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WHAT WILL RUN THE WORLD?

Часть 1

Учебное пособие



ПОЛИТЕХ-ПРЕСС

Санкт-Петербургский
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Учебное пособие «What Will Run The World?» учит использовать информацию данных текстов в аналитических целях, помогает сформулировать свою точку зрения, создает возможность проведения дискуссий. Оно также служит для углубления экстралингвистических знаний, обогащения активного словарного запаса, совершенствования устной и письменной речи в пределах грамматических и лексических тем, предусмотренных программой для III–IV курсов.

Материал I части составлен на основе аутентичных, частично адаптированных текстов, в которых затрагивается ряд актуальных событий и проблем социального, экономического и политического характера относительно значимых вопросов мирового сообщества, рассматриваемых в тренировочных упражнениях. Темы разделов являются профессионально-ориентированными для студентов, обучающихся по направлению «Зарубежное регионоведение».

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UNIT I

FOREIGN POLICY IN GLOBAL AGE

“Politics is not a game. It is an earnest business”

(Winston Churchill)

1. How The World Order Ends¹

The stable world order is a rare thing. When one does arise, it tends to come after a great convulsion that creates both the conditions and the desire for something new. It requires a stable distribution of power and broad acceptance of the rules that govern the conduct of international relations. It also needs skillful statecraft, since an order is made, not born. And no matter how ripe the starting conditions or strong the initial desire, maintaining it demands creative diplomacy, functioning institutions, and effective action to adjust it when circumstances change and buttress it when challenges come. Eventually, inevitably, even the best-managed order comes to an end. The balance of power underpinning it becomes imbalanced. The institutions supporting it fail to adapt to new conditions. Some countries fall, and others arise, the result of changing capacities, faltering wills, and growing ambitions. Those responsible for upholding the order make mistakes both in what they choose to do and in what they choose not to do. But if the end of every order is inevitable, the timing and the manner of its ending are not. Nor is what comes in its wake. Orders tend to expire in a prolonged deterioration rather than a sudden collapse. And just as maintaining the order depends on effective statecraft and effective action, good policy and proactive diplomacy can help determine how that deterioration unfolds and what it brings. Yet for that to happen, something else must come first: recognition that the old order is never coming back and that efforts to resurrect it will be in vain. As with any ending, acceptance must come before one can move on. In the search for parallels to today’s world, scholars and practitioners have looked as far afield as ancient Greece, where the rise of a new power resulted in war between Athens and Sparta, and the period after World War I, when an isolationist United States and much of Europe sat on their hands as Germany and Japan ignored agreements and invaded their neighbors. But the more illuminating parallel to the present is the Concert of Europe in the nineteenth century, the most important and successful effort to build and sustain world order until our own time. From 1815 until the outbreak of World War I a century later, the order established at the Congress of Vienna defined many international relationships and set (even if it often failed to enforce) basic rules for international conduct. It provides a model of how to collectively manage security

in a multipolar world. That order's demise and what followed offer instructive lessons for today—and an urgent warning. Just because an order is in irreversible decline does not mean that chaos or calamity is inevitable. But if the deterioration is managed poorly, catastrophe could well follow.

2. The new global order²

The year 2019 was ushered in under clouds of gloom and doom. The current global order is, in fact, a frightening global disorder. Not only is the world economy weakening, as tariff conflicts herald a pernicious trade war, but the certainties of international cooperation are also waning and vanishing in the political realm, as America's retreat from global leadership and the rise of Xi Jinping's China upend the prevailing power pattern of the past 70 years. Geopolitical conflict has become thinkable once again.

The old world order is coming to an end. As Richard Haass argues, even the best-managed orders eventually do. The president of the Council on Foreign Relations fathoms the causes of disarray and decline in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs*. “The balance of power underpinning [the existing order] becomes imbalanced,” he says. “The institutions supporting it fail to adapt to new conditions. Some countries fall, and others rise, the result of changing capacities, faltering wills and growing ambitions. Those responsible for upholding the order make mistakes both in what they choose to do and in what they choose not to do.” It is a perspicacious analysis.

Take the United States. The problem is not primarily President Trump's chaotic management, his boorish behavior or even his disregard for all values not expressed in dollars. It is his abdicating the leadership of what used to be called the free world as well as his brazen disrespect for allies, for international institutions and for taking the interests of others into account. Disruption of the old order, his Secretary of State Mike Pompeo told the recent World Economic Forum in Davos via video, was a “positive development” because “nations matter.” Other nations, however, don't seem to matter.

In this spirit of reckless unilateralism, Trump continues to shed America's global commitments. He withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the Paris Climate Agreement, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) – commonly known as the Iran Nuclear Deal – and, most recently, from the INF arms control treaty with Russia. Having called Europe a “foe” and welcomed the EU's breakup through Brexit, he has also repeatedly questioned the US commitment to

defend NATO partners; reportedly he has privately told aides that he wants to leave the “obsolete” alliance. But dominating the world by fiat, whim and fits of temper can have only one effect: the further unraveling of the complex interdependence of the West.

Denouncing all the politics that made America great comes at a time when, after a century of US global supremacy, a powerful, ambitious, assertive, even aggressive rival has appeared on the scene: a rejuvenated, strengthened, emboldened China. Xi Jinping seeks to place the People’s Republic in the center of the world stage and to achieve leadership status in the political, economic, technological and military fields. Time and again, XI repudiates spheres of influence as well as hegemony, yet his practical policies tell a different story. His landmark Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) – the new Silk Roads spanning the world – realizes infrastructure projects in the developing world; it is financed by a fund totaling one trillion dollars. Participants are forced to sign an MoU promising to support China’s core interests (e.g. Taiwan, South China Sea).

This kind of monetary imperialism creates spheres of influence not merely in South East Asia and Central Asia, but also in Africa and Latin America. And while Xi shies away from open confrontation with the West, he aspires to achieve dominance in the Indo-Pacific region by forcing out the US. The annexation of the Paracel and Spratly Islands in the South China Sea and China’s land grab in Sri Lanka show that he is serious about it.

Beyond that, Xi Jinping certainly wants to compete with the United States globally. Harvard’s Graham Allison has drawn attention to the Thucydides Trap, named after the Greek historian who had written that the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) was caused by “the growth of Athenian power and the fear that this caused in Sparta.” Allison does not exclude the possibility of war between the rising power, China, and the established power, the US. This may be an overly pessimistic view. Yet even if Donald Trump and Xi Jinping manage to settle their trade conflict during their next meeting at the end of February, the geopolitical rivalry between the US and the People’s Republic of China is not going to end. It will be the dominant element of international politics in the 21st century.

In this perilous situation, Europe is a helpless and clueless bystander. It finds itself adrift as it struggles with Brexit and disputes over sovereignty and migration. The Brexit debate has sapped the strength of the EU, its cohesiveness and its deeply felt conviction that sticking together is the only chance for its members to prevail in the emerging world of tomorrow. In the United Kingdom, seemingly unable to clinch

its divorce from the European Union, the venerable system of parliamentary democracy has been badly discombobulated; the failure of representative government in Westminster bodes ill for democrats, but will bring cheer to autocrats all over the world.

In France, the implosion of the traditional party system has led to near-ungovernability. President Emmanuel Macron's lofty vision of a "European renaissance" and his new start in French politics have fallen victim to the protestations of the Yellow Vests.

In Germany, Chancellor Angela Merkel's tenure is drawing to a close; after 14 years at the helm, she is on a glide path out of power. At the same time, the new government coalition in Italy, political blockades in the Netherlands, Belgium, Scandinavia and Spain as well as authoritarian tendencies in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania are reinforcing a populist dynamic and a formerly unknown polarization of Europe's societies.

Right-wing anti-European parties – including the Alternative for Germany (AfD) – may capture up to 150 of the 705 EU Parliament seats in the elections this May. This is likely to create substantial complications. In addition, the EU will be absorbed with replacing its complete leadership. It must find successors for Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker, Council President Donald Tusk, High Representative for Foreign Affairs Federica Mogherini, for the president of the EU Parliament as well as for Mario Draghi, president of the European Central Bank. This means that Europe will continue its vacuous navel-gazing. It is hard to believe that the new Treaty of Aachen augurs a new era of European integration. The fracturing of the EU and the weakening of Washington's commitment to NATO occur at a moment when the West faces a daunting array of challenges. One challenge is Russia. Putin's annexation of Crimea and his support for the Donbass separatists ended a period of lukewarm peace in Europe – much in the same way that the Crimean War (1853–1856) ended the Concert of Europe, which had maintained peace on the continent since the Napoleonic Wars. The Ukrainian crisis will likely smolder on for some time –until Putin or his successor realizes that Russia is punching far above its weight, its quasi alliance with China will not solve its economic stagnation and that it will soon find itself evicted from China's Central Asian near abroad. Moscow may then repivot to Europe as its modernization partner.

And there are numerous other challenges. The Middle East will remain a cockpit of conflict, aggravated by the intensifying confrontation between Saudi Arabia and Israel and Iran. In Africa, a continent forever hovering between hope and

horror, the doubling of its population within decades will exacerbate the development problems already bedeviling it while also dangerously increasing the migration pressure on Europe. Terrorism, the violence of religious fundamentalism, nationalist militancy, cyber aggression and the security consequences of climate change will be the hallmarks of the 21st century. And it is not merely state actors that are likely to pose serious threats to order and peace in the world, but also non-state actors from drug cartels to hacker gangs profiting from the progress of technology in the digital age.

The rise of new powers abroad and the spread of authoritarianism around the globe are worrisome enough. However, both the international liberal order and the constitutional order of our liberal democracies are threatened just as much by the rise of populist, nativist and illiberal nationalism in the West, nourished by a disturbing growth of inequality in our societies. As voiced by Elizabeth Warren, the Democratic US Senator from Massachusetts: “Around the world, democracy is under assault. Authoritarian governments are gaining power, and right-wing demagogues are gaining strength”.

Warren’s analysis is disheartening, and we should all take her admonition to heart: “If we do not stand up to those who seek to undermine our democracy and our economy, we will end up as bystanders to the destruction of both.” Indeed, failing to do so would not only jeopardize the stability of our polities, but their security as well.

“Who Will Run the World?” is the title of the latest issue of Foreign Affairs, and it is a good question. The year 2019 will be a hinge year, replete with inflection points in global politics. At this moment in history, the West needs strong and capable leadership. Unfortunately, there are no Washingtons, Castlereaghs, Metternichs or Bismarcks anywhere to be seen, no Trumans, Churchills, Adenauers and deGaulles capable of laying the groundwork for a new order. It is thus all the more urgent that our societies produce leaders who are up to the task of guiding us out of the tumult of international chaos and domestic mayhem.

If in this we fail, 2019 will be just another year of jostling and jockeying for advantage. It is another lost year.

3. What ails the order?

What lessons can be drawn from this history? As much as anything else, the rise and fall of major powers determines the viability of the prevailing order, since changes in economic strength, political cohesion, and military power shape what states can and are willing to do beyond their borders. Over the second half of the

nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth, a powerful, unified Germany and a modern Japan rose, the Ottoman Empire and tsarist Russia declined, and France and the United Kingdom grew stronger but not strong enough.

Those changes upended the balance of power that had been the concert's foundation; Germany, in particular, came to view the status quo as inconsistent with its interests.

Changes in the technological and political context also affected that underlying balance. Under the concert, popular demands for democratic participation and surges of nationalism threatened the status quo within countries, while new forms of transportation, communication, and armaments transformed politics, economics, and warfare. The conditions that helped give rise to the concert were gradually undone. Yet it would be overly deterministic to attribute history to underlying conditions alone. Statecraft still matters. That the concert came into existence and lasted as long as it did underscores that people make a difference. The diplomats who crafted it — Metternich of Austria, Talleyrand of France, Castlereagh of the United Kingdom — were exceptional. The fact that the concert preserved peace despite the gap between two relatively liberal countries, France and the United Kingdom, and their more conservative partners shows that countries with different political systems and preferences can work together to maintain international order. Little that turns out to be good or bad in history is inevitable. The Crimean War might well have been avoided if more capable and careful leaders had been on the scene. It is far from clear that Russian actions warranted a military response by France and the United Kingdom of the nature and on the scale that took place. That the countries did what they did also underscores the power and dangers of nationalism. World War I broke out in no small part because the successors to German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck were unable to discipline the power of the modern German state he did so much to bring about. Two other lessons stand out. First, it is not just core issues that can cause an order to deteriorate. The concert's great-power comity ended not because of disagreements over the social and political order within Europe but because of competition on the periphery. And second, because orders tend to end with a whimper rather than a bang, the process of deterioration is often not evident to decision-makers until it has advanced considerably. By the outbreak of World War I, when it became obvious that the Concert of Europe no longer held, it was far too late to save it — or even to manage its dissolution.

4. Power shifts^{3 4}

Why is all this happening? It is instructive to look back to the gradual demise of the Concert of Europe. Today's world order has struggled to cope with power shifts: China's rise, the appearance of several medium powers (Iran and North Korea, in particular) that reject important aspects of the order, and the emergence of nonstate actors (from drug cartels to terrorist networks) that can pose a serious threat to order within and between states. The technological and political context has changed in important ways, too. Globalization has had destabilizing effects, ranging from climate change to the spread of technology into far more hands than ever before, including a range of groups and people intent on disrupting the order. Nationalism and populism have surged — the result of greater inequality within countries, the dislocation associated with the 2008 financial crisis, job losses caused by trade and technology, increased flows of migrants and refugees, and the power of social media to spread hate. Meanwhile, effective statecraft is conspicuously lacking. Institutions have failed to adapt. No one today would design a UN Security Council that looked like the current one; yet real reform is impossible, since those who would lose influence block any changes. Efforts to build effective frameworks to deal with the challenges of globalization, including climate change and cyberattacks, have come up short. Mistakes within the EU — namely, the decisions to establish a common currency without creating a common fiscal policy or a banking union and to permit nearly unlimited immigration to Germany — have created a powerful backlash against existing governments, open borders, and the EU itself. The United States, for its part, has committed costly overreach in trying to remake Afghanistan, invading Iraq, and pursuing regime change in Libya. But it has also taken a step back from maintaining global order and in certain cases has been guilty of costly underreach. In most instances, U.S. reluctance to act has come not over core issues but over peripheral ones that leaders wrote of as not worth the costs involved, such as the strife in Syria, where the United States failed to respond meaningfully when Syria First used chemical weapons or to do more to help anti-regime groups. This reluctance has increased others' propensity to disregard U.S. concerns and act independently. The Saudi-led military intervention in Yemen is a case in point. Russian actions in Syria and Ukraine should also be seen in this light; it is interesting that Crimea marked the effective end of the Concert of Europe and signaled a dramatic setback in the current order. Doubts about U.S. reliability have multiplied under the Trump administration, thanks to its withdrawal from numerous international pacts and its conditional approach to once inviolable U.S. alliance commitments in Europe and Asia.

5. Globalization's Backlash Is Here, at Just the Wrong Time⁵

The world economy became more interconnected in the 1990s and 2000s, delivering immediate pain to rich countries, along with benefits that only now are starting to be more apparent.

No one should be surprised that there has been a backlash to globalization, given the scale of disruption that has resulted from more interconnected economies. What is surprising is that it has arrived now.

That's because globalization, at least in the form we have known it, leveled off a decade ago. And that shows a crucial risk of the recent push to re-set the terms of the global economy — including tariffs on steel and aluminum and punitive actions against China that President Trump has introduced.

It is coming after the major costs of globalization have already been borne. And it comes just as billions of people who have become integrated into the global economy over the last three decades are starting to become rich enough to become valuable consumers.

In short, the anti-globalization drive that is spreading across the Western world may be coming at exactly the wrong time — too late to do much to save the working-class jobs that were lost, but early enough to risk damaging the ability of rich nations to sell advanced goods and services to the rapidly expanding global middle class. It is tempting to think of globalization as a constant process, but historically that's not the case. It moves in fits and starts, and occasional reversals. The 1990s and the first years of the 2000s were one of those extraordinary periods in which economies became more interconnected, according to a range of data.

Now, globalization has entered a new phase, in which cross-border trade in goods and services is steady as a share of the economy, and the international flows of capital are lower than they were before the global financial crisis. It is now the spread of information that is rising, with different implications for workers in rich countries than the earlier phase.

Starting in the 1990s, improvements in communications and shipping technology made global outsourcing more feasible. Trade deals reduced tariffs and other barriers to commerce. And many once-poor nations became more integrated into the global economy, especially China.

This adjustment provided a wave of affordable goods and opened up new markets for rich countries, but it also devastated certain sectors and geographical areas, especially those involved in manufacturing low-tech products. Workers in American and Western European factory towns found themselves in competition with Chinese

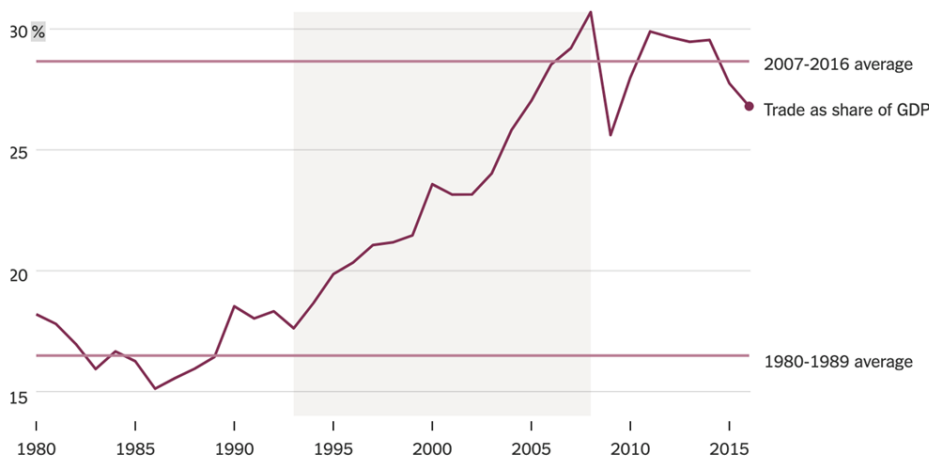
electronics assemblers, Indian call center employees and auto factory workers in Eastern Europe, Mexico and beyond.

The flow of goods and services across national borders as a share of all economic activity hovered near 16 percent through the 1980s and early 1990s, then from 1993 to 2008 shot up to 31 percent. Then it stopped rising, instead bouncing around that level, according to data from the McKinsey Global Institute.

International Trade Has Levelled Off

After soaring in the 1990s and early 2000s, global trade has been stable for more than a decade.

Worldwide trade in goods and services



Gray area is period of sharply rising globalization.

If you look at the international flow of money instead of goods and services, the results are even more stark. Cross-border financial flows peaked in 2007 at 22 percent of world G.D.P., but were down to 6 percent in 2016, about the same as the 1996 level.

“The interesting thing about tariffs on steel or other goods is that it’s fighting the last battle, not the future one,” said Susan Lund, a partner at McKinsey who has researched these global flows. “Global manufacturing has already reconfigured itself. That change happened, and the horse is out of the barn. We don’t think globalization is over, but it has taken a new form.”

That form consists of greater connectivity and communication, which may not show up in traditional data on trade or capital flows. That includes more people using social media platforms to connect with people in other countries, companies relying on freelance labor located around the globe, and small enterprises doing business with partners around the world through the internet.

In other words, it's not a form of globalization that endangers factory jobs, but one that could have big consequences in other areas — leading to more competition for technologically advanced white-collar jobs, while also creating enormous new opportunities for American and Western European firms. That, in turn, helps explain why much of the trans-Pacific Partnership, the trade deal that the Trump administration withdrew from, focused on intellectual property rights, data security and privacy.

The M.I.T. economist David Autor and colleagues have done extensive work showing that the “China shock” that ensued with that country’s entry into the World Trade Organization caused lasting pain to communities in the United States that competed with Chinese companies in making a range of manufactured goods. Even as those effects linger, he sees the risks involved in commerce with China as shifting elsewhere.

“The China shock on large-scale manufacturing and its mass employment effects, that part is largely behind us,” Mr. Autor said. Now, the challenge is Chinese competition on more technologically complex products, like automobiles, airplanes or microprocessors. The manufacturing of more labor-intensive, less technologically complex products like apparel is migrating to lower-wage countries like Bangladesh and Ethiopia.

But a shift in where certain products are made is different from a net increase in the level of global connectivity. The level of economic integration is remaining level, even as the details of exactly what is made in which country are changing.

6. Globalization Is Ending. Here’s How to Prepare for What’s Next (BLOOMBERG).

Globalization has peaked, and there is a significant and underappreciated risk that the world will start to de-globalize in coming years.

The latest wave of globalization, which began after the end of the Cold War and gathered pace throughout the 1990s and 2000s, has been a crucial influence on economic developments over the past 30 years. It has boosted economic growth, particularly in emerging markets, and helped to lower both inflation and real interest rates in the developed world.

Globalization has also had a profound effect on how the proceeds of growth have been distributed. The integration of several billion workers into the global economy has pushed down labor’s share of income and pushed up the share flowing to company profits. The latter has provided an important prop to global equity

markets, but the former has contributed to the Trumpian backlash against globalization over the past couple of years.

One key point to emphasize is that the latest wave of globalization appeared to have hit a wall well before the current trade war began. Trade of goods and services, as well as cross-border capital flows, rose sharply as a share of global gross domestic product (GDP) throughout the 1990s and 2000s but then leveled off from around 2010.

It is possible that this leveling off is just a temporary hiatus and that an unforeseen technological breakthrough will trigger a new wave of globalization. But such waves are rare.

There are several reasons, even before we consider the trade war, why globalization may have peaked. For starters, most economies are now open and there are no new major countries left to integrate into the global economy. What's more, new technologies have made it less attractive for firms to maintain large and complex supply chains. Also, governments have increasingly started to question the benefits of some aspects of the financial liberalization that has been a central feature of the most recent wave of globalization. China, in particular, is unlikely to open its capital markets significantly.

Reaching “peak” globalization isn't necessarily a cause for alarm for the world economy. On the contrary, the technological developments that are partly driving these trends will boost productivity growth and widen consumer choice. That said, given that the most common development path begins with labor-intensive manufacturing in sectors such as textiles, life for the poorest countries that have yet to gain a foothold on the development ladder will become more difficult. That will add to the structural headwinds already facing emerging markets.

Moreover, a more malign form of policy-driven de-globalization — where cross-border trade and capital flows decline as a share of GDP — is looking increasingly likely. One of the key lessons from history is that it has been policy — rather than technology — that has caused globalization to roll back.

The current, most likely course of policy rollback is the trade war between the U.S. and China. The trade war actually isn't that big a deal, given that trade between the U.S. and China accounts for only 3% of total world trade. But it is a symptom of more fundamental strains in the relationship between China and the West. China's emergence as a strategic competitor means that some form of pushback was inevitable, whoever the U.S. president happened to be.

What's more, there is a risk that the trade war is the start of a broader backlash against globalization that goes beyond just the U.S. and China. After all, globalization has undermined the power of national governments and been blamed for rising inequality, multinational tax avoidance, and unwanted migration.

Just as the likelihood of a period of de-globalization is underappreciated, it is also unclear what form that this could take. At one end of the spectrum, we could see a mild form of regionalization, in which production is clustered in neighboring countries rather than globalized. At the other end, the world could split into competing blocs (for example, one led by the U.S. and another by China). In between, we could see the growing imposition of tit-for-tat tariffs by individual countries.

In most scenarios, the effects on the world economy would be negative, but manageable. A modest degree of regionalization wouldn't be a big problem given that a lot of trade already takes place between neighboring countries, and regions would probably be big enough to sustain companies that achieve maximum economies of scale.

Likewise, the implications of a tit-for-tat trade war for global growth over the next decade or so would probably be small compared with the much larger challenges posed by demographics, stubbornly low productivity growth, and the impotence of monetary policy.

However, the one de-globalization scenario that is especially concerning is a deep split between China and U.S.-led economic blocs. Admittedly, it seems unlikely that trade and investment flows between the West and China will dry up completely, in a repeat of the Cold War between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union. But a mix of restrictions on trade in specific sectors and products seems likely, as does some sort of technological iron curtain. Were this to happen, it would have a more deleterious effect on global growth and geopolitical stability.

7. America, China, and Global Order

With the potential shifting global balance of power from the United States to China, the latest issue of Foreign Affairs focuses on how the troubled hegemon and the confident challenger are trying to determine what comes next for the world order.

What's really good about these two pieces, as well as the package as a whole, is that it really kind of steps back and provides context and grounding for, I think, some of the primary debates we're having in the United States right now and globally about both the future of U.S. foreign policy and American leadership and what it's going to mean on the global stage, but also about all the tension we've seen in the

U.S. – China relationship. So if you look at the back and forth over Huawei right now, or the trade war and tariffs, the fights over the South China Sea, all of that is really part of a much broader clash of visions, a kind of debate about how the world should work, and what set of rules and norms and institutions and arrangements should really set the stage for the international system.

In the U.S. we talk about the liberal international order, which Gideon will explain to us in a bit, but it really is a question about who leads and what set of arrangements govern the way countries and people interact with one another. So a lot of what we're seeing day to day in foreign policy really reflects these much broader disagreements and tensions about what's going to happen going forward and who's really going to set the — set the tone of how these things work. And, obviously, the United States and China are the two key players here.

The Bush administration and Clinton administrations essentially recognized, I think correctly, that the Cold War had been a challenge by the Soviets to the American and Western vision of postwar order. And so the end of the Cold War didn't usher in a fundamentally new era of some kind, but it simply allowed the Western order to expand. And so what they did was, recognizing that that was the reality, they continued the policy of liberal international order building into the post-Cold War era, extending it from the Western alliance to the globe more generally, or at least opening it up. And so you had everything from the provision of collective security in the Persian Gulf with the reversal of the invasion of Kuwait and the containment of Saddam. You had continuing containment of North Korea, and therefore the provision of collective security in East Asia. You had the extension of the NATO to Eastern Europe and of Europe to Eastern Europe, and you essentially brought in many of the nations that had been left out. And you opened up much of the developing world to come into not just the WTO and the order more generally, but the American alliance system. And things seemed to be going well.

But, first of all, there was a failure to remember that capitalism brings a lot of bad things as well as a lot of good things; and that capitalists, when they get some steam under them, tend to behave very badly. And so all the kind of classic vicissitudes of and downsides of capitalism — concentration of wealth, egregious behavior by predatory elites at the top, lack of — sort of periodicity rather than, you know, steady growth, and inequality rather than — rather than broad distribution of wealth — all that was accompanied. And so the globalization era that occurred brought a lot of wonderful stuff, but it got a bad name because a lot of people didn't feel like they were getting a good thing going from it.

And there were — in classic ways, power led to unchecked power led to stupid actions and folly like poorly planned wars, the financial crisis. And essentially, we tarnished our own great accomplishment and allowed nationalism, the attraction to local and communal and tribal and smaller groups, to eat out the liberal project. And essentially, many of the populations of the advanced industrial world felt that at the end of the day they were not benefiting as much from this era as either their leaders or the great unwashed masses—unwashed masses elsewhere. And to a certain extent, in some respects, they had a case — not completely, but in some respects —and that has undermined the domestic political foundations of current American foreign policy.

So, essentially, the policy that the United States has followed for the last seventy years plus is one that the elites are fairly comfortable with, and think can and should be reformed and tweaked rather than fundamentally disbanded or thrown away or abolished, but which there is very little support now in the public for in the absence of an immediate threat. And the, of course, big, looming question is whether China will recreate a neo-Cold War threat which would pose both the dangers of the Cold War, but also possibly end up reviving a domestic Cold War coalition in favor of an internationalist policy now that there's a new threat.

We need to define a legitimate sphere of influence for China in the 21st century that it feels is the legitimate return on its national efforts to develop in a way that the rest of the world can live with. And I think that means, yes, a large degree of Suzerainty informally and de facto rather than de jure in their immediate neighborhood, certainly their own domestic political arrangements, and maybe even a significant degree of influence in certain parts of the world that are theirs, like the BRI area, and maybe a share in standard setting. And I think if we think we can manage to avoid a future fight with China over world dominance without giving up that, we're kidding ourselves. But if we do give up that, maybe we could, indeed, bring them into the system.

Because if China dominates Asia, Asia — and this is South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia— the United States for a long time has considered our prosperity is dependent on our interaction with this region. And we know how China does business, right? They prefer weaker partners. They prefer to rely on coercion to get what they want. If we don't have the power to hold China at risk, then we cannot protect the United States, and we cannot protect the continental United States.

So I'll just conclude with this, by saying I think we focus too much on the likelihood of conflict. And people always say, for example, Great Britain and the

United States — Great Britain transferred power peacefully to the United States. To me, that is not a success story for the U.S. and China. We could easily accommodate — you know, transfer power, allow China to have their sphere of influence. But I think that would be a huge loss. And the — and the liberal international order would die along with that.

So, there's two-there's two points for the domestic question. One is, what do you do? Is it possible to build a base of support for a positive program without the negative force behind it? During the Cold War people went along with a lot of engaged foreign policy and order building because they thought it was necessary, and were told it was necessary, to beat off the Soviet Union. If we end up in the cold war with China, a new one, then that presumably could be mobilized in the same way. But that would be a bad thing which we would — which may be necessary, but we should hope that doesn't happen and try to avoid it.

And so the question becomes if you are not in a cold war, can you still maintain support for an internationalist foreign policy? It's proven to be a much tougher question than I thought, but I'm not convinced that the answer is no, because it's clear the public isn't demanding it. And it's clear that whatever they say in polls about wanting to like this or that, they are so disconnected, frankly, from the reality of what happens, then they respond retrospectively to the immediate experiences that happen. Oh, we had a war that screwed up, bad. Which is all legit, but they can't factor in, oh, we avoided major wars at the same time. So essentially the public is not going to be supportive of this order building, it's clear to me now, but I don't think there's a giant wellspring of isolationist sentiment and anti-order sentiment.

And one of the things we've seen in this administration that's fascinating is the ability of the president or the leadership to change opinions among followers, almost at will. And instead of seeing the giant upsurge of nationalism, and xenophobia, and all these other things just as deep expressions of what was always there and just now being revealed, it's true that was there, but you could also see it as, gee, this is what now is being echoed, and this is what's being brought out. If the next person comes on and is a benign, nice, Mr. Rogers character, then you could see a whole wellspring of, you know, Jon Meachams popping up everywhere and everybody being very nice to each other. And in that context, the domestic support for our foreign policy would be OK, and you could throw it doesn't really cost that much to do good alliance maintenance. The amount — the actual amount we spend on foreign aid is trivial.

And so the — if you had a White House that actually cared about doing something serious about order building, which we haven't had in twenty years, then

you actually would be able to test the proposition of could you rebuild it after Trump? It'll be a difficult task, but I think it's still doable.

They have analyzed their position, and they have decided it's working. So if that's what you mean by rethinking, I mean, they're not going to change it, because basically—and this logic might seem a little convoluted. But the main idea is this: In the 1990s, China was pursuing — and the 2000s, early 2000 s — China was pursuing a policy of promoting positive relations with great powers and reassuring smaller countries. This was kind of, like, the heyday for U.S.-China specialists. Everything seemed to be going really well. That's when China would say that people started talking about the threat of China. And so during this period, when China is being nice to everyone, that's when China threat theory came into being, and nobody did anything China wanted. And everyone was meeting with the Dalai Lama left and right. Nobody cared, you know, what was important to China.

Now that they're more aggressive, sure, countries think they're a threat, but the Chinese would say that's just before they're more powerful. That threat existed before. So no change there. But now everyone knows what China wants. And so from that perspective, it seems to be a pretty solid strategy. And just from the domestic politics perspective, you know, I think a lot of Americans underestimate the degree to which the Communist Party has the support of the Chinese people when it comes to these foreign policies. They're very popular domestically, this idea that, you know, China is becoming more powerful. And, you know, people maybe don't say it loudly, but I remember when Xi Jinping came into power my friends would be like, oh, Hu Jintao was the worst, right? He was too cautious, and he never stood up for us. Now Xi Jinping is standing up for us all the time.

So if I had to guess, I think we have to deal with a Communist Party that feels like they're confident and have the support of the Chinese people when they're making moves in the international system, versus doing it from some sort of insecurity about weak support at home.

I was glad to hear the reference to Taiwan, because I think that's kind of what it will come down to. And the question is when. If the U.S. starts to pull up its stocks with a new president in 2020, and it takes us four to eight years to resurrect benefits that Gideon referred to, it begs the question how will China use this opportunity? I don't think we should underestimate the domestic problems that Xi Jinping confronts. While it's true most people would support an active foreign policy even in a crisis, they don't really care that much about Taiwan intrinsically.

If the economy declines, the feeling of social unrest increases — that it, it appears to be. We don't know which way that cuts, but if you listen to the rhetoric, Xi Jinping may have some serious intentions towards Taiwan. And there are people in Taiwan, very sophisticated, who think we will not come to their aid, even if they don't provoke a crisis. There are people in this country who don't think we will go to their aid. But I'm not sure I understood Gideon, but he seemed to be advocating — So I — the short answer to that would be I don't think we should yield to China in the Asian region. I think we can accord them — I think we can accord them more breathing room and set our red lines further out in far-off ways, rather than short-term conflictual ways. But the question that I'm now actually very curious to investigate further after this discussion is the extent to which that would interfere with the real mechanics of defending Taiwan. If what you guys are saying is completely — if what you guys are saying is fully accurate, then we need to do more Taiwan Straits pieces, because we haven't done those in a while because who the hell cares about Taiwan Straits, because it's always the same and it's always stable. But if your point is it's not stable anymore, that's really interesting.

So let me just make a few quick points about the Taiwan issue. The first, just because you mention it, I mean, Xi Jinping's New Year's speech to me was a signal that he is really doubling down on this Taiwan issue, right? He mentioned reunification forty-six times. He said, you know, we don't promise not to use force, which we all know is the Chinese position, but this is the first time he's really stated that publicly. So I think Taiwan is definitely now a key issue for Xi Jinping.

Am I worried in the short term? No. And let me tell you why. China is undergoing the most extensive military modernization and reform program in its history. Xi Jinping wants to finish that, and then he wants to test his military, before he's going to try for the most important prize against potentially the strongest military in the world. So I think we have some time and some indicators. I think China's going to engage in some smaller skirmishes against Vietnam, for example. Maybe mess with the Philippines a bit in the South China Sea. They have to see if their military can perform first, before they make any moves against Taiwan.

So Vietnam is not a U.S. ally. That's why they're first. And then because the United States will do nothing in response, that will weaken the U.S. credibility. And then if China starts engaging in more aggressive activities — so just this year the Chinese told the Indonesians, oh, remember when we said we didn't have overlapping claims? We've changed our mind. Now we do claim part of your

territory. So I think they're going to start with non-U.S. allies. And by the time the United States doesn't respond to that, it's going to weaken our credibility overall.

So just on this space, this reminds of something I kind of wanted to see, I don't know, in agreement, in defense to what Gideon said. If we don't—what we're trying to do right now with China is like if we wanted to maintain pace with Russia, but didn't want them to expand their territory at all to be the Soviet Union, right? It's like people say, well, we didn't have a hot war with the Soviet Union. But we did actually concede a sphere of influence to them in a way that we are now unwilling to do with China. So I think that makes it a lot harder, actually, to move forward, you know, in a peaceful fashion, because that's what China wants.

8. The USA and China. Economics in charts.

5 charts show how protests in Hong Kong have affected the city's economy and stock market

Widespread protests in Hong Kong have lasted for more than six months — with little signs of abating anytime soon.

Hong Kong, a former British colony that returned to Chinese rule in 1997, is a global financial and business center that connects China and the world.

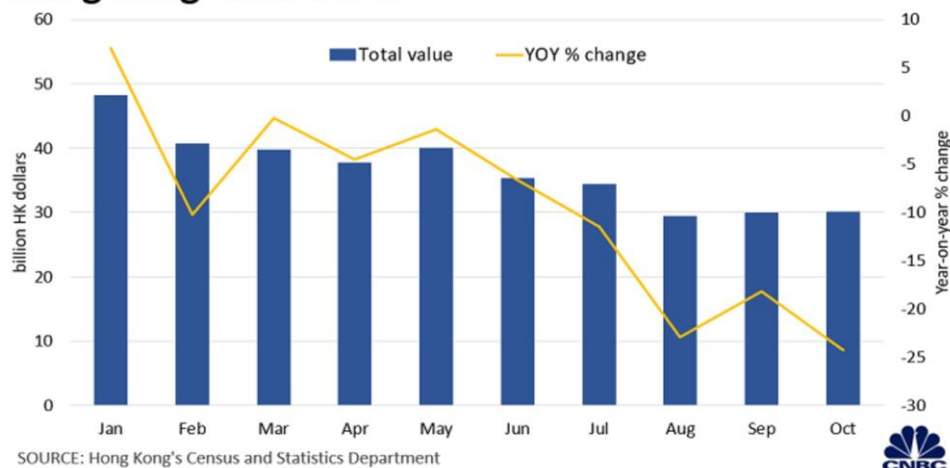
Protests in the city were initially sparked by proposed changes to a law that would have allowed extradition to mainland China. They later morphed into broader anti-government demonstrations that include demands such as greater democracy and universal suffrage, and at times involved violent clashes between protesters and the police.

Here are five charts to show how the protests have affected Hong Kong's economy and stock market.

Hong Kong in recession

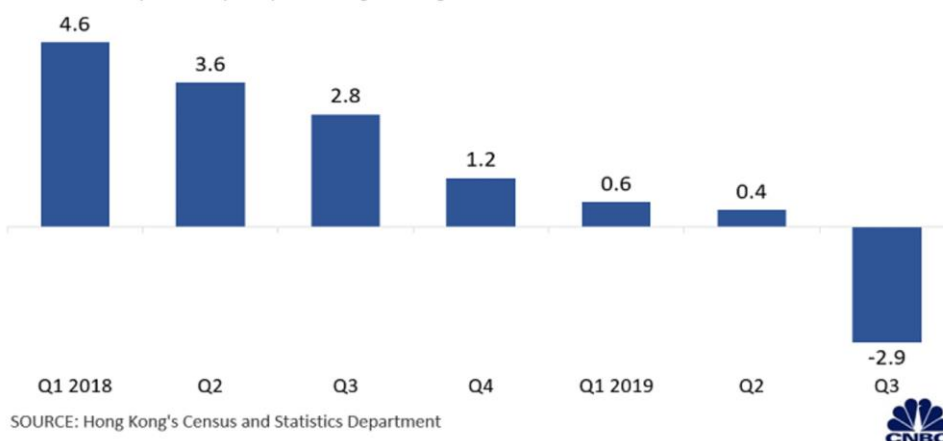
The protests, along with uncertainties such as the U.S. – China trade war, sent the Hong Kong economy into a recession for the first time in a decade.

Hong Kong retail sales



Hong Kong's GDP

Chart shows year-on-year percentage change



It could get worse for the city. Iris Pang, greater China economist at Dutch bank ING, projected Hong Kong's annual gross domestic product to fall by 2.25% in 2019 and 5.8% in 2020.

Retail sales slump

One major driver of the economic downturn in Hong Kong is a steep decline in retail sales. Private consumption accounts for around 65% of the city's GDP.

Hong Kong consumers have been cautious about spending as the global economic outlook turned bleak early in the year. But the protests made consumers hold back spending even more, exacerbating the decline in the city's retail sales.

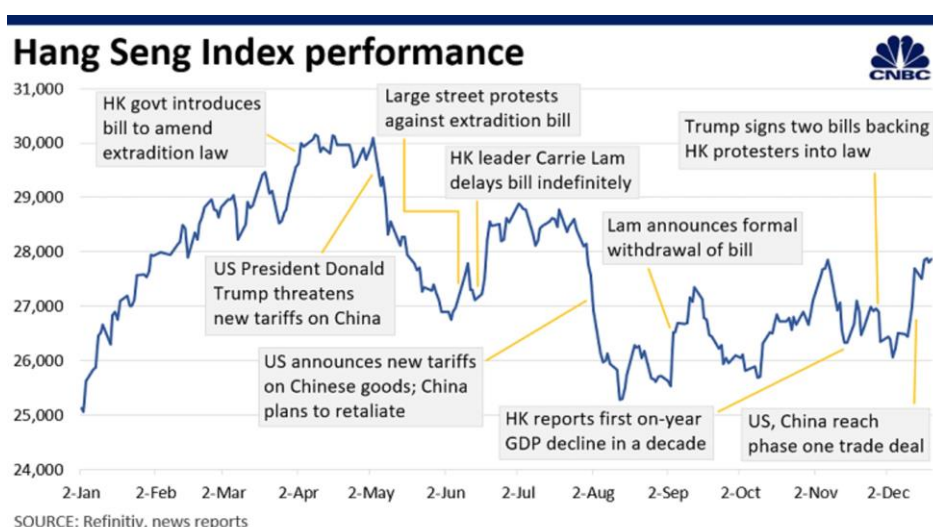
Tourism decline

Declining tourist arrivals into Hong Kong have added to the city's economic troubles.

Visitors from mainland China, who account for close to 80% of tourists in Hong Kong, fell by around 4.45% in January to October this year compared to the same period in 2018.

Stocks up in 2019

Despite the pressure on the economy, Hong Kong’s Benchmark stock Index — the Hang Seng Index — appears on track to end 2019 higher than where it started the year.



That’s because investors still see the Hong Kong stock market as a way to buy and sell Chinese assets, according to Mark Mobius, founding partner at Mobius Capital Partners.

“There’s always an opportunity to enter China through Hong Kong, and that won’t go away any time soon,” Mobius told CNBC’s “Street Signs Asia” on Dec. 6.

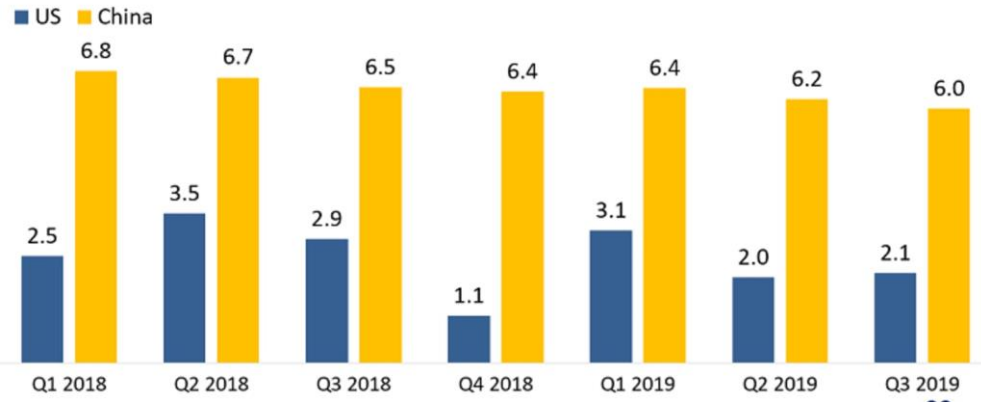
Top market for listings

Hong Kong looks set to retain its position as the top market for new stock listings globally.

That’s mainly thanks to a mega secondary listing by Chinese technology giant Alibaba and an initial public offering by brewery Budweiser’s Asia Pacific business, which helped the city surpass rival stock exchanges in the U.S. and mainland China.

Economic growth in the US and China

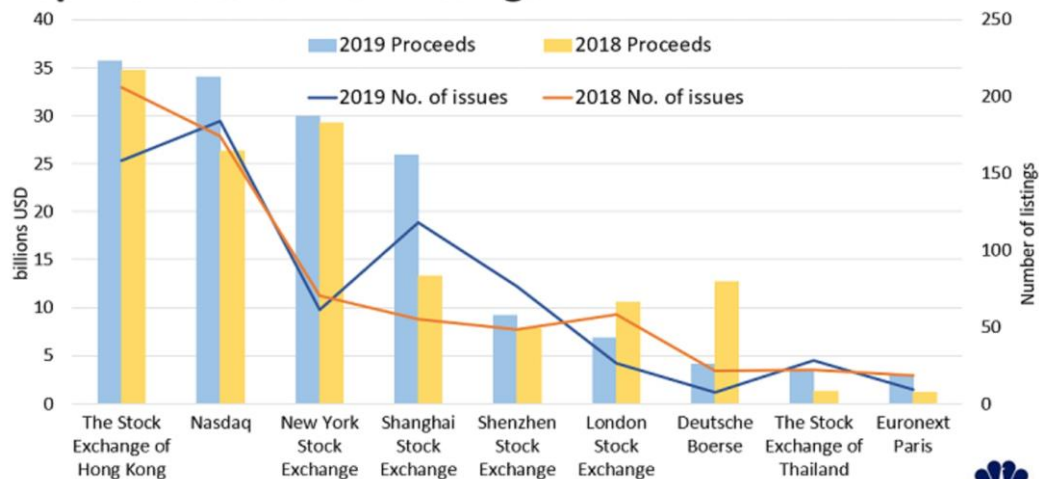
Figures show percentage change in real GDP on a year-on-year basis



SOURCE: US Bureau of Economic Analysis, National Bureau of Statistics of China

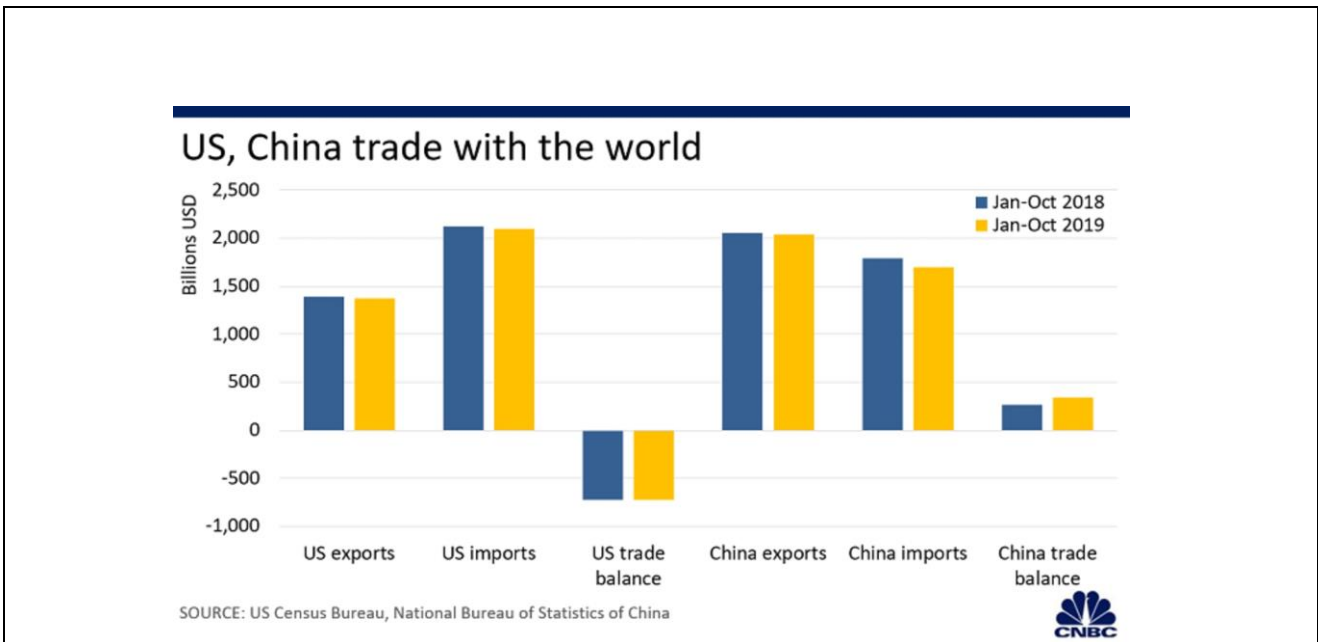


Top markets for new listings



SOURCE: S&P Capital IQ (Dec 20, 2019)





These 6 charts compare the US and China economies in the second year of their trade war.

The U.S. – China trade war entered its second year in 2019, increasingly weighing on both economies amid worsening business sentiment globally. Here are six charts that look at how the world’s top two economies and their financial markets have performed in the year.

Economic growth slows

Growth in gross domestic product — the broadest measure of an economy — slowed down in both the U.S. and China last year.

Several economists predicted that growth rates in both countries could moderate even more in 2020, due to their continued trade friction and respective domestic challenges. That would add pressure to an already fragile global economy.

Trade volume declines

Overall exports and imports fell in both countries in the first ten months of 2019, compared to a year ago. That came amid slower trading activity worldwide — a trend some experts said started even before the U.S. – China trade war.

The overall U.S. trade deficit, mostly contributed by a bilateral imbalance with China, hasn’t changed much in the year. That’s despite the U.S. – China trade imbalance falling from \$344.5 billion in the January-to-October 2018 period to \$294.5 billion a year later, according to data by the U.S. Census Bureau.

Manufacturing downturn

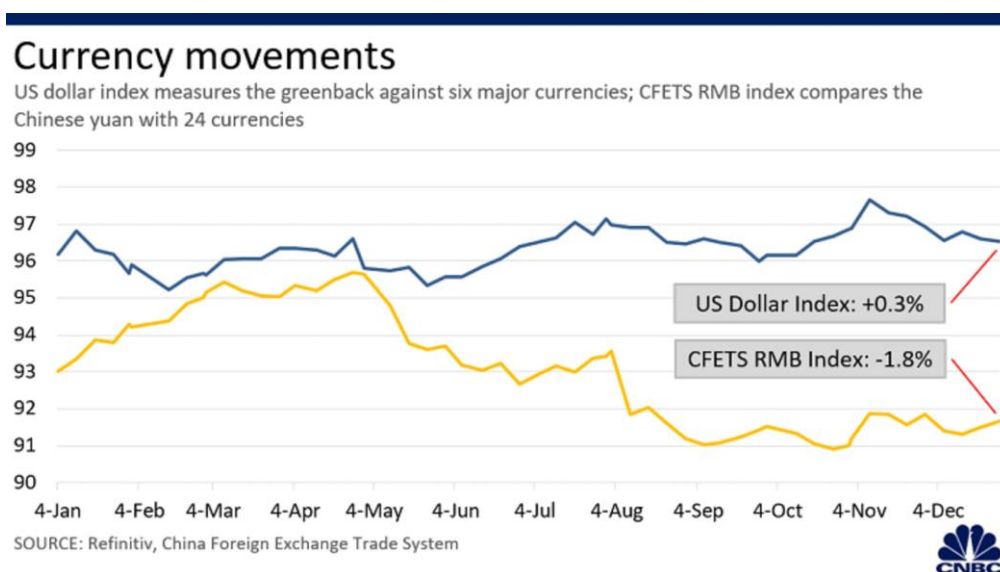
The manufacturing sectors of the U.S. and China have felt the pinch of a slowing global economy, which was made worse by the trade war between the two countries.

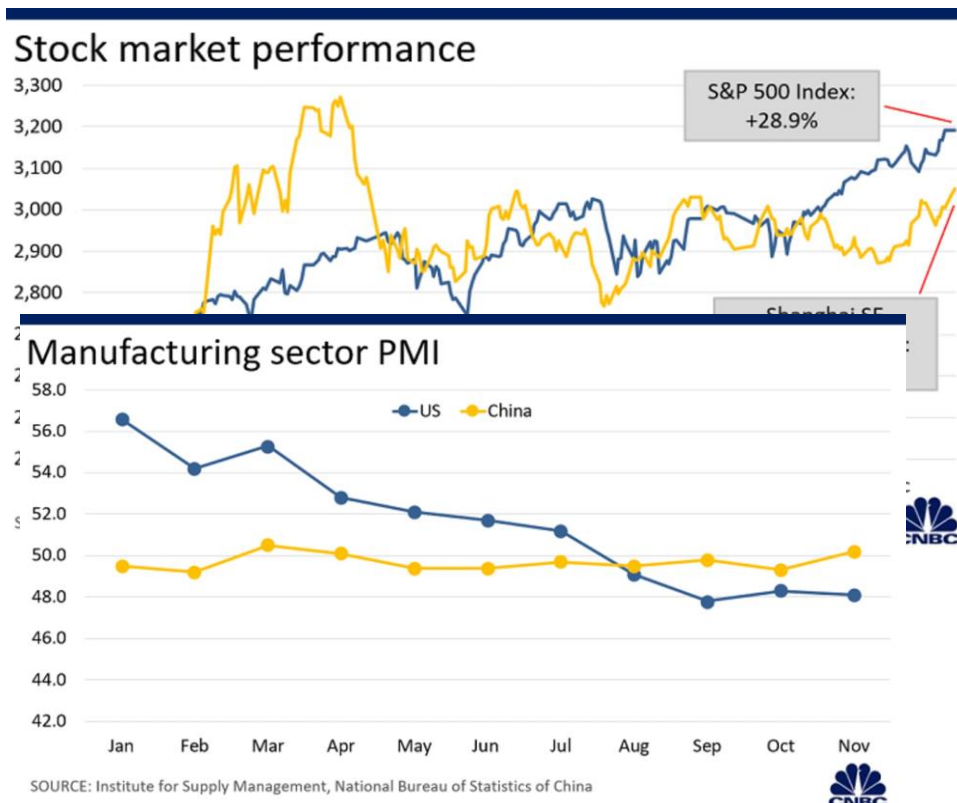
China's official manufacturing Purchasing Managers' Index — a widely watched indicator of the sector's health — has stayed in contraction territory for most of the year. That means the index came in below the 50-point level. In the U.S., the manufacturing PMI compiled by the Institute for Supply Management showed factory activity contracting since August.

Retail sales steady

Consumer spending in the U.S. and China were among the bright spots of their respective economies in 2019, supported by a steady labor market in both economies. But there are risks the optimism may not sustain.

Some analysts warned that additional U.S. tariffs on Chinese goods could dampen spending among American consumers. In China, rising pork prices may cut consumer spending in other areas, said Francis Tan, investment strategist at Singapore's UOB Private Bank.





Currency movements

A relatively strong U.S. economy and investors’ preference for safe-haven assets increased demand for the greenback, lifting the currency’s value for 2019.

In contrast, Chinese authorities allowed the yuan to depreciate for most of the year. That move attracted accusations of currency manipulation from U.S. President Donald Trump, but the International Monetary Fund said the value of the yuan was in line with China’s economic fundamentals.

Stock market rally

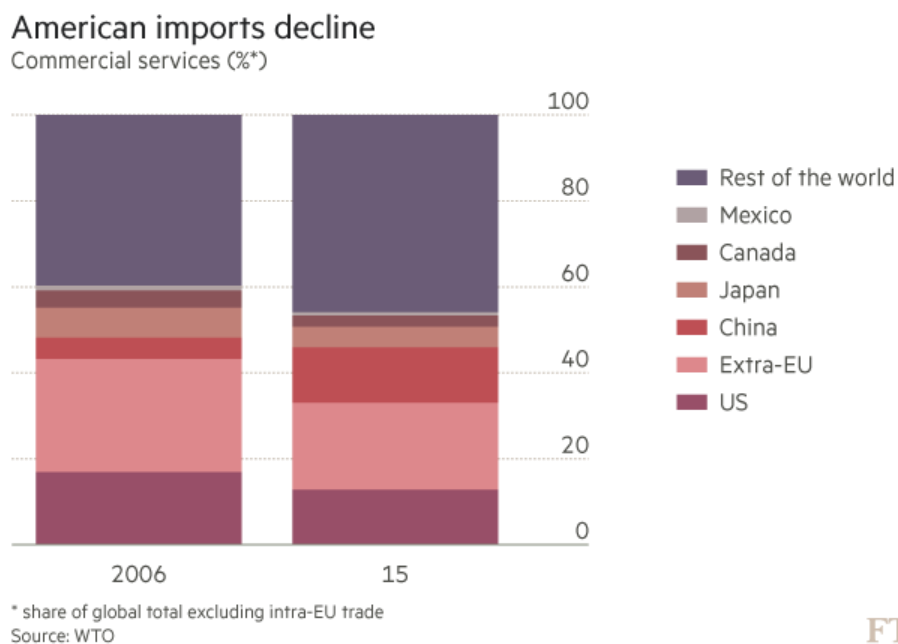
In financial markets, rate cuts by the Federal Reserve and receding trade war tensions during certain periods in the year supported investor sentiment and sent stocks on Wall Street to multiple new highs this year despite weak corporate earnings.

Over in China, the inclusion of Chinese stocks into major global benchmarks helped the Shanghai Stock Exchange Composite Index to record a double-digit climb in 2019.

9. Donald Trump and Xi Jinping’s battle over globalization

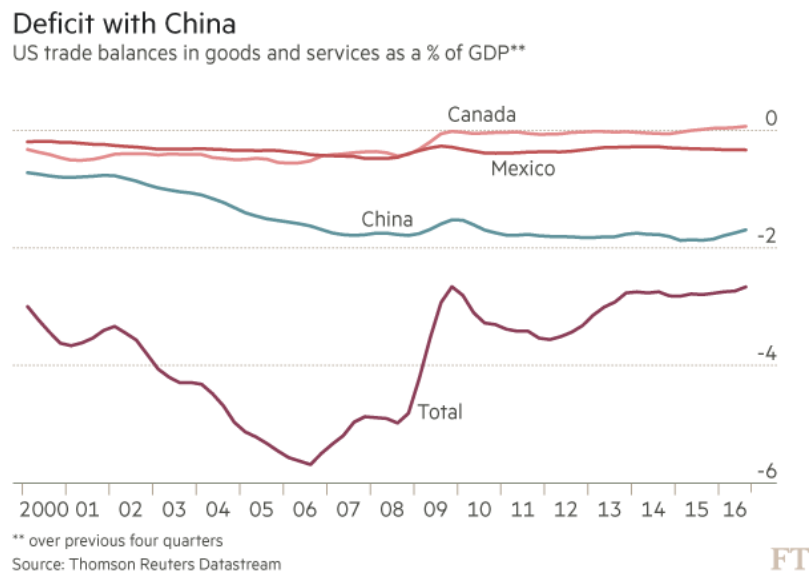
Xi Jinping, president of China, made a speech last week on globalization at the World Economic Forum that one would have expected to come from a US president.

At his inauguration, Donald Trump made remarks on trade that one would never have expected to come from a US president. The contrast is astounding. Mr. Xi recognized that globalization was not without difficulties. But, he argued, “blaming economic globalization for the world’s problems is inconsistent with reality”. Instead, “globalization has powered global growth and facilitated movement of goods and capital, advances in science, technology and civilization, and interactions among people”. His vision matches that of the last US president to address the World Economic Forum. In 2000, President Bill Clinton argued that “we have got to reaffirm unambiguously that open markets and rules-based trade are the best engine we know of to lift living standards, reduce environmental destruction and build shared prosperity”. Mr. Trump rejects this vision: “We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.” Moreover: “We will follow two simple rules: buy American and hire American”.



The frightening fact is that the people who seem closest to Mr. Trump believe things that are almost entirely false. They believe, for example, that a value added tax not levied on exports is a subsidy to exports. It is not: US goods sold in the EU pay VAT, just as European goods do; and European goods sold in the US pay sales taxes (where levied), just as US goods do. In both cases, no distortion between domestic and imported goods is created. Tariffs are levied only on imported goods. So they do distort relative prices. Again, these people believe trade policy determines the trade deficit. To a first approximation, this is not so, because the trade (and current account) balances reflect differences between income and spending. Assume

imposition of an across-the-board-tariff. Purchases of foreign exchange will fall and the exchange rate will appreciate, until exports fall and imports rise enough to return the deficit to where it started. Protection then just helps some businesses at the expense of others. The Trump proposals seem to aim at resurrection of the economically dead. True, protection might lower the external deficit by making the US a less attractive destination for foreign investment. But that hardly seems a sane strategy.



Yet another mistake is belief in the merit of bilateral deals. Trade deals are not like deals between companies. They set the terms on which all businesses transact. Bilateralism fragments world markets. It is extremely difficult for firms to create long-term arrangements if new bilateral deals might destabilize competitive conditions at any moment. Unfortunately, as Martin Sandbu argues, unwise policies might do huge damage. The US president possesses the legal authority to do virtually whatever he wants. But reneging on past deals is sure to make the US seem an unreliable partner. Its victims, particularly China, are also likely to retaliate. According to analysis by the Peterson Institute for International Economics, China and Mexico together account for a quarter of US trade. In a full trade war, US employment might fall by 4.8m private sector jobs. The disruption of supply chains is likely to be especially serious. Beyond this are huge geopolitical consequences. Beating up Mexico will overturn three decades of reform, probably delivering power there to a leftwing populist. Beating up China may poison an essential relationship for decades. Abandoning TPP may hand a number of the Asian allies of the US over to China. Ignoring World Trade Organization rules might destroy the institution that provides stability to the real side of the world economy. The rhetoric of “America

First” reads like a declaration of economic warfare. The US is immensely powerful. But it cannot even be confident it will get its own way. Instead, it may merely declare itself to be a rogue state. Once the hegemon attacks a system it created, only two outcomes seem at all likely — its collapse or recreation of the system around a new hegemon. Mr. Xi’s China cannot replace the US: that would take co-operation with Europeans and other Asian powers. The more likely outcome is collapse into a trade policy free-for-all. Mr. Xi’s vision is the right one. But, without Mr. Trump’s support, it may now be unworkable. That would benefit nobody, including the US.

10. Whose Security? How Washington Protects Itself and the Corporate Sector (Panama, El Salvador, Cuba, Guatemala, Vietnam, Iran and Israel)

The question of how foreign policy is determined is a crucial one in world affairs. In these comments, I can only provide a few hints as to how I think the subject can be productively explored, keeping to the United States for several reasons. First, the United States is unmatched in its global significance and impact. Second, it is an unusually open society, possibly uniquely so, which means we know more about it. Finally, it is plainly the most important case for Americans, who are able to influence policy choices in the United States — and indeed for others, insofar as their actions can influence such choices. The general principles, however, extend to the other major powers and well beyond. There is a “received standard version,” common to academic scholarship, government pronouncements, and public discourse. It holds that the prime commitment of governments is to ensure security, and that the primary concern of the United States and its allies from 1945 was the Russian threat.

There are a number of ways to evaluate this doctrine. One obvious question to ask is: What happened when the Russian threat disappeared in 1989? The answer: everything continued much as before. The United States immediately invaded Panama, killing possibly thousands of people and installing a client regime. This was routine practice in U.S. - dominated domains — but in this case not quite as routine. For the first time, a major foreign policy act was not justified by an alleged Russian threat. Instead, a series of fraudulent pretexts for the invasion were concocted that collapse instantly on examination. The media chimed in enthusiastically, lauding the magnificent achievement of defeating Panama, unconcerned that the pretexts were ludicrous, that the act itself was a radical violation of international law, and that it was bitterly condemned elsewhere, most harshly in Latin America. Also ignored was the U.S. veto of a unanimous Security Council resolution condemning crimes by U.S.

troops during the invasion, with Britain alone abstaining. All routine. And all forgotten (which is also routine).

Keywords: foreign policy, open society, “received standard version”, the Russian threat, a client regime

Summary:

In this part of the article, the author tries to reveal the specifics of defining foreign policy as such and the United States in particular. In addition, there is explains why the example of the United States is most practical to research foreign policy. The invasion of Panama is cited as one example that examines the implementation of us foreign policy provisions. The author focuses on how the United States justified such a step for itself and the global public.

Answer the questions:

1. Why is the United States the best example for studying foreign policy?
2. What were the US actions in the sphere of foreign policy after the "Russian threat" lost its significance?
3. How did the US justify the invasion of Panama?

UNIT II

“THE GREATEST THREAT”

➤ *Scan through the articles and give the main ideas*

Opponents of the nuclear deal charge that it does not go far enough. Some supporters agree, holding that “if the Vienna deal is to mean anything, the whole of the Middle East must rid itself of weapons of mass destruction.” The author of those words, Iran’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Javad Zarif, added that “Iran, in its national capacity and as current chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement [the governments of the large majority of the world’s population], is prepared to work with the international community to achieve these goals, knowing full well that, along the way, it will probably run into many hurdles raised by the skeptics of peace and diplomacy.” Iran has signed “a historic nuclear deal.” He continues, and now it is the turn of Israel, “the holdout.”

Israel, of course, is one of the three nuclear powers, along with India and Pakistan, whose nuclear weapons programs have been abetted by the United States and who refuses to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Zarif was referring to the regular five-year NPT review conference, which ended in failure in April when the United States (joined this time by Canada and Great Britain) once again blocked efforts to move toward zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. These efforts have been led by Egypt and other Arab states for twenty years. Two of the leading figures promoting them at the NPT and other UN agencies, and at the Pugwash Conferences, Jayantha Dhanapala and Sergio Duarte, observe that “the successful adoption in 1995 of the resolution on the establishment of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the Middle East was the main element of a package that permitted the indefinite extension of the NPT”.

The NPT, in turn, is the most important arms control treaty of all. If it were adhered to, it could end the scourge of nuclear weapons. Repeatedly, implementation of the resolution has been blocked by the United States, most recently by President Obama in 2010 and again in 2015. Dhanapala and Duarte comment that the effort was again blocked “on behalf of a state that is not a party to the NPT and is widely believed to be the only one in the region possessing, nuclear weapons” — a polite and understated reference to Israel. This failure, they hope, “will not be the coup de grace to the two longstanding NPT objectives of accelerated progress on nuclear

disarmament and establishing a Middle Eastern WMD-free zone.” Their article, in the journal of the Arms Control Association, is entitled: “Is There a Future for the NPT?”

A nuclear weapons-free zone in the Middle East is a straight forward way to address whatever threat Iran allegedly poses, but a great deal more is at stake in Washington's continuing sabotage of the effort in order to protect its Israeli client. This is not the only case when opportunities to end the alleged Iranian threat have been undermined by Washington, raising further questions about just what is actually at stake.

In considering these matters, it is instructive to examine both the unspoken assumptions and the questions that are rarely asked. Let us consider a few of these assumptions, beginning with the most serious: that Iran is the gravest threat to world peace.

In the United States, it is a virtual cliché among high officials and commentators that Iran wins that grim prize. There is also a world outside the United States, and although its views are not reported in the mainstream here, perhaps they are of some interest. According to the leading Western polling agencies (WIN/Gallup International), the Prize for “greatest threat” is won by the United States, which the world regards as the gravest threat to world peace by a large margin. In second place, far below, is Pakistan, its ranking probably inflated by the Indian vote? Iran is ranked below those two, along with China, Israel, North Korea, and Afghanistan.

1. “Fueling instability”

Another concern, voiced at the United Nations by U.S. Ambassador Samantha Power, is the “instability that Iran fuels beyond its nuclear program.” The United States will continue to scrutinize this misbehavior, she declared. In that, she echoed the assurance offered by Defense Secretary Ashton Carter while standing on Israel’s northern border that “we will continue to help Israel counter Iran's malign influence” in supporting Hezbollah, and that the United States reserves the right to use military force against Iran as it deems appropriate the way Iran “fuels instability” can be seen particularly dramatically in Iraq, where, among other crimes, it alone came at once to the aid of Kurds defending themselves from the ISIS invasion and where it is building a \$ 2.5 billion power plant to try to bring electrical power back to its level before the US invasion. Ambassador Power’s usage is standard when the United States invades a country, resulting in hundreds of thousand killed and millions of refugees, along with barbarous torture and destruction that Iraqis compare to the Mongol invasions, leaving Iraq the unhappiest country in the world according to

WIN/Gallup polls, meanwhile igniting sectarian conflict that is tearing the region to shreds and laying the basis for the ISIS monstrosity along with our Saudi ally – that is “stabilization”. Iran’s shameful actions are “fueling instability”. The farce of this standard usage sometimes reaches levels that are almost surreal, as when liberal commentator James Chace, former editor of “Foreign Affairs”, explained that the United States sought to “destabilize a freely elected Marxist government in Chile” because “we were determined to seek stability” under the Pinochet dictatorship.

Others are outraged that Washington should negotiate at all with a “contemptible” regime like Iran's, with its horrifying human rights record, and urge instead that we pursue “an American-sponsored alliance between Israel and the Sunni states.” So writes Leon Wieseltier, contributing editor to the venerable liberal journal the Atlantic, who can barely conceal his visceral hatred for all things Iranian. With a straight face, this respected liberal intellectual recommends that Saudi Arabia, which makes Iran look like a virtual paradise, and Israel, with its vicious crimes in Gaza and elsewhere, should ally to teach that country good behavior. Perhaps the recommendation is not entirely unreasonable when we consider the human rights records of the regimes the United States has imposed and supported throughout the world.

Though the Iranian government is no doubt a threat to its own people, it regrettably breaks no records in this regard, and does not descend to the level of favored U.S. allies. That, however, cannot be the concern of Washington, and surely not Tel Aviv or Riyadh.

It might also be useful to recall — as surely Iranians do — that not a day has passed since 1953 when the United States was not harming Iranians. As soon as Iranians overthrew the hated U.S.-imposed regime of the shah in 1979, Washington at once turned to supporting Saddam Hussein’s murderous attack on Iran. President Reagan went so far as to deny Saddam's major crime, his chemical warfare assault on Iraq's Kurdish population, which he blamed on Iran instead.” When Saddam was tried for crimes under U.S. auspices, that horrendous crime (as well as others in which the United States was complicit) was carefully excluded from the charges, which were restricted to one of his minor crimes, the murder of 148 Shiites in 1982, a footnote to his gruesome record.

After the Iran-Iraq war ended, the United States continued to support Saddam Hussein, Iran's primary enemy. President George H. W. Bush even invited Iraqi nuclear engineers to the United States for advanced training in weapons production, an extremely serious threat to Iran. Sanctions against Iran were intensified, including

against foreign firms dealing with it, and actions were initiated to bar it from the international financial system.

In recent years the hostility has extended to sabotage, the murder of nuclear scientists (presumably by Israel), and cyberwar, openly pro-claimed with pride. The Pentagon regards cyberwar as an act of war, justifying a military response, as does NATO, which affirmed in September 2014 that cyberattacks may trigger the collective defense obligations of the NATO powers — when we are the target, that is, not the perpetrators.

2. “The prime rogue state”⁶

It is only fair to add that there have been breaks in this pattern. President George W. Bush provided several significant gifts to Iran by destroying its major enemies, Saddam Hussein and the Taliban. He even placed Iran's Iraqi enemy under its influence after the US. defeat, which was so severe that Washington had to abandon its officially declared goals of establishing permanent military bases (“enduring camps”) and ensuring that U.S. corporations would have privileged access to Iraq`s vast oil resources.

Do Iranian leaders intend to develop nuclear weapons today? We can decide for ourselves how credible their denials are, but that they had such intentions in the past is beyond question, since it was asserted openly on the highest authority, which informed foreign journalists that Iran would develop nuclear weapons “certainly, and sooner than one thinks.” The father of Iran's nuclear energy program and former head of Iran's Atomic Energy Organization was confident that the leadership's plan “was to build a nuclear bomb.” The CIA also reported that it had “no doubt” Iran would develop nuclear weapons if neighboring countries did (as they have).

All of this was under the shah, the “highest authority” just quoted – that is, during the period when high US officials (Cheney, Rumsfeld, Kissinger and others) were urging the shah to proceed with nuclear programs and pressuring universities to accommodate these efforts. As part of these efforts, my own university, MIT, made a deal with the shah to admit Iranian students to the nuclear engineering program in return for grants from the shah—over the very strong objections of the student body, but with comparably strong faculty support, in a meeting that older faculty will doubtless remember well.

Asked later why he supported such programs under the shah but opposed them more recently, Kissinger responded honestly that Iran was an ally then.

Putting aside absurdities, what is the real threat of Iran that inspires such fear and fury? A natural place to turn for an answer is, again, US intelligence. Recall its analysis that Iran poses no military threat, that its strategic doctrines are defensive, and that its nuclear programs (with no effort to produce bombs, as far as intelligence can determine) are “a central part of its deterrent strategy”.

Who, then, would be concerned by an Iranian deterrent? The answer is plain: the rogue states that rampage in the region and do not want to tolerate any impediment to their reliance on aggression and violence.

In the lead in this regard are the United States and Israel, with Saudi Arabia trying its best to join the club with its invasion of Bahrain (to support the crushing of a reform movement there) and now its murder assault on Yemen, accelerating a growing humanitarian catastrophe in that country.

For the United States, the characterization is familiar. Fifteen years ago, the prominent political analyst Samuel Huntington warned in the establishment journal *Foreign Affairs* that for much of the world the United States was “becoming the rogue superpower... the single greatest external threat to their societies.” Shortly after, his words were echoed by Robert Jervis, the president of the American Political Science Association: “In the eyes of much of the world, in fact, the prime rogue state today is the United States.” As we have seen, global opinion supports this judgment by a substantial margin.

Furthermore, the mantle is worn with pride. That is the clear meaning of the insistence of the leadership and the political class that the United States reserves the right to resort to force if it determines, unilaterally, that Iran is violating some commitment. This policy is of long standing for liberal Democrats, and by no means restricted to Iran. The Clinton doctrine affirmed that the United States is entitled to resort to the “unilateral use of military power” even to ensure “uninhibited access to key markets, energy supplies, and strategic resources,” let alone alleged “security” or “humanitarian” concerns. Adherence to various versions of this doctrine has been well confirmed in practice, as need hardly be discussed among people willing to look at the facts of current history.

These are among the critical matters that should be the focus of attention in analyzing the nuclear deal at Vienna.

➤ Questions

1. What in fact is the Iranian threat?
2. Which country supported Hezbollah and Hamas?

3. Why cyber-attack nowadays is the most threat rather than nuclear threat?
4. Who were invited to the United States for advanced training in weapons production by President George H. W. Bush?
5. Why USA invaded in Iraq?
6. Are you agree that USA`s invasion in Iraq lead to ISIS creation?
7. What relationship between Al Qaida and ISIS?
8. What did President George W. Bush does for Iran?
9. Who support ISIS?
10. What does it mean “unilateral use of military power” according the Clinton doctrine?

3. From el Salvador to the Russian border⁷

The administration of George H. W. Bush issued a new national security policy and defense budget in reaction to the collapse of the global enemy. It was pretty much the same as before, although with new pretexts. It was, it turned out, necessary to maintain a military establishment almost as great as the rest of the world combined and far more advanced in technological sophistication — but not for defense against the disappearing Soviet Union. Rather, the excuse was the growing “technological sophistication” of Third World powers.

Disciplined intellectuals understood that it would have been improper to collapse in ridicule, so they maintained a proper silence.

The United States, the new policy insisted, must maintain its “defense industrial base.” The phrase is a euphemism, referring to high-tech industry generally, which relies heavily on extensive state intervention for research and development, often under Pentagon cover, in what many economists continue to call the U.S. “free-market economy.”

One of the most interesting provisions of the new plans had to do with the Middle East. There, it was declared, Washington must maintain intervention forces targeting a crucial region where the major problems “could not have been laid at the Kremlin’s door.” Contrary to fifty years of deceit, it was quietly conceded that the main concern in this region was not the Russians, but rather what is called “radical nationalism,” meaning independent nationalism not under U.S. control. All of this has evident bearing on the received standard version, but it passed unnoticed — or, perhaps, therefore it passed unnoticed. Other important events took place immediately after the fall of the Berlin Wall, ending the Cold War. One was in El Salvador, the leading recipient of U.S. military aid — apart from Israel and Egypt, a

separate category — and with one of the worst human rights records anywhere. That is a familiar and very close correlation. The Salvadoran high command ordered the Atlacatl Battalion to invade the Jesuit university and murder six leading Latin American intellectuals, all Jesuit priests, including the rector, Fr. Ignacio Ellacuría, and any witnesses, meaning their housekeeper and her daughter. The battalion had already left a bloody trail of thousands of the usual victims in the course of the U.S.-run state terror campaign in El Salvador, part of a broader terror and torture campaign throughout the region. All routine, ignored and virtually forgotten in the United States and by its allies — again routine. But it tells us a lot about the factors that drive policy, if we care to look at the real world. Another important event took place in Europe. Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to allow the reunification of Germany and its membership in NATO, a hostile military alliance. In light of recent history, this was a most astonishing concession. There was a quid pro quo: President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker agreed that NATO would not expand “one inch to the East,” meaning into East Germany. Instantly, they expanded NATO to East Germany. Gorbachev was naturally outraged, but when he complained, he was instructed by Washington that this had only been a verbal promise, a gentleman’s agreement, hence without force. If he was naïve enough to accept the word of American leaders, it was his problem. All of this, too, was routine, as was the silent acceptance and approval of the expansion of NATO in the United States and the West generally. President Bill Clinton then expanded NATO right up to Russia’s borders. Today, the world faces a serious crisis that is in no small measure a result of these policies.

Keywords: national security policy, defense budget, military establishment, “defense industrial base”, intervention, radical nationalism, Middle East, German reunification, NATO expansion

Summary

The author is talking about the foreign policy of the George H. W. Bush administration and the measures that were taken to preserve the existing power of the United States in the international arena. Special attention is also paid to the plans that have been developed for the Middle East. Due to the fact that this was closely linked to relations with the Soviet Union, there is also considering the specifics of the policy during the period of German reunification - in particular, the common interests of the two countries on the territory of El Salvador and the events that took place inside it. It

highlights the role of Mikhail Gorbachev and his decisions, as well as how they led to the United States having the opportunity to contribute to the expansion of NATO.

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. What are the key provisions of the foreign policy of the George H. W. Bush administration considered in the article?
2. What happened in El Salvador and what effect did it have on US foreign policy?
3. What was the US policy towards the USSR during this period?
4. What agreements did George H. W. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev have regarding NATO expansion?

4. The appeal of plundering the poor⁸

Another source of evidence is the declassified historical record. It contains revealing accounts of the actual motives of state policy. The story is rich and complex, but a few persistent themes play a dominant role. One was articulated clearly at a western hemispheric conference called by the United States in Mexico in February 1945, where Washington imposed an “Economic Charter of the Americas” designed to eliminate economic nationalism “in all its forms.” There was one unspoken exception: economic nationalism would be fine for the United States, whose economy relies heavily on massive state intervention. The elimination of economic nationalism for others stood in sharp conflict with the Latin American stand of that moment, which State Department officials described as “the philosophy of the New Nationalism [that] embraces policies designed to bring about a broader distribution of wealth and to raise the standard of living of the masses.” As U.S. policy analysts added, “Latin Americans are convinced that the first beneficiaries of the development of a country’s resources should be the people of that country.” That, of course, will not do. Washington understands that the “first beneficiaries” should be U.S. investors, while Latin America fulfills its service function. It should not, as both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations would make clear, undergo “excessive industrial development” that might infringe on U.S. interests. Thus Brazil could produce low-quality steel that U.S. corporations did not want to bother with, but it would be “excessive” were it to compete with U.S. firms. Similar concerns resonate throughout the post–World War II period. The global system that was to be dominated by the United States was threatened by what internal documents call “radical and nationalistic regimes” that responded to popular pressures for independent development. That was the concern that motivated the overthrow of the

parliamentary governments of Iran and Guatemala in 1953 and 1954, as well as numerous others. In the case of Iran, a major concern was the potential impact of Iranian independence on Egypt, then in turmoil over British colonial practices. In Guatemala, apart from the crime of the new democracy in empowering the peasant majority and infringing on possessions of the United Fruit Company — already offensive enough — Washington’s concern was labor unrest and popular mobilization in neighboring U.S.-backed dictatorships. In both cases the consequences reach to the present. Literally not a day has passed since 1953 when the United States has not been torturing the people of Iran. Guatemala remains one of the world’s worst horror chambers; to this day, Mayans are fleeing from the effects of near-genocidal government military campaigns in the highlands backed by President Ronald Reagan and his top officials. As the country director of Oxfam, a Guatemalan doctor, reported in 2014, “There is a dramatic deterioration of the political, social and economic context. Attacks against [human rights] defenders have increased 300 percent during the last year. There is a clear evidence of a very well organized strategy by the private sector and Army, both have captured the government in order to keep the status quo and to impose the extraction economical model, pushing away dramatically Indigenous peoples from their own land, due to the mining industry, African Palm and sugar cane plantations. In addition, the social movement defending their land and rights has been criminalized, many leaders are in jail and many others have been killed.” Nothing is known about this in the United States, and the very obvious cause of it remains suppressed. In the 1950s, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles explained quite clearly the dilemma that the United States faced. They complained that the Communists had an unfair advantage: they were able to “appeal directly to the masses” and “get control of mass movements, something we have no capacity to duplicate. The poor people are the ones they appeal to and they have always wanted to plunder the rich.” That causes problems. The United States somehow finds it difficult to appeal to the poor with its doctrine that the rich should plunder the poor.

Keywords: the declassified historical record, “Economic Charter of the Americas”, economic nationalism, overthrow of the government, genocidal military companies.

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. What is the meaning of "Economic Charter of the Americas"?
2. How was the US going to fight "economic nationalism"?

3. What interests did the United States pursue in Guatemala?
4. What was the dilemma that President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles explained in the 1950s?

Summary

The author refers to the data that were submitted for consideration due to the declassified historical record. There is talking about the features of the "Economic Charter of the Americas" and the "economic nationalism" mentioned in it - namely, how the US was going to fight it, while maintaining the benefit only for itself. In this way, the contradictions with Latin American countries that were involved in the interests of the United States regarding this new program escalated.

The topic of intervention in the overthrow of the governments of Iran, Guatemala, and other countries because of US interests that were related to the internal politics of these countries is touched upon.

And all this happened over the years - for example, on the territory of Guatemala, there were genocidal military companies supported by the administration of Ronald Reagan, the trace of which is still visible.

As a result, the topic of the inconsistency of US foreign policy in relation to the distribution of wealth is raised.

5. The Cuban example

A clear illustration of the general pattern was Cuba, when it finally gained independence in 1959. Within months, military attacks on the island began. Shortly after, the Eisenhower administration made a secret decision to overthrow the government. John F. Kennedy then became president. He intended to devote more attention to Latin America and so, on taking office, he created a study group to develop policies that was headed by the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., who summarized its conclusions for the incoming president. As Schlesinger explained, what was threatening in an independent Cuba was "the Castro idea of taking matters into one's own hands." It was an idea that unfortunately appealed to the mass of the population in Latin America, where "the distribution of land and other forms of national wealth greatly favors the propertied classes, and the poor and underprivileged, stimulated by the example of the Cuban revolution, are now demanding opportunities for a decent living." Again, Washington's usual dilemma.

As the CIA explained, "The extensive influence of 'Castroism' is not a function of Cuban power ... Castro's shadow looms large because social and economic

conditions throughout Latin America invite opposition to ruling authority and encourage agitation for radical change,” for which his Cuba provided a model. Kennedy feared that Russian aid might make Cuba a “showcase” for development, giving the Soviets the upper hand throughout Latin America. The State Department Policy Planning Staff warned that “the primary danger we face in Castro is ... in the impact the very existence of his regime has upon the leftist movement in many Latin American countries.... The simple fact is that Castro represents a successful defiance of the United States, a negation of our whole hemispheric policy of almost a century and a half” — that is, since the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, when the United States declared its intention of dominating the hemisphere. The immediate goal at the time of the doctrine was to conquer Cuba, but that could not be achieved because of the power of the British enemy. Still, that grand strategist John Quincy Adams, the intellectual father of the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny, informed his colleagues that over time Cuba would fall into our hands by “the laws of political gravitation,” as an apple falls from the tree. In brief, U.S. power would increase and Britain’s would decline. In 1898, Adams’s prognosis was realized: the United States invaded Cuba in the guise of liberating it. In fact, it prevented the island’s liberation from Spain and turned it into a “virtual colony,” to quote historians Ernest May and Philip Zelikow. Cuba remained a virtual U.S. colony until January 1959, when it gained independence. Since that time it has been subjected to major U.S. terrorist wars, primarily during the Kennedy years, and economic strangulation — and not because of the Russians. The pretense all along was that we were defending ourselves from the Russian threat — an absurd explanation that generally went unchallenged. A simple test of the thesis, again, is what happened when any conceivable Russian threat disappeared: U.S. policy toward Cuba became even harsher, spearheaded by liberal Democrats, including Bill Clinton, who outflanked Bush from the right in the 1992 election. On the face of it, these events should have considerable bearing on the validity of the doctrinal framework for discussion of foreign policy and the factors that drive it. Once again, however, the impact is slight.

Keywords: independence, Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro, “the laws of political gravitation”

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. What happened in Cuba in 1959?
2. What dangers did the Cuban revolution and Fidel Castro's policies pose to the United States?
3. How did the United States justify its actions against Cuba as part of its foreign policy?

Summary

The author gives an assessment of the us foreign policy, connected with the events in Cuba since it gained independence in 1959.

With the change of the President in the United States, a new stage of foreign policy in relation to Latin America began to be formed - it began to receive even more specific attention. The US was concerned about how the example of the Castro revolution in Cuba might affect the level of American influence in the region and what example it might set for other countries.

The background, causes, and consequences of the U.S. invasion of Cuba are further discussed in more detail.

6. The value of secrecy

There is much more to say, but the historical record demonstrates very clearly that the standard doctrine has little merit. Security in the normal sense is not a prominent factor in policy formation. To repeat: “in the normal sense.” But in evaluating the standard doctrine we have to ask what is actually meant by “security”: Security for whom? One answer is: security for state power. There are many illustrations. In May 2014, for example, the United States agreed to support a UN Security Council resolution calling on the International Criminal Court to investigate war crimes in Syria, but with a proviso: there could be no inquiry into possible war crimes by Israel. Or by Washington, though it was unnecessary to add that last condition; the United States is uniquely self-immunized from the international legal system. In fact, there is even congressional legislation authorizing the president to use armed force to “rescue” any American brought to the Hague for trial — the “Netherlands Invasion Act,” as it is sometimes called in Europe. That once again illustrates the importance of protecting the security of state power. But protecting it from whom? There is, in fact, a strong case to be made that a prime concern of government is the security of state power from the population. As those who have spent time rummaging through archives should be aware, government secrecy is rarely motivated by a genuine need

for security, but it definitely does serve to keep the population in the dark. And for good reasons, which were lucidly explained by prominent liberal scholar and government adviser Samuel Huntington. In his words: “The architects of power in the United States must create a force that can be felt but not seen. Power remains strong when it remains in the dark; exposed to the sunlight it begins to evaporate.” Huntington wrote that in 1981, when the Cold War was again heating up, and he explained further that “you may have to sell [intervention or other military action] in such a way as to create the misimpression that it is the Soviet Union that you are fighting. That is what the United States has been doing ever since the Truman Doctrine.” These simple truths are rarely acknowledged, but they provide insight into state power and policy, with reverberations to the present moment. State power has to be protected from its domestic enemy; in sharp contrast, the population is not secure from state power. A striking illustration is the radical attack on the Constitution by the Obama administration’s massive surveillance program. It is, of course, justified by “national security.” That is routine for virtually all actions of all states and so carries little information. When the NSA’s surveillance program was exposed by Edward Snowden’s revelations, high officials claimed that it had prevented fifty-four terrorist acts. On inquiry, that was whittled down to a dozen. A high-level government panel then discovered that there was actually only one case: someone had sent \$8,500 to Somalia. That was the total yield of the huge assault on the Constitution and, of course, on others throughout the world. Britain’s attitude is interesting: in 2007, the British government called on Washington’s colossal spy agency “to analyze and retain any British citizens’ mobile phone and fax numbers, emails, and IP addresses swept up by its dragnet,” the Guardian reported. That is a useful indication of the relative significance, in government eyes, of the privacy of its own citizens and of Washington’s demands. Another concern is security for private power. One illustration is the huge trade agreements — the trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic pacts — now being negotiated. These are being negotiated “in secret” — but not completely in secret. They are not secret from the hundreds of corporate lawyers who are drawing up the detailed provisions. It is not hard to guess what the results will be, and the few leaks about them suggest that the expectations are accurate. Like NAFTA and other such pacts, these are not free-trade agreements. In fact, they are not even trade agreements, but primarily investor-rights agreements. Again, secrecy is critically important to protect the primary domestic constituency of the governments involved: the corporate sector.

Keywords: security, resolution, internal enemy, NSA surveillance, exposure, privacy.

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. What does the concept of "security" mean in the context of foreign policy on the example of the United States?
2. Why should state power be protected from the people?
3. What contradictions do the US government have with regard to the rights of the population in these measures to protect national security?

Summary

The text is dedicated to the discussion of the concept of "security" in the framework of US policy. Having stated that it is primarily about the security of state power, the author analyzes how this is reflected in the activities of the United States in the international arena, including within the framework of international organizations.

And it is already much more detailed is deciphering how exactly this very security is provided - including why it is perceived that the state power must first of all protect from the people. Based on the example of specific events - the large-scale surveillance of the Obama administration, the case of Edward Snowden - the author demonstrates how insignificant is the protection of private life of citizens in comparison with ensuring national security under various pretexts.

UNIT III

GAUGING AMERICAN CRIMES

➤ *Look through the texts and enumerate the problems of consumption*

“It is a common theme” that the United States, which “only a few years ago was hailed to stride the world as a colossus with unparalleled power and unmatched appeal ... is in decline, ominously facing the prospect of its final decay.” This theme, articulated in the summer 2011 issue of the journal of the Academy of Political Science, is indeed widely believed—and with some reason, though a number of qualifications are in order. The decline has in fact been underway since the high point of U.S. power shortly after World War II, and the remarkable rhetoric of the decade of triumphalism after the Soviet Union imploded was mostly self-delusion. Furthermore, the commonly drawn corollary—that power will shift to China and India—is highly dubious. They are poor countries with severe internal problems. The world is surely becoming more diverse, but despite America’s decline, in the foreseeable future there is no competitor for global hegemonic power.

To recall briefly some of the relevant history, during World War II U.S. planners recognized that the country would emerge from the war in a position of overwhelming power. It is quite clear from the documentary record that “President Roosevelt was aiming at United States hegemony in the postwar world,” to quote the assessment of diplomatic historian Geoffrey Warner, one of the leading specialists on the topic. Plans were developed, along lines discussed above, for the United States to control what was called a “Grand Area” spanning the globe. These doctrines still prevail, though their reach has declined.

The wartime plans, soon to be carefully implemented, were not unrealistic. The United States had long been by far the richest country in the world. The war ended the Great Depression, and American industrial capacity almost quadrupled, while rivals were decimated. At war’s end the United States had half the world’s wealth and unmatched security. Each region of the Grand Area was assigned its “function” within the global system. The ensuing “Cold War” consisted largely of efforts by the two superpowers to enforce order in their own domains: for the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe; for the United States, most of the world.

But decline was inevitable, as the industrial world reconstructed itself and decolonization pursued its agonizing course. By 1970, the U.S. share of world wealth had declined to about 25 percent. The industrial world was becoming “tripolar,” with

major centers in the United States, Europe, and Asia, then Japan centered and already becoming the globe's most dynamic region.

Twenty years later, the USSR collapsed. Washington's reaction teaches us a good deal about the reality of the Cold War. The first Bush administration, then in office, immediately declared that its policies would remain essentially unchanged, although with different pretexts; the huge military establishment would be maintained not for defense against the Russians but to confront the "technological sophistication" of Third World powers. Similarly, it would be necessary to maintain "the defense industrial base," a euphemism for advanced industry highly reliant on government subsidy and initiative. Intervention forces still had to be aimed at the Middle East, where serious problems "could not be laid at the Kremlin's door," contrary to half a century of deceit. It was quietly conceded that the problem had always been "radical nationalism," that is, attempts by countries to pursue an independent course in violation of Grand Area principles. These principles were not to be modified in any fundamental way, as the Clinton doctrine (under which the United States could unilaterally use military power to further its economic interests) and the global expansion of NATO would soon make clear.

There was a period of euphoria after the collapse of the superpower enemy, replete with excited tales about "the end of history" and awed acclaim for President Bill Clinton's foreign policy, which had entered a "noble phase" with a "saintly glow," as for the first time in history a nation would be guided by "altruism" and dedicated to "principles and values." Nothing now stood in the way of an "idealistic New World bent on ending inhumanity" which could at last carry forward, unhindered, the emerging international norm of humanitarian intervention. And that's to sample just a few of the impassioned accolades of prominent intellectuals at the time.

A further danger: there might be meaningful moves toward democracy. New York Times executive editor Bill Keller wrote movingly of Washington's "yearning to embrace the aspiring democrats across North Africa and the Middle East." But polls of Arab opinion revealed very clearly that it would be a disaster for Washington if there were steps toward the creation of functioning democracies, where public opinion would influence policy: as we have seen, the Arab population regards the United States as a major threat, and would expel it and its allies from the region if given a choice.

While long-standing U.S. policies remain largely stable, with tactical adjustments, under Obama there have been some significant changes. Military analyst

Yochi Dreazen and his coauthors observed in the «Atlantic» that while Bush's policy was to capture (and torture) suspects, Obama simply assassinates them, rapidly increasing the use of terror weapons (drones) and Special Forces personnel, many of them assassination teams. Special Forces units have been deployed in 147 countries. Now as large as Canada's entire military, these soldiers are, in effect, a private army of the president, a matter discussed in detail by American investigative journalist Nick Turse on the website Tom Dispatch. The team that Obama sent to assassinate Osama bin Laden had already carried out perhaps a dozen similar missions in Pakistan. As these and many other developments illustrate, though U.S. hegemony has declined, its ambition has not.

Another common theme, at least among those who are not willfully blind, is that American decline is in no small measure self-inflicted. The comic opera in Washington centering around whether or not to “shut down” the government, which disgusts the country (a large majority of which thinks that Congress should just be disbanded) and bewilders the world, has few analogues in the annals of parliamentary democracy. The spectacle is even coming to frighten the sponsors of the charade. Corporate powers are now concerned that the extremists they helped put in office may choose to bring down the edifice on which their own wealth and privilege relies, the powerful “nanny state” that caters to their interests.

Returning to the “common theme” that the United States “is in decline, ominously facing the prospect of its final decay,” while the laments are considerably exaggerated, they contain elements of truth. American power in the world is, indeed, continuing its decline from its early post-World War II peak. While the United States remains the most powerful state in the world, nevertheless, global power is continuing to diversify, and the United States is increasingly unable to impose its will. But decline has many dimensions and complexities. The domestic society is also in decline in significant ways, and what is decline for some may be unimaginable wealth and privilege for others. For the plutonomy — more narrowly, a tiny fraction of it at the upper extreme — privilege and wealth abound, while for the great majority prospects are often gloomy, and many even face problems of survival in a country with unparalleled advantages.

Keywords: decline, hegemonic power, tripolar world, «Grand Area», global expansion, unmatched security, humanitarian intervention's right, crisis of unemployment, plutonomy, global precariat.

Give the summary.

➤ Answer the questions

1. When did America`s decline start?
2. Which Grand Area`s parts has America lost?
3. For which purposes has the huge American military establishment been maintained?
4. How does Arab population treat the United States?
5. Which significant changes were there under Obama?
6. What are corporate powers concerned about?
7. What is the public`s primary domestic concern?
8. What was Osama bin Laden`s announced goal towards USA?
9. From which two main parts does a world consist of according to the banks` analysts?
10. Why is the USA unable to impose its will now?

➤ Connect the Russian translation with the original parts

1) К 1949 году Большая зона, которую планировали контролировать США, была уже серьезно уменьшена из-за «потери Китая», как это принято называть. Данная фраза довольно интересна: можно «потерять» только то, чем обладаешь, и воспринимается как должное то, что США по праву владеют большей частью мира. Вскоре после этого Юго-Восточная Азия начала ускользать от контроля Вашингтона, что привело к чудовищным войнам в Индокитае и огромным массовым убийствам в Индонезии в 1965 году по мере восстановления американского господства. Тем временем подрывная деятельность и массовое насилие продолжались и в других странах в попытке сохранить то, что называется «стабильностью».

2) Существует еще одна опасность: присутствует возможность появления заметных движений на пути к демократии. Исполнительный редактор «New York Times» Билл Келлер вдохновенно написал о том, что Вашингтон «жаждет оказать поддержку начинающим демократам во всей Северной Африке и на Ближнем Востоке». Но опросы арабского мнения однозначно показали, что для Вашингтона станет катастрофой, если будут предприняты шаги по созданию развитых демократий, где общественное мнение будет влиять на политику: как мы видели, арабское население рассматривает США как главную угрозу и изгонит их и их союзников из региона, если им будет предоставлен выбор.

3) Еще одна распространенная мысль, по крайней мере среди тех, кто не является упрямыми слепцами, заключается в том, что американский упадок в немалой степени спровоцировал сам себя. Комический сериал в Вашингтоне вокруг того, стоит ли «закрывать» правительство, что вызывает отвращение у страны (подавляющее большинство которой считает, что Конгресс должен быть просто распущен) и вызывает недоумение у всего мира, имеет мало аналогов в анналах парламентской демократии. Это представление даже идет к тому, чтобы напугать самих спонсоров данного фарса. В настоящее время корпоративные власти обеспокоены тем, что экстремисты, которым они помогли прийти к власти, могут принять решение разрушить здание, на которое опирается их собственное богатство и привилегии, могущественное «государство-нянька», которое служит их интересам.

4) Для населения главной внутренней проблемой является серьезный кризис безработицы. В сложившихся условиях эта критическая проблема могла быть преодолена только с помощью значительного государственного стимулирования, намного превосходящего тот, который Обама инициировал в 2009 году, который с трудом соответствовал снижению государственных и региональных расходов, хотя он, вероятно, все же сохранил миллионы рабочих мест. Для финансовых учреждений основной проблемой является дефицит. Поэтому только дефицит и обсуждается. Значительное большинство населения (72%) выступает за решение проблемы дефицита путем обложения налогом очень богатых людей. Против сокращения программ здравоохранения выступает подавляющее большинство (69% в случае «Медикэйд», 78% – в рамках «Медикэр»). Поэтому противоположный исход наиболее вероятный.

5) Хотя кризис дефицита был разработан по причине жестокой классовой войны, долгой кризис в долгосрочной перспективе вызывает опасение, и так было с тех пор, как финансовая безответственность Рональда Рейгана превратила США из ведущего мирового кредитора в ведущего мирового должника, устроив государственный долг и увеличив угрозы экономике, которые быстро возросли с приходом Джорджа Буша-младшего. Однако на данный момент именно кризис безработицы вызывает самую глубокую озабоченность.

б) Возвращаясь к «распространенной мысли» о том, что США «находятся в упадке, столкнувшись со зловещей перспективой их окончательного распада», в то время как подобное утверждение значительно преувеличено, оно все же содержит долю правды. Американское мировое влияние на самом деле

продолжает падать со времен своего прежнего расцвета после Второй мировой войны. Хотя США остаются самым могущественным государством в мире, тем не менее, понятие мировой державы продолжает изменяться, и США уже более не в состоянии навязать свою волю. Но упадок имеет много направлений и составляющих. Национальное общество также приходит в упадок во многих отношениях, и то, что является упадком для одних, может быть невообразимым процветанием и привилегиями для других. Для плутократии – ее немногочисленной, крохотной части, самой верхушки - привилегий и богатства в изобилии, в то время как для подавляющего большинства перспективы часто мрачные, и многие даже сталкиваются с проблемами выживания в стране с непревзойденными возможностями.

a) Another common theme, at least among those who are not willfully blind, is that American decline is in no small measure self-inflicted. The comic opera in Washington centering around whether or not to “shut down” the government, which disgusts the country (a large majority of which thinks that Congress should just be disbanded) and bewilders the world, has few analogues in the annals of parliamentary democracy. The spectacle is even coming to frighten the sponsors of the charade. Corporate powers are now concerned that the extremists they helped put in office may choose to bring down the edifice on which their own wealth and privilege relies, the powerful “nanny state” that caters to their interests.

b) Returning to the “common theme” that the United States “is in decline, ominously facing the prospect of its final decay,” while the laments are considerably exaggerated, they contain elements of truth. American power in the world is, indeed, continuing its decline from its early post-World War II peak. While the United States remains the most powerful state in the world, nevertheless, global power is continuing to diversify, and the United States is increasingly unable to impose its will. But decline has many dimensions and complexities. The domestic society is also in decline in significant ways, and what is decline for some may be unimaginable wealth and privilege for others. For the plutonomy — more narrowly, a tiny fraction of it at the upper extreme — privilege and wealth abound, while for the great majority prospects are often gloomy, and many even face problems of survival in a country with unparalleled advantages.

c) A further danger: there might be meaningful moves toward democracy. New York Times executive editor Bill Keller wrote movingly of Washington’s “yearning to embrace the aspiring democrats across North Africa and the Middle East.” But polls of Arab opinion revealed very clearly that it would be a disaster for Washington if

there were steps toward the creation of functioning democracies, where public opinion would influence policy: as we have seen, the Arab population regards the United States as a major threat, and would expel it and its allies from the region if given a choice.

d) For the public, the primary domestic concern is the severe crisis of unemployment. Under prevailing circumstances, that critical problem could have been overcome only by a significant government stimulus, well beyond the one Obama initiated in 2009, which barely matched declines in state and local spending, though it still did probably save millions of jobs. For financial institutions, the primary concern is the deficit. Therefore, only the deficit is under discussion. A large majority of the population (72 percent) favor addressing the deficit by taxing the very rich. Cutting health programs is opposed by overwhelming majorities (69% in the case of Medicaid, 78 percent for Medicare). The likely outcome is therefore the opposite.

e) By 1949 the Grand Area that the United States planned to control was already seriously eroding with “the loss of China,” as it is routinely called. The phrase is interesting: one can only “lose” what one possesses, and it is taken for granted that the United States owns most of the world by right. Shortly after, Southeast Asia began to slip free from Washington’s control, leading to horrendous wars in Indochina and huge massacres in Indonesia in 1965 as U.S. dominance was restored. Meanwhile, subversion and massive violence continued elsewhere in an effort to maintain what is called “stability”.

f) Though the deficit crisis has been manufactured for reasons of savage class war, the long-term debt crisis is serious, and has been ever since Ronald Reagan’s fiscal irresponsibility turned the United States from the world’s leading creditor to the world’s leading debtor, tripling the national debt and raising threats to the economy that were rapidly escalated by George W. Bush. For now, however, it is the crisis of unemployment that is the gravest concern.

2. Fill in the gaps

1. Shortly after, Southeast Asia began to _____ from Washington’s control

a) run b) slip free c) slow down d) lose

2. It was quietly _____ that the problem had always been “radical nationalism”

a) conceded b) right c) opposed d) leading

3. The Arab population regards the United States as a major threat, and would _____ it and its allies from the region if given a choice

a) fight b) expel c) follow d) maintain

4. Though U.S. hegemony has _____, its ambition has not.
 a) crashed b) felt c) dropped d) declined
5. Corporate powers are now concerned that the extremists may choose to bring down the powerful “nanny state” that _____ their interests.
 a) caters to b) calls c) aspires d) concerns
6. Cutting health programs is opposed by _____ majorities
 a) large b) massive c) overwhelming d) huge
7. Announced goal was to bankrupt America by _____ it into a trap
 a) staying b) resting c) drawing d) sitting
8. This non-American cannot understand what the _____ is about
 a) fuss b) thing c) point d) tendency
9. a major American utility is _____ the nation’s most prominent effort to capture carbon dioxide
 a) disturbing b) pursuing c) continuing d) shelving
10. The post-golden age economy is enacting a nightmare _____ by the classical economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo
 a) argued b) issued c) supported d) envisaged

3. Match the words with their definitions

- 1) self-delusion
 a) оборонно-промышленный комплекс
- 2) to enforce order
 b) исчезновение
- 3) the defense industrial base
 c) ухудшающаяся экономика
- 4) unilaterally
 d) обеспечить порядок
- 5) attenuation
 e) финансовое мошенничество
- 6) under prevailing circumstances
 f) горячо выступать против
- 7) revenues
 g) самообман
- 8) deteriorating economy
 h) доходы
- 9) financial fraud

i) в сложившихся условиях

10) fervently oppose

j) в одностороннем порядке

4. Which of the words on the left IS NOT a synonym for the highlighted words in the chapter`s context

a. to tramp

b. to scurry

c. to walk purposefully

a. deterioration

b. to go down

c. soar

a. contenders

b. backers

c. opponents

a. surrenders

b. bailiwicks

c. realms

a. assassination

b. carnage

c. reservation

a drive out.

b. dislodge

c. retain

1) "It is a common theme" that the United States, which "only a few years ago was hailed to stride the world

2) The decline has in fact been underway

3) Rivals were decimated

4) The ensuing "Cold War" consisted largely of efforts by the two superpowers to enforce order in their own domains

5) Southeast Asia began to slip free from Washington's control, leading to horrendous wars in Indochina and huge massacres in Indonesia

6) Arab population regards the United States as a major threat, and would expel it and its allies from the region

a. leadership

b. enervation

c. authority

a. copiously

b. scarcely

c. hardly

a. proceeds

b. earnings

c. expenditures

a. originate

b. lapse

c. stem from

7) President Roosevelt was aiming at United States hegemony in the postwar world

8) Both political organizations—which by now barely resemble traditional parties—are far to the right of the population

9) Revenues are forecast to be a mere 14.4 per cent of GDP in 2011

10) They trace back to the 1970s

5. Find antonyms from the text

1. mild

2. preserve

3. in maintenance

4. bilaterally

5. frustrated

6. support

7. amiable

8. rivals

9. unwillingly

10. enrich

1. Is America Over?

Some significant anniversaries are solemnly commemorated — Japan's attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, for example. Others are ignored, and we can often learn valuable lessons from them about what is likely to lie ahead.

There was no commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of President John F. Kennedy's decision to launch the most destructive and murderous act of aggression of the post-World War II period: the invasion of South Vietnam, and later all of Indochina, leaving millions dead and four countries devastated, with casualties still

mounting from the long-term effects of drenching South Vietnam with some of the most lethal carcinogens known, undertaken to destroy ground cover and food crops.

The prime target was South Vietnam. The aggression later spread to North Vietnam, then to the remote peasant society of northern Laos, and finally to rural Cambodia, which was bombed at a stunning level, equivalent to all Allied air operations in the Pacific region during World War II, including the two atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In this case, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger's orders were being carried out — “anything that flies on anything that moves,” an open call for genocide that is rare in the historical record. Little of this is remembered. Most was scarcely known beyond narrow circles of activists.

When the invasion was launched fifty years ago, concern was so slight that there were few efforts at justification, hardly more than the president's impassioned plea that “we are opposed around the world by a monolithic and ruthless conspiracy that relies primarily on covert means for expanding its sphere of influence,” and if that conspiracy achieved its ends in Laos and Vietnam, “the gates will be opened wide”.

Elsewhere, he warned further that “the complacent, the self-indulgent, the soft societies are about to be swept away with the debris of history [and] only the strong ... can possibly survive,” in this case reflecting on the failure of U.S. aggression and terror to crush Cuban independence. By the time protest began to mount half a dozen years later, the respected Vietnam specialist and military historian Bernard Fall, no dove, forecast that “Vietnam as a cultural and historic entity ... is threatened with extinction [as] the countryside literally dies under the blows of the largest military machine ever unleashed on an area of this size”. He was again referring to South Vietnam.

When the war ended, eight horrendous years later, mainstream opinion was divided between those who described the war as a “noble cause” that could have been won with more dedication and, at the opposite extreme, the critics, for whom it was “a mistake” that proved too costly. By 1977, President Carter aroused little notice when he explained that we owe Vietnam “no debt” because “the destruction was mutual”.

There are important lessons in all this for today, even apart from another reminder that only the weak and defeated are called to account for their crimes. One lesson is that to understand what is happening we should attend not only to critical events of the real world, often dismissed from history, but also to what leaders and elite opinion believe, however tinged with fantasy. Another lesson is that alongside

the flights of fancy concocted to terrify and mobilize the public (and perhaps believed by some who are trapped in their own rhetoric), there is also geostrategic planning based on principles that are rational and stable over long periods because they are rooted in stable institutions and their concerns. I will return to that point, only stressing here that the persistent factors in state action are generally well concealed.

The Iraq war is an instructive case. It was marketed to a terrified public on the usual grounds of self-defense against an awesome threat to survival: the “single question,” George W. Bush and Tony Blair declared, was whether Saddam Hussein would end his programs of developing weapons of mass destruction. When the single question received the wrong answer, government rhetoric shifted effortlessly to our “yearning for democracy,” and educated opinion duly followed course.

Later, as the scale of the U.S. defeat in Iraq was becoming difficult to suppress, the government quietly conceded what had been clear all along. In 2007, the administration officially announced that a final settlement must grant the U.S. military bases and the right of combat operations, and must privilege U.S. investors in the country’s rich energy system — demands only reluctantly abandoned in the face of Iraqi resistance, and all kept well hidden from the general population.

Keywords: Indochina, public opinion, Iraq, yearning for democracy, geostrategic planning.

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. What was the prime target of USA against South Vietnam?
2. What was the order of national Security Adviser Henry Kissinger in the bombing of Indochina?
3. What did the final settlement of the conflict in Iraq include?

2. Gauging American decline

With such lessons in mind, it is useful to look at what is highlighted in the major journals of policy and opinion. Let us keep to the most prestigious of the establishment journals, *Foreign Affairs*. The headline on the cover of the November/December 2011 issue reads in boldface: “Is America Over?”

The essay motivating this headline calls for a “retrenchment” in the “humanitarian missions” abroad that are consuming the country’s wealth, so as to arrest the American decline that is a major theme of international affairs discourse,

usually accompanied by the corollary that power is shifting to the East, to China and (maybe) India.

American decline is real, though the apocalyptic version of it reflects the familiar ruling-class perception that anything short of total control amounts to total disaster. Despite the piteous laments, the United States remains the world's dominant power by a large margin, with no competitor in sight, and not only in the military dimension, in which, of course, the United States reigns supreme.

China and India have recorded rapid (though highly inegalitarian) growth, but remain very poor countries, with enormous internal problems not faced by the West. China is the world's major manufacturing center, but largely as an assembly plant for the advanced industrial powers on its periphery and for Western multinationals. That is likely to change over time. Manufacturing regularly provides the basis for innovation, often even breakthroughs, as is now sometimes happening in China. One example that has impressed Western specialists is China's takeover of the growing global solar panel market, not on the basis of cheap labor but by coordinated planning and, increasingly, innovation.

But the problems China faces are serious. Some are demographic, as reviewed in *Science*, the leading U.S. science weekly. Its study shows that mortality sharply decreased in China during the Maoist years, "mainly a result of economic development and improvements in education and health services, especially the public hygiene movement that resulted in a sharp drop in mortality from infectious diseases." But this progress ended with the initiation of capitalist reforms thirty years ago, and the death rate has since increased.

Furthermore, China's recent economic growth has relied substantially on a "demographic bonus," a very large working-age population. "But the window for harvesting this bonus may close soon," with a "profound impact on development.... Excess cheap labor supply, which is one of the major factors driving China's economic miracle, will no longer be available."

Demography is only one of many serious problems ahead. And for India, the problems are even more severe.

Not all prominent voices foresee American decline. Among international media, there is none more serious and responsible than the *Financial Times*. It recently devoted a full page to the optimistic expectation that new technology for extracting North American fossil fuels might allow the United States to become energy independent, hence retaining its global hegemony for a century. There is no

mention of the kind of world the United States would rule over in this happy event, but not for lack of evidence.

At about the same time, the International Energy Agency (IEA) reported that, with rapidly increasing carbon emissions from fossil fuel use, the limit of safety with regard to climate change will be reached by 2017 if the world continues on its present course. “The door is closing,” the IEA’s chief economist said, and very soon it “will be closed forever.”

Shortly before that, the U.S. Department of Energy reported its annual carbon dioxide emissions figures, which “jumped by the biggest amount on record,” to a level higher than the worst-case scenario anticipated by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). That came as no surprise to many scientists, including the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)’s program on climate change, which for years has warned that the IPCC’s predictions are too conservative.

Such critics of the IPCC predictions receive virtually no public attention, unlike the fringe climate change denialists who are supported by the corporate sector, along with huge propaganda campaigns that have driven many Americans off the international spectrum in their dismissal of the threats of climate change. Business support also translates directly into political power. Denialism is part of the catechism that must be intoned by Republican candidates in the farcical election campaigns now endlessly underway, and in Congress denialists are powerful enough to abort even efforts to inquire into the effects of global warming, let alone do anything serious about it.

In brief, American decline can perhaps be stemmed if we abandon hope for decent survival, a prospect that is all too real given the balance of forces in the world.

Keywords: American decline, deniers, global predominance, humanitarian missions, country's wealth.

Summary

The main purpose of the article is to revealing the debate about whether American decline is real or not. China's challenging U.S. for global predominance constitutes the core part of the debate over the American decline. Some are calling for humanitarian missions to be cut as they reduce the country's wealth. On the contrary the deniers of American decline foresee the hegemony of the United States for another century. The fact that other nations in the world are enjoying periods of high

growth, however, does not mean that America's position as the predominant power is declining.

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. What was the prime target of USA against South Vietnam?
2. What was the order of national Security Adviser Henry Kissinger in the bombing of Indochina?
3. What did the final settlement of the conflict in Iraq include?
4. What problems does China face in developing its economy?
5. What case will America be able to become energy independent while maintaining its global hegemony?
6. What two opinions were expressed about the bombing of Iran?

3. **“Losing” China and Vietnam**

Putting such unpleasant thoughts aside, a close look at American decline shows that China indeed plays a large role in it, as has been true for the last sixty years. The decline that now elicits such concern is not a recent phenomenon. It traces back to the end of World War II, when the United States had half the world's wealth and incomparable security and global reach. Planners were naturally well aware of the enormous disparity of power, and intended to keep it that way.

The basic viewpoint was outlined with admirable frankness in a major state paper of 1948. The author was one of the architects of the new world order of the day: the chair of the State Department's policy planning staff, respected statesman and scholar George Kennan, a moderate dove within the planning spectrum. He observed that the central policy goal of the United States should be to maintain the “position of disparity” that separated our enormous wealth from the poverty of others. To achieve that goal, he advised, “We should cease to talk about vague and ... unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standards, and democratization,” and must “deal in straight power concepts” and not be “hampered by idealistic slogans” about “altruism and world-benefaction”.

Kennan was referring specifically to the situation in Asia, but his observations can be generalized, with exceptions, to participants in the U.S.-run global system. It was well understood, however, that the “idealistic slogans” were to be displayed prominently when addressing others, including the intellectual classes, who were expected to promulgate them.

The plans that Kennan helped formulate and implement took for granted that the United States would control the western hemisphere, the Far East, the former

British Empire (including the incomparable energy resources of the Middle East), and as much of Eurasia as possible, crucially its commercial and industrial centers. These were not unrealistic objectives, given the distribution of power at that moment. But decline set in at once.

In 1949, China declared independence — resulting, in the United States, in bitter recriminations and conflict over who was responsible for that “loss.” The tacit assumption was that the United States “owned” China by right, along with most of the rest of the world, much as postwar planners assumed.

The “loss of China” was the first significant step in “America’s decline.” It had major policy consequences. One was the immediate decision to support France’s effort to reconquer its former colony of Indochina, so that it, too, would not be “lost.” Indochina itself was not a major concern, despite claims made by President Eisenhower and others about its rich resources. Rather, the concern was the “domino theory.” Often ridiculed when dominoes don’t fall, it remains a leading principle of policy because it is quite rational. To adopt Henry Kissinger’s version, a region that falls out of U.S. control can become a “virus” that will “spread contagion,” inducing others to follow the same path.

In the case of Vietnam, the concern was that the virus of independent development might infect Indonesia, which really does have rich resources. And that might lead Japan — the “superdomino,” as it was called by the prominent Asia historian John Dower — to “accommodate” to an independent Asia, becoming its technological and industrial center in a system that would escape the reach of U.S. power. That would have meant, in effect, that the United States had lost the Pacific phase of World War II, fought to prevent Japan’s attempt to establish such a new order in Asia.

The way to deal with such a problem is clear: destroy the virus and “inoculate” those who might be infected. In the case of Vietnam, the rational choice was to destroy any hope of successful independent development and impose brutal dictatorships in the surrounding regions. Those tasks were successfully carried out — though history has its own cunning, and something similar to what was feared has nonetheless since been developing in East Asia, much to Washington’s dismay.

The most important victory of the Indochina wars was in 1965, when a U.S.-backed military coup in Indonesia led by General Suharto carried out massive crimes that were compared by the CIA to those of Hitler, Stalin, and Mao. The “staggering mass slaughter,” as the New York Times described it, was reported accurately across the mainstream, and with unrestrained euphoria.

It was “a gleam of light in Asia,” as the noted liberal commentator James Reston wrote in the Times. The coup ended the threat of democracy by demolishing the mass-based political party of the poor, established a dictatorship that went on to compile one of the worst human rights records in the world, and threw the riches of the country open to Western investors. Small wonder that, after many other horrors, including the near-genocidal invasion of East Timor, Suharto was welcomed by the Clinton administration in 1995 as “our kind of guy”.

Years after the great events of 1965, Kennedy-Johnson National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy reflected that it would have been wise to end the Vietnam War at that time, with the “virus” virtually destroyed and the primary domino solidly in place, buttressed by other U.S.-backed dictatorships throughout the region. Similar procedures have been routinely followed elsewhere; Kissinger was referring specifically to the threat of socialist democracy in Chile—a threat ended on “the first 9/11” with the vicious dictatorship of General Pinochet subsequently imposed on the country. Viruses have aroused deep concern elsewhere as well, including the Middle East, where the threat of secular nationalism has often concerned British and U.S. planners, inducing them to support radical Islamic fundamentalism to counter it.

Keywords: “Losing” China and Vietnam, American fall, Domino theory, communism

Digest

The headline of the article is “Losing” China and Vietnam. Indeed, China and Vietnam played an important role in the American decline. The key issue in the article is the impact of China and Vietnam on American decline. It’s began in 1945.

In 1945, at the end of World War II, the United States was at the absolute peak of its power. More than half of the world's wealth was concentrated in America. The country benefited economically and domestically from the war – industrial output quadrupled at the end of the great depression and there was a great period of growth ahead. America was safe. And the US had very rational plans - to control the whole world. But after a few years, these plans began to fall apart. In 1949, China gained its independence. This is called "China's loss" in American political discourse. It sparked a US search for the culprit in the loss. The implication was that the US had the right to control China. But the country became independent. In the following years, other industrial powers recovered.

Analyzing the American decline, the author also draws attention to the Domino theory, which is closely related to the invasion of Vietnam. The domino theory was a theory prominent from the 1950s to the 1980s that meant if one country in a region came under the influence of communism, so the surrounding countries would follow in a domino effect. The domino theory was used by successive United States administrations during the Cold War to justify the need for American intervention around the world.

The author asserts that the communist and socialist movements became popular in poorer countries because they brought economic improvements to those countries in which they took power.

Even then, the world, or the economic part of it, was tripolar – Europe concentrated in Germany, the United States concentrated in North America, East Asia concentrated in Japan. So, the world became more diverse. But it will continue. In conclusion we should say, the author concludes by saying that Domino theories are of deep concern in other countries, including the Middle East. But only here the threat of secular nationalism is already emanating. That is why the US is forced to support radical Islamic fundamentalism in order to counter secular nationalism.

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. What does the loss of China mean in American political discourse?
2. What is the main idea of the Domino theory and how to deal with a region that has fallen out of control?
3. What did George Kennan called the main political goal of the United States in 1948?

UNIT IV

THE FINAL CENTURY OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION?

➤ *Read and retell the texts*

There are other examples too numerous to mention, facts that are well established and would be taught in elementary schools in free societies. There is, in other words, ample evidence that securing state power from the domestic population and securing concentrated private power are driving forces in policy formation. Of course, it is not quite that simple. There are interesting cases, some quite current, where these commitments conflict, but we can consider this to be a good first approximation, and one radically opposed to the received standard doctrine. Let us turn to another question: What about the security of the population? It is easy to demonstrate that this is of marginal concern to policy planners. Take two prominent current examples, global warming and nuclear weapons. As any literate person is doubtless aware, these are dire threats to the security of the population. Turning to state policy, we find that it is committed to accelerating each of those threats — in the interests of its primary concerns, protection of state power and of the concentrated private power that largely determines state policy. Consider global warming. There is now much exuberance in the United States about “a hundred years of energy independence” as we become “the Saudi Arabia of the next century” — perhaps the final century of human civilization if current policies persist. That illustrates very clearly the nature of the concern for security — certainly not for the population. It also illustrates the moral calculus of contemporary state capitalism: the fate of our grandchildren counts as nothing when compared with the imperative of higher profits tomorrow. These conclusions are fortified by a closer look at the propaganda system. There is a huge public relations campaign in the United States, organized quite openly by Big Energy and the business world, to try to convince the public that global warming is either unreal or not a result of human activity. And it has had some impact. The United States ranks lower than other countries in public concern about global warming, and the results are stratified: among Republicans, the party more fully dedicated to the interests of wealth and corporate power, it ranks far lower than the global norm. The premier journal of media criticism, the *Columbia Journalism Review*, had an interesting article on the subject attributing this outcome to the media doctrine of “fair and balanced.” In other words, if a journal publishes an opinion piece reflecting the conclusions of 97 percent of scientists, it must also run a counter-piece expressing the viewpoint of the energy corporations. That indeed is what

happens, but there certainly is no “fair and balanced” doctrine. Thus, if a journal runs an opinion piece denouncing Russian President Vladimir Putin for the criminal act of taking over the Crimea, it surely does not have to run a piece pointing out that, while the act is indeed criminal, Russia has a far stronger case today than the United States did more than a century ago in taking over southeastern Cuba, including Guantánamo, the country’s major port - and rejecting the Cuban demand since independence to have it returned. And the same is true of many other cases. The actual media doctrine is “fair and balanced” when the concerns of concentrated private power are involved, but surely not elsewhere. On the issue of nuclear weapons, the record is similarly interesting — and frightening. It reveals very clearly that, from the earliest days, the security of the population was a nonissue, and remains so. There is no need here to run through the shocking record, but there is little doubt that policymakers have been playing roulette with the fate of the species. As we are all surely aware, we now face the most ominous decisions in human history. There are many problems that must be addressed, but two are overwhelming in their significance: environmental destruction and nuclear war. For the first time in history, we face the possibility of destroying the prospects for decent existence — and not in the distant future. For this reason alone, it is imperative to sweep away the ideological clouds and face honestly and realistically the question of how policy decisions are made, and what we can do to alter them before it is too late.

Keywords: state power, the security of the population, global warming, nuclear weapons, environmental destruction

➤ **Answer the questions:**

1. What threats to the security of the US population is considered by the author as a priority?
2. How does the US feel about global warming?
3. How does the US feel about the threat of using nuclear weapons?
4. Why does the United States not place security of population as a top priority over the security of government?

Give the summary.

Tasks

1. Match parts of the original text with its translation into Russian.

1) A clear illustration of the general pattern was Cuba, when it finally gained independence in 1959. Within months, military attacks on the island began. Shortly after, the Eisenhower administration made a secret decision to overthrow the government. John F. Kennedy then became president. He intended to devote more attention to Latin America and so, on taking office, he created a study group to develop policies that was headed by the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., who summarized its conclusions for the incoming president.

2) The Salvadoran high command ordered the Atlacatl Battalion to invade the Jesuit university and murder six leading Latin American intellectuals, all Jesuit priests, including the rector, Fr. Ignacio Ellacuría, and any witnesses, meaning their housekeeper and her daughter. The battalion had already left a bloody trail of thousands of the usual victims in the course of the U.S.-run state terror campaign in El Salvador, part of a broader terror and torture campaign throughout the region.

3) That was the concern that motivated the overthrow of the parliamentary governments of Iran and Guatemala in 1953 and 1954, as well as numerous others. In the case of Iran, a major concern was the potential impact of Iranian independence on Egypt, then in turmoil over British colonial practices. In Guatemala, apart from the crime of the new democracy in empowering the peasant majority and infringing on possessions of the United Fruit Company—already offensive enough — Washington's concern was labor unrest and popular mobilization in neighboring U.S.-backed dictatorships.

4) These simple truths are rarely acknowledged, but they provide insight into state power and policy, with reverberations to the present moment. State power has to be protected from its domestic enemy; in sharp contrast, the population is not secure from state power. A striking illustration is the radical attack on the Constitution by the Obama administration's massive surveillance program. It is, of course, justified by "national security." That is routine for virtually all actions of all states and so carries little information.

5) One of the most interesting provisions of the new plans had to do with the Middle East. There, it was declared, Washington must maintain intervention forces targeting a crucial region where the major problems "could not have been laid at the Kremlin's door." Contrary to fifty years of deceit, it was quietly conceded that the main concern in this region was not the Russians, but rather what is

called “radical nationalism,” meaning independent nationalism not under U.S. control.

6) In the 1950s, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles explained quite clearly the dilemma that the United States faced. They complained that the Communists had an unfair advantage: they were able to “appeal directly to the masses” and “get control of mass movements, something we have no capacity to duplicate. The poor people are the ones they appeal to and they have always wanted to plunder the rich.” That causes problems. The United States somehow finds it difficult to appeal to the poor with its doctrine that the rich should plunder the poor.

А) Именно эта озабоченность послужила причиной свержения парламентских правительств Ирана и Гватемалы в 1953 и 1954 годах, а также многих других. В случае с Ираном главной проблемой было потенциальное влияние иранской независимости на Египет, который в то время находился в смятении из-за британской колониальной практики. В Гватемале, помимо преступления новой демократии в расширении прав и возможностей крестьянского большинства и посягательстве на собственность "Юнайтед Фрут Компани" – уже достаточно оскорбительного – Вашингтон беспокоили трудовые волнения и народная мобилизация в соседних диктатурах, поддерживаемых США.

В) В 1950-х годах президент Эйзенхауэр и госсекретарь Джон Фостер Даллес довольно ясно объяснили дилемму, с которой столкнулись Соединенные Штаты. Они жаловались, что у коммунистов было несправедливое преимущество: они могли “обратиться непосредственно к массам” и “получить контроль над массовыми движениями, чего мы не в состоянии повторить. Бедные люди – это те, к кому они обращаются, и те всегда хотели ограбить богатых”. Это вызывает проблемы. Соединенным Штатам почему-то трудно апеллировать к бедным с их доктриной о том, что богатые должны грабить бедных.

С) Наглядной иллюстрацией общей картины стала Куба, когда она наконец обрела независимость в 1959 году. В течение нескольких месяцев начались военные нападения на остров. Вскоре после этого администрация Эйзенхауэра приняла секретное решение о свержении правительства. Джон Ф. Кеннеди тогда стал президентом. Он намеревался уделять больше внимания Латинской Америке и поэтому, вступая в должность, создал исследовательскую группу для разработки политики, которую возглавил историк Артур М. Шлезингер-младший, который обобщил ее выводы для нового президента.

D) Одно из самых интересных положений новых планов касалось Ближнего Востока. Там, как было заявлено, Вашингтон должен поддерживать силы интервенции, нацеленные на важнейший регион, где основные проблемы “не могли быть заложены у дверей Кремля.” Вопреки пятидесяти годам обмана, было молча признано, что главной заботой в этом регионе были не русские, а то, что называется “радикальным национализмом”, то есть независимым национализмом, не находящимся под контролем США.

E) Эти простые истины редко признаются, но они дают представление о государственной власти и политике, с отголосками до настоящего момента. Государственная власть должна быть защищена от своего внутреннего врага; и наоборот, население не защищено от государственной власти. Яркой иллюстрацией является радикальная атака на Конституцию со стороны масштабной программы слежки администрации Обамы. Это, конечно же, оправдывалось “национальной безопасностью”. Это рутинно практически для всех действий всех государств и поэтому несет мало информации.

F) Сальвадорское верховное командование приказало батальону "Атлакатль" вторгнуться в Иезуитский университет и убить шесть ведущих латиноамериканских интеллектуалов, всех иезуитских священников, включая ректора О. Игнасио Эллакура и всех свидетелей, то есть их экономку и ее дочь. Батальон уже оставил кровавый след из тысяч обычных жертв в ходе проводимой США кампании государственного террора в Сальвадоре, являющейся частью более широкой кампании террора и пыток по всему региону.

Answer:

A) -

B) -

C) -

D) -

E) -

F) –

2. Find the synonyms

encompass, permanent, liquidation, riches, ineffable, proof

Another source of **evidence** is the declassified historical record. It contains revealing accounts of the actual motives of state policy. The story is rich and complex, but a few **persistent** themes play a dominant role. One was articulated clearly at a western hemispheric conference called by the United States in Mexico in February 1945, where Washington imposed an “Economic Charter of the Americas” designed to eliminate economic nationalism “in all its forms.” There was one **unspoken** exception: economic nationalism would be fine for the United States, whose economy relies heavily on massive state intervention. The **elimination** of economic nationalism for others stood in sharp conflict with the Latin American stand of that moment, which State Department officials described as “the philosophy of the New Nationalism [that] **embraces** policies designed to bring about a broader distribution of **wealth** and to raise the standard of living of the masses.”

Answer:

persistent =

unspoken =

elimination =

to embrace =

wealth =

3. Match the word with its meaning

1) doctrine	A) the act of making something known that was secret, or a fact that is made known
2) secular	B) the part of a country's economic activity that involves private companies
3) invasion	C) a country or area controlled politically by a more powerful country that is often far away
4) dilemma	D) a belief or set of beliefs, especially political or religious ones, that are taught and accepted by a particular group
5) revelation	E) a situation in which a difficult choice has to be made between two different things you could do
6) the corporate sector	F) something that has nothing to do with religion
7) colony	G) an occasion when an army or country uses force to enter and take control of another country

Answer:

1) - 4) -

2) - 5) -

3) - 6) -

7) -

4. Match the names of famous figures and their activities

1) Mikhail Gorbachev	A) American political scientist, author of the work " Clash of civilizations"
2) Arthur M. Schlesinger	B) President of the United States during the German reunification
3) George H. W. Bush	C) President of the United States, who supported the Mayan genocide in Guatemala
4) Samuel P. Huntington	D) a Russian and formerly Soviet politician, who believed a gentleman's agreement with the President of the United States
5) Ronald Reagan	E) American historian, social critic and supporter of John F. Kennedy in the formation of a new policy towards Latin America

Answer:

- 1) -
- 2) -
- 3) -
- 4) -
- 5) -

5. Fill the gaps in the sentences using the preposition in the box

for, from (2), in, of, by (2)

But protecting it ___ whom? There is, in fact, a strong case to be made that a prime concern of government is the security of state power ___ the population. As those who have spent time rummaging through archives should be aware, government secrecy is rarely motivated ___ a genuine need ___ security, but it definitely does serve to keep the population in the dark. And for good reasons, which were lucidly explained ___ prominent liberal scholar and government adviser Samuel Huntington. ___ his words: "The architects ___ power in the United States must create a force that can be felt but

not seen. Power remains strong when it remains in the dark; exposed to the sunlight it begins to evaporate”.

6. Fill the gaps in the sentences using words from the box

military conflict, fundamentalist, missionary, established, secular nationalism,
independence, smashing blow

Much the same was true in the Middle East. The unique U.S. relations with Israel were _____ in their current form in 1967 when Israel delivered a _____ to Egypt, the center of secular Arab nationalism. By doing so, it protected U.S. ally Saudi Arabia, then engaged in _____ with Egypt in Yemen. Saudi Arabia, of course, is the most extreme radical _____ Islamic state, and also a _____ state, expending huge sums to establish its Wahhabi-Salafi doctrines beyond its borders. It is worth remembering that the United States, like England before it, has tended to support radical fundamentalist Islam in opposition to _____, which has until recently been perceived as posing more of a threat of _____ and contagion.

VOCABULARY

alleged	предполагаемый, заявленный
allies	пособники, союзники
approval of the expansion of NATO	одобрение/утверждение расширения НАТО
to capture	захватить, овладеть
a client regime	подзащитный режим
condemnation	осуждение, приговор
to conquer	победить, покорить, завоевать
decent life	достойная жизнь
declassified	рассекреченный
to defeat	одержать победу, победить
defeat	поражение, проигрыш, разгром
defense	защита, оборона
dominating domains	доминирующие области
economic strangulation	экономическое удушение
to empower	наделять, уполномочивать
extraction economical model	добывающая экономическая модель
fraudulent pretexts	мошеннические предлоги
to gain independence	получить независимость
general pattern	общая картина/тенденция/закономерность
government pronouncements	правительственные заявления
hostile	враждебный, неприятельский
indigenous people	местные/коренные народы
infringing on possessions	посягательство на имущество/собственность
major powers	ведущие/ключевые державы
military aid	военная помощь
mining industry	горнодобывающая промышленность
offensive	неприятный, агрессивный, оскорбительный
on taking office	при вступлении в должность
overthrow of the governments	свержение правительства
the peasants majority	крестьянское большинство
popular pressures	общественное давление
prime commitment	главное обязательство

propertied class	имущий класс
reunification	воссоединение, объединение
revealing	показательный, разоблачительный
to rummage through archives	порыться в архивах
silent acceptance	молчаливое принятие
smashing blow	сокрушительный удар
social movement	общественное движение
source of evidences	источник доказательств/улик
surrounding region	прилегающий регион
surveillance program	программа наблюдения
technological sophistication	технологическое развитие
top officials	высокопоставленные чиновники, высшие должностные лица
total yield	валовый сбор, суммарный выход, общий урожай
turmoil	смятение, суматоха, неразбериха
unanimous Security Council resolution	единогласная резолюция Совета Безопасности
unconcerned	безразличный, безучастный, незаинтересованный
to undergo “excessive industrial development”	подвергнуться “чрезмерному промышленному развитию”
unfair advantage	несправедливое/нечестное преимущество
U.S. troops	американские войска
U.S.-backed	поддерживаемых США
validity	обоснованность, законность, допустимость
violation of international law	нарушение международного права

ABBREVIATIONS

the CIA	ЦРУ (Центральное разведывательное управление)
the UN	ООН (Организация Объединенных Наций)
the NSA	АНБ (Агентство национальной безопасности)

UNIT V

MICROCOSM IN GLOBAL SOCIETY

➤ *Read, translate and discuss the texts*

1. How the World Works⁹

The democratic uprising in the Arab world has been a spectacular display of courage, dedication, and commitment by popular forces — coinciding, fortuitously, with a remarkable uprising of tens of thousands in support of working people and democracy in Madison, Wisconsin, and other U.S. cities. If the trajectories of revolt in Cairo and Madison intersected, however, they were headed in opposite directions: in Cairo toward gaining elementary rights denied by the Egyptian dictatorship, in Madison toward defending rights that had been won in long and hard struggles and are now under severe attack. Each is a microcosm of tendencies in global society, following varied courses. There are sure to be far-reaching consequences of what is taking place both in the decaying industrial heartland of the richest and most powerful country in human history and in what President Dwight Eisenhower called “the most strategically important area in the world” — “a stupendous source of strategic power” and “probably the richest economic prize in the world in the field of foreign investment,” in the words of the State Department in the 1940s, a prize that the United States intended to keep for itself and its allies in the unfolding new world order of that day. Despite all the changes since, there is every reason to suppose that today’s policymakers basically adhere to the judgment of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s influential adviser Adolf A. Berle that control of the incomparable energy reserves of the Middle East would yield “substantial control of the world.” And correspondingly, they believe that loss of control would threaten the project of American global dominance that was clearly articulated during World War II and that has been sustained in the face of major changes in world order since that day. From the outset of the war, in 1939, Washington anticipated that it would end with the United States in a position of overwhelming power. High-level State Department officials and foreign policy specialists met through the wartime years to lay out plans for the postwar world. They delineated a “Grand Area” that the United States was to dominate, including the western hemisphere, the Far East, and the former British Empire, with its Middle East energy resources. As Russia began to grind down Nazi armies after Stalingrad, the Grand Area goals extended to as much of Eurasia as possible — at least its economic core, in Western Europe. Within the Grand Area, the

United States would maintain “unquestioned power” with “military and economic supremacy,” while ensuring the “limitation of any exercise of sovereignty” by states that might interfere with its global designs. These careful wartime plans were soon implemented. It was always recognized that Europe might choose to follow an independent course; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was partially intended to counter this threat. As soon as the official pretext for NATO dissolved in 1989, it was expanded to the east, in violation of verbal pledges to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. It has since become a U.S.-run intervention force with far-ranging scope, as spelled out by NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, who informed a NATO conference that “NATO troops have to guard pipelines that transport oil and gas that is directed for the West,” and more generally protect sea routes used by tankers and other “crucial infrastructure” of the energy system. Grand Area doctrines license military intervention at will. That conclusion was articulated clearly by the Clinton administration, which declared that the United States has the right to use military force to ensure “uninhibited access to key markets, energy supplies, and strategic resources,” and must maintain huge military forces “forward deployed” in Europe and Asia “in order to shape people’s opinions about us” and “to shape events that will affect our livelihood and our security.” The same principles governed the invasion of Iraq. As the United States’ failure to impose its will in Iraq was becoming unmistakable, the actual goals of the invasion could no longer be concealed behind pretty rhetoric. In November 2007, the White House issued a “declaration of principles” demanding that U.S. forces must remain indefinitely in Iraq and committing Iraq to privilege American investors. Two months later, President Bush informed Congress that he would reject legislation that might limit the permanent stationing of U.S. forces in Iraq or “United States control of the oil resources of Iraq” — demands that the United States had to abandon shortly after in the face of Iraqi resistance. In Tunisia and Egypt, the popular uprisings of 2011 have won impressive victories, but as the Carnegie Endowment reported, while names have changed, the regimes remain: “A change in ruling elites and system of governance is still a distant goal.” The report discusses internal barriers to democracy, but ignores the external ones, which as always are significant. The United States and its Western allies are sure to do whatever they can to prevent authentic democracy in the Arab world. To understand why, it is only necessary to look at the studies of Arab opinion conducted by U.S. polling agencies. Though barely reported, they are certainly known to planners. They reveal that by overwhelming majorities, Arabs regard the United States and Israel as the major threats they face: the United

States is so regarded by 90 percent of Egyptians and by over 75 percent of the inhabitants of the region generally. By way of contrast, 10 percent of Arabs regard Iran as a threat. Opposition to U.S. policy is so strong that a majority believes security would be improved if Iran had nuclear weapons — in Egypt, 80 percent. Other figures are similar. If public opinion were to influence policy, the United States not only would not control the region but would be expelled from it, along with its allies, undermining fundamental principles of global dominance.

2.The Muasher Doctrine¹⁰

Support for democracy is the province of ideologists and propagandists. In the real world, elite dislike of democracy is the norm. The evidence is overwhelming that democracy is supported only insofar as it contributes to social and economic objectives, a conclusion reluctantly conceded by the more serious scholarship. Elite contempt for democracy was revealed dramatically in the reaction to the WikiLeaks exposures. Those that received the most attention, with euphoric commentary, were cables reporting that Arabs support the U.S. stand on Iran. The reference was to the ruling dictators of Arab nations; the attitude of the public went unmentioned. The operative principle was described by Marwan Muasher, former Jordanian official and later director of Middle East research for the Carnegie Endowment: “The traditional argument put forward in and out of the Arab world is that there is nothing wrong, everything is under control. With this line of thinking, entrenched forces argue that opponents and outsiders calling for reform are exaggerating the conditions on the ground.” Adopting that principle, if the dictators support us, what else could matter? The Muasher doctrine is rational and venerable. To mention just one case that is highly relevant today, in internal discussions in 1958, President Eisenhower expressed concern about “the campaign of hatred” against us in the Arab world, not by governments, but by the people. The National Security Council (NSC) explained to Eisenhower that there is a perception in the Arab world that the United States supports dictatorships and blocks democracy and development so as to ensure control over the resources of the region. Furthermore, the perception is basically accurate, the NSC concluded, and that is exactly what we should be doing, relying on the Muasher doctrine. Pentagon studies conducted after 9/11 confirmed that the same perception holds today. It is normal for the victors to consign history to the trash can and for victims to take it seriously. Perhaps a few brief observations on this important matter may be useful. Today is not the first occasion when Egypt and the United States are facing similar problems and moving in opposite directions. That was also true in the

early nineteenth century. Economic historians have argued that Egypt was well placed to undertake rapid economic development at the same time that the United States was in this period.¹² Both had rich agriculture, including cotton, the fuel of the early industrial revolution — though unlike Egypt, the United States had to develop cotton production and a workforce through conquest, extermination, and slavery, with consequences that are evident now in the reservations for the survivors and the prisons that have rapidly expanded since the Reagan years to house the superfluous population left by deindustrialization. One fundamental difference between the two nations was that the United States had gained independence and was therefore free to ignore the prescriptions of economic theory, delivered at the time by Adam Smith in terms rather like those preached to developing societies today. Smith urged the liberated colonies to produce primary products for export and to import superior British manufactured goods, and certainly not to attempt to monopolize crucial goods, particularly cotton. Any other path, Smith warned, “would retard instead of accelerating the further increase in the value of their annual produce, and would obstruct instead of promoting the progress of their country towards real wealth and greatness.” Having gained their independence, the colonies simply dismissed his advice and followed England’s own course of independent state-guided development, with high tariffs to protect industry from British exports (first textiles, later steel and others), and adopted numerous other devices to accelerate industrial development. The independent republic also sought to gain a monopoly over cotton so as to “place all other nations at our feet,” particularly the British enemy, as the Jacksonian presidents announced when conquering Texas and half of Mexico. For Egypt, a comparable course was barred by British power. Lord Palmerston declared that “no ideas of fairness [toward Egypt] ought to stand in the way of such great and paramount interests” of Britain as preserving its economic and political hegemony, expressing his “hate” for the “ignorant barbarian” Muhammad Ali, who dared to seek an independent course, and deploying Britain’s fleet and financial power to terminate Egypt’s quest for independence and economic development. After World War II, when the United States displaced Britain as global hegemon, Washington adopted the same stand, making it clear that the United States would provide no aid to Egypt unless it adhered to the standard rules for the weak — which the United States continued to violate, imposing high tariffs to bar Egyptian cotton and causing a debilitating dollar shortage, as per the usual interpretation of market principles. It is small wonder that the “campaign of hatred” against the United States that concerned Eisenhower was based on the recognition that the United States supports dictators

and blocks democracy and development, as do its allies. In Adam Smith's defense, it should be added that he recognized what would happen if Britain followed the rules of sound economics, now called "neoliberalism". He warned that if British manufacturers, merchants, and investors turned abroad, they might profit but England would suffer. But he felt that they would be guided by a home bias, so that as if by an "invisible hand" England would be spared the ravages of economic rationality. The passage is hard to miss. It is the one occurrence of the famous phrase "invisible hand" in *The Wealth of Nations*. The other leading founder of classical economics, David Ricardo, drew similar conclusions, hoping that what is called "home bias" would lead men of property to "be satisfied with the low rate of profits in their own country, rather than seek a more advantageous employment for their wealth in foreign nations" — feelings that, he added, "I should be sorry to see weakened."¹⁶ Their predictions aside, the instincts of the classical economists were sound.

3.The Iranian And Chines "Threats"

The democratic uprising in the Arab world is sometimes compared to Eastern Europe in 1989, but on dubious grounds. In 1989, the democratic uprising was tolerated by the Russians, and supported by Western power in accord with standard doctrine: it plainly conformed to economic and strategic objectives, and was therefore a noble achievement, greatly honored, unlike the struggles at the same time "to defend the people's fundamental human rights" in Central America, in the words of the assassinated archbishop of El Salvador, one of the hundreds of thousands of victims of the military forces armed and trained by Washington.¹⁷ There was no Mikhail Gorbachev in the West throughout those horrendous years, and there is none today. And Western power remains hostile to democracy in the Arab world for good reasons. Grand Area doctrines continue to apply to contemporary crises and confrontations. In Western policymaking circles and political commentary, the Iranian threat is considered to pose the greatest danger to world order and hence must be the primary focus of U.S. foreign policy, with Europe trailing along politely. Years ago, Israeli military historian Martin van Creveld wrote that "the world has witnessed how the United States attacked Iraq for, as it turned out, no reason at all. Had the Iranians not tried to build nuclear weapons, they would be crazy," particularly when they are under constant threat of attack, in violation of the UN. The United States and Europe are united in punishing Iran for its threat to "stability" — in the technical sense of the term, meaning conformity to U.S. demands — but it is useful to recall how isolated they are; the nonaligned countries have vigorously supported Iran's

right to enrich uranium. The major regional power, Turkey, voted against a U.S.-initiated sanctions motion in the Security Council, along with Brazil, the most admired country of the global South. Their disobedience led to sharp censure, not for the first time: Turkey had been bitterly condemned in 2003 when the government followed the will of 95 percent of its population and refused to participate in the invasion of Iraq, thus demonstrating its weak grasp of democracy, Western-style. While the United States can tolerate Turkish disobedience — though with dismay — China is harder to ignore. The press warns that “China’s investors and traders are now filling a vacuum in Iran as businesses from many other nations, especially in Europe, pull out,” and in particular, that China is expanding its dominant role in Iran’s energy industries.¹⁹ Washington is reacting with a touch of desperation. The State Department warned China that if it wants to be accepted in the “international community” — a technical term referring to the United States and whoever happens to agree with it — then it must not “skirt and evade international responsibilities, [which] are clear”: namely, follow U.S. orders.²⁰ China is unlikely to be impressed. There is also much concern about the growing Chinese military threat. A recent Pentagon study warned that China’s military budget is approaching “one fifth of what the Pentagon spent to operate and carry out the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan” — a fraction of the U.S. military budget, of course. China’s expansion of military forces might “deny the ability of American warships to operate in international waters off its coast,” the New York Times added. Off the coast of China, that is; it has yet to be proposed that the U.S. should eliminate military forces that deny the Caribbean to Chinese warships. China’s lack of understanding of the rules of international civility is further illustrated by its objections to plans for the advanced nuclear-powered aircraft carrier George Washington to join naval exercises a few miles off China’s coast, giving it the alleged capacity to strike Beijing. All of this, and much more, can proceed as long as the Muasher doctrine prevails. As long as the general population is passive, apathetic, and diverted to consumerism or hatred of the vulnerable, then the powerful can do as they please, and those who survive will be left to contemplate the outcome.

➤ Questions

1. What is the invisible hand of power? How does it act?
2. Describe the political world situation in 1939. What are the main characteristics?
3. What principles did govern the invasion of Iraq?

4. What common features have Egypt and the United States according to the historians?
5. Under what conditions could the United States provide aid to Egypt? What may it cause to Egypt?
6. Why does Western power remain hostility to democracy in the Arab world?
7. What reward has President Obama won after 2008?
8. Who initiated the militarization of the US-Mexican border and what for?
9. How is the rising popularity of neofascist parties explained in Europe?
10. Why is global warming considered a liberal hoax?

Keywords: unquestioned power, disobedience, doctrine, economic supremacy, independence

Give the digest

2. Match the paragraph with its translation

<p>a) The democratic uprising in the Arab world has been a spectacular display of courage, dedication, and commitment by popular forces—coinciding, fortuitously, with a remarkable uprising of tens of thousands in support of working people and democracy in Madison, Wisconsin, and other U.S. cities. If the trajectories of revolt in Cairo and Madison intersected, however, they were headed in opposite directions: in Cairo toward gaining elementary rights denied by the Egyptian dictatorship, in Madison toward defending rights that had been won in long and hard struggles and are now under severe attack.</p>	<p>1) С самого начала войны, в 1939 году, Вашингтон предполагал, что она закончится для США в положении всеобъемлющего могущества. Высокопоставленные сотрудники Госдепартамента и специалисты по внешней политике встречались в годы войны, чтобы составить планы на послевоенный мир. Они определили "Великую зону", которая должна была доминировать в Соединенных Штатах, включая западное полушарие, Дальний Восток, и бывшая Британская империя, с её ближневосточными энергетическими ресурсами. Когда после Сталинграда Россия начала уничтожать нацистские армии, цели Великой зоны охватили как можно большую часть Евразии – по крайней мере, ее экономическое ядро, в Западной Европе.</p>
<p>b) Each is a microcosm of tendencies in global society, following varied courses. There are sure to be far-reaching consequences of what is taking place both in the decaying industrial heartland of the richest and most powerful country in human history and in what President Dwight Eisenhower called “the most strategically important area in the world”—“a stupendous source of strategic power” and “probably the richest economic prize in the world in the field of foreign investment,” in the words of the State Department in the 1940s, a prize that the United States intended to keep for itself and its allies in the unfolding new world order of that day.</p>	<p>2) Демократическое восстание в арабском мире было впечатляющим проявлением мужества, самоотверженности и приверженности со стороны народных сил – совпадая, случайно, со значительным восстанием десятков тысяч в поддержку работающих людей и демократии в Мэдисоне, Висконсине и других городах США. Если направления восстания в Каире и Мэдисоне</p>

<p>d) From the outset of the war, in 1939, Washington anticipated that it would end with the United States in a position of overwhelming power. High-level State Department officials and foreign policy specialists met through the wartime years to lay out plans for the postwar world. They delineated a “Grand Area” that the United States was to dominate, including the western hemisphere, the Far East, and the former British Empire, with its Middle East energy resources. As Russia began to grind down Nazi armies after Stalingrad, the Grand Area goals extended to as much of Eurasia as possible - at least its economic core, in Western Europe.</p>	<p>4) Несмотря на все изменения, с тех пор есть все основания полагать, что сегодняшние политики в основном придерживаются суждения влиятельного советника президента Франклина Делано Рузвельта Адольфа А. Берле о том, что контроль над несравненными энергетическими запасами Ближнего Востока даст "существенный контроль над миром." Соответственно, они считают, что потеря контроля будет угрожать Проекту глобального доминирования Америки, который был четко сформулирован во время Второй мировой войны и который поддерживался в условиях серьезных изменений в мировом порядке дня.</p>
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Tasks

1. Fill in the gaps.

- colonies
- put forward in
- enemy
- principle
- republic
- control
- course of independent
- forces
- calling for
- to protect

1.1. The operative A)_____ was described by Marwan Muasher, former Jordanian official and later director of Middle East research for the Carnegie Endowment: “The traditional argument B) _____ and out of the Arab world is that there is nothing wrong, everything is under C)_____ . With this line of thinking, entrenched

D)_____ argue that opponents and outsiders E) _____ reform are exaggerating the conditions on the ground.”

1.2. Having gained their independence, the A) _____ simply dismissed his advice and followed England’s own B) _____ state-guided development, with high tariffs C) _____ industry from British exports (first textiles, later steel and others), and adopted numerous other devices to accelerate industrial development. The independent D) _____ also sought to gain a monopoly over cotton so as to “place all other nations at our feet,” particularly the British

E) _____, as the Jacksonian presidents announced when conquering Texas and half of Mexico.

2. Match the word and its definition

1. a statement of the principles, duties, and purposes of an organization
 2. an attempt by a group of people to change the government, laws in a country
 3. a country or area that is under the political control of a more powerful country, usually one that is far away
 4. a situation in which there is not enough of something that people need
 5. an arrangement between states
 6. the practice of treating one person or group differently from another in an unfair way
 7. an organization that makes investments for people and organizations with large amounts of money, not the general public, in ways that often involve big risks
- a) uprising
 - b) oppression
 - c) charter
 - d) government agreements
 - e) hedge fund
 - f) shortage
 - g) colony

3. Find the synonym of the word

- a) shortage
- b) uprising
- c) consequences
- d) supremacy
- e) province

- f) paramount
- g) hostility
- h) oppression
- i) hoax
- j) outcome

1. aftermath
2. animosity
3. lack
4. fake
5. outbreak
6. discrimination
7. dominance
8. corollary
9. patrimony
10. leading

4. Put the missing prepositions

I do not want to end ____ mentioning another externality that is dismissed in market systems: the fate of the species. Systemic risk in the financial system can be remedied ____ the taxpayer, but no one will come to the rescue ____ the environment is destroyed. That it must be destroyed is close ____ an institutional imperative. Business leaders who are conducting propaganda campaigns ____ convince the population that anthropogenic global warming is a liberal hoax understand full well how grave is the threat, ____ they must maximize short-term profit and market share. If they don't, someone else will.

This vicious cycle could well turn ____ to be lethal. To see how grave the danger is, simply have a look ____ Congress in the United States, propelled ____ power by business funding and propaganda. Almost all the Republicans are climate deniers. They have already begun to cut funding ____ measures that might mitigate environmental catastrophe. Worse, some are true believers; take for example the new subcommittee head ____ the environment who explained that global warming cannot be a problem because God promised Noah that there will not be another flood.

5. Choose true or false

a) There was also a sharp change in the U.S. economy in the 1970s, toward financialization and export of production. **T** _____ **F**

b) If the trajectories of revolt in Cairo and Madison intersected, they were defending elementary rights for minorities. **T _____ F**

c) From the outset of the XXI century, Washington anticipated that it would continue with the United States in a position of overwhelming power.

T _____ F

• d) Grand area would be the territory of US unquestioned power with military and economic supremacy. **T _____ F**

• e) 16 percent of Arabs consider Iran as a threat. **T _____ F**

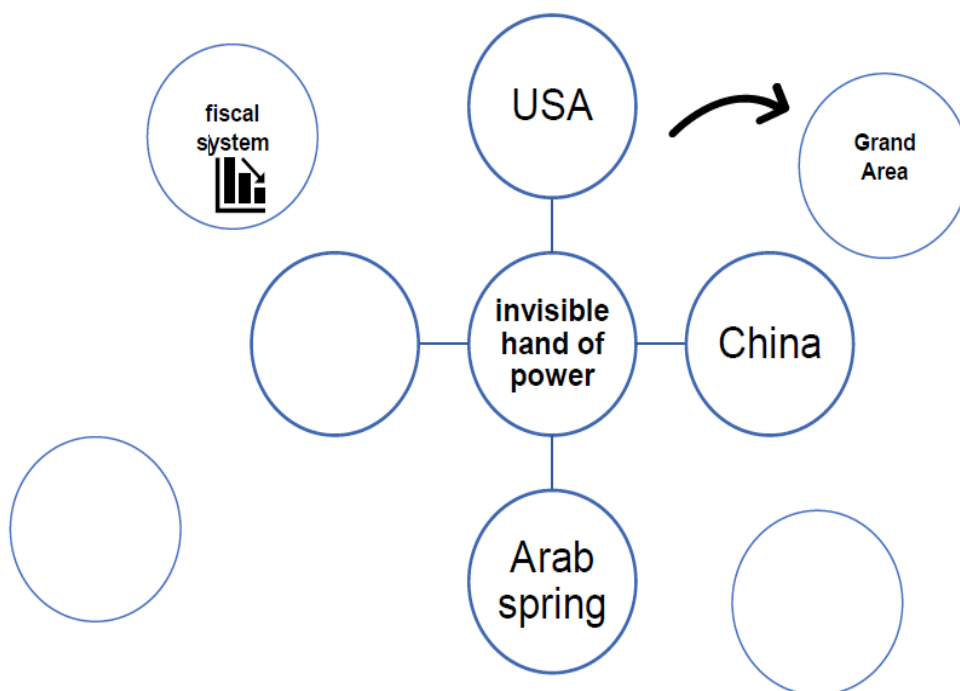
• f) Historians have argued that Egypt was well placed to undertake rapid economic development while the United States. **T _____ F**

• g) Turkey had been bitterly condemned in 2003 when the government refused to participate in the invasion of Iraq. **T _____ F**

• h) Systemic risk in the financial system can be remedied by the investors.

T _____ F

6. Create the mind map looking through the text



UNIT VI

CANADA IN GLOBAL POLITICS

1. Canada`s Role On The World Stage¹¹

➤ *Read, translate and discuss the texts*

Canada`s situation in the world has deteriorated. For the first time in its recent history, Canada now finds itself in an exceptional position: its relations are rocky, not to mention poor, with four of the world`s great powers: The United States, Russia, China and India. It was not supposed to be like this.

During the previous election campaign, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau had promised to restore Canada`s reputation on the international stage. According to the Liberals, during their decade in power, the Conservatives had refocused the international role of Canada, from that of an honest broker to that of a warrior nation, a country with a belligerent tone. Opinion polls had consistently shown that Canadians were uncomfortable with this new role for the country.

Mr. Trudeau understood the gap between Conservative government policy and public expectations. He sought to restore the balance, providing voters with an ambitious election platform that skillfully combined tradition and innovation. Mr. Trudeau`s platform offered voters the prospect of Canada re-engaging with the United Nations, taking part once again in UN peacekeeping missions, and even looking to engage with adversaries such as Russia and Iran.

Still, it is worth asking whether Mr. Trudeau walks the talk – whether his actions as Prime Minister correspond to his compelling words. What has become of the ambitious goal of restoring Canada`s role on the world stage? If the Trudeau government`s concrete actions are compared with its public statements, it is clear that the promise of bringing Canada back has not been fulfilled. On peacekeeping, on Russia, on the Middle East, on foreign aid, the Liberal foreign policy agenda does not represent a break with Conservative policies, but a continuation.

For their part, Andrew Scheer`s Conservatives are still trapped in the Harper era. In a recent speech on foreign policy in Montreal, the Conservative Leader reaffirmed the vision of the former prime minister, aligned completely with the U.S. and Israel. Mr. Scheer agrees with the Liberals on one matter: defending the existing international order.

This political consensus on the defence of the international order brings together all the political players. As Chrystia Freeland, the current Foreign Affairs Minister,

puts it, “Canada believes strongly that this stable, predictable international order has been deeply in our national interest”.

It’s true, the international order has undoubtedly been good for Canada, but it only seems to be stable. The principles, institutions and procedures of the international order are increasingly being challenged.

Growing competition and power relations between states are creating upheaval on the global stage and undermining international institutions. Power is being fragmented, and we are seeing the emergence of a new world grouped around regional centres of influence, each dominated by a single great power. For example, international law is being trampled underfoot (the U.S. in Iraq, Russia in Ukraine, China in the South China Sea) by the very powers that are supposed to be upholding it.

Emerging powers such as China, Brazil, Turkey and India are asserting their ambitions and trying to reinvent the global rules for geopolitics, finance and trade that were set in place by the victors just after the Second World War. Other states, such as Russia, but also several members of the European Union and of NATO, such as Turkey, Poland and Hungary, are challenging the liberal character of this order, promoting authoritarian rule. Even the United States is affected by this upheaval. President Donald Trump is a compelling symptom of it.

And yet, the only answer political parties give is that Canada ought to fight hard to maintain and strengthen the existing world order. We should move beyond this narrow view. Canada has an opportunity to make an original contribution to building a new world order by acknowledging the deep-seated causes of the crisis challenging the world and devise a new policy moving forward.

The crisis with China and tensions with India, Russia, the U.S. and Saudi Arabia show that Canada is a middle power in decline with few friends to intervene on our behalf. To avoid being marginalized, Canada must now think strategically and rediscover the ideas and the means to defend its national interest.

We need a serious debate on foreign policy. The next federal election is a good place to start.

➤ Questions

- 1) What countries does Canada have rocky relations with?
- 2) What promises Mr. Trudeau make during his election campaign?
- 3) What was the Conservatives foreign policy?

- 4) According to the political parties, what should Canada do in order to boost its national prestige?
- 5) In the author's view, what is the suitable move for changing the Canadian foreign policy?

Summary

This article is devoted to the Canada's status on the globe arena changed and how it is possible to reinforce its influence. The author believes that Canadian situation has deteriorated and the Justin Trudeau's parliament, despite his claims during the election campaign, were not fulfilled. That is why now Canada is in the same position as it was when the Conservative party was in power.

In conclusion, it should be noted that now Canada requires a serious debate on this topic which can be done after following election.

➤ *Translate into English*

Во время предыдущей избирательной кампании премьер-министр Джастин Трюдо обещал восстановить репутацию Канады на международной арене. По мнению либералов, за десятилетие своего пребывания у власти консерваторы переориентировали международную роль Канады с роли честного посредника на роль воинственной нации, страны с воинственным тоном. Опросы общественного мнения постоянно показывали, что канадцы испытывают дискомфорт от этой новой роли для страны.

Тем не менее, стоит спросить, подкрепляет ли мистер Трюдо слова делами – соответствуют ли его действия в качестве премьер-министра его убедительным словам. Что стало с амбициозной целью восстановления роли Канады на мировой арене? Если сравнить конкретные действия правительства Трюдо с его публичными заявлениями, то ясно, что обещание вернуть Канаду не было выполнено. По миротворчеству, по России, по Ближнему Востоку, по внешней помощи либеральная внешнеполитическая повестка дня представляет собой не разрыв с консервативной политикой, а её продолжение.

Этот политический консенсус в отношении защиты международного порядка объединяет всех политических игроков. По словам нынешнего министра иностранных дел Кристии Фриланд: «Канада твёрдо убеждена в том, что этот стабильный, предсказуемый международный порядок глубоко отвечает нашим национальным интересам».

Это правда, международный порядок, несомненно, хорош для Канады, но он только кажется стабильным. Принципы, институты и процедуры международного порядка всё чаще подвергаются сомнению.

Со своей стороны, консерваторы Эндрю Шеера всё ещё находятся в ловушке эпохи Харпера. В недавней речи о внешней политике в Монреале лидер консерваторов подтвердил видение бывшего премьер-министра, полностью совпадающее с США и Израилем. Мистер Шеер согласен с либералами в одном вопросе: защита существующего международного порядка.

Растущая конкуренция и властные отношения между государствами создают потрясения на мировой арене и подрывают международные институты. Власть фрагментируется, и мы видим появление нового мира, сгруппированного вокруг региональных центров влияния, в каждом из которых доминирует одна великая держава. Например, международное право попирается ногами (США в Ираке, Россия в Украине, Китай в Южно-Китайском море) теми самими державами, которые должны его отстаивать.

Кризис с Китаем и напряжённость с Индией, Россией, США и Саудовской Аравией показывают, что Канада является средней державой в упадке с небольшим количеством друзей, чтобы вмешаться от своего имени. Чтобы избежать маргинализации, Канада должна теперь мыслить стратегически и заново открывать для себя идеи и средства защиты своих национальных интересов.

Нам нужны серьёзные дебаты по внешней политике. Следующие федеральные выборы – хорошее место для начала.

Развивающиеся державы, такие как Китай, Бразилия, Турция и Индия, заявляют о своих амбициях и пытаются заново изобрести глобальные правила геополитики, финансов и торговли, которые были установлены победителями сразу после Второй мировой войны. Другие государства, такие как Россия, а также некоторые члены Европейского Союза и НАТО, такие как Турция, Польша и Венгрия, бросают вызов либеральному характеру этого порядка, поощряя авторитарное правление. Даже Соединённые Штаты страдают от этого потрясения. Президент Дональд Трамп является убедительным примером.

И всё же, единственный ответ, который дают политические партии, заключается в том, что Канада должна упорно бороться за сохранение и укрепление существующего мирового порядка. Мы должны выйти за пределы этого узкого взгляда. Канада имеет возможность внести свой оригинальный вклад в построение нового мирового порядка, признав глубинные причины

кризиса, бросающего вызов всему миру, и разработав новую политику продвижения вперёд.

Мистер Трюдо понимал разрыв между консервативной политикой правительства и общественными ожиданиями. Он стремился восстановить баланс, предоставив избирателям амбициозную предвыборную платформу, которая умело сочетала традиции и инновации. Платформа м-ра Трюдо предлагала избирателям перспективу того, что Канада вновь вступит в контакт с Организацией Объединённых Наций, вновь примет участие в миротворческих миссиях ООН и даже попытается вступить в контакт с такими противниками, как Россия и Иран.

➤ *Translate into Russian*

Canada's federal election campaign highlighted a struggle that caught the world by surprise. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was on the ropes throughout the campaign, just four years after his meteoric rise to power and global fandom, even though he ultimately managed to win a minority government.

His struggles did not come as much of a surprise for Canadian progressives, however, who first helped propel him to those heights four years ago.



Trudeau came to power with incredible fanfare after an election victory in October 2015 that saw Stephen Harper's Conservatives voted out.

Trudeau returned his party to power with a majority government by appealing to an electorate that was more than weary of almost a decade of right-wing Conservative rule.

The world sat up and took notice, in part because Trudeau's famous father, Pierre, had been swept to power in a similar fashion in 1968 amid a wave of what was known as Trudeaumania.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau also had a progressive platform and, for a time, enjoyed a rock star-like popularity among Canadians.

That victory more than 50 years ago laid the foundation for 16 years of nearly uninterrupted Liberal rule under Pierre Trudeau, who was the architect of multiculturalism in Canada and further committed the country to peace-building and a rules-based international system.

It's a vision many Canadians came to embrace, but one that Harper's Conservatives, in power from 2006 to 2015, seemed determined to systematically

replace. In this way, the election of Justin Trudeau seemed for many to be a repudiation of the Harper agenda and a return to the normalcy of Canada's past.

2.Canada is back

At first, Trudeau seemed unable to disappoint. He could not have appeared a starker contrast from Harper, regarded by many Canadians as cold and uncharismatic. Youthful, charming and handsome, Trudeau's progressive messaging immediately stood apart from Harper's. His policies appeared to do so, too.

This included immediately opening Canada up to tens of thousands of Syrian refugees, which Harper had initially appeared reluctant to do. Trudeau even went to Toronto's airport to welcome some of the first refugees, saying: "*You are home.*"

Trudeau's Liberals emphasized a multicultural Canada that would be open to refugees. This diversity would be represented in their government, too. In contrast to some Conservative leadership candidates' embrace of Islamophobia and a "barbaric cultural practices tip line," Trudeau's government included a record number of Muslim MPs. Trudeau also became the first Canadian prime minister to march in a Pride parade.

Trudeau ran in 2015 on a message of environmental protection, support for Indigenous nations in Canada and global feminism. This included instituting a feminist foreign policy



agenda and a reorientation of Canada's development aid programming on a Feminist International Assistance Policy. When asked why he established gender parity for his first cabinet, he famously retorted: "*Because it's 2015.*"

His government legalized cannabis sales and reversed Harper's anti-science restrictions on research. It increased immigration quotas and reasserted Canadian support for multilateral institutions and international law. This seemed like a return to form for Canada on the international stage and Trudeau emphasized this by saying: "*Canada is back.*"

Canadians largely seemed happy with his leadership and his government rode high in the polls. His popularity only seemed to skyrocket at home and abroad with the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States in 2016.

For liberals around the world, Trudeau seemed to represent everything the new president was not. Before long, Trudeau became a global symbol in the worldwide struggle against the rise of authoritarianism, populism and white nationalism.

3.Foreign policy questions

So what happened? Why did Trudeau have to fight for his political life this election against the Conservatives, the New Democratic Party and a resurgent Bloc Québécois, a separatist party that only runs candidates in Québec?

As often happens in Canada, questions about Trudeau's progressive credentials arose in the Middle East.

Being progressive in Canada often includes support for Palestinian rights. This was in part a result of Harper's very partisan pro-Israel approach to governance, which included a crackdown on Canadian advocates for Palestinian rights.

Though Trudeau's Liberals did reinvest funds that Harper's Conservatives cut from Palestinian refugees, progressives quickly noticed how Trudeau and his government would go out of their way to attack Canadians who advocated for Palestinian rights. This was accompanied by robust diplomatic support for the policies of the right-wing Benjamin Netanyahu in Israel, who was the antithesis of everything Trudeau was supposed to represent.

In region after region, Liberal foreign policy appeared to come out of the Harper playbook. This included Canada's participation in a campaign to force regime change in oil-rich Venezuela and approving record weapons sales to a notorious human rights violator, Saudi Arabia, as it wages a brutal war in Yemen.

Even Trudeau's feminist foreign policy seemed hollow.

What good did it do for Yemeni women whose communities are being destroyed with Canadian weapons, Palestinian women shot for protesting the blockade on Gaza or Venezuelan women impoverished by a Canadian-backed economic blockade?

4.The death of a brand

From his rapid retreat from a campaign pledge for proportional electoral representation to his odd fascination with fancy dress and concerns about the sincerity of his progressive credentials, cumulative questions arose about Trudeau domestically.

Two particular events, though, were critical to undoing his progressive brand.

First was his government's \$4.5 billion purchase of the Trans Mountain pipeline from U.S.-based corporation Kinder Morgan. This was highly



unpopular with environmentalists and the First Nations communities it would run through. This raised serious questions about Trudeau's commitment to fighting climate change and helping Indigenous Peoples, too.

Second was his government's attempt to halt criminal proceedings into Québec-based engineering firm SNC-Lavalin for overseas corruption. This led to the resignation from cabinet of Jody Wilson-Raybould, Canada's first Indigenous minister of justice.

She complained she was pressured into considering a deferred prosecution agreement for SNC-Lavalin, and was joined in solidarity in her departure from cabinet by another of Trudeau's most prominent female ministers, Jane Philpott.

Both were then pushed out of the Liberal caucus, topping off a scandal that raised questions about Trudeau's commitment to corporate good governance, women's empowerment and Indigenous leadership.

The campaign trail emergence of images of a younger Trudeau in blackface was also shocking to progressive voters. The photos decidedly tarnished his image, both at home and abroad.

5.Progressives looking elsewhere

Canada is a diverse country with a diverse electorate. Many Canadian voters, and the core Liberal constituency, still supported Trudeau. This kept him relevant in the 2019 election campaign. A late campaign endorsement by former U.S. president Barack Obama also served as a reminder of what Trudeau still symbolizes to many liberals around the world.

Though Trudeau's struggles may seem surprising, the inability of his government to truly address deep structural inequalities and income insecurity in Canada fits a pattern of the fracturing of the political landscape of nearly every other liberal democracy. This plagued Obama's administration as well.

Having a family name and background that symbolizes privilege, in a world where wealth inequality and nepotism have become such divisive topics, hasn't helped Trudeau.

Dissatisfied with Trudeau, some of Canada's large progressive electorate, as well as Québec voters, began to look elsewhere — to the New Democrats and the Greens, and in Québec, to the resurgent Bloc Québécois, which took particular advantage of Trudeau's missteps on the environment.

Trudeau had problems this election because he lost part of the progressive base that put him over the top in 2015, and because the Bloc turned out to be a bigger force in vote-rich Québec than expected.

➤ **Questions**

- 1) What does imply the term “Trudeaumania”?
- 2) What were the first actions of Justin Trudeau when he came to power?
- 3) Why is Justin Trudeau criticized regarding the situation in the Middle East?
- 4) What two particular actions did undermine Trudeau’s authority?
- 5) What other party did become more popular while Mr. Trudeau is losing his popularity?

Give the digest

Tasks

Task 1. Match the word and its definition:

Immigration	Crisis
Nation	Indigenous
Conservative	Election campaign
Policy	Corporation
Democratic	Government

1. A person who is reluctant to change or consider new ideas.
2. The period of time immediately before a voting process when politicians try to persuade people to choose them to lead the country/party, etc.
3. A person or a group that is democratic believes in, encourages, or supports freedom and equality between people and groups.
4. The political direction and control exercised over the actions of the members, citizens, or inhabitants of communities, societies, and states; direction of the affairs of a state, community, etc.; political administration.
5. A stage in a sequence of events at which the trend of all future events, especially for better or for worse, is determined; turning point.
6. A course of action adopted and pursued by a government, ruler, political party, etc.
7. Originating in and characteristic of a particular region or country; native.
8. The process by which people come in to a foreign country to live there, or the number of people coming in.
9. A large body of people, associated with a particular territory, that is sufficiently conscious of its unity to seek or to possess a government peculiarly its own.

10. An association of individuals, created by law or under authority of law, having a continuous existence independent of the existences of its members, and powers and liabilities distinct from those of its members.

Task 2. Insert suitable words

Emerging powers such as _____, Brazil, Turkey and India are asserting their ambitions and trying to _____ the global rules for geopolitics, finance and _____ that were set in place by the _____ just after the Second World War. Other states, such as _____, but also several members of the European Union and of _____, such as _____, Poland and Hungary, are challenging the _____ character of this order, promoting _____ rule. Even the United States is affected by this upheaval. President Donald Trump is a _____ symptom of it.

liberal	authoritarian
China	NATO
compelling	trade
reinvent	victors
Turkey	Russia

Task 3. Choose correct synonym for a word

1. Agenda	A. Chief of state
2. Legalization	B. Influence, fame
3. Multicultural	C. Nation, state
4. President	D. Plan, program
5. Global	E. Input, donation
6. Reputation	F. Intercultural
7. Nationalism	G. Supervision, guidance
8. Contribution	H. International, worldwide
9. Leadership	I. Legitimation
10. Country	J. Patriotism

Task 4. Choose the correct form of the word

Canada is a diverse country with a diverse electorate. Many Canadian _____ (*voter*), and the core Liberal constituency, still _____ (*to support*) Trudeau. This kept him relevant in the 2019 election campaign. A late campaign _____ (*to endorse*) by

former U.S. president Barack Obama also _____ (*to serve*) as a reminder of what Trudeau still symbolizes to many liberals around the world.

Though Trudeau's struggles may seem _____ (*surprise*), the inability of his government to _____ (*true*) address deep structural inequalities and income insecurity in Canada fits a pattern of the _____ (*fracture*) of the political landscape of nearly every other liberal democracy. This _____ (*to plague*) Obama's administration as well.

Having a family name and background that symbolizes privilege, in a world where wealth inequality and nepotism _____ (*to become*) such divisive topics, _____ (*to help*) Trudeau.

Task 5. Correlate the beginning of the sentence with its missing parts

Trudeau's Liberals emphasized a (1) _____ that would be open to refugees. This diversity would be represented in their government, too. In contrast to some Conservative leadership candidates' embrace of (2) _____ and a "barbaric cultural practices tip line," Trudeau's government included (3) _____ of Muslim MPs. Trudeau also became the first Canadian prime minister to march in a (4) _____

Trudeau ran in 2015 on a message of environmental protection, support for (5) _____ and global feminism. This included instituting a feminist foreign policy agenda and a reorientation of Canada's development (6) _____ on a Feminist International Assistance Policy. When asked why he established gender parity for his first cabinet, he famously retorted: (7) _____

His government legalized (8) _____ and reversed Harper's anti-science restrictions on research. It increased immigration quotas and reasserted Canadian support for (9) _____ and international law. This seemed like a return to form for Canada on the international stage and Trudeau emphasized this by saying: (10) _____

1. "Because it's 2015."
2. Aid programming
3. Indigenous nations in Canada
4. Islamophobia
5. "Canada is back."
6. Pride parade.
7. Multicultural Canada
8. Cannabis sales
9. Multilateral institutions
10. A record number

➤ *Translate into English*

Трюдо в 2015 году делал упор на сообщение об охране окружающей среды, поддержке коренных народов в Канаде и глобальном феминизме. Это включало разработку феминистской внешнеполитической повестки дня и переориентацию канадской программы помощи в целях развития на феминистскую политику международной помощи. Когда его спросили, почему он установил гендерный паритет для своего первого кабинета, он лихо ответил: "Потому что это 2015 год."

Либералы Трюдо делали акцент на мультикультурную Канаду, которая была бы открыта для беженцев. Это разнообразие было представлено и в их правительстве. В отличие от того, что некоторые консервативных кандидатов на руководящих должностях, которые принимают исламофобию и "горячую линию для информирования о варварских культурных практиках", правительство Трюдо включало рекордное количество мусульманских депутатов. Трюдо также стал первым канадским премьер-министром, выступившим на прайде.

Его правительство легализовало продажу каннабиса и отменило антинаучные ограничения Харпера на исследования. Она увеличила иммиграционные квоты и вновь подтвердила поддержку Канадой многосторонних институтов и международного права. Это выглядело как возвращение к форме для Канады на международной арене, и Трюдо подчеркнул это, сказав: "Канада вернулась."

Канадцы в основном казались довольными его лидерством, и его правительство высоко поднялось в опросах. Его популярность только, казалось, взлетела в стране и за рубежом с избранием Дональда Трампа президентом Соединённых Штатов в 2016 году.

Для либералов всего мира Трюдо, казалось, олицетворял все, чем не был новый президент. Вскоре Трюдо стал глобальным символом в мировой борьбе против подъёма авторитаризма, популизма и белого национализма.

VOCABULARY

- **Stephen Harper** – the ex-leader of the Conservatives
- **Pierre Trudeau** – father of Justin Trudeau, former Canadian Prime Minister
- **Trudeaumania** – the nickname given in early 1968 to the excitement generated by Pierre Trudeau's entry into the leadership race of the Liberal Party of Canada

- **Islamophobia** – the fear or prejudice against the Islamic religion or Muslims generally
 - **Pride parade** – outdoor events celebrating LGBT social and self-acceptance, achievements, legal rights, etc.
 - **Feminist International Assistance Policy** – the policy that seeks to eradicate poverty and build a more peaceful, more inclusive and more prosperous world by promoting gender equality and empowering women and girls
 - **Bloc Québécois** - a separatist party that only runs candidates in Québec
 - **Benjamin Netanyahu** - an Israeli politician who has been Prime Minister of Israel since 2009
 - **Trans Mountain pipeline** – a pipeline that carries crude and refined oil from Alberta to the coast of British Columbia, Canada
 - **Kinder Morgan** – U.S.-based energy corporation
 - **SNC-Lavalin** – Québec-based engineering firm accused of overseas corruption
 - **Jody Wilson-Raybould** – Canada’s first Indigenous minister of justice (now resigned)
 - **Jane Philpott** – a Canadian politician and physician (left at the same time with Jody Wilson-Raybould)
 - **Barack Obama** – former U.S. president
 - **Nepotism** – the granting of jobs to one's relatives or friends in various fields
- New Democratic Party** – a social-democratic federal political party in Canada
- Green Party of Canada** – a federal political party in Canada that supports policies strengthening participatory democracy, nonviolence, social justice, sustainability, respect for diversity and ecological wisdom
- **a political setback** – политическая неудача
 - **to be on the ropes** – быть в подвешенном состоянии
 - **to come to power with incredible fanfare** – прийти к власти с оглушительным успехом
 - **to be more than weary** – быть более чем уставшим от
 - **the world sat up and took notice** – мир встрепенулся и обратил на это внимание
 - **to lay the foundation for** – заложить основу для
 - **a repudiation of the Harper agenda** – отказ от программы Харпера
 - **a starker contrast from** – разительный контраст по сравнению с

- **barbaric cultural practices tip line** – горячая линия по информированию о варварских культурных практиках
- **to establish gender parity** – установить гендерный паритет
- **the government rode high in the polls** – правительство занимало высокие места в опросах
- **popularity seemed to skyrocket at home and abroad** – популярность, казалось, взлетела до небес дома и за рубежом
- **a global symbol in the worldwide struggle against the rise of authoritarianism, populism and white nationalism** – глобальный символ в мировой борьбе против подъёма авторитаризма, популизма и белого национализма
- **progressive credentials** – прогрессивные полномочия
- **a notorious human rights violator** – печально известному нарушителю прав человека
- **rapid retreat from a campaign pledge** – быстрое отступление от предвыборного обещания
- **to be pushed out of the Liberal caucus** – быть вытесненным из либеральной группы.

UNIT VII

“GOLDEN BILLION”

1. Secret Mechanism For Controlling The World

➤ *Read, translate and retell*

"According to some commentators, globalization means the end of the state in the form in which we have known it for centuries. However, they are mistaken. In reality, globalization only limits the power of the state to some extent, preventing it from doing what it should not to do at all"

Margaret Thatcher. "The Art of Government: Strategies for a Changing World"

In the mid-90s in Russian was translated book American Colonel Main Intelligence Directorate "Committee of 300". For about 30 years, he studied the secret mechanisms to control the world and came to the conclusion that global processes run 300 of the wealthiest clans.

This "Committee of 300" ordered in 70 years of large research corporations, research and development. When the results were obtained, it was found that the natural resources on earth are limited. And for a comfortable stay in the land of natural resources enough for only one billion people. Then there was the theory developed "Golden billion", who "has the right" within 100-150 years to stay on the ground. In this "golden billion" people entered the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Israel and Japan. As you know, neither Russian nor the Tartars, or the many people living in our country, in this billion were not included.

In 1985, the international community has formed a program — at least with regard to the USSR: by 2020, reduce by half the population over 35 years of each of the 2nd in the country to kill. Kill not only the war, as it is done with the Muslim people, not prone to what we are exposed to. The older generation to destroy poverty, which will be organized, and the younger generation destroyed by alcohol, tobacco, drugs and debauchery, which will be widely and massively adopted.

Speaking a few years ago, Margaret Thatcher, former Prime Minister of England, dropped a mysterious phrase: "According to the international community economically viable residence in the Russian market for 15 million people." Great thought misheard and turned 50 million. Thatcher but it was immediately corrected.

Us at that time was still 150 million. Where other 135 million? The rest will go under the knife is a real madness of incivility, corruption, drugs, alcohol and tobacco.

Two years ago in this country came in person this same Madeleine Albright — the then U.S. Secretary of State, speaking, dropped the same mysterious phrase: "According to the international community economically viable residence in the Russian market for 15 million people." Where the remaining 130? We already have 145 million. As you can see, the program only misanthropic headed for its implementation.

Who are these cannibals 20-21 centuries decided to leave our country? Two million — Trans-Siberian Railway service, the shortest way from Japan and South-East Asia, to Europe. Another 13 million, they decided to leave the service of the dirtiest metallurgical and chemical industries and service the world's nuclear site, which will be transformed into Russia. By the way, the current Putin's State Duma has adopted a law on the transformation of Russia into the world's nuclear burial ground. In Siberia, the large-scale program of road construction for this project. Do not need the "golden billion", or we, or our history or our culture. They need our natural resources and our living spaces.

Hitler in 1942 formulated the basis of the occupation policy in the conquered eastern territories. In his brief directive, he wrote only three sentences: "It is necessary to reduce the Slavs to sign language. No hygiene. Any vaccinations. Only vodka and tobacco. " The whole social program for people in the conquered territories: no schools, no teachers, no movies — only vodka and tobacco! But to be honest Hitler was not a stupid man, and he knew what he wanted. He knew that the vodka and tobacco withdraw he hated Slavs in a generation, with no fictional crematoria and gas chambers.

The fact that alcohol and tobacco are weapons of mass destruction, know all the contenders for "world domination." Everyone knows that this is the most powerful weapon of genocide and overriding. Hitler covenant is being successfully implemented in our country today!

People in this country still cannot figure out what had happened: the greatest country in the world and suddenly, suddenly fell to pieces, all made in the poor and let the world with his hand out. Is this a fatal accident on the turn of the millennium? No chance here.

In the winter of 1985, when everyone realized that he would die the next General Secretary Chernenko, at its meeting brought together the country's "Big Seven", led by the U.S. That's when they decided to destroy the Soviet Union. The

USSR split into 52 independent states of dwarf and make these states interfere with each other. You may ask why this "world government" share of the USSR? According to estimates of world experts in 2020, the natural resources of Western countries will be exhausted. And the only intact pantry — one-sixth of the land where we were lucky enough to be born and live.

The destruction of the USSR was thrown hundreds of billions of dollars. This program is called herself "Harvard Project". These billions were bought the entire top of the CPSU, was purchased all princes in the field, all of the media and the money in 1991, managed to do something that I could not do either Hitler or Napoleon. Destroy the great Russia, which was then called the Soviet Union.

We are now witnessing the second part of this universal tragedy — the destruction of the Russian Federation. And it has its own designation — "Houston Project". The fact that every day is killing our children in Chechnya, every year a million of our fellow citizens die from drugs, alcohol and tobacco, which our seniors, teachers, doctors were driven into poverty, which destroyed almost all manufacturing industries and destroyed the science that is dying culture and a great heritage — is the work of criminal money this egregious project.

Here's what I wrote at the time of this Allen Dulles, CIA Director (published in abridged): Episode by episode will play out a grand in scale tragedy of the death of the rebellious people on earth, final and irreversible extinction of its identity. For example, of art and literature, we gradually root out its social nature. Literature, theatre, film — all will depict and glorify the basest human emotions.

We will do our best to support and raise the so-called artists who will plant and grind into the human consciousness cult of sex, violence, sadism, betrayal — in short, of all immorality. In government, we will create chaos and confusion.

We will quietly but actively and continuously promote the tyranny of officials, corrupt officials and unscrupulous flourish. Bureaucracy and red tape will be built into a virtue. Honesty and integrity will be mocked, and no one will need to become a relic of the past. Rudeness and arrogance, lies and deceit, drunkenness and drug abuse, animal fear each other, and shamelessness, betrayal, warring nations — above all enmity and hatred of the Russian people — all we deftly and quietly cultivated, all double flowers bloom.

And only a few will understand or even understand what is happening. But the people we put in a helpless situation, turn to ridicule, will find a way to slander them and declare the dregs of society. Will pull spiritual roots, trivialize and destroy the basis of national morality.

We'll shake the way for generations. Will take on people from childhood, teenage years, and the main rate will always do on young people — will become decomposed, corrupt and defile it. We will make her cynical, vulgar and cosmopolitans.

That's how we do it!

Allen Dulles "Reflections on the implementation of the American post-war doctrine against the USSR," 1945.

2. Dulles plan

Allen Dulles (1893 — 1963) worked at the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) since its inception in 1947. In 1942 — 1945 he headed political intelligence in Europe. Director of the CIA, in 1953 — 1961 years — one of the organizers of intelligence and espionage and sabotage against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the ideologue of the Cold War. In 1945, Allen Dulles wrote a book "Reflections on the implementation of the American post-war doctrine against the USSR":

1. The human brain, consciousness of people are capable of change. Sowing chaos there, we soon replace them on false values and make them into these false values to believe.

Is the objective of the activity associated with the "reform" of education and the "support" of science.

That is the spread of ideas and concepts "free society" through the creation and financing of education, schools, the "liberal" press and TV.

2. Literature, theatre, film — all will depict and glorify the basest human emotions. We will do our best to support so-called artists who will plant and grind into the human consciousness cult of sex, violence, sadism, betrayal — in short, of all immorality.

This line corresponds to the so-called creation of the "non-commercial" sector, that is governmental organizations (NGOs), gradually "intercepting" the state, cultural, educational, social and charitable functions.

As a result, the company, through its legitimate and legal authorities will lose control over these sectors. Thus, the conditions for a civilizational transformation of the Russian nation, which implies the loss of her identity and the final transformation into a resource appendage "golden billion".

3. In government, we will create chaos and confusion.

We will quietly but actively and continuously promote the tyranny of officials, graft, unscrupulousness. Bureaucracy and red tape will be built into a virtue. Honesty and integrity will be mocked and will not want, will become a relic of the past.

This task is the direction: the formation of "civil society" based on the Western model of cosmopolitan and liberal ideology of human rights.

The creation and funding of schools, universities, training of lawyers, social sector, revising existing programs, drafting of new laws.

And if these apparent policy objectives Dulles plan adopted for service in the CIA back in 1945, for the author of the article were not obvious and in his opinion, "have nothing to do with the stereotype of" subversive elements "of the CIA", I can only say, that he has not got in among the few ...

Only a few, a very few will understand or even understand what is happening. But the people we put in a helpless situation, turn to ridicule, will find a way to slander them and declare the dregs of society".

According to Kara-Murza, golden billion consumes the lion's share of all resources on the planet. If at least half of humanity will consume resources at the same level, they obviously will not suffice.

The idea of limited resources first appeared in the works of Thomas Malthus. He predicted the global crisis because the population is growing exponentially, and the resource sector — in arithmetic, and would have to be exhausted in the foreseeable future (Malthusianism).

In the XX century, there was a manifold increase in agricultural productivity (albeit at the expense of enormous increase in power consumption), has developed many new materials, reducing the need for raw materials, due to technological progress also reduced consumption of materials in the industries in which replace natural raw materials for synthetic failed. At the same time, there is a rapid increase in proven reserves. However, in the middle of the XX century was predicted peak oil. According to S. Kara-Murza, for the term "golden billion" is defined, integrated, geopolitical, economic and cultural concept: developed countries, keeping to its people a high level of consumption, will be the political, military and economic measures to keep the rest of the industrialized world undeveloped as a raw material appendage area dumping of hazardous waste and a source of cheap labour.

According to S. Kara-Murza Golden billion, as a concept, involves the manipulation of public opinion, to preserve the "sustainable growth" in the golden billion — and disable "raw material appendages" of the possibility of an independent,

self-penetration of the capitalist market, of information, technological and financial capacity of the "civilized world."

Digest

This work is an attempt to show that Golden Billion—an allegory intended to designate the most wealthy part humans living predominantly in the most developed countries and having all that is needed for a secure and comfortable life. In this "golden billion" people entered the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Israel and Japan. The paper presents some results which illustrate, while the level of social, political and ecological intensity in the world is growing, the gap between rich and poor people, countries and regions widens; capital and the newest technologies are accumulated in the most developed countries, entailing the transfer of the intellectual potential and highly qualified specialists from the poor states to the rich ones. Informational and technological revolution translates into a more profitable and privileged position for the most advanced countries.

Under the conditions of globalization the world as a whole becomes more and more structured, first, in the field of communications and world trade. Speaking a few years ago, Margaret Thatcher, former Prime Minister of England, dropped a phrase: "According to the international community economically viable residence in the Russian market for 15 million people".

Two years ago Madeleine Albright — the then U.S. Secretary of State, speaking, dropped the phrase: "According to the international community economically viable residence in the Russian market for 15 million people".

In 1945, Allen Dulles wrote a book "Reflections on the implementation of the American post-war doctrine against the USSR" which includes:

1. The human brain, consciousness of people are capable of change. Sowing chaos there, we soon replace them on false values and make them into these false values to believe.
2. Literature, theatre, film — all will depict and glorify the basest human emotions. We will do our best to support so-called artists who will plant and grind into the human consciousness cult of sex, violence, sadism, betrayal — in short, of all immorality.
3. In government, we will create chaos and confusion.

According to Kara-Murza, golden billion consumes the lion's share of all resources on the planet. If at least half of humanity will consume resources at the same level, they obviously will not suffice.

In conclusion I would like to say, the concept of the "Golden billion", which implies the artificial allocation of a new "chosen people" from humanity, is a utopia. This utopia was born in response to the current General crisis of industrialism and industrial civilization. The philosophical basis of this utopia is pessimistic individualism, the breaking of the communal ties of human solidarity, the rejection of the ethics of religious brotherhood and collective salvation.

Those who consider themselves ranked among the "Golden billion" feel more and more in a besieged fortress, which is threatened by a rapidly multiplying Horde of hungry, outraged poor. The utopia of the "Golden billion", unrealizable in principle, generates, however, a growing aggressiveness-first in ideology and culture, then in the political and military sphere. There are already all signs of consolidation of a new, global fascist ideology, which can prompt the most destructive actions. To accept or not to accept the very idea of the "Golden billion" is a matter of moral and even religious choice, because this idea is radically anti-Christian (as well as anti-Islamic and even more so anti-Buddhist). On the wave of neoliberal and Eurocentric ideology in Russia, some part of the intelligentsia seems to have fallen into the temptation of this utopia and is its radical propagandist. This part has a great influence on the political regime.

As for Russia, there are many signs that the part of the world elite that determines economic and military policy and controls the media, in any case does not include the peoples of Russia among those who have a chance to get into the lifeboat of the "Golden billion".

➤ **Answer the questions**

- 1) Which countries are in golden billion?
- 2) According to this theory, how many people should remain on earth?
- 3) What is considered mass destruction?
- 4) What did Hitler write about Slavs?
- 5) Who was the director of the CIA?
- 6) What is the name of the theory developed by Thomas Malthus?
- 7) How is the CIA decrypted?
- 8) What are the three main concepts of Allen Dulles?
- 9) What is "communism"?
- 10) What is the concept of Kara-Murza?
- 11) How do you understand the concept of globalization?
- 12) How is the CPSU decoded?

- 13) What non-governmental organization do you know?
- 14) What is transnationalism?
- 15) What is “conservatism”?
- 16) Who is the Margaret Thatcher?
- 17) Who is the Madeleine Albright?
- 18) What is the shortest way from Japan and South-East Asia to Europe?
- 19) What is “International society”?
- 20) What is “Sovereignty”?

Task 21. Combine the words and make phrases from them

Indigenous	Increase
International	Cultures
Manifold	Flourish
Unscrupulous	Community

Task 22. Give antonyms for these words

Wealthiest
 Debauchery
 Betrayal
 Independent

Task 23. Give synonyms for these words

Prone
 Large-scale
 Enmity
 Virtue

Task 24. Translate these words

Consumerism
 Watershed
 Coercion
 Endeavour

Task 25. Nouns form an adjective

Gold
 Economy
 East
 Wealth

Task 26. Put articles where it needs (the, a, an, to, by)

People in this country still cannot figure out what had happened: greatest country in the world and suddenly, suddenly fell to pieces, all made in poor and let world with his hand out. Is this fatal accident on turn of the millennium? No chance here.

Task 27. Translate the sentence into Russian

We will do our best to support and raise the so-called artists who will plant and grind into the human consciousness cult of sex, violence, sadism, betrayal — in short, of all immorality.

Task 28. Translate the sentence into English

В XX веке произошло многократное повышение производительности сельского хозяйства (хотя и за счет колоссального увеличения энергопотребления), было разработано много новых материалов, уменьшилась потребность в сырье, благодаря техническому прогрессу также сократилось потребление материалов в отраслях, в которых заменить натуральное сырье на синтетическое не удалось.

Task 29. Write as many meaning as you can

Vigorous

Rebellious

Viable

Prone

Task 30. Translate the sentence into Russian

The idea of limited resources first appeared in the works of Thomas Malthus. He predicted the global crisis because the population is growing exponentially, and the resource sector — in arithmetic, and would have to be exhausted in the foreseeable future (Malthusianism).

Task 31. Whom do these words belong to?

"According to some commentators, globalization means the end of the state in the form in which we have known it for centuries. However, they are mistaken. In reality, globalization only limits the power of the state to some extent, preventing it from doing what it should not to do at all".

Task 32. Define “Diplomacy”

Task 33. Which country is not in the “Big Seven”?

Canada

Australia

Japan

France

Task34. The program to destroy the

German

USSR was called...

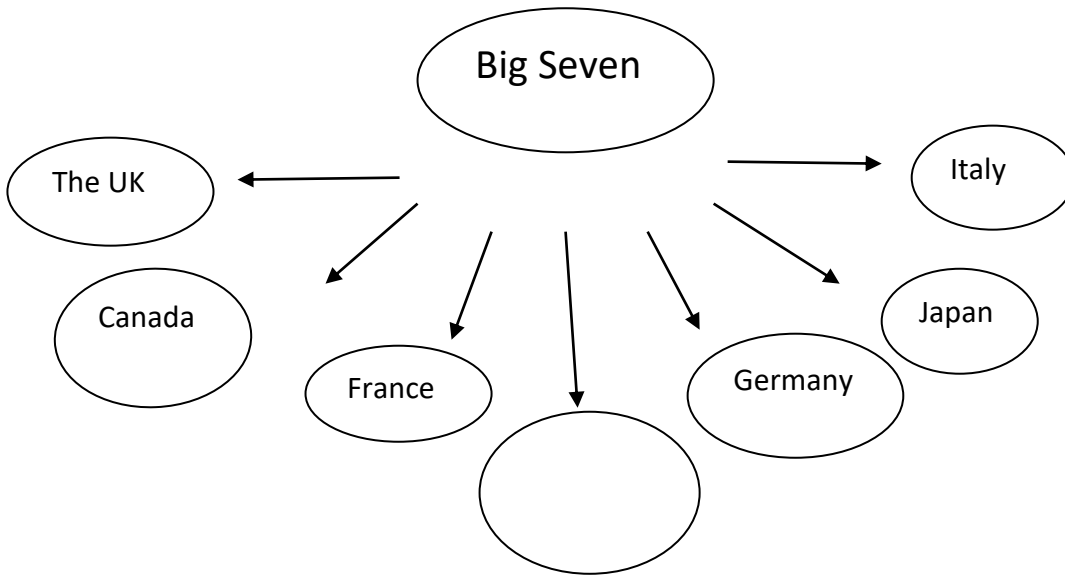
Task 35. Write a definition for the concept of “Great power”

Task 36. Write the years of the cold war

Task 37. The book written by Allen Dulles called...

Task 38. The program to destroy Russia called...

Task 39. Write the missing part



Task 40. Find as many words as possible:

Snicqsjdebaucheryfsgujsklajlmmalnbnpronebmlcbimplementationas
dtuouliyktrhgsdbclkniaefbwebfwnvirtuedhvfwnfnwnefjwxgchvb
mrnsdfkerwtyrtiuiggiqwruyriqrpwjknxzbcxvfruadqohflnjbvjghshfkd
lnvljfdhgweifjknvnsdksfjceehfihtrivializehfqazasadaeabemcitluo,fnv
xpllrslshfsln jwkjbcdefbendeavouryufnsnjsdnjdve

➤ *Translate into English*

1. Человеческий мозг, сознание людей способны меняться. Посеяв там хаос, мы вскоре заменяем их ценности на ложные и заставляем верить в эти ложные ценности. Целью деятельности является связанной с "реформой" образования и "поддержкой" науки. То есть распространение идей и концепций "свободного общества" через создание и финансирование образования, школ, либеральной "прессы и телевидения.

2. Литература, театр, кино – все будет изображать и прославлять самые низменные человеческие эмоции. Мы сделаем все возможное, чтобы поддержать так называемых художников, которые будут насаждать и втирать в человеческое сознание культ секса, насилия, садизма, предательства-словом, всей безнравственности. Эта линия соответствует так называемому созданию "некоммерческого" сектора, то есть государственных организаций (НПО), постепенно "перехватывающих" государственные, культурные, образовательные, социальные и благотворительные функции. В результате компания через свои законные органы власти потеряет контроль над этими секторами. Таким образом, создаются условия для цивилизационной трансформации российской нации, которая предполагает утрату ее самобытности и окончательное превращение в ресурсный придаток "золотого миллиарда".

3. В правительстве мы создадим хаос и неразбериху.

Мы будем тихо, но активно и непрерывно пропагандировать произвол чиновников, взяточничество, беспринципность. Бюрократия и бюрократическая машина будут встроены в добродетель. Честность и порядочность будут осмеяны и станут пережитком прошлого.

Этой задачей является направление: формирование "гражданского общества" на основе западной модели космополитизма и либеральной идеологии прав человека. Создание и финансирование школ, университетов, подготовка

юристов, социальная сфера, пересмотр существующих программ, разработка новых законов.

И если эти очевидные политические цели плана Даллеса, принятого на службу в ЦРУ еще в 1945 году, для автора статьи были неочевидны и, по его мнению, "не имеют ничего общего со стереотипом" подрывных элементов "ЦРУ", то могу лишь сказать, что он не попал в число немногих ...

По словам Кара-Мурзы, "золотой миллиард" потребляет львиную долю всех ресурсов на планете. Если хотя бы половина человечества будет потреблять ресурсы на том же уровне, то их явно не хватит.

Идея ограниченных ресурсов впервые появилась в работах Томаса Мальтуса. Он предсказал глобальный кризис потому, что население растет в геометрической прогрессии, а ресурсный сектор — в арифметике, и должен был бы быть исчерпан в обозримом будущем (мальтузианство).

По мнению С. Кара-Мурзы, под термином "золотой миллиард" понимается комплексное, геополитическое, экономическое и культурное понятие: развитые страны, сохраняя для своих народов высокий уровень потребления, будут принимать политические, военные и экономические меры, чтобы сохранить остальной индустриальный мир неразвитым в качестве сырьевого придатка, зоны сброса опасных отходов и источника дешевой рабочей силы.

По мнению С. Кара-Мурзы золотой миллиард, как концепция, предполагает манипулирование общественным мнением, сохранение "устойчивого роста" в золотом миллиарде — и отключение "сырьевых придатков" от возможности самостоятельного проникновения на капиталистический рынок, от информационного, технологического и финансового потенциала "цивилизованного мира".

План Даллеса

Аллен Даллес (1893 — 1963) работал в Центральном разведывательном управлении (ЦРУ) с момента его создания в 1947 году. В 1942-1945 годах возглавлял политическую разведку в Европе. Директор ЦРУ, в 1953-1961 годах — один из организаторов разведки и шпионажа и диверсий против Советского Союза и других социалистических стран, идеолог холодной войны. В 1945 году Аллен Даллес написал книгу "размышления о реализации американской послевоенной доктрины против СССР".

VOCABULARY

Secret mechanism – Секретный механизм/устройство
Wealthiest clan – Богатейший род/клан
Golden billion – Золотой миллиард
International community – Международное сообщество
Prone – Склонный/ничком/подверженный
Debauchery – Распутство/разврат/кутежи
Widely and massively adopted – Повсеместно/широко и массово принятый
Economically viable residence – Экономически
жизнеспособное/надежное/выгодное место пребывания/проживания
Implementation – Осуществление/Выполнение
Large-scale program – Крупномасштабная программа
Conquered eastern territories- Завоеванные восточные территории
Gas chamber – Газовая камера/палата
Independent states of dwarf – Независимые государства карлики (маленькие
государства)
Intact pantry – Неповрежденный/нетронутый/целый чулан/кладовая
Harvard Project – Гарвардский проект
Houston Project – Хьюстонский проект
Egregious Project – Чудовищный проект
Rebellious people – Восставший/протестующий народ
Depict and glorify the basest human emotions – Изображать и прославлять самые
низменные человеческие эмоции
Continuously promote the tyranny of officials – Постоянно способствовать
самодурству чиновников
Corrupt officials – Коррупцированные официальные лица/чиновники
Unscrupulous flourish – Процветание недобросовестности
Virtue- Добродетель
Mock – Издеваться/высмеивать
Rudeness and arrogance – Грубость и высокомерие
Betrayal – Предательство
Enmity and hatred- Вражда и ненависть
Turn to ridicule – Превратить в посмешище
The dregs of society – Отбросы общества
Trivialize – Опошлять

Depict and glorify – Изображать и прославлять
Intercepting – Перехват
Charitable functions – Благотворительные функции
Resource appendage – Ресурсный придаток
Slander – Клевета
Declare the dregs of society – Объявить отбросами общества
Foreseeable future – Обозримое будущее
Manifold increase – Многократное увеличение
Consumption of materials – Потребление материалов
Predicted peak oil – Прогнозируемый разгар нефти (продажи)
Dumping of hazardous waste – Сброс опасных отходов
A source of cheap labour – Источник дешевой рабочей силы
Sustainable growth – Устойчивый рост
Raw material appendages – Сырьевой придаток
A skeptical stance – Скептическая позиция
Intensifying economic interdependence- Усиление экономической взаимозависимости
Interlocking global economy- Взаимосвязь мировой экономики
Heightened economic interdependence- Усиленная экономическая взаимозависимость
Intensified competition - Усиленная конкуренция
A positive-sum game- Игра с положительной суммой
Personal self-development – Личное саморазвитие
Vigorous societies – Энергичные/решительные/ активные общества
Watershed – Переломный момент
Dominant global actor- Доминирующий глобальный субъект
Intrinsically transnational character – Внутренний транснациональный характер
Historically significant shift – Исторически значимый сдвиг
Burgeoning corporate power – Растущая корпоративная власть
Growing gender inequalities – Растущее гендерное неравенство
Indigenous cultures – Коренные культуры
Consumerism – стимулирование потребительского интереса /потребительство
Single worldwide system – Единая система по всему миру
Inherently unstable – По своей сути/ изначально не устойчивый
Migration surges – Миграционные всплески

Dominated conventional academic approaches – Доминируют/Превалируют
традиционные академические подходы
Ethical considerations – Этические соображения
Endeavour – Усиление/ стремление
Coercion – Принуждение/давление
Surveillance – наблюдение
Dispersal – рассредоточение
Temptation – Искушение
Miracle – Чудо
CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Советская коммунистическая
партия
CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) Центральное разведывательное управление
USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) Союз Советских Социалистических
Республик

Unit VIII

THE TRAGEDY IN TWO ERAS (BNW-NEW)

1. "Success" Of Little Boy

➤ *Read and retell the texts*

If some extraterrestrial species were compiling a history of Homo sapiens, they might well break their calendar into two eras: BNW (before nuclear weapons) and NWE (the nuclear weapons era). The latter era, of course, opened on August 6, 1945, the first day of the countdown to what may be the inglorious end of this strange species, which attained the intelligence to discover the effective means to destroy itself, but so the evidence suggests-not the moral and intellectual capacity to control its own worst instincts.

Day one of the NWE was marked by the "success" of Little Boy, a simple atomic bomb. On day four, Nagasaki experienced the technological triumph of Fat Man, a more sophisticated design. Five days later came what the official air force history calls the "grand finale," a one- thousand-plane raid-no mean logistical achievement- on Japan's cities, killing many thousands of people, with leaflets falling among the bombs reading "Japan has surrendered." President Truman announced that surrender before the last B-29 returned to its base.

Those were the auspicious opening days of the NWE. As we now enter its seventieth year, we should be contemplating with wonder the fact that we have survived. We can only guess how many years remain.

Some reflections on these grim prospects were offered by General Lee Butler, former head of the U.S. Strategic Command (STRATCOM), which controls nuclear weapons and strategy. Twenty years ago, Butler wrote that we had so far survived the NWE "by some combination skill, luck, and divine intervention, and I suspect the latter in greatest proportion." Reflecting further on his long career in developing nuclear weapons strategies and organizing the forces to implement them efficiently, he described himself ruefully as having been "among the most avid of these keepers of the faith in nuclear weapons." But, he continued, he had come to realize that it was now his "burden to declare with all of the conviction I can muster that in my judgment they served us extremely ill." He asked, "By what authority do succeeding generations of leaders in the nuclear-weapons states usurp the power to dictate the odds of continued life on our planet? Most urgently, why does such breathtaking

audacity persist at a moment when we should stand trembling in the face of our folly and united in our commitment to abolish its most deadly manifestations?"

Butler termed the U.S. strategic plan of 1960 that called for an automated all-out strike on the Communist world "the single most absurd and irresponsible document I have ever reviewed in my life." Its Soviet counterpart was probably even more insane. But it is important to bear in mind that there are competitors, not least among them the easy acceptance of extraordinary threats to survival.

Summary

The review is devoted to nuclear weapons. It should be mentioned that the history of humanity can be divided into two eras: BNW (before nuclear weapons) and NEW (the nuclear weapons era). The second era began on August 6, 1945. The creation of nuclear weapons ended in a «grand finale». When the Americans dropped atomic bombs on Japanese cities. Thousands of people died. Now nuclear weapons are a threat to the planet. General Lee Butler thinks it's a miracle that humanity hasn't destroyed themselves.

2.The Cuban missile crisis and beyond

When Nikita Khrushchev took control in Russia in the years after Stalin's death, he recognized that the USSR could not compete militarily with the United States, the richest and most powerful country in history, with incomparable advantages. If it ever hoped to escape its economic backwardness and the devastating effects of the last world war, the Soviet Union would need to reverse the arms race.

Accordingly, Khrushchev proposed sharp mutual reactions in offensive weapons. The incoming Kennedy administration considered the offer and rejected it, instead turning to rapid military expansion, even though it already far in the lead. The late Kenneth Waltz, supported by other strategic analysts with close connections to US intelligence, wrote then that the Kennedy administration "undertook the largest strategic and conventional peace-time military build-up the world has yet seen... even as Khrushchev was trying at once to carry through a major reduction in the conventional forces and to follow a strategy of minimum deterrence, and we did so even though the balance of strategic weapons greatly favored the United States. Again, the government opted for harming national security while enhancing state power.

The Soviet reaction to the US buildup of those years was to place nuclear missiles in Cuba in October 1962 to try to redress the balance at least slightly. The move was also motivated in part by Kennedy's terrorist campaign against Fidel Castro's Cuba, which was scheduled to lead to invasion that very month, as Russia and Cuba may have known. The ensuing "missile crisis" was "the most dangerous moment in history in the words of historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr, Kennedy's adviser and confidant. Of no slight significance is the fact that Kennedy is highly praised for his cool courage and statesmanship in the decisions made at the peak of the crisis, even though he had needlessly placed the population at enormous risk for reasons of state and of personal image.

Ten years later, in the last days of the 1973 Israeli-Arab war, Henry Kissinger, then national security adviser to President Nixon, called a nuclear alert. The purpose was to warn the Russians not to interfere with his delicate diplomatic maneuvers designed to ensure an Israeli victory (of a limited sort, so that the United States would still be in control of the region unilaterally). And the maneuvers were indeed delicate: the United States and Russia had jointly imposed a cease-fire, but Kissinger secretly informed the Israelis that they could ignore it. Hence the need for the nuclear alert to frighten the Russians away. The security of Americans retained its usual status.

Ten years after that, the Reagan administration launched operations to probe Russian air defenses by simulating air and naval attacks and a high-level nuclear alert that the Russians were intended to detect. These actions were undertaken at a very tense moment: Washington was deploying Pershing II strategic missiles in Europe with a ten-minute flight time to Moscow. President Reagan had also announced the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars") program, which the Russians understood to be effectively a first-strike weapon, a standard interpretation of missile defense on all sides. And other tensions were rising.

Naturally, these actions caused great alarm in Russia, which unlike the United States was quite vulnerable and had repeatedly been invaded and virtually destroyed. That led to a major war scare in 1983. Newly released archives reveal that the danger was even more severe than historians had previously assumed. A high-level U.S. intelligence study entitled "The War Scare Was for Real" concluded that U.S. intelligence may have underestimated Russian concerns and the threat of a Russian preventative nuclear strike. The exercises "almost became a prelude to a preventative nuclear strike," according to an account in the *Journal of Strategic Studies*.

It was even more dangerous than that, as we learned in the fall of 2013, when the BBC reported that right in the midst of these world- threatening developments, Russia's early-warning systems detected an incoming missile strike from the United States, sending its nuclear system onto the highest-level alert. The protocol for the Soviet military was retaliate with a nuclear attack of its own. Fortunately, the officer on duty, Stanislav Petrov, decided to disobey orders and not report the warnings to his superiors. He received an official reprimand. And thanks to his dereliction of duty, we're still alive to talk about it.

The security of the population was no more a high priority for Reagan administration planners than for their predecessors. And so it continues to the present, even putting aside the numerous near-catastrophic nuclear accidents that have occurred over the years, many reviewed in Eric Schlosser's chilling study *Command and Control*.¹² In other words, it is hard to contest General Butler's conclusions.

Summary

It is evident that Khrushchev offered the United States reduce offensive weapons. But the Kennedy administration rejected the offer and continued military expansion. The response was the deployment of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. This crisis in relations between the United States and the USSR was called the Cuban missile crisis. Next, the Reagan administration launched operations to probe Russian air defenses by simulating air and naval attacks. Also, President Reagan had announced the Strategic Defense initiative («Star Wars») program, the Russians understood to be effectively a first-strike weapon. These events worsened relations between the US and the USSR.

Abbreviation

BNW – before nuclear weapons (до ядерного оружия)

NEW – the nuclear weapons era (эпоха ядерного оружия)

STRATCOM – Strategic Command (Стратегическое командование)

NSC – National Security Council (Совет национальной безопасности)

GDR – German Democratic Republic (Германская Демократическая Республика)

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Организация Североатлантического договора)

SEAL – Sea Air Land (Морские котики)

Tasks

<i>Words</i>	<i>Synonyms</i>
1. capacity	letting, issuance, capitulation
2. deployment	ponder, think, reflect
3. missiles	stress, pressure, intensity
4. surrender	power, performance, volume
5. contemplate	rocket, nuclear weapon, projectile
6. usurp	duty, fee, tribute
7. warheads	dislocation, placement, base
8. toll	retardation, underdevelopment, developmental delay
9. tension	misappropriate, assign, seize
10. backwardness	reentry vehicle, combat unit, payload

1) Gives the synonyms

2) Match the correct prepositions

1. They might well break their calendar ... two years.
2. Some reflections on these grim prospects were offered General Lee Butler, former head ... the USA Strategic Command.
3. Reflecting further on his long career ... developing nuclear weapons strategies and organizing the forces.
4. Of no slight significance is the fact that Kennedy is highly praised ... his cool courage.
5. Ten years later, ... the last days of the 1973 Israeli-Arab war, Henry Kissinger, then national security adviser ... President Nixon, called a nuclear alert.
6. The security ... Americans retained its usual status.
7. These actions were undertaken ... a very tense moment.
8. That led ... a major war scare ... 1983.
9. Fortunately, the officer ... duty, Stanislav Petrov, decided ... disobey orders.
10. The security ... the population was no more a high priority ... Reagan administration planners.

Prepositions: in; into; for; of; of; of, for; in, to; on, to; at; to, in.

Questions

1. When did the era of nuclear weapons begin?
2. When did the USA drop the bombs on Nagasaki?
3. What was the purpose of the USA strategic plan 1960?
4. What is the prime goal of the state?
5. How did the United States develop before World War 2?
6. What did Joseph Stalin propose to do in 1952?
7. What is the cause of the Cuban missile crisis?
8. What is the slogan of the Clinton doctrine?
9. Why could there be problems in relations between Pakistan and the United States?

➤ *Translate into English*

Сколько минут до полуночи?

Если бы некоторые инопланетные цивилизации составляли историю Homo sapiens, они вполне могли бы разделить свой календарь на две эпохи: BNW (до появления ядерного оружия) и NWE (эпоха ядерного оружия). Последняя эра, конечно же, была открыта 6 августа 1945 года, в первый день обратного отсчета времени до того, что может быть бесславным концом этого странной цивилизации, которая достигла интеллекта, чтобы обнаружить эффективные средства для уничтожения самой себя, но как свидетельствуют доказательства, не моральная и интеллектуальная способность контролировать свои худшие инстинкты.

Первый день NWE был отмечен «успехом» Little Boy, простой атомной бомбы. На четвертый день Нагасаки испытал технологический триумф Толстяка, более сложного дизайна. Пять дней спустя наступило то, что официальная история ВВС называет «грандиозным финалом», рейд на тысячу самолетов – не означает логистические достижения - на города Японии, в результате которого погибли много тысяч человек, с листовками, падающие среди бомб с надписью «Япония капитулировала». Президент Трумэн объявил о капитуляции до того, как последний В-29 вернулся на свою базу.

Это были знаменательные дни открытия NWE. Сейчас, когда мы вступаем в его семидесятый год, мы должны с удивлением лицезреть тот факт, что мы выжили. Мы можем только догадываться, сколько лет осталось.

VOCABULARY

some extraterrestrial species – некоторые инопланетные цивилизации
moral and intellectual capacity – моральный и интеллектуальный потенциал
own worst instincts – собственные худшие инстинкты
simple atomic bomb – простая атомная бомба
technological triumph – технологический триумф
sophisticated design – изысканный дизайн
official air force history – официальная история ВВС
logistical achievement – логистическое достижение
auspicious opening days – благоприятные дни открытия
grim prospects – мрачные перспективы
greatest proportion – наибольшая доля
succeeding generations – грядущие поколения
nuclear-weapons states – ядерные страны
brehtaking audacity – захватывающая дух дерзость
most deadly manifestations – самые смертоносные проявления
automated all-out strike – автоматизированная тотальная забастовка
single most absurd and irresponsible document – один самый абсурдный и безответственный документ
extraordinary threats – чрезвычайные угрозы
general intellectual discourse – общий интеллектуальный дискурс
ample evidence – достаточное доказательство
incomparable advantages – несравнимые преимущества
total world wealth – общее мировое богатство
intercontinental ballistic missiles – межконтинентальная баллистическая ракета
nuclear warheads – ядерные боеголовки
standard scholarly study – стандартное научное исследование
nuclear policy – ядерная политика
high-level sources – источники высокого уровня
national security adviser – советник по национальной безопасности
instructive comment – поучительный комментарий
contemporary proposal – современное предложение
sole serious threat – единственная серьезная угроза
in industrial development and technological sophistication – в промышленном развитии и технологической изощренности

threatening environment – угрожающая окружающая среда
extraordinary hysteria – необычайная истерия
remarkable proposal – примечательное предложение
hostile military alliance – враждебный военный союз
respected political commentator – уважаемый политический комментатор
unresolved mystery – нераскрытая тайна
internal political and economic conditions – внутренние политические и
экономические условия
economic backwardness – экономическая отсталость
sharp mutual reactions – резкие взаимные реакции
offensive weapons – наступательное вооружение
rapid military expansion – быстрая военная экспансия
largest strategic and conventional peacetime military – крупнейшие стратегические
и обычные вооруженные силы мирного времени
minimum deterrence – минимальное сдерживание
personal image – личный имидж
delicate diplomatic maneuvers – деликатные дипломатические маневры
high-level nuclear alert – ядерная тревога высокого уровня
missile defense – противоракетная оборона
preventative nuclear strike – превентивный ядерный удар
numerous near-catastrophic nuclear accidents – многочисленные почти
катастрофические ядерные аварии
self-respecting president – уважающий себя президент
uninhibited access – свободный доступ
enthusiastic approval – восторженное одобрение
extended firefight – продолжительная перестрелка
unidentified aircraft – неопознанный самолет
divine intervention – божественное вмешательство

Unit IX

THE MOST DANGEROUS MOMENT IN THE WORLD

1. Secret plan

➤ Read and discuss the texts

The world stood still some fifty years ago during the last week of October, from the moment when it learned that the Soviet Union had placed nuclear-armed missiles in Cuba until the crisis was officially ended — though, unknown to the public, only officially.

There was good reason for the global concern. A nuclear war was all too imminent, a war that might “destroy the Northern Hemisphere,” as President Dwight Eisenhower had warned. Kennedy’s own judgment was that the probability of war might have been as high as 50 percent. Estimates became higher as the confrontation reached its peak and the “secret doomsday plan to ensure the survival of the government was put into effect” in Washington, as described by journalist Michael Dobbs in his well-researched best seller on the crisis (though he doesn’t explain why there would be much point in doing so, given the likely nature of nuclear war).

Dobbs quotes Dino Brugioni, “a key member of the CIA team monitoring the Soviet missile buildup,” who saw no way out except “war and complete destruction” as the clock moved to “one minute to midnight,” the title of Dobbs’s book. Kennedy’s close associate the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. described the events as “the most dangerous moment in human history.” Defense Secretary Robert McNamara wondered aloud whether he “would live to see another Saturday night,” and later recognized that “we lucked out” — barely.

There are several candidates for “the most dangerous moment”. One is October 27, 1962, when U.S. destroyers enforcing a quarantine around Cuba were dropping depth charges on Soviet submarines. According to Soviet accounts, reported by the National Security Archive, submarine commanders were “rattled enough to talk about firing nuclear torpedoes, whose 15 kiloton explosive yields approximated the bomb that devastated Hiroshima in August 1945”.

In one case, a reported decision to assemble a nuclear torpedo for battle readiness was aborted at the last minute by Second Captain Vasili Arkhipov, who may have saved the world from nuclear disaster. There is little doubt what the U.S. reaction would have been had the torpedo been fired, or how the Russians would have responded as their country was going up in smoke.

Kennedy had already declared the highest nuclear alert short of launch, DEFCON 2, which authorized “NATO aircraft with Turkish pilots ... [or others] ... to take off, fly to Moscow, and drop a bomb,” according to the well-informed Harvard University strategic analyst Graham Allison, writing in *Foreign Affairs*.

Another candidate is October 26. That day has been selected as “the most dangerous moment” by B-52 pilot Major Don Clawson, who piloted one of those NATO aircraft and provides a hair-raising description of details of the Chrome Dome (CD) missions during the crisis — “B-52s on airborne alert” with nuclear weapons “on board and ready to use”.

October 26 was the day when “the nation was closest to nuclear war,” he writes in his “irreverent anecdotes of an air force pilot.” On that day, Clawson himself was in a good position to set off a likely terminal cataclysm. He concludes, “We were damned lucky we didn’t blow up the world—and no thanks to the political or military leadership of this country”.

The errors, confusions, near accidents, and miscomprehension of the leadership that Clawson reports are startling enough, but nothing like the operative command-and-control rules—or lack of them. As Clawson recounts his experiences during the fifteen twenty-four-hour CD missions he flew, the maximum possible, the official commanders “did not possess the capability to prevent a rogue crew or crew-member from arming and releasing their thermonuclear weapons,” or even from broadcasting a mission that would have sent off “the entire Airborne Alert force without possibility of recall.” Once the crew was airborne carrying thermonuclear weapons, he writes, “it would have been possible to arm and drop them all with no further input from the ground. There was no inhibitor on any of the systems”.

About one-third of the total force was in the air, according to General David Burchinal, director of plans on the air staff at air force headquarters. The Strategic Air Command (SAC), technically in charge, appears to have had little control. And according to Clawson's account, the civilian National Command Authority was kept in the dark by SAC, which means that the ExComm "deciders" pondering the fate of the world knew even less. General Burchinal's oral history is no less hair-raising, and reveals even greater contempt for the civilian command. According to him, Russian capitulation was never in doubt. The CD operations were designed to make it crystal clear to the Russians that they were hardly even competing in the military confrontation, and could quickly have been destroyed.

The next day, at 10:00 a.m., the president again turned on the secret tape recorder. He read aloud a wire service report that had just been handed to him: "Premier Khrushchev told President Kennedy in a message today he would withdraw offensive weapons from Cuba if the United States withdrew its rockets from Turkey" — Jupiter missiles with nuclear warheads. The report was soon authenticated.

Summary

The main item of the paper is to tell about the two the most dangerous moments that occurred during «the week the world stood still». Firstly, there is given the information about soviet submarine and possible threat of World War III and, secondly, there is mentioned the problem with nuclear-based aircraft of the U.S. Both events analyzed from official and unofficial points of view. In addition, there is given concrete information about the U.S. President's and his councilors' reaction on the events. The mistakes and consequences of the moments are deeply analyzed.

2. «Keeping U.S. power unrestrained»

The planners therefore faced a serious dilemma. They had in hand two somewhat different proposals from Khrushchev to end the threat of catastrophic war, and each would seem to any "rational man" to be a fair trade. How then to react?

One possibility would have been to breathe a sigh of relief that civilization could survive and to eagerly accept both offers; to announce that the United States would adhere to international law and remove any threat to invade Cuba; and to carry forward the withdrawal of the obsolete missiles in Turkey, proceeding as planned to upgrade the nuclear threat against the Soviet Union to a far greater one — only part, of course, of the global encirclement of Russia. But that was unthinkable.

The basic reason why no such thought could be contemplated was spelled out by National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy, a former Harvard dean and reputedly the brightest star in the Camelot firmament. The world, he insisted, must come to understand that “the current threat to peace is not in Turkey, it is in Cuba,” where missiles were directed against the United States. A vastly more powerful U.S. missile force trained on the much weaker and more vulnerable Soviet enemy could not possibly be regarded as a threat to peace, because we are Good, as a great many people in the western hemisphere and beyond could testify — among numerous others, the victims of the ongoing terrorist war that the United States was then waging against Cuba, or those swept up in the “campaign of hatred” in the Arab world that so puzzled Eisenhower, though not the National Security Council, which explained it clearly.

In subsequent colloquy, the president stressed that we would be “in a bad position” if we chose to set off an international conflagration by rejecting proposals that would seem quite reasonable to survivors (if any cared). This “pragmatic” stance was about as far as moral considerations could reach.

In a review of recently released documents on Kennedy-era terror, Harvard University Latin Americanist Jorge Domínguez observes, “Only once in these nearly thousand pages of documentation did a U.S. official raise something that resembled a faint moral objection to U.S.-government sponsored terrorism”: a member of the National Security Council staff suggested that raids that are “haphazard and kill innocents ... might mean a bad press in some friendly countries.”

The same attitudes prevailed throughout the internal discussions during the missile crisis, as when Robert Kennedy warned that a full-scale invasion of Cuba would “kill an awful lot of people, and we’re going to take an awful lot of heat on it.” And they prevail to the present, with only the rarest of exceptions, as easily documented.

We might have been “in even a worse position” if the world had known more about what the United States was doing at the time. Only recently was it learned that, six months earlier, the United States had secretly deployed missiles in Okinawa virtually identical to those the Russians would send to Cuba. These were surely aimed at China at a moment of elevated regional tensions. To this day, Okinawa remains a major offensive U.S. military base over the bitter objections of its inhabitants.

Summary

The main purpose of the sub-chapter is to describe the final decision of the U.S. administration on Khrushchev's proposal. There are given two possible ways of White House to react on that period. Both ways are carefully analyzed through pros & cons. There is given a meticulous argumentation on the reason why Washington D.C. should not accept Khrushchev's proposal. Moreover, the sub-chapter contains the declassified information about the U.S. actions on Okinawa during 1962.

3. «An indecent disrespect for the opinions of humankind»

The deliberations that followed are revealing, but I will put them aside here. They did reach a conclusion. The United States pledged to withdraw the obsolete missiles from Turkey, but would not do so publicly or put the offer in writing: it was important that Khrushchev be seen to capitulate. An interesting justification was offered, and is accepted as reasonable by scholarship and commentary. As Michael Dobbs puts it, "If it appeared that the United States was dismantling the missile bases unilaterally, under pressure from the Soviet Union, the [NATO] alliance might crack" — or, to rephrase a little more accurately, if the United States replaced useless missiles with a far more lethal threat, as already planned, in a trade with Russia that any "rational man" would regard as very fair, then the NATO alliance might crack.

To be sure, when Russia withdrew Cuba's only deterrent against an ongoing U.S. attack—with a severe threat to proceed to direct invasion still in the air — and quietly departed from the scene, the Cubans would be infuriated (as, in fact, they understandably were). But that is an unfair comparison for the standard reasons: we are human beings who matter, while they are merely "unpeople," to adopt George Orwell's useful phrase.

Kennedy also made an informal pledge not to invade Cuba, but with conditions: not just the withdrawal of the missiles, but also termination, or at least "a great lessening," of any Russian military presence. (Unlike Turkey, on Russia's borders, where nothing of the kind from our military could be contemplated.) When Cuba was no longer an "armed camp," then "we probably wouldn't invade," in the president's words. He added that if it hoped to be free from the threat of U.S. invasion, Cuba must end its "political subversion" (Sheldon Stern's phrase) in Latin America. "Political subversion" had been a constant theme in U.S. rhetoric for years, invoked for example when Eisenhower overthrew the parliamentary government of Guatemala and plunged that tortured country into an abyss from which it has yet to emerge. This theme remained alive and well right through Ronald Reagan's vicious

terror wars in Central America in the 1980s. Cuba's "political subversion" consisted of support for those resisting the murderous assaults of the United States and its client regimes, and sometimes even perhaps — horror of horrors — providing arms to the victims.

Though these assumptions are so deeply embedded in prevailing doctrine as to be virtually invisible, they are occasionally articulated in the internal record. In the case of Cuba, the State Department Policy Planning Staff explained that "the primary danger we face in Castro is ... in the impact the very existence of his regime has upon the leftist movement in many Latin American countries...."

The simple fact is that Castro represents a successful defiance of the US, a negation of our whole hemispheric policy of almost a century and a half," since the Monroe Doctrine announced Washington's intention, then unrealizable, to dominate the western hemisphere.

The right to dominate is a leading principle of U.S. foreign policy found almost everywhere, though typically concealed in defensive terms: during the Cold War years, routinely by invoking the "Russian threat," even when Russians were nowhere in sight. An example of great contemporary import is revealed in Iran scholar Ervand Abrahamian's important book on the U.S.-UK coup that overthrew the parliamentary regime of Iran in 1953. With scrupulous examination of internal records, he shows convincingly that standard accounts cannot be sustained. The primary causes were not Cold War concerns, nor Iranian irrationality that undermined Washington's "benign intentions," nor even access to oil or profits, but rather the way the U.S. demand for "overall control" — with its broader implications for global dominance — was threatened by independent nationalism.

That is what we discover over and over by investigating particular cases, including Cuba (not surprisingly), though the fanaticism in that particular case might merit examination. U.S. policy toward Cuba is harshly condemned throughout Latin America and indeed most of the world, but "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" is understood to be meaningless rhetoric intoned mindlessly on the Fourth of July. Ever since polls have been taken on the matter, a considerable majority of the U.S. population has favored normalization of relations with Cuba, but that too is insignificant.

Dismissal of public opinion is, of course, quite normal. What is interesting in this case is dismissal of powerful sectors of U.S. economic power which also favor normalization and are usually highly influential in setting policy: energy, agribusiness, pharmaceuticals, and others. That suggests that, in addition to the

cultural factors revealed in the hysteria of the Camelot intellectuals, there is a powerful state interest involved in punishing Cubans.

Summary

The paper reveals the indecent decision made by the U.S. government according the missile crisis in 1962. There is given argumentation for the U.S. actions. The sub-chapter also includes the information about Castro's regime in Cuba, numerous attempts of the U.S. to wipe it out and zealous criticism of White House's position not only on Cuba and missile crisis, but the whole Washington's policy in Latin America. In fact, all the masks are taken off from pseudo-liberal America in this paper.

4. «Saving the world from the threat of nuclear destruction»

The missile crisis officially ended on October 28. The outcome was not obscure. That evening, in a special CBS News broadcast, Charles Collingwood reported that the world had come out "from under the most terrible threat of nuclear holocaust since World War II" with a "humiliating defeat for Soviet policy." Dobbs comments that the Russians tried to pretend that the outcome was "yet another triumph for Moscow's peace-loving foreign policy over warmongering imperialists," and that "the supremely wise, always reasonable Soviet leadership had saved the world from the threat of nuclear destruction."

Extricating the basic facts from the fashionable ridicule, Khrushchev's agreement to capitulate had indeed "saved the world from the threat of nuclear destruction."

The crisis, however, was not over. On November 8, the Pentagon announced that all known Soviet missile bases had been dismantled. On the same day, Stern reports, "a sabotage team carried out an attack on a Cuban factory," though Kennedy's terror campaign, Operation Mongoose, had been formally curtailed at the peak of the crisis. The November 8 terror attack lends support to McGeorge Bundy's observation that the threat to peace was Cuba, not Turkey, facilities, and underwater demolition of docks and ships." A plot to assassinate Castro was apparently initiated on the day of the Kennedy assassination. The terrorist campaign was called off in 1965, but, reports Garthoff, "one of Nixon's first acts in office in 1969 was to direct the CIA to intensify covert operations against Cuba."

We can, at last, hear the voices of the victims in Canadian historian Keith Bolender's *Voices From the Other Side*, the first oral history of the terror

campaign—one of many books unlikely to receive more than casual notice, if that, in the West because its contents are too revealing.

In the *Political Science Quarterly*, the professional journal of the American Political Science Association, Montague Kern observes that the Cuban Missile Crisis is one of those “full-bore crises ... in which an ideological enemy (the Soviet Union) is universally perceived to have gone on the attack, leading to a rally-’round-the-flag effect that greatly expands support for a president, increasing his policy options.”

Kern is right that it is “universally perceived” that way, apart from those who have escaped sufficiently from their ideological shackles to pay some attention to the facts; Kern is, in fact, one of them. Another is Sheldon Stern, who recognizes what has long been known to such deviants. As he writes, we now know that “Khrushchev’s original explanation for shipping missiles to Cuba had been fundamentally true: the Soviet leader had never intended these weapons as a threat to the security of the United States, but rather considered their deployment a defensive move to protect his Cuban allies from American attacks and as a desperate effort to give the USSR the appearance of equality in the nuclear balance of power.” Dobbs, too, recognizes that “Castro and his Soviet patrons had real reasons to fear American attempts at regime change, including, as a last resort, a US invasion of Cuba ... [Khrushchev] was also sincere in his desire to defend the Cuban revolution from the mighty neighbor to the north.”

Summary

The purpose of the sub-chapter is devote to the ending of «the week the world stood still». Author gives the soviet and american official interpretations of the nuclear crisis ending. The sub-chapter also contains the information about further events that occurred in Cuba. There is given a concrete steps of the U.S. to eliminate Castro’s regime. Finally, Chomsky introduces criticism of White House from different historians and former agents.

➤ Questions

1. Who is the author of the term «the week the world stood still»?
2. What was the position of the President J. F. Kennedy about the crisis?
3. What are the most dangerous moments that occurred during the missile crisis?
4. What were Khrushchev’s proposals to solve the crisis?
5. Why was it unthinkable for the U.S. to accept the proposals of the Secretary General of the CPSU?

6. Did the U.S. deploy nuclear missiles anywhere else Turkey?
7. What are the final decisions that were made by USSR and the U.S. in 1962?
8. What policy the White House pursued towards Cuba?
9. When did the missile crisis officially end?
10. Was USSR a real aggressor during the missile crisis according to the historians Bolender and Kern?

Tasks

I. Fill in the gaps

1. The image of the world standing still is the _____ of Sheldon Stern
a) figure of speech b) turn of phrase c) expression d) term
2. Kennedy's own _____ was that the probability of war might have been as high as 50 percent.
a) judgement b) feeling c) opinion d) sagacity
3. One is October 27, 1962, when U.S. destroyers enforcing a quarantine around Cuba were dropping _____ on Soviet submarines
a) ashcans b) depth charges c) mines d) bombs
4. And according to Clawson's account, the civilian National Command Authority was kept in the dark by SAC, which means that the ExComm "deciders" _____ the fate of the world knew even less.
a) musing b) brooding c) thinking d) pondering
5. Though received by the committee as an unexpected _____ from the blue, it had actually been anticipated.
a) bolt b) thunderbolt c) lightning d) deadbolt
6. Only recently was it learned that, six months earlier, the United States had secretly _____ missiles in Okinawa virtually identical to those the Russians would send to Cuba.
a) deployed b) disposed c) set d) positioned
7. Extricating the basic facts from the fashionable _____, Khrushchev's agreement to capitulate had indeed "saved the world from the threat of nuclear destruction."
a) mock b) ridicule c) taunt d) scorn
8. Operation Mongoose, had been formally _____ at the peak of the crisis.
a) reduced b) cut c) shortened d) curtailed
9. Kern is right that it is "universally _____" that way, apart from those who have escaped sufficiently from their ideological shackles to pay some attention to the facts; Kern is, in fact, one of them.

a) discerned b) seen c) understood d) perceived

10. On November 8, the Pentagon announced that all known Soviet missile bases had been _____.

a) destroyed b) razed c) dismantled d) demolished

II. Matching the word combinations

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) infuriate | a) войска дружественной страны |
| 2) rattle enough to talk | b) политическая диверсия |
| 3) offensive weapons | c) бессистемный |
| 4) the highest nuclear alert short of launch | d) наступательные вооружения |
| 5) nuclear-armed missiles | e) достаточно смущены, чтобы говорить |
| 6) to ensure the survival | f) склоняться к военному действию |
| 7) to lean towards military action | g) обеспечить выживание |
| 8) haphazard | h) ракеты с ядерными боеголовками |
| 9) a political subversion | i) наивысший уровень ядерной тревоги перед запуском |
| 10) proxy forces | j) приводить в бешенство |

III. Find the synonyms for the words from the left column

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 1) to shackle | a) abundant |
| 2) a conflagration | b) surprising |
| 3) to obscure | c) manacle |
| 4) deterrent | d) opposition |
| 5) slated | e) scorn |
| 6) a contempt | f) vague |
| 7) startling | g) blaze |
| 8) a defiance | h) pollution |
| 9) an ample | i) scheduled |
| 10) a contamination | j) impediment |

IV. Find the antonyms for the words from the left column

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1) a perpetrator | a) flowed |
| 2) ebbed | b) extend |
| 3) curtail | c) ignore |
| 4) extricating | d) uncommitted |
| 5) to undermine | e) sufferer |
| 6) pledged | f) cease |
| 7) to wage | g) rebellion |
| 8) anacquiescence | h) discontinue |
| 9) to ponder | i) bolster |
| 10) bear on | j) entangling |

V. Complete the sentences using prepositions from the box

by at of (2) in on for (1)

There was good reason 1)... the global concern. A nuclear war was all too imminent, a war that might “destroy the Northern Hemisphere,” as President Dwight Eisenhower had warned. Kennedy’s own judgment was that the probability 2)... war might have been as high as 50 percent. Estimates became higher as the confrontation reached its peak and the “secret doomsday plan to ensure the survival 3)... the government was put into effect” in Washington, as described 4)... journalist Michael Dobbs in his well-researched best seller 5)... the crisis (though he doesn’t explain why there would be much point 6)... doing so, given the likely nature of nuclear war).

VI. Complete the sentences using words from the box

prevent broadcasting airborne recall startling inhibitor

The errors, confusions, near accidents, and miscomprehension of the leadership that Clawson reports are 1)... enough, but nothing like the operative command-and-control rules—or lack of them. As Clawson recounts his experiences during the fifteen twenty-four-hour CD missions he flew, the maximum possible, the official commanders “did not possess the capability to 2)... a rogue crew or crew-member from arming and releasing their thermonuclear weapons,” or even from 3)... a mission that would have sent off “the entire Airborne Alert force without possibility of 4)...” Once the crew was 5)... carrying thermonuclear weapons, he writes, “it would have been possible to arm and drop them all with no further input from the ground. There was no 6)... on any of the systems.”

VII. Connect the Russian translation with the original

A. The deliberations that followed are revealing, but I will put them aside here. They did reach a conclusion. The United States pledged to withdraw the obsolete missiles from Turkey, but would not do so publicly or put the offer in writing: it was important that Khrushchev be seen to capitulate. An interesting justification was offered, and is accepted as reasonable by scholarship and commentary. As Michael Dobbs puts it, “If it appeared that the United States was dismantling the missile bases unilaterally, under pressure from the Soviet Union, the [NATO] alliance might crack” — or, to rephrase a little more accurately, if the United States replaced useless missiles with a far more lethal threat, as already planned, in a trade with Russia that any “rational man” would regard as very fair, then the NATO alliance might crack.

B. Though these assumptions are so deeply embedded in prevailing doctrine as to be virtually invisible, they are occasionally articulated in the internal record. In the case of Cuba, the State Department Policy Planning Staff explained that “the primary danger we face in Castro is ... in the impact the very existence of his regime has upon the leftist movement in many Latin American countries...”

C. The right to dominate is a leading principle of U.S. foreign policy found almost everywhere, though typically concealed in defensive terms: during the Cold War years, routinely by invoking the “Russian threat,” even when Russians were nowhere in sight. An example of great contemporary import is revealed in Iran scholar Ervand Abrahamian’s important book on the U.S.-UK coup that overthrew the parliamentary regime of Iran in 1953. With scrupulous examination of internal records, he shows convincingly that standard accounts cannot be sustained. The primary causes were not Cold War concerns, nor Iranian irrationality that undermined Washington’s “benign intentions,” nor even access to oil or profits, but rather the way the U.S.

demand for “overall control”—with its broader implications for global dominance — was threatened by independent nationalism.

D. Kern is right that it is “universally perceived” that way, apart from those who have escaped sufficiently from their ideological shackles to pay some attention to the facts; Kern is, in fact, one of them. Another is Sheldon Stern, who recognizes what has long been known to such deviants. As he writes, we now know that “Khrushchev’s original explanation for shipping missiles to Cuba had been fundamentally true: the Soviet leader had never intended these weapons as a threat to the security of the United States, but rather considered their deployment a defensive move to protect his Cuban allies from American attacks and as a desperate effort to give the USSR the appearance of equality in the nuclear balance of power.” Dobbs, too, recognizes that “Castro and his Soviet patrons had real reasons to fear American attempts at regime change, including, as a last resort, a US invasion of Cuba ... [Khrushchev] was also sincere in his desire to defend the Cuban revolution from the mighty neighbor to the north.»

E. The missile crisis officially ended on October 28. The outcome was not obscure. That evening, in a special CBS News broadcast, Charles Collingwood reported that the world had come out “from under the most terrible threat of nuclear holocaust since World War II” with a “humiliating defeat for Soviet policy.” Dobbs comments that the Russians tried to pretend that the outcome was “yet another triumph for Moscow’s peace-loving foreign policy over warmongering imperialists,” and that “the supremely wise, always reasonable Soviet leadership had saved the world from the threat of nuclear destruction”.

1. Ракетный кризис официально завершился 28 октября. Результат не был неясным. В тот же вечер в специальном выпуске новостей Си-би-эс Чарльз Коллингвуд сообщил, что мир вышел “из-под самой страшной угрозы ядерного холокоста со времен Второй мировой войны” с “унизительным поражением для советской политики. Доббс комментирует, что русские пытались сделать вид, что результат был “еще одним триумфом миролюбивой внешней политики Москвы над разжигающими войну империалистами”, и что “в высшей степени мудрое, всегда разумное советское руководство спасло мир от угрозы ядерного уничтожения».

2. Последовавшие за этим обсуждения являются показательными, но я отложу их здесь в сторону. Они пришли к какому-то выводу. Соединенные Штаты обязались вывести устаревшие ракеты из Турции, но не сделали этого

публично и не изложили свое предложение в письменном виде: было важно, чтобы Хрущев капитулировал. Было предложено интересное обоснование, и оно принимается как разумное учеными и комментариями. Как выразился Майкл Доббс, “если бы оказалось, что Соединенные Штаты демонтируют ракетные базы в одностороннем порядке, под давлением Советского Союза, Альянс [НАТО] мог бы расколоться” — или, если перефразировать немного точнее, если бы Соединенные Штаты заменили бесполезные ракеты гораздо более смертоносной угрозой, как уже планировалось, в торговле с Россией, которую любой “рациональный человек” счел бы очень справедливой, тогда альянс НАТО мог бы расколоться.

3. Хотя эти предположения настолько глубоко укоренились в господствующей доктрине, что их практически не видно, они иногда формулируются во внутренних документах. В случае Кубы сотрудники Государственного департамента по планированию политики объяснили “что ” главная опасность, с которой мы сталкиваемся в Кастро, заключается ... в воздействии самого существования его режима на левое движение во многих странах Латинской Америки...

4. Право на доминирование является ведущим принципом внешней политики США, который встречается почти везде, хотя обычно скрывается в оборонительных терминах: в годы Холодной войны, обычно ссылаясь на “русскую угрозу”, даже когда русских нигде не было видно. Пример большого современного значения обнаружен в важной книге иранского ученого Эрванда Абрамяна, посвященной американо-британскому перевороту, свергнувшему парламентский режим Ирана в 1953 году. При скрупулезном изучении внутренних записей он убедительно показывает, что стандартные счета не могут быть поддержаны. Основными причинами были не проблемы холодной войны, не иранская иррациональность, которая подрывала “благие намерения” Вашингтона, и даже не доступ к нефти или прибыли, а то, как требование США об “общем контроле” — с его более широкими последствиями для глобального доминирования — было поставлено под угрозу независимым национализмом.

5. Ракетный кризис официально завершился 28 октября. Результат не был неясным. В тот же вечер в специальном выпуске новостей Си-би-эс Чарльз Коллингвуд сообщил, что мир вышел “из-под самой страшной угрозы ядерного холокоста со времен Второй мировой войны” с “унизительным поражением для советской политики. Доббс комментирует, что русские пытались сделать вид, что результат был “еще одним триумфом миролюбивой внешней политики

Москвы над разжигающими войну империалистами”, и что “в высшей степени мудрое, всегда разумное советское руководство спасло мир от угрозы ядерного уничтожения.”

Translate into English

«Самый опасный момент»

Более пристальный взгляд на то, что произошло, добавляет мрачные ноты к этим суждениям, с эхом, доходящим до наших дней.

Есть несколько кандидатов на “самый опасный момент». Один из них – 27 октября 1962 года, когда американские эсминцы, проводившие карантин вокруг Кубы, сбрасывали глубинные бомбы на советские подводные лодки. Согласно советским отчетам, представленным Архивом национальной безопасности, командиры подводных лодок были “достаточно напуганы, чтобы говорить о стрельбе ядерными торпедами, мощность которых в 15 килотонн приближалась по мощности к бомбе, разрушившей Хиросиму в августе 1945 года”.

В данном случае полученное решение привести ядерную торпеду в боевую готовность было прервано в последнюю минуту вторым капитаном Василием Архиповым, который, возможно, спас мир от ядерной катастрофы. Нет никаких сомнений в том, какой была бы реакция США, если бы торпеда была выпущена, или как бы отреагировали русские, когда их страна превратилась бы в дым.

Кеннеди уже объявил самую высокую ядерную тревогу перед запуском, DEFCON 2, которая разрешила “самолетам НАТО с турецкими пилотами ... [или другими] ... взлететь, долететь до Москвы и сбросить бомбу”, по словам хорошо информированного стратегического аналитика Гарвардского университета Грэма Эллисона, пишущего в журнале «Foreign Affairs».

Еще один кандидат - 26 октября. Этот день был выбран как “самый опасный момент” пилотом В-52 майором Доном Клоусоном, который пилотировал один из этих самолетов НАТО и дает захватывающее описание деталей миссий Chrome Dome (CD) во время кризиса – “В-52 находились в боевой готовности” с ядерным оружием “на борту, готовым к использованию”.

26 октября был день, когда «нация была ближе всего к ядерной войне», пишет он в своих “непочтительных анекдотах летчика ВВС». В тот день сам Клоусон был в хорошем положении, чтобы вызвать вероятный смертельный катаклизм. Он делает следующий вывод: “нам чертовски повезло, что мы не

взорвали мир – и не благодаря политическому или военному руководству этой страны”.

Ошибки, путаницы, почти что несчастные случаи и непонимание руководства, о которых сообщает Клоусон, достаточно поразительны, но они не поражают настолько как оперативные правила командования и управления - или их отсутствие. Как рассказывает Клоусон о своем опыте во время пятнадцати двадцати четырех часовых полетов на КР, которые он совершил, насколько это было возможно, официальные командиры “не обладали способностью воспрепятствовать экипажу-изгою или члену экипажа вооружиться и выпустить свое термоядерное оружие” или даже транслировать миссию, которая отправила бы “все Воздушно-десантные силы без возможности отзыва». "Как только экипаж поднялся в воздух с термоядерным оружием, – пишет он, – можно было бы вооружить и сбросить их все без дальнейшего ввода с земли. Ни в одной из систем не было ингибитора".

По словам генерала Дэвида Берчинала, директора отдела планов штаба ВВС в штабе ВВС, около трети всех сил находилось в воздухе. Технически ответственное Стратегическое авиационное командование (Сак), по-видимому, мало контролировало ситуацию. И согласно отчету Клоусона, гражданское Национальное командование держалось в неведении Саком, а это значит, что “решатели” исполкома, размышляющие о судьбе мира, знали еще меньше. Устная история генерала Бурчиналя не менее волнительна и свидетельствует о еще большем презрении к гражданскому командованию. По его словам, капитуляция России никогда не вызывала сомнений. Операции КР были рассчитаны на то, чтобы дать ясно понять русским, что они едва ли даже конкурируют в военном противостоянии и могут быть быстро уничтожены.

VOCABULARY

Abyss	бездна
Acquiescence	молчаливое согласие
Airborne alert	воздушная тревога
Americanist	американист
Armed camp	Вооруженный лагерь
Benign intentions	благие намерения
Bitter objections	Горькие возражения
Buildup	Наращивание
Broader implications	Более широкие последствия
Cargo ship	Торговое судно
Casual notice	Случайное уведомление
Command-and-control rules	Правила командования и управления
Conflagration	Пожарище
Contamination	Загрязнение
Contempt	Презрение
Covert action	Тайная операция
Dangerous deliberations	Опасные прения
Dean	Декан
Depth charge	Глубоководная мина
Explosive yield	Взрывная мощность
Fashionable ridicule	Модная насмешка
Full-bore crisis	Полномасштабный кризис
Global concern	Глобальная обеспокоенность
Global encirclement	Глобальное окружение
Great lessening	Большое уменьшение
Hair-rising description	Описание, от которого волосы встают дыбом
Inhibitor	Ингибитор
Input	Вход
Irreverent anecdote	Непочтительный анекдот
Justification	Оправдание
Large electric plant	Большая электростанция
Lethal assault	Смертельное нападение
Military presence	Военное присутствие
Moral objection	Моральное возражение

Much point	Особый смысл
Nuclear-armed missiles	Ракеты с ядерными боеголовками
Offensiveweapons	Наступательные вооружения
Oil refinery	Нефтеперерабатывающий завод
Overall control	Полный контроль
Overtone	Подтекст
Own judgement	Собственное суждение
Patron	Покровитель
Perpetrator	Преступник
Pragmatic stance	Прагматичная позиция
Proxy forces	Дружественные войска
Political subversion	Политическая диверсия
Rally round-the-flag	Эффект сплоченности
Reverberation	Отражение
Rogue crew	Команда угонщиков
Scholarship	Ученость
Speedboat	Быстроходный катер
Strafing attack	Обстрел
Terminal war	Всё уничтожающая война
Third party actions	Действия третьих лиц
The Camelot firmament	Небосвод Камелота
The missile crisis	Ракетный кризис
Vicious terror wars	Жестокие террористические войны
Wire service	Телеграфное агентство
Chrome Dome (CD)	Хромированный купол
Defence Secretary (DS)	Министр обороны
Doomsday Plan (DM)	План Судного дня
National Command Authority (NCA)	Высшее национальное военное командование США
National Security Action Memorandum (NSAM)	Меморандум о мерах в области нацбезопасности
Strategic Air Command (SAC)	Стратегическое авиационное командование

Unit X

THE DOOMSDAY CLOCK

➤ *Scan the text and give the main idea*

In January 2015, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists advanced its famous Doomsday Clock to three minutes before midnight, a threat level that had not been reached for thirty years. The Bulletin's statement explaining this advance toward catastrophe invoked the two major threats to survival: nuclear weapons and «unchecked climate change». The call condemned world leaders, who «have failed to act with the speed or on the scale required to protect citizens from potential catastrophe», endangering «every person on Earth [by] failing to perform their most important duty — ensuring and preserving the health and vitality of human civilization».

Since then, there has been good reason to consider moving the hands even closer to doomsday.

As the year ended, world leaders met in Paris to address the severe problem of «unchecked climate change». Hardly a day passes without new evidence of how severe the crisis is. Shortly before the opening of the Paris conference, NASA's Jet Propulsion Lab released a study that both surprised and alarmed scientists who have been studying Arctic ice. The study showed that a huge Greenland glacier, Zachariae Isstrom, «broke loose from a glaciologically stable position in 2012 and entered a phase of accelerated retreat», an unexpected and ominous development. The glacier «holds enough water to raise global sea level by more than 18 inches (46 centimeters) if it were to melt completely. And now it's on a crash diet, losing 5 billion tons of mass every year. All that ice is crumbling into the North Atlantic Ocean».

Yet there was little expectation that world leaders in Paris would «act with the speed or on the scale required to protect citizens from potential catastrophe». When the agreement was approved in Paris, French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius, who hosted the talks, announced that it is «legally binding». That maybe the hope, but there are more than a few obstacles that are worthy of careful attention.

In all of the extensive media coverage of the Paris conference, perhaps the most important sentences are these, buried near the end of a long *New York Times* analysis: «Traditionally, negotiators have sought to forge a legally binding treaty that needed ratification by the governments of the participating countries to have force. There is no way to get that in this case, because of the United States. A treaty would be dead on arrival on Capitol Hill without the required two-thirds majority vote in the

Republican-controlled Senate. So the voluntary plans are taking the place of mandatory, top-down targets». And voluntary plans are a guarantee of failure.

«Because of the United States». More precisely, because of the Republican Party, which by now is becoming a real danger to decent human survival.

The conclusions are underscored in another *Times* piece on the Paris agreement. At the end of a long story lauding the achievement, the article notes that the system created at the conference «depends heavily on the views of the future world leaders who will carry out those policies. In the United States, every Republican candidate running for president in 2016 has publicly questioned or denied the science of climate change, and has voiced opposition to Mr. Obama's climate change policies. In the Senate, Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, who has led the charge against Mr. Obama's climate change agenda, said, Before his international partners pop the champagne, they should remember that this is an unattainable deal based on a domestic energy plan that is likely illegal, that half the states have sued to halt, and that Congress has already voted to reject».

Mainstream Democrats are now pretty much what used to be called «moderate Republicans». Meanwhile, the Republican Party has largely drifted off the spectrum, becoming what respected conservative political analyst Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein call a «radical insurgency» that has virtually abandoned normal parliamentary politics. The Republican Party's dedication to wealth and privilege has become so extreme that its actual policies could not attract voters, so it has had to seek a new popular base, mobilized on other grounds: evangelical Christians who await the Second Coming,⁶ nativists who fear that «they» are taking our country away from us, unreconstructed racists,⁷ people with real grievances who gravely mistake their causes,⁸ and others like them who are easy prey to demagogues and can readily become a radical insurgency.

Republican elected officials and contenders for the next presidential election expressed open contempt for the Paris deliberations, refusing to even attend the proceedings. The three candidates who led in the polls at the time — Donald Trump, Ted Cruz, and Ben Carson — adopted the stand of the largely evangelical base: humans have no impact on global warming, if it is happening at all. The other candidates reject government action to deal with the matter. Immediately after Obama spoke in Paris, pledging that the United States would be in the vanguard seeking global action, the Republican-dominated Congress voted to scuttle his recent Environmental Protection Agency rules to cut carbon emissions. As the press reported, this was «a provocative message to more than 100 [world] leaders that the

American president does not have the full support of his government on climate policy». Meanwhile Lamar Smith, Republican head of the House's Committee on Science, Space, and Technology, carried forward his jihad against government scientists who dare to report the facts.

The message is clear. American citizens face an enormous responsibility right at home.

A companion story in the New York Times reports that «two-thirds of Americans support the United States joining a binding international agreement to curb growth of greenhouse gas emissions». And by a five-to-three margin, Americans regard the climate as more important than the economy. But it doesn't matter. Public opinion is dismissed. That fact, once again, sends a strong message to Americans. It is their task to cure the dysfunctional political system, in which popular opinion is a marginal factor. The disparity between public opinion and policy, in this case, has significant implications for the fate of the world.

We should, of course, have no illusions about a past «golden age». Nevertheless, the developments just reviewed constitute significant changes. The undermining of functioning democracy is one of the contributions of the neoliberal assault on the world's population in the past generation. And this is not happening just in the U.S.; in Europe the impact may be even worse.

Let us turn to the other (and traditional) concern of the atomic scientists who adjust the Doomsday Clock: nuclear weapons. The current threat of nuclear war amply justifies their January 2015 decision to advance the clock two minutes toward midnight. What has happened since reveals the growing threat even more clearly, a matter that elicits insufficient concern, in my opinion.

The last time the Doomsday Clock reached three minutes before midnight was in 1983, at the time of the Able Archer exercises of the Reagan administration; these exercises simulated attacks on the Soviet Union to test their defense systems. Recently released Russian archives reveal that the Russians were deeply concerned by the operations and were preparing to respond, which would have meant, simply: The End.

We have learned more about these rash and reckless exercises, and about how close the world was to disaster, from U.S. military and intelligence analyst Melvin Goodman, who was CIA division chief and senior analyst at the Office of Soviet Affairs at the time. «In addition to the Able Archer mobilization exercise that alarmed the Kremlin», Goodman writes, «the Reagan administration authorized unusually aggressive military exercises near the Soviet border that, in some cases,

violated Soviet territorial sovereignty. The Pentagon's risky measures included sending U.S. strategic bombers over the North Pole to test Soviet radar, and naval exercises in wartime approaches to the USSR where U.S. warships had previously not entered. Additional secret operations simulated surprise naval attacks on Soviet targets».

We now know that the world was saved from likely nuclear destruction in those frightening days by the decision of a Russian officer, Stanislav Petrov, not to transmit to higher authorities the report of automated detection systems that the USSR was under missile attack. Accordingly, Petrov takes his place alongside Russian submarine commander Vasili Arkhipov, who, at a dangerous moment of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, refused to authorize the launching of nuclear torpedoes when the subs were under attack by U.S. destroyers enforcing a quarantine.

Other recently revealed examples enrich the already frightening record. Nuclear security expert Bruce Blair reports that «the closest the US came to an inadvertent strategic launch decision by the President happened in 1979, when a NORAD early warning training tape depicting a full-scale Soviet strategic strike in advertently coursed through the actual early warning network. National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski was called twice in the night and told the US was under attack, and he was just picking up the phone to persuade President Carter that a full-scale response needed to be authorized right away, when a third call told him it was a false alarm.»

This newly revealed example brings to mind a critical incident of 1995, when the trajectory of a U.S.-Norwegian rocket carrying scientific equipment resembled the path of a nuclear missile. This elicited Russian concerns that quickly reached President Boris Yeltsin, who had to decide whether to launch a nuclear strike.

Blair adds other examples from his own experience. In one case, at the time of the 1967 Middle East war, «a carrier nuclear-aircraft crew was sent an actual attack order instead of an exercise/training nuclear order». A few years later, in the early 1970s, the Strategic Air Command, in Omaha, «retransmitted an exercise ... launch order as an actual real-world launch order». In both cases code checks had failed; human intervention prevented the launch.

Blair made these comments in reaction to a report by airman John Bordne that has only recently been cleared by the U.S. Air Force. Bordne was serving on the U.S. military base in Okinawa in October 1962, at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis and a moment of serious tensions in Asia as well. The U.S. nuclear alert system had been raised to DEFCON 2, one level below DEFCON1, when nuclear missiles can be

launched immediately. At the peak of the crisis, on October 28, a missile crew received authorization to launch its nuclear missiles, in error. They decided not to, averting likely nuclear war and joining Petrov and Arkhipov in the pantheon of men who decided to disobey protocol and thereby saved the world.

As Blair observed, such incidents are not uncommon. One recent expert study found dozens of false alarms every year during the period reviewed, 1977 to 1983; the study concluded that the range is 43 to 255 per year. The author of the study, Seth Baum, summarizes with appropriate words: «Nuclear war is the black swan we can never see, except in that brief moment when it is killing us. We delay eliminating the risk at our own peril. Now is the time to address the threat, because now we are still alive».

Sometimes the threat has not been accident, but adventurism, as in the case of Able Archer. The most extreme case was the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, when the threat of disaster was all too real. The way it was handled is shocking; so is the manner in which it is commonly interpreted, as we have seen.

With this grim record in mind, it is useful to look at strategic debates and planning. One chilling case is the Clinton-era 1995 STRATCOM study «Essentials of Post-Cold War Deterrence». The study calls for retaining the right of first strike, even against nonnuclear states. It explains that nuclear weapons are constantly used, in the sense that they «cast a shadow over any crisis or conflict». It also urges a «national persona» of irrationality and vindictiveness to intimidate the world.

Current doctrine is explored in the lead article in the journal *International Security*, one of the most authoritative in the domain of strategic doctrine. The authors explain that the United States is committed to «strategic primacy» — that is, insulation from retaliatory strike. This is the logic behind Obama's «new triad» (strengthening submarine and land-based missiles and the bomber force), along with missile defense to counter a retaliatory strike. The concern raised by the authors is that the U.S. demand for strategic primacy might induce China to react by abandoning its «no first use» policy and by expanding its limited deterrent. The authors think that they will not, but the prospect remains uncertain. Clearly the doctrine enhances the dangers in a tense and conflicted region.

The same is true of NATO expansion to the east in violation of verbal promises made to Mikhail Gorbachev when the USSR was collapsing and he agreed to allow a unified Germany to become part of NATO—quite a remarkable concession when one thinks about the history of the century. Expansion to East Germany took place at once. In the following years, NATO expanded to Russia's borders; there are now

substantial threats even to incorporate Ukraine, in Russia's geostrategic heartland. One can imagine how the United States would react if the Warsaw Pact were still alive, most of Latin America had joined, and now Mexico and Canada were applying for membership.

Aside from that, Russia understands as well as China (and U.S. strategists, for that matter) that the U.S. missile defense systems near Russia's borders are, in effect, a first strike weapon, aimed to establish strategic primacy — immunity from retaliation. Perhaps their mission is utterly unfeasible, as some specialists argue. But the targets can never be confident of that. And Russia's militant reactions are quite naturally interpreted by NATO as a threat to the West.

One prominent British Ukraine scholar poses what he calls a «fateful geographical paradox»: that NATO «exists to manage the risks created by its existence».

The threats are very real right now. Fortunately, the shooting down of a Russian plane by a Turkish F-16 in November 2015 did not lead to an international incident, but it might have, particularly given the circumstances. The plane was on a bombing mission in Syria. It passed for a mere seventeen seconds through a fringe of Turkish territory that protrudes into Syria, and evidently was heading for Syria, where it crashed. Shooting it down appears to have been a needlessly reckless and provocative act, and an act with consequences. In reaction, Russia announced that its bombers will henceforth be accompanied by jet fighters and that it is deploying sophisticated anti-aircraft missile systems in Syria. Russia also ordered its missile cruiser Moskva, with its long-range air defense system, to move closer to shore, so that it may be «ready to destroy any aerial target posing a potential danger to our aircraft», Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu announced. All of this sets the stage for confrontations that could be lethal.

Tensions are also constant at NATO-Russian borders, including military maneuvers on both sides. Shortly after the Doomsday Clock was moved ominously close to midnight, the national press reported that «U.S. military combat vehicles paraded Wednesday through an Estonian city that juts into Russia, a symbolic act that highlighted the stakes for both sides amid the worst tensions between the West and Russia since the Cold War». Both sides are practicing rapid mobilization and redeployment of forces to the Russia-NATO border, and «both believe a war is no longer unthinkable».

If that is so, both sides are beyond insanity, since a war might well destroy everything. It has been recognized for decades that a first strike by a major power

might destroy the attacker, even without retaliation, simply from the effects of nuclear winter.

But that is today's world. And not just today's that is what we have been living with for seventy years. As we have seen, security for the population is typically not a leading concern of policymakers. That has been true from the earliest days of the nuclear age, when in the centers of policy formation there were no efforts — apparently not even expressed thoughts to eliminate the one serious potential threat to the United States, as might have been possible. And so matters continue to the present, in ways just briefly sampled.

That is the world we have been living in, and live in today. Nuclear weapons pose a constant danger of instant destruction, but at least we know in principle how to alleviate the threat, even to eliminate it, an obligation undertaken (and disregarded) by the nuclear powers that have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The threat of global warming is not instantaneous, though it is dire in the longer term and might escalate suddenly. That we have the capacity to deal with it is not entirely clear, but there can be no doubt that the longer the delay, the more extreme the calamity. Prospects for decent long-term survival are not high unless there is a significant change of course. A large share of the responsibility is in our hands — the opportunities as well.

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. What is Doomsday Clock?
2. In what year did the countdown clock begin?
3. Who launched the Doomsday Clock project?
4. What time did the clock show at the time of its appearance?
5. Who used to be called "moderate Republicans"?
6. Which country has a "strategic primacy"?
7. Who was the National Security Advisor in 1979?
8. What research did NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory publish?

Keywords: Doomsday Clock; nuclear weapons; unchecked climate change; United States; Republican Party; Paris agreement; climate policy; New York Times; NATO

Summary

This article addresses issues related to the fate of all humanity. The discussion the concerned with Doomsday Clock. This article focuses on international threats posed

by nuclear weapons, climate change and new technologies. Doomsday Clock symbolizes the threat of nuclear war and global catastrophe. According to the idea of the creators of the watch, when the hand reaches midnight, the apocalypse will come. The article raises questions about the existence of a large number of problems that are considered global, but all scientists agree that the overwhelming problem is the prevention of nuclear war and the preservation of peace.

Digest

The article is concerned with the threat of nuclear war and world nuclear weapons. Doomsday Clock is a project launched by the American publication Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. It shows how close humanity is to a global catastrophe. Initially, the term «global catastrophe» was used to mean nuclear war, but later the concept was expanded and environmental and technological factors were added to the list of hypothetical reasons for the end of the world.

It should be noted that countdown Clock began in 1947. It was then that they first appeared on the cover of Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Doomsday Clock is a project launched by the American publication Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. It shows how close humanity is to a global catastrophe. It is noteworthy that initially it was customary to mean nuclear war, but later the concept was expanded and environmental and technological factors were added to the list of hypothetical reasons for the end of the world. The reason for this was the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the Americans in 1945.

At the time of its appearance the clock showed 23:53. The geopolitical situation at that time was characterized by considerable tension. The Cold War had just begun, and relations between the US and the USSR were becoming increasingly complex. Over time, the Doomsday Clock moved forward and backward another 23 times.

It should be emphasized that humanity did not even suspect that the world was saved from a possible nuclear destruction by the decision of Russian officer Stanislav Petrov. The officer decided not to transmit a message to the higher authorities about automated detection systems that the USSR was attacked by a rocket.

Considering the situation it should be mentioned a «fatal geographic paradox»: that NATO «exists to manage the risks posed by its existence». Scientists have proven that the first strike of a major power can destroy an attacker, even without a retaliatory strike, simply because of the consequences of a nuclear winter. It becomes obvious that nuclear weapons pose a constant danger of instant destruction. An

important point is that the prospects for a decent long-term survival are not high unless there is a significant change in course. To summarize that the use (and even testing) of nuclear weapons can lead to a global environmental disaster and the destruction of humanity.

Abbreviations

1. Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists – Бюллетень ученых-атомщиков

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists is a nonprofit organization concerning science and global security issues resulting from accelerating technological advances that have negative consequences for humanity. The Bulletin publishes content at both a free-access website and a bi-monthly, nontechnical academic journal.

2. North Atlantic Ocean – Северная Атлантика.

3. New York Times – Нью-Йорктаймс.

The New York Times (sometimes abbreviated as the NYT and NYTimes) is an American newspaper based in New York City with worldwide influence and readership.

4. NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) – Национальное управление по аэронавтике и исследованию космического пространства.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is an independent agency of the United States Federal Government responsible for the civilian space program, as well as aeronautics and aerospace research.

5. Able Archer – «Опытный лучник» Able Archer 83 is the codename for a command post exercise carried out in November 1983 by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

6. U.S. (United States)– США (USA – United States of America)

7. CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) – Центральное разведывательное управление США, ЦРУ

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is a civilian foreign intelligence service of the federal government of the United States, tasked with gathering, processing, and analyzing national security information from around the world, primarily through the use of human intelligence.

8. USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) – Союз Советских Социалистических Республик

9. NORAD (North American Aerospace Defense Command) – Командование воздушно-космической обороны Северной Америки

North American Aerospace Defense Command, known until March 1981 as the North American Air Defense Command, is a combined organization of the United States and Canada that provides aerospace warning, air sovereignty, and protection for Northern America.

10. DEFCON 2 (defense readiness condition) – шкала готовности вооружённых сил Соединённых Штатов Америки. Этот уровень предшествует максимальной боевой готовности.

The defense readiness condition (DEFCON) is an alert state used by the United States Armed Forces. Nextstep to nuclear war.

11. STRATCOM (United States Strategic Command) – Стратегическое командование Вооружённых сил США.

United States Strategic Command (STRATCOM /USSTRATCOM) is one of the eleven unified combatant commands in the United States Department of Defense.

12. NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) – НАТО, Организация Североатлантического договора

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, also called the North Atlantic Alliance, is an intergovernmental military alliance between 29 North American and European countries.

VOCABULARY

1. Additional secret operations – дополнительные секретные операции
2. aggressive military exercises – агрессивные военные учения
3. automated detection systems – автоматизированные системы обнаружения
4. careful attention. – внимательное отношение
5. companion story – сопутствующая история
6. condemned world leaders – осужденные мировые лидеры
7. critical incident – критическое событие
8. current doctrine – современная доктрина
9. decent human survival – достойное человеческое выживание
10. division chief and senior analyst – начальник отдела и старший аналитик
11. dysfunctional political system – дисфункциональная политическая система
12. even closer to doomsday – еще ближе к концу света
13. false alarm – ложная сигнализация
14. full-scale strategic strike – полномасштабный стратегический удар
15. global warming – глобальное потепление
16. governments of the participating countries – правительства стран-участниц

17. greenhouse gas – парниковый газ
18. huge Greenland glacier – огромный ледник Гренландии
19. inadvertent strategic decision – непреднамеренное стратегическое решение
20. international security – международная безопасность
21. jet propulsion lab – лаборатория реактивного движения
22. legally binding – юридически обязательный
23. likely nuclear destruction – вероятное ядерное уничтожение
24. mainstream democrats – основные демократы
25. marginal factor – маргинальный фактор
26. military and intelligence analyst – военный и разведывательный аналитик
27. missile attack – ракетная атака
28. normal parliamentary politics – нормальная парламентская политика
29. nuclear war – ядерная война
30. nuclear weapons – ядерное оружие
31. open contempt – открытое презрение
32. paris deliberations – парижские обсуждения
33. popular opinion – народное мнение
34. potential catastrophe – потенциальная катастрофа
35. provocative message – провокационное сообщение
36. public opinion – общественное мнение
37. radical insurgency – радикальное восстание
38. rash and reckless exercises – опрометчивые и безрассудные упражнения
39. ratification – ратификация
40. respected conservative political analyst – уважаемый консервативный политолог
41. severe problem – серьезная проблема
42. significant implications – значительные последствия
43. territorial sovereignty – территориальный суверенитет
44. unchecked climate change – неконтролируемое изменение климата
45. verbal promises first strike weapon – словесные обещания первого удара оружием
46. vitality of human civilization – жизнеспособность человеческой цивилизации
47. war time approaches – подходы военного времени
48. world leaders – мировые лидеры

Tasks

1. Match the definition

1. Independents
 2. Mainstream democrats
 3. International relations
 4. Ratification
 5. Demand
- a) are a moderate ideological faction within the Democratic Party of the United States.
- b) is the study of interconnectedness of politics, economics and law on a global level
- c) not influenced or controlled in any way by other people, events, or things
- d) to ask for something forcefully, in a way that shows that you do not expect to be refused
- e) the process of making an agreement official

1	2	3	4	5

2. Fill the gaps:

- a) huge Greenland glacier
- b) Jet Propulsion Lab
- c) new evidence
- d) ominous development
- e) severe problem
- f) unchecked climate change
- g) world leaders

As the year ended, **1** met in Paris to address the **2** of. Hardly a day passes without **3** of how severe the crisis is. Shortly before the opening of the Paris conference, NASA's **4** released a study that both surprised and alarmed scientists who have been studying Arctic ice. The study showed that a **5**, ZachariaeIsstrom, «broke loose from a glaciologically stable position in 2012 and entered a phase of accelerated retreat», an unexpected and **6**.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Match the synonym:

1. assumption
 2. prominent,
 3. disparities
 4. significant
 5. deterrence
 6. consequence
 7. equilibrium
- a) balance
 - b) considerable
 - c) famous
 - d) inequality
 - e) intimidation
 - f) investigation
 - g) supposition

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Give the antonym

1. modern –
2. disparities –
3. accomplishment –
4. advantage –
5. global warming –
6. external –
7. transgressor –
8. allegiance –
9. peaceful –
10. dedication –

5. Fill the prepositions into the gaps

The conclusions are underscored 1another Times piece 2the Paris agreement.3 the end of a long story lauding the achievement, the article notes that the system created 4the conference «depends heavily 5the views of the future world leaders who will

carry out those policies.6 the United States, every Republican candidate running for president 72016 has publicly questioned or denied the 8of climate change, and has voiced opposition to Mr. Obama’s climate change policies.9 the Senate, Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, who has led the charge against Mr. Obama’s climate change agenda, said,10 his international partners pop the champagne, they should remember that this is an unattainable deal based 11a domestic energy plan that’s likely illegal, that half the states have sued to halt, and that Congress has already voted to reject».

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

Unit XI

MASTERS OF GLOBAL WORLD

1. "Who Rules The World?"

➤ *Read, translate and discuss*

When we ask "Who rules the world?" we commonly adopt the standard convention that the actors in world affairs are states, primarily the great powers, and we consider their decisions and the relations among them. That is not wrong. But we would do well to keep in mind that this level of abstraction can also be highly misleading. States of course have complex internal structures, and the choices and decisions of the political leadership are heavily influenced by internal concentrations of power, while the general population is often marginalized. That is true even for the more democratic societies, and obviously for others. We cannot gain a realistic understanding of who rules the world while ignoring the "masters of mankind," as Adam Smith called them: in his day, the merchants and manufacturers of England; in ours, multinational conglomerates, huge institutions, retail empires, and the like. Still following Smith, it is also wise to attend to the "vile maxim" to which the "masters of mankind" are dedicated: "All for ourselves and nothing for other people"-a doctrine known otherwise as bitter and incessant class war, often one-sided, much to the detriment of the people of the home country and the world. In the contemporary global order, the institutions of the masters hold enormous power, not only in the international arena but also within their home states, on which they rely to protect their power and to provide economic support by a wide variety of means. When we consider the role of the masters of mankind, we turn to such state policy priorities of the moment as the Trans-Pacific Partnership, one of the investor-rights agreements mislabeled "free-trade agreements" in propaganda and commentary. They are negotiated in secret, apart from the hundreds of corporate lawyers and lobbyists writing the crucial details. The intention is to have them adopted in good Stalinist style with "fast track" procedures.

2. Afterword to the 2017 edition.

The question of who rules the world became even more important on November 8, 2016, which might turn out to be one of the most important dates in human history, depending on how we react. This is no exaggeration. The most important news of that day was barely noted anywhere, a fact of no slight significance in itself. On November 8, the World Meteorological Organization delivered a report at COP22,

the 2016 meeting of the annual United Nations Climate Change Conference, being held in Morocco. The WHO declared that the past five years were the hottest on record. It reported rising sea levels, soon to increase further as a result of the unexpectedly rapid melting of polar ice caps. The area covered by Arctic sea ice over the past five years is 28 percent below the average of the previous three decades, which directly reduces the polar ice reflection of solar rays, thereby accelerating the global warming process. Even more alarming is the unexpectedly rapid destabilization of the enormous West Antarctic glaciers, which could raise sea levels by several feet, while also leading to disintegration of the ice in all of West Antarctica. The WMO further reported that temperatures are already approaching dangerously close to the maximum target levels established by the Paris agreements of COP21 just the previous year, among other dire analyses and predictions. Another event that took place that day got far more attention, but the primary reason for its importance was, once again, barely noted. On November 8, the most powerful country in the world had an election. The outcome placed total control of all branches of the government- the presidency, Congress, the Supreme Court- in the hands of the Republican Party, the most dangerous organization in world history. Apart from the last phrase, this description is uncontroversial. The last phrase, on the other hand, may seem outlandish, even outrageous. But is it? The facts suggest otherwise. The Republican Party is dedicated to racing as rapidly as possible to destruction of organized human life. There is no historical precedent for such a stand. When it comes to climate change, virtually every candidate in the Republican primaries denied that what is happening is happening. The only exceptions were the supposedly sensible moderates, like Jeb Bush, who said that it's all uncertain but we don't have to do anything because we're producing more natural gas thanks to fracking. Or John Kasich, who agreed that global warming is taking place but added that when it comes to using coal, the worst of the fossil fuel polluters, "we are going to burn it in Ohio, and we are not going to apologize for it." Meanwhile, Donald Trump called for rapid increase in use of fossil fuels, dismantling of regulations, denying help to developing countries that are seeking to move to sustainable energy, and in general speeding toward the cliff as fast as possible. The effects of Republican denialism were already felt even before Trump's election. There had been hopes, for example, that the Paris agreement of COP21 could lead to a verifiable treaty, but any such thoughts were abandoned because the Republican Congress would not accept any binding commitments. What emerged instead was a voluntary agreement, clearly much weaker. The effects of global warming may soon become even more vividly

apparent than they already are. In Bangladesh alone, tens of millions are expected to have to flee from low-lying plains in coming years because of sea level rise and more severe weather, creating a migrant crisis that will make today's pale into insignificance. With considerable justice, Bangladesh's leading climate scientist, Atiq Rahman, says that "these migrants should have the right to move to the countries from which all these greenhouse gases are coming. Millions should be able to go to the United States. They should be able to go, too, to the other rich countries that have grown wealthy while bringing about a radical transformation of the environment. The catastrophic consequences of that transformation will be felt not just in Bangladesh but in all of South Asia, as temperatures inexorably rise and the Himalayan glaciers melt, threatening the region's entire water supply. It is hard to find words to capture the fact that humans are facing the most important question in their history whether organized human life will survive in anything like the form we know and are answering it by accelerating the race to disaster. The same goes for the other huge threat to human survival, the danger of nuclear destruction which has been looming over our heads for seventy years and is now increasing. It is similarly difficult to find words to capture the utterly astonishing fact that in all of the massive coverage of the electoral extravaganza, neither the impending climate change catastrophe nor the nuclear danger received more than passing mention. There were doubtless many factors, but one was that they are victims of the neoliberal policies of the past generation, the policies detailed in congressional testimony by Federal Reserve chair Alan Greenspan (lauded as "Saint Alan" by his admirers until the miraculous U. S. economy he was supervising crashed in 2007-08, threatening to bring the whole global economy down with it). As Greenspan explained during his glory days, his successful policies were based substantially on "greater worker insecurity. " Intimidated workers would not ask for higher wages or benefits/ but would accept lower living standards in exchange for being able to keep a job at all. By neoliberal standards, this added up to a quite favorable healthy economic performance. Working people who have been the subjects of this experiment in economic theory are, somehow, not particularly happy about the out- come. They are not, for example, overjoyed at the fact that in 2007, at the peak of the neoliberal miracle before the crash, inflation-adjusted wages for nonsupervisory workers were lower than they had been in 1979, when the experiment was just taking off.. Many Trump supporters had voted for Barack Obama in 2008, believing his message of "hope and change. " Disillusioned by the failure of the promises, they are now attending to Trump's rhetoric about how he will "make America great again". They are, however, deluded

to believe that he will fulfill his grand promises and remedy their plight: the merest look at his fiscal proposals and personnel choices demonstrates how unlikely that outcome is. But it is understandable that the consequences of plans that are vaguely and indirectly announced are not always clear to people living in an atomized society, isolated from others, lacking labor unions and other associations that can provide the means to educate and organize. That is a crucial difference between today's despairing workers and the generally hopeful attitudes of many working people in the 1930s, who in fact were under much greater duress during the Great Depression. The Democratic Party abandoned any real concern for working people by the 1970s, and they have been drawn to the ranks of their bitter class enemies, who at least pretend to speak their language-Ronald Reagan with his folksy style and little jokes, munching jelly beans; George W. Bush with his carefully cultivated image of a regular guy you could meet in a bar and his display of loving to cut brush on the ranch in hundred-degree heat. And now there's Trump, giving voice to people who have lost not just jobs but also their sense of personal self-worth, and railing against the government that they perceive- not without reason-as having undermined their lives. One of the great achievements of the American doctrinal system has been to divert anger from the corporate sector to the government that implements the programs that the private sector designs. It is the government, for instance, that gets blamed for the highly protectionist corporate/investor rights agreements, uniformly misdescribed as "free trade agreements" in commentary and the media. Unlike the corporate sector, the government is, to some extent, under popular influence and control, so it is highly advantageous for the business world to foster hatred and contempt for pointy-headed government bureaucrats stealing your tax dollars. All in all, Trump does not represent an entirely new movement in American politics. Both political parties have moved to the right during the neoliberal period) Today's New Democrats are pretty much what used to be called "moderate Republicans". The "political revolution" that Bernie Sanders quite rightly called for would not have greatly surprised Dwight Eisenhower. Today's Republicans, meanwhile, have moved so far right in their dedication to the wealthy and the corporate sector that they cannot hope to get votes on their actual programs. Instead, they have turned to mobilizing sectors of the population that have always been there, just not as an organized political force: evangelicals, nativists, racists, and the victims of the forms of globalization designed to set working people around the world in competition with one another while protecting the privileged. The consequences have been evident in recent Republican primaries. In previous election cycles, every candidate that

emerged from the base - Michele Bachmann, Herman Cain, Rick Santorum, and so on- has been so extreme that the Republican establishment had to use its ample resources to beat them down. The difference in 2016 is that the establishment failed, much to its chagrin. There are definite similarities between Trump's election and the Brexit referendum, and the general rise of the ultranationalist far-right parties in Europe. Their leaders--Nigel Farage, Marine Le Pen, Viktor Orbán, and others like them were quick to congratulate Trump on his victory, perceiving him as one of their own. And these developments are quite frightening. A look at the polls in Austria and Germany cannot fail to provoke alarm for anyone familiar with the 1930s, and especially for those who witnessed that decade, as I did as a child. I can still recall listening to Hitler's speeches, not understanding the words but finding the tone and audience reaction chilling enough. The first article that I remember writing was in February 1939, after the fall of Barcelona, on the seemingly inexorable spread of the fascist plague. And by a strange coincidence, it was in Barcelona that my wife and I watched the 2016 election returns. For many years I have been writing and speaking about the danger that a charismatic ideologue could rise in the United States: someone who could exploit the fear and anger that have long been boiling in much of the society, directing them away from the actual malefactors and onto vulnerable targets. That could indeed lead to what sociologist Bertram Gross, in a perceptive study several decades ago, called "friendly fascism. "But that requires an honest ideologue, a Hitler type, not someone whose only detectable ideology is narcissism. The danger, though, has been real for a long time. How Trump will handle what he has brought forth-not created, but unleashed we cannot say. Perhaps his most striking characteristic is unpredictability. A lot, naturally, depends on his appointments and his circle of advisers, and indications on that front are unattractive, to put it mildly. And we are almost assured that the Supreme Court will be in the hands of reactionaries for many years, with predictable consequences, As far as foreign policy is concerned, one hopeful prospect, given Trump's admiration for Vladimir Putin, is that there might be a reduction of the very dangerous and mounting Russian-American tensions. It is also possible that Europe might distance itself from Trump's America (as already suggested by Germany's chancellor Angela Merkel and other European leaders) and, post-Brexit, from the British voice of American power. That might lead to European efforts to defuse tensions with Russia, and perhaps even to an attempt to move toward something like Mikhail Gorbachev's vision of an integrated Eurasian security system without military alliances a vision rejected by the United States in favor of NATO expansion, but recently revived by Putin, whether seriously or not we

do not know. Will American foreign policy under the new administration be more militaristic than it was under George W. Bush or even under Obama, or perhaps less so? I don't think one can answer with any confidence. Again, Trump is simply too unpredictable. There are too many open questions. But what we can say is that a lot will depend on the reactions of those appalled by what is now taking shape in Washington, by Trump's performances and the visions he has projected, such as they are, and by the cast of characters he has assembled. Popular mobilization and activism, properly organized and conducted, can make a large difference. And as noted earlier, the stakes today are immense.

➤ **Answer the questions**

1. Can you name any government policy that has suffered a setback?
2. What is responsible government?
3. Does global warming process influence on economy?
4. What caused the conflict? Give an example?
5. How do you see the role of any country in global warming process ?
6. What is major objective of political parties?

Summary

It is dedicated to the masters of mankind.

It is interesting to consider that today question who rules the world on of the most popular question in modern society. It should be noted that this question still nobody answers. Political situation changes everyday, that is why it is impossible to answer this question. The gain of the text is to find out who rules the world.

It cannot be approached a realistic understanding, who rules the world, while ignoring “masters of mankind” as Adam Smith called them that multinational conglomerates, huge financial institutions, retail empires and the like.

There are too many open question, it should be emphasize that everything depends on real leader.

Digest

Actuality, The problem of the global governance subject is important both from theoretical and practical points of view. It should be remembered that global governance as a process aimed at solving global problems, includes both cooperation and competition. Competition occurs not only in economic and military-technical spheres, but also between value systems inherent in large social formations — local civilizations. However, the local civilizations retain their role of global governance subject entity only by constituting itself as a public entity. The degree of involvement of civilization in global governance is determined first and foremost, by the degree of public consolidation within the state.

In this paper I am going to use the **articles** by Noam Chomsky “Who rules the world”.

The purpose of this work to find out, who rules the world.

In order to achieve that goal I have to order **special tasks:**

- 1) To view who is the main subject of world governance;
- 2) To consider who is the state and business corporation in matters of governance of the world;
- 3) To discuss the role masters of mankind:
- 4) To analyze in fact who rules the world:

In the light of our theme, the consolidation of society is important in depending on the current international situation, as only that state will be able to play any significant global role, which is consolidated within itself, able to solve internal problems through dialogue, not confrontation. In this regard it is legitimate to understand the state not only as an apparatus of power and management, but more broadly meaning. The state is not only borders, institutions and legal declarations, but what exists as a representation in the people themselves. If such a representation as one of if there are no dominant ideas, then there is no state, " writes the largest domestic expert on national policy.

To sum up, in fact, is the existence of any state possible without the presence of internal communication between people-citizens of this state? Is the state possible without that, so that the majority of its citizens do not identify themselves with this state, and not with some other? Finally, is the state capable of playing a significant global role, if it is not consolidated within itself, if its citizens not ready to serve him and protect him in times of danger? Of course, these questions are nothing more than rhetorical.

➤ *Translate into English*

Хозяева человечества

Одним из величайших достижений американской доктринальной системы было отвлечение гнева от корпоративного сектора к правительству, которое реализует программы, разработанные частным сектором. Именно правительство, например, обвиняется в крайне протекционистских соглашениях о правах корпораций / инвесторов, которые в комментариях и средствах массовой информации обычно неправильно описываются как "соглашения о свободной торговле". В отличие от корпоративного сектора, правительство в какой-то степени находится под влиянием и контролем народа, поэтому деловому миру очень выгодно питать ненависть и презрение к заостренным правительственным бюрократам, ворующим ваши налоговые доллары. Это помогает изгнать из сознания каждого человека ложную идею о том, что правительство может стать инструментом народной воли – правительством народа, самим народом и для народа.

Конечно, в успехе Трампа были и другие факторы. Исследования показывают, что доктрины превосходства белых имеют чрезвычайно сильное влияние на культуру в Соединенных Штатах – даже более сильное, чем, например, в Южной Африке. И не секрет, что американское белое население сокращается. По прогнозам, через одно-два десятилетия белые будут составлять меньшинство рабочей силы, а ненамного позже – меньшинство населения. Традиционная консервативная культура также воспринимается как подвергшаяся нападению, осажденная "политикой идентичности" – рассматриваемая как область элит, которые имеют только презрение к патриотическим, трудолюбивым, идущим в церковь американцам с реальными семейными ценностями, чья страна исчезает на их глазах.

Если наука противоречит Библии, тем хуже для науки. Например, выбор Трампа возглавить департамент образования, миллиард – Эйр Бетси Девос, является членом протестантской деноминации, придерживающейся того, что "все научные теории подчиняются Писанию" и что "человечество создано по образу Божьему"; все теории, которые минимизируют этот факт, и все теории эволюции, которые отрицают творческую деятельность Бога, отвергаются. Было бы трудно найти аналог этому явлению в других обществах.

В целом Трамп не представляет собой совершенно новое движение в американской политике. Обе политические партии перешли вправо в неолиберальный период. Сегодняшние новые демократы – это в значительной

степени то, что раньше называлось "умеренными республиканцами". "Политическая революция", к которой совершенно справедливо призывал Берни Сандерс, не сильно удивила бы Дуайта Эйзенхауэра. Сегодняшние республиканцы, тем временем, продвинулись так далеко вправо в своей преданности богатому и корпоративному сектору, что они не могут надеяться получить голоса по своим фактическим программам. Вместо этого они обратились к мобилизации слоев населения, которые всегда были там, просто не как организованная политическая сила: Эвангеликалы, нативисты, расисты и жертвы форм глобализации, призванных заставить трудящихся во всем мире конкурировать друг с другом, защищая привилегированных.

Как Трамп справится с тем, что он принес – не создал, но развязал – мы не можем сказать. Пожалуй, самая поразительная его черта-непредсказуемость. Многие, естественно, зависят от его назначений и круга советников, а показания на этом фронте, мягко говоря, малопривлекательны. И мы почти уверены, что Верховный суд еще много лет будет находиться в руках реакционеров, с предсказуемыми последствиями. Что касается внешней политики, одна обнадеживающая перспектива, учитывая восхищение Трампа Владимиром Путиным, заключается в том, что может произойти снижение очень опасной и растущей российско-американской напряженности. Также возможно, что Европа может дистанцироваться от Америки Трампа (как уже предлагалось канцлером Германии Ангелой Меркель и другими европейскими лидерами) и, после брексит, от британского Голоса американской власти.

Это может привести к европейским усилиям по разрядке напряженности в отношениях с Россией и, возможно, даже к попытке перейти к чему-то вроде видения Михаила Горбачева о единой евразийской системе безопасности без военных союзов – видения, отвергнутого Соединенными Штатами в пользу расширения НАТО, но недавно возрожденного Путиным, серьезно или нет, мы не знаем.

Трамп просто слишком непредсказуем. Слишком много открытых вопросов.

1) Match translation of the words

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Below a average | финансовые институты |
| 2. Massive coverage | подрывная идея |
| 3. Migrant crisis | отвлечь гнев |
| 4. Fossil fuel | кризис мигрантов |

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 5. Divert anger | мировые дела |
| 6. Subversive idea | ископаемое топливо |
| 7. Military alliance | массовый охват |
| 8. World affairs | ниже среднего |
| 9. Financial institutions | военный альянс |

2) Fill in the gaps

Style international lobbyists consider hundreds partnership

In the contemporary global order, the institutions of the masters hold enormous power, not only in the 1)_____ arena but also within their home states, on which they rely to protect their power and to provide economic support by a wide variety of means. When we 2)_____ the role of the masters of mankind, we turn to such state policy priorities of the moment as the Trans-Pacific 3)_____, one of the investor rights agreements mislabeled "free-trade agreements" in propaganda and commentary. They are negotiated in secret, apart from the 4)_____ of corporate lawyers and 5)_____ writing the crucial details. The intention is to have them adopted in good Stalinist 6)_____ with "fast track" procedures designed to block discussion and allow only the choice of yes or no (hence yes). The designers regularly do quite well, not surprisingly. People are incidental, with the consequences one might anticipate.

3) Arrange paragraphs within the meaning

When we consider the role of the masters of mankind, we turn to such state policy priorities of the moment as the Trans-Pacific Partnership, one of the investor-rights agreements mislabeled “free-trade agreements” in propaganda and commentary. They are negotiated in secret, apart from the hundreds of corporate lawyers and lobbyists writing the crucial details.

That is true even for the more democratic societies, and obviously for others. We cannot gain a realistic understanding of who rules the world while ignoring the “masters of mankind,” as Adam Smith called them: in his day, the merchants and manufacturers of England; in ours, multinational conglomerates, huge financial institutions, retail empires, and the like. Still following Smith, it is also wise to attend to the “vile maxim” to which the “masters of mankind” are dedicated: “All for ourselves and nothing for other people” — a doctrine known otherwise as bitter and incessant class war, often one-sided, much to the detriment of the people of the home country and the world. In the contemporary global order, the institutions of the masters hold enormous power, not only in the international arena but also within their home states, on which they rely to protect their power and to provide economic support by a wide variety of means.

When we ask "Who rules the world?" we commonly adopt the standard convention that the actors in world affairs are states, primarily the great powers, and we consider their decisions and the relations among them. That is not wrong. But we would do well to keep in mind that this level of abstraction can also be highly misleading. States of course have complex internal structures, and the choices and decisions of the political leadership are heavily influenced by internal concentrations of power, while the general population is often marginalized.

The intention is to have them adopted in good Stalinist style with “fast track” procedures designed to block discussion and allow only the choice of yes or no (hence yes). The designers regularly do quite well, not surprisingly. People are incidental, with the consequences one might anticipate.

4) Write the antonyms to the words

- 1) Charismatic ideology
- 2) predictable consequences
- 3) strong grip
- 4) consequences
- 5) revealed

5) Translate the text into Russian

➤ *Translate into English*

We cannot gain a realistic understanding of who rules the world while ignoring the “masters of mankind,” as Adam Smith called them: in his day, the merchants and manufacturers of England; in ours, multinational conglomerates, huge financial institutions, retail empires, and the like. Still following Smith, it is also wise to attend to the “vile maxim” to which the “masters of mankind” are dedicated: “All for ourselves and nothing for other people”—a doctrine known otherwise as bitter and incessant class war, often one-sided, much to the detriment of the people of the home country and the world. In the contemporary global order, the institutions of the masters hold enormous power, not only in the international arena but also within their home states, on which they rely to protect their power and to provide economic support by a wide variety of means. When we consider the role of the masters of mankind, we turn to such state policy priorities of the moment as the Trans-Pacific Partnership, one of the investor-rights agreements mislabeled “free-trade agreements” in propaganda and commentary. They are negotiated in secret, apart from the hundreds of corporate lawyers and lobbyists writing the crucial details. The intention is to have them adopted in good Stalinist style with “fast track” procedures designed to block discussion and allow only the choice of yes or no (hence yes). The designers regularly do quite well, not surprisingly. People are incidental, with the consequences one might anticipate.

VOCABULARY

Complex international structures - Сложные международные структуры

Political leadership - Политическое руководство

Democratic societies - Демократическое общество

Financial institutions - Финансовое учреждение

Enormous power - Огромная власть

Wide variety of means - Широкий выбор средств

State policy priorities - Государственная политика приоритетов
Trans-Pacific Partnership - Транс-Тихоокеанское Партнерство
Investor-rights agreements - Соглашения о правах инвесторов
Free-trade agreements - Свободное торговое соглашение
COP22 (Conference of the Parties 22) - Конференция сторон 22
WMO (World Meteorological Organization) - Всемирная метеорологическая организация
Rapid melting - Быстрое таяние
Rapid destabilization - Быстрая дестабилизация
West Antarctic glaciers - Западно-антарктические ледники
Ice disintegration - Распад льда
Target levels - Целевой уровень
Primary reason - Основная причина
Supreme Court - Верховный суд
Republican primaries - Республиканские праймериз
Sensible moderates - Разумные модераты
Global warming process - Процесс глобального потепления
Fossil fuel polluters - Загрязнения ископаемого топлива
Republican denialism - Республиканское отрицание
Verifiable treaty - Поддающийся проверке договор
Binding commitment - Обязательства
Voluntary agreement - Добровольное соглашение
Vividly apparent - Яркое проявление
Migrant crisis - Миграционный кризис
Considerable justice - Значительная справедливость
Catastrophic consequence - Катастрофические последствия
Temperatures inexorably rise - Неумолимый рост температуры
Himalayan glaciers melt - Таяние гималайских ледников
Race accelerate - Гонка акклиматизации
Nuclear destruction - Ядерное разрушение
Massive coverage - Массовый охват
Electoral extravaganza - Избирательная феерия
American political system - Американская политическая система
Federal Reserve - Федеральная резервная система
Intimidate worker - Запугать работника
Neoliberal standards - Неолиберальные стандарты

Nonsupervisory worker - Неконтролируемый работник
Deliberate policy decision - Обдуманное политическое решение
Status quo - Статус-кво
Divert anger - Отвлечь гнев
Corporate sector - Корпоративный сектор
Subversive idea - Крамольная мысль
Poweful gip - Мощный ГИП
Work fore minority - Работа перед меньшинством
Strong grip - Сильное сжатие
American concern - Американский концерн
Similar percentage - Аналогичный процент
Neoliberal period - Неолиберальный период
Corporate sector - Корпоративный сектор
Mobilizing sector - Мобилизационный сектор
Ample resource - Достаточные ресурсы
Fascist plague - Фашистская чума
Charismatic ideologue - Харизматичный идеолог
Vulnerable targets - Уязвимые цели
Striking characteristic - Поразительная характеристика
Predictable consequence - Предсказуемо свидетельствовать
Russian-American tension – Русско-американская напряженность
Military alliance - военный Союз

Unit XII

ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF A READER OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

➤ *Read, translate and discuss*

The New York Times can plausibly be regarded as the world's leading newspaper. It is an indispensable source of news and commentary, but there is a lot more that one can learn by reading it carefully and critically. Let us keep to a single day, April 6, 2015 – though almost any other day would have provided similar insights into prevailing ideology and intellectual culture.

A front-page article is devoted to a flawed story about a campus rape in *Rolling Stone* magazine, exposed in the *Columbia Journalism Review*. So severe is this departure from journalistic integrity that it is also the subject of the lead story in the business section, with a full inside page devoted to the continuation of the two reports. The shocked reports refer to several past crimes of the press: a few cases of fabrication, quickly exposed, and cases of plagiarism ("too numerous to list"). The specific crime of *Rolling Stone* is "lack of skepticism," which is "in many ways the most insidious" of the three categories.

It is refreshing to see the commitment of the *Times* to the integrity of journalism.

On page seven of the same issue, there is an important story by Thomas Fuller headlined "One Woman's Mission to Free Laos from Millions of Unexploded Bombs." It reports on the "single-minded effort" of a Lao-American woman, Channapha Khamvongsa, "to rid her native land of millions of bombs still buried there, the legacy of a nine-year American air campaign that made Laos one of the most heavily bombed places on earth." The story notes that as a result of Ms. Khamvongsa's lobbying, the United States increased its annual spending on the removal of unexploded bombs by a munificent \$12 million. The most lethal are cluster bombs, which are designed to "cause maximum casualties to troops" by spraying "hundreds of bomblets onto the ground." About 30 percent remain unexploded, so that they kill and maim children who pick up the pieces, farmers who strike them while working, and other unfortunates. An accompanying map features Xieng Khouang province in northern Laos, better known as the Plain of Jars, the primary target of the intensive bombing, which reached its peak of fury in 1969.

Fuller reports that Ms. Khamvongsa "was spurred into action when she came across a collection of drawings of the bombings made by refugees and collected by Fred Branfman, an antiwar activist who helped expose the Secret War." The drawings

appear in his remarkable book *Voices from the Plain of Jars*, published in 1972 and republished by the University of Wisconsin Press in 2013 with a new introduction. The drawings vividly display the torment of the victims, poor peasants in a remote area that had virtually nothing to do with the Vietnam War, as officially conceded. One typical report by a twenty-six-year-old nurse captures the nature of the air war: "There wasn't a night when we thought we'd live until morning, never a morning we thought we'd survive until night. Did our children cry? Oh, yes, and we did also. I just stayed in my cave. I didn't see the sunlight for two years. What did I think about? Oh, I used to repeat 'please don't let the planes come, please don't let the planes come, please don't let the planes come.'"

Branfman's valiant efforts did indeed bring some awareness of this hideous atrocity. His assiduous research also unearthed the reasons for the savage destruction of a helpless peasant society. He exposed them once again in the introduction to the new edition of *Voices*:

One of the most shattering revelations about the bombing was discovering why it had so vastly increased in 1969, as described by the refugees. I learned that after President Lyndon Johnson had declared a bombing halt over North Vietnam in November 1968, he had simply diverted the planes into northern Laos. There was no military reason for doing so. It was simply because, as US Deputy Chief of Mission Monteagle Stearns testified to the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in October 1969, "Well, we had all those planes sitting around and couldn't just let them stay there with nothing to do".

Therefore the unused planes were unleashed on poor peasants, devastating the peaceful Plain of Jars, far from the ravages of Washington's murderous wars of aggression in Indochina.

Let us now see how. Writes Fuller, "The targets were North Vietnamese troops-especially along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, a large part of which passed through Laos-as well as North Vietnam's Laotian Communist allies." Compare this to the words of the U.S. deputy chief of mission and the heartrending drawings and testimony in Fred Branfman's book.

True, the *Times* reporter has a source: U.S. propaganda. That surely suffices to overwhelm mere facts about one of the major crimes of the post-World War II era, as detailed in the very source he cites: Fred Branfman's crucial revelations.

We can be confident that this colossal lie in the service of the state will not merit lengthy exposure and denunciation of disgraceful misdeed of the Free Press such as plagiarism and lack of skepticism.

The same issue of the *New York Times* treats us to a report by the inimitable Thomas Friedman, earnestly relaying the words of President Obama presenting what Friedman labels "the Obama Doctrine." (Every President has to have a doctrine.) The profound doctrine is "engagement, combined with meeting core strategic needs".

The president illustrated his doctrine with a crucial case: "You take a country like Cuba. For us to test the possibility that engagement leads to a better outcome for the Cuban people, there aren't that many risks for us. It's a tiny little country. It's not one that threatens our core security interests, and so [there's no reason not] to test the proposition. And if it turns out that it doesn't lead to better outcomes, we can adjust our policies." Here the Nobel Peace laureate expands on his reasons for undertaking what the leading left-liberal intellectual journal, the *New York Review of Books*, hails as the "brave" and "truly historic step" of reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba. It is a move undertaken in order to "more effectively empower the Cuban people," the hero explained, our earlier efforts to bring them freedom and democracy having failed to achieve our noble goals.

Searching further, we find other gems. There is, for example, a frontpage think piece on the Iran nuclear deal by Peter Baker published a few days earlier, warning about the Iranian crimes regularly listed by Washington's propaganda system. All prove to be quite revealing on analysis, though none more so than the ultimate Iranian crime: "destabilizing" the region by supporting "Shiite militias that killed American soldiers in Iraq." Here again is the standard picture. When the United States invades Iraq, virtually destroying it and inciting sectarian conflicts that are tearing the country and now the whole region apart, that counts as "stabilization" in official and hence media rhetoric. When Iran supports militias resisting the aggression, that is "destabilization." And there could hardly be a more heinous crime than killing American soldiers attacking one's home. All of this, and far, far more, makes perfect sense if we show due obedience and uncritically accept approved doctrine: The United States owns the world, and it does so by right, for reasons also explained lucidly in the *New York Review of Books* in a March 2015 article by Jessica Mathews, former president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "American contributions to international security, global economic growth, freedom, and human well-being have been so self-evidently unique and have been so clearly directed to others' benefit that Americans have long believed that the US amounts to a different kind of country. Where others push their national interests, the US tries to advance universal principles."

The defense rests.

Keywords: Newspaper, ideology, culture, integrity, Laos, bombs, casualties, victims, revelations, aggression, denunciation, doctrine, needs, Cuba, propaganda, Iran, rhetoric, crime, obedience, unique, national, universal

➤ Questions

- 1) Why The New York Times can plausibly be regarded as the world's leading newspaper?
- 2) Which crimes of the press were the shocked reports referred to?
- 3) What does the report name "One Woman's Mission to Free Laos from Millions of Unexploded Bombs" mean?
- 4) When Ms. Khamvongsa was spurred into action?
- 5) Why did the North Laos bombing increase in 1969?
- 6) What is the *Times* reporter information source to the article?
- 7) What is the profound "Obama Doctrine" definition?
- 8) What are Obama's reasons for undertaking the "brave" and "truly historic step" of reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba?
- 9) Which of the Iranian crimes is the most ultimate?
- 10) Why have Americans long believed that the US amounts to a different kind of country?

Summary

The review is devoted to a content analysis of New York Times newspaper. The first point to be noted is the fact that on the front-page the New York Times accused Rolling Stone magazine of departure from journalistic integrity and several press crimes: fabrications, plagiarism, lack of skepticism.

It has been shown that millions of bombs still buried in the Plain of Jars, the legacy of a nine-year American air campaign that made Laos one of the most heavily bombed places on earth. The unused planes were unleashed on poor peasants, devastating the peaceful Plain of Jars, far from the ravages of Washington's murderous wars of aggression in Indochina.

It should be noted that these revelations were transmuted into *New York Times* Newspeak according to US propaganda.

At this point a question arises as to "the Obama Doctrine" towards Cuba it is "engagement, combined with meeting core strategic needs."

Further, a frontpage think piece on the Iran nuclear warning about the Iranian crimes regularly listed by Washington's propaganda system. All prove to be quite

revealing on analysis, though none more so than the ultimate Iranian crime: "destabilizing" the region by supporting "Shiite militias that killed American soldiers in Iraq, but when the United States invades Iraq, virtually destroying it and inciting sectarian conflicts that are tearing the country and now the whole region apart, that counts as "stabilization" in official and hence media rhetoric.

Summing up the results, it should be noted where others push their national interests, the US tries to advance universal principles.

Match the phrasal verb and its' definition

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1) come across | a) to do what you have promised or planned to do |
| 2) devote to | b) to use a space or area for a particular purpose |
| 3) keep to | c) to read something in order to get information |
| 4) lead to | d) to remove something unpleasant from somewhere |
| 5) pick up | e) to get something |
| 6) refer to | f) If an idea or emotion comes across, it is expressed clearly and people understand it. |
| 7) rid of | g) to make something happen or exist |
| 8) turn out | h) to happen in a particular way, or to have a particular result |

EXERCISES

1. Match the verb and its' synonym.

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1) <i>adjust</i> | a) <i>injure</i> |
| 2) <i>empower</i> | b) <i>be enough</i> |
| 3) <i>hail</i> | c) <i>deserve</i> |
| 4) <i>maim</i> | d) <i>regulate</i> |
| 5) <i>merit</i> | e) <i>praise</i> |
| 6) <i>suffice</i> | f) <i>encourage</i> |

2. Match the adverb and its' synonym.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1) <i>earnestly</i> | a) <i>apparently</i> |
| 2) <i>hence</i> | b) <i>distinctly</i> |
| 3) <i>lucidly</i> | c) <i>seriously</i> |
| 4) <i>plausibly</i> | d) <i>therefore</i> |
| 5) <i>vividly</i> | e) <i>clearly</i> |

3. Match the adjective and its' synonym.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1) <i>assiduous</i> | a) <i>tricky</i> |
| 2) <i>heinous</i> | b) <i>lavish</i> |
| 3) <i>hideous</i> | c) <i>appalling</i> |
| 4) <i>insidious</i> | d) <i>scrupulous</i> |
| 5) <i>munificent</i> | e) <i>abhorrent</i> |

Find out 11 adjectives used in the text.

Match the noun and its' synonym.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|--------------|
| 1) <i>atrocious</i> | l | k | m | a | d | p | a) | honesty |
| 2) <i>denunciation</i> | s | v | s | t | m | b) | y | barbarity |
| 3) <i>integrity</i> | | | | | | c) | | evidence |
| 4) <i>militias</i> | | | | | | d) | | condemnation |
| 5) <i>testimony</i> | | | | | | e) | | soldiers |

Find out 10 nouns used in the text.

i n t e g r i t y m x
j o a u i o f c n q c
l i t f l h q a o w o
o t r o o p s s m u m
b a o x s h a u i g m
b c c y g d i a t q i
y n i z h g t l s r t
i u t w j b i t e t m
n n y q k r l i t a e
g e m v l d i e p k n
p d w n a x m s r u t

e g n q c g k l s v s d q
 l j s m u n i f i c e n t
 b l i p w i n b d m c g n
 a x d s v l c p u b t l a
 t v i i n i x k o c a i i
 i b o u m a y j u s r t l
 m n u s w v q r s f i q a
 i u s t g e n l e k a w v
 n i o p q r z e g y n i p
 i n d i s p e n s a b l e

Fill the gaps using following phrasal verbs

come across devote to keep to lead to pick up refer to rid of turn out

- 1) A front-page article is_____a flawed story about a campus rape in *Rolling Stone* magazine, exposed in the *Columbia Journalism Review*.
- 2) About 30 percent remain unexploded, so that they kill and maim children who_____the pieces, farmers who strike them while working, and other unfortunates.
- 3) And if it_____that it doesn't lead to better outcomes, we can adjust our policies.
- 4) For us to test the possibility that engagement_____a better outcome for the Cuban people, there aren't that many risks for us.
- 5) Fuller reports that Ms. Khamvongsa "was spurred into action when she_____a collection of drawings of the bombings made by refugees and collected by Fred Branfman, an antiwar activist who helped expose the Secret War."
- 6) It reports on the "single-minded effort" of a Lao-American woman, Channapha Khamvongsa, "to _____her native land _____millions of bombs still buried there..."
- 7) Let us_____a single day, April 6, 2015 – though almost any other day would have provided similar insights into prevailing ideology and intellectual culture.

8) The shocked reports_____several past crimes of the press: a few cases of fabrication, quickly exposed, and cases of plagiarism ("too numerous to list").

7. *Fill the gaps using following prepositions.*

into (x2) with from of

1) So severe is this departure_____journalistic integrity that it is also the subject of the lead story in the business section, with a full inside page devoted to the continuation of the two reports.

2) Fuller reports that Ms. Khamvongsa "was spurred_____action when she came across a collection of drawings of the bombings made by refugees and collected by Fred Branfman, an antiwar activist who helped expose the Secret War".

3) The drawings vividly display the torment of the victims, poor peasants in a remote area that had virtually nothing to do____the Vietnam War, as officially conceded.

4) Branfman's valiant efforts did indeed bring some awareness_____this hideous atrocity.

5) Let us now see how these revelations are transmuted_____ *New York Times* Newspeak.

8. *Read the text and decide which of these statements are TRUE (T) or FALSE (F).*

1. An inside-page article is devoted to a flawed story about a campus rape in *Rolling Stone* magazine.

2. *The most insidious crime of the press is plagiarism.*

3. Laos is one of the most heavily bombed places on earth.

4. About 30 percent of cluster bombs remain unexploded, so that they kill and maim children who pick up the pieces, farmers who strike them while working, and other unfortunates.

5. Laos southern province Xieng Khouang also known as the Plain of Jars.

6. *The bombing of Laos so vastly increased in 1969 because were sitting around and stayed there with nothing to do.*

7. *According to President Obama doctrine, Cuba* is one that threatens US core security interests.

8. Earlier US efforts to bring Cuban people freedom and democracy having succeed to achieve US noble goals.

9. The ultimate Iranian crime, according to the US propaganda: "destabilizing" the region by supporting "Shiite militias that killed American soldiers in Iraq".

10. Where US push their national interests, other countries try to advance universal principle.

➤ *Translate into English*

Один день из жизни читателя New York Times

New York Times, вероятно, можно считать ведущей мировой газетой. Это незаменимый источник новостей и комментариев, но прочитав её внимательно и с критическим подходом можно узнать гораздо больше. Давайте придерживаться одного дня, 6 апреля 2015 года, хотя практически любой другой день мог бы дать аналогичные сведения о преобладающей идеологии и интеллектуальной культуре.

Статья на первой полосе посвящена некорректной истории об изнасиловании в студенческом городке в журнале *Rolling Stone*, опубликованной в *Columbia Journalism Review*. Это настолько серьезное нарушение журналистской этики, что оно также является предметом главной новости в бизнес-разделе с полным внутренним разворотом, посвященным продолжению двух сообщений. В шокирующих сообщениях упоминаются несколько прошлых преступлений прессы: несколько случаев фальсификации, быстро разоблаченных, и случаи плагиата («слишком много, чтобы перечислять»). Конкретным преступлением *Rolling Stone* является «отсутствие скептицизма», которое «во многих отношениях является самым вероломным» из трех категорий.

Приятно видеть приверженность *Times* журналистской этике.

На седьмой странице того же номера есть важная история Томаса Фуллера, озаглавленная «Миссия одной женщины – освободить Лаос от миллионов неразорвавшихся бомб». В нем сообщается о «целеустремленных усилиях» женщины лаосо-американского происхождения Чаннафы Хамвонгсы, «избавить свою родину от миллионов бомб, все ещё похороненных там, наследие девятилетней американской воздушной кампании, сделавшей Лаос одним из самых разбомбленных мест на земле». В статье отмечается, что в результате лоббирования г-жи Хамвонгса Соединенные Штаты увеличили свои ежегодные расходы на ликвидацию неразорвавшихся бомб на 12 миллионов долларов. Самыми смертоносными являются кассетные бомбы, которые

призваны «нанести максимальное число жертв войскам», сбрасывая «сотни бомб на землю». Около 30% остаются невзорвавшимися, поэтому они убивают и калечат детей, которые собирают осколки, фермеров, которые ударяют их во время работы, и других несчастных. На сопроводительной карте изображена провинция Сиангкхуанг в северном Лаосе, более известная как Долина Кувшинов, которая была основной целью бомбардировки, которая достигла своего «пика ярости» в 1969 году.

Фуллер сообщает, что г-жу Хамвонгсу «подтолкнули к действиям, когда она наткнулась на коллекцию рисунков взрывов, сделанных беженцами и собранных Фредом Бранфманом, антивоенным активистом, который помог разоблачить Секретную войну». Рисунки появляются в его замечательной книге «Голоса из Долины», опубликованной в 1972 году и переизданной Университетом Висконсин-Пресс в 2013 году с новым введением.

Героические усилия Бранфмана действительно привели к осознанию этих страшных зверств. Его тщательные исследования также раскрыли причины дикого уничтожения беспомощного крестьянского общества. Он представил их еще раз во введении к новой редакции *Голосов*.

Одним из самых сокрушительных разоблачений о бомбежке было открытие того, почему она так сильно усилилась в 1969 году, как описывают беженцы. Я узнал, что после того, как президент Линдон Джонсон объявил о прекращении бомбардировок Северного Вьетнама в ноябре 1968 года, он просто перенаправил самолеты в северный Лаос. Для этого не было военной причины. Это было просто потому, что в октябре 1969 года заместитель главы миссии США Монтигл Стеарнс выступил перед Комитетом по международным отношениям Сената США: «Ну, у нас все эти самолеты сидели без дела и не могли просто позволить им остаться там, ничего не делая».

VOCABULARY

NOUN PHRASES

indispensable source	незаменимый источник
prevailing ideology	господствующая идеология
flawed story	некорректная история
journalistic integrity	журналистская этика
inside page	внутренний разворот
single-minded effort	целеустремленные усилия
air campaign	воздушная кампания
cluster bombs	кассетные бомбы
maximum casualties	максимальное число жертв
hundreds of bomblets	сотни мелкокалиберных бомб
fury peak	пик ярости
victims torment	муки жертв
valiant efforts	героические усилия
hideous atrocity	страшные зверства
assiduous research	тщательные исследования
heartrending drawings	душераздирающие рисунки
crucial revelations	важнейшие открытия
lengthy exposure	длительное использование
disgraceful misdeed	позорное преступление
core strategic needs	основные стратегические потребности
core security interests	ключевые интересы безопасности
noble goals	благородные цели
think piece	обзорный сюжет
Shiite militias	шиитские боевики
sectarian conflicts	сектантские конфликты
media rhetoric	риторика в средствах массовой информации
heinous crime	чудовищное преступление
due obedience	должное повиновение
self-evidently unique	самоочевидно уникальный
universal principles	всеобщие принципы

EXTRA READING

UNIT I

"THE WORLD'S LEADING SUPPORTER OF TERRORISM"

Turning to the next obvious question, what in fact is the Iranian threat? Why, for example, are Israel and Saudi Arabia trembling in fear over the threat of Iran? Whatever the threat is, it can hardly be military. Years ago, U.S. intelligence informed Congress that Iran has very low military expenditures by the standards of the region and that its strategic doctrines are defensive — designed, that is, to deter aggression.” This intelligence further reports that it has no evidence Iran is pursuing a nuclear weapons program and that “Iran's nuclear program and its willingness to keep open the possibility of developing nuclear weapons is a central part of its deterrent strategy.

The authoritative Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) review of global armaments ranks the United States, as usual, far in the lead in military expenditures. China comes in second, with about one-third of U.S. expenditures. Far below are Russia and Saudi Arabia, which are nonetheless well above any western European state. Iran is scarcely mentioned. Full details are provided in an April report from the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), which finds a conclusive case that the Arab Gulfstates have ... an overwhelming advantage (over) Iran in both military spending and access to modern arms.” Iran’s military spending is a fraction of Saudi Arabia's and far below even the spending of the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Altogether, the Gulf Cooperation Council states — Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE — outspend Iran on arms by a factor of about eight, an imbalance that goes back decades. The CSIS report adds that “the Arab Gulf states have acquired and are acquiring some of the most advanced and effective weapons in the world [while] Iran has essentially been forced to live in the past, often relying on systems originally delivered at the time of the Shah.” In other words, they are virtually obsolete.” When it comes to Israel, of course, the imbalance is even greater. Possessing the most advanced U.S. weaponry and a virtual offshore military base for the global superpower, it also has a huge stock of nuclear weapons.

To be sure, Israel faces the “existential threat” of Iranian pronouncements: Supreme Leader Khamenei and former president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad famously threatened it with destruction. Except that they didn't — and if they had, it would

have been of little moment. They predicted that “under God’s grace [the Zionist regime] will be wiped off the map” (according to another translation, Ahmadinejad says Israel “must vanish from the page of time,” citing a statement by the Ayatollah Khomeini during the period when Israel and Iran were tacitly allied). In other words, they hope that regime change will someday take place. Even that falls far short of the direct calls in both Washington and Tel Aviv for regime change in Iran, not to speak of the actions taken to implement regime change. These, of course, go back to the actual “regime change” of 1953, when the United States and Britain organized a military coup to overthrow Iran’s parliamentary government and install the dictatorship of the shah, who proceeded to amass one of the world’s worst human rights records. These crimes were known to readers of the reports of ‘Amnesty International and other human rights organizations, but not to readers of the U.S. press, which has devoted plenty of space to Iranian human rights violations — but only since: 1979, when the shah’s regime was overthrown. The instructive facts are documented carefully in a study by Mansour Farhang and William Dorman.

None of this is a departure from the norm. The United States, as is well-known, holds the world championship title in regime change, and Israel is no laggard either. The most destructive of its invasions of Lebanon, in 1982, was explicitly aimed at regime change as well as at securing its hold on the occupied territories, ‘The pretexts offered were thin and collapsed at once. That too is not unusual and pretty much independent of the nature of the society — from the laments in the Declaration of Independence about the “merciless Indian savages” to Hitler's defense of Germany from the “wild terror” of the Poles.

No serious analyst believes that Iran would ever use, or even threaten to use, a nuclear weapon if it had one, and thereby face instant destruction. There is, however, real concern that a nuclear weapon might fall into jihadi hands—not from Iran, where the threat is minuscule, but from U.S. ally Pakistan, where it is very real. In the journal of the (British) Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), two leading Pakistani nuclear scientists, Pervez Hoodbhoy and Zia Mian, write that increasing fears of “militants seizing nuclear weapons or materials and unleashing nuclear terrorism [have led to] ... the creation of a dedicated force of over 20,000 troops to guard nuclear facilities.

There is no reason to assume, however, that this force would be immune to the problems associated with the units guarding regular military facilities, which have frequently suffered attacks with “insider help”. In brief, the problem is real, but is displaced to Iran thanks to fantasies concocted for other reasons.

Other concerns about the Iranian threat include its role as “the world’s leading supporter of terrorism,” which primarily refers to its support for Hezbollah and Hamas.” Both of those movements emerged in resistance to US backed Israeli violence and aggression, which vastly exceeds anything attributed to these organizations. Whatever one thinks about them, or other beneficiaries of Iranian support, Iran hardly ranks high in support of terror worldwide, even within the Muslim among Islamic states, Saudi Arabia is far in the lead as a sponsors of Islamic terror, not only through direct funding by wealthy Saudis and others in the Gulf but even more by the missionary zeal with which the Saudis promulgate their extremist Wahhabi-Salafi version of Islam through Koranic schools, mosques, clerics, and other means available to a religious dictatorship with enormous oil wealth. ISIS is an extremist offshoot of Saudi religious extremism and its fanning of jihadi flames.

In generation of Islamic terror, however, nothing can compare with the U.S. war on terror, which has helped to spread the plague from a small tribal area in the Afghanistan-Pakistan borderlands to a vast region from West Africa to Southeast Asia. The invasion of Iraq alone escalated terror attacks by a factor of seven in the first year, well beyond even what had been predicted by intelligence agencies.” Drone warfare against marginalized and oppressed tribal societies also elicits demands for revenge, as ample evidence indicates.

Those two Iranian clients, Hezbollah and Hamas, also share the crime of winning the popular vote in the only free elections in the Arab world. Hezbollah is guilty of the even more heinous crime of compelling Israel to withdraw from its occupation of southern Lebanon in violation of Security Council orders dating back decades, an illegal regime of terror punctuated with episodes of extreme violence, murder, and destruction.

UNIT II

ARE BUSINESSES READY FOR DEGLOBALIZATION?¹²

As we enter a new decade, characterised by rising economic complexity and geopolitical divisions — U.S.-China tensions, populism and nationalism in Europe, and the looming risk of a global recession — forward-thinking business leaders are developing strategies to mitigate the longer-term risk of deglobalization. They are concerned about trade protectionism, and the revenue a company could lose in any tariff wars.

However, there is a more hidden risk associated with deglobalization: that global corporations are not structured in a way that is fit for purpose to compete in a deglobalizing world. It is increasingly understood that this ever-more siloed world directly impacts three key pillars of global corporations: technology, global recruiting, and the finance function.

The “Splinternet”

In recent years corporate leadership has rightly prioritised cyber risks, the threat of technological obsolescence, and the rise of the jobless underclass stemming from increased automation. However, there are now mounting concerns about the emerging “splinternet” — an increasingly fragmented internet with competing China-led and U.S.-led platforms.

Such a technological fragmentation would disrupt global supply chains — which enable global corporations to gain a competitive edge by selecting the most cost-effective solution at each stage of the production process. And the move away from such centralised procurement raises the costs of and reduces the efficiency gains from shared global services.

Furthermore, a balkanised internet promises to increase the complexity of a company’s operations, which erodes a corporation’s ability to respond quickly to market forces. In such a world, companies will need to choose between the U.S. and China camps or bear the costs of operating in two adversarial technological worlds, each with their own regulatory and operating standards.

Already, the first signs of such divergence are being felt across corporations concerning the issue of data privacy. Most western companies make every effort to protect individual privacy — a stance that arguably places U.S. and European corporations at a distinct disadvantage versus their Chinese competitors, who are able to operate in a less stringent data privacy regime. The relatively light data-privacy rules in China enable access to large data sets with more individual information. This can speed up innovation, including cutting-edge drug discovery, which in turn helps push costs down for the end consumers and drive higher company values.

The Intensifying War for Talent

Greater immigration controls are another offshoot of the move toward a more siloed world. The recent shift in the political mood in the U.S. and Europe toward more stringent immigration intensifies the war for global talent. The risk of further restrictions on immigration has climbed in importance on the leadership agenda as it threatens the corporation’s ability to hire across borders.

Recruitment, particularly at senior levels, depends on access to global pools of talent, as those executive teams that draw on different nationalities and backgrounds are widely seen as a source of competitive advantage. In the wake of President Donald Trump's April 2017 executive order to "Buy American and Hire American," the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) has held up record numbers of H-1B visa petitions, so that the denial rate for first time H-1B applications has increased from 10 percent in 2016 to 24 percent in 2018 and 32 percent in the first quarter of 2019.

Mounting restrictions on immigration limit the opportunity for tomorrow's business leaders to learn how to navigate across cultures and differing social norms. Some might argue that these skills will matter less in a more siloed world, but a more fragmented world also means fewer opportunities to share and transfer best practices and transformational ideas.

More Complicated Corporate Finances and Regulatory Regimes

A more fragmented world also makes managing corporate finances globally more complicated and adds considerable costs to corporate treasuries. Global companies derive enormous benefits from a centralised finance function. Today many companies raise capital relatively cheaply in financial hubs, such as New York or London, and distribute the proceeds as investment across their global operations. In most cases, this more centralised model means corporations are able to borrow at a lower cost than they would if their regional and national subsidiaries had to confine themselves to local currency markets, which tend to carry greater risk and volatility. A more siloed world means corporations will struggle to extract their investment capital and return profits to shareholders.

The shift from a more centralised to a more federated model brings additional complexity, as business leaders must contend with the move from a harmonised rule-making business landscape towards an increasingly complicated web of independent processes and regulations in different jurisdictions. To reasonably manage or mitigate threats in a siloed world will require extraordinary levels of highly specialised knowledge at the local level — making it near impossible to understand the necessary risk budget, let alone adequately hedge these local risks.

As power continues to move away from multilateral organisations such as the EU, WTO, and NATO and devolves to local governments, global corporations will likely find it harder to maintain effective government relations across a myriad of different countries. Growing complexity on matters of taxation, tariffs, quotas, and environmental regulations, for example, will force global corporations to contend

with the question of whether their organisation structure ought to follow the power shift and become more diffused.

Of course, multinationals already need to abide by the various regulations of the markets in which they operate, and therefore require deep local knowledge in order to be effective. However, as protectionism leads governments to subscribe less to global rules and regulations, and business rules become less systematised, national regulatory bodies will become paramount. In turn, local knowledge requirements will almost certainly become more demanding as corporations will need ever more detailed and specific know-how to operate and succeed.

Do We Need to Rethink Org Structures?

At its core, the rationale for global corporations is that such a structure would increase the opportunity of those that sit atop these organisations to observe the world and arbitrage capital, labor, and production in ways that lower costs, increase efficiencies, and thereby enhance the inherent value of the corporation. As it is becoming increasingly difficult to transfer these factors of production across borders, it's reasonable to ask whether a global corporation is the right structure in a deglobalizing world. Furthermore, global corporations across such sectors as consumer goods and finance are seeing their fiercest competition come from large local country or regional competitors rather than other traditional global companies.

One alternative to a global structure is for businesses to operate as a collection of independent, loosely affiliated, locally run companies. These “subsidiaries” would garner the benefits of knowledge transfer from being affiliates to a larger network of companies, but most capital allocation and human capital decisions are delegated to the local entities. Perhaps these independent companies could even list and trade as independent entities on local as well as global exchanges.

Ultimately, the way forward will depend on whether a company's leadership views deglobalization as an enduring phenomenon or a passing fad. If business leaders believe deglobalization is here to stay, then real consideration must be placed on upending the prevailing global corporate structure to make it better match the deglobalized world. If, however, corporate leaders believe that the push toward a more fragmented world is temporary and will soon pass, then their responsibility is to navigate the deglobalization risks, even while retaining their global structure. Nevertheless, business leaders should be alert to the idea that if they are wrong, the corporations they serve may not survive.

UNIT III

THE UNWINNABLE TRADE WAR EVERYONE LOSES IN THE U.S.- CHINESE CLASH — BUT ESPECIALLY AMERICANS

In late June, the leaders of China and the United States announced at the G-20 meeting in Osaka, Japan, that they had reached a *détente* in their trade war. U.S. President Donald Trump claimed that the two sides had set negotiations “back on track.” He put on hold new tariffs on Chinese goods and lifted restrictions preventing U.S. companies from selling to Huawei, the blacklisted Chinese telecommunications giant. Markets rallied, and media reports hailed the move as a “cease-*À*re.” That supposed cease-*À*re was a false dawn, one of many that have marked the on-again, o-again diplomacy between Beijing and Washington. All wasn’t quiet on the trade front; the guns never stopped blazing. In September, after a summer of heated rhetoric, the Trump administration increased tariffs on another \$125 billion worth of Chinese imports. China responded by issuing tariffs on an additional \$75 billion worth of U.S. goods. The United States might institute further tariffs in December, bringing the total value of Chinese goods subject to punitive tariffs to over half a trillion dollars, covering almost all Chinese imports. China’s retaliation is expected to cover 69 percent of its imports from the United States. If all the threatened hikes are put in place, the average tariffs rate on U.S. imports of Chinese goods will be about 24 percent, up from about three percent two years ago, and that on Chinese imports of U.S. goods will be at nearly 26 percent, compared with China’s average tariffs rate of 6.7 percent for all other countries.

The parties to this trade war may yet step back from the abyss. There have been over a dozen rounds of high-level negotiations without any real prospect of a settlement. Trump thinks that tariffs will convince China to cave in and change its allegedly unfair trade practices. China may be willing to budge on some issues, such as buying more U.S. goods, opening its market further to U.S. companies, and improving intellectual property protection, in exchange for the removal of all new tariffs, but not to the extent demanded by the Trump administration. Meanwhile, China hopes that its retaliatory actions will cause enough economic pain in the United States to make Washington reconsider its stance. The numbers suggest that Washington is not winning this trade war. Although China’s economic growth has slowed, the tariffs have hit U.S. consumers harder than their Chinese counterparts. With fears of a recession around the corner, Trump must reckon with the fact that his

current approach is imperiling the U.S. economy, posing a threat to the international trading system, and failing to reduce the trade deficit that he loathes. Trump may back away from his self-destructive policy toward China, but U.S.-Chinese competition will continue beyond his tenure as president. Much of the coverage of the conflict makes it seem like a clash of personalities, the capriciousness of Trump against the implacable will of Chinese President Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party. But this friction is systemic. The current costs of the trade war reflect the structural realities that underpin the relationship between the U.S. and Chinese economies. It's worth tracing that dynamic as the two great powers try to find a new, fitful equilibrium in the years ahead.

Consider the lobsters.

The trade war has not produced the desired results for the United States. Washington first raised tariffs on Chinese imports in 2018. In the same year, Chinese exports to the United States increased by \$34 billion, or seven percent, year-over-year, while U.S. exports to China decreased by \$10 billion, or eight percent. In the first eight months of this year, China's exports to the United States dropped by just under four percent compared with the same period in the previous year, but U.S. exports to China shrank much more, by nearly 24 percent. Instead of narrowing the trade gap, the tariffs have coincided with a widening of the U.S. trade deficit with China: by nearly 12 percent in 2018 (to \$420 billion) and by about another eight percent in the first eight months of this year. There are at least two reasons why Chinese exports to the United States have not fallen as much as the Trump administration hoped they would. One is that there are no good substitutes for many of the products the United States imports from China, such as iPhones and consumer drones, so U.S. buyers are forced to absorb the tariffs in the form of higher prices. The other reason is that despite recent headlines, much of the manufacturing of U.S.-bound goods isn't leaving China anytime soon, since many companies depend on supply chains that exist only there. (In 2012, Apple attempted to move manufacturing of its high-end Mac Pro computer from China to Texas, but the difficulty of sourcing the tiny screws that hold it together prevented the relocation.) Some export-oriented manufacturing is leaving China, but not for the United States. According to a May survey conducted by the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, fewer than six percent of U.S. businesses in China plan to return home. Sixty percent of U.S. companies said they would stay in China. The damage to the economy on the import side is even more pronounced for the United States than it is for China. Economists at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and elsewhere found that in 2018, the tariffs

did not compel Chinese exporters to reduce their prices; instead, the full cost of the tariffs hit American consumers. As tariffs raise the prices of goods imported from China, U.S. consumers will opt to buy substitutes (when available) from other countries, which may be more expensive than the original Chinese imports but are cheaper than those same goods after the tariffs. The price difference between the pre-tariffs Chinese imports and these third-country substitutes constitutes what economists call a “deadweight loss” to the economy. Economists reckon the deadweight loss arising from the existing tariffs on \$200 billion in Chinese imports to be \$620 per household, or about \$80 billion, annually. This represents about 0.4 percent of U.S. GDP. If the United States continues to expand its tariff regime as scheduled, that loss will more than double. Meanwhile, Chinese consumers aren’t paying higher prices for U.S. imports. A study by the Peterson Institute for International Economics shows that since the beginning of 2018, China has raised the average tariffs rate on U.S. imports from 8.0 percent to 21.8 percent and has lowered the average Tariff rate on all its other trading partners from 8.0 percent to 6.7 percent. China imposed tariffs only on U.S. commodities that can be replaced with imports from other countries at similar prices. It actually lowered duties for those U.S. products that can’t be bought elsewhere more cheaply, such as semiconductors and pharmaceuticals. Consequently, China’s import prices for the same products have dropped overall, in spite of higher tariffs on U.S. imports. Beijing’s nimble calculations are well illustrated by the example of lobsters. China imposed a 25 percent tariff on U.S. lobsters in July 2018, precipitating a 70 percent drop in U.S. lobster exports. At the same time, Beijing cut tariffs on Canadian lobsters by three percent, and as a result, Canadian lobster exports to China doubled. Chinese consumers now pay less for lobsters imported from essentially the same waters.

The inescapable deficit

Beijing has proved much more capable than Washington of minimizing the pain to its consumers and economy. But the trade war would be more palatable for Washington if its confrontation with China were accomplishing Trump’s goals. The president thinks that China is “ripping off” the United States. He wants to reduce the United States’ overall trade deficit by changing China’s trade practices. But levying tariffs on Chinese imports has had the paradoxical effect of inflating the United States’ overall trade deficit, which, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, rose by \$28 billion in the first seven months of this year compared with the same period last year. The uncomfortable truth for Trump is that U.S. trade deficits don’t spring from the practices of U.S. trading partners; they come from the United States’ own spending

habits. The United States has run a persistent trade deficit since 1975, both overall and with most of its trading partners. Over the past 20 years, U.S. domestic expenditures have always exceeded GDP, resulting in negative net exports, or a trade deficit. The shortfall has shifted over time but has remained between three and six percent of GDP. Trump wants to boost U.S. exports to trim the deficit, but trade wars inevitably invite retaliation that leads to significant reductions in exports. Moreover, increasing the volume of exports does not necessarily reduce trade deficits unless it is accompanied by a reduction in the country's spending in terms of consumption and investment. The right way to reduce a trade deficit is to grow the economy faster than concurrent domestic expenditures, which can be accomplished only by encouraging innovation and increasing productivity. A trade war does the opposite, damaging the economy, impeding growth, and hindering innovation. Even a total Chinese capitulation in the trade war wouldn't make a dent in the overall U.S. trade deficit. If China buys more from the United States, it will purchase less from other countries, which will then sell the difference either to the United States or to its competitors. For example, look at aircraft sales by the U.S. firm Boeing and its European rival, Airbus. At the moment, both companies are operating at full capacity. If China buys 1,000 more aircraft from Boeing and 1,000 fewer from Airbus, the European plane-maker will still sell those 1,000 aircraft, just to the United States or to other countries that might have bought instead from Boeing. China understands this, which is one reason it hasn't put higher tariffs on U.S.-made aircraft. Whatever the outcome of the trade war, the deficit won't be greatly changed.

A resilient China

The trade war has not really damaged China so far, largely because Beijing has managed to keep import prices from rising and because its exports to the United States have been less affected than anticipated. This pattern will change as U.S. importers begin to switch from buying from China to buying from third countries to avoid paying the high tariffs. But assuming China's GDP continues to grow at around five to six percent every year, the effect of that change will be quite modest. Some pundits doubt the accuracy of Chinese figures for economic growth, but multilateral agencies and independent research institutions set Chinese GDP growth within a range of five to six percent. Skeptics also miss the bigger picture that China's economy is slowing down as it shifts to a consumption-driven model. Some manufacturing will leave China if the high tariffs become permanent, but the significance of such a development should not be overstated. Independent of the anxiety bred by Trump's tariffs, China is gradually weaning itself of its dependence

on export-led growth. Exports to the United States as a proportion of China's GDP steadily declined from a peak of 11 percent in 2005 to less than four percent by 2018. In 2006, total exports made up 36 percent of China's GDP; by 2018, that figure had been cut by half, to 18 percent, which is much lower than the average of 29 percent for the industrialised countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Chinese leaders have long sought to steer their economy away from export-driven manufacturing to a consumer-driven model. To be sure, the trade war has exacted a severe psychological toll on the Chinese economy. In 2018, when the tariffs were first announced, they caused a near panic in China's market at a time when growth was slowing thanks to a round of credit tightening. The stock market took a beating, plummeting some 25 percent. The government initially felt pressured to find a way out of the trade war quickly. But as the smoke cleared to reveal little real damage, confidence in the market rebounded: stock indexes had risen by 23 percent and 34 percent on the Shanghai and Shenzhen exchanges, respectively, by September 12, 2019.

The resilience of the Chinese economy in the face of the trade war helps explain why Beijing has stiffened its negotiating position in spite of Trump's escalation. China hasn't had a recession in the past 40 years and won't have one in the foreseeable future, because its economy is still at an early stage of development, with per capita GDP only one-sixth of that of the United States. Due to declining rates of saving and rising wages, the engine of China's economy is shifting from investments and exports to private consumption. As a result, the country's growth rate is expected to slow. The International Monetary Fund projects that China's real GDP growth will fall from 6.6 percent in 2018 to 5.5 percent in 2024; other estimates put the growth rate at an even lower number. Although the rate of Chinese growth may dip, there is little risk that the Chinese economy will contract in the foreseeable future. Private consumption, which has been increasing, representing 35 percent of GDP in 2010 and 39 percent last year, is expected to continue to rise and to drive economic growth, especially now that China has expanded its social safety net and welfare provisions, freeing up private savings for consumption. The U.S. economy, on the other hand, has had the longest expansion in history, and the inevitable down cycle is already on the horizon: second-quarter GDP growth this year dropped to 2.0 percent from the first quarter's 3.1 percent. The trade war, without taking into account the escalations from September, will shave off at least half a percentage point of U.S. GDP, and that much of a drag on the economy may tip it into the anticipated downturn. (According to a September Washington Post poll, 60 percent of Americans

expect a recession in 2020.) The prospect of a recession could provide Trump with the impetus to call off the trade war. Here, then, is one plausible way the trade war will come to an end. Americans aren't uniformly feeling the pain of the tariffs yet. But a turning point is likely to come when the economy starts to lose steam. If the trade war continues, it will compromise the international trading system, which relies on a global division of labor based on each country's comparative advantage. Once that system becomes less dependable—when disrupted, for instance, by the boycotts and hostility of trade wars—countries will start decoupling from one another. China and the United States are joined at the hip economically, each being the other's biggest trading partner. Any attempt to decouple the two economies will bring catastrophic consequences for both, and for the world at large. Consumer prices will rise, world economic growth will slow, supply chains will be disrupted and laboriously duplicated on a global scale, and a digital divide—in technology, the Internet, and telecommunications—will vastly hamper innovation by limiting the horizons and ambitions of technology firms. SILVER LININGS Trump's trade war does not seem to simply seek to reduce the trade deficit. Rather, his administration sees the tariffs as a means to slow China's economic rise and check the growing power of a geopolitical competitor. At the heart of this gambit is the notion that China's system of government involvement in economic activities represents a unique threat to the United States. Robert Lighthizer, the U.S. trade representative, has insisted that the purpose of the tariffs is to spur China to overhaul its way of doing business. Ironically, it is China's private sector that has been hardest hit by the trade war, as it accounts for 90 percent of Chinese exports (43 percent of which are from foreign-owned firms). If the trade war persists, it will weaken the private sector. China may well agree to commit to purchasing large quantities of U.S. goods as part of a settlement. But such purchases can be made only by the government, not by the private sector. The United States should recognise that securing such a commitment would basically compel the Chinese government to remain a large presence in economic affairs. The trade policy of the Trump administration threatens to undermine its own stated objectives. U.S. officials should reconsider their analysis of the Chinese economy. To think that there is a unique "China model" of economic development, which represents an alternative and a threat to liberal market systems, is ahistorical nonsense. China has achieved rapid growth in the past 40 years by moving away from the old system of state control of the economy and embracing the market. Today, the market plays a dominant role in resource allocation, and the private sector accounts for more than two-thirds of the economy.

However, the government-controlled sector remains too big, inefficient, wasteful, and moribund, more of a bane than a boon to the economy. It is also a source of growing friction between China and the West, which fears, with good reason, that Chinese government subsidies and support unfairly advantage state-owned firms. This arrangement needs to change, both for China and for its trading partners. China can maintain its economic momentum only by structurally reforming its economy to move in the direction of a freer, more open market. If it fails to do so, its growth will hit a ceiling and its rise will be curtailed. U.S. negotiators should push China to further trim its state-owned sector, to guarantee equal access to its market for trade and investment, and to develop a better regime of intellectual property protection. These measures would accelerate the trajectory of reform that China embarked on 40 years ago, which has led to the rise of a vibrant private sector in China and the country's economic integration with the global market. Speeding up this process will not be painless and will be resisted by vested interests in China. But such changes will benefit China as well as its trading partners, including the United States. Beijing and Washington should share these objectives in their trade negotiations. If they succeed in meeting these goals, both sides will win the trade war. It is in the best interests of both countries to move away from zero-sum thinking and put an end to the ad hoc decoupling that the trade war has threatened. The best path forward is not to close but to tear down existing barriers and further open up trade. To maintain its global primacy and technological leadership, the United States needs China—the biggest and fastest-growing consumer market in the world. To sustain the momentum of its economic ascent, China needs to further its reforms and continue opening up to the world market. Ultimately, a mix of cooperation and competition within a rules-based system will lead to the greatest prosperity for both countries and for the world economy, as all trading nations have learned throughout history.

UNIT IV

"THE IRANIAN THREAT": WHO IS THE GRAVEST DANGER TO WORLD PEACE?

Throughout the world there is great relief and optimism about the nuclear deal reached in Vienna between Iran and the P5+1 nations, the five veto-holding members of the UN Security Council and Germany. Most of the world apparently shares the

assessment of the U.S. Arms Control Association that "the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action establishes a strong and effective formula for blocking all of the pathways by which Iran could acquire material for nuclear weapons for more than a generation and a verification system to promptly detect and deter possible efforts by Iran to covertly pursue nuclear weapons that will last indefinitely".

There are, however, striking exceptions to the general enthusiasm: the United States and its closest regional allies, Israel and Saudi Arabia. One consequence of this is that U.S. corporations, much to their chagrin, are prevented from flocking to Tehran along with their European counterparts. Prominent sectors of U.S. power and opinion share the stand of the two regional allies and so are in a state of virtual hysteria over "the Iranian threat." Sober commentary in the United States, pretty much across the spectrum, declares that country to be "the gravest threat to world peace." Even supporters of the agreement here are wary, given the exceptional gravity of that threat. After all, how can we trust the Iranians, with their terrible record of aggression, violence, disruption, and deceit?

Opposition within the political class is so strong that public opinion has shifted quickly from significant support for the deal to an even split. Republicans are almost unanimously opposed to the agreement. The current Republican primaries illustrate the proclaimed reasons. Senator Ted Cruz, considered one of the intellectuals among the crowded field of presidential candidates, warns that Iran may still be able to produce nuclear weapons and could someday use one to set off an electromagnetic pulse that "would take down the electrical grid of the entire eastern seaboard" of the United States, killing "tens of millions of Americans." Two other candidates, former Florida governor Jeb Bush and Wisconsin governor Scott Walker, battled over whether to bomb Iran immediately after being elected or after the first Cabinet meeting. The one candidate with some foreign policy experience, Lindsey Graham, describes the deal as "a death sentence for the state of Israel," which will certainly come as a surprise to Israeli intelligence and strategic analysts-and which Graham knows to be utter nonsense, raising immediate questions about his actual motives for saying so.

It is important to bear in mind that the Republicans long ago abandoned the pretense of functioning as a normal parliamentary party. They have, as respected conservative political commentator Norman Ornstein of the right-wing American Enterprise Institute observed, become a "radical insurgency" that scarcely seeks to participate in normal congressional politics. Since the days of President Ronald Reagan, the party leadership has plunged so far into the pockets of the very rich and

the corporate sector that they can attract votes only by mobilizing parts of the population that have not previously been an organized political force. Among them are extremist evangelical Christians, now probably a majority of Republican voters; remnants of the former slaveholding states: nativists who are terrified that "they" are taking our white, Christian, Anglo – Saxon country away from us; and others who turn the Republican primaries into spectacles remote from the mainstream of modern society-though not from the mainstream of the most powerful country in world history.

The departure from global standards, however, goes far beyond the bounds of the Republican radical insurgency. Across the spectrum there is general agreement with the "pragmatic" conclusion of General Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that the Vienna deal does not "prevent the United States from striking Iranian facilities if officials decide that it is cheating on the agreement," even though a unilateral military strike is "far less likely" if Iran behaves. Former Clinton and Obama Middle East negotiator Dennis Ross typically recommends that "Iran must have no doubts that if we see it moving towards a weapon, that would trigger the use of force" even after the termination of the deal, when Iran is free to do what it wants. In fact, the existence of a termination point fifteen years hence is, he adds, "the greatest single problem with the agreement." He also suggests that the United States provide Israel with B-52 bombers and bunker-busting bombs to protect itself before that terrifying date arrives.

Summary

The present paper discusses some international security aspects about the nuclear deal between Iran and the P5+1 nations.

The first point to be noted is the fact striking exceptions to the general enthusiasm: the United States and its closest regional allies, Israel and Saudi Arabia. Sober commentary in the United States, pretty much across the spectrum, declares that country to be "the gravest threat to world peace."

At this point a question arises as to controversy in the U.S. republican party on whether Iran is still be able to produce nuclear weapons and could someday use one to set off an electromagnetic pulse or not.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that the departure from global standards, however, goes far beyond the bounds of the Republican radical insurgency. Also among experts there is no doubt that if other countries see Iran moving towards a weapon, that would trigger the use of force.

VOCABULARY

veto-holding members	члены, обладающие правом вето
Joint Comprehensive Plan	совместный комплексный план
verification system	система контроля
striking exceptions	поразительные исключения
general enthusiasm	всеобщий энтузиазм
regional allies	региональные союзники
prominent sector	важный сектор
the gravest threat	самая серьезная угроза
exceptional gravity	исключительная тяжесть
death sentence	смертный приговор
utter nonsense	сущие пустяки
actual motives	подлинные мотивы
radical insurgency	радикальные повстанцы
party leadership	партийное руководство
corporate sector	промышленные корпорации
military strike	военный удар
bunker-busting bombs	противобункерные авиабомбы

UNIT V

CHAOS IS THE POINT: RUSSIAN HACKERS AND TROLLS GROW STEALTHIER IN 2020

The National Security Agency and its British counterpart issued an unusual warning in October: The Russians were back and growing stealthier.

Groups linked to Russia's intelligence agencies, they noted, had recently been uncovered boring into the network of an elite Iranian hacking unit and attacking governments and private companies in the Middle East and Britain — hoping Tehran would be blamed for the havoc.

For federal and state officials charged with readying defenses for the 2020 election, it was a clear message that the next cyberwar was not going to be like the last. The landscape is evolving, and the piggybacking on Iranian networks was an example of what America's election-security officials and experts face as the United

States enters what is shaping up to be an ugly campaign season marred by hacking and disinformation.

American defenses have vastly improved in the four years since Russian hackers and trolls mounted a broad campaign to sway the 2016 presidential election. Facebook is looking for threats it barely knew existed in 2016, such as fake ads paid for in rubles and self-proclaimed Texas secessionists logging in from St. Petersburg. Voting officials are learning about bots, ransomware and other vectors of digital mischief. Military officials are considering whether to embrace information warfare and retaliate against election interference by hacking senior Russian officials and leaking their personal emails or financial information.

Yet interviews with dozens of officials and experts make clear that many of the vulnerabilities exploited by Moscow in 2016 remain. Most political campaigns are unwilling to spend what it takes to set up effective cyberdefenses. Millions of Americans are still primed to swallow fake news. And those charged with protecting American elections face the same central challenge they did four years ago: to spot and head off any attack before it can disrupt voting or sow doubts about the outcome. It is a task made even more difficult by new threats to the election from other American rivals, such as Iran, which has more motive than ever to interfere in 2020 after a drone strike killed its top security and intelligence commander last week in Iraq.

The Russians were sloppy in 2016 because they could be: They caught Americans off guard. Now hackers and trolls, who have seen their tradecraft splashed across the pages of American intelligence assessments and federal indictments, are working far harder to cover their tracks. They are, as one American intelligence official put it, “refreshing” their operations.

One of the two Russian intelligence units that hacked the Democrats in 2016, known as “Fancy Bear,” has shifted some of its work to servers based in the United States in an apparent attempt to thwart the N.S.A. and other American spy agencies, which are limited by law to operating abroad, according to federal officials tracking the moves. The other unit, known as “Cozy Bear,” abandoned its hacking infrastructure six months ago and has dropped off the radar, security analysts said.

The trolls at the Internet Research Agency — the now-indicted outfit behind much of the Russian disinformation spread in 2016 — have ditched email accounts that were being tracked by Western intelligence agencies and moved to encrypted communication tools, like Proton Mail, that are much harder to trace. They are also trying to exploit a hole in Facebook’s ban on foreigners buying political ads, paying

American users to hand over personal pages and setting up offshore bank accounts to cover their financial tracks, said an official and a security expert at a prominent tech company.

At the Department of Homeland Security, there is renewed anxiety about a spate of ransomware attacks on American towns and cities over the last year. The attacks, officials say, revealed gaping security holes that could be exploited by those looking to disrupt voting by locking up and ransoming voter rolls or simply cutting power at critical polling centers on Election Day. And while large-scale hacking of voting machines is difficult, it is by no means impossible.

There are also weak points up and down the long chain of websites and databases used to tally and report votes, officials said. Run by states or counties, the systems that stitch together reports from thousands of polling centers are a hodgepodge of new and old technologies, many with spotty security.

With the first primaries just weeks away, officials are keeping a watchful eye for hints about what to expect come November. The widespread expectation is that hackers, who may have only a single shot at exploiting a particular bug or vulnerability, will wait until the general election rather than risk wasting it on a primary.

Some of the meddling is homegrown. Americans have been exposed spinning up fake websites for Democratic front-runners and paying Macedonians to promote divisive political views. Facebook, the most important digital platform for political ads, also made it clear this week that it would not police political messaging for lies or misleading claims.

With Americans so mistrustful of one another, and of the political process, the fear of hacking could be as dangerous as an actual cyberattack — especially if the election is close, as expected. That is what happened last November in Kentucky, when talk of a rigged election spread online after it became clear that the governor's race would come down to the wire.

“You don't actually have to breach an election system in order to create the public impression that you have,” said Laura Rosenberger, director of the Alliance for Securing Democracy, which tracks Russian disinformation efforts.

“Chaos is the point,” she added. “You can imagine many different scenarios.”

Still, officials say, the deepest challenges come from abroad. Iran, under harsh sanctions that were not in place four years ago, nosed around the election system in 2018. More recently, Iranian hackers have been caught trying to compromise

President Trump's campaign and impersonating American political candidates on Twitter.

For his part, Mr. Trump has already warned North Korea against "interference," though he appeared to be referring to missile launches meant to embarrass him.

UNIT VI

TRUMP IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY

It all centres on whether or not he improperly sought help from Ukraine to boost his chances of re-election in 2020.

Things are still at an early stage. The first public hearings started 13 November in the lower house of Congress, the House of Representatives. That is controlled by the Democrats. President Trump, who is a Republican, strongly denies any wrongdoing.

Depending on what happens in the next few weeks, Mr. Trump could end up facing impeachment - but more on what that means below.

What is he accused of doing wrong?

President Trump is accused of pressuring Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky to dig up damaging information on one of his main Democrat challengers, Joe Biden, and his son Hunter.

Hunter worked for a Ukrainian company when Joe Biden was US vice-president.

The president is accused of dangling two things as bargaining chips to Ukraine – withholding \$400m of military aid to Ukraine that had already been allocated by Congress, and a White House meeting for Ukraine's president.

This would all amount to an abuse of presidential power, using the office for personal political gain and to the detriment of national security. Ukraine is using that money in its ongoing conflict with Russia.

What is the evidence against Trump?

A formal complaint from a whistleblower – an unnamed intelligence official who wrote a letter expressing concern about Mr. Trump's 25 July call with Mr Zelensky – kicked off the impeachment process in early September.

A rough transcript of the call revealed that Mr. Trump had urged President Zelensky to investigate discredited allegations against Joe and Hunter Biden.

The call came shortly after Mr. Trump had blocked the release of millions of dollars in US military aid to Ukraine. **A senior official later testified** that the president made clear the release of the aid was conditional on Mr. Biden being investigated, but the White House denies this.

In a series of public hearings, a procession of US officials have testified that there was a White House shadow foreign policy led by the president's personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani.

Its aim was to get Ukraine to open an investigation into the Bidens and declare as much publicly.

What is his defence?

Mr. Trump denies using US military aid as a bargaining chip with Mr. Zelensky and has repeatedly insisted his call with Ukraine's leader was "perfect".

He has called the impeachment inquiry a "witch hunt" by Democrats and elements of the media.

He also says it was appropriate to ask Ukraine to investigate "corruption", referring to the energy firm where Hunter Biden worked.

The Republican defence comes in three parts:

- Ukraine's president said he felt no pressure
- The Ukrainians were unaware the aid was held back
- US military aid was eventually released

What is impeachment anyway?

To impeach, in this context, means to bring charges in Congress that will form the basis for a trial.

The US constitution states a president "shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes or misdemeanours".

It's important to note that is a political process, rather than a criminal one.

What is the process?

It happens in two stages. Proceedings have to be started by the House of Representatives.

A vote to impeach only needs a simple majority to pass and if it does, the process then moves to the Senate where a trial is held.

But here, a two-thirds vote is necessary for a president's removal - and this milestone has never been reached in US history.

The Senate is currently controlled by the Republican Party.

Have other US presidents been impeached?

Bill Clinton found himself impeached on the grounds of perjury and obstruction of justice after he lied about the nature of his affair with Monica Lewinsky and then allegedly asked her to lie about it as well. But when the trial reached the Senate in 1999, the vote for a conviction failed to get close to the two-thirds backing required.

The only other president impeached was Andrew Johnson in 1868. He was accused of, among other things, dismissing his secretary of war against the will of Congress. Mr. Johnson had a narrow escape – the two-thirds majority in the Senate was missed by just one vote.

Richard Nixon, the 37th US president, resigned in 1974 before he could be impeached over the Watergate scandal.

Who would replace Trump?

The line of succession for the US government, as established by the Presidential Succession Act of 1947, would mean Vice-President Mike Pence moving into the Oval Office.

Summary

The present paper discusses some aspects of Trump impeachment. Considering the situation it should be mentioned the impeachment process means countries around the world are having to re-think how they deal with the U.S. At the center of the investigation into the impeachment of President Donald Trump are relations between the United States and Ukraine. The president is accused of suspending military assistance to Ukraine, approved by Congress, in an attempt to force the authorities of this country to investigate the activities of his political rival, former US vice president Joe Biden. Donald Trump calls this investigation a “witch hunt” and denies that he did anything illegal.

It is important to note that the process of impeachment of President Trump began after an official complaint was received by the applicant, an unnamed intelligence officer, who wrote a letter expressing concern about Trump’s call on July 25 with Zelensky.

To conclude, should point out the fact that there is a big gap between the words and deeds of President Trump. To date, about 49% of Americans have supported the impeachment of US President Donald Trump. But considering the situation it should be mentioned Democrats impeached because they were not sure of their victory in this election. Also, Democrats are not sure that their candidates will be able to

compete with Trump, because Trump has a lot of support. Thus, to summarize, it should be noted that perhaps this is all the beginning of the 2020 election campaign.

UNIT VII

GLOBAL CORONAVIRUS

➤ *Look through the texts and enumerate the problems of consumption*

1. Coronavirus: US to evacuate citizens from Diamond Princess

- 15 February 2020

Coronavirus pandemic



Image copyright REUTERS/ISI mage caption Hundreds of Americans are among those stuck on the Diamond Princess

The US plans to evacuate Americans from the Diamond Princess cruise ship, the site of the biggest coronavirus outbreak outside China, officials say.

The ship has been held in quarantine in a Japanese port since 3 February. Out of 3,700 people on board, 218 have tested positive for the virus.

US citizens will be offered seats on a government-chartered flight on Sunday, the US embassy in Tokyo said.

Over 1,500 people have died from the virus, which originated in Wuhan city.

China's national health commission on Saturday reported 143 new deaths, bringing the toll to 1,523. All but four of the latest victims were in Hubei province.

A further 2,641 people have been newly confirmed as infected, bringing the national total to 66,492.

- **No change' in virus outbreak despite China spike**
- **Why a global city is so vulnerable to virus spread**
- **The Valentine messages to coronavirus medics**

- **Coronavirus: Are African countries ready?**

Outside mainland China, there have been more than 500 cases in 24 countries, and three deaths: one each in Hong Kong, the Philippines and Japan.



Media caption Medics in Wuhan resort to shaving their heads in a bid to prevent cross-infection of the coronavirus

The outbreak on the Diamond Princess is said to have originated with an 80-year-old man who disembarked in Hong Kong and was later diagnosed with the virus. Passengers and crew are being held in quarantine in Yokohama until Wednesday.

Hundreds of Americans are among those stuck, and at least 24 have been diagnosed with the virus.

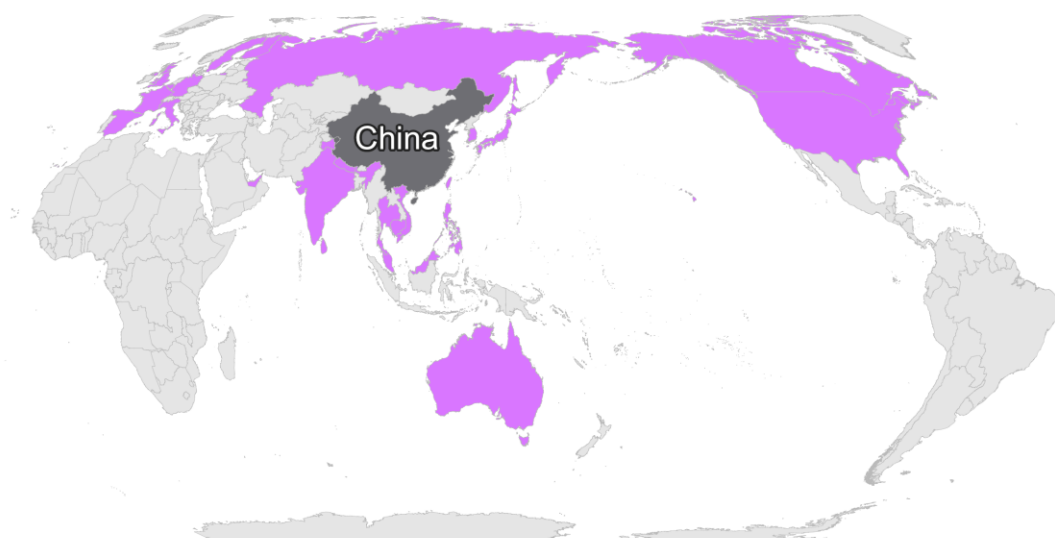
But in a letter, the US embassy in Tokyo said healthy American citizens on board would be screened for symptoms before being able to board the plane home on Sunday.

The aircraft is due to fly to Travis Air Force Base in California where some passengers will stay in quarantine for a further 14 days.

The prospect of more time in isolation seemed to dismay some on board.

"We would like to just finish the quarantine on the ship as planned, decompress in a non-quarantine environment in Japan for a few days, then fly back to the US pursuant to our own arrangements. What's wrong with that?" tweeted passenger Matthew Smith.

Cases of coronavirus outside China



Japan*	251	Vietnam	16	India	3	Nepal	1
Singapore	58	Australia	15	Philippines	3	Sri Lanka	1
Thailand	33	US	15	Italy	3	Sweden	1
South Korea	28	France	11	Russia	2	Belgium	1
Malaysia	19	UK	9	Spain	2		
Taiwan	18	UAE	8	Cambodia	1		
Germany	16	Canada	7	Finland	1		

*figure includes 221 cases on board a cruise ship

Source: European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control. Updated: 15 Feb **BBC**

Travis Air Force Base is already the quarantine site for more than 200 Americans previously evacuated from Wuhan.

Australia is also mulling removing its citizens from the cruise ship following the US move, according to the Sydney Morning Herald. It is sending an infectious disease expert to assess the best option.

In other developments:

- Beijing has ordered everyone returning to the city to go into quarantine for 14 days or risk punishment
- Egypt's health ministry on Friday confirmed the first case of the coronavirus in Africa. The ministry described the person as a foreigner, but did not disclose the nationality.

- Chinese officials say six health workers have died. Local authorities have struggled to provide protective equipment such as respiratory masks, goggles and protective suits in hospitals in Hubei.

2. Washington State Man Becomes First USA Death From Coronavirus.

Washington state man becomes first U.S. death from coronavirus

The CDC says it's responding to "the first possible outbreak" of the virus at a U.S. long-term care facility in Washington.



First person dies from coronavirus in the U.S. in Washington state

MARCH 1, 2020 2:24

Feb. 29, 2020, 9:08 PM MSK / Updated March 1, 2020, 1:38 AM MSK

By Nicole Acevedo and Minyvonne Burke

Health officials in Washington state said on Saturday a coronavirus patient has died, marking the first death in the U.S. from COVID-19, the illness associated with the virus.

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said it's responding to "the first possible outbreak" of the respiratory illness in a long-term care center in Washington. The death was not associated with that facility.

Health officials in Washington said 27 patients and 25 staff members at the center have symptoms associated with COVID-19.

The Life Care Center of Kirkland said in a statement that new patients and visitors were being turned away, and patients and staff "with symptoms or who were potentially exposed are quarantined."

The person who died was a man in his 50s with underlying health conditions, and there was no evidence he contracted the virus through travel, health officials said. They suspect domestic "community spread" of the disease, a new phase for the United States that began this week on the West Coast.

U.S. diplomatic officials said a 60-year old U.S. citizen diagnosed with the disease died Feb. 6 at Jinyintian Hospital in Wuhan, China.

The number of Americans who have so far contracted the virus, most overseas, rose to 69 Saturday, according to an NBC News tally.

Shortly after the announcement of the Washington death, President Donald Trump held a White House news conference to announce that the United States is issuing more travel restrictions and warnings to help prevent spread of the virus. He also said he is meeting with pharmaceutical executives to discuss work toward a coronavirus vaccine.



'This is what we expected': Azar discusses risk of coronavirus in the U.S.

FEB. 29, 202001:42

Washington Gov. Jay Inslee, meanwhile, declared a state of emergency in response to new cases of COVID-19, directing state agencies to use all resources necessary to prepare for and respond to the outbreak.

Full coverage of the coronavirus outbreak

“This will allow us to get the resources we need,” Inslee said. “This is a time to take commonsense, proactive measures to ensure the health and safety of those who live in Washington state.”

The outbreak in the U.S. is currently limited to only some communities, the CDC said Saturday. “There is not national spread of COVID-19. CDC and the federal government are working to keep it that way,” said Dr. Nancy Messonnier, director of the Center for the National Center for Immunization and Respiratory Diseases.

But as federal, state and local officials have widened testing parameters for the virus, some experts say the number of patients is likely to rise.

Frank Riedo, the medical director of infection control at Evergreen Health hospital in Kirkland, where the death occurred, said Saturday in a news conference, “What we're seeing is the tip of the iceberg”.

“There is ongoing transmission”, he said.

Dr. Kathy Lofy, Washington state health officer, said the general risk to the public is increasing, and she urged people to practice good health habits.

Health officials said the man who died was among three new presumptive cases in Washington, in which patients have tested positive locally but confirmation is pending with the CDC. The state has a total of six confirmed or presumptive cases of the virus.

Updates from around the world as the outbreak spreads

Though the man was not associated with the long-term care center, he was a patient at the same hospital where others from the facility were being treated Saturday for respiratory symptoms or pneumonia, the CDC said.

He was described by officials as being chronically ill before contracting the virus. They said they did not believe patients at the hospital where he died contracted the virus there and that medical professionals were trying to track down the origin of the presumptive transmissions, which were likely local to King County.

Among those presumed to have the virus at the long-term care center is a female health care worker in her 40s who was in satisfactory condition and a resident in her 70s in serious condition, health officials said. Neither had any known relevant travel, they said.



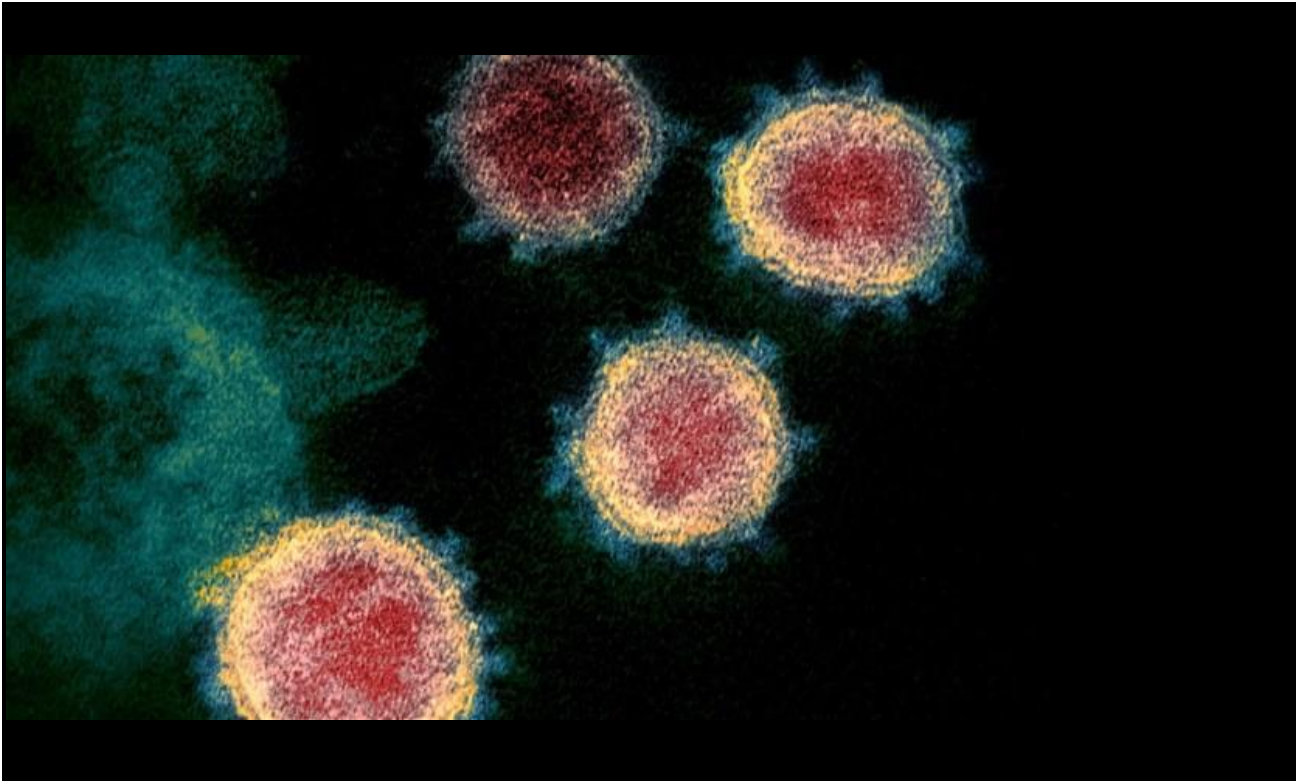
Health officials say U.S. coronavirus death was man with underlying issues

MARCH 1, 2020 2:16

The patient who died was among new cases reported Friday in Washington state, as well as Oregon and California. Among the new confirmed or presumptive cases, three were contracted from an unknown source, bringing the total number of what could be community spread cases in the United States to four.

"Community spread" is a term used when someone is infected, but the source is unknown. Previously much of the focus was on people who had visited places such as Wuhan, China, where the outbreak began, or who had been in close contact with people who were infected.

The patients from these four cases have no known travel history or exposure to someone who had traveled or been infected. Not all four have been confirmed by Centers for Disease Control and Prevention testing, but they tested positive locally.



First U.S. coronavirus death confirmed in Washington state

FEB. 29, 2020 01:34

The CDC adjusted its testing guidance this week to include people with symptoms but with no identified source of exposure.

Download the NBC News app for full coverage of the coronavirus outbreak

The first case of COVID-19 in the United States that may involve community spread was confirmed by a CDC test on Wednesday. That patient is at UC Davis Medical Center in Sacramento, California, and is a woman from Solano County, officials said. President Donald Trump said at the news conference Saturday that "there's no reason to panic" and the American public does not need to change their daily routines.

He said he will meet with pharmaceutical companies on Monday to talk about a vaccine. "They've already started working on it," he said. "These companies will be coming to the White House."

Inslee said, "It is a sad day in our state as we learn that a Washingtonian has died from COVID-19. Our hearts go out to his family and friends. We will continue to work toward a day where no one dies from this virus."

3. Italians who attempt to flee coronavirus lockdown may face jail

(CNN) Italians who attempt to flee the lockdown in the country's north, set up to try and stop the spread of the novel coronavirus, may face three months' imprisonment, Italy's interior minister has said.

Anyone leaving the "containment regions" risks three months in prison, or a fine of up to 206 euros (\$234), Luciana Lamorgese said.

The threat comes as ripple effects from northern Italy's lockdown start to be felt. Riots broke out at several prisons across Italy after visits were suspended to curb the spread of the virus, it was announced on Monday.

Italy saw a dramatic spike of 1,247 confirmed novel coronavirus cases on Saturday, the Civil Protection Department said in a statement. The number of cases in the country has now reached 7,375, with 366 deaths – the highest number of fatalities outside mainland China, and the biggest outbreak in Europe.

The move puts the entire Lombardy region, as well as 14 other provinces, under travel restrictions; it is one of the toughest responses implemented outside of mainland China to get the COVID-19 epidemic under control.

Six inmates died at one prison in Modena, where prisoners occupied the infirmary and seized control of various drugs including methadone. Two of the dead died of an overdose, the head of Italy's prison system said.

Prisoners incarcerated at several institutions across Italy – in Frosinone, Naples, Pavia, Alessandria, Modena and Foggia – rioted over the weekend, according to a statement from the Italian Justice Ministry.

"The protests concerned the coronavirus emergency, as well as the measures issued by the government to reduce the risk of infection and protect those who live and work within the prison," the statement said, adding that all episodes of unrest were brought under control by Sunday evening.

In Modena, inmates occupied the entire prison, including the infirmary, where they got hold of various drugs, including methadone, Basentini said. Two of the dead died of an overdose, and another from the inhalation of toxic smoke. Basentini said the cause of the three remaining deaths was under investigation.

Regions with low rates of contagion propose to restrict movements of residents coming from high-risk regions

Italy on Thursday reported 70 more fatalities from the novel coronavirus, bringing the death toll to 33,142, as regions started fighting over the possibility for citizens living in the worst-hit regions to go on vacation in other areas of the country.

The low increase in deaths registered on Thursday confirms the slowing trend in the virus outbreak, showing that the peak of the crisis has been left behind.

The Italy of active infections on Thursday fell further, by 3,010, placing the total at 47,986.

Meanwhile, recoveries continued to climb, surging above 150,000, as more patients left intensive care, easing pressure on Italy's strained health care system. The northern Lombardy region remains the epicenter of the pandemic, with victims rising to 15,974, almost half of the total.

The different levels of contagion across Italy sparked a fight between the worst-hit northern regions – especially Lombardy – and the southern regions, which were less hit by the virus and mainly rely on tourism.

Some regional governors raised the idea of imposing a sort of “sanitary passport” to Italian citizens willing to travel across the country, based on the risks of contagion.

The idea – which would discriminate residents in the areas with the higher rate of contagion – was blasted by Italy’s Minister for Regional Affairs Francesco Boccia on Thursday.

Boccia called the idea “unconstitutional,” saying if scientists rule out the possibility of sanitary passports then they make no sense.

Italy will lift restrictions on citizens’ mobility among regions on June 3, but it’s still unclear if that will also be applicable for regions with high contagion rates.

The magazine: Anadolu Agency

I Expressions for Summary I Introductory phrases (used to begin a talk)

1. The present paper discusses some aspects of ...
2. The discussion is concerned with ...
3. The present communication deals with...
4. The review is devoted to ...
5. The paper presents some results which illustrate...
6. This work is an attempt to show (to find, to prove, to consider) that...
7. The present is designed to demonstrate (to show, to explain, to describe) that...
8. The purpose of this report is to compare (to determine, to give) the result of...
9. The first point to be noted as to... is the fact that...
10. It is interesting (important, necessary) to consider (to show, to note) something (that)...
11. It has been (will be) shown (pointed out, considered) that...
12. It should be noted (mentioned, observed, emphasized, pointed out) that...
13. It is evident (obvious, unlikely, doubtful) that...
14. I (we) shall consider (discuss, talk, about) something...
15. I (we) must next consider (discuss, compare, show) something...
16. What I mean to say (to show, to emphasize) is that...
17. What I (we) find in fact is that...
18. What happens (takes place, occurs) in fact is that...
19. From the above I (we) see that...
20. At this point a question arises as to...
21. The problem is the following...

II Closing phrases used to complete a talk, a communication, a paper

1. In conclusion it should be emphasized (note, said, observed) that...
2. Finally a few remarks should be made about...
3. Summing up the results, it should be observed (said, noted) that...
4. Summarizing, it can be said (pointed out, mentioned) that ...
5. To summarize then, ...
6. In conclusion I would like to mention (to consider, to add, to say) that...
7. We finally conclude that...
8. With this we will conclude our discussion (paper, communication).
9. At the end we can say (mention, observe, point out) that...

III As far as I know ... As far as I can judge ... In my opinion ... To my knowledge ... To my mind ... For all I know ... I think (believe, suppose) that ...

1. Globalization has attracted public attention in:
 - a) 2001
 - b) 1990s
 - c) 2000s
2. The concept of globalization bears the undeniable influence of such approaches:
 - a) modernist
 - b) transnationalist
 - c) neorealistic
3. When the USSR passed a law granting the Union republics the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, which dictated the need to create their own foreign affairs departments in these republics?
 - a) After the formation of the USSR
 - b) February 1, 1944
 - c) After the end of the Cold War
 - d) After the end of World War II
4. When was the European Union founded?
 - a) 1951;
 - b) 1945;
 - c) 1920;
 - d) 1949;
5. When was the United Nations founded?
 - a) 1951;
 - b) 1918;
 - c) 1945;
 - d) 1944;
6. The best-known part of NATO's founding treaty, Article 5, deals with what topic?
 - a) Collective defense
 - b) Size of military budget
 - c) Invitation to the new members into the alliance
 - d) Size of nuclear arsenal.
7. Balance of Power is...
 1. A process by which groups of people make decisions.
 2. Examines the acquisition and application of power.
 3. A situation where two powerful states, or group of states, are equal in power.
 4. The idea that people need to transform.
8. Which of the following states is not a wealthy country in the Middle East?

- a) Qatar
 - b) Kuwait
 - c) Yemen
 - d) Saudi Arabia
9. Is it possible to test military weapons in Antarctica?
- A. Yes, it is allowed.
 - B. Only with the permission of the states that are parts of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty.
 - C. No, it is absolutely prohibited in the territory of Antarctica.
 - D. This issue is not registered anywhere yet.
10. Negotiation is not characterized by ...
- a) conflict between parties.
 - b) an established set of rules.
 - c) two or more parties involved.
 - d) a voluntary process.
11. What characterizes a win-win solution for both parties in negotiation?
- a) competing.
 - b) collaborating.
 - c) accommodating.
 - d) compromising.
12. Which of the following aspects below describes an accommodating style of negotiations?
- a) provide a safe environment to invite into discussion
 - b) make sure others are heard and acknowledged
 - c) study topic to finalize decision
 - d) get everyone involved into discussion
13. Which of the following diplomats sought negotiations to ease the tensions between the US and the USSR?
- a) Vyacheslav Molotov
 - b) Otto von Bismarck
 - c) Richard Nixon
 - d) Henry Kissinger
14. The diplomatic immunity is:
- A. An exemption from the foreign jurisdiction.
 - B. An exemption from the jurisdiction of the sending state.
 - C. An exemption from the jurisdiction of all the states.
 - D. Immunity from all diseases.
15. According to the Vienna Convention, a "diplomatic agent" is...

- a)...a person who performs the duties of a domestic worker for a representative office employee and is not an employee of the sending state;
- b)...person who performs administrative and technical maintenance of the representative office;
- c)...a person who works exclusively for his/her own goals;
- d)...head of mission or member of the diplomatic staff of the mission;

16. The functions of a diplomatic mission consist of...

- a)...protecting the interests of the sending state and its citizens in the host state within the limits permitted by international law;
- b)...negotiating through military power;
- c)...establishing friendly relations with another country;
- d)...granting of immunity to all citizens living abroad.

17. Public International law is...

- 1. The body of rules applied to commercial transactions.
- 2. Governments relations between states.
- 3. The body of law dealing with crimes and their punishment.
- 4. Concerned with the resolution of international disputes between individuals and companies.

18. The official diplomatic language in Europe until the 18th century is:

- a) English
- b) French
- c) Latin
- d) Russian

19. Preparing for negotiations, about whom it is necessary to find out information first of all?

- a) A mediator
- b) An opponent
- c) Organizers of the negotiations
- d) Your side's members

20. Which of these ones is a common negotiation mistake?

- a) listening to the other person
- b) rushing to make a decision
- c) being open-minded
- d) checking all the facts before making a decision

21. Which of the following statements don't describe a competing style of negotiations?
- a) Study topic to finalize decisions.
 - b) Move the discussion past an impasse.
 - c) Appear very passionate.
 - d) Will do or say anything to win.
22. Which of the following methods relates to negotiating from a position of weakness?
- a) Make a clear request for help+
 - b) Aggressive pressure
 - c) Comply with the rule of equality
 - d) Constant topic evasion
23. The arbitrator in the negotiations is ...
- a) A person who advises one of the parties
 - b) A person a person who participates in the organization of negotiations, but does not intervene
 - c) A person, who studies a problem, listens to both sides and makes a decision that is not in dispute.
 - d) A person who holds back the parties from mutual aggression
24. Which of the following statements describe Salami tactics in negotiations?
- a) The negotiator sends the opponent theses that contradict each other;
 - b) The negotiator articulates his demands precisely and ask the opponent to think carefully;
 - c) The negotiator gives out information in small portions to buy time and overcome the opponent;
 - d) The negotiator suggests to postpone the negotiations instead of trying to come to a compromise with the opponent;
25. What should not be done in negotiation preparation process?
- a) gathering information
 - b) negotiation with your own side
 - c) setting the agenda
 - d) revealing information to an opposite side
26. Which aspect doesn't describe the position of strength?
- a) using all kinds of pressure and threats;
 - b) search for a single solution;
 - c) doing everything to achieve a goal;
 - d) trust and openness.

27. How is the opponent perceived in negotiations from a position of strength?
- a) as a friend;
 - b) as an enemy;
 - c) as a partner;
 - d) as an ally;
28. Continue the phrase: “Be hard on the, soft on the...”?
- a) Problem, People
 - b) Mediator , Opponent
 - c) People, Problem
 - d) Opponent, Problem
29. Win-lose strategy is...
- a) A negotiation strategy where the focus is on achieving immediate goals, with little or no regard for building future relationships
 - b) A negotiation strategy where both parties gain roughly equal advantage
 - c) A negotiation strategy where one party’s gains are directly offset by another party’s losses
 - d) A negotiation strategy where no participant has any option that is positive
30. What type of bargaining is the take-or-leave strategy?
- a) Soft bargaining
 - b) Hard bargaining
 - c) This’s not part of any existing bargaining strategy
 - d) Collective bargaining

Political Regimes¹³

GLOSSARY

Absolutism The principle of complete and unrestricted power in government. Also known as totalism or **totalitarianism**.

Agrarianism A political philosophy that values rural society and the farmer as superior to urban society and the paid worker, and sees farming as a way of life that can shape social values.

Anarchism The abolition of government authority, through violent means if necessary, and the adoption of a society that is based on voluntary cooperation.

Apartheid Meaning “separation” in Afrikaans, a policy of racial discrimination introduced in South Africa following the National Party’s election victory in 1948.

Apparatchik A member of the **communist** party machine. It has come to be used as a derogatory description of a political zealot.

Autocracy A community or state in which unlimited authority is exercised by a single individual.

Bipartisan An approach to a situation or issue agreed by political parties that are normally in opposition to one another.

Bolshevik Meaning “majority” in Russian, a faction of the Marxist Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) that split from the Menshevik faction in 1903, becoming the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after 1917.

Bourgeoisie In Marxism, the class that owns the means of production and whose income derives from that ownership rather than paid work.

Capitalism An economic system characterized by market forces, with private investment in, and ownership of, a country’s means of production and distribution.

Collectivism A political theory that advocates collective, rather than individual, control over social and economic institutions, especially the means of production.

Colonialism The claim of a state to sovereignty over new territories. It is characterized by an unequal power relation between the colonists who run the territories and their indigenous population.

Common law The law of the land, derived from neither the statute books nor the **constitution**, but from court law reports.

Communism An ideology that advocates the elimination of private property in favor of communal ownership, based on the 1848 political manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Confucianism A system based on the teachings of Confucius, which stresses hierarchy and loyalty, as well as individual improvement.

Conservatism A political position that opposes radical changes in society. Conservatives may advocate a wide range of policies,

including the preservation of economic liberty, enterprise, free markets, private property, the privatization of business, and reduced government action.

Constitutionalism A system of government that adheres to a constitution—a written collection of the fundamental principles and laws of a nation.

Democracy A form of government in which supreme power is vested in the people or exercised by their elected representatives.

Dependency theory The notion that rich countries in the northern hemisphere have created a neocolonial relationship with those in the southern hemisphere, in which the less developed countries are dependent and disadvantaged.

Despot A ruler with **absolute** power who typically exercises it tyrannically and abusively.

Dictator An **absolute** ruler, especially one who assumes complete control without the free consent of the people, and who may exercise power oppressively.

Direct democracy Government by the people in fact, rather than merely in principle—citizens vote on every issue affecting them—as practiced in ancient Athens.

Divine right of kings A doctrine that holds that a monarch derives legitimacy from God, and is not subject to any earthly authority.

Dystopia A theoretical society characterized by a wretched, dysfunctional state. See **Utopia**.

Economic structuralism

The belief that the conduct of world politics is based on the way that the world is organized economically.

Ecosophy In **green politics**, the ecological philosophy of Arne Naess, propounding ecological harmony or equilibrium.

Egalitarianism A philosophy that advocates social, political, and economic equality.

Elitism The belief that society should be governed by an elite group of individuals.

Enlightenment, The Also known as the Age of Reason, a period of intellectual advances in the 18th century that involved a questioning of religious understandings of the world and the application of reason.

Extremism Any political theory that favors uncompromising policies or actions.

Fabian Society A British movement that advocated that **socialism** should be introduced incrementally via education and gradual legislative changes.

Fascism A **nationalist** ideology typified by strong leadership, stress on a collective identity, and the use of violence or warfare to further the interests of the state. The term derives from the Italian *fascio*—a tied bundle of sticks—referring to collective identity, and was first applied to Mussolini's regime.

Federalism A system of government in which powers are divided between central government and smaller states or provinces.

Feudal system A medieval political system that consisted of small geographical units—such as principalities or dukedoms—ruled by the nobility, where the peasant population lived in a state of bondage to their ruler.

Fourth estate A theoretical institution consisting of the press and other forms of media. The term derives from the first three “estates”—classes of people—recognized by the French legislative assembly until the late 18th century: the Church, the nobility, and townsmen.

Fundamentalism The strict adherence to and belief in religious principles.

Glasnost Meaning “openness” in Russian, a policy introduced in the Soviet Union by Mikhail Gorbachev that committed the government to greater accountability and scrutiny.

Green politics An ideology centered around building an ecologically sustainable society.

Habeas corpus The right of an individual detained under accusation to appear before a court of law to have their guilt or innocence examined.

Imperialism The policy of extending the dominion of a nation through direct intervention in the affairs of other countries, and seizure of territory and subjugation of peoples in building an empire.

Isolationism A policy of withdrawing a nation from military alliances, international agreements, and sometimes even international trade.

Junta A clique, faction, or cabal, often military in nature, that takes power after the overthrow of a government.

Just war theory A doctrine of military ethics comprising *Jus ad bellum*—Latin for “right to war”—the need for a moral and legal basis for war, and *Jus in bello*—Latin for “justice in war”—the need for the moral conduct of warfare.

Kleptocracy Political and governmental corruption in which politicians, bureaucrats, and their protected friends exercise power for their own material benefit. From the Greek for “rule by thieves.”

Leftism, left wing Ideology of the political “left.” It is characterized by an interventionist approach to social welfare and an internationalist worldview. The concept originated in 18th-century France, when nobility who sought to improve the peasants' conditions sat to the left of the king.

Legalism A **utilitarian** political philosophy adopted in China during the Warring States period, which stressed the importance of maintaining law and order, using harsh punishment if necessary.

Liberalism A political ideology that stresses the rights and freedoms of individuals. Liberals may adopt a broad range of policies, including the defense of free trade, freedom of speech, and freedom of religious association.

Liberalism, classic A philosophy originating in the 18th century that advocates the rights of the individual over those of the state or Church, opposing **absolutism** and the **divine right of kings**.

Libertarianism The advocacy of liberty and free will. It can be found on both the political **left** and **right** and incorporates beliefs including self-reliance, reason, and noninterference by the state in economic and personal affairs.

Machiavellian Cunning, cynical, and opportunistic political activity. From Niccolò Machiavelli, a 16th-century Florentine political theorist.

Maoism A form of **Marxism-Leninism** derived from the teachings of Mao Zedong. Its central tenet is that the **agrarian** peasantry can take the place of the **proletariat** in supporting revolution.

Marxian socialism A phase of economic development that Marx believed was an essential stage in the transition from a **capitalist** to a **communist** state.

Marxism The philosophy underpinning the writings of Karl Marx, proposing that the economic order of society determines the political and social relationships within it.

Marxism-Leninism An ideology based on the theories of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin that calls for the creation of an international **communist** society.

Meritocracy The belief that rulers should be selected on the basis of ability, rather than wealth or birth.

Moral absolutism A philosophy based on the notion that morality should be the absolute guide of human action, particularly in regard to international law.

Multilateralism The cooperation of multiple countries working together in international relations. The opposite of **unilateralism**.

Nationalism Loyalty and devotion to the home nation, and the political belief that its interests should be pursued as the primary goal of political policy.

Natural law The concept that positive and just laws rest upon a “higher law”—originally defined by Thomas Aquinas as reflecting God’s eternal law that guides the universe—which is attested to by common sense in most people.

Négritude An ideological position of solidarity based on shared black-African identity, developed by French intellectuals in the 1930s in reaction to the racism of French **colonialism**.

Oligarchy A form of government in which power is held by a small group and exercised in their own interest, usually to the detriment of the general population.

Pacifism The opposition to and campaign against war and violence as a means of resolving dispute, usually based on religious or moral grounds. The term was coined by French peace campaigner Émile Arnaud (1864–1921).

Partisan An absolute supporter of a particular political leader, party, or cause who typically exhibits unquestioning allegiance.

Perestroika Political, bureaucratic, or economic restructuring of a system or organization. From the Russian for “reconstruct,” it was first coined by Mikhail Gorbachev to describe reforms to the **communist** system in the former Soviet Union.

Pluralism The belief in a society in which members of diverse social or racial groups are able to express their traditional cultures or special interests freely and alongside one another.

Plutocracy A government that is controlled or greatly influenced by the wealthy in society.

Popular sovereignty The theory that sovereign political authority is vested in and equally shared by the citizens of a state, who grant the exercising of this authority to the state, its government, and political leaders, but do not surrender ultimate **sovereignty**.

Progressivism The doctrine of moderate political progress toward better conditions in government and society.

Proletariat In **Marxist** theory, the workers of a nation who own no property and must sell their labor to earn a living. Marx believed that it was inevitable that the proletariat would rise up and overthrow their **capitalist** masters, instituting a **communist** system under which they would exercise political and economic control.

Radicalism The advocacy of extreme forms of change to achieve political means. Also refers to beliefs that constitute a considerable departure from traditional or established beliefs.

Reactionism A political orientation opposing radical social change, instead favoring a return to a former political or social order.

Realpolitik Pragmatic, realistic politics, rather than that governed by moral or ethical objectives. Realpolitik may involve a loose approach to civil liberties.

Republicanism The belief that a republic—a state with no monarch, in which power resides with the people and is exercised by their elected representatives—is the best form of government.

Rightism, right wing The ideology of the political “right,” loosely defined as favoring **conservative**, pro-market attitudes, a preference for individual rights over interventionist government, a strict approach to law and order, and **nationalism**.

Segregationism The belief in the necessity to separate different races, classes, or ethnic groups from each other.

Sharia law The body of divine law in Islam that governs the religious and secular life of Muslims. Some Muslims argue that Sharia is the only legitimate basis for law.

Social contract An actual or theoretical agreement between individuals to form an organized society, or between individuals and a ruler or government to define the limits, rights, and duties of each. Theorists including Thomas Hobbes and John Locke defined the social contract as the means by which individuals were protected by a governing power, and kept from the **state of nature**.

Social democracy A reformist political movement advocating a gradual transition from **capitalism** to **socialism** by peaceful, **democratic** means. Typical tenets include the right of all citizens to education, healthcare, workers’ compensation, and freedom from discrimination.

Socialism An ideology and method of government that advocates state ownership and regulation of industry, and central control over the allocation of resources, rather than allowing these to be determined by market forces.

Sovereignty Supreme power as exercised by an autonomous state or ruler, free from any external influence or control. Usually used to refer to a nation’s right to self-determination in internal affairs and international relations with other countries.

State of nature In **social contract** theory, the hypothetical condition that existed prior to the emergence of organized government. According to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, this condition was one of idyllic harmony between man and nature, while Thomas Hobbes depicts it as a **dystopian** state of man in constant conflict with his fellow man.

Suffrage The right to vote in elections or referenda. Universal suffrage refers to the right to vote of citizens regardless of their gender, race, social status, or wealth, while women’s suffrage describes the right of women to vote on the same basis as men, as campaigned for in the early 20th century by activists such as the “suffragettes.”

Syndicalism An early 20th-century ideology that emerged as an alternative to **capitalism** and **socialism**. Especially popular in France and Spain, it advocated the seizure of a nation’s means of production—and the overthrow of its government—in a general strike by workers’ unions, and the organization of production through a federation of local syndicates.

Theocracy A political system that is organized, governed, and led by a priesthood, or even a proclaimed “living god,” usually according to religious doctrine or perceived divine intervention.

Totalitarianism A regime that subordinates the rights of the individual in favor of the interests of the state, through control of political and economic affairs and prescription of the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the population.

Unilateralism Any action conducted in a one-sided manner. In politics, it often describes countries conducting foreign affairs in an individualistic manner, with minimal consultation with other nations, even allies. The opposite of **multilateralism**.

Utilitarianism A branch of social philosophy developed by Jeremy Bentham, which holds that the best policy at any given juncture is one that affords the greatest happiness to the greatest number of people.

Utopia An ideally perfect place. In politics, “Utopian” is applied to any system that aims to create an ideal society. From the Greek meaning “no place,” the word was first used in Thomas More’s fictional work *Utopia* (1516). See **dystopia**.

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