

МИНИСТЕРСТВО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ И НАУКИ РФ

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университет им. Н.И. Лобачевского**

**О.Р. Жерновая**

# ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ДЕБАТЫ

Учебно-методическое пособие

Рекомендовано методической комиссией Института международных отношений и мировой истории для англоязычных иностранных студентов ННГУ, обучающихся по направлению подготовки 41.03.05 «Международные отношения»

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Настоящее пособие содержит англоязычные материалы по общественно-политическим темам. Предлагается адаптированный вариант курса «Политические дебаты» с привлечением on-line лекций и презентаций, и включающий в себя краткие конспекты занятий. Также излагается тематика заданий для самостоятельной работы и вопросы к зачету.

Учебно-методическое пособие предназначено для англо-говорящих иностранных студентов 3 курса, специализирующихся по направлению подготовки «Международные отношения».

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**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

**Lobachevsky State University of Nizhny Novgorod**

O. R. Zhernovaya

# **POLITICAL DEBATES**

Studying-methodical manual

This manual is recommended by Methodical Committee of the institute of international relations and world history for English-speaking students of Nizhny Novgorod State University studying at Bachelor's Program – «International relations»

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Reviewer: candidate of psychological sciences,  
Associate Professor **M.V. Arkhipova**

This manual contains materials in English political communication. The adapted variant of the course “Political Debates” including on-line talks and abstracts of lectures is offered. The topics and tasks for independent work and questions for a credit test are also provided.

The studying-methodical manual is recommended for English-speaking foreign students of the 3rd year specializing at Bachelor's Program «International relations».

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# Part I

## Power Shift

### *Warm up*

1. **What is power? Try to give your definition of power.**
2. **Power is classified into 5 principle forms. From the list below choose these 5 forms:**
  - *Control*
  - *Force*
  - *Influence*
  - *Obligation*
  - *Coercion*
  - *Right*
  - *Authority*
  - *Concession*
  - *Persuasion*
  - *Manipulation*
  - *Freedom*
  - *Effect*
  - *Offer*
  - *Obedience*
  - *Money*
3. **Read the following definitions of power and choose the definition you like most. Explain your choice.**
  1. *Power is the ability to make people (things) do what they would not otherwise have done (Oxford Dictionary of Politics).*
  2. *Power is the ability to influence people or give them strong feelings (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English).*
  3. *Power is political or national strength (Thesaurus Dictionary.com)*
  4. *Authority and power are two different things: power is the force by means of which you can oblige others to obey you. Authority is the right to direct and command, to be listened to or obeyed by others. Authority requests power. Power without authority is tyranny (JACQUES MARITAIN, "The Democratic Charter," Man and the State)*
4. ***Balance of power***, in international relations, the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side. States can pursue a

policy of balance of power in two ways: by increasing their own power, as when engaging in an armaments race or in the competitive acquisition of territory; or by adding to their own power that of other states, as when embarking upon a policy of alliances.

**5. Read the following text about the balance of power and answer the following questions:**

1. *Why did Great Britain play the role of the “balancer” in the world till the early 20th century?*
2. *When did the integration of a number of separate and independent balance-of-power systems into a single balance-of-power system begin in the world?*
3. *How did the end of World War II shift the balance of power?*
4. *What were the most decisive differences between the postwar balance of power and its predecessor?*
5. *Why did the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 trigger the most important shift in the balance of power?*

The term balance of power came into use to denote the power relationships in the European state system from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to World War I. Within the European balance of power, Great Britain played the role of the “balancer,” or “holder of the balance.” It was not permanently identified with the policies of any European nation, and it would throw its weight at one time on one side, at another time on another side, guided largely by one consideration—the maintenance of the balance itself. Naval supremacy and its virtual immunity from foreign invasion enabled Great Britain to perform this function, which made the European balance of power both flexible and stable.

The balance of power from the early 20th century onward underwent drastic changes that for all practical purposes destroyed the European power structure as it had existed since the end of the Middle Ages. Prior to the 20th century, the political world was composed of a number of separate and independent balance-of-power systems, such as the European, the American, the Chinese, and the Indian. But World War I and its attendant political alignments triggered a process that eventually culminated in the integration of most of the world’s nations into a single balance-of-power system. This integration began with the World War I alliance of Britain, France, Russia, and the United States against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The integration continued in World War II, during which the fascist nations of Germany, Japan, and Italy were opposed by a global alliance of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and China. World War II ended with the major weights in the balance of power having shifted from the traditional players in western and central Europe to just two non-European ones: the United States and the Soviet Union. The result was a bipolar balance of power across the northern half of the globe that pitted the free-market democracies of the West against the communist one-party states of eastern Europe. More specifically, the nations of western Europe sided with the United States in the NATO military alliance,

while the Soviet Union's satellite-allies in central and eastern Europe became unified under Soviet leadership in the Warsaw Pact.

Because the balance of power was now bipolar and because of the great disparity of power between the two superpowers and all other nations, the European countries lost that freedom of movement that previously had made for a flexible system. Instead of a series of shifting and basically unpredictable alliances with and against each other, the nations of Europe now clustered around the two superpowers and tended to transform themselves into two stable blocs.

There were other decisive differences between the postwar balance of power and its predecessor. The fear of mutual destruction in a global nuclear holocaust injected into the foreign policies of the United States and the Soviet Union a marked element of restraint. A direct military confrontation between the two superpowers and their allies on European soil was an almost-certain gateway to nuclear war and was therefore to be avoided at almost any cost. So instead, direct confrontation was largely replaced by (1) a massive arms race whose lethal products were never used and (2) political meddling or limited military interventions by the superpowers in various Third World nations.

In the late 20th century, some Third World nations resisted the advances of the superpowers and maintained a nonaligned stance in international politics. The breakaway of China from Soviet influence and its cultivation of a nonaligned but covertly anti-Soviet stance lent a further complexity to the bipolar balance of power. The most important shift in the balance of power began in 1989–90, however, when the Soviet Union lost control over its eastern European satellites and allowed noncommunist governments to come to power in those countries. The breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 made the concept of a European balance of power temporarily irrelevant, since the government of newly sovereign Russia initially embraced the political and economic forms favoured by the United States and western Europe. Both Russia and the United States retained their nuclear arsenals, however, so the balance of nuclear threat between them remained potentially in force.

- 6. The nature of power in the contemporary world is changing and its distribution is shifting. Scientists distinguish between *hard* and *soft* power. What is the difference between these types of power?**

### *Listening comprehension I*

#### *Power Shift*

- 1. Listen to the talk given by historian and diplomat Joseph Nye. How does he define the following notions in his talk:**

[http://www.ted.com/talks/joseph\\_nye\\_on\\_global\\_power\\_shifts.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/joseph_nye_on_global_power_shifts.html)



1. *power*
2. *power transition*
3. *power diffusion*
4. *state power*
5. *non-state actors*
6. *soft power*
7. *distribution of power*
8. *transnational relations*
9. *smart power*
10. *power shift*

**2. Watch the video again and mark the following statements T (TRUE) or F (FALSE):**

- A. Power transition is the change of power amongst states and power diffusion is the way power is moving from non-state actors to all states West or East.
- B. A non-state actor attacking the United States in 2001 killed more Americans than the government of Japan did in 1941.
- C. An ability to get others to want what you want, to get the outcomes you want without coercion or payment, is called hard power.
- D. Power transition between states means the rise and fall of the great powers. And the current narrative is about the rise of China and the decline of the United States.
- E. The Chinese won't catch up or pass the Americans in the near future.
- F. It is believed that the 21st century is going to repeat the 20th century in which World War One destroyed its centrality in the world by the rise in the power of Germany.
- G. Power distribution is like a three-dimensional chess game: Top board is the United States, Middle board is China and Bottom board of this three-dimensional is the board of transnational relations.
- H. Power is chaotically distributed in the modern world and the only way you can solve problems is the use of soft power.
- I. Hard power will remain and it will substitute soft power sooner or later.
- J. People have to develop a new narrative of power in which they combine hard and soft power into strategies of smart power.

***Talking point***

1. **How do you understand the following quotation:** *The information revolution is making world politics more complex by enabling non-state actors and reducing control by central governments. It is also affecting power among states. (Joseph Nye)?*

2. **How are the information revolution and the Internet affecting world politics?**
3. **How do you see the role of your country in the international arena?**
4. **In your opinion, what type of international system is the 21<sup>st</sup> century likely to see?**

### *Listening comprehension II*

#### *The global Power Shift*

1. **Listen to the talk given by a former member of the British Parliament and a diplomat with a lifelong commitment to international cooperation Paddy Ashdown. What three major global shifts in power does he outline? Do you agree with his opinion?**

[http://www.ted.com/talks/paddy\\_ashdown\\_the\\_global\\_power\\_shift.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/paddy_ashdown_the_global_power_shift.html)

2. **Watch the video one more time and answer the following questions:**

1. What is understood by the “European civil wars” and how did they change the balance of power in the world?
2. What is the difference between lateral shifts of power and vertical shifts of power?
3. How does globalization influence power? Why isn’t power subject to the rule of law on the international stage?
4. Why does unregulated global space jeopardize security?
5. Do you side with Paddy Ashdown that it’s essential to bring governance to the global space?
6. Does Paddy Ashdown support the idea of creating global government?
7. What are treaty-based organizations or institutions? What is their work based on?
8. In Paddy Ashdown’s opinion, will the USA remain the most powerful nation in the world for the next 50 years? How will its role change in global space?
9. What alternative centers of power building up are mentioned by Paddy Ashdown?
10. What does Paddy Ashdown describe as “the European concert of powers”?
11. What is the difference between a fixed polarity of power and a multiple polarity of power?
12. What predictions does Paddy Ashdown make about the global power shift?
13. How does the interrelationship of nations influence the whole global community?

14. Why is the idea of state power not acute in the modern world?
15. What is Ashdown's third law? Do you agree with his idea?

***Talking point***

- 1. How does the interrelationship of nations influence the whole global community?** Why is the idea of state power not acute in the modern world? What is Ashdown's third law? Do you agree with his idea?
- 2. Comment on the statements:**
  - 1) The greater the power, the more dangerous the abuse (EDMUND BURKE).
  - 2) The greatest power is not money power, but political power (WALTER ANNENBERG).
  - 3) With great power there must also come ... great responsibility! (STAN LEE, Amazing Fantasy №15, Aug. 1962)
- 3. Watching and discussing the talk “Power in 2013”** given by political analyst Ian Bremmer. (<http://youtu.be/LQNsCC63TDQ>)
- 4. The most important trends which will affect the power configuration in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.**
- 5. What, in your opinion, are the most important trends which will affect the power configuration in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?**
- 6. Prepare and give a 3-minute presentation on the topic “Power Shift in the 21<sup>st</sup> century”.**

# Part II

## Diplomacy

### Unit 1

#### *Ambassadors*

#### *Warm up*

**Choose three of the most/least desirable characteristics in an ambassador:**

cultured, articulate, charming, pragmatic, persuasive, intuitive, aloof, analytical, observant, meticulous, good at solving problems, strong, energetic, modest, sensitive, eager to learn, respectful, devious, provocative, impulsive

#### *Reading*

**Read the following extracts from interviews with ambassadors. Which of the personal characteristics are mentioned?**

**Match the questions (1-7) to the answers (A-H) in these interviews.**

#### **Ambassador Lavrov**

A. \_\_\_\_\_

It's a tough job. In addition to promoting the interests of your country in a way that makes them understood by others, you have to also take them into account the interests of your partners and work to gorge a consensus hat would embrace both.

B. \_\_\_\_\_

You have to be well versed in the history and culture of other countries and to be able to present your arguments clearly and persuasively. Any education which helps you to achieve these qualities would do.

C. \_\_\_\_\_

The hardest part of the job is to be woken up in the middle of a night to discuss a new crisis about which you don't have instructions. Then you have to go by your instincts and hope that they are right.

D. \_\_\_\_\_

My workday starts at 9.00 a.m. by reading cables from Moscow. Then I attend various UN meetings which last until late afternoon. After that, I have to write my reports and suggestions (hoping they will be accepted), which typically lasts until late night every day.

E. \_\_\_\_\_

Ambassadors are appointed by presidents. How they select ambassadors, I don't know. I never served as president!

#### **Ambassador Wang**

F. \_\_\_\_\_

I'm a career diplomat. I had been engaged in diplomatic work for more than 20 years before becoming an ambassador. A rich diplomatic practice is an excellent way to prepare for being an ambassador. What you study in college does not matter much in determining whether you become an ambassador. The important thing is whether you can develop yourself and acquire certain necessary skills, such as through observation, in-depth thinking and analysis, and being good at discovering and solving problems.

G. \_\_\_\_\_

Being strong and healthy is very important as an ambassador. You must be able to endure the long-hour meetings and conferences at the UN and be energetic all the time. It's a great honour to be an ambassador. I'm very proud to represent a country that is the birthplace of a 5000 year-old civilization, now one-fifth of the world's population and whose economy has been developing at a rapid pace over the past two decades that is rarely seen in the world today.

H. \_\_\_\_\_

One's knowledge is always limited no matter how intelligent he or she is. There are 192 member states in the UN. Each country has its own different history and culture. So it is hard to know each culture very well. But I think the important thing is to be modest and eager to learn when you get along with people from a different culture. When you respect others and treat them as equals, you will surely be respected and find it easy to make friends.

***What steps did it take to become an ambassador? F***

1. Could you please tell me how ambassadors are selected?
2. What is the hardest part of your job?
3. How do you know what the proper etiquette is when dealing with different cultures?
4. What is the job of an ambassador?
5. What kind of education do you need to become an ambassador?
6. I would really be interested in knowing what it is like to be an ambassador. You must get very stressed out.
7. What is your workday like?

**Discuss your views on these questions:**

1. What will the role of diplomats be in the future?
2. Is there any specific skill that distinguishes the diplomat from other professions?
3. Will videoconferences and the Internet render diplomats unnecessary? Why?

**Comment on the following statements:**

1. Ambassadors are the eyes and ears of states (Guicciardini, 1495).
2. A diplomat is a person who can tell you to go to hell in such a way that you actually look forward to a trip.
3. He who has learnt to disagree without being disagreeable has discovered the most valuable secret of a diplomat.

4. An ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country (Sir Henry Wotton, 1604).
5. Diplomats operate through deadlock, which is the way by which two sides can test each other's determination. Even if they have egos for it few heads of government have the time to resolve stalemates, their meetings are too short and the demands of protocol too heavy (Henry Kissinger, 20th century).

## Unit 2

### *Foreign Service*

#### *Warm up*

1. What is diplomacy? Try to give your definition of diplomacy.
2. Read the following definitions of diplomacy and choose the definition you like most. Explain your choice.
  - a. Diplomacy is the system of conducting relations between the states (Oxford Dictionary of Politics).
  - b. Diplomacy is the job or activity of managing the relationships between the countries (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English).
  - c. Diplomacy is the conduct by government officials of negotiations and other relations between nations (Thesaurus Dictionary.com).
  - d. Diplomacy is more than saying or doing the right things at the right time, it is avoiding saying or doing the wrong things at any time (Bo Bennett).

***Diplomacy*** is the established method of influencing the decisions and behaviour of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence. Modern diplomatic practices are a product of the post-Renaissance European state system. Historically, diplomacy meant the conduct of official (usually bilateral) relations between sovereign states. By the 20th century, however, the diplomatic practices pioneered in Europe had been adopted throughout the world, and diplomacy had expanded to cover summit meetings and other international conferences, parliamentary diplomacy, the international activities of supranational and subnational entities, unofficial diplomacy by nongovernmental elements, and the work of international organizations. (Britannica Online.com)

#### *Vocabulary*

**1. There exist several types of diplomacy. Match the words and expressions in the left column with their definitions in the right one.**

1. shuttle diplomacy	a. diplomacy involving intimidation by threat or use of military force
2. gunboat diplomacy	b. back-channel discussions or secret negotiations

3. behind-the-scenes diplomacy	c. a term coined to describe aspects of international diplomacy other than the interactions between national governments
4. public diplomacy	d. a technique of state action, which is essentially a process whereby communications from one government go directly to the decision-making apparatus of another.
5. first-tier diplomacy	e. a term used to describe the resolution of international conflicts through risk-taking, intimidation, military deployment
6. cowboy diplomacy	f. diplomatic negotiations conducted by an official intermediary who travels frequently between the nations involved
7. coercive diplomacy	g. an approach to negotiating between states engaged in a crisis in which threats of the use of force are made to force an adversary to reach a compromise

**2. Before watching the TED talk, work out the following words and word groups:**

1. randomness =
2. a proxy war =
3. to eradicate =
4. the pinnacle of (career) =
5. to be posted to =
6. to be steeped in (the issue) =
7. a sabbatical =
8. a secondment =
9. a pivot =
10. to perpetrate (a war) =
11. falsehood =
12. a riot =
13. rampaging mob =
14. to be disenfranchised from =
15. to embrace (reality) =
16. an output =

***Listening comprehension I***

***An independent diplomat***

*After 15 years in the British diplomatic corps, Carne Ross became a "freelance diplomat," running a bold nonprofit that gives small, developing and yet-unrecognized nations a voice in international relations. At the BIF-5 conference, he calls for a new*

*kind of diplomacy that gives voice to small countries, that works with changing boundaries and that welcomes innovation.*

**Listen to the talk given by Carne Ross, the founder of Independent Diplomacy and answer the following questions:**

[http://www.ted.com/talks/carne\\_ross\\_an\\_independent\\_diplomat](http://www.ted.com/talks/carne_ross_an_independent_diplomat)

1. Why couldn't Carne Ross realize his childhood dream of becoming a fighter pilot?
2. When did Carne Ross enter the British Foreign Service and what was his specialization?
3. What world events did he deal with being in the British Foreign Office?
4. What was the pinnacle of his career as a diplomat?
5. What did Carne Ross decide to do in 2002 when his New York tour came to an end?
6. What were the 2 pivots of his life that made him resign from the British Foreign Office?
7. Would you abandon the career of a professional diplomat if you were in Carne Ross's shoes? Why?/Why not?
8. How did Carne Ross describe the political situation in Kosovo in 2004 and what lesson did he draw from those events?
9. What was the origin of the thing that later became known as Independent Diplomacy?
10. What small, developing nations do Carne Ross and his diplomatic advisory give advice to?
11. What is the difference between traditional diplomacy and independent diplomacy?
12. How has the role of the state and power changed in the modern world in recent years? Why is it crucial for international relations?
13. Why does Carne Ross call the work of the UN Security Council ineffective?
14. What is the main task of Independent Diplomacy in reference to the UN Security Council?
15. Has Carne's politics changed from when he was a diplomat to what he is today?

### ***Talking point***

Comment on the following statements:

- *Diplomacy is to do and say the nastiest thing in the nicest way (Isaac Goldberg, 1930).*
- *To say nothing, especially when speaking, is half the art of diplomacy (Will Durant).*
- *Diplomacy is the art of saying 'nice doggie!' until you can find a stone.*
- *Diplomacy is the velvet glove that cloaks the fist of power (Robin Hobb).*
- *Successful diplomacy is an alignment of objectives and means (Dennis Ross).*



## ***Listening comprehension II***

### ***In Defense of Dialogue***

*In politics, it seems counterintuitive to engage in dialogue with violent groups, with radicals and terrorists, and with the states that support them. But Jonas Gahr Store, the foreign minister of Norway, makes a compelling case for open discussion, even when values diverge, in an attempt to build greater security for all.*

*Jonas Gahr Store is the Norwegian Foreign Minister, charged with working for Norway's interests internationally.*

#### **1. Before watching the TED talk, work out the following words and word groups:**

1. to address (conflicts) =
2. intrastate (conflicts) =
3. reluctance =
4. to persevere =
5. an interlocutor =
6. captivity =
7. tricky (issue) =
8. reconciliation =

#### **2. Now watch the talk given by Jonas Gahr Store, the Norwegian Foreign Minister and answer the following questions:**

[http://www.ted.com/talks/jonas\\_gahr\\_store\\_in\\_defense\\_of\\_dialogue](http://www.ted.com/talks/jonas_gahr_store_in_defense_of_dialogue)

1. Are diplomats trained to deal with conflicts between states?
2. What issues are usually on a diplomat's agenda?
3. What new key players have appeared on the international arena in the last few decades and why is it important to deal with them?
4. How has the character of conflicts changed since 1946 until today?
5. What conflicts are outside the grasp of modern diplomacy?
6. Why are very few domestic interstate conflicts can be solved militarily?
7. Why do diplomats spend most of their time on talking and communication?
8. What example did the foreign minister of Norway give about Afghanistan?
9. What organization, in Jonas Gahr Store's opinion, is the best informed key player to understand modern conflict?
10. The Arab Spring is, for the first time in the history of the Arab world, a revolution bottom-up? What does it mean?
11. Why is it important to have a dialogue with different groups of people? What is a distinction between talking from a diplomatic level and talking at the political level?
12. According to Jonas Gahr Store the last decade probably was a lost decade for advancing a political process of dialogue. Why so?

13. What can diplomats learn from Nelson Mandela's case?
14. What approach in modern diplomacy should be strengthened not only between states, but also within states?
15. Why is an interaction between diplomacy and civil society so important in the modern world?
16. Do you agree with the foreign minister of Norway that diplomats should establish an alliance with civil society in different countries to support their problem-solving?

***Talking point***

1. What kind of diplomacy, if any, will prevail in the future? Why?
2. What game rules will there be for diplomacy of the 21st century?

## Part III

### Women in Diplomacy

The assessment of the role of women in the Diplomatic service and the difficulties they have faced and can still face in breaking through the “glass ceiling” may be echoed in most of the world’s diplomatic corps.

There have appeared women in the U.S. Foreign Service now such as Secretaries Albright, Rice and Clinton who have affected the status of women in the State Department.

Former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright talks bluntly about politics and diplomacy, making the case that women's issues deserve a place at the center of foreign policy. Far from being a "soft" issue, she says, women's issues are often the very hardest ones, dealing directly with life and death. A frank and funny Q&A with Pat Mitchell from the Paley Center. Since leaving office as US Secretary of State in 2001, Madeleine Albright has continued her distinguished career in foreign affairs as a businesswoman, political adviser and professor.

#### *Warm up*

1. Is the profession of an ambassador suitable for a woman? Why? / Why not?
2. Is there any difference between being a man diplomat and woman diplomat?
3. In your opinion, should there be more women diplomats in the world? Why? / Why not?

The 21st century brings a host of fresh challenges into the diplomatic world. The economic crisis is testing the strength of the most powerful nations. Climate change is extinguishing lands and inhabitants, proving to be more devastating than war. The rate of refugees is flooding cities that are already over-populated. New challenges require solutions provided by fresh insight from relatively new candidates. A male-dominated representation of diplomacy is no longer viable within an interconnected world where women matter. Diplomats must be able to represent the whole of society without remaining blinded to gender. As such, bringing women into diplomacy is a symbol of hope and modernization for the 21st century.

Unfortunately, the number of women in senior diplomatic positions is seriously underrepresented, and women are still struggling to break into the diplomatic hierarchy without settling for a compromise. It took the United Kingdom 191 years to finally appoint the first female Head of Mission, and in 2010, women fill only 21.8% of senior management positions from 260 diplomatic missions. As a traditionally male domain, existing power structures within the diplomatic infrastructure remain to reinforce gender inequalities and overt discriminatory practices, making it difficult for women to enter diplomacy at the highest position.

## ***Listening comprehension***

### ***On being a Woman and Diplomat***

*Former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright talks bluntly about politics and diplomacy, making the case that women's issues deserve a place at the center of foreign policy. Far from being a "soft" issue, she says, women's issues are often the very hardest ones, dealing directly with life and death. A frank and funny Q&A with Pat Mitchell from the Paley Center.*

*Since leaving office as US Secretary of State in 2001, Madeleine Albright has continued her distinguished career in foreign affairs as a businesswoman, political adviser and professor.*

**Listen to the interview with former US Secretary of state Madeleine Albright and choose the right answers in the following exercise:**

[www.ted.com/talks/madeleine\\_albright\\_on\\_being\\_a\\_woman\\_and\\_a\\_diplomat.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/madeleine_albright_on_being_a_woman_and_a_diplomat.html)

**1. The pin Madeleine Albright is wearing symbolizes**

- a) that she worked in the government
- b) that she could get to the top despite being a woman
- c) that she promotes better understanding between men and women

**2. Madeleine Albright started collecting pins after**

- a) a poem appeared in the newspapers in Iraq comparing her to a serpent.
- b) Saddam Hussein called her a snake
- c) she was presented with a snake pin by Saddam Hussein

**3. When Madeleine Albright was Secretary of State she found it very irritating**

- a) that nobody ever described what she was wearing
- b) that she had to wear a hat to all events
- c) that people paid a lot of attention to her clothes

**4. Madeleine Albright was ... years old when she became the State Secretary.**

- a) 50
- b) 60
- c) 70

**5. In her first meeting at the United Nations, Madeleine Albright**

- a) was reluctant to speak**
- b) didn't speak at all
- c) sat behind the sign 'the United Nations'

**6. When Madeleine Albright invited women representatives at the UN to lunch she was surprised because**

- a) no one turned up

- b) only six out of all women representatives came
- c) there were only six other women representatives at the UN

**7. What was the G 7 in the UN when Madeleine Albright worked there?**

- a) the group of 7 countries
- b) the caucus of 7 women
- c) 7 girls

**8. Madeleine Albright believes that when women have economic and political voice**

- a) it can benefit the society
- b) women can take care of themselves
- c) it can strengthen national security

**9. Which of the following is NOT true, according to Madeleine Albright**

- a) the world would be better if it were run by women
- b) women are more empathic and understanding
- c) there should be a critical mass of women in politics

**10. Madeleine Albright thinks that “...” is every woman’s middle name.**

- a) love b) guilt c) hell

***Talking point***

1. What positive and negative sides of being the Secretary of state did Madeleine Albright mention in this interview?
2. If you were appointed the Foreign minister of the Russian Federation, how would you feel?
3. If diplomacy is supposed to reflect all of society, why are women still marginalized in the diplomatic hierarchy?
4. Why does gender hierarchy exist in diplomacy?
5. Why are women necessary in diplomacy?
6. What is obstructing women from becoming ambassadors?
7. What are women currently doing in overcoming gender hierarchy in diplomacy?
8. How can management promote better representation of women in diplomacy?

## Part IV

### Leadership

#### *Warm up*

- 1) Leadership is a process by which a person influences others to accomplish an objective and directs the organization in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent.
- 2) Leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal.
- 3) Leaders carry out this process by applying their leadership knowledge and skills. This is called *Process Leadership* (Jago, 1982). However, we know that we have traits that can influence our actions. This is called *Trait Leadership* (Jago, 1982), in that it was once common to believe that leaders were born rather than made. These are two leadership types.

#### *Reading*

##### **I. Character and Traits in Leadership**

- 1) Managers are people who do things right, while leaders are people who do the right thing. — Warren Bennis, Ph.D. *On Becoming a Leader*
- 2) Leaders do not command excellence, they build excellence. Excellence starts with leaders of good and strong character who engage in the entire process of leadership. And the first process is being a person of honorable character.
- 3) Character develops over time. Many think that much of a person's character is formed early in life. However, we do not know exactly how much or how early character develops. But, it is safe to claim that character does not change quickly. A person's observable behavior is an indication of her character. This behavior can be strong or weak, good or bad. A person with strong character shows drive, energy, determination, self-discipline, willpower, and nerve. She sees what she wants and goes after it. She attracts followers. On the other hand, a person with weak character shows none of these traits. She does not know what she wants. Her traits are disorganized, she vacillates and is inconsistent. She will attract no followers.
- 4) A strong person can be good or bad. A gang leader is an example of a strong person with a bad character, while an outstanding community leader is one with both strong and good characteristics. An organization needs leaders with both strong and good characteristics, people who will guide them to the future and show that they can be trusted.
- 5) Courage — not complacency — is our need today. Leadership not salesmanship. — John F. Kennedy
- 6) To be an effective leader, your followers must have trust in you and they need to be sold on your vision. Korn-Ferry International, an executive search company, performed a survey on what organizations want from their leaders. The respondents said they

wanted people who were both ethical and who convey a strong vision of the future. In any organization, a leader's actions set the pace. This behavior wins trust, loyalty, and ensures the organization's continued vitality. One of the ways to build trust is to display a good sense of character composed of beliefs, values, skills, and traits (U.S. Army Handbook, 1973):

## II. Traits of a Good Leader

*Compiled by the Santa Clara University and the Tom Peters Group:*

**Honest** — Display sincerity, integrity, and candor in all your actions. Deceptive behavior will not inspire trust.

**Competent** — Base your actions on reason and moral principles. Do not make decisions based on childlike emotional desires or feelings.

**Forward-looking** — Set goals and have a vision of the future. The vision must be owned throughout the organization. Effective leaders envision what they want and how to get it. They habitually pick priorities stemming from their basic values.

**Inspiring** — Display confidence in all that you do. By showing endurance in mental, physical, and spiritual stamina, you will inspire others to reach for new heights. Take charge when necessary.

**Intelligent** — Read, study, and seek challenging assignments.

**Fair-minded** — Show fair treatment to all people. Prejudice is the enemy of justice. Display empathy by being sensitive to the feelings, values, interests, and well-being of others.

**Broad-minded** — Seek out diversity.

**Courageous** — Have the perseverance to accomplish a goal, regardless of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Display a confident calmness when under stress.

**Straightforward** — Use sound judgment to make a good decisions at the right time.

**Imaginative** — Make timely and appropriate changes in your thinking, plans, and methods. Show creativity by thinking of new and better goals, ideas, and solutions to problems. Be innovative!

### *Listening comprehension*

#### *Everyday Leadership*

##### *Warm up*

1. What person can be called a leader?
2. Look at the following words, which are connected to “leadership”. Give your definitions of them: *ruler, head of state, figurehead, ringleader.*
3. Is “leadership” a characteristic reserved for the extraordinary?
4. Do you think that there are born (natural) leaders?
5. Is it possible to help people discover the leader within themselves? Why? / Why not?
6. How many of you can call yourselves a leader?

7. Can you define the notion of “leadership”?

**1. Before watching the TED talk, work out the following words and word groups:**

1. a line
2. creepy
3. to turn beet red
4. a dude
5. to howl
6. to be flattened
7. Here’s the kicker. – Вот в чем штука.

**2. Listen to the talk given by Drew Dudley, who believes that leadership is not a characteristic reserved for the extraordinary. He works to help people discover the leader within themselves. How does he define the notion of “leadership” in his talk?**

[http://www.ted.com/talks/drew\\_dudley\\_everyday\\_leadership](http://www.ted.com/talks/drew_dudley_everyday_leadership)

**While watching the video answer the following questions:**

1. What story that had happened four years before was told to Drew by one girl?
2. Why did he call that story a “lollipop moment” of his life?
3. How did Drew Dudley feel after the girl told him the whole story?
4. Drew Dudley recalled the following statement: "Our greatest fear is not that we are inadequate. Our greatest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light, and not our darkness, that frightens us." How do you understand it?
5. What was the call of Drew’s talk? Do you share his opinion? Have you ever had any a “lollipop moment” in your life?

***Talking point***

Comment on the following statements:

1. *He that would be a leader must also be a bridge.* (Welsh proverb).
2. *The real leader has no need to lead – he is content to point the way* (Henry Miller).
3. *It is better to lead from behind and to put others in front, especially when you celebrate victory when nice things occur. You take the front line when there is danger. Then people will appreciate your leadership.* (Nelson Mandela)
4. *Go to the people. Learn from them. Live with them. Start with what they know. Build with what they have. The best of leaders when the job is done, when the task is accomplished, the people will say we have done it ourselves.* (Lao Tzu)
5. *If your actions inspire others to dream more, learn more, do more and become more, you are a leader.* (John Quincy Adams)
6. *Leadership is the art of getting someone else to do something you want done because he wants to do it.* (Dwight D. Eisenhower)



## Part V

### Women Leaders

#### *Reading I*

- 1. Read the following article written by Mary-Frances Winters, the president and CEO of the Winters Group, Inc., and express your opinion on it.**

#### *Are men and women's leadership styles really all that different?*

Much has been written in business literature over the past 20 years about the differences in the way the genders lead. Research shows that women have a more collaborative, intuitive, nurturing, and empathetic style, while men prefer a more top-down, fact-based, linear, and task-oriented approach.

Until recently, there hasn't been enough of a sampling to test this assumption. But more and more women have moved into leadership positions, and as they become managers, the differences in style show up.

I believe that the differences can, in large part, be attributed to the way we socialize girls and boys. Even though some attitudes around gender roles are fading, the vestiges remain strong enough to affect perceptions and behavior. Men are "supposed" to be strong and assertive, whereas woman "should" be softer and gentler.

In focus groups with women, I often hear them say they are caught in a catch. If they are perceived as too assertive or direct, they are branded with the b word. If they are not assertive enough, they are labeled weak leaders. In our society, it is still hard for women to be considered both "nice" and "competent." By the same standards, studies show that if men are viewed as nurturing and empathic, they are thought to be weak leaders as well.

Further, there are some nuances to the biases around women of color. According to a Catalyst Survey, *Advancing African American Women in the Workplace: What Managers Need to Know*, African-American women are labeled aggressive, angry, and defensive even before they might be tapped for leadership. Asian women are often viewed in Western culture as passive and therefore not leadership material. Latino women are seen either as too "sexy" or as not particularly interested in advancing.

Given that the barriers involve complex issues deeply rooted in centuries-old norms, how can we embrace an inclusive mind-set about men's and women's different leadership styles, appreciate and accept the differences, and find ways to leverage them?

Here are five simple, but challenging, recommendations.

- Understand the differences in the perceptions of Caucasian, African-American, Asian, and Latino women and how those perceptions can impact the ability of women to break into leadership positions.
- Understand that a good leader has both traditionally male and traditionally female leadership qualities. It is not an either-or. The styles are complementary.

- Be conscious of your own biases about gender roles and do the work necessary to change your thinking and behavior.
- Know your own leadership style and learn to adapt it to fit different situations. Sometimes leaders need to be direct and firm. At other times, empathy and compassion are most needed.
- Be yourself. Situational adaptation does not mean losing the strength of your natural style. By knowing your style, you can work at making it even better.

**2. Read the following article taken from *the Guardian* and answer the questions after it.**

***David Cameron: 'not nearly enough' women MPs***

18/02/2013

Prime minister visits Mumbai and says the Tories, judiciary and British business must do more to get women into senior posts

David Cameron told Unilever employees in Mumbai, India, Britain had 'a long way to go' to achieve gender equality in business. Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA  
The Conservative party, British business and the judiciary need to do more to get women into senior positions, the prime minister has said.

David Cameron acknowledged that despite the increase at the 2010 general election, there were "not nearly enough" female Tory MPs. It was not enough for institutions simply to allow women to compete for jobs without taking action to overcome other barriers to female success, he said.

He revealed that his wife, Samantha, had pressed him for action on the issue. "My wife likes to say that if you don't have women in the top places, you are not just missing out on 50% of the talent, you are missing out on a lot more than 50% of the talent – and I think she probably has a point," he said.

During a visit to Unilever's headquarters in Mumbai, Cameron was asked by a female employee if Britain had anything to teach India about opening up opportunities to women.

He replied: "We still have a long way to go. If you look at the top businesses in Britain, there still aren't nearly enough women in the boardroom. If you look at politics in Britain, there aren't nearly enough women around the cabinet table.

"I think in every walk of life, whether the judiciary, politics or business, there is a lot further to go. My own view is it isn't enough just to open up and say we will treat everyone equally when you are starting from such a position of disadvantage.

"Companies, political parties and other organisations need to actively go out and encourage women to join in, to sign up, to take the course, to become part of the endeavour. Just opening up and saying 'You're welcome to try if you want to' doesn't get over the fact that there have been all sorts of barriers in the way."

He said the Tory party had only 19 women MPs before the last election: "We have around 50 now. We have made a big change, but it is only 50 out of 300, so it's not nearly enough, so we need to do more," he added.

The prime minister also praised his wife's culinary skills. He was asked which Indian dishes he hoped to sample while in the country. "The last time I came I had some fantastic food, and two times ago I came here to Mumbai and had some particularly good food.

"I am a moderate cook. My wife is very good – she makes a fantastic Kerala fish curry. Sadly, I'm not going to Kerala this time – maybe next time – but I would like to have it as it's made in Kerala and see if it compares with my wife's."

1. Is the issue of getting more women into senior positions acute both in the UK and India?
2. Has the British government managed to achieve gender equality in business recently?
3. Why does the British prime minister attach great importance to the problem of opening up more opportunities to women?
4. Why should political parties and other organizations encourage women to join in them?
5. Are there enough female Conservative MPs in the British parliament today?
6. Do women take an active part in all walks of life in your country? What actions, in your opinion, should the government take in order to overcome all sorts of barriers to female success in getting senior posts in your country?

### ***Listening comprehension I***

#### ***New Data on the Rise of Women***

#### **1. Before watching the TED talk, work out the following words and word groups:**

to affect  
manhood  
patriarchal societies  
evidence  
was driven by  
top dog  
acknowledge  
managerial jobs  
polarization of the economy  
require  
foster  
excessively verbal curriculum  
to be the ball and chain  
salary  
counterparts  
a couch potato

**2. Listen to the talk given by sociologist Hanna Rosin on New Data on the rise of women in all walks of life and answer the following questions.**

[http://www.ted.com/talks/hanna\\_rosin\\_new\\_data\\_on\\_the\\_rise\\_of\\_women.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/hanna_rosin_new_data_on_the_rise_of_women.html)

1. How has the role of women changed in American society for the last 50 years?
2. How has the image of American manhood changed recently? What's the difference between *Malboro Man* and *Speciman*?
3. Who do families prefer to have as first-born children: boys or girls?
4. What's the difference between women's progress of the 20s and 60s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 21<sup>st</sup> century?
5. What does Hanna Rosin mean by the "end of men"? What 2 reasons for declining men's significance in society are given by her?
6. What do modern headlines of newspapers, magazines, advertisements reveal about the shifting role of women in society?
7. What is the polarization of economy? What effect has a service economy and an information and creative economy had on the job portions of men and women in recent years?
8. What working skills do a manufacturing economy and a service economy require? Do women or men suit them better and why?
9. What kinds of jobs that wives used to do free at home in the past have become new well-paid jobs in the last few decades?
10. Why are women getting college degrees at a faster rate than men?
11. What is the "boy's crisis"?
12. What did Hanna Rosin discover after talking to the girls in a working-class college in Kansas City? What was she impressed by?
13. What was Hanna Rosin surprised by when she went to a men's group in a working-class college in Kansas City?
14. Is such a shift in men's and women's role in society typical only of the USA? What other countries face the same problem?
15. What are the modern stereotypes of men and women?
16. What are the "glass ceiling" and the "high bridge" theories? Which of them do you share?

***Listening comprehension II***

***Why do Ambitious Women have Flat Heads?***

***Warm up***

*Dame Stephanie Shirley is the most successful tech entrepreneur you never heard of. In the 1960s, she founded a pioneering all-woman software company in the UK, which was ultimately valued at \$3 billion, making millionaires of 70 of her team members. In this frank and often hilarious talk, she explains why she went by "Steve," how she upended the expectations of the time, and shares some sure-fire ways to identify ambitious women*

*In 1962, Dame Stephanie "Steve" Shirley founded Freelance Programers, a software firm with innovative work practices — and (mainly) women employees.*

In the austerity of post-World War II England, jobs were few, and opportunities for women to earn a wage were even fewer. So, on her dining room table, Stephanie Shirley founded the kind of company she'd like to work for -- one that posed challenging, rewarding tasks, built around flexible work rules that made it possible to have a real life. Her software company, Freelance Programmers made her one of the richest women in England (and one of the few to have earned her own money). Initially employing only women -- Shirley often bid for contracts as "Steve" to compete in the male-dominated industry -- the company was eventually valued at \$3 billion, while 70 of the staff became millionaires when it floated on the stock market.

But money wasn't Shirley's object. "A lot of people go into business to make money," she told the *Guardian*. "I really didn't; I went in with a mission for women. Conversely, I was determined never, ever to be poor again." Freelance Programmers became the FI Group became Xansa; it was acquired by Steria in 2007.

Shirley retired in 1993, but she hasn't stopped pushing for progress in the fields she loves. For instance, she works tirelessly to push forward research into autism spectrum disorders, as well as to study and improve the IT industry and the role of the internet in society. She told the *Guardian*, "I do get committed, and I don't just give my money; I try to give of myself."

**Watch the talk given by Stephanie Shirley, who is the most successful tech entrepreneur in the UK and answer the following questions:**

[http://www.ted.com/talks/dame\\_stephanie\\_shirley\\_why\\_do\\_ambitious\\_women\\_have\\_flat\\_heads](http://www.ted.com/talks/dame_stephanie_shirley_why_do_ambitious_women_have_flat_heads)

1. Stephanie Shirley's memoir is about her life as
  - a. a child refugee
  - b. an entrepreneur
  - c. a mother of an autistic child
  - d. a philanthropist
  - e. all above
2. How old was Stephanie when she left Austria for England?
3. Why did people laugh at Stephanie's idea when she set up her own software company in the 1960s?
4. What employees did Stephanie recruit in her company and what conventions of the time did she challenge?
5. Why did Stephanie change her name to "Steve"?
6. Were Stephanie's interests scientific or commercial?
7. What approach to work did Stephanie Shirley and her co-owners use?

8. What legislation came into effect in Britain in 1975 and how did it change Stephanie's pro-female business?
9. What sum of money was Stephanie's company valued at?
10. What are the 2 secrets of her success?
11. What was Stephanie's family trauma and how did it affect her business?
12. What does the Oxford Internet Institute founded by Stephanie Shirley focus on?
13. What is Stephanie Shirley occupied with today?
14. What characteristics, in Stephanie's opinion, should an entrepreneur have in order to succeed in business?
15. Why is this TED talk entitled "*Why do ambitious women have flat heads?*"

***Talking point***

**Prepare and give a 3-minute presentation on the topic "Women leaders in the 21<sup>st</sup> century".**

## Part VI

### Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

#### *Warm up*

#### **I. Read the head of the unit. Investigate the idea of *democracy*.**

- a) What words and phrases are related to “*democracy*”?
- b) Study the dictionary definitions of democracy:
  - **government by the people, or by elected representatives of the people;**  
*Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*
  - **government by the people, exercised either directly or through elected representatives;**  
*American Heritage Dictionary*
  - **a system of government in which power is vested in the people, who rule either directly or through freely elected representatives;**  
*American Heritage New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy, Third Edition*
  - **a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections.**  
*Meriam Webster's Dictionary of Law*
- c) Underline the similarities and circle the differences.
- d) Give your own definition of “*democracy*”.
- e) In groups of three or four compare and contrast your notes. Report back to the class different points of view.
- f) Compare your definition with the dictionary ones.
- g) What role does democracy play in the modern world?

#### ***Vocabulary in use***

##### **1. Some useful words and expressions with *democracy*:**

1. to form, establish, build democracy
2. to reach, increase, achieve democracy
3. to practice, maintain, strengthen democracy
4. to promote, spread democracy
5. genuine, true, consolidated, developed, meaningful democracy
6. constitutional, parliamentary, multiparty democracy
7. fledgling, fragile, infant, immature, democracy

##### **2. Answer the following questions using active vocabulary:**

1. What steps should be made to build democracy?
2. Is it easy to increase democracy?

3. Is democracy effectively maintained in the Russian Federation?
4. Were you a governor what would you do to promote democracy in Russia?
5. Can you give any examples of countries with genuine democracy?
6. What is understood by constitutional democracy? Think of the countries having such type of democracy.
7. Do you know any countries with parliamentary democracy? What features are typical of such states?
8. Three decades ago, less than 30% of the countries of the world were democratic. Today more than 60% have governments produced by some form of elections. Does it mean that democracy is consolidated in all these countries?
9. What is necessary for a fledgling democracy to establish firm roots?
10. What problems of democratic transition do there exist in your country? What obstacles is your country still facing?

**3. Study the following issues peculiar for a democratic state. Try to explain their meaning, give the examples of your own with these expressions**

***Key features of democracy:***

1. universal franchise/ suffrage
2. rule on people's behalf
3. rule of law
4. a system of checks and balances
5. separation of power
6. pluralism
7. equality before the law

***Conditions (prerequisites)***

competitive market economy  
 developed middle class  
 informed, committed society  
 citizens' political involvement through various groups of civil society  
 political parties/ trade unions articulate/ promote/ secure/ advance interests  
 of the people

**4. Which of the features and conditions does Russia have to form democracy?**

**5. Which of them does it lack to establish true democracy? Analyze the conditions for building a consolidated democracy, fairness of elections, the presence of democratic institutions and the rule of law. Think of the reasons for their absence.**

***Reading I***

***Democracy***

**Read the following text and answer the questions:**

1. What is democracy?



2. How do majority rule and minority rights operate in democracies?
3. What does democracy include?
4. What are characteristic features of a democratic society?
5. What role do different groups play in establishing democracy?

Democracy is a powerful system for social and political organization, which has spread around the world and takes many different forms.

Actually any democratic state assumes having a system, in which citizens freely make political decisions by majority rule. However, rule by the majority is not democratic: no one would call a system fair if 51 per cent of the population are permitted to oppress the remaining 49 per cent in the name of the majority. In a democratic society majority rule must be together with guarantees of individual or human rights that serve to protect the rights of minorities (ethnic, political, religious).

Democracy is more than a set of constitutional rules and procedures that determine how a government functions. Democracy includes not only government but also different institutions, political parties, organizations. This diversity is called pluralism, and it means that the many organized groups and institutions in a democratic society do not depend on government for their existence, legitimacy, authority.

These groups represent the interests of their members in many ways. They support candidates for public office, debate issues, try to influence political decisions. With the help of such groups individuals have an avenue for participation both in government and in their own communities. The examples of such organizations are charitable, environmental groups, churches, business associations and labour unions.

### ***Talking point***

#### **I. Study the following pillars of democracy. Explain each of them.**

1. sovereignty of the people;
2. government based on consent of the governed;
3. majority rule;
4. minority right;
5. guarantee of basic human rights;
6. free and fair elections;
7. equality before the law;
8. constitutional limits on government;
9. social, economic and political pluralism;
10. value of tolerance, pragmatism, cooperation and compromise.

#### **II. Read the following quotes of famous politicians, philosophers and writers. Do you agree or disagree with them? Give your arguments.**

1. Democracy is the rule of the people, by the people and for the people (*Abraham Lincoln*).
1. Democracy opens mouths but cannot fill them (*Leonid Sukhorukov*).

2. Democracy is a very admirable form of government – for dogs (*Edgar Allan Poe*).

## ***Reading II***

### ***Three Types of Democracy***

#### ***Warm up***

**Consult the dictionary to check the pronunciation of the proper names:**

1. China
2. Cuba
3. Europe – European
4. Asia – Asian
5. Latin America
6. the Soviet Union
7. the Communist party
8. Aristotle
9. Greece – Greek

**Read the following text, answer the questions:**

1. What three kinds of democracy are described in the text?
2. What is understood by “democratic centralism”?
3. Can we speak about a “democratic” aspect of this principle?
4. What is “the rule of the many”?
5. Where was direct or participatory democracy possible? Why?
6. What are the advantaged and disadvantages of direct democracy?
7. What are the advantaged and disadvantages of representative democracy?

**Democracy** is a word used to describe at least three political systems. In one system the government is said to be democratic if its decisions serve the 'true interests ' of the people whether or not those people directly affect the making of those decisions. It is by using this definition of democracy that various authoritarian regimes – China, Cuba, and certain European, Asian, and Latin American dictatorships – have been able to claim that they were “democratic”. Presidents of the now-defunct Soviet Union, for example, used to claim that they operated on the principle of **democratic centralism**. Democracy consisted in the fact that the highest body of the Party was its congress to which delegates were elected by local organization. In theory at least, therefore, although party members were bound to carry out a policy once it had been adopted, there was room for democratic input in the pre-congress discussion and elections. In practice, criticism of party leaders under any circumstances was considered disloyal and grounds for expulsion. Thus, the true interests of the masses were discovered through discussion within the Communist party and then decisions were made under

central leadership to serve those interests. The collapse of the Soviet Union occurred in part because many average Russians doubted that the Communist party knew or would act in support of the people's true interests.

Second, the term **democracy** is used to describe those regimes that come as close as possible to Aristotle's definition – the “rule of the many”. A government is democratic if all, or most, of its citizens participate directly in either holding office or making policy. This is often called **direct** or **participatory democracy**. In Aristotle's time – Greece in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. - such a government was possible. The Greek city-state, or *polis*, was quite small, and within it citizenship was extended to all free adult male property holders. (Slaves, women, minors, and those without property were excluded from participation in government.) In more recent times the New England town meeting approximates the Aristotelian ideal. In such a meeting the adult citizens of a community gather once or twice a year to vote directly on all major issues and expenditures of the town. As towns have become larger and issues more complicated, many town governments have abandoned the pure town meeting (in which a larger number of elected representatives, perhaps two or three hundred, meet to vote on town affairs) or representative government (in which a small number of elected city councillors make decisions).

The third definition of democracy is the principle of governance of most nations that are called democratic. It was most concisely stated by economist Joseph Schumpeter :” The democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individual (that's leaders) acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote.” Sometimes the method is called approvingly **representative democracy** (Representative democracy is any system of government in which leaders are authorised to make decisions by winning a competitive struggle for the popular vote.); at other times it is referred to, disapprovingly, as the elitist theory of democracy. It is justified to be one or both of two arguments: first, it is impractical, owing to limits of time, information, energy, interest, and expertise, for the people to decide on public policy, but it is not impractical to expect them to make reasonable choices among competing leadership groups. Second, some people believe that direct democracy is likely to lead to bad decisions because people often decide large issues on the basis of fleeting passions and in response to popular demagogues. This fear of direct democracy persists today, as can be seen from the statements of those who do not like what the voters have decided. For example, politicians who favored Proposition 13, the referendum measure that in 1978 sharply cut property taxes in California, spoke approvingly of the “will of the people”. Politicians who disliked Proposition 13 spoke disdainfully of “mass hysteria”.

### ***Talking point***

**Summarize the basic features of the three types of democracy.**

## ***Listening comprehension***

### ***Why Democracy Matters***

*The public is losing faith in democracy, says British MP Rory Stewart. Iraq and Afghanistan's new democracies are deeply corrupt; meanwhile, 84 percent of people in Britain say politics is broken.*

**Listen to the talk given by British Member of Parliament Rory Stewart who says that it's important to rebuild democracy. Answer the following questions:**

[http://www.ted.com/talks/rory\\_stewart\\_how\\_to\\_rebuild\\_democracy.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/rory_stewart_how_to_rebuild_democracy.html)

1. What political joke did Rory Stewart tell the audience at the beginning of his talk? Have you got it?
2. Why is democracy considered to be a problem across the developing world?
3. What side benefits does democracy have if it is imposed?
4. How does Rory Stewart describe the creation of democratic systems of government in such states as Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq?
5. What events took place in Iraq and why weren't any elections held there?
6. Why weren't the Iraqi people satisfied with the interim provincial council established in Iraq in 2003?
7. What political systems would the Iraqi population rather have according to the opinion polls conducted in Iraq in 2003? Why so?
8. What ideas, in Rory Stewart's opinion, does democracy reflect? Can you add any other ideas?
9. How does Rory Stewart interpret the idea that *democracy is a state of mind, democracy is an activity*?
10. Why should politicians pay more attention to local democracy? Do you agree with him? Express your opinion.

### ***Talking point***

#### **Comment on the following statements:**

1. "Many forms of Government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time." (Speech in the House of Commons, 11 November 1947) — (Winston Churchill: Collected Speeches in Peace and War, 1897-1963).
2. Democracy substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few (George Bernard Shaw (1856 - 1950), *Man and Superman* (1903) "Maxims for Revolutionists").
3. It's not the voting that's democracy, it's the counting (Tom Stoppard (1937-), *Jumpers* (1972) act 1).

4. “The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter” (Winston Churchill).
5. “All the ills of democracy can be cured by more democracy” (Alfred E Smith).

**\*Prepare and give a 3-minute presentation on the topic “Democracy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century”.**

## Part VII

### The Next Age of Government

#### *Warm up*

**What is government? Try to give your definition of government.**

**Read the following definitions of government and choose the definition you like most. Explain your choice.**

1. the group of people who officially and legally control a country and make all the decisions about taxes, laws, public services, etc. (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English).
2. the political system by which a country or community is administered and regulated (Britannica Online.com).
3. the governing authority of a political unit or formal institutions responsible for making collective decisions for society and enforcing them (Vocabulary for political science students, MGIMO).

In a world increasingly knit together by trade and communications technology, it seems ever more unlikely that the single nation-state can on its own successfully handle the universal enemies of poverty, hunger, disease, natural disaster, and war or other violence. Some thinkers believe that only a form of world government can make decisive headway against those evils, but no one has yet suggested convincingly either how a world government could be set up without another world war or how, if such a government did somehow come peacefully into existence, it could be organized so as to be worthy of its name. Even effective global cooperation among national governments can be extremely difficult, as the examples of the United Nations and other international bodies have shown. Nevertheless, those bodies have had many accomplishments, and the European Union (EU) has been particularly successful. The EU began as an attempt to bury the long-standing rivalry between France and Germany through economic cooperation; by the early 21st century it had come to include almost all the states between the Russian frontier and the Atlantic Ocean. Though its overall constitutional structure remained weak, and agreement on how to sufficiently strengthen it seemed unattainable, the EU's common laws and policies were playing a large part in the lives of its citizens.

Yet Western democracy also faces other problems that may prove too big for it to solve. The great experiment of European imperialism has long since collapsed, but its legacy of corruption, war, and poverty, especially in Africa, seems even more challenging at the beginning of the 21st century than it did 50 years previously. In all countries, nationalism still distorts voters' judgments in matters of foreign policy, as greed misleads them over economic policy. Class conflicts have been muted rather than resolved. Demagogues abound as much as they did in ancient Athens. The incompatible claims of the city-states ruined ancient Greece; modern civilization may

yet be imperiled by the rival claims of the nation-states. At least one thing is clear, however: if human beings, as political animals, are to progress further, they cannot yet rest from seeking new forms of government to meet the ever-new needs of their times. *Hugh Brogan* (Britannica Online.com).

- a) Study the definitions of **government** given below. Which of them best matches your understanding?
- **Government** is a political organization comprising individuals and institutions authorized to formulate public policies and conduct affairs of state.
  - **Government** is the management of a country which is entitled to serve three major purposes: maintaining order, providing public goods and promoting equality.
  - **Government** is the system of social control under which the right to make laws, and the right to enforce them, is vested in a particular group in society.
  - **Government** is the legitimate use of force to control human behavior within territorial boundaries.
- b) Underline the similarities and circle the differences.
- c) Give your own definition of **government**.
- d) In groups of three or four compare and contrast your notes. Discuss and report back to the class the different points of view.
- e) Compare your definition with the ones provided in the unit.
- f) What is the role of government in a country?

### *Vocabulary in use*

#### **1. Some useful words and expressions with *government*:**

1. government offices, party, policy
2. the head of government
3. to form, to nominate, to head the government
4. to take office, come to power
5. to serve, to support, to leave the government
6. to stay/remain in power
7. to return to, to get into government
8. to exercise power, to run a state
9. to take the first step on the government ladder
10. to dissolve the government
11. to lose control of the government
12. to lose power, to fall/resign/step down
13. the fall of government
14. to put (an issue) at the heart of government
15. government's plan, approach, reform, programme

16. democratic, constitutional, liberal, authoritarian government
17. left-wing, right-wing government
18. coalition, power-sharing government
19. transitional government
20. local, regional, central government
21. de jure, de facto government
22. puppet government (a nominally sovereign state effectively controlled by a foreign power)
23. invisible government (the true ruling power of a country)

**2. Answer the following questions using active vocabulary:**

1. What are the characteristic features of a democratic government?
2. In what case is the government called authoritarian?
3. How can you characterize the government in your country?
4. Who forms the government in your country?
5. If you were the Prime Minister (President), what issue would you put at the heart of government?
6. What is the difference between ‘puppet government’ and ‘invisible government’?
7. What spheres of life is local government responsible for?
8. Why do reforms often cause protests in society? Can you give any examples of successfully implemented reforms?
9. For what reasons can a minister leave the government?
10. When does the fall of government occur? Give examples.
11. What is the difference between a left-wing government and a right-wing government?
12. What cases is a transitional government formed in?

***Listening comprehension***

***The Next Age of Government***

*The leader of Britain's Conservative Party says we're entering a new era -- where governments themselves have less power (and less money) and people empowered by technology have more. Tapping into new ideas on behavioral economics, he explores how these trends could be turned into smarter policy.*

[http://www.ted.com/talks/david\\_cameron.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/david_cameron.html)

**Listen to the talk given by David Cameron, the prime minister of the UK and the leader of the UK's Conservative Party. While watching the video, fill in the gaps in the following sentences:**

1. Politics is “showbiz for \_\_\_\_\_.”



2. The scientists thought about replacing \_\_\_\_\_ in their experiments with politicians.
3. If people combine the right political philosophy with the incredible \_\_\_\_\_, they will remake politics and government.
4. If people are given more power, you can create \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Politics and politicians will succeed if they \_\_\_\_\_ as they are.
6. Today people live in a post-bureaucratic age, in a world of \_\_\_\_\_.
7. There was \_\_\_\_\_ in the pre-bureaucratic age.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ gave birth to the bureaucratic age.
9. The information and Internet revolution hasn't touched the \_\_\_\_\_.
10. \_\_\_\_\_, choice and \_\_\_\_\_ will make a huge difference in government.
11. "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask \_\_\_\_\_."
12. Huge advances in information technology, \_\_\_\_\_ and giving power to people will make life worthwhile.

## ***Reading***

**Read the text and answer the following question:**

### ***Is Government an Enemy or Friend?***

The role of government in the lives of people has expanded significantly during human history. Government's role has gone from providing basic security to concern in religious affairs to control of national economies and eventually to providing lifelong social security. As our societies have become more complex, governments have become more complex, powerful and intrusive. Although throughout the world government seems indispensable to modern societies there continues to be controversy over how big, how powerful and how intrusive governments should become.

Political conservatives, laissez-faire advocates or libertarians argue the problem is that government is too big, and governments that do too much are oppressive. They use a pejorative term – big government- to describe a government which is excessively large, corrupt and inefficient, or which is inappropriately involved in certain areas of public policy. Excessive government necessarily causes the misallocation of labour and capital, and the high tax rates needed to finance that level of government will discourage work, saving and investment. Small government is better at raising economic growth because lower taxation rates allow people to spend and invest more of their own money. Besides, governments are not doing enough to address a whole raft of social problems. Thus individuals should be encouraged and empowered to take responsibility for their own lives. So advocates of slim government contend modern societies should rely on markets and individual effort to solve the current and emerging social and economic problems.

However, there are those who deny many of the common criticisms leveled at government as highly exaggerated, misleading or simply wrong. They share a view

that acknowledges the overwhelmingly positive role that government plays in society and recognize that government is one of the best tools for making the world a better place.

Consider just a few of the beneficial things that local, state and federal governments are doing for their citizens every day: preventing economic depressions, ensuring safety, eliminating horrible diseases like polio and smallpox, punishing criminals, protecting abused children, guarding national security, providing unemployment insurance, protecting bank deposits, funding public colleges and universities, taking care of the poor, subsidizing childcare, regulating financial markets. They conclude that instead of less government, in any areas more government is actually needed.

### *Talking point*

#### **1. Work with a partner. Think of some other arguments that:**

- **support the view that modern societies need more government**
  - **support the view that modern societies need less government**
- Which viewpoint do you share? Why?**

#### **2. Comment on the following statements:**

1. That government is best which governs least (Henry David Thoreau).
2. What we should be asking is not whether we need a big government or small government, but how we can create a smarter and better government (Barack Obama, University of Michigan Commencement, 2010).
3. Government is too big and too important to be left to the politicians (Chester Bowles ).
4. Whenever you have an efficient government you have a dictatorship (Harry S Truman).
5. In the long-run every Government is the exact symbol of its People, with their wisdom and unwisdom; we have to say, Like People like Government (Thomas Carlyle).
6. Government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one (Thomas Paine).

**\*Prepare and give a 3-minute presentation on the topic “Government in the 21<sup>st</sup> century” using power point program.**

## *Test Questions*

1. What is power? Definitions of power. Principle forms of power. Hard and soft power. Balance of power in international relations. Comparison of the balance of power in the 20th and 21st centuries.
2. What is diplomacy? Definitions of diplomacy. Types of diplomacy. Modern diplomatic practices.
3. Unofficial diplomacy. What kind of diplomacy, if any, will prevail in the future? What game rules will there be for diplomacy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century?
4. What is Foreign Service? Ambassadors and diplomats. What is the job of an ambassador? What kind of education do you need to become an ambassador? Desirable characteristics in an ambassador. The role of diplomats in the future.
5. Why does gender hierarchy exist in diplomacy? Why are women necessary in diplomacy? What is obstructing women from becoming ambassadors? What are women currently doing in overcoming gender hierarchy? How can management promote better representation of women in diplomacy? If diplomacy is supposed to reflect all of society, why are women still marginalized in the diplomatic hierarchy?
6. What is leadership? Definitions of leadership. Leadership peculiarities. Four factors of leadership. Key factors of effective leadership. The image of leadership. What person can be called a leader? Character traits in leadership. Traits of a good leader. The political leader you look up to.
7. What's the difference between women's progress of the 20s and 60s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 21<sup>st</sup> century? What is the polarization of economy? What effect has a service economy and an information and creative economy had on the job positions of men and women in recent years? What are the "glass ceiling" and the "high bridge" theories? Which of them do you share?
8. What is democracy? Definitions of democracy. Types of democracy. What problems of democratic transition do there exist in your country?
9. The conditions for building a consolidated democracy, fairness of elections, the presence of democratic institutions and the rule of law. What obstacles is your country still facing? Democracy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Challenges to democracy.
10. What is government? Definitions of government. The scope of government. Types of government. National governments: world government. New forms of government. What do you understand by "world government"? Why is it difficult to form it? What examples of effective global cooperation among national governments can you give? What problems are modern states faced with? Why are new forms of government still sought by nation-states? Government as a commitment to majority rule and minority rights.

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