

# AP Comparative Government

Avery Karlin

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Primary Textbook: Ethel Wood's AP Comparative Government

Teacher: Trainor

# 1 Chapter 1 - Introduction to Comparative Government

## 1.1 Comparative Method

1. Government is the leadership and institutions which make national policy decisions, while comparative government is the study of the flow of power from different people and groups within a government
  - (a) Politics are the activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate or conflict among individuals or parties with or hoping to gain power
2. Political science, as a social science, can either be done based on empirical data, or facts and statistics, or normative issues, which are based on value judgements
  - (a) Since it is a science, it requires a hypothesis of a relationship with variables, to find a causation from the independent to dependent variable, such that one causes the other
  - (b) Correlations are when the change in both variables are simultaneous, implying the possibility of a causation, but not acting as evidence
3. The main comparative model is the three-world approach from the Cold War, dividing into the first world of the US and its allies, the second of the USSR and its allies, and the third world of economically underdeveloped, unaffiliated nations
  - (a) It is used in modern day, based on communist, post-communist, and capitalist nations, advanced, economically developed democracies, and developing nations
  - (b) Developing and communist nations are more likely to become authoritarian nations, rather than economically developed capitalist nations, which are likely to be democratic
  - (c) This model integrates political and economic systems, due to the economy having a strong factor in citizen interaction with the government, allows observation of the impact of political change since the fall of the USSR, and the impact of informal politics, or the interaction of citizens and the civil society, or the organization and defining of citizen activism, with politics
4. The Huntington model<sub>1</sub> states the next great conflict will be between different civilizations (the broadest level of identity/cultural similarities), having moved from monarch territories to nations (from the 1790s to 1910s) to ideologies
  - (a) After the Cold War between Western civilizations, non-Western groups began to move away from being puppets of the West, responding to Western ideas of appropriate policies in the UN and IMF, to going back to traditional ideas, and due to increased interaction between civilizations
    - i. Educated foreigners are now being educated in their own culture, while Western culture spreads through globalization, reversing past trends
    - ii. Finally, trade has begun moving backward toward mainly regional in recent years
    - iii. Most particularly the Western idea of a universal civilization contrasts the Eastern idea of particularism and differences between civilizations, forcing civilization to bandwagon with the west, isolate themselves, or modernize to create a balance of power (though only Japan has done it without moving towards Western)
  - (b) The civilizations include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Slavic-Orthodox, Hindu, Islamic, Latin American, and African civilizations, due different views on relationships, rights, hierarchy, and religion, such that intellectual debate is not possible
  - (c) Economic progress and social change has also weakened the power of nations, resulting in religious divisions taking over, leading to fundamentalism
  - (d) This is also the movement back to the original, unchanging institutions, rather than ideological divisions, spreading both influence between civilization and local territory

- along fault lines
- (e) This has manifested most commonly in economic rivalries such as US-Japan or US-China and civilization support for minor conflicts, but also in ethnic cleansing, Islamic fundamentalism, movement from democratic institutions, and military conflict
  - i. In addition, the double standard of exempting similar nations from human rights regulations, while condemning others, leads to conflict
  - ii. This leads to Western attempts to ban the production of non-Western weaponry, in an attempt to not hurt their interests, while other nations define it as equal protection, leading to middle eastern and eastern Weapons States
- (f) Torn countries between multiple civilizations must have the political and economic elite, the general public, and the majority of the new civilization agree to be able to take a new identity, found within Mexico
  - i. On the other hand, in the case of Russia, none are present with the Post-Cold War attempts to join the West

## 1.2 Sovereignty, Authority, and Power

### 1.2.1 Nation-States

1. States are organizations that define the use of violence within a specific territory, through military and weapon restrictions, with institutions to create policy and promote general welfare
  - (a) States thus have sovereignty, or the ability to create their own policies without influence
  - (b) States without sovereignty are subject to corruption, used by internal and external organizations for their own ends, often in undeveloped nations
2. Nations are groups of people with a common political identity, such that nationalism is the sense of belonging, often resulting in patriotism for the nation
3. Nation-states are the main form of a state, such that borders are drawn around a specific nation, providing the identity for those in the main nationality
  - (a) Bi/multi-national states are those containing multiple nations, such as the USSR, such that minority groups began protests for independence, decaying into nationstates, though the same issue has applied to the multinational Russia since
  - (b) Stateless nations are those without a state, such as the Kurds, often causing fierce nationalism
  - (c) Nations generally expanded from core areas, until they reached another nation-state, creating boundaries, with periphery areas around the core areas, with more open land and fewer towns
  - (d) Multicore states often have inner-conflict as the result of multiple groups having competing interests, and can hurt stability, such as in Nigeria, though often not, like the US

### 1.2.2 Governmental Regimes

1. Regimes are the sets of rules that states set and follow, generally divided into authoritarian and democratic regimes
2. Democratic regimes can either be indirect, electing representatives for the people, or direct, with individuals directly having a say in government, generally only direct with small popu-

lations

- (a) Parliamentary systems are those where the legislature is elected, and those officials determine the executive, while presidential systems have both elected, with separation of powers between
    - i. Thus, in a parliamentary system, the prime minister doesn't have the same monopoly on power, rather "first among equals", such that it is harder to lobby, due to requiring a majority
    - ii. Cabinet members are also taken from the legislature, with a shadow cabinet of members of the largest opposition party
    - iii. In addition, since there is often more than two parties, they require the support of a third party to create a coalition government to get the majority needed, offering positions and policies
  - (b) While there are different levels of economic regulation, democracies have independent corporations from the government
  - (c) Most democracies are divided into a legislative, executive, and judicial branches
  - (d) Semi-presidential systems can also exist, such as in the 1993 Russian constitution, with both a parliamentary prime minister and a president sharing power, though the president has taken far more under Putin
  - (e) Democratic regimes rely on pluralism, or power split among many interest groups attempting to influence
3. Authoritarian regimes have power held by the political elites without citizen input, either by a dictator, hereditary monarch, aristocrats, or single political party, controlling both the government and economy
- (a) In these societies, there is no limits on the power of the leaders, responsibility to the public, or restriction of civil rights
  - (b) Communist countries are controlled by the party, controlling all aspects of life, following Marx or Zedong economic philosophy
  - (c) Corporatism is the supervision of government policies by some labor or business group, though it may be some other patron-client system
    - i. Corporatism often results from authoritarian regimes trying to provide the appearance of citizen involvement to gain co-optation, or citizen support, while banning other groups
    - ii. Patron-clientelism is the system of benefits provided to a specific group in exchange for vocal support
    - iii. It can also result from economic regulation or nationalization of industries resulting in close ties between government and industry
    - iv. Democratic corporatism can be shown by recognition of specific groups by the state, while forcing others to require recognition, legally bound to the state, working on behalf of the state
  - (d) Totalitarian regimes are a subset of authoritarian, which attempt to control all aspects of political and economic systems, often based on a strong ideological goal, such as communism
    - i. Totalitarian governments especially use violence to remove opposition, and are more illegitimate, in that they are not accepted by the people, which authoritarian governments may be
  - (e) Military rule is a common form of authoritarian, often taking power in a forced takeover/coup d'état during unrest, generally with public support, restricting civil liberties to preserve order, joining with the bureaucracy

- i. This can lead to a weak state, forcing other coup d'états, in a series of weak regimes
- 4. The Democratic Index was published by the Economist since 2007, ranking countries based on the electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, government functioning, political participation, and political culture
  - (a) It also categorizes into democracies (like the UK), flawed democracies, authoritarian (like Nigeria, Russia, China, and Iran), and hybrid regimes (like Mexico)

### 1.2.3 Legitimacy

1. Legitimacy, or the right to rule, is determined by the citizens, and is categorized as either traditional, charismatic, or rational-legal
  - (a) Legitimacy is easier to maintain in economic prosperity and with high government performance approval
2. Transitional is based on tradition, such as hereditary rulers, often based on myths, legends, religion, or divine right, with ceremonies, symbols, and artifacts to encourage the idea of legitimacy
3. Charismatic is often based on personality or military talent, such as Napoleon, though when he lost militarily, it faded, generally a shortlived form of legitimacy, unable to be passed on after death
4. Rational-legal is based on institutional laws and procedures, preserved through belief in the rule of law and acceptance of the authority of the state, such that shared political culture is important
  - (a) It can be based on common law, or legal tradition and precedents
  - (b) Legitimacy of rational-legal in democratic governments can be the result of the loss of the legitimacy of the electoral system
5. In modern states, the main form of legitimacy is from rational-legal, though traditional and charismatic allow easier gain of power, or influencing politics easier within interest groups
  - (a) Many states also preserve some form of traditional legitimacy, to add legitimacy to the legal-rational democratic form of government

### 1.2.4 Political Culture and Ideologies

1. Political culture is the collection of political beliefs, values, practices, and institutions which a country is based on, such that for a government to remain, it must be based on that culture
  - (a) Social capital, or reciprocity and trust between citizens and the state or other citizens of all levels, can be used to measure how democratic it is, such that more democratic makes it greater
    - i. On the other hand, social capital theory, which predicts difficulty in Islam or Confucian regions, has been critiqued for ignoring countries such as Turkey or India
  - (b) Consensual political culture is agreement on what issues should be solved and the process by which decisions are made, such that legitimacy of the government is accepted
  - (c) Conflictual political culture by fundamental economic, religious, or political differences often leads to conflict, and prevents effective rule
2. Political ideologies are sets of political values of the basic goal of government, held by the individual
  - (a) Liberalism values political and economic freedom, maximizing rights and freedoms, and allowing citizens to disagree with the state and attempt to influence decisions

- (b) Communism values equality, believing freedom won't create general prosperity, believing eventually a wealthy class will form and take control of the government, advocating state control of all resources to protect economic equality
- (c) Socialism values a combination of freedom and equality, believing in the free market and private ownership, but believes the state have heavy control of the economy to provide benefits and preserve equality
- (d) Fascism values strength, believing some groups are inherently inferior, attempting to create the strongest possible state, such that rights must be taken away by the authoritarian state to preserve it
- (e) Religious ideologies also play a large role in many nations, often having an official state religion, or having special interest groups influencing it

### 1.3 Political and Economic Change

1. Change generally happens both politically and economically simultaneously, and most countries experience it over time, but when happening separately, creates tensions
2. Change can occur through reform, attempting to use standard political and economic institutions to create change
  - (a) Revolution attempts to change the political and economic institutions through the overthrow or revision of the institutions, generally impacted economic, political, and social systems, regardless of the intent
  - (b) Coup d'états replace the government with new leaders by force, often carried out by the military, but can cause instability
3. The strongest attitude toward change is radicalism, or the belief in rapid, dramatic changes, often believing the institutions cannot be fixed, leading to revolutions
  - (a) Liberalism as an attitude is the belief in reform and gradual change, believing in repairing and improving existing systems, with the goal often of leading to a complete transformation over time
  - (b) Conservatism believes change is disruptive and causes unexpected negative outcomes, believing in the need to preserve legitimacy of government, basic societal values, and law and order
  - (c) Reactionaries believe that the current state has already move too far from basic societal values, wanting to use revolutionary means to return to old institutions
4. The first major trend of modern change is democratization, based on the idea of competitive elections, with many countries moving further to liberal/substantive democracies, instead of illiberal/procedural
  - (a) Liberal democracies have belief in neutrality of the judiciary, checks and balances on power, civil liberties, rule of law, civilian control of the military, and open civil society
    - i. Illiberal democracies often have an unchecked executive and restricted citizen groups, preventing truly free elections, but are necessary before a society can become a liberal democracy
  - (b) Huntington believes there are three waves of democratization, the first gradual until WWII, the second after WWII involving de-colonization, and the third involving the defeat of totalitarians after the Cold War
  - (c) Democratization is due to the legitimacy of authoritarians, expansion of urban middle class, human rights emphasis, and international snowball effect
  - (d) Democratization happens after a trigger event taking place, after a revolution of rising

- expectations of high living standards, causing democratic consolidation of the elites and public willing to share power, spreading throughout society called political liberalization
5. The second trend is economic liberalism, moving to market economies, such that it is under debate, due to influence such as China, if democracy and market economies inherently move together
    - (a) 19th century European reformists were generally middle-class bourgeoisie, who wanted their views represented in government, and economic goals unrestricted to allow economic mobility
    - (b) Radicals, on the other hand, believed that freedom clashed with equality, and thus a free market was not the ideal, including Marx, believing instead of a command economy of government owned businesses
      - i. These economies, in the USSR and China, had a state planning committee, with economic production blueprints and quotas in 5 year plans
      - ii. On the other hand, these generally, while creating economic growth, did not lead to higher living standards
    - (c) In recent years, most command economies have moved toward market economies with less government regulation, with the current debate between a mixed (with significant regulation and control from government) or market economy
    - (d) Economic liberalization is based on the failure of many command economies and the belief that government is too large
      - i. Thus, many command economies have had marketization toward market economies and privatization toward private ownership
      - ii. The main downside, the business cycle, has led most to adopt a mixed economy to lower the dangers of the business cycle
  6. The third trend is fragmentation, or divisions based on culture/ethnicity, moving away from prior globalization toward nationalism, especially found in the politicization of religion and increase in fundamentalism
    - (a) It is argued that those who believe in the clash of civilizations underestimate this factor of cultural differences

## 1.4 Citizens, Society, and the State

1. Social cleavages are divisions in society that are outside politics, but impact political policy-making based on causing deep political identification, including social, ethnic, religious, and regional cleavages
  - (a) Coinciding cleavages are those which divides the same groups against each other on issues, while cross-cutting cleavages are those which divide groups that agree on some issues, but disagree with others
  - (b) Regional conflicts are often the results of different levels of economic development, or religious divisions between regions
  - (c) The depth of the cleavages in the social structure of a society, the level of political party alignment with cleavages, and specific cleavages not involved in the political process determine the importance
2. Government-citizen relationships are based first on political efficacy, or the citizen ability to understand and influence political events, determining if they feel the government cares about their opinion
  - (a) This works to create active voting behavior, and political participation, rather than



- interacting purely through subject activities (obeying laws), creating political attitudes
- (b) Attitudes in other respects, such as trust or the ability of the government to impact their lives also play a role
- (c) Government transparency also changes interactions, preventing corruption, as well as the methods of learning about political actions to create immediate views
- 3. Social movements are organized, collective activities to create desired policies, using nontraditional reform methods and bring non-mainstream positions to mainstream society
- 4. Civil society are voluntary organizations outside the government to aid identification and advancement of personal interests, encouraged in liberal democracies
  - (a) They can be either political or apolitical (not politically active), rather just to promote goals and interests, preventing tyranny of the majority
  - (b) It has been argued that globalization has led to cosmopolitanism, or a universal political order and civil society based on worldwide identity and values, found within international, political, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
  - (c) Authoritarian nations are against civil society, dividing purely based on social cleavages
    - i. Civil societies are often formed later through civil education of democratic rights, and through NGO involvement

## 1.5 Political Institutions

### 1.5.1 National Forces

1. Political institutions are structures which carry out governing, though they cannot be assumed to have the same powers in each nation
2. Unitary systems have all policymaking centralized in one location, while federal systems divides between central government and sub-units, and confederal has power almost purely in sub-units, with a weak central
  - (a) Federal and confederal systems are criticized for inefficiency, due to local governments with possibly competing interests, such that very few governments are confederal for that reason
3. Supranational organizations affecting national policies are a result of integration, or the loss of sovereignty to gain international influence, based on shared policies and rules, such as the UN
  - (a) This results in a relationship between domestic policies and international relations, creating additional international trade, banking, assets, and foreign direct investment
  - (b) It also creates a ripple effect of international events
  - (c) On the other hand, integration ironically causes fragmentation, by dividing the world in regional international organizations, such as the EU
4. Centripetal forces are those which bind states together, such as nationalism, or identities based on nationalism, encouraging belief in laws and patriotism, using schools, symbols and holidays to promote it
  - (a) It is also encouraged by transportation systems and technology, uniting the parts of the country with each other and its government
5. Centrifugal forces include organizations rivaling the government for influence, such as the church in the USSR, or nationalism if leading to separatist movements or devolution
  - (a) Centifugal forces can often lead to devolution, or decentralized decision-making to regional governments, moving toward federalism, even in long-established states

- i. Devolutionary forces can include ethnonationalism, or the feeling of an ethnic group as a separate nation, with the right to autonomy, especially if the ethnic group is concentrated in a specific region, due to ethnic groups having a shared culture, language, customs, and religions
  - ii. Regional economic inequality or peripheral location, especially if cut off geographically, can also be a strong devolutionary force
- (b) Separatist movements to fully break into a separate nation, are generally ethnic, based in nationalism, and can be encouraged by peripheral location, socioeconomic inequality

### 1.5.2 Government Branches

1. The executive carries out laws, split into the head of state (symbolizing/representing the people at home and abroad, often a figurehead, often called the president) and the head of government (often the prime minister)
  - (a) The chief executive begins policy initiatives, often given veto power in a presidential system, makes foreign policy crisis decisions, and oversees the execution of laws
  - (b) The cabinet in a parliamentary system is led by the “first among equals” prime minister, taken from the legislature to run departments, formed from a cabinet coalition in a multi-party system with no majority
    - i. Cabinet coalitions can often lead to instability
    - ii. In presidential systems, the president chooses the cabinet, approved often by the legislature, often more independent than in a parliamentary system due to not being major political figures
    - iii. On the other hand, in a presidential system, the president can remove them from the cabinet if they disobey his wishes
  - (c) Bureaucracies are agencies to implement government policy, viewed by Weber as necessary to respond to a changing society, growing as the role of government grew
    - i. He stated all bureaucracies must be complete meritocracies with clear goals, extensive, well-established rules, task specialization/division of labor, a hierarchy
    - ii. On the other hand, he feared lack of meritocracy, found in the US by the patronage system until reformed after the Garfield assassination, and discretionary power to make small decisions, against democratic beliefs, but acknowledged they provided stability due to being unelected
    - iii. In authoritarian regimes, the head of government has complete power, and uses bureaucracy to directly control many aspects of life, with large amounts of patronage
    - iv. In many Latin American countries, the military regime formed a technocrat of civilian and military bureaucracy coalition, controlling government in the name of rapid modernization
    - v. Realistically, bureaucracies have characteristics of non-elected positions, efficient/partially meritocratic structures, job qualifications, hierarchy, and inefficient red tape (especially in large bureaucracies)
2. Legislatures are governing bodies, popularly elected, although in authoritarian regimes, are controlled by the executive
  - (a) Legislatures are either bicameral (two houses) or unicameral, often the former to allow an upper house for regional governments and a lower house, directly for the population, balancing regional powers
    - i. It can also be used in non-federal systems to allow a house further from the people,

- and thus less impulsive, to moderate decisions
- (b) Legislatures often create, debate, and vote on policies, have taxing and spending power, appoint officials to other branches, serve as appeals courts, impeachment courts, and act as elite recruitment for future government leaders
- 3. Judiciaries serve in authoritarian regimes under the control of the executive, simply as legal courts or rubber-stamps
  - (a) Constitutional courts, defending the democratic principles of a country, often have judicial review to rule on constitutionality of government actions, and have the power to protect against other citizens infringing on rights
  - (b) Courts have been criticized for being unelected though, and are often weaker than the other branches

### 1.5.3 Linkage Institutions

1. Linkage institutions are groups which connect government to citizens, such as parties, media, and interest groups, larger in nations with a larger government and population
2. Political parties provide labels for voting, hold politicians more accountable, and bring different people and ideas to a united group
  - (a) Two-party systems provide a plurality electoral system, while multi-party provide proportional generally, the latter being more standard
3. Electoral systems determine how votes are cast and counted
  - (a) In the US, UK, and India, the first-past-the-post system is used/plurality/winner-take-all system is used, competing for a single seat
  - (b) Many nations use a proportional system, creating multi-member districts, voting for a party instead of a candidate, and others use a mixed system combining the two
    - i. Proportional systems also encourage coalitions to form a majority to get legislation passed
  - (c) Elections fall into either an election of public officials, referendums to vote on a policy issue (called by the government), or an initiative to vote on policy (called by a petition of citizens)
    - i. Plebiscites are non-binding referendums to gauge public opinion
4. Interest groups are organizations attempt to influence public policy, existing independent from the government based on a common interest
  - (a) Nonpolitical groups can also be interest groups, seeking to advance a private or corporate interest
  - (b) Interest groups, unlike political parties, do not run candidates to influence the process, but may support candidates
  - (c) In a multi-party system, they are more similar, in that single issue parties often form, rather than broad platform parties
  - (d) In authoritarian states, interest groups must be government-sanctioned, acting as transmission belts to extend party influence to members of the group and the general public
  - (e) Interest group pluralism has complete independence, getting their own funds and leaders
  - (f) Corporatism has fewer groups compete, with each group generally having a monopoly over the sector, sanctioned and often protected by the government, in between the other two systems
    - i. State corporatism has the states decide which groups take control of each sector, while societal corporatism has the interest group form the monopoly, and gain its

own power within the state

5. Political elites, or leaders with high amounts of political influence, are found in every system, such that there must be methods of recruitment to find future elites
  - (a) Further, all nations must have a system of political succession, or replacing ineffective or resigning leaders

## 1.6 Public Policy

1. Policy is created by the three branches of government, interest groups, and political parties, to solve general issues
2. Economic performance is one of the most important issues, affected by both international and domestic trade
  - (a) This is measured by GDP, Gross National Product (GDP + Income Earned by Citizens Outside the Country), GNP per capita, or Purchasing Power Parity
3. Environmental issues are also a major modern problem, especially in Europe, leading to green, environmental parties and international interest groups
4. Social welfare, such as providing health, employment, education, and family services, are important factors
  - (a) These are measured by literacy rates, income distribution, education levels, life expectancy, Gini Index for economic inequality, and the Human Development Index (measuring the well-being of citizens by a variety of social welfare factors and GDP)
5. Civil liberties, or the promotion of freedom, and political rights, or the promotion of equality, involve government protection
  - (a) These range based on the amount of rights preserved in addition to levels of government involvement, and are often guaranteed by constitutions in liberal democracies
  - (b) Freedom House ranks nations from 1 (most free) to 7 as a measure

## 2 Chapter 2 - United Kingdom

### 2.1 Advanced Democracies

1. Advanced democracies are those with a long history of stable democracy, measured by the political characteristics of liberal democracy and economically
  - (a) They have legitimacy from the history and large social capital, or trust between citizens and with the state
  - (b) In most nations, citizenship is required to vote, though in Scandinavia, permanent residents can vote, and in most states except the US and France, the state automatically registers voters
2. Economically, they are post-modernist, with values of environmentalism, education, and health care, as well as post-industrial, due to the large amount of tertiary/service sector, such as tech, legal, business, or financial services
  - (a) Modernist civilizations have values of secularism, rationalism, materialism, technology, bureaucracy, and freedom over equality, with a large amount in the industrial/secondary sector, due to being industrial
  - (b) Pre-industrial have a majority of workers in the primary/agricultural sector
3. In advanced democracies, there has been a move toward supranational integration organizations, especially in Europe by the EU, but also by the North American Free Trade Agreement

- (a) This worked to promote international cooperation over nationalism, with the EU adopting a common currency
- 4. The UK began democratic ideals of limited monarchy, started industrialization, democratic institutions, and spread them through the world by colonialism
  - (a) On the other hand, it's economy has slowed since WWII, and lost its colonies, but maintained a powerful worldwide influence, currently transforming into a more European nation

## 2.2 Sovereignty, Authority, and Power

1. Legitimacy grew over time based in tradition, originally based on the idea of a traditional, hereditary monarch, but was limited over time, until Parliament was in charge in the 1600s
  - (a) Except in Northern Ireland religious conflicts, separation of church and state are engrained
  - (b) The Constitution of the Crown of documents, common law, and customs take the place of a standard constitution
    - i. The Magna Carta was signed in 1215 by King John, limiting the monarch to consulting nobles before major policies
      - A. Although it was mainly ignored by the King, and failed to prevent war between the king and the nobles, and was condemned by both the Pope and the King immediately, it created a tradition of democracy<sub>2</sub>
      - B. It gave rights to fair, speedy trials, no taxation without representation, and stated the king wasn't above the law<sub>2</sub> (rule of law over arbitrary rule<sub>3</sub>)
      - C. It also protected the church and confirmed local privileges, still protected in the UK today, although most of the remaining sections are archaic<sub>2</sub> and ignored local peasant representation, and providing rights mainly only to free men, but all groups rallied around it by the 1300s, supported later by the Church due to their protection<sub>3</sub>
      - D. In 1216, France invaded to support the Lords, such that it was brought back by loyal lords to protect his son, Henry, as king<sub>2</sub>
      - E. After, it was revised several times and not enforced properly, but worked to symbolically preserve a limited monarchy<sub>2</sub>
      - F. The ideas within it were not new, found throughout Europe, but were the most detailed restrictions forced on a ruler, due to absurd taxes, complete lack of due process and rule of law, and arbitrary executions<sub>3</sub>
    - ii. The Bill of Rights was signed by William and Mary in 1688 after the monarchy was restored following the Glorious Revolution after the English Civil War executed Charles I, giving major policy powers, including tax and spending, to Parliament
    - iii. Common law rule is based on public officials and courts creating precedents instead of a legal code, used limitedly in the US
2. The development of political culture began with the shaping of the monarchy, followed by the rise of the Parliament (the execution of Charles I, and the installation of the Roundhead/Pro-Parliament leader, Cromwell)
  - (a) Charles II was installed shortly after, until the Glorious Revolution forced the signing of the Bill of Rights to protect Parliament, creating the Prime Minister as head of government by PM Walpole in the 1700s
  - (b) In the 1700s, the Industrial Revolution replaced the feudal system with merchantalism,

- creating a middle class of merchants, forcing their inclusion in politics
- (c) In the 1700s and later, industrialization and nationalism led to colonialism gaining raw materials abroad to produce goods at home, and allowing communication and transport between distant locations
- (d) In the 20th century, world wars and a welfare state hurt the economy, leading to a urban and infrastructure decay, and a neo-conservative backlash of Thatcherism, followed by Blair's Liberal Third Way, attempting to find a balance between welfare and capitalism and acclimating to less world influence
- 3. UK Political culture is based on a large amount of nationalism and insularity, or feelings of seperation from Europe, leading to fear of the EU, refusing the Euro even after joining
  - (a) It also includes noblesse oblige, or duty of the nobles to help the lower classes, dating to feudalism, which led to the welfare state and colonialism to help the lower races overseas
  - (b) Multi-nationalism is also found, due to the multiple nations united, even with the cultural homogeneity within each, except for religious differences in Northern Ireland
- 4. The UK has fewer political-related crimes and a smaller police force, due to respect for the law, except in Northern Ireland for independence and recent international terrorist issues

## 2.3 Political and Economic Change

1. Political change was based in gradualism, or slowly over time, which served to create strong traditions, such as the transition from 1066, requiring noble support by William the Conqueror to become king, until the Bill of Rights
2. During the Industrial Revolution, the middle class and laborer class were created, and over time, noblesse oblige led to incorporation into the political system
  - (a) The Great Reform Act of 1832 gave more power to the House of Common and 300k men suffrage, Reform Act of 1867 gave 3M, Representation of the People Act of 1884 further, and Representation of the People Act of 1918 gave all men, and women over 30 suffrage, extended in 1928 to over 21
  - (b) In the late 1800s, unions and social services, such as mandatory elementary school and pensions were made, further preventing class anger and the rise of Marxism
  - (c) By the 1900s, the House of Lords only had the power to delay laws, with the House of Common in power
3. In 1906, the Labour Party represented the working class, with the Conservatives taking middle-class merchants, leading to welfare, housing, public education, and healthcare reform, supported by Labour
  - (a) Labour took power as the main liberal at this time, pushing the moderate Liberal Party as a 3rd party
  - (b) Labour then began to act in favor of social democratic ideology and militant trade unionism, supported since by the Trade Union Council coalition, but never reached Marxist revolutionary
4. WWII led to widespread infrasructure destruction and war debt, and while the Marshall Plan allowed economic recovery, the UK began to prepare colonies for independence, keeping ties, but ending imperialism
5. The war also led to the collective consensus of the parties joining together in favor of a welfare system, accepting the Beverage Report to provide unemployment, health, pensions, and income to every citizen
  - (a) In 1948, the National Health Service was made by the Labours, and while the classes

- were split by party, all supported reforms
- (b) During economic crises of the 1970s, Labour moved to the far-left, supporting socialism, and Conservatives went to the far-right, supporting a free market and denationalization of all industry
    - i. Industry downturn, loss of colonies, and OPEC oil embargo led to the economic downturn, leading to higher wage demands, and strikes, such as the Coal Strike of 1972
    - ii. Many voters left the Labour Party, blaming the welfare state and union power, and elected Thatcher, the Iron Lady, strengthening defense, privatizing, moving toward neoliberal theory of low government regulation
    - iii. On the other hand, many felt she hurt and divided the nation, and disliked her firm personality, challenged in 1990, but still lowered the power of the welfare state
  - (c) Major, Thatcher's chosen successor, followed her policies, but removed the poll tax, joined the EU, and slowed privatization, but the Conservatives still lost the margin
    - i. Blair won in 1997, promising a move to the Third Way, more centrist, but after Iraq War support, lost popularity, and Brown took his place, but the recession hurt the Labour Party
    - ii. In 2010, Cameron formed a coalition with Liberal Democrats and took power, creating the Big Society of grassroots and private organizations over big government

## 2.4 Citizens, Society, and the State

1. The UK is mainly homogeneous, with only 7% as a minority, but has major social cleavages between Protestant/Catholic, social classes, and multi-national identities
  - (a) The main region of Great Britain is England, historically holding the majority of the population and political power
  - (b) Wales is the Western region, became under the English king in the 1500s, with Welsh pride in the Plaid Cymru flag and the language, still taught in schools, though there is some resentment
  - (c) Scotland is the Northern region, joining by intermarriage in the 1600s, still resisting rule, not agreeing to a single parliament until the 1700s, but have a lot of nationalism and their own flag
    - i. They also recently remade their independent Parliament, with the idea of independence under much debate with recent referendums
  - (d) Ireland was fought over, from Cromwell's attempt in the 1600s to push Protestantism on Ireland, eventually giving home rule in WWI to the all except the NE (Northern Ireland)
    - i. This was mainly due to the Irish Republican Army using guerilla warfare, and the religious conflict is still present today
2. There is a strong divide between the lower and middle class, based on the idea of solidarity, staying within your own class, found also among the upper class
  - (a) The division was furthered by expensive public boarding schools, training for public life of civil/military/political service, training the elite, before going to Oxbridge (Oxford or Cambridge)
    - i. A majority of the government officials attended Oxbridge, though since WWII, scholarships have been given more to lower classes
  - (b) Middle class students go to private non-boarding grammar schools, but until 2008's

- Education and Skills Act, had compulsory education only until 16 years old
- i. Other universities were available to the middle class, but in 2012, the price was raised for these by Parliament, making it less accessible
3. Minorities mainly come from former colonies, growing by 53% in the 1990s, but still low, mainly Indian, then Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean, and then Black African
    - (a) Past immigration restrictions, especially under Thatcher, make it so most minorities are young, half below 25, working in recent years to half immigration, though open EU borders make it only apply to non-Europeans
    - (b) There has been tension with minorities by police racism and verbal harassment from citizens, as well as events like the May 2001 race riots
      - i. This was caused by the murder of a black man by the police, and white flight has been seen in London, creating segregation, though mixed-race population has been growing
    - (c) Muslims especially are separate, as distinct immigrant minority, leading to several terrorist attacks since 9/11
      - i. This is also caused by strong support of the government to the Iraq War against Islam, and the fact that the majority are Pakistani, with stronger links to Bin Laden than other groups
      - ii. It is also due to lack of general minority integration into mainstream culture, even with more religious rights than other nations, and far more common poverty and illiteracy among Muslims
    - (d) Eastern Europeans also began immigrating due to the EU open borders (or lessened restrictions until 2014), such that Polish are now the majority of foreign nationals, though the financial collapse had some return
      - i. Many are migrant workers, doing low-paying rural work, creating fears of increasing unemployment among the lower classes
      - ii. The recent refugee crisis along with EU policies guaranteeing social services to refugees, has led to a move from the EU, petitioning for stronger immigration, and limits on services to deincestivize immigrations among both the Conservatives and Labour (working class)
      - iii. The EU ideal of a political single-entity has also created resentment among the British government for the political aspects of the EU, for fear of losing sovereignty
  4. Until the 1970s, political/civic culture was based on trust, pragmatism, harmony (acceptance for other points of view and the legal structure), deference to competent authority, and political participation
    - (a) Since, the idea of a collective consensus has been replaced by politics of protest, with less tolerance, more open disagreement and violent protest against governmental policy
    - (b) This is due to loss of union support during the 1970s, when many strikes hurt the economy, and the idea of Thatcherism of free market economy, individualism, and competition
      - i. In addition, Northern Ireland violence, especially the murder by military of 13 Catholics in Bloody Sunday in January 1972, and IRA/protestant militants, has hurt these ideals
      - ii. The Iraq War also led to protests among members of parties, hurting complete party support, even among cabinet members, leading to Blair's resignation in 2007
    - (c) On the other hand, New Labour, with looser ties to unions and a looser grasp on Northern Ireland Good by the Good Friday agreement, preserved older values
  5. The UK has more than 70% of voters vote in parliamentary elections, but with less party



loyalty than previously, voting along social and regional lines

- (a) The Labour party has power in industrial regions, Scotland, Wales, and London, while Conservatives are generally in rural and suburban areas
- (b) Working class is generally Labour, while middle is Conservative, though with increased mobility, many middle-class vote Labour because their parents were lower, but many working-class have been anti-immigrant and anti-taxation, voting Conservative
- (c) Labour also takes the disadvantaged, or Scots and Welsh, but recent weakening of both parties due to becoming moderate has allowed third parties to gain a foothold

## 2.5 Political Institutions

### 2.5.1 Linkage Institutions

1. Political parties originated in the 1700s, beginning as caucuses, or meetings of people with similar ideologies, where the Tories and Whigs originated under Charles II, the former supporting the king, the latter not
  - (a) The Whigs were used as slang for Scottish bandits, Tories for Irish bandits, eventually becoming the Liberal and Conservatives respectively
  - (b) The Labour party would later form during the early 20th century, based on the new industrial worker demands during the Industrial Revolution
    - i. It began in 1906 as an alliance of trade unions and socialist groups, though Blair weakened union ties during power from 1997 to the 2010 loss to the Conservative coalition
    - ii. Clause 4 called for nationalizing the commanding heights of industry, such that the third way was shown by the removal of the clause
    - iii. The loss under Kinnock in 1992, in power since the 1980s, led to his resignation and appointment of the moderate Smith, a Scotsman to get support of Scottish nationalist, dying in 1994
    - iv. Blair was an educated upper-class, to bring intellectuals and middle-class to the party, in power until 2007, winning during that time, but with a smaller margin in 2005, leading to his resignation in 2007
    - v. Brown then took power, but lost further ground, until he resigned in 2010, and Milliband took over, moving far to the left, but losing support to the Conservative-Liberal coalition
  - (c) Conservatives were the majority mostly from WWII to 1997, based on pragmatism rather than ideology, characterized as London-based and elitist with MPs choosing leadership, only recently adding elections
    - i. The traditional (one-nation) wing is based on noblesse oblige, with the elite ruling for the good of all, supporting the EU
    - ii. The Thatcherite wing is based on free market and lack of welfare, generally Euroskeptics against the EU
    - iii. Cameron, leader since 2005, has taken power back as Blair became weaker, taking back the majority recently, losing ground temporarily after the takeover of Brown, but gaining it back, acting as a one-nation Tory
  - (d) Third parties also have strong power, such as the Liberal Democratic Party in the 1980s, though the single-member plurality system creates little representation in Parliament
    - i. On the other hand, in certain times such as 2010, a hung parliament of a coalition

- government rather than a majority has occurred
- ii. Cymru's Welsh National Party and the Scottish National Party also has gained seats in the regions, though most went to Labour, but after Blair made regional assemblies, they gained large numbers of seats within those
- iii. Northern Ireland has especially powerful regional parties, such as the Protestant clergymen Democratic Unionist Party and the IRA Sinn Fein
- iv. The British National Party and UK Independence Party, the former antisemitic and anti-Muslim radical right, the latter radical right anti-EU, have gained seats since 2009, after the weakening of Labour, the former never having seats before, the latter becoming the 4th largest
- (e) The Liberal Democrats formed from the merge of the Liberals and Social Democrats in 1989 after 6 years of alliances, with the goal of making a moderate party
  - i. Due to the plurality system, with 26% of votes in 1983, they won 3.5% of seats, and have campaigned for a proper bill of rights and proportional representation
  - ii. Ashdown held the party together as the other parties moved moderate with strong education, environment, and health stances, and under Kennedy, gained a few seats as Blair lost support after the Iraq War
  - iii. In 2007, Clegg took power, criticizing the Labour Party for hurting individual civil liberties, gaining 10% of seats with 24% of votes
  - iv. In 2010, they formed a coalition with Cameron, and Clegg became Deputy Prime Minister as a result, but the coalition has issues due to Cameron being further right, especially on the House of Lords reform and EU
- 2. Elections are held every five years, though the Prime Minister is able to call them earlier, officially after the Queen dissolves Parliament, realistically at the order of the PM to keep the majority in power
  - (a) On the other hand, recently, the Fixed-Term Parliaments Act requires a 2/3rd vote to dissolve, such that the minority typically must agree as well <sup>6</sup>
  - (b) There is a strong civil society culture, with 70% of eligible voters voting, unlike America which averages 45%
  - (c) Elections are plurality with no run-offs, each party having the option to select a candidate to run in the district, winning even without a majority
    - i. This systems tends to hurt minor parties and exaggerate the majority party, but allows regional parties to gain a foothold
    - ii. It is argued that broad parties provide a more stable government than minor issue party coalitions <sup>6</sup>
      - A. On the other hand, as issues become less one-dimensional like the economy, and more cultural, this becomes less sustainable
      - B. It is still possible that a charismatic leader will reshape the parties to gain a majority, similar to Thatcher or Blair, people will move their votes back to the majority, or the majority party will change if the system is not reformed
      - C. It is also especially likely as Labour gains seats due to the system, that Conservatives, who have been the main group to oppose change, will shift
    - iii. On the other hand, in recent years, the move toward third parties by a larger percentage of the population, discontented with the major parties and stagnant economy, leading to overall less loyalty, has shown the need for change <sup>6</sup>
      - A. This has also made seats less fixed, as third parties take away from the majority
      - B. In stable seats, previously there has been almost no campaigning, leading to no loyalty to the politicians or parties

- iv. As a result, in 2011, the Liberals called for an alternate vote referendum, with ranking candidates, and requiring a simple majority, or otherwise least popular votes would be redistributed to the second choice and so forth
  - A. Labour's leader, Miliband, supported the alternative vote, but most MPs went against it, and it was defeated
- (d) MPs are not required to live in the district, such that they are chosen by the party, with leaders running in safe districts, new politicians in unlikely districts to gain experience
- (e) The April 1998 Good Friday Agreement allowed Northern Ireland a proportional-based regional government, later given to Scotland and Wales similarly, resulting in no majorities generally
  - i. Similarly, local levels have become more democratic as well, such as the mayor of London now elected
- (f) European Parliament elections are also done every 5 years, with 72 representatives from the UK, notably in 2009 with the UK Independence tied for 2nd place in seats with Labour
- (g) UK campaigns are far cheaper than US campaigns, though investigations took place in 2006 for breaking a 1925 law offering peerages (House of Lords seats for money) and the 2000 law requiring disclosing personal loans
  - i. Scandals involving the investigation were among the reason which caused Blair to step down as PM
- 3. The UK has interest group pluralism, competing for influence independently from government, but also has neo-corporatism, occasionally gaining enough power to control the state
  - (a) Quangos, or quasi-autonomous nongovernmental organizations, in the form of government appointed policy advisory boards, work with government officials to develop policy and provide services
    - i. These were weakened under Thatcher and Conservative leadership to reduce the deficit
  - (b) The Trade Unions Congress union coalition also has a lot of power, consulted by government before decisions, after the merging of unions, though there is a degree of competition
  - (c) The Confederation of Business Industries also has a lot of influence with government circles, but is a less complete business coalition
- 4. British newspapers are divided between mass circulation tabloids and upper middle class quality news, while radio and TV were originally monopolized by the BBC to educate citizens and create a civil society
  - (a) In 2003, the BBC went against the government claim of WMDs in Iraq, leading to Kelly, the inspector/source, committing suicide, leading Blair to appoint an appeals judge, who blamed the BBC, leading the chairman to resign
  - (b) The BBC is still supported by a license fee by all households, though Conservatives have advocated for making it a more public, transparent corporation
  - (c) In 2011, it was discovered that tabloids, such as Murdoch's News of the World, had been hacking phones, leading to Cameron's communications chief arrested, having recently left as EIC of the paper and included the London Metropolitan Police, who had ignored hacking for years <sup>4</sup>
    - i. This led to questioning of Cameron, even while he called an investigation, and a fight with the Sun and a Labour MP over topless women
    - ii. It was also questioned that the chief was exempted by Cameron from the background check, who believed his story of a lone wolf

- iii. After the scandal, employees and ex-employees had legal costs paid by Murdoch, and recieved politician support by those close to Murdoch, especially Blair
- iv. The police had previously threatened to investigate and surveil Davies after he brought proof of the hacking, and had a history of the police selling confidential conversations with officials to the newspapers
- (d) It could be argued that newspapers have decided elections, and due to being under Murdoch, allowed corruption, but it could also be argued that they are influenced by circumstances, rather than vice versa <sup>4</sup>
  - i. On the other hand, deals such as the EU constitution referendum by Blair, likely to be voted against the EU, in exchange for support from Murdoch's Sun, show clear corruption, moving back after the election

### 2.5.2 Government Branches

1. The political system of the UK is parliamentary with the prime minister chosen from the legislature, with a judicial and bureaucracy, all within a unitary system
2. The Cabinet Executive is made of the PM and other ministers, running the bureaucracy, chosen by the PM from Parliament
  - (a) The cabinet doesn't vote on decisions, but rather have collective responsibility, supporting the PM's decisions at all times
  - (b) The PM is the first among equals, but in coalition governments, must appoint minority parties as deputy PMs and other roles, and combine the platforms, while the other parties work as loyal opposition
  - (c) The job of the prime minister is to speak for Parliament, appoint cabinet ministers and bureaucrat heads, make cabinet decisions, and represent and head the party
  - (d) The parties are able to vote at any time to change the party leader, and as a result, the PM if the majority party
3. Parliament (legislature) is bicameral, with the lower House of Commons, which is based on the idea of two parties/coalitions, the loyal opposition and the majority
  - (a) Commons is set up as two facing benches for each coalition, the third parties sitting on the side of the minority, the PM at the front of the majority side
    - i. The minority party also has a shadow cabinet of those who would take power if the majority switched, sitting at the front of that side, while backbenchers are less important party members
    - ii. During weekly question time, the Cabinet defends themselves from opposition questions, presided over by the Speaker of the House, whose job is to be objective and keep calm, often not from the majority even
    - iii. Debate is used to gain prevalence by backbenchers and as a check on the power of the majority party
    - iv. Due to the majority party acting as the government in executive and legislative respects, there must be discipline to preserve legitimacy, especially fearing a vote of no confidence on a major bill, resulting if lost in the resigning of the Cabinet and new elections for all MPs
      - A. Most laws aren't voted on by Parliament, but simply debated in the House and ratified by the Cabinet
      - B. In recent years, there have been more backbencher rebellions on controversial issues, such as calling for Brown's resignation, leading to the complete changing

- of the Cabinet and removal of 5 ministers
  - C. In addition, recent reveals of personal expenses charged by government officials threatened the idea of Parliament being the ultimate ruling body (parliamentary sovereignty)
- (b) Lords is hereditary, with little power since the 1600s, able to ammend legislation, but a majority vote by Commons can remove it
  - i. They are also able to debate bills and delay legislation, and until 2009, had 5 law lords who were the highest court of appeals, but without judicial review
  - ii. Until 1999, half were hereditary peers, half life peers given for service to the UK, but under Blair, most were given to life peers, such that only 92 are hereditary
    - A. In 2001, there were plans for a purely life peer Lords house, and in 2007, there was a vote for an elected upper house, but was rejected by the Lords,
    - B. In 2008, Straw announced an 80-100% elected upper house, with one third elected each election, with 12 or 15 year terms, but still with little power
- (c) Bureaucracy is under the majority party, based on career service, working to provide expertise to the elected, but non-expert Ministers, such that they have large discretionary power, but rarely enter politics
- 4. The Judicial is limited by the idea of parliamentary sovereignty, preventing judicial review, such that they can only determine if government decisions violate Parliamentary decision or common law
  - (a) The legal system is based on common law, or precedent and interpretation, and are divided by appellate and original jurisdiction
    - i. Recent EU treaties, binding the UK to international law, have created the conflict between Parliament and EU law, which has given the court the power to determine the outcome, and which may cause future conflict
  - (b) In 2009, the law lords were replaced as the highest authority by the Supreme Court of a president and 11 justices, similarly limited
  - (c) Scotland has a seperate judicial system from the UK one, on the other hand, and has its own appellate courts
  - (d) Judges are generally independent and non-partisan or political, expected to retire at 75, though technically appointed for life with good behavior, generally well-educated

## 2.6 Public Policy

1. While the UK is based on liberalism of freedoms, the collective consensus was based in social democratic values, including nationalization of major industry and Keynesianism
  - (a) In the 1980s, Thatcher emphasized neo-liberalism free market revival, since establishing a middle ground
  - (b) Under Blair and Brown (as chairman of treasury), lowered the misery index (inflation and unemployment) to a new low, funding welfare without raising taxes
  - (c) During the Great Recession, public spending on health care and education was cut, and Cameron made the Big Society of private corporations and employee-owned cooperatives, funded by the state but independent, instead of central planning
    - i. On the other hand, raising tuition by 300% to \$14k and privatizing the NHS to respond to baby boomers and long wait-times, creating competition and lowering government oversight of practitioners, has been protested
2. The Parliament was thought to be transparent until the 2009 scandal, especially about the

second home allowance of London and district homes, spending money on improving primary homes, temporarily calling them secondary

- (a) This led to calls for reforms on member benefit policy made by members themselves, and more accountability, with calls for oversight/investigation committees, primary elections, and fewer MPs
  - i. After Cameron took office, websites were made to give access to policy information and schedules for accountability
- (b) This also greatly hurt trust in government, which the recession already had hurt, with 1/3 stating all politicians always lie
- 3. The UK has always been insular, agreeing to join the Common Market several years late, vetoed by France for 20 years more
  - (a) Thatcher refused adoption of the Euro and under Major, the Maastricht Treaty entered the EU partially, without the Euro and full constitution adoption, with Blair enthusiastic for support
  - (b) Brown was less strong, but fewer wanted to keep the pound, and Cameron is caught between the two sides on the issue, with as support waned, promising a popular vote on to stay after 2015 if Conservatives have a majority
- 4. After the 2005 London transit Muslim terrorist attacks and several other plots in the UK, terrorism has changed from IRA to Muslim, watching mosques
  - (a) The government also began non-violent Muslim religious classes, but was criticized for not differentiating between extremists, separating Muslims from society
  - (b) M15 now spends 75% of the time on muslim terrorism, especially during the 2011 riots, but the recession and 2012 London Olympics made it more difficult to get funding and manpower, especially after G4S quit for providing Olympic security, such that the military had to help
  - (c) On the other hand, little effort is going into fixing the socioeconomic gap or integrating Muslims into society
- 5. Blair intended to preserve the close US-UK relationship, while working with the EU, acting as a bridge, but supporting Iraq received condemnation from the EU, hurting Labour
  - (a) While the US-UK relationship remained strong, the recession hurt the ability to provide the US actual military support
- 6. Recent independence efforts have led to devolution of power to regional bodies, began by Labour until Thatcher slowed it, failing by referendum in 1977
  - (a) After violence in 2002, the Northern Ireland Assembly was shut down for five years, and was at risk similarly in 2009
  - (b) Others have called for reforms such as a Bill of Rights, written constitution, freedom of information, or proportional representation, but traditions cause change to occur difficultly
  - (c) The 2015 Scottish Independence referendum came extremely close to passing, with many fearing it would take away British culture created by the union, or hurt national chemistry
    - i. While there is dangers of economic collapse after losing the pound, many British dislike their far-left, deficit spending, gaining full representation in Parliament along with their own regional government, with general anger toward the British, creating resentment
    - ii. While it could change British culture theoretically, they are being given the choice alone without any penalty as well
    - iii. In addition, the Parliament able to adjust taxation by Blair, instead of slowing

- independence, has caused an upsurge of the movement, beginning in response to end of imperialism and cultural removal of London from the rest of the UK
- iv. In addition, recent English pride over British pride has further contributed to the likelihood of independence

## **3 Chapter 3 - The European Union**

### **3.1 Supranationalism**

1. One of the greatest examples of integration and supranationalism is the United Nations, originally only involving 49 nations in 1945, now global
  - (a) The Security Council, with the 5 permanent members able to veto, is able to send peacekeeping forces to conflict and request military forces from states
  - (b) They are generally restricted in terms of weapons usage, and are supposed to remain neutral except in specific circumstances
  - (c) The UN also contains many other organizations, such as the International Court of Justice and the World Bank, charging dues to pay
2. The World Trade Organization is another organization to establish trade agreements and world trade rules
  - (a) Most major nations are members, with Russia joining in 2012, and the terms of membership based on economic development and trade regime, taking approximately five years
  - (b) Membership is withheld based on political or human rights issues, though long term stability overrules these factors
3. The World Bank was made in 1944 to aid rebuilding, now providing economically weak countries loans at low interest rates to prevent poverty, corruption, and create investment and infrastructure
  - (a) They also provide health and environmental initiatives, such as vaccines
  - (b) Economically advanced countries such as the US control most policy, such that their interests can override weaker countries occasionally
4. Regional organizations, generally military, such as NATO or the Warsaw Pact, as well as the Organization of American States, Arab League, or the Organization for African Unity has worked for the mutual improvement of nations within

### **3.2 Creation and Organization**

1. After WWII in 1949, the Council of Europe formed to promote economic rebuilding among nations after the war, with no power, but promoting cooperation between nations, as well as create a mixed French-German economy to prevent another world war
  - (a) In 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community formed to coordinate those industries to allow rebuilding
  - (b) In 1957, the European Economic Community/Common Market was established by the Treaty of Rome, forcing the abolishment of all tariffs between European nations
  - (c) In 1965, the European Community was made, to promote peaceful use of atomic nations and economic growth, under debate about the power given without losing national sovereignty

2. In 1991, the EU was made by the Maastricht Treaty to aid in the transition to capitalism, with influence in all policy, the common currency of the Euro and European Central Bank
  - (a) The treaty created the three pillars of authority of trade/economic matters (European Community), justice and home affairs (including asylum, borders, and immigration), and common/joint foreign/security policy
  - (b) On the other hand, many feared it lost the need for an EU as the Soviet Union fell and security coordination became irrelevant 7
3. It has expanded over the years since 1957 from 6 to 28, though it has slowed recently due fears of economic or political instability
  - (a) Turkey is feared that being Muslim could hurt integration, as well as the history of non-democratic government, low GDP, and geographic split between Asia and Europe
  - (b) The expansion created fears of organizational issues, integration of weak post-communist nations, and immigrants, causing enlargement fatigue, or disapproval of growth, as well as heterogeneity of economies 7
    - i. This has also served to make citizens feel disenfranchized, and create resentment between nations 7
  - (c) New nations must have a stable democracy, market economy, and acceptance of EU laws
  - (d) On the other hand, it is based on the idea of an ever-closer union, moving toward complete integration over time
    - i. Conversely, nationalism has still shown to be an issue, especially with economic stagnation as boomers retire and political dissatisfaction in individual countries, creating Euroskeptic sentiment 7
    - ii. This creates the possibility of a charismatic leader uniting the EU and finding solutions to reform institutions involved, minor fixes will be used by economic stagnation will continue, or economic collapse will lead to economic collapse, authoritarianism, social unrest, or Russian alliances 7
4. The EU is made up of the Commission, Council of Ministers, Court of Justice, and Parliament
  - (a) The Commission has one representative from each state, with a large bureaucracy, each with an area of policy as Directorate General, all under a president, working purely for the EU, not their nation
  - (b) The Council is made up of national executives, diplomatic, and financial leaders, meeting regularly for different types, required to pass laws, given votes based on population
    - i. Every six months, the European Council of heads of state meets
    - ii. The president of the council is elected every 2.5 years, with two maximum terms, originally rotating every 6 months
  - (c) The Parliament is directly elected by citizens, with independence from national governments, able to propose legislations or veto Council proposals, though it can override unanimously
    - i. Representatives are not based on population, but rather with smaller states having more votes proportionally
  - (d) The Court is the supreme court with judicial review, able to limit national sovereignty, and can rule between states, officials, companies, and individuals, with each state having a judge, voting by simple majority



### 3.3 Policy

1. The EU is weakest in defense and social policy, but is most active in maintaining a single, internal market by eliminating tariffs and making most professional licenses accepted throughout, except law
2. It also created European monetary policy by the European Monetary Union and central bank, except the UK and Sweden
  - (a) Most nations found the Euro more stable than national currency during the recession, but it forced economic coordination of stimulus money, but had issues with agreeing to provide or accept stimulus and how to spend it
  - (b) On the other hand, more recently, it has been shown that financial collapse in one nation can now spread, or force a nation out, and have hurt Europe's ability to deal with political issues during financial crises, as well as creating resentment <sup>7</sup>
  - (c) The Euro also created the ability for countries to question the currency, such as threatening to leave the currency <sup>7</sup>
3. It also created common agricultural policy, spending half the budget on agricultural programs, modernizing farms by farm subsidies, though these have been found to be ineffective
  - (a) This has led to transitions toward direct payments for development projects recently
4. Common defense policy has been done less, but in 1999 created crisis management as the main aspect, either humanitarian, rescue, and peacemaking, able to deploy 60k troops in 2 months, sustainable for 1 year
  - (a) It allowed states to determine their own sending of troops, rather than create an army
  - (b) Terrorism also became a major issue since 9/11, fearing issues with open borders, discussing and coordinating security with the US
5. The 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam created judicial initiatives, such as the free movement between states by visas, immigration, and asylum
  - (a) It also attempted to create cooperation between police forces, but did not require states to participate in these policies
6. In 2004, the European Constitution was signed to streamline the individual nation treaties, intended to take effect by the end of 2006, but Netherlands and France refusing led to the UK to postpone
  - (a) Instead, the Lisbon Treaty was signed in 2007 to consolidate the treaties to compensate, including allowing states to leave the EU
  - (b) It also created the Council president, the Charter of Fundamental Rights (civil, political, economic, and social), and a structure of policies under EU vs national purview
  - (c) It also gave Parliament additional powers over farm subsidies, border control, asylum, budget and integration, giving power similar to the European Council, but gave national governments more mechanisms to be involved and take action instead of the EU unless necessary
  - (d) France and Netherlands rejected the treaty due to a dislike of expansion and fear of a democratic deficit, or loss of direct democratic control as the organization grows
  - (e) While it made the Parliament more powerful, it is still the weakest, and the only directly elected, such that many feared lack of accountability
  - (f) The Lisbon Treaty worked to fix this, and while rejected at first by Ireland, was ratified
7. The EU is based on economic liberalism of free markets over economic nationalism of tariffs, shown by the sovereign debt crisis of Greece starting in 2010
  - (a) Greece originally barely met the economic criteria, and with high sovereign/national debt after the 2008 recession, it took a large loan from the EU and IMF, with harsh restrictions

- (b) The bailout was thought necessary to protect the Euro, but forced other nations to pay for Greece, angering many, such as Germany, especially when a second bailout was needed in 2011
- (c) Many also wanted economic structural adjustment, or restructuring, to forgive the debt, forcing other nations in Europe to pay for it to allow recovery
- (d) The crisis also led to the rise of interest rates for European deficit spending, causing massive debt from strong countries like Germany as well

## 4 Chapter 4 - Russia

### 4.1 Communist and Post-Communist States

1. Communist nations are based on the idea that capitalism protects freedom, while ignoring and allowing inequality to be created, found most prominently in the USSR, PRC, DPRK, and Cuba
2. In 1848, Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848, stating that the free market involved the exploitation of the poor and creating inequality, believing eventually there would be a revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie
  - (a) He believed after, there would be no social classes or private property, and without property, government would become unnecessary
3. In 1917, Lenin created Leninism in a revolution, but believed that a vanguard of the revolution of leaders were necessary to lead the revolution, rather than beginning spontaneously, and overthrew the Czar
  - (a) The government was democratic centralist, electing leaders from below, discussing after, but not allowing dissent after the fact, with a centralized government and control economy, emphasizing creating industrialization
    - i. The legitimacy of the state in these cases, is based on the ideology, but democratic centralism easily led to authoritarianism
  - (b) They use force combined with cooptation, or allocation of power through political, social, and economic institutions, recruiting elite by nomenklatura, or filling major positions (political, economic, military, educational, and press) with those approved by the party
    - i. The party approval is based on joining the party and active membership, such that social mobility is present, where nomenklatura acted as a specific pathway
4. In 1949, Mao took over China, based on the idea of Maoism, preserving the peasant based society over industrialization
  - (a) After his death in 1976, Deng implemented market-based socialism as more of a mixed economy, allowing a gradual move toward a capitalist society
5. Communism assumes gender roles are due to inequality created by capitalism, such that it will be replaced, but realistically in communist nations, while there is generally more women in the workplace, there is not complete equality
6. Communism is based on central planning to create equal distribution, though this has led to logistic issues in larger economies and lack of worker incentives for efficiency and innovation
  - (a) In recent years, the move away from this has led to rapid industrialization in China and Russia, creating the BRIC group along with Brazil and India, becoming new world powers, though Russia has had issues with falling oil even after the recession, adding South Africa in 2010
7. After the fall of the USSR in 1991 ended the Cold War, Yeltsin took over the remaining

largest republic, the Russian Federation, advocating for shock therapy reforms to push to democracy and free market

- (a) He was sick and an alcoholic, often becoming authoritarian, controlled by friends and advisers as a corrupt oligarchy, but a constitution was written in 1993 with elections
- (b) In 2000, Putin was elected, preserving the oligarchy and centralizing power, stepping down after two terms, but remaining Prime Minister under Medvedev, controlling it, then running again in 2012

## 4.2 Sovereignty, Authority, and Power

1. Political legitimacy was traditionally based on strong, autocratic tsars from the 1300s, through the Romanov family after the 1600s, transitioning previously through assassination and violence, followed quickly by Stalinism, as a form of totalitarianism
  - (a) Only for several years was Marxism-Leninism present, which had the ideology provide legitimacy for democratic centralism, and still relied on a strong oligarchic governing body
  - (b) While the Constitution of 1993 attempted to divide power democratically among the president and the Duma, with the lower house by popular election, approved by referendum, attempted coups and conflict prevented legitimacy
  - (c) Under Putin, while it appeared to show the legitimacy of the Constitution, it was more of a move back to autocracy under himself, with the Duma losing power
  - (d) Many of the small republic states after the fall of the USSR also began moving back toward authoritarianism since
2. Political tradition is based on absolute, centralized rule, due to the geography having Huns, Vikings, and Mongols attacking and rebelling at the outskirts, forcing strong rule to keep order
  - (a) Regular invasions, both outward and in, before the 1600s, and rapid expansion afterward to the current size, led to a tradition of cultural homogeneity, leading to the constant changing of borders over the last hundred years
  - (b) The conflict between Slavophile leaders, resisting outside influence, and Westernizer leaders, starting from Peter the Great in the late 1600s has characterized
    - i. Peter created a new bureaucracy, strong army and navy, infrastructure, and a Window on the West as St. Petersburg, ending isolationism, built on further by Catherine the Great in the 1700s
    - ii. The removal of old social classes under the Bolsheviks, relied on blending westernization (economic, industrial, and technology growth) and Slavophile customs
3. Political culture in Russia is based on the geographic location, touching many other nations with different cultures, multiple bodies of water on each side, but almost no warm ports to allow trade, conquering nations that block the sea
  - (a) There are many resources, such as oil, wood, or natural gas, difficult to develop, which have allowed rapid industrialization, leading to the idea of pragmatic internal development from Stalinism
  - (b) Russian egalitarianism by the Communists is based on the idea of equality of result over opportunity from Marxism, hurting capitalist ideas
    - i. The Marxist ideology of collapse of the Capitalist nations in the West also helped during the USSR to increase Russian nationalism
    - ii. Communism also created a wide range of economic beliefs, such as a market transi-

- tion, rapid reform, or moving back to Communist ideology
- iii. Economic decline in the 1990s was also blamed on Yeltsin's shock therapy, creating doubt about the idea of rapid market reform
- iv. This also created a divide by opinion on the USSR and Communism, with many wanting to move back, partially due to high employment, creating a generational split
- (c) Eastern Orthodoxy, working closely with Constantinople originally over Western Europe, worked to separate its ideology from that of European Enlightenment ideology
  - i. This created the desire for statism, or a strong state, over a civil society, or freedom from state control, and prevented the separation of church and state, though under the USSR, religion was banned
- (d) Ironically, there is skepticism and hostility towards those in power, unexpected when glasnost was implemented, leading to the fall of the USSR, with little popularity of nongovernmental business, finance, and media leaders as well as government, except Putin
  - i. Many interest groups also have low participation, due to a lack of faith in government to produce a democratic society
- (e) In addition, nationalism has a strong hold, creating divisions and dislikes for certain groups, such as the Turks or Jews, though they like Baltic peoples

### 4.3 Political and Economic Change

1. Russia was based on resistance to change, creating chaos and revolution when force was not used to create reform, or when contradictory forces took place
  - (a) Attempts by czars in the 1800s to industrialize prevented and by Alexander II to free serfs led to chaos and assassination, such that it took revolution to stabilize Russian class struggles and Stalin to industrialize Russia properly
  - (b) Gorbachev's attempts to reform the USSR failed, led to coup d'états and the collapse of the USSR
  - (c) The transition from czars to communism to democracy was also shown by revolutionary, violent changes
2. The tsarist period began with rule by the princes of Moscow, aiding Mongols in exchange for power and land, eventually taking power as the Mongols lost, and heading the Russian Orthodox Church, far from influence of Western cities
  - (a) Peter the Great introduced Western culture and technology, having visited Holland, Germany, and the UK, bringing engineers and architects
  - (b) Catherine the Great was born in Germany later, and gained warm water access to the Black Sea, and read Enlightenment writings, acting as an enlightened despot, or an absolute ruler with clear, positive goals for the nation
    - i. Both also made sure to preserve Slavic culture within the nation, while westernizing it
  - (c) After Napoleon's invasion in 1812, Western culture came into contact, with many intellectuals feeling Western democracy could not grow under tzars, leading to the Decembrist Revolt of 1825, destroyed by Nicholas I
    - i. The defeat in the Crimean War later in the 1800s showed the need to many for reforms, leading to growth of the secret police and executions
    - ii. Alexander II later created regional zemstvas assemblies and freed the serfs, but many

middle class intellectuals didn't believe it was enough, and his son, Alexander III undid much after his assassination

3. The Revolution of 1917 was due to the losses in the Russo-Japanese War and WWI, due to built-up protests over 12 years, lack of supplies on the front such as guns, and Nicholas II's weakness
  - (a) Lenin wrote "What Is To Be Done" in 1905, arguing the revolution could occur in an agricultural/non-capitalist nation if conditions were bad enough, and creating Leninism
    - i. His followers, Bolsheviks, took power in 1917, and a civil war of Russian military backed by the Allies (White Army) and the Bolshevik Red Army took place until 1920
    - ii. After, Lenin created the New Economic Policy combining centralized government and economy with private ownership, but died in 1924
  - (b) Stalinism made the party the only party, and more exclusive, admitting 7%, with the Central Committee of 300 members meeting annually, and the Politburo of 12 men who ran the nation, the general secretary, Stalin, at the top with full power
    - i. He removed the NEP and made state-run collective farms to increase efficiency, though many kulaks (wealthy peasants) resisted, and were sent to labor camps
    - ii. He also implemented large scale industrialization, with a Five Year Plan for production of heavy industry materials, with more specific plans for each factory made by Gosplan, or the State Planning Commission
    - iii. He also made purges of those deemed disloyal, even within the Politburo and heading the army, executing 1 million members, though denounced after his death
    - iv. His foreign policy was based in socialism in one nation before international revolution to focus on rapid industrialization, ignoring fascism until attacked, joining the Allies after, but with tension
4. In 1953, after a power struggle, Khrushchev took power, giving the secret speech about a letter written by Lenin denouncing Stalin and the purges, leading to deStalinization
  - (a) This included less censorship, economic decentralization, and restructuring of collective farms, as well as a peaceful coexistence with the US, but was criticized for the reforms and lost power after the Cuban Missile Crisis
5. He was replaced by Brezhnev, who ended the reforms, followed by the younger Gorbachev, who acted more Western, implementing Western reforms to prevent economic collapse
  - (a) Glasnost, or openness, allowed political, social, and economic discussion, but led to dissent spreading and revolt, especially in the small republics
  - (b) Democratization created a Congress of People's Deputies, directly elected, and a President selected by the Congress to add some democracy, but many elected were hostile to his regime
  - (c) Perestroika made a mixed market economy, allowing privately owned companies, stricter requirements for state-run factories, leasing farm land, and joint ventures with foreign companies
6. In 1991, Conservatives who wanted to move back from reforms, including the KGB and military led a coup, but were stopped by protests led by Yeltsin, the President
  - (a) Yeltsin advocated extreme reforms, having been removed from the Politburo, and restored Gorbachev, though in 1991, 11 republics had left, and the USSR ended and the Party breaking down
7. The Constitution of 1993 made the lower legislative Duma, the Constitutional Court, President, and Prime Minister
  - (a) Shock therapy to a market economy immediately didn't cause an immediate response,

and erratic behavior and firing of staff led to him resigning before 2000, putting the Prime Minister Putin in power

## 4.4 Citizens, Society, and the State

### 4.4.1 Cleavages

1. The most important cleavage in Russia is nationality, such that while a majority of the nation is ethnic Russian, the country is organized into a federation of autonomous regions and republics based on ethnicity
  - (a) Most gain trade benefits to be forced to stay, except Chechnya of Muslims, where terrorism for independence has been seen, such as the 2004 school seizing
  - (b) This has led to fears of other regions desiring independence if Chechnya breaks away, such that a referendum on a regional constitution was done in 2007, approved even though it made them part of Russia
  - (c) On the other hand, murders, kidnappings, and terrorism has continued since
  - (d) The invasion of Georgia in 2008, and the Caucasus near Chechnya has led to suicide bombings, such as a president of Ingushetia assassination attempt in 2009, leading to fears of violence during the Sochi Olympics near the Caucasus
  - (e) Russian nationalists have also done several attacks and kidnappings, such as a 2006 market bombing, to remove immigrants from the nation, leading to the Red Square riot in 2010 after the shooting of a Russian by a Caucasus man
2. Religion, with the reestablishment and encouragement of the Church by Yeltsin, led to a large amount identifying as Russian Orthodox, though few practicing
  - (a) In 2007, the Russian Church Abroad rejoined with the Russian Orthodox, having left after the Bolshevik revolution, after Putin convinced them he was a believer and the old regime was gone
    - i. On the other hand, due to governmental control over appointments within the Church, many fear it is still restricted too much
  - (b) Religious, nonreligious, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, and Protestant groups appear to be existing fairly well, under a combination of flexibility and authoritarianism, without too much conflict
    - i. Muslim growth, on the other hand, such that 20M are present, especially in Moscow, the Caucasus, Bashkortostan, and Tatarstan, the final two being fairly peaceful compared to the Caucasus, is very rapid
    - ii. In 2005, to appease Muslims, Putin worked with President Shaimiev of Tatarstan in the Middle East to make Russia appear pro-Islam
    - iii. On the other hand, before Sochi, there were several hundred arrests of Muslim extremists found with Islamic literature
3. Social classes were created in the USSR by Communist Party members and others, with economic and political gains for those involved, though nomenklatura allowed made it slightly egalitarian
  - (a) After the fall of the USSR, a new rich class formed from opportunities found in the breakup, though several times, first in the 1997 business bust, were arrested
  - (b) The new wealthy also was favored by Yeltsin and allowed Putin's rise, though he later arrested or exiled many for supposed tax evasion, including Khodorkovsky, the wealthiest man in the nation to send a message to the oligarchs

4. After Stalin's industrialization 73% live in cities, creating a large economic, educational, and cultural divide between urban and rural citizens, though the effects of this are unknown

#### 4.4.2 Political Participation

1. In the USSR, elections were non-competitive until Gorbachev, with voting mandatory, though after, with only one party, it was purely for party challengers, eventually voting out Gorbachev
  - (a) Voter turnout since has been fairly low comparatively to Europe, though higher than the US, showing alienation to the Duma, with 50.3% after the 1993 attempt to take over the country, rising to 64% by 2008, falling to 60% after 2012
  - (b) Presidential election turnout has purely dropped from 75% in 1991 to 65% in 2004, rising in 2008 to 70%, then falling again in 2012 to 65%
2. In the recession of 2008, protests broke out in Russia, especially in the east, Vladivostok, with the Communist Party having a rally and calling for a central planned economy
  - (a) The rally was allowed with police protection, none of the protests becoming violent
  - (b) Protests also occurred after Putin ran again in 2012, after the 2011 Parliament elections stating that United Russia rigged them, and during the May 2012 election for Putin
    - i. When violence occurred in several cities, the opposition leaders were arrested and the government/Putin did not respond, but protests were not allowed after
3. On the other hand, there is almost no civil society of private organizations, and only 1% are in a political party, though a majority do keep informed on politics
  - (a) Before 1917, low economic development prevented it, while under the USSR, state corporatist systems were created such that the party was the only representation of the people, with state-sponsored organizations
  - (b) Civil society began to grow during glasnost, though under Putin, there has been restrictions, especially on those of the opposition, with legal, bureaucratic, and police harassment
    - i. In addition, since 2012, nonprofits were also restricted to prevent foreign interests and financing, such that assisting foreign organizations is high treason
  - (c) Putin also created pro-government youth groups, such as Nashi, Youth Guard, and Locals, to create patriotism and prevent opposition, with Nashi creating marches in favor of Putin in 2008 and 2011-12
    - i. They also created anti-corruption protests against the opposition in Downtown Moscow in May 2011, and held violent protests against foreign nation embassies over policy and relation issues, such as the moving of an Estonian USSR memorial
    - ii. It has been often compared to the Komsomol youth Communist Party of the USSR wing, getting grants and support from the government

#### 4.5 Political Institutions

##### 4.5.1 Governmental Structures

1. The USSR and Russian Federation have a federal government, with 89 regions, 21 of which are non-ethnically Russian, generally called republics due to ruling fairly independently, though not all agreed to be a section
  - (a) Due to some districts being more powerful, it is called asymmetric federalism

2. Putin has worked to centralize it, creating seven super-districts of Russia, each with an appointee to supervise the regions within
  - (a) He also created a law to remove governors who refuse to follow the national constitution, and ended direct elections, rather nominated by the president, confirmed by regional legislatures
  - (b) The upper house, the Federation Council, was originally governors and regional Duma heads, in 2002 prevented from serving themselves, replaced by those they appoint
  - (c) He removed the half-plurality, half-proportional rule in the Duma that allowed many minor parties popular in specific regions to gain seats, in favor of pure proportional nationally
3. Russia has a semi-presidential government, to allow for a strong president, but with a check on executive power, with a separate head of state (president) and head of government (PM)
  - (a) Starting in 2012, the presidential term is 6 years, with a 2 term limit, with 1M signature petition as the only requirement
  - (b) The president has the power to appoint the PM and cabinet, approved by the Duma, though if rejected 3 times, he can dissolve the Duma, almost occurring when they rejected Chernomyrdin twice
    - i. The president can also decree by executive order with the force of law, controlling the Cabinet, with the Duma to have no power over the Cabinet
    - ii. The president can also dissolve the Duma, only done in 1993 when the old Russian Parliament was dissolved, and certain members refused to leave, leading to the army firing on the building
  - (c) If the president dies, the PM becomes acting president, occurring only when Yeltsin resigned in 1999, putting Putin in power
    - i. Prime ministers are generally career bureaucrats, chosen for knowledge and loyalty, rather than party leadership
4. The Russian legislature is bicameral, with the lower house of the Duma with 450 deputies (representatives) within, able to pass bills, approve the budget, confirm appointments, and theoretically impeach (though it failed when tried on Yeltsin due to difficulty)
  - (a) The Duma is also controlled by the president's party, such that their legislative power generally is used by the president
    - i. Duma laws can also be overruled by more recent presidential decrees, such that it is fairly meaningless
  - (b) The Federation Council is the upper house, representing the regions, able only to delay legislation and reject legislation, though a 2/3 vote of the Duma can override that
    - i. Theoretically, it can also change boundaries of regions, allow armed forces outside the country, and appoint and remove judges, though it has done none
5. In the USSR, there was no judiciary independent of the Party, while the Constitution made a Constitutional Court of 19 members, appointed by the president, confirmed by the Federation Council, independent of the executive
  - (a) Putin moved it from St. Petersburg away from Moscow to hurt its influence, and it doesn't question him generally, even with judicial review
6. The Supreme Court acts as the highest appeals court, independent of the executive, but both courts are under Putin's control, not questioning his arrests of the oligarchs
  - (a) Most legal experts were trained under the USSR, rather than in a constitutional system, and are unqualified as a result though, but Putin tried to modernize the judicial system in all except Chechnya, with codes of criminal and civil rights
  - (b) He also created juries, but not the idea of innocent before proven guilty



7. The domestic security organization, the KGB under the USSR, has been broken up, mainly into the Federal Security Service, largely acting independently of the government
  - (a) There are also high levels of corruption in the majority of the population, hurting rule of law, needed to get any services, hurting economic development, by diverting it for bribes
  - (b) No members of the former KGB have been prosecuted for human rights abuses during the USSR, as well
  - (c) Putin has tried to fight corruption, firing the former defense minister, but it is engrained within society overall
8. The military contained 4M during the USSR at times, but followed the government, not involved in politics, with huge amounts of money spent, with the majority remaining loyal even during the coup in 1991
  - (a) The military is currently not involved, with the exception of Lebed in 1996, paid little with little food provided, disgraced after a series of defeats in Afghanistan in 1988, and later in Chechnya in 1996
  - (b) Under Putin, the army has grown again drastically, nuclear-capable bombers began patrolling regularly again, and soldiers in the invasion of Georgia in 2008 were better trained, though recruitment is low and technology is archaic

#### 4.5.2 Linkage Institutions

1. Linkage institutions are fairly weak, hurting democracy, with weak parties originally, followed by United Russia gaining a majority of power, weak interest groups due to the lack of civil society and free media
2. Parties were created almost immediately after the 1991 Revolution, based around small factional parties centered around single leaders or interest groups
  - (a) These parties later fluctuated, preventing strong ideological parties and party loyalty, though the proportional representation reform required 7% of the national vote to gain seats, such that only 4 have seats
  - (b) United Russia was founded from the Unity Party of oligarchs supporting Putin and the Fatherland All-Russia Party, winning slightly below half, with many minority parties in support, with the platform of pro-Putin
    - i. In 2004, Putin was reelected virtually unopposed, and headed the Duma election in 2007 to ensure he would be PM, due to the proportionality rule
    - ii. In 2012, they lost seats down to slightly above half, and Putin only won with 64% due to signs of corruption
  - (c) The Communist Party is second strongest party, losing seats from 1995 onward down to below 100, but rising to 92 during 2012, led by Zyuaganov, who was 2nd in the presidential election in 1996 and 2000, but dropping from 40% to 29%
    - i. In 2004, he didn't run, and the party was weakened further by a revolt within by Tikhonov, gaining 18% in 2008, rising a bit in 2012, but barely
    - ii. The main ideology is the stability of the old regime, unsupportive of Gorbachev reforms, in favor of central planning, nationalism, and recreating the USSR
  - (d) Liberal Democrats, led by Zhirinovskiy, is an extreme nationalist far-right party, attacking Yeltsin's reforms, making anti-semitic and sexist comments, and discussing nuking Japan
    - i. They have about 40 seats and 2.7% in the 2000 presidential election, not running

- after, but after Putin running in 2012, they gained seats up to 56 seats
- (e) A Just Russia was formed from the Life Party, Pensioner Party, and the Motherland People's Patriotic Union, led by the Federation Council speaker, Mironov
    - i. Motherland formed in 2003 from the merge of 30 factions, leading to debates within on whether to challenge Putin in 2004, breaking into Fair Russia in 2004
    - ii. In 2007, they held about 40 seats, gaining up to 64 seats in 2011
  - (f) Patriots of Russia came in third in the 2011 elections, based on statism and nationalism, supposedly created by the Kremlin to hurt non-United Russia parties
    - i. While it did win 13% of regional legislative seats, they did not gain any Duma seats
  - (g) Thus, all parties are parties of power, backed by economic or political elites, remaining in power as long as those elites are in power
3. Elections are either referendums, Duma elections, or Presidential elections
- (a) Referendums are used occasionally, such as the Constitution of 1993, Yeltsin's job performance in 1992, in which he barely got approval, and the regional referendum to approve the constitution in Chechnya
  - (b) In 1993, 1995, then every 4 years after, the Duma was elected, until the 2007 reforms allowing an option to reject all candidates
    - i. The stated goal of the reforms was to reduce the number of parties in the Duma, to streamline the legislative process
  - (c) Presidential elections have a run-off election between the top two candidates if no candidate receives a majority of the vote, though a run-off has never happened, causing many to question the honesty of the elections
4. Interest groups during USSR were only the state corporatism/state-sanctioned ones, only allowing Communist Party members to influence policy
- (a) After the state industries were made private, they were bought for almost nothing by high ranking party members and those tied to Yeltsin's family, called oligarchs, such as Berezovsky who owned much of the media, getting Yeltsin reelected
    - i. These oligarchs later put Putin in power, but Putin resisted, arresting those who opposed Putin, sending many to exile, and arresting the richest man, Khodorsky, and destroying his Yukos Oil Company to prevent others from reaching
    - ii. Most left politics after, and Putin forced many to place money in his name as a result, but many were also hurt by the recession, relying on government loans, further losing power over it
    - iii. On the other hand, Medvedev was Chairman of Gazprom before President and succeeded there by the former PM under Putin, Zubkov
  - (b) State corporatism thus has large power still, with the Russian government creating major conglomerate companies, using legal tactics to keep them weak enough to rely on the government, such as with Yukos
    - i. All there are controlled by the government or those loyal to Putin, called insider privatization
    - ii. This angers the idea of equality of result that is common among Russian citizens
  - (c) The Mafia also gained power during the 1991 Revolution, controlling banks, businesses, and natural resources, using laundering, protection money, and deals with government officials and former KGB
    - i. They have also murdered prominent members of the Duma, business, and media, threatening to create lawlessness which may result in an authoritarian government
  - (d) The media under the USSR was the Pravda, functioning as a propaganda tool, now existing far more independently of government censorship, later becoming a tabloid

under Putin

- i. While there is apparently press freedom, press such as NTV was taken over by government corporations, and competing stations were shut down, while certain critics of the administration mysteriously died
- ii. It took over an hour to report the Beslan 2004 school seizure, though NTV eventually covered it for several hours
- iii. The Russian Journalist Union was evicted from their headquarters in 2007 in favor of the state controlled Russia Today TV station, and the Novaya Gazeta, critical of Putin, has had a series of deaths, forcing immediate publishing
- iv. Navalny used social media to lead protests during Putin's 2011 run, gaining a large following, but was arrested for embezzlement shortly after

## 4.6 Public Policy

1. The economy is a major issue, with the shock therapy having created the oligarchs are chaos, and leading to the 1997 government default, threatening economic collapse, as unemployment became an issue unlike in the USSR
  - (a) The ruble decreased by 2002 from more than a dollar to a 30000th of a dollar, and the overall standard of living dropped
  - (b) In 2008, lowering oil prices stopped several years of economic growth and rising standard of living, and the economic crisis made many question the government
  - (c) State-run oil and gas are a majority of the economy, such that prices greatly effect it, forcing a government Stabilization Fund in case of price falls, which hasn't fully fixed it
  - (d) In 2009, Medvedev planned to sell large amounts of state assets, reform taxing and banking, and improving infrastructure and innovation, though under Putin, state-owned companies have monopolized again
2. Development of civil society is important, creating a private life independent, with trust and respect toward fellow citizens, but citizens don't have the belief in life, liberty, and private property, but rather in statism
3. Terrorism, such as the Beslan school seige, resulting in 360 deaths, led to Putin's meeting of regional and national governments in 2004, resulting in centralizing government to prevent breaking up of the nation
  - (a) This led to the indirect selection of regional governors and security measures, slowing attacks, but they restarted in 2009 in the Caucasus
4. Centralization of power under Putin, with a majority of seats in the Duma, control of natural gas Gazprom, and most media, may be a reaction to terrorism similar to in the West, or a move away from democratic society
5. Population dropping due to a low birth rate and poor health, predicts an 18% decline by 2050, due to high alcoholism, especially among males, and poverty and a culture of abortion leading to small families
  - (a) On the other hand, in 2012, population grew slightly, and Russia is paying ethnic Russians to immigrate
6. After the USSR's breakup in 1991 forced Russia to accept loans from the US to prevent global economic collapse, and its military power was weakened overall, it had to redefine relations, creating the Confederation of Independent States of 15 former Soviet republica
  - (a) It contains trade agreements, but almost no political power and is watched closely by the West, while nationalism creates tensions and may cause breakdown

- (b) In 2004, Putin financed and advised PM Yanukovich's campaign in Ukraine, leading to protests and a reelection, which he again won, creating tensions
- (c) In 2007, a Soviet statue was removed in Tallinn, leading to protests by ethnic Russians, until computers shut down, possibly by Russian attack, and protesters attacked the Estonian embassy in Moscow
- (d) In 2008, the invasion of Georgia's South Ossetia, who wanted independence from Georgia, showed tension between the president, Saakashvili, and Putin, as well as Russian militarism, after Georgia allied with the US
  - i. The EU eventually brokered a ceasefire, though Russia recognizes that and Abkhazia as independent regions
- (e) After the USSR collapsed, Russia was allowed in the G-7 (now G-8), and Russia along with France vetoed the Security Council's support of the Iraq War
  - i. Russia also negotiated into the WTO until 2012, attempting to create better trade relations and more foreign investment
- (f) Gazprom has led to fights with nearby nations in which pipelines are for gas rights, leading to protests over the rise in prices in 2006, until Gazprom shut down gas to a majority of Europe and Ukraine, forcing pressure on the government
  - i. EU nations often act in favor of their own interests with Gazprom, allowing Russia to create tensions in their favor
  - ii. Russia has also shown support for BRIC fast economic growth nations over the EU, though a large amount of trade is with the EU
- (g) After 9/11, US-Russia relations improved, but in 2003, Putin declared the Iraq War to be infringing on Iraqi rights, to which Bush ignored, insulting Russia, and the South Ossetia invasion further increased tensions
  - i. America has threatened sanctions many times for human rights abuses, leading to banning Americans from adopting Russians, and the Kremlin blamed the US for protests over Putin's 2012 elections
  - ii. Ignoring Russia during the Bush and Obama administration in favor of other allies has also insulted the Russians

## 5 Articles

1. "The Clash of Civilizations?" by Samuel Huntington
2. "BBC News, Just how important is the Magna Carta 800 years on?" by Nick Higham
3. "The Guardian, Magna Carta - 800 years on" by David Carpenter
4. "How the Murdoch Gang Got Away" by Geoffrey Wheatcroft
5. "The Scots and the English: Some Guilty Thoughts" by Andrew Sullivan
6. "The Breaking Point" by Cambridge and Cumbernauld
7. "Does Europe Have a Future?" by Stephen Walt