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В настоящем пособии изложены учебно-методические материалы по курсу «Политология» для иностранных студентов, обучающихся в ННГУ по направлению подготовки 38.03.01 «Экономика» (бакалавриат). Пособие дает возможность бакалаврам расширить основные знания о политологии, овладеть умением комплексно подходить к вопросам развития, использовать различные источники информации; развивать экономическое мышление

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Part 1. POLITICAL POWER: ORIGINS, FORMS AND RESOURCES

The notion of power is the leading notion of political science. Power is the main purpose of political activity, and political relationships in the society can be called justifiably a power relationship. As N. Machiavelli said, “power is a quintessence of politics”. On the one hand, power is a mechanism for smoothing and resolution of social conflicts (conflict aspect of power), on another hand, it is a good tool to achieve common goals (task dimension of power). Every society needs authority, which is a necessary condition of its functioning as a social system, and therefore occurs together with it.

Even now there is no strict definition of power. The most frequently cited power definition concepts:

- legal concept establishes that power is a domination and obedience. It is founded on the approval of legalized violence held by state as main institute of the political system establishing rules and requiring their respect;

- instrumentalist/teleological (gr. “teleos” – “goal”) concept considers power as the ability to mobilize resources and to achieve certain goals;

- psychological concept examines power as an influence. The essence of the effect lies in the ability to influence the behaviour of others as well as a mechanism for self-approval;

- structuralism describes power as a special kind of sophisticated relationship between the master and the subordinates within the framework of the system of social institutes & statuses (e.g. “organization effect”);

- class/conflict (Marxist) approach considers power as ability of individuals and groups to control the resources distribution mechanism to ensure the political dominance the leading economical group.

To resume them, **power is the ability and the opportunity to exercise actor`s will, to have a decisive impact on the activities and behavior of people using any means to reach determined goals.**

In addition, depending on the situation it may be interpreted as a dominance, which ensures the execution of the order or the ability to realize the intended purpose, to reconcile conflicting interests, to subordinate them to a single will, etc.

In accordance to M. Weber classification, the power can manifest under the following forms/categories:

- 1) Power is associated with *dominance*, which refers to coercive violence orders. Policy point (imposing its will in the form of an order) is present in the power as a generic character (the ability to use violence, the punishment) and as a real power versus those who broke the laws.

2) The power can also manifest in the form of *influence*. However the influence as a concept has even wider content than power. It could be a form/category of power in that case, if this influence is not of a random nature, and is regular. Power as influence is carried out either in the form of conviction (effect on the rational level of consciousness), or in the form of suggestion, which involves the use of special techniques of manipulation (effect on subconscious).

3) *Authority* could be at the same time a form and source of power. The authority is a power of the master voluntarily accepted by subordinates because of his overwhelming moral character (charisma), social status or professional competences.

Four essential features of power relationship appearance are:

- 1) presence of two partners at least – master(s) and subordinate(s);
- 2) order which is the expression of the master`s will to his subordinate, with the threat of sanctions for disobedience;
- 3) social norms and standards, justifying statuses & rights of master and subordinate;
- 4) obligatory submission to the will expressed by order.

The political power was born in the evolution of social power. Initially the public power had a social character only, because all major issues were discussed at the tribal meetings, and there was no special apparatus engaged into administration of public affairs. Then, the Board of Elders (as most experienced clansmen) appeared to coordinate the tribal activities. Gradually moving away from the principle of equality of all clansmen, power was concentrated in the hands of the chiefs, which were men who had high social status and recognition. Very soon they engaged a special staff of assistants to perform their duties and keep power. Such chieftdom becomes the first kind of political power.

Political power is a specific kind of power, which is based on the enforcement of different social groups by one dominative group of people (elite). Political power depends on the scale of its implementation and begins when influence shares over some social groups and society as a whole. There are two pre-requisites for the political power: 1) social division between the authority group (elite) and the group in respect of which this power is exercised; 2) the institute of organized & legalized enforcement in the social scale.

Political power has the properties of commitment and enforcement to all members of society, as well as the legal right to use the force against them. It is possible to highlight the following essential features of political power:

- sovereignty, which means independence and indivisibility of power;
- public character & authority of power, i.e. the recognized influence of power in all spheres of social activities and necessity to support PR;

- volitional nature of power (political will which implies the existence of a conscious political program, goals and willingness to perform them);
- coercive nature of power (conviction, discipline, orders, domination, abuse, etc.);
- centralized decision-making center/board;
- generality of power, which means the operation of power in all social relationships and political processes.

Political power is divided into state and public powers. The state power is a political power, carried out using a special apparatus (the state as an institute of the political system). Public power is formed by party structures, public organizations, mass media, public opinion, etc.

When considering power relations it is so important to examine resources of power as the means by which the authorities exercise influence on the activities and behaviour of people. The main groups of power resources are:

- economic resources (including finances, capitals, property. Especially noticeable the impact of these resources in the countries with market economy, where everything has its virtual price.

- power resources (including army, police, security services, judicial system). The power of the state consists in strict execution of the laws and the subordination of all organs of state and citizens. Law enforcement agencies are always and everywhere, but if they act on the basis of the law, it does not contradict, but rather imply a democratic order.

- social resources (system of social statuses, prestigious positions, special rights and privileges). The importance of such material and moral resources is important not only for class society, but for a society of privileged groups and marginals.

- cultural and informational resources (including databases, social networks, media, broadcasting possibilities, informational property).

- legitimacy. The effectiveness of government largely depends on its legitimacy (from lat. *legitimus* — legitimate). The authority is recognized as legitimate, if it is not imposed by force, and accepted by the masses and relies on their voluntary consent to obey its commands. Legitimate power is perceived by the population as legal and fair. The term “legitimacy” was introduced into science by a famous German sociologist Max Weber who proposed 3 types of legitimacy:

- 1) *traditional legitimacy* is determined by traditions, customs, and habits. This type of legitimacy rests on a belief not only in legality, but also in the holiness of primordially existing orders. Traditional norms are obligatory both - for the population and the ruling elite.

- 2) legal (or rational-legal) legitimacy is based on acknowledgement of

voluntary established legal norms, regulating power relations. Within such type of legitimacy, laws are subject of respect not only for subordinates, but for managers too. The conductor of the main principles of rational-legal legitimacy is bureaucracy. The fullest form of legal supremacy is embodied in a legal state.

3) charismatic legitimacy (from the Greek. charisma — divine gift) is based on the authority of the leader, which are attributed to exclusive skills. Charisma is seen as quality and the ability, given by God, nature, fate. A charismatic leader is guided in his activity not by valid legal regulations, but by his own inspiration. Failure of this power can lead resulting to the disappearance of faith in the extraordinary qualities of the leader and the destruction of the foundations of charismatic domination. Charismatic leaders usually come to power at the time of a socio-political crisis. Therefore, the charismatic legitimacy of political power does not give grounds to predict its long existence. After a public stabilization charismatic domination transforms into a traditional or legal legitimacy.

The above-described types of political legitimacy are rarely found in ideal form, standardly they are intertwined and complement each other. The government can lose or regain legitimacy. Therefore, a constant concern of the ruling group is the legitimization of authority, recognition and approval of the government. The degree of legitimacy of power can be judged by the level of coercion used by authorities to conduct their policy, as well as by the force of the manifestation of civil disobedience (as in active and in passive forms), the results of elections, etc. Legitimacy must be distinguished from legality (legitimacy), which is understood as formal, legal confirmation of the authorities in the relevant state acts. Is it possible to legalise by the prospective laws any power – even if obtained illegally. So, the legality may be also inherent to any illegitimate government.

In modern political science we can distinguish the following theories on the nature of the political power.

1) Relation theory determines power as an interpersonal relationship permitting actor to change the behavior of another individual. This approach presents several options:

a) resistance theory (D. Cartwright, J. French, B. Raven) views power as a relationship in which the subject suppresses the resistance of the object. Within this approach they develop a classification of various degrees and forms of resistance, as well as grounds for power. The introduced concept of “force of power” is understood as the maximum potential ability of an agent to affect another;

b) exchange theory (P. Blau, D. Hickson, C. Hannigs) interprets power as the situation of sharing resources. Resources are distributed unevenly: some individuals have no access to them and need them. In this case, excessive resources can be transformed into asymmetrical power. They are given to those who

deprived these resources in exchange for the desired behavior/attitude from their side;

c) theory of the separation of influence (D. Rong) questions the issue about the asymmetrical relations of power. Power is considered as the interaction where the participants periodically switch roles & status. For example, the trade union controls the hiring of labour, while the employer dictates the workload and venue.

2) Systemic theories of power consider power as impersonal characteristic and attribute of the system. Within this concept there are three approaches:

a) power as attribute of macro-social systems (T. Parsons, D. Easton). For Talcott Parsons the power is accumulative mediator in the political system. He compares it with money, which is a generalized mediator of the economic process. Power is understood as the real capacity of the system to accumulate their interests, to reach goals;

b) meso-approach (M. Crosier) examines power at the level of subsystems (family, organization) and indicates a direct relationship of power with its organization structure;

c) micro-approach (M. Rogers, T. Clark) interprets power as the interaction of individuals operating within a specific social environment. Power is defined as the ability of an individual to influence other individuals and seen through his roles and statuses in the political system;

d) communication approach (N. Luhmann, K. Deutsch) understands power as means of social communication, which allows to regulate group conflicts and to ensure the integration of society.

3) Behavioral theory of power, like relation theory, considers power as a relation between people, but it is focused on motives in the power struggle. There are a number of variants of interpretations:

a) force model (G. Lasswell) interprets that the primordial cause of power is the impulse which is the desire for power. The political matter as a whole is built on the ground of collisions and interactions of individual wills to power. The power is manifested in decisions and control over resources;

b) market model (J. Kathleen) comes from the analogy between politics and economics, and shares onto political sphere such market laws as offer and demand, pursuit of profit, competition;

c) game model (F. Znaniecky) suggests that actors of the political market differ not only by various stocks of power, but also by their abilities, flexibility, strategy, excitement. The struggle for power may be motivated to “game” character, satisfying the participants. Politics is a playing field, a theatre, where success depends on agility, artistism and the ability of the entity to reincarnation.

Part 2. STATE AS A POLITICAL ENTITY: ORIGINS OF THE STATE

There are the following theories of **state origins & essence**:

1) *Theological theory* is one of the most ancient. Its creators believed that the state exists forever due to the divine will, and therefore everyone must humble ourselves before this will, to obey it in everything. For example, the laws of king *Hammurabi* (Ancient Babylon) say about the divine origin of the king: “the Gods put Hammurabi to rule Blackheads”; “Man is the shadow of God, the slave is the shadow of a man, and a king equal to God” (i.e. godlike)”. The Emperor of the Ancient China was called the Son of Heaven. The Christianity continued to promote idea of the divine approval of state authorities. “Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, - as the Apostle Paul said in the Message to the Romans, - as there is no authority except from God, the existing authorities are ordained of God”.

At the turn of XII - XIII in Western Europe it was developed the theory of “two swords”. It comes from the evidence that the founders of the Church had two swords. They laid one in the sheath and left, as not for the Church to use the sword. They handed the second to rulers in order they could administer the secular issues. According to theologians, the Church endowed the sovereign with the right to rule over people and to be a servant of the Church. The main point of this theory - the assertion of the priority of the religious organization (Church) over the secular (State). According to its adherents, there is no state and government “out of God”.

At the same time the theologian *Thomas Aquinas* (1225 - 1274) developed doctrine that the process of occurrence and development of state and law is similar to the process of the world creation by the God. According to the theological theory the God is Creator of everything, including state, and it is impossible to penetrate in the mystery of the divine plan, to grasp the nature and essence of the state.

To resume, the theological theory did not reject the need for the establishment and functioning of the state, as well as the insurance for the proper rule of law. Giving the divine aura to the state and the state authorities, this theory raised their prestige, severely condemned the crime, and contributed to the approval in society understanding and reasonable manner.

2) *Patriarchal theory* was born in Classical Greece & Rome and established by Aristotle, who believed that the state is a natural form of human being, and there is no social communication outside of the state. As social creatures, people tend to unite, to form a family. The increase of these families and their merger lead to the formation of the state. So *Aristotle* argued that state power is the

development of paternal power aimed to reach more multi-scale goals. Cicero agreed him and saw in the state a group (groups) of people, united by the principles of law and common good.

To prove the existence/legacy of English absolutism with references to Patriarchal theory, *R. Filmer* argued in “Patriarchy, or the Protection of the Natural Rights of Kings” (1642) that, initially God gave kingship to Adam, who therefore is not only the father of the human race, but also first human king.

Patriarchal theory found fertile ground in Russia – especially among populist ideology of XIX century (*N. K. Mikhailovsky*). A prominent historian *M. N. Pokrovsky* also believed that the earliest type of state authority has appeared directly from the paternal power. Apparently, under the influence of this theory it arose a century long tradition of belief in “father of the nation”, a good king, a leader that is a person capable to solve all problems for everyone. Essentially this tradition is antidemocratic and condemns people to passive expectation of foreign decisions, undermines confidence, reduces social activity of people, responsibility for the fate of their country.

Traditions of paternalism are alive today. Very often, a statesman is considered, wittingly or unwittingly, as the head of a large family, people confer him much hope, deem him as an uncontested Savior of the Fatherland and ready to give him exclusive competences. Paternalism, individual leadership gives rise to many ideological “squires”, who are ready in all ways to praise the leader, to justify the most negative of their actions and decisions, as well as to turn every his move into “historic”, “monumental” & “decisive”.

3) *Theory of “the social contract”* is based on the proposition that the natural state of human preceded to the state. The living conditions of people and the nature of human relationships in a natural condition were not clear. Hobbes saw the natural condition in the realm of personal freedom progressing to “the total war of all against all” (as he said ... “the state is a single person, the Supreme Lord, the sovereign, whose will due to the contract many individuals is considered the will of all, so that it can use forces and abilities of all for the common peace and defense”...). Rousseau believed that it is peaceful idealistic primitive realm of freedom; Locke wrote that the natural state of human is a result of his unlimited freedom. Proponents of the natural law believe the state is the result of a legal act - social contract that stems from the reasonable will of the people, human institution, or even invention. Therefore, this theory is associated with a mechanical view of the origin of the state, acting as an artificial product of the conscious will of the people who agreed to unite for the best security and liberty.

A famous French philosopher *Paul Holbach* (1723 - 1789) defined the social contract as a set of conditions for the organization and preservation of society. The

power of the monarch is given not by the divine Providence but by the people. The scientist in his manuscript “Sacred Contagion, or Natural History of Superstition” developed the basis for the contractual theory. Disputing a widespread idea of the divine origin of the power of kings “representing and likeness of God on earth”, Holbach states that this theory served as a justification of omnipotence, lack of supervision over the authorities, the misfeasance of monarchs and their retinue. The idea of the divine origin of the monarch, says Holbach, has led in many countries to ensure that “the sovereign... corrupted the society and divided it to rule”. Thus the sovereigns, “consecrated through religion and by corrupted priests” corrupted in turn the souls of his subordinates, carried “among them the struggle of interests”, and destroyed the existing relationship between people, “making from them enemies to each other and killing their morality”.

Russian thinker *Alexander Radischev* (1749 - 1802) believed that the state arose as consequence of the tacit agreement of people to protect jointly all the weak and the oppressed, but not as the result of some divine Providence. On his opinion, the state “is a great machine targeted to create the bliss of citizens”.

John Locke (1632 - 1704) believed that a peaceful formation of State was initially based on the consent of the people. He developed ideas that a union of people for the political entity should occur no otherwise than by “consient agreement”.

According to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712 - 1778), the main problem to solve Social Contract is to find a form of association that protects the individual rights and property of each its member, and where each individual benefits the collective power, but obeys only himself and remains as free as before. The people have natural, inalienable right not only on the establishment of the state on the basis of the Social Contract, but also to his defense and resistance to tyranny.

4) *Organic theory*. Ancient Greek thinkers originally formulated the idea of the State as a kind of likeness of the human body. Plato, for example, compared the structure and function of the State with the ability and sides of the human soul. Aristotle believed that the state in many respects resembles a living human organism, and on this basis denied the possibility of the isolated existence of man in a political life (i.e. without such political organization as a State).

The essence of the organic theory consists that society and the State together represent a social organism, and therefore their nature can be understood through the structure and functions of the human body. It is possible to explain all unclear points in the State structure and social & political activity by analogy with the anatomy and physiology.

Herbert Spencer completed organic theory in mid-XIX century. According to Spencer, the state is a social organism composed of individuals, just as a living

organism consists of cells. An important aspect of this theory is the assertion that the state is built concurrently with its constituent parts - the people - and will exist as long as there is a human society. The state power is supremacy of the whole over its constituent parts reflected in the public ensuring the well-being of its people. If the body is healthy, its cells are functioning normally. The disease of the body endangers its component cells, and, vice versa, sick cells reduce the efficiency of the functioning of the whole organism.

Although organic theory seems pseudo-scientific, it quite clearly introduces the concept of society and state system sign. The vast majority of its supporters believed that society and its state organization is a complex system consisting of interacting and interdependent elements. On the other hand, organic theory introduces differentiation and integration of social life. One of its most important provisions is that the division of labor leads to a differentiation of society. On the other hand, integration brings together people into the state, where they can satisfy and protect their interests like sophisticate vital system.

5) *Psychological theory* originated in the mid-XIX century. Its proponents define the society and the State as the sum of the mental interactions of individuals and their various associations. Therefore, the society and the state are the consequences of psychological laws of human development. The essence of the psychological theory is that it tries to explain the emergence of state-legal phenomena and the power of particular psychological experiences and needs of people. These needs are shared in two: to rule and to obey within the organized community & feeling of collective interaction.

6) *Theory of violence (conquest)* emerged and became widespread in the late XIX - early XX centuries. Its founders - L.Gumplowicz, K. Kautsky, E. Dühring – postulated that war and conquest were the mother States (e.g. basing of the historical facts related with the appearance of the German and Hungarian States).

Austrian sociologist L. Gumplowicz is representative of the theory of external violence. He transfers law of animal life into the functioning of human society and “biologizes” social phenomena. On his opinion, the sophisticate law of nature reigns over the actions of wild hordes, societies and States. He wrote: “... History does not show us any example where the state arose without the act of violence. It was always a violence of one tribe over another, it was expressed through the conquest and enslavement by a stronger invading tribe of a weaker, already settled population”.

K. Kautsky also considers external violence and wars the single source of the state. The winning tribe subjugates the defeated people, assigns their lands, and then forced them to work and pay tribute or taxes. This conquest results to division into classes, and the coercive apparatus, created by the winners to control defeated,

turns into the State. Thus, in accordance with the theory of violence, war & violence are considered as the main cause of slavery, which leads to the dominance of power, appearance of the property and establishment of the State. Of course, some states (Roman Empire, Kievan Rus, United States) were born after wars. However, the weak point of this theory - it does not take into account that many modern states and legal systems were created not by conquest or other aggressive means.

7) The proponents of *materialist theory* (K.Marx, F.Engels, V.Lenin) explain the emergence of statehood primarily by socio-economic reasons. In materialist theory, the state was not imposed to the society from outside, but arises on the basis of its natural development associated with the decomposition of the tribal system, the emergence of private property and social stratification of society by wealth (rich and poor). Thus the interests of various social groups begin to conflict. In such emerging economic situation, the tribal organization fails to manage the society. Therefore, a society composed of economically unequal social strata, poses a special organization (State), which supports the interests of elites and hinders the tension of a dependent part of society. To resume marxist approach: the state is a machine for the oppression of one class by another, a special device that will use political power to maintain domination of the class that owns the basic means of production.

Materialist theory identifies 3 main forms of occurrence of the state: Athenian, Roman and German.

- The Athenian form (classical) generates the state from the emerging class contradictions within the framework of society.
- The Roman form is characterized by the isolation of closed aristocracy over disenfranchised plebeian masses. The victory of the marginals detonates the clan system, on the ruins of which the state arises.
- The German form of the state flows because of conquest of vast territories.

8) *Race theory* originates in the era of slavery in order to justify the existing social order, when it appears an idea of natural division of people into two breeds - slave-owners and slaves - by the force of their inborn capacities. The greatest development and spread of racial theory of state happened in the late XIX - first half XX century. It became the basis for Nazi policy and ideology. The content of the race theory was developed concepts of the physical and psychological disparities of the human races. The provisions regarding the decisive influence of racial differences on the history, culture, political and social order and the division of people into superior and inferior races, the first of which are the creators of civilization and should dominate. The latter is not able nor only to create, but even

to the mastering of civilization achievements; their destiny is blind and unquestioning obedience. Thus with the help of state and law the master races should rule over the inferiors.

One of the founders of race theories *Jean Gobineau* (1816-1882.) announced the Aryans as “master race” destined to rule over other races. Emerging his idea the Nazi Germany undertook an attempt to rewrite world history as the history of struggle of the Aryan race with other races. Germany was announced the bearer of the spirit of the Supreme Aryan race. To inferior races were proclaimed the Semitic peoples, Slavs and others. Racism created a special system of values – such as “soul of the race”, “purity of blood”, “leader of the nation”, etc. The preservation of purity of blood was declared the ultimate goal for Aryan people. The researchers even created a new branch of science – “eugenics” – trying to select a new race of super humans. As wrote Hitler in “*Mein Kampf*”, “...people perish not from the lost wars, but because of the loss of resilience... anything, that is not a full race on earth, is the tares”. The wars are declared the most important part of all major state-legal and spiritual issues. German philosopher *F. Nietzsche* (1844 - 1890) justified this idea is the following sentences: “... the war is a such necessity for the state, like a slave is needed for the society”, “love the peace as means to new wars”. Racial theory led to a horrific practice of “legalized” genocide of entire peoples and national minorities. Although this theory is prohibited now, it was indirectly restored by the Fulton speech of Churchill as the principle of dominance & lordship of the Anglo-Saxon nation over the rest of the world.

Part 3. The form of the state. Form of government.

The form of the state - the collection of the main methods of organization, device and exercise of state power. It includes three elements: the form of governance, administrative structure and legal regime.

Form of governance is the organization of the Supreme bodies of power in a particular state and the procedure for their formation.

Administrative structure is the way of national and administrative-territorial structure of the state, reflecting the nature of the relationship between its component, as well as between Central and local authorities.

Legal regime is a set of political and legal means and ways to exercise a state power, expressing its content and character.

Adequate to the form of government all States are divided into monarchies and republics. Monarchy is a form of governance which supposes that Supreme power in the country is concentrated fully or partly in the hands of a head of state — the monarch — and transmitted them by inheritance. The word "monarchy" is translated as "monocracy" (from the words: monos, one, and arche — rule, power).

The signs of the monarchy:

- 1) the existence of a single head of state, enjoying perpetual life power;
- 2) hereditary succession of the Supreme authority;
- 3) legal independence and irresponsibility of the monarch, stress Institute contra-signature — order, approved by the monarch becomes a law, pass mandatory certification by signing by the Prime Minister (at least one of the Ministers), responsible for the implementation of this law.

There are two systems of inheritance to the throne — personal and family. The system of inherits the throne the specific individual, if the heir to the throne is pre-determined by law. Personal system has several varieties:

- a) Salic (heirs - male only);
- b) Castilian (heirs - both women and men, but the latter have the advantage);
- b) Austrian (women take the throne, if all generations of a dynasty no men);
- g) Swedish (men and women inherit the throne on equal terms by right of primogeniture).

The essence of a family system of inheritance is that the monarch chooses itself the reigning family, (often with higher spiritual entities) or the reigning monarch, but only from persons belonging to this dynasty.

Monarchical form of government has three types: absolute, dualistic and parliamentary.

An absolute monarchy is such form of monarchy when the power of the monarch legally and practically has no limits. In the absence of Parliament, legislative power is concentrated in the hands of the monarch, decrees which have the force of law. He is also the author and Executive power: the government formed by the monarch and is responsible. An example of an absolute monarchy in the modern world is the Sultanate of Oman.

Dualistic monarchy is the transitive form of monarchy in which the power of the monarch is limited by Parliament. The Dualistic monarchy is formed in the aggravation of the political struggle of the bourgeoisie and the nobility, as a kind of compromise between them. Legislative power is divided between the monarch and Parliament in fact: no law can be passed without the approval of the representative body. However, the head of state remains in the hands such effective legislative leverage, as actually unlimited right of the dissolution of Parliament, the right of an absolute veto, issuing decrees have the force of law, in the intervals between sessions of Parliament or in emergency situations. The monarch is authorized to implement executive power, appointing and dismissing of the government in the hands. The mechanisms of parliamentary control over the actions of the Cabinet are missing. Dualistic monarchies were in the Russian Empire (1906-1917), German Empire in 1871-1918., Japan (1889-1945). In Some modern monarchies (Jordan, Kuwait, etc.) it is possible to display certain characteristics of dualism, however, in "pure" form of dualistic monarchies does not exist in the world today.

Most modern monarchies are parliamentary. Parliamentary monarchy — is such form of monarchy in which the power of the monarch is limited legislatively by Parliament and the Executive — the government ("the monarch reigns but does not rule"). The legislative power belongs to Parliament. The monarch has the right to veto laws adopted by Parliament, but does not use it. Extremely-compliance with the legislation of the monarch is provided, but not used. The right of dissolution of Parliament is used by the head of state enjoys only on the recommendation of the government. Formally monarch is the chief Executive, but really it is implemented by the government. The Cabinet is formed following the results of parliamentary elections of winning party or coalition. The government is responsible before Parliament.

In the conditions of a parliamentary monarchy the king has little real power and does not interfere in politics, but this does not mean that he plays no role in the state. His powers traditionally belong to the head of state (the proclamation of emergency and martial law, the right of declaring war and making peace, etc.), sometimes called "dormant" because the monarch is allowed to have it in situation of emergence of threat to the established order.

In the modern world, there are other, atypical forms of monarchy. For example, an elected monarch in Malaysia (the king is elected for 5 years among the hereditary sultans of 9 States); collective monarchy in the United Arab Emirates (powers of the monarch belong to the Council of the emirs of the seven united in a Federation the Emirates); a Patriarchal monarchy in Swaziland (where the king is, essentially, the leader of the tribe); the monarchy of the British Commonwealth — Australia, Canada, New Zealand (formally the head of state is the British Queen represented by the Governor General, but really all its functions are carried out by the government). It is need to note theocracy — a form of monarchy in which the highest political and spiritual power in the state is concentrated in the hands of the clergy, and the head of the Church is a secular head of state in the same time (Vatican).

The second form of government is the Republic. A Republic is a form of government in which the Supreme power is vested in elected bodies for a certain period of time. The word itself comes from the Latin phrase *res publicum*, which means "common cause".

As the form of government the Republic is characterized by several attributes:

- 1) the source of power recognizes the people;
- 2) collegial (collective) decision-making process;
- 3) all higher state authorities are elected or formed by the Parliament (principle of selectivity);
- 4) the public authorities are elected for a fixed term, after which resign its powers (principle of rotation);
- 5) the highest power is based on the principle of separation of powers, a clear delimitation of their powers;
- 6) officials and state bodies are responsible for their actions (principle of responsibility).

It is accepted to distinguish three main types of Republic: presidential, parliamentary and mixed.

Presidential Republic — is a form of Republic in which the head of state is the President, elected by universal suffrage combining in one person the powers of head of state and chief Executive. The President forms the government, with a certain parliamentary control: for example, in the U.S. all appointments made by the President must receive the approval of the Senate. However, the government is responsible only to the President. The Parliament can express a vote of no confidence to the Cabinet, but the President cannot dissolve the highest legislative body. The government is headed by a President, the post of Prime Minister is

missing. The powers of the President are really high: the head of state and chief Executive. Typical presidential Republic is the United States of America.

A parliamentary Republic is a form of Republic in which the head of state is elected officials (President, etc.), and the government is formed by Parliament and is accountable for its activities before him, but not before the head of state. Unlike the presidential to the parliamentary Republic the President is elected at the meeting of Parliament, which he may dissolve upon the recommendation of the government. The government formed by the Parliament from the leaders of the winning party. The government is headed by the Prime Minister, who actually leads the whole system of Executive power in the country. The government is responsible before Parliament, which may vote of no confidence both in the Cabinet as a whole and its individual members. In a parliamentary Republic, the presidential nominee of the authority, he performs any political action on the recommendation of the government, which is responsible for them. Parliamentary Republic exists in Italy, Germany, India, etc.

Mixed (semi-presidential) Republic — such form of the Republic, in which are combined and coexist signs of parliamentary and presidential republics. As in the presidential, in the mixed Republic the head of state is elected extra-parliamentary means, i.e. by popular vote. The government formed by the President after parliamentary elections and must receive a vote of confidence in the Supreme representative body. The government is headed by the Prime Minister. The Constitution establishes a dual responsibility of the government before Parliament and before the President. In cases stipulated by law the President is empowered to dissolve the Parliament. Although the President in the mixed Republic is the head of state, his authority is limited by the government in the exercise of the Executive power. Examples of the mixed Republic: France, Russia.

In all varieties the Republican form of government the President has the right of conditional veto which can be overcome by a qualified majority of votes of the parliamentarians. However, that right of the head of state is widely used only in presidential and mixed types of republics.

In the modern world, there are other, atypical types of republics. For example, a theocratic Republic (Iran, Afghanistan). Some African countries are characterized by a peculiar form monocracy presidential Republic: in a one-party political regime, the party leader was declared as lifelong President, Parliament have a real power (Zaire, Malawi).

The forms of government of the States are divided into unitary and Federal.

A unitary state is called a simple, single state, having no composition of other government entities. The territory of the unitary state is divided directly into administrative-territorial units that do not have any political independence,

although economic, social and cultural aspects of their powers can be quite broad. The state apparatus constitutes a single structure throughout the unitary state. The competence of higher state bodies neither legally nor factually limited powers of local authorities. Citizenship of a unitary state is unified, administratively-territorial divisions do not have their own nationality. In a unitary state operates a unified system of law. There is one Constitution, which norms are valid for the whole territory of the country without any exceptions. Local authorities are obliged to apply all the normative acts adopted by the Central authorities. Their standards have a purely subordinate nature, applied only to such territory. Unified judicial system shall administer justice throughout the country, guided by General legal rules. The judiciary is a unitary for members and links in a elements of centralized system. Tax system of a unitary state — a single channel: taxes are sent to the center and then distributed across the regions. Among the modern unitary States are France, Sweden, Turkey, Egypt, etc.

Unitary state, on the territory of which comprises a small number of nationality, permits the formation of Autonomous regions. Autonomy is local government areas of the state, differentiating in geographically, national, household characteristics (Crimea in Ukraine, Corsica in France, the Azores in Portugal). In some countries are created national-cultural autonomy, where nationality does not reside compactly, but scattered. Such autonomies are extraterritorial in nature. The representatives of a certain ethnic groups creates their own elected bodies, sometimes sends their representative to Parliament, has its own representation under the government of the state. They consult Executives in issues related to concerning language, life and culture.

Another form of government is a Federation, it represents a complex federal state, resulting from the merger of a number of States or state formations (subjects of the Federation), with relative political autonomy.

The territory of the Federation includes the territories of subjects of Federation, which have their own administrative division. The regions have partial sovereignty and a certain political autonomy. There are two levels of the state apparatus in the Federation: Federal and Federation subject. The Parliament has a bicameral structure. Citizenship of Federation is double: every citizen is a citizen of the Federation and of the corresponding subject of Federation. There are two legal systems: Federal and subjects of Federation. The latter have the right to make their own Constitution. The principle of hierarchy of laws: the Constitution and laws of subjects of Federation should not contradict the Federal legislation.

Along with the Federal judicial system, the regions can have their own courts. The Federal Constitution establishes only General principles of judicial organization and procedures. The tax system of the Federation have one channel:

along with the Federal taxes flowing into the Federal Treasury, and there are taxes of subjects of Federation. The Federal government characterized the U.S., Germany, Russia, India, etc.

Among Federal States allocate national-state and administrative-territorial state. The first kind of Federation is usually formed in a case of the multinational state, and its creation is determined by national factors. The subjects in the Federation are formed by the national-territorial basis (partly in Russian Federation). The basis of the administrative-territorial Federation are economic, as a rule, or geographical, transport and other territorial factors (Germany, USA, etc.).

One of the challenging issues of the Federation is the question of the right of Nations to self-determination and secession from the Federation (right of secession). Secession is a unilateral exit of the subject of Federation from its structure. In the vast majority of modern federations this constitutional right is not fixed (with the exception of Ethiopia). However, according to the Constitution of the USSR 1977, such right were provided for the Union republics, which became the formal reason for their exit in 1990-1991.

In recent decades, the world had many forms of economic, political, cultural and other groups of States. These include the EU, the CIS, the Commonwealth of Nations consisting of Britain and its former colonies. It was formed after the Second world war as a result of the disintegration of the British Empire.

Legal regimes are divided into democratic and anti-democratic in the degree of political freedom of the individual and state compliance with its rights and freedoms.

The term "democracy" is of Greek origin. In literal translation it means "power of people". The concept of democracy refers to a legal regime in modern political science (it is sometimes said about the political system, form of government and political structure), based on the recognition of people as the source and subject of power. The main features of a democratic regime are: the formation of elected governments, the freedom of activity of various subjects of political life, recognizing and guaranteeing of political rights and freedoms of the individual.

Called anti-democratic legal regime based on the violation of human rights and freedoms and the establishment of a dictatorship of one person or group of persons. Anti-democratic regimes are divided into totalitarian, authoritarian and military.

The totalitarian model is the political model aspiring to a total control over the individual by the state. It is possible to allocate following signs of a totalitarian regime:

1) the presence of a single mass party, actually fused with the state apparatus, led by the charismatic leader-the dictator; the deification of the leader, his lifelong tenure;

2) the presence of a totalitarian ideology as official and dominant in society of (communism, national socialism, fascism). This ideology is characterized by a belief in the imminent advent of a "bright future". Social development is presented as teleological, i.e. directed to a particular target process. Ideology is subject to criticism, and the deviation from it is severely punished by the state;

3) monopoly on information, its complete control over the media;

4) a state monopoly on the means of armed struggle;

5) the existence of a powerful apparatus of control and coercion, mass terror against the so-called "enemies of the people";

6) the subordination of the state economy, command-administrative management system.

A totalitarian regime can particularly maintain the appearance of democracy to refer regularly to such democratic form as the holding of a referendum. Although the totalitarian regime aspires to the establishment of equality and seeks to create a socially homogeneous society, in fact it generates deep inequality between bureaucracy and the people.

The political regime is authoritative because it preserve the monopoly on power and control over the political life of the state, but does not aspire to total control over society.

Authoritarianism is a regime that has the transition character from a totalitarian to a democracy. The carrier power under an authoritarian regime is one person or a group (elite). People are alienated from power, and it is not controlled by the citizens. The exercise of political opposition is prohibited. Regime relies potentially on the force which, however, is not always used in the form of systematic police terror. The state refuses total control over society and does not interfere out of politics areas. Regime primarily involves in ensuring security and stability.

The military regime is a political regime under which the head of state is a military group (junta), who received its power in a coup.

Signs of the military regime are:

1) the transition of power in the military coup to the junta;

2) cancel of the Constitution and replace it with acts of military authorities;

3) dissolution of political parties, Parliament, local authorities and their replacement by the military;

4) limitation of the validity of political rights and freedoms;

5) the creation of the junta of the Advisory bodies of technocrats.

Often military coups take place under the slogans of progressive economic reforms, for establishing political stability, eradicating corruption.

Part 4. Elections and referendums

Elections is the procedure of formation a state body or empower officials through voting persons eligible to vote. The procedure for the formation of elected state bodies is called the electoral system. It includes the suffrage, the electoral process and the procedure of demission of deputies.

Suffrage - the principles and conditions for the participation of citizens in formation of the elected bodies. Suffrage can be active (right to vote) and passive (right to be elected). Suffrage may be limited by criteria. The criteria are age, educational, ethnic, racial, property, estates and the pale of settlement (the restriction of suffrage in according to the time of residence in the constituency).

Usually elections are held on the basis of 4 major principles, characterized by universal, direct, equal suffrage by secret ballot. Equal suffrage means that each voter participates in elections on an equal basis ("One voter — one vote"). Direct vote means that each voter votes directly for the candidate elected. The election may be not direct (indirect) when the electors form the electoral College, College votes for the candidate. Secret ballot means the establishment of this order, in which there is no control over the will of the voters. Other principles that characterize electoral rights are: a freedom of elections and a voluntary of participation, a combination of state and non-state funding, transparency and public control over elections and the last alternative (the actual choice of several candidates).

The electoral process is the order and basic stage of elections organization. It includes the following main stages:

- 1) appointment of elections (usually, by head of state);
- 2) organization of electoral districts with approximately equal number of voters;
- 3) creation of election commissions, ensuring the preparation and conduction of elections;
- 4) voter registration in the manner prescribed by law, the compilation of voter lists;
- 5) the nomination of candidates for elected office and their registration;
- 6) election campaigning;
- 7) the voting process at polling stations;
- 8) summarizing the voting;
- 9) presenting the results and defining seats in elected bodies by voting.

If registration is optional, the law doesn't aim to achieve the inclusion of all persons at voter lists. Registration is made on the initiative of the voter. The

Registrar is obliged not to admit participation of persons without voting rights in elections.

The optional registration system has two types. When the first registration of a voter is permanent: the voter is considered to be permanently registered, if included once in the list for voting, and deleted of it only of death. The essence of another form: registration is periodic (the lists of voters should be annulled after a certain time and every voter should pass re-registration if wishes to participate in the elections).

If a compulsory registration system, the Registrar must ensure that everyone eligible to vote was enrolled to vote.

The distribution of mandates can be made using a majoritarian or proportional system of vote counting and according to the results of voting.

The majoritarian system is a way of determination a voting results, when to obtain the mandate it is required to collect the statutory majority of votes. The majority-vote system is the majority system of relative majority and the majority system of absolute majority. The advantage of this system is the simplicity of the results definition. Elected member will represent the absolute majority of voters. However, the system is characterized by substantial disadvantages: high representativeness (in the end, you may lose up to 49% of the vote) and the probability of holding multiple rounds of voting (if in the first round none of the candidates obtains an absolute majority of votes), leading to increased absenteeism (evasion from participation in the elections).

The majority system of relative majority postulates that the winner-candidate obtains more votes than each of his opponents separately. This system allows to determine the winner in the first round of voting. Often, however, elected person is the candidate who receives a very small percentage of votes and representing a clear minority of the electorate.

Proportional electoral system is a method of determining the results of voting based on the principle of proportional distribution of seats received by each party adequate to the number of taken votes. There are large districts electing several members in such system. Often electoral district becomes the whole country. Elections are held on party basis: each electoral Association or bloc put forward its list of candidates for the vacant positions and the voter votes not for an individual but for a party list as a whole. The mandates are distributed in accordance with the order in which the candidates are listed. It is impossible to put forward the so-called independent candidates to be elected in such system, it is needed to be got on the list.

After the vote determines the electoral quota. The simplest way of its determination consist of dividing of total number of submitted votes in the

constituency by the number of distributed mandates. Then the distribution of seats among party lists is done by dividing each party votes by quota. How many time the quota will keep within in number of received party votes defines the quantity of taken mandates. All the seats are not allocated at once with this method: it is needed to use another method of distribution of the residuals (for example, the method of the largest remainder) after the first transmission of the mandates.

Example. The election was contested by 5 the party lists. The list of the party “A” received 126 thousand votes, party “B” — 94 thousands, of the party “C” — 88 thousands, the party “D”- 65 thousands, and party “E” — 27 thousands. District consists of 400 thousands votes. District is represented by 8 deputies in Parliament.

Define the electoral quota:

400 thousand votes : 8 places = 50 thousand are holding the first distribution.

The list of party “A”— 126 thousand votes : 50 thousand = 2 (residue 26 thousands votes).

The list of party “B” — 94 thousand votes : 50 thousand = 1 (residue 44 thousands voters).

The list of party “C” — 88 thousand votes : 50 thousand = 1 seat (rest 38 thousands votes).

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Thus, after the first distribution of seats remained 3 free mandates. One additional mandate will receive a list with the largest remainder votes — lists B, C and E in accordance with the method of the largest remainder.

To avoid the mandates of "dwarf" parties, in some countries introduced so-called percentage barrier: the party list should be excluded from seat distribution because they do not achieve a certain number of voters (usually 5%), and their votes are not counted when summing up.

The Constitutions of many countries lack provisions on the right of electors to recall deputies before the expiration of their term of office. In these countries elections based on the principle of free mandate, i.e. the independence of the Deputy from the voters. There is also the so-called imperative mandate, according to which the Deputy was "linked" in its activities by the orders of voters to be prematurely withdrawn.

Another institution of direct democracy is the referendum — voting on draft laws, existing laws or other issues of national importance. The birthplace of the

referendum is Switzerland, where the first referendum was held in 1439. Referendums are separated into several parts:

- a) adequate to the legal force of the results
- consultative (decision of the referendum is not binding, its purpose — to find out the opinion of the population);
- decisive (decision of the referendum binding and require approval by an authority);
 - b) adequate to the content of projects submitted for voting
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- compulsory (ballot question can be solved only by referendum)
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A referendum can come from the head of state, Parliament, groups of MPs, a certain number of citizens or local governments. A referendum is usually submitted questions implying unambiguously positive ("Yes") or negative ("no") responses. There are a lot of questions, that are not permitted to submit to referendum. For example, in the Russian Federation these include questions about the status of the subject of the Russian Federation, about early termination or extension of the powers of the highest state authorities, state budget, taxes, Amnesty, and pardon. It is formed a special Commission and conducted propaganda work to realize referendum (such as for elections). Legal implications relate primarily to the decisive referendum: the outcome of which become the law of the state if the a positive answer to the question is formed.

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All the other institutions of direct democracy (e.g., rallies, marches, pickets and other) have a consultative value.

Part 6. STATE AS A POLITICAL ENTITY: FEATURES AND FORMS

The state is a special organization of power and governance, which possesses its own special apparatus of coercion and is able to give binding force to its decrees for the people throughout the country. It is viewed as a political, structural and territorial organization of modern society. The existence of the state as a political institution is defined due to the fact that it is a special organization of political power, regulating people and their relationships, ensuring the public stability.

The state is characterized by the following signs:

1. The existence of a special political authority separated from the society and not coinciding with it.

2. State power is exercised by a special professionally employed class of people (the bureaucracy), which is organized for this purpose and given the material means for a systematic, professional performance of its functions.

3. Territorial organization of the authorities and population. State power unites people on the basis of territorial affiliation (not on kinship basis) and operates them on a territorial criterion.

4. Taxes (loans, duties). They shall be paid by individuals and legal entities that have income derived within the state. Taxes are required by the state for the maintenance of staff and implementation of state functions.

5. Sovereignty (full or limited) is the political supremacy of the State within the country and its independence at the international arena. Thus, sovereignty is characterized by two sides - supremacy and independence. The supremacy means the ability of a state to carry out important issues of social life, to establish and to enforce uniform rule of law. Independence implies the autonomy of the state in its relations with other countries.

6. Monopoly on law-making as the exclusive right of the state to promulgate laws and other normative acts obligatory for the population of the whole country.

The functions of the state are its basic and socially important directions of its activity, expressing the essence of the state in line with the core tasks of a certain historical stage of society development. Upon the vector of their implementation, functions of the state can be divided into internal and external. Internal functions are the main activities of the state within the country. The internal functions of the state include:

- 1) protection of law and order, rights and freedoms of citizens of the state;
- 2) legalized coercion against various social groups and individuals and its implementation;

- 3) political function (ensuring democracy and state sovereignty);
- 4) economic function (economic development policy, the formation of the state budget and control over its expenditure, the establishment of a system of taxation, price policy, management of state-owned enterprises, etc.);
- 5) social function (the creation of a system of social welfare, health care, education, etc.);
- 6) ecological function (the activity directed on preservation, restoration and improvement of the natural conditions & environment of human life);
- 7) ideological function (the promotion of certain ideas and values through public media, education in the spirit of the official ideology of the youth, etc.).

External functions are the main activities of the state, manifested predominantly outside of the state and society, in its relations with other organizations or States. External functions include:

- 1) defense of the country from external threats & menaces (the construction of the armed forces, the conduct of defensive wars, the establishment and operation of counter-intelligence, border troops, etc.);
- 2) interaction with other States and international organizations (economic cooperation, participation in various international organizations and in political blocs & alliances, etc.).

In accordance with the *nature of state influence on social relations*, all functions can be distinguished as *protective* and *regulatory*. Protective functions are the activities of the state aimed to ensure the protection of existing social relations (protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens, ecological function, protect the state from external threats). Regulatory functions are activities aimed at the development of existing social relations (economic, function of interaction with other States).

Another classification of functions of government serve the *duration of their implementation* to divide state functions into *permanent* and *temporary*. The first group is running by the state in a long time and at different stages of its development. The second group is a result of the specific period of social genesis and these functions lose their value on a move to the next stage.

And finally, the functions differs by an *importance in public life* into *core* and *sub-functions*. The latter include, for example, the organization of statistical accounting.

The state carries out its functions in two forms. They are *legal* and *organizational*.

The legal forms include:

- 1) lawmaking (the drafting and adoption of legal norms, publication of normative legal acts);

2) law executive form (measures for enforcement of law, the publication of individual acts of law implementation);

3) law enforcement (control and supervision of compliance with and enforcement of norms and the application of coercive measures to criminals).

Organizational forms of state functions are as follows:

1) regulating (current activity of the public structures to ensure the functioning of the state institutes associated with the drafting of documents, organization of elections, etc.);

2) economic (operational and technical work associated with accounting, statistics, logistics, etc.);

3) ideological (ideological everyday work associated with explaining the newly issued regulations and the formation of public opinion).

The state may exercise its functions even in extra-legal forms, i.e. in addition to law and even contrary to it.

METHODOLOGICAL AND INFORMATION SUPPORT FOR THE COURSE

MAIN LITTERATURE:

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Лебедева М.М. Политическая система мира: проявления «внесистемности», или новые акторы – старые правила. – М.: МГИМО, 2008
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Решетников С.В. Политология – М.: ТетраСистем, 2000.
Фромм Э. Бегство от свободы. – URL: www.coollib.net

ADDITIONAL LITTERATURE & INTERNET RESOURCES

(E-LIBRARY OF LOBACHEVSKY UNIVERSITY):

- American Journal of Political Science – URL: www.jstor.org
American Political Science Review – URL: <http://journals.cambridge.org>
British Journal of Political Science – URL: <http://journals.cambridge.org>
Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique – URL: <http://journals.cambridge.org>
Comparative Politics – URL: www.jstor.org
Conflict Resolution – URL: www.jstor.org
Foreign Affairs - URL: http://www.lib.unn.ru/er/ebsco_asp.html
International Relations of the Asia-Pacific – URL: www.oxfordjournals.org
International Security – URL: www.jstor.org
International Studies Review – URL: www.jstor.org
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Journal of International Dispute Settlement – URL: www.oxfordjournals.org
Journal of International Political Theory – URL: <http://www.sagepub.com>
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Political Theory – URL: www.jstor.org
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