно теряет свое влияние. Сдвиги в мировом балансе сил, глобальный экономический кризис, растущая самоуверенность Китая, России и других недемократических держав, усиление политического ислама — все эти события последних лет ставят под вопрос жизнеспособность миропорядка, созданного по западным, и прежде всего американским, лекалам. Западу придется считаться с тем, как свою роль видят сами усиливающиеся державы, и подготовиться к появлению такой системы международных отношений, в которой на западные принципы уже не будут уповать как на единственный якорь спасения.

Охватывая все более широкое геополитическое пространство, новый всеобъемлющий мировой порядок внесет вклад в укрепление глобальной стабильности за счет расширения

консенсуса и числа ответственных участников мирового процесса. Он будет также содействовать дальнейшей маргинализации государств, которые хищнически ведут себя по отношению к собственным народам или соседним странам.

Одним из первых шагов в построении нового порядка является новое соглашение о нормах поведения на мировой арене. Среди ключевых вопросов, которые необходимо рассмотреть в процессе достижения нового консенсуса, два привлекают к себе особое внимание: суверенитет и реформа международных организаций.

Цепочка важнейших событий — окончание холодной войны, нарастание угрозы международного терроризма и глобализация — подтолкнула западные демократии к формальному ослаблению национального суверенитета. Однако дальнейшее размывание суверенитета может скомпрометировать принцип автономии государств.

Следовательно, при создании будущего мирового порядка придется отказаться от подобного рода планов и утвердить более традиционное понятие о суверенитете для всех государств, удовлетворяющее принципам автономного управления. В той мере, в какой государство осуществляет управление в интересах роста благосостояния граждан и не совершает актов агрессии против других стран, такому государству необходимо гарантировать полноценный территориальный суверенитет. Конечно же, дабы не устареть, эта норма должна периодически пересматриваться. Незаконный экспорт оружия массового уничтожения и спонсирование терроризма следует — вкупе с агрессией против другого суверенного государства — квалифицировать как вопиющие нарушения. Однако акты, обосновывающие отказ в праве на суверенитет, а также изоляцию той или иной страны и вмешательство в ее внутренние дела, должны тщательно взвешиваться, чтобы более широкое толкование “преступного поведения” не привело к демонтажу международного порядка, который в обозримой перспективе будет опираться на принцип национального суверенитета.

Институты, претендующие на международную ответственность, должны отражать реальное соотношение сил в мире. Вместо того чтобы стремиться к повсеместному расширению исключительных полномочий Запада посредством глобальной НАТО или “лиги демократий”, западным организациям следует оставаться региональными по своей сути и в то же время подавать пример управления другим странам. Поощряя независимость и правоспособность региональных организаций за пределами Северной Атлантики, западные демократии могли бы целенаправленно делегировать ответственность за состояние международных дел компетентным и дееспособным акторам в других частях земного шара.

Подобно тому как НАТО и Европейский союз укрепили коллективную безопасность, усовершенствовали управление и углубили экономическую интеграцию входящих в них стран, такие организации, как АСЕАН, Совет сотрудничества арабских государств Персидского залива, Африканский союз и оборонный союз, формирующийся в Южной Америке, могут добиваться тех же целей в своих регионах. По мере достижения зрелости этими и другими организациями на их уровне все больше внимания будет уделяться не только вопросам безопасности, но и поиску совместных подходов к управлению развитием, здравоохранением, водными ресурсами и охраной окружающей среды.

Необходимо модернизировать и реформировать ООН как ключевую всемирную организацию, превратить ее в главную площадку по координированию усилий мирового сообщества. В таком случае решения ООН нуждаются в большей легитимности, нежели та, что обеспечивают ее нынешние структуры. В частности, состав Совета Безопасности ООН, который все еще отражает стратегические реалии 1945 года, должен стать более представительным,

дабы соответствовать нынешнему раскладу сил на мировой арене. К числу постоянных членов Совбеза необходимо добавить Бразилию, Германию, Индию и Японию, а также основные державы мусульманского мира и африканского континента. Главными кандидатами на членство в Совет Безопасности можно считать Египет, Индонезию, Нигерию и Южную Африку. Такого рода расширение Совбеза повысит доверие к ООН. Тем самым новые члены получат стимул вкладывать более весомый политический капитал и ресурсы в коллективные действия.

(По материалам статьи Ч. Капчана, А. Маунта “Автономное управление”, “Россия в глобальной политике”)

## EDITING and WRITING

Ex. 24. Write a summary of the text in Reading 2.

Ex. 25. Read the following sample book review and analyze it using the guidelines that follow.

### US Hegemony in a Unipolar World: Here to Stay or Sic Transit Gloria?

Review by Christopher Layne  
Texas A&M University

*World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy.*  
By Stephen G. Brooks, and William C. Wohlforth. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008. 226 pp., \$65.00 hardcover (ISBN-13: 978-0-691-12699-9).

Unipolarity has preoccupied American international relations (IR) scholars, policymakers, and foreign policy analysts since the Cold War ended and the “unipolar moment” was proclaimed (Krauthammer 1990/1991)<sup>1</sup>. Since the Cold War’s end IR scholars of various stripes — especially balance-of-power realists — have warned that unipolarity would boomerang against the United States (Layne 1993, 2006a, b; Waltz 1993). The United States’ post-9/11 policies — especially the US invasion of Iraq in March 2003 — fanned these worries as scholars and policy analysts argued that “unilateralist” US policies were fueling a backlash against American hegemony (Ikenberry 2002; Nye 2002; Walt 2002, 2005; Pape 2005; Paul 2005). More recently, the financial and economic crisis that hit the US economy beginning in Fall 2007 — coupled with the rise of new great powers like China and India, and the resurgence of Russia — have raised questions about the decline of America’s relative power. These doubts found official expression in the National Intelligence Council’s (2008) Global Trends 2025 report.

*World Out of Balance* is a forcefully argued rebuttal to arguments that American hegemony is waning and that unipolarity provokes other states to check US power. This is an important — must read — book for scholars of IR theory, security studies, and US foreign policy. Displaying a firm mastery of the various IR theory literatures, Dartmouth professors Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth seek to refute the arguments of Waltzian realists, liberal IR theorists, neoliberal institutionalists, and constructivists that “the current unipolarity is not an unalloyed benefit for the

<sup>1</sup> The references in the review are meant to be a mere illustration; the list of literature is not provided at the end of the review.

United States because it comes with the prospect of counterbalancing, increased dependence  
20 on the international economy, a greater need to maintain a favorable reputation to sustain co-  
operation within international institutions, and greater challenges to American legitimacy” (p. 4).  
Brooks and Wohlforth conclude the “unprecedented concentration of power resources in the Unit-  
ed States generally renders inoperative the constraining effects of the systemic properties long  
central to research in international relations” (p. 3). Building on their theoretical findings, Brooks  
and Wohlforth prescribe policy: the United States should use its “leverage to reshape international  
institutions, standards of legitimacy, and economic globalization” (p. 21).

*World Out of Balance* demolishes the respective liberal IR theory, institutionalist, and construc-  
tivist contentions about systemic constraints on US hegemony. However, Brooks and Wohlforth’s  
central claim — that unipolarity and concomitant US hegemony will last for a long time — fails  
30 to persuade. Indeed, there is a lot less to their argument for unipolar stability than meets the eye.  
Their case is based on a freeze-frame view of the distribution of capabilities in the international  
system that does not engage the argument that, like all hegemonic systems, the American era  
of unipolarity contains the seeds of its own demise both because, over time, a hegemon’s eco-  
nomic leadership is undermined by the diffusion of know-how, technology, and managerial skills  
throughout the international system (which propels the rise of new poles of power), and leader-  
ship costs sap the hegemon’s power pushing it into decline.

Contrary to the argument in *World Out of Balance*, a strong case can be made that the early  
twenty-first century will witness the decline of US hegemony. Indeed, notwithstanding their claim  
that unipolarity is robust and US hegemony will endure well into the future, Brooks and Wohlforth  
40 actually concede that unipolarity is not likely to last more than another 20 years, which really is not  
very long at all (pp. 17, 218). This is a weak case for unipolarity, and also is an implicit admission  
that other states in fact are engaged in counterbalancing the United States and that this is spur-  
ring an on-going process of multipolarization.

The ascent of new great powers would be the strongest evidence of multipolarization, and the  
two most important indicators of whether this is happening are relative growth rates and shares  
of world GDP (Gilpin 1981; Kennedy 1987). Here, there is evidence that global economic power  
is flowing from the United States and Europe to Asia. The shift of economic clout to East Asia is  
important because it is propelling China’s rise — thus hastening the relative decline of US power.

Unsurprisingly, Brooks and Wohlforth are skeptical about China’s rise, and they dismiss the  
50 idea that China could become a viable counterweight to a hegemonic United States within any  
meaningful time frame (pp. 40–45). Theirs is a static analysis, however, and does not reflect that  
although the United States still has an impressive lead in the categories they measure, the trend  
lines appear to favor China, which already has overtaken the United States as the world’s leading  
manufacturer — a crown the United States held for more than a century (Marsh 2008; Dyer 2009).  
China also may overtake the United States in GDP in the next ten to 15 years. Empirically, then,  
there are indications that the unipolar era is in the process of drawing to a close, and that the com-  
ing decades could witness a power transition.

Brooks and Wohlforth also maintain that unipolarity affords the United States a 20-year win-  
dow of opportunity to recast the international system in ways that will bolster the legitimacy of its  
60 power and advance its security interests (pp. 216–218). Ironically, however, institutional reform is  
the arena where multipolarization’s effects already are being felt because — as was apparent dur-  
ing the run-up to the April 2009 London meeting of the Group of 20 — the impetus for change  
is coming from China and the other emerging powers. Here, there is a big flaw in Brooks and

Wohlforth's argument: if they perceive that the United States is in decline, rising powers such as China need to wait only a decade or two to reshape the international system themselves. Moreover, because of the perception that its hard power is declining, and the hit its soft power has taken as a result of the financial and economic meltdown, there is a real question about whether the United States retains the credibility and legitimacy to take the lead in institutional reform.

70 *World Out of Balance* is a major contribution to both the scholarly and policy debates. But its main argument about the durability of American hegemony has a dated feel, and Brooks and Wohlforth are outliers on the question of US relative decline. During the next 20 years, we will find out if they are right or, as others (Layne 2006c; Pape 2009) have argued, the United States has passed the apogee of its power. From a grand strategic standpoint, a lot rides on whether — as Brooks and Wohlforth claim — the United States can successfully prolong its hegemony or international politics is reverting to multipolarity.

### A. General

1. Analyze the organization of this review. Identify the intro, the body and the conclusion. Note how (and where) the reviewer introduces the subject matter, the book under review and the authors' arguments. Pay attention to how the reviewer weaves into his writing various researchers' ideas.
2. What is the main function of para. 1? How is it different from the review in the previous unit? Which do you consider to be a more effective hook for the reader? Why?
3. Comment on the overall tone of the review. Is it rather positive and balanced/ calming/ unrelentingly grim and depressing/ pretentious /critical /one of cautious criticism?

### B. Language

1. **Note how the reviewer characterizes the book under review in para. 2 (line 14). Choose one of the following suggestions based on similar patterns to characterize the text in Reading 2. Think of possible opposites for the phrases that would be appropriate in a review.**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| — to be a milestone for students of;           | — to be a valuable contribution to;                              |
| — to be a welcome addition to the scholarship; | — to be a must-read for anyone interested in;                    |
| — to be a rich and frank contribution to;      | — to be a comprehensive and largely successful attempt to grasp; |
| — to be a balanced and thoughtful analysis;    | — to be a stimulating corrective to entrenched views;            |
| — to be a noteworthy effort to...;             | — to be a powerful argument for;                                 |
| — to be a firsthand account of;                | — to be a welcome contribution to the debate on;                 |
| — to be a thorough empirical study;            | — to be a powerful demonstration that;                           |
| — to be a fascinating case study into;         |  |
| — to be a decent effort to explain;            |  |

2. **Note how the main aim of the book under review is introduced in lines 17–18. Use the following suggestions in a. and b. to comment on the text in Reading 2. Think of possible opposites for the phrases in a. that would be appropriate in a review.**

- a.
  - Displaying a wealth of erudition in the subject, ...
  - Displaying a clear style and sound analysis based on...
  - Displaying a remarkable knowledge of American writing on ...

- Displaying a commitment to..., ...
- Displaying a good grasp of ..., ...

**b.**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— seek to bridge the gap between ...</li> <li>— seek to provide a clearer picture of</li> <li>— seek to identify the appropriate role;</li> <li>— seek to provide a wide-ranging and comprehensive survey of...;</li> <li>— seek to account for...;</li> <li>— seek to evaluate the effect of ...;</li> <li>— seek to assess the impact of ...;</li> <li>— seek to determine the factors which influence ...;</li> <li>— seeks to address some of the gaps that currently exist in .... theory regarding....</li> <li>— seeks to clarify some misconceptions regarding...;</li> <li>— seeks to challenge the notion that ...;</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— seek to provide a wide-ranging and comprehensive survey of...;</li> <li>— seek to examine the relationships between...</li> <li>— seek to explore some novel ways of conceptualizing...;</li> <li>— seek to differentiate between ...;</li> <li>— seek to challenge contemporary views on...;</li> <li>— seek to outline the basic principles of...;</li> <li>— seek to answer three main research questions...;</li> <li>— seek to provide an overview of issues relating to...;</li> </ul> |
|---|---|

**3. Note how the reviewer presents the basis for the author's reasoning in line 25. Make up a sentence commenting on the text in Reading 2 using the following hints:**

Building on	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— the results from the questionnaires and research;</li> <li>— on their long experience of;</li> <li>— on an abundance of background information on;</li> <li>— a review of an extensive literature;</li> <li>— on the premise that;</li> <li>— on previous research;</li> <li>— on insights from</li> </ul>	the author(s) ...
Drawing on	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— the idea that;</li> <li>— existing empirical evidence;</li> <li>— on a broad range of comparative work on;</li> <li>— previous research;</li> <li>— alternative theories of;</li> <li>— a wealth of sources on.</li> </ul>	

**4. Note how the reviewer links ideas in lines 54 and 66. Translate the sentences into Russian. Think of Russian equivalents for the following evaluative adverbs and use them in a brief comment on the text in Reading 2.**

arguably, conceivably, interestingly, presumably, characteristically, predictably, curiously, oddly, paradoxically, regrettably

5. Comment on the way the reviewer presents his final assessment of the book. Compare it with the following suggestions. Use one of them to assess the text in Reading 2. Think of possible opposites for the phrases, which would be appropriate in a review.

All in all,  
the article

- is a conspicuous contribution to...
- is a very decent try at;
- is a very welcome addition to the historiography of...
- is a small but quite useful contribution to
- is a good, concise and compelling exposition of
- is a useful entry point into current research on
- is a particularly welcome addition to the slim literature on...;
- is a major contribution to the existing perspectives on...;
- is a welcome and thought-provoking contribution to...;
- is a real milestone in...;
- is a brilliant endeavor of...;
- is a knowledgeable and judicious review of.

To conclude/in sum,  
the article

Ex. 26. Choose an article from an academic journal on the topic connected with your research and write a critical review of this article following the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 35). Make use of the active vocabulary and the clichés from ex. 25.

### MIXED BAG

Ex. 27. Fill in the gaps with the correct preposition where necessary.

a)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| — a counterweight ___ the U.S. hyperpower                   | — a decline ___ international influence                  |
| — contenders ___ the role of hegemon                        | — an era reminiscent ___ the age of Alfred               |
| — sympathy ___ terrorist organizations                      | — ___ a result of military interventions                 |
| — heading ___ a period without a hegemon                    | — dependence ___ foreign capital                         |
| — incompatibility ___ the market economy and the            | — ___ other words  |
| — communist monopoly ___ power                              | — pose a geopolitical threat ___                         |
| — influence of economics ___ the study of diplomacy         | — retreating ___ their own regional spheres of influence |
| — preoccupied ___ the achievements of ...                   | — retreats ___ its hegemonic role                        |
| — to exercise autonomy ___ foreign policy                   | — the alternative ___ a single superpower                |
| — to put pressure ___ Europe                                | — the antithesis ___ globalization                       |
| — transform the union ___ a retirement community            | — the apolar world's susceptibility ___ military raids   |
| — receding ___ the height of their power                    |  |
| — divide up his empire ___ the Treaty of Verdun             |  |
| — ___ a few exceptions, most interventions were short lived |  |

b)

1. \_\_\_ a few exceptions, nations who possess nuclear arsenals have agreed to not assist other nations \_\_\_ developing their arsenals.
2. \_\_\_ the Treaty of Nanjing, China ceded the island of Hong Kong \_\_\_ the British.



3. \_\_\_ other words, the hegemon uses its power to structure the relations \_\_\_ states to serve its own interests.
4. \_\_\_ the past 14 years, Canadian foreign policy has lost its direction and retreated \_\_\_ the world of soft power.
5. A global balance of power based \_\_\_ justice and equality for all is the only way American power can transform itself \_\_\_ being a hegemon \_\_\_ an honest ally and partner.
6. Disillusionment \_\_\_ the West has led many Africans to wonder if China might be a viable "alternative" \_\_\_ Western hegemony.
7. Do you see China as a contender \_\_\_ world power with the United States?
8. Due to the Enlightenment, Christian influence receded \_\_\_ many aspects of life and a new, secularist culture developed.
9. Friedman argues that periods of globalization in world history go hand \_\_\_ hand \_\_\_ a decline \_\_\_ hegemony and that this is accompanied \_\_\_ a general process of regional economic decline.
10. Hegemony does strongly imply hierarchy, and hierarchy is reminiscent \_\_\_ empire and \_\_\_ bids \_\_\_ universal monarchy.
11. Hong Kong retains considerable autonomy \_\_\_ shaping its international destiny.
12. If the US wants to use its economy to put pressure \_\_\_ a country, other countries can do the same \_\_\_ America and you get a lose-lose situation.
13. If Iran is not a geopolitical threat \_\_\_ American interests, neither is political Islam a direct danger \_\_\_ Western values and goals.
14. In every school with five hundred pupils there are about twenty-five dominant ones struggling \_\_\_ primacy.
15. In the era of Galileo, Christianity was considered to be incompatible \_\_\_ modern astronomy.
16. India has more sympathy \_\_\_ political and intellectual freedom of the west but is wary \_\_\_ hegemony — whether from the west or the east.
17. Jiang and Putin regard the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which covers more than one-quarter of mankind, \_\_\_ a counterweight \_\_\_ NATO and an important pillar \_\_\_ a multi-polar world structure.
18. Many of these areas are still not well protected. With the loss of the dunes, they're more susceptible \_\_\_ flooding.
19. NATO's success in Kosovo was underpinned \_\_\_ its diplomatic efforts in the region.
20. South Asia may be heading \_\_\_ a nuclear arms race that could lead \_\_\_ arsenals growing into the hundreds of nuclear weapons.
21. The fundamental incompatibility \_\_\_ Turkish and Western approaches to the Kurdish question is inherently a world-order issue that has pitted the principle of respect \_\_\_ human rights \_\_\_ the traditional state system.
22. The media seems to have retreated \_\_\_ its role as a provider of serious information and descended into the entertainment industry
23. The United Nations could not afford to reduce its commitment \_\_\_ East Timor \_\_\_ that date, \_\_\_ that crucial time in its existence.
24. The United States and Japan are engaged \_\_\_ a global race \_\_\_ primacy \_\_\_ new technology.
25. There emerges a constructive strategy to free developing nations \_\_\_ dependence \_\_\_ foreign capital.

26. There seems to be a direct correlation between the political and economic health of a country and its susceptibility \_\_\_ economic pressure.
27. Trade wars in the 1930s deepened the economic depression, exacerbated global tensions, and helped to usher \_\_\_ a world war.
28. Unemployment and poverty rose substantially \_\_\_ a result \_\_\_ privatization.
29. Washington cannot have it both ways. Its commitment \_\_\_ aggressive unilateralism is the antithesis \_\_\_ an alliance system that involves real consultation.
30. While the rest of the world is preoccupied \_\_\_ America's war \_\_\_ terror, the Russian Bear is slowly re-gathering the reigns of its former power.

*Ex. 28. In the following passage insert articles where necessary. Account for their use.*

United Nations has long been advocate of human rights. In 1948, just three years after UN Charter was signed, Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted and remains foundation of international human rights to this day. What started as non-binding document has over last decades evolved into complex legal human rights regime. In recent years, UN's human rights agenda has led to development of concept of human security to achieve "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want." Idea of human security encompasses all human rights, including civil and political rights, which protect people, and economic, social and cultural rights, which empower people.

Coupled with growth of human security measures is ever-expanding role of international court systems, particularly as it concerns human rights.

International community has long wrestled with question of how to make international law enforceable. In attempt to solve this problem, UN and other international organizations (including European Union) have created various international courts whereby they can hold human rights violators and other offenders of international agreements accountable for their actions. In 1998 through Rome Statute, International Criminal Court was established, mandated with prosecution of grave human rights violations such as war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Investigations can be launched against individuals by state parties, UN Security Council and court's prosecutor himself.

*Ex. 29. Use the verbs in parentheses in the correct form.*

#### WHERE TO FROM HERE?

Whoever **(to run)**<sub>1</sub> our planet, more and more people **(to seem)**<sub>2</sub> to agree that the rulers **(not to do)**<sub>3</sub> a very good job. The harsh reality **(to face)**<sub>4</sub> by billions of people on this planet **(to be)**<sub>5</sub> one of dire poverty, and the past decade of globalization **(to intensify, not to rectify)**<sub>6</sub> the inequities. The record of international organizations is clear. While they may **(to found)**<sub>7</sub>, with honorable intentions, they **(to hijack)**<sub>8</sub> along the way by partisan interests **(to show)**<sub>9</sub> little or no regard for the human dimension and social development.

Everywhere we **(to turn)**<sub>10</sub>, there **(to be)**<sub>11</sub> instability, insecurity, and uncertainty.

Serious doubts **(to raise)**<sub>12</sub> about the efficiency of the **(to exist)**<sub>13</sub> intergovernmental machinery in **(to protect)**<sub>14</sub> human rights and **(to promote)**<sub>15</sub> international peace and security. The failure of the UN Security Council to authorize action **(to halt)**<sub>16</sub> the massacre of a million people in Rwanda

in 1994 **(to provide)**<sub>17</sub> all to poignant an example; the tragedies that **(to unfold)**<sub>18</sub> in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia **(to give)**<sub>19</sub> two more. And there **(to be)**<sub>20</sub> many more persistent reminders of that inefficacy.

The intensification of global interdependence and the drawing in of previously **(to exclude)**<sub>21</sub> areas of the world economy **(not to bring)**<sub>22</sub> with it a 'spreading of the benefits of globalization' as some liberals **(to hope)**<sub>23</sub>; instead, it **(to generate)**<sub>24</sub> greater sensitivity to the spread of financial crises and a concentration of wealth and resources in the hands of a super-privileged few. The recent crises **(to draw)**<sub>25</sub> attention to the inadequacies of the institutional arrangements for governing global finance once again.

**(To grow)**<sub>26</sub> global interdependence also **(to draw)**<sub>27</sub> attention to, **(to facilitate)**<sub>28</sub> the spread of, and **(to highlight)**<sub>29</sub> the insufficiencies in intergovernmental mechanisms for **(to deal)**<sub>30</sub> with infectious disease. The specter of massive death at the hands of naturally **(to occur)**<sub>31</sub> or man-made pathogens is among the most sobering concerns on the global security agenda. Over the past several decades, the world **(to experience)**<sub>32</sub> the emergence of more than thirty previously **(to know)**<sub>33</sub> disease agents, including HIV/AIDS, Ebola, SARS, and avian influenza, for which no cures are yet available, as well as the reemergence and spread of more than twenty well-known diseases, including TB, malaria, and cholera, often in more virulent and drug-resistant forms.

Nowhere is the need for a new global compact and **(to improve)**<sub>34</sub> governance more imperative than in the case of climate change, which unless **(to correct)**<sub>35</sub> irrevocably **(to alter)**<sub>36</sub> the biosphere on which all humanity **(to depend)**<sub>37</sub>. However, despite a **(to congest)**<sub>38</sub> institutional terrain and the appearance of much activity, the pace of climate change, species loss and desertification **(not to slow)**<sub>39</sub>. Efforts **(to stem)**<sub>40</sub> the rate of degradation **(to continue)**<sub>41</sub> to be frustrated by a lack of political will among the **(to lead)**<sub>42</sub> industrial states and the actions of corporate actors.

*Ex. 30. Use of English. The World Needs China's Leadership.*

*a) Choose the best variant.*

*b) Comment on the role of China in shaping a new world order.*

For more than two decades China has abided x/to/by (1) former leader Deng Xiaoping's "keep a low profile/priority/end" (2) strategy in foreign affairs. But things are changing/altering (3) — China is ready to take on a leadership role in international affairs, and the world will benefit from it.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wang Yi, also said recently that China is ready to take on more international responsibilities, ranging from foreign aid, peacekeeping and nuclear non-proliferation to regional security mechanisms.

This is already happening in several areas. China's Premier Li Keqiang recently spoke of building a new security framework in East Asia x;/;/ (4) and the country's senior/elderly (5) leaders are making efforts to manage nuclear dilemmas in Iran and North/Northern (6) Korea. The country is working with other BRICS countries to establish their own development bank that could rival/compete with/contend (7) the World Bank and the IMF.

As these developments have gradually changed the face of international relations x;/;/ (8) the U.S. have/has (9) been hampered by problems ranging from their/its (10) fiscal deficit and domestic political stagnation to international withdrawal, sending a discouraging signal to the world. Gone are the days when the U.S. could singlehandedly provide a stable order for the

international community. Now more than ever, the U.S. need/needs (11) help from other/the other countries (12) to provide global leadership. But Europe has been plagued with/by (13) its own debt crisis and Japan is struggling to come back from two decades of economic/economical (14) stagnation. China, on/from/with (15) the other hand, has recovered quickly from the/a/x (15) 2008 global financial crisis and now is the second large/larger/largest (16) economy/economics (17) in the world.

To play an effective leadership role in global affairs, China must also adapt/adopt (18) meaningful economic/economical, political, and social reforms at home. Just like the U.S., China's global leadership must come from internal accomplishments. This means x/;/ (19) that the Chinese government should rebuild its domestic legitimacy through redefining state-society relations and shifting emphasis from GDP growth to moral/mores/morality/morale (20). The good news is/are (21) x/;/ that the current Chinese leadership, led by President Xi Jinping, is keenly aware of this problem x/;/ (22) and is determined to tackle legitimacy issues through more major reforms.

All this talk about China's leadership might make some countries uneasy. But they need not worry/to worry (23). The international community must acknowledge x/;/ that today's fast-rising China has earned the right to play an important role in shaping a new international order. A more stable and prosperous world will need China to be more active and assertive in global affairs.

*Ex. 31. Fill in the gaps with any suitable word.*



Not so fast! The first question that must be \_\_\_\_\_ (1) is whether a system of collective responsibility to pursue peace and security still \_\_\_\_\_ (2) equal sense for the strong and the weak countries of the world. I believe it does. \_\_\_\_\_ (3) weak want to know that if they're threatened by another country the international \_\_\_\_\_ (4) will not be indifferent. \_\_\_\_\_ (5) powerful know that even if they had the resources to \_\_\_\_\_ (6) war successfully against any potential aggressor state, it would be better to spare those resources if their security and national interest could be protected by other means. They also know that today's security \_\_\_\_\_ (7) are very different from traditional intercountry conflicts. Terrorists and other \_\_\_\_\_ (8) criminals, along with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, constitute perils that no country, irrespective of its economic or military \_\_\_\_\_ (9), can defeat alone. Cooperative and collective action is required.

The next pertinent question is whether the nearly 60-\_\_\_\_\_ (10)-old United Nations can be the institution to organize and deliver that collective action. I say it can be, as long as the institution is reformed and \_\_\_\_\_ (11) to perform its essential functions \_\_\_\_\_ (12). It would be a \_\_\_\_\_ (13) mistake to condemn the UN to extinction, either by decision or neglect. Eventually, but probably only after we'd endured a dramatic \_\_\_\_\_ (14) in violent conflict and its destructive consequences, it would become \_\_\_\_\_ (15) to invent the UN anew.

Those who would like to see the UN totally marginalized — or even extinguished — rejoice in pointing to its \_\_\_\_\_ (16) in preventing or quickly \_\_\_\_\_ (17) many serious conflicts that have \_\_\_\_\_ (18) since it was created. These critics speak as if the UN had power of its own with which to \_\_\_\_\_ (19) the crucial issues of peace and security. They \_\_\_\_\_ (20) the fact that it is solely up to the member countries' leaders to make the key decisions. In fulfilling its core mandates the UN can be only as good or as bad as its members make it.

One of those matters is, of course, reform of the UN itself. Reform has been discussed by country members for far too long, with no \_\_\_\_\_ (21) agreement reached on even the most \_\_\_\_\_ (22) issues. Fortunately new attempts are being undertaken. And serious consideration should be given to ideas for UN reform that serve \_\_\_\_\_ (23) strong and \_\_\_\_\_ (24) weak alike. Otherwise anarchy, terror and war could become the \_\_\_\_\_ (25) rather than the \_\_\_\_\_ (26) in our world.

(Based on "A World Without the UN?" by Ernesto Zedillo)

Ex. 32.

a) Read the following article and identify its topic and thesis.

b) Think of a possible title.

c) Comment on the ideas of the article.

The search for world order has long been defined almost exclusively by the concepts of Western societies. This effort to establish world order has in many ways come to fruition.

The years from perhaps 1948 to the turn of the century marked a brief moment in human history when one could speak of an incipient global world order composed of an amalgam of American idealism and traditional European concepts of statehood and balance of power. But vast regions of the world have never shared and only acquiesced in the Western concept of order. These reservations are now becoming explicit, for example, in the Ukraine crisis and the South China Sea. The order established and proclaimed by the West stands at a turning point.

First, the nature of the state itself — the basic formal unit of international life — has been subjected to a multitude of pressures. Europe has set out to transcend the state and craft a foreign policy based primarily on the principles of soft power. But Europe has not yet given itself attributes of statehood, tempting a vacuum of authority internally and an imbalance of power along its borders. At the same time, parts of the Middle East have dissolved into sectarian and ethnic components in conflict with each other; religious militias and the powers backing them violate borders and sovereignty at will, producing the phenomenon of failed states not controlling their own territory.

The clash between the international economy and the political institutions that govern it also weakens the sense of common purpose necessary for world order. The economic system has become global, while the political structure of the world remains based on the nation-state. Economic globalization, in its essence, ignores national frontiers. Foreign policy affirms them, even as it seeks to reconcile conflicting national aims or ideals of world order.

This dynamic has produced decades of sustained economic growth punctuated by periodic financial crises of seemingly escalating intensity. The winners have few reservations about the system. But the losers — such as those stuck in structural misdesigns, as has been the case with the European Union's southern tier — seek their remedies by solutions that obstruct the functioning of the global economic system.

The international order thus faces a paradox: Its prosperity is dependent on the success of globalization, but the process produces a political reaction that often works counter to its aspirations.

A third failing of the current world order, such as it exists, is the absence of an effective mechanism for the great powers to consult and possibly cooperate on the most consequential issues. This may seem an odd criticism in light of the many multilateral forums that exist — more by far than at any other time in history. Yet the nature and frequency of these meetings work against

the elaboration of long-range strategy. This process permits little beyond, at best, a discussion of pending tactical issues and, at worst, a new form of summitry as “social media” event. A contemporary structure of international rules and norms, if it is to prove relevant, cannot merely be affirmed by joint declarations; it must be fostered as a matter of common conviction.

The penalty for failing will be not so much a major war between states (though in some regions this remains possible) as an evolution into spheres of influence identified with particular domestic structures and forms of governance. At its edges, each sphere would be tempted to test its strength against other entities deemed illegitimate. A struggle between regions could be even more debilitating than the struggle between nations has been.

The contemporary quest for world order will require a coherent strategy to establish a concept of order within the various regions and to relate these regional orders to one another. These goals are not necessarily self-reconciling: The triumph of a radical movement might bring order to one region while setting the stage for turmoil in and with all others. The domination of a region by one country militarily, even if it brings the appearance of order, could produce a crisis for the rest of the world.

A world order of states affirming individual dignity and participatory governance, and cooperating internationally in accordance with agreed-upon rules, can be our hope and should be our inspiration.

(After Henry Kissinger,  
*The Wall Street Journal*)

# UNIT VI

## MIGHT MAKES RIGHT?



## READING 1

### LEAD IN

Whatever the popular formula “knowledge is power” may mean, it is obvious that power in foreign relations is more than just knowledge. Discuss the concept of power in international relations. What elements is it composed of? How is power measured in world politics?

*Skim the text and compare your interpretations of power with that of the author.*

### WHAT IS POWER?

**Niall Ferguson**

*Hoover Digest*

“What is power?” asked Tolstoy at the end of *War and Peace*. Today most people would give a simple answer: Power is America. The United States is *the* global hegemon. In military terms, there’s never been a *superpower* like it. Consider the sheer size of the U.S. defense budget. The Pentagon’s budget is equal to the combined military budgets of the next 12 or 15 nations. The financial statistics actually understate the huge extent of America’s military lead. The most compelling evidence was there for all television viewers to behold in Kosovo in 1999, in Afghanistan in 2002, and in Iraq. In all three cases, the technical superiority of American forces allowed them to annihilate enemy troops, weaponry, and other military “assets” while sustaining minimal casualties.

All this is, of course, based on the assumption that power is simply military power: the capability to use force against others. Max Weber once characterized the modern state as claiming a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. In the international sphere there can be no such monopoly. But international power can sometimes seem to depend on monopolizing the most sophisticated means of perpetrating violence. The United States today enjoys the kind of technological edge enjoyed by a few West European powers in the nineteenth century, when their possession of ironclad steamboats and machine guns put the world at their mercy.

Yet there are two problems. The first is that we underestimate at our peril the speed with which technological gaps have been closed in the past. Secondly, what has made the American “revolution in military affairs” possible has been the extraordinary economic growth of the 1990s, which made very substantial defense expenditures suddenly seem insignificant.

So power is not just military power; or rather, military power depends on economic growth and political institutions.

Another line of argument is that power is diplomatic, not military: Precisely the threat posed to smaller countries by the power of the United States is encouraging them to combine against America. This is an argument that has a special appeal to Europeans. They know that the EU is a military pygmy. However, by acting collectively and through the institutions of the postwar international order — the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, NATO — the Europeans may be able to restrain the United States.

Nevertheless, diplomacy will only get Europe so far. For demographically, it could be argued, power is inexorably ebbing away from countries with a low birthrate.

It is, of course, the oldest simplification to equate power and population. Still, it clearly matters. With a population of just 286,000, Iceland will never wield power in any meaningful sense; whereas, having a population more than four times larger than that of the United States undoubtedly

makes China powerful. America's erstwhile rival superpower, Russia, is currently in the grip of population decline: There are 5 million fewer Russians than there were 10 years ago, a symptom of the postcommunist economic, social, and environmental malaise.

Population counts. Plainly, however, demography isn't everything. If it were, India would be the world's number-two superpower after China. Much more important, economic power is what counts, and by that measure China is barely half as powerful as the United States.

It's certainly tempting to assume that power is synonymous with gross domestic product: Big GDP equals big power. Hence many analysts point to China's huge economy and rapid growth as evidence that the country will soon gain superpower rank, if it hasn't already. But GDP doesn't stand for Great Diplomatic Power. If the institutions aren't in place to translate economic output into military hardware — and if the economy grows faster than public interest in foreign affairs — then product is nothing more than potential power.

There is another possibility: financial power. According to this view, real power lies with the financiers — the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. This really is as silly as it gets. The two banks like to criticize one another, but both the IMF and the World Bank have one thing in common: They are trying to help less-developed or transitional economies. Their medicine may not always be palatable or effective, but that's another matter. If these institutions have a problem, it is that they are not powerful enough, not that they are too powerful. Much of the time all they can do is lend money to flaky governments and exhort them to be less flaky. Some power.

But what if the IMF et al. are just public-sector fronts for the real powerhouses: the multinational corporations (MNCs)? There have been examples in history of companies exercising power so directly and successfully that they have themselves become states: The East India Company is the most famous. Today's multinationals exercise power indirectly. Other than in those regions of the world where state power has crumbled away or become hopelessly contested, they prefer to coexist with rather than replace governments. That is not to say that multinational companies have not been known to topple or buy governments. But in general the large and immobile assets of most multinational corporations make them as vulnerable as their vast resources make them strong.

... The *real* point, some would claim, is that so many of these multi-national corporations are American. And the products they sell are the key to the real power the United States wields — its "soft" power, the things that make the United States attractive.

The trouble with soft power is that it's, well, soft. All over the Islamic world there are kids who enjoy (or would like to enjoy) bottles of Coke, Big Macs, CDs by Britney Spears, and DVDs starring Tom Cruise. Do any of these things make them love America more? Strangely not.

Actually, this is not so strange. In the nineteenth century, Great Britain pioneered the use of soft power, though it projected its culture through the sermons of missionaries and the commentaries in Anglophone newspapers. The British also revolutionized world sports, making cricket the most popular sport in the Indian subcontinent, rugby the favorite sport of the Antipodes, and soccer the near-universal opiate of the modern masses. Yet it was precisely from the most Anglicized parts of the indigenous populations of the British Empire that the nationalist movements sprang.

I have tried to suggest that power is about monopolizing as far as possible what might be called the means of projection (of power). A list of these would have to include manpower, weaponry, and wealth but also knowledge and, since a rationally organized bureaucracy is a formidable resource, administrative efficiency.

However, most if not all of these elements of power are tending to become more evenly distributed. In that sense, power per se is tending to be dispersed. And the more it is dispersed, the less power there is. One power with a nuclear missile is very powerful. Twelve powers with nuclear missiles are each much less powerful than that. The more proliferation, the less power.

## READING 2

*Read the text in detail to find out what psychology of weakness and psychology of power in international relations consist in.*

### POWER AND WEAKNESS

**Robert Kagan**

*Policy Review*

IT IS TIME to stop pretending that Europeans and Americans share a common view of the world, or even that they occupy the same world. On the all-important question of power — the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power — American and European perspectives are diverging. Europe is turning away from power, or to put it a little differently, it is moving beyond power into a self-contained world of laws and rules and transnational negotiation and cooperation. It is entering a paradise of peace and relative prosperity, the realization of Kant's "Perpetual Peace." The United States, meanwhile, remains mired in history, exercising power in the anarchic Hobbesian world where international laws and rules are unreliable and where true security and the defense and promotion of a liberal order still depend on the possession and use of military might. That is why on major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus: They agree on little and understand one another less and less. And this state of affairs is not transitory. The reasons for the transatlantic divide are deep, long in development, and likely to endure.

European intellectuals are nearly unanimous in the conviction that Americans and Europeans no longer share a common "strategic culture." The United States, they argue, resorts to force more quickly and, compared with Europe, is less patient with diplomacy. Americans generally see the world divided between good and evil, between friends and enemies, while Europeans see a more complex picture. When confronting real or potential adversaries, Americans generally favor policies of coercion rather than persuasion, emphasizing punitive sanctions over inducements to better behavior, the stick over the carrot. Americans tend to seek finality in international affairs: They want problems solved, threats eliminated. And, of course, Americans increasingly tend toward unilateralism in international affairs. They are less inclined to act through international institutions such as the United Nations, less inclined to work cooperatively with other nations to pursue common goals, more skeptical about international law, and more willing to operate outside its strictures when they deem it necessary, or even merely useful.

Europeans insist they approach problems with greater nuance and sophistication. They try to influence others through subtlety and indirection. They are more tolerant of failure, more patient when solutions don't come quickly. They generally favor peaceful responses to problems, preferring negotiation, diplomacy, and persuasion to coercion. They are quicker to appeal to international law, international conventions, and international opinion to adjudicate disputes. They try to use commercial and economic ties to bind nations together. They often emphasize process over result, believing that ultimately process can become substance.

Despite what many Europeans and some Americans believe, these differences in strategic culture do not spring naturally from the national characters of Americans and Europeans.

As for the United States, there is nothing timeless about the present heavy reliance on force as a tool of international relations, nor about the tilt toward unilateralism and away from a devotion to international law. Americans are children of the Enlightenment and in the early years of the republic were more faithful apostles of its creed. America's eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century statesmen sounded much like the European statesmen of today, extolling the virtues of commerce as the soothing balm of international strife and appealing to international law and international opinion over brute force. The young United States wielded power against weaker peoples on the North American continent, but when it came to dealing with the European giants, it claimed to abjure power and assailed as atavistic the power politics of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European empires.

Two centuries later, Americans and Europeans have traded places — and perspectives. Partly this is because in those 200 years the power equation has shifted dramatically: When the United States was weak, it practiced the strategies of indirection, the strategies of weakness; now that the United States is powerful, it behaves as powerful nations do. When the European great powers were strong, they believed in strength and martial glory. Now, they see the world through the eyes of weaker powers. These very different points of view, weak versus strong, have naturally produced differing strategic judgments, differing assessments of threats and of the proper means of addressing threats, and even differing calculations of interest.

American military strength has produced a propensity to use that strength. Europe's military weakness has produced an understandable aversion to the exercise of military power. Indeed, it has produced a powerful European interest in inhabiting a world where strength doesn't matter, where international law and international institutions predominate, where unilateral action by powerful nations is forbidden, where all nations regardless of their strength have equal rights and are equally protected by commonly agreed-upon international rules of behavior. Europeans have a deep interest in devaluing and eventually eradicating the brutal laws of an anarchic, Hobbesian world where power is the ultimate determinant of national security and success.

This is no reproach. It is what weaker powers have wanted since time immemorial. It was what Americans wanted in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the brutality of a European system of power politics run by the global giants of France, Britain, and Russia left Americans constantly vulnerable to imperial thrashing. The great proponent of international law on the high seas in the eighteenth century was the United States; the great opponent was Britain's navy, the "Mistress of the Seas." In an anarchic world, small powers always fear they will be victims. Great powers, on the other hand, often fear rules that may constrain them more than they fear the anarchy in which their power brings security and prosperity.

This natural and historic disagreement between the stronger and the weaker manifests itself in today's transatlantic dispute over the question of unilateralism. Europeans generally believe their objection to American unilateralism is proof of their greater commitment to certain ideals concerning world order. They are less willing to acknowledge that their hostility to unilateralism is also self-interested. Europeans fear American unilateralism. They fear it perpetuates a Hobbesian world in which they may become increasingly vulnerable. The United States may be a relatively benign hegemon, but insofar as its actions delay the arrival of a world order more conducive to the safety of weaker powers, it is objectively dangerous.

This is one reason why in recent years a principal objective of European foreign policy has become the "multilateralising" of the United States. It is not that Europeans are teaming up against

the American hegemon by creating a countervailing power. Their tactics, like their goal, are the tactics of the weak. They hope to constrain American power without wielding power themselves.  
80 In what may be the ultimate feat of subtlety and indirection, they want to control the behemoth by appealing to its conscience.

It is a sound strategy, as far as it goes. The United States *is* a behemoth with a conscience. Americans do not argue, even to themselves, that their actions may be justified by *raison d'état*. Americans have never accepted the principles of Europe's old order, never embraced the Machiavellian perspective. The United States is a liberal, progressive society through and through, and to the extent that Americans believe in power, they believe it must be a means of advancing the principles of a liberal civilization and a liberal world order. Americans even share Europe's aspirations for a more orderly world system based not on power but on rules — after all, they were striving for such a world when Europeans were still extolling the laws of *machtpolitik*.

90 But while these common ideals and aspirations shape foreign policies on both sides of the Atlantic, they cannot completely negate the very different perspectives from which Europeans and Americans view the world and the role of power in international affairs. Europeans oppose unilateralism in part because they have no capacity for unilateralism. Polls consistently show that Americans support multilateral action in principle — they even support acting under the rubric of the United Nations — but the fact remains that the United States can act unilaterally, and has done so many times with reasonable success. For Europeans, the appeal to multilateralism and international law has a real practical payoff and little cost. For Americans, who stand to lose at least some freedom of action, support for universal rules of behavior really is a matter of idealism.

100 Even when Americans and Europeans can agree on the kind of world order they would strive to build, however, they increasingly disagree about what constitutes a threat to that international endeavor. Indeed, Europeans and Americans differ most these days in their evaluation of what constitutes a tolerable versus an intolerable threat. This, too, is consistent with the disparity of power.

Europeans often argue that Americans have an unreasonable demand for “perfect” security, the product of living for centuries shielded behind two oceans. Europeans claim they know what it is like to live with danger, to exist side-by-side with evil, since they've done it for centuries. Hence their greater tolerance for such threats as may be posed by Saddam Hussein's Iraq or the ayatollahs' Iran. Americans, they claim, make far too much of the dangers these regimes pose.

A better explanation of Europe's greater tolerance for threats is Europe's relative weakness. Tolerance is also very much a realistic response in that Europe, precisely because it is weak, actually faces fewer threats than the far more powerful United States.

110 The psychology of weakness is easy enough to understand. A man armed only with a knife may decide that a bear prowling the forest is a tolerable danger, inasmuch as the alternative — hunting the bear armed only with a knife — is actually riskier than lying low and hoping the bear never attacks. The same man armed with a rifle, however, will likely make a different calculation of what constitutes a tolerable risk. Why should he risk being mauled to death if he doesn't need to?

120 The incapacity to respond to threats leads not only to tolerance but sometimes to denial. It's normal to try to put out of one's mind that which one can do nothing about. According to one student of European opinion, even the very focus on “threats” differentiates American policymakers from their European counterparts. Americans talk about foreign “threats” such as “the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and ‘rogue states.’” But Europeans look at “challenges,” such as “ethnic conflict, migration, organized crime, poverty and environmental degradation.” However, the key difference is less a matter of culture and philosophy than of capability. Europeans are

most worried about issues . . . that have a greater chance of being solved by political engagement and huge sums of money. In other words, Europeans focus on issues — “challenges” — where European strengths come into play but not on those “threats” where European weakness makes solutions elusive. If Europe’s strategic culture today places less value on power and military strength and more value on such soft-power tools as economics and trade, isn’t it partly because Europe is militarily weak and economically strong? Americans are quicker to acknowledge the existence of threats, even to perceive them where others may not see any, because they can conceive of doing something to meet those threats.

- 130 Americans are “cowboys,” Europeans love to say. And there is truth in this. The United States does act as an international sheriff, self-appointed perhaps but widely welcomed nevertheless, trying to enforce some peace and justice in what Americans see as a lawless world where outlaws need to be deterred or destroyed, and often through the muzzle of a gun. Europe, by this old West analogy, is more like a saloonkeeper. Outlaws shoot sheriffs, not saloonkeepers. In fact, from the saloonkeeper’s point of view, the sheriff trying to impose order by force can sometimes be more threatening than the outlaws who, at least for the time being, may just want a drink.

#### Notes:

1. Kant’s “Perpetual Peace — the reference is made to Immanuel Kant’s essay *Project for a Perpetual Peace* (1795) in which he advances the idea that popular and responsible governments are likely to be more inclined to promote peace and commerce.
2. Hobbesian<sup>1</sup> world — According to the 17<sup>th</sup> century English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, each person is free to decide for himself what he needs, what he’s owed, and also free to decide these questions for the behavior of everyone else, and to act on his judgments as he thinks best, enforcing his views where he can. The right of each to all things invites serious conflict. In this situation where there is no common authority to resolve serious disputes, such conflicts can easily degenerate into a “state of war” or, even worse, a war of “all against all”.

### COMPREHENSION

*Ex. 1. Identify the topic and the thesis of the text. Make sure they are neither too broad nor too narrow.*

*Ex. 2. Suggest Russian equivalents for these word combinations from the text.*

efficacy of power	martial glory
a self-contained world of laws and rules	from time immemorial
punitive sanctions	imperial thrashing
to emphasize the stick over the carrot	the ‘Mistress of the Seas’
the tilt toward unilateralism	as far as it goes
to trade places	through and through
the strategies of indirection	a real practical payoff
an intolerable threat	soft-power tools

*Ex. 3. Think of several questions to bring out the main ideas and arguments the author puts forward in support of his thesis.*

<sup>1</sup> [ˈhɒbzɪən]

**VOCABULARY**

Ex. 4. Translate the following words and phrases, reproduce the context in which the words in (a) are used in the text (the lines of the text are indicated to help you).

a)

power (1–10)

to endure (enduring, adj.) (10–20)

to resort to sth (10–20)

ultimate (ultimately) (30–40)

to eradicate (50–60)

vulnerable (60–70)

to perpetuate (perpetual) (70–80)

conducive to smth (70–80)

sound, adj. (80–90)

b) ultimate goal, enduring values, sound advice, sound argument, sound judgment, bargaining power, the powers that be, beyond one's power, enduring legacy, as a last resort

Ex. 5. Match some of the words and phrases from Ex. 4 with their opposites below.

weakness, flawed, unfavorable, to discontinue, secure, to stop, to plant, protected, to create, imperfect, to avoid

Ex. 6. For each word given below find at least three words from the box that can go with it. Some words from the box can go into several groups. Can you continue the lists? Use the expressions in sentences of your own.

pressure	legacy	arbiter	position	highly	to rise to
democracy	hardships	environment	test	humiliation	to wield
to be	hungry	goal	to feel	pain	veto
authority					

power	ultimate	to endure	vulnerable	conducive to
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Ex. 7. Suggest stylistically neutral synonyms for the following words. Supply contexts to bring out the difference between synonyms in each pair.



efficacy	adversaries	conducive	behemoth	incapacity
mired	propensity	countervailing	disparity	conceive of

Ex. 8. Express the same idea using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 instead of the underlined parts.

1. A well-grounded argument is one that is not only valid, but begins with premises that are actually true.
2. The peace we want — the product of understanding and agreement among nations — is a long-lasting and stable international environment, based on justice and security.
3. As peaceful mechanisms are often regarded as slow and ineffective, nations may become more inclined to make use of force in order to attain settlement of an international dispute.

4. Despite their efforts, most countries have not done away with discrimination against women.
5. During the crisis, many companies made use of pay cuts in order to maintain what staff they felt able to keep.
6. Education is the highest form of skill training where the particular purposes for which the skills might be utilized are not always specified.
7. Even in some open societies, criticizing those who hold high offices can be hazardous to your health and livelihood.
8. In South Africa, the education system used to be one of the principal instruments through which the apartheid system was sustained and preserved.
9. Information power helps create conditions for global peace and prosperity to emerge, but it is also exploited by international terrorists, drug traffickers, and other criminals.
10. Intelligence is not an end in itself; what it seeks to achieve in the long run is to inform policy-makers or agencies responsible for military operators.
11. It is well-known that conflict is a permanent feature of all social life, and especially of politics.
12. Nuclear weapons not only bring prestige, but also bring the influence necessary to achieve the desired effect in negotiations or elsewhere.
13. Some western scholars posit that an alliance with Russia during World War II was a "necessary evil" to be put up with in the short-term in order to defeat the immediate aggressor.
14. After the first World War an attempt was made to reorganize the world on an effective and sensible basis.
15. The self-interested policies of the western world contribute to poverty and underdevelopment in many regions of the world, which threatens to keep up the existing system of asymmetrical relations with developing nations.
16. We must root out terrorism by changing the prevalent mindset that provided a fertile ground for the growth of this menace.
17. Yeltsin's broad powers were based on his personal popularity rather than law, and therefore proved sensitive to changing public opinion.

*Ex. 9. Complete the following sentences using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 in their correct form.*

1. After Kosovo, many commentators worldwide concluded that the United States had adopted a "neo-imperialist" strategy aimed at expanding and \_\_\_\_\_ its hegemony.
2. Any state would be \_\_\_\_\_ if it sold technology to an adversary, thus changing the balance of military power between the two countries in the adversary's favor.
3. Begun in 1988, the global initiative to \_\_\_\_\_ polio by the end of the year 2000 is spearheaded by WHO, Rotary International and UNICEF.
4. Gamal Abdel Nasser rose to \_\_\_\_\_ in 1954, two years after a military coup had deposed King Farouk.
5. Gone are the days when the Holy See is looked to as the \_\_\_\_\_ source of spirituality.
6. In analyzing the Kosovo crisis, some experts pointed out that the intervention was 'legally questionable' yet politically \_\_\_\_\_; in effect, states can 'do the right thing', even without legal sanction.
7. In international relations there is no \_\_\_\_\_ authority that can boast of the required power to enforce compliance with rules of conduct, so states are free to pursue their own interests.

8. Looking on the bright side, the process of globalization has been \_\_\_\_\_ to economic efficiency and growth.
9. President Ford's most \_\_\_\_\_ legacy, some have argued, are the people he brought into \_\_\_\_\_, from Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney to Brent Scowcroft and James Baker.
10. The balance of power created in Vienna in the 19<sup>th</sup> century \_\_\_\_\_ for longer than anyone could have supposed.
11. The dominant feature of the new international world order is that modern, wealthy democracies will not go to war with one another and each country's safety and \_\_\_\_\_ in negotiations will not depend on its military might.
12. The real question Russia faces today is whether the President and the other \_\_\_\_\_ will start building a real rule-of-law society.
13. The rising role of BRICS countries and other emerging economies in international affairs is obviously \_\_\_\_\_ international political and economic rebalancing, and will promote a shift toward a more fair international political and economic order.
14. The stigmatization of immigrants in the new bill will \_\_\_\_\_ their social inequality and social exclusion.
15. The \_\_\_\_\_ test of a country's influence is the extent to which the outcomes of its actions in the international system conform to its objectives.
16. To achieve influence, countries \_\_\_\_\_ to several means including the use of force or the threat thereof.
17. We have to realise that international relations are all about \_\_\_\_\_ relations. Those who wield \_\_\_\_\_ will not yield it easily.
18. Young people have always been \_\_\_\_\_ to manipulation by unscrupulous politicians.

Ex. 10. Complete the following sentences. Where necessary add a sentence or two to make your examples more meaningful.



1. \_\_\_\_\_ merely serves to **perpetuate** \_\_\_\_\_.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ is hardly **conducive** to a more balanced \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Any power willing to exploit the **vulnerability** of \_\_\_\_\_ must realize that \_\_\_\_\_.
4. The **ultimate** goal of any state in international relations is \_\_\_\_\_.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ is generally recognized to be beyond the **power** of nation states.
6. Despite his **enduring** image of a \_\_\_\_\_, the Secretary-General \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Only by exercising **sound** judgment when/in \_\_\_\_\_ can we \_\_\_\_\_.
8. Nations can justifiably **resort** to force only \_\_\_\_\_.
9. To **eradicate** \_\_\_\_\_, the world should \_\_\_\_\_.

Ex. 11. Answer the following questions using the words and phrases from ex. 4 and 6.

1. What international body can be considered the **ultimate** arbiter in international disputes?
2. If as a result of reform the UN Security Council is expanded, do you think veto **power** should be given to new members?
3. Give examples of **enduring** rivalries in international relations and their influence on the world.
4. What determines a country's bargaining **power** in international negotiations?
5. Do collective security arrangements make countries less **vulnerable** to security threats?
6. What factors do you think **perpetuate** underdevelopment in certain regions of the world?

7. Is it acceptable for peacekeepers to **resort** to force against combatants in a conflict zone?
8. Is the current system of international relations **conducive** to disarmament?
9. How **sound** is the existing system of international relations?
10. Do you think violence as a tool in international relations will ever be **eradicated**?

Ex. 12. Translate into English using the vocabulary of the unit.

**A.**

1. Инфраструктура высокоразвитых стран **уязвима** перед атаками кибертеррористов.
2. Когда этот режим пришел к **власти**?
3. Коррупция возникла не вчера, быстро ее не **искоренить**.
4. Можно дать другому **разумный совет**, но нельзя научить его разумному поведению.
5. Чего нельзя исцелить, то нужно **терпеть**.
6. Чтобы восстановить имидж партии, премьер **прибег** к радикальным мерам.
7. Шутки о представителях разных национальностей **способствуют сохранению** расизма. (2)
8. Эйнштейн — это **высший авторитет** в научном мире XX столетия.

**B.**

1. В новом тысячелетии возросла **уязвимость** всех членов международного сообщества перед лицом как традиционных (“старых”), так и “новых” вызовов и угроз. 
2. Зачастую концепция “правового государства” призвана идеализировать **власти пре-державные**, показать их “связанность” действующим правом, представить государство в виде некоего выразителя и защитника всех без исключения слоев общества.
3. Международная конкурентоспособность российского образования — **конечная цель** реформы.
4. Международное сотрудничество должно быть прежде всего направлено на **искоренение** социальных условий, порождающих терроризм (например, нищета, неграмотность).
5. Многие сводят политическую **власть** к прямому применению силы или к успешной угрозе применения силы и не учитывают при этом роль харизмы, что можно объяснить пренебрежением к престижу как независимому элементу в международной политике.
6. Ничто так не **способствует** мирному сосуществованию с соседями, как наличие у вас хотя бы минимального флота.
7. **Перенести** все тяготы дипломатической службы способны только люди с твердым духовным стержнем.
8. Пока существуют авторитарные режимы, силовые методы в международных отношениях будут применяться, и реагировать на такие режимы лучше всего сочетанием силы и дипломатии, а не применением силы в качестве **крайнего средства** или вместо дипломатии.
9. Политическая **власть** — это психологическое отношение между тем, кто ею обладает, и тем, кто должен ей подчиняться.
10. Представители Миссии ООН оценили ситуацию в регионе как спокойную, что, по их мнению, является **убедительным** аргументом в пользу вывода военнослужащих.
11. **Прочная** дружба является тем фундаментом, на котором строится наше сегодняшнее стратегическое партнерство.

12. Создание барьеров в международной торговле под видом национальных интересов ведет к **сохранению** устаревших форм и технологий для принятия решений, а, следовательно, к отставанию национальной экономики.
13. Целью этой программы является повышения уровня социальной защищенности групп, которые имеют меньше **возможностей для защиты своих интересов**, и обеспечение социальной защиты самих трудящихся и их семей.
14. В тексте принятой резолюции единственная отсылка к VII главе — это угроза, что в случае несоблюдения условий СБ ООН должен **“прибегнуть к мерам”** в соответствии с VII главой Устава ООН.
15. Нельзя мириться с тем, чтобы державы, пользующиеся анахроничным **правом вето**, продолжали **сохранять** такого положение дел и манипулировать Советом Безопасности.

## BUILDING A WORD BANK

*Ex. 13. Below is a list of words and phrases related to the use of force in international relations. Think of collocations they can form;*

*use the internet or consult a dictionary of collocations where necessary.*

power, hard/soft power, use of force, coercion, unilateralism, weakness, intervention, preemptive, sovereignty, violence, conflict, R2P

*Ex. 14. Make up your own list of topic-related vocabulary necessary to discuss the issue and share it with the class.*

## TALK AND DISCUSSION

*Ex. 15. Discuss the ideas from the text in Reading 2.*

1. On the all-important question of power — the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power — American and European perspectives are diverging. [...] on major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus.
2. American military strength has produced a propensity to use that strength. Europe's military weakness has produced an understandable aversion to the exercise of military power.
3. The United States may be a relatively benign hegemon, but insofar as its actions delay the arrival of a world order more conducive to the safety of weaker powers, it is objectively dangerous.
4. The United States is a liberal, progressive society through and through, and to the extent that Americans believe in power, they believe it must be a means of advancing the principles of a liberal civilization and a liberal world order.
5. Europeans oppose unilateralism in part because they have no capacity for unilateralism.
6. Europeans and Americans differ most these days in their evaluation of what constitutes a tolerable versus an intolerable threat.
7. A better explanation of Europe's greater tolerance for threats is Europe's relative weakness.

8. The United States does act as an international sheriff, self-appointed perhaps but widely welcomed nevertheless, trying to enforce some peace and justice in what Americans see as a lawless world where outlaws need to be deterred or destroyed, and often through the muzzle of a gun.
9. In fact, from the saloonkeeper's point of view, the sheriff trying to impose order by force can sometimes be more threatening than the outlaws who, at least for the time being, may just want a drink.

*Ex. 16. Explain and expand on what the following concepts mean.*

soft power	power politics/machtpolitik	preemptive use of force
hard power	coercive diplomacy	just war
multilateralism	humanitarian intervention	R2P

*Ex. 17. Discuss your answers to these questions. Use the active vocabulary and the phrases from ex. 13 and 14.*

**A. Power**

- a. How important is the concept of 'power' in the study of world politics today? Why? What other concepts are equally/more important?
- b. How can power capabilities and power relations between states be estimated? Study the list of 'indices of power'. Which of them are mentioned in Reading 1? How does each of the indices contribute to the actual status of a country in the world? Or can the question of a country's position in the world be reduced to Mao Zedong's observation that 'All power grows out of the barrel of a gun'? Rank these indicators in order of importance. Explain your choice.
 

a state's total population;	a state's level of urbanization;
patriotism of a state's population;	a state's armed forces;
a state's military spending;	a state's level of agricultural productivity;
a state's level of technology;	a state's territory;
a state's political culture;	a state's geographical position;
educational level of a state's population;	a state's industrial capability <sup>1</sup> .
- c. How does a country's status affect its foreign policy?

**B. Use of force in international relations**

The international community has been overburdened by crisis situations which call for peace-making, peace-keeping, nation-building and humanitarian assistance. In many cases the use of force or the threat to use force has been the preferred tool.

- a. When does diplomacy turn to force? Does the use of force signify the failure of diplomacy?
- b. What does 'the use of force' involve? How is the proper balance between diplomacy and force determined?
- c. What does the UN Charter say about the use of force?
- d. What are the possible consequences of the use and 'misuse' of force?

<sup>1</sup> a states' industrial capability= gross national product + energy consumption + iron and steel production.

**C. Soft power**

- a. In what ways is soft power different from hard power? Do they have anything in common? Does soft power boil down to 'cultural diplomacy' or is there more to it?
- b. Who or what can be considered the main 'agents' of soft power?
- c. When is soft power effective?
- d. What makes the country/region you specialize in attractive?
- e. How important is soft power in the country/region you specialize in? In Russia? Is it policy mainstream or a marginalized concept?

*Ex. 18. Make a 5–7 min. Power Point presentation on the international stature of the country/region you specialize in using the 'indices of power' from ex. 17.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 20).

*Ex. 19. Debate: Peace by Force?*

In two teams debating against each other, discuss if military interventions aimed at installing peace or ending mass atrocities and oftentimes resulting in regime change are an appropriate foreign policy tool.

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 21).

You may want to focus on the following questions:

Who is to decide that the situation on the ground requires an intervention? Does a military intervention — regardless of how noble its purposes may be — violate another state's sovereignty? Isn't the idea of a military intervention and regime change antithetical to the key principle of democracy according to which people should choose their leader? Are there examples of a military intervention and forcible regime change that have been successful in all respects?

*Ex. 20. Project work.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 24).



**Possible project work topics:**

1. "All power grows out of the barrel of a gun" (a case for the use of force in international relations).
2. A case against the use of force in international relations.
3. A strategy of smart power.
4. Humanitarian interventions and the concept of 'sovereignty'.
5. The foreign policy of the country you specialize in: striking a balance between diplomacy and the use of force.

*Ex. 21. Practise making impromptu talks.*

**Suggested topics:**

- soft power vs hard power;
- what makes a country powerful;
- humanitarian interventions;
- weakness and power in IR.

Ex. 22. Render the following texts into English and comment on them. What purpose do you think their authors pursued?



**A.**

Диктат силы все больше и больше утверждается в современной мировой политике.

Его отличительными чертами являются манипуляция внутренним и международным правом, признание права сильного государства или нескольких стран проводить военные операции без объяснения каких-либо причин.

Можно привести много примеров. Их всех объединяет одно — нарушение международного права.

При этом речь не идет об использовании двойных стандартов. Во всех случаях используется один и тот же стандарт — право сильного действовать без каких-либо ограничений для достижения своих стратегических целей, несмотря на идеологические и политические различия.

Сила дает право не считаться с международным и политическим правом. Однако диктат силы рано или поздно приведет к разрушению сложившейся системы мирного сосуществования наций, создаст условия для больших потрясений.

Возможно, сейчас настало время вернуться к идее “нео-нейтралитета”, которая была выдвинута в 1939 году руководителем департамента международного права МИД Дании Джорджем Коном. Его главная мысль заключалась в том, что мировое сообщество должно отвергнуть принцип справедливых и несправедливых войн. Война ни при каких обстоятельствах не может служить средством для достижения политических и стратегических целей.

Размышляя о причинах проведения того или иного политического курса европейскими державами того времени, Кон предложил проводить активную внешнюю политику по двум основным направлениям: дискредитация войны и отказ от применения военной силы. Страна или страны, которые готовы пойти по пути нео-нейтралитета, должны полностью следовать достигнутым договоренностям и быть примером для подражания.

По мнению Кона, в случае динамичного развития дипломатии, основанной на принципах нео-нейтралитета, для урегулирования возникающих конфликтов в качестве альтернативы военным действиям должны использоваться только мирные пути. Во главу угла должны быть поставлены общечеловеческие ценности — такие, как права человека и территориальная целостность государств. Необходимо также полностью отказаться от агрессивных угроз по отношению к другим странам и строить отношения с соседями на основе норм международного права.

В отличие от обычного нейтралитета, характерного для XX века, нео-нейтралитет требует активного сотрудничества стран по всем направлениям, включая внутреннюю и внешнюю политику. Кроме того, нео-нейтралитет предполагает создание коалиций стран, выступающих за мир и против войны.

Это, возможно, поможет странам сохранить суверенитет и автономию на мировой арене, которая все больше и больше подвержена неопределенности и сползанию к неуправляемым конфликтам. В современном мире основные международные организации страдают от дефицита эффективности и законности.

Возможно, что многим идея нео-нейтралитета может показаться чересчур формализованной.

Но разве у развивающихся стран юга есть другие альтернативы, чтобы защитить себя от произвола силы со стороны развитых стран севера?

(по материалам сайта ИноСМИ)

**Б.**

**Военная сила нового типа**

Военная сила останется инструментом политики, но в условиях глобализации, растущей экономической и гуманитарно-информационной взаимозависимости стран ее роль относительно уменьшилась по сравнению с другими (“мягкими”) факторами силы и национальной безопасности. К последним относятся финансово-экономический потенциал и диверсифицированные внешнеэкономические связи, инновационная динамика индустрии и прогресс информационных технологий, инвестиционная активность за рубежом, вес в международных экономических, финансовых и политических организациях и институтах.

Правда, в последние годы военная сила опять стала играть более заметную роль в качестве инструмента прямого или косвенного (через политическое давление) воздействия. Тем не менее “жесткая” военная мощь, оставаясь политическим инструментом, не способна восполнить дефицит “мягкой” силы в качестве фактора международного престижа и влияния. Даже ядерное сдерживание, гарантируя государство от угрозы прямой масштабной агрессии, имеет убывающую ценность в качестве актива, обеспечивающего престиж, статус, способность воздействия на международную безопасность.

К тому же эффективный военный потенциал — это не традиционные армии и флоты, а сила иного качества — прежде всего информационно-сетевидного типа. Ее определяют финансово-экономические возможности государств, инновационная динамика их индустрии и прогресс информационных технологий, качество международных союзов и стран-союзников.

В применении силы будет и дальше возрастать доля быстротечных локальных военных операций и точных неядерных ударов большой дальности (“бесконтактных войн”), а также действий мобильных воинских соединений и частей высокого качества подготовки и оснащенности для специальных операций. К ним относятся: оказание политического давления на то или иное государство, лишение его важных экономических или военных активов (включая атомную промышленность или ядерное оружие), применение санкций, нарушение коммуникаций и блокада.

Операции по принуждению к миру, предотвращению гуманитарных катастроф предстоят и в дальнейшем. С прогнозируемым ростом международного терроризма и трансграничной преступности соответственно будут расширяться вооруженные силы и операции по борьбе с ними. Отдельным направлением станет применение силы для предотвращения распространения ядерного оружия и пресечения доступа к нему террористов.

(по материалам статьи А.Г. Арбатова Угрозы реальные и мнимые,  
“Россия в глобальной политике”)

**В.**

В XXI в. каналы воздействия государства на международные процессы и другие страны расширяются. Сегодня более важным фактором воздействия, чем военная мощь и обладание ядерным оружием, являются экономический успех, идеологическая убедительность и культурная привлекательность страны.

Еще недавно чуть ли не главным инструментом внешней политики считалась жесткая сила, политика принуждения, которая опирается на угрозу применения и (или) использо-

вание военной силы против данной страны. Однако в глобализирующемся мире в условиях всеобщей взаимосвязи и взаимозависимости неэффективным становится использование старых инструментов политики, в том числе применение ядерного оружия, что может привести к обрушению экономики страны — инициатора ядерного удара.

В последнее время в политическом дискурсе используется понятие *smart power* (умная сила), которое трактуется как баланс твердой и мягкой силы. “Умная сила” — величина непостоянная, набор инструментов которой варьируется в зависимости от исходных условий, целей и задач конкретных политических шагов.

Это позволяет выделить следующие механизмы управления и средства влияния на международные процессы, применяемые в современном глобальном мире: *soft power* (мягкая сила), *hard power* (жесткая сила), *smart power* (умная сила), а также *wise power* (мудрая сила, которая чаще всего приписывается Китаю и отражает сдержанность китайской дипломатии, конфуцианские корни стратегической культуры КНР, надежду на обретение социальной и международной гармонии путем реализации “научной концепции развития”).

В каждой стране формируется свой контент *soft power*, что обусловлено политическими, экономическими и социокультурными различиями между странами мира.

Эти национальные разновидности мягкой силы можно назвать так: доминирующая мощь США (*dominant power of the USA*); привлекательная сила Европы (*attractive of Europe*); мудрая сила Китая (*wise power of China*); утонченная, изысканная сила Индии (*sophisticated power of India*); мистическая сила Востока (*mysterious power of the East*). Как обозначить мягкую силу России? Можно предложить разные варианты: сдержанная сила России (*reserved power of Russia*), умеренная (*mild*), спокойная (*calm*), несгибаемая (*unbending*). А может быть, неясная, неочевидная сила (*unobvious*)? Вопрос остается открытым.

(по материалам статьи О.Леоновой Мягкая сила — ресурс внешней политики государства, “Наблюдатель”)

*Ex. 23. Comment on these ideas.*

1. The West does not have a monopoly on good ideas or effective ways to govern and solve problems. Nor does it have resources to impose democracy in the rest of the world.
2. The strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept . . . it is a general and necessary law of nature to rule whatever one can (Thucydides).
3. The weakest are always wrong in matters of state (Richelieu).
4. All power by its nature tends toward despotism (Diderot).
5. Diplomacy, while always needed, is a vestige of the past that seldom attains true and lasting peace on its own.
6. You don't prevent anything by war...only peace (Harry Truman).
7. Speak softly and carry a big stick (Theodore Roosevelt).

## EDITING and WRITING

Ex. 24. Write a summary of the text in Reading 2.

Ex. 25. Write a survey report based on the following data<sup>1</sup>.

Should the use of force be authorized by the UN?

	2004			2013			
	Yes, %	No, too difficult, %	DK, %	Yes, %	No, too difficult, %	DK, %	
US	41	48	10	US	45	44	11
Britain	64	30	6	Britain	67	25	8
France	63	35	2	France	66	33	0
Germany	80	15	6	Germany	76	19	5
Russia	37	41	21	Russia	24	40	35
Turkey	45	44	11	Turkey	21	52	27
Pakistan	38	34	28	Pakistan	29	27	44
Jordan	47	38	15	Jordan	40	54	6

Ex. 26. Choose an article from an academic journal on the topic connected with your research and write a critical review of this article following the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 35). Make use of the active vocabulary and the clichés from Unit 5 (ex. 25).

## MIXED BAG

Ex. 27. Fill in the gaps with the correct preposition where necessary.

a)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| — a common view ___ the world                   | — remain mired ___ history   |
| — reasons ___ the transatlantic divide          | — unanimous ___ the conviction   |
| — resorts ___ force                             | — the world divided ___ good and evil                                    |
| — confronting ___ real or potential adversaries | — emphasizing ___ punitive sanctions ___ inducements ___ better behavior |
| — to act ___ international institutions         | — more tolerant ___ failure  |
| — peaceful responses ___ problems               | — preferring negotiation ___ coercion                                    |
| — to appeal ___ international law               | — heavy reliance ___ force   |
| — the tilt ___ unilateralism                    | — see the world ___ the eyes of weaker powers                            |
| — aversion ___ the exercise of military power   | — ___ time immemorial  |
| — conducive ___ the safety of weaker powers     | — aspirations ___ a more orderly world system                            |
| — demand ___ “perfect” security                 | — come ___ play  |

<sup>1</sup> Based on the Pew Research Center's poll results: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/08/30/un-approval-before-using-military-force-lacks-widespread-global-agreement/> and <http://www.pewglobal.org/2004/03/16/a-year-after-iraq-war/206-7/>

**b)**

1. As Vice President Joseph Biden once noted, 'there is unfinished business in our common project of a Europe whole and free. Georgia and the states \_\_\_ the Balkans have unfulfilled aspirations \_\_\_ Euro-Atlantic integration.'
2. Despite protests from critics that the US went \_\_\_ war in Iraq premised \_\_\_ faulty evidence, the Bush Administration did \_\_\_ least try to justify its actions by appealing \_\_\_ international law or norms, or by seeking UN approval.
3. \_\_\_ time immemorial, human civilization has witnessed different forms of war.
4. Germans have a huge aversion \_\_\_ any kind of military intervention.
5. If the use of force became the norm, emerging markets would be doomed and mired \_\_\_ violence.
6. In recognition of his efforts to reduce reliance \_\_\_ the use of force in international relations, Gorbachev was awarded \_\_\_ the Nobel Peace Prize.
7. Is the world shifting \_\_\_ a society that is more empathetic, democratic and less tolerant \_\_\_ the excessive use of force?
8. It is popularly believed that US response \_\_\_ terrorism aggravates the conditions that give rise \_\_\_ terrorism and triggers a chain reaction of violence.
9. Just-war theorists are virtually unanimous \_\_\_ the belief that self-defence of the state may provide a morally just cause for war.
10. Many countries display little willingness to act \_\_\_ the UN with regard to the preventive use of force.
11. One key \_\_\_ confronting \_\_\_ crimes \_\_\_ humanity is effective early warning and monitoring of emerging conflicts.
12. People see the world \_\_\_ the lens of the major media, and \_\_\_ most of us that means television and the Internet.
13. Sanctions or the threat thereof are not conducive \_\_\_ a proper solution \_\_\_ major problems.
14. The Court ruled the state of emergency cannot be used \_\_\_ a reason \_\_\_ clamping down on the anti-government demonstrators.
15. The department's civil rights lawyers have adopted a gentler approach \_\_\_ police misconduct investigations, emphasizing cooperation \_\_\_ conflict, compromise \_\_\_ court orders.
16. The European Security Strategy has been born out of the EUs disagreements \_\_\_ Iraq and is an attempt to ensure that Europe holds a common view \_\_\_ international security challenges.
17. The military may actually be less bellicose than the diplomats, preferring negotiation \_\_\_ the half-hearted use of force.
18. The resort \_\_\_ military force \_\_\_ international relations is covered first and foremost \_\_\_ Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter.
19. Using military force to counter terrorism meets the public and media demand \_\_\_ tough action \_\_\_ the sponsors and perpetrators of terrorism.
20. What began \_\_\_ a peaceful protest \_\_\_ late November \_\_\_ Mr. Yanukovych's decision to spurn a trade deal with Europe and tilt \_\_\_ Russia became \_\_\_ Tuesday a pyre of violent chaos.
21. While national interests do come \_\_\_ play in the political and military consideration of the use of force, unless citizens or property of that country is \_\_\_ risk, national interests alone should not be considered the just cause to go \_\_\_ war.



*Ex. 28. In the following passage insert articles where necessary. Account for their use.*

So next new thing is “smart power.” “Smart power” is term developed in 2003 to counter misperception that soft power alone can produce effective foreign policy. Power is one’s ability to affect behavior of others to get what one wants. There are three basic ways to do this: coercion, payment, and attraction. Hard power is use of coercion and payment. Soft power is ability to obtain preferred outcomes through attraction. If state can set agenda for others or shape their preferences, it can save a lot on carrots and sticks. But rarely can it totally replace either. Thus need for smart strategies that combine the tools of both hard and soft power.

By and large, United States managed such combination during Cold War, but more recently U.S. foreign policy has tended to over-rely on hard power because it is most direct and visible source of American strength. Pentagon is best trained and best resourced arm of government, but there are limits to what hard power can achieve on its own. Promoting democracy, human rights and development of civil society are not best handled with barrel of gun. It is true that American military has an impressive operational capacity, but practice of turning to Pentagon because it can get things done leads to image of over-militarized foreign policy.

Diplomacy and foreign assistance are often under-funded and neglected, in part because of difficulty of demonstrating their short term impact on critical challenges. In addition, wielding soft power is difficult because many of America's soft power resources lie outside of government in private sector and civil society, in its bilateral alliances, multilateral institutions, and transnational contacts. Moreover, American foreign policy institutions and personnel are fractured and compartmentalized and there is not adequate inter-agency process for developing and funding smart power strategy.

Effects of 9/11 terrorist attacks have thrown us off course. Since shock of 9/11, United States has been exporting fear and anger rather than our more traditional values of hope and optimism. And this should be changed.

Leadership in global information age is less about being king of mountain issuing commands that cascade down hierarchy than being person in center of circle or network who attracts and persuades others to come help. Both hard power of coercion and soft power of attraction and persuasion are crucial to success in such situations. Americans need better to understand both these dimensions of smart power.

*Ex. 29. Use the verbs in parentheses in the correct form.*

People’s readiness to settle differences by force of arms **(to be)**<sub>1</sub> a feature of society since pre-history. People’s attempt to place rational bounds on the use of force, **(to emerge)**<sub>2</sub> from their revulsion against the scourge of war, **(to be)**<sub>3</sub> almost as old.

In the decades since the Cold War, we **(to witness)**<sub>4</sub> diverging attitudes towards the use of military force on either side of the Atlantic. Though the transatlantic partners **(to have)**<sub>5</sub> historically **(to share)**<sub>6</sub> differences on the role of hard power, changing threat perceptions after 1991 and the aftermath of 9/11 **(to demonstrate)**<sub>7</sub> increasingly divergent perspectives. Nothing **(to show)**<sub>8</sub> this more clearly than the Iraq War, where allied differences **(to produce)**<sub>9</sub> the gravest crisis in the Atlantic Alliance since its creation’.

At the most basic level, the differing attitudes towards military force between Europe and America **(to reflect)**<sub>10</sub> the capabilities gap that **(to open)**<sub>11</sub> up between them, in the sense that

militarily weak Europe **(to opt)**<sub>12</sub> for soft power, multilateralism and influence through international law, whereas hegemonic America **(to employ)**<sub>13</sub> hard power, unilateralism and **(to be)**<sub>14</sub> unafraid to act without higher mandate. **(To understand)**<sub>15</sub> the causes of these preferences, however, one must look deeper than a purely power-based perspective.

The military power gap between the transatlantic partners certainly **(to influence)**<sub>16</sub> these preferences. The psychology of power **(to predispose)**<sub>17</sub> America to use force where Europe prefers civilian power, **(to play)**<sub>18</sub> to its own strengths. Moreover, Europe **(to be)**<sub>19</sub> objectively less under threat, and at the same time able to enjoy a certain degree of free US security provision.

*Ex. 30. Use of English. Force in International Relations.*

*a) Choose the best variant.*

*b) Comment on the actual implementation of the UN Charter provisions related to the use of force.*

The development of an international legal regime addressing the use of force and binding for/on (1) all x/the (2) States was a/the (3) twentieth-century development. Yet due to the bullying/bellicose (4) behavior of states on/in (5) the international arena, early attempts by the international community to limit the resort to force by States and to outlaw war failed to prevent the outbreak of World War II/the World War II (6). Similarly recent years have witnessed an increased reliance on military force by some states to settle issues of international relations in spite/despite of/notwithstanding (7) the UN Charter's prohibition of the use of force as an instrument of policy.

The tools provided by the UN Charter include, first and foremost, Article 2(4) which prohibits states from engaging/involving (8) in any *threats or uses of force* against other states. Although this clause has engendered untold hours of debate about its meaning, the transfer of one state's armed forces into another state in significant numbers without consent/agreement (9) almost certainly falls under/within (10) Article 2(4)'s prohibition.

Second, even if one state undertakes a use of force against another/the other (11) state, most states and scholars/scientists (12) believe that a use of force alone may not trigger the harmed state's right of self-protection/defense (13). That requires a particular type of force: an *armed attack*. The/X (14) Article 51 of the Charter claims/states (15), "Nothing in the present Charter [i.e., the prohibition on the use of force] shall impair the inherent right of self-protection/defense if an armed attack occurs . . ."The archetypal case of an armed attack is when one state bombs another/the other (16).

Third, there are three cases in which one state may use force in or against another state: when the Security Council authorizes it under Chapter VII; when the territorial state consents; or when it is acting in self-protection/defense against the territorial state.

*Ex. 31. Fill in the gaps with any suitable word.*



In today's \_\_\_\_\_ (1) age, success is the result not merely of whose army wins but also of whose story wins. The current struggle against Islamist terrorism is much less a \_\_\_\_\_ (2) of civilizations \_\_\_\_\_ (3) an ideological struggle within Islam. The United States cannot win unless the Muslim mainstream wins. There is very little \_\_\_\_\_ (4) that people like Osama bin Laden can ever be won over with soft power: hard power is needed to \_\_\_\_\_ (5) with such cases. But there is enormous \_\_\_\_\_ (6) of opinion in the Muslim

world. Many Muslims disagree with American values as well as American policies, but that does not mean that they agree with bin Laden. The United States and its allies cannot \_\_\_\_\_ (7) Islamist terrorism if the number of people the extremists are \_\_\_\_\_ (8) is larger than the number of extremists killed or deterred. Soft power is needed to reduce the extremists' numbers and win the \_\_\_\_\_ (9) and minds of the mainstream.

The United States can become a smart power by once again investing in global public goods — providing things that people and governments in all quarters of the world want but cannot \_\_\_\_\_ (10) on their own. Achieving economic development, securing public health, coping with climate change, and maintaining an open, stable international economic system all require \_\_\_\_\_ (11) from the United States. By \_\_\_\_\_ (12) its military and economic might with greater investments in its soft power, the United States can rebuild the framework it needs to \_\_\_\_\_ (13) tough global challenges. That would be true smart power.

Ex. 32.

a) Read the following article and identify its topic and thesis.

b) Think of a possible title.

c) Comment on the ideas of the article.

Over 1,300 Syrian civilians were killed in chemical weapons attacks, in what U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry called a “moral obscenity”: “What we saw in Syria last week should shock the conscience of the world. It defies any code of morality...”

Syria's deliberate targeting of noncombatants violates international law, as well as ancient moral codes about the use of force, known as Just War tradition (JWT). But would U.S. military strikes on Syria is considering, constitute a just response?

St. Thomas Aquinas never imagined a world in which chemicals could kill thousands of people in a breath, but these old moral codes can still provide guidance in modern warfare. JWT is a centuries-old guide to thinking about when and how it can ever be morally justifiable to violate the commandment “Thou shalt not kill.” JWT holds that even during warfare we are still capable of moral behavior, and still obligated to protect human life and dignity. JWT stakes out the middle ground between *realpolitik*, which always allows war, and pacifism, which never allows war.

Before entering combat there must be a just cause such as self-defense and the protection of human life. Certainly the Syrians have the right to use force to defend themselves against the military attacks of the Assad regime. But do external actors such as the U.S., Britain, and others, have a just cause to militarily intervene to protect Syrians from their own brutal government?

Beyond just cause, a whole package of JWT moral criteria must also be met. Only a right, public authority can enter into war, guided by the right intention of protecting peace and the common good. Force can only be used as a last resort, when success is possible, and the harms of war will not outweigh the reasons for going to war. *During* war, force must be discriminate and proportional. Civilians must be protected, not targeted. In discussing potential limited military targets, the Obama Administration shows attention to proportionality and discrimination.

The Syrian case is hard because it hits JWT on its growing edge, humanitarian intervention and the Responsibility to Protect (or “R2P”). Some just war thinkers propose that expanding just cause to include protection of civilians in humanitarian interventions should correspond with restricting right authority to only a right, public *international* authority such as the United Nations, not a decision made unilaterally by a single state alone. The Responsibility to Protect takes this approach.

R2P is a new international security and human rights norm, adopted in 2005, to address the international community's failures to prevent and stop genocides, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. R2P notes that the state has the primary responsibility for protecting its own civilians from atrocities. But if a state is unable or unwilling to protect its citizens, as when the Assad regime perpetrates war crimes and crimes against humanity against its own citizens, then the international community has a responsibility to protect endangered civilians. R2P and JWT both prescribe non-military means be used first. But if peaceful humanitarian and diplomatic means fail, the international community must be prepared to use collective force authorized by the UN Security Council. Stipulating an international right authority is good in theory, to restrict states from defining military interventions as "humanitarian" that were more self-serving in nature. But restricting right authority to the UN Security Council raises the bar for intervention in a way that is difficult to reach. In practice it means only civilians in diplomatically isolated or pariah states could effectively claim a UN right to protection. For Syrians it makes international authorization near impossible, as Russia promises to veto any UN Security Council motion for intervening in its ally, Syria.

Probability of success and comparative justice (the idea that more good than harm will come of intervention) are the hardest Just War criteria to meet in the Syrian case. According to Former Ambassador Ryan Crocker as well as General Martin Dempsey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, any military intervention may fail. President Assad is fighting for his life, literally, so he will fight no matter what the U.S. does, using every tool at his disposal. U.S. military intervention could make matters worse, according to General Dempsey. "We could inadvertently empower extremists or unleash the very chemical weapons we seek to control."

Just War Tradition attempts to limit war, but here lies the problem. Limiting war, however laudable and needed in Syria, is not the same as building peace. The U.S. has made this mistake before. In both Afghanistan and Iraq, the Bush administration invaded with little attention beforehand to the most basic aspects of how they would build peace after invading. Today, the Obama administration attends to the *tactics* of war, but not the *strategies* of peace. They weigh tactical, operational questions of military logistics, basing, and targeting, the how-to of military destruction. But what sort of peace do we seek in Syria? If a U.S. military intervention helped topple Assad, who would govern the country and how? Too often the U.S. engages in military magical thinking. Yet the overwhelming predominance of the U.S. military power to destroy does not carry with it some magical power to easily create new political orders and institutions. Peace must be built, with time, trust, and societal participation, as described in emerging Just Peace moral criteria. JWT must be married to these just peace criteria. Syria shows how much we need an expanded toolbox for building just peace.

(Based on a post by Maryann Cusimano Love at [www.huffingtonpost.com](http://www.huffingtonpost.com))

# UNIT VII

## FIGHTING THE HYDRA



## READING 1

### LEAD-IN

1. Brainstorm to make up a list of challenges the world faces now. Discuss how you would rank them according to their importance. Compare your views with the results of a Pew Research Center survey “Top Security Threats” (see ex. 31).
2. What strategic moves at the global level, including within the UN, do you think should be made to tackle terrorism?

*Skim the UN Secretary-General’s address to the UN Security Council Meeting on “Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts”. Do your ideas match those of Ban Ki-moon?*

### **TERRORISM MAY BE A GATHERING STORM, BUT THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE IS GATHERING STEAM** Ban Ki-moon

Terrorism poses a grave threat to international peace and security. Many of the countries represented around this table have first-hand experience of this menace. There have been so many attacks, lives lost and families destroyed. The United Nations has been targeted, too, from Iraq to Pakistan and Algeria to Afghanistan.

Terrorism may be a gathering storm, but the international response is gathering steam. Over the past five years, the United Nations has expanded its counter-terrorism activities, increased inter-agency coordination and enhanced partnerships with a wide range of international and regional organizations. Joint initiatives with Member States in many regions — including the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and South and Central Asia — have shown that there is much we can do.

Countering terrorism demands a broad approach. First, we must continue our efforts in the fields of security and law enforcement. That includes measures to further deprive terrorists of financial resources and mobility, and to prevent them from acquiring and using weapons of mass destruction.

Secondly, other areas deserve more attention. Education, development, intercultural dialogue and conflict prevention all have growing relevance in addressing conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism.

Thirdly, we must do more to better understand the reasons people are drawn to violence so that we can do more to prevent others from following that path.

Fourthly, we need to continue strengthening the legal regime, building on existing international counter-terrorism instruments and relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The value of these measures and of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy lies in their consistent and equal implementation.

Fifthly, we must improve the way we share information and best practices. That means establishing national focal points and regional networks and mobilizing civil society, the private sector and the media.

No counter-terrorism approach would be complete without a full commitment to human rights and the rule of law. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have consistently

endorsed the protection of human rights as an integral component of any effective counter-terrorism policy, and I welcome the attention the Council has devoted to this topic.

Several States — including those that have been victimized by terrorism — are eager to implement their obligations under the counter-terrorism frameworks but lack the resources and other capacities to do so. Capacity-building is therefore a priority for the United Nations.

I would also like to stress the importance of supporting victims of terrorism. It will be recalled that two years ago we held a very moving seminar here at Headquarters at which many victims of terrorism spoke about their experiences. On 8 October, again here at the United Nations, we will screen *Killing in the Name*, a documentary that not only highlights the plight of terrorism's victims but also, we hope, will help empower them and others towards greater levels of engagement in bringing an end to such crimes.

With respect to the Security Council itself, I welcome the enhanced coordination between the Council's subsidiary organs and partner entities in the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. All of us should broaden engagement with bodies that deal with measures listed under pillar 1 of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, such as the Alliance of Civilizations. The Alliance is a central part of the United Nations response to extremism and intolerance, and a necessary voice of moderation to counter the incitement and hatred that are such prominent parts of terrorism's playbook.

No cause or grievance can justify terrorism. Let me stress again the determination of the United Nations to rise to a global, cross-border challenge that seeks to do such harm to us all.

## READING 2

*Read the text in detail to find out what the author thinks about the roots of terrorism.*

### What Makes a Terrorist?

James Q. Wilson

Terrorism, like the plague in the Middle Ages, frightens both leaders and citizens. It is a disease that is spreading; its cure is unknown. Terrorism, however motivated, baffles people, because they cannot imagine doing these things themselves. This bafflement often leads us to assume that terrorists are either mentally deranged or products of a hostile environment.

In a powerful essay, Cynthia Ozick describes "the barbarous Palestinian societal invention": recruiting children to blow themselves up. She argues that these are acts of "anti-instinct," because they are contrary to the drive to live, the product of a grotesque cultural ideal. She is correct to say that this recruitment is not psychopathological, but not quite right to say that it defies instinct. It defies some instincts but is in accord with others.

10 To explain why people join these different groups, let me make some distinctions. One, is between anarchic ideologues and nationalists.

Ideological terrorists offer up no clear view of the world they are trying to create. They speak vaguely about bringing people into some new relationship with one another but never tell us what that relationship might be. Their goal is destruction, not creation.

By contrast, nationalistic and religious terrorists are a very different matter. The fragmentary research that has been done on them makes clear that they are rarely in conflict with their par-

ents; on the contrary, they seek to carry out in extreme ways ideas learned at home. Moreover, they usually have a very good idea of the kind of world they wish to create: it is the world given to them by their religious or nationalistic leaders. These leaders, of course, may completely  
20 misrepresent the doctrines they espouse, but the misrepresentation acquires a commanding power.

Marc Sageman at the University of Pennsylvania has analyzed what we know so far about members of al-Qaida. Unlike ideological terrorists, they felt close to their families and described them as intact and caring. They rarely had criminal records; indeed, most were devout Muslims. The great majority were married; many had children. None had any obvious signs of mental disorder. The appeal of al-Qaida was that the group provided a social community that helped them define and resist the decadent values of the West. The appeal of that community seems to have been especially strong to the men who had been sent abroad to study and found themselves alone and underemployed.

30 A preeminent nationalistic terrorist, Sabri al-Bana (otherwise known as Abu Nidal), was born to a wealthy father in Jaffa, and through his organization, the Fatah Revolutionary Council, also known as the Abu Nidal Organization, sought to destroy Israel and to attack Palestinian leaders who showed any inclination to engage in diplomacy. He was hardly a member of the wretched poor.

That terrorists themselves are reasonably well-off does not by itself disprove the argument that terrorism springs from poverty and ignorance. Terrorists might simply be a self-selected elite, who hope to serve the needs of an impoverished and despondent populace — in which case, providing money and education to the masses would be the best way to prevent terrorism.

40 From what we know now, this theory appears to be false. Researchers compared terrorist incidents in the Middle East with changes in the gross domestic product of the region and found that the number of such incidents per year increased as economic conditions improved. On the eve of the intifada that began in 2000, the unemployment rate among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was falling, and the Palestinians thought that economic conditions were improving. The same economic conditions existed at the time of the 1988 intifada. Terror did not spread as the economy got worse but as it got better.

This study agrees with the view of Franklin L. Ford, whose book *Political Murder* covers terrorist acts from ancient times down to the 1980s. Assassinations, he finds, were least common in fifth-century Athens, during the Roman republic, and in eighteenth-century Europe — periods in which “a certain quality of balance, as between authority and forbearance” was reinforced by  
50 a commitment to “customary rights.” Terrorism has not corresponded to high levels of repression or social injustice or high rates of ordinary crime. It seems to occur, Ford suggests, in periods of partial reform, popular excitement, high expectations, and impatient demands for still more rapid change.

If terrorists — suicide bombers and other murderers of innocent people — are not desperate, perhaps they are psychologically disturbed. But I cannot think of a single major scholar who has studied this matter who has found any psychosis. Terrorists are likely to be different from non-terrorists, but not because of any obvious disease.

In short, recruiting religiously inspired or nationalistically oriented terrorists seems to have little to do with personal psychosis, material deprivation, or family rejection. It may not even have  
60 much to do with well-known, high-status leaders. Among West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, for example, there is broad support for suicide bombings and a widespread belief that violence has

helped the Palestinian cause, even though as late as June 2003 only about one-third of all Palestinians thought Yasser Arafat was doing a good job.

The key to terrorist recruitment, obviously, is the group that does the recruitment. Jerrold Post interviewed for eight hours an Abu Nidal terrorist named Omar Rezaq, who skyjacked an airliner and killed five passengers before an Egyptian rescue team captured him. The interviews sought to test the defense counsel's claim that Rezaq suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder and so did not appreciate the wrongfulness of his actions. Post found no such disease.

70 He met instead a thoroughly calm, professional man, who, after a happy childhood devoid of poverty, had moved with his mother to a refugee camp following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. At school he encountered a radical Palestinian teacher (and PLO member) who imbued him with a hatred of Israel and helped him join a camp where, at age 12, he began receiving military training.

Rezaq spoke to Professor Post in a calm, orderly, unemotional way. He thought of himself as a soldier and of the people he shot as enemies. He realized that his actions were crimes — that was why he wore a ski mask — but he did not think they were wrong: he was, after all, fighting Zionism. The notion that he was mentally ill was absurd: Abu Nidal, a highly professional group, would have long since weeded him out. Abu Nidal had killed or injured many people in massacres at the Rome and Vienna airports and gravely wounded the Israeli ambassador to Great Britain: you do not accomplish these things by relying on psychotics.

80 While some suicide bombers have been the victims of blackmail, and some have been led to believe, wrongly, that the bombs in their trucks would go off after they had left them, my sense is that most recruitment today relies on small-group pressure and authoritative leaders. Anyone who took social-science courses in college will surely remember the famous experiments by Stanley Milgram. In the 1960s, Milgram, then a professor at Yale, recruited ordinary people through a newspaper ad offering them money to help in a project purporting to improve human memory. The improvement was to come from punishing a man who seemed unable to remember words read aloud to him. The man, a confederate of Milgram's, was strapped in a chair with an electrode attached to his wrist. The punishment took the form of electric shocks administered by the experimental subjects from a control panel, showing a scale of shocks, from 15 to 450 volts. At the high  
90 end of the scale, clearly marked labels warned: "Danger — Severe Shock." As the subject increased the imaginary voltage, the man who was supposed to have his memory improved screamed in pretended pain.

About two-thirds of the subjects Milgram had recruited went all the way to 450 volts. Only two things made a difference: the absence of a clear authority figure and the presence of rebellious peers. Without these modifications, almost everybody decided to "follow orders." This study suggests to me that, rightly managed, a cohesive group with an authoritative leader can find people who will do almost anything.

100 Terrorist cells understand these rules. They expose members to unchallenged authority figures and quickly weed out anyone who might be rebellious. They get rid of doubts by getting rid of the doubters.

This is not very different from how the military maintains morale under desperate conditions. Soldiers fight because their buddies fight. Heroism usually derives not from some deep heroic "urge" or from thoughts of Mom, apple pie, and national ideology, but from the example of others who are fighting.

Milgram did not train terrorists; he showed that the instinct to be part of a team can be as powerful as the one that tells us to be decent to other people. But suppose Milgram had been the

leader of a terrorist sect and had recruited his obedient followers into his group; suppose teachings in the schools and mass propaganda supported his group. There is almost no limit to what he could have accomplished using such people. They might not have been clinically ill, but they  
110 would have been incorporated into a psychopathological movement.

The central fact about terrorists is not that they are deranged, but that they are not alone. In Singapore, their recruitment begins with attendance at religious schools. If ardent and compliant, they are drawn into Jemaah Islamiyah, where they associate with others like themselves. Being in the group gives each member a sense of special esteem and exclusivity, reinforced by the use of secrecy, code names, and specialized training. Then they are offered the chance to be martyrs if they die in a jihad. Everywhere, leaders strengthen the bombers' commitment by isolating them in safe houses and by asking them to draft last testaments and make videotapes for their families, in which they say farewell.

Given its long history, one must wonder whether terrorism accomplishes its goals. For some  
120 ideological terrorists, of course, there are scarcely any clear goals that can be accomplished. But for many assassins and religious terrorists, there are important goals, such as ending tyranny, spreading a religious doctrine, or defeating a national enemy.

By these standards, terrorism does not work. With one or two possible exceptions, assassinations have not produced results consonant with the aims of the doer. Of the 50 prime ministers and heads of state killed between 1945 and 1985, it is hard to think of one whose death changed a state's policies.

One reason it does not work can be found in studies of Israeli public opinion. During 1979, there were 271 terrorist incidents in Israel and the territories it administers, resulting in the deaths of 23 people and the injuring of 344 more. Public-opinion surveys clearly showed that  
130 these attacks deeply worried Israelis, but their fear, instead of leading them to endorse efforts at reconciliation, produced a toughening of attitudes and a desire to see the perpetrators dealt with harshly.

But if terrorism does not change the views of the victims and their friends, then it is possible that campaigns against terrorism will not change the views of people who support it. Many social scientists have come to just this conclusion.

In the 1970s, I attended meetings at a learned academy where people wondered what could be done to stop the terrorism of the German Red Army Faction and the Italian Red Brigades. The general conclusion was that no counterattacks would work. To cope with terrorism, my colleagues felt, one must deal with its root causes.

140 I was not convinced. My doubts stemmed, I suppose, from my own sense that dealing with the alleged root causes of crime would not work as well as simply arresting criminals. After all, we do not know much about the root causes, and most of the root causes we can identify cannot be changed in a free society — or possibly in any society.

The German and Italian authorities, faced with a grave political problem, decided not to change root causes but to arrest the terrorists. That, accompanied by the collapse of East Germany and its support for terrorists, worked. Within a few years the Red Army Faction and the Red Brigades were extinct. In the United States, the Weather Underground died after its leaders were arrested.

150 But Islamic terrorism poses a much more difficult challenge. These terrorists live and work among people sympathetic to their cause. Those arrested will be replaced; those killed will be honored. Opinion polls in many Islamic nations show great support for anti-Israeli and anti-American terrorists. Terrorists live in a hospitable river. We may have to cope with the river.

## COMPREHENSION

*Ex. 1. Identify the topic and the thesis of the text. Make sure they are neither too broad nor too narrow.*

*Ex. 2. Suggest Russian equivalents for these word combinations from the text.*

mentally deranged	devout Muslims	suicide bombers
acts of "anti-instinct"	the decadent values of the West	material deprivation
a commanding power	preeminent nationalistic terrorist	the Palestinian cause
criminal record	wretched poor	to maintain morale

*Ex. 3. Think of several questions to bring out the main ideas and arguments the author puts forward in support of his thesis.*

## VOCABULARY

*Ex. 4. Translate the following words and phrases, reproduce the context in which the words in (a) are used in the text (the lines of the text are indicated to help you).*

a)

- to defy (defiant, defiance) (1–10)
- accord (in accord with smth; to do smth of one's own accord) (1–10)
- to espouse (espousal) (20–30)
- appeal, n. (appealing) (20–30)
- record, n. (20–30)
- despondent (despondency) (30–40)
- deprivation (to deprive smb of smth; deprived) (50–60)
- to imbue smb with smth (70–80)
- to encounter (encounter, n.) (70–80)
- to purport (80–90)
- to expose (exposure, n.) (90–100)
- compliant (compliance, to comply) (110–120)
- perpetrator (to perpetrate) (130–140)
- to endorse (endorsement) (130–140)

- b) to defy traditions, to defy international law, to defy logic, to look at smb with defiance, in defiance of the law, a defiant child, to espouse a cause, to expose criminal activities of terrorists, to comply with standards, to comply with the law, to enforce compliance with, to have a good/poor record in (an area)/on (a phenomenon)/of doing smth, track record, to set/put the record straight, to expose the weaknesses of..., to expose smb. to classical music, an event that has got a lot of exposure, over-exposure, to have (no, broad, limited) appeal for smb

*Ex. 5. Match some of the words and phrases from Ex. 4 with their opposites below.*

to easily lend itself to sth, joyful, to conceal, to disregard, to denounce

Ex. 6. For each word given below find at least four words from the box that can go with it. Some words from the box can go into several groups. Can you continue the lists? Use the expressions in sentences of your own.

acute	extremism	terrorist networks	to suffer
cause	flaws	the ideas of democracy	utter
comprehension	logic	to cause	values
confidence	meaning	to cope with	views
economic	smb to danger,	to leave behind	violence
explanation	stereotypes	to sink into	Western art and music

to defy

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

to espouse

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

despondency

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

to expose

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

deprivation

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

to imbue

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Ex. 7. Suggest stylistically neutral synonyms for the following words. Supply contexts to bring out the difference between synonyms in each pair.



in accord with  
to espouse

to engage  
populace

forbearance  
buddy

Ex. 8. Express the same idea using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 instead of the underlined parts.

- All rogue states must come to the negotiating table voluntarily and unconditionally, not only after certain conditions are met.
- Anti-abortionists have launched a vigorous campaign to give support to the constitutional ban on abortion.
- The Taliban does not seem very attractive due to their ethnicity, geography and the recent memory of their brutal, reactionary misrule.
- The risk direct contact with chemical agents which could be used in terrorist acts is real.
- While Eritrea has been accused of influencing several conflicts and supporting terrorism, it also poorly performed in the field of human security.
- Some hoped that elections will actually moderate or transform Hamas by fostering adherence of its members to more democratic values.
- At the beginning of July 2009, another terrorist network was uncovered, when the Egyptian security forces arrested 25 armed men, most of them engineers.
- Most terrorists have no criminal background of any kind that could bring them to the attention of authorities.
- At the UN, the US, United Kingdom, and France backed resolution calling for Iran to halt its nuclear activities was met with opposition from other countries, notably Russia and China.

10. In 1997 violating UN sanctions against Libya, the Arab League approved a resolution urging Arab countries to “take measures to alleviate the sanctions on Libya,” including allowing Gadhafi to travel by plane to member states.
11. “Terrorist” is not a “one size fits all” term. And, even those terrorists who at least claim to be Muslims can likewise not conform to stereotypes, which helps make the point that terrorist stereotyping is not just *politically* incorrect; it is simply *incorrect*.
12. In their effort to condemn terrorism, many analysts and policy-makers often neglect the observation that those who carry out such deeds always have a goal and a designated target.
13. Listening to and speaking a second language in an authentic setting is an essential part of the learning process.
14. Political activism in the province has increased since Greenpeace publicized the terrible logging practices of the large forest companies.
15. The 20th Century saw our countries’ transition to independence, but the region has unfortunately remained mired in conflicts and economic deficiency.
16. The balance-of-power system did not aim at avoiding crises or even wars. When working properly, it was meant to limit both the ability of states to dominate others and the scope of conflicts.
17. The scale of the country can hardly be imagined.
18. The war on terrorism should also be a war on poverty, a war on ignorance, a war on misery and hopelessness and marginalisation.
19. We believe that the global campaign against terrorism should be conducted on the basis of strict observance of the United Nations Charter and international law.
20. We now face a new cult, which will no doubt make its followers thoughtlessly assume the conviction that terrorism is a moral and just way to resolve conflict.

*Ex. 9. Complete the following sentences using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 in their correct form.*

1. Although it is true that it is difficult to attack the \_\_\_\_\_ of terrorism when they reside in small groups, it is possible oftentimes to attack their means to wage terrorism.
2. He that \_\_\_\_\_ with orders against his will is of his own opinion still.
3. He who passively accepts evil is as much involved in it as he who helps to \_\_\_\_\_ it.
4. Highly developed spirits often \_\_\_\_\_ resistance from mediocre minds.
5. It is a falsehood to assume that terrorism stems solely from economic \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Only when wealth is fairly and evenly distributed in the globalised world community, will we be free from the tensions, the bitterness and the anger which make the \_\_\_\_\_ resort to violence and terrorism.
7. Paradox \_\_\_\_\_ logic, yet not by dismissing it but by teasing us to think wider and deeper and extend our horizons and challenge our starting-points.
8. People fall to ideologies that \_\_\_\_\_ terrorism, just as others fall to gang violence and delinquency.
9. This important new law will protect American authors and journalists who \_\_\_\_\_ terrorist networks and their financiers.
10. Terrorism will disappear of its own \_\_\_\_\_ with the end of the demographic revolution.
11. The “War on Terrorism” actually causes more of what it \_\_\_\_\_ to fight.
12. Many well-known organizations have an established \_\_\_\_\_ of legitimate charitable activities in addition to a \_\_\_\_\_ of terrorism.

13. The higher the monkey climbs, the more it is \_\_\_\_\_ to danger (a Creole proverb).
14. The UN must ensure that its agenda becomes more \_\_\_\_\_ and result-oriented, in order to earn the esteem of the public and to retain its priority in international relations.
15. Democracies that respect the rule of law cannot win wars unilaterally and \_\_\_\_\_ international law.
16. Some provisions in the Convention could provide impunity for \_\_\_\_\_ of certain crimes, including those crimes that fall clearly under the responsibility of the international community to investigate.
17. Why are some societies more \_\_\_\_\_ to terrorism than others?
18. Some extremists derive their doctrines from their religious heritage, \_\_\_\_\_ their adherents with religious zeal, and have no great difficulty in finding religious authorities to explicitly or implicitly \_\_\_\_\_ their radical objectives and methods.

Ex. 10. Complete the following sentences. Where necessary add a sentence or two to make your examples more meaningful.



1. In the name of \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ defy international law.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ often drives people to **espouse** terrorism.
3. **Imbued** with radical ideology, \_\_\_\_\_.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ designed to expose terrorism and money laundering.
5. Despite their/his/her **terrorist track record**, \_\_\_\_\_.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ seemed to have quite a broad appeal for \_\_\_\_\_.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ has become a \_\_\_\_\_ with mass appeal.
8. While terrorists purport to \_\_\_\_\_, they \_\_\_\_\_.
9. To ensure full **compliance with** \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_.
10. \_\_\_\_\_ that \_\_\_\_\_ are the main perpetrators of various terrorist acts must be \_\_\_\_\_.
11. It **defies** logic that \_\_\_\_\_.

Ex. 11. Translate the sentences using the vocabulary of the unit.

**A.**

1. В день на среднего американского потребителя **обрушивается** до 1600 рекламных объявлений в день.
2. Война порождает у людей чувство **глубокого отчаяния**.
3. **Игнорировать резолюцию** Совета безопасности не может ни одно государство.
4. Исламизм **пронизан идеями** политического радикализма.
5. **Исполнителем** парижского теракта стал боец священной войны, имеющий судимость по статье (convicted) терроризм.
6. Конституция запрещает любым организациям или программам **поддерживать** расизм, терроризм и этнические чистки.
7. Куба обладает богатым **послужным списком** успешных мер по борьбе с терроризмом.
8. Международному сообществу следует уважать ту политическую систему, которую страна **самостоятельно** выбрала для себя.
9. Необходимо осуществлять программы, направленные на снижение **привлекательности** терроризма.
10. Никто не вправе **лишить** человека каких-либо прав и свобод или ограничить его права и свободы.

11. Политика, проводимая правительством этого государства, **идет вразрез** с международным правом.
12. Предстоит сделать еще больше для обеспечения **выполнения** международных обязательств.
13. Участвуя в контртеррористических операциях, развивающиеся страны **наталкиваются** на большие экономические, социальные и политические проблемы.
14. **Цель террористов** заключается в том, чтобы оказать влияние на принятие определенных решений органами власти.
15. Это принцип, которого мы по-прежнему **придерживаемся**.

**В.**

1. Мы неоднократно становились свидетелями того, что для достижения своих политических целей эта страна **игнорирует** признанные нормы международного права и единогласные требования международного сообщества.
2. Наиболее ярые экстремисты **ставят своей целью** создание отдельного государства, правовые нормы которого будут заменены нормами одной, общей для всего населения религии.
3. Комиссия по борьбе с коррупцией может расследовать любой случай коррупции **по своей инициативе** или на основании информации от любого лица.
4. Правоохранительные органы принимают все необходимые меры по **изобличению** и привлечению к ответственности всех **лиц, виновных** в совершении террористических актов.
5. Терроризм **порождает** в жертвах страх и сомнение.
6. Наша делегация хотела бы **дать пояснения**, с тем чтобы Комитет мог в полной мере оценить серьезность остающейся нерешенной проблемы терактов, совершенных смертниками.
7. Мы должны активизировать дипломатические усилия, включая введение соответствующих санкций, чтобы заставить страну **выполнять** соответствующие резолюции Организации Объединенных Наций.
8. Людские потери в общей сложности составили по разным данным от 27 до 28 млн человек, а материальные **не поддаются** исчислению.
9. Аш-Шабааб является террористической организацией, **отстаивающей** экстремистское толкование религии и подрывающей мир и стабильность в Сомали.
10. ПАСЕ предложила работникам СМИ разработать кодекс поведения журналистов с тем, чтобы избежать "чрезмерного **воздействия**" репортажей о терактах на население.
11. По словам переселенцев, хотя некоторые покидают дома **по своей воле**, большинству из них угрожали.
12. Большинство телекомментаторов, **претендующих на роль** экспертов по вопросам терроризма, ни разу не сталкивались с религиозными фанатиками, **проповедующими** терроризм.
13. В большинстве случаев улучшение положения с социальной справедливостью не снижает **притягательности** терроризма.
14. Анализ некоторых определений **терроризма** **дает представление** о проблемах, существующих в вопросе разграничения его с различными формами войны.



15. Большинство людей закрывают глаза на тот факт, что миллионы людей во всем мире страдают от голода и лишений.
16. С угрозами терроризма сегодня **сталкивается** практически каждая страна, даже значительно удаленная от очагов этих явлений.

## BUILDING A WORDBANK

Ex. 12. Make up collocations with the following words. Translate the resulting phrases.

a)

terrorists	terrorist act(s)	terrorism
to abet to bring to justice to carry out to combat	to commit to condemn to engage in to fight to harbor	to perpetrate to plot to root out to track (down) to train

b) Use these phrases in their correct form in the sentences below.

1. "If you \_\_\_\_\_ terrorists, you are a terrorist," were the words used by President George W. Bush in justifying the invasion of Afghanistan.
2. American Muslim groups have repeatedly issued statements \_\_\_\_\_ terrorism in all forms wherever it has risen.
3. In Alexandria, VA, a jury has found another US citizen guilty on nine counts of aiding al-Qaeda and \_\_\_\_\_ terrorist acts, including a plan to kill President Bush.
4. In the political frenzy to \_\_\_\_\_ terrorism a series of laws have been enacted which, in many cases, are vague with dangerously broad definitions; they contain new policing and surveillance strategies, including monitoring Internet communications and extensive spying on citizens.
5. Many Arab rulers have a deserved reputation for supporting or \_\_\_\_\_ terrorism.
6. Member states of the African Union have agreed to collaborate to \_\_\_\_\_ terrorism on the continent through mutual legal assistance.
7. One of the camps run by Al Qaeda in Afghanistan was used to \_\_\_\_\_ terrorists involved in the Mumbai attacks, sources said Saturday.
8. Terrorist organizations have been quick to see the advantages of using females to \_\_\_\_\_ terrorist attacks.
9. The common position of EU members defines "terrorist groups" as structured groups of persons, acting in concert to \_\_\_\_\_ terrorist acts, regardless of their composition or the level of development of their structure.
10. The Council reaffirms that Member States must ensure that any measures taken to \_\_\_\_\_ terrorism comply with all their obligations under international law, in particular international human rights, refugee and humanitarian law.
11. The leader of the Pakistani Taliban threatened Tuesday to \_\_\_\_\_ a terrorist attack on the U.S. capital.
12. The motivations to \_\_\_\_\_ terrorism cover a broad range, including redress for alleged grievances, personal revenge and national liberation.

13. The use of cameras with face recognition software around airports and public places can help \_\_\_\_\_ terrorists.
14. UN condemns Nigeria terrorist bombings and calls for those responsible to be \_\_\_\_\_.

*Ex. 13. Match the phrase in A with its Russian equivalent in B. Make up several sentences with the Russian phrases for your fellow students to translate using their English equivalents.*

А	В
1. an integrated approach;	— атаки, потрясшие мир;
2. attacks that made the world reel	— выверенные действия;
3. breeding ground;	— действовать безнаказанно;
4. considered actions;	— искоренить терроризм;
5. political strivings;	— коварная изощренность террористов;
6. the fiendish sophistication of terrorists;	— комплексный подход;
7. a range of counter-terrorism measures;	— питательная среда;
8. to act with impunity;	— политические амбиции;
9. to escape from justice;	— решительные действия международного сообщества;
10. to harbor terrorists	— сломить врага;
11. to smash the enemy;	— осуждать терроризм во всех формах и проявлениях;
12. to wipe out terrorism;	— уйти от правосудия;
13. vigorous actions on the part of the international community;	— укрывать террористов
14. to condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations	— комплекс мер по борьбе с терроризмом

*Ex. 14. Translate the Russian parts of the sentences.*

1. "You can't сломить врага by philosophizing," Hitler told his generals on January 27, 1944.
2. A state that did not take into account the политические амбиции of all its peoples would be doomed to perpetual strife.
3. An Indonesian woman was sentenced to three years in prison Thursday for aiding and укрывание террористов accused of suicide bombings
4. Concerns over the ever-increasing изощренность террористов and drug trafficking have prompted transportation networks to utilize increased security
5. During the ministerial-level, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon noted that counter-terrorism demanded a комплексный подход, he said, stressing that efforts in the fields of security and law enforcement must continue.
6. Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf has blamed the West for having made Pakistan the питательной средой for international terrorism.
7. Post-9/11, the international community took решительные действия to identify and freeze suspected bank accounts of terrorist groups.
8. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh asked for urgent and выверенные действия to root out the problem of Left Wing Extremism.
9. The 9/11 attacks demonstrated the коварную изощренность террористов.
10. The refuge and/or support given by some countries or interests to terrorists enable them to carry out their operations безнаказанно.

11. The transnational nature of the threat creates jurisdictional complications which play into the hands of our enemies, permitting them уйти от правосудия.
12. Time has come to evolve an aggressive national campaign to искоренить терроризм.

*Ex. 15. Who or what are these:*

Perpetrator, mastermind, thug, henchmen, criminal gangs, hotbeds of terrorism, suicide bombers

*Ex. 16. Translate the following adjectival phrases used to characterize terrorists' activities. Use them in sentences of your own.*

Reprehensible acts, barbaric bombings, atrocious attacks, frightful blow, vile crime, brazen assassination, ruthless enemy

*Ex. 17. Join synonyms. Use them in sentences of your own.*

to defeat, hotbeds of terrorism, henchmen, integrated, mastermind, to wipe out, multifaceted, resolute, to smash, ringleader, strongholds of terrorism, to destroy, accomplices, vigorous, to eliminate



*Ex. 18. Translate the following UN-style statement using the vocabulary of Ex. 12–17.*



**Варварские** террористические атаки, **совершенные** на территории нашей страны и во многих других государствах, свидетельствуют о масштабах угрозы, напоминают об общей ответственности, которая лежит на нас за **искоренение** терроризма, требуют наращивания мер борьбы и профилактики. Терроризм далеко **не сломлен**, имеет значительный финансовый и людской потенциал, готовится к нанесению новых ударов в различных районах мира

Резолюции по **борьбе** с терроризмом, принятые Советом Безопасности, сохраняют свою актуальность и значение. **Решительные действия** все членов ООН по их **имплементации** — один из необходимых элементов широкого **комплекса мер борьбы с терроризмом**, в т.ч. тех, которые государства обязались выполнять в рамках Глобальной контртеррористической стратегии ООН. **Коварной изощренности террористов** нужно противопоставить сплоченные, **выверенные** и самые **решительные действия** международного сообщества.

В практическом плане по-прежнему остро стоят вопросы устранения потенциальных **очагов терроризма, питательной среды** для него, перекрытия возможных путей экономической и идеологической подпитки террора. Требуется **комплексный подход** к совершенствованию законодательной базы. Здесь важно повышать эффективность профильного международного сотрудничества, взаимной правовой помощи, обмена передовым опытом (best practices). Должен четко работать принцип “либо выдай, либо суди”, закрыты различные правовые лазейки и “тихие гавани” для террористов и их **пособников**, исключены другие возможности **уходить от ответственности**.

Российская Федерация готова в тесном сотрудничестве с другими государствами продолжать энергичные усилия по консолидации международного сообщества и укреплению потенциала ООН в решении насущных задач антитеррористической безопасности.

*Ex. 19. Make up your own list of topic-related vocabulary necessary to discuss the issue and share it with the class.*

## TALK and DISCUSSION

Ex. 20. Discuss the ideas from the text in Reading 2.

### A.

1. [Recruitment of children...] defies some instincts but is in accord with others.
2. [Terrorism] seems to occur... in periods of partial reform, popular excitement, high expectations, and impatient demands for still more rapid change.
3. The key to terrorist recruitment... is the group that does the recruitment.
4. ...most recruitment today relies on small-group pressure and authoritative leaders.
5. Rightly managed, a cohesive group with an authoritative leader can find people who will do almost anything.
6. Given its long history, one must wonder whether terrorism accomplishes its goals [...].
7. The central fact about terrorists is not that they are deranged, but that they are not alone.
8. If terrorism does not change the views of the victims and their friends, then it is possible that campaigns against terrorism will not change the views of people who support it.
9. Dealing with the alleged root causes of crime would not work as well as simply arresting criminals.
10. Terrorists live in a hospitable river.

### B.

#### Why do people become terrorists?

a) How do these factors contribute to a person's decision to turn to terrorism? Compare your ideas with the causes of terrorism from Reading 2.

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| — desire to be heroic     | — social class background   |
| — fear                    | — inferiority complex   |
| — propensity for violence | — feeling humiliated by the ways of arrogant 'leading nations of the world' |
| — sense of adventure      | — religion  |
| — nationality             | — absence of opportunities for respect and self-development                 |
| — boredom                 |   |

b) Find several recently published journal articles dealing with the root causes of terrorism and prepare a brief analysis of the existing approaches to the explanation of this phenomenon.



Ex. 21. Explain and expand on what the following concepts mean.

- |                |                    |                |                 |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| safe haven     | (leaderless) jihad | fundamentalism | micro-terrorism |
| radicalization | caliphate          | Patriot Act    | assassin        |
| cyberterrorism | zealot             | thug           |                 |

Ex. 22. Discuss your answers to these questions. Use the active vocabulary and the phrases from Ex. 12–19:

### A. Once a terrorist, always a terrorist?

- a. Since there exists no precise and unambiguous definition of terrorism, many equate terrorism with guerilla warfare and insurgencies. Is it possible to distinguish between them?
- b. Is there such a thing as justifiable terrorism?

- c. Prepare a brief talk on one of the following figures, who were once recognized as terrorists, but who went on to win the Nobel Peace Prize (or any other prominent figure of your choice who has undergone a similar transformation).  
Menachim Begin, Sean McBride, Nelson Mandela, Yassir Arafat

**B. The Army of God: Religion and Terrorism**

Most reprehensible crimes are sometimes committed in the name of god, which leads many to associate religion with terrorism.

- a. Is terrorism a tool of religion, or is religion used by terrorists as a tool?  
b. How is violence justified?  
c. What makes 'religious' terrorism different from 'traditional' secular terrorism (focus on goals, leadership, recruitment, etc.)?

**C. State sponsored terrorism**

- a. What is state sponsored terrorism?  
b. Do states sponsoring terrorism engage directly in terrorist activity?  
c. What are the grounds for considering them rogue states?  
d. What sanctions to pressure the states into discontinuing their support for terrorism have been used?

**D. No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth**

Eco-terrorism or ecotage, is believed to have appeared in England during the 1970s. It espouses extremist views on environmental issues and animal rights, and is a fringe-issue form of terrorism, which seeks to inflict economic damage on those who allegedly profit from the destruction and exploitation of the environment.

- a. Adherents often compare themselves to anti-slavery abolitionists or opponents of Nazi death camps. Is such a comparison acceptable?  
b. Give examples of how such organizations as *Animal Liberation Front*, *Earth Liberation Front* and *Earth First!* achieve their goals.  
c. What's the difference between environmentalists and ecoterrorists?  
d. How serious is the threat posed by ecoterrorists? Should they be treated on a par with 'conventional' terrorists?

*Ex. 23. Make a 5–7 min. Power Point presentation on a major terrorist movement/terrorist attack in the country/region you specialize in. Focus on terrorists' goals and motivations as well as the investigation carried out by the authorities.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 20).

*Ex. 24. Debate: Can Counterterrorism Be Effective?*

In two teams debating against each other, discuss if there are effective counterterrorism strategies. Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 21).

You may want to focus on the following questions:

- a) What body within the UN system is in charge of counterterrorism? Speak about its mission, methods of work, current activities. Is it the most effective way of combating terrorism?

- b) Consider the following list of counter-terrorism measures. Which of them do you think are the most effective?
- address specific political or socio-economic grievance of terrorists (i.e. change of policy to accommodate, wholly or in part, grievance of terrorists' constituency)
  - offer political concessions;
  - amnesty;
  - diplomatic pressure on state sponsors to decrease their support (expel diplomats from states supporting terrorist organizations; break diplomatic relations with sponsors of terrorist organizations, etc.);
  - engage in socio-economic policies that reduce inclination to engage in political violence (new employment plans, anti-discrimination measures, poverty-reduction strategies, etc.);
  - address financial/monetary aspects of terrorism (ban fund-raising of terrorist groups, freeze assets of families of kidnap victims to prevent paying of ransom, etc.);
  - develop policies regarding media access to terrorist groups (e.g. ban broadcast of interviews with terrorists; ban publication of terrorist texts/manifestos OR provide publicity to terrorists in return for release of hostages);
  - counter-terrorism public relations campaign;
  - use of strikes/operations (pre-emptive strikes against base of terrorists, commando action against headquarters of terrorists punitive retaliatory action against location or community hosting terrorists, rescue operations for liberation of kidnap victims or hostages in siege/barricade situation);
  - step up international efforts (sign and ratify international conventions, expand extradition treaties, enhance mutual legal assistance with other states, etc.);
  - review and update domestic legislation;
  - increase police powers (power for surveillance of suspected terrorists, suspension of civil liberties, etc.).

*(Based on the classification of  
the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime)*

*Ex. 25. Working in two teams, prepare a quiz on terrorism for your fellow students from the other team. Discuss what aspects of the phenomenon are to be reflected in your questions before you start (history, terminology, etc). Do the quiz prepared by the other team.*



*Ex. 26. Project Work.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 24).

**Possible project work topics:**

1. Using the Internet to reduce the appeal of terrorist organizations.
2. An overview of the counterterrorism strategy of the region/country you specialize in.
3. In search of a silver bullet solution: Approaches to tackling various types of terrorism (left/right wing, religious, ethnic/separatist, etc — choose one).
4. Can democracy prevent terrorism?
5. Evolution of counterterrorism.
6. Diplomacy/Development aid/... as counterterrorism.



Ex. 27. Practise making impromptu talks.

**Suggested topics:**

- terrorism as a global phenomenon requiring a multilateral response;
- terrorist threat and everyday life;
- terrorism vs ordinary crime;
- counterterrorism at the UN;
- terrorism and religion.

Ex. 28. Round table discussion: *In the Name of Counterterrorism: Should Efficacy Prevail Over Justice?*

Counterterrorist measures often draw criticism from various quarters for all sorts of injustices including wiretapping, stop and search powers, criminalization of non-violent speech and protests, etc. Discuss the threats to human rights and civil liberties posed by counterterrorism policies pursued by states. Is it possible to find the right balance between security and human rights? In your discussion concentrate on the experience of several countries, including Russia and the country/region you specialize in, as well as the historical dimensions of the problem. Depending on the number of participants, international aspects can be brought in.

1. Brainstorm to identify issues to be included in your discussion.
2. Think of the roles to suit the context.
3. Prepare your roles and act out the role play following the guidelines in Unit 2 (ex. 24).

Ex. 29. Render the following texts into English and comment on them. What purpose do you think their authors pursued?



A.

**Мировой терроризм: искусственный страх современности**

Проблема мирового терроризма и возможность эффективной борьбы с ним обсуждается аналитиками и политическими деятелями далеко не первый год. Получив статус “мировой угрозы” образ ужасающего терроризма ворвался в Голливуд, международную информационную повестку и дискуссии на ведущих политических площадках. Небрежным образом объединив различные радикальные группировки в устрашающее понятие “мировой терроризм”, мы создали симулякр глобальной угрозы и запустили необратимый процесс самоустранивания и демонизации данного явления. Да, глупо было бы отрицать то, что масштабы террористических атак возросли, что преступная сеть окутала континенты множеством ячеек, тем не менее, именно общее согласие с наименованием отдельно взятой преступной активности грозным эпитетом “мировой” легитимизировало новый статус терроризма. Терроризм как угроза человечеству, новый враг — все это в первую очередь было образом, позволяющим создавать целый комплекс новых механизмов в области внутренней и внешней политики в мире с явно доминирующим центром — США.

Нередко проблему терроризма рассматривают в разрезе глобальной демократизации, задаваясь вопросом: как развитие глобального рынка влияет на мировой терроризм? Кто-то, как американский теоретик Джеффри Франкел, стоит на том, что открытые международные структуры подразумевают расширение террористических сетей, кто-то, как известный исследователь терроризма Куинли Шауб, уверен в том, что глобализация снижает риск террористических атак. Так или иначе, мировой терроризм рассматривается как сторонний

актор в процессе глобализации, огромный пласт исследований базируется на мысли о том, что любое экстремистское политическое действие идет вразрез с тенденциями расширения открытого общества и рынка. Но так ли это? Если мы обратимся к истории терроризма, мы увидим множество примеров кровавой борьбы за определенные ценностные устои, противопоставляющиеся культурной, религиозной или политической экспансии. Но справедливо ли назвать явление под кодовым названием “мировой терроризм” — ведущей антиглобалистской силой сегодня? Финансирование американской элитой, военная подготовка талибов и снабжение их современным на тот момент оружием, все это сегодня, что называется, секрет Полишинеля. Прямая и косвенная поддержка чеченских боевиков окончательно открыла глаза на суть мирового терроризма. Террористические ячейки служили и во многом продолжают служить инструментом в большой геополитической игре.

Так в чем же антиглобализм, если речь идет о мировом терроризме? Зарабатывая на геополитических противоречиях, террористические организации по всему миру являют собой пример циничного широкомасштабного бизнеса. Саудовская Аравия, как влиятельный инвестор, держит в тонусе подпольную сеть, охватывающую континенты. США, поддерживающие отряды сирийских боевиков, закрывают глаза на присутствующих среди них представителей той же Аль-Каиды, вызывавшей не так давно непомерный ужас у любого американского гражданина. В условиях глобальной информации отряды вооруженных экстремистов могут играть разнообразные роли, причем сами того не ведая. Решая зачастую свои региональные проблемы, воодушевленные метафизическими идеалами, рядовые террористы становятся массовой большой спектакля в театре утверждения проамериканской глобализации.

(По материалам статьи А. Закутина на информационно-аналитическом портале “Геополитика”)

## Б.

Экотаж продолжает шагать по постсоветскому пространству. Самое главное, что об экотаже, как способе природоохраны, заговорили. И в интернете, и в СМИ, и в книгах, и в словарях. Начались дискуссии в экологических рассылках, на экологических семинарах. Очень важно, что экотаж проник в природоохранную практику зоозащитников природы постсоветских стран.

Конечно у нас он не столь распространен, как на Западе. Экотаж — это тяжелая бесплатная работа. Современная молодежь бесплатно работать не любит и не будет. Что касается природоохранных общественных организаций, то их очень мало. А те, что остались — наполовину состоят из грантогрызов и кабинетных экологов. Которые и гвоздь вбить в дерево не умеют. Ну и самое главное. У отечественных природоохранников идеологии нет, она проще, меркантильнее, рациональнее. Американские экологические организации, применяющие экотаж, типа “Земля прежде всего!”, исповедуют особую идеологию, основанную на глубинной экологии, уважающие права природы и ощущении дикой природы как священного пространства..

Легендарный Дейв Формэн, основатель группы “Земля прежде всего!”, наводивший страх на лесную службу США, или не менее легендарный Пол Ватсон, создатель “Морских пастухов”, потопивший 2 исландских китобойных судна — для всех эковоинов являются кумирами. Однако, мало кто знает, и в Советском Союзе был свой герой экотажа. Это Юрий Горелов, работавший в 1980-х годах в Бадхызском заповеднике (Туркмения). Однажды он вместе с коллегами посадил на шипы всю Кушкинскую пехотную дивизию, что незаконно заехала в заповедник на маневры.

Как правило, экотаж подвергается критике по двум вопросам: насилие порождает насилие и что экотаж способствует неуважению к закону.

По поводу насилия. Есть насилие в отношении людей, а есть насилие в отношении техники, уничтожающей природу. Экоотажники категорически против насилия к людям, вообще против насилия к любому живому существу. Более того, они считают, что насилие против техники не является насилием. Это — самооборона, самозащита. Если на вас нападут бандиты, Вы же будете защищаться. Если рядом с Вашим домом хотят срезать бензопилой деревья под какой-нибудь очередной развлекательный центр, нарушая ваше право на здоровую окружающую среду — а госорганы бездействуют — то Вам придется защищать свои права самому. И вбить в деревья гвозди, чтобы сломать бензопилу.

Да, это противоречит закону. Известный австралийский экофилософ, один из лидеров мирового движения за освобождение животных Питер Сингер пишет: “Существуют обстоятельства, когда даже при демократии морально оправданным становится неподчинение закону и в Движении освобождения животных много хороших примеров таких обстоятельств. Если демократические процессы не функционируют успешно, если проведение опроса общественного мнения подтверждает, что огромное количество людей против многих видов экспериментов, а правительство все чаще не принимает никаких эффективных действий, чтобы остановить эти эксперименты, если общественность большей частью не знает, что происходит на фермах и в лабораториях, тогда нелегальные действия могут быть единственно правильным путем помощи животным и ознакомления людей с реальными фактами происходящего”. Как говорил известный американский философ Генри Торо, “если закон нарушает справедливость, то нарушайте закон”.

Хочу подчеркнуть, что экотаж — это не вандализм, не пустое развлечение, не хулиганство. Это выстраданный, осознанный, мужественный поступок защиты природы. Закон не должен нарушаться по незначительным, преходящим причинам. Формэн и его сподвижники наверняка доказали бы, что то, за что они борются, гораздо важнее уважения к закону. И правда, они легко могут доказать, что уважение к закону будет маловажным в мире с загрязнённым воздухом и водой, лишённом своей дикой природы и большей части своего природного разнообразия.

Американцы считают, что акции экотажа ежегодно обходятся правительству и компаниям в 20–25 миллионов долларов в виде сломанного оборудования и техники, потерянного времени, затрат на оплату деятельности правоохранительных органов и правоприменение. Это такие деньги, которые компании не могут тратить на уничтожение леса на государственных землях, бурение нефтяных скважин на окраинах штатов, инвестирование средства в более разрушительное оборудование, оказание влияния на политиков с помощью кампаний добровольных пожертвований ... Даже если бы корпорации переложили эти затраты на своих потребителей, то акции гаечного ключа повысили бы цену изделий из древесины и, соответственно, косвенно снизили бы её потребление. Известны два случая, когда Служба леса США отменила продажу участков леса, узнав, что деревья на них зашипованы. Лесозаготовительная компания на Гавайях с капиталом в 250 000 долларов перерабатывала древесину дождевого леса на топливо для сахарных заводов (без разрешения и в нарушение распоряжения суда), но после того, как на неё были сброшены зажигательные бомбы, она осталась банкротом. При всей спорности характера акций экосаботажа он имеет несомненную ценность, вынося природоохранные проблемы, кажущиеся такими чуждыми и малопонятными, из тьмы научных вычислений на свет страстных устремлений и преданности отдельных людей.

(По материалам интервью В. Борейко на портале *AgroXXI*)

## EDITING and WRITING

Ex. 30. Write a summary of the text in Reading 2.

Ex. 31. Write a survey report based on the opinion poll results.<sup>1</sup> Use the tips in Unit 1 (ex. 30).

Compare these data with relevant information about Russia.

Top Security Threats			
% saying each is a 'major threat' to the US			
November 2013	%	August 2014	%
Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda	75	Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda	71
Cyber-attacks from other countries	70	ISIS	67
Iran's nuclear programme	68	Iran's nuclear programme	59
N.Korea's nuclear programme	67	N.Korea's nuclear programme	57
China's emergence as a superpower	54	Growing tensions between Russia and its neighbors	53
Climate change	45	The rapid spread of infections from country to country	52
Economic problems in the EU	37	China's emergence as a global superpower	48
Growing authoritarianism in Russia	32	Climate change	48

## MIXED BAG

Ex. 32. Fill in the gaps with the correct preposition where necessary.

a)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| — contrary ___ the drive to live                        | — demands ___ still more rapid change                  |
| — is ___ accord ___                                     | — the key ___ terrorist recruitment                    |
| — to join ___ these different groups                    | — devoid ___ poverty                                   |
| — ___ the extent  | — imbued him ___ a hatred ___ Israel                   |
| — ___ conflict ___                                      | — drafted ___ the Jordanian army                       |
| — ___ contrast  | — relying ___ psychotics                               |
| — to be born ___ a wealthy father                       | — to expose members ___ unchallenged authority figures |
| — to engage ___ diplomacy                               | — to derive ___ the example of others                  |
| — normal ___ most respects                              | — incorporated ___ a psychopathological movement       |
| — to attach great importance ___ religion               | — to draw smb. ___ Jemaah Islamiyah                    |
| — terrorism springs ___ poverty                         |  |
| — conditions existed ___ the time ___ the 1988 intifada |  |

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.people-press.org/2014/08/28/as-new-dangers-loom-more-think-the-u-s-does-too-little-to-solve-world-problems/>

**b)**

1. Contrary \_\_\_ popular belief, hydroelectric power can seriously damage the climate.
2. The sense of property springs \_\_\_ the desire to possess and tendency to accumulate.
3. Governments have to find a way to tackle terrorism \_\_\_ a manner that doesn't undermine fundamental obligations, including the duty not to expose people \_\_\_ a risk of torture.
4. History has shown that power devoid \_\_\_ morality does not last long.
5. If a thesis is submitted, its form must be \_\_\_ accord \_\_\_ specifications stipulated \_\_\_ the University "Style and Form Manual."
6. \_\_\_ some countries, men are drafted \_\_\_ the armed services and women are required to perform government service as well.
7. Instead of only relying \_\_\_ military aggression, we must take concrete steps toward viable, long-term solutions for global stability.
8. It is our responsibility to identify and counter the ways, propaganda and conditions through which people are drawn \_\_\_ terrorism.
9. One is considered free \_\_\_ the extent \_\_\_ which no person interferes \_\_\_ his or her activity.
10. Our psychobiological evolution has imbued us \_\_\_ the irrepressible desire to form groups and to act upon its welfare.
11. Terrorism is based \_\_\_ fanatical (and mistaken) beliefs deriving \_\_\_ religion, though these beliefs sometimes combine with various forms of nationalism.
12. The Earth is a perfectly ordinary planet \_\_\_ most respects, but a most extraordinary planet \_\_\_ one respect: it harbors life.
13. The fight against terrorism has been incorporated \_\_\_ all aspects of the Union's external relations.
14. The report contains issues which are \_\_\_ conflict \_\_\_ each other.
15. The son of an alligator hunter, Kershaw was the seventh born \_\_\_ a family that eventually included five boys and four girls.
16. The villagers were protesting against the US-based company's failure to meet demands \_\_\_ compensation or deal \_\_\_ pollution problems.
17. UN stresses education of schoolchildren is key \_\_\_ reducing impact of natural disasters.

*Ex. 33. In the following passage insert articles where necessary. Account for their use.*

Can vast variety of forms of action be categorized under single label of 'terrorist'? The term is contentious: very few people apart from Tsar-killers in Russia have actually called themselves terrorists. Yet there are some common factors that can be detected behind many changing faces of terrorism. First, it usually has unofficial character, claiming to be result of upsurge of public feeling. Second, terrorism is based on naïve belief that few acts of violence, often against symbolic targets representing power of the adversary, will transform political landscape in beneficial way. Third, terrorism has become increasingly involved in attacking innocent civilians — often with purpose of demonstrating that state is incapable of protecting its own people. There is further common factor — tendency of terrorism to become endemic in particular countries and regions. Started by Left, it has been continued by Right, and vice versa. Started in nationalist cause, it is then employed in resistance to resulting state. Started to cleanse society of corruption and external control, it continues in support of the drug trade and prostitution. If violence becomes habit, its net effect can be to prevent economic development, to provide justification for official violence, and to perpetuate existing patterns of dominance and submission.



*Ex. 34. Use the verbs in parentheses in the correct form.*

Walter Laqueur, a prominent terrorism expert, **(to suggest)**<sub>1</sub> that “there **(to be)**<sub>2</sub> a radical transformation, if not a revolution, in the character of terrorism”. Laqueur **(to compare)**<sub>3</sub> old terrorism with new terrorism. Old terrorism is terrorism that **(to strike)**<sub>4</sub> only **(to select)**<sub>5</sub> targets. New terrorism is terrorism that is indiscriminate; it **(to cause)**<sub>6</sub> as many casualties as possible. Another major feature of new terrorism is the increasing readiness **(to use)**<sub>7</sub> extreme indiscriminate violence. Laqueur argues that “the new terrorism is different in character, **(to aim)**<sub>8</sub> not at clearly **(to define)**<sub>9</sub> political demands but at the destruction of society and the elimination of large sections of the population”.

Terrorism **(to change)**<sub>10</sub> because of a paradigm shift. Many scholars **(to argue)**<sub>11</sub> that the paradigm shift from old to new terrorism **(to occur)**<sub>12</sub> at some point in the 1990s, with the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York and the 1995 sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway system by Aum Shinrikyo (a deadly Japanese cult). Supporters of the concept of new terrorism **(to identify)**<sub>13</sub> the strict compliance with religion, predominantly radical Islam, as one of its main characteristics. While old terrorism **(to be)**<sub>14</sub> mainly secular in its focus and drive, new terrorism works hand-in-glove with religious fanaticism. New terrorism **(to reject)**<sub>15</sub> all other ways of life and **(to advocate)**<sub>16</sub> a categorical and inflexible worldview consistent with the belief of the religion. New terrorism also **(to increase)**<sub>17</sub>. Out of the sixty-four international terrorist organizations that existed in 1980 only two were religious organizations (only 3% in total). By 1995, the number of religious terrorist organizations **(to rise)**<sub>18</sub> sharply to twenty-five out of fifty-eight (43% in total). It **(to be)**<sub>19</sub> an increase of 40% in just fifteen years.

The comparison between old and new terrorism can also **(to explain)**<sub>20</sub> through the evolution of terrorism in four waves, the Fourth Wave **(to be)**<sub>21</sub> new terrorism. The First Wave was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Second Wave was the colonial wave, **(to confine)**<sub>22</sub> within national geographical boundaries from 1921 until today. The Third Wave was the contemporary wave; it **(to introduce)**<sub>23</sub> international terrorism, **(to cross)**<sub>24</sub> national boundaries, which **(to begin)**<sub>25</sub> in the 1960s. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks **(to give)**<sub>26</sub> rise to the Fourth Wave of terrorism (both for the U.S. and nations worldwide). The Fourth Wave **(to symbolize)**<sub>27</sub> by religious justification for **(to kill)**<sub>28</sub> international scope, unparalleled gory tactics and weapons, and dependence on technologies of modernity. The latter **(to consist)**<sub>29</sub> of communications, ease of global travel (i.e., moving across borders), and accessibility to finances and WMDs (weapons of mass destruction). In the Fourth Wave, terrorism **(to reach)**<sub>30</sub> a global phase. The use of any weapon is **(to justify)**<sub>31</sub>. The “Other” is now a legitimate target. No distinction among targets should be taken into account. Terrorism, then, **(to become)**<sub>32</sub> *bellum omnium contra omnes* (the war of all against all). The Fourth Wave **(to suggest)**<sub>33</sub> a Culture of Terror, which **(to refer)**<sub>34</sub> to a collapse (both physically and figuratively) of America and the West through massive killings, the constant availability and uses of WMDs or CBRN weapons, and religious legitimation for terrorist attacks against civilians in any country that **(to consider)**<sub>35</sub> Satan, infidel, or apostate (i.e., religious rebel). For example, the intent of Aum Shinrikyo **(to kill)**<sub>36</sub> people in Tokyo subways in 1995 (through sarin poison gas attacks) was to punish everyone: infidels and faithful alike. This **(to herald)**<sub>37</sub> the reality of sacred apocalyptic terrorism.

*Ex. 35. Use of English.*

a) Choose the best variant.

b) Comment on how counterterrorism can be made more effective.

What does the war on terror ensue/entail/entice (1)? Some loss of civil freedom/liberty (2) inevitably accompanies measures to combat terrorism. Unfortunately, this is true. Protecting/de-

fending (3) individuals and society from those who operate outside the rules frequently calls on/x/for (4) compromise. Communications surveillance/supervision (5) is an area where democratic nations might see civil freedoms/liberties (6) put to the rest/test (7). In the United States, communications surveillance/supervision (8) — intercepts or wiretapping — can be done only with a court order, but that is not true in most countries of the world. There is no doubt that such surveillance/supervision (9) is increasing worldwide, based on the justification/grounds (10) that it combats the foreign terrorist threat.

The fight against/with (11) transnational terrorism cannot be perpetrated/conducted (12) by countries on an individual basis/base (13). Yet, a cohesive/coherent (14) international effort is more appearance and sentiment than reality. Differences between/among (15) nations over how to treat countries that sponsor terrorism frequently have been a source of friction. Future success requires greater exchange of information on threats, of common policies on how to negotiate with terrorists and their supporters, and common action to find and disband/dismantle/dismember (16) terrorist organizations.

No combination of imaginable or affordable measures will give complete protection/defense (17) from terrorist threats. Nor should this be expected; after all, large armies do not stop all war, and effective/affective (18) police departments do not detect all crimes before they are committed. But it is reasonable to ask what protection/defense can be employed against the complex/range (19) of threats. A disciplined and sustained international effort by intelligence and law enforcement agencies worldwide is required to impede terrorist threats. Due to established channels of international cooperation, now we can be reasonably sure that any terrorist group can be identified and tracked (here the issue of sanctuary/sanctity (20) looms large). But in the longer run, efforts must include defensive measures, effective/affective persecution/prosecution (21) of perpetrators of terrorist acts, and offensive action against groups that are engaged in international terrorism until it is the terrorist who must “think again.”

Ex. 36.

a) Fill in the gaps with any suitable word.

b) Comment on how serious a threat cyberterrorism is. Where does one draw the line between disruptive hacking and cyberterrorism? Discuss the advantages the Internet affords to terrorists and possible countermeasures. How real is the cyberthreat? Can information technologies be used to kill people or facilitate such a killing? What opportunities exist for cyberterrorists and ‘information warriors’ to use computers as genuine killing machines?

“The purpose of terrorism is to \_\_\_\_\_ (1) terror,” Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Russian revolution \_\_\_\_\_ (2) the ‘Red Terror’ once noted dryly. The Latin word terror (from *terrere*, ‘to frighten’) \_\_\_\_\_ (3) modern Western vocabularies through the French language in the 14<sup>th</sup> century; the first English usage was recorded in 1528, though the basic mechanism of terror is already \_\_\_\_\_ (4) in the old Chinese saying: “Kill one, \_\_\_\_\_ (5) ten thousand”.

While terrorism is an \_\_\_\_\_ (6) phenomenon, and historic techniques of assassination and conventional explosives remain the methods of choice, new elements of terrorism challenge the determination and patience of established states.

The word ‘terrorism’ \_\_\_\_\_ (7) to mind a picture of bearded men throwing a pouch filled with explosives. But in the context of IT security, terrorists can \_\_\_\_\_ (8) in many forms such



as politically motivated, anti-government, anti-world trade, and pro-environmental extremists. If \_\_\_\_\_ (9) the opportunity, such activists would gladly \_\_\_\_\_ (10) trade and legislative agencies by \_\_\_\_\_ (11) a facility's communication server, especially if the media were standing by to report what just happened.

The term cyberterrorism was \_\_\_\_\_ (12) in 1996 and refers to the convergence of terrorism and \_\_\_\_\_ (13) The term has become widely \_\_\_\_\_ (14) after being embraced by the US Armed Forces. A report generated in 1998 was entitled "Cybercrime, Cyberterrorism, Cyberwarfare, Averting an Electronic Waterloo." In this report, the probabilities of such activities affecting a nation were discussed followed by a discussion of the potential \_\_\_\_\_ (15) of such attacks and methods to \_\_\_\_\_ (16) the likelihood of such events.

The threat that is \_\_\_\_\_ (17) by terrorist use of the internet is the \_\_\_\_\_ (18) of an ongoing controversial discussion. While some authors \_\_\_\_\_ (19) that, to date, not a single \_\_\_\_\_ (20) of cyberterrorism has been recorded, others argue that terrorists already routinely \_\_\_\_\_ (21) use of the internet. One \_\_\_\_\_ (22) for these differences in opinion is that neither terrorism nor cyberterrorism is a well-defined term. Instead, definitions of cyberterrorism \_\_\_\_\_ (23) from common use of the internet by terrorists (e.g., sending emails) to real criminal cases \_\_\_\_\_ (24) virtual or physical losses. The most commonly discussed use is a terrorist attack \_\_\_\_\_ (25) via the internet. Such an attack could be \_\_\_\_\_ (26) either at other IT-infrastructures, such as computers, servers and routers or at objects in the 'physical world', such as buildings, planes, trains, or even human life. \_\_\_\_\_ (27) from such IT-based attacks, terrorists can use the internet to \_\_\_\_\_ (28) content to the public. Since internet connections are widely available and offer various advantages \_\_\_\_\_ (29) conventional communication, terrorist organizations can put them to use: for example, to communicate with the public in order to \_\_\_\_\_ (30) terrorist point of views or \_\_\_\_\_ (31) threats, to find new supporters, and/or to \_\_\_\_\_ (32) information to followers. Finally, the internet can also be used for other purposes. Not only does it \_\_\_\_\_ (33) terrorists to engage in confidential communication among themselves, it also contains a multitude of information that was hard to \_\_\_\_\_ (34) in former times. Satellite images and construction plans — even for complicated designs — are freely available through the internet.

Ex. 37.

a) Read following extract from an article by John Kerry and identify its topic and thesis.

b) Think of a possible title.

c) Comment on the ideas of the article.

In a polarized region and a complicated world, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria presents a unifying threat to a broad array of countries, including the United States. What's needed to confront its nihilistic vision and genocidal agenda is a global coalition using political, humanitarian, economic, law enforcement and intelligence tools to support military force.

In addition to its beheadings, crucifixions and other acts of sheer evil, which have killed thousands of innocents in Syria, Iraq and Lebanon, including Sunni Muslims whose faith it purports to represent, ISIS (which the United States government calls ISIL, or the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) poses a threat well beyond the region.

There is evidence that these extremists, if left unchecked, will not be satisfied at stopping with Syria and Iraq. They are larger and better funded in this new incarnation, using pirated oil, kidnap-

ping and extortion to finance operations in Syria and Iraq. They are equipped with sophisticated heavy weapons looted from the battlefield. They have already demonstrated the ability to seize and hold more territory than any other terrorist organization, in a strategic region that borders Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey and is perilously close to Israel.

With a united response led by the United States and the broadest possible coalition of nations, the cancer of ISIS will not be allowed to spread to other countries. The world can confront this scourge, and ultimately defeat it. ISIS is odious, but not omnipotent. We have proof already in northern Iraq, where United States airstrikes have shifted the momentum of the fight, providing space for Iraqi and Kurdish forces to go on the offensive. With our support, Iraqi leaders are coming together to form a new, inclusive government that is essential to isolating ISIS and securing the support of all of Iraq's communities.

Airstrikes alone won't defeat this enemy. A much fuller response is demanded from the world. We need to support Iraqi forces and the moderate Syrian opposition, who are facing ISIS on the front lines. We need to disrupt and degrade ISIS' capabilities and counter its extremist message in the media. And we need to strengthen our own defenses and cooperation in protecting our people.

In this battle, there is a role for almost every country. Some will provide military assistance, direct and indirect. Some will provide desperately needed humanitarian assistance for the millions who have been displaced and victimized across the region. Others will help restore not just shattered economies but broken trust among neighbors. This effort is underway in Iraq, where other countries have joined us in providing humanitarian aid, military assistance and support for an inclusive government.

Already our efforts have brought dozens of nations to this cause. Certainly there are different interests at play. But no decent country can support the horrors perpetrated by ISIS, and no civilized country should shirk its responsibility to help stamp out this disease.

Coalition building is hard work, but it is the best way to tackle a common enemy. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, the first President George Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III did not act alone or in haste. They methodically assembled a coalition of countries whose concerted action brought a quick victory.

Extremists are defeated only when responsible nations and their peoples unite to oppose them.

(Based on an article by John Kerry in the *New York Times*)



# UNIT VIII

**RUSSIA:**  
A PART OF THE WORLD  
OR APART FROM  
THE WORLD?



## READING 1

### LEAD IN

1. What are the most important facts a foreigner must know about today's Russia? Its people?
2. How do you think Russia is perceived in the world? What are some of the popular misconceptions about the country? To what extent is this a recent development and a function of centuries-long processes?

*Skim the text and say if there is anything surprising in what the author writes about Russia's perception in the West and the roots of those attitudes.*

### THE RUSSIAN RIDDLE

Martin Malia

After a thousand years of marching in the laggard Eastern train of Europe, forever hobbled by the double burden of poverty and despotism, Russia in 1917 had thrust upon her an improbable vanguard destiny. In the wake of Lenin's Red October, the "Spectre of Communism" proclaimed by Marx in 1848 to be haunting Europe at last received a local habitation and a name: Soviet Socialist Russia. For the next three-quarters of a century, the Soviet-Russian hybrid stood as the prime catalyst of both the hopes and the fears of the West, indeed of mankind.

The riddle the Red Sphinx posed to Western wayfarers was often resolved by declaring the spectre of Communism to be little more than the new face of eternal Russia. For those hostile to the experiment, Communism was simply a mutation of tsarist autocracy and thus an enduring menace to Western freedom. For those friendly to the brave new Soviet world, its difficulties, its shortcomings, and at times its crimes were to be explained away by the same tsarist heritage.

The chronicle of the West's varying assessments of Russia commences with Russia's dramatic impact on Europe following Peter's victory over Sweden at the Battle of Poltava in 1709, and it unfolds in four phases.

The first extends from Poltava to the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15, a period when Russia presents, in the guise of the "enlightened despotism" of Peter I, Catherine II, and the young Alexander I, the most benign visage she has ever displayed to the West. The second, begun in 1815 by Alexander's Holy Alliance and brought to its climax by the most unbending autocrat of the century, Nicholas I, offers the antithesis of the first, with Russia plunging to the nadir of her fortunes under Western eyes in her role as the "gendarme of Europe." During the third phase, opened by the Great Reforms of Alexander II following the Crimean debacle of 1854–1856 and closed by the fall of the imperial regime in 1917, the West's negative opinion of Russia is progressively nuanced and attenuated to the point where, by the early twentieth century, most observers again viewed her as an integral, though no longer idealized, part of Europe. The last chapter of the story, begun with the October Revolution, defies all clear characterization, for it offers the starkest antitheses of white and black, reproducing simultaneously the idealization of the eighteenth century and the denigration of the early nineteenth, yet, despite a constantly shifting balance, never fusing these extremes into a coherent image, capable of dominating Western opinion.

During the three hundred fifty years since the failure of the Habsburgs' aspirations to universal empire in the sixteenth century, Europe had lived under a multistate system of inter-

national relations, eventually designated as the concert of Europe and held to be founded on a balance of power. Then, suddenly the Second World War, consummating a development begun during its predecessor of 1914–1918, precipitated what has been called the “political collapse of Europe. The European masters of the international arena not only forfeited their continent’s hegemony in world affairs, but even lost full control over their own national destinies. Global power shifted to the peripheries of the former system — the United States and the Soviet Union while Europe itself was partitioned by the newcomers into two zones of allied or dependent states, which in the East were transformed into outright satellites. The polarization of international politics inaugurated in 1945 was institutionalized for half a century in the Cold War.

This polarization was reinforced by the institutional and cultural gulf that the experiment had opened between East and West. For the two superpowers, together with their respective associates in the “free world” and the “bloc,” represented radically contrasting systems — the one democratic and open, the other autocratic and totalitarian. Although world Communism as a unitary movement came to an end in the early 1960s, Communism as a world force was still very much alive as the antithesis of Western civilization.

Some commentators pursued the roots of the Soviet Union’s otherness back to distinctively Russian institutions and national traits of character. Accordingly, the herdlike collectivism of the Communist kolkhoz was attributed to the servile tradition of the old Russian peasant commune; or the Soviet police state was held to descend from the Third Section of spies and gendarmes maintained by Nicholas I; or Stalinism was traced to the autocracy of Peter the Great and Ivan the Terrible, indeed to the khans of the Golden Horde. And some writers, in their quest for the key to the Soviet Kremlin, eventually wound up in the Sacred Palace of Byzantium. For was this not the source of the Eastern autocratic tradition descending from Constantine the Great to Stalin? Surely, the argument went, the Byzantine ideal of Caesaro-papism was the prototype of that fusion of absolute state power, ideological orthodoxy, and messianic zeal which, in secular guise, was the essence of Soviet totalitarianism.

The application of such reasoning to Russia’s international behavior yielded an equally static explanation. Supposedly, absolute power in internal affairs fuels a drive for absolute power in relations with other nations. Thus conquest has always been Russia’s goal, beginning in the fifteenth century, when the monk Philotheus of Pskov, speaking for the first Russian prince to call himself tsar, or Caesar, boasted that Moscow was the Third Rome predestined to be the final seat of world empire — an ambition continued into the twentieth century by the conspiracy of the Third International intended to give Moscow universal dominion through world revolution. In short, the inevitable concomitant of autocracy, whether white or red, is aggression and imperialism.

Even Communism’s great crash in the years 1989–1991 did nothing to efface this sense of otherness. True, for some, that event was enough to proclaim the “end of history,” as socialist Russia rallied to market democracy. Yet for others, Communism’s fall meant not so much Russia redeemed as eternal Russia’s return in native garb. This suspicion was aggravated when it became apparent that the Soviet mode of modernization had hardly ended Russia’s economic backwardness, and still less had it readied her for democracy.

## READING 2

Read the text in detail to find out if the author is optimistic about relations between Russia and the West.

### RUSSIA AND THE WEST: IS CONFRONTATION INEVITABLE?

Roderic Lyne<sup>1</sup>

*Russia in Global Affairs*

As the new millennium opened, there was a much more optimistic mood in the world. Writing in the year 2000, David Gergen, a former adviser to Presidents Clinton, Reagan and Nixon, began his book *Eyewitness to Power* with the words: "It is just possible that we are living at the dawn of a new golden age." He discerned political, economic, scientific and cultural forces which "could lift future generations to the distant, sunny upland envisioned by Woodrow Wilson, where people celebrate 'with a great shout of joy and triumph.'" One would have to be a fantasist to write in such terms today, in the wake of 9/11, the debacle in Iraq and wider turmoil from the Near East through Iran and Pakistan to Afghanistan, or of the fast-rising concerns about climate change.

10 Russia was one of the reasons for Western optimism. Russia rebounded rapidly from the 1998 crash. In his first three years in office, President Putin established strong relations with all the major Western leaders and did much to restore Russia's international reputation. An important part of his message was that Russia was keen to develop its international business links and to attract foreign investment: Russia wanted to become a significant actor in the global economy, and a member of the WTO. The greater stability within Russia was welcomed; and there was applause for the skilful macroeconomic policy and the significant steps being taken to reform and restructure the economy.

20 The mood in late 2007 could scarcely be more different. Russia and the United States are at odds over missile defense and also over the CFE Treaty and the agreement on intermediate nuclear forces. There are serious disagreements over Kosovo and Iran. The French President accuses Russia of playing its trump cards in energy "with a certain brutality." Russia unprecedentedly blocks OSCE monitoring of the Duma elections. Some complain that the United States has "overstepped its national borders in every way" and is acting in a way which "inevitably encourages a number of countries to acquire weapons of mass destruction." General Patrushev of the FSB goes a step further, claiming that "politicians thinking in the categories of the Cold War ... in a number of Western nations" are "hatching plans aimed at dismembering Russia."

Self-evidently, the trust that existed up to 2003 has evaporated. Is the present fractiousness a stage in the development of our relations — or a fundamental parting of the ways? Is it in the interests of Russia and of Western Europe that we should be so deeply divided? What are the prospects for re-establishing more constructive relations?

30 WHY HAVE RELATIONS GONE SOUR?

In his article "A New Epoch of Confrontation", Sergei Karaganov argued that the West and Russia were now in a new confrontation which differed from, and risked becoming even more dangerous than, the Cold War. The West, he says, has given up hope of turning Russia into an allied state and is thinking of "neo-containment." Commenting on reactions to President Putin's Munich speech, Alexei Arbatov asked: "Is a New Cold War Imminent?"

<sup>1</sup> Sir Roderic Lyne served as British Ambassador to the Russian Federation from 2000 to 2004.

Some politicians and commentators in both East and West have been only too happy to resurrect the specter of the Cold War. It makes an easy newspaper headline. I agree with Karaganov and Arbatov that analogies with the Cold War do not stand up to any serious scrutiny and should be dismissed. The cardinal features of the Cold War were ideological conflict; the perception of a  
40 direct military threat from the Soviet Union to the West and vice versa; proxy conflicts, in which the USSR and the West took opposing sides in regional wars and disputes in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America; the subjugation of the states of Central and Eastern Europe to the Warsaw Pact and CMEA; and the isolation of the Soviet system from the capitalist world. Not one of these features exists today.

From my Western European perspective, I would attribute the malaise principally to five elements.

**First**, irrational though it may be, the legacy of the past ineluctably colors the relationship. Historical emotions ingrained in the mindset of our peoples can be aroused with the greatest of ease by events — the poisoning or shooting of political opponents by persons unknown, missiles falling on neighboring countries or bitter arguments over war memorials. These are serious  
50 matters in their own right, but their political effects are magnified by history (and all too readily manipulated by politicians and polemicists).

The Russian people are reacting also to a more recent memory, which is under-appreciated in the West: the pain, destabilization and humiliation of the 1990s. Their political system collapsed (which a majority welcomed), but without a ready-made alternative (to this day). Their economy collapsed, twice, which was painful and frightening. Their empire and country, previously a proud superpower, collapsed almost without warning, losing two fifths of its population and much of what was previously regarded as the heartland. They were sent food parcels and economic and political advisers. These nightmarish experiences happened only in the last decade, under what they were misleadingly told was a system called “democracy.”

60 Westerners ought not to be surprised at the yearning of the Russian people to regain respect, strength, independence and “sovereignty” — a yearning which has been both reflected and directed by their political leadership. Nor should the West be surprised if Russia’s leaders tend to exaggerate their country’s renewed strength (much as Khrushchev vastly exaggerated the USSR’s nuclear capabilities and economic potential in the 1950s). It took other former imperial powers (the UK, for example) fully half a century to adapt psychologically to their loss of status and to find a new equilibrium.

**Second**, we are paying a price for disappointed expectations on both sides — expectations which arose through naivety, ignorance and lack of understanding; and disappointment which has been exacerbated by ancient suspicions. Solzhenitsyn has called this “the clash of illusory  
70 hopes against reality.”

There is now a strongly-rooted belief in Russia that the West deliberately spurned the opportunity to embrace and integrate Russia; offered no help; and sought instead to exploit Russia’s weakness (which is a myth). The most extreme form of this perception is the accusation that the West is actively trying to undermine or even “dismember” the Russian Federation. Can any responsible person actually believe this? There is not a shred of serious evidence to support the idea. The worst nightmare of Western policy-makers in the early 1990s was that Russia might collapse and fall apart, with terrifying consequences — especially for Western and Central Europe.

**Third**, there are genuine and substantive differences of interest and policy between Russia and Western countries. Rows about NATO enlargement or the possible stationing of a handful  
80 of interceptor missiles in Poland or the gesture politics of renewed patrolling by antiquated Bear

reconnaissance aircraft over the North Sea may have been played up for political reasons. On the most important global issues, there are no fundamental differences between Russia and the West. There are of course some areas where our interests diverge. But legitimate competition should not be confused with deliberately obstructive confrontation.

**Fourth**, the conflict of values is an obstacle to partnership. In his article, Foreign Minister Lavrov sought to exclude values from intergovernmental relations: "The Westphalian system, which has become a fashionable object of criticism in certain circles, has placed differences in values beyond the scope of intergovernmental relations. In this respect, the Cold War was a setback. Should we really follow this path back, which can only lead to confrontation?"

90 In the world of the 21st century, whether we like it or not, values inescapably play a part in international relations. States which do not share values of course cooperate where they have interests in common. But genuine partnership, joint membership of democratic clubs, demands a commonality of values. The perception that our values are not converging, especially with regard to the rule of law, has taken a toll on Russo-Western relations.

**Fifth**, differences have been played up for reasons of domestic politics. This happens on both sides. Arbatov warns that "those politicians in Russia and the West who are attempting to gain political capital from this confrontation are recklessly turning the major national interests of their states into bargaining chips for internal political games."

100 Exaggerating the threat of an external opponent is an age-old political gambit. Russia entered an ideological vacuum and an identity crisis in 1991. Some argue that anti-Westernism has now become the new "national idea," that xenophobic nationalism is being used to bind the nation together. Certainly, the oft-repeated assertion that the West is trying to subvert and weaken Russia has its uses. It can be used to justify increased central control over civil society, limitations on civil and political rights and the reinvigoration of the internal security organs. Blame can be diverted onto external opponents. And now that the flow of critical opinion into the country can no longer be blocked, discrediting external critics as malign and destabilizing forces is the most effective counter-attack. It seems to me that Russia's anti-Western rhetoric is being aimed above all at the domestic audience.

In the meantime, what approach should the West take?

110 The **first** requirement is to try to prevent a further deterioration in the atmosphere. The current agenda needs to be handled consultatively, with restraint and sensitivity, if we are not to slide into a mutually damaging confrontation. In place of strategic partnership, the West should seek cooperation with Russia on specific strategic issues.

**Second**, the West must recognize that change in Russia will come from within, and over a long period. To the extent possible, they should continue to support processes of enlightenment there — but should not gear policy to unrealistic expectations of the pace of change. It is futile to fulminate that Russia does not meet the benchmarks of Western democracy. In the countries where it exists, democracy takes many forms, and took hundreds of years to develop. A fair amount of personal freedom has developed in Russia over the past twenty years. Genuine democracy (which is a bottom-up process), not surprisingly, has yet to start — but may well develop over the  
120 next 25 to 50 years. It would make better sense for the West to focus on the rule of law, where the Russian government has clearly defined internal and international commitments: implementing them would unarguably be in Russia's best interests, and would provide a much stronger foundation for Russo-Western relations. The West, however, will have no credibility in Russia unless it practises what it preaches: the cavalier attitude of the Bush administration to international law has done insidious damage.

**Third**, the Western reappraisal should be geared to neo-engagement, not neo-containment. In fact no major Western government or organization is pursuing “neo-containment.” If the West is to have an influence, it will be felt predominantly through the power of example, the flow of information and human contact. Isolation is wholly counter-productive: the case should not need  
130 arguing again.

\* \* \*

Policy should not be based on a misplaced presumption of confrontation. We are not — yet — in a confrontation. We need to rebuild trust, step by step, by cooperating where we share interests. That will require levels of statesmanship and sobriety in rhetoric and behavior which have recently been conspicuous by their absence; and a realistic perspective on the situation we are in and the problems we face.

It will be a slow process. But a time will come a few years hence when genuine partnership is feasible. It may be inoperable now, but it is a worthy long-term objective. We may no longer be at the “dawn of a new golden age,” but in a few years’ time we shall be in a different situation and —  
140 with luck — a more rational environment.

## COMPREHENSION

*Ex. 1. Identify the topic and the thesis of the text. Make sure they are neither too broad nor too narrow.*

*Ex. 2. Suggest Russian equivalents for these word combinations from the text.*

in the wake of 9/11	bitter arguments over	to play up
at odds over missile defense	reconnaissance aircraft	the rule of law
to hatch plans	nuclear capabilities	malaise
parting of the ways	to dismember	bargaining chips
to resurrect the specter of	interceptor missiles	political gambit
proxy conflict	not a shred of evidence	the cavalier attitude

*Ex. 3. Think of several questions to bring out the main ideas and arguments the author puts forward in support of his thesis.*

## VOCABULARY

*Ex. 4. Translate the following words and phrases, reproduce the context in which the words in (a) are used in the text (the lines of the text are indicated to help you).*

a)		
to discern (1–10)	to attribute smth to smth/smb (40–50)	to gear (110–120)
trump card (10–20)	mindset (40–50)	benchmark (110–120)
imminent (30–40)	to exacerbate (60–70)	credibility (120–130)
to dismiss (30–40)	to converge (90–100)	engagement (120–130)
scrutiny (30–40)	to take a toll (90–100)	feasible (130–140)

- b) discernable changes, to play one's trump card, an imminent danger, to dismiss smth as groundless, not to stand up to scrutiny, public scrutiny, to come under scrutiny, to scrutinize, to be locked in/to get out of an imperial mindset, to exacerbate the problems, convergence of interests, convergent opinions, points of convergence, to be geared to the needs of..., to set a benchmark for..., credibility gap, to lose credibility.

Ex. 5. Match some of the words and phrases from Ex. 4 with their opposites below.

disadvantage, to neglect, doubtful, impossible, to diffuse, to diverge, to improve, to overlook, to agree, remote

Ex. 6. For each word given below find at least three words from the box that can go with it. Some words from the box can go into several groups. Can you continue the lists? Use the expressions in sentences of your own.

a change in	criticism	possibility
to increase	a strategy of	close
allegations	to be/come under	crisis
to continue	extinction	to cultivate
approach	for comparison	to provide a
attack	international	to suffer
to be subjected to	plan	to undermine
cold war	politically	to use smth as a

imminent

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

to dismiss

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

mindset

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

benchmark

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

credibility

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

engagement

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

scrutiny

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

feasible

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Ex. 7. Suggest stylistically neutral synonyms for the following words.

Supply contexts to bring out the difference between synonyms

in each pair.

to dismember

subjugation

malaise

ineluctably

yearning

commonality

to fulminate

insidious

sobriety



Ex. 8. Express the same idea using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 instead of the underlined parts.

1. We should not fear some Orwellian future state where we're placed under total electronic surveillance — it's our present reality.
2. All country institutions must adopt the attitude of being at the service of the citizens.
3. If the EU wants Russia to become "a more congenial neighbor", it has to boost its ability to be believed as a security and foreign policy actor.

4. In an attempt to explain the pendulum-like swings in US-Russia relations, some scholars place blame on Washington's shifting foreign policy priorities.
5. In the long-term perspective, Russian and American interests will become similar enough to permit sustained cooperation.
6. Moscow's foreign policy continues to puzzle experts who attempt to understand how Russia perceives its interests abroad.
7. Moscow's policies should be aimed at strengthening the country's own economy, its intellectual and social potential.
8. Nicholas II's wife Alexandra and Rasputin undoubtedly undermined the regime's prestige and people's trust in it, though their real influence has been widely debated.
9. No reasonable solution to any of the world's major problems seems practicable without Moscow's support.
10. Reuters reports that the massive brown clouds from the fires in Russia and Ukraine may make the rapid thawing of Arctic snow and ice even worse.
11. EU foreign ministers pledged to intensify efforts to combat terrorism at EU level and enhance cooperation with the Muslim world,
12. Russia appears determined to preserve its tactical nuclear advantage as long as it regards NATO countries as a threat.
13. Some in the EU are still hoping to find a mechanism that will create enough trust, interdependence and closeness with Russia to allow for mutually beneficial co-operation in all areas.
14. The attitudes to geopolitical issues in Russia have ancient origins, dating back at least to the Mongol invasion in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.
15. Where economically possible and profitable, the plan provides for solar and other renewable forms of energy.
16. The crisis made many officials pull back from claims about Russia's inevitable return to great-powerdom and focus instead on problems closer to home.
17. The current energy standoff has already cost Russia a good measure of its reputation as a reliable partner.
18. The government failed to meet the standards laid down by the IMF and imposed new restrictions on imports, exports and small business activity.
19. Top EU diplomats have denied a claim by the Russian Foreign Minister that the EU is planning to build a sphere of influence in the former Soviet Union and called it 'nonsense'.
20. Unfortunately, there is no reasonable possibility to reform the UN in the way that all nations would unite and the eternal peace would reign on Earth.
21. The socio-economic decline is exhausting people's patience.
22. Avoid making any claims that do not hold water.
23. Some pundits in the West chalk up Russia's foreign policy to its obsession with a "mystic pan-Slavic mission" and longstanding historical commitments.

*Ex. 9. Complete the following sentences using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 in their correct form.*

1. Any crisis management program needs a criteria based strategy that establishes a \_\_\_\_\_ to assess the level of crisis importance.
2. Approaching foreign policy with a "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" \_\_\_\_\_ is wildly irresponsible.

3. Chile provided the Latin American \_\_\_\_\_ for a successful and open economy.
4. Congress long ago learned that public \_\_\_\_\_ makes it harder to pass bad bills.
5. Despite billions of dollars invested in research, missile defense has yet to be proven technically \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Economic strength is quickly becoming the \_\_\_\_\_ by which to measure a country's power and significance.
7. In an effort to reach agreement, a good negotiator always tries to adopt the \_\_\_\_\_ of his opponent.
8. Most of Russia's growth during 1999–2008 can be \_\_\_\_\_ to oil prices.
9. Now it is evident that Russian foreign policy is increasingly \_\_\_\_\_ toward developing good working relations with the EU.
10. Russia and the US are looking for win-win solutions and trying to get out of the \_\_\_\_\_ of zero-sum thinking, that if it's good for Russia, it has to be bad for the United States and vice-versa.
11. The country has experienced many years of civil war, which has \_\_\_\_\_ a heavy \_\_\_\_\_ on its economy and society.
12. Russia treats Iran as a \_\_\_\_\_, which may help it to minimize U.S. influence in the region.
13. The diplomat \_\_\_\_\_ talk of a new Cold War despite unease in Washington about Russia's criticism of U.S. foreign policy.
14. The Russian energy strategy is driving a wedge between European countries, \_\_\_\_\_ the challenges the EU faces in elaborating a common energy policy.
15. To enhance Russia-EU cooperation it is important to seek further \_\_\_\_\_ of positions and possible coordination of activities within existing international mechanisms.
16. Nigel Farage's near monthly appearances on state-owned *Russia Today* have come under \_\_\_\_\_ after his expression of admiration for Vladimir Putin this week.
17. Western opinion in the 1990s overestimated the extent to which other major powers such as Russia and China would \_\_\_\_\_ with the United States around democratic norms.
18. When Soviet intelligence services reported about the \_\_\_\_\_ attack of Nazi Germany, Stalin \_\_\_\_\_ this information as wrong and even provocative.
19. The authorities are starting to implement a new strategy of \_\_\_\_\_ aimed at building bridges between populations on both sides of the administrative borderline.
20. His assertion that "naming the adversary as 'terrorism' enabled the neocons to broaden the specific struggle against al-Qaeda into a global conflict with Islam" does not really stand up to \_\_\_\_\_.

Ex. 10. Complete the following sentences. Where necessary add a sentence or two to make your examples more meaningful.



1. After \_\_\_\_\_, Moscow played its **trump card**: \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Given the \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ is hardly **feasible**.
3. The Minister **dismissed** the idea that \_\_\_\_\_ since \_\_\_\_\_.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ of the country is generally **attributed to** \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Russia's foreign policy in CIS countries is **geared** towards \_\_\_\_\_.
6. In his address to \_\_\_\_\_, the President said that \_\_\_\_\_ set(s) a **benchmark** for \_\_\_\_\_ and the hope is that \_\_\_\_\_.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ can be used as a **benchmark** in/for \_\_\_\_\_.

8. The **credibility gap** between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ can be bridged if/by \_\_\_\_\_.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ clearly proves that \_\_\_\_\_ is/are locked in a \_\_\_\_\_ **mindset**.
10. After \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ has come under public **scrutiny**.
11. The strategy of **engagement** with \_\_\_\_\_ is only possible if \_\_\_\_\_.

*Ex. 11. Answer the questions using the words and phrases from Ex. 4 and Ex. 6.*

1. How would you define the Cold War **mindset**? Do you think the world has moved out of it?
2. What are the **benchmarks** by which a country's importance in the international arena can be measured?
3. What does a country's **credibility** hinge on? What, if anything, can damage or boost it?
4. Can you think of any recent actions of the Russian government, some international institution or a regional association which have **taken** a heavy **toll** on its **credibility**?
5. What are some of the points of **convergence** between Russia and the West?
6. What can be regarded as a **benchmark** of a successful cooperation with the West in general and NATO in particular?
7. What kind of **mindset** do you think it takes to succeed in modernizing the country?
8. Should NGOs' activities in Russia be subjected to public **scrutiny**? Why (not)?
9. Has Russia managed to get out of the **mindset** of catching up with the West?
10. In your view, is the **credibility gap** between Russia and the West closing?
11. Do you think there are any issues on which Russia should not **engage** with its partners in BRICS/the Eurasian Union/NATO?

*Ex. 12. Translate the sentences using the vocabulary of the unit.*

**A.**

1. Затяжной глобальный экономический кризис начал **отражаться** на сфере международного сотрудничества в целях развития.
2. ООН будет продолжать поддерживать **сотрудничество** с правительством, с тем чтобы завершить работу над антикризисной программой.
3. Б. **объяснил** успех своей партии на выборах ее активностью.
4. К сожалению, в Вашингтоне и НАТО сохраняется **менталитет** холодной войны, несмотря на то, что официально она закончилась в 1991 году.
5. Несмотря на все потрясения и исторические изменения, ООН выстояла и доказала свою **состоятельность** и эффективность.
6. Президент **исключил** возможность ренессанса сталинизма в России.
7. Россия считает энергетические ресурсы своим главным **козырем** на ближайшие два десятилетия.
8. Хорошая дипломатия в периоды кризиса должна уметь **распознать** истинные проблемы и своевременно реагировать на них.
9. Расширение НАТО на восток воспринимается Россией как "**непосредственная угроза**" национальной безопасности.
10. Сегодня любые нарушения прав человека **находятся под пристальным вниманием** ЕСПЧ.
11. Изменение климата, по всей вероятности, **усилит** неравенство между странами.
12. Тесные отношения между Россией и Китаем можно объяснить, прежде всего, **совпадением** интересов в области национальной безопасности.

13. Известно, что британское образование, в том числе в сфере бизнеса, является **эталон**ом для других стран.
14. ООН приветствует международные усилия, **направленные на** противодействие терроризму.
15. Насколько **осуществимо** главное чаяние палестинцев — создание независимого государства?
16. Нынешний **кризис доверия**, с которым столкнулась Организация Объединенных Наций, наносит ущерб репутации этой организации в вопросах защиты прав человека.

**В.**

1. В отношении стран дальнего зарубежья России необходимо искать точки **соприкосновения** с теми странами, которые заинтересованы в диверсификации центров силы в мировом масштабе. 
2. В документе, опубликованном 1 мая 2008 года, перечислены новые формы **взаимодействия** государства с членами сообщества мигрантов.
3. В Сьерра-Леоне много лет шла гражданская война, которая **нанесла тяжелый урон** ее экономике и обществу и причинила жестокие страдания ее народу.
4. В условиях повышенного спроса на энергоресурсы энергетическая политика России должна быть **направлена** на обеспечение устойчивой и эффективной работы энергетического комплекса.
5. Секретариату следует **внимательно изучить** методы работы, применяемые во всех его департаментах.
6. В эволюции российского внешнеполитического **мышления просматриваются** три основных этапа (2).
7. Аргумент НПО-сектора о "потере суверенитета после вступления в Таможенный союз" **не выдерживает никакой критики**.
8. Дж. Кеннана будут помнить как человека, предсказавшего **неминуемое** крушение СССР задолго до Беловежских соглашений (The Belavezha Accords).
9. Дипломат **назвал** "ошибочными и не соответствующими действительности" утверждения о том, что Иран до 2003 года разрабатывал ядерную военную программу, а затем ее приостановил.
10. Мы работаем напрямую с руководством стран для того, чтобы разрядить обстановку, чтобы убедить обе стороны воздержаться от шагов, которые могут **обострить** ситуацию.
11. На фоне мрачных краткосрочных перспектив в области разоружения при более широком взгляде на сферу безопасности можно **различить** и некоторые позитивные элементы.
12. Не рассчитывая добиться успеха на основных направлениях сотрудничества, на саммите с Евросоюзом российские переговорщики решили пусть в ход свой излюбленный **козырь** — требование скорейшего введения безвизового режима.
13. Основными причинами отмены крепостного права (serfdom) в России явились: стремление преодолеть экономическую отсталость страны и предотвратить **надвигающийся** социальный взрыв.
14. При переходе на новые экологические стандарты мы должны учитывать экономические и социальные реалии и устанавливать **выполнимые** сроки отказа от устаревших технологий.

15. Приход к власти М.С. Горбачева на первых порах не внес **заметных** изменений в советскую внешнюю политику.
16. Российский представитель **отверг** голословные обвинения западных партнеров в адрес Москвы “в срыве переговорного процесса по выработке нового мандата ОБСЕ”.
17. С учетом того, что **кризис доверия** между Россией и ЕС не позволяет спецслужбам обмениваться информацией, говорить об отмене визового режима в краткосрочной перспективе не приходится.
18. Сейчас готовится к подписанию Меморандум о сотрудничестве между Москвой и ЮНЕСКО, призванный стать **эталон**ом для последующих соглашений такого рода.
19. Следует ли **подчинить** внешнюю политику **интересам** рыночного преобразования экономики и радикальной демилитаризации общества и государства?
20. Строби Тэлбот **списывает** вспышку антиамериканизма в постсоветской России **на счет** внезапной потери статуса сверхдержавы.

## BUILDING A WORD BANK

*Ex. 13. Below is a list of words and phrases related to a country's position in the international arena. Think of collocations they can form; use the internet or consult a dictionary of collocations where necessary.*

prestige, international standing/stature, status, superpower, reputation, X's position as the main..., aspirations to..., pretensions to ..., posture, influence (n., v.), raw materials, modernization.

*Ex. 14. Make up your own list of topic-related vocabulary necessary to discuss the issue and share it with the class.*

## TALK and DISCUSSION

*Ex. 15. Discuss the ideas from the text in Reading 2.*

1. [T]he West and Russia [are] now in a new confrontation which differed from, and risked becoming even more dangerous than, the Cold War.
2. The worst nightmare of Western policy-makers in the early 1990s was that Russia might collapse and fall apart, with terrifying consequences — especially for Western and Central Europe.
3. Historical emotions ingrained in the mindset of our peoples can be aroused with the greatest of ease by events.
4. Westerners ought not to be surprised at the yearning of the Russian people to regain respect, strength, independence and “sovereignty” — a yearning which has been both reflected and directed by their political leadership.
5. [W]e are paying a price for disappointed expectations on both sides — expectations which arose through naivety, ignorance and lack of understanding; and disappointment which has been exacerbated by ancient suspicions.
6. [T]he West deliberately spurned the opportunity to embrace and integrate Russia; offered no help; and sought instead to exploit Russia's weakness.
7. [T]here are genuine and substantive differences of interest and policy between Russia and Western countries.

8. The perception that our values are not converging, especially with regard to the rule of law, has taken a toll on Russo-Western relations.
9. [D]ifferences have been played up for reasons of domestic politics. (...) It seems to me that Russia's anti-Western rhetoric is being aimed above all at the domestic audience.
10. [T]he West must recognize that change in Russia will come from within, and over a long period.

*Ex. 16. Explain and expand on what the following mean for Russia<sup>1</sup>.*

spectre of communism	Catherine II	Alexander II and the Great Reforms
Peter the Great	Alexander I	the Crimean War
the Battle of Poltava	the Holy Alliance	Ivan the Terrible
the Congress of Vienna	Nicholas I	the Golden Horde
the Third Rome	the Third International	

*Ex. 17. Discuss your answers to these questions. Use the active vocabulary and the phrases from ex. 13 and 14.*

**A. Perestroika**

- a. Russia's image as a former superpower beset with enormous political and economic weakness is to a certain extent a result of a number of chaotic reforms aimed at bringing democracy to the country. *Perestroika* started by Mikhail Gorbachev was the first of them. Can you define *Perestroika*, *Glasnost*, *Acceleration*? What were the aims of these policies? How were they implemented? What hopes did the country pin on it? How did *Perestroika* affect the international status of the country? Did it benefit from a certain convergence with the West that began during *Perestroika*?
- b. People's attitude toward Gorbachev's reforms changed over time. Which of the following perceptions of *Perestroika* summarized by Alexander Yakovlev, the architect of *Perestroika*, is closest to yours? Why?
  - *Perestroika* was a conspiracy organized by the CIA, and by the West in general, a conspiracy aimed at military/political subversion of the USSR and of communism in general.
  - *Perestroika* was a betrayal, either intended as such from the very beginning and quite conscious, or a betrayal that just happened to occur, a betrayal with respect to one's country, to one's class, and to one's people.
  - It was a stupidity, probably caused by good intentions, which resulted in an absolute lack of responsibility; the "perestroika people" did not know the real situation that existed in the country; they were unable to find those factors and those mechanisms that drive real life in the country, and their short-sightedness resulted in political reckless driving.
  - *Perestroika* was an initiative of historical significance, definitely noble in its goals, courses, and extensions, but that the true significance, true scope, and true consequences of perestroika will become clear only a long time from now.
  - No evaluation of perestroika whatsoever. In this case, *Perestroika* is written off into the past together with communism. Any kind of evaluation satisfies this response, whether perestroika was an uprising of noble intentions or whether it was just

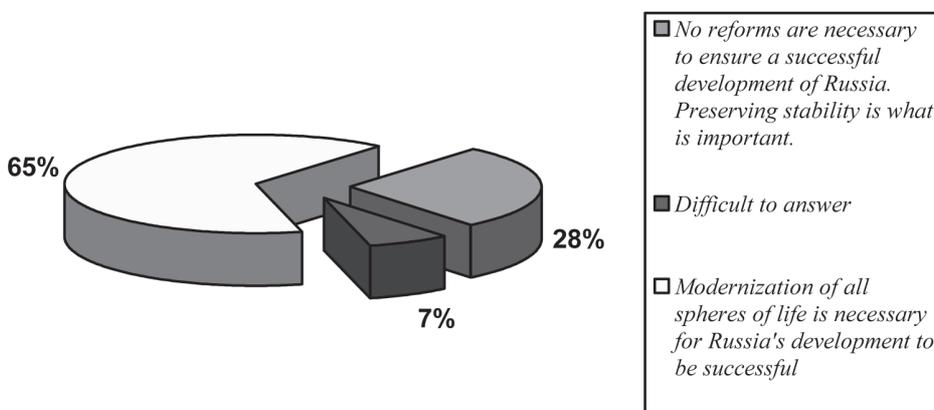
<sup>1</sup> The list comes from the text in Reading 1. Make sure you use English-language resources. While they may be lacking in depth or balance, they will enrich your discussion with both ideas and language.

a betrayal or something similar. What is important to those who share this position is that perestroika took place and originated within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, hence, it has to be thrown out together with communism.

c. What do you consider to be the achievements and mistakes of that policy?

**B. "Forward, Russia!"**

- a. Is Russia self-sufficient today? How would you characterize its technological and industrial capacity?
- b. "Modernization" has always been a big theme in Russia since the times of Peter the Great and Catherine II. In an attempt to diversify away from raw materials and to overcome the country's backwardness, the authorities have launched yet another modernization campaign. Analyze the data of the opinion poll<sup>1</sup>. How do the poll results compare to your ideas?



**Choose five signs which would allow you to say that the country is indeed modernizing.**

Eradication of corruption	47%
Fewer civil servants	42%
Creating a treatment for cancer	27%
Invention of new economical and environmentally friendly sources of energy	21%
Establishing conditions for fair business competition	21%
Independent judiciary	20%
Active participation of citizens in local governance	18%
Growing foreign investments in Russia's economy	16%
A growing number of people using bank cards	15%
A growing number of people spending their vacations abroad	13%
Transition to digital TV broadcasting	12%
Return to direct elections of governors	12%
Ensuring free conduct of rallies and demonstrations	10%

<sup>1</sup> The survey was conducted among 1,600 Russians by research groups Tsirkon and OMI Russia in June 2010.

- c. Describe “Strategy 2020”, the centerpiece of the modernization drive, and the goals it sets. What are the pillars of modernization (the four ‘I’s)? What measures have been implemented to attain the goals? Are there any discernable changes in this area? What do you think the chances are that this state-driven campaign will be successful?
- d. Speak about the Skolkovo innovation center or any other major project of the kind. How are the main aims of the project defined? What advantages are promised to business? Who will ‘reside’ in the high tech village?

**C. Russia’s Energy Diplomacy**

- a. Assess the importance of the energy sector for Russia. Would you agree with the view that the flow of petrodollars, although providing a financial lifeline, at a certain stage of Russia’s post-Soviet development became ‘the death knell for reform’?
- b. What are the goals of the state energy policy and the phases of its implementation according to “The Energy Strategy for the Period of Up to 2030”? Has Russia been acting accordingly?
- c. Do pipelines deliver more than gas? Will Russia’s gas diplomacy eventually translate into diplomatic clout in Europe? Can oil and gas reserves be compared with the nuclear arsenal that gave the USSR its superpower status? In the case of Europe, do we have a situation of Russian energy dominance or mutual dependence? What implications will it have for Russia in the future?

**D. Domestic Political Landscape**

- a. Suggest a brief outline of the country’s system of government.
- b. Russia appears to have made great strides since the turbulent 1990s. Discuss some of the domestic successes of post-Yeltsin Russia listed below. Can you continue the list? Did any of those come at a cost? Does Russia possess now the qualities that could bring it back into the first rank powers? What is on the debit side?

budget surpluses	modest inflation	boosted national self-confidence
eradication of foreign debt	political stability	strengthened political institutions
hard-currency reserves	declining poverty	social payments indexed to inflation

- c. In what ways are current policies different from those of the freewheeling time of the 1990s?
- d. How would you characterize the political situation in the country? What does the ideology of ‘sovereign democracy’ consist in? Many critics in the West speak about a drive to concentrate power in the presidency. What are some of the manifestations of that policy? How would you explain the concept of “vertical power” (top-down command structure)?
- e. What are the main features of the parliamentary election process? What parties are represented in the Duma?
- f. What themes dominate the current political landscape (e.g. fighting corruption, human rights, judicial reform, etc.)? How are they being addressed?
- g. How does the political situation in the country affect political activism and civil society? Can you explain why despite all the Western criticism, opinion polls show that most Russians are content with the state of affairs in the country<sup>1</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> According to the Levada Analytical Center, in May 2010 10% of the 1,600 Russians polled were fully content with and 41% on the whole approved of the policies pursued by the leadership of the country, with 31% holding the opposite opinion.

**E. Foreign Policy**

a. Speak about the diplomatic decision-making process in Russia. Who/What is the ultimate decision making authority? What role is reserved for the parliament?

b. Discuss in what ways Russia's foreign policy is or is not:

aggressive	balanced	imperial	pro-active
arrogant	belligerent	neutral	reactive
assertive	conservative	mercantilist	anti-Western

c. In your view, how is the foreign policy pursued by the Russian Federation today different from that of the post-Soviet 1990s? What was pro-Western enthusiasm replaced by? What can these differences be attributed to?

d. Analyze the goals and priorities of Russia's foreign policy as set forth in the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation

e. The first Russian president Boris Yeltsin once said that Russia is predestined to be a superpower. Many Western experts are convinced that today's Russia is nursing imperial ambitions and dreaming of restoring its superpower status. How accurate do you think this assessment is? What are the key attributes of a superpower: a vast territory, the rate of economic growth, its nuclear arsenal, ability to project power beyond its immediate periphery, its role in international organizations and weight in international affairs, etc.?

f. Is Russia strong enough to pursue an independent foreign policy or does it have to take heed of other countries' recommendations and criticism?

g. Speak about Russia's relations with the country/region you specialize in.

**F. Russia's international image**

a. What is Russia's image in the international arena? Read the following excerpts from the BBC World Service poll conducted in 27 countries in late 2009 — early 2010. Find a fresher poll of the kind to compare.

*"Last year's poll found that views of both Russia and China had deteriorated. Looking at the views of the countries polled in both 2009 and 2010, they appear to have stabilized somewhat this year. Views of Russia in particular are more muted, with a decline both in the proportion of those rating it positively (from 31 to 29%) and those rating it negatively (42 to 37%)."*

*"Though views on Russia's influence are still predominantly negative worldwide, these have softened in the past year, after having worsened between 2008 and 2009. In the 27-country average for the current survey, 37 per cent hold negative views and 30 per cent hold positive views. Seventeen countries give Russia's influence a negative rating, seven give it a positive rating, and three are divided."*

b. Below are the parameters of a country's international image. Which of them do you think might have affected the way Russia is perceived in the world? Which can be used to raise the country's profile? Speak about Russia's attempts to burnish its international reputation.

- main features of its political system;
- major factors shaping its foreign and domestic policies;
- economic development strategy;
- lofty ideals it espouses both in foreign and domestic policies;
- provision of humanitarian aid to developing states;
- its involvement in relief operations;
- its stance on global issues such as environmental protection, etc.;
- its human rights and democratic freedoms record;
- propensity to use force against other countries;
- political and diplomatic blunders;
- economic or political crises in the country;
- inability to maintain the well-being of the nation at the accepted level;
- rampant corruption among civil servants;
- a high crime rate;
- scandals among the ruling elite;

**G. "Mirror, mirror on the wall...": Russia's self-image**

- a. Taking into account the following national character features coming from an opinion poll results<sup>1</sup>, discuss Russians' perception of their identity.

доброта, искренность, душевность (41%)	пристрастие к алкоголю (43%)
взаимовыручка, товарищество (13%)	надежда на 'авось' (23%)
терпимость, трудолюбие (12%)	лень, безынициативность (23%)
безотказность (12%)	бескультурье, грубость, наглость (11%)
гостеприимность (10)	завистливость (11%)
мужественность (9%)	безответственность (9%)
патриотизм (5%)	неорганизованность (9%)
щедрость (6%)	расхлябанность (6%)
ум, талант (3%)	

- b. According to opinion polls, most Russians are convinced that their country is part of a peculiar Eurasian civilization rather than Europe (45% vs 38%<sup>2</sup>) and in the future its interests will tilt toward the East. Do you share this assessment?
- c. How do (most) Russians see their country? What makes them feel proud/ashamed of Russia?
- d. Back in 1990, Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote in 'Rebuilding Russia'<sup>3</sup> that the "awakening Russian national self-awareness has to a large extent been unable to free itself of great-power thinking and of imperial delusions ... it has taken over from the communists the fraudulent and contrived notion of Soviet patriotism." To what extent do you think the situation is different now?

*Ex. 18. Make a 5–7 min. Power Point presentation on the ups and downs of relations between Russia and the country you specialize in.*

<sup>1</sup> <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=268&uid=1634>

<sup>2</sup> <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=459&uid=4208>

<sup>3</sup> "Как нам обустроить Россию"

*Ex. 19. Debate: Is Russia a Superpower.*

In two teams debating against each other, discuss if Russia can be regarded as a superpower. As a class, decide on what questions you are going to tackle.

Follow the guidelines in Unit 1 (ex. 21)

*Ex. 20. Project work.*

Follow the guidelines in Unit 3 (ex. 24)

**Possible project work topics:**

1. Russian Values
2. Is there a Russian dream?
3. National identities compared: Russians vs the country/region you specialize in.



*Ex. 21. Practise making impromptu talks.*

**Suggested topics:**

- Russia and BRICS/EU/NATO
- Russia as a superpower
- Russians' national identity

*Ex. 22. Role play<sup>1</sup>.*

**Role 1:** As a junior diplomat posted in X, you are assigned to address an audience of interns of an international organization with a 10-min presentation on today's Russia to be followed by a Q&A session. The diplomat does his/her best to put a positive spin on the issues raised during the meeting, but, of course, avoids twisting facts or lying.

**Role 2n.:** The interns come from a variety of academic backgrounds: international law, world politics, crisis management, etc. They take this opportunity to ask some tricky questions.

*Ex. 23. Render the following texts into English and comment on them. What purpose do you think their authors pursued?*

**A.**

Одна из наиболее печальных черт нашей цивилизации заключается в том, что мы еще только открываем истины, давно уже ставшие избитыми в других местах и даже среди народов, во многом далеко отставших от нас. Это происходит оттого, что мы никогда не шли об руку с прочими народами; мы не принадлежим ни к одному из великих семейств человеческого рода; мы не принадлежим ни к Западу, ни к Востоку, и у нас нет традиций ни того, ни другого. Стоя как бы вне времени, мы не были затронуты всемирным воспитанием человеческого рода.

У каждого народа бывает период бурного волнения, страстного беспокойства, деятельности необдуманной и бесцельной. Это — эпохи сильных ощущений, широких замыслов, великих страстей народных. Через такой период прошли все общества. Иначе в памяти народов не было бы ничего, чем они могли бы дорожить, что могли бы любить; они были бы привязаны лишь к праху земли, на которой живут. У нас ничего этого нет. Сначала — дикое варварство, потом грубое невежество, затем свирепое и унижительное чужеземное владычество, дух которого позднее унаследовала наша национальная власть, — такова печальная история нашей юности.

<sup>1</sup> To ensure a proper level of competition, it is recommended to involve students of several groups.



У нас нет ничего индивидуального, на что могла бы опереться наша мысль; но, обособленные странной судьбой от всемирного движения человечества, мы также ничего не восприняли и из преемственных идей человеческого рода. Мы не храним в наших сердцах ничего из тех уроков, которые предшествовали нашему собственному существованию. Что у других народов обратилось в привычку, в инстинкт, то нам приходится вбивать в головы ударами молота. Мы так странно движемся во времени, что с каждым нашим шагом вперед прошедший миг исчезает для нас безвозвратно. Это — естественный результат культуры, всецело основанной на заимствовании и подражании. У нас совершенно нет внутреннего развития, естественного прогресса; каждая новая идея бесследно вытесняет старые, потому что она не вытекает из них, а является к нам Бог весть откуда.

Иностранцы ставят нам в достоинство своего рода бесшабашную отвагу; но, имея возможность наблюдать лишь отдельные проявления национального характера, они не в состоянии судить о целом. Они не видят, что то же самое начало делает нас всегда неспособными к углублению и настойчивости; они не видят, что этому равнодушию к житейским опасностям соответствует в нас такое же равнодушие к добру и злу, к истине и ко лжи; они не видят, что именно благодаря этой беспечной отваге даже высшие классы у нас несвободны от тех пороков, которые в других странах свойственны лишь самым низшим слоям общества.

Я не хочу сказать, конечно, что у нас одни пороки, а у европейских народов одни добродетели; избави бог! Но я говорю, что для правильного суждения о народах следует изучать общий дух, составляющий их жизненное начало, ибо только он, а не та или иная черта их характера, может вывести их на путь нравственного совершенства и бесконечного развития.

*(Based on П. Чаадаев. Философические письма. Письмо первое)*

## Б.

### Россия и Запад должны говорить

Россия и Запад вряд ли смогут прийти к взаимопониманию в отношении украинского кризиса, однако трагическая гибель малазийского лайнера должна сблизить все стороны. И не только потому, что человеческое горе и страдания объединяют людей независимо от их политических взглядов и пристрастий. Но также и потому, что падение лайнера — напоминание о реальной опасности дальнейшей эскалации конфликта вплоть до прямого военного противостояния России и НАТО. Чтобы избежать этой угрозы, было бы не лишним обратиться к истории урегулирования международных конфликтов; уроки прошлого не утратили своей актуальности.

Еще до авиакатастрофы доверие между Россией и Западом было серьезно подорвано. Россия и НАТО разворачивали свои вооруженные силы все ближе и ближе друг к другу. Замороженные конфликты в Европе, такие как, например, приднестровский, оставались неразрешенными на протяжении десятилетий и в любой момент могли обострить отношения между Россией и Западом. Ядерное оружие обеих сторон сегодня, как и в годы холодной войны, находится в состоянии высокой боеготовности. Двусторонние контакты и обмен информацией относительно действий вооруженных сил сведены к минимуму, а инструменты урегулирования кризисов по линии Россия — НАТО и Россия — ЕС никогда не отличались эффективностью.

Работа многих потенциально важных для налаживания диалога механизмов — например, Совета Россия — НАТО (который в обычной ситуации собирался раз в месяц, давая участникам возможность обсудить самые сложные вопросы) — под воздействием украинского кризиса была приостановлена. В результате кризис на Украине усугубляется, а наш

общий потенциал для обсуждения, поиска компромиссов и урегулирования этого кризиса либо вообще отсутствует, либо день ото дня сокращается.

Мы и другие участники рабочей группы высокого уровня, созданной совместными усилиями европейского сообщества лидеров за многостороннее ядерное разоружение и нераспространение, Российского совета по международным делам и ряда партнерских европейских аналитических центров, занимающихся проблемами безопасности, полагаем, что в настоящий момент помимо усилий по урегулированию конфликта на Украине необходимо срочно принять комплекс дополнительных мер.

Во-первых, требуются совместные действия всех сторон, направленные на обеспечение военно-политической сдержанности не только непосредственно на Украине, но и за ее пределами. История показывает, что одним из самых сложных аспектов разрешения кризиса между крупными державами является удержание контроля над ситуацией, недопущение непреднамеренной эскалации. Политические лидеры должны пересмотреть существующие правила использования вооруженных сил, чтобы не допустить ошибок или сбоев на всех уровнях командования и свести к минимуму вероятность случайного втягивания в военный конфликт. Одновременно России и Западу следует сделать все необходимое для того, чтобы не допустить обострения других замороженных конфликтов.

Во-вторых, необходимо повысить эффективность взаимодействия военных России и НАТО. Если холодная война чему-то нас и научила, так это тому, что снижение риска внезапного вооруженного нападения одной стороны на другую позволяет увеличить время, отведенное руководству для принятия решений в период кризиса, и имеет стабилизирующий эффект. Кроме того, мы призываем все стороны обмениваться сведениями о действиях вооруженных сил, находящихся вне мест постоянной дислокации, и допустить военные миссии связи и взаимодействия к наблюдению за подобными действиями. Такие меры могли бы снизить уровень взаимного недоверия и страха.

В-третьих, необходимо поддерживать прямой диалог высокого уровня между Россией и Западом. Совет Россия — НАТО, орган, который создавался с целью поддержать такой диалог, должен чаще проводить заседания, принимая во внимание нынешние обстоятельства. Следует также организовать крупную международную конференцию и обсудить основополагающие вопросы европейской безопасности, в частности актуальность для современной Европы хельсинкских принципов, включая принципы территориальной целостности и соблюдения прав человека, заложившие фундамент для действующей системы безопасности в Европе. Очевидно, что по этим вопросам между Россией и Западом сохраняются принципиальные разногласия, заслуживающие как минимум детального анализа.

Кроме того, поскольку и России, и Европейскому союзу в конечном счете придется так или иначе помогать украинской экономике и интегрировать ее в общеевропейское экономическое пространство, сторонам следует продолжить содержательный диалог о возможном будущем сотрудничестве между Европейским союзом и Евразийским экономическим союзом.

Мы полагаем, что в настоящий момент такое сотрудничество выглядит в лучшем случае отдаленной перспективой, тем не менее нам следует продолжать тщательную работу технического характера в этом направлении.

Если Россия и Запад не будут предпринимать энергичных усилий по поиску выхода из сложившейся ситуации, то они могут оказаться заложниками динамики украинского кризиса. В этом случае нашу судьбу, вероятно, будет решать не разум, а случайность.

(И. Иванов, М. Рифкинд, "Ведомости")

## EDITING and WRITING

Ex. 24. Write a summary of the text in Reading 2.

Ex. 25. Write a survey report based on the opinion poll results. Use the tips in Unit 1 (ex. 30).

**Change in Views of Russia, % favourable <sup>1</sup>**

	2007	2009	2011	2012	2013
US	44	43	49	37	37
Britain	47	45	50	38	38
France	35	43	53	36	36
Germany	34	42	46	33	32
Spain	35	36	46	36	38
Poland	34	33	35	34	36
Turkey	17	13	18	16	19
Egypt	46	48	35	31	30
Jordan	48	42	31	26	25
China	54	46	47	48	49
Japan	22	23	28	22	27
Mexico	38	29	23	25	28

**Generations Divide on Russia, % favorable**

	18–29	30–49	50+
Japan	46	27	21
Germany	51	27	29
Turkey	33	15	10
US	49	38	29
Spain	48	42	30
France	44	40	31
Mexico	32	28	22

<sup>1</sup> Pew Research Center, September 2013. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/09/03/global-opinion-of-russia-mixed/>

## MIXED BAG

Ex. 26. Fill in the gaps with the correct adverb or preposition where necessary.

a)

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| ___ the dawn ___                    | to react ___ a more recent memory        |
| ___ the wake ___                    | to be surprised ___ smth                 |
| a reason ___ optimism               | to adapt ___ the loss of status          |
| the prospects ___ smth              | to do smth ___ political reasons         |
| attribute smth ___ smth             | an obstacle ___ partnership              |
| ingrained ___ the mindset           | to seek cooperation ___ smb ___ an issue |
| serious matters ___ their own right | ___ the extent possible                  |
| bitter arguments ___ smth           | to gear smth ___ smth                    |

b)

1. A reason \_\_\_ some countries' strong criticism \_\_\_ Russia might be more due \_\_\_ proximity to Russia and common experience of many years rather than enmity
2. \_\_\_ the dawn \_\_\_ the 20th century Russians made \_\_\_ a notable part of the working population in the biggest industrial cities of Latvia.
3. Closer cooperation \_\_\_ Russia should become a major foreign policy priority \_\_\_ NATO, but better relations \_\_\_ Moscow cannot come \_\_\_ the expense \_\_\_ the security of eastern European alliance members.
4. Despite U.S. assurances that NATO is not focused \_\_\_ Russia and \_\_\_ fact is geared more \_\_\_ "out-of-area" operations (e.g., in Afghanistan), most of the Alliance's new Central European members joined \_\_\_ the alliance exactly because it offered security \_\_\_ Russia.
5. In a grim assessment, the Council on Foreign Relations reports that the Kremlin is an increasing obstacle \_\_\_ U.S. interests.
6. \_\_\_ the wake \_\_\_ the disastrous Crimean campaigns of 1687 and 1689 Russia began to lose confidence \_\_\_ the Holy League, fearing exclusion \_\_\_ any future peace negotiations with the Turks.
7. It is essential that we understand and adapt \_\_\_ the new security environment \_\_\_ which we find ourselves.
8. Moscow was accused in the past \_\_\_ raising gas prices \_\_\_ political reasons, but how can this be proved?
9. Mr Obama wanted to play down arguments \_\_\_ Georgia and missile defense, and instead engage Russia \_\_\_ more important strategic questions.
10. Prospects \_\_\_ Russia returning \_\_\_ its former Soviet pre-eminence and explicitly seeking to undermine the US are bleak.
11. Russia has reacted \_\_\_ the planned deployment \_\_\_ American missiles in Poland, saying it is simply a matter \_\_\_ Washington and Warsaw.
12. Some analysts believe that much \_\_\_ Russia's involvement \_\_\_ NATO affairs is motivated \_\_\_ the desire to influence NATO decisions \_\_\_ the extent possible and to emphasize that Russia cannot be excluded \_\_\_ any important international organization.
13. The "big brother" syndrome is ingrained \_\_\_ Russia's dealings \_\_\_ the former Soviet Republics, and the Russian elite continues to look upon the countries of the former Soviet space \_\_\_ its sphere of influence.



14. The European Union's neighbourhood policy is failing \_\_\_ regard \_\_\_ Russia. This is because Russia simply doesn't see itself \_\_\_ a country in Europe's neighbourhood, but \_\_\_ a historical great power \_\_\_ its own right.
15. The Russian Foreign Ministry attributed the agreement to trade 10 Russian agents \_\_\_ four men imprisoned in Russia \_\_\_ alleged contacts \_\_\_ Western intelligence agencies \_\_\_ the warming trend \_\_\_ Washington and Moscow.
16. There's a reason \_\_\_ the popular perception that Russians like their drink: The average Russian citizen consumes 18 liters of pure alcohol per year, compared \_\_\_ about 11 liters per year in Western Europe.
17. When U.S. President Harry S. Truman informed Stalin \_\_\_ the weapons, he was surprised \_\_\_ how calmly Stalin took the news and thought that Stalin had not understood what he had told him.

*Ex. 27. Articles with proper nouns are generally used without articles. Which of the rules a-d explain the use of the articles underlined in the sentences below?*



- a. a proper noun used as an attribute to another noun;
  - b. a proper noun with a descriptive attribute highlighting a certain, usu. not-permanent/acquired, feature or state of that proper noun;
  - c. a proper noun with a limiting attribute (= that very)
  - d. a proper noun used to make a comparison with or to emphasize resemblance to a well-known person.
1. Decembrist leaders were, for the most part, highly educated and harbored hopes of a reformed Russia after Alexander I returned from the 1815 Congress of Vienna.
  2. For a generation knowing only Soviet Russia, memories of the Russia of the Tsars are clouded either by negative propaganda or by romantic illusions.
  3. It is unwise to assume that a Russia that is back on its feet will be comfortable standing apart from the West.
  4. Russia was governed more effectively under an assertive Putin than under a more pluralistic but chaotic Yeltsin.
  5. Some analysts posit that the creation of a Russia-Belarus-Kazakhstan customs union represents Russia's attempt to forge closer political ties with the post-Soviet states through economic integration.
  6. The Jacobins were ably led by Maximilien Robespierre, the Lenin of the French Revolution.
  7. The Lithuanians owed much to the Gorbachev of 1985–1988 for their own success in establishing an independent state.
  8. The Russia that Medvedev inherited in 2008 was already by any conventional measure a "modern" society — urban, industrial, and educated.

*Ex. 28. Fill in the gaps with an appropriate article where necessary. Use similar patterns to make up sentences about the country/region you specialize in.*



1. "Never has there been \_\_\_ Russia less imperialist, less militarized, less threatening to its neighbors and the world, and more susceptible to the Western ideals than \_\_\_ Russia we see today (written in 1998).

2. NATO's strategy for the next few years and its relations with other international organizations were on the agenda of a session of \_\_\_ Russia — NATO Council in Brussels.
3. As president, Putin presided over \_\_\_ Russia that was more assertive on the world stage than in the 1990s.
4. How did \_\_\_ Russia of the 1990s become \_\_\_ Russia of today?
5. He purports to be \_\_\_ Russia expert, but doesn't speak the language.
6. Europe has long desired \_\_\_ Russia that is both stable and governed by a democratic rule of law.
7. In the long run, \_\_\_ Russia that tries to define its greatness in terms of spheres of influence, client states and forced fealty to \_\_\_ Moscow will fail.
8. It was not until after the Bolshevik takeover in 1917 and the appearance of Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (1918–22) that there was there any serious talk in \_\_\_ Russia of \_\_\_ awakened, vital Russia influencing \_\_\_ Western Europe rather than vice-versa.
9. Many policy wonks in \_\_\_ West have been trying to resolve the question of how to handle \_\_\_ Russia that is rich with oil revenues and increasingly independent.
10. Mr Medvedev was speaking at the end of \_\_\_ Russia-EU summit held against a background of deep divisions over security, trade and energy supplies.
11. Peter the Great turned \_\_\_ relatively backwards Muscovy state into \_\_\_ modernized Russia that could compete with other European powers.
12. Plato was \_\_\_ Einstein of Greece's Golden Age and his work founded Western culture and science.
13. Some analysts believe that \_\_\_ Mr. Moussavi is \_\_\_ Gorbachev of Iran and will bring sweeping changes to the country.
14. \_\_\_ Boris Yeltsin who stood on the tank in front of the White House in 1991 became \_\_\_ Yeltsin who ordered the army to attack the White House.
15. There are few countries in \_\_\_ Europe who would prefer \_\_\_ stronger Russia. Most of the European countries think that \_\_\_ weaker Russia is beneficial to \_\_\_ Europe.
16. To those who know only \_\_\_ Moscow of the Soviet Union, the city today will look as foreign.

*Ex. 29. Use the verbs in parentheses in the correct form.*

Russia **(to look)**<sub>1</sub> for its place in the world ever since the break up of the Soviet Union. **(To strip)**<sub>2</sub> of the shell of the Soviet empire, the country's identity **(to be)**<sub>3</sub> in flux. The search is at once geopolitical, philosophical and profoundly psychological. The quest **(to complicate)**<sub>4</sub> by the fact that the world around Russia **(to change)**<sub>5</sub> too.

In recent years Russia **(to experiment)**<sub>6</sub> with several geostrategic options, most of which **(to prove)**<sub>7</sub> either illusory or of limited value.

One option was a "strategic partnership" with China. The economic complementarities between the two countries **(to seem)**<sub>8</sub> obvious: Russia has excess natural resources and a labor shortage, while China has the opposite. But practical cooperation **(to limit)**<sub>9</sub> severely by deep-seated mutual mistrust. The Russians and Chinese have mutual superiority complexes that make partnership all but impossible.

Another tack for Moscow **(to be)**<sub>10</sub> to trumpet its membership in the club of mega-emerging markets, the so-called BRICs. But, in terms of sheer economic dynamism, Russia is clearly an outlier, if not a total misfit, in the company of Brazil, India and China. Russia has a weak manufacturing base, apart from arms. Russia **(to be)**<sub>11</sub> a more natural member of OPEC, which only **(to be)**<sub>12</sub> its dependence on hydrocarbon extraction.

The most problematic phase of Russia's identity quest **(to culminate)**<sub>13</sub> in outright confrontation with the West during the Georgia conflict of August 2008. Russia **(to celebrate)**<sub>14</sub> its victory and **(to rush)**<sub>15</sub> to recognize South Ossetia and Abkhazia, despite the fact that Moscow **(to counsel)**<sub>16</sub> always the West against **(to recognize)**<sub>17</sub> breakaway provinces such as Kosovo. Within a few weeks, the Wall Street collapse brought reality home, with Russia this time on the receiving end of acute market contagion.

It is against this dangerous backdrop that the newly **(to elect)**<sub>18</sub> Barack Obama put forward the idea of a "reset" of bilateral relations. The Russians at first **(to react)**<sub>19</sub> with skepticism but now **(to tend)**<sub>20</sub> to view Mr. Obama as somebody they can do business with. More important, the Russian elite has had time to reflect on where their long-term interests **(to lie)**<sub>21</sub>.

A recently **(to leak)**<sub>22</sub> Russian foreign ministry "white paper" **(to suggest)**<sub>23</sub> an important debate is under way. The paper **(to echo)**<sub>24</sub> President Medvedev's themes of the urgent need for modernization and closer association with the West.

Mr. Medvedev talks about promoting nanotechnology in Russia. This is a perfectly rational economic objective, but Russia's deeper challenge is that it needs a new operating system, preferably a European-oriented one **(to base)**<sub>25</sub> on representative government, civil liberties, property rights and true federalism.

The great Russian historian Vasily Klyuchevsky **(to write)**<sub>26</sub> of the 18th-century czar Peter the Great: "He **(not to want)**<sub>27</sub> to borrow the results of Western technique, but **(to want)**<sub>28</sub> to appropriate the skill and knowledge, and build industries on the Western European model." Peter himself said: "We need Europe for a few decades; later on we must turn our back on it."

The Russian president seems **(to say)**<sub>29</sub> something different. Only time **(to tell)**<sub>30</sub> whether Mr. Medvedev can deliver.

*Ex. 30. Use of English. Fear of Russia.*

*a) Choose the best variant.*

*b) Comment on the influence of fear in interstate relations in general and on relations between Russia and the US in particular.*

The United States has/have (1) spent the past century pursuing a single objective: evading/dodging/avoiding (2) the rise/raise (3) of any single hegemon that might be able to exploit Western European technology and capital and Russian resources and menpower/manpower (4). The United States intervened in the/a/x (5) World War I in 1917 to block German hegemony, and again in the/a/x World War II. In the/a/x (6) Cold War the goal was to prevent Russian hegemony. U.S. strategic policy has been consistent for a century.

The United States has/have been cautious of any rising hegemon. In this case the fear of a(n) insurgent/resurgent/surging (7) Russia is a recollection of the/a/x Cold War, but not an unreasonable one. As some pointed out to me/As I was pointed out by some (8) during my visit to Russia, economical/economic (9) weakness has rarely meant military weakness or political disunity. Russians tend to support the government regardless of competence when Russia feels threatened. I agreed with them on this and pointed out that this is precisely why the United States has/have a legitimate fear of Russia in Ukraine. If Russia manages to reassert its power in Ukraine, then what will come the/a/x (10) next?

The United States and Europe have trouble in/with/x (11) understanding Russia's fears. Russia has trouble in/with/x understanding particularly American fears. The fears of both are real and

legitimate. This is not a matter of misunderstanding between countries but of incompatible/incontestable (12) imperatives. All of the good will in the world — and there is precious/preciously (13) little of that — cannot solve the problem of two major countries that are compelled to protect their interests and in doing so must make the/an/x (14) other feel threatened. I learned much in my visit. I did not learn how to solve this problem, save that at the very least each must understand the fears of the/an/x other, even if they can't calm them.

*Ex. 31. Fill in the gaps with any suitable word.*

*Pay attention to words and phrases describing a country's influence. Discuss a) what place in the Russian foreign policy is reserved for the CIS; b) the role of 'soft power' in Russia's foreign policy both in the CIS and non-CIS countries.*



Russia's influence remains \_\_\_\_\_ (1) in many of the former Soviet satellites. In addition to \_\_\_\_\_ (2) traditional diplomatic tools to support its influence, Russia has taken an increasingly multidimensional view of power, recognizing the importance of economic, cultural, and public-relations instruments in \_\_\_\_\_ (3) the use of Russian culture and language, sales of consumer goods, and investment abroad — all this to enhance its influence in former Soviet republics.

Russia retains many levers for \_\_\_\_\_ (4) control in the CIS, including \_\_\_\_\_ (5) of regional separatist (as in Transdnestrria) and control of the oil and gas supplies of many CIS states. The Russian government has also tried to \_\_\_\_\_ (6) its common cultural heritage with neighboring nations to \_\_\_\_\_ (7) its interests. For many CIS countries cultural ties to Russia will remain important factors in bilateral relations because of the close personal and family \_\_\_\_\_ (8) that still exist across these countries' borders with Russia (compare it with Sergei Lavrov's coinage 'civilizational unity' of former USSR republics). Not to be overlooked is the widespread use of the Russian language. Russian-language books, films, radio, and television \_\_\_\_\_ (9) important roles in those countries.

Why is Russia's foreign policy geared toward \_\_\_\_\_ (10) its influence in this region? Does it offer a potential for a great power future? The real reasons stem \_\_\_\_\_ (11) a desire \_\_\_\_\_ (12) prestige, Russia's history, its economic priorities, and its security concerns. Long before the Soviet Union \_\_\_\_\_ (13) into being, those states were part of the Russian empire. Many Russians therefore see them as natural partners and allies that are \_\_\_\_\_ (14) to Russia's national interests. Any country that makes inroads into this region and \_\_\_\_\_ (15) ties with these countries is seen as doing so \_\_\_\_\_ (16) Russia's expense.

Moscow is interested in \_\_\_\_\_ (17) influence in the "Near Abroad" because it ensures access to the seas (especially the Baltic and Black) and transit rights for Russian gas and oil, and helps it \_\_\_\_\_ (18) the rights of Russian speakers who found themselves living outside their "homeland" following the \_\_\_\_\_ (19) of the USSR. \_\_\_\_\_ (20) a considerable degree, Russian leaders (and much of Russian society) remain accustomed to \_\_\_\_\_ (21) the CIS states as a Russian sphere of influence.

CIS countries are also important to Russia as trade partners. The region must be made safe for Russian business activism. To \_\_\_\_\_ (22) growth, Russia has a clear interest in \_\_\_\_\_ (23) normal trade relationships with its neighbors, including eliminating subsidies for energy exports.

Russia's leaders are also concerned \_\_\_\_\_ (24) two interrelated security issues in the region. One of the fears relates to "conflict spillover": Russia's porous southern borders \_\_\_\_\_

(25) the risk that any violence next to its territory would \_\_\_\_\_ (26) into Russia or demand Moscow's involvement. The greatest concern Russia has today is that instability in neighboring countries might spill over into the country itself or \_\_\_\_\_ (27) Russian forces into conflict. More importantly, apart from mediating and managing conflicts among its neighbors, Moscow has to keep the CIS space free from expanding politico-military alliances such as NATO, which are perceived as a clear \_\_\_\_\_ (28) to its security and sovereignty.

*Ex. 32.*

*a) Read the following article and identify its topic and thesis.*

*b) Think of a possible title.*

*c) Comment on the ideas of the article.*

As 2014 began, few in Russia could have imagined how far its fortunes would fall by year's end. Russia is entering strategic decline. It has options for recovery, but as yet shows little sign of exercising them.

This year Russia saw setbacks on three main fronts: economics, political and social, and foreign policy.

A severe financial crisis has hit Russia, and next year its economy may slide into a deep and persistent recession. Oil prices have plunged by about two-fifths, yet Russia depends on oil and gas exports for the majority of its state budget. Stock prices relative to earnings are the lowest of any emerging market.

Corruption and state economic interference stifle private initiative, and bloated state enterprises such as Rosneft are subsidized. Without major changes, the economy will not recover in anything like the two years President Vladimir Putin predicted last week. He offered no strategy for recovery. Instead, he is avoiding liberalizing reforms and hoping that oil prices will rise and reserve funds will see Russia through.

Demographic problems are significant, e.g., one-fourth of men die before the age of 55, versus 7 percent in the United K. More people emigrated from Russia in the first eight months of 2014 — just over 200,000 — than in any recent full year.

Taken together, these are telltale signs of strategic decline. Russia can mitigate them, or turn around adversity, but this requires a new course.

Russia can reduce the scope of state-controlled enterprises, the least productive part of Russia's economy. One-quarter or less of Russian GDP derives from small and medium-sized firms, well below the proportion in developed countries. Independent energy companies in Russia have shown the dynamism of private enterprise when allowed to compete. Innovative private firms often partner with foreign counterparts, which would bring more international stakeholder support for Russia's future.

Russia can gain by leveraging the EU's eastward reach, not repelling it. Europe will remain Russia's most important economic partner, even as ties with China burgeon. To benefit its Eurasian Economic Union, Russia should reach out to Brussels to find ways to make it more compatible with the prosperous EU region. Better financial transparency and regulation in Russia would help it gain more access to international capital markets.

Nowhere can Moscow do more to reverse decline than by improving ties with neighbors. Now that Moscow has cancelled its proposal for a South Stream gas pipeline via the Black Sea to Europe, Russia has an incentive to reach accommodation with Ukraine, its largest gas customer and transit

country. This would bring greater benefit than trying to route gas intended for Europe through Turkey. Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko appears ready to negotiate. Cooperative relations with Georgia, Moldova and the Baltics are in Russia's interest.

Russia is multi-ethnic and multi-confessional, but nationalistic policies that alienate minorities will weaken it. A more inclusive concept of patriotism would help. Mistreatment and strict language requirements may cause an exodus of migrants that will deprive the economy of labor and skills, which are especially important for small and medium-sized business.

Russia relies on nuclear forces to bolster its image as a great power, but putting them at the center of its expensive military modernization program is of dubious value. The military needs resources to counter immediate threats, such as terrorist flows from the Islamic State group (Chechens are among its leaders) and Afghanistan. They could feed insurgency in the North Caucasus and terrorism throughout Russia. The drawdown of Coalition troops from Afghanistan increases the risk of fighters migrating northward. Creating an effective counterinsurgency capacity will require new military capabilities.

All of these steps can help Russia build domestic strength and regain international stature. Few expect that Moscow will cede Crimea or end its opposition to NATO expansion anytime soon, but Russia can still begin to reverse strategic decline. Expanding opportunities for Russia's people, reforming the economy, and improving relations with neighbors are the way forward.

(Based on an article by Denis Corboy, William Courtney and Kenneth Yalowitz  
in the *US News&World Report*)

# **TERM PROJECT WORK**

## **WRITING A RESEARCH PROPOSAL**



## LEAD-IN

A research proposal is a paper submitted by a degree applicant at the outset of their research; it aims at convincing the dissertation committee that the applicant has identified an academic problem of interest as well as a theoretical background and appropriate methodology to pursue it.

Though requirements as to the contents and structure vary from university to university, it is possible to identify common elements. These include:

1. Introduction, which includes a short statement of the problem you have identified, research rationale, aims and objectives as well as the limitations of the proposed research;
2. A review of literature;
3. Methodology;
4. A brief outline of your project and the results anticipated.

*Before going on to analyze each section individually, compare the proposed structure of Research Proposal with its Russian counterpart Обоснование выбора темы диссертации.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RATIONALE

### STAGE 1

The primary purpose of the section is to establish a framework for the research.

*Ex. 1. In the table below, match each element in A with its functional description in B.*

A	B
1. Introductory paragraph(s)	a) offers a breakdown of particular objectives the attainment of which will ultimately help you the main aim
2. Research problem	b) the researcher's best "guess" about the outcome of research based on existing literature, research, or theory
3. Research aims and objectives	c) catches the attention of the reader and provides a background about the problem
4. Rationale	d) provides a clearer focus by indicating what the limits of the phenomena you intend to examine are — particular sources, time span, spatial limits
5. Hypothesis (optional)	e) what phenomenon is to be examined and what is the overall purpose of the study — to describe/explain/test an hypothesis/write a history of.../etc.
6. Limitations of proposed research	f) Shows the importance and relevance of the research project. Where does this research question come from? What has prompted the research: such things as government legislation, industrial change, need for improvement, search for new knowledge, policy change, or evaluation? This part convinces the audience that you are on to an important issue that is as yet inadequately understood; shows that the research will add up to the store of knowledge/fill some gap in knowledge

*Ex. 2. Analyze the following samples of the Research Problem section. Identify the elements discussed in the previous exercise. Speak about the strengths and weaknesses of their presentation.*

**A.**

#### Research Proposal

### **Violence Against Migrant Women in the Euromed Region**

Women, like men, migrate for a variety of different reasons and follow a wide range of migratory trajectories. However, the obstacles and dangers to migration may be different for women, with additional sources of insecurities related to gendered inequalities in their economic, social and political situations.

5 Gender-related persecutions and violence may be the cause of women's decision to migrate, but gender-related violence may not be recognized as a basis for protection in the country to which they migrate. Women may also be vulnerable to violence during their journey to the Euromed region. This vulnerability may be increased by existing and developing policy frameworks and legislation on migration both at supra-national (EU) and national levels. Recent research has  
10 demonstrated, for example, the extent of violence against women asylum seekers as they attempt to reach one of the member states of the EU, or the growing problem of violence against sub-Saharan African women in Morocco. Violence may also be exercised as a means of forcing women to migrate, as in the case of trafficking of women for the purposes of sexual or domestic exploitation. The fight against trafficking has been underlined as one of the EU's priorities, but large gaps  
15 in protection for women victims of trafficking remain.

For migrant women who are victims of violence, insecurity may be reinforced by a lack of protection afforded by the relevant national authorities. This lack of protection may be aggravated by the woman's legal status and by the interaction of gendered and racial discriminations which mean that violence against migrant women is not recognised or not taken seriously. Institutional  
20 and structural racism may also prevent police and judicial authorities from recognizing or taking seriously forms of racist and sexist violence which occur against migrant women in their society.

All of these elements mean that migrant women may be vulnerable to varied forms of violence and that the means of protection open to them may be limited. This study will seek to document and analyse both forms of violence against migrant women in the Euromed region, and  
25 the impacts of policies and programmes in place to combat this violence, in particular policies that form part of the Barcelona programme. In doing so the study will enable the identification of gaps in the protection of migrant women in the Euromed region and will thus be able to formulate recommendations both for national political authorities and for NGOs and other civil society groups to take specific measures to tackle these forms of violence and to provide a more secure  
30 environment for migrant women. The study will build on previous work undertaken by the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network to prioritise women's rights in the region.

Objectives of the Study:

1. To provide a comprehensive mapping of the different types of violence faced by migrant women travelling in, through or to the Euromed region. To examine the scale and spread of  
35 these types of violence.
2. To examine the sources of violence and to analyse the factors that may increase these women's vulnerability to various types of violence at different stages of the migratory process.

3. To identify specific measures that may reduce migrant women's insecurities and vulnerability to violence.
- 40 4. To make recommendations concerning the implementation of these measures to policy-makers and NGOs active in this domain in the Euromed region.

Four case study countries will be considered by the research project, two Arab countries — Morocco and Egypt, and two European countries — Italy and France. These countries have been chosen to provide a panorama of the different types of violence which may affect migrant women at all stages of the migratory process, and a chance to examine the impacts of this violence and the policies in place for prevention and redress within four different political systems. The history and patterns of migration within each of the four case study countries is different, and each country faces both similar and differing challenges with regard to migration. The contrasts both between the different political, economic and social structures of each host country, and between the different migrant populations who arrive in these countries, will allow us to consider the full spectrum of violence which might occur against migrant women in these countries.

## B.

### **Colonial Concepts of Development in Africa. A Comparative Study of British and French Policies and Discourses, 1920–1960**

The concept of development remains at the forefront of the global political agenda. Among most politicians and diplomats, both in the Global North and South, development is still held in high esteem and regarded as a guiding principle of the 21st century world. Though strategies and theories have changed substantially since the 1950s, the basic view of development as something beneficial has been upheld by the global elites. But at the same time, a second line of argument has gained ground since the early 1990s, especially within the social sciences: Development came to be seen as being Eurocentric, alienating, and detrimental to human needs, as a dream having turned into a nightmare.

The manifold continuities, uncertainties, and controversies surrounding the notion of development have motivated us to go back in time and delve into its archives. The proposed research project will look at the last four decades of British and French colonial rule in Africa, specifically in Senegal and Tanganyika/Tanzania, in order to establish how and when the key elements of development took shape and gained ground. It will be of equal importance to delineate how the notion of development came to be inscribed into the colonial discourse and how its meaning was transformed according to the necessities of colonial rule.

We depart from the assumption that *development* gradually became a central concept after World War I in conceiving of the relationship between metropolis and colony and in both legitimising and advancing specific policies towards colonised regions in Africa (and elsewhere). Based on this assumption, we aim to answer the following core questions: What did the concept of development mean in colonial Africa between the early 1920s and 1960s? How did it change over time and how can these changes be explained? How got specific actors involved in the evolving development discourse and how did they relate to each other (as well as to other institutional sites relevant to them)?

The most immediate aim of our project is to take stock of a wide range of archival sources and publications. Most of these sources are little known and have never been looked at from

our particular perspective, and many of the scholarly and literary texts involved have fallen into oblivion. If they prove as instructive as we expect them to be, we intend to make them accessible to a wider public. As academic publications form an important part of our sources, our project will contribute to the history of science and will in particular shed new light on the prehistory of development studies.

What further distinguishes our project is its comparative approach. To our knowledge, nobody has ever attempted to systematically compare the development concepts and policies of colonial France and Britain.

The last two features of the proposed project which set it apart from similar endeavours are closely related: on the one hand its interdisciplinary approach, combining History with Development, African and Literary Studies, on the other hand the wide array of sources we will consult, from government reports to scholarly and literary texts.

Our research project does not claim to cover all major aspects related to colonial development. Some issues, especially some of the 'hard facts' (institutional, economic), have already been sufficiently described and analysed and there is no immediate need for re-examining these. Moreover, our study will concentrate on *European* perspectives on colonial development. However, even if we for the most part look through a European lense, this does not preclude important insights into African views and responses — insights that might and should be followed up by further research based on African sources.

## STAGE 2

*Ex. 3. Working in small groups/pairs, sort the phrases from A and B into the following categories:*

Aims and objectives	Rationale	Hypothesis	Limitations
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### A.

1. A full discussion of ... lies beyond the scope of this study.
2. A group of sub-questions detailing the main problem will be important to look at as the research progresses.
3. By analyzing .... we hope to go some way beyond segmental perspectives that are not uncommon in regional studies on .... Therefore, we are confident that our findings will make a substantial contribution to....
4. Due to practical constraints, this paper cannot provide a comprehensive review of .....
5. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that ...
6. However, much uncertainty still exists about the relation between .....
7. It is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the ...
8. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the .....
9. Moreover, our analytical framework could serve as a stepping stone for further research into additional directions:
10. The major research question motivating this research concerns ... . The pursuit of answers to this question involves three research activities:

11. The project's main proposition is that ....
12. This case study seeks to examine the changing nature of .....
13. This project assesses .... The specific focus is not so much on ..., but on .... In particular, we are interested in ...
14. This research proposes to test the hypothesis that... / to determine whether/ ...
15. This thesis intends to determine the extent to which ..... and whether .....
16. Thus, a fundamental hypothesis advanced here is that ...
17. What further distinguishes our project is its ... approach. To our knowledge, nobody has ever attempted to systematically ....

**B.**

1. All of these observations highlight the fundamental importance of ... and the need for scholars to evaluate ....
2. An inquiry into ... would make a significant contribution to [the field of] ... not only by elucidating the importance of ... in ..., but also by broadening the empirical basis for ..., while simultaneously helping to provide much-needed evidence for a more systemic or structural reading of ....
3. By examining the logic and reasoning behind ..., this paper can contribute to a greater understanding of the changing nature of
4. Hence, it could conceivably be hypothesised that .....
5. I shall confine my attention strictly to ...
6. In particular the research focuses, firstly, on .... Secondly, the project investigates the extent to which.... Finally, this research explores ...
7. It can thus be suggested that .....
8. Overall, while the study is useful in gaining an understanding of ... , it is clear that more detailed studies should be undertaken to ....
9. The guiding question in this research is essentially "evaluative" in that it seeks to evaluate what is the impact of X on Y
10. The hypothesis that will be tested is that .....
11. The objectives of this research are to determine whether .....
12. The proposed research aspires to make an important contribution to political theory and.... in that the study of methodological tools is supplemented by....
13. The specific goal of this paper is to examine the factors that have led to
14. There are two limitations that need to be acknowledged and addressed regarding the present study. The first limitation concerns .... The second limitation has to do with ....
15. This essay seeks to remedy these problems by analysing the literature of .....
16. This question is important for students of international relations, as ....

*Ex. 4. Make up your own list of vocabulary necessary to write about the research problem and rationale of your thesis and share it with the class.*

*Ex. 5. Paraphrase the relevant parts of the sample analyzed in the previous exercise using these phrases.*

*Ex. 6. Use the phrases from ex. 3 and 4 in sentences about your research.*

### STAGE 3

*Ex. 7. Peer editing.*

*a) Edit the following excerpts from students' research proposals. Focus: language accuracy and style.*

*b) Revise the excerpts using the phrases from ex. 3 and 4 where possible.*

1. The aims of the project are to develop a more comprehensive knowledge base regarding the foreign policy of Germany in the asian-pacific region, particularly, in the economic dimension, to gain a better understanding of the ways and methods whereby the german government intensifies its political and economical clout in the region, and to work out some specific policy recommendations for Russia in terms of enhancing trade with asian-pacific countries **(at least 11 mistakes)**.
2. The ever growing mass cross-border migration has become an inherent element of the present international landscape. This issue is one of the primary items on the international agenda, as it has not only far-reaching demographic, socio-economic and cultural consequences but also presents a considerable challenge of globalization to the world stability. Obviously, in a manner, this phenomenon affects practically all countries, both developing and developed ones, as its various implications go far beyond ever more transparent national boundaries. The cases of South European states, Italy and Spain in particular, are of a considerable and ever growing interest, as in early 1990s these traditional labour exporters started to acknowledge their role of the 'new immigration countries', facing immigration inflows from extremely diverse regions. The research will describe and explain how both states have coped up with the rapid and apparently unexpected shift through the lenses of party politics, political elite's discourses and practices from the end of 1980s until the first decade of 2000s. Moreover I suppose to take into consideration the differences of historical development of the two states and their socio-economic peculiarities in order to find out what factors of public policymaking have a major effect on migration policy **(at least 13 mistakes)**.
3. Nowadays Germany is one of the major champions of European integration and in the same time is the leading export country in the EU. However often situations occur when national interests of Germany are ad odds with the EU guidelines, particularly, when it comes to economic cooperation with other states. For instance, Germany seeks to enhance trade relations with China, but at the same time it has to stick to European values based policy, and therefore sometimes tensions arise due to the issue of violation of human rights in China. Such contradictions exacerbate the environment of mutual cooperation between Germany and People's Republic of China and drive a wedge between the aspirations of Berlin to contribute to EU development and to secure its own positions in the world. This will be one of the main points that the research will be focused on. The second issue that will be envisaged is economic and political cooperation between German and key states of asian-pacific region. It will be interesting to investigate how the leading European exporter explores vast asian-pacific market **(at least 16 mistakes)**.

*Ex. 8. Write the Research Problem section of your research proposal using relevant phrases (length 1–1.5 pages).*

## 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### STAGE 1

A literature review in a research proposal provides an overview of existing scholarship and explains how your proposed research will add to or alter the existing body of knowledge. Some regard it as one of the most important sections of the proposal.

*Ex. 1. Rank the following aims of the Review of Literature in order of importance:*

1. to concisely summarize the findings that have emerged from prior research efforts on the subject;
2. to present your conclusion about how accurate and complete those findings are;
3. to present your considered judgments about what's right, what's wrong, what's inconclusive, and what's missing in the existing literature, which in the long run enables you
4. to situate your proposed project in relation to existing knowledge.

*Ex. 2. Read the sample Reviews of Literature and answer the questions that follow.*

#### A.

Somewhat surprisingly, the history of colonial development has been given scant attention by those scholars who are supposed to be most interested in it, that is those of Development Studies. That many of them neglect the colonial roots of their profession may be caused by a peculiar dichotomy prevailing within this field of research: development as something beneficial is strictly set apart from colonialism as something deeply disreputable, as Uma Kothari put it (2005:63). She is one of the very few within Development Studies who recently has started to reconstruct 'the colonial genealogies of development' (2005:50). As an earlier, rare but very important exception, Alcalde investigated the 'idea of Third World development' as it was put forward in the United States and Britain from 1900 to 1950 (1987). Serge Latouche, in a similar vein, wrote an essay on the same period from a French perspective (1988). Most explorations into the history of development take the late 1940s as their starting point, firmly tying it to decolonisation, the hegemonic role of the US towards the newly independent states, and the emergence of development theories accompanying and rationalising this ascendancy (Oman/Wignaraja 1990; Meier 2005).

Even those authors who do not skip colonialism altogether make only passing reference to it, mainly focusing on the League of Nations and its mandates system (Escobar 1995:26f; Kößler 1998:81–84). Gilbert Rist stresses various continuities between colonial and contemporary development policies and deplores the 'amnesia' affecting the colonial period (1997:56), but still calls Point Four of President Truman's much-quoted 1949 Inaugural Speech the 'invention of development' (1997:69). The majority of these historical sketches are written in the postdevelopmentalist vein, trying to prove the point that the concept of development is something inherently oppressive. Small wonder that these accounts lack both ambition and analytical depth to do justice to the ambiguities and changes that showed over time — Cooper's demand for 'a more rigorous historical practice' which he directs at postcolonial studies (2005:13) applies to the greater part of post-developmentalist approaches to history as well.

Apart from solitary contributions by other disciplines (Birnberg/Resnick 1975), it was mainly historiography which did the most to broaden our knowledge of the connections between colonialism and development.

The intellectual predecessor of the development idea, the 'civilising mission' of 19th and early 20th century colonialism, has received widespread attention (Bitterli 1991; Conklin 1997; Barth/Osterhammel 2005). Several general studies on colonialism discuss at some length the development policies of imperial governments (Davis/Huttenback 1988:137) and issues closely related to them, e.g. industrialisation (Marseille 1984:437ff). This is true not only of research that focuses on metropolitan decision making but also of regional studies (Brett 1973:115–140).

J. M. Lee was the first who, in 1967, devoted an entire book to the analysis of colonial development (Lee 1967). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the subject was simultaneously taken up by a small number of scholars who in various ways meticulously described the workings of the Colonial Office and the power struggles and debates within government circles (Morgan 1980; Constantine 1984). The latest comprehensive study on colonial development was written in the early 1990s, emphasizing the economic dimension (Havinden/Meredith 1993). Though these books still provide indispensable insights into political institutions and mechanisms, they have their limitations: Some of them, probably due to archival restrictions, do not cover the entire colonial period and stop some time in the 1940s; all of them focus on the metropolitan centre; all of them are concerned with the British colonies in their entirety (except India) and thus remain rather superficial as far as specific regions are concerned; and most analyses take the term 'development' at face value, often using it in an affirmative sense and only rarely inquiring into its various and changing meanings over time and the implications for colonial rule.

In analysing the mental frames that shaped the meaning of development, we will draw on the literature which was written in the wake of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Said 1979). Many of the authors concerned used literary texts to show how otherness was constructed within colonial discourse(s) and how binary oppositions defined the relations between coloniser and colonised (Bhabha 1994; Said 1994). In analysing colonial discourse, these post-colonial theorists to a large extent relied on the French and, more importantly, the British literary canon, mostly on 19th century and modernist texts. Over the past two decades, literary studies, cultural studies, anthropology and even political science have in different ways contributed to this post-colonial strand of research both widening it (in terms of sources) and narrowing it (in terms of contexts, times, and places) (Savarèse 1998; Mills 2005). Nevertheless, to our knowledge no one so far has attempted to investigate colonial literature of the late colonial period along the lines we intend to follow.

The history of colonialism has been analysed from such a variety of angles, many of them relevant to answering our central research question, that it would take several pages to present but the more important of these texts. This also applies to general historiographical accounts of Africa, whereas regional histories, in our case those relating to Senegal and Tanganyika/Tanzania, are notably scarce. Especially the monographic output so far, in terms of quantity, has been anything but impressive (Iliffe 1979; Dumbuya 1995).

This brief overview points towards several major gaps that show in the existing research on colonialism and development: 1) French colonial development has not received the same attention as its British equivalent; 2) there has been no systematic comparative research on French and British colonial development so far; 3) research has shied away from interdisciplinary approaches; 4) the 1950s, in Africa a vital period marking the transition from colonial development to the new era of post-colonial bi and multilateral 'development assistance', have been largely neglected. The proposed research project attempts to fill these gaps both by connecting existing bodies of knowledge in new ways and by advancing into uncharted territories.

**B.**

**2. On the emergence of transnational public-private partnerships**

The emergence of transnational PPPs has been examined from several well-known theoretical perspectives within the discipline of IR. By applying a neo-Gramscian approach, one group of authors **asserts** that partnerships are a political strategy through which business aims to secure corporate hegemony (Levy/Newell 2002: 84; Utting 2002: 26; Blowfield 2005). Partnerships emerge because corporations want to respond to the pressure from the anti-globalization movement by proactively accommodating oppositional claims, whereas this behavior occurs out of the interest to stabilize the hegemonic capitalist worldview and to reproduce a corporate-friendly global governance system (Utting 2002: 5). Constructivist authors, on the contrary, **argue** that a new 'global public domain' is emerging, which is constituted by the interaction of state and non-state actors (Ruggie 2004: 519). The production of public goods is, from this angle, no longer the responsibility of state actors alone but is increasingly accomplished within this new institutional arena in which non-state actors — NGOs and companies — have accepted responsibility for the provision of public goods. Although constructivist and neo-Gramscian approaches are increasingly debated in order to account for the emergence of transnational partnerships, systematic studies that support these arguments are very limited.

At the moment, the majority of work in the PPP literature refers either to a functionalist explanation, or explains the formation of partnerships through incentives of individual actors. A functionalist argument in the IR literature **claims** that new forms of governance generally, and transnational PPPs in particular, emerge because there is a functional demand for them. Authors **purport** that contemporary globalization processes cause complex transboundary problems, which create a demand for effective governance tools to tackle these issues (Reinicke/Deng 2000: 7; Rosenau 2002). Since state actors have failed to address these challenges, partnerships emerge as an innovative instrument better suited to target them. One author, for example, **asserts** that against the backdrop of globalization, state actors are overburdened and "can no longer do it alone" (Nelson 2002: 15). Another study **predicates** that state-actors encounter an "operational gap", and are incapable of effectively implementing policies (Reinicke/Deng 2000: 2). These authors **suggest** that state actors form transnational PPPs, because changing socio-economic structures force them to explore alternative instruments of policy making (Peters/Pierre 1998: 227).

Apart from this functional explanation, much of the work in the literature applies a different perspective and explains the emergence of partnerships with reference to incentives (Witte/Reinicke 2005: 23). Partnerships are understood as institutions through which rational actors try to maximize their utilities and strive for an exchange of resources that they would not have access to otherwise. In contrast to functionalist explanations, "incentive-" or "interest-based" approaches are actor-centered in that they explain the emergence of institutions through the intentional behavior of actors. Instead of claiming that changing global governance structures create the necessity for actors to form alternative governance instruments, the starting point for interest-based approaches is the rational actor that strives for benefits.

Many writings on transnational PPPs have referred to this argument, sketching out the interests of international organizations, TNCs, NGOs, and governments to participate in PPPs. With regard to international organizations, studies typically highlight that international organizations enter partnerships for additional resources (Bull et al. 2004: 483; Tesner 2000: 150). The crisis of publicly funded development cooperation, particularly the perceived financial crisis of the United Nations, has ag-

gravated the trend to partner with business. Studies indicate that international organizations are increasingly confronted with highly technical issues for which they lack expertise, while business often  
45 has the skills and resources necessary to deal with today's development challenges (Witte/Reinicke 2005: 46). Business in turn participates in PPPs to receive access to public tenders. Public subsidies can reduce the costs for research and development — especially in the case of costly innovations — and may lower training and credit costs. With regard to NGOs, studies argue that NGOs have a general interest to participate, as partnerships open room for influencing global politics. Other incentives for NGOs can be greater publicity, and finally, the close contact to state-actors and business  
50 actors can also result in more consultancy work and service delivery contracts (Dingwerth 2004: 78; Andonova/Levy 2003: 21). Governments have incentives to enter partnerships, since the control over the formulation and implementation of policies could possibly be increased through PPPs, and because governments can also be interested in the expertise and capabilities of non-state actors.

55 To sum up the section, it can be stated that different theoretical approaches have been applied to transnational partnerships, but nevertheless, there is still a lot of room for empirical research to examine the conditions which favor the emergence of PPPs. As the literature review has shown, the popular functionalist explanation has already been contested by empirical studies. Additionally, many accounts assume that transnational PPPs will most likely emerge when actors face the  
60 incentive to realize specific resources they would otherwise not obtain. As we have argued in this context, the assumptions of institutional economics that have already been applied to national PPPs can also be fruitful for the analysis of transnational PPPs.

*Answer the questions:*

**1. Literature review as a whole.**

1. Identify and compare their introductory sentence(s) in terms of length, thoroughness and information included. Do they contain an indication of the central theme of the review, its organizational pattern or another focus element? Which introduction is more effective? What can be improved?
2. Identify and compare their body parts.
  - a) Which organization pattern do they follow: chronological, thematic or methodological? Discuss when each of those can be appropriate. Which one do you think will be best for your proposal?
  - b) What makes a literature review different from an annotated bibliography? Are the reviews organized around sources or ideas? How does this affect the review?
  - c) Are the sources analyzed thoroughly or do the researchers bring up only the information relevant to the thematic focus of the review?
  - d) While reviewing the sources, which of the following tactics do the researchers use: identifying the areas of controversy/debate in the literature, spotting the deficiencies/gaps, discovering strengths/weaknesses, pointing out similarities/differences?
3. Identify and compare their conclusions. Which do you consider to be the most successful? Why? Do you think conclusions may vary depending on the chosen organization pattern or tactics?

**2. Language and style**

1. Analyze the language and style of the reviews. Focus on the manner in which the sources are presented. Do the reviewers limit themselves to a factual recounting of the

- information or use the language that suggests value judgment on their part? Which do you think is more appropriate in a review? Why?
2. Analyze how contesting views are presented (e.g., Lines 3, 9, 19, 21, 24, 26). Make a list of summarizing verbs used by the researchers, add some more of your own. What tense is used to report the findings?
  3. Analyze how sources are documented. Go online to see what citation style(s) can be used in your subject area.

### 3. Academic Honesty

1. Go online to find an explanation of what academic honesty consists in. Compare it with views on academic honesty in Russia.
2. Using relevant online resources, prepare concise guidelines on how to avoid plagiarism.

## STAGE 2

*Ex. 3. Working in small groups/pairs, sort the phrases from A and B into the following categories*

General references to literature	Highlighting inadequacies of previous research	Identifying weaknesses of a particular work
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1. Although extensive research has been carried out on ..., no single study exists which adequately covers .....
2. During the past ... years much more information has become available on .....
3. However, the author offers no explanation for ...
4. The study would have been more convincing/useful if the researcher had considered/included....
5. In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on .....
6. Most studies in (the field of) ... have only focused on ...
7. Nevertheless, the proposed theory has not escaped criticism from ...
8. Researchers have not treated ... in much detail.
9. The first serious discussions and analyses of ... emerged during the 19...s
10. However, the study fails to consider ...
11. The research to date has tended to focus on ... rather than ....
12. There is a considerable volume of published studies describing .....
13. Whereas previous research on ... mainly focused on ..., we will also be looking at ....

*Ex. 4. Make up your own list of vocabulary necessary to write a review of literature and share it with the class.*

*Ex. 5. Use the phrases from ex. 3 and 4 in sentences about your research.*

### STAGE 3

Ex. 6. Peer editing.

a) Edit the following excerpt from students' research proposal. Focus: language accuracy, style and plagiarism (NB: all undocumented quotes are to be paraphrased).

b) Revise the excerpt using the phrases from ex. 10 where possible.

There are plenty of sources on public diplomacy. The literature can be classified depending on the school as well as on the form. My analysis is focused on the American, European and Russian literature on the subject.

American school of diplomatic studies, in particular, pays a lot of attention to this topic, as public diplomacy was an essential element of American foreign policy for decades. In my analysis, I will be using the articles of such American journals on public diplomacy as *The Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* and *The Public Diplomacy Magazine*. However, almost each of the authors has a different perspective on the definition of the term.

Carnes Lord, Professor of Statecraft and Civilization writes (missing comma) that the most important roles public diplomacy will have to play for the United States in the current international environment will be less grand-strategic and more operational. Support of national policy in military contingencies is one such role, and probably the most important.

Jill A. Schuker, former Senior Director for Public Affairs at the National Security Council emphasizes the importance of effective communication with the public aimed at emulating America's vision and ideas. He believes that public diplomacy is one of America's most effective weapons of outreach, persuasion and policy.

However, both of them do not seem to see difference between public diplomacy and propaganda, which impedes the objectiveness and comprehensiveness of the analysis.

Lastly, the official definition of the term by the Planning Group for Integration of USIA into the Department of State says that "public diplomacy seeks to promote the national interest and the national security of the United States through understanding, informing and influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad" (Dictionary of International Relations Terms, 1987, p. 85)

One of the most outstanding concepts was put forward by Colleen Graffy, a former deputy US Assistant Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy. It is called "Public Diplomacy 2.0). The new public diplomacy is described as an art of using the most innovative Internet technologies to establish contacts with the foreign public.

The European studies of public diplomacy are predominantly concentrated around the greatest universities and such authoritative journals as *The Discussion Papers in Diplomacy* and *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*. These periodicals contain the most recent articles of the most distinguished theorists and practitioners and are essential for every one who wants to follow the trends and feel the Zeitgeist. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* has published several articles by Prof. Tatiana V. Zonova, whose guidance I have the honor to follow in my work.

Unfortunately, the Russian sources on public diplomacy are not nearly as numerous as the foreign ones. However, the article "Creating the image of Russia?" by V.Kononenko is certainly worth mentioning. The author comes to a very important conclusion that the strictly bureaucratic approach to public diplomacy has proved ineffective, and Russia's civil society should be engaged in diplomatic efforts.

*Ex. 7. Write the Review of Literature section of your proposal.*

a) Choose an appropriate organization pattern.

b) Make sure that each part of the Review (e.g. a part devoted to a particular period in the historiography of the researched issue or focusing on a certain group of methods) makes a reference to at least one landmark study and analyzes in greater detail at least three smaller/less significant papers.

**NB:** Oftentimes students complain about lack of relevant sources for their reviews. In this case, instead of focusing on studies that directly address your own research question/region, broaden your review so that it includes publications that are relevant to or overlap with some part of your question. Alternatively, you may want to look at studies with the theoretical perspective that is similar to or the same with that of your research even if they concern another region/country. Also be looking for analogies — problems, situations, etc. that might be similar to those you want to analyze in your research.

### 3. METHODOLOGY and THE OUTLINE OF THE PROJECT

#### STAGE 1

These sections of the Proposal describe respectively the methodological framework required to support your claims and attain the objectives you have set out and the information each part of the thesis (Introduction, Body and Conclusion) will contain.

*Ex. 1. Analyze the following samples of the methodological section and speak about their strengths and weaknesses. Identify the methods used by the researchers. Comment on the way they are presented. Do the researchers confine themselves to a mere enumeration of their research tools? Why (not)?*

\* \* \*

#### A.

Thesis: THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF AUTONOMY REGIMES

The project will consist of two components: detailed case studies of autonomy settlements — or attempted settlements — with a special focus on the role of external agents; and an evaluation of general hypotheses based on information generated by these case studies, supplemented by available quantitative information for a larger sample of cases.

Due to the lack of systematic attention to the influence of external agents on autonomy settlements so far, there is a shortage of detailed empirical information to test general hypotheses. One aim of this project, therefore, is to generate such empirical information. To do this, we will commission area specialists to conduct case studies of achieved and attempted autonomy settlements.

These case studies will follow a clearly defined structure and framework, derived from the thoughts and hypotheses indicated above. The case studies will first describe the background to the conflict (its history and evolution, the involved parties, the settlement outcomes so far, etc.). Then, the studies will aim to document the role of external agents in the various stages of the

establishment and operation of (attempted) autonomy regimes, with most emphasis on the settlement and post-settlement phases.

In the second stage, we will use the empirical information generated by the case studies to evaluate general hypotheses and arguments. If it appears feasible, we will also conduct a quantitative analysis of some hypotheses. An updated version of the list indicated in Appendix 2 will provide the basis for this. To do this, we will need to code variables on the nature of the autonomy regimes, their operation, and the involvement of external agents, as well as include various control variables. We expect the case studies to provide more specific ideas about which variables are most useful, and consequently which data we should try to collect.

\* \* \*

**B.**

Thesis: MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY IN EUROPE

In seeking to answer the main research question what can be termed a legal-institutional methodology will be adopted which will not only study the legal framework of delegation of powers and the primary and secondary competence conferring instruments in their legal and constitutional context but also the manner in which those competences have been exercised in practice by the agencies and by the accounting institutions concerned

The *study design* entails a comparative case analysis of the formal and de facto accountability regimes of national and EU regulatory (e.g. food agencies) and investigative (e.g. police/Europol) or enforcement authorities (e.g. EU Border Control Agency). The research process entails:

1. Collection and comparison of all the pertinent legal and policy documents describing agencies' missions, mandates and accountability requirements;
2. Description/analysis of accountability practices, of both agency inputs (appointment hearings, agency plan presentations, legislative debates) and outputs (annual reports, legislative oversight, evaluation studies, legal oversight, public accountability practices etc.);
3. Interviews with key stakeholders within the agencies and the relevant accountability to assess their experiences and record their assessments.

\* \* \*

**C.**

Thesis: COLONIAL CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BRITISH AND FRENCH POLICIES AND DISCOURSES, 1920–1960

In exploring these sets of questions, we will adopt elements of discourse analysis in its Foucaultian variant as our methodological framework. Two aspects make the Foucaultian approach particularly appealing to our project: First, it emphasizes the connection between discursive and non-discursive practices as parts of one and the same 'dispositive' which comprises such heterogeneous elements as discourses and institutions, architectural artefacts and laws, administrative actions and scientific formulae. Second, discourse analysis in the Foucaultian tradition stresses the connections between the various strands that make up a discourse and at the same time does not neglect the 'outside' of this particular discourse. On a more specific level, discourse analysis (in all of its variants) provides the instruments to explore the semantic structures of selected texts. Recurring narrative patterns, metaphors, classificatory systems and

binary oppositions as well as several other linguistic features serve to indicate the way reality is constructed.

While sticking to discourse analysis as our common framework, we will in some cases depart from its methodological rigidity and fall back on less rigorous approaches. In our opinion, neither the complexities of history nor the particular logic of literary texts can be fully grasped by discourse analysis. We will, for example, pay attention to the motives of major protagonists, an aspect that is dismissed by some practitioners of discourse analysis as being purely speculative. Similarly, applying classificatory codes of discourse analysis to the psychological subtlety of a novel can justifiably be regarded as simplistic. Therefore, in some instances we will use additional devices taken from historiography and literary studies that enable us to make full use of our sources.

### *Ex. 2. Methods in IR.*

Increased methodological diversity and an unlimited variety of classifications make it next to impossible to make up a finite inventory of methods/techniques used by researchers. Below is a mixed bag of possible methodological approaches. Prepare a brief explanation for each of them. Are you going to use any of these options? Add to the list other possible research approaches/methods you will employ in your research.

- Economic geographical analysis (econometrical, statistical and functional and cost analyses);
- civilizational approach;
- cartographic methods;
- descriptive analysis (a descriptive-historical approach);
- document and archival analysis;
- interviews;
- case studies (comparative, single country, etc);
- quantitative (statistical) analysis;
- formal modeling;
- cross-methods studies.

## STAGE 2

*Ex. 3. Using excerpts from ex. 1 and online resources make up a list of vocabulary necessary to write about your methodology. Share it with the class.*

*Ex. 4. Use the vocabulary from ex. 3 and the following clichés to account for the choice of the methods you will be using in your paper.*

- a) A .... approach was chosen to allow a .....
- b) A variety of methods are used to assess .... Each has its advantages and drawbacks
- c) In summary, throughout these three sections, I will combine ... and .....
- d) It was considered that ... measures would usefully supplement and extend the ... analysis.
- e) It was decided that the best method to adopt for this investigation was to .....
- f) One can identify several advantages of, .....
- g) The ... method is one of the more practical ways of .....
- h) The ... approach has a number of attractive features: .....

- i) The ... approach was chosen because .....
- j) The first question will be addressed through a ... analysis of ....

### STAGE 3

*Ex. 5. Peer editing. Edit the following excerpt from students' research proposal. Focus: language, accuracy and style.*

As the study mainly focuses on bilateral relations between Germany and most influential Asian countries, the structure of the thesis will embrace chapters devoted to the examination of German relations with a particular state.

The first part of the project will focus on relations with three Asian developed states with democratic political system: Japan, Indonesia, South Korea. It is hypothesized, that since economic and political systems of these countries resembles much the European ones and Germany shares common values with them, they are likely to be German major partners in the region. For this reason, each of the three chapters in the first part will describe, how Germany enhances political and economic cooperation with each of these Asian partners, the pattern in which they exchange technologies, initiate joint economic projects on governmental and non-governmental level, promote bilateral trade. In the political dimension a special attention will be paid to the creation of German political funds aimed on elaborating the projects of political reforms in the countries which will contribute to the elimination of economic and political barriers impeding the development of trade.

The second part will include chapters devoted to the relations with China, North Korea and Vietnam. (...)

Finally, the study seeks to provide some practical advice for the foreign policy of Russia in the Asian-pacific region, and with this issue will deal the last chapter. It will sum up all the above-stated analyses and present drawbacks or virtues of German Asian strategy, make an emphasize on those economic branches, where Russia is able to compete with Germany and will include a pattern to which Russia should stick in order to achieve success in securing its economic and political interests in the region.

*Ex. 6. Write the methodology section of your proposal and the outline of your paper.*

# APPENDICES



## APPENDIX 1.

### ROLE PLAY CARD

*Fill out this card before the role play and hand it in to your instructor for her/him to be able to better assess your preparation and performance.*

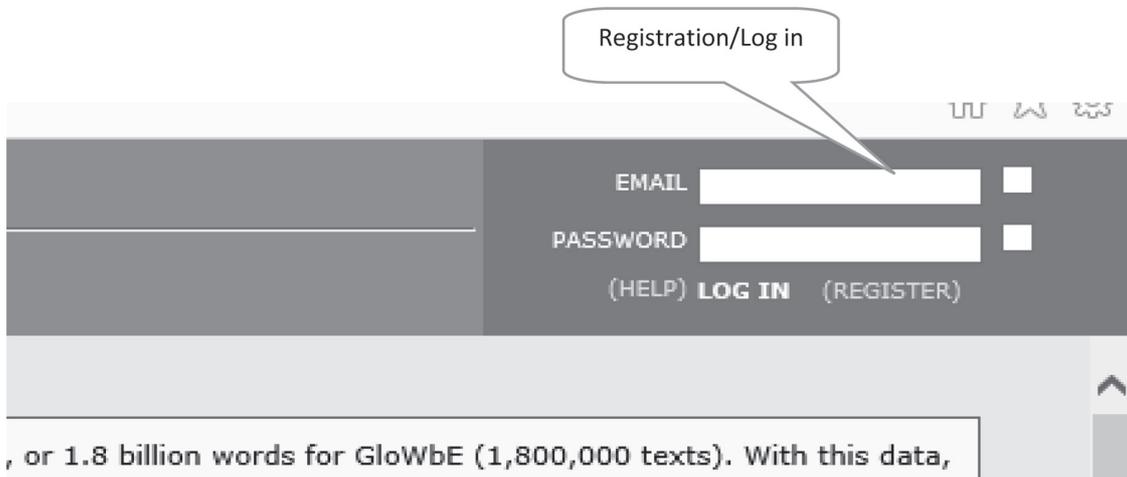
<b>Name</b> _____		<b>Role</b> _____	
<b>A. Line of argument</b>			
<b>B. Language Input</b>			
1. Relevant phrases from the text		2. Relevant phrases from other sources	
a) _____		a) _____	
b) _____		b) _____	
c) _____		c) _____	
3. Rhetorical Functions: Introduction/Aims		4. Rhetorical Functions: Convictions	
5. Rhetorical Functions: Entering Discussion		6. Rhetorical Functions: (Dis)Agreement	
7. Rhetorical Functions: Clarifying		8. Rhetorical Functions: Emphasizing	
9. Rhetorical Functions: Rephrasing		10. Rhetorical Functions: Changing the Point	
Active vocabulary:			

## APPENDIX 2

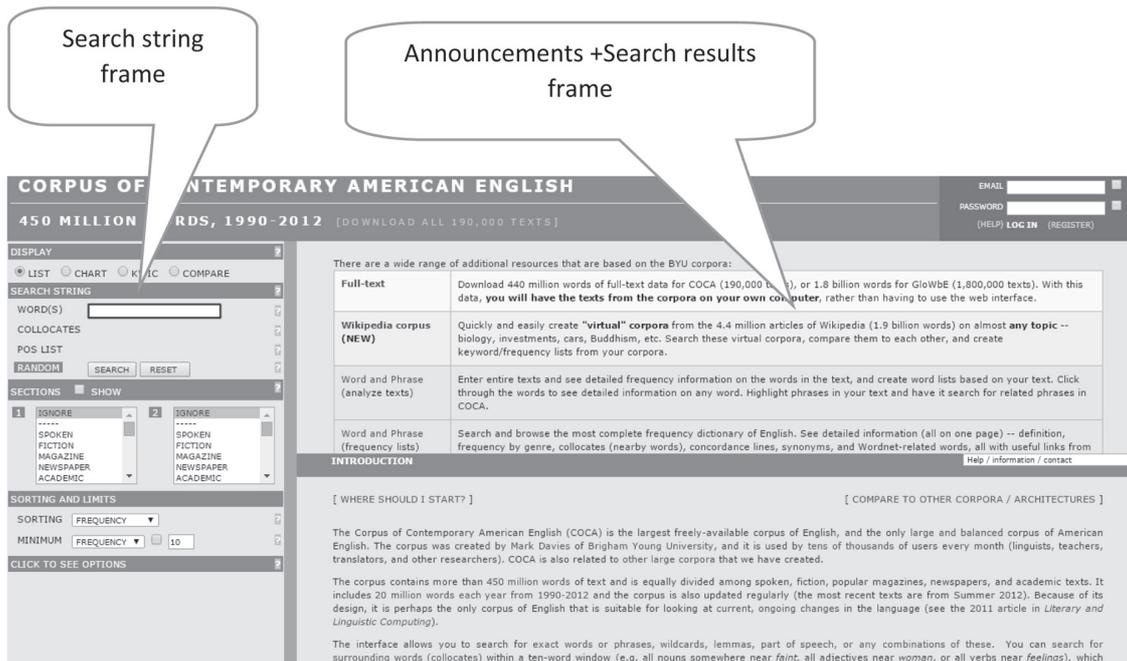
### USING THE CORPUS OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN ENGLISH (COCA)

A corpus is an electronically processed and stored collection of texts. It is an immensely helpful research tool, which can be used in a number of ways. These tips are only meant to provide guidelines on how to use COCA to look for collocations, i.e. words used around the word you are interested in. The guidelines can be modified to suit your needs.

1. Go to [www.Corpus.byu.edu](http://www.Corpus.byu.edu) and choose Corpus of Contemporary American English.
2. Click the registration link and follow the instructions. Registration is free. Unregistered users can only make 10 searches a day.



3. The screen is divided into a number of sections.



■ Английский язык для магистратуры

- To start a simple search, type the word you are interested in (e.g., *elusive*) into the search field and press search. The search will return all examples with *elusive*. To look at the concordance data (specific examples of *elusive*) press the word *elusive* in the Search results frame.

The screenshot shows a search interface with the following components:

- Search field:** A text input field containing the word "elusive".
- Search results:** A table displaying search results for "elusive".
- Click on columns two, three or four for longer contexts:** A callout pointing to the columns for year, source, and context in the search results table.
- Concordance lines/Key words in context:** A callout pointing to the text snippets in the search results table.

1	CONTEXT	FREQ
1	ELUSIVE	30

1	2012	SPOK	NBC_Today	A	B	C	he has found -- this is a retired gynecologist -- that he has located the elusive G-spot. He found it c
2	2012	SPOK	NBC_Dateline	A	B	C	town to its foundation. But the solution to the mystery proved to be as elusive as gossip on the Mor
3	2012	FIC	Bk:GoodFather	A	B	C	, respiratory, circulatory. The rheumatologist is called to consult when a diagnosis remains elusive.
4	2012	FIC	Bk:VariationsNovel	A	B	C	compress into a crystalline hardness, the way fear and desire collude to produce an elusive individ
5	2012	FIC	Bk:LionsMouth	A	B	C	thin pad and the short length, he turned and twisted in pursuit of an elusive relaxation. Perhaps a t
6	2012	FIC	Bk:MyLordVampire	A	B	C	She swayed forward, nearly lost in the darkness before she was belatedly grasped. Elusive ang

- To look for a word in all its forms, use square brackets, e.g. [denigrate]. The search will return examples containing denigrate, denigrated, denigrates, denigrating.
- The asterisk (\*) can be used as a wild card, i.e. instead of any word. Type into the search field any word preceded by \* set off by a space and press "Search" to see what words most frequently go with the chosen word. In the following example, the word *propensity* is preceded by \* \*; the results show what *two* most immediate words can precede this word.

The screenshot shows a search interface with the following components:

- Search field:** A text input field containing the search string "\* \* propensity".
- Search results:** A table displaying search results for "\* \* propensity".

1	CONTEXT	FREQ
1	HAVE A PROPENSITY	30
2	AND A PROPENSITY	23
3	HAD A PROPENSITY	23
4	AND THE PROPENSITY	21
5	, THE PROPENSITY	20
6	A HIGHER PROPENSITY	18
7	HAS A PROPENSITY	17
8	A GREATER PROPENSITY	16

- If you want to know what preposition follows the word *propensity*, type *propensity* into the search field followed by the tag for all prepositions [i\*]<sup>1</sup> and press search. To look at the concordance data (specific examples of propensity+preposition) press one of the collocations in the Search results frame.

Part of Speech List

	CONTEXT	FREQ
1	PROPENSITY FOR	393
2	PROPENSITY OF	118
3	PROPENSITY TOWARD	57
4	PROPENSITY TO	45
5	PROPENSITY TOWARDS	6
6	PROPENSITY AMONG	6
7	PROPENSITY IN	5
8	PROPENSITY WITH	4
9	PROPENSITY WITHIN	3
10	PROPENSITY ON	2
11	PROPENSITY OVER	1

- If you want to know what verbs can precede the word *propensity* within a particular range, press “Collocates”, type into the text field the symbol for the verb tag [v\*] and using drop down lists with numbers define your range, i.e. the number of words you want to search to the left and to the right of your word. By default it is four tokens on both sides, so if left unchanged it will capture potential examples of words four tokens before and four tokens after *propensity*, i.e. words which appear in any of the following positions 4 3 2 1 **PROPENSITY** 1 2 3 4. If you are looking for the verbs that precede propensity, set the range as zero to the right; choose the number of words to the left of propensity you are interested in and press search, for example, 2 1 **PROPENSITY** 0 . To read the examples, click one of the verbs in the search results window.

	CONTEXT	FREQ
1	HAVE	4
2	HAS	2
3	HAD	2
4	IS	2
5	GIVEN	1
6	WAS	1
7	SHOWN	8
8	INFLUENCE	7
9	SHOW	5
10	BE	4
11	LEARNING	4

KEYWORD IN CONTEXT DISPLAY

SECTION: NO LIMITS

	CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT	[?]	SAVE LIST	CHOOSE LIST	CREATE NEW LIST	[?]
1	2012 SPOK NPR_TalkNat	A B C	know what? I don't want to know. What if I <b>have</b> a <b>propensity</b> to Alzheimer's, and that's just going to sha			
2	2012 ACAD Education	A B C	on the job or in the community, a sizeable majority of inmates <b>have</b> a <b>propensity</b> to recidivate, caught in			
3	2011 FIC Bk:DarkestSecret	A B C	? A goddess? A Harpy? " # The guys here did <b>have</b> a <b>propensity</b> for choosing females of " myth " and " le			
4	2011 ACAD ForeignPolicy	A B C	rest we know from history books. " # Both Sasha and Masha <b>have</b> a <b>propensity</b> , like many young Russia			
5	2010 ACAD DrugIssues	A B C	blue balls, meaning that, at least at the outset, all <b>have</b> equal <b>propensity</b> for offending or substance use. I			
6	2009 ACAD PhysicalEduc	A B C	classes that promote and lead to physical health, but these classes also <b>have</b> the <b>propensity</b> of positively			
7	2008 ACAD CollegeStud	A B C	other equally plausible explanations for such a discrepancy: 1) women may <b>have</b> a <b>propensity</b> to displa			

<sup>1</sup> To learn what part of speech tags COCA uses, click on the question mark symbol (?) to the right of the POS List and in the lower right frame of the COCA interface click on the hyperlink “Click here for a list of these part of speech tags.” Alternatively, place the cursor in the text field and choose one of the tags available on POS List to automatically insert the tag into the text box.

## **ВЫДЕРЖКА ИЗ ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНОЙ ПРОГРАММЫ ДИСЦИПЛИНЫ “ИНОСТРАННЫЙ ЯЗЫК МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ОБЩЕНИЯ” “АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК”**

### **УРОВЕНЬ — “МАГИСТРАТУРА”**

Настоящая программа предназначена для студентов магистратуры по специальности “Международные отношения”, имеющих подготовку по английскому языку как первому/второму иностранному в объеме курса “бакалавр” (8 семестров). Настоящая программа составлена на основе компетентностного и модульного подхода.

*Цель* обучения английскому языку является комплексной и состоит в дальнейшем развитии у студентов магистратуры *иноязычной коммуникативной компетенции*, обеспечивающей их успешную деятельность с применением английского языка в различных сферах международно-политического, экономического, научно-технического, информационного, политико-правового и культурного пространств, а также дипломатии и внешнеполитической деятельности Российской Федерации и международных связей российских регионов, и формирование компетенций, необходимых для использования английского языка в учебной и научной деятельности, дальнейшем обучении в аспирантуре и при проведении научных исследований в данных областях.

### **Модуль “Речевая практика — 1”**

#### *Задачи:*

Дальнейшее развитие речевой, социокультурной, аналитической и информационной компетенций как составляющих профессионально ориентированной коммуникативной компетенции.

#### *Умения и навыки:*

#### **Речевые умения и навыки:**

##### **А. Монологическая речь**

1. Умение продуцировать неподготовленное краткое высказывание на общественно-политические и социально-культурные темы с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, композиционных, интонационных и орфоэпических норм, характеризующееся беглостью, логичностью, связностью.
2. Умение продуцировать подготовленное развернутое монологическое высказывание (сообщение, публичное выступление, доклад) на общественно-политические и социально-культурные темы с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, композиционных, интонационных и орфоэпических норм, характеризующееся беглостью, логичностью, связностью.
3. Умение критически изложить прочитанное или прослушанное (резюме, комментирование, оценка) с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, композиционных, интонационных и орфоэпических норм.

#### Б. Диалогическая речь

Умение осуществлять эффективное речевое взаимодействие с участниками различных видов подготовленного и неподготовленного диалога/полилога (свободная беседа, беседа-обмен мнениями, дискуссия и др.) в общественно-политической и социально-культурной сферах по широкому кругу вопросов, адекватно используя формулы речевого этикета с учетом коммуникативно-прагматических особенностей ситуации общения и соблюдая языковые, стилистические, социо-культурные, интонационные и орфоэпические нормы.

#### В. Чтение

1. Умение осуществлять поисковое чтение профессионально-ориентированных текстов различной жанровой направленности с целью извлечения информации в соответствии с поставленной задачей;
2. Умение осуществлять ознакомительное чтение профессионально-ориентированных текстов различной жанровой направленности с целью понимания макроструктуры текста, его основного содержания, линии доказательств, аргументации автора.
3. Умение осуществлять изучающее чтение профессионально-ориентированных текстов различной жанровой направленности в целях полного и точного понимания всей информации (основной и второстепенной), представленной в тексте эксплицитно и имплицитно, на основе интерпретации содержания как на языковом, так и на дискурсивном уровнях.

#### Г. Аудирование

Дальнейшее совершенствование навыков восприятия на слух монологической и диалогической речи носителей языка (речь людей разного социального статуса, речь носителей различных вариантов английского языка) и лиц, владеющих английским языком как языком международного общения, разнообразной тематики из социально-культурной и общественно-политической областей деятельности.

#### Д. Письмо

1. Умение продуцировать вторичные тексты (резюме) в пределах тематики курса и/или тематики магистерских исследований магистрантов на основе информации, полученной из печатных и / или звучащих текстов, видеоматериалов и т.д., а также из источников на родном языке с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, жанровых и композиционных норм.
2. Умение продуцировать первичные тексты (сочинения различных видов и аналитические обзоры) с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, жанровых и композиционных норм.

#### **Информационно-аналитические умения и навыки:**

1. Умение пользоваться учебными и специализированными справочными ресурсами в целях обеспечения профессиональной деятельности на английском языке.
2. Умение аналитико-синтетической обработки материалов различного характера.
3. Умение находить, собирать и первично обобщать фактический материал на иностранном языке, делая обоснованные выводы.

*Предметно-лексические темы:*

1. Проблемы современного общества.
2. Различные виды дискриминации как причина социальной разобщенности.
3. Религиозный фактор в современном мире. Роль религии в политике и международных отношениях.

*Формы организации учебной деятельности студентов:*

Фронтальная, индивидуальная, парная, групповая, командная

*Формы контроля:*

— **Английский как основной иностранный язык — зачет.**

Зачет включает:

Письменная часть:

Лексико-грамматический тест по материалам семестра. Время выполнения — 2 ак. часа.

Устная часть: (сдается студентами, чей рейтинг ниже 70%)

1. Реферативное изложение на английском языке газетно-журнальной статьи на профессионально-ориентированную тему объемом до 4500 печатных знаков с последующей беседой по теме статьи. Время на подготовку — 20 мин.
2. Беседа по материалу, пройденному в семестре.

— **Английский как второй иностранный язык — экзамен.**

Экзамен включает:

Письменная часть:

Лексико-грамматический тест по материалам семестра. Время выполнения — 2 ак. часа.

Устная часть:

1. Аналитическое резюме на английском языке и обсуждение с экзаменатором газетно-журнальной статьи по тематике курса объемом до 5500 печатных знаков.
2. Монологическое высказывание на общественно-политическую тему, указанную в экзаменационном билете. Длительность высказывания — 2 минуты; предварительное обдумывание — до 1 мин.

Объекты контроля:

1. комплексные умения осуществлять изучающее чтение профессионально-ориентированных текстов различной жанровой направленности;
2. навыки информационно-аналитической работы;
3. комплексные навыки говорения.

Модуль “Язык профессии — 2”

*Задачи:*

Дальнейшее развитие речевой, социокультурной, аналитической и информационной компетенций как составляющих профессионально ориентированной коммуникативной компетенции.

*Умения и навыки:*

**Речевые умения и навыки:**

**А. Монологическая речь**

Умение критически изложить прочитанное или прослушанное (реферирование текста, комментирование, оценка) с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, композиционных, интонационных и орфоэпических норм.

**Д. Письмо**

1. Умение продуцировать вторичные тексты (резюме, рецензия на научную статью, обзор литературы по теме магистерского исследования) в пределах тематики курса и/или тематики магистерских исследований магистрантов на основе информации, полученной из печатных и / или звучащих текстов, видеоматериалов и т.д., а также из источников на родном языке с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, жанровых и композиционных норм.
2. ...
3. Умение осуществлять корректуру и редактирование текста в соответствии с языковыми, стилистическими, жанровыми и композиционными нормами.

*Предметно-лексические темы:*

1. Особенности дипломатии в эпоху глобализации и развития информационных технологий.
2. Система международных отношений и современный миропорядок. Многосторонний подход в международных отношениях. Роль международных организации в мире.

*Формы контроля:*

— **Английский как основной иностранный язык — экзамен.**

Экзамен включает:

Письменная часть:

1. Лексико-грамматический тест по материалам семестра. Время выполнения — 2 ак. часа.
2. Критический обзор статьи из академического журнала профессионально-ориентированного характера на английском языке. Выполняется во внеаудиторное время.

Устная часть:

1. Реферативное изложение на английском языке и обсуждение с экзаменатором газетно-журнальной статьи по тематике курса объемом до 5500 печатных знаков.
2. Монологическое высказывание на общественно-политическую тему, указанную в экзаменационном билете. Длительность высказывания — 2 минуты; предварительное обдумывание — до 1 мин.

— **Английский как второй иностранный язык — зачет.**

Зачет включает:

Письменная часть:

- Лексико-грамматический тест по материалам семестра. Время выполнения — 2 ак. часа.

Устная часть (сдается студентами, чей рейтинг ниже 70%):

1. Реферативное изложение на английском языке газетно-журнальной статьи на профессионально-ориентированную тему объемом до 4500 печатных знаков с последующей беседой по теме статьи. Время на подготовку — 20 мин.
2. Беседа по материалу, пройденному в семестре.

## Модуль “Язык профессии — 3”

*Умения и навыки:*

### **Речевые умения и навыки**

#### **А. Монологическая речь**

1. Умение представить подготовленное развернутое обоснование темы магистерской диссертации с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, композиционных, интонационных и орфоэпических норм, характеризующееся беглостью, логичностью, связностью.
2. Умение представить неподготовленный аналитический комментарий актуального новостного события с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, композиционных, интонационных и орфоэпических норм, характеризующееся беглостью, логичностью, связностью.
3. ...
4. Умение продуцировать подготовленное развернутое монологическое высказывание (сообщение, публичное выступление, доклад) на общественно-политические и социально-культурные темы с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, композиционных, интонационных и орфоэпических норм, характеризующееся беглостью, логичностью, связностью.

#### **Д. Письмо**

Умение продуцировать первичные тексты научного характера по тематике магистерских исследований с соблюдением языковых, стилистических, жанровых и композиционных норм.

*Предметно-лексические темы:*

1. Концепция силы в международных отношениях.
2. Глобальные угрозы. Борьба с терроризмом.
3. Особенности внутренней политики и внешнеполитического курса России на современном этапе.

*Формы контроля:*

- **Английский как основной иностранный язык — зачет и государственный экзамен.**
- **Английский как второй иностранный язык — квалификационный экзамен.**

Зачет включает:

1. Беседа по материалу, пройденному в семестре.

Экзамен включает:

Письменная часть:

Внеаудиторное написание обоснования выбора темы магистерской диссертации объемом 5 машинописных страниц для студентов, чей академический рейтинг за второй семестр составил 70% и выше. Студенты с рейтингом до 70% письменную работу не пишут.

Устная часть:

1. Презентация основных положений обоснования выбора темы диссертации продолжительностью до 6 мин. с опорой на план.
2. Беседа по теме магистерской диссертации.
3. Неподготовленный аналитический комментарий текущего общественно-политического или социально-культурного события, указанного в экзаменационном билете (3–4 мин).

## КРИТЕРИИ ОЦЕНКИ ОСНОВНЫХ ВИДОВ РАБОТ

За устные виды работы выставляется одна оценка; за письменную — две (за содержание/структуру и лексико-грамматическое оформление). Оценка за все виды работ выставляется в процентах в соответствии со следующей шкалой:

90–100%	= A
82–89%	= B
75–81%	= C
67–74%	= D
60–66%	= E

### 1. ГРУППОВАЯ ПРОЕКТНАЯ РАБОТА<sup>1</sup>

Результаты проектной работы представляется в виде презентации в формате Power Point, являющейся продуктом группового исследования студентов. За проектную работу выставляется одна отметка для всей группы.

#### *Структура*

- вступление (представление участников проекта, темы, краткий план)
- основная часть (постановка проблемы; ее временные/территориальные рамки; гипотеза, если применимо, и обоснование выбора темы; обзор существующих взглядов/подходов и их анализ и оценка; аргументация гипотезы, подкрепленная статистикой, возможно, результатами самостоятельно проведенного опроса)
- заключительная часть (резюме, вывод, Q&A)

#### *Содержание*

- соответствие теме
- аргументированность
- связность и логичность
- наличие элементов рецензирования (анализ и оценка)
- цельность (презентация — единое целое, а не сумма отдельных презентаций)

#### *Форма*

- представление материала в формате Power Point с соблюдением рекомендаций в отношении стиля оформления, объема текста на слайде, цветового и шрифтового оформления, визуальных эффектов
- подача информации, демонстрирующая умение держать внимание аудитории (вербальные и невербальные средства: эмфатические элементы, контакт с аудиторией, интонация и темп речи и т.д.)
- соблюдение стиля: устный академический английский
- лексико-грамматическое оформление

<sup>1</sup> Предложенные критерии могут быть адаптированы для оценивания индивидуальных презентаций.

## Классификация ошибок, связанных с содержанием, структурой и формой проектной работы, и их оценка в процентах

	Описание ошибки	Вычитаемые баллы в %
1	<u>Вступление</u> : тема презентации не названа/ отсутствует план выступления/ не представлены участники проекта/ тема и авторы не указаны на первом слайде	10%
2	<u>Основная часть</u> : отсутствует обоснование/гипотеза/временные или территориальные рамки изучения проблемы	10%
3	<u>Основная часть</u> : выбор темы обоснован поверхностно	5%
4	<u>Основная часть</u> : отсутствует обзор существующих взглядов/подходов к проблематике	10%
5	<u>Основная часть</u> : отсутствует анализ и оценка существующих взглядов/подходов к проблематике	10%
6	<u>Основная часть</u> : оценка существующих взглядов/подходов или высказываемые идеи не подкреплены в достаточной мере аргументами/ категоричность отрицательной оценки	5% (каждый случай)
7	<u>Основная часть</u> : отсутствие связности (нет смысловой связи между частями, отсутствуют transitional phrases, signposting)	5% (каждая часть)
8	Отсутствие логики (противоречивость, неясность изложения и т.д.)	5% (каждый случай)
9	<u>Заключение</u> : отсутствует резюме/вывод	10%
10	<u>Заключение</u> : вывод, к которому приходит группа, не базируется на доказательной базе, представленной в основной части	5%
11	<u>Заключение</u> : появляется новая идея	5%
12	<u>Q&amp;A</u> : отсутствует взаимодействие с аудиторией, неспособность вступить в диалог	10%
13	<u>Q&amp;A</u> : очевидное несоответствие ответа вопросу	5%
14	<u>Подача информации</u> в формате PowerPoint: 1–2 слайда в минуту, 4–5 пунктов на слайде, не больше 6 слов в строчке, шрифт 18–48, информация в форме фраз, а не предложений	5%
15	<u>Подача информации</u> : отсутствие контакта с аудиторией/интерактивности, неправильно выбранная интонация и темп речи, поза (спиной к аудитории, сидя etc)	5%
16	<u>Подача информации</u> : чтение	10%
17	лексико-грамматическое оформление, препятствующее коммуникации/ влияющее на качество восприятия, включая примитивную лексику и грамматику/ несоответствие регистра	3% каждая ошибка, но не более 24%
18	Отсутствие содержательной и стилистической цельности (3/4 отдельных презентации в рамках одного проекта)	15%

## 2. РЕФЕРАТИВНОЕ ИЗЛОЖЕНИЕ ТЕКСТА (SUMMARY)

	Описание ошибки	Вычитаемые баллы в %
1	<u>Вступление.</u> Отсутствуют сведения об исходном тексте	10%
2	<u>Вступление.</u> Не сформулирована тема текста	15%
3	<u>Вступление.</u> Не сформулирован тезис текста	15%
4	<u>Вступление.</u> Неадекватность лексико-стилистических средств формулировки темы/тезиса	5%
5	<u>Основная часть.</u> Искажение содержания резюмируемого текста (в т.ч. пропуск важного положения)	10% за каждое искажение
6	<u>Основная часть:</u> Неточность передачи содержания резюмируемого текста	6% за каждую неточность
7	<u>Основная часть.</u> Отсутствует отсылка к автору резюмируемого текста	5%
8	<u>Основная часть.</u> Повторы, излишние детали/примеры, выражение оценки	до 15 %
9	Отсутствие средств текстовой связи	10%
10	<u>Лексико-грамматическое оформление:</u> Неадекватность лексико-грамматическое средств (примитивная лексика и грамматика, несоответствие регистра, ошибки)	3% каждая ошибка
11	Неадекватное интонационное оформление; неестественный темп речи	5%

## 3. НЕПОДГОТОВЛЕННОЕ МОНОЛОГИЧЕСКОЕ ВЫСКАЗЫВАНИЕ (IMPROMPTU TALK)

	Описание ошибки	Вычитаемые баллы в %
1	<u>Структура.</u> Отсутствует вступление или заключение	10%
2	<u>Структура.</u> Отсутствие средств текстовой связи (connectives, signposting)	5%
3	<u>Содержание.</u> Частичное несоответствие теме. Тема не раскрыта в достаточной мере	25%
4	<u>Содержание.</u> Полное несоответствие теме	40%
5	Логическая ошибка	5%
6	Несоответствие объема	10%
7	<u>Лексико-грамматическое оформление:</u> Неадекватность лексико-грамматическое средств (примитивная лексика и грамматика, несоответствие регистра, ошибки)	3% каждая ошибка
8	Неадекватное интонационное оформление; неестественный темп речи	5%

## 4. РЕЦЕНЗИЯ

Основные характеристики рецензии:

- **связность** (смысловое и структурное сцепление элементов текста между собой, как следующих непосредственно друг за другом, так и на некоторой дистанции друг от друга);
- **цельность** (внутренняя законченность, смысловое единство);
- **логичность** (последовательность в изложении материала, непротиворечивость мысли, четкость и достаточность аргументации, соотношение общего и частного);
- **рациональная оценочность** (аргументированное выражение отрицательного или положительного отношения к тем или иным аспектам рецензируемого текста);
- **некатегоричность.**

Элементы композиционной структуры текста рецензии:

- **вступление** (привлечение внимания к проблематике/автору рецензируемого текста; информация о характере рецензируемого текста, затронутых проблем с обязательным указанием его темы и основного тезиса; общая/первичная оценка первоисточника; указание на его целевую аудиторию);
- **основная часть** (анализ положений рецензируемого текста с элементами реферативного изложения и рациональная/аргументированная оценка по нескольким критериям — см. ниже);
- **заключение** (итоговая рациональная оценка произведения; мнение рецензента о путях преодоления недочетов/пожелания).

В рецензии содержится анализ исходного текста по двум–трем параметрам:

- своевременность/актуальность публикации;
- вклад в научную литературу по данной проблеме и степень оригинальности;
- логичность аргументации автора;
- обоснованность и правомерность использования фактов/примеров в поддержку аргументов;
- теоретическая концепция/парадигма, с позиции которой рассматривается проблема автором рецензируемого текста;
- использованная методология рассмотрения проблемы и ее правомерность, прозрачность и т.д.;
- обоснованность выводов;
- полнота и объективность анализа проблемы, предпринимаемого автором рецензируемого текста;
- ценность рецензируемого текста в сравнении с аналогичными произведениями.

Рекомендуется выставлять две оценки в процентах (за содержание/структуру и лексико-грамматическое оформление) или одну, являющуюся среднеарифметической.

### Классификация ошибок, связанных с содержанием и структурой рецензии, и их оценка в баллах

	Описание ошибки	Вычитаемые баллы в %
1	Отсутствие связности и цельности (нет смысловой связи между частями, отсутствуют средств текстовой связи)	5 % за каждую ошибку
2	Отсутствие логики (противоречивость, неясность изложения и т.д.)	10% за каждую ошибку
3	Оценка, неподкреплённая в достаточной мере аргументами	5% за каждую ошибку
4	Категоричность отрицательной оценки (использование отрицательно оценочных определений "weak", "bad", "unsubstantiated")	5% за каждую ошибку
5	<u>Вступление.</u> Информация, приводимая об авторе рецензируемого текста, излишняя, многословна, не раскрывает его авторитетность как специалиста в данной области	5%
6	<u>Вступление.</u> Информация о проблематике, в которую вписывается тема рецензируемого текста, слишком общая/узкая, неадекватно отражает место затрагиваемых проблем в данном направлении научной мысли.	5%
7	<u>Вступление.</u> Не определяется тема рецензируемого текста.	10%
8	<u>Вступление.</u> Тема текста определена нечетко/неточно, отсутствует необходимый уровень обобщений	5%
9	<u>Вступление.</u> Тема текста передается стилистически неприемлемым образом (н-р, «The topic of the text is...».)	5%
10	<u>Вступление.</u> Не определяется тезис рецензируемого текста	10%
11	<u>Вступление.</u> Тезис текста определен нечетко/неточно, отсутствует необходимый уровень обобщений	5%
12	<u>Вступление.</u> Тезис текста передается стилистически неприемлемым образом (н-р, «The thesis of the text is...».)	5%
13	<u>Вступление.</u> Отсутствует первичная общая оценка рецензируемого текста/указание возможной целевой аудитории	5%
14	<u>Вступление.</u> Отсутствуют выходные данные о рецензируемом тексте	5%
15	<u>Основная часть.</u> Преобладание пересказа рецензируемого текста над критическим анализом	20%
16	<u>Основная часть.</u> Использование только одного критерия для критического анализа рецензируемого текста	10%
17	<u>Основная часть.</u> Отсутствуют или недостаточны ссылки на автора рецензируемого текста.	10%
18	<u>Основная часть.</u> Искажение идей рецензируемого текста	10% за каждую ошибку
19	<u>Основная часть.</u> Неточная передача идей рецензируемого текста	5% за каждую ошибку
20	<u>Основная часть.</u> Отсутствие/избыток цитирования рецензируемого текста	10%
21	<u>Заключение.</u> Отсутствует заключительная оценка рецензируемого текста	10%
22	<u>Заключение.</u> Вводятся новые идеи, не обсуждавшиеся в основной части	10%

### Классификация ошибок, связанных с грамматическим, лексическим и стилистическим оформлением рецензии, и их оценка в баллах

	Описание ошибки	Вычитаемые баллы в %
1	Грамматические ошибки (неправильное употребление временных форм, согласование времен, согласование множественного и единственного числа и др. грубые грамматические и лексические ошибки)	3% за каждую ошибку
2	Ошибки в употреблении артиклей, предлогов	2% за каждую ошибку
3	Ошибки в употреблении лексики, в т.ч. в лексической сочетаемости	3% за каждую ошибку
4	Отсутствие/недостаточное количество изученных речевых клише, характерных для различных частей текста данного жанра	10%
5	Неадекватное лексическое, стилистическое и синтаксическое оформление рецензии (примитивная лексика, преобладание лексики разговорно-обиходного стиля, простые синтаксические структуры, не свойственные научному стилю)	3% за каждую ошибку
6	Ошибки в пунктуации, в т.ч. в оформлении выходных данных рецензируемого текста и цитат	1% за каждую ошибку

### 5. ОБОСНОВАНИЕ ВЫБОРА ТЕМЫ ДИССЕРТАЦИОННОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

#### Классификация ошибок, связанных с содержанием и структурой Обоснования, и их оценка в баллах

	Описание ошибки	Вычитаемые баллы в %
1	<u>Структура.</u> Отсутствует раздел (введение, обзор литературы, методология, краткое содержание глав и предполагаемый результат исследования)	10% за каждый раздел
2	<u>Структура.</u> Отсутствуют/неадекватно используются средства текстовой связи.	10%
3	Логическая ошибка.	5% каждая ошибка
4	<u>Структура.</u> Нарушение объема.	10%
5	<u>Содержание.</u> Введение. Отсутствует один из компонентов (введение в проблематику, постановка исследовательской проблемы, цели и задачи исследования, обоснование актуальности, рамки исследования)	2% за каждый компонент
6	<u>Содержание.</u> Обзор литературы. Преобладает пересказ над анализом источников, обосновывающим необходимость дополнительного изучения проблемы	10%
7	<u>Содержание.</u> Методология. Отсутствует обоснование выбора методов.	10%

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	Описание ошибки	Вычитаемые баллы в %
8	<u>Содержание.</u> Недостаточная проработанность разделов.	10%
9	<u>Содержание.</u> Плагиат <sup>1</sup> (словосочетание/предложение, отражающее идиоматический стиль автора источника, или несколько предложений/абзац).	10% /20% за каждый выявленный случай

Классификация ошибок, связанных с грамматическим, лексическим и стилистическим оформлением Обоснования, и их оценка в баллах

	Описание ошибки	Вычитаемые баллы в %
1	Неадекватность языковых средств (отсутствие клише, упрощенно-примитивная лексика)	до 20%
2	Ошибка в употреблении артикля, предлога; стилистическая ошибка	2% за каждую ошибку
3	Грамматическая, лексическая, синтаксическая ошибка	3% за каждую ошибку
4	Орфографическая и пунктуационная ошибка.	1% за каждую ошибку

<sup>1</sup> Плагиатом не считается:

- корректные заимствования с указанием библиографического или электронного источника;
- косвенное цитирование с указанием автора, а иногда и источника, выражающееся в реферативном или аннотированном изложении концепции, идеи, понятия и пр.;
- библиографическая информация, включенная в ссылки и список использованной литературы;
- частотные элементы общенаучного дискурса и дискурса, специфичного для сферы, в рамках которой выполнена научная работа (Раицкая Л. К. Плагиат vs заимствование. Электронный ресурс: [http://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/240689/?sphrase\\_id=60406](http://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/240689/?sphrase_id=60406)).

## ФОРМАТ КОНТРОЛЬНОЙ РАБОТЫ

### 1 КУРС

Время выполнения 45 мин<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Fill in the gap with the correct preposition or adverb where necessary.*

1. Gaskill, one of Britain's leading authorities \_\_\_\_\_ data protection law, explained the problem \_\_\_\_\_ complying \_\_\_\_\_ the new law's information requirements for web sites.

2. *Add at least three words/phrases to each word to form collocations.*

*Use one of the collocations from each set in a sentence of your own.*

SOUND, adj.: \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_

---

3. *Use of English. Choose the best variant.*

The CBS television news report "For Our Times," which covered a 1) two-weeks/two-week conference 2) on/about "Faith, Science and the Future" held at 3) the/a/x Massachusetts Institute of Technology a few years ago, left the viewer with the feeling that the long conflict between 4) the/a/x science and 5) the/a/x religion is 6) in/at an end.

4. *Translate from Russian into English using the vocabulary of the unit.*

1. По утверждению политика, Россия никого никогда не завоевывала, а только освобождала, все территории присоединялись к ней **добровольно**.
- 

5. *Identify the topic and the thesis of the following text.*

---

<sup>1</sup> В целях текущего контроля предлагается использовать контрольную работу длительностью 45 минут, для итогового — 90 минут.

## ФОРМАТ КОНТРОЛЬНОЙ РАБОТЫ

### 2 КУРС

*Время выполнения — 45 мин.*

*1. Fill in the gaps with the correct preposition or adverb where necessary.*

1. I call \_\_\_\_\_ the creation of a humane world devoid \_\_\_\_\_ poverty and imperialist colonialist assaults of the elite, which is the only true way to make poverty history.

*2. Use of English. Choose the best variant*

The roots of the notion of cyberterrorism can be traced back to **the/a/x** early 1990s, when the rapid growth **of/in** Internet use and the debate on the emerging "information society" **sparkled/sparked** several studies **on/about/in** the potential risks faced by the highly networked, high-tech-dependent United States.

*3. Translate the sentences using the active vocabulary.*

1. Политики, одобряющие насилие, должны быть **изобличены** и наказаны, независимо от того, нарушается при этом свобода слова или нет.
- 

*4. Write a paragraph (120–150 wds) on the assessment OR implications of the following event:*

OPEC DECIDES TO MAINTAIN PRODUCTION LEVELS

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