

МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОСВІТИ І НАУКИ УКРАЇНИ
ДОНБАСЬКИЙ ДЕРЖАВНИЙ ПЕДАГОГІЧНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ
Кафедра германської та слов'янської філології

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ПРАКТИКА | POLITICAL
УСНОГО ТА | SYSTEMS IN
ПИСЕМНОГО | THE USA AND
МОВЛЕННЯ | GREAT BRITAIN

Навчально-методичний посібник
для здобувачів першого (бакалаврського)
рівня вищої освіти
014 Середня освіта (Мова і література (англійська, німецька))

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Навчально-методичний посібник розроблено з урахуванням комунікативно-діяльнісного та компетентнісного підходів; принципів творчого характеру та автономності навчання. Рекомендується для студентів-бакалаврів мовних спеціальностей (денної та заочної форми навчання), викладачів англійської мови, фахівців-лінгвістів.

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ПЕРЕДМОВА

Навчально-методичний посібник містить дидактичні матеріали до практичних занять з навчальної дисципліни «Практика усного та писемного мовлення (англійська мова)», що є одним із головних спеціалізованих курсів для підготовки студентів IV курсу бакалаврського рівня вищої освіти, спеціальності 014 Середня освіта (Мова і література (англійська, німецька)). Мета навчальної дисципліни – формування у студентів міжкультурної іншомовної комунікативної компетенції. Посібник присвячено опануванню програмної теми «Political Systems in the USA and Great Britain». Він включає інформаційний, соціокультурний, текстовий, лексико-граматичний матеріал за зазначеною тематикою; вправи з усіх видів мовленнєвої діяльності для формування іншомовної міжкультурної комунікативної компетенції; завдання для самоконтролю та самостійної роботи студентів; додається список рекомендованої літератури та ключі до тестових завдань. На практичних заняттях з даної дисципліни студенти-бакалаври вдосконалюють іншомовні мовленнєві навички та вміння у чотирьох видах мовленнєвої діяльності: аудіюванні, говорінні, читанні та письмі. Студенти-бакалаври повинні демонструвати впевненість і позитивну мотивацію у користуванні англійською мовою; усвідомлювати роль вчителя іноземної мови як у шкільному, так і позашкільному оточенні.

Навчально-методичний посібник містить декілька тематичних блоків із зазначеної теми. До кожного блоку включено автентичні англійські тексти з лінгвокраїнознавчої тематики; проблеми та питання для опрацювання, різні типи вправ для формування іншомовної комунікативної компетенції; визначаються практичні завдання для самоконтролю та самостійної роботи, пропонується додаткова література.

Дидактичні матеріали посібника сприяють глибшому розумінню здобувачами особливостей історичного, політичного, соціального та культурного розвитку англomовних країн. Посібник адаптований до вимог навчальної програми та силабусу з дисципліни «Практика усного та писемного мовлення» і, безумовно, сприятиме систематизації знань із зазначеної теми та формуванню комунікативних компетентностей. Навчально-методичний посібник рекомендований для використання як під час аудиторної, так і самостійної роботи здобувачів бакалаврського рівня вищої освіти.

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SECTION 1. POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Look through the following comments before reading Text 1.

Comments:

The **Magna Carta** (in the Middle Ages called the "Magna Charta") was a charter issued in 1215 to spell out the authority of the monarch, and explicitly protected certain rights of the King's subjects – whether free or not: most notably the right of Habeas Corpus. *Магна Карта.*

Habeas Corpus is the name of a legal situation by means of which someone accused of a crime can seek relief from unlawful imprisonment. The status of habeas corpus has historically been an important instrument for the safeguarding of individual freedom against arbitrary state action. *Закон Хабеус Корпус про недоторканність особи.*

The **Tynwald** ("**Tinvaal**" in the Manx language) is the oldest continually-sitting parliament in the world, formed in the late 800s by the Viking-derived population of the Isle of Man, located between England, Scotland and Ireland. Even today, once a year all citizens meet on Tynwald Hill *right*, and have the right to speak *Тінволд*.

Lord Protector was a special title given to Oliver Cromwell to describe his role as democratic Head of State after the Civil War and execution of Charles the First. The title was abolished when his son, Richard, decided to return the monarchy to the role of Head of State. *Лорд-протектор.*

Whip. A member of a party in Parliament appointed to control its parliamentary discipline and tactics. *Парламентський партійний організатор у Великій Британії.*

Read the following text

Text 1: Political Systems

In politics people very rarely actually say what they actually mean. Generally, the listener or voter has a very considerable task

to decide whether he or she is being **deluded**, or whether the politician is even deluding himself or herself. Of course, we ourselves see the situation clearly, and so we can recognize what has to be done. Then why do politicians and their concepts of politics more often avoid than **confront** real issues?

The problem is that politics is never in the **domain** of ancient Greek philosophers, who tried to appraise, identify and focus upon the societal value of politics – the advancement and betterment of society. Our political structure is tied to power. This controls people, capital and resources. Power is a drug that cannot easily be **relinquished** and idealistic aspirations to the true objectives of politics – changing society for the better- rapidly fall to confused moral and ethical values.

The basis of many political systems is a Constitution – a document debated over, until paraded before the People as a symbol of the People's value and involvement in the Nation. This is generally seen as being a necessary step for democracy, yet many people around the world are **astounded** to find that Britain itself has no constitution. Admittedly, there was the **Magna Carta** *left*, issued in 1215 but by the early 19th century effectively all the clauses had been **repealed** from English law, other than Habeas Corpus. The Magna Carta influenced many common law and other documents, such as the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Britain has had political systems since its first parliament in 1265, although this was a relative newcomer compared to the first continually sitting parliament in the world, the **Tynwald** of England's neighbour, the Isle of Man, which was permanently established in 979 (and had intermittently functioned since the 8th century).

Britain is a good example of how politics works in many countries today. Those in power form a parliament to publicly debate and decide on issues. The parliament is comprised in most countries of elected representatives of the People, led by a Prime Minister and overseen by a monarch, president (or governor in the case of a colony). This works well until the overseer, the Head of State, attempts

to **assume** control or the prime minister attempts to ignore the Head of State. The classic example in the history of the UK is Charles the First, who tried to overrule parliament and was eventually beheaded for treason as a result. Oliver Cromwell was chosen to be the **Lord Protector** until his death, but his son Richard could not cope with the duties of a Head of State and so **reinstated** the monarchy. More recent arguments between presidents and prime ministers continually cause major problems in the functioning of a nation, yet what is it that these **figureheads** and their **retinue** of politicians actually do?

Figureheads are elected to be leaders in democratic countries. In non-democratic countries they are chosen by a committee by the single political party in power, to have the same function, that of a leader. Their nature and character seems to be shown by history to be independent of whether they are elected, like Hitler, or chosen by committee, like Stalin. Confusion arises when Al Gore wins the US Presidential elections for the Democrats with half a million more votes than his Republican opponent, George W. Bush, but fails to become inaugurated as the President of the USA. In all these cases, one man becomes the top politician of a country and then presides over the functioning of their nation.

Historically, Heads of State planned, proposed, agreed, implemented, monitored and improved policies and the direction of their nation. The degree of control seems to vary massively from country to country today, yet who believed that George W. Bush determined US fiscal policy and manipulated its monetary policy? Who doubted that Vladimir Putin tightly controlled Russia's foreign policy, for example?

How much control does the **electorate** actually have over the destiny of their nation? Returning to the UK as an example, voters vote for individuals, who subsequently are not allowed to implement the wishes of their **constituency**, but **mandated** to follow the policy of the Party to which they belong. British politics, both in the English and Scottish parliaments, has parties that elect leaders. The electorate then votes for a regional candidate, local to them, who has to

stand for a nominated party. The majority of the elected members of Parliament (MPs) form a government and the leader of the largest party becomes the Prime Minister (PM). Democratic so far, but then the Cabinet, headed by the PM, decides policy, formulates legislation and proposes its acceptance by the lower House, the Commons. The UK has senior politicians called '**whips**' who demand that their party members vote for the policy of their party, irrespective of the MP's wishes or the wishes of their constituents. A "rebel" may be expelled by the party.

The only check and control on such a system is the bi-cameral system in the UK, where there is an upper house, the Lords, where **blatant** pushing of policy by one party may be overruled by a body with **allegiance** to the People more than to any Party.

Only once has a Cabinet in the UK decided that the PM had too often acted against the wishes of the electorate, when Margaret Thatcher was effectively sacked in 1990 and replaced by John Major. This was clearly a political party realizing that their policies had gone too far against the agreement of the electorate, and this action was taken to preserve their winning position. It worked and the Conservative party was re-elected with Major as its leader. Rule one of politics came into force – stay in power regardless of individuals or circumstances.

Power is the **rationale**, the **raison d'etre** for many politicians. The problem was famously summed up by Lord Acton, a British historian, in 1887 – "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men."

Even when they are not obviously 'bad' as such, relinquishing power seems too often be almost too much to bear. History is **crammed** full of examples of clearly corrupt politicians – but even ruthless dictators responsible for millions of deaths are wept over upon their death. Others with tiny salaries become millionaires, even billionaires. But almost never do they achieve the honour of being thought of retrospectively as a Statesperson. A political party may make the claim – Margaret Thatcher is a Stateswoman to Conservative Party supporters but often the evil Iron Lady to socialist or

centrist party supporters. Winston Churchill is regarded as the Greatest Briton in history, according to the major poll conducted by the BBC in 2002 and almost always acknowledged as being a Statesman. Yet he won his main fame as being a War Leader during the 1939-1945 World War and when the general election in Britain in 1945 returned Clement Atlee as a socialist Prime Minister, the Americans and the Russians were confused as to why Atlee signed the Potsdam Agreement, not Churchill.

Political parties drive politics as much as leaders. Some countries famously have two major parties – notably the USA Republicans and Democrats and the UK Conservatives and Labour party. Forming a government after an election is often easier by a visible majority, yet many countries notoriously have a plethora of political parties. For decades, Italy has had very frequent elections when coalitions and their many **reiterations** fail to find stability. Looking at a list today of the parties represented in the Italian Parliament is an interesting, if lengthy, exercise. Indeed, political argument at its very heart needs to ask whether two or three parties can properly represent millions of voters, or whether we need many – a broad spectrum of choice. Undeniably, coalitions of multiple parties are difficult, and sometimes impossible to control, leading to the time and effort of those meant to be leading our nation spent on fusing consensus from political parties, each with its own agenda.

The more that politics becomes party politics and the representation of vested interests, then the less the voice of the electorate is heard. The main tool employed by governments clearly torn between their interests and the ability to be re-elected next time round, is the referendum. This in itself is often merely manipulation to achieve a **mandate** by the people, when a question is asked that skirts the real issue or when massive government funds are poured into one side of the referendum and the other side is underfunded.

The issues raised in the media to analyse politics may be driven by the politicians, and **spin** put on them by that party's **spin doctors**. In some countries politicians are even allowed to own television channels and newspapers, which may make a mockery of

democracy. We may ultimately be proud to at least having a choice in the decision as to who is to lead our nation. But how accurate is the information is that leads us to vote for one candidate ahead of another? We can only hope that we think for ourselves, discuss the issues between ourselves and refuse to believe spin and propaganda, however persuasive it may be.

Exercise 1. State whether the following statements are true or false to check your general understanding of the text.

1. In politics people often actually say what they actually mean. 2. Voters have a very considerable task to decide whether they are being deluded. 3. Our political structure is not tied to power. 4. Power is a drug that cannot easily be relinquished. 5. The Magna Carta was issued in 1455. 6. Britain has had political systems since its first parliament in 1385. 7. Those in power form a parliament to publicly debate and decide on issues. 8. Oliver Cromwell was chosen to be the Lord Protector until his death, and his son Richard was able to cope with the duties of a Head of State. 9. More recent arguments between presidents and prime ministers do not continually cause major problems in the functioning of a nation. 10. Margaret Thatcher was effectively sacked in 1996 and replaced by John Major. 11. Figureheads are elected to be leaders in democratic countries. 12. Vladimir Putin did not control Russian foreign policy. 13. The majority of the elected members of Parliament (MPs) forms a government and the leader of the largest party becomes the Prime Minister. 14. Undeniably, coalition of multiple parties is easy to control. 15. In some countries politicians are even allowed to own television channels and newspapers, which may make for real democracy. 16. The more politics become party politics and the representation of vested interests, the less the voice of the electorate is heard.

Exercise 2. Answer the following questions in relation to the text after its second reading.

Why do politicians and their concepts of politics more often avoid than confront real issues?

What does political structure control?

When was the Magna Carta issued?

What is the basis of many political systems?

Where is the first continually sitting parliament in the world?

Who was chosen to be the English Lord Protector until his death?

What is the difference between elections in democratic and non-democratic countries?

Who really determines US fiscal policy and monetary policy?

How can the electorate control the power used by politicians?

What political leader becomes the Prime Minister of Great Britain?

When was Margaret Thatcher replaced by John Major?

Why is power the motivating force for so many politicians?

Do you agree with Lord Acton's opinion about power?

Who is regarded to be the greatest Briton in history?

Why are the coalitions of multiple parties all too often too difficult to control?

How accurate is the information that leads us to vote for one candidate ahead of another?

Exercise 3. Write down your own plan of the text or put together bullet-points for its contents. Retell the text in detail using your plan or bullet-points as a prompt. Give a short precis of the text.

VOCABULARY NOTES

1. Delude, v.

to cheat the hopes of, to mock, to play with under the pretence of seriousness – вводить в оману, e.g. In order to get her commitment to all the extra work, the manager deluded her employee with promises of promotion.

cause to accept foolishly a false or mistaken belief; deceive, beguile; impose upon with false impressions – обманювати, спантеличувати, e.g. She deluded herself when she decided that the job offer was going to improve her career.

2. **Confront**, v.

1) stand or meet facing, esp. in hostility or defiance; stand against – протистояти, дивитися в обличчя (смерті, небезпеці), e.g. He decided to confront the mob and to try to apply reason.

2) bring together face to face; bring face to face with – стикнутися, стояти навпроти, зустрітися віч-навіч. e.g. A criminal should be confronted with his crime, for he may just betray himself or confess.

3. **Domain**, n.

1) an area under rule or influence; the area of activity of a person, institution – володіння, територія, e.g. The Marketing Director had an office at the centre of his domain on the third floor of the office building.

2) a sphere of thought or operation; the situations where a particular science, law, etc., is applicable – галузь, сфера, e.g. The software game was not copyrighted and was placed into the public domain.

4. **Relinquish**, v.

1) give up an idea, belief, etc.; stop doing an action or practice- залишати, уступати, поступатися, e.g. We relinquished our ruthless views on profit when we realized what our company was doing to the environment. In order to end the argument, she relinquished her demands for control.

2) resign, surrender, (a possession, right, etc.) – поступатися (правом, посадою), e.g. The politician was forced to relinquish his position as a Cabinet Minister after the scandals broke.

3) let go (something held) – відходити, відпустити, випустити, e.g. The dying woman relinquished her grip.

5. **Astound**, v. Shock with alarm or wonder; astonish, amaze – дивувати, вражати, приголомшувати, e.g. She was

astounded by the speed with which the text of the whole book was reformatted by the new computer.

Der.: astounding, *adj.* – дивовижний, вражаючий, приголомшливий.

Syn.: amaze, astonish, stagger, stun, dazzle, bewilder, stupefy, daze, startle.

6. Repeal, v. Annul, rescind (a law, sentence, etc.); revoke, withdraw – анулювати, скасовувати, відміняти, e.g. The law that demands that policemen in England must not walk on the pavement has never actually been repealed. *Syn.* \ abolish – put an end to, demolish, destroy;

cancel – revoke an order or arrangements for, abolish, obliterate;

revoke – annul, cancel, rescind;

annul – declare invalid.

7. Assume, v.

1) take for granted; take as being true, for the sake of argument or action; suppose — вважати, припускати, e. g. When you're young you assume everybody old knows what they're doing.

2) take onto yourself (an aspect, form, or costume); develop an attribute, undertake a job or duty – набирати вигляду, характеру, форм, брати на себе відповідальність, e.g. The assistant Head of Department assumed responsibility for the summer admissions programme at the university.

3) simulate, pretend to have – привласнювати, присвоювати, e.g. Many authors of fiction also write under an assumed name for marketing purposes.

8. Reinstate, v.

1) bring or put back (a person etc.) into a former position or condition; reinstall, re-establish, (in office etc.) – відновлювати (в правах, у попередньому становищі), e.g. Having sacked the party's chairman, he promptly reinstated him. Rolls-Royce decided to cancel, then reinstate its staffs contracts.

2) restore (a thing) to a proper state; replace – замінити, виправляти, e. g. The path has been ploughed up and not reinstated.

Der.: reinstatement.

9. Figurehead, n. A nominal leader who has little or no authority or influence. Номінальний глава, підставна особа, e.g. He is a mere figurehead.

10. Retinue, n. A number of people in the service of or accompanying someone, especially an important person. Ескорт, оточення, e.g. The Managing Director marched along the corridor, followed by a retinue of his staff.

11. Electorate, n. A body of electors; (the number of) all those entitled to vote in a country or constituency – виборці, електорат. e.g. The President appealed to the electorate to support her view in a referendum.

12. Constituency, n. All the people entitled to vote for a particular seat or member in a public, especially a legislative, body; the area or population represented by an elected member – виборці, виборчий округ, e.g. The regular meetings in a British MP's constituency are called the MP's "surgery".

13. Mandate, v. Give a mandate to, delegate authority to (a representative, group, organization, etc.) – давати мандат, надавати повноваження, e.g. She was mandated to finish the document by Tuesday.

Mandate, n. The instruction as to policy given by the electorate to their elected representatives; support for a policy or measure regarded by a victorious party, candidate, etc., as derived from the wishes of the people in an election – мандат, наказ, доручення, e.g. It's all right to manipulate the people as long as you were given a large mandate in the previous election.

14. Blatant, adj.

1) obvious and very noticeable, vulgarly clamorous, noticeably loud – жакликий, крикливий, галасливий, e.g. She made a blatant fuss during the meeting.

2) obtrusive to the eye; conspicuous, palpable; unashamed – явний, очевидний, кричущий, e.g. She wore a short skirt, blatant in her intentions, to the job interview. *Syn.:* obvious, conspicuous, glaring, bald, naked – явний, очевидний.

15. Allegiance, n. Loyalty; the recognition of the claims which someone or something has to respect or duty – вірність, лояльність, відданість, e.g. She felt a strong sense of allegiance to her fellow lecturers who had supported her during the bad times.

Comb.: oath of allegiance – клятва вірності.

16. Rationale, n. The fundamental or underlying logical reason for or basis of a thing; a justification – основа, підґрунтя, логічне обґрунтування, e.g. The main rationale for promoting rapid educational expansion was an economic one.

17. Raison d'être, French. Reason for existence. Причина існування, e.g. Once she went home from the university, her garden and her plants became her sole raison d'être.

18. Cram, v.

1) fill (a space, receptacle, etc.) completely, esp. by force or compression; overfill – наповнювати, заповнювати, e.g. A large chilly basement was crammed to the ceiling with second-hand goods.

2) feed to excess (specifically poultry etc. to fatten them up, with food) – нагодовувати досхочу, e.g. The turkeys were crammed full of com in the month before Christmas.

3) force or stuff (something) into a receptacle, space, etc., which it overfills – утискати, впихати, e.g. Most working parents have to cram their weekends into two tightly organized days.

4) prepare for an examination etc. by intensive coaching, study (a subject) intensively for an examination – натаскувати на іспит, зубрити, e.g. Cramming for the exam was especially difficult as they had missed many lectures during the year.

19. Reiteration, n.

1) repetition of an action, process, etc. – повторення, повторювання, e.g. The engineers decided that a reiteration of the welding on the bridge supports was necessary.

2) repeated iteration of a plan, concept, strategy – повтор, e.g. The director insisted on a reiteration of the company's pricing strategy in light of the competitor's announcements.

20. Spin, n.

spinning motion, rapid rotation; an instance or spell of this, a whirl – обертання, вертіння, e.g. The aircraft stalled and as it fell, began a spin.

a revolving motion through the air (given to a rifle bullet) – кружляння, пірует, e.g. The word “rifle” actually means to design a gun barrel that makes a bullet spin.

a bias or slant on information, intended to create a favourable impression when it is presented to the public; an interpretation, a viewpoint – наліт упередженості, неправдивості (інформації), e.g. American spokesman Jody Powell put a negative spin on the talks.

Comb.: spin control – маніпуляція, просування/насаджування власної версії подій; **spin doctor** – політтехнолог.

Spin, v.

1) draw out and twist (wool, cotton, flax) by hand or with machinery so as to form thread; make a similar type of thread from (a synthetic substance, glass) – прясти, сукати, скручувати, e.g. Glass may be spun into very long and minute threads.

2) (of an insect, spider) produce (glutinous silken threads) from the body by means of special organs; construct (a web, cocoon, etc.) using silken threads – плести, прясти (павутину), e.g. It can be fascinating to watch a spider spin its web.

3) tell, write, devise, (a story, plan, etc.), especially fancifully or lengthily – складати, komponувати, вигадувати, плести небилиці, e.g. She was renowned for not simply answering a question, but spinning a long yam instead.

Phrases: to spin off (distribute stock of a new company to shareholders of a parent company, create a company in this way) – розділитися (про компанію); to spin off (produce as a spin-off or indirect benefit from a large project) – отримати додаткові маркетингові можливості з великого проекту; to spin out (make a story, discussion lengthy or protracted; prolong, draw out, extend) – розтягувати, зволікати, затягувати (обговорення тощо).

VOCABULARY PRACTICE

Exercise 4. Match the words from the text in the left-hand column to their synonyms or synonymous expressions in the right-hand column and translate them into Ukrainian. Use the following words in the sentences of your own.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a) to astound | 1) to give up |
| b) to relinquish | 2) to fool |
| c) to repeal | 3) to amaze, to astonish |
| d) to assume | 4) to return to its original role |
| e) to delude | 5) to revoke |
| f) to reinstate | 6) very obvious |
| g) blatant | 7) a political manipulation |
| h) a spin | 8) loyalty |
| i) an allegiance | 9) to delegate authority |
| j) to spin out | 10) underlying logical reason |
| k) reiteration | 11) an area of activity |
| l) a rationale | 12) to prolong |
| m) to mandate | 13) to take for granted |
| n) a retinue | 14) to stand against |
| o) a figurehead | 15) an accompanying group |
| p) confront | 16) a nominal head |
| q) domain | 17) repetition |

Exercise 5. Study the meaning of the highlighted words and translate the following sentences into Ukrainian.

1. It is easy to *delude* yourself into believing you are in love.
2. Don't be *deluded* into thinking your new jacket is waterproof.
3. I *confronted* him with my suspicions, and he confessed everything.
4. We try to help people *confront* their problems.
5. This question is outside the *domain* of biological science.
6. No one wants to *relinquish* power once they have it.
7. The managing director's decision *astounded* everyone.
8. She was *astounded* by his effortless arrogance.
9. I didn't see your car parked outside, so I *assumed* that you had gone out.
10. Jason *assumed* an air of indifference whenever,

her name was mentioned. 11. California *reinstated* the death penalty by lethal injection in 1977. 12. In the election of June 1987, when 75 per cent of the *electorate* voted, the Conservative Party gained an overall majority. 13. The candidate polling the largest number of votes in a *constituency* is elected in a "first-past-the-post" system. 14. The committee was *mandated* to coordinate measures to help Somalia. 15. Sometimes the President thinks she has a clearer *mandate* than she really does. 16. The people here have strong political *allegiances*. 17. "I pledge *allegiance* to the flag of the United States of America". 18. *Blatant* abuse of power is considered to be a serious political problem. 19. The *rationale* for using this teaching method is to encourage divergent thinking by students. 20. The *rationale* behind the changes isn't at all obvious. 21. The Minister of the Economy *relinquished* the position in the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. 22. We must demand the *reiteration* of his previous statement as it is extremely important. 23. I have to *cram* for my English test tomorrow. 24. We *crammed* in as much sightseeing as possible during our stay in London. 25. A lot of information has been *crammed* into this book.

Exercise 6. Translate the following Ukrainian sentences into English, paying special attention to the active vocabulary.

1. Ділові партнери вирішили нарешті зустрітися віч-на-віч, щоб обговорити спірні питання, які перешкоджають подальшому співробітництву. 2. Само собою зрозумілим є те, що ніхто не хоче втрачати владу. 3. Верховна Рада України має намір скасувати депутатську недоторканність та відмінити привілеї для народних депутатів. 4. Вчені-економісти припускають, що рівень інфляції в наступному році буде поступово знижуватися. 5. Кого б не призначили на посаду міністра фінансів, йому доведеться брати на себе відповідальність за виконання державного бюджету країни. 6. Відновлення у правах незаконно репресованих громадян потребує значних зусиль та матеріальних витрат з боку уряду України. 7. У кожному місцевому виборчому окрузі електорат мав можливість проголосувати за певну

політичну партію відповідно до своїх уподобань. 8. Згідно з Конституцією України президенту надаються значні повноваження щодо зовнішньополітичного курсу країни. 9. На деяких телеканалах спостерігалось очевидне насаджування власної версії подій. 10. Вся знать збиралася у столиці, щоб присягнути на вірність новому монарху. 11. На чому саме ґрунтувалося ваше рішення? 12. Міністру економіки довелося поступитися своєю посадою у Кабінеті Міністрів після серйозних звинувачень у засобах масової інформації. 13. Обговорення транспортного питання на засіданні Київської міської ради затягувалося, що викликало незадоволення у депутатів.

Exercise 7. Read and translate the following text about the political system of Great Britain. Give English equivalents to the words and expressions in brackets.

The (Голова держави), theoretical and nominal source of (виконавча, законодавча та судова) power in the UK is the (Британський монарх), currently Queen Elizabeth II. However, sovereignty in the UK no longer rests with the monarch, since (Англійський Білль про права) in 1689 established the principle of (парламентська незалежність). Nevertheless, the monarch is still known as the (суверен).

The (уряд) performs the (виконавчі) functions of the United Kingdom on behalf of the Sovereign, in whom executive power is theoretically and nominally vested. The monarch (призначає прем'єр-міністра) as the head of Her Majesty's Government, guided by the strict (конституційне положення) that the Prime Minister should be the member of the (Палата громад) most likely to be able to form a Government with the support of the House. In practice, this means that the leader of the political party with an (абсолютна більшість місць) in the House of Commons is chosen to be the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister then selects the other Ministers which make up the Government and act as political heads of the various (урядові департаменти). About twenty of the most senior

(міністри уряду) make up the Cabinet. In total, there are approximately 100 ministers that comprise the government. In accordance with (конституційна угода), all ministers within the government are either (члени парламенту) or (пери) in (Палата лордів).

As in some other (парламентські системи) of government (especially those based upon the Westminster System), the executive (called «the government») is drawn from and is answerable to Parliament – a successful (голосування про недовіру) will force the government either to (подати у відставку) or to seek a (розпуск парламенту) and a (загальні вибори). In practice, members of parliament of all (основні партії) are strictly controlled by (парламентські партійні організатори) who try to ensure they vote according to party policy. If the government has a large majority, then they are very unlikely to lose enough votes to be unable to pass legislation.

The Government of the United Kingdom contains a number of (міністерства) known mainly, though not exclusively as departments, e. g. (міністерство оборони). These are politically led by a (міністр уряду) who is often a (державний секретар) and member of the Cabinet. He or she may also be supported by a number of junior Ministers.

(Виконання) of the Minister's decisions is earned out by a permanent politically neutral organization known as the (державна служба). Its constitutional role is to support the Government of the day (незалежно від) of which political party is in power. Unlike some other democracies, senior (державні службовці) remain in post upon a change of Government.

Administrative management of the Department is led by a head civil servant known in most Departments as a (постійний секретар). The majority of the civil service staff in fact work in (виконавчі установи) which are separate operational organizations reporting to Departments of State.

"Whitehall" is often used as a synonym for the central core of the (державна служба). This is because most Government Departments have (органи управління) in and around the former Royal Palace of Whitehall.

(Adapted from Wikipedia)

Exercise 8. Read and translate the following text about the political parties in the USA. Think of the best way to translate the words in bold.

The United States puts no legal limits on the number of political parties that may operate. Thus, it is theoretically a multi-party system, although political parties are not mentioned in the U.S. Constitution. Parties are, however, regulated by the constitutions of the individual states, which organize elections **to both local and federal offices**. In practice, since the mid-1800s, the country has been limited to a two-party system with **occasional inroads** made by third parties. This is largely a consequence of the **first-past-the-post election system** and **restrictive ballot access** laws imposed on the other political parties, as well as **the leadership rules in Congress**.

There have been many political parties other than the two **dominant ones** (the Republican Party and the Democratic Party), but most third parties are generally considered to be of only minor and short-lived political significance. The two main parties hold glamorous, almost circus-like conventions to choose candidates for Presidential elections.

US political parties are grouped into four sections. The first section is called "Current major parties", and it lists the two dominant parties mentioned above. The second section is called "Current third parties" and it consists of those parties that have achieved (or, **in the lead-up to an election**, are reasonably expected to achieve) **ballot status** for their respective candidates for President of the United States in states with enough **electoral votes** to have a theoretical chance of winning. The third section is called "Current minor and regional parties that have **endorsed candidates**" and consists of

all the other currently active parties which have candidates. The last section, "**Defunct political parties**," is for political parties that no longer exist.

An alternate means for categorizing U.S. political parties, historically and currently, is to apply the Federal Election Commission's definition of "national committees" retroactively back in time to the beginning of the U.S.

Exercise 9. Translate the following text into English in writing. Pay attention to translation of political terminology.

Американська система урядування

Системи урядування в США: федеральну, штату, округу та місцеву – досить легко зрозуміти. Їх достатньо легко зрозуміти, якщо ви виростаєте разом з ними та вивчаєте їх у школі. Один із зарубіжних експертів скаржитья, наприклад, на те, що складність політичної та управлінської структури міст майже неймовірна. Він пояснює, що "справжній Чикаго" включає 2 штати, 6 округів, 10 малих міст, 30 великих міст, 40 селищ та 110 сіл. Крім цієї складної схеми, існує ще 235 податкових районів і більше ніж 400 шкільних районів.

Однак є декілька основних принципів, які можна знайти на всіх рівнях американського урядування. Один з них "одна людина – один голос" свідчить про те, що законодавці обираються від географічних районів виборцями напряму. Відповідно до цього принципу, всі виборчі райони повинні мати приблизно однакову кількість мешканців.

Інший фундаментальний принцип американського урядування полягає у тому, що завдяки системі контролю та рівноваги компроміс у політиці – необхідність, а не вибір. Наприклад, Палата представників контролює витрати та фінанси, отже, президент повинен отримати згоду на свої пропозиції та програми. Він не може оголосити війну без згоди Конгресу. У закордонних справах він також дуже обмежений. Кожний договір повинний спочатку бути схвалений Сенатом. Якщо немає

згоди, то й немає угоди. Правило говорить, що "президент пропонує, але Конгрес наказує". Таким чином, те, що президент хоче зробити, відрізняється від того, що президент має можливість зробити.

Конгрес, законодавча гілка влади федерального уряду, складається із Сенату та Палати представників. Всього 100 сенаторів, по 2 від кожного штату. Одна третина сенаторів обирається кожні 2 роки терміном на 6 років. Сенатори представляють всіх мешканців штату та їхні інтереси.

Палата представників налічує 435 членів. Вони обираються кожні 2 роки на дворічний термін. Вони представляють населення "районів Конгресу", на які поділений кожний штат. Кількість представників від кожного штату залежить від населення. Наприклад, Каліфорнія, штат з найбільшою кількістю населення, має 52 члени у Палаті представників, у той час як Делаваар має тільки одного.

Майже всі вибори у США базуються на принципі "переможець отримує все": кандидат, який набрав найбільшу кількість голосів у конгресовому районі, є переможцем.

Конгрес приймає закони, кожна палата Конгресу має повноваження вносити законопроекти. Кожна палата також може голосувати проти законопроектів іншої палати. Оскільки законопроект стає законом, якщо його приймають обидві палати, то їм необхідно досягти компромісу. Конгрес приймає рішення щодо податків та грошових витрат. Крім того, він регулює торгівлю між штатами та з іноземними країнами. Він також встановлює правила надання громадянства іноземцям.

Exercise 10. Using the texts above and your background knowledge, compare:

a) the system of government in Great Britain, Ukraine and the USA, in terms of:

- The Head of State: appointment, functions and powers, relationship with other state bodies.

- Legislature: composition, functions and powers, relationship with other state bodies.

- The Executive: composition, functions and powers, relationship with other state bodies.

b) the British, American and Ukrainian electoral systems.

Exercise 11. Discuss the following issues.

1. The usefulness of the monarchy in contemporary Britain.
2. The advantages and disadvantages of a bicameral parliament.
3. Changes in the Ukrainian electoral system that could make it more efficient.
4. How ballot falsification may occur in various countries.

Exercise 12. Read the following text, paying especial attention to topic-related terminology.

Magna Carta is often a symbol for the first time the citizens of England were granted rights against an absolute king. However, in practice the Commons could not enforce Magna Carta in the very rare situations where it affected them, so its reach was limited. Also, a large part of Magna Carta was copied, nearly word for word, from the Charter of Liberties of Henry I, *right*, issued when Henry I rose to the throne in 1100, which bound the king to laws which effectively granted certain civil liberties to the church and the English nobility.

The document commonly known as Magna Carta today is not the 1215 charter, but a later charter of 1225, and is usually shown in the form of The Charter of 1297 when it was confirmed by Edward I. In 1215 many of the provisions were not meant to make long-term changes but simply to right some immediate wrongs; therefore The Charter was reissued three times in the reign of Henry III. After this, each king for the next two hundred years personally confirmed the 1225 charter in their own charter, so one must not think of it as one document but a variety of documents coming together to form one Magna Carta in the same way many treaties such as the treaties of

Rome and Nice come together to form the Treaties of the European Union and the European Community.

Popular perception is that King John and the barons signed the Magna Carta, however there were no signatures on the original document, only a single seal by the king. The words of the charter — *Data per manum nostram* — signify that the document was personally given by the king's hand. By placing his seal on the document, the King and the barons followed common law that a seal was sufficient to authenticate a deed, though it had to be done in front of witnesses. John's seal was the only one, he did not sign it, nor did any of the barons sign or attach their seal to it.

The document is also honoured in America as some view it as an antecedent of the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights. The UK lent one of the four remaining copies of Magna Carta to the U.S. for its bicentennial celebrations and donated a golden copy which is displayed in the U.S. Capital Rotunda.

In 2006, BBC History Magazine held a poll to recommend a date for a proposed “Britain Day”, June 15, as the date of the signing of the original 1215 Magna Carta, receiving most votes, above other suggestions such as D-Day, VE Day, and Remembrance Day. The outcome was not binding, although Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown had previously given his support to the idea of a new national day to celebrate British identity.

Exercise 13. Answer the following questions to the text and find in the text English equivalents to the Ukrainian words and expressions below the questions:

What in essence was the Magna Carta?

What period of political history does this document belong to?

Why is it so important for the identity of the British?

Why do the Americans honour Magna Carta?

Надати права, Палата громад, запровадити Хартію, обмежена дія, примусити короля зважати на закони, Хартія вольностей, положення Хартії, виправити несправедливість, міжнародна угода, поставити печатку, поширена думка, загальне право,

засвідчувати документ, в присутності свідків, прообраз, подавати копію, виставити на огляд, провести опитування, результати опитування, що не мають сили закону.

Exercise 14. Check your knowledge of politics-related terminology by matching the following:

a) велика політика	1. election manifesto
b) депутат міської ради	2. public opinion
c) чинна конституція	3. parliamentary majority
d) суспільна думка	4. valid constitution
e) парламентська більшість	5. parliamentary alliances
f) парламентська опозиція	6. amendments to the constitution
g) виборча програма	7. opposition parties
h) блок політичних партій	8. election process
i) зміни та доповнення до конституції	9. town councillor (<i>AngloE</i>)
j) виборча система	10. mainstream politics
k) прямі вибори	11. candidate elections
l) політичні гасла	12. supremacy of law
m) розпустити парламент	13. political slogans
n) політичний устрій	14. compliance with the constitution
o) верховенство права	15. dissolve parliament
p) апарат президента	16. political make-up
q) правляча коаліція	17. to climb on the bandwagon(fig.)
r) відповідність конституції	18. presidential administration
s) передвиборча агітація	19. election campaigning/ canvassing
t) політологія	20. vote-catcher
u) член парламенту без конкретних обов'язків	21. ruling coalition
v) голосування	22. parliamentary faction
w) основне політичне гасло	23. political science

х) вилізти на агітаційну трибуну (<i>пер.</i>)	24. a back-bencher
у) парламентська фракція	25. a ballot

Exercise 15. Translate the following text into English.

У середині XVII століття західна цивілізація вступає в нову епоху, яку історики називають Новим часом. Її зміст характеризується якісно новим станом людського суспільства, котре за своїм національно- правовим характером стає громадянським.

На відміну від попереднього суспільства, громадянське суспільство ґрунтується на визнанні загальної правової рівності людей. Уперше в багатовіковій історії всі люди, незалежно від їх соціального походження і становища, юридично були визнані рівними учасниками громадського життя. Соціальними суб'єктами цього суспільства стають громадяни, котрі мають не тільки обов'язки, але й низку визнаних законом прав і свобод.

Кардинальні перетворення цього часу відбулися під впливом нерозривно пов'язаних між собою соціально-економічних, політичних та ідеологічних процесів, що здійснили переворот у свідомості людей, створили відповідну систему цінностей нового суспільства.

Серед цих процесів найважливішими слід вважати:

урбанізацію – небувале зростання міст, котрі вперше в історії отримали економічну перевагу, відводячи на другий план село;

індустріалізацію – постійно зростаюче використання у виробництві машин, початок якому поклав промисловий переворот в Англії у другій половині XVIII століття;

поширення нових суспільно-політичних ідей, швидке зростання знань про природу і суспільство, поширення грамотності, поява засобів масової інформації;

демократизація політичного життя – державна влада позбавляється в очах людей божественної санкції, її сприймають

раціонально, про неї судять за результатами дій тих, кому суспільство доручило правління.

Усі ці передумови сприяли появі соціального ідеалу нового суспільства – суспільства, де людина визнається вищою соціальною цінністю, враховується і забезпечується здійснення різноманітних інтересів індивідів і соціальних груп, гарантується економічна, політична й ідеологічна свобода громадян та їх об'єднань.

Але шлях до ідеалу – довгий. І навіть сьогодні з певністю не можна сказати, що хоча б “в окремо взятій країні” таке суспільство побудоване. В авангарді руху за побудову безстанового суспільства йшли розвинуті країни західної цивілізації – Англія, США та Франція. Із запізненням більше ніж на сто років до них приєднується ще група країн західної та східної цивілізацій – Австрія, Італія, Німеччина, Японія, Китай, Туреччина та ін. Після другої світової війни цей рух охоплює велику кількість держав, у тому числі й колишніх соціалістичних, і стає по суті необоротним.

До початку третього тисячоліття успіхи багатьох сучасних країн стали очевидними: гнучке поєднання різних форм власності в економіці, наявність політичного плюралізму, існування могутніх організацій робітничого класу, розвинена система соціальної допомоги, широкі демократичні об'єднання та рухи в підтримку прав і свобод особи, урахування й забезпечення задоволення різноманітних інтересів індивідів та соціальних груп.

(Скорочено за “Історією держави і права зарубіжних країн”, автори Л. М. Бостан, С. К. Бостан)

SECTION 2. POLITICAL LIFE IN GREAT BRITAIN

Political Life

The public attitude to politics

Politicians in Britain do not have a good reputation. To describe someone who is not a professional politician as 'a politician' is to criticize him or her, suggesting a lack of trustworthiness. It is not that people hate their politicians. They just regard them with a high degree of suspicion. They do not expect them to be corrupt or to use their position to amass personal wealth, but they do expect them to be frequently dishonest. People are not really shocked when the government is caught lying. On the other hand, they would be very shocked indeed if it was discovered that the government was doing anything actually illegal. A scandal such as the Watergate affair in the USA in the early 1970^S would endanger the stability of the whole of political life.

At an earlier point in the 'diary', Jim Hacker is wondering why the Prime Minister has resigned. He does not believe the Tumour that £ 1 million worth of diamonds have been found in the Prime Minister's house. This is partly, no doubt, because he does not think the Prime Minister could be so corrupt but it is also because 'it's never been officially denied. The first rule of politics is Never Believe

Anything Until It's Been Officially Denied'. This is the basis of the joke in the two conversations in the extract. Duncan and Eric are only sure that Jim wants to be Prime Minister after he implies that he doesn't.

The lack of enthusiasm for politicians may be seen in the fact that surveys have shown a general ignorance of who they are. More than half of the adults in Britain do not know the name of their local Member of Parliament (MP), even though there is just one of these for each area, and quite a high proportion do not even know the names of the important government ministers or leaders of the major political parties.

The British were not always so unenthusiastic. In centuries past, it was a maxim of gentlemen's clubs that nobody should mention politics or religion in polite conversation. If anybody did, there was a danger that the conversation would become too heated, people would become bad-tempered and perhaps violent. However, there has been no real possibility of a revolution or even of a radical change in the style of government for almost two centuries now. This stability is now generally taken for granted. Most people rarely see any reason to become passionate about politics and nobody regards it as a 'dangerous' topic of conversation. They are more likely to regard it as a boring topic of conversation! However, this lack of enthusiasm is not the same as complete disenchantment. Three quarters of the adult population are interested enough in politics to vote at national elections, even though voting is not compulsory. There is a general feeling of confidence in the stability and workability of the system.

Yes, Prime Minister is just one of many programmes and publications devoted to political satire. All of them are consistently and biting critical. Moreover, their criticism is typically not about particular policies but is directed at the attitudes of politicians, their alleged dishonesty and disloyalty, and at the general style of political life. Given this, you might think that people would be very angry, that there would be loud demands that the system be cleaned up, even public demonstrations. Not at all. The last demonstrations about such matters took place 150 years ago. You might also think that the politicians themselves would be worried about the negative picture that these satires paint of them. Far from it! On the back cover of the 1989 edition of *Yes, Prime Minister* there is a tribute from Margaret Thatcher, the real Prime Minister of the country throughout the 1980s. In it, she refers to the book's 'closely observed portrayal of what goes on in the corridors of power' (suggesting it is accurate) and how this portrayal has given her 'hours of pure joy'.

In Britain it is generally accepted that politics is a dirty business, a necessary evil. Therefore, politicians make sure that they do not appear too keen to do the job. They see themselves as being

politicians out of a sense of public duty. That is why, in the extract, Jim Hacker does not admit that he actually wants to be Prime Minister. Eric and Duncan, and Jim himself, all know and accept that to be the Prime Minister is the ultimate goal of most politicians. But for Jim Hacker to admit this openly, even in private conversation, would make him seem dangerously keen on power for its own sake.

The style of democracy

The British are said to have a high respect for the law. Although they may not have much respect for the present institutions of the law, this reputation is more or less true with respect to the principle of law. Of course, lots of crimes are committed, as in any other country, but there is little systematic law-breaking by large sections of the population. For example, tax evasion is not the national pastime that it is said to be in some countries.

However, while 'the law' as a concept is largely respected, the British are comparatively unenthusiastic about making new laws. The general feeling is that, while you have to have laws sometimes, wherever possible it is best to do without them. In many aspects of life the country has comparatively few rules and regulations. This lack of regulation works both ways. Just as there are comparatively few rules telling the individual what he or she must or must not do, so there are comparatively few rules telling the government what it can or cannot do. Two unique aspects of British life will make this clear.

First, Britain is one of the very few European countries whose citizens do not have identity cards. Before the 1970s, when tourism to foreign countries became popular (and so the holding of passports became more common), most people in the country went through life without ever owning a document whose main purpose was to identify them. British people are not obliged to carry identification with them. You do not even have to have your driving licence with you in your car. If the police ask to see it, you have twenty-four hours to take it to them!

Second, and on the other hand, Britain (unlike some other countries in western Europe) does not have a Freedom of Information Act. There is no law which obliges a government authority or agency to show you what information it has collected about you. In fact, it goes further than that. There is a law (called the Official Secrets Act) which obliges many government employees not to tell anyone about the details of their work. It seems that in Britain, both your own identity and the information which the government has about your identity are regarded as, in a sense, private matters.

These two aspects are characteristic of the relationship in Britain between the individual and the state. To a large degree, the traditional assumption is that both should leave each other alone as much as possible. The duties of the individual towards the state are confined to not breaking the law and paying taxes. There is no national service (military or otherwise); people are not obliged to vote at elections if they can't be bothered; people do not have to register their change of address with any government authority when they move house.

Similarly, the government in Britain has a comparatively free hand. It would be correct to call the country 'a democracy' in the generally accepted sense of this word. But in Britain this democracy involves less participation by ordinary citizens in governing and lawmaking than it does in many other countries. There is no concept of these things being done 'by the people'. If the government wants to make an important change in the way that the country is run – to change, for example, the electoral system or the powers of the Prime Minister – it does not have to ask the people. It does not even have to have a special vote in Parliament with an especially high proportion of MPs in favour. It just needs to get Parliament to agree in the same way as for any new law.

In many countries an important constitutional change cannot be made without a referendum in which everybody in the country has the chance to vote 'yes' or 'no'. In other countries, such as the USA, people often have the chance to vote on particular proposals for changing laws that directly affect their everyday life, on smoking

in public places or the location of a new hospital, for example. Nothing like this happens in Britain. There has only been one country-wide referendum in British history (in 1975, on whether the country should stay in the European Community). In Britain democracy has never meant that the people have a hand in the running of the country; rather it means that the people choose who is to govern the country, and then let them get on with it!

The constitution

Britain is a constitutional monarchy. That means it is a country governed by a king or queen who accepts the advice of a parliament. It is also a parliamentary democracy. That is, it is a country whose government is controlled by a parliament which has been elected by the people. In other words, the basic system is not so different from anywhere else in Europe. The highest positions in the government are filled by members of the directly elected parliament. In Britain, as in many European countries, the official head of state, whether a monarch (as in Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark) or a president (as in Germany, Greece and Italy) has little real power.

However, there are features of the British system of government which make it different from that in other countries and which are not 'modern' at all. The most notable of these is the question of the constitution. Britain is almost alone among modern states in that it does not have 'a constitution' at all. Of course, there are rules, regulations, principles and procedures for the running of the country – all the things that political scientists and legal experts study and which are known collectively as 'the constitution'. But there is no single written document which can be appealed to as the highest law of the land and the final arbiter in any matter of dispute. Nobody can refer to 'article 6' or 'the first amendment' or anything like that, because nothing like that exists.

Instead, the principles and procedures by which the country is governed and from which people's rights are derived come from a number of different sources. They have been built up, bit by bit, over

the centuries. Some of them are written down in laws agreed by Parliament, some of them have been spoken and then written down (judgements made in a court) and some of them have never been written down at all. For example, there is no written law in Britain that says anything about who can be the Prime Minister or what the powers of the Prime Minister are, even though he or she is probably the most powerful person in the country. Similarly, there is no single written document which asserts people's rights. Some rights which are commonly accepted in modern democracies (for example, the rights not to be discriminated against on the basis of sex or race) have been formally recognized by Parliament through legislation; but others (for example, the rights not to be discriminated against on the basis of religion or political views) have not. Nevertheless, it is understood that these latter rights are also part of the constitution.

The style of politics

Despite recent changes such as the televising of Parliament, political life in Britain is still influenced by the traditional British respect for privacy and love of secrecy. It is also comparatively informal. In both Parliament and government there is a tendency for important decisions to be taken, not at official public meetings, or even at prearranged private meetings, but at lunch, or over drinks, or in chance encounters in the corridors of power. It used to be said that the House of Commons was 'the most exclusive club in London'. And indeed, there are many features of Parliament which cause its members (MPs) to feel special and to feel a special sense of belonging with each other, even among those who have radically opposed political philosophies.

First, constitutional theory says that Parliament has absolute control over its own affairs and is, in fact, the highest power in the land. Second, there are the ancient traditions of procedure. Many of these serve to remind MPs of a time when the main division in politics was not between this party and that party but rather between Parliament itself and the monarch. Even the architecture of the Palace of Westminster (the home of both Houses of Parliament) con-

tributes to this feeling. It is so confusing that only 'insiders' can possibly find their way around it. These features, together with the long years of political stability, have led to a genuine habit of co-operation among politicians of different parties. When you hear politicians arguing in the House of Commons or in a television studio, you might think that they hate each other. This is rarely the case. Often they are good friends. And even when it is the case, both normally see the practical advantage of co-operation. The advantage is that very little time is wasted fighting about how political business is to be conducted fairly. For example, the order of business in Parliament is arranged by representatives of the parties beforehand so that enough time is given for the various points of view to be expressed. Another example is television advertising. By agreement, political parties are not allowed to buy time on television. Instead, each party is given a strict amount of time, with the two biggest parties getting exactly equal amounts. A very notable example is the system of pairing 'of MPs (The pairing system).

A guide to British political parties

Conservative party

History: developed from the group of MPs known as the Tories in the early nineteenth century and still often known informally by that name (especially in newspapers, because it takes up less space').

Traditional outlook: right of centre; stands for hierarchical authority and minimal government interference in the economy; likes to reduce income tax; gives high priority to national defence and internal law and order.

Since 1979: aggressive reform of education, welfare housing and many public services designed to increase consumer choice and or to introduce 'market economics' into their operation.

Organization: leader has relatively great degree of freedom to direct policy.

Leader May 2002, Iain Duncan Smith; May 2002, David William Donald Cameron; July 2016 Theresa Mary, Lady May; July 2019 Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson.

Voters: the richer sections of society, plus a large minority of the working classes.

Money: mostly donations from business people.

Labour party

History: formed at the beginning of the twentieth century from an alliance of trade unionists and intellectuals.

First government in 1923.

Traditional outlook: left of centre; stands for equality, for the weaker people in society and for more government involvement in the economy; more concerned to provide full social services than to keep income tax low.

Since 1979: opposition to Conservative reforms, although has accepted many of these by now; recently emphasis on community ethics and looser links with trade unions.

Organization: in theory, policies have to be approved by annual conference; in practice, leader has more power than this implies.

Leader: May 2002, Tony Blair; June 2007, James Gordon Brown;

Voters: working class, plus a small middle-class intelligentsia.

Money: more than half from trade unions.

Liberal Democratic party

History: formed in the late 1980s from a union of the Liberals (who developed from the Whigs of the early nineteenth century) and the Social Democrats (a breakaway group of Labour politicians).

Policies: regarded as in the centre or slightly left of centre; has always been strongly in favour of the EU; places more emphasis on the environment than other parties; believes in giving greater powers to local government and in reform of the electoral system.

Leader (May 2002): Charles Kennedy.

Voters: from all classes, but more from the middle class.

Money: private donations (much poorer than the big two).

Nationalist parties

Both Plaid Cymru ('party of Wales' in the Welsh language) and the SNP (Scottish National Party) fight for devolution of governmental powers. Many of their members, especially in the SNP, are willing to consider total independence from the UK. Both parties have usually had a few MPs at Westminster in the last fifty years, but well under half of the total numbers of MPs from their respective countries.

Parties in Northern Ireland

Parties here normally represent either the Protestant or the Catholic communities: There is one large comparatively moderate party on each side (the Protestant Ulster Unionists and the Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party) and one or more other parties of more extreme views on each side (for example, the Protestant Democratic Unionists and the Catholic Sinn Féin). There is one party which asks for support from both communities – the Alliance party. It had not, by 2002, won any seats.

Other parties

There are numerous very small parties, such as the Green Party, which is supported by environmentalists. There is a small party which was formerly the Communist party and a number of other left Wing parties, and also an extreme right Wing party which is fairly openly racist. It was previously called the National Front but since the 1980s has been called the British National Party (BNP). At the time of writing, none of these parties had won a single seat in Parliament in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1993, however, the BNP briefly won a seat on a local council.

The party system

Britain is normally described as having a 'two-party system'. This is because, since 1945, one of the two big parties has, by itself

controlled the government, and members of these two parties have occupied more than 90% of all of the seats in the House of Commons. Moreover, this is not a peculiarly modern phenomenon. Basically the same situation existed throughout the nineteenth century, except that the Liberal s, rather than Labour, were one of the two big parties. The Labour party was formed at the start of the twentieth century and within about thirty years had replaced the Liberal s in this role. One reason for the existence of this situation is the electoral system. The other is the nature of the origin of British political parties. Britain is unlike most other countries in that its parties were first formed inside Parliament, and were only later extended to the public at large. During the eighteenth century Members of Parliament tended to divide themselves into two camps, those who usually supported the government of the time and those who usually did not. During the nineteenth century it gradually became the habit that the party which did not control the government presented itself as an alternative government. This idea of an alternative government has received legal recognition. The leader of the second biggest party in the House of Commons (or, more exactly, of the biggest party which is not in government) receives the title 'Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition' and even gets a salary to prove the importance of this role. He or she chooses a 'shadow cabinet', there by presenting the image of a team ready to fill the shoes of the government at a moment's notice.

As a result of these origins, neither party existed solely to look after the interests of one particular group (although some groups in society were naturally more attracted to one of the two parties than the other). Furthermore, although they could be distinguished by certain broad differences in their outlooks on life, the two parties did not exist to promote single, coherent political philosophies. The main reason for their existence was to gain power by forming effective coalitions of interest-groups and individuals.

Although the Labour party was formed outside Parliament, and, as its name implies, did exist to promote the interests of a particular group (the working class), it soon fitted into the established

frame work. It is very difficult for smaller parties to challenge the dominance of the bigger ones. If any of them seem to have some good ideas, these ideas tend to be adopted by one of the three biggest parties, who all try to appeal to as large a section of the population as possible.

The fact that the party system originated in side Parliament has other consequences. Parties do not, as they do in many other countries, extend into every area of public and social life in the country. Universities, for example, each have their Conservative, Labour Liberal Democrat clubs, but when there is an election for officers of the student union, it is not normally fought according to national party divisions. The same is true of elections within trade unions.

Another consequence is that it is usually a party's MPs who have the most control over party policy and the biggest influence on the choice of party leader. This does not mean that the parties are undemocratic. Their members who are not MPs can have an effect on policy in a number of ways. First, they can make their views known at the annual party conference. In the case of the three main parties this takes place in the autumn and lasts about a week. Second, the local party has the power to decide who is going to be the party's candidate for MP in its area at the next election. However, these powers are limited by one important consideration – the appearance of unity. Party policies are always presented as potential government policies, and a party's leading MPs are always presented as potential ministers. If you want to look like a realistic potential government, you don't want to show the public your disagreements. Party conferences are always televised. As a result they sometimes tend to be show cases whose main purpose is not so much to debate important matters as to boost the spirits of party members and to show the public a dynamic, unified party. Similarly, if local party members decide not to reselect the present MP as their candidate in an election, it betrays disagreement and argument. Therefore, party members do not like this happening and most MPs

can be sure that their local party will choose them again at the next election.

The modern situation

During the last forty or so years, the traditional confidence in the British political system has weakened. In 1950, Britain, despite the hard ships of the Second World War, could claim to be the richest and most stable large country in Europe. Collectively, its people seemed to know what they wanted and what they believed in. They seemed to be sure of themselves.

This is no longer true. Britain is often rated as one of the poorest large countries in Europe, the policies of its governments have pulled in several different directions, and its people tend to be pessimistic about the future (a loss of confidence). It is now commonplace for politicians and political commentators, when calling for a change in some matter, to compare the country unfavourably with some other European country.

In these circumstances, it is quite possible that some of the distinctive characteristics of British public life will change. The matter of identity cards is one area of possible change. The British have always been rather proud of not having them. This has been seen as proof of the British dedication to the rights of the individual. It has also helped to give British people a feeling of being different. But what is the good of being different if 'different' means 'worse' There has been growing concern about increasing crime in the country, and this has resulted in much discussion about identity cards. Britain's fellow states in the European Union would like to see them introduced in the country. At the same time, there has been increasing pressure for a Freedom of Information Act.

Another possibility is that Britain will finally get a written constitution. An unwritten constitution works very well if everybody in the country shares the same attitudes and principles about what is most important in political life and about what people's rights and obligations are. In other words, it works very well in a society where everybody belongs to the same culture. However, in

common with most other European countries today, Britain is now multicultural.

This means that some sections of society can sometimes hold radically different ideas about these things. The case of Salman Rushdie is an excellent example of this situation (The Rushdie affair). As long as everybody in a country feels the same way, at the same time, about a case such as this, there is no real need to worry about inconsistencies in the law. There is no need to question the existence of laws or to update them. They are just interpreted in changing ways to match the change in prevailing opinion. This is what, up to now, has happened in Britain. But the Rushdie case is an example of what can happen when radically opposing views on a matter prevail in different sections of society at the same time. In these circumstances the traditional *laissez-faire* attitude to the law can become dangerous.

QUESTIONS

1. In what sense could the British attitude to politics be described as *'happily cynical'*? Are people equally cynical in your country? Are they as happy about it?

2. In most Parliaments in the western world, the place where representatives debate is in the form of a semi-circle. But in Britain, there are two sets of rows facing each other. Why is the British Parliament different in this respect?

3. How does the role of political parties in Britain differ from their role in your country?

4. Why does Britain not have a written constitution? Does it need one?

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The appearance

The position of the monarch in Britain is a perfect illustration of the contradictory nature of the constitution. From the evidence of written law only the Queen has almost absolute power, and it all seems very undemocratic. The American constitution talks about

'government of the people for the people by the people'. There is no law in Britain which says anything like that. In fact, there is no legal concept of 'the people' at all.

Every autumn, at the state opening of Parliament, Elizabeth II, who became Queen in 1952, makes a speech. In it, she says what 'my government' intends to do in the coming year. And indeed, it is her government, not the people's. As far as the law is concerned, she can choose anybody she likes to run the government for her. There are no restrictions on whom she picks as her Prime Minister. It does not have to be somebody who has been elected. She could choose me; she could even choose *you*. The same is true for her choices of people to fill some hundred or so other ministerial positions. And if she gets fed up with her ministers, she can just dismiss them. Officially speaking, they are *'all servants of the Crown'* (not servants of anything like 'the country' or 'the people'). She also appears to have great power over Parliament. It is she who summons a Parliament, and she who dissolves it before a general election. Nothing that Parliament has decided can become law until she has agreed to it.

Similarly, it is the Queen, and not any other figure of authority, who embodies the law in the courts. In the USA, when the police take someone to court to accuse them of a crime, the court records show that 'the people' have accused that person. In other countries it might be 'the state' that makes the accusation. But in Britain it is 'the Crown'. This is because of the legal authority of the monarch. And when an accused person is found guilty of a crime, he or she might be sent to one of 'Her Majesty's' prisons.

Other countries have 'citizens'. But in Britain people are legally described as 'subjects' – subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. Moreover, there is a principle of English law that the monarch can do nothing that is legally wrong. In other words, Queen Elizabeth is above the law.

The house of Windsor

Windsor is the family name of the royal family. The press sometimes refers to its members as 'the Windsors'. Queen Elizabeth is only the fourth monarch with this name. This is not because a

'new' royal family took over the throne of Britain four reigns ago. It is because George V, Elizabeth's grandfather, changed the family name. It was Saxe-Coburg Gotha, but during the First World War it was thought better for the king not to have a German sounding name.

The royal family

Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother died at the age of 101 in 2002, the year of the pre sent Queen's Golden Jubilee. Her tours of bombed areas of London during the Second World War with her husband. King George VI. made her popular with the British people. She remained the most consistently popular member of the royal family until her death.

***Queen Elizabeth II** was born in 1926 and became Queen in 1952 on the death of her father, George VI, who had reigned since 1936 (when his elder brother, Edward VIII, gave up the throne). She is one of the longest reigning monarchs in British history. She is widely respected for the way in which she performs her duties and is generally popular.*

***Prince Philip Mountbatten**, the Duke of Edinburgh, married the present Queen in 1997. In the 1960s and 1970s, his outspoken opinions on controversial matters were sometimes embarrassing to the royal family.*

***Princess Margaret**, the Queen's younger sister, died in 2002.*

***Prince Charles**, the Prince of Wales, was born in 1948. As the eldest son of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip, he is heir to the throne. He is concerned about the environment and about living conditions in Britain's cities. He sometimes makes speeches which are critical of aspects of modern life.*

***Princess Diana** married Prince Charles in 1981. The couple separated in 1992 and later divorced. Princess Diana died as the result of a car accident in 1997. She was a glamorous and popular figure during her lifetime.*

***Princess Anne**, the Queen's daughter (also known as the Princess Royal), was born in 1950. She separated from her husband after they had a little son and one daughter. She married again in*

1992. She is widely respected for her charity work, which she does in a spirit of realism.

Prince Andrew, the Duke of York, was born in 1960 and is the Queen's second son. He is divorced from his wife, Sarah Ferguson (who is known to the popular press as 'Fergie'). They have two daughters.

Prince Edward, the Queen's youngest son, was born in 1964. He is involved in theatrical production. He married Sophie Rhys-ones in 1999. He and his wife are the Duke and Duchess of Wessex.

Prince William (born 1982) and **Prince Henry** (born 1984) are the sons of Charles and Diana. William is next in line to the throne after his father.

The reality

In practice, of course, the reality is very different. In fact, the Queen cannot choose anyone she likes to be Prime Minister. She has to choose someone who has the support of the majority of MPs in the House of Commons (the elected chamber of the two Houses of Parliament). This is because the law says that 'her' government can only collect taxes with the agreement of the Commons, so if she did not choose such a person, the government would stop functioning.

In practice the person she chooses is the leader of the strongest party in the House of Commons. Similarly, it is really the Prime Minister who decides who the other government ministers are going to be (although officially the Prime Minister Simply 'advises' the monarch who to choose).

It is the same story with Parliament. Again, the Prime Minister will talk about 'requesting' a dissolution of Parliament when he or she wants to hold an election, but it would normally be impossible for the monarch to refuse this 'request'. Similarly, while, in theory, the Queen could refuse the royal assent to a bill passed by Parliament and so stop it becoming law – no monarch has actually done so since the year 1708. Indeed, the royal assent is so automatic that the Queen doesn't even bother to give it in person. Somebody else signs the documents for her.

In reality the Queen has almost no power at all. When she opens Parliament each year the speech she makes has been written for her. She makes no secret of this fact. She very obviously reads out the script that has been prepared for her, word for word. If she strongly disagrees with one of the policies of the government, she might ask the government ministers to change the wording in the speech a little beforehand, but that is all. She cannot actually stop the government going ahead with any of its policies

The role of the monarch

What, then, is the monarch's role? Many opinions are offered by political and legal experts. Three roles are often mentioned. First, the monarch is the personal embodiment of the government of the country. This means that people can be as critical as they like about the real government, and can argue that it should be thrown out, without being accused of being unpatriotic. Because of the clear separation between the symbol of government (the Queen) and the actual government (the ministers, who are also MPs), changing the government does not threaten the stability of the country as a whole.

Other countries without a monarch have to use something else as the symbol of the country. In the USA, for example, one of these is its flag, and to damage the flag in any way is actually a criminal offence. Second, it is argued that the monarch could act as a final check on a government that was becoming dictatorial. If the government ever managed to pass a bill through Parliament which was obviously terribly bad and very unpopular, the monarch could refuse the royal assent and the bill would not become law. Similarly, it is possible that if a Prime Minister who had been defeated at a general election (and so no longer commanded a majority in the House of Commons) were to ask immediately for another dissolution of Parliament (so that another election could take place), the monarch could refuse the request and dismiss the Prime Minister.

Third, the monarch has a very practical role to play. By being a figurehead and representing the country, Queen Elizabeth II can perform the ceremonial duties which heads of state often have to

spend their time on. This way, the real government has more time to get on with the actual job of running the country.

The value of the monarchy

However, all these advantages are hypothetical. It cannot be proved that only a monarch can provide them. Other modern democracies manage perfectly well without one. The British monarchy is probably more important to the economy of the country (The economic argument) than it is to the system of government. Apart from this, the monarchy is very popular with the majority of the British people. The monarchy gives British people a symbol of continuity, and a harmless outlet for the expression of national pride. Even in very hard times it has never seemed likely that Britain would turn to a dictator to get it out of its troubles. The grandeur of its monarchy may have been one of the reasons for this.

Occasions such as the state opening of Parliament, the Queen's official birth day, royal weddings, and ceremonial events such as the changing of the guard make up for the lack of colour and ceremony in most people's daily lives (There is no tradition of local parades as there is in the USA, and very few traditional local festivals survive as they do in other European countries). In addition the glamorous lives of 'the royals' provide a source of entertainment that often takes on the characteristics of a television soap opera. When, in 1992, it became known that Prince Charles and his wife Princess Diana were separating, even the more 'serious' newspapers discussed a lot more than the possible political implications. *The Sunday Times* published a 'five-page royal separation special'.

The future of the monarchy

For the last 250 years, the British monarchy as an institution has only rarely been a burning political issue. Only occasionally has there been debate about the existence of the monarchy itself. Few people in Britain could be described as either 'monarchists' or 'anti-monarchists', in the sense in which these terms are often used in other countries. Most people are either vaguely in favour or they just don't care one way or the other. There is, however, a great deal of

debate about what kind of monarchy Britain should have. During the last two decades of the twentieth century, there has been a general cooling of enthusiasm. The Queen herself remains popular. But the various marital problems in her family have lowered the prestige of royalty in many people's eyes. The problem is that, since Queen Victoria's reign, the public have been encouraged to look up to the royal family as a model of Christian family life.

The change in attitude can be seen by comparing Queen Elizabeth's 25th anniversary as Queen with her 40th anniversary. In 1977, there were neighbourhood street parties throughout the country, most of them spontaneously and voluntarily organized. But in 1992, nothing like this took place. On 20 November 1992, a fire damaged one of the Queen's favourite homes to the value of £60 million. There were expressions of public sympathy for the Queen. But when the government announced that public money was going to pay for the repairs, the sympathy quickly turned to anger. The Queen had recently been reported to be the richest woman in the world, so people didn't see why she shouldn't pay for them herself.

It is, in fact, on the subject of money that 'anti-royalist' opinions are most often expressed. In the early nineties even some Conservative MPs, traditionally strong supporters of the monarchy, started protesting at how much the royal family was costing the country. For the whole of her long reign Elizabeth II had been exempt from taxation. But, as a response to the change in attitude, the Queen decided that she would start paying taxes on her private income. In addition, Civil List payments to some members of the royal family were stopped. (The Civil List is the money which the Queen and some of her relatives get from Parliament each year so that they can carry out their public duties). For most people, the most notable event marking Queen Elizabeth's 40th anniversary was a television programme about a year in her life which showed revealing details of her private family life. In the following year parts of Buckingham Palace were, for the first time, opened for public visits (to raise money to help pay for the repairs to Windsor Castle). These events

are perhaps an indication of the future royal style – a little less grand, a little less distant.

QUESTIONS

1. Why does the British Prime Minister continue to 'advise' and 'request' the Queen, when everybody knows that he or she is really telling her what to do?

2. The attitude of the British people towards their royal family has changed over the last quarter of the twentieth century. In what way has it changed, and what demonstrates that there has been a change? Why do you think this has happened?

3. Would you advise the British to get rid of their monarchy?

4. Do you have a monarch in your country, or someone who fulfils a similar role? If you do, how does their position compare with that of the British monarch? If you don't, do you think your country would benefit from having a figure head who could perform the functions of a monarch?

5. Would you advise the British to get rid of their monarchy?

6. Do you have a monarch in your country, or someone who fulfils a similar role? If you do, how does their position compare with that of the British monarch? If you don't, do you think your country would benefit from having a figure head who could perform the functions of a monarch?

The government

Who governs Britain? When the media talk about 'the government' they usually mean one of two things. The term 'the government' can be used to refer to all of the politicians who have been appointed by the monarch (on the advice of the Prime Minister) to help run government departments (there are several politicians in each department) or to take on various other special responsibilities, such as managing the activities of Parliament. There are normally about a hundred members of 'the government' in this sense. Although there are various ranks, each with their own titles (Ministers

and departments), members of the government are usually known as 'ministers'. All ministers come from the ranks of Parliament, most of them from the House of Commons. Unlike in the USA and in some other countries in Europe, it is rare for a person from outside Parliament to become a minister (And when this does happen, the person concerned is quickly found a seat in one of the two Houses.).

The other meaning of the term 'the government' is more limited. It refers only to the most powerful of these politicians, namely the Prime Minister and the other members of the cabinet. There are usually about twenty people in the cabinet (though there are no rules about this). Most of them are the heads of the government departments. Partly as a result of the electoral system, Britain, unlike much of western Europe, normally has 'single-party government'. In other words, all members of the government belong to the same political party. Traditionally, British politicians have regarded coalition government (with several parties involved) as a bad idea. Since the formation of modern political parties in the nineteenth century, Britain has had a total of only twenty-one years of coalition governments (1915–1922 and 1931–1945). Even when, for brief periods in the 1970s, no single party had a majority of seats in the House of Commons, no coalition was formed. There was a 'minority government' instead.

The habit of single-party government has helped to establish the tradition known as collective responsibility. That is, every member of the government, however junior, shares the responsibility for every policy made by the government. This is true even if, as is often the case, individual government members may hold different opinions, but they are expected to keep these private. By convention, no member of the government can criticize government policy in public. Any member who does so must resign.

Ministers and departments

Most heads of government departments have the title 'Secretary of State' (as in, for example, 'Secretary of State for the Environment'). The minister in charge of Britain's relations with the outside world is known to everybody as the 'Foreign Secretary'. The one

in charge of law and order inside the country is the 'Home Secretary'. Their departments are called the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Home Office respectively (the words 'exterior' and 'interior' are not used). The words 'secretary' and 'office' reflect the history of government in Britain in which government departments were at one time part of the domestic arrangements of the monarch. Another important person is the 'Chancellor of the Exchequer', who is the head of the Treasury (in other words, a son of Minister of Finance).

The cabinet

Obviously, no government wants an important member of its party to start criticizing it. This would lead to divisions in the party. Therefore, the leading politicians in the governing party usually become members of the cabinet, where they are tied to government policy by the convention of collective responsibility. The cabinet meets once a week and takes decisions about new policies, the implementation of existing policies and the running of the various government departments. Because all government members must be seen to agree, exactly who says what at these meetings is a closely guarded secret. Reports are made of the meetings and circulated to government departments. They summarize the topics discussed and the decisions taken, but they never refer to individuals or what they said.

To help run the complicated machinery of a modern government, there is an organization called the cabinet office. It runs a busy communication network, keeping ministers in touch with each other and drawing up the agendas for cabinet meetings. It also does the same things for the many cabinet committees. These committees are appointed by the cabinet to look into various matters in more detail than the individual members of the cabinet have the time (or knowledge) for. Unlike members of 'the government' itself the people on these committees are not necessarily politicians.

The Prime Minister

The position of a British Prime Minister (PM) is in direct contrast to that of the monarch. Although the Queen appears to have a great deal of power, in reality she has very little. The PM, on the other hand, appears not to have much power but in reality has a very great deal indeed. The Queen is, in practice, obliged to give the job of Prime Minister to the person who can command a majority in the House of Commons. This normally means the leader of the party with the largest number of MPs. From one point of view, the PM is no more than the foremost of Her Majesty's political servants. The traditional phrase describes him or her as *primus inter pares*" (Latin for 'first among equals'). But in fact the other ministers are not nearly as powerful. There are several reasons for this. First, the monarch's powers of patronage (the power to appoint people to all kinds of jobs and to confer honours on people) are, by convention, actually the PM's powers of patronage. The fiction is that the Queen appoints people to government jobs 'on the advice of the Prime Minister'. But what actually happens is that the PM simply decides. Everybody knows this. The media do not even make the pretence that the PM has successfully persuaded the Queen to make a particular appointment, they simply state that he or she has made an appointment.

The strength of the PM's power of patronage is apparent from the modern phenomenon known as the 'cabinet reshuffle'. For the past thirty years it has been the habit of the PM to change his or her cabinet quite frequently (at least once every two years). A few cabinet members are dropped, and a few new members are brought in, but mostly the existing members are shuffled around, like a pack of cards, each getting a new department to look after.

The second reason for a modern PM's dominance over other ministers is the power of the PM's public image. The mass media has tended to make politics a matter of personalities. The details of policies are hard to understand. An individual, constantly appearing on the television and in the newspapers, is much easier to identify with.

Everybody in the country can recognize the Prime Minister, while many cannot put a name to the faces of the other ministers. As a result the PM can, if the need arises, go 'over the heads' of her ministers and appeal directly to the public.

Third, all ministers except the PM are kept busy looking after their government departments. They don't have time to think about and discuss government policy as a whole, But the PM does, and cabinet committees usually rep on directly to him or her, not to the cabinet as a whole. Moreover, the cabinet office is directly under the PM's control and works in the same building. As a result, the PM knows more about what is going on than the other ministers do. Because there is not enough time for the cabinet to discuss most matters, a choice has to be made about what will be discussed. And it is the PM who makes that choice. Matters that are not discussed can, in effect, be decided by the PM. The convention of collective responsibility then means that the rest of the government have to go along with whatever the PM has decided.

The cabinet

The history of the cabinet is a good example of the tendency to secrecy in British politics. It started in the eighteenth century as an informal grouping of important ministers and officials of the royal household. It had no formal recognition. Officially speaking, the government was run by the Privy Council, a body of a hundred or more people (including those belonging to 'the cabinet'), directly responsible to the monarch (but not to each other). Over the years, the cabinet gradually took over effective power. The Privy Council is now a merely ceremonial organization with no power. Among others, it includes all the present ministers and the most important past ministers.

In the last hundred years, the cabinet has itself become more and more 'official' and publicly recognized. It has also grown in size, and so is now often too rigid and formal a body to take the real decisions. In the last fifty years, there have been unofficial 'inner cabinets' (comprising the Prime Minister and a few other important

ministers). It is thought that it is here, and in cabinet committees, that much of the real decision-making takes place.

No 10 Downing Street

Here is an example of the traditional fiction that Prime Ministers are not especially important people. Their official residence does not have a special name. Nor, from the outside, does it look special. It is not even a detached house! Inside, though it is much larger than it looks. The cabinet meets here and the cabinet office works here. The PM lives 'above the shop' on the top floor.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer lives next door, at No. 11, and the Government Chief Whip at No 12, so that the whole street is a lot more important than it appears. Still there is something very domestic about this arrangement. After the government loses an election all three ministers have to throw out their rubbish and wait for the furniture vans to turn up, just like anybody else moving house.

The PM also has an official country residence to the west of London, called Chequers.

The civil service

Considering how complex modern states are, there are not really very many people in a British 'government' (as defined above). Unlike some other countries (the USA for example), not even the most senior administrative jobs change hands when a new government comes to power. The day-to-day running of the government and the implementation of its policy continue in the hands of the same people that were there with the previous government – the top rank of the civil service. Governments come and go, but the civil service remains. It is no accident that the most senior civil servant in a government department has the title of 'Permanent Secretary'.

Unlike politicians, civil servants, even of the highest rank, are unknown to the larger public. There are probably less than 10,000 people in the country who, if you asked them, could give you the names of the present secretary to the cabinet (who runs the cabinet

office) or the present head of the home civil service; still fewer know the names of more than one of the present permanent secretaries.

For those who belong to it, the British civil service is a career. Its most senior positions are usually filled by people who have been working in it for twenty years or more. These people get a high salary (higher than that of their ministers), have absolute job security (unlike their ministers) and stand a good chance of being awarded an official honour. By comparison, ministers, even those who have been in the same department for several years, are still new to the job. Moreover, civil servants know the secrets of the previous government which the present minister is unaware of.

For all these reasons, it is often possible for top civil servants to exercise quite a lot of control over their ministers, and it is sometimes said that it is they, and not their ministers, who really govern the country. There is undoubtedly some truth in this opinion. Indeed, an interesting case in early 1994 suggests that civil servants now *expect* to have a degree of control. At this time, the association which represents the country's top civil servants made an official complaint that four government ministers 'verbally abused' their civil service advisers and generally treated them 'with contempt'. It was the first time that such a complaint had been made. It seemed that the unprecedentedly long period of government by the same party had shifted the traditional balance of power.

However, the British civil service has a (largely) deserved reputation for absolute political impartiality. Many ministers have remarked on the struggle for power between them and their top civil servants, but very few have ever complained of any political bias. Top civil servants know that their power depends on their staying out of politics' and on their being absolutely loyal to their present minister.

Modern criticism of the civil service does not question its loyalty but its efficiency. Despite reforms, the top rank of the civil service is still largely made up of people from the same narrow section of society – people who have been to public school and then on to Oxford or Cambridge, where they studied subjects such as history

or classical languages. The criticism is therefore that the civil service does not have enough expertise in matters such as economics or technology and that it lives too much in its own closed world, cut off from the concerns of most people in society. In the late twentieth century, ministers tried to overcome these perceived deficiencies by appointing experts from outside the civil service to work on various projects and by having their own political advisers working alongside

Central and local government

Some countries, such as the USA and Canada, are federal. They are made up of a number of states, each of which has its own government with its own powers to make laws and collect taxes. In these countries the central governments have powers only because the states have given them powers. In Britain it is the other way around. Local government authorities (generally known as 'councils') only have powers because the central government has given them powers.

Indeed, they only exist because the central government allows them to exist. Several times in the last hundred years British governments have reorganized local government, abolishing some local councils and bringing new ones into existence.

The system of local government is very similar to the system of national government. There are elected representatives, called councilors (the equivalent of MPs). They meet in a council chamber in the Town Hall or County Hall (the equivalent of Parliament), where they make policy which is implemented by local government officers (the equivalent of civil servants). Most British people have far more direct dealings with local government than they do with national government. Local councils traditionally manage nearly all public services. Taken together, they employ three times as many people as the national government does. In addition, there is no system in Britain whereby a national government official has responsibility for a particular geographical area. (There is no one like a 'pre-

fect' or 'governor) In practice, therefore, local councils have traditionally been fairly free from constant central interference in their day to day work.

Local councils are allowed to collect one kind of tax. This is a tax based on property. (All other kinds are collected by central government.) It used to be called 'rates' and was paid only by those who owned property. Its amount varied according to the size and location of the property. In the early 1990s it was replaced by the 'community charge' (known as the 'poll tax'). This charge was the same for everybody who lived in the area covered by a council. It was very unpopular and was quickly replaced by the 'council tax', which is based on the estimated value of a property and the number of people living in it. Local councils are unable to raise enough money in this way for them to provide the services which central government has told them to provide. In addition, recent governments have imposed upper limits on the amount of council tax that councils can charge and now collect the taxes on business properties themselves (and then share the money out between local councils). As a result, well over half of a local council's income is now given to it by central government.

The modern trend has been towards greater and greater control by central government. This is not just a matter of controlling the way local government raises money. There are now more laws governing the way councils can conduct their affairs. On top of this, schools and hospitals can now 'opt out' of local-government control. Perhaps this trend is inevitable now that national party politics dominates local politics. Successful independent candidates (candidates who do not belong to a political party) at local elections are becoming rarer and rarer. Most people now vote at local elections according to their national party preferences, if they bother to vote at all, so that these elections become a kind of opinion poll on the performance of the national government

Counties, boroughs, parishes

Counties are the oldest divisions of the country in England and Wales. Most of them existed before the Norman conquest. They

are still used today for local government purposes, although a few have been 'invented' more recently (e.g. *Hum berside*) and others have no function in government but are still used for other purposes. One of the se is *Middlesex*, which covers the western pan of Greater London (letters are still addressed 'Middx.') and which is the name of a top-class cricket team. Many counties have 'shire' in their name (e.g. *Hertfordshire*, *Hampshire*, *Leicestershire*). 'Shires' is what the counties were originally called.

Boroughs were originally towns that had grown large and important enough to be given their own government, free of control by the county. These days, the name is used for local government purposes only in London, but many towns still proudly describe themselves as *Royal Boroughs*.

Parishes were originally villages cent red on a local church. They became a unit of local government in the nineteenth century. Today they are the smallest unit of local government in England. The name 'parish' is still used in the organization of the main Christian churches in England.

The Greater London Council. The story of the Greater London Council (GLC) is an example of the struggle for power between central and local government, In the early 1980s Britain had a right-wing Conservative government, At a time when this government was unpopular, the left-Wing Labour party in London won the local election and gained control of the GLC The Labour-controlled GLC then introduced many measures which the national government did not like (for example. it reduced fares on London's buses and increased local taxes to pay for this).

The government decided to abolish the GLC Using its majority in the House of Commons, it was able to do this. The powers of the GLC were either given to the thirty two boroughs of London, or to special committees. It was not until the year 2000 that a Single governmental authority for the whole of London came into existence again and the city got its first ever directly elected mayor.

Local government services

Most of the numerous services that a modern government provides are run at local level in Britain. These include public hygiene and environmental health inspection, the collecting of rubbish from outside people's houses (the people who do this are euphemistically known as 'dustmen'), and the cleaning and tidying of all public places (which is done by 'street sweepers'). (The organization of local government). They also include the provision of public swimming pools, which charge admission fees, and public parks, which do not.

The latter are mostly just green grassy spaces, but they often contain children's playgrounds and playing fields for sports such as football and cricket which can be reserved in advance on payment. Public libraries are another well-known service (Public libraries). Anybody can go into one of these to consult the books, newspapers and magazines there free of charge. If you want to borrow books and take them out of the library, you have to have a library card or ticket (these are available to people living in the area). Sometimes CDs and video cassettes are also available for hire. The popularity of libraries in Britain is indicated by the fact that in a country without identity cards, a person's library card is the most common means of identification for someone who does not have a driving licence.

QUESTIONS

1. Do you think the theory of collective responsibility is a good one? Does it exist in your country?
2. What would be the equivalent titles in your country for: Chancellor, Home Secretary, Foreign Secretary?
3. A British Prime Minister has no status in law which puts him or her above other politicians. So why are modern British PMs so powerful?
4. How does the relationship between central and local government in Britain compare with that in your country?

5. Local government in Britain is responsible for most of the things that affect people in everyday life. So why do you think so few people bother to vote in local elections in Britain?

Parliament

The activities of Parliament in Britain are more or less the same as those of the Parliament in any western democracy. It makes new laws, gives authority for the government to raise and spend money keeps a close eye on government activities and discusses those activities.

The British Parliament works in a large building called the Palace of Westminster (popularly known as 'the Houses of Parliament'). This contains offices committee rooms, restaurants, bars, libraries and even some places of residence. It also contains two larger rooms. One of these is where the House of Lords meets, the other is where the House of Commons meets. The British Parliament is divided into two 'houses', and its members belong to one or other of them, although only members of the Commons are normally known as MPs (Members of Parliament). The Commons is by far the more important of the two houses.

The atmosphere of Parliament

Look at the picture of the inside of the meeting room of the House of Commons (The House of Commons). Its design and layout differ from the interior of the parliament buildings in most other countries. These differences can tell us a lot about what is distinctive about the British Parliament.

First, notice the seating arrangements. There are just two rows of benches facing each other. On the left of the picture are the government benches, where the MPs of the governing party sit. On the right are the opposition benches. There is no opportunity in this layout for a reflection of all the various shades of political opinion (as there is with a semi-circle). According to where they sit MPs are seen to be either 'for ' the government (supporting it) or against it. This physical division is emphasized by the table on the floor of the Ho use between the two rows of benches. The Speaker's chair,

which is raised some way off the floor, is also here. From this commanding position, the Speaker chairs, the debates (The Speaker). The arrangement of the benches encourages confrontation between government and opposition. It also reinforces psychologically the reality of the British two-party system. There are no 'crossbenches' for MPs who belong neither to the governing party nor the main opposition party. In practice these MPs sit on the opposition benches furthest from the Speaker's chair (at the bottom right of the picture).

The Speaker Anybody who happened to be watching the live broadcast of Parliament on 27 April 1992 was able to witness an extraordinary spectacle. A female MP was physically dragged, apparently against her will, out of her seat on the back benches by fellow MPs and was forced to sit in the large chair in the middle of the House of Commons. What the House of Commons was actually doing was appointing a new Speaker. The Speaker is the person who chairs and controls discussion in the House, decides which MP is going to speak next and makes sure that the rules of procedure are followed. (If they are not, the Speaker has the power to demand a public apology from an MP or even to ban an MP from the House for a number of days).

It is a very important position. In fact, the Speaker is, officially the second most important 'commoner' (non-aristocrat) in the kingdom after the Prime Minister. Hundreds of years ago, it was the Speaker's job to communicate the decisions of the Commons to the King (that is where the title 'Speaker' comes from). As the king was often very displeased with what the Commons had decided, this was not a pleasant task. As a result, nobody wanted the job. They had to be forced to take it. These days, the position is a much safer one, but the tradition of dragging an unwilling Speaker to the chair has remained. The occasion in 1992 was the first time that a woman had been appointed Speaker, so that MPs had to get used to addressing not 'Mr. Speaker', as they had always done in the past, but 'Madam Speaker' instead. Once a Speaker has been appointed, he or she agrees to give up all party politics and remains in the job for as long as he or she wants it.

Second, the Commons has no 'front', no obvious place from which an MP can address everybody there. MPs simply stand up and speak from wherever they happen to be sitting. Third, notice that there are no desks for the MPs. The benches where they sit are exactly and only that benches, just as in a church. This makes it physically easy for them to drift in and out of the room, which is something that they frequently do during debates. Fourth, notice that the House is very small. In fact, there isn't enough room for all the MPs. There are more than 650 of them, but there is seating for less than 400. A candidate at an election is said to have won 'a seat' in the Commons, but this 'seat' is imaginary. MPs do not have their 'own' place to sit. No names are marked on the benches. MPs just sit down wherever (on 'their' side of the House) they can find room.

All these features result in a fairly informal atmosphere. Individual MPs, without their own 'territory' (which a personal seat and desk would give them), are encouraged to co-operate. Moreover, the small size of the House, together with the lack of a podium or dais from which to address it, means that MPs do not normally speak in the way that they would at a large public rally. MPs normally speak in a conversational tone, and because they have nowhere to place their notes while speaking, they do not normally speak for very long either! It is only on particularly important occasions, when all the MPs are present, that passionate oratory is sometimes used.

One more thing should be noted about the design of the House of Commons. It is deliberate. Historically, it was an accident: in medieval times, the Commons met in a church and churches of that time often had rows of benches facing each other. But after the House was badly damaged by bombing in 1941, it was deliberately rebuilt to the old pattern (with one or two modern comforts such as central heating added). This was because of a belief in the two-way 'for and against' tradition, and also because of a more general desire for continuity. The ancient habits are preserved today in the many customs and detailed rules of procedure which all new MPs find that they have to learn. The most noticeable of these is the rule that forbids MPs to address one another directly or use personal names. All

remarks and questions must go ' through the Chair'. An MP who is speaking refers to or asks a question of ' the honourable Member for Winchester' or 'my right honourable friend'. The MP for Winchester may be sitting directly opposite, but the MP never says 'you'. These ancient rules were originally formulated to take the 'heat' out of debate and decrease the possibility that violence might break out. Today, they lend a touch of formality which balances the informal aspects of the Commons and further increases the feeling of MPs that they belong to a special group of people.

An MP's life

The comparative informality of the Commons may partly result from the British belief in amateurism. Traditionally, MPs were not supposed to be specialist politicians. They were supposed to be ordinary people giving some of their time to representing the people. Ideally, they came from all walks of life, bringing their experience of the everyday world into Parliament with them. This is why MPs were not even paid until the early twentieth century. Traditionally, they were supposed to be doing a public service, not making a career for themselves of course, this tradition meant that only rich people could afford to be MPs so that, although they did indeed come from a wide variety of backgrounds, these were always backgrounds of power and wealth. Even now, British MPs do not get paid very much in comparison with many of their European counterparts. Moreover, by European standards, they have incredibly poor facilities. Most MPs have to share an office and a secretary with two or more other MPs.

The ideal of the talented amateur does not, of course, reflect modern reality. Politics in Britain in the last forty years has become professional. Most MPs are full-time politicians, and do another job, if at all, only part-time. But the amateur tradition is still reflected in the hours of business of the Commons. They are 'gentleman's hours'. The House does not sit in the morning. This is when, in the traditional ideal, MPs would be doing their ordinary work or pursuing other interests outside Parliament. From Monday to Thursday, the House does not start its business until 14.30 (on Friday it starts

in the morning, but then finishes in the early afternoon for the weekend). It also gives itself long holidays: four weeks at Christmas, two each at Easter and Whit sun (Pentecost), and about eleven weeks in the summer (from the beginning of August until the middle of October). But this apparently easy life is misleading. In fact, the average modern MP spends more time at work than any other professional in the country. From Monday to Thursday, the Commons never 'rises' (i.e. finishes work for the day) before 22.30 and sometimes it continues sitting for several hours longer. Occasionally, it debates through most of the night. The Commons, in fact, spends a greater total amount of time sitting each year than any other Parliament in Europe.

MPs' mornings are taken up with committee work, research, preparing speeches and dealing with the problems of constituents (the people they represent). Weekends are not free for MPs either. They are expected to visit their constituencies (the areas they represent) and listen to the problems of anybody who wants to see them. It is an extremely busy life that leaves little time for pursuing another career. It does not leave MPs much time for their families either. Politicians have a higher rate of divorce than the (already high) national average.

The parliamentary day in the Commons from Mondays to Thursdays

14.30 – Prayers

14.35 – Question time

<p>15.30 – Any miscellaneous business, such as a statement from a minister after which the main business of the day begins. On more than half of the days, this means a debate on a proposal for a new law known as a 'bill'. Most of these bills are introduced by the government but some days in each year are reserved for 'private members' bills'; that is, proposals for laws made by individual MPs. Not many of these become law, because there is not enough interest among other MPs and not enough time for proper discussion of them.</p>

22.00 – Motion on the adjournment: the main business of the day stops and MPs are allowed to matter for general discussion.

22.30 – The House rises (usually).

Parliamentary business

The basic procedure for business in the Commons is a debate on a particular proposal, followed by a resolution which either accepts or rejects this proposal. Sometimes the resolution just expresses a view point, but most often it is a matter of framing a new law or of approving (or not approving) government plans to raise taxes or spend money in certain ways. Occasionally, there is no need to take a vote, but there usually is, and at such times there is a 'division'.

That is, MPs have to vote for or against a particular proposal. They do this by walking through one of two corridors at the side of the House – one is for the 'Ayes' (those who agree with the proposal) and the other is for the 'Noes' (those who disagree). But the resolutions of the Commons are only part of its activities. There are also the committees. Some committees are appointed to examine particular proposals for laws, but there are also permanent committees whose job is to investigate the activities of government in a particular field. These committees comprise about forty members and are formed to reflect the relative strengths of the parties in the Commons as a whole. They have the power to call certain people, such as civil servants, to come and answer their questions. They are becoming a more and more important part of the business of the Commons.

The party system in Parliament

Most divisions take place along party lines. MPs know that they owe their position to their party, so they nearly always vote the way that their party tells them to. The people who make sure that MPs do this are called the Whips. Each of the two major parties has several MPs who perform this role. It is their job to inform all MPs

in their party how they should vote. By tradition, if the government loses a vote in Parliament on a very important matter, it has to resign. Therefore, when there is a division on such a matter, MPs are expected to go to the House and vote even if they have not been there during the debate.

The Whips act as intermediaries between the backbenchers and the frontbenchers of a party. They keep the party leadership informed about backbench opinion. They are powerful people. Because they 'have the ear' of the party leaders, they can have an effect on which backbenchers get promoted to the front bench and which do not. For reasons such as this, 'rebellions' among a group of a party's MPs (in which they vote against their party) are very rare.

Sometimes the major parties allow a 'free vote', when MPs vote according to their own beliefs and not according to party policy. Some quite important decisions, such as the abolition of the death penalty and the decision to allow television cameras in to the Commons, have been made in this way.

Frontbenchers and backbenchers

Although MPs do not have their own personal seats in the Commons, there are two seating areas reserved for particular MPs. These areas are the front benches on either side of the House. These benches are where the leading members of the governing party (i.e. ministers) and the leading members of the main opposition party sit. These people are thus known as 'frontbenchers' MPs who do not hold a government post or a post in the shadow cabinet are known as 'backbenchers'.

How a bill becomes a law

Before a proposal for a new law starts its progress through Parliament, there will have been much discussion. If it is a government proposal, Green and White Papers will probably have been published explaining the ideas behind the proposal. After this lawyers draft the proposal into a bill, most bills begin life in the House of Commons, where they go through a number of stages.

First reading

This is a formal announcement only, with no debate

Second reading.

The house debates the general principles of the bill and, in most cases, takes a vote.

Committee stage.

A committee of MPs examines the details of the bill and votes on amendments (changes) to parts of it.

Report stage.

The House considers the amendments.

Third reading.

The amended bill is debated as a whole.

The bill is sent to the House of Lords, where it goes through the same stages. (If the Lords make new amendments, these will be considered by the Commons.),

After both Houses have reached agreement, the bill receives the royal assent and becomes an Act of Parliament which can be applied as part of the law.

The House of Lords

A unique feature of the British parliamentary system is its hereditary element. Unlike MPs members of the House of Lords (known as 'peers') are not elected. They are members as of right. In the case of some of them, this 'right' is the result of their being the holder of an inherited aristocratic title. The House of Lords is therefore a relic of earlier, undemocratic, times. The fact that it still exists is perhaps typically British. It has been allowed to survive but it has had to change, losing most of its power and altering its composition in the process.

The House of Lords (like the monarchy) has little, if any, real power any more. All proposals must have the agreement of the Lords before they can become law. But the power of the Lords to

refuse a proposal for a law which has been agreed by the Commons is now limited. After a period which can be as short as six months the proposal becomes law anyway, whether or not the Lords agree. The composition of the Lords has changed since 1958, when it became possible to award 'life peerages' through the honours system. Entitlement to sit in the Lords does not pass to the children of life peers. The life peerage system has established itself as a means of finding a place in public life for distinguished retired politicians who may no longer wish to be as busy as MPs in the Commons, but who still wish to voice their opinions in a public forum. At the time of writing, four of the last five Prime Ministers, as well as about 300 past ministers and other respected politicians, have accepted the offer of a life peerage. Political parties are, in fact, especially keen to send their older members who once belonged to the leadership of the party to the House of Lords. It is a way of rewarding them with prestige while at the same time getting them out of the way of the present party leaders in the Commons, where their status and reputation might otherwise create trouble for party unity. Informally, this practice has become known as being 'kicked upstairs'. As a result of the life peerage system there are more than 300 people in the House of Lords who are not aristocrats and who have expertise in political life. In fact, as a result of recent reforms, these life peers now form a majority at its sittings.

The modern House of Lords is a forum for public discussion. Because its members do not depend on party politics for their position, it is sometimes able to bring important matters that the Commons has been ignoring into the open. More importantly, it is the place where proposals for new laws are discussed in great detail much more detail than the busy Commons has time for – and in this way irregularities or inconsistencies in these proposals can be removed before they become law. More important still, it is argued, the Lords is a check on a government that, through its control of the Commons, could possibly become too dictatorial. Few people in politics are perfectly happy with the present arrangement. Most people agree that having two Houses of Parliament is a good idea, and

that this second house could have a more useful function if it were constituted in a different way (without the hereditary element). However, at this time, nobody can agree on what would be the best way to reform the composition of the second house, and so, despite recent reforms which have reduced the hereditary element, it remains as a fascinating (but valuable) anachronism in a modern state.

Lords legal and spiritual

As well as life peers, there are two other kinds of peer in the House of Lords who do not have seats there by hereditary right, but because of their position. First, there are the twenty-six bishops of the Church of England. Second, there are the Lords of Appeal (known as the 'Law Lords'), the twenty or so most senior judges in the land. By tradition, the House of Lords is the final court of appeal in the country. In fact, however, when the Lords acts in this role, it is only the Law Lords who vote on the matter.

Reforming the House of Lords

In 1910 the Liberal government proposed heavy taxes on the rich. The House of Lords rejected the proposal. This rejection went against a long-standing tradition that the House of Commons had control of financial matters. The government then asked the king for an election and won it. Again, it passed its tax proposals through the Commons, and also a bill limiting the power of the Lords. Again, the Lords rejected both bills, and again the government won another election. It was a constitutional crisis.

What was to happen? Revolution? No. What happened was that the king let it be known that if the Lords rejected the same bills again, he would appoint hundreds of new peers who would vote for the bills enough for the government to have a majority in the Lords. So, in 1911, rather than have the prestige of their House destroyed in this way, the Lords agreed to both bills, including the one that limited their own powers. From that time, a bill which had been agreed in the Commons for three years in a row could become law without the agreement of the Lords. This period of time was further reduced in 1949.

Exercise 16. Find in the text the following concepts, check your ability to explain them in English, and add them to your working vocabulary:

the throne speech, the Bar, the Woolsack, backwoodsmen, the Baby of the House, Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal, life peers, law lords.

Exercise 17. Write out from the text the sentences or their parts, which contain the words and phrases given below and translate them into Ukrainian:

the presiding officer, to be allotted, to attend the sittings, to lead nowhere, to hold up.

Exercise 18. Explain in English what is meant by:

a recess, a session, a quorum, hereditary peers, the Royal Dukes, political football, legislative initiative, the right of veto.

QUESTIONS

1. Where would an MP of the Scottish Nationalist party probably sit in the House of Commons?

2. In what ways do the seating arrangements, general facilities and pay for British MPs differ from those of parliamentary representatives in your country? Why are they different?

3. Many MPs in modern times are experts in various fields of government. Because of the complexity of modern government, this is something which seems to be necessary. But it could be said to have disadvantages, too. What do you think these disadvantages are?

4. When the Commons decide to vote, they do not vote immediately. Instead, a 'division bell' rings throughout the Palace of Westminster, after which MPs have ten minutes in which to vote. Why?

5. Many of the members of the House of Lords are hereditary aristocrats. Why do the British put up with such an undemocratic element in their parliamentary system?

6. Why is the House of Lords called the oldest part of British Parliament?

7. From what place do the members of the House of Commons listen to the throne speech of the Queen?

8. Why is the chair of Lord Chancellor called the "Woolsack"?

9. Do the Lords receive salary for their parliamentary work?

10. What is the difference between Spiritual and Temporal Lords, and between life peers and hereditary peers?

11. Holders of what titles are included in the notion "hereditary peers"? What is the difference between them?

12. In what sense is the House of Lords an undemocratic institution?

13. Can you explain why the House of Lords has more advocates than critics, in spite of being "undemocratic"?

14. Can you mention one or two shortcomings of democracy?

15. Do you understand the meaning of the expression "political football"? What is it?

16. Do the Lords ever use their right of legislative initiative? Why not?

17. How can the Lords influence the political and economic situation in the country?

18. In what field have the Lords more power than the Commons?

ELECTIONS

In the 2001 election, the Labour party received only four out of every ten votes, but it won more than six out of every ten seats in the House of Commons. It won two-and-half times as many seats as the Conservative party, even though it received less than one-and-a-half times as many votes. The Liberal Democrat party did very badly out of the system. It got almost a fifth of the vote, but won only one in thirteen of the seats in the Commons. And yet it was much luckier than it had been in the past. The arithmetical absurdity of the system becomes clear when we compare the fortunes of the Liberal Demo-

crats this time with their fortunes in the 1992 election. On that occasion, it got the same proportion of the total vote but fewer than half the number of seats. What's going on? As is often the case with British institutions, the apparently illogical figures are the result of history.

The system

Unlike in any other country in the world the system of political representation that is used in Britain evolved before the coming of democracy. It also evolved before national issues became more important to people than local ones. In theory, the House of Commons is simply a gathering of people who each represent a particular place in the kingdom. Originally, it was not the concern of anybody in government as to how each representative was chosen. That was a matter for each town or county to decide for itself. Not until the nineteenth century were laws passed about how elections were to be conducted.

This system was in place before the development of modern political parties. These days, of course, nearly everybody votes for a candidate because he or she belongs to a particular party. But the tradition remains that an MP is first and foremost a representative

Of a particular locality. The result of this tradition is that the electoral system is remarkably simple. It works like this. The country is divided into a number of areas of roughly equal population (about 9000), known as constituencies. Anybody who wants to be an MP must declare himself or herself as a candidate in one of these constituencies. On polling day (the day of the election), voters go to polling stations and are each given a single piece of paper (the ballot paper) with the names of the candidates for that constituency (only) on it. Each voter then puts a cross next to the name of one candidate. After the polls have closed, the ballot papers are counted. The candidate with the largest number of crosses next to his or her name is the winner and becomes the MP for the constituency. And that's the end of it. There is no preferential voting (if a voter chooses more than one candidate, that ballot paper is 'spoiled' and is not counted); there is no counting of the proportion of votes for each party (all

votes cast for losing candidates are simply ignored); there is no extra allocation of seats in Parliament according to party strengths. At the 2001 election, there were 659 constituencies and 659 MPs were elected. It was called a general election, and of course control of the government depended on it, but in formal terms it was just 659 separate elections going on at the same time.

If we add the votes received for each party in these two constituencies together we find that the Liberal Democrats got more votes than Conservative or Labour. And yet, these two parties each won a seat while the Liberal Democrats did not. This is because they were not first in either constituency. It is coming first that matters. In fact, the system is known as the 'first-past-the-post' system (an allusion to horse-racing).

Formal arrangements

In practice, it is the government which decides when to hold an election. The law says that an election has to take place at least every five years. However, the interval between elections is usually a bit shorter than this. A party in power does not normally wait until the last possible moment. For example, the Labour government called the 2001 election after only four years. When a party has a very small majority in the House of Commons, or no majority at all, the interval can be much shorter.

After the date of an election has been fixed people who want to be candidates in a constituency have to deposit £ 1000 with the Returning Officer (the person responsible for the conduct of the election in each constituency). They get this money back if they get 1% of the votes or more. The local associations of the major parties will have already chosen their candidates and will pay the deposits for them. However, it is not necessary to belong to a party to be a candidate. It is a curious feature of the system that, legally speaking, parties do not exist. That is to say, there is no written law which tries to define them or regulate them. The law allows candidates if they wish to include a short 'political description' of themselves on the ballot paper. In practice, of course, most of these descriptions

simply state 'Conservative', 'Labour' or 'Liberal Democrat'. But they can actually say anything that a candidate wants them to say.

To be eligible to vote a person must be at least eighteen years old and be on the electoral register. This is compiled every year for each constituency separately. People who have moved house and have not had time to get their names on the electoral register of their new constituency can arrange to vote by post. Nobody, however, is obliged to vote.

The campaign

British elections are comparatively quiet affairs. There is no tradition of large rallies or parades as there is in the USA. However, because of the intense coverage by the media, it would be very difficult to be in Britain at the time of a campaign and not realize that an election was about to take place.

The campaign reflects the contrast between the formal arrangements and the political reality. Formally, a different campaign takes place in each constituency. Local newspapers give coverage to the candidates; the candidates themselves hold meetings; party supporters stick up posters in their windows; local party workers spend their time canvassing.

***Canvassing.** This is the activity that occupies most of the time of local party workers during an election campaign. Canvassers go from door to door, calling on as many houses as possible and asking people how they intend to vote. They rarely make any attempt to change people's minds, but if a voter is identified as 'undecided', the party candidate might later attempt to pay a visit. The main purpose of canvassing seems to be so that, on Election Day, transport can be offered, if needed, to those who claim to be supporters. (This is the only form of material help that parties are allowed to offer voters). It also allows party workers to estimate how well they are doing on Election Day. They stand outside polling stations and record whether their supporters have voted. If it looks as if these people are not going to bother to vote, party workers might call on them to remind them to do so. Canvassing is an awful lot of work for very little benefit. It is a kind of election ritual.*

The amount of money that candidates are allowed to spend on their campaigns is strictly limited. They have to submit detailed accounts of their expenses for inspection. Any attempt to influence voters improperly is outlawed. But the reality is that all these activities and regulations do not usually make much difference. Nearly everybody votes for a candidate on the basis of the party which he or she represents, not because of his or her individual qualities or political opinions. Few people attend candidates' meetings; most people do not read local newspapers. In any case, the size of constituencies means that candidates cannot meet most voters, however energetically they go from door to door.

It is at a national level that the real campaign takes place. The parties spend millions of pounds advertising on hoardings and in newspapers. By agreement, they do not buy time on television as they do in the USA. Instead, they are each given a number of strictly timed 'party election broadcasts'. Each party also holds a daily televised news conference. All of this puts the emphasis on the national party personalities rather than on local candidates. Only in the 'marginals' – constituencies where only a small shift in voting behaviour from last time would change the result – might the qualities of an individual candidate, possibly, affect the outcome.

Polling day

General elections always take place on a Thursday. They are not public holidays. People have to work in the normal way, so polling stations are open from seven in the morning till ten at night to give everybody the opportunity to vote. The only people who get a holiday are schoolchildren whose schools are being used as polling stations. Each voter has to vote at a particular polling station. After being ticked off on the electoral register, the voter is given a ballot paper. Elections on the British mainland are always very fairly conducted. Northern Ireland, however, is a rather different story. There, the political tensions of so many years have had a negative effect on democratic procedures. Matters have improved since the 1960s, but the traditional, albeit joking, slogan in Ulster on polling day is 'vote

early and vote often' – that is, try to vote as many times as you can by impersonating other people.

After the polls close, the marked ballot papers are taken to a central place in the constituency and counted. The Returning Officer then makes a public announcement of the votes cast for each candidate and declares the winner to be the MP for the constituency. This declaration is one of the few occasions during the election process when shouting and cheering may be heard.

Election night

The period after voting has become a television extravaganza. Both BBC and TV start their programmes as soon as voting finishes. With millions watching, they continue right through the night. Certain features of these 'election specials', such as the 'swingometer' have entered popular folklore. The first excitement of the night is the race to declare. It is a matter of local pride for some constituencies to be the first to announce their result. Doing so will guarantee that the cameras will be there to witness the event. If the count has gone smoothly, this usually occurs at just after 11.00 p.m. By midnight, after only a handful of results have been declared experts (with the help of computers) will be making predictions about the composition of the newly elected House of Commons. psephology (the study of voting habits) has become very sophisticated in Britain so that, although the experts never get it exactly right. They can get pretty close.

By two in the morning at least half of the constituencies will have declared their results and, unless the election is a very close one (as, for example, in 1974 and 1992), the experts on the television will now be able to predict with confidence which party will have a majority in the House of Commons and therefore which party leader is going to be the Prime Minister.

Some constituencies, however, are not able to declare their results until well into Friday afternoon. This is either because they are very rural (mostly in Scotland or Northern Ireland) and so it takes a long time to bring all the ballot papers together or because the race has been so close that one or more 'recounts' have been necessary.

The phenomenon of recounts is a clear demonstration of the ironies of the British system. In most constituencies it would not make any difference to the result if several thousand ballot papers were lost. But in a few, the result depends on a handful of votes. In these cases, candidates are entitled to demand as many recounts as they want until the result is beyond doubt. The record number of recounts is seven (and the record margin of victory is just one voter).

Recent results and the future

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the contest to form the government has effectively been a straight fight between the Labour and Conservative parties. As a general rule, the north of England and most of the inner areas of English cities return Labour MPs to Westminster, while the south of England and most areas outside the inner cities have a Conservative MP. Which of these two parties forms the government depends on which one does better in the suburbs and large towns of England. Scotland used to be good territory for the Conservatives. This changed, however, during the 1980s and the vast majority of MPs from there now represent Labour. Wales has always returned mostly, Labour MPs. Since the 1970s, the respective nationalist parties in both countries have regularly won a few seats in Parliament.

Traditionally, the Liberal party was also relatively strong in Scotland and Wales (and was sometimes called the party of the 'Celtic fringe'). Its modern successor, the Liberal Democrat party, is not so geographically restricted and has managed to win some seats all over Britain, with a concentration in the southwest of England. Northern Ireland always has about the same proportion of Protestant Unionist MPs and Catholic Nationalist MPs (since the 1970^s, about two-thirds the former, the third the latter). The only element of uncertainty is how many seats the more extremist (as opposed to the more moderate) parties will win on either side of this invariant political divide.

The swingometer. This is a device used by television presenters on election night. It indicates the percentage change of support from one party to another party since the previous election the

'swing'. Individual constituencies can be placed at certain points along the swingometer to show how much swing is necessary to change the party affiliation of their MPs. The swingometer was first made popular by Professor Raben McKenzie on the BBC's coverage of the 1964 election. Over the years, it has become more colourful and complicated. Most people enjoy it but say they are confused by it.

In the thirteen elections from 1945 to 1987, the Conservatives were generally more successful than Labour. Although Labour achieved a majority on five occasions, on only two of these was the majority comfortable. On the other three occasions it was so small that it was in constant danger of disappearing as a result of by-election defeats. In the same period, the Conservatives won a majority seven times, nearly always comfortably. Then, in the 1992 election, the Conservatives won for the fourth time in a row – the first time this had been achieved for more than 160 years. Moreover, they achieved it in the middle of an economic recession. This made many people wonder whether Labour could ever win again. It looked as if the swingometer's pendulum had stuck on the right. Labour's share of the total vote had generally decreased in the previous four decades while support for the third party had grown since the early 1970s. Many sociologists believed this trend to be inevitable because Britain had developed a middle-class majority (as opposed to its former working-class majority). Many political observers were worried about this situation. It is considered to be basic to the British system of democracy that power should change hands occasionally.

There was much talk about a possible reorganization of British politics, for example a change to a European-style system of proportional representation (so that Labour could at least share in a coalition government), or a formal union between Labour and the Liberal Democrats (so that together they could defeat the Conservatives). However, in 1997 the picture changed dramatically. Labour won the largest majority in the House of Commons achieved by any party for 73 years and the Conservative share of the total vote was their lowest in 165 years. What happened? The answer seems to be

that voting habits in Britain, reflecting the weakening of the class system, are no longer tribal. There was a time when the Labour party was regarded as the political arm of the trade unions, representing the working class of the country. Most working-class people voted Labour all their lives and nearly all middle-class people voted Conservative all their lives. The winning party at an election was the one who managed to get the support of the small number of 'floating voters', But Labour has now got rid of its trade-union image. It is capable of winning as many middle-class votes as the Conservatives, so that the middle-class majority in the population, as identified by sociologists, does not automatically mean a Conservative majority in the House of Commons.

***By elections.** Whenever a sitting MP can no longer fulfil his or her duties, there has to be a special new election in the constituency which he or she represents. (There is no system of ready substitutes.). These are called by-elections and can take place at any time .They do not affect who runs the government, but they are watched closely by the media and the parties as indicators of the current level of popularity of the government. A by-election provides the parties with an opportunity to find a seat in Parliament for one of their important people. If a sitting MP dies, the opportunity presents itself; if not, an MP of the same party must be persuaded to resign. The way an MP resigns offers a fascinating example of the importance attached to tradition. It is considered wrong for an MP simply to resign; MPs represent their constituents and have no right to deprive them of this representation. So the MP who wishes to resign applies for the post of Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds'. This is a job with no duties and no salary. Technically, however, it is 'an office of profit under the Crown', i.e. a job given by the monarch with rewards attached to it) .According to ancient practice, a person cannot be both an MP and hold a post of this nature at the same time because Parliament must be independent of the monarch. (This is why high ranking civil servants and army officers are not allowed*

to be MPs.) As a result, the holder of this ancient post is automatically disqualified from the House of Commons and the by-election can go ahead!

QUESTIONS

1. The British electoral system is said to discriminate against smaller parties. But look at the table at the beginning of this chapter again. How can it be that the very small parties had much better luck at winning parliamentary seats than the (comparatively large) Liberal Democrats?

2. In what ways is political campaigning in your country different from that in Britain as described in this chapter?

3. Is there a similar level of public interest in learning about election results in your country as there is in Britain? Does it seem to reflect the general level of enthusiasm about, and interest in politics which exist at other times – in Britain and in your own country?

4. Britain has single-member constituencies'. This means that one MP alone represents one particular group of voters (everybody in his or her constituency). Is this a good system? Or is it better to have several MPs representing the same area? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems?

5. Do you think that Britain should adopt the electoral system used in your country. Or perhaps you think that your country should adopt the system used in Britain? Or are the two different systems the right ones for the two different countries? Why?

SUGGESTIONS

If you can get British television or radio, watch or listen in on the night of the next British general election.

International relations

The relationship between any country and the rest of the world can reveal a great deal about that country.

The end of empire

The map below shows the British Empire in 1919, at the time of its greatest extent. By this time, however, it was already becoming less of an empire and more of a confederation. At the same international conference at which Britain acquired new possessions (formerly German) under the Treaty of Versailles, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa were all represented separately from Britain.

The real dismantling of the empire took place in the twenty-five years following the Second World War and with the loss of empire went a loss of power and status. These days, Britain's armed forces can no longer act unilaterally, without reference to the international community. Two events illustrate this. First, Suez. In 1956 Egypt, without prior agreement, took over the Suez Canal from the international company owned by Britain and France. British and French military action to stop this was a diplomatic disaster. The USA did not support them and their troops were forced to withdraw. Second, Cyprus. When this country left the British Empire, Britain became one of the guarantors of its independence from any other country. However, when Turkey invaded the island in 1974, British military activity was restricted to airlifting the personnel of its military base there to safety.

After the Second World War and throughout the 1950s, it was understood that a conference of the world's great powers involved the USA, the Soviet Union and Britain. However, in 1962, the Cuban missile crisis, one of the greatest threats to global peace since the war, was resolved without reference to Britain. By the 1970^s it was generally accepted that a 'superpower' conference involved only the USA and the Soviet Union.

Despite Britain's loss of power and status on the world stage, some small remnants of the empire remain. Whatever their racial origins, the inhabitants of Gibraltar, St Helena, the Ascension Islands, the Falklands/Malvinas and Belize have all wished to continue with the imperial arrangement (they are afraid of being swallowed up by their nearest neighbours). For British governments, on

the one hand, this is a source of pride, but on the other hand it causes embarrassment and irritation: pride, because it suggests how beneficial the British imperial administration must have been; embarrassment, because the possession of colonial territories does not fit with the image of a modern democratic state; and irritation because it costs the British taxpayer money.

The old imperial spirit is not quite *de ad*. In 1982 the British government spent hundreds of millions of pounds to recapture the Falklands/Malvinas Islands from the invading Argentinians. We cannot know if it would have done so if the inhabitants had not been in favour of remaining British and if Argentina had not had a military dictatorship at the time. But what we do know is that the government's action received enormous popular support at home. Before the 'Falklands War', opinion polls showed that the government was extremely unpopular; afterwards, it suddenly became extremely popular and easily won the general election early in the following year.

The Commonwealth. The dismantling of the British Empire took place comparatively peacefully, so that good relations between Britain and the newly independent countries were established. As a result, and with the encouragement of Queen Elizabeth II, an international organization called the Commonwealth. Composed of the countries that used to be part of the empire, has continued to hold annual meetings. Some countries in the Commonwealth have even kept the British monarch as head of state. There are no formal economic or political advantages involved in belonging to the Commonwealth, but it has helped to keep cultural contacts alive, and does at least mean that every year the leaders of a sixth of the world's population sit down and talk together. Until quite recently it did have economic importance, with special trading agreements between members. But since Britain became a full member of the EEC, all but a few of these agreements have gradually been discontinued.

The armed forces

The loyalty of the leaders of the British armed forces to the government has not been in doubt since the Civil War (with the possible exception of a few years at the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition, and with the exception of Northern Ireland, the army has only rarely been used to keep order within Great Britain in the last 100 years. 'National Service' (a period of compulsory military service for all men) was abolished in 1957. It had never been very popular. It was contrary to the traditional view that Britain should not have a large standing army in peacetime. Moreover, the end of empire, together with the increasing mechanization of the military, meant that it was more important to have small, professional forces staffed by specialists.

The most obviously specialist area of the modern military is nuclear weapons. Since the 1950^s, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) has argued, on both moral and economic grounds, that Britain should cease to be a nuclear power. At certain periods the CND has had a lot of popular support (e.g. Greenham Common). However, this support has not been consistent. Britain still has a nuclear force, although it is tiny compared to that of the USA. The end of the 'Cold War' between the west and the Soviet Union at the end of 1985 caused the British government to look for the 'peace dividend' and to reduce further the size of the armed forces. This caused protest from politicians and military professionals who were afraid that Britain would not be able to meet its 'commitments' in the world. These commitments, of course, are now mostly on behalf of the United Nations or the European Union. There is still a feeling in Britain that the country should be able to make significant contributions to international peace keeping efforts. The reduction also caused bad feeling within sections of the armed forces themselves. Its three branches (the Army, the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force) have distinct traditions and histories that it was felt were being threatened. The army in particular was unhappy when several famous old regiments, each with their own distinct traditions, were forced to merge with others. At one time, a number of upper-middle

class families maintained a tradition down the generations of belonging to a particular regiment. Fewer and fewer such families exist today, however, a career in the armed forces is still highly respectable. In fact, Britain's armed forces are one of the few institutions that its people admit to being proud of.

Transatlantic relations

Since the Second World War, British governments have often referred to the 'special relationship' which exists between Britain and the USA. There have been occasional low points, such as Suez and when the USA invaded the Caribbean island of Grenada (a member of the British Commonwealth). But generally speaking it has persisted. It survived the Falklands War, when the USA offered Britain important material help, but little public support, and regained its strength in 1991 during the Gulf War against Iraq, when Britain gave more active material support to the Americans than any other European country.

Public feeling about the relationship is ambiguous. On the one hand, it is reassuring to be so diplomatically close to the most powerful nation in the world, and the shared language gives people some sense of brotherhood with Americans. On the other hand, there is mild bitterness about the sheer power of the USA. There is no distrust, but remarks are often made about Britain being nothing more than the fifty-first state of the USA. Similarly, while some older people remember with gratitude the Americans who came to their aid in two world wars, others resent the fact that it took them so long to get involved!

In any case, the special relationship has inevitably declined in significance since Britain joined the European Community. In the world trade negotiations of the early 1990^s, there was nothing special about Britain's position with regard to the USA – it was just part of the European trading bloc. The opening of the Channel tunnel in 1994 has emphasized that Britain's links are now mainly with Europe. Tourist statistics also point this way. In 1993, for the first time, it was not American visitors who arrived in the greatest numbers, it

was the French, and there were almost as many German visitors as Americans. The majority of visitors to Britain are now from Europe.

The sovereignty of the union: Europe

When the European Coal and Steel Community was formed in 1951, Britain thought it was an excellent idea, but nothing to do with Britain! Long years of an empire based on sea power meant that the traditional attitude to Europe had been to encourage stability there, to discourage any expansionist powers there, but otherwise to leave it well alone.

As the empire disappeared, and the role of 'the world's policeman' was taken over by the USA, the British government decided to ask for membership of the newly – formed European Communities. It took more than ten years for this to be achieved (in 1973). From the very start, the British attitude to membership has been ambiguous. On the one hand, it is seen as an economic necessity and a political advantage (increasing Britain's status as a regional power). The referendum on continued membership in 1975 (the first in British history) produced a two-to-one majority in favour. On the other hand, acceptance does not mean enthusiasm. The underlying attitude – that Britain is somehow special – has not really changed and there are fears that Britain is gradually giving up its autonomy. Changes in European domestic policy, social policy or sovereignty arrangements tend to be seen in Britain as a threat. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s it has been Britain more than any other member of the European Union (as it is now called) which has slowed down progress towards further European unity. Meanwhile, there is a certain amount of popular distrust of the Brussels bureaucracy. This ambiguous attitude can partly be explained by the fact that views about Britain's position in Europe cut across political party lines. There are people both for and against closer ties with Europe in both the main parties. As a result, 'Europe' has not been promoted as a subject for debate to the electorate. Neither party wishes to raise the subject at election time because to do so would expose divisions within that party (a sure vote-loser).

The sovereignty of the union: Scotland and Wales

There is another reason for a distrust of greater European cohesion among politicians at Westminster. It is feared that this may not just be a matter of giving extra power to Brussels. It may also be a matter of giving extra powers to the regions of Britain, especially its different nations. Until recently most Scottish people, although they insisted on many differences between themselves and the English, were happy to be part of the UK. But there has always been some resentment in Scotland about the way that it is treated by the central government in London. In the 1980s and early 1990s this resentment increased because of the continuation in power of the Conservative party for which only around a quarter of the Scottish electorate had voted.

Opinion polls consistently showed that between half and three quarters of the Scottish population wanted either 'home rule' (internal self-government) within the UK or complete independence. The realization that, in the EU, home rule or even independence, need not mean isolation has caused the Scottish attitude to Europe to change. Originally, Scotland was just as cautious as England. But now the Scottish, as a group, have become the most enthusiastic Europeans in the UK. Scotland now has its own parliament which controls its internal affairs and even has the power to vary slightly the levels of income tax imposed by the UK government. It is not clear whether complete independence will eventually follow, but this is the policy of the Scottish National Party (SNP), which is well represented in the new parliament.

In Wales, the situation is different. The southern part of this nation is thoroughly Anglicized and the country as a whole has been fully incorporated into the English governmental structure for more than 400 years. Nationalism in Wales is felt mostly in the central and northern part of the country, where it tends to express itself not politically, but culturally. Many people in Wales would like to have greater control over Welsh affairs, but not much more than some people in some regions of England would like the same. Wales also

now has its own assembly with responsibility for many internal affairs.

The sovereignty of the union: Northern Ireland In this section, the word 'Ulster' is used to stand for the British province of Northern Ireland. Politics here is dominated by the historic animosity between the two communities there. The Catholic viewpoint is known as 'nationalist' or 'republican' (in support of the idea of a single Irish nation and its republican government); the Protestant viewpoint is known as a little modern history is necessary to explain the present situation.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, when Ireland was still part of the United Kingdom, the vast majority of people in Ireland wanted either home rule or complete independence from Britain. Liberal governments in Britain had accepted this and had attempted at various times to make it a reality. However, the one million Protestants in Ulster were violently opposed to this idea. They did not want to belong to a country dominated by Catholics. They formed less than a quarter of the total population of the country, but in Ulster they were in a 65% majority. After the First World War the British government partitioned the country between the (mainly Catholic) south and the (mainly Protestant) north, giving each part some control of its internal affairs. But this was no longer enough for the south. There, support for complete independence had grown as a result of the British government's savage repression of the 'Easter Rising' in 1916. War followed.

The eventual result was that the south became independent of Britain. Ulster, however, remained within the United Kingdom with its own Parliament and Prime Minister. The Protestants had always had the economic power in the six counties. Internal self-government allowed them to take all the political power as well. Matters were arranged so that positions of official power were always filled by Protestants. In the late 1960s a Catholic civil rights movement began. There was violent Protestant reaction and frequent fighting broke out. In 1969 British troops were sent in to keep order. At first they were welcomed, particularly among the Catholics. But troops,

inevitably, often act without regard to democratic rights. In the tense atmosphere, the welcome disappeared. Extremist organizations from both communities began committing acts of terrorism, such as shootings and bombings. One of these groups, the Provisional IRA, then started a bombing campaign on the British mainland. In response, the British government reluctantly imposed certain measures not normally acceptable in a modern democracy, such as imprisonment without trial and the outlawing of organizations such as the IRA. The application of these measures caused resentment to grow. There was a hardening of attitudes in both communities and support for extremist political parties increased. There have been many efforts to find a solution to 'the troubles' (as they are known in Ireland). In 1972 the British government decided to rule directly from London. Over the next two decades most of the previous political abuses disappeared, and Catholics now have almost the same political rights as Protestants. In addition, the British and Irish governments have developed good relations and new initiatives are presented jointly. The troubles may soon be over. However, despite reforms inequalities remain. At the time of writing, unemployment among Ulster's Catholics is the highest of any area in the UK, while that among its Protestants is one of the lowest. Members of the police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), are still almost entirely Protestant. Most of all, the basic divisions remain. The Catholics identify with the south. Most of them would like the Irish government in Dublin to have at least a share in the government of Ulster. In 1999 the Republic removed the part of its constitution which included a claim to the six counties. This has calmed Protestant fears about being swallowed up. In return for its gesture, the Republic now has a role to play in a number of all Ireland bodies which have been set up. Some Protestants still have misgivings about this initiative. It should be noted that the names 'loyalist' and 'unionist' are somewhat misleading. The Ulster Protestants are distinct from any other section of British society. While it is important to them that they belong to the United Kingdom, it is just as important to them that they do not belong to the Republic of Ireland. From their point

of view, and also from the point of view of some Catholics, a place for Ulster in a federated Europe is a possible solution. In Ulster there is now a general disgust at the activities of extremists, and a strong desire for peace. At the time of writing, nearly all terrorist activities have ceased and a Northern Ireland government which includes representatives of all political views has been set up.

QUESTIONS

1. What indications can you find in this chapter that British people like to think of their country as an important and independent power in the world?

2. Would you say that the British people feel closer to the USA or the European Union'. What evidence do you have for your view?

3. The people of Scotland have changed from being 'anti-Europe' to being 'pro-Europe' in the last twenty years of the twentieth century. Why

4. In 1994, Prime Minister John Major announced that he would like to hold a referendum in Ulster on that area's future constitutional position. Some people said that the referendum should include the whole of Ireland. Which people do you think they were? Why did they say this?

5. Do you think that the present boundaries of the UK should remain as they are or should they change'. Do you think they will stay as they are?

Brexit: What you need to know about the UK leaving the EU.

After months of negotiations, the UK and European Union finally agreed a deal that will define their future relationship, which comes into effect at 23.00GMT on 31 December.

– I thought the UK had already left the EU?

It has. The UK voted to leave the EU in 2016 and officially left the trading bloc – its nearest and biggest trading partner – on 31 January 2020. However, both sides agreed to keep many things the

same until 31 December 2020, to allow enough time to agree to the terms of a new trade deal. It was a complex, sometimes bitter negotiation, but they finally agreed a deal on 24 December.

– So what changes on 1 January?

The deal contains new rules for how the UK and EU will live, work and trade together. While the UK was in the EU, companies could buy and sell goods across EU borders without paying taxes and there were no limits on the amount of things which could be traded. Under the terms of the deal, that won't change on 1 January, but to be sure that neither side has an unfair advantage, both sides had to agree to some shared rules and standards on workers' rights, as well as many social and environmental regulations. You can read more detail on other aspects of the deal, including more on travel, fishing, and financial services.

What's in the Brexit deal?

Freedom to work and live between the UK and the EU also comes to an end, and in 2021, UK nationals will need a visa if they want to stay in the EU more than 90 days in a 180-day period.

Northern Ireland will continue to follow many of the EU's rules in order to avoid a hardening of its border with the Republic of Ireland. This will mean however that new checks will be introduced on goods entering Northern Ireland from the rest of the UK. Now that it's no longer in the EU, the UK is free to set its own trade policy and can negotiate deals with other countries. Talks are being held with the US, Australia and New Zealand – countries that currently don't have free trade deals with the EU.



UK leader Boris Johnson signed the deal after the document was flown to the UK from Brussels in an RAF plane

– Will there be disruption at the borders?

There may not be new taxes to pay at the border, but there will be new paperwork, and the potential for it to cause delays is a serious concern. "This is the biggest imposition of red tape that businesses have had to deal with in 50 years," according to William Bain from the British Retail Consortium. The UK says it will delay making most checks for six months, to allow people to get used to the new system, but the EU will be checking paperwork and carrying out checks from day one. So if businesses are not prepared, or do not fill in the new paperwork correctly, it could cause delays and backlogs at ports like Dover.

The government has known about this for years, and has made plans to divert trade to other ports around the country and has built lorry parks in Kent, to avoid gridlock on the roads. It's difficult to predict what the scale of any disruption might be, but government minister Michael Gove has said that UK businesses should prepare for some "bumpy moments".

– Is this finally the end of having to hear about Brexit?

Sadly, no. Decisions are still to be made on data sharing and on financial services, and the agreement on fishing only lasts five years.

Also while the UK and EU have agreed to some identical rules now, they don't have to be identical in the future, and if one side takes exception to the changes, they can trigger a dispute, which could ultimately lead to tariffs (charges on imports) being imposed on some goods in the future.

Expect the threat of disputes to be a new constant in UK-EU relations.

What Brexit words mean

The last few years have seen many words and phrases enter our lives. We haven't used them here, but politicians do use them. Here's what some of them mean:

Transition period: The 11-month period following the UK's exit from the EU (finishing at the end of 2020), during which time the UK has followed EU rules, to allow leaders to make a deal.

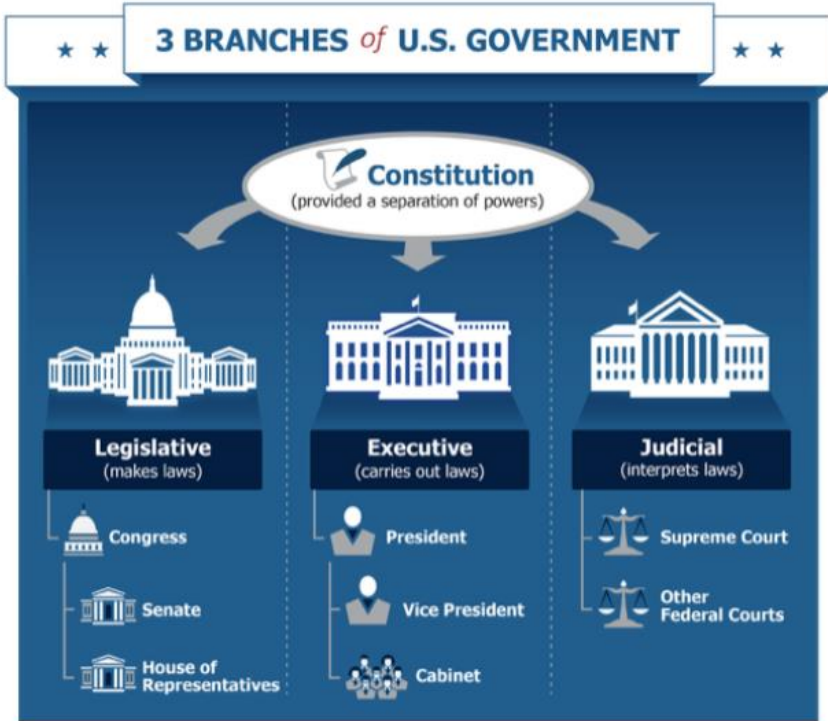
Free trade: Trade between two countries, where neither side charges taxes or duties on goods crossing borders.

Level playing field: A set of rules to ensure that one country, or group of countries, doesn't have an unfair advantage over another. This can involve areas such as workers' rights and environmental standards. Free trade agreements like the Brexit deal often include level playing field measures.

Tariff: A tax or duty to be paid on goods crossing borders.

SECTION 3. POLITICAL LIFE IN THE USA

Background Information



FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The United States is a representative democracy. All government power rests ultimately with the people, who direct policies by voting for government representatives. The nation's constitution defines the powers of national and state governments, the functions and framework of each branch of government, and the rights of individual citizens. All public officials of the national as well as state governments must swear to abide by the Constitution, which was created to protect the democratic interests of the people and government.

LIMITED GOVERNMENT

The principle of limited government is basic to the Constitution. When the Constitution was first written about two hundred years ago, many Americans feared that government power could become concentrated in the hands of a few. Several features were created to guard against this possibility: 1) the federal organization of government; 2) the separation of powers among different branches of government; and 3) a system of checks and balances to restrict the powers of each branch.

FEDERALISM

Under federalism, the principle of limited government was achieved by dividing authority between the central government and the individual states. The federal (national) government has powers over areas of wide concern. For example, it has the power to control communications among states, borrow money, provide for the national defense, and declare war.

The states possess those powers which are not given to the national government. For example, each state establishes its own criminal justice system, public schools, and marriage and divorce laws.

There are certain powers, called concurrent powers, which both the federal and state government share. Examples include the power to tax, set up courts, and charter banks.

SEPARATION OF POWERS

Besides the division of power between state and national governments, power is also limited by the separation of power among three branches — legislative, executive, and judicial. In the United States, each branch has a separate function.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The function of the legislative branch is to make laws. The legislative branch is made up of representatives elected to Congress.

Congress is comprised of two groups, called houses: the House of Representatives (the House) and the Senate.

Lawmakers from all of the states are elected to serve in the House of Representatives. The number of representatives each state sends to the House depends upon the number of districts in each state. Each district chooses one representative. The number of districts in each state is determined by population. The most heavily populated states have more districts and, therefore, more representatives than the sparsely populated states. There are currently 435 representatives in the House. Each representative is elected to a two-year term.

The Senate is the smaller of the two bodies. Each state, regardless of population, has two senators. The senatorial term is six years. Every two years, one third of the Senate stands for election.

HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

Each house of Congress is engaged in making laws, and each may initiate legislation. A law first begins as a "bill." Once a bill is introduced, it is sent to the appropriate committee. Each house of Congress has committees which specialize in a particular area of legislation, such as foreign affairs, defense, banking, and agriculture. When a bill is in committee, members study it and then send it to the Senate or House chamber where it was first introduced. After a debate, the bill is voted on. If it passes, it is sent to the other house where it goes through a similar process.

The Senate may reject a bill proposed in the House of Representatives or add amendments. If that happens, a "conference committee" made up of members from both houses tries to work out a compromise. If both sides agree on the new version, the bill is sent to the president for his signature. At this point, the bill becomes a law.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The executive branch of government is responsible for administering the laws passed by Congress. The president of the United States presides over the executive branch. He is elected to a four-

year term and can be re-elected to a second term. The vice-president, who is elected with the president, is assigned only two constitutional duties. The first is to preside over the Senate. However, the vice-president may vote only in the event of a tie. The second duty is to assume the presidency if the president dies, becomes disabled, or is removed from office.

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

The Constitution gives the president many important powers. As chief executive, the president appoints secretaries of the major departments that make up the president's cabinet. Today there are 13 major departments in the executive branch: the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, Justice, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Transportation, Energy, and Education. As chief executive, the president also appoints senior officials of the many agencies in the expansive bureaucracy.

As head of state, the president represents the country abroad, entertains foreign leaders, and addresses the public. As director of foreign policy, he appoints foreign ambassadors and makes treaties with other nations. The president also serves as commander-in-chief of the armed forces and as head of his political party.

In the United States, the president and legislature are elected separately, housed separately, and they operate separately. This division is a unique feature of the American system. In the parliamentary systems that operate in most western democracies, the national leader, or prime minister, is chosen by the parliament.

JUDICIAL BRANCH

The third branch of government is the judicial branch, which is headed by the Supreme Court. Under the Supreme Court, there are many state and federal courts. An important function of the judicial branch is to determine whether laws of Congress or actions of the president violate the Constitution.

CHECKS AND BALANCES

The division of government power among three separate but equal branches provides for a system of checks and balances. Each branch checks or limits the power of the other branches. For example, although Congress makes laws, the president can veto them. Even if the president vetoes a law, Congress may check the president by overriding his veto with a two-thirds vote.

The Supreme Court can overturn laws passed by Congress and signed by the president. The selection of federal and Supreme Court judges is made by the other two branches. The president appoints judges, but the Senate reviews his candidates and has the power to reject his choices. With this system of checks and balances, no branch of government has superior power.

The basic framework of American government is described in the Constitution. However, there are other features of the political system, not mentioned in the Constitution, which directly and indirectly influence American politics.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Groups and individuals have a variety of ways they can exert pressure and try to influence government policy. Many people write letters to elected officials expressing their approval or disapproval of a political decision. People sometimes circulate petitions or write letters to editors of newspapers and magazines to try to influence politicians. Organized interest groups, however, can generally exert influence much more effectively than can isolated individuals.

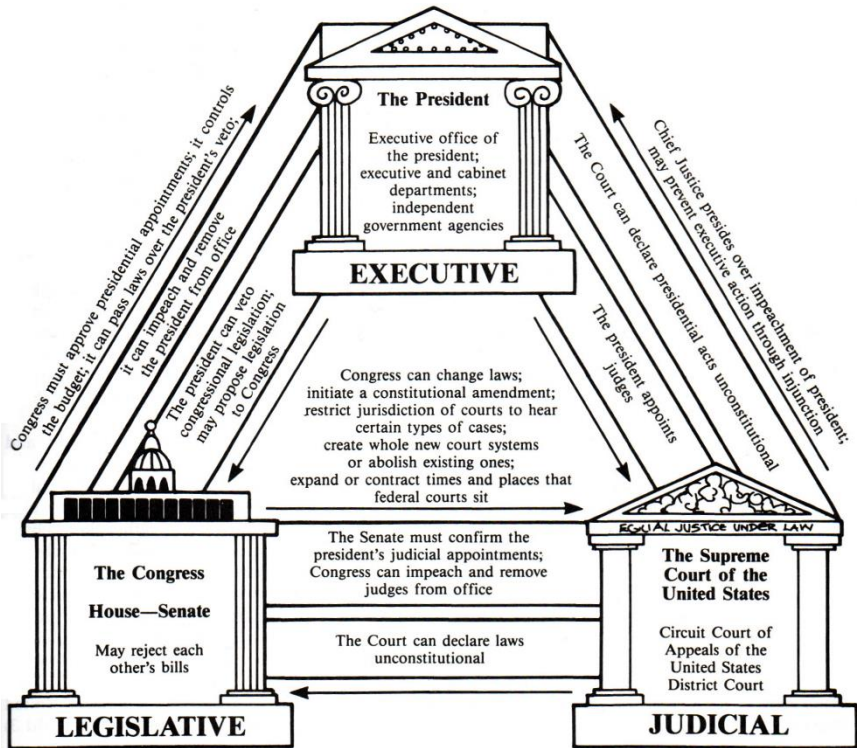
INTEREST GROUPS

Interest groups are organized by people who want to influence public policy decisions on special issues. There are many different types of interest groups in the United States. The largest organizations are labor unions, such as the AFL-CIO; business groups, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce; farm groups, such as the National Farmers' Union; and professional groups, such as the American Medical Association. There are many issue-oriented

groups with broad concerns such as the environment, civil rights, and peace. Some interest groups focus on narrow issues such as the preservation of historic buildings or the control of neighborhood crime.

What all the various interest groups have in common is the desire to sway public opinion and political policy. The press, radio, and television are the most obvious media through which interest groups may influence voters and politicians. Members of interest groups also write letters to government officials, make telephone calls, hold public meetings, and sponsor newspaper advertisements.

SEPARATION OF POWERS AND CHECKS AND BALANCE



LOBBYISTS

To exert direct pressure on legislators in Washington or in state capitals, a major interest group may employ a professional lobbyist. A lobbyist, generally a lawyer or former legislator, is someone who not only specializes in the interest he or she represents, but also possesses an insider's view of the lawmaking process. Lobbyists work for interest groups by keeping them informed about proposed legislation and by talking to decision-makers about their group's concerns.

The term lobbyist often has a negative connotation. Public officials and others sometimes resent lobbyists' interference. Yet lobbyists fulfill vital functions. Besides voicing the concerns of a special group in society, they fulfill important needs of decision-makers. Legislators and their staff frequently turn to lobbyists for valuable data they would otherwise have to gather themselves. During the committee stage in the legislative process, for instance, lobbyists are invited to appear before congressional committees to provide advice and information, albeit one-sided, which will help the committee make a decision.

While they are not mentioned in the Constitution, organized interest groups and their lobbyists play a significant role in American democracy. The political party system is another important part of the political scene which is not described in the Constitution.

POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM

Historically, three features have characterized the party system in the United States: 1) two major parties alternating in power; 2) lack of ideology; and 3) lack of unity and party discipline.

TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

The United States has had only two major parties throughout its history. When the nation was founded, two political groupings emerged — the Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Since then, two major parties have alternated in power.

For over one hundred years, America's two-party system has been dominated by the Democratic and Republican Parties. Neither party, however, has ever completely dominated American politics. On the national level, the majority party in Congress has not always been the same as the party of the president.

Even in years when one party dominated national politics, the other party retained much support at state or local levels. Thus, the balance between the Democrats and Republicans has shifted back and forth.

MINOR PARTIES

While minor parties, also called "third parties," have appeared from time to time, and continue to appear, they have been conspicuous in their inability to attract enough voters to enable them to assume power. Occasionally, a third party candidate will win a seat in Congress or in a state legislature. Seldom, however, have minor parties been successful for more than a short period of time. In most cases, minor parties have been assimilated by the larger two or have just faded away.

Some current third parties in the United States are the Socialist Labor Party, the American Independent Party, the Libertarian Party, and the Peace and Freedom Party.

ELECTION SYSTEM

The way candidates are elected explains why two major parties have come to dominate the American political scene. Elections are held according to the single-member district system, based on the principle of "winner take all." Under this system, only one candidate—the one with the most votes—is elected to a given office from any one district. Many people will not vote for a minor party candidate; they feel they are throwing away a vote since only one person wins.

DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS

The Democratic and Republican Parties have supporters among a wide variety of Americans and embrace a wide range of political views.

The parties tend to be similar. Democrats and Republicans support the same overall political and economic goals. Neither party seeks to shake the foundation of America's economy or social structure.

Democrats and Republicans, however, often propose different means of achieving their similar goals. Democrats generally believe that the federal government and state governments should provide social and economic programs for those who need them.

While Republicans do not necessarily oppose social programs, they believe that many social programs are too costly for taxpayers. They tend to favor big business and private enterprise and want to limit the role of government.

LACK OF IDEOLOGY

American party politics has been largely devoid of ideology. Several attempts at developing an ideological party were unsuccessful. The Populist Party of the 1890s and the Progressive Party of the early twentieth century gained only temporary support. Senator Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate in the 1964 election, tried to imbue his party with the spirit and force of a conservative ideology. Yet the election resulted in a landslide victory for Democratic candidate Lyndon Johnson. These examples suggest that Americans tend to prefer somewhat vague party programs to the rigors of political ideology.

LACK OF PARTY UNITY

A third characteristic of the American party system, which sometimes confounds foreign observers, is the lack of unity and discipline within each party. Disagreement among members of the same party is common.

The voting records of Congressmen and Senators demonstrate a baffling lack of party unity. It is not uncommon for either a Democrat or a Republican to vote against the party line. There are conservative Democrats who agree with Republican ideas and liberal Republicans who agree with Democratic ideas. Personal views and the views of constituents often have priority over party views.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

The loose organization of America's political parties helps explain this lack of unity within American parties, which contrasts sharply with more tightly-organized, ideologically-oriented western European parties.

In the United States, parties are decentralized, with relatively few members. Parties are organized as loose confederations of state parties, which, in turn, are decentralized down to the local level. Local party committees, which are numerous, are relatively independent of each other. Only during national elections do party committees join together to clarify issues. Party leadership, insofar as it can be located, is in the hands of a few officials and other notables.

The absence of an organized party structure and established hierarchy of leaders contributes to party disunity. Furthermore, candidates and elected officials are not held accountable for following the party line. Even at national party conventions, no formally binding party platform is drawn up.

PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Party membership is equally undemanding. Republicans and Democrats undergo no official initiation, pay no membership dues, and have no obligation to attend meetings or even vote for the party. Identification with a particular political party has less significance in the United States than in most other western democracies.

Political parties, interest groups, and elections are opportunities for citizens to participate in the democratic process. Many Americans, however, are politically uninvolved.

LOW VOTER TURNOUT

Although every citizen has the right to vote, the percentage of the voting age population that participates in elections is quite low. Voter turnout for presidential elections is usually under 60 percent, and the percentage is even lower for state and local elections.

MAJORITY PARTIES IN CONGRESS

AND PARTY OF THE PRESIDENT

Congress	Years	Senate			House of Representatives			President
		Total	Anti-Admin	Pro-Admin	Total	Anti-Admin	Pro-Admin	
1st	1789–1791	26	8	18	65	28	37	George Washington
2nd	1791–1793	30	13	16	69	30	39	
3rd	1793–1795	30	14	16	105	54	51	
Congress	Years	Total	Democratic-Republicans	Federalists	Total	Democratic-Republicans	Federalists	President
4th	1795–1797	32	11	21	106	59	47	George Washington
5th	1797–1799	32	10	22	106	49	57	John Adams
6th	1799–1801	32	10	22	106	46	60	
7th	1801–1803	34	17	15	107	68	38	Thomas Jefferson
8th	1803–1805	34	25	9	142	103	39	
9th	1805–1807	34	27	7	142	114	28	
10th	1807–1809	34	28	6	142	116	26	
11th	1809–1811	34	27	7	142	92	50	James Madison
12th	1811–1813	36	30	6	143	107	36	
13th	1813–1815	36	28	8	182	114	68	
14th	1815–1817	38	26	12	183	119	64	James Monroe
15th	1817–1819	42	30	12	185	146	39	
16th	1819–1821	46	37	9	186	160	26	
17th	1821–1823	48	44	4	187	155	32	
18th	1823–1825	48	43	5	213	189	24	
Congress	Years	Total	Jacksonian	Anti-Jackson	Total	Jacksonian	Anti-Jackson	President

19th	1825–1827	48	26	22	213	104	109	John Quincy Adams
20th	1827–1829	48	27	21	213	113	100	
21st	1829–1831	48	25	23	213	136	72	Andrew Jackson
22nd	1831–1833	48	24	22	213	126	66	
23rd	1833–1835	48	20	26	240	143	63	
24th	1835–1837	52	26	24	242	143	75	

Con- gress	Years	Total	Demo- crats	Whigs	Total	Demo- crats	Whigs	President
25th	1837–1839	52	35	17	242	128	100	Martin Van Bu- ren
26th	1839–1841	52	30	22	242	125	109	
27th	1841–1843	52	22	29	242	98	142	John Tyler
28th	1843–1845	52	23	29	223	147	72	
29th	1845–1847	58	34	22	228	142	79	James K. Polk
30th	1847–1849	60	38	21	230	110	116	
31st	1849–1851	62	35	25	233	113	108	Zachary Taylor
32nd	1851–1853	62	36	23	233	127	85	Millard Fillmore
33rd	1853–1855	62	38	22	234	157	71	Franklin Pierce

Con- gress	Years	Total	Demo- crats	Opposi- tion	Total	Demo- crats	Opposi- tion	President
34th	1855–1857	62	39	21	234	83	100	Franklin Pierce

Con- gress	Years	Total	Demo- crats	Repub- licans	Total	Demo- crats	Repub- licans	President
35th	1857–1859	64	39	20	237	131	94	James Buchanan
36th	1859–1861	66	38	26	237	101	113	
37th	1861–1863	50	11	31	178	42	106	Abraham Lincoln
38th	1863–1865	51	12	29	183	80	103	
39th	1865–1867	52	10	42	191	46	145	Andrew Johnson
40th	1867–1869	53	11	42	193	49	143	
41st	1869–1871	74	11	61	243	73	170	Ulysses S. Grant
42nd	1871–1873	74	17	57	243	104	136	
43rd	1873–1875	74	19	54	293	88	203	
44th	1875–1877	76	29	46	293	181	107	
45th	1877–1879	76	36	39	293	156	137	

46th	1879–1881	76	43	33	293	150	128	Rutherford B. Hayes
47th	1881–1883	76	37	37	293	130	152	Chester A. Arthur
48th	1883–1885	76	36	40	325	200	119	
49th	1885–1887	76	34	41	325	182	140	Grover Cleveland
50th	1887–1889	76	37	39	325	170	151	
51st	1889–1891	84	37	47	330	156	173	Benjamin Harrison
52nd	1891–1893	88	39	47	333	231	88	
53rd	1893–1895	88	44	38	356	220	126	Grover Cleveland
54th	1895–1897	88	39	44	357	104	246	
55th	1897–1899	90	34	46	357	134	206	William McKinley
56th	1899–1901	90	26	53	357	163	185	
57th	1901–1903	90	29	56	357	153	198	Theodore Roosevelt
58th	1903–1905	90	32	58	386	178	207	
59th	1905–1907	90	32	58	386	136	250	
60th	1907–1909	92	29	61	386	164	222	William H. Taft
61st	1909–1911	92	32	59	391	172	219	
62nd	1911–1913	92	42	49	391	228	162	Woodrow Wilson
63rd	1913–1915	96	51	44	435	290	127	
64th	1915–1917	96	56	39	435	231	193	
65th	1917–1919	96	53	42	435	210	216	
66th	1919–1921	96	47	48	435	191	237	Warren G. Harding
67th	1921–1923	96	37	59	435	132	300	
68th	1923–1925	96	43	51	435	207	225	Calvin Coolidge
69th	1925–1927	96	40	54	435	183	247	
70th	1927–1929	96	47	48	435	195	237	Herbert Hoover
71st	1929–1931	96	39	56	435	163	267	
72nd	1931–1933	96	47	48	435	217	217	
73rd	1933–1935	96	59	36	435	313	117	Franklin D. Roosevelt
74th	1935–1937	96	69	25	435	322	103	
75th	1937–1939	96	76	16	435	333	89	
76th	1939–1941	96	69	23	435	261	169	
77th	1941–1943	96	66	28	435	268	162	Harry S. Truman
78th	1943–1945	96	57	38	435	222	209	
79th	1945–1947	96	57	38	435	243	190	
80th	1947–1949	96	45	51	435	188	246	

81st	1949–1951	96	54	42	435	262	171	
82nd	1951–1953	96	48	47	435	235	199	
83rd	1953–1955	96	46	48	435	213	221	Dwight D. Eisenhower
84th	1955–1957	96	48	47	435	232	203	
85th	1957–1959	96	49	47	435	234	201	John F. Kennedy
86th	1959–1961	98	64	34	437	284	153	
87th	1961–1963	100	64	36	437	262	175	Lyndon B. Johnson
88th	1963–1965	100	67	33	435	258	176	
89th	1965–1967	100	68	32	435	295	140	Richard Nixon
90th	1967–1969	100	64	36	435	247	187	
91st	1969–1971	100	58	42	435	243	192	Gerald Ford
92nd	1971–1973	100	54	44	435	255	180	
93rd	1973–1975	100	56	42	435	243	192	Jimmy Carter
94th	1975–1977	100	61	37	435	291	144	
95th	1977–1979	100	61	38	435	292	143	Ronald Reagan
96th	1979–1981	100	58	41	435	277	157	
97th	1981–1983	100	46	53	435	242	192	George H. W. Bush
98th	1983–1985	100	46	54	435	269	165	
99th	1985–1987	100	47	53	435	253	181	Bill Clinton
100th	1987–1989	100	55	45	435	258	177	
101st	1989–1991	100	55	45	435	260	175	George W. Bush
102nd	1991–1993	100	56	44	435	267	167	
103rd	1993–1995	100	57	43	435	258	176	Barack Obama
104th	1995–1997	100	47	53	435	204	230	
105th	1997–1999	100	45	55	435	206	227	Donald Trump
106th	1999–2001	100	45	55	435	211	223	
107th	2001–2003	100	50	50/49	435	212	221	George W. Bush
108th	2003–2005	100	48	51	435	205	229	
109th	2005–2007	100	44	55	435	202	232	Barack Obama
110th	2007–2009	100	49	49	435	233	202	
111th	2009–2011	100	56–58	40–42	435	257	178	Barack Obama
112th	2011–2013	100	51	47	435	193	242	
113th	2013–2015	100	53	45	435	201	234	Donald Trump
114th	2015–2017	100	44	54	435	188	247	
115th	2017–2019	100	46/47	50-52	435	194	241	Donald Trump
116th	2019–2021	100	45/46	53/52	435	235	200	

117th	2021–2023	100	46–48	51/50	435	222	213	Joe Biden
Congress	Years	Total	Demo- crats	Republi- cans	Total	Demo- crats	Republi- cans	President

(Adapted from Wikipedia)

Task. Make up a presentation (or a report) on one of the following topics:

- 1) USA – the National Government
- 2) Outstanding American Presidents
- 3) The Legislative Branch – American Congress
- 4) Separation of Powers and Checks and Balances
- 5) Political Parties in the USA
- 6) Election System in the USA
- 7) American Constitution

SECTION 4. FINAL TESTS

'POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN'

Task 1. Match the words and word-combinations in column A with their definition in column B.

1.	parliamentary democracy	A. head of a committee that controls an organization or institution
2.	Sovereign	B. country ruled by a king or queen
3.	conventions	C. government of a country that is officially led by a king or queen
4.	legally enforceable	D. country the government of which has been elected by the citizens of that country
5.	oath of allegiance	E. organization that gives free help to people who are in need of it
6.	by the Grace of God	F. official church in a specific
7.	realm	G. types of behaviour and attitudes that most people view as normal and correct
8.	executive	H. king or a queen
9.	legislative	I. organization (countries that used to be part of the British empire)
10.	judiciary	J. country ruled by a monarch whose power is limited by a constitution
11.	commander-in-chief	K. Monarch's approval of the law adopted by Parliament
12.	supreme governor	L. high-ranking person who controls all the military in a country
13.	established Church	M. part of a government to provide for a proper work of the decisions and laws
14.	Commonwealth	N. part of a government that comprises all the judges in a country

15.	constitutional monarchy	O. part of a government that has the power to adopt or change laws
16.	charity	P. formal and very serious promise of loyalty
17.	The Crown	Q. due to God's kindness
18.	Royal Assent	R. such that can be compelled to obey in court

Task 2. Fill in the gaps in the sentences below with the words from the box.

set out make up owe closely faith integral progressively publicity check distinct discretion involved exercise essential consequence confidential swear subject decline continuity removal chamber downplay retain impartial

1. The upper _____ in the British Parliament is called the House of Lords. 2. The Queen worked _____ with Prime Minister to improve relations with the former colonies. 3. In _____. Secretaries of State had to look elsewhere for _____ advice. 4. Bank higher interest rates will act as a _____ on public spending. 5. The Queen _____ to comment on that issue. 6. Many people are _____ their right to get a pay rise. 7. Beethoven grew _____ deaf in the last years of his life. 8. Ethics should be an _____ part of parliamentarians' education. 9. The Parliament is _____ of representatives from several parties. 10. She has generated a lot of good _____ for the new administration. 11. In focusing on this, the government should not _____ the role of good education. 12. The armed _____ of the Queen by Parliament may be difficult. 13. Everyone working for the Royal Family should display absolute _____. 14. She _____ much of her success in reforms to the Minister of Transport. 15. During the ceremony the soldiers _____ that they will serve the country loyally. 16. It's important to provide for the _____ of children's education. 17. Speaking a local language is a _____ advantage. 18. The principles of the local government are _____ in this brochure. 19. According to the police, an

employee secretly gave _____ papers to the press. **20.** She is a person of deep religious _____. **21.** The king said, ‘My _____ and I have come to an agreement: they may say what they please, and I may do what I please’. **22.** They were instantly _____ in routine activities. **23.** Prompt decisions are _____ for success in administration. **24.** Because of the administration reform, only half of the present team will be _____ next year.

Task 3. For questions 1-11, read the text below and then decide which word best fits each space. The exercise begins with an example (0).

The Government is _____ (0) by the party with majority _____ (1) in the Commons. The Queen appoints its leader as Prime Minister. As _____ (2) of the Government, the Prime Minister appoints about 100 ministers, of whom about 20 are in the Cabinet – the senior group, which takes _____ (3) policy decisions. Ministers are collectively responsible for government decisions and individually _____ (4) for their own departments. The second largest party forms the official Opposition, with its own leader and ‘shadow cabinet’. The Opposition has a duty to _____ (5) government policies and to present an _____ (6) programme. Policies are carried out by government departments and executive agencies _____ (7) by politically neutral civil servants. They serve the government of the day _____ (8) of its political complexion. Over half the Civil Service – or about 295,000 civil servants – work in over 75 executive agencies. Agencies _____ (9) many of the executive functions of government, such as the payment of social security benefits and the issue of passports and drivers’ licences. They are headed by chief executives, who are personally responsible for the performance of the agency and enjoy _____ (10) freedom on financial, pay and personnel _____ (11).

- 0 A produced B formed C shaped D developed
 1 A assistance B cooperation C collaboration D support

- 2 A chief B supervisor C head D boss
- 3 A notable B major C leading D radical
- 4 A responsible B liable C report D dependable
- 5 A defy B interfere with C block D challenge
- 6 A unconventional B marginal C complementary D alternative
- 7 A manned B staffed C created D run
- 8 A nonetheless B nevertheless C regardless D unless
- 9 A perform B operate C achieve D make
- 10 A considerable B extensive C sizeable D huge
- 11 A individuals B problems C matters D themes

Task 4. For questions 1-10 read through the following text and then choose from the list A-J the best phrase given below to fill each of the spaces.

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

Parliament, Britain's legislature, comprises the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the Queen in her constitutional role. The Commons has 651 elected Members of Parliament (MPs), _____ (1). The House of Lords is made up of 1,185 hereditary and life peers and peeresses, and the two archbishops and the 24 most senior bishops of the established Church of England.

The centre of parliamentary power is the House of Commons. Limitations on the power of the Lords – it rarely uses its power to delay passage of most laws for a year – are _____ (2) that the House, _____ (3), should complement the Commons and not rival it. Once passed through both Houses, legislation receives the Royal Assent and it then becomes law.

Parliament has a number of other means _____ (4) the executive. A wide range of parliamentary committees question ministers and civil servants _____ (5) on matters of public policy. Question time gives MPs opportunities to ask ministers questions, and there are a number of occasions _____ (6).

Ultimately the House of Commons can force the Government to resign _____ (7) of ‘no confidence’. The Government must also resign if the House rejects a proposal so vital to its policy _____ (8) of confidence. The proceedings of both Houses of Parliament are broadcast on television and radio, sometimes live or more usually in recorded and edited form.

General elections to choose MPs must be held _____ (9). Voting, _____ (10), is by secret ballot and is from the age of 18. The simple majority system of voting is used. Candidates are elected if they have more votes than any of the candidates – although not necessarily an absolute majority over all other candidates.

A. by which it can seek to control	F. by passing a resolution
B. at least every five years	G. before preparing reports
C. which is not compulsory	H. each representing a local constituency
D. that it has made it a matter	I. as a revising chamber
E. based on the principle	J. when particular issues can be debated

Task 5.

A. This text from an incisive commentator on British politics and society, Anthony Sampson, uses many words and expressions which are useful when talking or writing about politics.

Behind the public debates of parliament, the hidden pressures on government influence **legislation** much more than speeches. Growing numbers of Members of Parliament (MPs) are themselves well -paid to represent commercial or special interests, sometimes more assiduously than their own **constituents**. But the most powerful **lobbies**, like the big **corporations** or the **Institute of Directors**, do not bother much about Members: they can go straight to **ministers** and **civil servants**. [...] **Lobbyists** reach their annual climax when the **Chancellor of the Exchequer** is preparing his **annual budget** and receives **petitions** from business interests pressing for **tax concessions**.

B. In this text Anthony Sampson looks at the relative strengths of different types of lobbyists.

The interests of **producers – centralised, close-knit and well-funded** – inevitably win over the **consumers**, who are scattered and **fragmented**, and the most powerful pressures of all, like the road-and-car lobby, change the face of the country through backstairs pressures which are concealed from any public debate. Gradually non-commercial lobbies have also become much better organised, like **Friends of the Earth** or the **Child Poverty Action Group**, some with hundreds of thousands of **paid-up members**. Others relentlessly lobby Members of Parliament with mass-produced letters and **deputations** to intimidate and encircle them. [...] They have done much to **counter** big-business pressures with the help of effective publicity, but they cannot take account of **grievances** of the individual, who can only **appeal to** his own Member of Parliament.

5.1. Are these statements about the texts true or false?

1. Parliamentary debates are the main influence on legislation.
2. Some MPs do more for big business than for their constituents.
3. The most powerful business organisations approach ministers directly.
4. Business is influential partly because it is well-organised and has money.
5. The public is well-informed about all the different lobbies.
6. Non-commercial organisations are getting better at influencing MPs.
7. The individual can do nothing if he or she has a grievance.

5.2. Read the texts opposite and find three examples of:

1. nouns denoting people (Text A)
2. adjectives that can be used to describe social organisations (Text B)
3. verbs that can have a strong political association (Text B)

5.3. Find words from the texts formed from the same roots as the words in the box.

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. commerce | 5. consumption |
| 2. mass-produced | 6. pressurise |
| 3. constituency | 7. legislate |
| 4. petitioner | 8. representative |

Task 6. Translate into English using your Active Vocabulary.

Парламент Великої Британії, що здійснює законодавчу владу в країні, складається з двох палат: Палати Громад і Палати Лордів. Королева також здійснює законодавчу владу у своїй конституційній ролі. Законопроекти мають бути прийняті обома палатами, а потім отримати Королівську Згоду. Тільки після цього вони стають законами.

Найголовнішим елементом парламентської влади є Палата Громад, що налічує 651 виборних депутатів, кожний з яких представляє окремий виборчий округ. За результатами регулярного перегляду виборчих округів кількість парламентарів поступово зростає на кожних наступних загальних виборах. Палата Лордів включає спадкоємних і прижиттєвих перів та пересс, двох архієпископів та 24 найголовніших єпископів Англіканської Церкви. Палата Лордів, як ревізійний орган, має доповнювати Палату Громад, а не змагатися з нею. Лорди мають право відкладати прийняття більшості законів на рік, однак рідко користуються ним.

Партія, що має більшість у Парламенті, формує уряд, а її лідер стає прем'єр-міністром. Друга найбільша партія в Парламенті формує "тіньовий кабінет" і переходить у опозицію, завданням якої є конструктивна критика політики правлячої партії. Хоча прем'єр-міністр фактично є главою країни, однак королева зберігає формальні важелі, аби впливати на усі гілки влади – законодавчу, виконавчу і судову, оскільки вона є Верховним куратором Англіканської Церкви, а усі суди в країні є королівськими. Навіть збройне усунення королеви від влади Парламентом або прем'єр-міністром є маловірогідним,

оскільки королева є Головнокомандуючим усіх збройних сил, які принесли їй присягу на вірність. Але загалом функції королеви є більш представницькими. Зокрема, королівська родина приділяє багато уваги добродійній діяльності.

Парламентарі мають вивчати різні питання, що входять до повноважень відповідних комітетів, а також брати участь в дебатах у Палаті Громад, де вони можуть ставити будь-які запитання міністрам та іншим представникам виконавчої влади. Такі запитання зазвичай готують парламентські комітети, аби зібрати інформацію, необхідну для складання звітів з питань державної політики. У випадку серйозних недоліків у роботі уряду Парламент може проголосувати вотум недовіри, що може привести до дострокових загальних виборів.

‘POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE USA’

Task 1. For questions 1-20, read the text on the powers of the House and Senate below. Use the words in the boxes to form one word that fits in the same numbered space in the text. The exercise begins with an example (0 – legislation).

Powers of the House and Senate

<p>Each house of Congress has the power to introduce _____ (0) on any subject except raising revenue, which must _____ (1) in the House of _____ (2). The large states may thus appear to have more _____ (3) over the public purse than the small states. In _____ (4), however, each house can vote against legislation passed by the other house. The Senate may _____ (5) a House revenue bill or any bill, for that matter or add _____ (6) that change its nature. In that event, a _____ (7) committee made up of members from both houses must work out a _____ (8) _____ (9) to both sides before the bill</p>	<p>LEGAL ORIGIN PRESENT FLUENT PRACTICAL APPROVE AMEND CONFER PROMISE ACCEPT SPECIAL</p>
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<p>becomes law. The Senate also has certain powers _____ (10) reserved to that body, including the authority to confirm presidential _____ (11) of high officials and ambassadors of the federal _____ (12), as well as _____ (13) to ratify all treaties by a two-thirds vote. In either instance, a negative vote in the Senate _____ (14) executive action. In the case of _____ (15) of federal officials, the House has the sole right to bring charges of _____ (16) that can lead to an impeachment _____ (17). The Senate has the sole power to try impeachment cases and to find _____ (18) guilty or not guilty. A finding of guilt results in the _____ (19) of the federal official from _____ (20) office.</p>	<p>POINT GOVERN AUTHOR PEACH NULL CONDUCT TRY OFFICE MOVE PUBLICITY</p>
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Task 2. For questions 1-15, read the text below and then decide which word best fits each space. The exercise begins with an example (0).

The heart of any democracy is (0), active participation by its people in government decisions. ____ (1) citizens to hold government officials ____ (2) for their actions. Known as “transparency,” this essential democratic process takes many forms, but all allow ____ (3) citizens to see openly into the activities of their government, rather than permitting these processes to be cloaked in secrecy.

The principles underlying transparency in government activity are ____ (4) in the fundamental tenets that have guided the United States since its ____ (5), including the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. And, over time, a body of law, regulation, and practice has grown up that makes it easy for ordinary citizens to have ____ (6) to some important meetings of government officials, to request and receive government documents, and to have ____ (7) into government decisions and rule-making. To ____ (8) degrees, the principles of transparency have taken root at the local, state, and federal level.

The U.S. Congress has ____ (9) opened itself to influence from many groups of citizens and organizations, and to comment from ____ (10) experts, officials, and citizens during “hearings” on proposed ____ (11). In addition, transparency can be found at work in the various federal government “executive branch” agencies that ____ (12) to the president of the United States.

From food, to automobiles, to the environment, everyday lives of citizens are touched in many ways by decisions issued by these agencies. And, increasingly, there are numerous ways for individuals to have ____ (13) on policy-making procedures of the executive branch. Some groups attempt to influence all three branches of the federal government – the judicial, legislative, and executive, simultaneously.

In general, U.S. citizens are free to participate in the political process as much or as little as they wish. Some people become deeply ____ (14) in causes they believe in, either as individuals or, frequently, through groups formed to ____ (15) one or more causes. Others rarely get involved or voice their concerns only when they have individual concerns.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| A evocative | B meaningful | C large | D momentous |
| A regular | B usual | C everyday | D ordinary |
| A accountable | B blamed | C answerable | D accusable |
| A worried | B anxious | C concerned | D apprehensive |
| A exemplified | B embodied | C symbolized | D personified |
| A discovery | B founding | C pronouncement | D conclusion |
| A approach | B right to use | C excess | D access |
| A effort | B inclusion | C intake | D input |
| A varying | B verifying | C varied | D various |
| A gradually | B regularly | C leisurely | D commonly |
| A knowledgeable | B known | C knowledgeable | D knowing |
| A legality | B legislation | C legitimacy | D legalization |
| A give details | B report | C give an account | D recount |
| A impression | B bearing | C collision | D impact |

- A immersed B submerged C plunged D ducked
 A encourage B sponsor C advocate D upgrade

Task 3. Find in the texts the words with the same meaning as those in the box. Use them to fill in the gaps in the sentences below.

Introduction: unrestrained behaviour; (A): not resigned, (B): internal matters, compulsory, give, crisis, propose, Ministry, raise; (C): put in the hands of, reject, overcome, prepare, yearly, break off, assistant, make sure that you know the facts; (D): should be, amnesty, found guilty in court, accusation of a top public official, include, jail time, financial penalty; (E) envoy, Foreign Minister, top officials' meeting, two-sided, many-sided, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, citizens of other countries, discuss, agreement, affirmation.

The president, with the assistance of the _____ (1), who heads the _____ (2), appoints _____(3) and consuls, takes part in _____(4), where heads of state meet to discuss vital issues, to _____(5) and reach _____(6) and _____(7) agreements and _____(8), which later need Senate's _____(9). The president's powers _____ (10) appointing Supreme Court judges, which _____(11) approval by the Senate, and _____ (12) _____(13) to anyone (including foreign _____(14)) _____(15) of breaking a law (except in a case of _____(16)), shortening _____(17) and reducing _____(18). Though the legislative powers are mostly _____ (19) in the Congress, the president, can _____ (20) any bill, unless two-thirds of the Congress vote to _____ (21) the veto. The executive branch _____(22) many laws, which the president may proposes in his _____(23) and special message to Congress. If Congress _____(24), the president, together with his _____(25), who help him to manage _____(26), can call it into special session to _____(27) of all legislative activities. The president _____ (28) all top federal officials, such as heads of the _____ (29) departments, etc. However the Civil Service system deals with the selection and _____ (30) at the lower levels. The president's orders have the _____ (31) force of law. In times of national _____ (32) he can call

into federal service, in addition to ____ (33) military personnel, the state units of the National Guard to prevent any ____ (34).

Task 4. For questions 1-17 read through the following texts and then choose from the list A-E the best text given below to fill each of the spaces.

0. Millions of people report to President;
1. President can sign some international treaties without Parliament's approval;
2. President's powers may be broadened;
3. President can reduce legal punishment;
4. President protects Americans abroad;
5. President is the chief military;
6. President can delay Parliament laws;
7. President does not need Parliament's approval to issue law-type orders;
8. President appoints all top public officials;
9. President protects foreigners in the USA;
10. There is a special organization to assist president to communicate with Parliament;
11. President can influence Parliament indirectly;
12. President attends political summits himself;
13. President can order Parliament to meet;
14. President needs Parliament's approval sometimes;
15. President addresses Parliament once a year;
16. There is a special organization to assist president to select personnel;
17. President can initiate bills.

A. Presidential Powers in General

The office of the president of the United States is one of the most powerful in the world. The president, the Constitution says, must "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." To carry out this responsibility, he presides over the executive branch of the fed-

eral government—a vast organization numbering about 4 million people, including 1 million active-duty military personnel. In addition, the president has important legislative and judicial powers.

B. Executive Powers

Within the executive branch itself, the president has broad powers to manage national affairs and the workings of the federal government. The president can issue rules, regulations, and instructions called executive orders, which have the binding force of law upon federal agencies but do not require congressional approval. As commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States, the president may also call into federal service the state units of the National Guard. In times of war or national emergency, the Congress may grant the president even broader powers to manage the national economy and protect the security of the United States. The president nominates—and the Senate confirms—the heads of all executive departments and agencies, together with hundreds of other high-ranking federal officials. The large majority of federal workers, however, are selected through the Civil Service system, in which appointment and promotion are based on ability and experience.

C. Legislative Powers

Despite the constitutional provision that “all legislative powers” shall be vested in the Congress, the president, as the chief formulator of public policy, has a major legislative role. The president can veto any bill passed by Congress and, unless two-thirds of the members of each house vote to override the veto, the bill does not become law. Much of the legislation dealt with by Congress is drafted at the initiative of the executive branch. In his annual and special messages to Congress, the president may propose legislation he believes is necessary. If Congress should adjourn without acting on those proposals, the president has the power to call it into special session. But beyond this official role, the president, as head of a political party and as principal executive officer of the U.S. govern-

ment, is in a position to influence public opinion and thereby to influence the course of legislation in Congress. To improve their working relationships with Congress, presidents in recent years have set up a Congressional Liaison Office in the White House. Presidential aides keep abreast of all important legislative activities and try to persuade senators and representatives of both parties to support administration policies.

D. Judicial Powers

Among the president's constitutional powers is that of appointing important public officials. Presidential nomination of federal judges, including members of the Supreme Court, is subject to confirmation by the Senate. Another significant power is that of granting a full or conditional pardon to anyone convicted of breaking a federal law-except in a case of impeachment. The pardoning power has come to embrace the power to shorten prison terms and reduce fines.

E. Powers in Foreign Affairs

Under the Constitution, the president is the federal official primarily responsible for the relations of the United States with foreign nations. The president appoints ambassadors, ministers, and consuls-subject to confirmation by the Senate-and receives foreign ambassadors and other public officials. With the Secretary of State, the president manages all official contacts with foreign governments. On occasion, the president may personally participate in summit conferences where chiefs of state meet for direct consultation. Thus, President Woodrow Wilson headed the American delegation to the Paris conference at the end of World War 1, President Franklin D. Roosevelt met with Allied leaders during World War II; and every president since then has sat down with world leaders to discuss economic and political issues and to reach bilateral and multilateral agreements. Through the Department of State, the president is responsible for the protection of Americans abroad and of foreign nationals in the United States. The president decides whether to recognize new nations and new governments, and negotiate treaties

with other nations, which become binding on the United States when approved by two-thirds of the Senate. The president may also negotiate “executive agreements” with foreign powers that are not subject to Senate confirmation.

Task 5. Translate into English using your Active Vocabulary.

Засновники США закликали, щоб окремих громадянин голосував за окремого кандидата без втручання у цей процес політичних партій. Однак уже до 1790-х років сформувалися різні погляди на шлях розвитку держави. Федералісти обстоювали сильний центральний уряд, який би підтримував інтереси торгівлі та промисловості. Демократичні республіканці надавали перевагу децентралізованій аграрній республіці, в якій федеральний уряд має обмежені повноваження. До 1828 року федералісти зникли як організація, їх замінили ліберали, які того ж року виступили в опозиції на президентських перегонах. Демократичні республіканці стали демократами, й таким чином народилася двопартійна система, яка снує й досі. У 1850-ті на порядок денний постала проблема рабства. Ліберальна партія вела двоїсту політику з цього питання, що її врешті й приречло на смерть, а її місце на політичній сцені посіла 1854 року Республіканська партія. Через шість років ця нова партія прийшла до влади, коли Авраам Лінкольн здобув перемогу на президентських виборах 1860 року.

На цей момент партії вже були добре зорганізовані як провідні політичні сили держави, а належність до певної партії стала важливим складником свідомості багатьох людей, а партійна діяльність, включаючи організацію ефектних кампаній, стала частиною суспільного життя. Однак у 1920-ті така феєрична народність пішла на спад. Муніципальні реформи, реформування державної служби, дії проти корупції та першочергові завдання Президента задля зміни політичної влади на національних партійних з'їздах – усе це допомогло зробити політику більш прозорою та водночас менш розважальною.

Чому ж країна зупинилася лише на двох політичних партіях? Більшість керівників у Америці обираються по одномандатних округах та здобувають посаду, перемагаючи своїх опонентів – той, хто одержує більшість голосів, перемагає, а пропорція поданих голосів не має значення. Це сприяє створенню двох конкуруючих партій: одна партія при владі, інша поза нею. Якщо ті, хто нині є поза владою, згуртується, то вони матимуть більше шансів перемогти тих, хто при владі.

В Америці одні й ті самі політичні ярлики – демократи та республіканці – носять фактично всі державні службовці, й відтак більшість виборців повсюди мобілізується ім'ям лише цих двох партій. Однак демократи та республіканці не є однаковими повсюди.

Відмінності, які існують між п'ятдесятьма політичними культурами окремих штатів, породжують суттєві відмінності у тому, що взагалі являють собою Демократична та Республіканська партії й за кого віддаються голоси. Ці відмінності дають підстави вважати, що під американською двопартійною системою насправді приховується щось більш подібне до системи із сотень політичних партій.

KEYS TO THE TEST 'POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN'

Task 1. Match the words and word-combinations in column A with their definition in column B.

1. B;	10. N;
2. H;	11. L;
3. G;	12. A;
4. R;	13. F;
5. P;	14. I;
6. Q;	15. J;
7. B;	16. E;
8. M;	17. C;
9. O;	18. K.

Task 2. Fill in the gaps in the sentences below with the words from the box.

1. chamber. 2. closely. 3. consequence, impartial. 4. check. 5. declined. 6. exercising. 7. progressively. 8. integral. 9. made up. 10. publicity. 11. downplay. 12. removal. 13. discretion. 14. owed. 15. swear. 16. continuity. 17. distinct. 18. set out. 19. confidential. 20. faith. 21. subjects. 22. Involved; 23. essential. 24. retained.

Task 3. For questions 1-11, read the text below and then decide which word best fits each space. The exercise begins with an example (0).

1. support; 2. head; 3. major; 4. responsible; 5. challenge; 6. alternative; 7. staffed; 8. regardless; 9. perform; 10. considerable; 11. matters.

Task 4. For questions 1-10 read through the following text and then choose from the list A-J the best phrase given below to fill each of the spaces.

(1) each representing a local constituency; (2) based on the principle; (3) as a revising chamber; (4) by which it can seek to control; (5) before preparing reports; (6) when particular issues can be

debated; (7) by passing a resolution; (8) that it has made it a matter; (9) at least every five years; (10) which is not compulsory.

5.1.

1 False	4 True	7 False
2 True	5 False	
3 True	6 True	

5.2.

1. Members of Parliament, constituents, directors, ministers, civil servants, lobbyists. Chancellor

2. centralised, close-knit, well-funded, scattered, fragmented, powerful, public, non-commercial, effective

3. win, change, lobby, counter, appeal.

5.3

1. commerce – commercial, non-commercial

2. mass-produced – producers

3. constituency – constituents

4. petitioner – petitions

5. consumption – consumers

6. pressurise — pressures

7. legislate – legislation

8. representative – represent

KEYS TO THE TEST 'POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE USA'

Task 1.

1. originate; 2. Representatives; 3. influence; 4. practice; 5. disapprove; 6. amendments; 7. conference; 8. compromise; 9. acceptable; 10. especially; 11. appointments; 12. government; 13. authority; 14. nullifies; 15. impeachment; 16. misconduct; 17. trial; 18. officials; 19. removal.

Task 2.

1. D;	9. A;
2. A;	10. C;
3. C;	11. B;
4. B;	12. B;
5. B;	13. D;
6. D;	14. A;
7. D;	15. C.
8. D;	

Task 3.

Introduction: excesses; (A): active-duty, (B): national affairs, binding, grant, emergency, nominate, department, promotion; (C): vest, veto, override, draft, annual, adjourn, aid, keep abreast; (D): is subject to, pardon (n), convicted, impeachment, embrace, prison term, fine; (E) ambassador, Secretary of State, summit conference, bilateral, multilateral, Department of State, foreign nationals, negotiate, treaty, confirmation.

(1) Secretary of State, (2) Department of State, (3) ambassadors, (4) summit conferences, (5) negotiate, (6) bilateral, (7) multilateral, (8) treaties, (9) confirmation, (10) embrace, (11) is subject to, (12) granting, (13) pardon, (14) nationals, (15) convicted, (16) impeachment, (17) prison terms, (18) fines, (19) vested, (20) veto, (21) override, (22) drafts, (23) annual, (24) adjourns, (25) aides, (26) national affairs, (27) keep abreast, (28) nominates, (29) departments, (30) promotion, (31) binding, (32) emergency, (33) active-duty, (34) excesses.

Task 4.

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. E; | 10. C; |
| 2. B; | 11. C; |
| 3. D; | 12. E; |
| 4. E; | 13. C; |
| 5. B; | 14. B; D; E; |
| 6. C; | 15. C; |
| 7. B; | 16. D; |
| 8. B; D; E; | 17. C. |
| 9. E; | |

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